

ECONOMIC HISTORY

Harwich port grew greatly in size in terms of volume of trade from 1714 to 1815. The economy was advanced by the continued presence of the packet boat service to the Continent and the numerous wars of the 18th and early 19th centuries which led to an increased naval and military presence in Harwich. The most significant form of primary production was sea-fishing: the modern Harwich fishery started c.1712 and expanded through the 18th century with periodic declines during times of naval warfare. The main secondary economic activity was shipbuilding, though the Royal Naval Yard ceased operations between 1713 and 1740. Cement stone dredging and cement manufacture commenced in the early 19th century. Dovercourt's economy continued to be overwhelmingly reliant on agriculture. The seaside resort at Harwich was established on a small scale from the 1750s. The tertiary sector comprised retail and hospitality, the latter of which was strongly associated with the packet boat service and the growth of Harwich as a resort.

AGRICULTURE

In 1751 the total of all land in Dovercourt parish, except that considered waste, amounted to nearly 1,300 a., but the amount of farmland was slightly less.¹ Farming activity was structured around three manorial farms and many small farms (Table 1); production was predominantly arable.

Farm	Acreage	Tenant	Tenure and notes
Pound farm	109 a. 3 r. 12 p.	Matthew Clements	demesne
Vine House farm	26 a. 1 r. 14 p.	Chris Powell	demesne
Tithe House farm (later Blue House farm)	37 a. 2 r. 28 p.	Lemond Mills, snr	demesne
Crown land, mainly at Beacon Hill	65 a. 0 r. 3 p.		
dairy farm	62 a. 0 r. 25 p.	James Clements	freehold
Brookmans farm	62 a. 3 r. 23 p.	James Clements	copyhold
Brewers farm	73 a. 3 r. 9 p.	Captain Wimpole and Mr Powell	freehold
unnamed	130 a. 2 r. 26 p.	Miles Rudland	105 a. 3 r. 4 p. copyhold
unnamed	22 a. 3 r. 36 p.	Miles Rudland	19 a. 1 r. 28 p. copyhold
Luffkins	71 a. 3 r. 7 p.	not known	58 a. 2 r. 29 p. copyhold
Stebbing (incl. Pannetts)	64 a. 0 r. 18 p.	not known	34 a. 1 r. 18 p. copyhold

farm)			
unnamed (later Lower Wick farm)	40 a. 1 r. 27 p.	heirs of Charles Smith	copyhold
Unnamed	17 a. 3 r. 16 p.	Anna, Mary and Susanna Hunter	copyhold
Unnamed	13 a. 1 r. 16 p.	Anna, Mary and Susanna Hunter	copyhold
Cross House farm	43 a. 0 r. 0 p.	Richard Oliver	copyhold
Sturmans (later Green farm)	32 a. 3 r. 20 p.	Francis Richardson	copyhold
Smythies or Smithies farm	35 a. 1 r. 3 p.	Henry Stevens	copyhold
unnamed	13 a. 0 r. 6 p.	Mrs Bryant	copyhold
Bobbitts Hole farm	36 a. 0 r. 32 p.	Mrs Holmes	copyhold
Unnamed	45 a. 3 r. 19 p.	Mrs Holmes	copyhold
two fields	14 a. 1 r. 18 p.	William Cant	copyhold
three closes of land	10 a. 1 r. 27 p.	George Cockerell	copyhold
church lands	25 a. 0 r. 32 p.	Revd Thomas Gibson	copyhold
Unnamed	26 a. 3 r. 20 p.	William Cole	10 a. 0 r. 9 p copyhold
unnamed (later Vicarage farm)	39 a. 3 r. 37 p.	Revd Thomas Gibson	32 a. 1 r. 0 p. copyhold
unnamed (includes Bradwells)	38 a. 3 r. 5 p.	John Cope	36 a. 0 r. 37 p. copyhold
South Hall farm	8 a. 0 r. 30 p.	William Carrington	copyhold; also 31 a. 2 r. 26 p. in Ramsey parish
Unnamed	16 a. 2 r. 1 p.	John Lord	copyhold
Buntings farm	30 a. 2 r. 4 p.	Mrs Oliver	copyhold
unnamed	14 a. 1 r. 15 p.	Mrs Oliver	copyhold
glebe land	2 a. 2 r. 23 p.	Revd Thomas Gibson	copyhold
Michaelstow farm	24 a. 0 r. 17 p.	John Lavall	copyhold; also 115 a. 0 r. 32 p. in Ramsey parish
Total land	1,257 a. 0 r. 9 p.		

Table 1: *Agricultural land in Dovercourt parish, 1751, excluding small plots and gardens.*

Sources: ERO, D/DBp T1; D/DLy M3–4; D/DLy M104; D/DU 2590/1/3; T/P 86/6; II, 11 Dec. 1779.

Swine were still kept in the town in the 18th century, as in 1729 the corporation decreed that the poor could locate their pigsties in the west part of Harwich only.² The lease on Buntings farm in 1742 specified that in the last year of the 21-year lease six acres of land should be left fallow and summer-tilled, that all land should support only two harvests of grain per year,

with every third year the fields being left fallow as summer-land, and that no manure could be removed.³ Brookmans farm kept a dairy of over 30 cows in 1751.⁴ In 1795 the soil in Dovercourt was described as a 'deep well mixed friable earth' and suitable for turnips, clover and most grains and grasses. At this time the local custom with regard to manuring was to mix one wagon load of London manure with five times as much soil collected from the road and greens, together with occasionally adding soot and ashes on top of the wheat and clover.⁵ In 1801 just under half the land in Dovercourt parish, for which agricultural returns were made, was cultivated as arable with wheat covering 304 a., barley 96¼ a., oats 69½ a., potatoes 3½ a., peas 54½ a., beans 76½ a. and turnips/rape 30 a.⁶

In 1800 there were eight copyhold farms that were owner-occupied, with John Clarke also owning a second farm he occupied. There had been a degree of consolidation by that date, with Benjamin Powling owning what became Lower Wick farm and also occupying those farms formerly held by Mrs Holmes. Also, at that time John Cole owned Smythies or Smithies farm as well as occupying Cross House farm and an unnamed farm of 16 a. 2 r. 1 p. (Table 1).⁷ Further amalgamation took place, as in 1815 the farm occupied by Stephen Powling amounted to 180 a. and incorporated what became Dovercourt Hall farm and Lower Wick farm.⁸

INDUSTRY

Fishing

Lobster fishing off the West Rocks took place in the early 18th century.⁹ The modern fishery at Harwich originated c.1712 when 'wells' for transporting live fish from distant fishing grounds for eventual sale in London were introduced from Holland.¹⁰ At that time there were only three smacks of 40 tons each, carrying about 20 men and boys. In 1714 Richard Orlibar entered into partnership with two fishermen from Horsleydown, Southwark (Surr.), but as their trade with Dutch fishermen was illegal they were fined £100 under national legislation. Orlibar resumed fishing from 1715 and was then joined by two other Harwich fishermen. The number of smacks increased from 12 in 1720 to 30 in 1735.¹¹ Nathaniel Saunders established a co-operative fishing enterprise c.1740.¹²

Protection by the Admiralty against French privateers was sought by Harwich's fishermen after two vessels were captured in 1744.¹³ With Great Britain at war with France in 1744 a number of vessels were sold, but by the end of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748 the fishery still consisted of about 37 boats.¹⁴ In 1756, at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, John Batten, the captain of a Harwich fishing boat, was shot dead after a skirmish with a French privateer.¹⁵ The Admiralty provided protection for the cod fishery in the form of a man-of-war the following year, but the *William and Sarah* fishing vessel was still briefly captured by the French in 1758.¹⁶ The scheme transporting fish to London by land seemed to be working well though, as in 1763 it was reported that the number of cod smacks involved in providing supplies had doubled to eight compared to the previous year.¹⁷ In 1763 three men belonging to one of Harwich's fishing smacks were drowned during a violent storm, as were another three fishermen in similar circumstances in 1767.¹⁸ Harwich's turbot fishery was established in 1770, apparently as a result of a petition of Harwich fishermen to Parliament in 1766, though in 1765 the London-based Land Carriage Fish Office was offering equipment for turbot fishing to Harwich crews.¹⁹

The Harwich fishery formerly operated off Cromer catching cod and haddock by hand lines, but by c.1770 Dutch-style long lines were in use off the Lincolnshire and Norfolk coasts from June until about November. Thereafter and until April long-line fishing for haddock and whiting moved to Dogger Bank before returning to the coasts of Lincolnshire and Norfolk until the end of May.²⁰

