Chapter 7

Later Post-Medieval Landscape – Improving the Land

7.1 Introduction

The challenges and advantages of a wealth of archaeological and documentary evidence are as relevant to this chapter as the previous. If anything, there are more data for the later post-medieval – here defined as the mid-18th to late 19th centuries. I have separated these centuries from the mid-16th to mid-18th centuries because of two intertwined trends:

- Significant changes occurred in the way the landscape was perceived throughout Britain, which were associated with the application of a more rational understanding of the world to the organisation of society and use of resources. This heavily influenced management of the landscape and was primarily, or initially, driven by the landowning classes. I shall discuss this point further in sections 7.2 and 7.3, while returning to it regularly throughout the text.

- There is a substantial amount of archaeological and documentary evidence for changes in the Upper Derwent landscape. These changes occurred largely within existing patterns of land-use, mostly involving the reorientation of how places were perceived and used, rather than creating new structures of inhabitation. There are some exceptions, where radical new schemas were imposed on the landscape, including the Parliamentary Enclosure of moorland common, rise of grouse shooting and the construction of turnpike roads. This local evidence will be interpreted in sections 7.4 – 7.11.

I shall bring together the relationships between these two points, between ideals held at the national level and the inhabitation of the landscape at the local scale in the discussion, section 7.12. This will explore how these two scales interacted, how new ideas were brought to the Upper Derwent, and how they were perceived and enacted locally.

7.2 Urbanisation and the 'New Model' Countryside

By the mid-18th century the Upper Derwent townships were well established and the landscape had been embedded into routines of practice largely led by agriculture, as farmers worked the land within manorial systems. During the later 18th and 19th centuries, we can see how changes in the landscape were fundamentally entwined with wider social trends. Industrialisation, urbanisation, agricultural improvement and the commodification of objects had begun in the 16th and 17th centuries, but increased in scale and pace during the 18th century. These had major impacts on rural landscapes across Britain, and the market economy and rational method came to dominate social relations within the traditional institutions of the local manors (Johnson 1996; Wrigley 1990). By the 1750s, Britain was predominantly a market economy and the world's leading trading nation (Bunce 1994). Production became increasingly standardized and the amount of material culture available expanded phenomenally as a wider section of society was able to own a greater range and number of personal and household objects (Howard-Davis 2001).

Market value and maximising profits increasingly defined and influenced relations between people, objects and land, each seen as a commodity to which a price could be given (Johnson 1996). Industrial production increased with the organisation of labour and resources at larger scales. During the 18th and early 19th centuries, much of this took place in rural locations where water provided suitable power to drive factory mills. By 1800, over 30 water-powered mills had been constructed along the Derwent Valley and its tributaries, from the River Trent in the south to Bamford in the north (Cooper 1991). Most were cotton mills, though there were also hosiery and paper mills, and the Derwent was one of the foremost cotton-spinning areas of Britain in the later 18th century. There were numerous lead smelters in the lower Derwent Valley during the late 18th and 19th centuries, with coke-fired cupolas largely replacing wood-burning ore-hearths by the 1780s (Barnatt 1996b). Much of the iron and steel production in South Yorkshire was also based in rural locations, with mills and forges strung along rivers such as the Don, Porter, Rivelin and Sheaf (Hey 1980).

In places, such as in the lower Derwent Valley, rural mill and metalworking industries continued throughout the 19th century. However, manufacturing towns and cities expanded vastly, and new ones appeared, as steam power and the factory system reduced

the advantages of rural locations for industrial production during the 19th century (Newman 2001). Sheffield and Manchester, the nearest cities to the Upper Derwent, had become large manufacturing and trading towns by the late 18th century. Sheffield was the closest city, and had a long relationship with the Upper Derwent, from the establishment of the Premonstratensian abbey at Beauchief and grange at Crookhill onwards. Iron and steel working were the main industries in Sheffield and surrounding parishes. The city's cutlers were the most specialized workforce in England, and the city came to dominate the world's cutlery trade by 1800, then the steel-making trade by 1900 (Hey 1998). The city's steel production was increasingly centralised in large factory mills during the 19th century, with many of the smaller forges abandoned, as they could not compete with the lower costs of high-volume manufacturing. Craftsmen working in cutlery, toolmaking and silverware trades had a different relationship with the factory system. They were self-employed, rented space in factories and had their finished goods sold by the factory owner, so developing a distinct identity as 'little mesters'. The city underwent unprecedented growth, and grew from a population of 2,207 in 1616 to 10,121 in 1736, and 130,000 in 1851 (ibid). The majority of the growing urban population had migrated from rural areas to find work, the growing body of landless agricultural labourers in the 17th century providing the necessary labour force for the establishment of industrial capitalism (Bunce 1994). As the cities grew, the percentage of the British population working in agriculture dropped from 75% in 1750 to 21% in 1851 (Matthias 1969; Pollard and Crossley 1968).

As the urban population outstripped the rural during the 18th century, relationships between urban and rural areas shifted. The landed gentry held influential positions in town as well as country and supported their urban and industrial enterprises with the economic resources and political power of their country estates (Bunce 1994). Until the end of the 18th century, the rural gentry dominated the Sheffield iron and steel industries because they held the majority of the raw materials – iron ore and charcoal fuel – on their estates. From an urban perspective, the countryside came to be viewed as the locale of the resources that metropolitan populations and industrial production depended upon, such as food, stone, coal and woodlands. Better communication routes, improved roads, canals and, in the 19th century, railways, were built to reduce travel times and costs, so increasing access to rural resources and the transport of materials over longer distances. The locations of new cities and transport technology realigned the orientations of long-

distance routeways across the landscape and created new ways to approach the countryside. Improved travel also increased the accessibility of the countryside to wealthy classes, who used some of their greater leisure time to visit rural landscapes made popular since the early 18th century by published tours such as Daniel Defoe's *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* from the 1720s. As an appreciation of wild, upland scenery developed, grouse shooting became an increasingly popular use of moorland estates by their landowners (Williamson 2002).

7.3 Landowners and Agricultural Improvement

An aspect of rationality of particular relevance to the Upper Derwent is the widespread acceptance by the British landowning classes of the ideal of agricultural improvement and its application on their rural estates. The belief in the need for good, rational agricultural practices and that land held privately could be more effectively and efficiently productive than land farmed in common began in the 16th century, but really flourished from the mid-18th century onwards (Johnson 1996; Newman 2001). Improvement was seen as progressive, rational and scientifically testable, and therefore 'good' by landowners who saw land increasingly as a commodity. Use of land by common rights was perceived as backward, inefficient and a block to progress. Handbooks to land management, instructions on using drains and fertilizers, and estate maps recording land-use and value were produced increasingly. In some cases landowners had little knowledge of agriculture, and sometimes fashionable ideas were tried in inappropriate areas with little hope of success (Williamson 2002). Experiments with fast-maturing breeds of livestock and strains of cereal were designed to maximise output, which relied on high inputs of raw materials manufactured from outside the farm, such as fertilizers (ibid). New farm buildings were constructed and laid out in relation to each other on the basis of ideas about how to increase efficiency in use and movement. Local histories of enclosure of common land, reorientation of building and farmstead layouts, and land improvement occurred throughout Britain as landowners increasingly influenced the lives of their tenants in order to rationally and systematically improve agricultural production.

Both open fields and commons were subject to enclosure as part of the ideology of agricultural improvement, and as a physical expression of the landowning classes' willingness to improve land and output, so legitimising landowners' rights of inclusion within the ruling classes (Williamson 2000). Enclosure was sometimes conducted by

application to Parliament for an Act by the landowners of a given parish. In other cases landowners of large estates undertook private enclosure or agreed amongst themselves to enclose common land across a parish without recourse to Parliament. Enclosure removed common rights, apportioned the land amongst a select number of landowners and facilitated the activities and movements of some people while restraining others (Rotman and Nassaney 1997). Enclosure was often, but largely unsuccessfully, resisted by tenants who saw their traditional rights of access and to resources eroded (Johnson 1996). Methods of resistance are evident in the late 17th century private enclosure of Castleton commons, where the larger landowners agreed to divide the moorland between themselves, while providing strip-like enclosures for smallholders (Frazer 1999). These enclosures were never built, as smallholders continued to pasture their livestock in accordance with customary rights (ibid). Enclosure movement boundaries are usually distinctively straight, dividing the land into regular blocks, as a result of being laid out by surveyors on a map rather than constructed in relation to local topography. Such boundaries divide much of landscape of the limestone plateau, where huge tracts of common heathland around villages were enclosed by Act of Parliament; but they are rarer in the High Peak moorlands (Barnatt and Smith 1997).

7.4 Mapping the Landscape

Detailed land maps with attached land-use catalogues, known as terriers, allowed landowners to describe, catalogue and quantify the land they owned, how it was used, its value and productive potential. The proliferation in their numbers and inclusion of greater detail from the 18th century onwards is connected to the increasing perception of land as a commodity. The detailed maps of the late 18th and early 19th centuries are estate and tithe plans, drawn up under the instigation of the local landowners. These continued the tradition of Senior and Harrison's early 17th century estate maps, and emphasized prudent estate management and a greater rationality of description (Daniels 1990). They were still highly decorated, though not so ornately as Senior's, and contained more detailed information on land-use and value. Estate maps were both symbols and tools of elite domination over tenant classes through land ownership and property management. Later, in the 19th century, the Ordnance Survey produced maps at 1:2500 scale. The Ordnance Survey was originally motivated by the threat of French invasion along the south coast at the end of the 18th century, though a national survey had been proposed earlier by the Royal Society (Alfrey 1990). Ordnance Survey maps were distinct from

estate plans because they emphasized relief, an indispensable requirement of the military for fortification, manoeuvring troops or deploying artillery. The national survey was contemporary with rising disciplines of archaeology, geology and local history, which were reworking the perceptions of landscape by deepening an awareness of its meaning in revealing its structure and history.

In the Upper Derwent, the following estate maps were commissioned by the respective landowners:

- For Hope Woodlands parish: William Senior's 1627 survey of the Duke of Devonshire's Hope Woodlands estate (Senior 1627), Peter Potter's Hope Woodlands estate plan of 1808 (Potter 1808), the Hope Woodlands tithe plan of 1850 (anon. 1850), Bromley's estate plan of Hope Woodlands of 1858 (Bromley 1858), the Hope Tithe Map of 1848 (anon. 1848) and estate plan of Birley's Charity in Ashop Dale of 1818 (anon. 1818). The charity had been founded in the early 18th century by William Birley to fund a free school for writing and arithmetic, a church minister and provide support to elderly or infirm tradesmen and their widows (Hunter 1869).

- For Derwent township: a plan of Moscar of 1723 (anon. 1723), Fairbank's Hathersage, Outseats and Derwent Enclosure Award sketch book of 1810 (Fairbank 1810) and plan of 1830 (Fairbank 1830), a plan for laying out the grounds of Derwent Hall of 1833 (Major 1833) and the final Enclosure plan of Derwent moors produced in 1830 (anon. 1830)

- For Howden: Harrison's 1637 survey of the manor of Sheffield (Harrison 1637), an estate plan of the Earl of Surrey's estate of Great and Little Howden moors of 1781 (anon. 1781), an estate plan of the Duke of Norfolk's Moor of Howden estimated to post-date 1810 (anon. c.1810) and the Bradfield Enclosure Award plan of 1826 (anon. 1826).

7.5 Buying In: Household Crockery

The changing nature of interactions between the Upper Derwent and the quickly industrialising and urbanising world is clearly seen in the nature of pottery vessels dating from the late 18th and 19th centuries. The wide-scale ownership of pottery was inter-

twined with the other strands of industrial consumer capitalism that characterised the changing landscape of the Upper Derwent in the later 18th and the 19th centuries: agricultural improvement, building of toll roads and exploitation of the woodlands for charcoal.

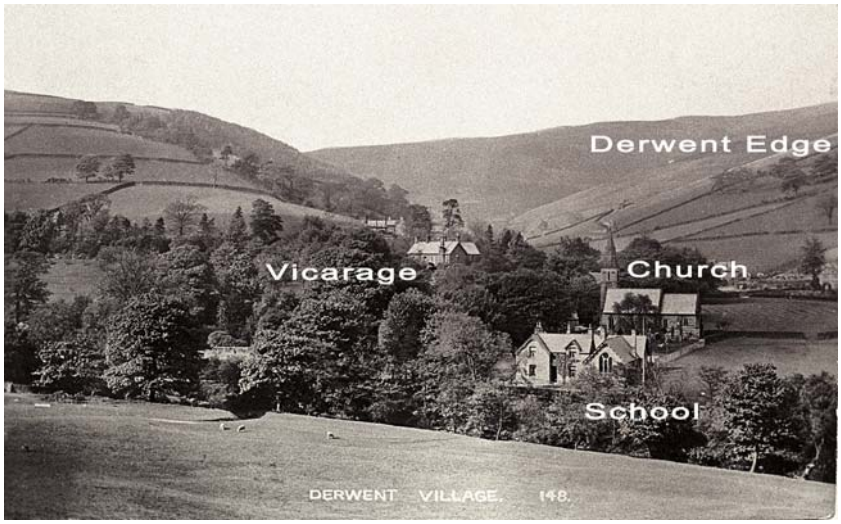
Farmers were buying much greater amounts of crockery from the 18th century onwards, with large increases in numbers of sherds found at farmstead sites located in or near to the reservoir draw-down zone sites during fieldwalking. At four farms: Shireowlers, Tinkershouse, Nether Ashop and Underbank, the numbers of 'modern' sherds are higher than the combined totals of sherds from all previous centuries. Three generic groupings of wares are present in the Upper Derwent: late 18th century cream wares, late 18th to 19th century transfer-printed wares, and 19th to 20th century white-glazed wares that could have been produced anywhere in Britain (Beswick 1996). Patterns of disposal of broken crockery continued as before, with it being put into middens that occupied areas near to farmhouses. A midden, measuring approximately 3m by 0.7m, and containing 48 sherds of 18th and 19th century pottery and glass, was found at Townrowhag during survey of the building and associated features (Appendix 9). It was dumped only 7.5m from the farmhouse and on the far side of a wall separating the farmstead from an adjacent pasture. The distributions of similar material found on the shores of the reservoirs near to farmstead sites extend over much greater areas, some up to 600m^2, which may be the result of manuring or post-reservoir erosion.

Industrialisation resulted in the mass-production of mould-made crockery tablewares available at more affordable prices than before. Cheaper production costs and better transport links opened up its ownership to more people and motivated its greater commercial sale. This greatly widened the markets for crockery by extending the range of households that could afford it so that by the end of the 18th century ceramics totally replaced pewter and wooden tablewares (Johnson 1996). It was more available at market towns and from travelling salesmen who had more incentive to take wares into rural areas than in the 17th century. The explosion of tableware use in the Upper Derwent was part of a trend throughout England, and convenience and price would have been important motivators for its widespread uptake. But in the 18th century, these factors existed in a world where mainly wealthier people could afford crockery, so its wider social distribution should be seen in a context of poorer households emulating richer

ones, the functional role of pottery being augmented by its significance of social aspirations and status. As the 19th century progressed and pottery was well established, emulation no longer became an important factor, rather, ceramic tablewares became perceived as an appropriate and essential element of any household.

