

Grist to the Mill: a History of the 'Wivenhoe' Mill from 1086 to the Mid-Twentieth Century.

1. Introduction

Wivenhoe is an attractive and historic riverside town, situated three miles south of Colchester, in Essex, on the east bank of the River Colne where it widens to form an estuary. Since the 1960s it has had close connections with the nearby University of Essex. A great deal of local literature has been published about its general history with particular importance being placed on its shipbuilding, fishing and maritime connections.¹ However, very little has been written about the mills in Wivenhoe which also played a key role in the rural economy. That there were mills in Wivenhoe from the eleventh century onwards, is clear from references cited in the *Victoria County History of Essex*,² but, although this publication has a section devoted to Colchester mills,³ there is only a brief paragraph relating to mills in Wivenhoe. There have also been a number of publications which have specifically tackled the subject of watermills and windmills in Essex, but none of these has explored the presence of mills in Wivenhoe, or the neighbouring village of Elmstead (which abuts onto the Wivenhoe parish boundary to the south-east), in any great depth. Hervey Benham lovingly compiled a detailed work referring to Essex watermills,⁴ but there is scant reference to Wivenhoe or Elmstead; Rex Wailes, the key expert on the English windmill makes no mention of either a Wivenhoe or an Elmstead mill in his comprehensive paper on Essex windmills;⁵ and Kenneth Farries, in his excellent series covering the windmills of Essex⁶, refers to two mills in Wivenhoe and Elmstead, but only from the late seventeenth century onwards. This dearth of information may be due in part to the lack of archaeological investigation in the area before it became swamped by housing development during the last forty years. This paper attempts to redress the balance by re-examining the available documentary evidence to construct a more comprehensive history of mills in Wivenhoe and Elmstead covering the whole of the period from Domesday to the mid-twentieth century.

1. The 'Wivenhoe' Watermill [pre 1086 - post 1641]

Where was the watermill located?

It is not possible to say when the first mills appeared in Wivenhoe and Elmstead, because the first systematic recording of mills in England did not occur until the Domesday Book, compiled at the direction of William the Conqueror from 1086 to 1087. This record revealed that there were about 6,000 mills in England at that time, many of them believed to have been in existence from at least the 7th century onward. It is known that the Romans were familiar with mill technology⁷ and there may well have been working mills in the Anglo Saxon period, although the earliest known reference to a mill in England appeared in the eighth century, and the earliest reference to an Irish mill in the seventh century.⁸ By the time of Domesday it was clear how widespread this labour-saving technology had become and statistics comparing the number of mills in those areas that were recorded indicate that there was approximately one mill to every two villas (i.e. settlements or hamlets).

Domesday itself records two mills in the vicinity:⁹ the mill in Wivenhoe, which was held by Robert Gernon, as part of his holdings of the barony of Stansted Mountfichet in the Hundred of Lexden;¹⁰ and the mill in Elmstead, which was held by Swein of Essex as part of his holdings in the Hundred of Tendring. The locations are not cited but the records do give a snapshot of the parish economies at that time. It is interesting to note that Elmstead was the more prosperous holding consisting of thirteen 'villans' (villagers of higher economic status than a 'bordar'), thirty-six 'bordars', and six slaves. It also had woodland for 500 pigs,

twenty-two acres of meadow, pasture for sixty sheep, eighteen head of cattle, forty goats, five horses, eighteen ploughs, two hives of bees, a saltpan, and a mill¹¹ that had existed before the Domesday records were made. Wivenhoe on the other hand recorded a population of only five 'villans', twenty 'bordars' and two slaves¹² and had woodland for 100 pigs, twelve acres of meadow, pasture for sixty sheep, eight head of cattle, twenty goats, one horse, two ploughs and a mill¹³ which existed at the time of Domesday ('now'), but not prior to this. This situation was reversed in later years as Elmstead dwindled and by 1377, Wivenhoe was one of the most populous parishes in the Lexden Hundred, having a count of 167 people paying the Poll Tax.¹⁴

Almost all the subsequent records refer to a 'manorial' mill and the *Victoria County History*¹⁵ suggests that they must be referring to the same watermill belonging to the manor of Wivenhoe¹⁶. The dilemma about whether this might be either the Wivenhoe or the Elmstead mill, referred to in Domesday, is complicated by the fact that, as Holt suggests, 'the English manor did not usually coincide with the village'¹⁷ and indeed here this is illustrated by the fact that the manor of Wivenhoe, comprised not only the parish of Wivenhoe but also extended into the adjacent parishes of Elmstead¹⁸ and Greenstead. The boundaries between these parishes were in part naturally formed by streams on the north-west (between Wivenhoe and Greenstead) known as Salary Brook¹⁹ and on the east (between Wivenhoe and Elmstead), known just as the [Wivenhoe] Brook, and it is this eastern stream,²⁰ which is the most obvious candidate for the siting of the Wivenhoe manorial mill. The *Victoria County History* suggests that it 'was probably the mill on the Brook in the south-east of the parish on the Elmstead border, ¼ mile from the river [Colne]'.²¹ In the Middle Ages this meant that the watermill would have been positioned, only a short distance away from the heart of the early settlement, which was concentrated in the south-west corner of the parish, around the quay, and near to the church, with the manor house situated just to the north of it on the west side of what is now Wivenhoe High Street.

The vestry minutes of St Mary's Church, dated 25 September, 1871 confirm that 'the old mill house commonly called Bobbitt's Hole'²² still stood on the Brook in the nineteenth century.²³ On a modern map it is estimated that the mill buildings would be situated where No's 36 and 38 Valley Road now stand with what once was the mill garden stretching out to the rear of these properties, parallel to Bobbitts Way.

The only other known record of what might be an early mill in Wivenhoe itself, is an archaeological report, dated 1975, referring to a ring ditch with a cruciform mark in the centre which is described as a 'mill mound' on Wivenhoe Heath. However no estimated date for this find is given and it is assumed from its description that this must be a later windmill.²⁴ The only other known references to a mill in Elmstead after Domesday are: a deed dated 1275 referring to a watermill and 'a meadow called le Pandmadwe [pond meadow?] adjacent';²⁵ a record dated 1628 which criticises the inhabitants of Elmstead 'for not mending the highway and securing the ditches from Elmstead Mill leading forth onto the bridge that parteth Elmstead and 'Wivenoll' (sic) in Colchester Road';²⁶ and a deed of conveyance of 1660, relating to the manor of Wivenhoe, which refers to both a 'watermill in Elmstead', and a 'windmill lately erected' on 'Could Hall Field' in Elmstead'.²⁷

The present day resident might wonder how the Brook in Wivenhoe, barely a metre wide in some places, could ever have supported a watermill. Nevertheless, it has a constant flow of water, never dries up, and may well formerly have been a more substantial stream. This would not be unusual and many mills existed in the eleventh century in places where they could not possibly exist now.²⁸ Indeed many streams at the time were heavily embanked to improve the flow of water and extend milling to the top limits of the available power supply.

Benham refers to Salary Brook, mentioned above, 'where an inconspicuous trickle of water ... provided power for three mills, all fulling cloth in the 18th century'²⁹ and to Birch Brook in Rowhedge, across the river from Wivenhoe, which also supported a fulling mill, where 'a trickle that passes under the Colchester to Fingringhoe Road, north of the Ipswich Arms public house' flows into the Colne.³⁰

What do we know about the watermill?