Renewed foreign wars again decreased the number of smacks operating, but by 1774 there were 62 boats employing almost 500 men and boys.²¹ In 1774 Harwich smacks brought about 1,800 tons of fish to Billingsgate market.²² During the American War of Independence privateer vessels again endangered Harwich fishing boats, as in 1777 when an American privateer operating out of its ally France's ports captured Thomas Hobson's vessel carrying lobster from Norway.²³ On one occasion in 1778 between 20 and 25 fishing vessels from Harwich were taken, but subsequently freed by the French king apparently after the payment of a ransom of £150 for each boat. Edward Gardiner was held hostage briefly as security for the ransom in the case of the capture of the *Owner's Content*.²⁴ After this episode efforts were made to establish a free fishery in the North Sea.²⁵ Fishermen could be impressed into

naval service though there was some general protection provided for Harwich's fishery at this time.²⁶

The number of fishing vessels increased further to 73 by 1778, but by 1784 fell back to 58, owing in part to the loss of six smacks, together with all the men, on Dogger Bank during a gale in January of that year.²⁷ Harwich fisherman William Liveing apparently committed suicide on a fishing trip in 1780 by throwing himself into the water.²⁸ In the fourth Anglo-Dutch war (1780–4) 13 cod vessels were captured by a French privateer on Dogger Bank and ransomed for average of 150 guineas (£157 10s.) each.²⁹ This was in spite of the increased protection being offered by the Admiralty in the form of four sloops of war and three cutters cruising the Dogger and Wells Banks from 1781.³⁰ In 1782 the crew of the Harwich fishing smack *Keddington* were drowned as it foundered on the Dogger Bank and in 1784 two Harwich fishermen lost their lives when their boat hit a rock entering the harbour. In 1786 two Harwich fishermen drowned in the harbour following a collision and in 1789 two servants belonging to the fishery were drowned, apparently due to drunkenness.³¹ William Row, a young fisherman, was drowned in 1791, while later in the year the same fate met another fishermen Thomas Cole (together with his wife and Henry Day) and James Whitby in separate incidents.³²

In 1785 there were 29 vessels employed in the lobster fishery from March to June and part of July in Norway and Scotland with about five vessels employed to bring lobsters to the London market.³³ By 1786 foreign competition led to a proposal to impose a 10s. per ton levy on non-British ships importing turbot with bounties to be provided for British crews.³⁴ Twenty to 25 vessels were to be employed in the turbot fisheries at Harwich in 1786 providing that the Dutch vessels were taxed.³⁵ The year before a case was brought before the court of King's Bench by the fishermen of Harwich against John Cabban for importing fish taken by foreigners resulting in an award of £100 to them.³⁶

In 1792, immediately prior to the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the number of fishing vessels reached about 75 in number, not including trawlers and lobster boats.³⁷ In 1793 there were 60 cod smacks operating out of Harwich carrying about 500 seamen and the number of fishing vessels peaked at 96 in 1798.³⁸ There were many instances of seizures and attacks on fishing smacks by privateers during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic

Wars with one shipowner losing ten vessels up to the year 1800.³⁹ In another instance in 1796 the Harwich smack the *Amity* was captured by both Dutch and French fleets, with the boat sunk on the second occasion and the crew imprisoned in France.⁴⁰ A dispute between Great Britain and Norway led to 15 Harwich lobster vessels being detained temporarily in 1801.⁴¹ Similarly, in 1809 a fishing smack belonging to Robert Enefer was captured by a French privateer, before being released on reaching the Dutch coast.⁴²

Six fishing smacks were temporarily commandeered to protect against a potential invasion by the French in 1801 while also at that time 55 fishermen, one from each smack, were drafted into the Sea Fencibles.⁴³ Generally, however, there was some protection given to fishermen from being impressed.⁴⁴ In 1803 each fishing vessel was armed with two 12-pound carronades as a further protection measure.⁴⁵

The Iceland fishery had almost ceased by the end of the 18th century and Harwich's herring industry was in decline in spite of an improvement in the decade up to 1797.⁴⁶ In the early 19th century the North Sea fishery fleet amounted to more than 300 tons and employed about 500 seamen.⁴⁷ However, in 1812 the corporation petitioned for Government help on account of the 'ruinous' state of the industry, noting that the subsidising of fishermen had significantly contributed to the £2,500 annual cost of supporting the poor.⁴⁸ In 1815 six Harwich fishing vessels belonging to Samuel Howard, of Mistley, were caught in a storm off Texel (Holland) with the loss of seven lives.⁴⁹

There were two covered oyster beds near to the town, probably on the north-west side, in 1711.⁵⁰ These two oyster houses were in the tenure of Thomas Phillips in 1717.⁵¹ There were also oyster pits near the Ray in Dovercourt, with two oyster houses on the Bathside in the 1750s.⁵² The corporation decreed that from 1720 no oysters be caught outside of the season which ran from 14 September to 1 May.⁵³ Laws also governed any infringement upon the oyster layings, including the taking of oysters by 'foreign' fishermen.⁵⁴ In 1744 several fishermen, including William Jolly, of Brightlingsea, were fined 10s. each for 'taking and Destroying the Brood and Spatt of Oyster fish'.⁵⁵ This led to the implementation of a system of licensing of oyster dredgermen.

Shipbuilding and boatbuilding

The lease on the Royal Naval Yard was first taken in 1664.⁵⁶ The cables and wharves had become decayed by the early 18th century and the ‘Great Storehouse’ collapsed c.1712.⁵⁷ The wharves were rebuilt, but in 1713 the dockyard was closed and shipbuilding there ceased for a generation.⁵⁸ In spite of this a foot wharf on the east side was built to protect the yard and repairs carried out to the small storehouse.⁵⁹

Part of the dockyard was leased to fisherman Richard Orlibar in 1723.⁶⁰ The west side of the wharf was repaired in 1734 and more yard repairs were undertaken in 1737. Harwich Corporation lost a case against Ipswich Corporation at the Chelmsford assizes in 1737 when trying to claim a yearly rent under the yard’s lease.⁶¹

In 1740 the Navy Board proposed that the Harwich shipyard be brought back into use for shipbuilding and in 1742 John Barnard the younger took out a lease of the yard.⁶² In 1740 repairs and new building work were carried out at an estimated cost in total of £912 7s. 9d.⁶³ Between 1743 and 1782 a total of 25 ships were built for the Navy Board at the Harwich yard by Barnard, who also had three shipyards at Ipswich (Suff.).⁶⁴ Harwich Corporation agreed a 1,000-year lease with the Royal Navy commissioners in 1743 having also sanctioned an enlargement of the yard.⁶⁵ In 1744 and 1745 Barnard made repeated requests that the Navy Board provide protection against enemy action. His request for arms to defend the yard was granted later in 1745 and in 1746.⁶⁶ The shipyard’s crane was replaced in 1745 and at around the same time a watchtower was to be built and the clock house repaired.⁶⁷ In 1746 a total of 12 soldiers stationed in Harwich were quartered at the yard causing a dispute between the mayor and the shipyard authorities over whether they should be housed there.⁶⁸

From shortly before the commencement of the Seven Years’ War (1756–63) John Barnard worked in partnership with John Turner at the yard.⁶⁹ Philip Hast was also a boatbuilder in Harwich in this period.⁷⁰ The *Alarm*, launched in 1758, was the first ship ever to be built with copper sheathing, as opposed to wood and lead.⁷¹ A temporary wharf was built in 1763 following significant storm damage with a new additional wharf constructed in 1765–6.⁷² In 1764 the Admiralty decreed that dry docks should be used for repairs and that all new ships should be built in the slips.⁷³ A very high tide in 1767 necessitated repairs to the yard’s gates

and buildings, including the 'Great Storehouse'.⁷⁴ The partnership between Barnard and Turner was dissolved in 1765 though John Turner, jnr, was taken into the arrangement in 1768, prior to the death of Turner, snr, in 1771.⁷⁵ The dissolution of the second partnership occurred in 1776 and a financial dispute between the two partners contributed to Turner being bankrupted. Turner's affairs were still being sorted out as late as 1789 when a final dividend payment was made.⁷⁶

