

HOPWOOD CORN MILL, MIDDLETON

Excavation Report

The Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit

February 1993

1. Introduction

During January 1993 the Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit carried out excavation work on the site of Hopwood Corn Mill, Middleton. The site is located in a stretch of the Trub Brook valley owned by Hopwood Hall College, who engaged the Oldham and Rochdale Groundwork Trust to undertake an environmental survey of the area. The excavation formed part of that survey and it is hoped that the mill remains will be conserved as a landscape feature.[†]

[†] Acknowledgments

The excavation work was undertaken for GMAU by Mark Fletcher, assisted by Dave Power, Karen Jones, Simon Eddleston and Sarah-Jane Farr. Peter Arrowsmith undertook documentary research into the historical background of the site, compiling section 3 of this report. The finished drawings are by Helen Boyd and Mark Fletcher.

Sandy Roydes, Richard Freeman and other staff of the College are to be thanked for initiating the project and for assisting in the organization and fieldwork. Students and mature students studying on the College's A-level Archaeology course worked on the site and provided historical material.

This report also includes, as Appendix 3, a note on the Italian garden situated in the College grounds.

2. The Setting

Site Location

The Hopwood Corn Mill site is located just over 2km north of Middleton town centre, off the A664 between Middleton and Rochdale (NGR SD 877082) (Fig 1). In a rural setting within the grounds of Hopwood Hall College, the mill was originally part of the Hopwood estate, and Hopwood Hall still stands 300m to the north-west of the mill.

At a height of *c* 94.0m OD the mill site lies on the eastern flank of the wooded valley of the Trub Brook, a tributary of the River Irk. The area of water catchment of the stream above the mill pond is about 1.5sq km, rising to a height of up to 158m OD.

Topography and Geology

The former Hopwood estate is located on the western edge of the great fluvio-glacial sand and gravel spread which overlies the boulder clays between Middleton and Rochdale.

The Trub Brook valley runs from north to south through this undulating landscape. At one point, *c* 600m south of the mill, downcutting by the stream has exposed the underlying Carboniferous Lower Coal Measures, where the Hopwood Colliery was sited in the 19th century.

The Geological Survey also indicates a bed of peat overlying the sands and gravels, just 500m to the north of the mill.

3. Historical Background

Hopwood, a township and manor within the parish and manor of Middleton, is first attested in 1277 when a William de Hopwood was witness to a grant by the earl of Lincoln.¹ The manor appears to have remained in this same family for some 500 years until 1773, when on the death of the widow of Dr Robert Hopwood it passed to Edward Gregge of Chamber Hall in Werneth who adopted the name of Hopwood. The descent of the manor continued through his family until the death of Colonel Hopwood in 1942.² Hopwood Hall was then sold to the Lancashire Cotton Corporation. In 1946 it was acquired by the trust which established the De La Salle training college, the predecessor of the present college.

Hopwood Mill was a manorial corn mill, owned by the Hopwoods and later the Gregge Hopwoods and leased to a succession of millers; under the custom of mill soke, tenants of the manor were required to grind their corn at the mill for a fixed proportion of their grain. According to a recent survey, in the post-medieval period Hopwood was the only corn mill in the south-western part of the present Borough of Rochdale, most if not all other known mills being on the Roch or its tributaries.³ The lack of other mills in the vicinity suggests that Hopwood Mill have have drawn its custom from a wider area than the manor and township.

Although there is a tradition that the mill was in existence in the reign of Edward II (1307-27),⁴ this appears to be based solely upon what at one time was believed to be the earliest reference to the de Hopwood family. No secure evidence for the mill is known prior to the second half of the 16th century.

The earliest documented reference recovered dates from 1570 when the inquisition post mortem of Edmund Hopwood listed a water-mill among his holdings in Hopwood.⁵ A water-mill is also listed in a settlement of the estate of Edmund Hopwood, his grandson and successor, in 1598,⁶ and again in the inquisition post mortem carried out after Edmund's death in 1612.⁷ In that same year the inventory of Edmund's goods included 'a mylhopper', valued with '3 great arkes' at 35s, and also 'instruments for the mill all valued to 10s'.⁸

This early evidence does not specify the exact location of the mill, nor indeed does such

- 1) VCH 5, 170 n 5.
- 2) *Ibid.*, 170-2; MacDonald 1963.
- 3) Pearson *et al.*, 1985.
- 4) Maxim 1916a, 10.
- 5) LRO DDHp 39/1.
- 6) VCH 5, 171 n 7.
- 7) LRO DDHp 39/4; Rylands 1880, 203-7.
- 8) LRO WCW Edmund Hopwood of Hopwood 1612.

