

# **BEFORE THE RESORTS**

**(Researched and written by Dr. Christopher Thornton)**

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The following article introduces the Tendring coastline before the development of the seaside resorts in the 19th and 20th centuries. It first discusses the underlying geology and processes which have moulded the physical shape and nature of the coast, before moving on to discuss the changing structure of estates and manors from the Middle Ages onwards. It then outlines the history of human habitation and settlement in the district before explaining how the people who lived there made their living before the advent of the holiday industry. Although the seaside developments were to create an entirely new form of economy and society which dwarfed in scale anything that had preceded them, how, where, when and why they developed was undoubtedly influenced by man's previous interactions with the coastal landscape.

## **(1) LANDSCAPES AND SETTLEMENTS**

The main coastline of Tendring Hundred, from St Osyth at the mouth of the Colne estuary to Harwich at the tip of the Stour estuary contains a variety of landscapes. Underlying much of the undulating Tendring landscape is London Clay laid down in a warm sea in the Eocene Period (between 49 and 56 million years ago). When exposed at the coast the London Clay can be seen to contain hard beds of 'cement stone' along the River Stour and at Harwich (including the Harwich Stone Bed), and these have produced many fossils such as turtles. Many rocks from the following geological epochs, for example the Miocene, were removed by the repeated advance and retreat of the polar ice cap. A few outcrops of Red Crag, marine deposits from the late Pliocene, famous for its fossil shells, are found in the district, for example at Beaumont Hall, the Naze at Walton and formerly in cliffs at Harwich (the latter now eroded away by the sea). More frequently, the London Clay is overlaid by deposits from the last period of glaciation in the Pleistocene period roughly between 2.5 million years ago and 12,000 years ago, such as loams, sands and gravels. Stretches of Kesgrave sands and gravels, for example that from Great Holland, through Clacton to St Osyth were deposited

by the early River Thames which was joined by the Medway north of Clacton before it was diverted south by the ice sheet about 450,000 years ago. Another ridge composed of loam and gravel runs roughly parallel to Hamford Water from Beaumont, through the Oakleys to Dovercourt.



(1) Tendring Hundred on Speed's printed county map of 1610, showing features of the long coastline from St Osyth at the mouth of the Colne, the Gunfleet estuary next to Little Holland, the Naze at Walton, Horsey Island in Hamford Water, and then running north up to the port of Harwich at the mouth of the Stour.

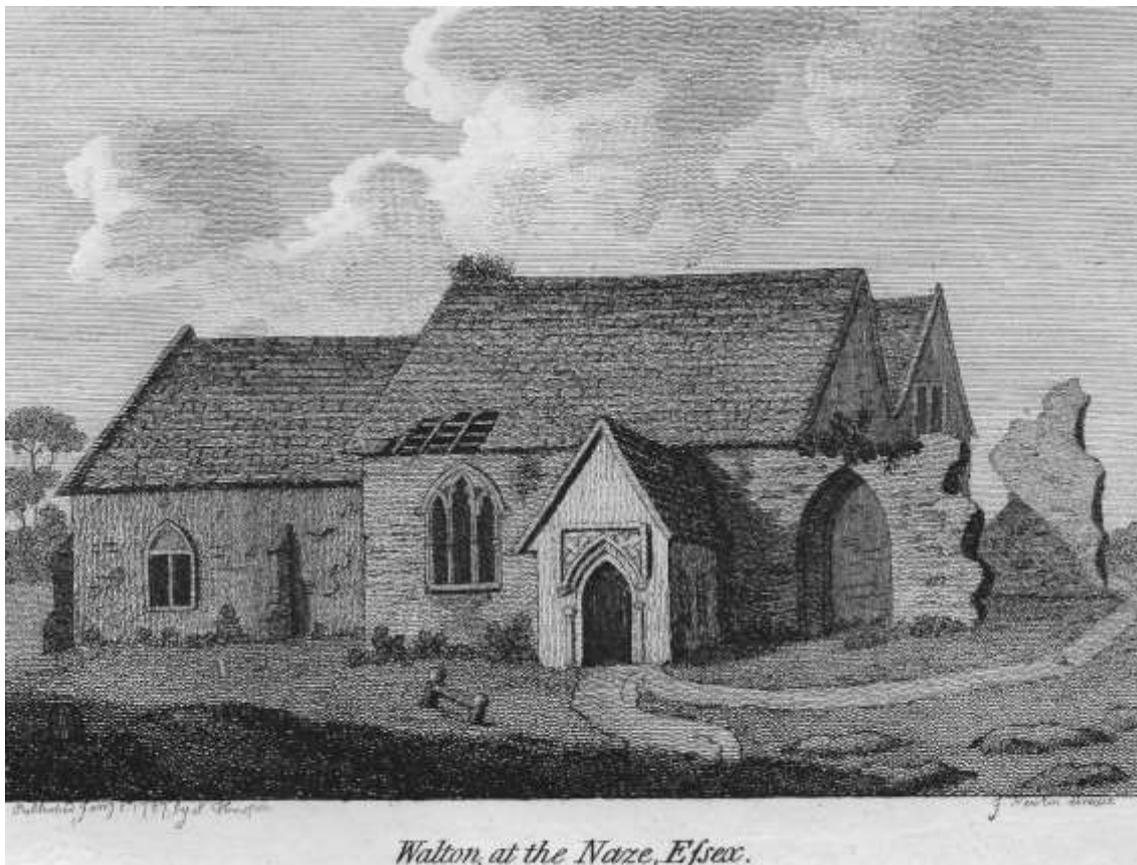
Much of the landscape lying directly on the coast was moulded in the Holocene epoch since the last retreat of the glaciers (approximately 11,500 years ago). It typically takes the form of either beaches backed by low cliffs or low-lying areas of marshland, now mostly defended by modern sea walls. Marshlands along the Stour estuary, the coastline south of Dovercourt and around Hamford Water, Holland Haven and from the western end of Clacton, through Jaywick and St Osyth and round into the Colne estuary, is formed of muddy alluvium all laid down in the Holocene. The Stour and Colne estuaries form significant stretches of tidal water with associated inlets such as St

Osyth Creek, Flag Creek and Ramsey Creek. The largest tract of surviving marshes lie around Hamford Water, a large tidal lagoon with many creeks and islands. The marshland comprises two types, the wild saltmarsh and the 'inned', walled and drained marshes converted to agricultural use. Although much saltmarsh has been lost, the surviving stretches are wildlife sanctuaries inhabited by salt-tolerant flora and rare fauna. Within the marshland are many nature reserves and Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI), often managed by the Essex Wildlife Trust, such as Horsey and Skipper's islands in Hamford Water and Colne Point marsh in St Osyth. We know that drainage of saltmarsh extended St Osyth's coastline southwards between the 12th and 14th centuries, as about 1380 a storm wrecked marsh walls three miles long. About 1451 a commission *de wallis et fossatis* (of walls and drains) was created for Tendring Hundred, probably to protect the newly drained lands against worsening climatic conditions.

In sharp contrast to the marshlands, the southern stretch of Tendring's coastline, roughly from Walton's Naze to St Osyth has a continuous beach which was to prove so attractive to later seaside developers. Behind the beach and foreshore stand London Clay cliffs, at their highest at the Naze (23 metres) before gradually lowering through Walton, Frinton, Little Holland and Clacton (down to around 8 metres high). The Naze served as a coastal mark, and in 1720 Trinity House built an 81ft tall tower there to aid navigation. In the fairly recent past this coastline was more irregular in form with the Naze only being one of a series of promontories, including Hors Ness north of the Naze, two small headlands on either side of the Gunfleet estuary (Holland Haven) at Frinton and Little Holland, and those at Clacton called the Runches, Eastness and Lion Point. Erosion of these headlands probably began very early, but the process apparently accelerated from the Later Middle Ages with rising sea levels and more severe North Sea storms. Manorial documents from the Tudor period record the destruction of fish traps at Clacton's Runches and Eastness, probably revealing the erosion of these headlands, as well as landholdings near Walton's Naze being 'wasted' by the sea.