In 1781 the Admiralty proposed that the Harwich yard be made ready for cleaning and refitting small ships for the war with the Dutch, with a master attendant and master shipwright to be appointed for the duration of the conflict.⁷⁷ New buildings, including a pound, a new storehouse and a masthouse, were erected.⁷⁸ New slipways and boathouses, together with a mast and timber pond, were also built at the same time.⁷⁹ However, lack of pay and materials led to the yard's men going on strike in 1781 and in the same year Barnard was bankrupted apparently due to cash flow problems.⁸⁰ Joseph Graham took over the shipyard later that year and built for both the Royal Navy and merchant customers up to 1814.⁸¹ The yard employed 200 men, including labourers, both during wars and in peacetime.⁸² Two walls, along the south and west sides of the yard, were constructed in 1790.⁸³ In 1789 William May was a shipbuilder and John and Henry Davison were boatbuilders in Harwich, initially in partnership.⁸⁴ Yet, in general, the trade remained a precarious one as shipbuilder and boatbuilder Edward Boyden died in 1795 a bankrupt, with his yard, complete with dock, boatbuilder's shop and storehouses, offered to let. Another shipbuilder William Taylor was known to have financial problems by 1802 but continued trading to at least 1807.⁸⁵ In 1797, due to coastal erosion on the east side of the royal yard, a new wharf was built at a projected cost of £350 12s. 8d., together with the building of a shy at the north corner of the yard to prevent the sand from shifting and the shoring up of the foundations of the masthouse.⁸⁶

Milling

There were four windmills in Dovercourt in the 18th and early 19th centuries. As a result of plans to fortify Harwich the windmill on Beacon Hill was sold in 1714 for £132 though these proposals were ultimately abandoned.⁸⁷ In 1728 a storm split its main post and in 1742 it was blown down.⁸⁸ Mill Hill windmill situated in the Hanging Field was erected c.1763, but it

apparently no longer existed by the end of the 18th century.⁸⁹ A third windmill situated on the cliff was owned or let by Thomas Taylor and then John Patrick; it was moved to another site in 1829 due to the effects of erosion.⁹⁰ A fourth windmill close to the Mill Hill windmill was built by Patrick in 1821.⁹¹ None of the windmills survive.

Brewing and malting

Detailed information about brewing in Harwich in the early 18th century is limited. In 1706 George Rolfe is named as a brewer and in 1707–8 John Rolfe owned the ‘Naval Brew-House’; the Rolfe family may have been the most prominent brewers in the town in the first decades of the 18th century.⁹² Arthur Palmer was described as a ‘Beer brewer’ in 1708 and Cyprian Bridge as a brewer in 1714.⁹³ Also recorded as Harwich brewers were Roger Rolfe in 1716, Robert Rose in 1719 and 1729, Josias Collier in 1725, and Richard Rolfe in 1738.⁹⁴ Sir James Thornhill writing in 1711 refers to wells south-west of Harwich where brewers erected pumps to draw the water they required.⁹⁵ In 1727 probably the same well, on the London road, was flooded by a high tide and thereafter water was supplied from a spring in Erwarton (Suff.) to the ‘Brew-House’ via barges.⁹⁶ In 1730 Harwich Corporation granted a 31-year lease to Cyprian Bridge for the beerhouse on what was formerly Watkins Quay.⁹⁷

Thomas Cobbold’s Harwich Brewery, situated by the Angel Quay, was apparently bought from George Rolfe, probably in 1723. Twenty years later Cobbold also began brewing in Ipswich, where he established the Cliff Brewery.⁹⁸ The Harwich Brewery appears to have been retained, obtaining its water from the spring in Erwarton.⁹⁹ In 1744 a lease for 21 years for the ‘Stonewells’ previously leased to George Rolfe was granted by the corporation to Cobbold at a yearly rent of £3.¹⁰⁰ There were also breweries at the shipyard (presumably the ‘Naval Brew-House’ mentioned earlier) and Landguard Fort.¹⁰¹ There was a ‘Brewhouse’ located at the dock by Ramsey Creek, just north of All Saints’ church, in Dovercourt, but it had ceased operating by 1751.¹⁰² Thomas Cobbold’s grandson, John Cobbold, held the lease on the Harwich Brewery from 1770, in partnership with Charles Cox. The latter ran the brewery, while John Cobbold was in charge of the Ipswich Brewery.¹⁰³ The partnership between Cobbold and Cox was dissolved in 1802, at which point their sons Thomas Cobbold and Anthony Cox took over as partners.¹⁰⁴ In 1803 the corporation agreed to allow Cobbold

and Cox to lay pipes for the ‘Conveyance of Water through the Town to their Brew Office by the Angel Quay’ and it was noted in 1806 that these pipes had been relaid.¹⁰⁵

Some malt was produced in the town in support of the brewing industry. John Rolfe left a ‘Malting Office’ in his will in 1717.¹⁰⁶ Thomas Cobbold’s malting house, which was next to his brewery, was advertised to let in 1752.¹⁰⁷ William Tame is recorded as a maltster in Harwich in 1756,¹⁰⁸ while the malting mill of Anthony Alderton in Dovercourt was partly destroyed by a fire in 1769.¹⁰⁹

Cement manufacturing

The manufacture of Roman cement was begun by James Frost c.1807.¹¹⁰ In 1810–11 the Board of Ordnance established a cement factory near the Angel Gate Battery though it soon had to be rebuilt after a riot by local people objecting to the pollution caused.¹¹¹ The cost of building the establishment was estimated at £1,893 1s. ½d.¹¹² Cement manufacture was to become a significant industry in Harwich and Dovercourt in the 19th and early 20th centuries.¹¹³

Extractive industries

The dredging of cement stone under the Beacon Cliff began in 1807.¹¹⁴ The gathering of copperas from the cliffs was still undertaken in the early 18th century and a new lease for the Copperas Ground in Harwich was granted in 1747 at £1 p.a., but the works at Harwich had ceased operating by 1759 and copperas gathering was rare by the 1770s.¹¹⁵ Copperas was used in the manufacturing processes at other copperas works at nearby Ramsey and Walton-on-the-Naze for use in the ink and dyeing industries, but this ceased some time during the 18th (Ramsey) or early 19th centuries (Walton).¹¹⁶ The collection of seaweed for the manufacture of potash was briefly attempted in the early 18th century.¹¹⁷ Oakum picking was undertaken by the poor and prisoners in the 1770s and 1780s to supply Harwich’s shipyard and other local coastal towns with caulking material.¹¹⁸ Defoe reported that chalk was also quarried on the cliffs near to Harwich in the early 18th century.¹¹⁹ Other resources scavenged on the seashore at that time included amber and eryngo, and on the marshes sea wormwood

and wart-weed, the last three used for medicinal purposes.¹²⁰ Samphire was collected at Dovercourt in the late 18th century.¹²¹

Other manufacturing

Rope-making was an important industry connected to shipbuilding in Harwich, with a rope-ground being attached to the shipyard in the 18th century.¹²² Andrew Pollard is recorded as a rope-maker in 1760 and 1761 and John Harrison similarly in 1767.¹²³ The rope-makers working for Thomas Bryant at the shipyard rope-ground were paid 12s. per week in 1762.¹²⁴ John Stevens was a rope-maker by 1774.¹²⁵ Harwich-based Francis Stevens and Phillips Fennings, of Ipswich, dissolved their rope-making partnership in 1785 and Francis Stevens, jnr, thereafter carried on the business as a sole trader.¹²⁶ John Hobday and John Searles ran a rope-making business by 1808 and up to 1812, and the following year, after the death of Hobday, the partnership of Hindes and Searles was established. 'Hobday's rope walk' at Harwich was situated on Crown Land opposite the Redoubt running in parallel with the main road.¹²⁷ Stevens and Co., the partners of which were apparently Francis Stevens' son, also Francis Stevens, and grandson Philip Stevens, also had a rope-ground at Harwich in 1810.¹²⁸

TRADE AND COMMERCE

Port

Harwich was a moderately sized regional port in the 18th century. It supplied the London market with agricultural produce and copperas and had a vital role in the east coast coal trade.¹²⁹ The degree of its importance can be gauged by the fact that a fleet of over 400 colliers were sighted off Harwich in 1739.¹³⁰ The formation of a short-lived combination in the Northern ports in 1789 to increase the price of coal traded at Harwich led to local Essex and Suffolk coal merchants refusing to deal with the combinator. Subsequently James Hartley was appointed factor for the Harwich coal market.¹³¹ Other important products imported or traded at Harwich included timber, iron and grain. In 1750, for example, about 580 lbs of iron was imported from Gothenburg, Sweden.¹³² Revd John Newton, sailor and slave trader turned abolitionist, is known to have shipped from Harwich.¹³³

Harwich was also a significant exporter of wheat, barley and malt. Between Christmas 1734 and Christmas 1735 some 622 quarters of barley and 1,200 quarters of wheat were exported.¹³⁴ Trade had greatly increased by the 1780s, as shown by the following table:

	Quarters of wheat	Quarters of barley	Quarters of malt	Quarters of oats
1780	22,017	6,812 ¹³⁵	35,228	not available
1781	11,040	7,818	33,535	3,527
1782	17,413	7,612	26,222	4,843
1783	12,577	11,401	22,621	4,656
1784	15,127	6,074	25,113 ¹³⁶	2,546
1785	23,596	11,996	39,378	2,181 or 2,182
1786	32,176	12,845	36,157	1,904

Table 2: *Output of wheat, barley and malt from Harwich port to London, 1780–6. Source: An Account of All Wheat, Barley, and Malt, Exported from the Counties of Suff. and Essex, from the Year 1780 to 1786, Inclusive (n.p., 1787); An Account of all Wheat, Barley, Malt, and Oats, Sent Coastwise, from the Year 1780 to 1786, Inclusive, from what Port or Place; Distinguishing the Quantity of Each Kind of Grain (Parl. Papers 23 Jan.–30 May 1787, xlix)*

The tonnage of vessels belonging to Harwich increased considerably from 1716 to 1760 and then remained between 4,000 and 5,000 tons in the period 1760–80 before falling slightly in the following two years (Table 3).