an indication exist within the documentary and cartographic sources until the late 18th century when William Yates's map of Lancashire, surveyed in the late 1770s, shows a water-mill to the south-east of Hopwood Hall on what is presumably the present mill site.⁹

The miller in the early 17th century may have been an Edmund 'Scofeide', described in the Middleton parish registers in 1611 as being 'of Hopwood Mill'.¹⁰ By the mid-17th century he may have been succeeded by James 'Stocke' of Hopwood Mill who is attested in the same source in 1657.¹¹ The designation 'of Hopwood Mill' suggests that they, and later individuals similarly described, lived as well as worked at the site, with the further implication that there was an early mill house here.

In 1666, following the death of Edmund Hopwood (the successor to his grandfather and namesake who died in 1612), a inventory was compiled listing in detail the contents of each room in the hall and its outbuildings.¹² This lengthy document includes not only the mill but also other related buildings, the 'Garner House and Kiln' and the 'Drying Kiln':

In the Garner House and Kilne			
one garner and sixe sacks		1	7 0
Item in measures shovfies wisketts & nets		0	3 0
Item in three grindle stones and furniture		0	10 0
In the Dryinge Kiln			
Item one haire cloth one hatchet one shovfe and other things		0	16 10
In Milne			
four sives a spittell and a shovfe		0	4 0
Item one halfe hoope one paire of skales and one lead waight		0	4 0
Item one forme and a paire of tonges		0	1 0
Item two iron crowes one iron chisle two hammers			
one boarde and one towledishes		0	12 0
Item in milne picks 4 arks and moulture		2	6 0
Item one wiskett one fanne one skue and furniture		0	13 4
Item in boards and other wooden things		0	2 0'

The particular value of this document is its implication that the three main component parts of the mill in existence in the 19th century, that is the mill body, the corn kiln and the granary, were also to be found in its 17th-century predecessor. The distinction between the 'Garner House [Granary] and Kiln' and the 'Drying Kiln' is not entirely clear, although it seems likely that the first represents a larger unit, of which the second was part. The existence of a corn kiln at this date is also suggested by the Hearth Tax returns for the same year, 1666, which list one hearth 'in the mill' at Hopwood.¹³

9) Reproduced in Harley 1968, 45.

10) Shaw 1902, 53 & 149.

11) Shaw 1904, 89. A James Stoke is listed in the Hearth Tax returns for Hopwood in 1664, assessed at one hearth (LRO M1/29).

12) LRO WCW Edmund Hopwood of Hopwood 1666.

13) LRO M1/27.

In the late 17th century Hopwood Mill is mentioned indirectly in the will drawn up in 1697 by John Hopwood, lord of the manor. Referring back to an indenture of 1687, this lists among his estate 'the capitall messuage called Hopwood Hall and the messuage called Sannycliffe'¹⁴ and 'all and singular other the messuages lands water rone milnes kilnes with their appurtenances'.¹⁵ The plural 'mills' may be used here in a legalistic fashion; no other mill is known to have been held by the Hopwood family at this date.

For the first half of the 18th century the evidence recovered for the mill is derived from the Middleton parish registers. A John Scholefield of Hopwood Mill is listed on five occasions between 1704 and 1727, in connection with the christening, and in one case the burial, of his children.¹⁶ It is possible that there were two millers working here at this time, since the christenings of eight children of John Taylor of Hopwood Mill are recorded between 1704 and 1731.¹⁷ His father may also have been associated with the mill, as the burial of a widow Taylor of Hopwood Mill was recorded in 1712.¹⁸ The 1731 christening entry describes John Taylor as a weaver; this may represent a second occupation or a change in employment, but it should also be noted that the registers record the burial in 1725 of Mary, the wife of John Taylor of Hopwood,¹⁹ and thereby raise the possibility that the references to John Taylor are to two generations.

After 1731 Hopwood Mill is not named in the published registers, but between 1731 and 1741 there are references to George Mellallieu or Melladow, variously described as of Hopwood or 'Stanacliffe'.²⁰ A Thomas Mellallieu, miller, of Hopwood is also mentioned in 1744-5.²¹ The latest reference to a miller of Hopwood in the published registers is in 1752, the individual being Edmund Kershaw, who is previously described, in 1746, as of Rochdale parish.²² Precisely why, by an apparent change of terminology in the registers these individuals should be termed 'millers of Hopwood' (rather than 'of Hopwood Mill') is not clear. However, the association of George Mellallieu with Stanycliffe suggests the possibility that, unlike their predecessors, all lived away from the mill itself.