7.6 Derwent: From Hamlet to Village

By 1810, the hamlet included the chapel, the corn mill, a workshop, stables, a cow house and four homesteads, including Derwent Hall (Fairbank 1810). An innkeeper was documented in 1803 and presumably, if still in business in 1810, when no inn is recorded, he was based in a house rather than a separate public house (anon. 1803). Fairbank's 1810 sketch survey shows that the buildings were mostly distributed in an irregular pattern alongside the Sheffield to Derwent packhorse route as it paralleled the course of Millbrook, the only exception to this being a formal terrace row located in the centre. With the building of the Sheffield to Manchester turnpike road in the 1820s and Parliamentary Enclosure of Derwent moorland commons in 1830, the approach to Derwent village was radically realigned. Rather than dropping down into the hamlet from the valley side, anyone coming to Derwent hamlet in the early 19th century would approach from the south, along the walled lane that ran along the valley side. All that could be seen of the hamlet in the distance, amongst the surrounding woodland, would be the chapel bell tower and roofs of the higher buildings, as well as the smoke from chimneys.



Photograph 7.1. 1920s postcard of Derwent Village, looking east

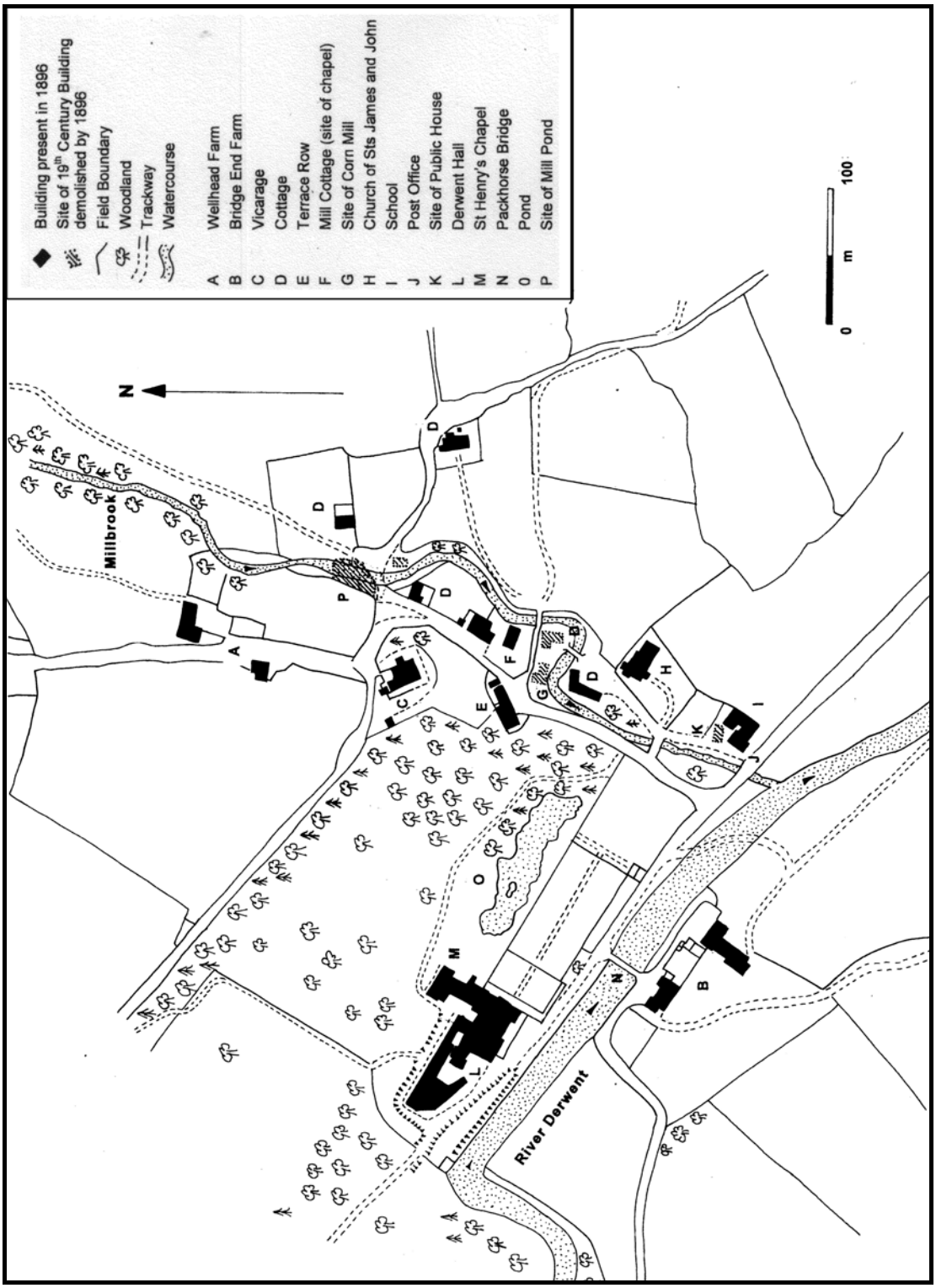


Illustration 7.1. Derwent hamlet in 1896

We can chart the growth of the hamlet through the 19th century to its flooding under Ladybower in the mid-20th century from a series of maps beginning with Fairbank's 1810 survey and ending with the Ordnance Survey of 1922 (anon. 1846; Fairbank 1810, 1830; Major 1833; Ordnance Survey 1840, 1880, 1896, 1922. Illustration 7.1). In 1846, an inn

was recorded again, on the northern side of Derwent River, but by 1880 it had been replaced with a school and a post office (anon. 1846; Ordnance Survey 1880). Two new houses were built to the north-east of the hamlet, one between 1810 and 1880 and the other between 1896 and 1922 (Fairbank 1810; Ordnance Survey 1880, 1896, 1922). The post office relocated to the house at the north-eastern end of the terrace by 1896 (Ordnance Survey 1896). The post office and school were new public services that redefined the role that the hamlet had held since the medieval period as a social centre for the surrounding area. An important building, which had been one of the impetus behind the hamlet's medieval development, became less relevant during the 19th century. The corn mill had been repaired and fitted with a new wheel circa 1761, then was inherited by George Newdigate of Derwent Hall in 1859 (anon. 1859). It had again fallen into disrepair and lost its water wheel by the 1860s, then was demolished and its pond filled in by 1880 (anon. 1863; Ordnance Survey 1880). Presumably this indicates the decreasing amount of arable grown in the valleys in the 19th century. There were also at least three farms, at Derwent Hall, Wellhead and Bridge End, the latter situated across the River Derwent.

Photograph 7.2. Centre of Derwent Village in the early 20th century. The row of houses is the centrally located terrace with the right-hand building being the post office. The two detached buildings to the right are cottages and the 'main' street is on the line of the medieval Derwent to Sheffield packhorse route

As the fortunes of the mill declined, those of the chapel were transformed. The medieval chapel had been rebuilt on the same location in 1757, and dedicated to St James (Byford 1981). The 18th century chapel was said to have been an 'ugly building' with a square bell

tower containing one bell and a round-headed window below the bell tower at the west end (Hallam 1989). In 1867 this chapel was itself replaced with a church dedicated to Sts John and James (Cox 1877). The church was built on a new site east of Millbrook in Victorian Gothic style, and a tower with a spire was added in 1873. The 17th century font and some masonry from the 18th century chapel, some of which dated to the 14th century, were incorporated in the new building. Hope Woodlands and Derwent townships were separated from Hope and Hathersage respectively to become the joint parish of Derwent Woodlands in 1871 (Cox 1877). An imposing vicarage was built a little distance away on an area of ground to the west of Millbrook, which was elevated slightly above the remainder of the village. With the vicarage on the west and the church on the east side of Millbrook, the vicar could metaphorically baptise himself every day by passing over water to church. With the construction of the church, also came the right to bury the dead in Derwent. This ended the traditional trek with the dead to churches in Hathersage and Hope, while embedding the 'final resting place' of recently deceased family, and performance of associated funeral rites, into the township. Another dimension was created to the 'social tenure' inhabitants had with the local landscape, based on notions of family bonds carried-forward over generations. The church, graveyard and creation of the joint parish ended the last links of the area with medieval landholding patterns, gave a form of communal expression to the townships, and turned the hamlet into a village that was a focus for that expression.

Photograph 7.3. Church of Sts James and John, Derwent Village, in the early 20th century. PDNPA Collection

Derwent Hall continued to be the largest building in the hamlet, and was acquired by the Newdigate family sometime between 1830 and 1852 (Fairbank 1830; anon. 1852.

Illustration 7.1). After being referred to solely as a farmstead since 1767, the Newdigates re-constituted its grand past in Victorian style by enlarging it twice, adding St Henry's Roman Catholic chapel and redesigning the gardens (Major 1833). The mullioned windows of the 17th century Hall were copied in the mid-19th century extension. The garden was extended by purchasing adjacent land, comprising two acres and known as Mill Flatt, for a 'pleasure ground and garden' in 1852 (anon. 1852). Three different spaces were created within the walled garden, and these changed in appearance from formal to naturalistic, moving from west to east – from the Hall to the garden entrance. To the north of the garden, a pond provided a focus for a wilder, if romanticised, space. The walled garden was on a scale of privacy and design much grander than any other house in the Upper Derwent. This, in combination with the architectural splendour of the Hall, signified to the inhabitants, guests and those outside, the social pretensions of the owners. The then Duke of Norfolk acquired the Hall in 1886, possibly by inheritance from Newdigate (Craven and Stanley 1982), and installed his younger son, who later became Viscount FitzAlan of Derwent. The Duke had acquired various properties in Derwent between the mid and late 19th century to create a consolidated estate comprising the Hall, seven farms, three cottages and numerous other parcels of land neighbouring the Howden estate in Bradfield, which the family had bought in the 1780s (Elliot 1781). This consolidated estate became the Duke's shooting retreat (see section 7.9.3).

Photograph 7.4. Derwent Hall in the early 20th century. PDNPA Collection

In acquiring Derwent township and Howden, Norfolk became an influential landowner, and radically altered the landscape of the village and surrounding moorlands. He built St Henry's Schoolroom and the Shooting Lodge in 1877 (Smith 1986; Ordnance Survey

1880. Photograph 7.5). Both are built in the architectural style common to all new buildings on the Duke of Norfolk's estate, with coursed gritstone blocks and stone-coped gables containing moulded kneelers. It was adorned with a Tudor-arched doorway, mullioned windows, a round-arched niche containing a statue of the Virgin Mary and a cupola bell-cote. These are the only buildings of the village to have survived the flooding of the valley behind Ladybower Dam.

Photograph 7.5. The Shooting Lodge and St Henry's Schoolroom, Derwent

7.7 Farmsteads: Designer Patterns

There are numerous surviving estate documents from the 18th and 19th centuries that show how landowners were exerting greater influence on the pattern of farmsteads and farming through their estates. These include surveys, letting books, rent apportionments and receipts. These are much greater in number than for the previous centuries. For example, in the Archives of Chatsworth House, centre for the Devonshire's Peak District estates, there are 13 bundles of estate documents covering the period from 1718 to 1854 and only three from 1627 to 1718. While this may be the result of better survival of later material, it is more likely evidence for a greater level of estate involvement. The expression of this involvement in the farmed landscape can be seen in the subdivision of existing landholdings, with new farmsteads planted in the landscape, the rebuilding of farm buildings with layouts reflecting new ideas about farming and adorned with standard estate-style architectural adornments, and the extension of improved farmland at the expense of scrub, rough grasses and small wetlands. Each of these issues will be dealt with in turn.

7.7.1 New Farmsteads

Five completely new farmsteads were created out of existing landholdings from the mid-18th century onwards. These appear regularly: Hayridge farmstead was created out of part of Upper Ashop Farm between 1754 and 1808, Riding House circa 1773, Gillott Hey circa 1810, Wood End in the 1840s and Wood's Farm sometime between 1840 and 1880 (anon. 1754; anon. 1847; Cameron 1959; Potter 1808; Ordnance Survey 1840, 1880; Mike Lea pers comm). The building of Gillott Hey Farm allowed Alport Farm to be divided between two members of the same family, while Wood End Farm was created by the landowners, the Trustees of Birley's Charity, because it was perceived that it would allow the lands to be more efficiently and productively managed on the basis of what was considered an ideal farm size (anon. 1818). Wood's Farm was built to farm land at the confluence of the River Derwent and Ladybower Brook, including land newly enclosed under the Bamford Enclosure Act (see section 7.9.2). Riding House was built about 1773 and farmed land taken from nearby Tinker's House (Cameron 1959). Another three farmsteads – Bellhag, Blackden View, and Hagg II – replaced older farm buildings on new sites between the 1850s and 1860s, without the associated landholdings being altered. Bellhag was built on the lower valley side of the Woodlands Valley, next to the 1821 Sheffield to Glossop turnpike (see section 7.11.1.2), to replace Townrowhag, which was 300m further upslope on the line of a packhorse route. Cottages were built at Abbey Grange between 1810 and 1840 (Fairbank 1810; Ordnance Survey 1840) and at Lee End between 1818 and 1840 (anon. 1818; Ordnance Survey 1840). Cottages did not have any agricultural land with them, so the occupants earned their livings by other professions, some might have been farm labourers, while, in 1851, Lee End was occupied by a wheelwright (anon. 1851).

7.7.2 Farm Buildings: a 'Great Rebuilding'

As well as new farmsteads, the majority of buildings at the existing farmsteads were heavily modified or totally rebuilt during the 19th century. This included the alteration to or the rebuilding of existing buildings, and the complete in situ replacement of others. For example, at Grainfoot Farm the house was rebuilt and enlarged and a new range of outbuildings attached to the then existing barn between 1840 and 1880 (Ordnance Survey 1840, 1880). Whether the degree of alteration to farm buildings seen on 19th century maps is unusual compared to earlier centuries is unknown. The current

farmhouse at Rowlee was built in 1849 to replace two buildings (Mike Lea pers comm). The new house was a large, two-storey, double-pile dwelling with a decorated gable to the front bearing a carved stone shield inscribed 1849 (Photograph 7.6). The farmyard was completed with two large barns constructed during the mid-19th century, replacing existing barns, while a further two smaller barns were built about the same time or soon after. Other farmsteads known to have been rebuilt in the mid-19th century are Two Thorn Fields (1868), Hayridge (1820 with mid-19th century additions), Crookhill (1850s), Alport and Alport Castles (mid-19th century) and Ashes (mid to late 19th century).

Photograph 7.6. Rowlee farmhouse, built in 1849

7.7.2.1 Rationality of Layout

The alteration to existing buildings and construction of new buildings at this time shows on one level the economic viability of the farms, and on another the ideals of how farms should be organised with the need for efficient farming practices. Many farm buildings throughout England were rebuilt during the late 18th and 19th centuries along a model aimed at increasing farm efficiency as a part of the general movement for agricultural improvement (Newman 2001). In the Upper Derwent, this can be most seen in new farmsteads and in altered barns, which were often laid out along lines of rationalised working practices rather than traditional vernacular styles.