Year	Foreign Trades Tonnage	Coast Tonnage	Fishing Tonnage	Total Tonnage
1716	992	1,050	130	2,172
1723	1,126	1,100	360	2,586
1730	1,154	1,100	600	2,854
1737	2,397	1,000	680	4,077
1744	660	1,050	700	2,410
1751	260	1,060	1,565	2,885
1752	1,532	1,000	1,567	4,099

1753	450	1,050	1,567	3,067
1754	1,280	1,050	1,567	3,897
1755	1,690	1,050	1,569	4,309
1756	175	1,020	1,569	2,764
1757	780	1,580	1,569	3,929
1758	310	1,300	1,950	3,560
1759	920	1,200	1,350	3,470
1760	-	1,210	3,280	4,490
1761	-	1,210	3,280	4,490
1762	-	1,210	3,330	4,540
1763	-	1,210	3,330	4,540
1764	-	1,270	3,330	4,600
1765	100	1,270	3,380	4,750
1766	100	1,310	3,530	4,940
1767	120	1,310	3,480	4,910
1768	120	1,310	3,430	4,860
1769	120	1,310	3,360	4,790
1770	-	1,080	3,360	4,440
1771	-	1,140	3,110	4,250
1772	-	1,190	3,110	4,300
1773	-	1,270	3,160	4,430
1774	-	1,320	3,500	4,820
1775	-	1,310	3,690	5,000
1776	-	1,270	3,690	4,960
1777	-	1,140	3,640	4,780
1778	-	1,210	3,620	4,830
1779	-	1,082	3,570	4,652
1780	-	1,062	3,180	4,242
1781	-	1,122	2,680	3,802
1782	-	1,212	2,680	3,892

Table 3: *Tonnage of vessels belonging to the port of Harwich. Source: BL, Add MS 11255.*

In 1746 the Harwich hoys travelled from Hartshorn's Brewhouse, East Smithfield, on Mondays and Thursdays.¹³⁷ Sailing vessels from London to Harwich left from Sommer's and Smart's quays, near Billingsgate, and Brown's Wharf, St Catharine's dock, in 1779 with the latter service changing to departing from Harrison's Wharf, St Catherine's dock, by 1784. By c.1786 Dice quay, Billingsgate, was also used as was Briant's Wharf, East Smithfield, by 1788.¹³⁸ Fourteen Harwich coasting vessels, totalling 840 tons, traded with the Port of London in 1796. By 1798 this number had increased to 21 with a registered tonnage of 1,842.¹³⁹

Banking

The first Harwich bank, in King's Quay Street, was probably established in 1790, most likely by brewer Charles Cox. In 1812 his son Anthony Cox amalgamated the bank with those in Manningtree and Hadleigh (Suff.). The other partners in the business were George Bridges and Peter Godfrey and their bank went under the name of Bridges, Cox & Godfrey; Bridges, Cox & Co.; or Bridges & Co. In 1815, on the apparent departure of Bridges and Godfrey, a new partnership was formed by Anthony Cox with Henry Nunn.¹⁴⁰

Inns and beerhouses

In the early 18th century Harwich's inns were described as being 'very good' but the accommodation was expensive owing to the numerous passengers on the packets providing a ready source of custom.¹⁴¹ In both 1721 and 1722 a total of 46 alehouse licences were granted in Harwich and Dovercourt, with 41, 43 and 45 recorded for the three subsequent years.¹⁴² The names of over 30 inns in Harwich at this time are known, such as the Angel, Bear, Bell (also called Blew Bell), Bull, Carpenters Arms, Chequers, 'Cheques Crosse', Cock, Cock and Pye, Coopers Arms, Dolphin, Eagle Pacquet Boat, Flower de Luce, George, Globe, Green Dragon (later Bell and Dragon), Griffin, Griffin and Crown, Half Moon, King's Arms, King's Head, Red Lion, Rose and Crown, Rotterdam, Royal Oak, Six Bells, Stow Boat, Spread Eagle, Swan, Three Cups, Three Mariners, Three Tuns, Two Brewers, White Hart, White Horse and Yarmouth Arms. The inns at Dovercourt included the Anchor, Boatswain and Call, Cross Keys, George, King's Arms, Orange Tree, Red Cow and White Horse.¹⁴³ There were

between 34 and 39 alehouse licences granted in the years 1726 to 1733, 45 in both 1734 and 1735, but only 31 in each of the three years from 1737 to 1739 and the number varied between 26 and 34 in subsequent years up to 1757.¹⁴⁴

The Three Cups inn was the most reputable establishment and was part of William Kempster's estate in 1714.¹⁴⁵ Frederick, Prince of Wales, on his visit in 1728, stayed at the inn for about an hour.¹⁴⁶ A new coffee room was opened there in 1754.¹⁴⁷ Thomas Halsted ran the Three Cups from at least 1751 to 1767.¹⁴⁸ George III's brother Edward Augustus, the duke of York and Albany, stayed at the Three Cups on a visit to Harwich in 1765.¹⁴⁹ Abraham Hindes was the landlord of the Three Cups from 1767 to 1795, when its licence was passed to William Bull.¹⁵⁰ In the first year under Hindes over £200 was spent on repairs and refurbishment.¹⁵¹ In 1780 Hindes was involved in uncovering one of several attempted arson attacks by French interlopers in the town.¹⁵² The account of a visitor in 1788 described only the Three Cups as being worthy of 'any consideration for the reception of travellers'.¹⁵³ Another royal visitor to the inn was Prince William Henry, duke of Gloucester, in 1795, while Lord Nelson stayed there in 1801.¹⁵⁴ In 1815 the Three Cups was enlarged with the opening of a new reception room.¹⁵⁵ The inn was also a common venue for public auctions.

The other coaching inn in Harwich was the White Hart, recorded from 1722.¹⁵⁶ Roger Hines, snr, was the landlord there for almost 50 years and was succeeded by his nephew, another Roger Hines, in 1790, but the latter was bankrupted by the following year. The inn was subsequently sold to Colchester wine merchant Samuel Bawtree for £840.¹⁵⁷ Other Harwich inns recorded in 1793 were the Angel, Bell, Duke's Head, Globe, Half Moon, King's Head, Queen's Head, Royal Oak, Ship, Smack, Spread Eagle, Swan (formerly Prince of Wales's Head or sometimes Prince's Head) and Three Crowns,¹⁵⁸ while the Golden Lion, Packet, White Swan and Duke of Cumberland (also known as Duke of Cumberland's Head) were listed at other times in the 18th and early 19th centuries.¹⁵⁹ The Golden Lion was regularly used as a venue for auctions in 1767 and 1768.¹⁶⁰ The corporation owned several inns which they leased out, including the Yarmouth Arms, New Bell (formerly White Horse), Bell, Harwich Arms, Wherry, Smack (formerly Packet), Angel, Privateer and Coach and Horses.¹⁶¹ The Bear, also owned by the corporation and which later changed its name to the King's Arms, had its use changed to become the Guildhall.¹⁶² The Lion in King's Head Street, Harwich, became a tenement and bakehouse some time in the 18th century.¹⁶³

The main inn in Dovercourt was the White Horse. Others included the Jolly Sailor, built in 1757; the Royal Oak, first recorded in 1779, and the Turk's Head, mentioned in 1789, though by 1797 it was reported that there was only one public house (almost certainly the White Horse) in the parish.¹⁶⁴ In the early 19th century provision expanded with the Canteen and Trafalgar inns being licenced.¹⁶⁵