The will drawn up by Dr Robert Hopwood in 1759, mentions his 'capital messuage [Hopwood Hall] with the outbuildings thereto belonging'; Hopwood Mill is not explicitly mentioned but is presumably included.²³ In the same year Dr Hopwood granted to Thomas Lee of Hopwood, husbandman, the lease on a tenement for 21 years at an annual rent of £12.²⁴ Under the terms of the agreement the tenant was to grind all his flour or meal 'at the said lessor's mill in Hopwood aforesaid called Hopwood Mill

14) ie Stanycliffe Hall, to the south of the Hopwood Hall estate (see Figs 3 & 4).

15) LRODDHp 41/5.

16) Shaw 1904, 56, 61, 65, 82 & 144.

17) Shaw 1904, 47, 59, 62, 67, 71, 75, 79 & 83; Brierley 1913, 6.

18) Shaw 1904, 136.

19) *Ibid*, 151.

20) Brierley 1913, 7, 16, 27, 38, 44 & 135.

21) *Ibid*, 55 & 66.

22) *Ibid*, 94 & 109.

23) Copy included in LRO WCW Robert Hopwood 1775.

24) Middleton Public Library L21568Mc.

and not elsewhere without a reasonable cause for which the said toll of mulcture shall be paid'. Failure to comply entitled the lessor to terminate the lease, as much as failure to pay the rent at the specified time. Although this is the only instance of the enforcement of the manorial right of mill soke uncovered by the present research, more detailed examination of Hopwood leases is likely to produce other examples.

A survey of Hopwood carried out in 1781-2 notes that a John Whittaker then leased the 'Mill and Building', valued at £25, the 'Mill House', described as of two bays and valued at £1 4s, and four fields, Cow Field, Great Meadow, Bent and Moss Meadow.²⁵ This is the earliest explicit reference recovered for a mill house, although as noted above the existence of such a dwelling close to the mill is implied by entries in the Middleton parish registers from 1611 to 1731. The two-bay building in 1781-2 may have been the house which stood to the south-east of the mill until the mid-20th century.

During the early 1790s the mill was threatened by plans to extract water from the Trub Brook for the proposed Rochdale Canal. The minutes of the Rochdale Canal Company for 17 January 1792 recorded that

'Edward Gregg Hopwood, Esq. of Hopwood Hall objects to taking the brook at Trub Smithy for the supply of the intended canal which would destroy his corn mill at Hopwood.'²⁶

In the event the first Bill for the construction of the canal was rejected in March of that year. In October the Company minutes recorded, among other measures recognizing the interests of local mill owners, the proposal

'to fix...weirs and gauges in the Chelburn and Trub Smithy Brooks to take surplus water only in times of flood.'²⁷

When in April 1792, at the third attempt, an Act of Parliament was passed authorizing the construction of the canal it included the provision that the proprietors were not

'to take or use, or suffer to be taken or used, for the said Canal, or to flow or run into any Reservoir or Reservoirs, or other Works, of or for the Use of the same Canal, any of the Watercourses, or Streams of Water, now flowing to, or supplying, or assisting in supplying, with Water any Mill or Mills situate upon the Rivers, Irk, Roach, and Irwell, or any of them, or upon any of the Rivulets, Streams, or Feeders, flowing into or supplying the said Rivers respectively...save and except that the Surplus Water of the said Brook called Heales Brook otherwise Hollingworth Brook, and Chelburn or Sladen Brook, and the Streams and Feeders running into the same respectively, in Times of Excess shall and may be taken for the Use of the said Canal, when the Water shall fill and exceed certain Gauges, to be fixed by such Persons, of such Dimensions, and at such Places only, as herein-after mentioned.'²⁸

25) LRO DDHp 14/32 p 9. A John Whittaker was an overseer of the poor for Middleton parish in 1783-4 (Middleton Public Library).

26) Roydes 1989, 89 citing the Minute Books of the Rochdale Canal Company held at the Greater Manchester County Record Office.

27) *Ibid.*, 91.

28) Rochdale Local Studies Library 34 George 3 c. 78. VI.