Photograph 7.7. Low Barn, Hope Woodlands

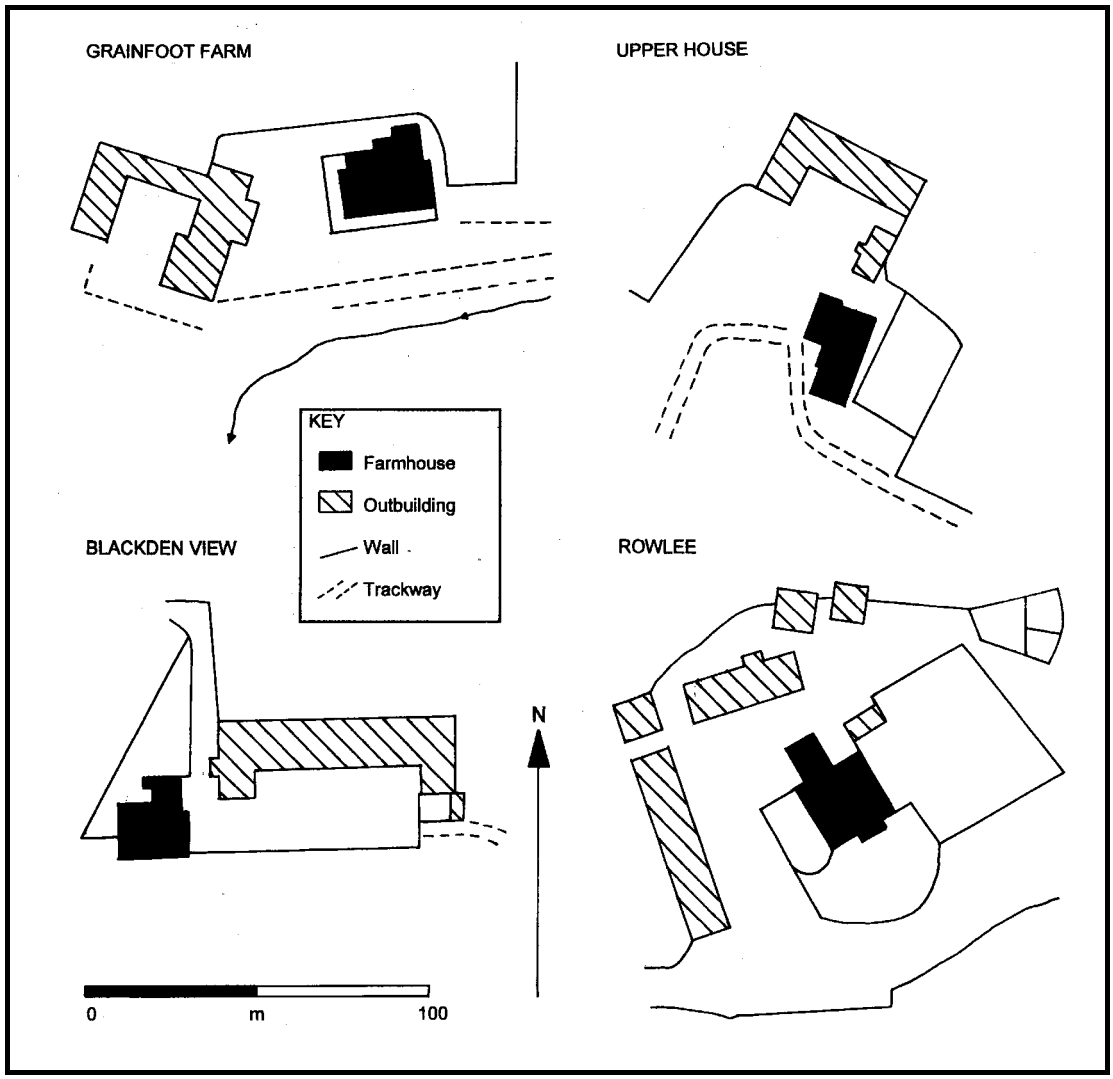


Illustration 7.2. Rational layouts of late 18th and 19th century farm buildings in the Upper Derwent

The new buildings tended to comprise larger barns with wide doors to enable carts to be driven right inside. For example, compare the small size of the three barns at Grindle Clough with the much larger Low Barn, built as a cohesive unit comprising three ranges situated around a courtyard (Photograph 7.7, compare with Photograph 6.3). Ranges of barns were built attached to each other, often with the farmhouse separated, and formally arranged to surround two or three sides of a square courtyard. Earlier farm buildings were more irregularly arranged with buildings oriented on differing alignments (Illustration 7.2). Blackden View Farm is a good example of one of the new 19th century farmsteads. It was built in 1854 on a new site approximately 400m to the west of Wood Farm, the farmstead it was to replace (Bromley 1858. Photograph 7.8). The two-storey, L-shaped farmhouse is detached and lies to the west of the outbuildings, which were built as a single integrated unit. The unit comprises three ranges oriented at right angles to each other around a courtyard. The outbuildings along the northern side of the courtyard create a long one-story range of cow houses and looseboxes with a cart-shed at the western end. At the east and west ends of this range are two-storey barns. All of the buildings are aligned upon each other to create a regular layout to the farmstead.

Photograph 7.8. Blackden View Farm, Hope Woodlands

Bellhag, built in the 1860s (Mike Lea pers comm.), comprised a rectangular U-shaped arrangement of ranges around a level courtyard, a central west-facing barn was flanked by the house to the south and another barn to the north. The barns were much bigger than at the Townrowhag farmstead that Bellhag replaced with access for wheeled vehicles

provided by a wide cart door. Townrowhag, later renamed Bellhag Barn, consisted of semi-detached houses with access to field barns, but no barn at the farmstead itself (anon. 1851).

7.7.2.2 Estate Styles

Photograph 7.9. Estate style barn architecture dating from the 19th century at Blackden View, Hope Woodlands

During this 19th century rebuilding work, many of the farm buildings were embellished with architectural adornments in an estate style (Photograph 7.9). In the Devonshires' Hope Woodlands township, houses and barns, built or rebuilt during the mid to late 19th century, incorporated one or more circular first-storey barn windows (known as pitching eyes), flat kneelers and round gable finials. These do not contribute to the agricultural functioning of the buildings, but present a cohesive estate style with a degree of ornament. These include houses and barns at Blackden View, Hayridge, Rowlee, Two Thorn Fields, Crookhill, Alport and Alport Castles farmhouses, and barns at Upper House, Low Barn and Bellhag. The front facades of the farmhouses at Blackden View, Hayridge and Rowlee are all formally and symmetrically proportioned following conventional pattern-book plans of the period (Hawkins 1991). Each new or rebuilt farmhouse also had a small front garden included. Similar architectural ornamentation is found on buildings in the Duke of Norfolk's Derwent estate such as Ashes farmhouse, Old House farmhouse, the Lodge, the Shooting Lodge and St Henry's Schoolroom. Ashes Farm comprises a mid-19th century formal front wing, which was attached to an

existing 17th or early 18th century house, the latter becoming the rear service wing (Lott 1997a). The Shooting Lodge was built in slightly more grander style than the Duke of Norfolk's farmhouses nearby (Photograph 7.5). Externally it was designed in Victorian mock Tudor style, while its interior was decorated in simple Arts and Crafts style wood panelling and wallpaper (Lott 1997b). The internal layout of the farmhouses comprised similarly sized, square-shaped rooms arranged in an ordered pattern (Hawkins 1990; Hawkins 1991; Lott 1997a).

Tenants of the Devonshires were responsible for building work as a condition of their leases. According to Potter's terrier of 1808, tenants were obliged to pay the costs for repairs and new buildings themselves (Potter 1808). Sometimes financial help was given on recommendation of the estate agent, as documented in a late 18th century survey of the condition of dwelling houses, which recommended that half the cost of building repairs at two farmsteads and the full cost of enlarging a house for a new tenant should be met by the Duke (anon. 1773). It appears that most buildings were repaired and new ones built as necessary, rather than the estate organising a structured campaign of building work. The conformity of the estate style suggests that rebuilding work in Hope Woodlands was built to estate specifications, and possibly with estate organised-labour, but that the tenants financed, at least in part, the addition of the architectural embellishments of no agricultural value. In the 20th century, and possibly earlier, all doors and woodwork on Chatsworth estate buildings throughout the Peak District were painted in a standard blue paint, which enabled the Duke's agents to identify property from a distance and created another element of uniformity. This was also a colour-coded mnemonic, which reminded the household members of their landlord and their position as tenants every time they went through a door, especially on returning home, when they had to approach the blue door from the yard and touch the estate colour to gain entry.

Embellishments are not part of the vernacular tradition of the region, nor do they contribute to the agricultural functioning of the buildings. Instead, they are designed with a number of inter-linked ideals in mind, they demonstrate beliefs about how buildings should contribute to the look of the rural landscape, exhibit a pride in ownership on behalf of the landowning families, and they remind farmers of their place as tenants of the landlord through their day-to-day living and working with the buildings. The orderly interiors were the imposition of planned rational and functional ordering of domestic

space for accommodating families occupied in farming. Estate farmhouses were another expression of landowners' authority over place, as were the estate maps, though the symbolism in the buildings was much more locally apparent and immediately experienced by tenants.

7.8 Farming

7.8.1 Improvement

Landowners did not restrict their improving ideals to farm buildings but looked to how both the farmland and the commons could be made more efficient. This desire began during the later 18th century and, as with the buildings, it was the tenants who were expected and encouraged to carry out this improvement. Improvement was possible through turning-over and burning turfs to break up the dense moorland vegetation, bringing in soil from elsewhere, applying manure and lime and digging drains (Williamson 2002). Lime had become an important aspect of agriculture in the later 17th century and was readily at hand on the limestone plateau. Lime kilns are found across the plateau and groups of large industrial-scale kilns were located near to the developing turnpike and rail networks of the late 18th and 19th centuries (Barnatt and Smith 1997). By the 18th century, prescriptions on land improvement developed into what were thought to be progressive and systematic methods, and experimentation was common (Williamson 2002).

The desire of landowners for tenants to improve their land is shown by the Duke of Devonshire's leases for farms in Hope Woodlands, issued in 1770 (anon. 1770). Tenants were required within the 21-year term of the leases to:

> "improve such a Proportion of the Heath and Benty Lands within his Farm (except sheep pastures)...by laying on each and every Acre thereof Forty Horseloads of good and well burnt Lime, and before laying on the same paring and burning so much of the Turf as shall be found necessary..."
>
> "sough or otherwise drain all the boggy or wet Lands in the farm..."
>
> "stub all the woody Lands [*scrubland*] that are in their own farm..."

Landowners could take land out of tenancies and place it under direct estate management if they thought more profit could be made on a piece of land from wood production than agriculture. Devonshire's agent wrote such a clause into the leases issued in 1770, while nearly 50 years later the Trustees of Birley's Charity, who held land to fund a Free School for writing and arithmetic, a church minister and retired tradesmen or their widows in Sheffield, identified which land on their estate could more profitably be planted with trees (anon. 1818).

An account of farms in the Duke of Devonshire's Woodlands estate in 1774 provides the number of stock held by each tenant and the comment that '2 acres of pasture or common is supposed to be enough for a sheep' (anon. 1774). Such documents demonstrate how landowners, such as the Devonshires, were increasingly seeing their land as a quantifiable commodity with a value directly related to agricultural profit.

7.8.2 Fields/Enclosure

Where not already in existence in the early 17th century, enclosure of farmland was almost complete by the early 19th century (Fairbank 1810; Harrison 1637; Potter 1808; Senior 1627. Illustration 7.3). We do not have an early 17th century estate map of Derwent township to compare how much of its enclosure pattern was created by that century. A survey of Derwent prior to Parliamentary Enclosure, the earliest available detailed map of the whole of the township, highlights those fields recently enclosed according to the witness of tenants (Fairbank 1810). A small number of new fields are identified as being enclosed over the previous 60 years. These are all intakes high up on the valley side and added to the existing limits of enclosure. While the reliability of the witnesses' evidence is questionable as an exact record of 18th century intaking, because of reliance on memory and the possibility that they would provide information that benefited themselves, this and the similarity in field morphology across the whole of the Upper Derwent suggests that enclosure may have been largely complete by the early 17th century. However, this cannot be taken as given and would be related to different landownership histories from the medieval period onwards. Land within the Royal Forest may have had a different enclosure history to that outside, and the Welbeck Abbey estate may have provided some cohesion across Hope Woodlands.

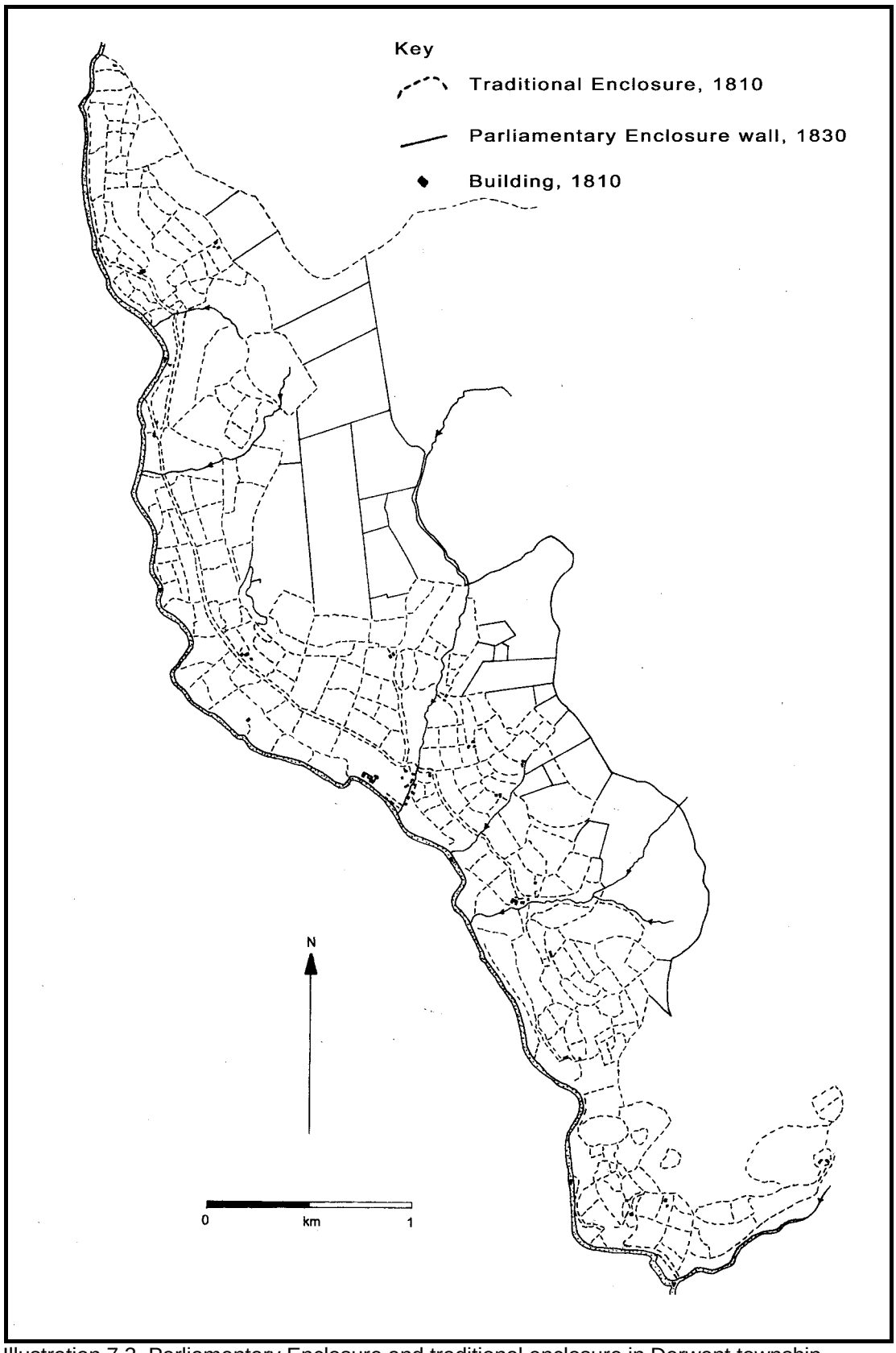


Illustration 7.3. Parliamentary Enclosure and traditional enclosure in Derwent township

