

# ESKDALE MILL, BOOT, CUMBRIA

## Archaeological Photographic Survey



Client:  
Eskdale Mill and Heritage Trust

Planning application nos.: 7/2017/4014  
and 7/2017/4015

NGR: 317643 501154

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## Contents

Non-Technical Summary .....	4
Acknowledgements .....	4
1. Introduction .....	5
2. Methodology .....	7
3. Site History .....	8
4. Results .....	19
5. Discussion and Conclusion .....	44
6. Bibliography .....	45

## Illustrations

### List of Figures

Figure 1: Site location .....	6
Figure 2: Mill ground floor plan .....	41
Figure 3: Mill first floor plan .....	42
Figure 4: Mill Cottage floor plans .....	43

### List of Plates

Plate 1: Extract from Eskdale Commons map of 1795 (CAC(W) D/BEN/Box 412-413/Stray Plans 27-28 1795), showing the site of the mill .....	8
Plate 2: Extract from the Eskdale Commons sketch plan of 1795 (CAC(W) D/BEN/Box 165 1795) .....	9
Plate 3: Thomas Sunderland's painting entitled 'Eskdale Mill, Cumberland' dated 1797 (Bolton Museum and Library Service 19586 1797) .....	10
Plate 4: Preliminary sketch of Eskdale Mill by Thomas Allom (Wordsworth Trust 2009.46.39r and v) .....	11
Plate 5: A coloured version of 'Eskdale Mill, Wilton [sic] Beck, Cumberland' (from Allom <i>et al</i> 1834) .....	11
Plate 6 (left): Extract from the Tithe map of 1839 (CAC(C) DRC/8/72 1839) .....	12
Plate 7 (right): Extract from the Ordnance Survey map of c1863 .....	12
Plate 9: Undated oil painting of the mill by R Howe (CAC(B) Z/3652 late 19 <sup>th</sup> century) .....	13
Plate 10: Late 19 <sup>th</sup> century painting of the mill by William Stone, now in the possession of the Eskdale Mill & Heritage Trust .....	13
Plate 11: Extract from the Ordnance Survey map of 1899 .....	14
Plate 12: Extract from the Ordnance Survey map of 1900 .....	14
Plate 13: Extract from the Ordnance Survey map of 1910 .....	14
Plate 14: Ortho-rectified view of the main part of the north external elevation of the mill .....	19
Plate 15: Ortho-rectified view of the return off the west external elevation of the mill, forming part of the north external elevation .....	20
Plate 16: Ortho-rectified view of the east external elevation of the mill .....	20
Plate 17 (left): Ortho-rectified view of the main part of the south external elevation of the mill .....	21
Plate 18 (right): Ortho-rectified view of the south elevation of the return from the west external elevation of the mill .....	21
Plate 19: Ortho-rectified view of the north end of the west external elevation of the mill .....	21
Plate 20 (left): Ortho-rectified view of the west external elevation of the mill, south of the return to the west .....	22

Plate 21 (right): Ortho-rectified view of the south end of the west elevation of the mill.....	22
Plate 22 (left): The north and west external elevations of the stable.....	22
Plate 23 (centre): The north side of the east external elevation showing the blocked doorway .....	22
Plate 24 (right): The south and west external elevations of the stable.....	22
Plate 25: North end of the ground floor interior of the stable.....	23
Plate 26: South end of the ground floor interior of the stable .....	23
Plate 27 (left): South end of the first floor interior of the stable .....	23
Plate 28 (right): Doorway at the north end of the west internal elevation in the first floor of the stable .....	23
Plate 29: Ortho-rectified view of the north external elevation of the cottage .....	24
Plate 30: Ortho-rectified view of the east external elevation of the cottage .....	24
Plate 31 (left): Ortho-rectified view of the west side of the south external elevation of the cottage .....	25
Plate 32 (right): Ortho-rectified view of the east side of the south external elevation of the cottage .....	25
Plate 33: The partially blocked up former doorway, now a window, on the east side of south external elevation of the cottage .....	25
Plate 34: Ortho-rectified view of the west external elevation of the cottage.....	26
Plate 35 (left): The west side of the north elevation in Room G1 of the mill.....	27
Plate 36 (right): The central part of the north elevation in Room G1 of the mill .....	27
Plate 37: The stone tank in the north-east corner of Room G1 of the mill .....	27
Plate 38 (left): The opening to the hearth of the drying kiln in Room G1 of the mill.....	28
Plate 39 (right): Graffiti 'M Tyson D 1819 T' scratched into the west jamb of the opening to the hearth of the drying kiln in Room G1 of the mill .....	28
Plate 40 (left): The south elevation in Room G1 of the mill .....	28
Plate 41 (right): The west elevation of Room G1 of the mill .....	28
Plate 42 (left): The north elevation in Room G2 of the mill.....	29
Plate 43 (right): The north end of the east elevation in Room G2 of the mill.....	29
Plate 44 (left): The centre of the east elevation in Room G2 of the mill .....	29
Plate 45 (right): The south end of the east elevation in Room G2 of the mill .....	29
Plate 46 (left): The south elevation in Room G2 of the mill .....	29
Plate 47 (right): The south end of the west elevation in Room G2 of the mill .....	29
Plate 48 (left): The north end of the west elevation in Room G2 of the mill .....	30
Plate 49 (right): Baltic mark on the central beam in Room G2 of the mill.....	30
Plate 50 (left): The west side of the north elevation in Room G3 of the mill.....	30
Plate 51 (right): The east side of the north elevation in Room G3 of the mill .....	30
Plate 52 (left): The east side of the south elevation of Room G3 of the mill .....	31
Plate 53 (right): A doorway on the west side of the south elevation of Room G3 of the mill.....	31
Plate 54 (left): Ortho-rectified view of the north elevation of Room G4 of the mill.....	31
Plate 55 (right): Ortho-rectified view of the east elevation of Room G4 of the mill, showing the fireplace, ovens and 'copper'.....	31
Plate 56 (left): Ortho-rectified view of the south elevation of Room G4 of the mill .....	32
Plate 57 (right): Ortho-rectified view of the west elevation of Room G4 of the mill .....	32
Plate 58: Ortho-rectified view of the north elevation in Room F1 of the mill.....	32

Plate 59: Ortho-rectified view of the east elevation in Room F1 of the mill .....	33
Plate 60: Ortho-rectified view of the south elevation in Room F1 of the mill .....	33
Plate 61: Ortho-rectified view of the west elevation in Room F1 of the mill .....	34
Plate 62 (left): The north elevation in Room F2 of the mill .....	34
Plate 63 (right): The north end of the east elevation in Room F2 of the mill .....	34
Plate 64: The south end of the east elevation in Room F2 of the mill .....	35
Plate 65: Ortho-rectified view of the south elevation in Room F2 of the mill .....	35
Plate 66: Ortho-rectified view of the west elevation in Room F2 of the mill .....	36
Plate 67: Ortho-rectified view of the north elevation of Room F3 in the mill.....	36
Plate 68: Ortho-rectified view of the east elevation of Room F3 in the mill .....	37
Plate 69 (left): The south elevation of Room F3 in the mill .....	37
Plate 70 (right): The west elevation of Room F3 in the mill .....	37
Plate 71 (left): Baltic timber marks on the north side of the west face of the tie beam of the truss in Room F3 of the mill .....	38
Plate 72 (right): Graffiti rodent scratched on the south side of the west face of the tie beam of the truss in Room F3 of the mill .....	38
Plate 73 (left): Beams and joists supporting the ceiling in Room G1 of the cottage.....	38
Plate 74 (right): The north and east elevation in Room G1 of the cottage .....	38
Plate 75 (left): The south elevation in Room G1 of the cottage .....	39
Plate 76 (right): Fireplace and cupboard in the west elevation of Room G1 of the cottage .....	39
Plate 77 (left): The fireplace in the east elevation of Room G3 in the cottage .....	39
Plate 78 (right): The west elevation of Rooms G2/G3 showing the former doorway now used as a cupboard .....	39
Plate 79 (left): General view of Room F1 in the cottage showing the chimney breast to the east and window to the south .....	40
Plate 80 (right): General view of Room F4 in the cottage showing the window to the south .....	40

## Non-Technical Summary

Following the submission of a planning application for the renovation and development of Eskdale Mill, Boot, Cumbria a condition was placed by the Lake District National Park Authority requiring an archaeological photographic survey and watching brief. Greenlane Archaeology was appointed by the Eskdale Mill and Heritage Trust to carry out the work, and the photographic survey was undertaken in August 2018 and March 2019. The work requiring a watching brief is currently postponed but is anticipated will take place at a later date.

Information compiled as part of a detailed desk-based assessment for the site, also carried out by Greenlane Archaeology, was included in the report. This shows that the site had taken on much of its present appearance by at least the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but that early images seem to indicate that the second wheel was not added until after the 1830s. Documentary records demonstrate that there was a mill in Eskdale from at least the medieval period, although it is difficult to be certain exactly where it was located and by at least the late 18<sup>th</sup> century there were a number of mills involved in different activities operating in the valley. The mill at Boot is easier to identify during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and a number of families were associated with it during this period, and various pieces of information relating to its development can be ascertained. An earlier archaeological building recording provided an interpretation of the mill's development, but this has subsequently been shown to be based in part on erroneous historical sources and in need of revision.

The photographic survey was able to record the whole of the interior of the mill as well as the associated stable block and cottage following the removal of most of the material that was stored in the buildings and the soft stripping of the cottage. This allowed photographs of all parts of the buildings to be taken as well as the production of ortho-rectified images within the mill, although the limited space and presence of machinery meant that this was difficult in places. Photographs of the external elevations also allowed ortho-rectified images to be produced, although in the case of the mill these had to be taken once the scaffolding had been removed due to the timing of the work.

Although limited to just recording the removal of furniture and fittings from the buildings, this did allow a number of additional observations to be made. These, in combination with the detailed desk-based assessment recently also carried out, allow some reinterpretation of the building to be presented. This suggests that the earliest part of the structure is in fact the L-shaped central block, which was probably only constructed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This was subsequently sub-divided and the building extended to the north and south, probably in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although there was also likely to have been some considerable reorganisation at this time during the installation of a second wheel.