Near-continuous erosion took place between the 17th and 20th centuries, with problems shifting from one point to another along the coast. In 1768 the county historian Philip Morant reported that local people thought that settlement had once stretched as far as the West Rocks (now c.5 miles offshore) which they called 'The Town'. Even if that was improbable, the original village of Walton, lying east of the current High street, was eroding away about 1800 when the medieval church and churchyard was finally abandoned. Further south-west towards Clacton the coastline was also retreating. The parish of Little Holland became so small by the 17th century that its remaining inhabitants abandoned their church and worshipped at Great Clacton instead. Part of Clacton's Eastness survived until the early 19th century when a Napoleonic-era battery and Martello Tower were constructed there, but by

the mid-19th century the land fronting it was being eroded. Human action also played some role, as landowners sold sand, shingle and stones for large profits, thus stripping the base of the cliffs of their natural defences. All of these problems were inherited by the early resorts developers who often built on land at the top of cliffs that were directly threatened by erosion, and struggled to afford the sea walls necessary to defend their investments. By the 20th century municipal authorities in Clacton, Frinton and Walton, and latterly the Essex Rivers Catchment Board (ERCB), took over responsibility for sea defences, but they had to face increasingly stormy conditions. Critical incidents in the late 19th century occurred in 1874, 1881 and on 29 November 1897 ('Black Monday'). In the early 20th century they continued, with major storms and floods in 1928, 1938, 1949 and finally the 'Great Tide' of 31 January to 1 February 1953.



(2): Engraving of the Walton-le-Soken's medieval church before it was lost to a collapsing cliff about 1800 (image courtesy of Frinton & Walton Heritage Trust).

There are several areas of the coastline where further research is required to understand exactly how they have been shaped by both natural processes and human interventions. The town of Harwich at the mouth of the Stour evidently did not exist at the time of Domesday Book (1086), but it is thought that around that time the course of the river Stour and Orwell may have changed creating a sand and

gravel promontory on which the town was to be established in the 12th century with its safe harbour behind. The shape of Harwich itself also changed in the following centuries as the urban area was raised by dense occupation, deliberate heightening of the ground level and the extension of quays out from the settlement into the sea with following land reclamation. Saltmarshes along the Stour to the west were also inned and drained, while cliffs originally protecting Harwich (to its south-east in Dovercourt) were heavily eroded from the first half of the 18th century.

A case study undertaken by the Clacton VCH Group, funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, has highlighted another area, hitherto largely unresearched, where the shape of the coastline has significantly changed. Much of Holland Haven Country Park, lying between Little Holland and Frinton, comprises drained marshland behind a sea wall, but the area was formerly known as the Gunfleet estuary (a name of uncertain origin). It was fed by the Holland Brook which ran through much of the centre of Tendring Hundred before opening out into an estuary that was perhaps a mile wide at its mouth. The estuary was probably already subject to drainage during the later Middle Ages as the 'level of Gunflete haven' was recorded in 1542. Yet the estuary was still depicted on maps of the late 16th and early 17th centuries and its mouth may have remained partially open until the late 17th century. The Tendring Level Commission then built a sea wall blocking its mouth, with a sluice to allow the Holland Brook's water to drain out at low water, thus allowing the former estuary or Level to be entirely drained.

The records of the Tendring Level Commissioners survive from *c.*1726 until the early 20th century, detailing the Commissioners, constant battle to prevent the sea from reclaiming the drained estuary. Initially the sea wall was constructed of earth and timber, but from the mid-19th century stone was gradually introduced and protective groynes were added in an attempt to build up the beaches in front of the sea wall. Despite investment in a new steam pumping engine about 1860 and the continuous raising and improving of the sea wall many storms and floods damaged the defences and the land behind. For example, at the end of November 1897 the sea burst through a section of wall at the Frinton end, and repairs in the aftermath were undertaken in conjunction with the main developer of Frinton's resort. But the Haven itself was not developed because of the constant risk of flooding and it remained largely in agricultural use, although on its eastern side Frinton Golf course was established in the late 19th century. After 1920 there were a series of changes to the administration and rating of the Level, intended to reinvigorate the Commission, but a major storm on 6 January 1928 showed that it could not cope with the task. The sluice gates were carried over half a mile inland and large-scale saltwater flooding contaminated the land throughout the Level. In 1932 the

Commission resigned and responsibility passed to the ERCB who later built a new a new concrete sea wall with a modern mechanically operated sluice.



*(3): The modern sea wall at Holland Haven built by the Essex Rivers Catchment Board which replaced the earlier walls of the Tendring Levels Commission. The land to the left, before drainage, comprised the Gunfleet estuary.*

## **(2) ESTATES AND MANORS**

Patterns of landownership from early Middle Ages onwards had a significant impact upon how the coastal communities developed and were structured. Much of the land between St Osyth and the Naze was owned by the church. A nunnery was apparently founded for St Osyth at ‘Chiche’ (the former name of the parish of St Osyth) in the later 7th century, but little is known about it. Later *Lives* of that saint recount how after she was martyred and beheaded by sea raiders she carried her own head to the parish church where she was buried; indeed, her relics were recorded at the minster

(central) church of St Peter's at Chiche from the 10th century onwards. Possibly the nunnery had been founded on part of a large royal estate covering most of the Tendring coastline, an area which has also been suggested as one of the early endowments of St Paul's Cathedral, London. However, there are no surviving early land charters, and later material is either fabricated or of uncertain interpretation. The historical uncertainty may partly reflect events brought about by Viking seizure of the district in the later 9th century which undoubtedly destroyed local monasteries and disrupted both landholding and record keeping. The Tendring area was reconquered by King Edward the Elder of Wessex in the early 10th century and sometime thereafter control of many local estates passed to the cathedral church of St Paul's.

By the late 11th century the St Paul's estate was divided between the bishop of London and the canons (clergy) of his cathedral's chapter, so that the bishop held St Osyth (then still known as 'Chiche') and adjacent Clacton (including Great Clacton and Little Clacton), while the canons held a great estate known as Eadulvesness (hereafter 'the Naze') which comprised the later manors and parishes of Kirby-le-Soken, Thorpe-le-Soken and Walton-le-Soken. By the 13th century, and probably much earlier, the Naze estate took the form of a 'soke' or liberty over which the canons exercised special legal rights. These included civil powers normally reserved to the crown in the public court leet and also ecclesiastical powers to hold church visitations and courts. Hence the special name of the district as 'the Soken'. The canons also claimed the right to appoint their own coroner, to exclude the royal sheriff and other royal officials, and ownership of all wrecks and whales cast ashore on the coast.

There was some rearrangement of ecclesiastical landholding in later centuries. Bishop Maurice (1085–1107), had started a prebendal system at St Paul's cathedral in which canons were endowed with individual allowances and their own landed estates. Two such prebendal estates were created in the Soken, although their dates are unknown, that of Consumpta-per-Mare ('Consumed by the Sea') in Walton, and of Sneating in Kirby-le-Soken. While the former had been lost to coastal erosion, the latter remained a valuable small manor held by a succession of St Paul's canons as prebendaries until the 19th century. An important change occurred when the St Osyth estate was used by Bishop William de Belmeis (d. 1127) to found a priory (later upgraded to an abbey) of Augustinian canons in St Osyth's honour about 1118–19. He endowed it with the main manor, church and rectory of that parish, as well as other local churches and rectories. The rectory lands in Great Clacton, for example, became known as Cann Hall, named after the canons of St Osyth abbey (literally Can(ons) Hall). The bishop of London retained the main manor of Clacton where he had a large manor house next to the church in the centre of Great Clacton village.