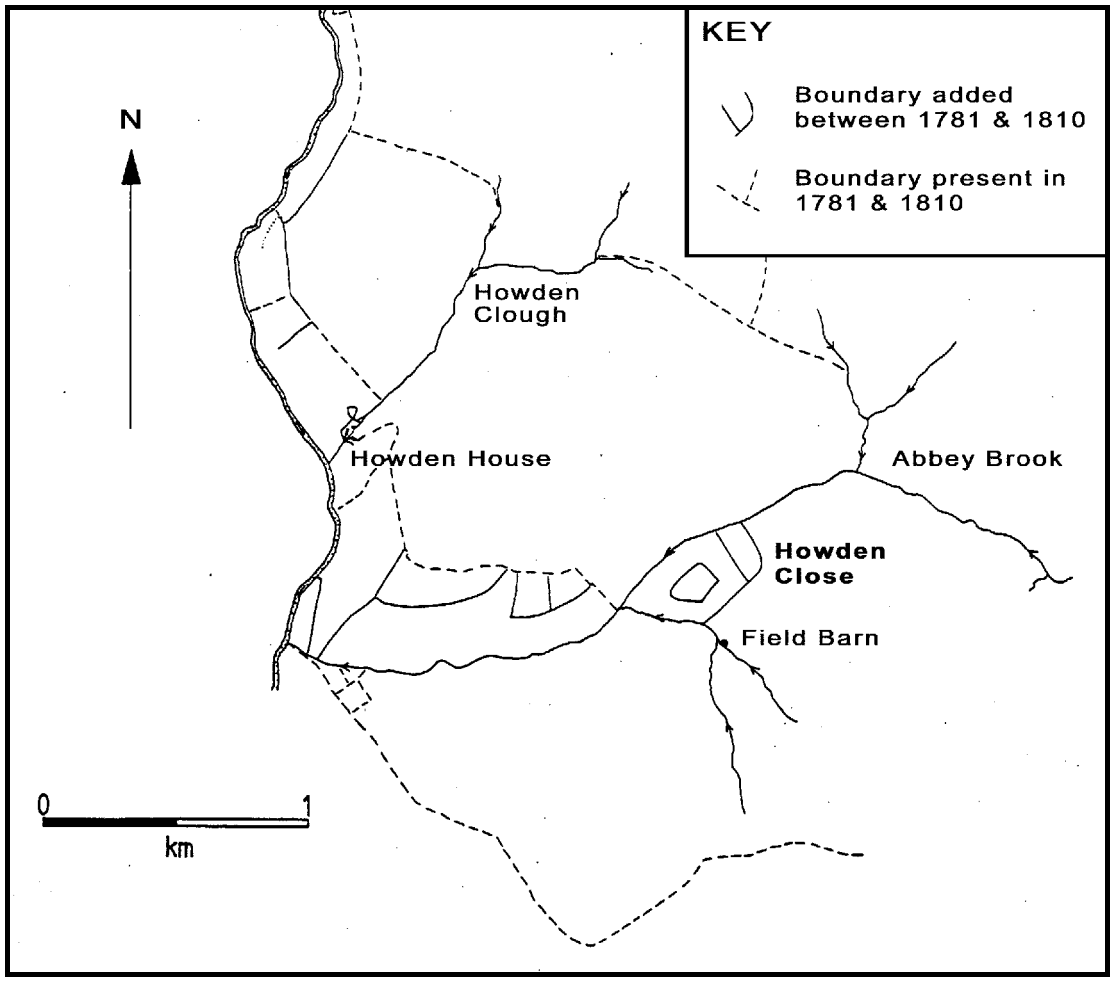


Illustration 7.4. Howden Close, Bradfield township, created between 1781 and c.1810

A relatively short-lived attempt at enclosure within the common is identifiable at a small group of intakes and a field barn situated on the southern side of Abbey Brook, Bradfield parish (Illustration 7.4). They were created between 1781 and circa 1810, presumably by the tenant of Howden House, and known as Howden Close (Elliot 1781; anon. c.1810). They were abandoned during the early 20th century. It is unlikely that the group was ever used for arable production, and it was probably created to improve pasture and aid in stock handling.

7.8.3 Agricultural Land-Use

The domination of livestock over crops in the later 18th and 19th century is highlighted in a number of farm surveys. In 1772 there were a total of 7,576 sheep in Hope Woodlands, with figures ranging from 136 at Grimbocar and Townrowhag, to 656 at Alport Farm and 872 at Two Thorn Fields (anon. 1772). Some of the numbers compare with sheep listed in

probate inventories in the late 17th century (see section 6.4.2.1), but at some farms sheep numbers differed significantly. While numbers of sheep at Rowlee dropped from 700 in 1686 to 432 in 1772, at Crookhill figures jumped from 259 head in 1697 to 528 in 1772, and at Ronksley they had steadily climbed from 218 in 1686 to 384 in 1697 and 464 in 1772 (anon. 1686; anon. 1697; anon. 1772). It was calculated that £142 could be made from the sale of sheep, cattle and wool on a farm in Hope Woodlands that had an annual income of £165 (anon. 1769a). This document indicates two important issues: that significant profits that could be made relative to running costs from an upland hill farm participating in the market supply economy, and that the estate closely managed and monitored its farms to increase income.

The 1847 tithe survey of Hope Woodlands parish lists 3688 acres of enclosed titheable agricultural land, of which 3,523 acres were pasture or meadow, 165 acres were arable, and another 16,000 acres were described as 'uncultivateable moor' (anon. 1847). Similar proportions of pasture/meadow are mapped by Fairbank for Derwent in 1810, but total acreages are not quantified. Arable production had become a tiny element in the agricultural landscape of the Upper Derwent. This is highlighted by the loss of Derwent hamlet's corn mill by the 1860s (anon. 1863). The Upper Derwent became typical of many Pennine areas near to the new and growing northern industrial cities where farmers shifted into forms of agriculture better suited to supplying the urban centres – dairy, sheep and hay (Williamson 2002). In the course of this agricultural revolution, the area conformed with the developing pattern of farming in Britain, which became simplified along climatic lines – arable in the south and east, grazing in the north and west (ibid; Fox 1932).

7.9 Commons: Changes and Endings

The commons either side of the River Derwent had slightly different histories during the 19th century, because of different histories of manorial control and land-use. Both areas were subject to the landowners' desires to improve agricultural productivity. To many landowners, the low quality of the land was not necessarily the problem, but rather the management of them under traditional rights (Newman 2001). Like most common land in Britain, the moorland commons in Howden, Derwent and Bamford were enclosed under Parliamentary Acts, so extinguishing common rights and apportioning land to private owners. There was no Enclosure Act for Hope Woodlands, where the moorland had been clearly identified with individual farmsteads since at least the early 17th century.

7.9.1 Hays and Outpastures in Hope Woodlands

The system of dividing the moorland common into hays and outpastures, with each farm having access to a tightly defined area, continued to structure common use in Hope Woodlands (Illustration 6.1). Eighteenth-century farm leases show close attention was paid by the landowner to regulating moorland use, and the increasing differentiation between hays and outpastures.

In the late 18th century, the Hope Woodlands farm leases allowed each tenant to improve the hays with lime and cut peat within them, activities prohibited on the outpastures (anon. 1770). The position of the hays in the landscape and their history of land-use would have been influential in this different way of perceiving them to the rest of the moorland. They were located between the outpastures and enclosed, improved, inbye, and they had a history associated with a greater range of tenants' rights than allowed on the outpastures. By being subject to improvement, they were more associated with the inbye than the moorland common.

The numbers of sheep allowed to be pastured on the outpastures were regulated in the farm leases by the late 18th century. Leases stipulated in detail the pasture rights, and records were kept of number of sheep allowed on the commons for each farm (anon. 1770, 1772). The highly defined structure of moorland use and the active manorial estate involvement in Hope Woodlands shows that, in effect, the moorlands were already being used according to the principles promoted by advocates of Enclosure. The nature of the landlord–tenant relationship allowed for the landowner to stipulate how land should be worked, both on the moorland and in fields, and to apply improving ideas through tenancy agreements. With the Devonshires perceiving that rational working practices were being employed, there was no need to disrupt the manorial system by seeking Parliamentary Enclosure.

7.9.2 Parliamentary Enclosure in Derwent, Howden and Bamford

East of the River Derwent, Parliamentary Enclosure did impinge on the landscape. Derwent and Little Howden Moors were enclosed in Derwent parish as a result of the Hathersage, Outseats and Derwent Enclosure Act of 1808 (anon. 1808), Howden Moors by the Bradfield Enclosure Act of 1811 (anon. 1826) and Bamford Moor by the Bamford

Common Enclosure Act of 1855 (anon. 1855). While all three allowed for the privatisation of the commons, only the Derwent and Bamford Acts led to the construction of walled boundaries.

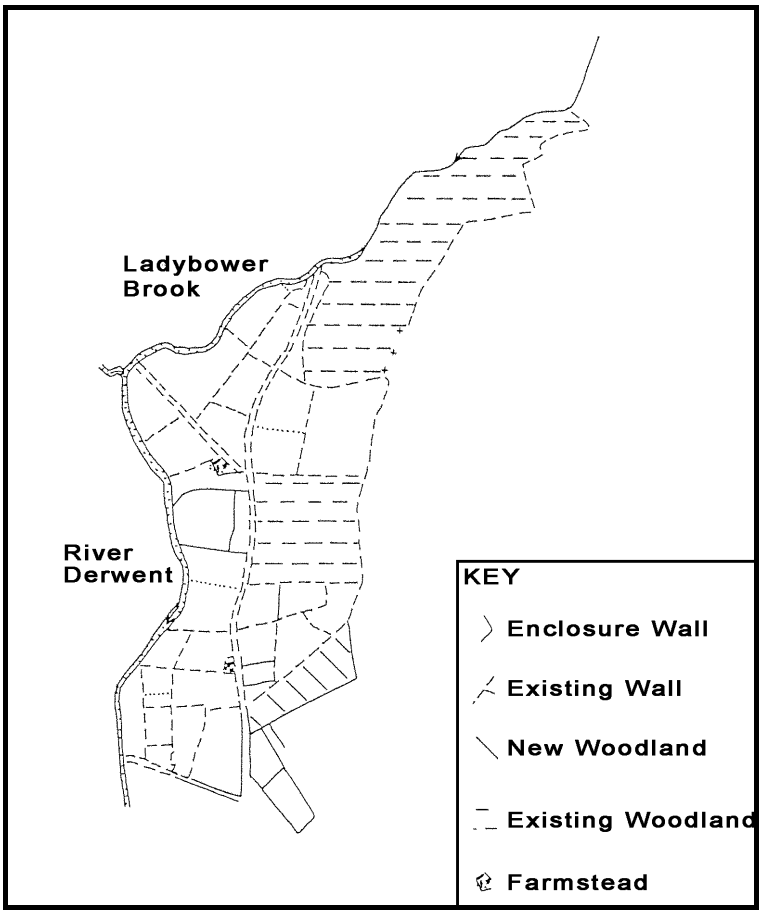


Illustration 7.5. Boundary changes 1842-1880, Bamford

The Bamford Enclosure Act was responsible for only a small number of new valley-side fields, used for pasture and woodland, and tacked onto existing enclosure on the east side of the Derwent Valley below Bamford Edge (Illustration 7.5). The biggest impact of Enclosure in Bamford township, in terms of wall building, was to the south of the study area.

The Act of Enclosure for Hathersage, Outseats and Derwent lists 19 different landowners in Derwent township, most of which were described as copyholders, except Thomas Furniss, who was a freeholder owning Riding House and other land parcels, and the Duke of Devonshire. All but five of these owners rented out their properties to tenants. A survey of Derwent was made in 1810, which produced a plan of existing enclosures and open commons, listing tenants and description of individual fields

(Fairbank 1810). As well as open common, land that had been enclosed since 1778 was liable to Enclosure and to be allotted to a farm of the landowner's choice, though in the end the Act simply confirmed existing ownership of those fields. This information then went into the Enclosure Award produced in 1830, which finally defined and legally ratified enclosure so allowing it to take place (Fairbank 1830).

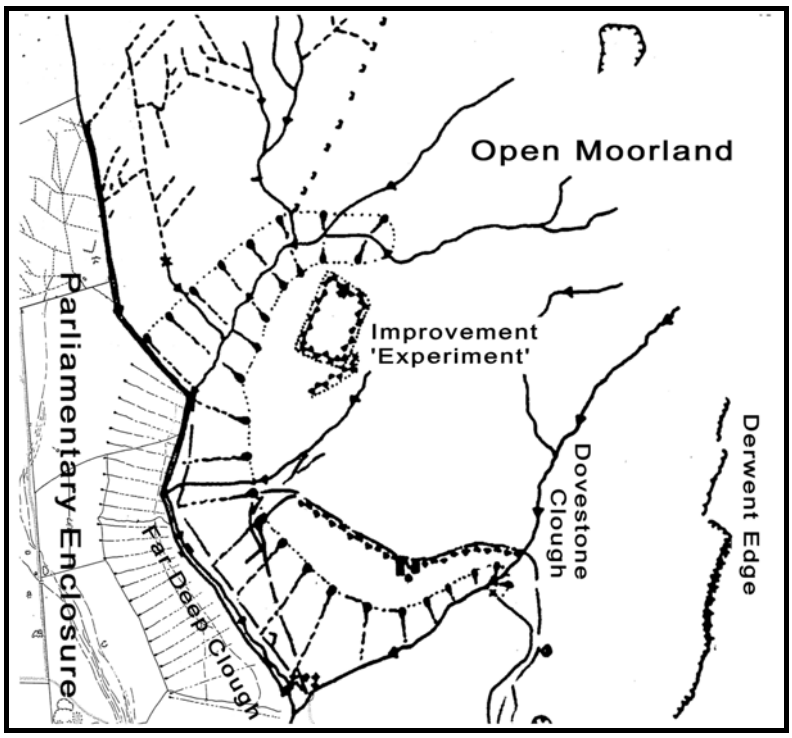


Illustration 7.6. Moorland improvement experiment on John Field Howden, Derwent

Those boundaries created by Act of Enclosure consist of the ruler-straight walls defining a block of moorland immediately above the valley side and the more irregular wall below Derwent Edge (Illustration 7.3). The main motivation behind their construction was to create more land for improvement. Walling stone was quarried from a large quarry located in the south of the new enclosures. This centralisation of stone-getting contrasts with the small, wall-builder's delves located intermittently along the lines of earlier walls (see section 6.4.1). Wide roads built to standard specifications improved access to the newly enclosed moorland. Today, only the lower slopes within these enclosures are observably more improved than the open moorland outside. A clue to why is a unique example of an experiment in moorland common improvement. This is a heap of lime, now grassed-over, dumped within a rectangular bank and ditch enclosure on otherwise open moorland at 390m A.O.D on John Field Howden (Illustration 7.6). It is beyond the Parliamentary Enclosure walls but on land still allotted to a private owner by the Award.