## Acknowledgements

Greenlane Archaeology would like to thank trustees of the Eskdale Mill and Heritage Trust for commissioning the project, in particular Paul Pharoah. Thanks are also due to Shirley Muir at Shirley Muir Associates, Lisa Keys at Minerva Heritage, and the staff at Countryside Consultants for their information about the building and assistance during the project. Further thanks are also due to Iain McNicol for his support during the project and John Lambert and colleagues for their assistance on site.

The photographic survey was carried out by Dan Elsworth who also wrote this report. The figures were produced by Tom Mace and the report was edited by Jo Dawson. Dan Elsworth managed the project. The ortho-rectified images of the elevations were produced by Adam Stanford at Aerialcam.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Circumstances of the Project

1.1.1 Following the submission of planning applications (Refs 7/2017/4014 and 4015) for the renovation and development of Eskdale Mill, Boot, Cumbria (NGR 317643 501154) a condition was placed by the Lake District National Park Authority requiring archaeological recording to be carried out. A brief for the work was produced by Eleanor Kingston, Lead Strategy Advisor: Historic Environment at the LDNPA (LDNPA 2018), which was to comprise a photographic recording, and a watching brief during the lowering of the floor in the former peat store (Room G1 of the mill) in order to create a new surface. Greenlane Archaeology was approached by Peter Kempsey at Countryside Consultants on behalf of the Eskdale Mill and Heritage Trust to tender for the work. Following acceptance of this tender and the production of a project design Greenlane Archaeology carried out the photographic survey on the 8<sup>th</sup> August 2018 and 27<sup>th</sup> March 2019. Following this it was decided that the work related to creating a new floor in the peat store would be postponed until a later phase and so this report contains only the results of the photographic survey.

## 1.2 Location, Geology, and Topography

1.2.1 Eskdale Mill is located in the village of Boot in the Eskdale valley, on the west side of Cumbria, 10km north-east of Ravenglass and 25km south-east of Whitehaven. It is located at a height of approximately 60m above sea level (Ordnance Survey 2011; Figure 1).

1.2.2 The underlying solid geology comprises part of an intrusive block of igneous granite (Moseley 1978, plate 1), which has in turn been shaped by the scouring effect of glaciation and partially overlain by glacially derived boulder clay and rocky screes (Countryside Commission 1998, 33). The landscape is made up of a combination of rugged and semi-wild mountainous higher ground and lower areas of improved pasture associated with settlements broken up by drystone walls (*op cit*, 30-31). The site itself is situated at the upper end of Eskdale, on the north side of the hamlet of Boot, which is located alongside the Whillan Beck, and at a height of approximately 60m above sea level (Figure 1).

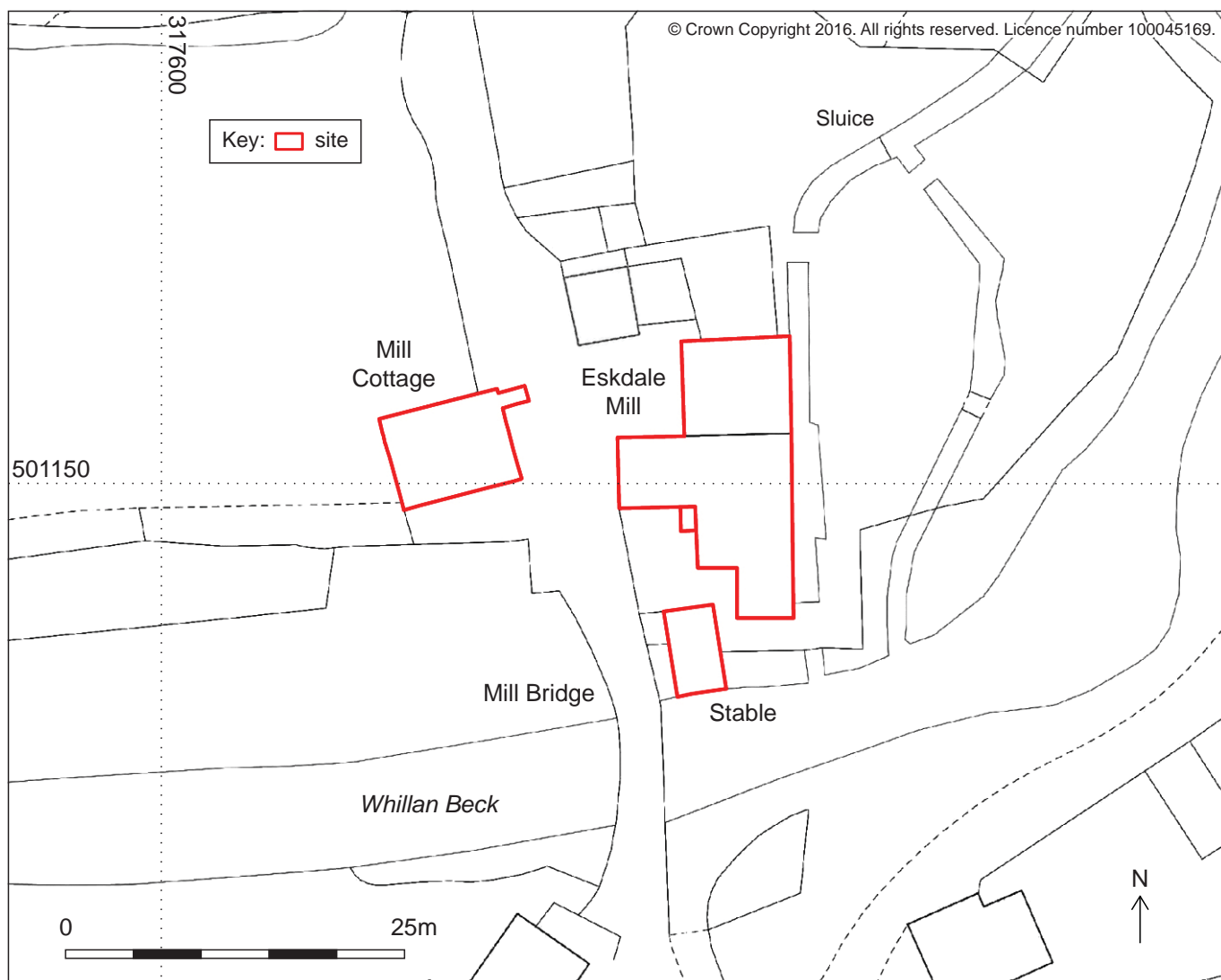
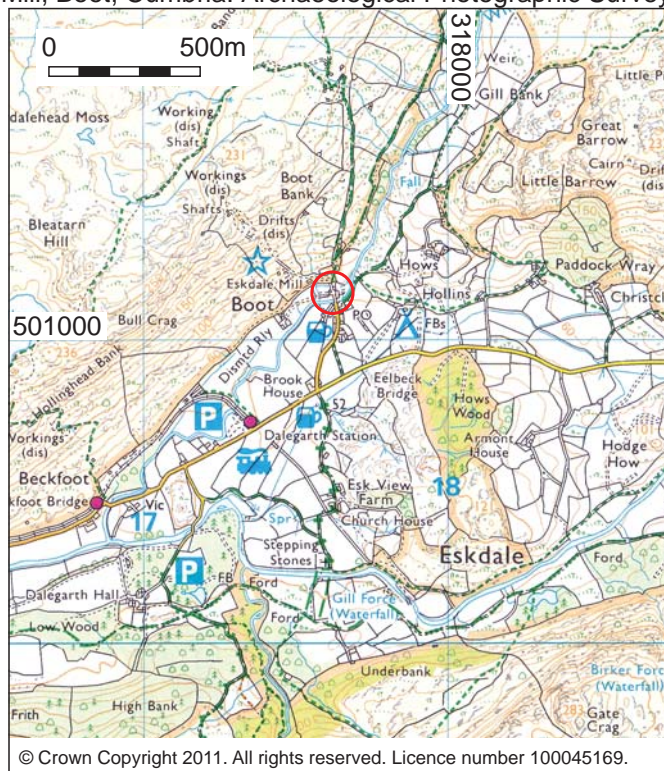
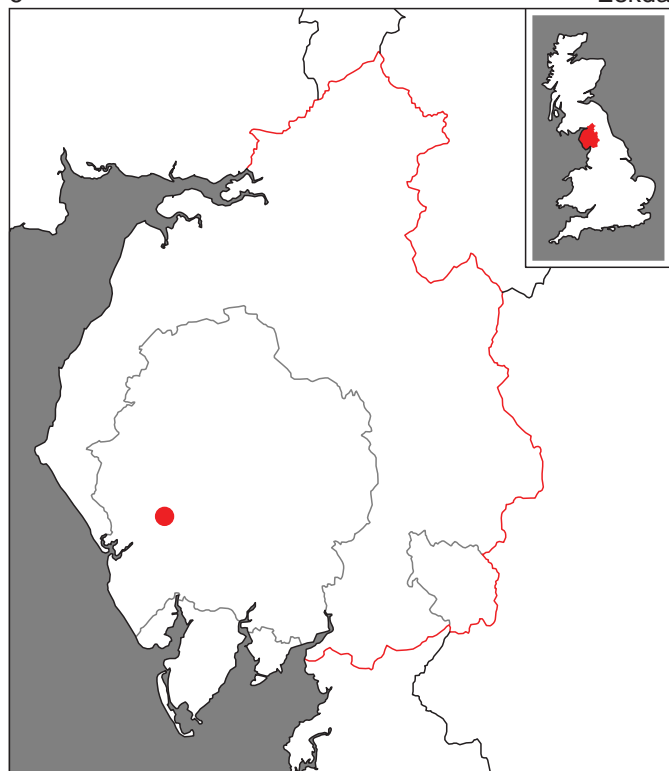


Figure 1: Site location

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## 2. Methodology

### 2.1 Desk-Based Assessment

2.1.1 A detailed desk-based assessment had been carried out prior to the photographic survey (Greenlane Archaeology 2019) and historical information relating to the building compiled as part of this has been utilised in this report (see *Section 3*). This work was carried out according to the standards and guidance of the ClfA (ClfA 2014a).