Heales Brook and Chelburn Brook both lie to the east of Rochdale on the Pennine watershed. Evidently by the date of the third Act the advocates of the canal had abandoned plans to draw even flood water from Trub Brook.

Following the events of the 1790s there is a hiatus in the evidence recovered until the 1820s. By this date the position of miller had passed to William Kershaw, listed as miller at Hopwood Mill in trade directories from 1825 to 1851.²⁹ Kershaw and his family also appear as the occupants of Hopwood Mill in the 1841 and 1851 census returns.³⁰ The 1851 census shows that William, then aged 75, was assisted in the mill by his two sons. The same source notes that William, his wife and his elder son, then aged 43, were born in Rochdale and his younger son, aged 41, and daughter, aged 34, in Hopwood; on this evidence William Kershaw moved to Hopwood and possibly took up the lease of the mill as early as 1808-10.

According to an account found in the notes of J L Maxim, dated c 1916,

"W^m Kershaw had a son who by accident had his leg trapped between the stones, so firmly that it literally stopped the mill and the water wheel. After amputation he died".³¹

This story has not been verified. Maxim's notes imply that it was told to him by Isaac Renshaw, a grandson of William Kershaw. Isaac's mother was born at 'the cottage near the mill' (presumably the mill house) and Isaac himself 'used to play about the mill in his young days'.³²

It was during the tenancy of William Kershaw that the earliest known detailed plans showing the mill were drawn, these being the tithe map dated 1840 and the Ordnance survey First Edition 6" to 1 mile sheet surveyed in 1844-7 (Figs 2 & 3). Both outline the mill body and the wings to the north-west and east, with the mill house shown to the south-east. The tithe apportionment, dated 1839, shows that in addition to these buildings and their 'gardens', Kershaw leased six fields within the Hopwood Hall estate, one of which lay immediately to the east of the mill.³³

In a paper delivered to the Rochdale Literary and Scientific Society in 1913 Maxim reported that 'the last millers were William Kershaw who occupied the premises about 50 years ago and who died in 1852, and his successor Samuel Howarth who left the mill 30 years ago. They were both connected with Rochdale'.³⁴

29) Baines 1825, 684; Pigot 1832, 458; Pigot & Co 1834, 491; Pigot 1838, 94; Slater 1843, 97; Slater 1848, 707; Slater 1851, 390.

30) Bury Reference Library.

31) Rochdale Local Studies Library Max 131.

32) *Ibid.*

33) Named as 'Meadow' and numbered 576 on tithe map (see Fig 2). The other five fields, 'Wheat Field', 'Middlemost Field', 'Cottage Field', 'Cottage Meadow' and 'Lowmost Field', lay to the north-east, below Hopwood Cottage; the cottage itself, named on the Ordnance Survey First Edition as Gorsey Lea Cottage (Fig 3), was reserved by Robert Gregge Hopwood for his own use.

34) Maxim 1916a, 10.

The date of Kershaw's death may have been derived from his grave inscription at Rochdale parish church, cited by Maxim in his notes on the mill:

'Here lies interred the body of W^m Kershaw of Hopwood Mill who died Sept 5th 1852 aged 76 years.'³⁵

On the subject of Kershaw's successor at the mill, however, Maxim appears to have been in some confusion. According to one account, evidently written in 1916,

'Mr Boddy abt 50 yrs ago was the miller (ie 1866)
Mr Mossley.
Ceased work about 30 yrs ago (ie 1886) when Mr Renshaw left it for Heaton C Mill'.³⁶

Another sheet of notes, also written in 1916, provides a different version:

'abt. 1866 Mr Boddy was the miller ... about 50 yrs ago
abt. 1886 Mr Sam. Howarth - stopped about 30 yrs ago'.³⁷

This may represent Maxim's final view on the subject, for elsewhere he wrote

'The last miller at Hopwood was Samuel Howarth not Renshaw. This Howarth was the man who had the Wellington Mill at one time'.³⁸

The difficulties created by Maxim's changing views are compounded when other evidence is taken into account. On the one hand, this appears to disprove the statement in the 1913 paper that after Kershaw's death Samuel Howarth held the mill until its closure. On the other hand, none of the individuals variously identified by Maxim as miller at Hopwood after Kershaw's death is attested as such in the other sources, which do nevertheless provide a fairly detailed list of names.