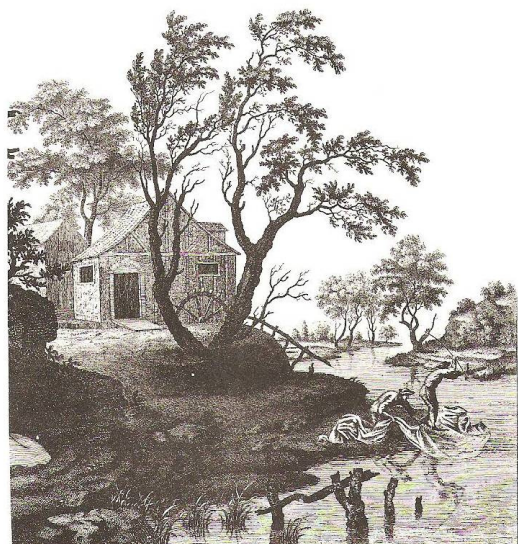
The prime role of the watermill was to free the individual from the time-consuming task of grinding corn by handmill or quern. Because of the lack of archaeological evidence it is difficult to know exactly what the earliest 'Wivenhoe' mill would have looked like and how it would have operated. One can imagine from what is known about other Essex river mills that it probably consisted of a small single-storey wooden building, working one of two pairs of stones, grinding small amounts of corn brought on a pack horse by a customer who waited to take away his meal in the same bag. The miller would take a toll of corn as his payment and there was no need for storage facilities.³¹ In many manors the local villagers were obliged to use the manorial mill to grind their corn or they would be fined. This caused so much resentment however that later some manors introduced a system of licensing independent mills for a fee.³²

Since much of the available documentation cites the manorial mill as being in Elmstead, it must have been structurally positioned on the Elmstead side of the Brook, to the east of the parish border. This would particularly apply if the mill was built beside the stream with an external wheel rather than the alternative arrangement of straddling the stream with an internal wheel.³³ The earliest mill may very well have had a horizontal wheel with the force of the stream directed to one side.³⁴ All that was necessary was a vertical shaft to the millstone above. This system was commonly used until the thirteenth century, particularly by smaller scale mills, because although the horizontal wheel's use of available water power was relatively inefficient, these types of mills were easy to construct and had low repair costs. It was only from the thirteenth century,³⁵ that the horizontal mills were replaced by more expensive and powerful vertical mills, by those lords of the manor who could afford to do so. In Essex, these would typically either be driven by a breastshot wheel, a vertical waterwheel where the water enters at about the level of the wheelshaft, or an undershot wheel, which was driven by the impulse of water striking the floats at or near the bottom of the wheel.³⁶ There may have been a mill pond above the mill which would have been used to store water until it was required for use. Typically, Essex watermills had sluices to control the flow of water and some had a sluice to the back channel which allowed water to flow past the mill and sometimes the back channel sluice was so near to hand (as at Ardleigh and Colchester's Bourne Mill) that a by-valve (which by-passed the wheel channel) was not required.³⁷ This arrangement was usually only practicable for mills with pools on small brooks. It was also very likely that the manorial mill contained an eel trap, as it is known that eel fishing was an important secondary occupation for river millers and mediaeval mill rents were often partly paid for by eels, usually measured by the 'stick' of twenty-five eels. The trap would most probably have been sited immediately below the by-valve or the back channel sluice. The season for catching eels was in the late summer as the eels migrated out to sea, and a sharp-eyed miller would be able to forecast the success of the catch by watching the number of elvers working their way upstream in the spring.³⁸ Even to the present day there is anecdotal evidence of eels in the Brook.

These early mills, being built almost entirely of wood, were notoriously short-lived, often collapsing or burning down, and having to be repaired or rebuilt. However, water mills were

rarely moved from their original site although they may have been replaced or repaired several times in their life-time; it was unusual for a mill to last for more than 200 years. One such mill belonging to the manor of Wivenhoe (valued at six shillings and eight-pence), was flooded and ruined in 1393.³⁹ However, it must have been restored or rebuilt as there are several references to the mill in the sixteenth-century manorial accounts: William Symondes was described as a tenant at the 'ferme' of the watermill in 1562-3;⁴⁰ the watermill in the park⁴¹ is mentioned in the baliff's accounts of 1585;⁴² the watermill and brew-house are listed in the particulars of the Manor of Wivenhoe and Much [Great] Bentley of 1585-6;⁴³ and a letter from John Goodwyn, surveyor, to Roger Towneshend (sic),⁴⁴ the lord of the manor of Great Bentley, referring to an agreement to arbitrate, mentions a bid of £10 a year for the brew-house at Wivenhoe in 1586.⁴⁵ The mill was also still operating in the first half of the seventeenth century as there are references in the manorial accounts to the watermill and brewing house in a deed of 1614.⁴⁶ Repairs were also carried out to the watermill in: 1641, at a cost of thirteen pounds and six-pence;⁴⁷ 1647, at a cost of three pounds, one shilling and nine-pence;⁴⁸ and in 1653 at a more substantial cost of thirty-seven pounds, eight shillings and three-pence,⁴⁹ according to an itemised 'accompt' submitted by Edmond Dawber, one of the bailiffs of the manors of Wivenhoe and Great Bentley. A search in Essex Record Office provided details of the wills of five Wivenhoe millers who must have been tenants at the watermill from 1612-1670.⁵⁰ The watermill was also mentioned as formerly cited in the deed of conveyance of 1660 referring to the rights of John Dawbee (possibly Dawber) in the 'watermill at Elmstead'.

Many watermills in the early mediaeval period were converted into fulling mills from the thirteenth century onwards, after an imposition of a duty on the export of wool in 1347. This, together with the encouragement of immigration at the time of Flemish weavers, fullers and dyers, is generally considered as marking the foundation of the English cloth trade.⁵¹ There were several mills of this kind serving the nearby cloth town of Colchester.⁵² There is evidence for fulling in Ardleigh, St Osyth, and Bourne Mill in Colchester, and by the eighteenth century, as previously mentioned, there were three fulling mills on Salary Brook (*see Map 2*) and another in Rowhedge. However there is no evidence for fulling activity at the Wivenhoe watermill, other than an early reference of 1638, in which Johanne (Joan), the widow of Thomas Cawton the deceased bailiff, of the Manor of Wivenhoe and Great Bentley, requests payment for 'monies paid for weaving, fulling, and oding of cloth' with two bills attached,⁵³ but it does not say where this work was carried out. It is most likely that, with the close proximity of other mills engaged in the fulling trade, the Wivenhoe watermill did not convert to fulling but continued to grind corn until its demise. The town itself would have continued with its traditional maritime industries of fishing and shipbuilding, and its main contribution towards the cloth trade would have been to continue to operate as a port for Colchester, as it had done since the sixteenth century. Indeed it is known that in 1713 two packet boats travelled weekly from Wivenhoe to London with cloth and returned with wool for the Colchester cloth industry.⁵⁴



A fulling mill as it appears on the title page of the 1777 Chapman and André map (reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office). It shows men beating the cloth in the nearby stream.

It is not possible to say exactly when the watermill ceased to function as a mill but it can be surmised that this occurred sometime between the last mention of the mill (in 1660) and a miller (in 1670) and the first cartographic record of the Wivenhoe windmill in 1678. However the mill house itself continued to stand for approximately another two hundred years. An unmarked building which may be the mill house, is shown on the Hayward Rush map of the parish of 1734.⁵⁵ It stands next to the plot which is described as the Mill Garden on a map of the manor of Wivenhoe dated 1799.⁵⁶ By 1771 the records show that the old mill house had declined in status and was just referred to as 'tenements'.⁵⁷ By the 1841 census it was occupied by a young agricultural labourer and his family and so it continued. It is referred to in the vestry minutes of 1866 and 1871, when the state of the 'privy' at Bobbitts Hole was deplored as contributing to the pollution of the Brook. The mill buildings can clearly be seen on the 1874 Ordnance Survey Map (*see Map 5*) but twenty years later they seem to have been abandoned and the site is shown as 'a ruin' on the 1894 Ordnance Survey Map.⁵⁸

2. The First 'Wivenhoe' Windmill [by 1678 - circa 1816]

Where was the first windmill located?

At some point in the third quarter of the seventeenth century the water mill was replaced by a windmill, not too far away from the watermill, and still in the vicinity of Bobbitts Hole. In the local oral tradition this name was used to refer, not only specifically to the site of the old mill house on the Brook, but also to the sloping sides of the valley (hence Valley Road) through which the Brook ran.⁵⁹ The new mill was sited approximately two hundred yards to the east of the watermill on high ground (now part of Dene Park Estate) where it could make best use of the full force of the wind. The use of windmills had spread from the thirteenth century onwards, particularly in areas like East Anglia, where the water supply could be a problem. Benham refers to the introduction of windmill technology as the 'industrial revolution' of its day which enabled milling to be brought 'to areas where waterpower had been inadequate'.⁶⁰ Although there had apparently been a sufficient force of water to enable the Wivenhoe watermill to grind corn for bread for centuries, the supply may have dwindled. The lord of the manor may have decided that a new windmill would be more productive, and cope more effectively with the requirements of the increased population of the town, which had risen to about 197 households at this time,⁶¹ following the death of many people from the plague in the early seventeenth century. Possibly the watermill was also feeling its age and it was not economically viable to repair it.