### 2.2 Photographic Survey

2.2.1 The primary purpose of the survey was to produce a thorough photographic record of the building prior to its renovation to supplement the previous building recording (Wardell Armstrong 2016). This was particularly important in those areas where large amounts of artefacts had been stored or where there were fixtures attached, which had obscured the walls, although this remained a problem during the photographic survey. Where possible additional photographs were taken in order that rectified images of the principal elevations (external and internal) could be produced through the use of Agisoft, although in practice this was only feasible in some areas due to the presence of extensive milling machinery, the small size of some of the rooms and the continued presence of objects. Nevertheless, a reasonably good coverage was achieved; the majority of the photographs are retained in the archive, with lower resolution copies reproduced in this report. Throughout the project the detailed record photographs were taken in both colour digital (in jpeg and RAW format at 12meg resolution) and colour print 25mm film, although images used to produce the rectified photographs were taken in digital format only.

2.2.2 During the photographic survey a number of features were observed that were either not recorded during the previous building recording or were not visible at that time. These, when taken into consideration with the new desk-based assessment (Greenlane Archaeology 2019) have also allowed some reinterpretation of the building to be carried out as part of this project.

2.2.3 The photographic recording was carried out according to the standards and guidance of the ClfA (ClfA 2014b) and contains elements of historic building recording as defined by Historic England (Historic England 2016).

### 2.3 Archive

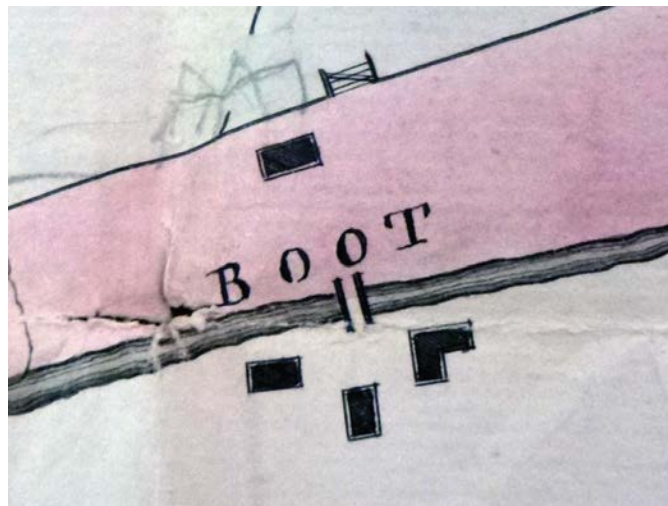
2.3.1 A comprehensive archive of the project has been produced in accordance with current ClfA standard and guidance (ClfA 2014c). The paper and digital archive and a copy of this report will be deposited in the Cumbria Archive Centre in Whitehaven on completion of the project. A digital and paper copy of this report (as required) and copies of the digital photographs taken as part of the project will be provided for the client. In addition, a digital copy of the report will be provided to the Lake District Park Authority's Historic Environment Record (HER) in Kendal and a digital record of the project will be made on the *Online Access to the Index of Archaeological Investigations* (OASIS) scheme.

### 3. Site History

#### 3.1 Map and Image Regression

3.1.1 **Introduction:** while there are a number of county-wide maps showing the general area, these tend not to be very detailed and so are of limited use in understanding the site and its development; the earliest useful maps therefore tend to be the tithe map and the early editions of the Ordnance Survey. However, there are some more specific maps of the immediate area that include relevant information relating to the mill so these have been included in the map regression below.

3.1.2 **Eskdale Commons, 1795:** this map was produced in response to a dispute over alleged illegal enclosure of the commons (CAC(W) D/BEN/Box 412-413/Stray Plans 27-28 1795; the legal papers relating to the dispute, which include three further copies of the same plan, are contained in CAC(W) D/BEN/Box 165 1795). While detailed in some areas it is primarily concerned with showing the information relevant to the disputed area of commons and so nearby buildings are not shown in as much detail or with any labels. The site of the mill at Eskdale is shown as a single rectangular block, orientated approximately east/west, only (Plate 1). This appears to be somewhat basic as a depiction of the mill itself and seems to be closer in location and form to the mill cottages, so the reliability of this plan is open to debate.



**Plate 1: Extract from Eskdale Commons map of 1795 (CAC(W) D/BEN/Box 412-413/Stray Plans 27-28 1795), showing the site of the mill**

3.1.3 **Eskdale Commons sketch plan, 1795:** this plan, contained among the legal papers accompanying the alleged illegal enclosure of part of the commons (CAC(W) D/BEN/Box 165 1795), while very schematic and difficult to locate accurately, is of interest because it appears to have a label reading 'Mill and other Houses Mill', which seems likely to be relating to the site and is perhaps also referring to the adjoining mill cottage.

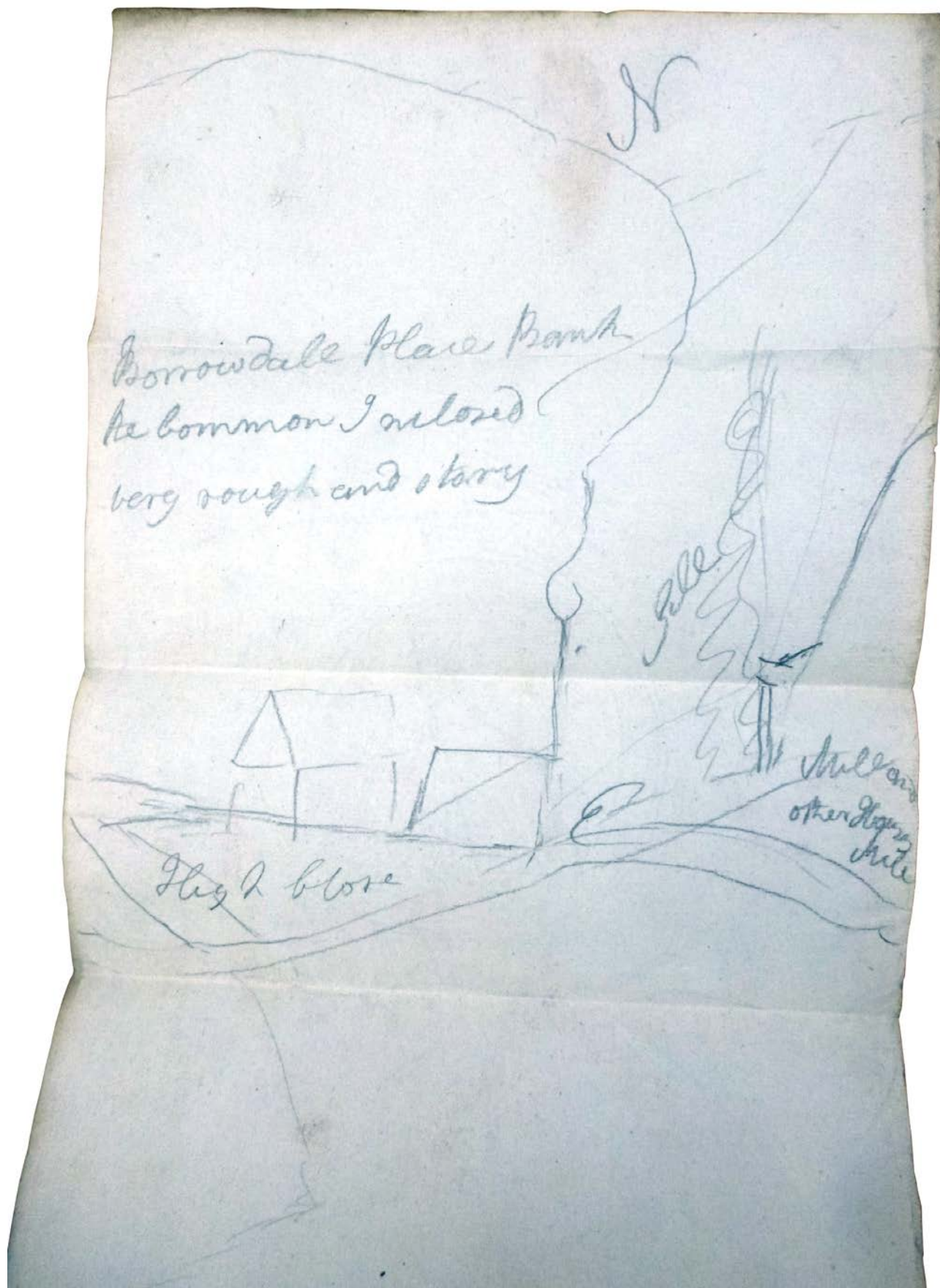


Plate 2: Extract from the Eskdale Commons sketch plan of 1795 (CAC(W) D/BEN/Box 165 1795)

**3.1.4 *Painting by Thomas Sunderland, 1797:*** a painting held by Bolton Museum and Library Service apparently entitled 'Eskdale Mill, Cumberland' (Ref. 19586 1797) is of limited use in understanding the development of the building as it only shows a small amount of it, and is actually focussed on the adjoining bridge (Plate 3). However, it does appear to show the gable end of the main mill building, demonstrating that the arrangement was much as it is now with the gable end towards the beck, but it also shows that the separate stable block had not been built by this time. Sunderland is known to have painted elsewhere in the area because a painting of the same date entitled '*Above Eskdale Mill, 1797*' is recorded (Hebron 2008, 86) and so it is possible that he produced other pictures of the mill.