Little would grow at this exposed position and altitude, though improved pasture may have been thought viable. The enclosure is first mapped by the Ordnance Survey of 1880, but is likely to be earlier than this date. It appears to be an exploratory attempt to 'rationally' test the improvability of the ground, associated with the Parliamentary Enclosure Act.

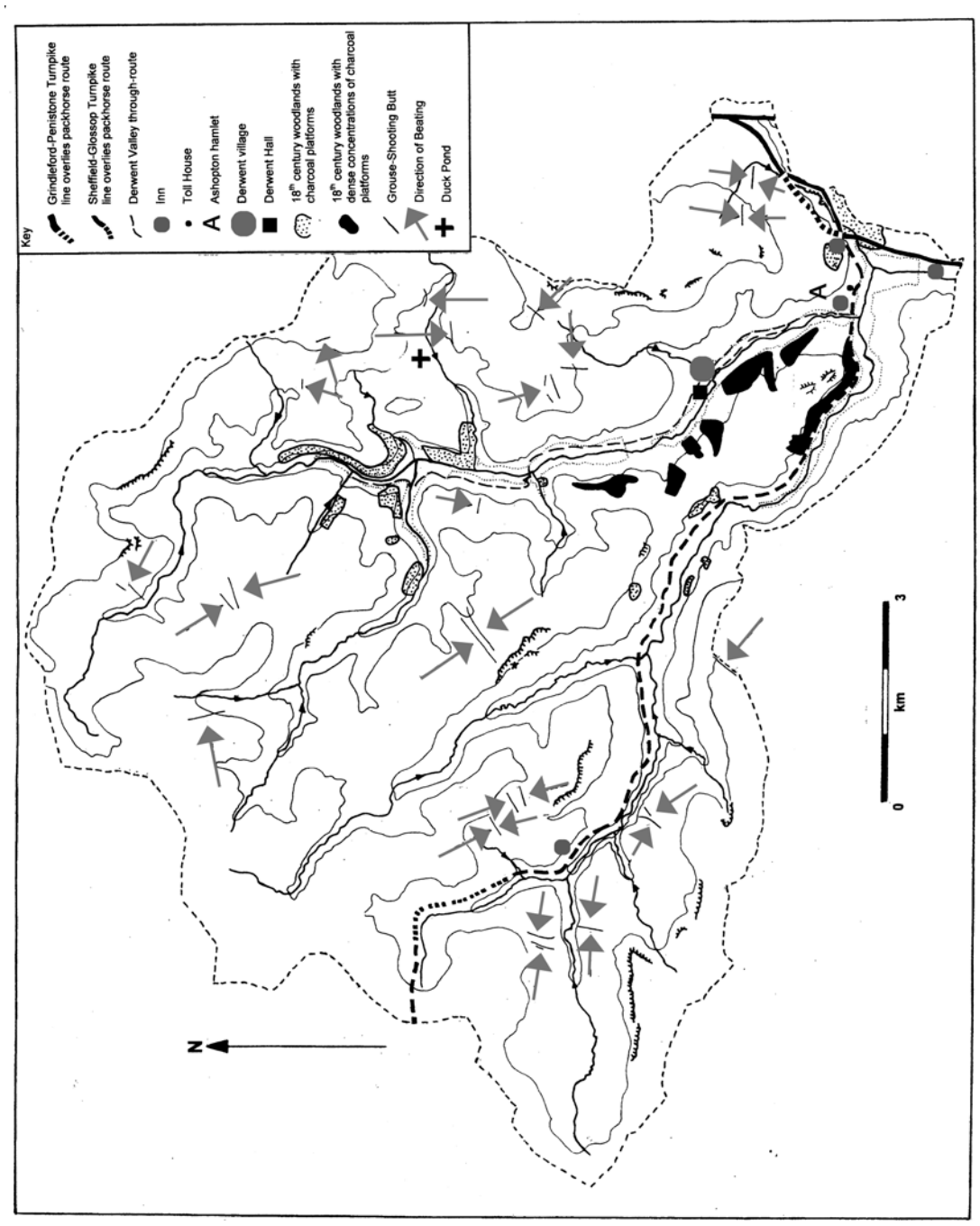


Illustration 7.7. Features of improvement and commerce in the Upper Derwent: woodlands containing charcoal-burning platforms, grouse butts and direction of beating, turnpikes, inns and Ashopton hamlet

7.9.3 Grouse Shooting

Grouse-shooting had grown in popularity across Britain during the 18th century, as the landed classes became increasingly enthusiastic for wild, upland scenery (Williamson 2002). The consumption and hunting of game was one of the main ways in which the elite defined themselves in the 18th and 19th centuries (Newman 2001). Better transport, first provided by turnpikes and then by railways, improved gun technology and a repeal of game laws in

1831 increased its popularity further in the mid-19th century by widening the geographic distances people could comfortably travel to the moorlands and broadening the social classes who could participate to the include the wealthier middle classes of the northern industrial areas (Muir 2001). Grouse shooting became perceived as an important act of manly identity and codes of conduct enshrined the ideal of the noble sportsman (ibid). During the 19th century, grouse shooting came to be seen by many landowners in Derbyshire as a more important and profitable use of the moors than livestock pasturing, and was one of the motivations behind many Parliamentary Enclosure Acts (Ward 1931).

Enclosure for grouse shooting was most blatantly undertaken in the Upper Derwent by the Duke of Norfolk, who had owned Howden since the 1780s. In Howden, the Bradfield Enclosure Act was solely used to revoke the rights of the tenants at Howden House to the common and to turn the estate over to shooting (anon. 1826). The tenant farmer was evicted and replaced with a gamekeeper (Byford 1981). Grazing across most of Bradfield's enclosed moors decreased during the remainder of the 19th century (Ward 1925). Over the following years, the Duke added to Howden by buying properties in Derwent to create a remote and 'wild' shooting retreat for himself, family and friends centred on the Hall. As well as grouse butts, he erected shooting cabins, a domestic building called the 'Shooting Lodge' and even a small duck pond with artificial nesting islands on moorland at 360m O.D. (Illustration 7.7).

All the other moorlands were used for grouse shooting by their respective landowners, though elsewhere it was practised alongside sheep grazing. A gamekeeper's house was built near to Moscar House between 1880 and 1922 for one shooting estate on Derwent Moor that belonged to Moscar Hall (Ordnance Survey 1880, 1922). Grouse were shot and the moorland actively managed for game in Hope Woodlands from at least the late

18th century. An estate letter written in 1779 outlines the gamekeeper's instructions to maintain heather cover for nesting grouse, and refers to the pasture at Two Thorn Field as being so burnt that it removed cover (anon. 1779). The letter implies that burning was by the tenant to improve grazing and was thought to be disadvantageous to grouse shooting, at least if too extensive. The terrier attached to the Hope Woodlands estate plan of 1858 refers to burning heather to improve it for livestock and grouse, including complaints by a number of tenants that some heath had not been burnt (Bromley 1858). Gamekeepers' accommodation was provided by the Duke of Devonshire at Lockerbrook Farm during the mid-19th century and in a purpose-built house at Birchinlee in the early 20th century (Robinson 1993).

Shooting butts and cabins are found across all the moorlands in Hope Woodlands, Derwent and Howden, showing that the respective landowners extensively used their estates for the pursuit of leisure hunting (Illustration 7.7). Beating of grouse over prepared positions was introduced during the mid-19th century leading to the construction of lines of grouse-shooting butts (Byford 1981). This may have been related to the building of Parliamentary Enclosure walls across moorlands, which blocked traditional stalking walks and provided shooting lines into which butts were often built (Williamson 2002). On Little Howden Moor there is a line of them built into an earthen bank forming the outermost boundary of the block of enclosures, built as a result of the 1808 Derwent Enclosure Act. No wall was built at this location, suggesting that shooting was seen as one of the uses of the moorland at the time Enclosure was physically undertaken. Elsewhere, lines of butts were used across open moorlands, so this method became the appropriate way to shoot even if it was initially influenced by Enclosure walls.

Grouse-shooting was further enhanced by the construction of shooting cabins to provide shelter and storage for shooting parties. They are simple one-room, single-storey stone-built buildings associated with some lines of butts. At one shooting spot on Ronksley Moor, social differentiation between the landed classes and the beaters, most likely employed from amongst the landowner's tenants, is physically represented in two adjacent cabins. One cabin is very basic having one wall open and no furniture, while the other has a wooden door, window, benches and a table.

7.10 Woodlands Resourced

As demands for wood for industrial fuel increased in the 18th century, woodlands became seen as a valuable resource with a huge variety of commercial uses, after a period when they had mainly been perceived as occupying ground to be cleared and walled for inbye (Newman 2001). There was a distinction between timber, the trunk and large branches used for buildings and ships, and underwood, the smaller branches of standards and the coppice poles. Coppicing was increasingly used to sustainably produce an almost inexhaustible range of products required by the market including: fences, clogs, charcoal, whitecoal, barrels, kitchen and dairy implements, domestic bowls and dishes, agricultural tools and tool handles. Bark was in demand, primarily for leather tanning, and holly bark was used for birdlime production. Birdlime was a sticky substance that had a number of uses, including catching small birds (both to eat and cage as songbirds) by its application to twigs and, from the 16th century onwards, as an ingredient of gunpowder (Allen 2002; Ardron 1999). Few of these leave archaeological remains of their production, the common exceptions being saw pits, charcoal-burning platforms, whitecoal kilns and sometimes shelters.

Charcoal burning became the most common woodland industry, most notably to make fuel for blast-furnaces, iron foundries and steel-producing cementation furnaces (Crossley 1990).. It was traditionally produced by slowly burning wood under controlled conditions in a turf-covered stack (Jones 1993). The main large-scale industries in the region requiring charcoal were iron and lead smelting. Both iron and lead working used charcoal as a fuel from the medieval period until improved smelting processes were introduced in the 18th century (Blanchard 1981; Hey 1998; Kiernan 1989; Jones 1993). Coke was first used to smelt iron in 1709 and its use expanded dramatically in the second half of the century until it had largely replaced charcoal as the main furnace and foundary fuel (Cranstone 2001). In Peak District lead production, charcoal was used to resmelt slags produced in boles and ore hearths, which contained high levels of ore, until the late 18th century when new coal and coke hearths were introduced (Barnatt 1996b). Charcoal was still used in a number of processes during the later 18th century, some of which expanded, such as the production of blister steel in cementation furnaces, the blacking of moulds in iron foundries and in gunpowder manufacture (Hey 1998; Jones 1993). The main concentrations of these industries were to the south and east of the Upper Derwent where Sheffield and other southern Yorkshire towns dominated the British iron, steel and cutlery trades (Hey 1998).

In the Upper Derwent, the importance of woodlands was rediscovered in the later 18th century and was linked, as many of the developments in the valley at this time, to the greater identification of estate land as a commodity and to the growing industrial urbanisation of Sheffield.

7.10.1 Ownership, Management and Rights

The official place of woodland in the landlord-tenant relationship in late 18th century Hope Woodlands is shown under the conditions of the 1770 leases for the Duke of Devonshire's farm (anon. 1770). The Duke appointed a Woodward to oversee all aspects of woodland management. The tenants were allowed to

> 'stub and effectively grub and cut up by the roots all the wood which shall from time to time grow or sprout from old roots in or upon the said farms, save and except on such parts thereof as have already been coppiced or shall hereafter be coppiced and inclosed for future growth and preservation by the said Duke, his heirs or assigns. And further also that each tenant shall from time to time keep in good and effectual repair all such walls and fences as have already been made or shall hereafter be made for the inclosure and preservation of the said coppices.'
>
> (anon. 1770)

The condition goes on to state that if the tenant fails to maintain the boundaries, they shall forfeit a sum of 40 shillings for every default or failure.

Mid-18th century estate records show the financial nuances of woodland management. At least at Rowlee, but presumably elsewhere, during the mid-18th century coppices had to be enclosed and preserved from grazing, while mature woodland could be opened up to livestock (anon. 1770). A tenant could be given permission to clear a woodland, but had to pay a 'fine' to the landlord, presumably seen by the estate as compensation for lost revenue. If, however, woodland clearance was to the estate's financial advantage, it was encouraged and no 'fine' was demanded. This purely economic basis for making decisions about land-use is highlighted in an inspection by the Duke's agent of a woodland. The agent valued the land at 4s an acre if it was maintained as woodland, but cost the expense of building a stock-proof wall, while an acre was worth 7s as pasture (anon. 1769b).

This shows that woodland was well managed and that areas of wood were carefully chosen and prescribed, with a 'right' and a 'wrong' place for trees to grow according to economic calculations. Tenants carried a large responsibility for knowing which woods were those the estate wanted and for maintaining the boundaries around them to exclude their stock. Again, boundaries play a fundamental part in defining social relations within the landscape.

The Duke reserved the right to

> 'inclose and take into his hand any part or parts of the leased premises, and plant the same with Wood allowing deduction out of the Rent for the Land so inclosed and planted...to carry away what turves and peat he or they shall want for boiling holly bark.'
>
> (anon. 1769b)

On the basis of financial compensation, the landlord could appropriate any part of a tenant's land he deemed fit for planting with wood. In practice, the changes seen in woodlands between 1627 and 1808 show that this right was rarely carried out. However the contention between landlord and tenant over holly is seen in the felling of holly trees at Rowlee during the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Farey 1811-13). This felling may have occurred within 12 years of 1764, the year holly was sold from unspecified locations in the Devonshire's Hope Woodlands estate to a birdlime producer (anon. 1764). Hollies growing on the slopes around Rowlee were pollarded for winter-fodder, until an estate agent had them felled for estate profit. Remnants of these hollies and the platforms presumably used to produce the charcoal still survive above Rowlee.

The financial benefits of well-managed woodlands are highlighted by letters of 1771 and 1772, which petitioned the Duke to pay for a road through the Woodlands Valley (Dickinson 1771; Eyre et al 1772). Tenants of the valley argued for a better road and bridges (to allow them to import coal and lime) by trying to persuade the estate that it would benefit financially from the easier export of wood.