By the mid 18th century the Cobbold family had extended their brewing business into the retailing of beer, as the industry became more consolidated. The Angel inn on the quay was advertised for sale in both 1746 and 1747, and in 1762 it was leased to Thomas Cobbold's son, also Thomas, by the corporation.¹⁶⁶ In 1761 the corporation agreed to lease the former Yarmouth Arms (then called the Angel and Bell) to the same Thomas.¹⁶⁷ The first Thomas Cobbold's grandson, John Cobbold, owned many other inns in Harwich, including the Three Cups, Half Moon and Blew Bell, while his partner Charles Cox owned the Duke's Head; the Prince of Wales's Head, Ship, Rose and Crown (later called the Packet), Spread Eagle, Royal Oak, Flower de Luce, King's Head and Globe were also in the tenure of Cobbold and Cox at various times in the 18th century.¹⁶⁸ Cox took on the lease of the Bell and the Angel in 1799 from the corporation.¹⁶⁹ In 1811 these leases were voided and a new 99-year lease for the Angel was granted to Cobbold at £6 p.a.¹⁷⁰ By 1816, in what was almost certainly a renewal arrangement, the new partnership of Thomas Cobbold and Anthony Cox, the sons of John Cobbold and Charles Cox, took over the Harwich Brewery and the management of several Harwich inns (Ship, Spread Eagle, King's Head, Rose and Crown, and Royal Oak). In a separate arrangement they took the leases of two maltings in Dovercourt and of the following inns: King's Arms, Queen's Head, the former Old Angel, Harwich Arms, Duke's Head, Half Moon and Globe in Harwich and the White Horse in Dovercourt.¹⁷¹

Market

The right to hold a market in Harwich had originated in the provisions of the 1253 and 1604 charters.¹⁷² Market days were Tuesday and Friday between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m.¹⁷³ The market place, situated opposite the junction of Market Street and King's Quay Street, was described in 1730 as 'only a narrow *Shelter* tiled adjoining to a House, supported before by three round *Columns*'.¹⁷⁴ It had been re-paved in 1726 at a cost of 3s.¹⁷⁵ In 1772 the mayor had to issue a

notice protecting market vendors after an incident in which the poor of Harwich appropriated their provisions and sold them on.¹⁷⁶

A new market house was built between 1782 and 1784 at a cost not to exceed £368 8s. 8d. and included a weights and measures building with a bell turret. The new opening hours were agreed to be every day (except Sunday) between 7 a.m. and 8 p.m. (in summer) and 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. (in winter). It was also decreed in 1784 that no commodities should be sold at any place other than the market.¹⁷⁷ A shopkeepers' petition in 1792 led to measures being introduced by the justices of the peace aimed at cracking down on hawkers and peddlers.¹⁷⁸ The judgement was imposed in addition to the restrictions placed on sellers earlier in the year when strict rules banning the sale of juvenile or out of season fish and that of unwholesome or underweight provisions were put into force.¹⁷⁹ In 1795 cases were brought against several stallholders selling fruit and vegetables for causing an obstruction.¹⁸⁰ In the same year it was agreed by the council to separate the offices of chamberlain and clerk of the market.¹⁸¹ In 1800 a riot took place at the market with protestors forcing the vendors to sell their produce at reasonable prices. An agreement was reached with the mayor whereby maximum prices were set for butter at 1s. 3d. per pint, at a halfpenny for an egg and 2d. a quarter for potatoes. The corporation decided that the regulations to prevent forestalling were not being properly enforced and the officers of the market were charged with neglect.¹⁸² In 1815 it was agreed by the corporation to spend £177 10s. 2d. on repairs to the market place.¹⁸³

Occupations, trades and shops

Occupations in Harwich in this period were dominated by maritime activities. The wills proven indicate that mariner was the most common occupation, with fishing and marine-related industries also prominent.

Occupations in wills	Number	Percentage
Mariner	66	25.5
Hospitality	29	11.2
Retail and related	25	9.6
Trade	24	9.3

Professional and clergy	23	8.9
Agriculture	22	8.5
Fishing	20	7.7
Marine-related industry	19	7.3
Transport	9	3.5
Manufacturing	7	2.7
Miscellaneous	6	2.3
Merchant	4	1.5
Brewing	3	1.2
Services	2	0.8

Table 4: *Occupations in Harwich and Dovercourt, 1714–1815. Sources: TNA, PROB (multiple); ERO, D/ABW, D/ACW, D/DCm F1/5, D/DU 86/15, D/DU 206/9.*

Rules preventing ‘foreigners’ (i.e. those who were not burgesses or residents) undertaking occupations in Harwich were strictly enforced in the mid 18th century. For example, Richard Bacon, an upholsterer, and shopkeeper Anne Wigginer were prosecuted for such an offence in 1728 and 1729 respectively. William Truelove was admonished twice in three months, in late 1729 and early 1730, for carrying on the trade of baker in similar circumstances.¹⁸⁴ In 1757 the same Truelove, now resident in Harwich, was prosecuted for selling bread which did not meet the weight rules laid down by the assize of mayor Griffith Davies.¹⁸⁵ A similar crackdown on fraudulent measures was undertaken in 1765 when 43 tradesmen and women, including 16 victuallers, from St Nicholas parish and six from Dovercourt were prosecuted.¹⁸⁶

There is evidence of a wide variety of shops and trades in the 1760s and 1770s. Christopher Biggen advertised as a clockmaker and watchmaker in Harwich in 1765.¹⁸⁷ Surgeon Mr Cox (apparently Raynor Cox) put the fixtures of his apothecary shop up for sale in 1766.¹⁸⁸ William Hempson’s surgical instruments and apothecary goods were sold by his executor Nathaniel Hempson in Dovercourt in the same year.¹⁸⁹ The latter Hempson was a barber and peruke maker, as was John Usher in 1770.¹⁹⁰ Two coffee houses are recorded in Harwich in the 1760s, known as the Widow’s Coffee House and Dod’s Coffee House.¹⁹¹ Another apothecary’s shop in Harwich was advertised for sale in 1773.¹⁹² George Borrett, a

watchmaker and silversmith of Stowmarket (Suff.), also had a shop in Harwich in 1774.¹⁹³ It is likely that this was the shop taken on by William Veale, watchmaker, clockmaker, jeweller and silversmith.¹⁹⁴ John Prentice, breeches maker and glover, opened a shop in Harwich in 1774.¹⁹⁵

In 1793 some 25 people advertised who were employed in retail and similar occupations: seven bakers, four butchers, three drapers, a druggist, a draper and tailor, a linen and woollen draper, a milliner, a milliner and shopkeeper, and five other shopkeepers.¹⁹⁶ In addition, there were five tailors though by this stage weaving had almost completely ceased.¹⁹⁷ In the services sector there were two hairdressers and two peruke-makers. The importance of the hospitality sector in Harwich and Dovercourt is shown by the listing of 16 victuallers (one of whom was also described as a coal-buyer) and five innkeepers. Marine-related industries accounted for 16 people and there were also four mariners and a fisherman. In the transport sector there were five people involved in the packet service (with one commander position also vacant at the time) and also a coach-master and saddler. There were 11 people employed in manufacturing and eight other tradesmen. The professions are represented by three people each described as ‘surgeon, apothecary, and man-midwife’, three employed in the law and two schoolmasters, as well as two members of the clergy. Seven people were working for the corporation, 21 for the Customs authorities, four as Excise officers, two for the Navy Office and there were 18 pilots.¹⁹⁸

At the start of the 19th century employment in agriculture was still significant, though greatly outweighed by numbers chiefly employed in trades, manufacturing and handicrafts.