The first cartographic reference to a windmill appears on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1678 (*see Map 1*) located on the Elmstead side of the Brook. It is similarly marked on the Warburton, Bland and Smyth map of 1725.⁶² The Colchester Poll Book for 1768 lists Jacob Agnis as the miller. By the early 1770s the first documented reference appears,⁶³ which confirms more precisely the situation of the mill. This is a deed of 1771⁶⁴ relating to the transfer of property and land belonging to the late Nicholas Corsellis⁶⁵ of Wivenhoe Hall (*see Map 3*). The Corsellis were descendants of a London merchant and elder of the Dutch church who had come to England circa 1576. Subsequently they had become one of the wealthiest and most important families in Wivenhoe and in 1657 they bought the manor house and advowson for £15,700.⁶⁶ However, the 1771 deed shows that some of the family property was up for sale 'to discharge incumbrances'. Attached to this deed were two faint rough sketches of the estate, which appear to have been added sometime after the original document was drawn up⁶⁷ and these show the substantial acreage of land which lay in close proximity to both the original watermill and the first windmill. This land sat on either side of the Brook, and is named as the Little Mill Hangings (3 acres), Great Mill Hangings (5 acres),

the Pump Fields (8 acres) in Wivenhoe; and land called the Great Mill Field (24 acres) in Elmstead.⁶⁸ The windmill is clearly marked in the south-eastern corner of the Little Mill Hangings (*see Map 3*) and this must be the same windmill that is marked on the Chapman and André map of 1777 (*see Map 2*).

What do we know about the first windmill?

In 1772 the windmill is described for the first time as a 'large post windmill in very good repair', in a notice of sale which appeared in the Ipswich Journal.⁶⁹ This states that the occupier is Robert Fynn, and, that although the mill is sited in Elmstead parish, it is commonly known as Wivenhoe Mill. Included in the advertisement is the fact that the mill was situated 'within a quarter of a mile of a fine navigable river [i.e. the Colne], where ships go every week to and from London'; a detail which helps to confirm its location in relation to the course of the Brook.

In a post mill, one of the earliest types of mill, first introduced at the time of the Norman Conquest, the whole body of the mill containing the grinding machinery and grain storage was supported on a large central post. This enabled the body of the mill to revolve so that the sails faced into the wind. The whole rested on and was braced to, crossed beams of great strength, kept off the ground by plinths of brick and stone. The sails were made of a lattice construction over which canvas was spread to catch the wind, similar to a sailing ship. These type of mills were even 'mobile' and were often jacked up and moved from one part of the country to another hauled by teams of horses or oxen.⁷⁰

The fact that much of the land adjacent to the windmill, was referred to as 'Mill Hangings' in the Corsellis deed of 1771, is intriguing, and again raised the possibility that either the watermill or the windmill, at some point in their lives, might have been adapted for fulling purposes. After woollen cloth had first been woven, it had quite a loose weave and it would be taken to the fulling mill to be soaked and pounded, which compacted the material to make a firmer and more practical bolt of cloth.⁷¹ Following this process it would be washed and hung out to stretch and dry (using tenterhooks) on racks in surrounding fields. These are usually described as 'tenterfields' but it has been suggested elsewhere⁷² that the word 'hangings' in connection with a mill may also be used to describe the process of hanging cloth to dry in fields. It was quite common for Essex corn mills to be adapted for use as a fulling mill for some part of their life by the introduction of wheel-driven vertical stampers or heavy timber hammers,⁷³ and then to revert again to grinding corn when the local fulling industry in Essex failed toward the latter part of the eighteenth century.

However no evidence could be found to indicate that either the watermill or the windmill had ever been used as a fulling mill and it was decided after consulting the Oxford English Dictionary that the name 'hangings'⁷⁴ referred only to the steep-sided slopes of the valley through which the Brook ran. Therefore it seems likely that the mill's main function at this time was to continue to produce flour to meet the constant demand for bread.

Another form of milling activity was also taking place at this time, as references to a manorial salt mill appear in the records for the first time since the reference to a saltpan in Elmstead in the Domesday Book. 'The Lord's Book' for 1766-1771⁷⁵ states that on 19 July 1776, the salt mill was leased to Thomas Martin, Esquire who paid seven shillings and two-pence to rent Fen Farm, in Elmstead, and eight shillings and eight-pence for the lands and tenure called Salt Mill. In later records there appears to be a connection between the (by this time) second windmill and the salt mill as the occupier of the windmill also paid the rent for the tenant of the salt mill.⁷⁶

In 1793 the first windmill was mentioned in the will of Edward Stammers, a member of a prominent Essex milling family,⁷⁷ who owned a mill in the parish of Holy Trinity, Colchester. John Smith is named as tenant⁷⁸ but in the following year the executors put the windmill, together with Butt Mill,⁷⁹ Colchester to auction. By this time it appears that some improvements have been made to the mill as for the first time it is described as a post mill with roundhouse.⁸⁰ It was common in the eighteenth century to add roundhouses to the post mills to protect the substructure and act as a convenient store.⁸¹ Fantails were often fitted at the same time so that the sails would automatically keep facing into the wind.

John Smith must have remained as tenant at the mill for some years, since on 21 January 1798, a notice of his wife Hannah's death appears in the Wivenhoe parish burial records,⁸² and the address is listed as 'Elmstead Mill'. Details of his children also appear in the baptism records: his son John, baptised on 2 December 1792,⁸³ must be the same John Smith who followed in his father's footsteps and became a tenant at the second windmill in 1816. In the year following Hannah Smith's death the first windmill is marked on the Survey Map of the Manor of Wivenhoe of 1799⁸⁴ together with the Mill Hangings, and the old Mill Garden, all shown as being in the occupation of John Smith. The original 1805 Ordnance Survey one inch map still marks the 'mill' on this site.

According to Brown the turn of the century was a period when many Essex millers, particularly those who had good access to trade with London, benefitted from the rapid growth in population and consequent expansion of the local market by enlarging and improving their premises.⁸⁵ Frequently they were seen as prosperous and important members of the parish and might serve as officers,⁸⁶ for instance as Overseers of the Poor, as did later Wivenhoe millers.

However the period from 1793 - 1815 was also a time of war with France and the advantage the first windmill had of being situated in a good trading position near to the port of Wivenhoe, may have been something of a mixed blessing. Rumours were rife on this part of the north-east Essex coast that a French invasion might be imminent and Wivenhoe in particular was a focal point for the reception of sick and wounded soldiers returning from the war and heading for the now empty Colchester barracks.⁸⁷ These factors alone may have been sufficient to induce a feeling of general apprehension amongst the local population and in particular local traders who had money and stock tied up in their various businesses. By 1801, Manester Cooper⁸⁸ who had taken over as the occupier of the first windmill, took the precaution of insuring the structure, machinery and stock for £100, with the Royal Exchange Assurance Company.⁸⁹ In the following nine years, while he was still in occupation, the mill was put up for sale again by auction in 1806, 1809 and 1810.⁹⁰

Farries suggests that the evidence supplied by numerous bills that had to be paid towards the upkeep of the first post mill indicate that by this time the mill was 'a very old nag indeed' although this is contradicted by the bill of sale for September 1810 at the Falcon Inn, in Wivenhoe, where it is described as being 'in excellent repair'. Bearing in mind the tendency of a vendor to boost the condition of a property for sale, it does seem that Manester Cooper, at least, had decided to call it a day. The mill is described as 'A capital POST WINDMILL, with a large bricked roundhouse ... situate (sic) in the parish of Elmstead, near the port of Wivenhoe. Also at the same time will be sold, 100 flour sacks in lots, 2 sack barrows, 2 pairs of scales and beams, 8 half hundred, 4 quarter and 7 pound bloom weights, 51 mill bills, 2 iron crows and spaners, dressing flour mill complete, mill cart and harness, loading cart and harness, bay gelding, stack of hay, about 100 bushels of potatoes, 2 acres of wheat on the straw, lot of muck, and many other articles'.⁹¹

It may also be relevant to the demise of the first windmill, that by 1811, William Brummell (brother to the famous dandy 'Beau Brummell'), had purchased a large plot of land adjacent to land owned by Nicholas Corsellis, on which he erected Wivenhoe House, described as 'a handsome modern white brick mansion',⁹² and laid out a landscaped estate. In the hand-drawn map accompanying the deeds, the windmill can be seen on land adjacent to that purchased by Brummell, marked as 'Mr Corsellis's Land' (*see Map 4*). It stands on the same spot indicated in the 1771 sketches, near a small turning towards the top of the 'Ballast Road', now known as Ballast Quay Road. The map also shows that the Brook, where it ran through the new park to the south of the site of the original watermill, had been transformed into a canal-like water feature with a small bridge in the centre. It is possible that the windmill may have been re-located because the Corsellis wished to enlarge the Ballast Pit from which gravel was being taken down to the river to be used as ballast for ships. Or it may have been thought to be inconveniently situated for the new owners of Wivenhoe House; although it was not on their property it may have been spoiling the view.

3. The Second Windmill and Steam Mill [circa 1816 - 1882]

Where was it located?