Thus, an Edward Turner is listed as a corn miller at Hopwood Mill in a directory of 1852, and a Mrs Sarah Lees as miller there in a directory of 1858.³⁹ The 1861 census lists two households at Hopwood Mill.⁴⁰ The first comprised James Slatter (aged 61 and described as a 'corn miller and farmer of 4(?) acres land'), his wife and six children, his elder son being also described as a miller; both James and his wife were born in Lancashire, but from the place of birth of the children the family was living in Peterborough in the early 1830s and later in Cheshire until at least the mid-1840s. The second household in 1861 comprised James Tweedy, (?)balliff aged 61, his wife and son. Both households were presumably living in the Mill House.

In 1871 only one family is listed in the census under Hopwood Mill, comprising William Swindles, corn miller, aged 36, his wife and three children.⁴¹ They would appear to have only recently taken up the lease of the mill, since both of their youngest two children,

35) Rochdale Local Studies Library Max 131.

36) *Ibid.* These details have been added to Maxim's descriptive notes on the mill building and machinery, probably compiled c 1912 (see Fig 7).

37) *Ibid.*

38) *Ibid.*

39) Whellan 1852, 882; Kelly 1858, 239.

40) Bury Reference Library.

41) Bury Reference Library.

aged three and one, were born in Manchester; Swindles himself originated from Cheshire, his wife from Ireland.

The discrepancy between the list of millers provided by the directories and census returns and the information given by Maxim is puzzling. It is possible that even Maxim's final list of names after William Kershaw is in error. Alternatively his evidence may be correct either in whole and in part and may refer to tenants of the mill in years not covered by the other sources. In either case the number of successive millers in the period from 1852 onwards compared with the previous lengthy occupancy by William Kershaw is striking and suggests that from the mid-19th-century lessees may have found themselves struggling to run the mill as a viable concern.

Precisely when the mill finally ceased operation is uncertain. Maxim in 1916 evidently believed that this had been about thirty years previously, irrespective of the identity of the last miller,⁴² but it is not clear upon what evidence this was based. The mill is not mentioned in the 1881 census, but this could equally well be due to the census falling between tenancies as to the building having been finally abandoned by this date. Consequently the earliest firm evidence for the abandonment of the mill is the Ordnance Survey Second Edition map surveyed in 1889-91 which describes the building as 'disused' (Fig 4). It may be added that although the mill itself ceased operation, the mill house was leased to new tenants. The 1891 census lists one household at 'Hopwood Mill House', comprising Fred Ellis, aged 26, his wife, and Thomas Wheeldon, a lodger aged 14;⁴³ both males were gardeners, presumably on the Hopwood estate.

By c 1890 the mill itself would appear to have been little more than a picturesque feature of the hall grounds. Fortunately this very quality resulted in the building becoming the subject of a number of early photographs. The two earliest known are found in an album of views of Middleton dated 1856-86; this also includes a view of a cottage near the mill, almost certainly the mill house (Plates 1-3).⁴⁴ A lantern slide collection of c 1897 includes three views of the mill, showing it now stripped of its exterior rendering (Plate 4).⁴⁵ The mill also appears in a photograph of 'Lady' Susan Fanny Hopwood which can therefore be dated no later than 1906, the year of her death (Plate 5).⁴⁶

These early photographs are an important source for the structural development of the building. In addition they also complement the cartographic evidence for the first phase in the demolition of the mill, namely the removal of the north-west and east wings. From the Ordnance Survey these alterations occurred between 1889-91, when the survey showed the wings still present, and 1907 when the resurvey for the 1:2500 series showed only the mill body (Figs 4 & 5).⁴⁷ The photographs may provide a narrower

42) See p 8.

43) Bury Reference Library.

44) Middleton Public Library LC 142.1. The view of the mill from the north (Plate 1 in this report) is also reproduced in MacDonald 1963, facing 39.

45) Middleton Public Library.

46) Photograph now in possession of Mr Sandy Roydes, at Hopwood Hall College.

47) Both wings also appear on a detailed plan of the Hopwood estate, dated 1895 (LRO P161). However, since the purpose of this plan appears to be merely to indicate alterations to footpaths it is likely to have been based on an existing, earlier survey.

date range in that the wings are evident on the c 1897 lantern slides but seem to be missing on the view of 1906 or earlier.