The 1770 leases and the common occurrence of coppice as an element of woodland place-names included on Potter's 1808 estate map suggest that coppicing was an important, even central, part of woodland management in late 18th and early 19th century Hope Woodlands. Old coppices have been identified on only a few areas in the Upper

Derwent: throughout Ladybower, Ouzelden and Priddock woods, Bamford and Derwent, and Reaves Stone Plantation, Derwent. Elsewhere they may have been removed during the 19th and 20th centuries by ploughing to make conifer plantations. Trustees of Birley's Charity recommended planting a species called 'Larch Ash' and in Howden, the Duke of Norfolk had larch plantations (anon. 1818; Ellison 1861-62). Pollards have been discovered at Reaves Stone Plantation and near Slippery Stones, as well as referred to above Rowlee at the turn of the 18th century (Farey 1811-13). Pollards are usually associated with wood pasture, incorporated in hedgerows or situated alongside walls, where the trees are cropped above the height livestock can reach so stock can be let in to the graze within the woodland (Rackham 1986; Jones 1993).

7.10.2 Charcoal Burning

The main reason that the estates were taking greater control of their woodlands was charcoal. The distribution of charcoal-burning platforms throughout the two valleys, and references to charcoal in the estate accounts of Hope Woodlands and Howden show that its production occurred throughout much of the area in the late 18th century (cf Ardron and Rotherham 1999. Illustration 7.7). Approximately 238 charcoal-burning and 47 possible charcoal platforms have been identified throughout the area. They comprise sub-circular earthen platforms terraced into sloping ground and measuring between approximately 2m to 8m across and 6m to 10m long (Illustration 7.8. Photograph 7.10).

Photograph 7.10. Charcoal-burning platform in Grimbocar Wood, Hope Woodlands

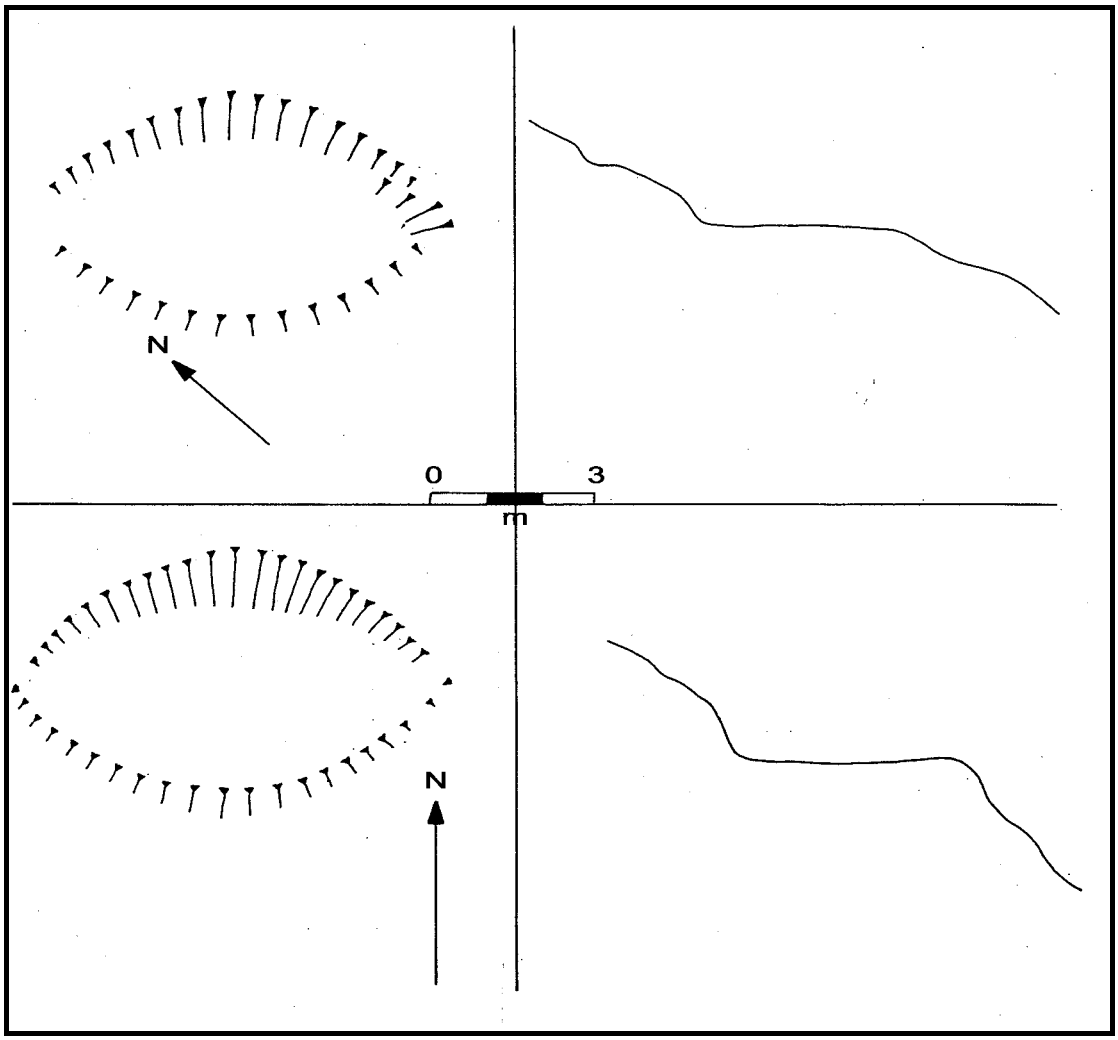


Illustration 7.8. Plans and cross-sections of typical charcoal-burning platforms in the Upper Derwent. These two examples are in Hagg Side

They are all distributed across the valley and clough sides singly or in small groups between 200 and 350m O.D. Notable exceptions to this distribution are relatively large and densely concentrated groups in Grimbocar Wood, Rough Wood, Fearfall Wood, Lee Wood, Hagg Side, Nab's Wood and Howden (Illustration 7.9). The group in Hagg Side are also notable in that some have a small mound of charcoal and soil deposited in the centre of the surface. This appears to be the product of scraping the platform surface clean after the last burn and may be a way of marking that each platform is still in use. Approximately 20% of platforms are located within 20m of water, which could be used to help dampen down the burn if it was about to flare too intensely, but was presumably not a vital part of the burning process. Thirteen groups of platforms are associated with trackways to facilitate the transport of charcoal.

Changes in woodlands identified on historical maps for Hope Woodlands can sometimes be equated with specific charcoal-production areas. Charcoal was produced in woodlands planted after 1627 at Hagg Farm, Hagg Side and Ridges Coppice, parts of Grimbocar and Rough Wood, most of which survived through the 19th century (Illustration 6.1). A number of woodlands associated with charcoal platforms were felled between 1627 and 1808. There are also three woods in Hope Woodlands that contain a small number of charcoal-burning platforms that do not appear on historical maps, suggesting the possibility of pre-1627 charcoal production. One of these areas was in Linch Clough and adjacent to the mid-15th century lead-smelting hearth that used charcoal as fuel (see section 5.11). Elsewhere, platforms lie in or close to areas that had some wood coverage depicted on all maps of the respective areas available to the present survey.

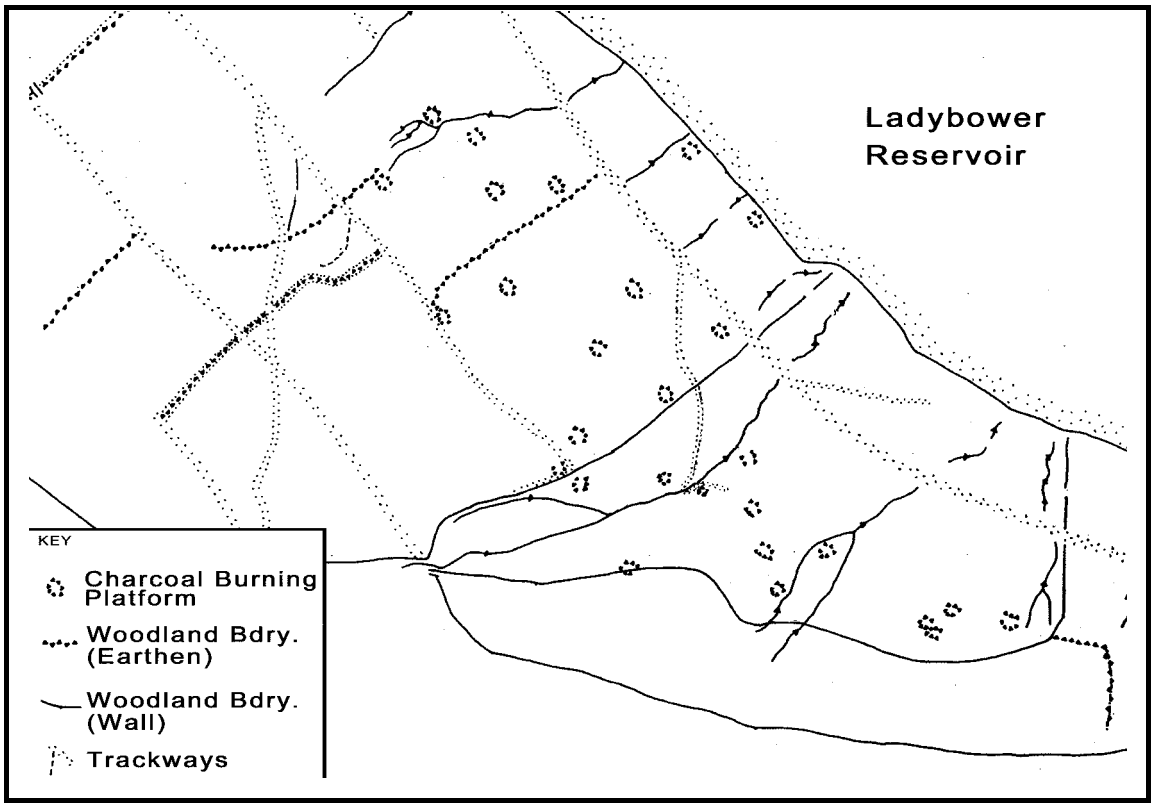


Illustration 7.9. A dense distribution of charcoal-burning platforms in Hagg Side, Hope Woodlands

There are numerous platforms without indication of charcoal next to charcoal-production sites, which could represent the locations of temporary shelters. A charcoal burn could last two to ten days and required constant supervision to prevent the fire flaring-up (Jones 1993). Such shelters were usually made of wood, cloth and turfs, so rarely survive themselves, and any level platforms constructed to support them may be

indistinguishable from the whole variety of other platforms. One site in Grimbocar Wood comprises a rectangular platform revetted with timber and supporting the foundations of a building situated adjacent to a charcoal-burning platform.

7.10.3 The Reaches of Industrialisation

The Duke of Devonshire sold rights to woods in Hope Woodlands to Attercliffe Forge, Sheffield, Wortley Top Forge, near Stocksbridge, and Mousehole Forge, Malin Bridge, in the 1760s and 1770s (Whittingham 1996). These were named as Lees Wood, Horsefield Wood, Grains Close, Northside Wood, Rough Wood, Nab's Wood, Grimbocar Wood, Hag Wood and Nether Wood. Most of these can still be identified and contain charcoal-burning platforms, including, notably, all but one of the large concentrations of platforms (Illustration 7.7). The estate also employed wall builders to enclose coppices in 1761 and 1762 (anon. 1761, 1762). The late 18th century Hope Woodlands farm leases allowed the Duke and his agents access to farms to build charcoal-burning platforms, known as 'charcoal pitts' (anon. 1770). In 1797 another sale of woods was at least in part for the production of charcoal (Whittingham 1996). At the end of the century, the Duke of Norfolk paid for charcoal platforms to be constructed on his Howden estate in Bradfield parish (Mel Jones pers comm). Norfolk had acquired the estate between 1781 and 1783 (Elliot 1781; anon. c.1810), so charcoal production must have been undertaken after these dates. There are comparatively few platforms situated away from these identified areas, suggesting that the majority of charcoal production in the area was undertaken for iron forges in southern Yorkshire. Both Devonshire and Norfolk held extensive woodlands elsewhere in southern Yorkshire and north Derbyshire, for which they had sold charcoaling rights to the region's industrialists since at least the beginning of the 18th century (Hopkinson 1961). They also entered into partnerships with industrialists to build furnaces and foundries, and set up ironworking companies, many of which were located on their estates. Therefore, charcoal production for ironworking in the Upper Derwent was part of a longer history of these landowners use and exploitation of their estates for industrial purposes, practices that were conceived and organised at a regional level.

The three forges which acquired charcoal from woods in Hope Woodlands during the mid-18th century were all on the lines of packhorse routes traversing rough ground and situated at distances of 16km or more from the Upper Derwent. In addition, they all had

closer wood supplies at hand, which they exploited. This confounds the received wisdom (Harris 1988) that charcoal was never transported further than 8km, and shows that other influences, such as commercial concerns, were as important as practical technological needs in influencing where charcoal was acquired from. A certain amount of wastage from damage to the charcoal could be expected on such a journey. Charcoal was sieved before use in ironworking because only large lumps could be used; transport of charcoal by sea from Galloway to ironworks at Furness was expected to waste 25% of the cargo (Stell and Hay 1984).

The effects on local farmers of the intensive charcoal production in the 18th century is demonstrated by a number of documents. It was written into tenancy agreements in 1770 that all coppice walls, presumably including those newly built in the 1760s, were to be maintained by the tenants – even though they received no direct benefit to themselves from the woodland (anon. 1770). This emphasises the notion of the Duke's tenants being in a subservient relationship to the landowner, by demanding their labour in the maintenance of land reserved for the estate. Even within a world dominated by capitalist production and commerce, manorial – even somewhat feudal – power relationships were strongly active and influential in the management of the landscape.

The impact of charcoal production on the livelihoods of tenants can be seen in a petition made to the Duke of Devonshire in 1772 for better roads to enable coal to be cheaply imported into the valley. The petition states:

> 'sometimes the summer season is so wet, we cannot pretend to get our earthen fuel [peat], the wood being taken away, so we and our families may starve to death...'
>
> (anon. 1772)

In this one document, the trajectories of three historical aspects of land-use and perception of the landscape come together. The farmers of Hope Woodlands township had been using a combination of wood and peat for fuel, collecting it according to common rights and customary tradition, which had originated in the medieval period. The increasingly economic-based perception of the landscape by landowners, incorporating the commodification of land and ideals of improvement, resulted in the re-evaluation of woodlands, not as barriers to cultivation, but as a financial resource. This involved barring

tenants from using or removing woodland without the landowner's consent, as seen above in the leases of 1770, so reworking the local social relationship with wood. Woodlands altered from being part of the tenants landscape of use to restricted places symbolising landlords control over their lives, a reworking of a similar relationship seen in the medieval Royal Forest. Other elements of the industrialisation of Britain, coal mining and better roads connected to the turnpike network, were then called upon as the answers to the future survival of the Upper Derwent's tenants. This encapsulates the change from more self-sufficient occupancy of a landholding, where fuel is acquired locally by individual labour, to the more capitalist-based purchasing of commodities, something that has already been discussed in relation to the decrease in arable and the development of farming as a supply system for large urban populations. The letter highlights the relationship of enforcement and dependency, created between landlord and tenant by greater estate control over the landscape, and the effects of wider socio-economic trends in Britain as a whole. Essentially, textual dialogue was a tool used by the township community to empower themselves and to negotiate social relationships within an unequal power dynamic.