*(4): Postcard of the large church at Great Clacton established by the bishops of London next to their manor house and given by Bishop William de Belmeis to the canons of St Osyth priory when it was established in the early 12th century.*

As powerful church landowners dominated the southern part of the Tendring coastline, there were few influential secular landowners. The church estates were often leased to members of the St Paul's cathedral chapter, but were then sub-let to local farmers. By the later Middle Ages the abbey of St Osyth also leased most of its individual farms to yeoman or gentlemen tenant farmers. Some lesser manorial lords did live on their estates at places such as Little Holland and Frinton, and some new freeholds started to claim manorial status; an example is Landermere Hall in Thorpe-le-Soken which claimed manorial status even though there is no evidence that it ever held a manor court. In Clacton, too, as settlement expanded inland from the coast, so the Bishop allowed some freeholds to become established, and ultimately these adopted the epithet of 'Hall' and claimed manorial status, for example at Bovill's Hall, Giddy Hall and Colbayne's Hall. One family which perhaps exercised a little more influence in the district were the St Clere family at St Osyth, who by the later Middle Ages owned both St Clere's Hall and Frowick Hall. Their medieval manor house at St Clere's Hall has

survived, originally built in the 14th century, it has the classic form of an aisled hall and two cross-wings.

Turning our attention to the northern section of the Tendring coastline, between Hamford Water and Harwich, in the early 12th century the children of Walter the Deacon, who had owned Wix in 1086, founded a small priory (a Benedictine nunnery) in that parish. However, it held relatively little other land in Tendring Hundred and was not as influential as the abbey at St Osyth. In general, lay landowners were more important in the Middle Ages, with the de Vere family, Earls of Oxford, being overlords of much of the district. The de Vere family had a close association with St Osyth abbey, with members of the family counting amongst the abbey's earliest patrons and later members acting as the abbey's steward (chief legal officer). Their lands along the coast included the manors of Old Hall and New Hall in Beaumont, Mose Hall, Great Oakley, Skighaugh in Great Oakley, Little Oakley, and Dovercourt with Harwich, although they had only obtained some of these estates by marriage during the 15th century. The manors were typically sub-tenanted by lesser secular families who became the local lords of the manor; an example is the Fillol family, lords at Little Oakley as well as Landermere Hall in the 14th century. While most lay landowners were of little more than local consequence, an exception was found at Dovercourt with Harwich where the feudal under-tenants were themselves aristocrats – in succession the Bigod (Bigot), Plantagenet and Mowbray families, earls and dukes of Norfolk. It was Hugh Bigod (d. 1177) and/or his son Roger Bigod (d. 1222) who probably established the town of Harwich within Dovercourt parish.

The early 16th century and the Reformation was a time of considerable upheaval in the pattern of local landholding. Wix priory was dissolved in 1525 and its lands initially used to endow Cardinal Wolsey's colleges at Oxford and Ipswich but, ultimately, they passed to secular owners. St Osyth abbey was dissolved in 1539 and its estates were at first secured by Henry VIII's chief minister Thomas Cromwell, the earl of Essex. However, after Cromwell's fall from power and execution in 1540 the abbey and its lands reverted to the crown with whom it remained for about a decade, being used to endow Princess Mary, as daughter of Henry VIII and sister to Edward VI (later becoming Queen Mary). In 1544 the crown also prised control over the Soken estate from the hands of the dean and chapter of St Paul's and in the same year gained Great Oakley, Little Oakley, Mose, Old and New Hall in Beaumont, and Dovercourt with Harwich from John de Vere, 16th earl of Oxford. The manor of Great Holland was also acquired about the same time, thus by the mid-16th century the crown had assembled a huge and continuous estate stretching between St Osyth and Harwich.

A royal servant and courtier, Thomas Darcy (d. 1558), had been installed as keeper of St Osyth abbey in the 1540s, and grew in influence. By 1551 he had gained grant of a reversion (promise of future ownership) of the former church landholdings in St Osyth, Great Clacton, Little Clacton, Kirby-, Thorpe- and Walton-le-Soken, Great Oakley, Little Oakley and Mose, as well as Great Holland. Two years later after his elevation to the peerage as the first Lord Darcy of Chiche he gained a complete grant of the same estates, with Princess Mary receiving other royal lands in compensation. Darcy also obtained control of most local churches and rectories and became the owner of the ‘Liberty and Ecclesiastical Peculiar of the Soken’, exercising its legal powers over marriage, morals and probate in private church courts overseen by his Commissary. To serve as a centre for this great aristocratic estate Thomas Darcy and his son John, the second Lord Darcy, developed the former site of St Osyth abbey into a great secular mansion (called St Osyth Priory) where they lived with a large and no doubt splendid household; the mansion twice played host to visits by Elizabeth I.



(5): Early 19th-century engraving of St Osyth Priory showing part of the Tudor mansion constructed by the Darcy family on the site of the former abbey. On the left is abbot Vyntoner's gatehouse (also known as the bishop's lodging) built in 1527 and on the far right is the so-called 'abbot's tower' (a viewing tower built by the Darcy family).

Subsequently, ownership of the estate descended by marriage and inheritance through the Savage family (earls Rivers), the Nassau de Zuylestein family (earls of Rochford), and finally to an illegitimate line of the Nassau family. Religious controversy, political upheaval and financial ineptitude (i.e. debts) led to problems for the estate. A severe blow was struck to the estate's integrity during the English Civil War when the estates of Catholic courtier Elizabeth Savage (née Darcy), countess Rivers, were attacked by Parliamentary mobs. Her lands were also confiscated by Parliament, and although returned before her death in 1651 parts of the estate had to be sold to redeem her debts. The losses included manorial farms at Clacton, Cann Hall, Great Holland, Kirby-le-Soken and Thorpe-le-Soken. Only the most valuable manorial farms at St Osyth and at Walton's Naze were retained as well as all the lucrative manorial court rights. But, a century or so later, a second crisis was caused by the profligacy of the 4th earl of Rochford, William Henry de Zuylestein (d. 1781), a courtier and friend to George III and an important British politician and diplomat. His debts forced the sale of the remaining lands and legal rights over the Soken. The 4th earl's heirs, Frederick Nassau (d. 1845), and Frederick's son, William Frederick Nassau, also continued to accumulate debts and by the time W. F. Nassau committed suicide in 1857 the estate was financially ruined.

The dispersal of the St Osyth Priory estate at auction in 1858 roughly coincided with a renewed period of seaside development along the Tendring coastline. Although there was no direct connection, the history of landownership in the district's southern part possibly had some influence on how seaside development proceeded. Significantly, the gradual dispersal of the great estate over the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries had not been accompanied by the rise of another great landowning family. Thus, development could not be controlled – either directed to take a certain form or even prevented from taking place at all – by a single aristocratic landowner. In the north half of Tendring Hundred the Garland family, who had obtained the manor of Dovercourt with Harwich, were important landowners in the 18th and 19th centuries, but controlled little of the coastline. Instead, local landownership tended to be fragmented among relatively small landed estates of varying origin. Some were former freeholds risen in status, some were manorial farms, while others were based on former church and Darcy hunting parks converted to farms. While some gentry families were resident in the district many others lived further away and treated their Tendring estates as investments. Another element of the varied landholding structure was the purchase of former manorial farms by commercial or institutional investors, who probably had an eye on developing their economic potential. For example, within Hamford Water Robert Shearcroft at the Landermere Hall estate rebuilt and developed the wharf and its facilities on Landermere Creek in the late 18th century, while Guy's Hospital, owner of Beaumont Hall, constructed a new cut and a new stone quay at Beaumont

Quay in the early 19th century. Yet such commercial developments, linked to the district's agricultural economy, were soon to be overshadowed by the far larger scale growth of the seaside holiday industry along the coast.