There may have been a gap between the demise of the first windmill and the erection of the second windmill, still described as a post mill with a brick roundhouse, and located at the corner of what is now Belle Vue Road and Rectory Hill (formerly known as the Brightlingsea Road). This new site was four hundred yards to the north of the watermill and first windmill, and (unlike them) in Wivenhoe parish. Two early nineteenth-century lease holders of the mill plot are referred to in a deed of covenant dated 1859:⁹³ James Taylor, who held the property until 17 April 1805; and Benjamin Stacey, who surrendered the property to John Smith as a copyhold tenant at a General Court Baron⁹⁴ held on 17 April 1816. Here there is some confusion: although this particular John Smith (born in 1791) was known as 'the elder', and will continued to be referred to as such in this paper, it is reasonably certain that he was the son of John Smith (born circa 1767) who was the tenant of the first windmill in 1793.

Although the two previous leaseholders of this plot are recorded, no mill building is referred to and no mill is yet shown on this site on the 1805 Ordnance Survey map (which was carried out c1803). The *Victoria County History* suggests that the mill may have been erected in 1816,⁹⁵ when Smith, a leading figure in the Wivenhoe milling industry, up to the mid-nineteenth century, was admitted to the plot. This is the date carved over the door of the handsome Mill House, which can be seen to this day, but the house may have been built at a later stage than the mill itself. It is even possible that the first windmill was moved from its original site, following what looked like the closing down sale of 1810, to this new location, but no evidence of this has yet been found. Cartographically the mill is first shown on the new site on the North Sheet of C and J Greenwood's map of 1825.⁹⁶

What do we know about the second windmill and steam mill?

It is clear from the records that John Smith 'the elder' who occupied the second windmill for many years was also involved in the malting⁹⁷ and brewing industry in Wivenhoe. It was then normal for malting and brewing to be carried out on a small scale in each community, and certainly malting was being carried out in Wivenhoe⁹⁸ during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the 'House of Mr John Cardinal a Maltster' is shown on the Hayward Rush map of 1734. It was also quite common for mills to grind malt for brewing and in the

trade directories from 1826-1859, Smith is described in various combinations as a maltster and miller (1826-1827),⁹⁹ 'retail brewer, malster and miller' (1832-1834),¹⁰⁰ brewer and maltster (1845), and grocer and maltster (1848).¹⁰¹ However he clearly continued to grind corn to produce flour because the trade directories also describe him as a corn miller throughout this period.¹⁰² It seems that he may have been something of an entrepreneur as he also appears to have had more than a passing interest in the salt trade, since the manorial deeds of 1832 refer to him paying the rent for the salt mill which was occupied by H Higginbotham.¹⁰³ He also paid the rent for Mr Higginbottom's (sic) wife who was listed as occupying the 'Orchard', part of a substantial Wivenhoe property known as 'Burrs', which often appears in the manorial records and seems to have a longstanding association with the salt mill. This is possibly a clue to its location although it is not known if the property was still functioning as a business at this time.¹⁰⁴

On the Wivenhoe Tithe Map of 1838 Smith was still listed as the 'owner' and occupier of the House, Mill and Premises, plus the field behind the mill, known during that period as the Mill Field. He had survived at least one of the frequent accidents that befell all mills, such as the time in 1833 (reported on in the local press) when the windmill had been struck by lightning and a ten foot splinter of wood was torn from the sails.¹⁰⁵ In the 1839 trade directory a second miller, John Pyman,¹⁰⁶ is listed, who presumably is working at the second windmill, but Smith is still listed in the 1841 census, as the main occupier of 'The Mill' with his family, including two sons, John (age 25) and William (age 19) who are also listed as millers. By this time Smith 'the elder' was serving the parish as a church warden.¹⁰⁷

In 1848 when the lease was advertised again,¹⁰⁸ the mill was described as 'a post-windmill driving two pairs of stones, with a round house, piggeries and sixty acres', a substantial amount of land, confirming Smith's prosperity. By 1850, John Whitaker Pertwee¹⁰⁹ had taken over the tenancy and was now described as the 'miller', although Smith was still listed in the trade directory for that year as working in association with Pertwee, as 'malster and brewer'. He may have decided to lease the mill and concentrate on what he may have seen as the more lucrative trade; the 1851 census lists eight inns and taverns and a number of beer-houses in Wivenhoe. The same census confirms that Pertwee, a twenty-four-year-old bachelor, was in residence at the Mill House. Smith's second son, William, who had by now abandoned working as a miller and was listed with the interesting occupation of an artist in musical intonation, was also present at the Mill House at the time of the census.

By 1855,¹¹⁰ when Smith was sixty four years old, his eldest son, John Smith 'the younger' had taken over the role of 'brewer and malster' from his father, while Robert Beckwith, who was described as a 'farmer and miller', managed the mill. Four years later the mill had diversified its activities, and by 1859, with its two pairs of French stones was now operating a well-established flour and bread trade.¹¹¹ A deed of covenant on conditional surrender dated January, 1859, suggests that Smith 'the elder', while still the copyhold tenant for the mill,¹¹² had been leasing the mill to other tenants, while retaining an overall interest. The 1859 deed refers to a transaction between Smith 'the copyhold tenant'¹¹³ and Benjamin Page Grimsey of Ipswich in the County of Suffolk, whereby he surrenders 'out of Court according to the custom of the said manor' and in consideration of £300 paid to him by Benjamin Grimsey, the parcel of land consisting of about three quarters of an acre, together with the mill house and windmill, which had formerly been in his occupation, and then in Robert Beckwith's and currently in the occupation of his son, John Smith, 'the younger'. The remaining quarter of an acre had been sold to the Burial Board for the parish of Wivenhoe for use as a cemetery on the east side of Belle Vue Road.

One month later, at a property auction held at the Anchor Inn, in February 1859, the tenancy of the mill, described as currently being in the occupation of a tenant whose tenancy expired at Michaelmas last, was up for renewal and a substantial auction of land which appears to be part of the previously advertised sixty acres of property attached to the mill was also up for sale. By now the mill was described as a 'A Capital post Windmill with Roundhouse, Buildings including Bake Office, Ten Bushel Oven, Granary Counting House, Stable, Cartlodge and Piggery, Complete with a Substantial Brick and Slated Residence'.¹¹⁴ There seems to have been some wheeling and dealing as the mill premises were bought for £490 by Cooper of Messrs Daniell and Cooper, Brewers, who at the same seemed to be divesting themselves of the Maltings, which they had owned up to that point, and in which John Smith also appears to have had an interest. This was for sale at the same auction described as a valuable freehold business premises, comprising a 'Malting, 10 quarter steep,¹¹⁵ with Barley and Malt Chambers above, Brewhouse (sic), Stores, Stable, Chaise House, Piggeries', a large yard complete with a 'roomy and convenient dwelling house ... fitted up with every convenience for a respectable family'. Most of the other parcels of land auctioned off in 1859, many of which fronted onto the Brightlingsea Road, were described as plots of land suitable for building purposes, and it was also noted that at least two of these had a good supply of brick earth 'conveniently situated for carrying on the brick trade'. Two other parcels of land, one described as a valuable piece of land now used as a Market Garden, and the other described as a 'productive kitchen garden' were purchased by John Smith 'junior', now referred to as a miller and a porter merchant in the 1859 trade directory. Whether the money for this was raised from the mortgage agreement made with Benjamin Page Grimsey is unclear, but both John Smith 'junior' and his sister, Mary Maria were forced to surrender certain copyhold hereditaments, including the Maltings Office, to Grimsey a few years later when they failed to keep up with the mortgage repayments. The property was eventually bought by the local builder John Eade, who pulled it down circa 1866 and sold the land on for building plots.¹¹⁶

By the 1861 census, Smith 'the elder', aged 71, now widowed, and described as a retired miller, was living in Wivenhoe High Street with his unmarried daughter, Mary Maria and his son, William who by now was described as a 'Professor of Music'. Joseph Francis, described in the same census as miller and baker, was now in residence at the mill, presumably having taken over the lease following the 1859 auction. Smith 'the younger' was also now living in the High Street, aged 45, with his wife, Thirza and young family. He was again described as a malster and porter merchant, but he cannot have maintained his involvement with the malting industry in Wivenhoe for long after the Maltings Office was sold and by 1871 he had moved with his family to Barking.