**Plate 3: Thomas Sunderland's painting entitled 'Eskdale Mill, Cumberland' dated 1797 (Bolton Museum and Library Service 19586 1797)**

**3.1.5 *View of Eskdale Mill, 1834:*** a printed etching of the mill (reproduced in Allom *et al* 1834) based on a preliminary work by Thomas Allom (Wordsworth Trust 2009.46.39r and v), shows the mill from approximately the south-east. This is the earliest useful view of the mill, assuming it is accurate; it appears to show that the mill at this time had only one wheel, although the second is presumably hidden behind vegetation (although see *Section 3.1.8* below), and also confirms that the stable block against the river had not been built by this time. It is notable, however that the bridge is not shown in the original sketch and the perspective has perhaps been shifted slightly by the time the etching was produced as the outshut at the south end of the mill is much closer to the bridge than in reality. This drawing also appears to show a considerable number of other buildings in the background behind the mill (to the west), one of which is conceivably supposed to be the mill cottage. However, as with the position of the bridge relative to the mill, these are likely to be the result of artistic licence as they do not correspond to any structures shown in the other sources and are not in the preliminary sketch, which was presumably produced on site.





Plate 4: Preliminary sketch of Eskdale Mill by Thomas Allom (Wordsworth Trust 2009.46.39r and v)



Plate 5: A coloured version of 'Eskdale Mill, Wilton [sic] Beck, Cumberland' (from Allom *et al* 1834)

3.1.6 ***Tithe Map, 1839***: this is the first detailed map of the area and so is important in showing the arrangement of the buildings at that time. There are two copies; that at the archive centre in Whitehaven (CAC(W) YPR/4/36 1839) is damaged in the area showing the mill and so does not show the whole site, while the copy held in Carlisle (CAC(C) DRC/8/72 1839) is complete. This depicts the mill as comprising

two distinct blocks, both orientated approximately north/south, with the northern one off-set to the west, as well as a separate block to the west corresponding with the site of the mill cottage. In addition, the map is accompanied by an apportionment, which lists the owner and occupier of the land and gives its name and description. In this case the mill (Plot 24), is listed as owned by John Tyson, occupied by Robert Turner, and described simply as 'Mill', while the land including the cottage (Plot 25) is listed as having the same owner and occupier but named 'Tenter Garth' and said to be a meadow.

3.1.7 **Ordnance Survey, c1863:** the footprints of the mill and stable immediately to the north of the river are very clear on the c1863 1:2,500 edition of the Ordnance Survey map, as is the mill cottage to the west and an east/west aligned building to the north (Plate 7).



Plate 6 (left): Extract from the Tithe map of 1839 (CAC(C) DRC/8/72 1839)

Plate 7 (right): Extract from the Ordnance Survey map of c1863

3.1.8 **Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Paintings:** two undated but presumably late 19<sup>th</sup> century paintings of the mill are known to exist. The first of these is by R Howe (CAC(B) Z/3652 late 19<sup>th</sup> century) and shows the mill from approximately the south-east and demonstrates that by this date the mill certainly had two wheels and also that the stable block had been constructed. The second by William Stone (1842-1913, now in the possession of the Eskdale Mill & Heritage Trust; see Anon 2007) shows less of the site but also shows the two wheels on the east side of the mill.





Plate 8: Undated oil painting of the mill by R Howe (CAC(B) Z/3652 late 19<sup>th</sup> century)



Plate 9: Late 19<sup>th</sup> century painting of the mill by William Stone, now in the possession of the Eskdale Mill & Heritage Trust

3.1.9 **Ordnance Survey, 1899:** the mill cottage, stable and mill are largely unchanged from the c1863 edition of the Ordnance Survey map, though the buildings to the north have been altered somewhat (Plate 10; cf. Plate 7).



3.1.10 **Ordnance Survey, 1900:** this map lacks detail (Plate 11). It has joined the mill and stable to the south, which is inaccurate. The buildings to the north of the mill are no longer shown.



Plate 10: Extract from the Ordnance Survey map of 1899

Plate 11: Extract from the Ordnance Survey map of 1900

3.1.11 **Ordnance Survey, 1910:** the 1910 Rating Valuation uses a version of the 1899 edition of the Ordnance Survey map, which is marked with plot numbers (Plate 12) corresponding to the associated schedule (CAC(C) TIR/4/17 1910). The site occupies part of Plot 53, which is described as 'House mill & buildings' owned by Jane Bibby of Boot and occupied by Edward Bibby.



Plate 12: Extract from the Ordnance Survey map of 1910

## 3.2 Documentary History

3.2.1 **Introduction:** while the village of Boot and the Eskdale valley have a long history of settlement, the history of the mill only begins with any certainty in the medieval period, and even then it is difficult to be sure which mill is being described in any of the given sources. The following history has been extracted from the recently completed *Archaeological Desk-Based Assessment* (Greenlane Archaeology 2019).

3.2.2 **Mills in Eskdale:** the earliest reference to a mill in Eskdale is recorded in an agreement of 1294 made to determine the decent of the estates of the Lord of Egremont, Thomas de Molton, in Eskdale and Miterdale, which records the presence of a corn mill with a yearly income of 19s 6d (Maxwell-Lyte 1900, 400-403; cited by Bradbury and Loughlin 2005, 11-12). The exact location of this mill is not stated, although as has been pointed out 'there is no good reason to suppose that it was not the mill at Boot'



(Bradbury and Loughlin 2005, 12). A corn mill, most likely the same one, is again referred to in Eskdale in 1323, following the death of Thomas de Molton's successor, also Thomas (Sharp and Stamp 1910, 198-203; cited by Bradbury and Loughlin 2005, 12). Despite numerous suggestions that parts of the current mill building date to the medieval period this has not been confirmed by recent investigations (Tyers 2014; Wardell Armstrong 2016).

3.2.3 It is clear from later records that there were a number of mills operating in Eskdale on the Whillan Beck from at least the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which inevitably leads to some confusion in terms of identifying which mill is being described in any given source. The Percy family's estates were confiscated by the crown following a revolt against Henry IV and after the death of Henry VIII a survey of 1547 of property in Eskdale records Robert Vycars at Bridgend as tenant of a corn mill and fulling mill, both valued at 4s per annum (Bradbury and Loughlin 2006, 13; citing CAC(W) D/Lec/314/38 1547), although it is difficult to be certain that this means they were both under the same roof or whether the fulling mill was water powered or a 'walk mill'. The Percy's properties were subsequently returned to them but their involvement in another rebellion led to the compilation of a further survey, the so-called Humberston survey of 1570, which refers only to a corn mill tenanted by Robert Vykers (Bradbury and Loughlin 2006, 13, citing NA E164/37 1570). Again the Percy family later had their properties returned and another survey of was carried out in 1578, which also lists members of the Vicars family, Robert and Henry at High and Low Wha House or Bridgend, meaning Whahouse Bridge, each renting a share in a corn mill (Bradbury and Loughlin 2006, 13; see Anon nd a), although it is noteworthy that a fulling mill in Eskdale is referred to as 'decayed', i.e. no longer operational, in the same document. In 1589 Henry Vicars surrendered his house to his son and there are no further connections between Low Wha House and the Vicars family and the mill for some considerable time afterwards (Bradbury and Loughlin 2006, 14; citing CAC(W) D/Lec/271 1589).

3.2.4 There is a considerable gap in the records regarding the mill during the 17<sup>th</sup> century although a general fine of 1633 names the mill as tenanted by Edward Stanley of Dalegarth (Bradbury and Loughlin 2006, 14; citing CAC(W) D/Lec/314/41 1633-1637). Stanley was Lord of the Manors of Austhwaite and Birkby and so it seems unlikely that he actually operated the mill himself, but only one miller employed during the century or so that the Stanleys owned it is recorded; William Biggins (see Table 1 below). In 1737 Edward Stanley sold the mill to Edward Hartley and from that point onwards the improved records make compiling a list of millers much easier. All of the identified references to the mill and/or millers in Eskdale, between 1724 and 1929, are presented in Table 1 below, with a more detailed discussion of other more comprehensive pieces of information about the mill during this period in the following sections.

Date	Record	Source
1724	Probate of William Biggins of Eskdale Mill	LRO W/RW/C/R203B/4 1724
1724	Burial of William Biggins, millar [sic]	Anon nd b
1752	Probate of Edward Hartley of Spout House, Eskdale, miller, his eldest son Daniel, is also described as a miller	LRO W/RW/C/R258B/57 1752
1795	John Tyson, miller/of the mill	CAC(W) D/BEN/Box 165 18 <sup>th</sup> century
1798	Aaron Tyson, son of – Tyson, miller at Eskdale Mill, christened 12th August	Anon 1889
1802	John Viccars of Eskdale Mill, miller	CAC(B) BDX 139/80 1802
1803	Marriage bond of John Vickers of Eskdale Mill, miller	LRO ARR 11 1803
1805	Baptism of Matthew, son of John and Sarah Viccars of Millhouse	Anon nd b
1806	John Vicars listed at Eskdale Mill, William Lewthwaite and Crispin Pharoah at the nearby 'dwelling house'	CAC(W) YPR 4/16 1805-1826
1807	Baptism of William, son of John and Sarah Viccars of Millhouse	Anon nd b
1808	John Tyson of Borrowdale Place owner of the mill, William Lewthwaite and Crispin Pharoah listed at nearby 'dwelling house'	CAC(W) YPR 4/16 1805-1826
1814	Marriage bond of John Jenkinson, miller of Eskdale	LRO ARR 11 1814