*(6): The stone quay at Beaumont built in 1832 to facilitate the export of agricultural produce by barge to London. A lime kiln also remains on the site where chalk could be converted to lime for improving the pH of acidic soils and improving plant nutrition. The site is now preserved and managed by Essex County Council (photograph courtesy of David Grayson).*

### **(3) PARISHES AND SETTLEMENTS**

The parishes along the Tendring coast were all of ancient origin. The first group, on the main coastline facing the North Sea, comprised St Osyth, Great Clacton (with Little Clacton further inland), Little Holland, Great Holland, Frinton and Walton. The coastline then turned into Hamford Water, onto which bordered Kirby-le-Soken, Thorpe-le-Soken, Beaumont-cum-Moze and Great Oakley, before heading north via Little Oakley towards Dovercourt and Harwich at the mouth of the Stour. Some clearly had their origin in large pre-Conquest landed estates, already described above, which were later sub-divided into smaller 'manorial' sized units. For example, the dean and chapter of St Paul's great estate at the Naze was sub-divided during the Middle Ages into its smaller constituent manors, parishes and settlements of Kirby-le-Soken, Thorpe-le-Soken and Walton-le-

Soken. Some pairs of names such as Great and Little Oakley and Great and Little Holland may indicate a single estate or community in the distant past, but how and when they came to be subdivided is unknown. By about 1200 the system of parishes and their boundaries was more or less fixed with each Norman lord owning a manor or estate to which a church was usually appended, its priest supported by the tithes paid by the local population.

The parish structure remained largely unchanged until the late 19th century. The settlement at Harwich was granted a charter as a free borough in 1318 and thereafter had its own courts and officers and later its powers were further augmented by a new charter of 1604. Nonetheless, for ecclesiastical purposes St Nicholas church in Harwich remained a chapelry of All Saints Dovercourt until 1871. The former parish vestries were replaced by new parish councils in 1894 and Tendring Rural District Council was established in the same year. But the creation and growth of the seaside resorts brought much wider changes to the administration of local government. Walton-le-Soken parish became Walton Urban Sanitary District in 1872 and its successor Walton Urban District in 1895. Frinton parish continued until 1901 when it became Frinton Urban District. In 1934 Walton and Frinton UDs were amalgamated with Great Holland and about half of Kirby-le-Soken to form Frinton and Walton UDC. The remainder of Kirby-le-Soken was transferred to Thorpe-le-Soken. At Clacton-on-Sea a Special Drainage District was founded in 1884 which ultimately expanded to become Great Clacton Urban District by 1895. In 1934 it became Clacton Urban District taking in more land St Osyth, Little Clacton and the whole of Little Holland.

The relative size and importance of the parishes and settlements along the Tendring coastline can be seen from the following table of population. Figures have been drawn from the census returns enabling the base rural population before resort development (1801) to be compared to that after the first phase of resort foundation was largely complete (1911).

Parish/Town	Acreage	1801 Population	Population density 1801	1911 Population
Beaumont-cum-Moze	2,890	340	0.12	394
Dovercourt	1,422	390	0.27	5,722
Clacton, Great (1801) & Clacton UD (1911)	4,069	904	0.22	9,777
Clacton, Little	3,009	475	0.16	712
Frinton (1801) &	469	31	0.07	1,510

Frinton UD (1911)				
Harwich	119	2,371	19.9	7,900
Holland, Great	2,104	300	0.14	483
Holland, Little	648	59	0.09	131
Kirby-le-Soken	3,859	664	0.17	1,094
Oakley, Great	3,329	769	0.23	801
Oakley, Little	1,224	153	0.13	293
St Osyth	8,877	1,168	0.13	1,371
Thorpe-le-Soken	3,337	974	0.29	1,144
Walton-le-Soken (1801 & Walton-on-the-Naze UD (1911).	2,146	221	0.10	2,172

From the table it can be seen that there was a great range in the size of communities in the coastal district in 1801. Frinton, Little Holland, Walton, in the future to become thriving and populous seaside resorts, had very small populations, all of them with a density of less than 0.1 person per acre. All three places had been badly affected by coastal erosion in the past which had probably reduced their population level. Some other places, such as Beaumont-cum-Moze, also had a low population density and this may reflect the nature of its marshy land, and possibly the presence of debilitating malaria. In 1594 the topographer Norden complained of the fever he developed from the Essex coastline including that of Tendring Hundred. St Osyth which had the second highest population in 1801 had a very low population density, although this was the result of it being such a large parish. There most of the population was concentrated in the village which also served as a little port and rural market. Great Clacton and Thorpe-le-Soken had substantial populations and village centres, the latter operating as a small market and administrative centre. But the only truly urban place along the coast was at Harwich, where a large population in 1801 (2,371) was concentrated in a very small area of only 119 acres comprising the town and port. This overall demographic pattern, in existence since the Middle Ages, was to be substantially altered over the course of the 19th century with the foundation of the seaside resorts. While all of the remaining rural parishes grew slightly in population between 1801 and 1911, parishes affected by resort development exploded in size; both Walton and Great Clacton (Clacton-on-Sea) rose by 1,000%, and Frinton, Dovercourt, Harwich each by more than 300%, totally transforming these communities.

The history of human habitation in the area was, of course, of far greater antiquity. At Clacton evidence of early man has been found in the form of flint tools and a wooden hunting spear from the

Hoxnian interglacial stage of the Pleistocene about 400,000 years ago. The remains were preserved in a former channel of the river Thames which flowed through north-east Essex at that time and along which early man hunted. Other early stone tools have been found at Walton's Naze and at Thorpe-le-Soken. Human activity has also been revealed at St Osyth, Jaywick, Clacton, Frinton and Walton and other locations in the Late Upper Palaeolithic era (perhaps 10,500 BC), the Mesolithic (from about 8,000 BC onwards) and the Neolithic (4,000–1,500 BC). Depending on the period the evidence has ranged from thousands of flint arrowheads, to igneous stone axes (some in hoards) and pottery assemblages. The most significant site discovered so far was at Lodge farm, St Osyth, where a Neolithic causewayed enclosure (mid-4th millennium BC) was excavated and a cursus monument identified from aerial photography. The same site was later occupied by a Middle Bronze Age ring-ditch cemetery followed by a Middle Iron Age round-house settlement with associated fields and droveways. Roman villas have been discovered at St Osyth, Little Oakley and at Beacon Hill near Harwich, while the remains of red hills, salt production sites mainly of late Iron Age or early Roman date, have been found at St Osyth, Jaywick, Walton's Naze and around Hamford Water. Indeed, a great many Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman settlement sites, field systems and stray finds have been reported throughout the district, suggesting that the coastal parishes were heavily exploited throughout prehistory.

The nature of the settlement that took place in the early Anglo-Saxon period cannot be easily reconstructed; it is unknown whether migrants displaced the British population or whether social, cultural and demographic assimilation took place. The latter may be suggested by the survival of some place-names near the coast with potential Romano-British linguistic origins, including Dovercourt and Walton. But there is also archaeological evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlement in parishes close to the coast, for example at St Osyth, Great Clacton and Great Oakley, with a scattering of evidence from the early, middle and late Saxon periods. In Thorpe-le-Soken excavations at Thorpe Hall suggested continuity from late Roman to early/mid Saxon settlement and then continuing on into the Middle Ages. Many parishes and settlements along the coast have names that contain personal names linked with topographical features or settlement-type names. Examples are Clacton and Frinton, the first element representing personal names, and the second 'ton' meaning estate or settlement. These contrast with the large number of names in the interior of Tendring hundred which incorporate 'ley' as their second element, such as Weeley, Great and Little Bromley, Great and Little Bentley, and so forth. These are indicative of names that were coined when these settlements were still located within wooded countryside in the early or mid-Saxon period.