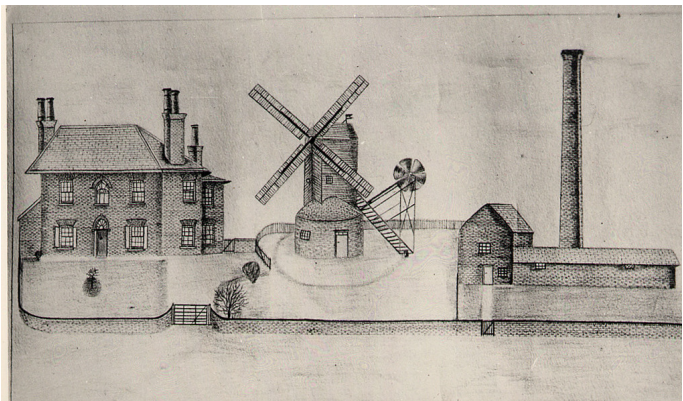
The second windmill continued to operate under Daniell and Cooper's ownership, with Joseph Francis, as the miller for at least two years, from 1862 onward. He was succeeded by Joseph Balls, who was listed as the miller in 1866 and 1867. The mill must have continued to prosper as according to the Vestry Minutes for St Mary's Church, in February 1865, Balls was chosen as a Constable of the Parish and his name was included in a 'List of Substantial Householders' delivered to the Justices of the Peace with the suggestion that he should be thereby appointed as one of the 'Overseers of the Poor'. This position was also taken over by a relative, James Balls (sic), who was cited as the 'miller' from 1866-1867.¹¹⁷

At some point in the late nineteenth century a steam mill complemented the second windmill on the same site. This was quite a common step for rural millers to take, since from 1850 they were facing increasing competition from steam-powered town mills which used roller mills, a Hungarian invention, which were more effective at producing whiter flour than the traditional mill stones. It has not been possible yet to ascertain the exact date when the

steam mill first appeared and the situation is also complicated by the fact that when Charles Mortlock, the miller who eventually took over the running of the second mill site circa 1874, is first listed as residing in Wivenhoe in 1871, the records state that he is living in the High Street. Interestingly a reference in some recently discovered local deeds suggest that at that time he was leasing a 'freehold messuage with steam flour mill and premises formerly a Malting (sic) situate in High Street, Wivenhoe' which as previously mentioned had been purchased from Benjamin Page Grimsey in 1864.¹¹⁸

This seems unlikely but if this reference is correct it raises the possibility that a steam flour mill may have been operating at the site of the Maltings for some time in the mid-nineteenth century. However there is no reference to a steam mill at either the Mill site or the Maltings site in the previously mentioned deeds of 1859 so it must have been constructed after this time and before the former Maltings premises were resold in 1871, but as yet no other evidence has been found to support its existence. Some credence may be lent to this supposition by the fact that the Mill House at the corner of Belle Vue Road and Rectory Road was reportedly 'uninhabited' at the time of the 1871 census. One can even speculate that it was following the sale of the High Street property in November 1871 that Charles Mortlock moved to the Mill House where he proceeded to modernise the second windmill site by the addition of a steam mill.

Certainly by the time of the 1881 census Charles Mortlock (by now described as a baker and miller) was firmly in residence at the Mill House at the corner of Belle Vue Road. From that time on he and successive members of his family remained in occupation until the nineteen-thirties. The windmill continued to suffer from the occasional disaster and in November 1882 it caught fire¹¹⁹ destroying all but the roundhouse although the steam mill survived (see an artist's impression of the site prior to the fire to the right).



An artist's impression of Wivenhoe Mill prior to the fire (reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office)

The steam mill continued to function through the turn of the century. In the 1886 to 1902 trade directories the mill is described as 'water' but this is clearly an error and actually refers to the steam mill. Charles Mortlock died in 1887,¹²⁰ but his widow carried on the business until the First World War when her sons, Charles William and Albert Edward Mortlock took her place, just as John Smith's sons, at first, had followed in their father's footsteps. The 'Mill Field' itself (the northern half of the 'Great Mill Field' of the 1771 plan), took on a new lease of life at about this time and was used for sports and recreational purposes, cricket matches,¹²¹ fireworks displays,¹²² and other public events. During the First World War the Mortlock family billeted 99 soldiers on the Mill Field¹²³ and a regimental sports day was held there on 29 April, 1915.¹²⁴ According to Bill Eborn, one of the twentieth century occupants of the Mill House, Dora Sparling, the granddaughter of Charles Mortlock also continued with the business until her health deteriorated and she was no longer able to manage the heavy work of humping sacks of grain.

Mills generally, went into a decline at this time, because of the shortage and high price of materials and because many of the skilled millers and millwrights who were able to maintain and repair the mills failed to return from the war.¹²⁵ The Wivenhoe steam mill continued to

operate but must have undergone further changes because from 1914 onward it was described as an 'oil' mill, in Kelly's Trade Directory. This must have referred to the means of powering the mill, almost certainly by a version of the solid injection oil engine¹²⁶ which was invented in the late nineteenth century and patented by Herbert Akroyd Stuart and Charles Richard Binney in 1890.

The mill was still producing grain during the interwar years and into the nineteen-forties but its owners must have found it difficult to continue after the deprivations of yet another war.



Photograph reproduced by courtesy of the author

This was a common occurrence and the number of rural mills still working by wind alone, for example, was reduced from about three hundred and fifty in 1919 to fifty by 1946.¹²⁷ Eventually, following a decision that the mill was no longer a viable enterprise, the mill buildings were demolished to make way for new housing and Dora Sparling, the last Wivenhoe miller, retired to the bungalow that she had built on the site of the old windmill. The Mill House itself (see photograph above), still stands on the corner of Bellevue and Rectory Road.

Conclusion

This research was undertaken to try and recover the 'lost' history of the Wivenhoe mill. It developed from a shorter study into the history of the Brook in Wivenhoe which uncovered some intriguing references to a 'Wivenhoe' mill. This led to a closer study of some local and national maps and plans from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It soon became obvious, as a colleague remarked, that 'something more was here' but nobody had noticed'. That something was the watermill and from there this present investigation commenced.

There is a strong oral tradition in Wivenhoe but most local residents are completely unaware that there was a watermill on the Brook until the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and that it stood on the site that was later referred to as Bobbitts Hole. This is surprising because the site remained virtually untouched until the 1960s. Bobbitts Hole *is* remembered by older residents, but only as a wonderful place for children to play - 'we spent a lovely lot of time there, picnicking. And there was a garden with apple trees and a brook, and the Brook was lovely, we used to paddle in it and we used to catch frogs and put them in our mugs and then let them hop'.¹²⁸ Nor do they know that the watermill was succeeded by the first windmill, erected high on the sloping sides of the valley on what is now Dene Park estate, to catch the strong east wind. It is just remembered as a tremendous place in winter - 'where the ground goes right the way down to the Brook and that was magnificent when the snow was about. Everybody in Wivenhoe made a sledge'.¹²⁹

Only the existence of the second windmill and steam mill next to the 1816 Mill House at the corner of Belle Vue Road and Rectory Road, which operated until the mid-1940s, is recalled. Sue Kerr, for instance, who was born in 1934, remembers grain and animal feed being run to the mill in a pony and trap, 'there was a long, low series of barns which smelled lovely of grain and flour - just a wonderful countryside smell. I used to stand on the scales to keep a check on my health and growth. They were huge - huge sacks of grain could be weighed on them'.¹³⁰

Apart from this the memory of the Wivenhoe mills lives on only in the mill associated names that are still used in the town. When new housing was built in the late 1960s and early 1970s, 'Bobbitts Way' was one of the names chosen for a road that ran close to where the old mill had stood. The mill fields themselves had long ago been amalgamated and subdivided to form new fields, which in their turn were submerged under successive housing developments. In 1981 Millfields School was opened in the vicinity¹³¹ but few people will be aware of the real history of the Wivenhoe mills that gave the school its name. It is hoped that this paper has helped to fill a gap in Wivenhoe's local history and that it will remind people of the part the mills played in the social and economic development of the town.