Date	Record	Source
1818	Baptism of John, son of Francis and Ann James of the Mill, miller	Anon nd b
1820	Baptism of Ann, daughter of Francis and Ann James of the Mill, miller	Anon nd b
1820	Marriage bond of Aaron Tyson of Eskdale Mill, miller	LRO ARR 11 1820
1821	Baptism of John, son of Aaron and Hannah Tyson of the Mill, miller	Anon nd b
1822	Baptism of Hannah, daughter of Aaron and Hannah Tyson of the Mill, miller	Anon nd b
1823	Marriage bond of John Tyson of Eskdale, miller	LRO ARR 11 1823
1824	Baptism of Jane, daughter of John and Ann Tyson of the Mill, miller	Anon nd b
1825	Baptism of Henry, son of John and Ann Tyson of the Mill, miller	Anon nd b
1829	John Tyson, cornmill, Boot	Parson and White 1829, 240
1830	Baptism of Matthew, son of John and Ann Tyson of the Mill, miller	Anon nd b
1833	Baptism of Thomas, son of Robert and Ann Turner of the Mill, miller	Anon nd b
1848	Marriage bond of John Hartley of Bridge-end in Eskdale, miller	LRO ARR 11 1848
1861	John Hartley, miller	Morris, Harrison and Co 1861, 169
1873	John Hartley, miller, Boot	Kelly 1873, 876
1883	John Hartley, corn miller, Eskdale Mill, Boot	Bulmer 1883, 197
1883	Probate of John Hartley of the mill Eskdale	CAC(B) BDTB/101/22 1883; CAC(B) BDTB/Wills Box 8/53 1883; CAC(C) PROB/1883/A190 1883
1894	Edward Bibby, miller (water), Boot	Kelly and Co Ltd 1894, 144
1897	Edward Bibby, miller (water), Boot	Kelly and Co Ltd 1897, 146
1901	Edward Bibby, miller (water), Eskdale Mill	Bulmer and Co 1901, 561
1914	Edward Bibby, miller (water)	Kelly's Directories Ltd 1914, 159
1921	Edward Bibby, miller (water)	Kelly's Directories Ltd 1921, 156
1925	Edward Bibby, miller (water)	Kelly's Directories Ltd 1925, 158
1929	Edward Bibby, miller (water)	Kelly's Directories Ltd 1929, 149
1938	[no mill listed]	Kelly's Directories Ltd 1938

**Table 1: Millers in Eskdale recorded between 1724 and 1929**

3.2.5 Edward Hartley's acquisition of the mill in 1737 from Edward Stanley came with an agreement that ensured that Stanley would not construct a rival mill nor force his tenants to use his other mills at Birker or Linbeck and that he would supply Hartley with suitable timber for repairs (Bradbury and Loughlin 2006, 15, citing CAC(W) D/Lec/314/15 1731-1743). Edward Hartley was clearly successful in his endeavours at the mill; in his will (LRO W/RW/C/R258B/57 1752) he left money for a schoolmaster in Eskdale and for the poor but it is clear that he did not live at the mill as his address is given as Spout House (Bradbury and Loughlin 2006, 15). He was due to be succeeded by Daniel, his eldest son, who was described as a miller in his will, but it was actually Henry Hartley who took over (probably Edward's brother, although his youngest son was also Henry; LRO W/RW/C/R258B/57 1752). Henry soon made a number of additions to the mill, requesting timber from the lord of the manor to build a dwelling house and stable at the mill (Bradbury and Loughlin 2006, 15-16, citing CAC(W) D/Lec/265/465 1756). He also seems likely to have been modifying the mill itself, at the same time requesting timber for making '*Louder Plonks for the Mills Yaus*' (*ibid*; Bradbury and Loughlin interpret 'Yaus' as meaning 'yews' but it is clearly 'use', i.e. 'launder planks for the mill's use'). Bradbury and Loughlin suggest that it was the Hartleys that were responsible for '*the return of a second waterwheel at the mill*' (2006, 15) presumably on the basis of this evidence and the timber acquired with Hartley's purchase in 1737 (and following the same suggestion made 30 years earlier (Anon 1975, 4; Davies-Shiel 1978, 114)), but it is equally likely that the

planks were simply to repair the existing launder and that it was the original wheel that was due a repair rather than a new one was being added (Pharaoh 2018, 3), although a date of 1740 inscribed onto a timber lintel now loose within the building potentially indicates that changes were made at this time. Henry was eventually succeeded by Daniel Hartley in 1763 (Bradbury and Loughlin 2006, 16, citing CAC(W) D/Lec/94c 1759-1875), but he soon gave up the mill and sold it to John Tyson in 1772 (*ibid*), whose family continued to own and in some cases operate the mill for several decades.

3.2.6 It is not clear how much the Tysons were directly involved in the day to day running of the mill. Bradbury and Loughlin suggest that John Tyson '*quit the milling business after a few years*' (2006, 16) but he is still described as a miller or 'of the mill' as late as at least 1795 (CAC(W) D/BEN/Box 165 18th century). It is difficult to untangle the various members of the family and which were connected to the mill, but they were connected to two principal properties; Borrowdale Place from at least the 1750s (a John Tyson still was still there in 1808 (CAC(W) YPR 4/16 1805-1826)) and Thorns. The Tysons were clearly important local land owners; it was a Thomas Tyson who was accused of encroaching onto the commons of Eskdale in 1795, which led to a substantial amount of correspondence (CAC(W) D/BEN/Box 165 18th century). During the Tysons' ownership the mill and its cottage had a number of different tenants, at least some of whom operated the mill, but only those present in the first few decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are well recorded; it appears that the cottage actually comprised two separate dwellings at this point. Of these the Vicars (with various spellings) family were particularly evident; one them acted as a guarantor on a deed agreeing that John Tyson would look after the three sons of his brother Edward (Pharaoh 2018, 8; CAC(B) BDY 139/80 1802). The subsequent generations of Tysons listed as owning the mill during this period (the details of which, and those of the subsequent ownership history, have been extracted from the title deeds) were relations of the original Tysons, while John Tyson was the direct descendant of the original John Tyson (Pharaoh 2018, 9). In 1827, through the taking out of a loan against his expected inheritance, John Tyson the younger found himself in considerable financial difficulty (*ibid*). This in turn probably led to attempts to sell the mill in 1831, although his father was still technically the owner, but this failed (*ibid*). At the time the site was described as comprising, beside the water corn mill, a dwelling house, a malt kiln, an orchard, and two closes of ground in the occupation of John Tyson (Anon 1831). The death of John Tyson the elder did not halt his eldest son's financial woes as he was left with debts that he could not afford, which led to his eventual eviction from the mill through legal means before 1833 (Pharaoh 2018, 9-10).

3.2.7 The mill, eventually in the ownership of a Michael Walker, took on new tenants, at first Robert Turner and his family and later more members of the Hartley family, with John Hartley and his family listed in the first census of 1841 (see *Appendix 2*), although there are clearly several different branches of the family in Eskdale, not all necessarily associated with the mill. An account book, presumably belonging to this Hartley, dated 1842-1843, was discovered '*wedged in the roof timbers*' during renovation work in the 1970s (CAC(W) YDX 73/1 1842-1843; see Hughes 1977). This reveals the details of many of the customers of the mill, with distinguishing details about them such as where they lived, which were important given the number of times certain family names reoccurred, and show, amongst other things, that oatmeal formed a staple part of the local diet and therefore the miller's trade, but that he also kept pigs and even sold potatoes (Hughes 1977). John Hartley, aged 22 and described as a miller of Bridge-end in Cumberland at the time of his marriage in 1848 (LRO AR11 1848), was the illegitimate son of Jane Hartley of Wha House and lodged with another branch of the Hartley family at Bridge End. He married a Sarah Hartley of Bridge End, who was aged 21 in 1848 (*ibid*; see Pharaoh 2018, 11) and it is they who are listed in the census for 1851 (see *Appendix 2*). As can be seen in Table 1 the Hartleys remained at the mill until 1883, when John Hartley, who was described as the miller and lived at the mill, died intestate (CAC(B) BDTB/Wills Box 8/53 1883). It is apparent from the deeds that Michael Walker died in 1866 and the mill was advertised for sale in this year, along with several other properties in the area in that year: at this time the site is again said to include, beside the corn mill, a dwelling house, drying kiln, outbuildings, garden, plantation and close of ground (Anon 1866). More interesting is the description of the mill itself which stated that: '*The above Mill has two water-wheels attached with a copious supply of water, and contains 3 pairs of stones (one of which being French burr) and other requisites for carrying out an extensive business*' (*ibid*).

3.2.8 It appears from the title deeds that John Hartley acquired the mill at this point, although his probate lists only household furniture valued at 6s, his 'stock of trade' at £15, and also includes poultry and pigs (CAC(B) BDTB/101/22 1883). The Hartley's association with the mill did not end at that time as the subsequent miller, Edward 'Ned' Bibby, married a Miss Jane Hartley in 1885 (Anon 1975, 16), who was the eldest daughter of John Hartley (see *Appendix 2*; Anon 1885) and clearly also the legal owner of the mill (CAC(C) TIR 4/17 1910). Edward Bibby was also from a milling family, being the son of Joseph Bibby formerly of Muncaster Mill, who actually died at the mill at Boot on November 7<sup>th</sup> 1903 (CAC(B) BDTB/348 1557-1903); Edward was one of the trustees following his death along with his brother Charles, a miller at Bootle (*ibid*; CAC(B) BDTB/74/4 1903). As the last person to actively work the mill Edward Bibby is also the best recorded, with a number of photographs of him at the mill in existence (contained in the Mary Fair collection at Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery in Carlisle negative references 1110-1112; some are reproduced in Anon 1975, 15). An account book from 1906 gives details of the amounts of sales made by Bibby to different customers but not what they were sales of (CAC(W) YDX 73/2). He was also known locally for his fondness for music, acting as 'dancing master' to two or three generations in Eskdale, as well as alcohol: *'Each farmhouse had a gallon or two-gallon jar of Jefferson's rum or whisky and Ned had to have a tot at each call. The result was that by the time he'd finished delivering it was Prince, the old horse, who safely took him home!'* (Anon 1976). The Bibby's continued to run the mill until Edward's death in 1937, by which time it had largely been producing only animal feed (it is noticeably not listed in the directories after 1937; see Table 1), and their daughter, Hannah who had married John William Dawson, became owner after sorting out her father's affairs (Pharaoh 2018, 12). At this time the mill was visited by the renowned local mills enthusiast, Edward Mitford Abraham, whose family had purchased Swarthmoor Hall and where he had a considerable collection of mill stones, and he made some notes on the mill at Eskdale and took photos. These describe it as having not operated since Edward Bibby had had a stroke in 1930, however, one of the two overshot iron wheels still rotated and there were three pairs of stones, although the working wheel had been connected to a dynamo by 1938 (University of Manchester John Rylands Library E Mitford Abraham Collection Box 1/60 1936; E Mitford Abraham Collection Box 1/61, 1935). The Dawsons then continued to live at the mill, the generator becoming redundant with the introduction of mains electricity in the late 1950s, until their deaths in 1971 (Pharaoh 2018, 13).