Although most of Essex was contested ground during the Viking invasions of the 9th century, Colchester and Tendring Hundred were apparently seized in the aftermath of the arrival of the Great Viking Army in 865/6 and the Great Summer Army in 871. The period of Viking rule only lasted about half a century before the area was reconquered by the West Saxons, but place-name evidence suggests that during that time Scandinavians settled the area. Relevant names of Scandinavian origin include Kirby (meaning ‘church village’) and Thorpe (meaning a secondary or outlying settlement), ‘Chiche’ (the former name of St Osyth, probably meaning ‘bent’ and perhaps a reference to the line of St Osyth creek), Frowick in St Osyth (a Scandinavian personal name combined with *vík* meaning creek or inlet), Clacton (the personal name *Klak(k)* might well be Viking), and Thorrington (‘Þuri’s farm or estate’). A group of names around Hamford Water may also have Scandinavian origin, including Dengewell (Hall) and Skighaugh both in Great Oakley and Moze (Hall) in Beaumont-cum-Moze. In the 18th century Morant described an earthwork at Harwich near Beacon Hill, now lost to coastal erosion, with ditch and a rampart which he thought was a Roman fort; but the name Harwich (Old English *here-wic*, meaning ‘army camp’), although not a Scandinavian name itself, may infer that this was the site of a fortified Viking camp like others known to have existed in Essex.

In the Middle Ages and later most parishes had a main ‘nucleated’ village, some of them of undoubtedly ancient origin. Where the main settlement, church and manor house are all contiguous it is probable the settlement existed by about 1100, if not much earlier. Examples of this pattern are found at St Osyth, Lower Kirby (Kirby-le-Soken), Great Clacton, Little Oakley and Beaumont. Great Holland and Little Holland each also had a manor house/church complex, but with limited evidence of adjacent housing; possibly settlement there had contracted or shifted away in the later Middle Ages. The number of places with urban forms and functions were limited. Harwich was a late creation of the 12th century, and possibly newly re-planned in the 13th or early 14th century to give its current grid layout of streets, and the only sizeable urban settlement along the coast. At St Osyth a small market town grew up focussed around a crossroads adjacent to the Anglo-Saxon minster and market place, and close to the later abbey. The name of Thorpe-le-Soken implies that it started life as a secondary settlement within the early medieval Naze estate, but by the 16th century its High Street, located along a main road, had also grown and developed into a small market town with shops. Small nucleated settlements were also created at the specialised trading and fishing settlements at coastal quays, for example Mill Street (St Osyth) and Landermere (Thorpe-le-Soken), a pattern found elsewhere along the Essex coast at places where quays or ‘hythes’ were established.



*(7): The Bell inn at the eastern end of Thorpe-le-Soken's village High Street. Probably first built as a guildhall and parish 'townhouse', it became an inn by the 1620s serving the small town and travellers and through traffic heading to the coast. After being badly damaged by fire it has now been restored.*

The port of Harwich, St Osyth and the larger nucleated village centres were the most important local settlements, but they existed alongside a human landscape in which rural settlement was mainly dispersed. This is clearly revealed by a county map of 1777 which shows that almost everywhere there were individual and small clusters of farms around greens, commons, heaths and roadside wastes linked by a network of roads and tracks. Many of these settlements would have been Anglo-Saxon or medieval in origin and established as occupation of the land expanded grew; their inhabitants in the 13th and 14th centuries often had locative surnames indicating where they lived – names such as 'at the Heath', 'at the Brook', 'at the Hill' and so forth, often survived as the names of farms scattered across today's countryside. In the 18th and 19th centuries some population pressure appears to have filled up the landscape with landlords allowing more building upon greens and roadside wastes. This could transform previously quite dispersed settlements into more built-up settlements. One example is Upper Kirby Street (Thorpe Road) in Kirby-le-Soken, originally a long

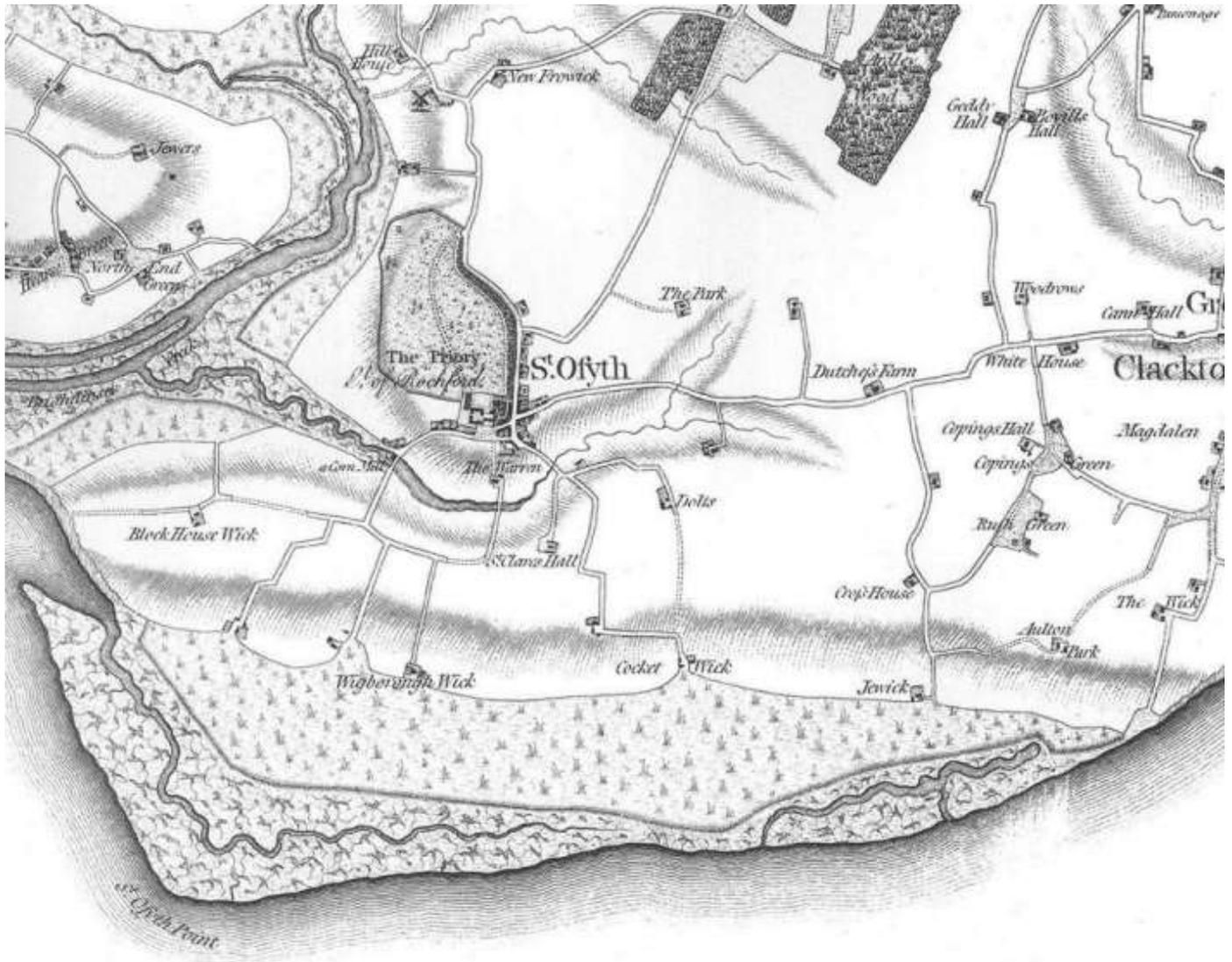
and very straggling group of farms which later became joined up to form a denser linear settlement incorporating Kirby Cross at its eastern end. Typically, this process involved new cottage housing for the poorer labouring class and the workshops and shops of petty tradesmen.