7.11 Turnpikes: Rerouting the World

Communication routes were also subject to progressive ideals because the traditional system of packhorse routes and other roads was seen to be failing. Since at least the medieval period, the packhorse routes had provided the axes of long-distance communication between the Upper Derwent and the wider world. During the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries waymarking and maintenance had been increased and made the responsibility of parishes by governments who saw the need to speed up the movement of goods and people to meet the growing demands of trade and industry (Radley and Penny 1972). Government allowed the founding of trusts to pay for road building and upkeep with the charging of tolls to recoup costs, though did not centrally direct a roadbuilding programme (Newman 2001). The first Turnpike Act was passed in 1663, and by 1830, 3,783 trusts had been set up in England and Wales creating a dense network of turnpikes (Dodd and Dodd 1980). It was up to local landowners and businessmen to form trusts to improve or build specific stretches of road. Capital costs of building or improving a road were raised by mortgage and recouped by collecting tolls from travellers at toll gates. At least 66 turnpikes were created in the Peak District between 1724 and the mid-19th century (Hopkinson 1971; Radley and Penny 1972). Some crossed the region as long-distance and national routes,

such as the London to Manchester road of 1724. Others were built between the region and nearby urban centres, including the Baslow to Chesterfield road of 1812 and the Buxton to Macclesfield turnpike of 1759. There were many other shorter routes within the region, such as the 1.5km-long Thornhill to Yorkshire Bridge road of 1771 and the Blackwell to Tideswell route of 1812 (ibid). Turnpikes were constructed by the application of engineering and survey skills, a rational approach improving or replacing routeways that had developed through traditional practice within the context of local land-use. Some roads followed existing routes, mainly where valley roads and passes were enhanced with hardcore foundations, metalled surfaces and drainage ditches (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Roads were also laid out along new routes, often where moorland packhorse routes or steep inclines were being replaced. Turnpike Trusts transferred responsibility for the nation's highways from being a parochial obligation to a market venture. Roads were therefore constructed at different geographical scales of trust organisation, with local trustees acting within the context of contributing to the nation as well as to improve regional trade.

7.11.1 A New Road Network for the Upper Derwent

Two turnpikes were built through the Upper Derwent and Woodlands valleys during the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Illustration 7.7).

7.11.1.1 Grindleford to Penistone Turnpike (Mortimer's Road)

The Grindleford to Penistone turnpike was built in 1771 after an Act of 1770 (Radley and Penny 1972; Smith 1993), and it is shown on maps of 1830 and 1842 (Fairbank 1830, 1842). The route ran south from Penistone via Strines and Moscar House then turned south-west to cross Derwent Moors crossing Highshaw Clough via Cutthroat Bridge, a stone construction which appears to have been built for the turnpike to replace a ford approximately 50m to the north. The name Cutthroat Bridge was derived from local folk memory of an incident in the late 16th/early 17th centuries, when a man was discovered near this site with his throat cut (Ward 1927a).

South-west of Moscar House, the turnpike reputedly descended into Ladybower Gorge via the site of a later quarry (Byford 1981). However the landlord of Ladybower Inn, who was also the Parish Surveyor, diverted the road to run the turnpike adjacent to the inn during the 1770s (ibid). The landlord charged 2d from travellers to offset the cost of the

road. The diversion was eventually abandoned sometime before 1840, when another track was built which cut its line on Derwent Moor, after years of argument with the local authority over its ownership (Ordnance Survey 1840). The new route of the turnpike by-passed Moscar House and joined with the Sheffield to Glossop turnpike to follow the latter along Ladybower Gorge before taking a line now used by the modern junction between the A57 and Strines road. The turnpike crossed the River Derwent south of the inn, and in 1827 Ladybower Bridge was constructed to replace either a ford or an earlier bridge.

7.11.1.2 Sheffield to Glossop Turnpike (Snake Pass)

Photograph 7.11. The line of the Sheffield to Glossop turnpike in use today as the A57 Snake Pass. PDNPA Collection

The Sheffield to Glossop turnpike was built between 1818 and 1821 by the engineer Thomas Telford as a direct route to connect the growing towns of Sheffield and Manchester (Dodd and Dodd 1980). It ran into Derwent Valley via Ladybower Gorge and crossed the River Derwent 50m north of its confluence with the River Ashop. Ashopton hamlet grew up on the east side of this crossing point as a direct result of the road. West of the Derwent, it ran along the northern side of the Woodlands Valley. A series of bridges and revetments were built to carry the road across the numerous cloughs, and to support it along the steep-sided valley. Distances from both Sheffield and Manchester were marked on three-faced roadside milestones, five of which survive along the southern edge of the road as it runs through the Woodlands Valley. It is now the line

of the A57 Snake Road, named after the Snake Inn, which in turn took its name from the Duke of Devonshire's family crest (Byford 1981).

Photograph 7.12. A milestone on the Sheffield to Glossop turnpike

7.11.2 The Impacts of the Turnpikes

The two turnpikes approximately followed the courses of existing routeways and connected parts of others, so locally rerouting lines of communication and impacting on aspects of the local landscape. The Sheffield to Glossop paralleled much of the Derwent to Sheffield commonway, but bypassed the steep sides of the Upper Derwent Valley to join with the Hope to Glossop route in the Woodlands Valley. Mortimer's Road follows much of the line of the Hope to Penistone packhorse route as it crosses the survey area. After the turnpikes were built, the packhorse routes could have remained in use by people who wanted to avoid paying the turnpike's tolls. In places, access along Doctor's Gate was denied by a number of field walls built across its line. On Derwent and Howden the Parliamentary Enclosure of the moorlands extinguished the rights of way across them along with other common rights. The Derwent to Sheffield commonway was also blocked by the construction of Enclosure walls between 1810 and 1840 (Fairbank 1810; Ordnance Survey 1840).

Packhorse routes had somewhat approximate lines, in that the general course was followed but a specific 'path' was kept to only where paving or causeways crossed boggy ground or where the route ran through enclosed land as a walled lane. Elsewhere, erosion created a hollow-way which was subsequently avoided and a line taken next to it until

that again was eroded and a new line was adopted. In some places braids of hollow-ways formed up to 100m wide, and were all part of the route. Turnpikes formed another level of control over travel by limiting it to a specific, delineated and relatively narrow route. Rather than assessing the ground conditions and picking a suitable braid of a hollow-way across moorland, travellers on turnpikes were restricted to the 'official line'.

The turnpikes improved communications for packhorse trains, which were the usual means of transport in this area until the mid-19th century (Hey 1980), and allowed access by wheeled-vehicles such as stagecoaches and carts. The turnpikes and improvements to local roads not helped to achieve the aims of tenants to gain access to coal, and of the Duke of Devonshire to profit more from sales of wood, (see section 7.10.2.2), but also enabled grouse-shooting parties easier access to the moors and agricultural produce to be more cheaply transported to the neighbouring cities. A general idea of how turnpikes decreased travel times can be gained from comparing the 45 hours that the Edinburgh to London mail took to complete its 373 mile journey in 1837, with the 10 to 12 days it had taken a century earlier (Dodd and Dodd 1980).

In 1824, a new road between Derwent and Ashopton was built by the incumbent of Derwent Hall to take advantage of the turnpikes (Illustration 7.7). The earlier route still continued in use as well. Many of the farmsteads founded or rebuilt on new locations in the late 18th and 19th centuries were located near to turnpikes. This created a new relationship with through-routes. Whereas older farmsteads were often at some distance from through-routes, the new farmsteads were built adjacent to the turnpikes. The most extreme example of positioning was at Bellhag, where the farmyard fronted on to the Sheffield to Glossop turnpike.

The flipside of better roads was the cost to travellers to use them. Tolls were charged for the use of the roads to pay for construction debts and maintenance, with payment collected at roadside toll cottages. One was built in the survey area at Ashopton hamlet. In contrast to the development of packhorse tracks as rights of way, turnpikes were planned and travel was turned into a commodity, which could be given a value and charged for. Turnpikes can, therefore, be seen as part of the move for improvement, which spread through the landowning classes during the 18th century, and greatly affected

agriculture and commons. They spread rapidly across the country because of a perceived national need to improve road transport.

A number of new inns were built to take advantage of the turnpikes; this increase in numbers suggesting that the new roads had increased the numbers of people travelling. In addition to existing inns at Grimbocar and Ladybower, inns were built at Ashopton, Yorkshire Bridge and the Snake Pass to cater for the passing custom. Derwent hamlet was effectively sidelined by the rerouting of the communication network. Whilst the hamlet had been on the line of the main packhorse route connecting the Upper Derwent with Sheffield and Glossop, it was now over 2km from the Snake Road. This did not prevent Derwent expanding with the late 19th century church, post office and school, but a lack of passing trade is the most likely reason why Derwent's only inn was closed between 1859 and 1880 (anon. 1859; Ordnance Survey 1880). The road also directly caused the founding of a new hamlet in the area – Ashopton.

7.11.3 Ashopton: the Ribbon Hamlet

Photograph 7.13. Ashopton hamlet looking north-east. Severn Trent Water Collection

The new hamlet of Ashopton was situated on low-lying ground within Derwent parish at the confluence of the rivers Ashop, Derwent and the Ladybower Brook (Illustration 7.7). The name 'Ashopten' dates back at least as far as 1650 (Cameron 1959). What this actually refers to is unclear, but it could simply be the farmsteads within the Woodlands Valley that was commonly called Ashop. There were no buildings at this location previous to the construction of the Snake Road in 1821. Located at the junctions between the Snake Pass and local roads to Derwent and Bamford, it was essentially a ribbon development of services for travellers that also provided similar local services to Derwent Village.

Focal to the settlement was the Toll House, which was erected on the turnpike road during or shortly after the road's construction, and was resited to another position further to the east in 1835 until the last toll was taken in 1875 (Hallam 1989). After their demise as toll houses, both buildings were reused, presumably as dwellings. Ashopton Inn was built in, or before, 1824 as a coaching inn close by the site of the first Toll House. A large Methodist chapel was erected in 1840 and enlarged in 1896. Part of the building was used as a Sunday school and meeting room (ibid). To the east of the hamlet, there was a smithy south of the road, and another building north of the road, both of which were built between 1840 and 1880 (Ordnance Survey). Between 1880 and 1922 (Ordnance Survey) a Post Office was added, to the west of the chapel, and another unknown building north-west of the inn. The close relationship between the hamlet and the turnpike/toll house would closely identify the settlement with the road. Photographs of Ashopton and Derwent show a contrast in imagery, the former is sparsely urban (Photograph 7.13) while the latter is much more of a rural 'scene' (Photograph 7.2).

7.12 Discussion

Superficially the landscape of the Upper Derwent at the end of the 19th century would have been recognisable by the early 17th century surveyor William Senior, and probably by the last canons of Welbeck to visit Crookhill grange. The area still held the pattern of dispersed farmsteads within a walled landscape of small, irregular fields, interspersed with woodland and leading to moorland grazing on the higher ground, which had originated in the medieval period. This pattern had been created from the relationships between the particular topography of the Upper Derwent landscape, its inhabitation and structures of landownership. But, there had been fundamental changes in the ways that these relationships were expressed, and Senior would have noticed the differences within the overall pattern. He would have reached the valleys by better-surfaced roads, and his surveyor's eye would quickly have identified much more orderly and grander-looking farmstead buildings. He would have noted that the woodland areas were smaller and planted with new tree species, such as larch, that pastures were greener from the application of lime, and the near absence of cereals. The unnaturally straight walls dividing Derwent moorland would have been a new type of enclosure, possibly suggesting the organised taking in of land from the common. He would also have seen how much bigger Derwent hamlet had become, that it had two new grand buildings not

present in his day – the Hall and the church with a spire – that the old wooden bridge was replaced in stone and that the corn mill had disappeared.

Through the later 18th and 19th centuries, the application of progressive and rational ideals to the organisation of social and economic life, in tandem with increasing urbanisation, exerted a great influence on the British landscape. Many aspects of progressive ideologies were inter-linked with each other, and fundamentally related to the increasing domination of the market economy and industrial urbanisation. They can be grouped under the idea of improvement. Though usually connected with attempts to increase agricultural productivity, improvement was a progressive movement whereby all resources of the land were refigured to make them more productive. Improvement greatly affected the character of the landscape through farming and agricultural production, urban planning, building design, enclosure, road building and the industrial use of wood fuel.

Though these different aspects were inter-linked, there was not a centrally controlled make-over of the landscape directed and planned by government. Nor did it necessarily result in the complete breakdown of manorial systems, because local landowners were the main instigators of change. They saw the economic benefits of exploiting resources and of trade, situated within the context of being the nation's ruling classes, so identifying their own land management practices with the growing concept of the nation state. The landed gentry were an important link in the relationship between nationally held ideals and local landscapes, and landowners were increasingly determining more aspects of their tenants' day-to-day lives. This can be seen in Hope Woodlands where strong Chatsworth estate management, existing as early as 1627, is evident in the number and nature of estate documents produced in the late 18th century: farmstead rentals in 1754, agreements for walling coppices in 1761, assessment of relative values of farmland and woodland at Tin Wood and a summary of annual income versus expenditure at Birchinlee Farm in 1769, covenants for farm leases and building charcoal platforms in 1770, stipulations for numbers of sheep allowed per farm in 1772, the condition of houses in 1773 (all referenced in the bibliography as anon. followed by date). Different aspects of the estate were being actively assessed and tenants were forced to operate according to the estate's farming methods – by improving soil, draining wet areas,

removing scrub, concentrating on animal husbandry and rebuilding houses and barns to specified styles.

As landowners exercised greater influence over their tenants' lives, the estate gained greater importance as a cohesive unit and became represented symbolically through buildings and maps. As buildings required renovating during the 19th century, they were remodelled to improve efficiency of use, and a small suite of non-practical architectural embellishments replaced vernacular styles with a cohesive estate pattern. This trend seen in Hope Woodlands occurred throughout the Derbyshire estates of the Devonshires, and was contemporary with the extensive reconstruction work at Chatsworth – including the redesign of the gardens and the relocation and rebuilding of Edensor as a model village out of sight of the house (Barnatt and Smith 1997; Cooper, B. 1991). Farmstead, gardens and Edensor were three physical expressions in the landscape of the land-based wealth, social status and confidence of the Cavendish family.

Documents, maps and buildings share something in common. They not only symbolised estate management, they were the tools of social control at a township level. They were used by the Duke to structure the everyday routines of his tenants, stipulating activities they were to undertake, where they would occur and spatially organising their domestic lives. He probably saw them as demonstrating the effectiveness of his estate management, symbolising and justifying his social position as a member of the ruling class. Perhaps his tenants would have gratefully enjoyed the greater comfort of more spacious, drier and warmer houses, but everyday – in the very household home – their position of subordination was re-emphasised. In a way, the tenants' petition in 1772 for better roads was an attempt, in desperate circumstances, at fighting back with one of the weapons used against them.