3.2.9 The imminent arrival of European Architectural Heritage Year in 1975 (Warburton 1997) seems to have prompted the then Cumberland County Council to take an interest in what was becoming a neglected local treasure (see Davies-Shiel 1978 and also CAC(K) WDMDS/104 late 20<sup>th</sup> century and CA(K) WDMDS/PC/19/1-24 1963-1989, although these are currently unavailable as the archive centre in Kendal is closed.) At the auction following the deaths of John and Hannah Dawson they purchased the mill and cottage for £14,500 (Anon 1972a; £14,000 according to Anon 1972b). By that point the Lake District Planning Board had already issued a building preservation order on it although it was not a Listed Building at that time (*ibid*). The County Council, which became Cumbria County Council in 1974, wasted no time in restoring the building and opening it to the public, this having been completed by 1975 (Warburton 1997). Within a few years it was regularly attracting large numbers of visitors, with 18,000 said to have come in 1978 (Anon 1978), and during the late 1990s further funding was sought to carry out further improvements (Anon 1997; Jarrett 1997) but this was apparently not successful. In 2003 the County Council decided suddenly to sell the mill and plans were put in place to allow sealed bids to be made, leading to considerable protests and a legal wrangle with the resident miller (Anon 2003a; 2003b; Thompson 2003; Pharaoh 2018, 14). Fortunately, a newly established trust was created and able to raise the funds to purchase the mill for £102,000 in 2005, with ownership passing to them in 2006 (Anon 2005a; 2005b; 2006a; 2006b; Pharaoh 2018, 14). They were soon able to carry out a number of improvements (Anon 2011) before commencing on the current phase of renovations.

## 4. Results

### 4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Photographs were taken throughout the interior of the building and of the exterior of the mill, its associated outbuildings, and the mill cottage. Due to the timing of the project, in the case of the former this could only be carried out after the scaffolding placed on the building had been removed, while for the cottage it was possible to carry this out before the renovation was completed. Internally photographs were taken in phases, the first while Rooms F1 and F3 were still largely full of artefacts or fixtures, the second after these had been largely cleared.

4.1.2 The main purpose of the photographic survey is to produce a photographic record for the archive although the production of rectified elevations, where practical, would also provide photographs that were detailed enough to be used to produce stone by stone drawings in the future. An outline of the photographs that were taken and the additional information that they provide about the building is given in the following section, with a discussion of the manner in which the additional recording allowed some reinterpretation of the building and the significance of this presented in *Section 5*. In addition, some additional features of interest were revealed within the fabric of the building following the removal of fixtures and fittings and this information was added to the 'as existing' drawings produced by James Brennan Associates prior to the earlier archaeological building recording and used in the accompanying report (Wardell Armstrong Archaeology 2016). These amended figures have been included in the following report (Figure 2 to Figure 4).

### 4.2 Archaeological Photographic Survey

4.2.1 **North External Elevation – Mill:** the main part of this comprised the wide gable end of the building (Plate 13), but it also included a return off the west elevation (Plate 14).



Plate 13: Ortho-rectified view of the main part of the north external elevation of the mill





**Plate 14: Ortho-rectified view of the return off the west external elevation of the mill, forming part of the north external elevation**

**4.2.2 East External Elevation – Mill:** this comprised the whole of the east side of the mill; at the time it was possible to take this photograph (following the removal of the scaffolding) the two water wheels were in place but not the associated launder. As a result, this view is particularly useful in showing the butt joint between the earlier central part of the mill and the later north end and how the north end has been built on top of, and therefore extended, the earlier wall.



**Plate 15: Ortho-rectified view of the east external elevation of the mill**

**4.2.3 South External Elevation – Mill:** this comprised the gabled end of the building, which is partially covered by a monopitch outshut on the east side (Plate 16). It also includes the opposite side of the return from the west elevation (Plate 17).



Plate 16 (left): Ortho-rectified view of the main part of the south external elevation of the mill

Plate 17 (right): Ortho-rectified view of the south elevation of the return from the west external elevation of the mill

4.2.4 **West External Elevation – Mill:** this comprised the main part at the north end, stepping up the slope (Plate 18), then the rest beyond the return to the west (Plate 19) and also the front of the small monopitch outshut at the south end (Plate 20).



Plate 18: Ortho-rectified view of the north end of the west external elevation of the mill





Plate 19 (left): Ortho-rectified view of the west external elevation of the mill, south of the return to the west

Plate 20 (right): Ortho-rectified view of the south end of the west elevation of the mill

4.2.5 **Stable – External Elevations:** this was not covered by scaffolding at the time of the photographic survey so it was possible to take additional photographs of all the external elevations (Plate 21 to Plate 23), although these were probably unchanged from the time of the previous building recording. The apparent blocked doorway evident on the north side of the east elevation was the only feature of specific interest.



Plate 21 (left): The north and west external elevations of the stable

Plate 22 (centre): The north side of the east external elevation showing the blocked doorway

Plate 23 (right): The south and west external elevations of the stable



4.2.6 **Stable – Internal:** some brief record photographs were taken of the interior of the stable, although this had presumably also changed very little since the previous building recording and it was somewhat cluttered with pieces of furniture and other objects (Plate 24 to Plate 26). The only real feature of interest was a plank and batten door on the north side of the west elevation at first floor level (Plate 27).



Plate 24: North end of the ground floor interior of the stable



Plate 25: South end of the ground floor interior of the stable



Plate 26 (left): South end of the first floor interior of the stable



Plate 27 (right): Doorway at the north end of the west internal elevation in the first floor of the stable

4.2.7 **North External Elevation – Cottage:** given the steep topography it was difficult to get pictures of the whole of the north external elevation of the cottage as it was obscured by the nearby bank. Nevertheless, it was possible to produce an ortho-rectified image of most of the elevation (Plate 28).





**Plate 28: Ortho-rectified view of the north external elevation of the cottage**

4.2.8 **East External Elevation – Cottage:** again, the topography made it difficult to get enough photographic coverage, although in this case this was primarily because of the attached monopitch outshut on the north side. Otherwise, a full ortho-rectified view of this elevation was obtained ().



**Plate 29: Ortho-rectified view of the east external elevation of the cottage**

**4.2.9 South External Elevation – Cottage:** again the topography, with a steep slope behind a boundary wall close to the elevation, made taking suitable photographs difficult and so it was only possible to produce an ortho-rectified elevation in two incomplete parts (Plate 30 and Plate 31). In addition, more general record photographs were also taken. Since the render and pointing had been removed prior to the photographs being taken some additional detail was shown up, principally that the eastern window had originally been a doorway before being partially blocked up.



**Plate 30 (left):** Ortho-rectified view of the west side of the south external elevation of the cottage

**Plate 31 (right):** Ortho-rectified view of the east side of the south external elevation of the cottage



**Plate 32:** The partially blocked up former doorway, now a window, on the east side of south external elevation of the cottage



4.2.10 **West External Elevation – Cottage:** again, the topography and the presence of vegetation against the north side meant that getting a complete ortho-rectified view was difficult but it was at least partially possible (Plate 33).



**Plate 33: Ortho-rectified view of the west external elevation of the cottage**

4.2.11 **Room G1 – Mill:** the presence of large amounts of timber and other material stored in this room and the restricted space meant that producing complete ortho-rectified images of all of the elevations was impossible. Nevertheless, more general record photographs of all of the elevations were taken (Plate 34 to Plate 40) as well as further detailed views of the graffiti date at the entrance to the hearth of the drying kiln on the south-east side of the room (Plate 38); the stone tank in the north-east corner was largely obscured by timber (Plate 36).



**Plate 34 (left): The west side of the north elevation in Room G1 of the mill**



**Plate 35 (right): The central part of the north elevation in Room G1 of the mill**



**Plate 36: The stone tank in the north-east corner of Room G1 of the mill**





Plate 37 (left): The opening to the hearth of the drying kiln in Room G1 of the mill

Plate 38 (right): Graffiti 'M Tyson D 1819 T' scratched into the west jamb of the opening to the hearth of the drying kiln in Room G1 of the mill



Plate 39 (left): The south elevation in Room G1 of the mill

Plate 40 (right): The west elevation of Room G1 of the mill

4.2.12 **Room G2 – Mill:** despite having been largely cleared of all loose material it was still difficult to get sufficient photographs of this room to produce complete ortho-rectified images of all of the elevations due to the presence of mill machinery along the east side and the restricted space; these are included in the archive. Nevertheless, general photographs were taken of the whole room (Plate 42 to Plate 47) and the recording also revealed the presence of a Baltic timber mark on the west face of the central beam running north/south (Plate 48).





**Plate 41 (left): The north elevation in Room G2 of the mill**



**Plate 42 (right): The north end of the east elevation in Room G2 of the mill**



**Plate 43 (left): The centre of the east elevation in Room G2 of the mill**



**Plate 44 (right): The south end of the east elevation in Room G2 of the mill**



**Plate 45 (left): The south elevation in Room G2 of the mill**



**Plate 46 (right): The south end of the west elevation in Room G2 of the mill**





**Plate 47 (left): The north end of the west elevation in Room G2 of the mill**



**Plate 48 (right): Baltic mark on the central beam in Room G2 of the mill**

**4.2.13 Room G3 – Mill:** this area was still largely inaccessible due to the large amounts of timber and other material stored within it, but it was still possible to take photographs of some of the more important features. The room was split into two halves, east and west, by a dividing wall, which appeared to butt the north and south walls and so was presumably a later insertion.