#### **(4) MAKING A LIVING ON THE COAST**

Tendring Hundred as a whole had a high reputation for its soils and farming and before the 19th and 20th centuries the economy of most parishes, both in the coastal zone and further inland, was based upon agriculture. In the Middle Ages the St Paul's estates had very large demesnes ('home' farms) which were usually in consolidated blocks, ring-fenced and separate from the fields of the peasantry. For example, Walton Hall farm measured nearly 800 acres in the 13th century, and probably comprised all of the Naze headland. Most manorial farms were smaller, typically of 200 or 300 acres, but all were compact farms. Generally, by the later Middle Ages the landlords no longer farmed these estates directly, but leased them to important tenants who sometimes sub-let them to local yeomen farmers. An exception occurred at St Osyth, where in the early 16th century the abbey still partly provisioned its community with produce from its own farms, rather than leasing the estates for a money income and then buying what it needed on the open market. Relatively little is known about peasant husbandry in the Middle Ages, although it seems that many small farmers probably also had their own enclosed farms rather participating in communal open-field (common-field) strip farming. However, Dovercourt apparently had an open or common field system in the early Middle Ages and there may be one or more common-field systems in the Soken as some strip fields survived into later centuries. But by the 17th and 18th centuries the landscape was generally fully enclosed and both the copyhold and freehold farmers were able to cultivate their land independently.

Parishes along the coast or river estuaries had an additional advantage in their drained marshlands and the adjacent wild saltmarsh. These marshlands enabled farmers to maintain more cattle and sheep than many inland farmers. From the early Middle Ages much of the marshland was arranged into wicks, a term that denoted a dairy farm, which produced enormous quantities of cheese and other products from both cow's and sheep's milk. Essex sheep's cheese was apparently strongly flavoured, so a proportion of cow's milk was usually added to make it more palatable. Some of these wicks can be identified in Domesday Book (1086) by estates having an asset allocation in the form 'pasture for X sheep'. For example, both the bishop of London's manor in St Osyth and the manor of Aubrey de Vere (Earl of Oxford) in Dovercourt had 'pasture for 200 sheep'. The St Osyth wicks formed a line around the coast, the farms being on the higher ground overlooking their share of the marshes; the later names of the farms being (from west to east), How Wick, Blockhouse Wick (earlier West

Wick), Lee Wick, Wigborough Wick and Cocket Wick. Just to the east, in the manor of Clacton, lay Jaywick and Eastwick. This type of farm name was much less prevalent along the northern Tendring coastline, although the parish name of Wix (earlier Wykes) perhaps also indicates an area of dairy farms slightly inland (but along a tributary stream of the Stour).



(8): The coast at St Osyth showing the line of ‘wick’ dairy farms overlooking the reclaimed marshes from Blockhouse wick next to the Colne to Jaywick towards Clacton. In the Middle Ages and Tudor periods vast quantities of Essex cheese were made at the wicks, much of it then sent to feed London (from J. Chapman and P. André’s *Map of the County of Essex*, 1777).

Local peasant and yeomen farmers also participated in pastoral husbandry, albeit on a smaller scale, with tithes of wool and cheese being provided to St Osyth abbey c.1527. Livestock was also sold to the abbey by men from St Osyth and other places. Some of the men were described as butchers, a term that probably encompassed graziers as some had brought cattle from Northern England

(‘northern steers’) to be fattened on the Essex marshes. Manufacture of Essex cheese continued, but from the 18th century agriculture arable crop production increased under the influence of rising demand and prices, especially in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars from 1793 onwards. Directories and sale catalogues then waxed lyrical about the district’s good soils, closeness to the London market (by sea) and the ability to bring in soil improvers such as chalk and guano in return cargoes. Further drainage schemes reclaimed new land, for example in several places around Hamford Water, and investments were made in quays from which produce could be exported. Areas of woodland formerly set aside as reserves of timber and grazing were now turned over to the plough as crop production intensified. The arable area probably reached its peak about 1840–50, with about 87% of Clacton’s farmland being devoted to arable farming around this time.

In the late 19th century many farms suffered during the period’s great agricultural depression; the arable area shrank and the number of people engaged in farming for a living decreased. In some places the decrease in land values for farming may have further assisted developers in securing land for seaside development. The initial investment at Clacton was made before the crisis, but the ability of the developers to buy, in several stages, the whole of Frinton may reflect the lower value of local farms. Conversion of the initially acquired coastal farms and marshlands to seaside resorts gradually spread to other locations along the coast during the early 20th century. By the 1930s development had spread to Little Holland, and unregulated chalet developments (and later caravans) started to appear at Jaywick and parts of the coast of St Osyth.

Several industries situated in coastal parishes were closely associated with the agricultural economy, corn milling being one of the most important. Milling power was provided by medieval tidal water mills, increasingly supplemented by windmills. The tide mills were situated on inlets or estuaries which could be dammed and sea water impounded on a rising tide, with the water subsequently being released to drive a water wheel on the falling tide. Mills of this type stood at Walton-le-Soken, Kirby-le-Soken, Landermere (Thorpe-le-Soken), St Osyth, Ramsey, Brightlingsea and Thorrington, and there were possibly several others. Many of these mill sites had a long history. That on Walton channel, behind the Naze and later resort, was probably one of mills apparently built on the dean and chapter’s Naze estate between 1066 and 1086. By the 16th century St Osyth abbey’s mill was described as three mills probably indicating three sets of machinery under a single roof, one of which had been converted to fulling cloth (a method of improving the cloth’s texture by beating it with mechanical hammers, in this case driven by the mill’s water wheel). The tide mills all originally seem to have been owned by church landowners, perhaps unsurprisingly as they required expensive

building works and water engineering. A good impression of one of these sites can be gained from the survival of Thorrington mill, managed by Essex County Council.



*(9): Thorrington Mill is the only survivor of the many tide mills that existed along the Tendring coast. It is now in the custody of Essex County Council (image courtesy of ECC).*

Livestock grazing on the coastal marshes encouraged a leather trade, with tanneries and trades such as glove-making found at St Osyth and Thorpe-le-Soken. Both places had court officers known as searchers and sealers of leather in the 16th and 17th centuries, but the leather industries seem to have died away afterwards perhaps due to the growth of larger regional tanneries and imports.

Nonetheless, growth in arable farming by the 18th century stimulated another form of agricultural industry, the malting of grain (barley) for the production of beer. Local maltings were recorded at St Osyth, Kirby-le-Soken and Thorpe-le-Soken, usually located next to the coastal quays from which the malt could be exported. Towards the end of the 19th century many such local maltings closed in the face of competition from larger concerns and the growth of railway communications. The area's production became dominated from c.1875 by the large, modern, industrial malting of Robert Free, of Free & Hollis (later Free Rodwell & Co. Ltd), next to Thorpe-le-Soken railway station. This