Inevitably, there was a sharp contrast between urban Harwich and rural Dovercourt: in 1801 there were 105 individuals (Harwich 8, Dovercourt 97) mainly employed in agriculture against 322 tradespeople and manufacturing and handicraft workers (204 Harwich, 18 Dovercourt).¹⁹⁹ By 1811 the figure for agriculture had decreased to 72 (all Dovercourt) while that recorded for trades, manufacturing and handicrafts was also down to 178 (Harwich 36, Dovercourt 142), probably representing a degree of under-reporting.²⁰⁰

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- ¹ ERO, D/DU 2590/1/3. Acreages include properties, driftways and lanes but exclude the main road, saltings and a half-share of Ramsey Creek.
- ² HTC, 98.5 E, mins, 29 Aug. 1729.
- ³ ERO, D/DBp T1.
- ⁴ *IJ*, 3, 17, 24, 31 Aug. 1751.
- ⁵ C. Vancouver, *General View of the Agric. in the County of Essex; with Observations on the Means of Improvement* (1795), 38.
- ⁶ G.A. Ward, 'Essex farming in 1801', *EAT*, 3rd ser., 5 (1973), 196.
- ⁷ ERO, D/DLy M104.
- ⁸ *IJ*, 23, 30 Apr. 1814.
- ⁹ BL, Add MS 34788, diary of Sir James Thornhill, p. 34.
- ¹⁰ D. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (eds), *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (2000), 73, citing *Rep. of the Com. Appointed to Inquire into the Sea Fisheries of the United Kingdom* (Parl. Papers 1866 [C. 3596–I], xviii), p. 456.
- ¹¹ *Third Rep. from the Cttee, Appointed to Enquire into the State of the Brit. Fisheries; and into the Most Effectual Means for their Encouragement and Extension* (Parl. Papers 25 Jan.–2 Aug. 1785, liii) pp. 21–2; *The Harwich Guide* (1808), 24–5.
- ¹² *VCH Essex* II, 297.
- ¹³ TNA, SP 42/27/294.
- ¹⁴ *Third Rep. from the Cttee*, p. 22.
- ¹⁵ *IJ*, 28 Aug. 1756.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.* 17 Sept. 1757, 8 Apr. 1758.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.* 22 Oct. 1763.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.* 10 Dec. 1763, 17 Jan. 1767. It was reported that three fishermen's lives were feared lost in 1766: *IJ*, 8 Feb. 1766.
- ¹⁹ TNA, T 1/445/264–7; *IJ*, 11 May 1765, 25 Nov., 2, 9 Dec. 1769.
- ²⁰ *Third Rep. from the Cttee*, p. 21.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*; *The Harwich Guide* (1808), 26.
- ²² *The Harwich Guide* (1808), 28.
- ²³ *IJ*, 12 July 1777.

²⁴ *VCH Essex* II, 297; *IJ*, 21, 28 Nov. 1778.

²⁵ *IJ*, 23 Jan., 10 Apr. 1779, 19 June 1779.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 25 Apr. 1778.

²⁷ *Third Rep. from the Cttee*, p. 22; *The Harwich Guide* (1808), 37.

²⁸ *IJ*, 16 Sept. 1780.

²⁹ *Third Rep. from the Cttee*, p. 22.

³⁰ *IJ*, 1 Dec. 1781.

³¹ *Ibid.* 26 Jan. 1782, 20 Mar. 1784, 15 July 1786, 12 Sept. 1789.

³² *Ibid.* 9 July, 5 Nov. 1791.

³³ *Third Rep. from the Cttee*, p. 22.

³⁴ *First Rep. from the Cttee Appointed to Enquire into the State of the Brit. Fisheries, and into the Most Effectual Means for their Encouragement and Extension* (Parl. Papers 24 Jan.–11 July 1786, liii), p. 8.

³⁵ *Second Rep. from the Cttee Appointed to Enquire into the State of the Brit. Fisheries, and into the Most Effectual Means for their Encouragement and Extension* (Parl. Papers 24 Jan.–11 July 1786, liii), p. 4.

³⁶ *IJ*, 21 May 1785.

³⁷ *Rep. from the Sel. Cttee on Brit. Channel Fisheries* (Parl. Papers 1833 (676), xiv), p. 99; HTC, 148/13.

³⁸ Starkey, Reid and Ashcroft, *England's Sea Fisheries*, 73, citing *Rep. of the Com. Appointed to Inquire into the Sea Fisheries of the United Kingdom*, p. 457; *Universal Brit. Dir.* (1793), III, 240–1.

³⁹ *VCH Essex* II, 297; *IJ*, 9 Mar. 1793, 20 Dec. 1794, 1 July 1797, 11 May 1799, 22 Apr. 1809.

⁴⁰ *IJ*, 12 Mar., 23 Apr. 1796.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 23, 30 May 1801.

⁴² *Ibid.* 22 Apr. 1809.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 1, 15 Aug., 24 Oct. 1801; below, Military and Naval Defences.

⁴⁴ ERO, T/B 257/1; HS, 118; HTC, 424; *VCH Essex* II, 297.

⁴⁵ *IJ*, 19 Nov. 1803.

⁴⁶ *Rep. Respecting the Brit. Herring Fisheries* (Parl. Papers 2 Nov. 1797–29 June 1798, cxviii), p. 219; *VCH Essex* II, 297.

- ⁴⁷ *The Harwich Guide* (1808), 28.
- ⁴⁸ HTC, 98.7 G, mins, 18 Sept. 1812.
- ⁴⁹ *IJ*, 6 May 1815.
- ⁵⁰ BL, Add MS 34788, p. 5; K. Fremantle (ed.), *Sir James Thornhill's Sketch-bk Travel Jnl of 1711: A Visit to East Anglia and the Low Countries* (1976), 10.
- ⁵¹ TNA, E 367/3971, 367/3997.
- ⁵² ERO, D/DU 557/1; *IJ*, 15, 22, 29 July, 5 Aug., 18, 25 Nov., 2 Dec. 1749, 27 Jan. to 24 Mar., 1, 8, 15, 22 Sept. 1750, 12, 19, 26 Oct. 1751.
- ⁵³ HTC, 98.5 E, mins, 1 Sept. 1720.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 98.6 F, mins, 11 Sept. 1744; *IJ*, 20 Dec. 1766.
- ⁵⁵ HTC, 98.6 F, mins, 19 Sept. 1744.
- ⁵⁶ TNA, ADM 106/619/51; above, Harwich and Dovercourt, 1606–1713, Econ. Hist., Ind., Shipbuilding.
- ⁵⁷ TNA, ADM 106/626/49, 106/674/62, 106/674/73.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.* ADM 106/683/110, 106/683/229–30, 106/683/289.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.* ADM 106/683/328, 106/683/332, 106/691/328–9, 106/694/189.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* ADM 106/761/100.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.* ADM 106/854/198, 106/854/212, 106/854/225, 106/887/105, 106/887/108, 106/887/136. It is not clear if this case was connected to the dispute over harbour boundaries: above, Intro., Harbour and quay development.
- ⁶² *Ibid.* ADM 354/112/188, 354/113/109; J.E. Barnard, *Building Brit's Wooden Walls: The Barnard Dynasty c. 1697–1851* (1997), 17.
- ⁶³ TNA, ADM 106/916/174–5, 354/113/110.
- ⁶⁴ Barnard, *Building Brit's Wooden Walls*, 17, 23, 30, 33. The *Irresistible* was completed in 1782 by the assignees of John Barnard.
- ⁶⁵ TNA, CRES 38/566; HTC, 98.6 F, mins, 25 June, 11, 25 July, 6 Oct. 1743.
- ⁶⁶ TNA, ADM 106/987/259, 106/1003/68, 106/1003/100, 106/1005/174, 106/1023/102, 354/127/97, 354/130/88.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.* ADM 106/1003/170–2, 106/1005/155, 106/1005/173.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.* ADM 106/1029/7.
- ⁶⁹ Barnard, *Building Brit's Wooden Walls*, 23.
- ⁷⁰ ERO, D/ABW 98/3/76.

- ⁷¹ J.E. Barnard, *The Navy Bd Letters of John Barnard Shipbuilder 1740–1780* (1989), 38 (copy in ERO, T/M 517/3).
- ⁷² TNA, ADM 106/1127/193, 106/1127/196, 106/1141/68, 106/1141/71, 106/1150/255; *IJ*, 10 Dec. 1763.
- ⁷³ *VCH Essex* II, 301.
- ⁷⁴ TNA ADM 106/1153/2, 106/1153/24–5; above, Intro., Landscape, Coastal erosion and sea defence.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.* ADM 106/1203/144, 106/1236/240; *IJ*, 17, 24, 31 Aug., 7, 14 Sept. 1765, 19 Oct. 1771.
- ⁷⁶ TNA, ADM 106/1236/235, 106/1236/239; *IJ*, 16, 23 Mar., 6, 13 July 1776, 25 July, 22 Aug. 1778, 8, 15 Feb. 1783, 23 May 1789.
- ⁷⁷ TNA, PC 1/12/54; *IJ*, 6, 13 Jan. 1781.
- ⁷⁸ TNA, ADM 106/1265/157, 106/1265/162, 106/1265/171, 106/1265/178, 106/1265/181, 106/1265/203, 106/1265/246.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.* ADM 106/1265/248, 106/1265/257, 106/1265/274, 106/1265/278.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.* ADM 106/1265/154, 106/1265/175; *IJ*, 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 Mar., 14, 21 Apr. 1781; Barnard, *Building Brit's Wooden Walls*, 35–6. Barnard's affairs were subject to a renewed commission of bankruptcy in 1789: *IJ*, 6 June 1789.
- ⁸¹ LMA, CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/294/448539, 26 Sept. 1781; *IJ*, 17 Dec. 1814; M. Christy, 'A hist. of ship-building in Essex', *ER* 16 (1907), 25.
- ⁸² *IJ*, 5 Mar. 1785.
- ⁸³ TNA, ADM 106/1974, letters, 21 Mar., 23 Apr. 1790; *IJ*, 27 Mar. 1790.
- ⁸⁴ LMA, CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/365/562894; ERO, D/ABW 113/2/48; *Universal Brit. Dir.* (1793), III, 242; *IJ*, 27 June 1789.
- ⁸⁵ *IJ*, 7, 14 Mar., 2, 23 May, 13 June 1795, 24 Jan. 1807; H. Benham, 'An eighteenth century Mistley ship-builder', *ER* 61 (1952), 90.
- ⁸⁶ TNA, ADM 106/1974, letters, 1, 20 May, 6 Sept. 1797.
- ⁸⁷ Farries, *Essex Windmills*, III, 113.
- ⁸⁸ HTC, 98.6 F, mins, 25 June 1743; Dale, *Harwich and Dovercourt*, 255 n.; *IJ*, 4 Dec. 1742. The mill on Beacon Hill was possibly rebuilt as it is shown intact in 1751: ERO, D/DU 2590/1/1.
- ⁸⁹ ERO, D/DB T801; *IJ*, 13, 20 Aug. 1763; Farries, *Essex Windmills*, III, 113–14.