**Plate 49 (left): The west side of the north elevation in Room G3 of the mill**



**Plate 50 (right): The east side of the north elevation in Room G3 of the mill**





**Plate 51 (left): The east side of the south elevation of Room G3 of the mill**



**Plate 52 (right): A doorway on the west side of the south elevation of Room G3 of the mill**

4.2.14 **Room G4 – Mill:** this comprises the small wash house contained within a monopitch outshut at the south end of the building, which houses a large fireplace on the east side and associated ovens and ‘copper’. Despite its size it was possible to produce ortho-rectified photographs of the main elevations (Plate 53 to Plate 56) as well as more general views.



**Plate 53 (left): Ortho-rectified view of the north elevation of Room G4 of the mill**

**Plate 54 (right): Ortho-rectified view of the east elevation of Room G4 of the mill, showing the fireplace, ovens and ‘copper’**



Plate 55 (left): Ortho-rectified view of the south elevation of Room G4 of the mill

Plate 56 (right): Ortho-rectified view of the west elevation of Room G4 of the mill

4.2.15 **Room F1 – Mill:** this comprises the space above the drying kiln with the drying floor taking up much of the south-east corner. This room was still very cluttered during the first visit and had fixed shelving against the east end of the north elevation so it was difficult to get enough coverage to produce ortho-rectified photographs (Plate 57), but this was easier for the other elevations (Plate 58 to Plate 60). General record shots were also taken of all elevations.



Plate 57: Ortho-rectified view of the north elevation in Room F1 of the mill





**Plate 58: Ortho-rectified view of the east elevation in Room F1 of the mill**



**Plate 59: Ortho-rectified view of the south elevation in Room F1 of the mill**



**Plate 60: Ortho-rectified view of the west elevation in Room F1 of the mill**

4.2.16 **Room F2 – Mill:** as with Room G2 it was difficult to take sufficient photographs for rectification in this room because of the extensive mill machinery along the east elevation. Nevertheless general record photographs were taken throughout (Plate 61 to Plate 63) and ortho-rectified images produced where possible (Plate 64 and Plate 65). The recording allowed a more detailed examination of some of the elevations and showed that the north end of the west elevation clearly butted the rest, indicating that Rooms F2 and F3 were originally a single L-shaped space that had been subdivided.



**Plate 61 (left): The north elevation in Room F2 of the mill**

**Plate 62 (right): The north end of the east elevation in Room F2 of the mill**





**Plate 63: The south end of the east elevation in Room F2 of the mill**



**Plate 64: Ortho-rectified view of the south elevation in Room F2 of the mill**



**Plate 65: Ortho-rectified view of the west elevation in Room F2 of the mill**

**4.2.17 Room F3 – Mill:** this initially had a considerable amount of furniture and fixtures obscuring the walls but this was later removed allowing a reasonable coverage of photographs to be taken and ortho-rectified images to be produced of all of the elevations, although these were only successful in some cases (Plate 66 and Plate 67). General record photographs of all the elevations were also taken (Plate 68 and Plate 69) and, in addition, a small alcove was observed on the east side of the south elevation, which was added to the plan (Figure 3) as was a small window in the north elevation that had apparently not been included on the initial drawings (Plate 66). Further Baltic timber marks were also noted on the north side of the west face of the tie beam of the single tie-beam truss (Plate 70) as well as a graffiti rodent scratched into the south side of the same face of the same timber (Plate 71).



**Plate 66: Ortho-rectified view of the north elevation of Room F3 in the mill**





**Plate 67: Ortho-rectified view of the east elevation of Room F3 in the mill**



**Plate 68 (left): The south elevation of Room F3 in the mill**



**Plate 69 (right): The west elevation of Room F3 in the mill**





**Plate 70 (left): Baltic timber marks on the north side of the west face of the tie beam of the truss in Room F3 of the mill**



**Plate 71 (right): Graffiti rodent scratched on the south side of the west face of the tie beam of the truss in Room F3 of the mill**

**4.2.18 *Cottage Internals – Introduction:*** at the time of the photographic recording the cottage was being actively renovated and so general photographs were taken of features of interest that had been exposed as part of this. These are described by room in the subsequent sections.

**4.2.19 *Room G1 – Cottage:*** this represents the main ground floor room, comprising a single large space on the west side of the building. The ceiling was supported by a substantial beam and joists (Plate 72) and there were stairs on the north side (Plate 73) and two doorways to the east (one of which had been partially blocked to form a cupboard (Plate 73). In the west elevation the fireplace and an adjoining cupboard had also been more fully exposed (Plate 75).



**Plate 72 (left): Beams and joists supporting the ceiling in Room G1 of the cottage**



**Plate 73 (right): The north and east elevation in Room G1 of the cottage**





Plate 74 (left): The south elevation in Room G1 of the cottage

Plate 75 (right): Fireplace and cupboard in the west elevation of Room G1 of the cottage

4.2.20 **Room G2/G3 – Cottage:** the partition wall separating Rooms G2 and G3 had been removed at the time of the recording and so photographs of this whole area were taken. Again several features had been more fully exposed as part of the renovation work and so photographs were specifically taken of the fireplace in the east elevation (originally in Room G3; Plate 76) and of the former doorway turned into a cupboard in the west elevation (originally in Room G3; Plate 77).



Plate 76 (left): The fireplace in the east elevation of Room G3 in the cottage

Plate 77 (right): The west elevation of Rooms G2/G3 showing the former doorway now used as a cupboard

4.2.21 **Rooms F1 and F4 – Cottage:** these had only been stripped of carpets, furniture and fittings revealing the relatively late tongue and groove floorboards and otherwise allowing a record to be made of important features such as the chimney breast and windows (Plate 78 and Plate 79).



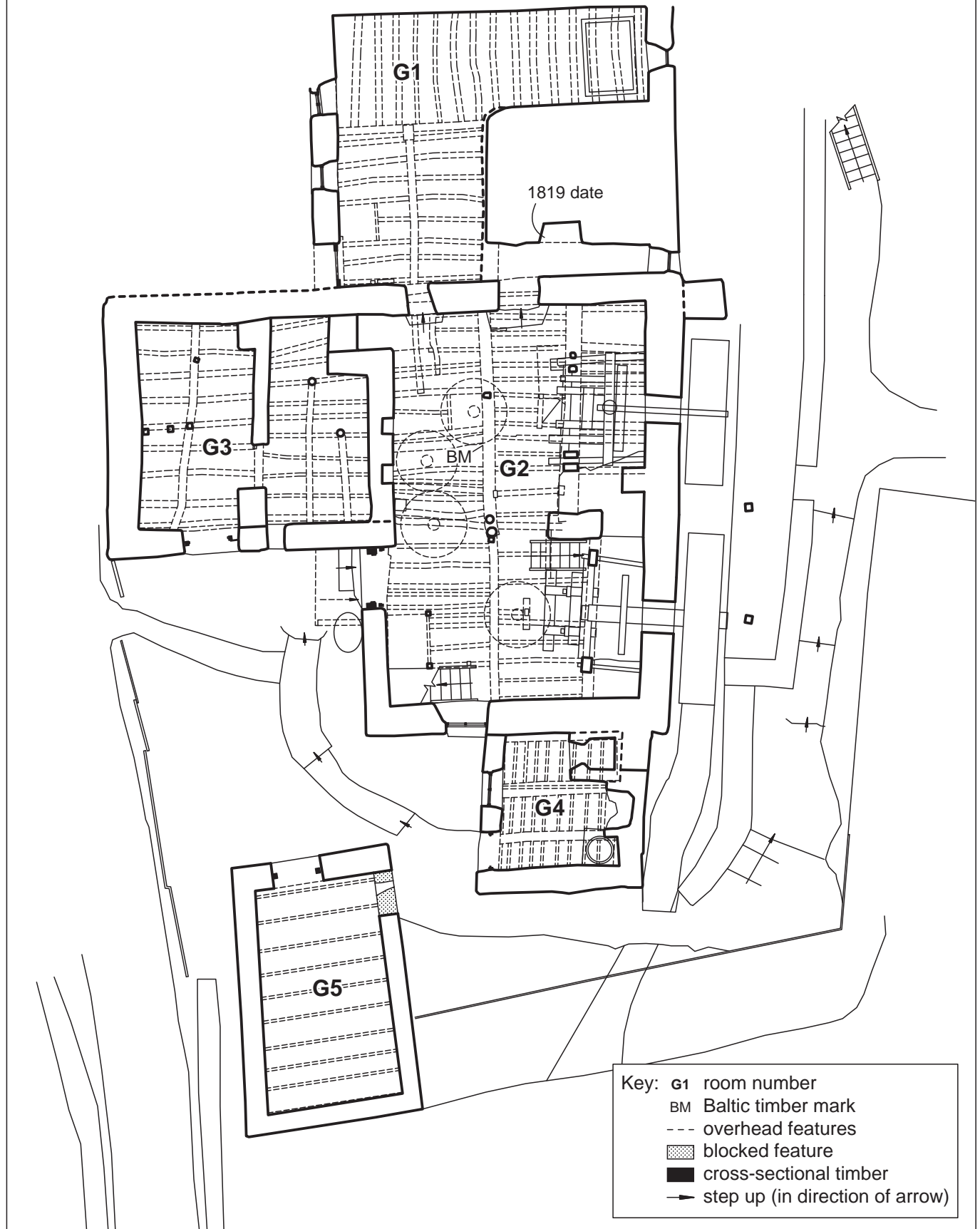
**Plate 78 (left): General view of Room F1 in the cottage showing the chimney breast to the east and window to the south**