Although by the late 19th century the hall was a focus of antiquarian interest, similar attention does not seem to have been paid to the mill until the visit of J L Maxim in 1912. By this date Hopwood Mill was 'the only existing relic of an actual water corn mill to be seen in the Rochdale district, its preservation being due no doubt to its standing within the grounds of Hopwood Hall'.⁴⁸ Maxim's notes include a description of the mill (Fig 7), and this appears to have provided the basis of his account in the 1913 paper. According to his 1913 account,

The points to observe about the existing building are briefly as follows: Exterior — The older stone portion of the building; the loft door and slide for the corn; the site of the kiln on the west end; the old millstones, of which there are three; the mill dam and the dated stone 1.7. over the door. Interior — The water wheel, originally 2 feet, now 4 feet, and 6 yards diameter; the main shaft of wood, 18 inches diameter, with 9 feet diameter bevel gear working with another bevel wheel on the upright spindle; the peculiar oblique wooden ribbed 12 feet driving spur wheel which engaged with four small pinion wheels in the loft, carrying vertical spindles, at the lower end of which the runners or top stones were suspended; the massive wood levers with nut, screw, and hinge, that enabled the nether millstones to be adjusted; the notched outlets for the flour.⁴⁹

A second paper, delivered to the Society in 1915-16, included details of three millstones evidently removed from the mill at some date or dates prior to its closure.⁵⁰ Maxim's archive on the mill also included a photographic record, among which is a view of the mill interior showing the gear cupboard (Plates 6-8).⁵¹

The mill body appears to have remained intact until the mid-20th century, with both the 1927 and 1939 OS surveys showing it as a shaded, ie roofed structure.⁵² The 1955 survey however, shows the exterior outline of the building, but describes it as 'ruin'.⁵³ Within a few years of this survey the building was demolished as unsafe by the De La Salle College.⁵⁴

In the 1970s partial excavation of the wheelpit and other areas was carried out and the west and south walls were partly rebuilt as a conservation exercise.⁵⁵

48) Maxim 1916a, 10.

49) Maxim 1916a, 10.

50) Maxim 1916b, 88-9. See Appendix 2.

51) Photographs now held by Middleton Public Library, Neg M633. The view of the interior of the mill was published as part of Maxim's paper (Maxim 1916a, facing 10).

52) OS 1:2500 Lancashire Sheet LXXXVIII.16 Edition of 1929 (see Fig 6) and Revision of 1939.

53) OS 1:2500 sheet SD 8708, surveyed October 1955, published 1956.

54) MacDonald 1963, 40 noted that the mill 'was pulled down only recently. The stone foundations and part of the wooden machinery can still be seen'.

55) W J Smith, pers comm.

4. The Excavation

By January 1993 the mill was an overgrown ruin, largely reverted to its natural state. Of the mill body, much of the floor was covered by soil, while the west and south walls had been partially rebuilt in the 1970s. The base of the waterwheel pit was filled with debris, and the tailrace culvert was not visible. The east wall of the mill had entirely disappeared, and the only original upstanding masonry comprised the north wall of the mill, up to 3.0m high, built into the dam of the mill pond.

Of the east wing there were no visible traces, and several mature trees occupied this area, while of the north-west wing only the east wall was visible, the remainder being buried beneath a pile of spoil.

A small hydraulic excavator was employed to clear the mill floor, excavate the pitwheel pit, partially empty the waterwheel pit, and to trial-trench the east and north-west wing sites (Fig 8).

Further excavation to expose the final phase fabric was undertaken by hand, followed by planning at 1:20 scale, with elevations and sections being drawn at 1:10 scale, utilizing rectified photography.

Finds included large fragments of millstones and pieces of machinery, but all were contained within the late demolition debris.⁵⁶

No backfilling was undertaken, in anticipation of further proposals for excavation and fabric conservation.

5. Phasing

Relative phasing of the exposed fabric was facilitated by the structural relationships recorded after excavation, augmented by the limited amount of cartographic and historical evidence available.

Phase 1 Pre-18th century

The earliest reference to a mill at Hopwood is 1570.⁵⁷ It is possible that the existing pitwheel pit at the site was constructed in the late post-medieval period as a waterwheel pit.

Phase 2 18th century

Construction of the mill body in ashlar stone, with a long narrow waterwheel pit contained within the building.

Phase 3 Early 19th century

Replacement of the phase 2 waterwheel with a wider one in an enlarged wheelpit, addition of a corn kiln (north-west wing) and a granary (east wing).

Phase 4 c 1900

Demolition of the north-west and east wings; the mill body survives intact into the middle years of 20th century.

Phase 5 Early 1970s

Partial excavation of the wheelpit and other areas, followed by partial rebuilding of the mill body walls as a conservation exercise.