- ⁹⁰ *Map of Essex* (1777); *IJ*, 7, 14, 21 Apr., 19, 26 May, 29 Sept. 1810, 5 Jan., 2, 9 Feb. 1811, 18, 25 Apr., 2 May 1812; Farries, *Essex Windmills*, III, 114.
- ⁹¹ Farries, *Essex Windmills*, III, 114, citing ERO, D/DLy M5, 3 and 4 Sept. 1821; below, Harwich, Dovercourt and Parkeston, 1815–1914, Econ. Hist., Milling.
- ⁹² B. Woods and R. Oxborrow, *Harwich: A Town of Many Pubs* (2002), 3, 5.
- ⁹³ ERO, D/P 174/1/1, bap. 29 Dec. 1714; HTC, 98.5 E, mins, 13 Oct. 1708; see also ERO, D/ACW 24/111.
- ⁹⁴ ERO, D/ABW 88/1/117, 92/2/104; D/P 170/1/3, bap. 18 Mar. 1716, 20 Sept. 1719, bur. 7 May 1725, 3 June 1729, 22 Oct. 1738.
- ⁹⁵ BL, Add MS 34788, p. 10.
- ⁹⁶ TNA, CUST 99/2, 5 Feb. 1734; Dale, *Harwich and Dovercourt*, 26 n.
- ⁹⁷ HTC, 98.5 E, mins, 26 Aug. 1730.
- ⁹⁸ *IJ*, 22, 29 Jan., 5 Feb. 1743; P.R. Goodwin, *Harwich and Dovercourt Pubs* (2004), 58; M. Jacobson, *The Cliff Brewery 1723–1973* (1973), 3.
- ⁹⁹ *IJ*, 22, 29 Jan., 5 Feb. 1743.
- ¹⁰⁰ HTC, 98.5 E, mins, 8 Nov. 1714; 98.6 F, mins, 22 July 1740, 25 Jan. 1744.
- ¹⁰¹ TNA, ADM 106/916/175; ERO, MAP/CR/13/2 ‘A New Chart of Harwich Harbour, with The Rolling Ground, Felstow Road, Goldermore’s and Flats of the Naze’ (1788); *IJ*, 10 Sept. 1757, 9 Aug. 1760.
- ¹⁰² ERO, D/DU 2590/1/3.
- ¹⁰³ Woods and Oxborrow, *Harwich: A Town of Many Pubs*, 13–14.
- ¹⁰⁴ *IJ*, 16 Oct. 1802.
- ¹⁰⁵ TNA, WO 55/733, letter, 15 Nov. 1806; HTC, 98.7 G, mins, 12 July 1803.
- ¹⁰⁶ Woods and Oxborrow, *Harwich: A Town of Many Pubs*, 3, citing ERO, D/ABW 82/176.
- ¹⁰⁷ *IJ*, 29 Feb., 9 May to 30 Sept. 1752.
- ¹⁰⁸ ERO, D/ABW 98/3/70.
- ¹⁰⁹ HTC, 98.17, 3 Apr. 1769; *IJ*, 18 Mar. 1769.
- ¹¹⁰ TNA, WO 55/734, letter, 9 Aug. 1811, and copy letter, 26 Nov. 1811.
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.* letter, 25 Apr. 1810, and copy letter, 4 Oct. 1810; C. Trollope, ‘Beacon Hill’, *Highlight*, no. 78, Spring 1990, p. 25.
- ¹¹² TNA, WO 55/734, estimate, 10 June 1809.
- ¹¹³ Below, Harwich and Dovercourt, 1815–1914, Econ. Hist., Ind., Cement manufacturing.

¹¹⁴ *Rep. of the Com. upon the Subject of Harbours of Refuge* (Parl. Papers 1845 [611], xvi), p. 209; HHA, Appendix A, letter, 29 May 1848.

¹¹⁵ TNA, T 1/322/59; ERO, T/P 195/8/20, p. 19; Dale, *Harwich and Dovercourt*, 111 n.; *Hist. Essex by Gent.*, VI, 102 n.; T. Allen, M. Cotterill and G. Pike, *Copperas: An Account of the Whitstable Works and the First Industrial-Scale Chemical Production in England* (2004), 32–3.

¹¹⁶ *VCH Essex* XII, pt 1, 45–6; pt 2, 188–9.

¹¹⁷ Dale, *Harwich and Dovercourt*, 112 n.

¹¹⁸ TNA, ADM 106/1265/163, 106/1265/170; ERO, Q/SBb 276/30; below, Soc. Hist., Poor relief, Harwich.

¹¹⁹ Defoe, *A Tour Thro'*, I, 99.

¹²⁰ BL, Add MS 34788, pp. 8, 9, 10; Dale, *Harwich and Dovercourt*, 363.

¹²¹ *IJ*, 21 Aug. 1784.

¹²² BL, Maps K.Top.13.15.4.b.

¹²³ HTC, 98.16, 10 Oct. 1760, 16 Jan. 1761, 5 Oct. 1767.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 148/6; *IJ*, 28 Aug. 1762.

¹²⁵ *IJ*, 30 July 1774.

¹²⁶ *Universal Brit. Dir.* (1793), III, 243; *IJ*, 10 Sept. 1785.

¹²⁷ TNA, MPE 1/1223; *IJ*, 11 June 1808, 28 Mar., 11 July 1812, 9, 16, 23, 30 Jan., 17 July 1813.

¹²⁸ *IJ*, 6, 13 Oct. 1810, 18 July 1812.

¹²⁹ T.S. Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600–1750* (1967), 137.

¹³⁰ F. Algarotti, J. Hervey and S. Maffei, *Letters from Count Algarotti to Lord Hervey and the Marquis Scipio Maffei, Containing the State of the Trade, Marine, Revenues, and Forces of the Russian Empire* (1769), I, 5.

¹³¹ *IJ*, 13, 20 June, 4 July to 12 Sept. 1789, 13 Feb., 21 Aug. 1790, 9, 16, 23, 30 Oct., 13, 20 Nov. 1790.

¹³² Anon., *Some Reflections on the Trade between Great Brit. and Sweden, Humbly Submitted to the Consideration of the Legislature. By a Gent. who Resided Many Years in Sweden* (1756), 8.

¹³³ G.O. Rickword, 'A memory of Colch. Fair, 1785: A pig, a parson, a poet, a player and a peeress', *ER* 45 (1936), 15.

¹³⁴ J. Cary (transl. G-M. Butel-Dumont), *Essai sur l'état du commerce d'Angleterre* (1755), 62, 64.

¹³⁵ In addition, 100 quarters of barley was exported to Dunbar, Scotland.

¹³⁶ In addition, 60 quarters of malt was exported to Burnham.

¹³⁷ E.A. Fitch, 'Essex and London water-carriage, 1746', *ER* 7 (1898), 116, citing R.

Griffiths, *An Essay to Prove that the Jurisdiction and Conservacy of the River of Thames, &c. is Committed to the Lord Mayor, and City of London* (1746), 264.

¹³⁸ *The Shopkeeper's and Tradesman's Assistant* (1778), 44; (1784), 48; (c.1786), 47; (1788), 54.