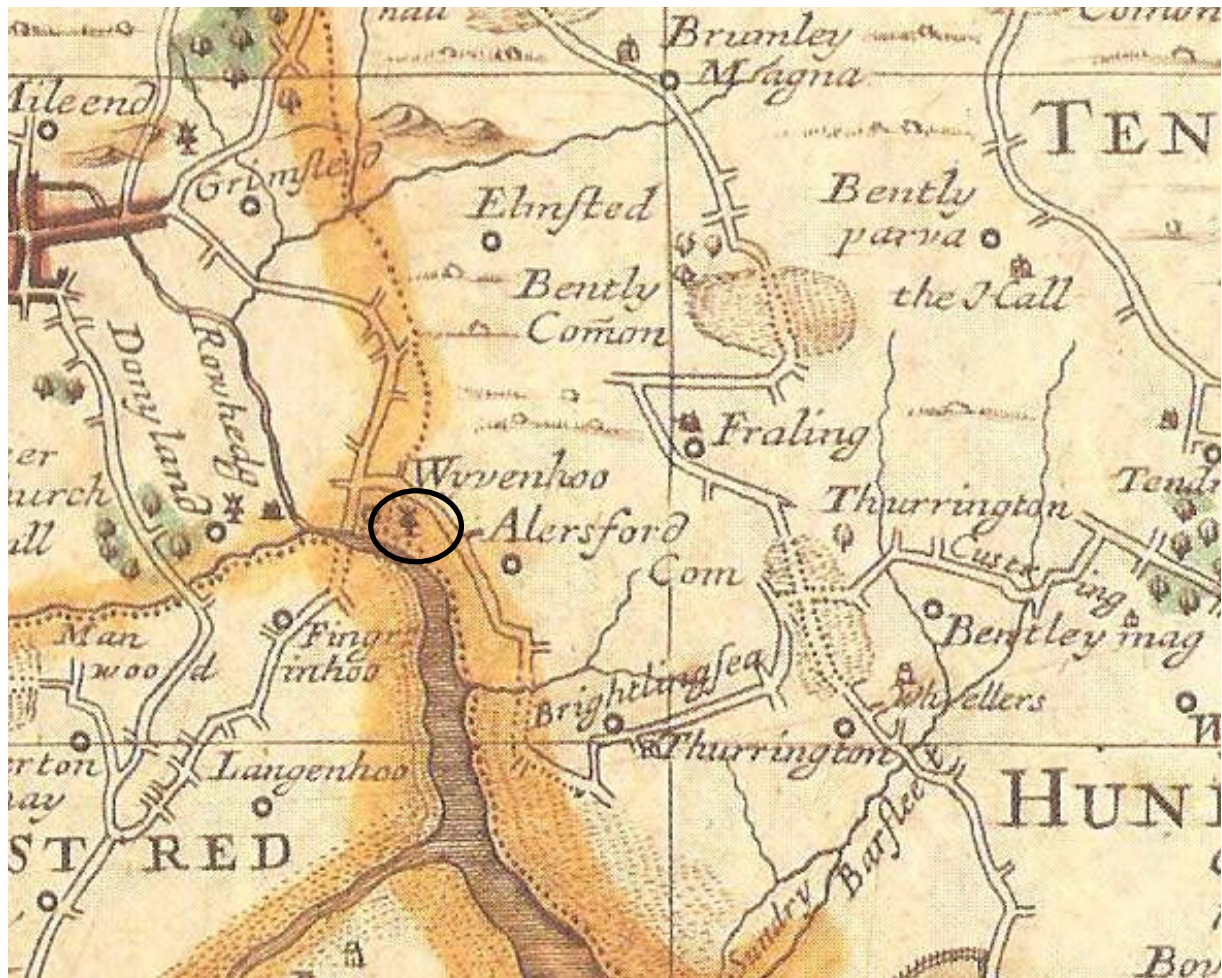
Pat Marsden, November, 2008

Acknowledgements.

Particular thanks to Diane Clarke, Bill Eborn, Sue Glasspool, Peter Kay, Ben Marsden, John Stewart, Chris Thornton, Geoff Wood and the Essex Record Office, who all made it possible in various ways to produce this article.

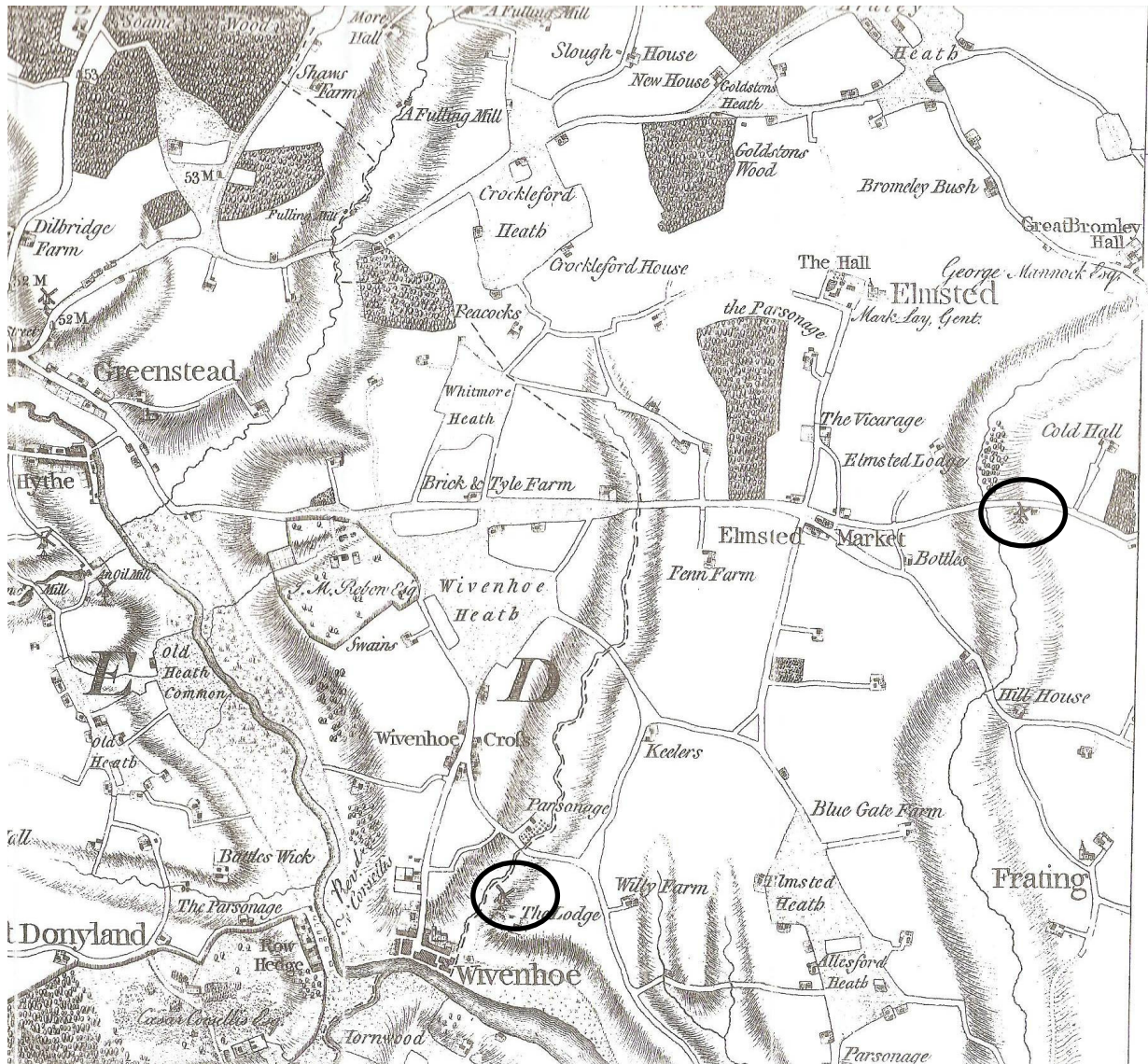
Maps

Map 1: Ogilby & Morgan map of 1678 (reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office)



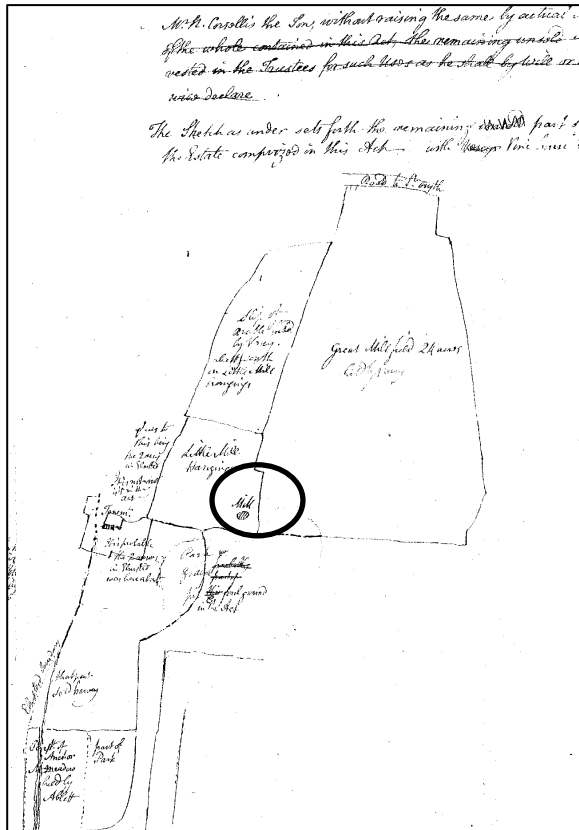
This map shows the 'Wivenhoe' windmill encircled above, situated on the Elmstead side of the parish boundary.