**Plate 79 (right): General view of Room F4 in the cottage showing the window to the south**

## MILL - GROUND FLOOR PLAN

Based on a survey © James Brennan Associates 2014

0 5m



Client: Eskdale Mill and Heritage Trust

© Greenlane Archaeology Ltd, May 2019

Figure 2: Mill ground floor plan

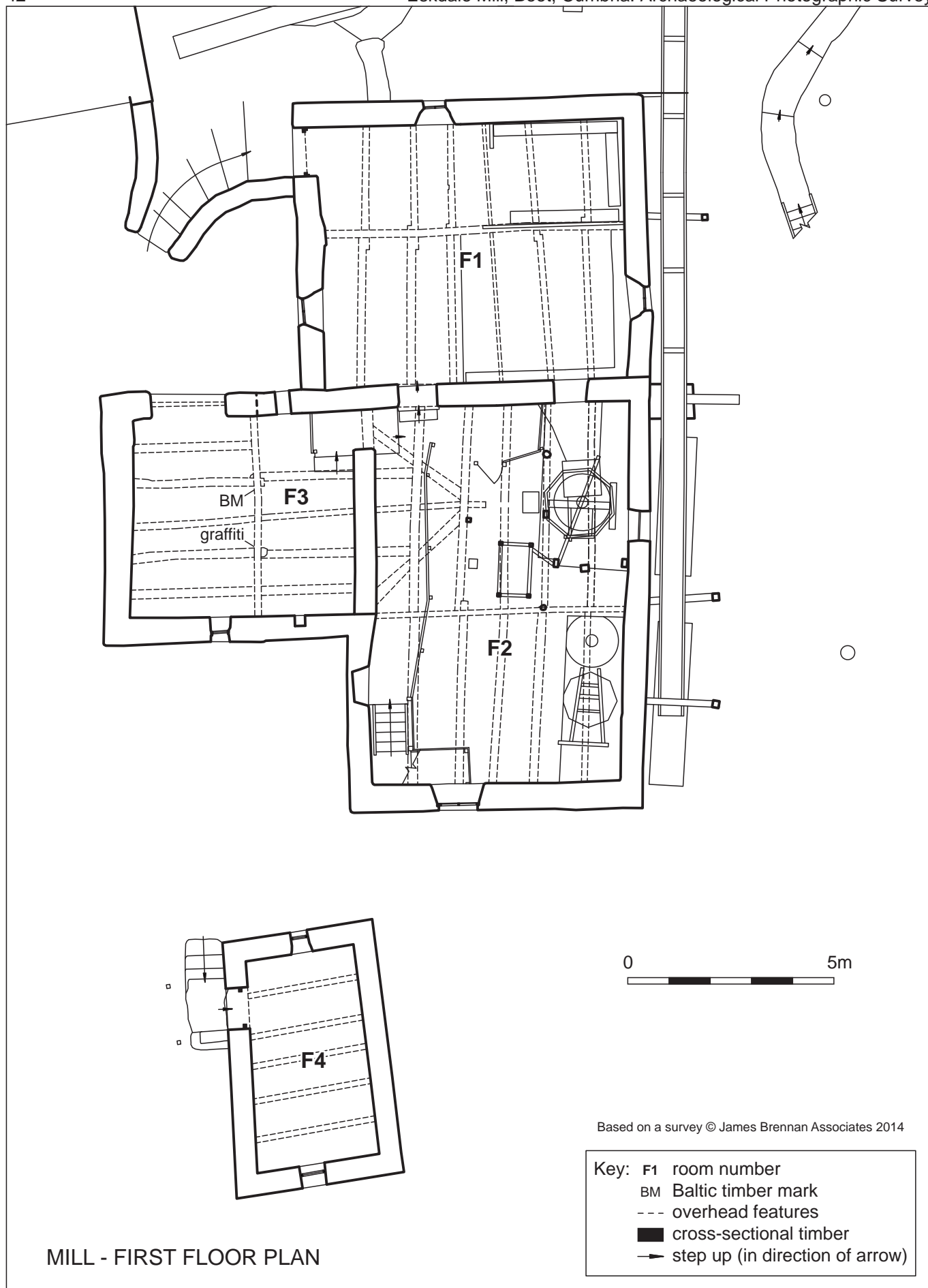
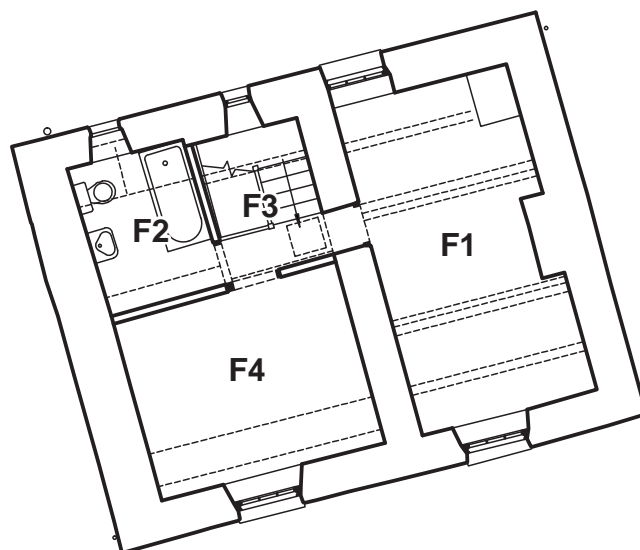


Figure 3: Mill first floor plan

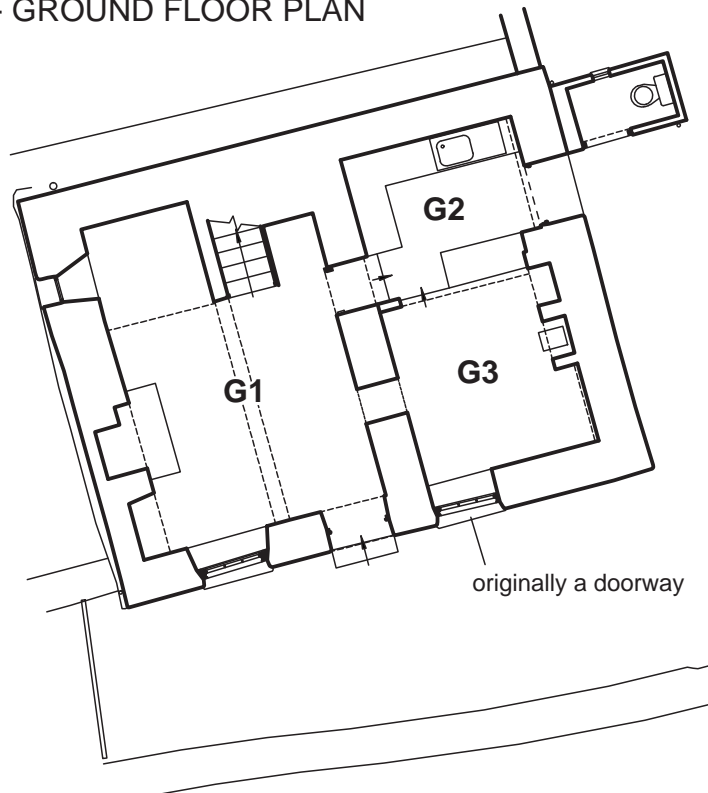
## MILL COTTAGE - FIRST FLOOR PLAN



Based on a survey © James Brennan Associates 2014

Key: G1/F1 room number  
 --- overhead features  
 ■ cross-sectional timber  
 → step up (in direction of arrow)

## MILL COTTAGE - GROUND FLOOR PLAN





## 5. Discussion and Conclusion

### 5.1 Discussion

5.1.1 Although the purpose of the photographic survey was to provide an additional record of the building prior to renovation it did allow a number of additional observations to be made about the development of the structure. These, combined with the recently completed and comprehensive desk-based assessment (Greenlane Archaeology 2019) allow the interpretation of the building to be enhanced, although this does conflict somewhat with the conclusions of the previous archaeological recording (Wardell Armstrong Archaeology 2016).

5.1.2 It is apparent from the junctions of the walls that the earliest part of the mill comprised an L-shaped block in the centre of the building corresponding with Rooms G2 and G3 and F2 and F3, which was initially a single open space on each floor that was later subdivided. A loose piece of timber, thought to have originally been a lintel, within Room G2 marked with the date 1740 and documentary evidence from the 1750s (see *Section 3.1.4*) suggests that the mill saw substantial additions at this time, although this has typically been taken as evidence for the date at which a second wheel was added. It is possible that this actually relates to the point at which this initial phase of building was constructed. However, the presence of a Baltic timber mark in one of the main beams in Room G2 and the truss in Room F3 makes such an early date unlikely; such marks were used on timber imported into the UK from Eastern Europe and Scandinavia from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century but primarily in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> (Vadenabeele *et al* 2016). The recent documentary research suggested that the second wheel was actually added in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century so it is perhaps more plausible that the early L-shaped blocked was built in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and then substantially modified about 100 years later when the second wheel was added.

5.1.3 What is clear is that the northern block (corresponding with rooms G1 and F1) is a later addition, as the butt joint between these sections can be clearly seen in the east external elevation, with the new extension raised up on top of and above the height of the original part. This conveniently fits with the date of 1819 scratched into the opening of the hearth for the drying kiln, although this could have been added at any time after the northern addition had been built. The small monopitch outshot to the south forming the wash house is also clearly a later addition and the available map evidence shows that it had been constructed by at least the 1860s (Greenlane Archaeology 2019, 10).

5.1.4 The examination of the cottage also provided some further information about its development, although this was clearly less complicated. It is apparent, following the removal of render from the front (south) elevation, that the easternmost window was originally a doorway and so the building was presumably originally two smaller cottages rather than one house. This doesn't explain the doorways between these two halves on each floor, although these could have been added later, or the fact that there is only one staircase, although this is perhaps a later addition, and access between floors was perhaps originally just via ladders. This also fits to some degree with the documentary evidence, which suggests that two families lived in a 'dwelling house' near the mill in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century but by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century it had become a single dwelling occupied by the miller and his family (Greenlane Archaeology 2019, 15 and *Appendix 2*). No additional observations were made about the development of the stable as this had not changed since the previous archaeological recording.

### 5.2 Conclusion

5.2.1 The photographic recording has allowed a further opportunity to investigate what is an extremely well-preserved and historically important mill and associated structure. Combining the information collected as part of it with the newly produced desk-based assessment has also allowed some further revision of the phasing of the site's development, which seems to be confirming that earlier suggestions that the mill contains medieval or even early post-medieval fabric is probably incorrect and that the bulk of the present building likely to be 18<sup>th</sup> century and later.

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