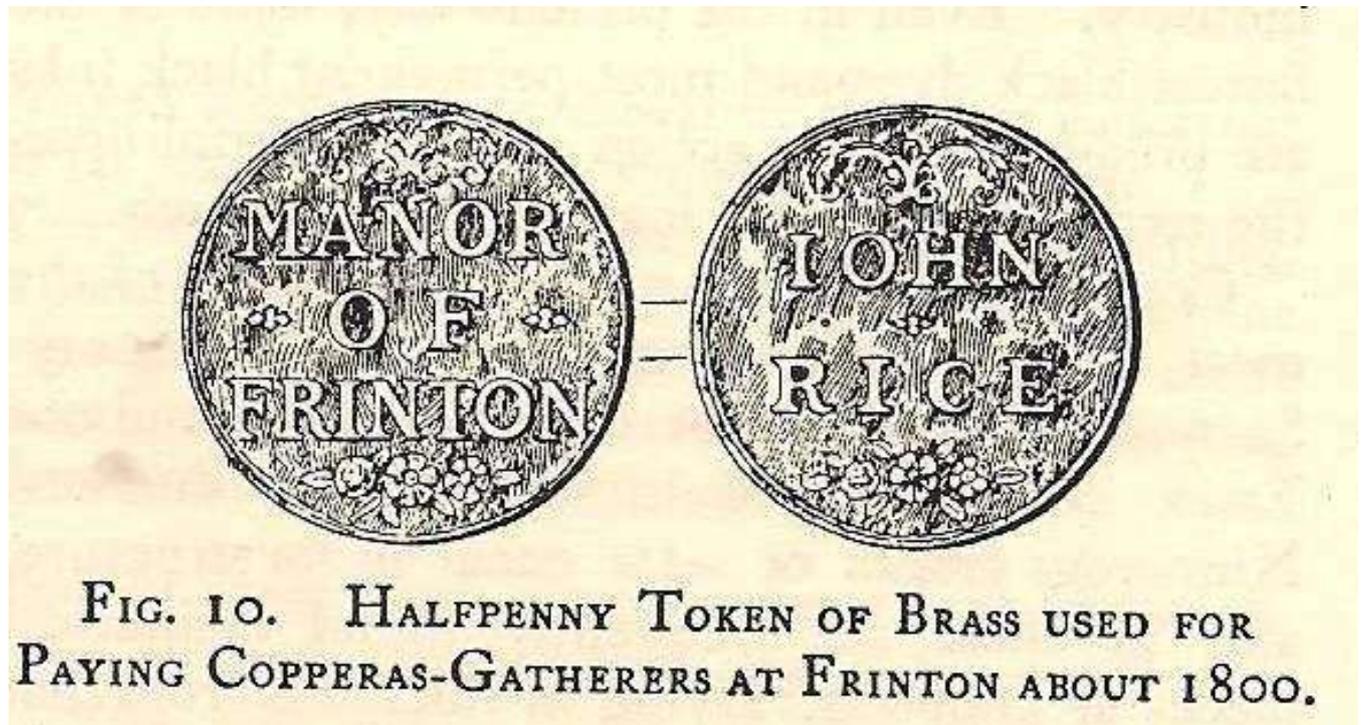
important business continued in operation into the later 20th century, finally as part of Allied Breweries; but it ultimately closed and the buildings have fallen into ruin while awaiting redevelopment.

Although agriculture was central to many people's lives, the economy of the coastal parishes was far more diverse than that of a traditional, inland, rural parish. Prehistoric salt production, already mentioned above, can be identified by salterns or 'red hills' (mounds of saltmaking debris) along the coast where marshland brine was concentrated in salt pans and boiled to produce salt by evaporation. There are at least 50 red hills around the coast of Tendring Hundred, with more being discovered, with concentrations in the marshlands of St Osyth and Jaywick and around Hamford Water. Salt working continued through to the early medieval period, recorded examples including three salterns were recorded on the Naze estate in 1066. Possibly local dairy farms doubled up as salt production sites, as many wicks coincided with the distribution of red hills and salt would have been necessary for producing cheese and butter.

The coast's London Clay cliffs also produced useful building material in the form of 'cement stones' or septaria, hardened nodules of argillaceous clay. Colchester's Roman legionary fortress and later Roman town walls were probably built from septaria excavated from the cliffs at Harwich, Walton or Clacton. The same source provided material to build the rubble walls of St Osyth abbey and many local parish churches including those at St Osyth, Great Clacton, Little Clacton, Frinton and Kirby-le-Soken (and others now often rendered). In the early 19th century large quantities of septarian nodules lying off the coast, particularly on the West Rocks off of Harwich and Walton, were dredged up and manufactured into Roman cement. Some of the material was sent to London, but there were major manufacturing businesses at Harwich and Dovercourt where there were five cement factories by 1832. Later the trade declined and was replaced on a smaller scale by the manufacture of Portland cement.

Another geological resource from the cliffs were 'copperas stones', iron pyrite nodules ( $\text{FeS}_2$ ) from which copperas (green vitriol) could be manufactured in a complex process involving oxidation, boiling/evaporating and condensing. There were 'copperas houses' (industrial sites) at Walton, Brightlingsea, Harwich, Ramsey or Wrabness, and possibly Frinton, with that at Walton being described as famous by Daniel Defoe in 1725. The copperas produced was an important dye fixative for woollens, making ink, bleaching and many other early industrial processes, while a significant by-product was sulphuric acid. Many copperas stones were collected on the foreshore by the labouring

poor, especially women and children, who were paid in tokens. Yet more stones were dredged up from the seabed, with one productive area opposite Frinton's cliffs known as the 'copperas ground'.



*(10): At Frinton the rights to gather copperas on the foreshore belonged to the lord of the manor. They were leased to John Rice who minted tokens to pay his workers (image reproduced from VCH Essex, Volume II, 1907, with permission).*

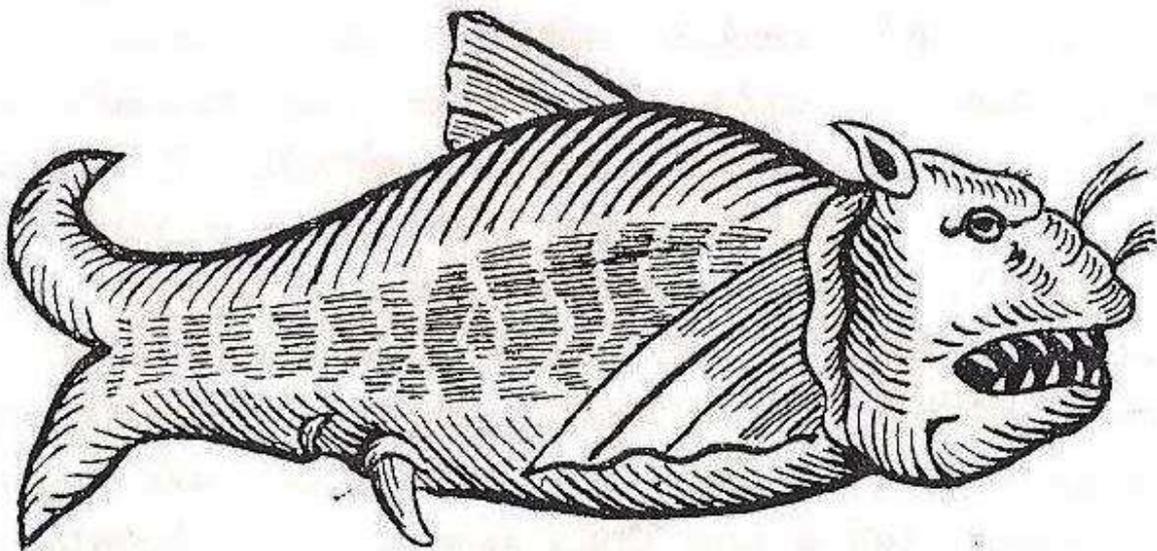
The salt, septaria and copperas industries all drew to a close around the early 19th century, but deposits of sand, gravel and shingle have been continuously exploited. Demand for these materials greatly expanded due to the growth of the neighbouring seaside resorts, but it was also transported by sea to London and elsewhere. Through the 20th century large sand and gravel extraction businesses were found at various sites, some of the largest extractions taking place at St Osyth and Great Holland. The district's clay and brickearth also encouraged brickmaking as early as 1527 when the gatehouse of Abbot Vyntoner at St Osyth abbey was built from bricks produced on its own estate. The estate's later owners continued a brickmaking business up to the 19th century, both to maintain the estate and for sale over a wide area in Tendring Hundred; for example, 60,000 bricks were provided for the building of Weeley's army barracks in 1803–4. The St Osyth brickworks were joined by others in parishes such as Walton, Great Clacton, Thorpe, Kirby and Dovercourt during the 18th and 19th centuries. Towards the end of the period many of them supplied materials for the construction of the resorts and associated residential developments.

The bounty of the sea, in the form of fish and oysters, was possibly of even greater importance, especially before and during the Middle Ages. Several types of fishing took place. One involved the creation of V-shaped timber or brushwood fish traps (known as weirs or kiddles), with the powerful church estates owning very large structures and the local populace a greater number of smaller traps. These existed all around the coast, especially around headlands, in saltmarshes and river estuaries, with the larger ones in shallow waters offshore. Fish weirs were recorded on the manors of Walton and Dovercourt with Harwich in the 13th century and those at St Osyth were recorded as a coastal landmark in 1377. Perhaps the largest concentration of traps and fish (processing) sheds were at Clacton where the Bishop of London's tenants had 69 in 1447, located at promontories along the coast including Eastness, Westness and the Runches, roughly where the coastal resort of Clacton-on-Sea was later to be constructed. Many were later destroyed by coastal erosion and only a few survived by the time the resorts were under construction in the 19th century.