Map 2: Chapman & André 1777 (reproduced by kind permission of Phillimore & Co. Ltd, Chichester, West Sussex)



This extract from the map shows the first 'Wivenhoe' windmill, and the 1660 'Elmstead' windmill in the vicinity of Cold Hall Farm, both encircled above. It also shows the three fulling mills on Salary Brook to the west which formed part of the parish boundary between and Greenstead.

Map 3: One of two very faint rough sketches attached to Nicholas Corsellis's Deed of transfer of 1771 (reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office)

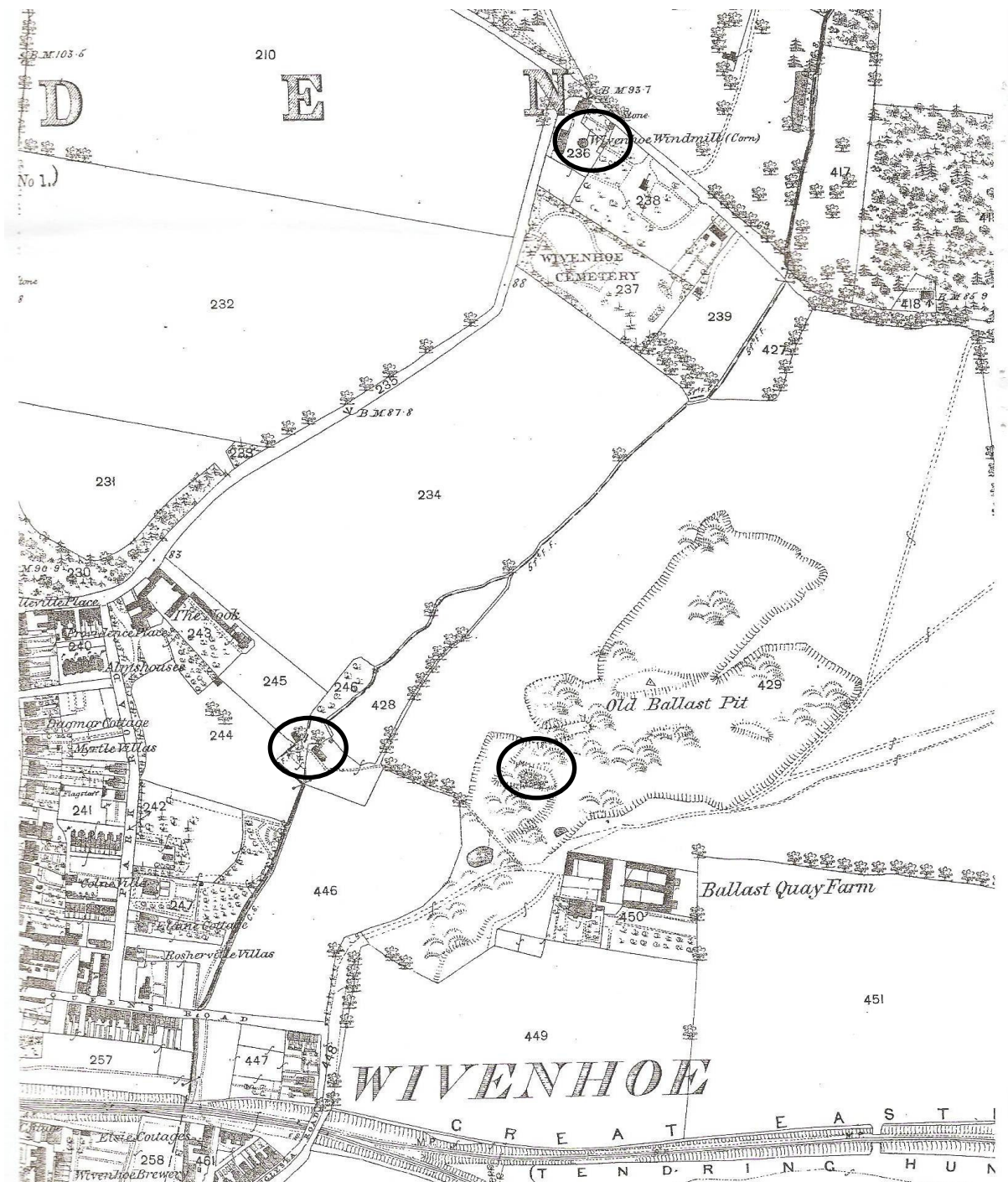


Map 4: Plan attached to Deeds of Wivenhoe House 1811-65 (reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office)



These two maps show the position of the first 'Wivenhoe' windmill encircled above in the vicinity of the later Ballast Quay Farm (*see Map 5*). The rectangular building which is indicated to the west of the windmill on the site of the original mill house on *Map 3* is by this time marked as 'Tenements'. *Map 3* also shows some of the substantial acreage of fields in the vicinity of the mill, i.e. Great Mill Hangings; Little Mill Hangings, the Great Mill Field, etc. Note the unusually shaped long field on both maps which has a rectangular piece taken out of the top north-west segment. This helped to identify the position of both the watermill and the first windmill.

Map 5: Ordnance Survey (1:2,500) 1874 (First Edition) (*reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office*).



This map shows the site of what is believed to be the watermill at what is now Nos 36, and 38 Valley Road (encircled), the first windmill at what is now part of Dene Park Estate (encircled), and the second windmill at the corner of Belle Vue and Rectory Road (also encircled). The old mill house (Bobbitts Hole) is conspicuous on the eastern side of the Brook and the plot marked 246 is the site of the 'Mill Garden' occupied by the earliest named John Smith in 1799. This map is used as it clearly shows the relevant sites, which are built over by new housing in contemporary maps. Note the unusually shaped field which also appears on *Maps 3 and 4*.

Notes

¹ N. Butler, *The Story of Wivenhoe*, Wivenhoe 1989.

² V.C.H. *Essex*, X. 284-285.

³ V.C.H. *Essex*, IX. 259-264.

⁴ H. Benham, *Some Essex Water Mills*, Colchester 1983.

⁵ R. Wailes, 'Essex Windmills', *Transactions* 31 1958, 153-180.

⁶ K. G. Farries, *Windmills, Millers and Millwrights*, 5, Weston-super-Mare 1988.

⁷ O. Wikander 'Archaeological evidence for early water-mills', *History of Technology*, 10, 1985, 155-6, 163-4.

⁸ R. Holt, *The Mills of Mediaeval England*, Oxford 1988, 3.

⁹ It is usually assumed that the Domesday records are correct but as Holt remarks 'the likelihood of some degree of error has to be admitted', Holt, 107.

¹⁰ In 1204 the Sheriff of Essex granted the Lexden Hundred to Ralph Gernon, and this grant was confirmed to Ralph and his heirs in 1207. The manorial estate changed hands frequently in the Middle Ages and was acquired by the powerful de Vere family, *Earls of Oxford*, by marriage in 1425, V.C.H. *Essex*, X. 5.

¹¹ A. Williams & G. H. Martin (eds), *The Domesday Book, A Complete Translation*, London, 2002, 1005.

¹² *Ibid*, 1436.

¹³ *The Domesday Book*, 1019.

¹⁴ V.C.H. *Essex*, X. 277.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 284.

¹⁶ The manorial system was introduced at the time of William the Conqueror as the large estates of Saxon landowners were divided up and the system of parishes as we know them today began to form.

¹⁷ Holt, 108.

¹⁸ The deer park, for instance, recorded in 1427, which seems to have been in the south-east of the parish, extended into Cockaynes in Elmstead, Essex Record Office (ERO) D/DBm M507.

¹⁹ V. Clarke, *Essex River Colne: its Tributaries and Creeks*, Halstead 1991, 17.

²⁰ This is the Brook which originated on the former Wivenhoe Heath at the northern side of the present day Elmstead Road. It still runs (although much of it has now been culverted away beneath modern housing developments) down the whole of the eastern side of Wivenhoe to the Pump House on Queens Road and then out via Brook Street to the river marshes, see detailed article on the Brook at <http://queensroadresidentswivenhoe.blogspot.com/>

²¹ V.C.H. *Essex*, X. 284.

²² Nicholas Butler says that he was told that Bobbitts Hole was owned by William Bartlett and this was how one young member of the Bartlett family tried to say the name 'Robert', Butler, 356.