¹³⁹ *Rep. from the Cttee Appointed to Enquire into the Best Mode of Providing Sufficient Accommodation for the Increased Trade and Shipping of the Port of London; &c. &c. &c.* (Parl. Papers 29 Oct. 1795–19 May 1796, cii), Appendix (Qq.); *Second Rep. from the Sel. Cttee upon the Improvement of the Port of London* (Parl. Papers 20 Nov. 1798–12 July 1799, cxxiv), pp. 82, 84.

¹⁴⁰ HTC, 138/8; *Holden's Annual Dir. ... First Edn, for the Years 1814 & 1815* ([1814?]), 195; T. Bailey, *A Correct Alphabetical List; Containing all the Country Bankers Residing in England Scotland, & Wales* (9th edn, 1811); M. Christy, 'Hist. of banks and banking in Essex', *Jnl of the Inst. of Bankers* 27, pt 7 (1906), 321–2; *IJ*, 20, 27 Aug. 1814, 18 Mar., 5 Aug., 14 Oct. 1815.

¹⁴¹ [J. Macky], *A Journey Through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gent. Here, to his Friend Abroad* (1714), 10.

¹⁴² HTC, 98.12, 28 Feb. 1721, 25 Feb., 3 Apr. 1722, 5, 23 Feb. 1723, 6 Feb., 3 Aug. 1724, 3 Feb., 29 Nov, 13 Dec. 1725.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* 28 Feb. 1721, 25 Feb. 1722; Fremantle, *Sir James Thornhill's Sketch-bk Travel Jnl of 1711*, 19. The Three Cups, Three Tuns and Anchor inns are not specifically named in the record of alehouse licences issued. It is possible there was a second Angel as two are listed at different times in 1721. The Six Bells is recorded as later called the Coach and Horses: W. Cooper, 'Local hist. group', *Highlight*, no. 36, Summer 1979, p. 14.

¹⁴⁴ HTC, 98.12.

¹⁴⁵ ERO, D/DMn 36; see also <https://thethreecups.com/residents> citing TNA, PROB 11/522/212 (accessed 6 July 2021).

¹⁴⁶ Dale, *Harwich and Dovercourt*, 251–2 n.; <https://thethreecups.com/royal-visits> (accessed 29 May 2021).

¹⁴⁷ *IJ*, 7 Sept. 1754.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 3, 10, 24 Jan. 1767; <https://thethreecups.com/residents> (accessed 28 May 2021).

¹⁴⁹ *IJ*, 15 June 1765; W. Cooper (written and illustrated by), ‘The Three Cups, Harwich’, *Highlight*, no. 109, Autumn 1997, p. 8; Cooper, ‘The Three Cups has played a leading role in Harwich’s hist.’, *Essex Countryside* 17.151 (1969), 33; <https://thethreecups.com/royal-visits> (accessed 29 May 2021).

¹⁵⁰ HTC, 98.17, 25 Aug. 1795; *IJ*, 13, 20, 27 June 1767, 18, 25 Apr., 2, 9 May, 25 July, 1 Aug. 1795.

¹⁵¹ *IJ*, 19, 26 Mar., 2 Apr. 1768.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 8, 15 Apr. 1780.

¹⁵³ Anon., *A Tour, Sentimental and Descriptive, through the United Provinces, Austrian Netherlands, and France* (1788), I, 6.

¹⁵⁴ Cooper, ‘The Three Cups has played a leading role in Harwich’s hist.’, 34; <https://thethreecups.com/royal-visits> citing *IJ*, 10 Jan. 1795. The duke of Gloucester also passed through Harwich on his way to Holland in 1769: *IJ*, 10 June 1769.

¹⁵⁵ *IJ*, 27 May, 10 June 1815.

¹⁵⁶ HTC, 98.12, 25 Feb. 1722.

¹⁵⁷ SRO, HB8/2/124; *IJ*, 3, 10 Apr. 1790, 24 Sept., 17 Dec. 1791.

¹⁵⁸ ERO, T/P 86/6; *Universal Brit. Dir.* (1793), III, 242–3; *IJ*, 19 Mar. 1768.

¹⁵⁹ HTC, 98.17, 25 June 1793, 12 Oct. 1795; *IJ*, 4 Feb. 1749, 7 July, 1, 8, 15 Sept. 1770, 27 Apr. 1771, 22 Mar. 1777, 8 May 1784, 21, 28 Oct. 1786, 6 Aug. 1796, 1 June 1799, 20 Dec. 1806, 17 Oct. 1807.

¹⁶⁰ *IJ*, 25 Apr., 2 May, 11, 18 July, 15, 22, 29 Aug., 26 Dec. 1767, 2 Jan. 1768.

¹⁶¹ HTC, 137/1–2; 98.6 F, mins, 1 Oct. 1760, 24 Dec. 1782; *IJ*, 23, 30 Apr., 7 May 1814.

¹⁶² Goodwin, *Harwich and Dovercourt Pubs*, 31. Another inn called the Bear, possibly that referred to in 1722, stood on the corner of St Austin’s Lane and Angel Street (now King’s Quay Street) opposite the shipyard: W. Cooper, ‘Local hist. group’, *Highlight*, no. 14, Autumn 1973, p. 15 and *IJ*, 13, 20 Feb. 1762.

¹⁶³ ERO, D/DHw T65.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. D/DLy M4, 13 Nov. 1798; *IJ*, 4 Feb. 1764, 13 Nov. 1779, 18 July 1789, 4, 11 Nov. 1797.

¹⁶⁵ HTC, 98.18, 25 Nov. 1806, 31 Mar., 6 Oct. 1807, 11 Oct. 1808.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. 137/2, lease, 19 May 1762; *IJ*, 31 Jan. 1746, 28 Mar., 4 Apr. 1747.

¹⁶⁷ HTC, 98.6 F, mins, 16 Dec. 1761.

¹⁶⁸ ERO, C308, Box 2; C887, Box 17; D/DHw T64, T112; D/Dlc T41; D/DLy M4, 30 June 1794; SRO, HB8/2/123; *IJ*, 20 Sept., 4, 11 Oct. 1746; Goodwin, *Harwich and Dovercourt Pubs*, 25; Weaver, *Harwich Story*, 106; Woods and Oxborrow, *Harwich: A Town of Many Pubs*, 19.

¹⁶⁹ HTC, 98.7 G, mins, 25 July 1799.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. 21 May, 28 June 1811.

¹⁷¹ ERO, D/DHt T124/30.

¹⁷² Above, Medieval Harwich and Dovercourt, Econ. Hist., Trade, markets and fairs; above, Harwich and Dovercourt, 1604-1713, Econ. Hist., Trade, markets and fairs.

¹⁷³ HTC, 98.17, 27 Apr. 1772; above, Harwich and Dovercourt, The Middle Ages, Econ. Hist., Trade, markets and fairs.

¹⁷⁴ Dale, *Harwich and Dovercourt*, 61 n.

¹⁷⁵ HTC, 99. 1, 21 Mar. 1726.

¹⁷⁶ *IJ*, 18 Apr. 1772.

¹⁷⁷ HTC, 98.6 F, mins, 25 Nov. 1782, 4 May 1784.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. 98.17, 7 Apr., 1 Oct. 1792.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. 9 Jan. 1792.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 12 Oct. 1795.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. 98.7 G, mins, 14 May 1795.

¹⁸² Ibid. 98.17, 6 Oct. 1800; *IJ*, 20 Sept. 1800.

¹⁸³ HTC, 98.7 G, mins, 10 Aug. 1815.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 98.16, 26 Feb. 1728, 7 Oct. 1729, 12 Jan. 1730.

¹⁸⁵ ERO, D/Y 37/2/118, 37/2/126.

¹⁸⁶ HTC, 98.16, 11 Oct. 1765.

¹⁸⁷ *IJ*, 19 Oct. 1765.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. 15 Feb. 1766.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. 5 Apr. 1766.

¹⁹⁰ HTC, 98.16, 13 Jan. 1764; *IJ*, 27 Jan. 1770.

¹⁹¹ *IJ*, 13, 20 Feb. 1762, 3 Sept. 1768.

¹⁹² *Ibid.* 27 Nov. 1773.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 8 Jan., 5, 12, 19 Mar. 1774.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 12, 19, 26 Feb. 1774.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 2 Apr. 1774.

¹⁹⁶ *Universal Brit. Dir.* (1793), III, 242–3.

¹⁹⁷ Brown, *Essex at Work*, 11.

¹⁹⁸ *Universal Brit. Dir.* (1793), III, 242–3.

¹⁹⁹ Census, 1801 (Parl. Papers 1801–2 (9), vi), p. 112.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 1811 (Parl. Papers 1812 (176), lvii), p. 106.

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