All coastal villages and quays probably had a few boat fishermen, but the ports of St Osyth and especially Harwich had larger fleets of fishing vessels. Boats found at St Osyth in the 16th century were typically small, often less than 10 tons, and trawled or netted shoal fish on the offshore sand banks and channels. Their catches were then consumed locally or sold at Billingsgate in London. At Harwich there were larger vessels, and by the 16th century many of them were participating in the North Sea and Icelandic fisheries. Most of these local fishing industries had apparently declined by the 18th and 19th centuries, with the exception of Harwich where the fishing fleet grew in scale in the 18th century. By 1792 about 75 fishing boats, not including trawlers and lobster boats, were operating there. In the early 19th century Harwich's North Sea fishery employed approximately 500 men with some boats operating as far away as Norway. The fortunes of the town's fishing industry fluctuated through the 19th century but it remained a significant part of the port's economy. Some communities also had access to locations where oysters could be cultivated, for example the manor of St Osyth had oyster layings in Borefleet, the creek between St Osyth and Brightlingsea, and at Point Clear. These rights sometimes disputed with the Colchester Borough and its Conservancy (Admiralty) court which claimed control along the whole length of the Colne.

The harvest from the sea also included sea creatures and items from wrecks washed up on the shore. Ownership of stranded whales and porpoises belonged to the crown, but often the rights had been granted to important landowners. St Paul's cathedral claimed whales from the early 12th century, except for the tongue which the king reserved to himself. The churchmen's claims were often contested by local people who descended on the stranded animals to claim their meat and fat. In 1326

the bishop and dean and chapter complained that men had carried away a whale at Walton, the culprits coming from many coastal parishes in Tendring Hundred. In 1677 a whale stranded in shallows between St Osyth ('Tuesey') and Walton ('Wotton'), attracted many people who had 'never before seen a Creature of so vast a bulk'. The church landowners also claimed rights of 'wreck' on their manors. Several cases of wrecked ships are recorded in detail when salvagers from local communities, probably most of them fishermen, recovered wrecked goods and spirited them away before the landowners could find them. The Naze at Walton was a particular hazard to shipping and the lords of the manor of Walton obtained a steady income from wreck goods, both cargoes and the physical remains of ships. Salvage work on shipwrecks both on the coast on sandbanks such as the Gunfleet and Shipwash continued to provide income for local people through the 18th and 19th centuries, sometimes on a large scale. For example, a storm on 24 December 1836 drove eighteen vessels ashore within five miles of Harwich, including five or six at the Naze and a Russian ship of 300 tons at Little Holland.



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*London* Printed for *E. W.* in the Year 1677

(11): *Stranded whales were a valuable commodity. This is a contemporary drawing of one probably washed ashore at Little Holland at the entrance to the Gunfleet estuary in 1677 (image reproduced from Essex Review, IX, 1900).*

The Tendring coastline also provided ample opportunities for smuggling goods from the Continent to avoid customs duties. It was evidently a problem in the later 16th century and again in the later 17th century, when regulations and monitoring were tightened. In the 1670s and 1680s the newly created Board of Customs and the Revenue (Excise) began to bear down on the activities of smugglers through the use of coastal riding officers and armed Customs vessels (Cutters) which were stationed at Harwich. Even so the heyday of smuggling activity was during the 18th century when tea, tobacco, brandy and gin were clandestinely brought into Hamford Water and to isolated places along the open coast such as the marshes at Holland Haven. Some local landowners, mariners and labourers colluded and assisted the smuggling gangs who were often based elsewhere, such as the main centre of demand in London. The fast Harwich Packet boats of the late 17th century and after, supposedly built for official purposes, proved to be ideal smuggling vessels. Large, well-armed, gangs could also resort to violence if threatened, such as in 1728 when men smuggling at Clacton attacked Customs officers from Harwich and the Great Clacton constable. Nevertheless, towards the end of the 18th century and in the early 19th century, smuggling was largely defeated as preventative measures became more successful. These included an increase in the military presence during the Napoleonic wars, and the creation of the Preventive Waterguard (1809) and later the Coastguard (1822). A permanent coastguard watch vessel was stationed at Hamford Water from 1831 and Martello Towers, for example at St Osyth and Clacton, were converted into coastguard watch houses.

Although smuggling was undoubtedly a lucrative activity, it must always have been insignificant alongside legal trade, both coastal and overseas. Walton is known to have had a port in the late 11th century, St Osyth was visited by German and Flemish mariners in the early 12th century and later in the same century the port of Harwich was founded. Landmere in Thorpe-le-Soken (in Hamford Water) was recorded in the 13th century and the estuary of the Gunfleet, between Frinton and Little Holland, probably also served as a haven for shipping. In addition, all around the coast small coastal villages had landing places or wharves that could accommodate small ships. In the later 16th century the shallow beaches 'all along the coast of Holland' (i.e. Little Holland and south-west towards Clacton), allowed small boats to be drawn ashore.

The smaller coastal landings remained a significant feature of the local economy to around 1850, in some cases a little later, after which they were undermined by the arrival of the railway connections to Harwich, Walton and Clacton and the other stations on these routes. Small trading vessels, most under 30 tons, enabled farming produce, fish and oysters, and industrial output such as copperas to be shipped to market, principally London. Return coastal cargoes comprised manure and chalk to improve farmland and retail goods for local sale. The busiest of the smaller quays was at St Osyth

where in 1582 there were two small trading vessels, *Letty*s and *Pellycan*, alongside three smaller fishing boats (ketches), five masters and 14 seamen. Some of the smaller quays were improved in the later 18th and 19th centuries, probably to accommodate the growing coastal trade in grain. Beaumont quay built by the Governors of Guy's Hospital about 1832 survives, is now in the ownership of ECC and can be visited. Where these early landing places survive they are mostly now devoted to leisure use.

These smaller landing places were overshadowed by the major Essex port of Harwich which had grown substantially over time. This was largely due to its deep-water anchorage which could accommodate much larger vessels able to participate in longer-distance and overseas trade. The ports of Brightlingsea (on the Colne) and Manningtree (on the Stour) were similar, although smaller. Harwich was also a strategically significant base for the English navy and its harbour and fortifications received much investment. The substantial nature of the maritime population and shipping of Harwich in the Tudor period is revealed by a survey of 1565 when it had 17 ships, 23 masters and 82 mariners or fishermen, and other surveys indicate that many of its ships were larger (60 tons or over). A survey of the early 17th century noted Harwich had 36 ships compared to only 20 based at Colchester and 21 at Leigh-on-Sea. The *Mariner's Mirror* (1588) noted that the port's trade largely comprised cloth, wool, tin, pewter, lead, saffron, sea coal, firewood and other commodities. The latter included fish and agricultural goods, for example grain, dairy products and timber, for shipping to London. From the later 16th century and especially in the 17th century Harwich also became a principal port for the coal trade from north-east England into Essex, the Stour valley and onto London. While small boats were built by a family of shipwrights at St Osyth in the 16th century the only place with a major shipbuilding industry was Harwich where many more shipwrights were recorded. During the Dutch Wars about 1657 a royal naval yard was established at the port, initially run by the government but later leased into private hands, that built many warships. About 1694-5 ships of 1,000 tons were being constructed at Harwich, and in the mid- and late 18th century the yard built some third-rate ships of the line of over 1,600 tons and with 74 guns.



12: An engraving of the naval shipyard at Harwich in the mid-19th century (image reproduced from W.H. Lindsey, *A Season at Harwich*, 1851).

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