²³ Letter of 25.09.1871, ERO, D/P 277/8/2.

²⁴ Essex County Council, SMR 2641, map reference TM043238.

²⁵ ERO, D/DRg 1/18.

²⁶ ERO, Q/SR 261/28,29.

²⁷ ERO, D/DHt/F45. The mill is situated in the vicinity of Tenpenny Brook, as it runs under the Bromley Road leading out of Elmstead, on its way down to Thorrington. In modern maps we can also see that both Mill Meadow and a Mill Farm are indicated in the vicinity, Clarke, 23.

²⁸ Benham, 2.

²⁹ As shown on the Chapman and André Map of 1777.

³⁰ Benham, 13.

³¹ *Ibid*, 11.

³² Holt, 45.

³³ Benham, 13.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 11.

³⁵ Holt, 118-9.

³⁶ M. Watts, *Watermills*, Princes Risborough 2006, 52-3

³⁷ Benham, 13

³⁸ *Ibid*, 13

³⁹ With particular thanks to Chris Thornton for searching out the original V.C.H. notes for this elusive record, National Archives (formerly Public Record Office), C136/82/7.

⁴⁰ ERO, D/DU 65/72A, 24.

⁴¹ Wherever this is referred to it is not to be confused with Wivenhoe Park, to the north of the town (where the University of Essex now sits). This land was purchased by the Rebow family in 1734 and the house was built and the park laid out from 1759 onward, ERO, D/DHt B1.

⁴² ERO, D/DCM M8.

⁴³ ERO, D/DAC 386.

- ⁴⁴ Edmund de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford, was licensed to sell the manors of Wivenhoe, Battleswich and Great Bentley to Roger Townshend in 1587 and the manor of Wivenhoe was sold by his family, in 1657, to Nicholas Corsellis.
- ⁴⁵ ERO, D/DU 318/1.
- ⁴⁶ ERO, D/DK/T94.
- ⁴⁷ ERO, D/DA M4.
- ⁴⁸ ERO, D/DA M4.
- ⁴⁹ ERO, D/DA M4.
- ⁵⁰ Thomas Clarke, 1612 (D/ACW 6/213); Geoffrey Buntinge, 1617 (D/ACW 8/75); Geo. Bryhte, 1618 (Q/SR 221/47, 48); Jeffrey Buntinge, 1620 (National Archives, PROB 11/135); William Pears, 1670 Q/SR 423/105).
- ⁵¹ Benham, 21.
- ⁵² Ibid, 21.
- ⁵³ ERO D/DA M4.
- ⁵⁴ V.C.H. *Essex*, 10. 276.
- ⁵⁵ ERO, D/DU 27/1.
- ⁵⁶ ERO, T/M 374/1.
- ⁵⁷ ERO, D/DU 457/13.
- ⁵⁸ 30.08.1866 and 21.09.1871, ERO, D/P 277/8/2.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid, 98, 103.
- ⁶⁰ Holt, 144.
- ⁶¹ ERO, D/P 277/1/1
- ⁶² D/DBY,10
- ⁶³ There is another intriguing reference in the Wivenhoe Minute Book of 1742-1756 to a request to the court of the Lord of the manor 'to take down a windmill from his copyhold ... in Wivenhoe Street' at the Angel Tavern in April 1751 but no other documentary or cartographic reference to either this mill or this tavern has yet been found, ERO, D/DEt/M12.
- ⁶⁴ ERO, D/DU 457/13.
- ⁶⁵ There were five generations of the Corsellis family in the parish, Butler, 42.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid, 27.
- ⁶⁷ ERO, D/DU 225/10.
- ⁶⁸ ERO, D/DU 457/13.
- ⁶⁹ *Ipswich Journal*, 14.03.1772.
- ⁷⁰ R. Thurston Hopkins, *Old Watermills and Windmills*, n.d., 17, and R. Wailes, 'Removals', *The English Windmill*, London, 1954, 168-173.
- ⁷¹ Lighter worsted cloth did not require fulling, but the heavier woollen cloth did, Benham, 21.
- ⁷² In an item referring to early textile production in Manchester it is suggested that the 'Hanging Ditch' is thought to have been named after the practice of hanging cloth out to dry by fullers, 'History and Heritage of Manchester', www.manchester2002-uk.com/history/history1.html. Benham also somewhat obliquely, refers to 'hanging' in a fulling connection, Benham, 76, 103.
- ⁷³ Watts, 43.
- ⁷⁴ OED definition refers to 'A steep slope or declivity of a hill'
- ⁷⁵ ERO, D/DEt/M10, 256.
- ⁷⁶ D/DBm M508.
- ⁷⁷ H. Benham, 100.
- ⁷⁸ ERO, D/A BR 28, 43.
- ⁷⁹ Situated on the west side of Butt Road in Colchester, 'Colchester: Mills', V.C.H. *Essex*, IX, 263.
- ⁸⁰ *Chelmsford Chronicle*. 14.3.1794
- ⁸¹ Wailes, 1954, 29.
- ⁸² ERO, D/P 277/1/20.
- ⁸³ ERO, D/P 277/1/20.
- ⁸⁴ ERO, T/M 374/1.
- ⁸⁵ A.F.J. Brown, *Prosperity and Poverty: Rural Essex 1700-1815*, Chelmsford, 1996, 174.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid, 68-9.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid 163
- ⁸⁸ Cooper, may have been a member of the Cooper brewing family who later became involved with the mill.
- ⁸⁹ Farries, 99.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid, 100.
- ⁹¹ *Ipswich Journal*, 10.09.1810.
- ⁹² T. Wright, *History and Topography of the County of Essex*, 1836, quoted by Butler, 92.
- ⁹³ ERO, D/DE1 T173.
- ⁹⁴ The Court Baron was the principal type of manorial court, and was the court of the chief tenants of the manor, Senate House Library, University of London.

- ⁹⁵ V.C.H. *Essex*, X. 285
- ⁹⁶ C. & J. Greenwood, *North Sheet*, D/DU 35/105.
- ⁹⁷ Malt could be milled to produce a fine mixture of flour and husks before moving on to be mashed as part of the brewing process.
- ⁹⁸ P. Kay, *Wivenhoe Pubs*, Wivenhoe 2003, 7.
- ⁹⁹ *Pigot's & Co's London & Provincial New Commercial Directory, 1826-7*.
- ¹⁰⁰ Diane Clarke, the current owner of the Mill House, says that beer used to be served to the public through a side window of Mill House, which looked out onto Rectory Hill.
- ¹⁰¹ W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Essex, 1848*.
- ¹⁰² Smith is often listed twice both as a 'corn miller' under the general section of each trade directory and again as 'maltster' under the 'Grocers' section.
- ¹⁰³ D/DBm M508.
- ¹⁰⁴ D/DBm 509.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Essex Standard*, 29.06.1833.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Pigot's Trade Directory* for 1839.
- ¹⁰⁷ ERO, Q/SBb 543/70.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Essex Standard*, 04.02.1848.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Kelly's Trade Directory*, 1850.
- ¹¹⁰ *Kelly's Trade Directory*, 1855.
- ¹¹¹ Farries, 100.
- ¹¹² ERO, D/DEI T173.
- ¹¹³ Copyhold tenure was a form of landholding peculiar to manors. Copyhold tenants were restricted in what they could do with their land and needed permission from the manorial court to inherit, sell, sublet, buy or mortgage their copyhold property. The land was held by copy of the court roll, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk>.
- ¹¹⁴ ERO, B1925; *Essex Standard*, 04.02.1859.
- ¹¹⁵ A vessel where barley is soaked in cold water and allowed to germinate.
- ¹¹⁶ Abstract of the Title deeds of Mrs Elizabeth Eade, drawn up in 1879 by Howard Inglis & Keeling of Colchester.
- ¹¹⁷ ERO, D/P 277/8/2.
- ¹¹⁸ Deed of Conveyance between Mrs Elizabeth Eade and Mr J S Barnes dated 1 November 1879.
- ¹¹⁹ *Essex Standard*, 18.11.1882.
- ¹²⁰ D. Barton, *Wivenhoe - Its Attractions, Pleasures and Eccentric Natives*, Colchester, 1975, 15.
- ¹²¹ Butler, 113.
- ¹²² *Ibid*, 202.
- ¹²³ Barton, 67.
- ¹²⁴ Butler, 212.
- ¹²⁵ Wailes, 1954, 180.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid*, 179.
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid*, 180.
- ¹²⁸ P. Thompson, *Sea-Change: Wivenhoe Remembered*, Stroud 2006, 98.
- ¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 103.
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 59.
- ¹³¹ *Ibid*, 202.

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