In the Upper Derwent, improvement largely occurred within the existing pattern of land-use, 'improving' on what was already there rather than radically transforming it. Agricultural production continued to be the main livelihood of the majority of the area's occupants, with livestock dominating and reared almost exclusively for sale rather than subsistence. Existing inbye was improved by the application of lime and large intakes were created on upper valley-side heathland, so creating a band of semi-improved grasslands between the inbye and moorland. Farmsteads in Ashop Dale were assessed for

their effectiveness, and realigned into different-sized landholdings that were thought to be more productive (anon. 1818). It appears that in the 18th century tenants had less say over the organisation of their working lives than in previous centuries.

Estate assessments of land productivity also influenced the relationship between woodland and farmland with some areas being changed to more productive forms of land-use by landowners. Woodlands gained greater importance as a commodity, at least in charcoaled form, as industrial forges in southern Yorkshire found willing partners in the woodland-owning Dukes of Devonshire and Norfolk. Here is a direct local impact of distant industrialisation. The 300 charcoal production platforms that were built to supply the forges form the largest group of such features in the Peak District. The remnants of medieval forests were preserved, managed and replanted as a result of the financial benefits that could be derived from charcoal. Tenants were excluded from the woodlands, and barred from taking wood for domestic fuel.

There were some differences between townships based on their individual histories of manorial custom, which, for example, can be seen in each township's moorlands. The closely defined control of Hope Woodlands by the Devonshire estate and the resulting non-common use of the moorland obviated the landowner from undertaking Enclosure. The Duke imposed improvement through tenancy agreements and had existing access for grouse-shooting. Elsewhere, Parliamentary Enclosure was employed by landowners and had differing impacts. Where there was similar close manorial intervention on Howden, the moorland was part of a common and in 1811, 30 years after being bought by a new landowner, the common was enclosed specifically to remove the landholding from agriculture and turn it into the owner's private grouse-shooting estate. In Derwent and Bamford, commoners lost grazing land to the farms that were apportioned areas on the moorland, and regular, or rational, networks of walls were imposed onto the landscape. Some improvement was attempted on the ground in Derwent, but appears to have been limited in its success. Private ownership in itself was seen as enough of an improvement of land management, whether or not serious attempts to increase productivity through liming, etc. were undertaken. Grouse shooting echoed game hunting in the medieval period, when the land to the west of the River Derwent was within the Royal Forest of the Peak. As in the medieval period, the ruling classes defined their status through the consumption and hunting of game, though the emphasis had moved from

deer to grouse and hunting was now seen as a participatory sport. The construction of shooting lodges, cabins and butts, in tandem with the regular nature of enclosure walls, extended the symbolism of estate control across the wider landscape beyond the farmsteads.

Communication with the wider world was also transformed by turnpike trusts, locally organised institutions created within a nationally held concept, with aims that encompassed local, regional and national comprehensions of the world. From the 16th century onwards, more objects and people were moving over longer distances as the growing industrial cities both produced and required more goods and materials. Road conditions had been perceived as an increasing national problem as trade expanded, and in the 18th and early 19th centuries, turnpike trusts built roads on the basis of the expected revenues that could be made by charging tolls to travellers. Turnpikes replaced rights of way that had grown up by tradition with engineered routes which were aligned by use of measured survey and where passage was gained by paying a fee. The two turnpikes that crossed the Upper Derwent, the Grindleford to Penistone of 1771 and Sheffield to Glossop of 1821, were not planned primarily to serve the locality itself, but the landowners and inhabitants derived benefits from improved communications awarded by the proximity of the routes. Agricultural and woodland produce left the area while coal for domestic fuel, lime and shooting parties arrived. The turnpikes made it easier and cheaper for goods and people to move between the Upper Derwent and the wider world, including the expanding neighbouring cities of Sheffield and Manchester.

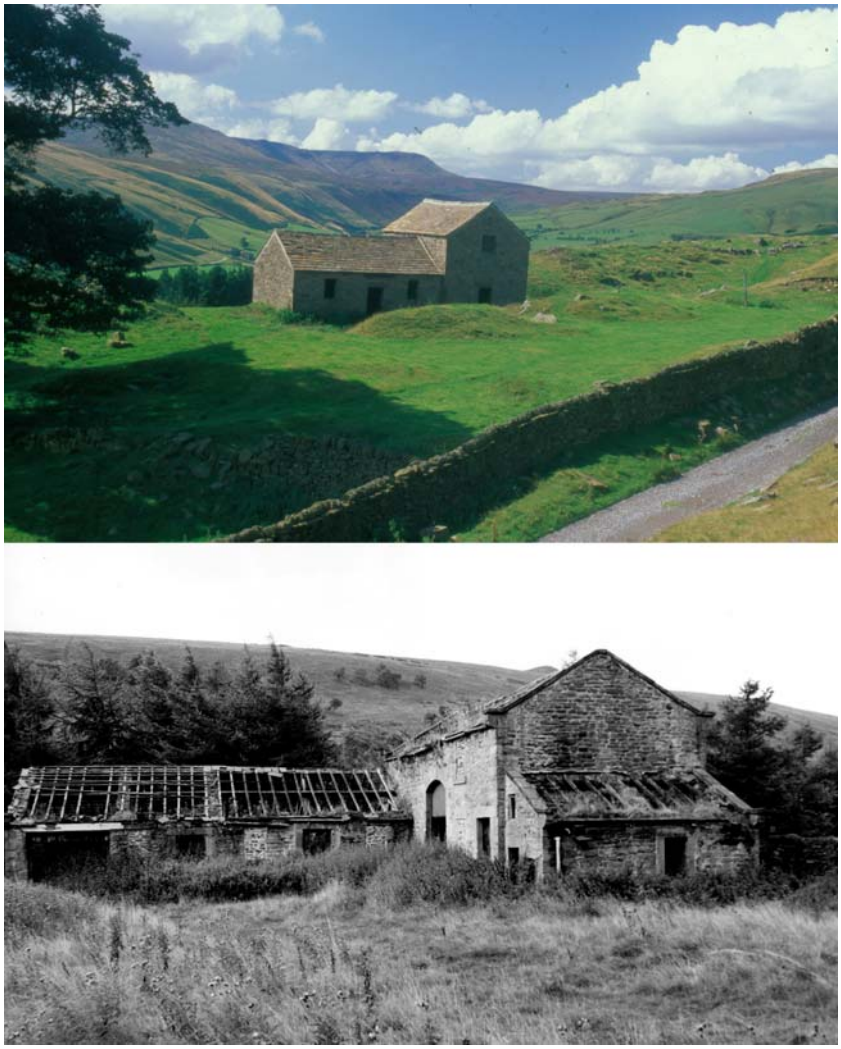
Like many Pennine valleys, nearby manufacturing cities would have been the main markets for livestock reared in the Upper Derwent. The increasing demand for foodstuffs by the growing urban population stimulated the breeding of faster maturing livestock and more productive land. These required higher inputs of raw materials than could be supplied or grown on the farm alone, such as lime and animal feed, so that farming became less self-sufficient and further tied into the market economy (Williamson 2002). In Hope Woodlands, estate-enforced land improvement practices was designed to increase livestock production to be sold at market, perhaps in Sheffield or at the Devonshire's own mart in Chesterfield.

These different aspects of improvement and the market economy driven commodification of the world were appearing in different landscapes across Britain. The Upper Derwent population was, therefore, fully engaged with these developing trends and new institutions. Across the country, ideals and activities that were conceived and held at a national level were interacting with existing forms of land tenure and social organisation at the township level. There was a great deal of local variability in how the landscape and local communities interacted with a more capitalist world, and in how associated social change occurred. The major developments in crops and arable production that occurred in Norfolk, for example, were absent from most of the Peak District including the Upper Derwent. The experiment in improvement on John Field Howden suggests an attempt at creating improving grazing.

'Improvement' did not appear in the Upper Derwent as a neat, single package. Though they were largely driven by the same landowners, different phenomena were emphasised at different times during the later 18th and the 19th centuries. The first turnpike was contemporary with charcoal production and management prescriptions in tenancy agreements for Hope Woodlands township during the 1770s–1780s, while the second, in the 1820s, was built 10 years after two of the local Parliamentary Enclosure Acts. The main phase of house rebuilding appears to have been later, in the mid-19th century, and current with the third Enclosure Act, this time in Bamford. This was a long period of improvement, rather than a short revolution.

The effects of the different aspects of improvement can be encapsulated by looking at the changing fortunes of one farmstead in Hope Woodlands between the 18th and 19th centuries (Illustration 7.10. Photograph 7.14). A farmstead known as Hags is recorded in 1767, high up on the side of the Woodlands Valley, located between inbye and moorland and adjacent to the line of a long-distance packhorse route that crossed over high ground between the Derwent and Woodland valleys (Harley et al 1975). A tiny shelf of level ground provided just enough space for the farmstead, but not a level farmyard, between rocky outcrops and scarps. In 1770 and 1808 the tenant had rights to pasture 106 sheep on the moors above Alport to the north, and the building was recorded as in 'tolerable repair' (anon. 1770; Potter 1808). By the mid-19th century it had become known as Townrowhag, probably because it comprised two semi-detached cottages, one occupied

by a farmer and the other by a labourer, and had 266 sheep (anon. 1851). By this time the Glossop to Sheffield turnpike road had been built along the lower valley side to connect



Photograph 7.14. Townrowhag (above) and Bellhag (below)

the growing urban centres by more a gently graded route suitable for wheeled vehicles. The turnpike by-passed the farmstead, which could only be reached by a 1km-long walled lane – so changing a significant location into a more marginal one (Bromley 1858). Sometime in the 1860s, the Devonshire estate took action to improve the farmstead and to re-establish a close relationship with the main long-distance communication route (Mike Lea, pers comm). Without altering the extent of the landholding, the farm buildings were relocated over 300m down the valley side to a position adjacent to the turnpike to take advantage of the new transport opportunities for exporting livestock, and was named Bellhag. Completely new buildings were built, which incorporated gable kneelers typical of the Chatsworth estate style. The barns were much bigger than at the

old farmstead and comprised an L-shape, arranged around two sides of a level courtyard with access for wheeled vehicles provided by a wide cart door.

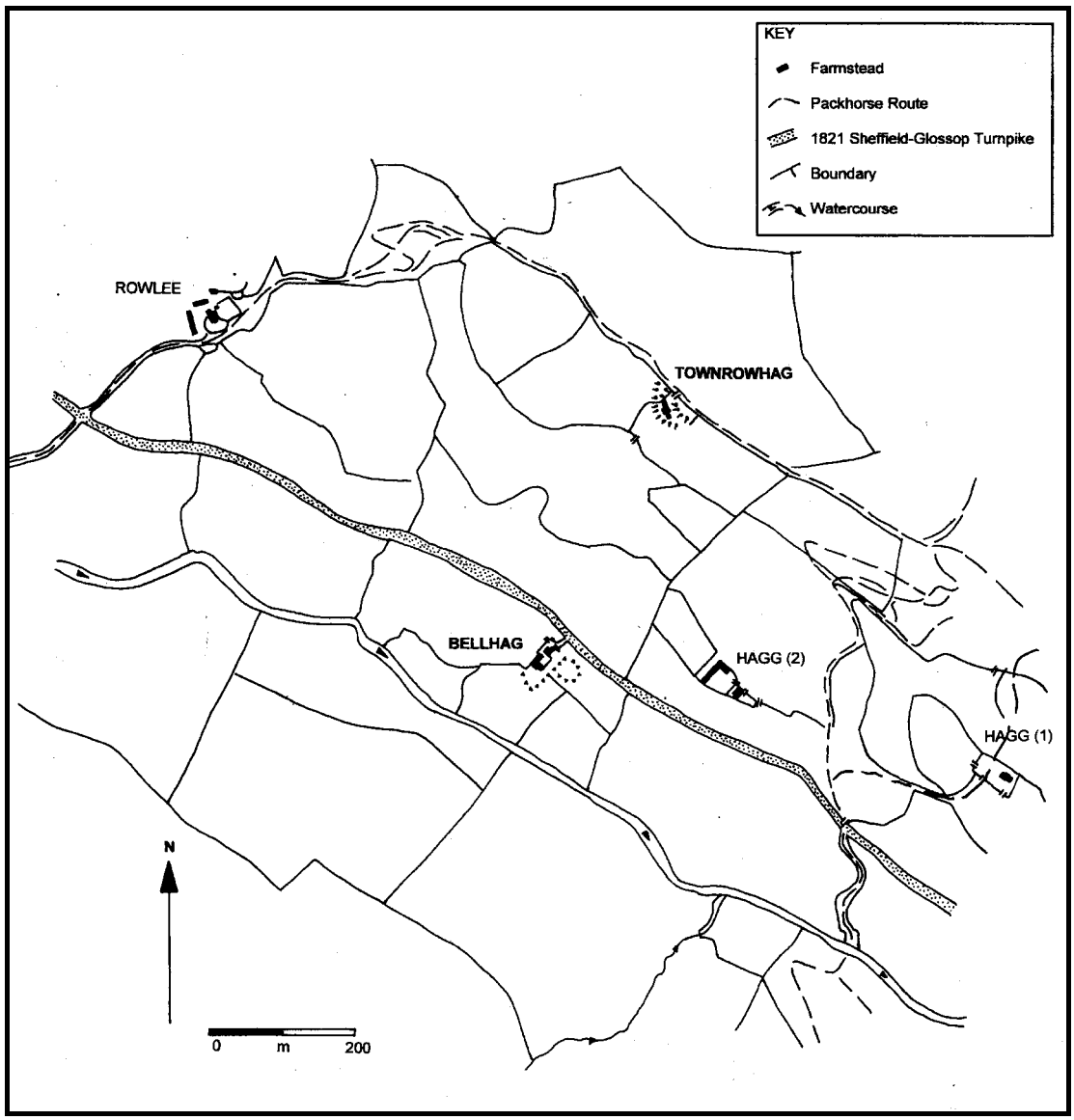


Illustration 7.10. Townrowhag and Bellhag farmsteads in relation to packhorse routes and turnpikes

Bellhag was better placed to supply the needs of the cities with agricultural produce, still most likely to be sheep and wool. Urbanisation heightened the difference between town and country, with rural areas largely being seen as supply areas for the cities. The most productive agricultural lands were mostly in the lowlands and more equitable uplands such as the Peak District's limestone plateau. Overall, improvement, industrialisation and the market economy combined to simplify the agricultural land-use of England into an arable-dominated south and east, and a pastoral north and west (Williamson 2002). The Upper Derwent clearly fell into the latter. Its high moorlands and narrow valleys

provided resources to the cities, chiefly sheep and wood, which were facilitated by the turnpike network. In many ways, the combination of progressive and improving trends resulted in the marginilisation of the Upper Derwent and, by the later 19th century, it was beginning to be perceived as more of a wilderness area. This became one of its major attractions for landowners, who exercised their rights as members of the ruling classes by visiting the area periodically for grouse shooting. Grouse shooting was one aspect of the idealisation of rural landscapes, which developed during the 19th century, when urban industrialisation resulted in the majority of the population living in cities by the middle of the century (Bunce 1994). Rural areas became the 'countryside' in opposition to cities, and were defined by the likes of John Ruskin as places of scenic beauty, where people could live, or temporarily escape to, a natural way of life representing peace, innocence and simple virtue (Williams 1985). The largest impacts of these changes, specially of the urban–countryside relationship, were still to come and would be manifested in the early 20th century in ways which define our perception of the Upper Derwent today.