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Cryfield Grange

The History of a Listed Warwickshire Farmhouse from its Medieval Origins to the Mid-Twentieth Century

Alexander Russell and Ingrid A.R. De Smet

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Foreword

Cryfield Grange was once the heart of a large farmstead that was operational for some 800 years, from the middle of the twelfth to the mid-twentieth century. It is now a residential facility of the University of Warwick, offering self-catered accommodation to visiting researchers of Warwick's Institute of Advanced Study (IAS) and an official residence for the University's Vice-Chancellor. The current house now lies on the edge of the countryside between Kenilworth and Coventry, in a side road within walking and cycling distance from the university's central campus.

The historic significance of Cryfield Grange has long been recognized. A brief history of the locality was first compiled by the seventeenth-century antiquarian William Dugdale in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656). The architectural features of the current, L-shaped structure were described in the *Victoria County History of Warwickshire* in 1951, whilst the publication of the *Stoneleigh Ledger Book* in 1960 stimulated interest in Stoneleigh Abbey's history and that of its dependencies, including Cryfield Grange.

Since then, Cryfield Grange has featured in several studies, not least in Nathaniel W. Alcock's richly-documented book *People at Home: Living in a Warwickshire Village, 1500-1800* (1993). Mostly, Cryfield Grange is mentioned, with a varying degree of detail, in a sizeable body of 'grey literature', which can be difficult to locate even in our digital age. It comprises internally and externally commissioned archaeology and heritage reports for the benefit of the university and the area's civic administration; student projects and dissertations; university public relations materials; and talks, brochures, and reports of finds produced by and for local historians, archaeologists—and walkers—in Coventry and Warwickshire. Notable examples include the *University of Warwick Archaeological Evaluation* drawn up in 1996 by archaeologists Stephen Hill and Daniel Smith, who at the time worked for the university's Department of Continuing Education. Hill and Smith's test excavations shed new light on human activity from pre-historic and Roman times onwards on, and around, the university campus. Chris Summer, who read for a BSc in Environmental Studies, wrote an undergraduate dissertation on *The Heritage and Improvements of the Archaeological and Ecological Features within Cryfield Grange* (1997), whilst Marion J. Spendlove, registered for the same degree, wrote hers on *The Archaeology and History of Cryfield* (1999). Summer's dissertation, for instance, includes photographs of Canley Brook's former meandering bed, before the stream was canalised but still visible in the landscape. Meanwhile, in 1998, Rosalind Lomas published a 58-page pamphlet *Nothing was Wasted. A Patchwork of Kenilworth Farming Memories*, based on Frank Lowe's recollections of Cryfield Grange farm from the 1930s to the 1950s. In 2007, when the university acquired Cryfield Grange from its owner Brian Dickens, the Communications Office produced two booklets with brief histories of Cryfield Grange and Cryfield Farmhouse (which had served as the university's 'Vice-Chancellor's Lodge' from 1991 onwards). Both studies were authored by William H. Rupp, at the time a doctoral student in History and now a colleague in the university's Learning and Development Centre. Martin Wilson's paper 'The Mystery of the Cistercian House of Cryfield', published in the *Coventry and District Archaeological Society Bulletin*, 441 (April-May 2009), relates to archaeological observations by himself and Daniel Smith and excavations by Ray Wallwork and Bunny Best at Oak Tree Cottage in 1996, before commenting briefly on the barrel-vaulted cellar beneath the north wing of Cryfield Grange, seen by Wilson in 2002. Once part of Cryfield, but located on the other side of Canley Brook, Oak Tree Cottage is a converted Victorian barn. The archaeological

finds, which included a pebble-floor, the foundations of a sandstone wall and fragments of twelfth- or thirteenth-century window tracings, suggested there had been 'two, or maybe three, earlier structures ... , followed by a phase of demolition and robbing before the Victorian barn was erected'. The greatly altered state of the Oak Tree Cottage micro-site is of course also a characteristic of Cryfield Grange itself.

As we mark half a century of Cryfield Grange's listed-building status, and ten years of university ownership of the house, the time is right for a celebration of the historic nature of this distinctive, intriguing property. A new enquiry seems timely also in the context of Coventry's bid, ongoing at the time of writing, for the title of UK City of Culture 2021, with the city taking stock of its 'hidden' treasures. The idea for a 'Cryfield Grange Project' took shape in the autumn of 2016, when Richard Weston and Jane Openshaw from the University's Estates department turned to Warwick's interdisciplinary Centre for the Study of the Renaissance (CSR) to source relevant academic expertise. As Director of the Centre, I have had the great pleasure of working alongside Richard and Jane, as academic coordinator of the eight-month project (January-August 2017). Our team soon included Dr Nat Alcock OBE (Emeritus Reader in the university's Chemistry department and an authority on Midlands architectural history), Dr Jenny Alexander (a specialist of English medieval architecture, History of Art), John Burden (Research Strategy and Programme Manager, Institute of Advanced Study), Katie Klaassen and Dr Carly Hegenbarth (Arts Faculty Impact Officer, Research and Impact Services), Elizabeth Morrison (Library Assistant, Modern Records Centre), and—thanks to a newly-funded research fellowship—Dr Alexander Russell (an historian of the early English Reformation, Estates and Centre for the Study of the Renaissance). The team, which met monthly, took a multi-pronged approach that would lead to a deeper understanding of the Grange and its context destined not just for the university and planning authorities but also for the local community. A new documentary history would re-examine the manuscript and printed sources, as well as historic maps and visual records. It would also seek to broaden the existing corpus of information, in tandem with new, on-site investigations. Dr Jenny Alexander saw a didactic opportunity and earmarked Cryfield Grange for her undergraduate students' annual fieldwork project in architectural archaeology. Further relevant expertise was commissioned as required. This led, still in the early stages of the project, to a *Cryfield Grange Heritage Statement*, a technical report drawn up by independent historic buildings consultant James Edgar in February 2017.

Dr Alexander Russell offers here a new, autonomous historic narrative of Cryfield Grange and its agricultural past from the middle ages to the mid-twentieth century. Besides desktop searches and the reading of secondary sources, Alex has examined archival materials (in English and Latin) held in the Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive (Stratford-upon-Avon), the Warwickshire County Record Office (Warwick), The National Archives (London), and the university's own Modern Records Centre. He has visited the site on several occasions, and sourced and coordinated the illustrations in this volume. Alex's study of manorial records has uncovered new evidence of court cases relating to medieval Cryfield, including theft and two murders. His research further underlines the distinction that must be made, for most of the Grange's history, between its owners and actual residents. He has, moreover, corrected some persistent notions about Cryfield, such as the idea—going back to the medieval, Warwick-born chronicler John Rous—that by the fifteenth century Cryfield was mostly deserted, except for the Grange itself. Previously untapped local newspaper databases and census records and the incorporation of Frank Lowe's memories have yielded a much more detailed insight into life at Cryfield during

the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lizzie Morrison identified relevant holdings for us in the Modern Records Centre, and assisted with the digitization of selected materials, such as the 1997 and 1999 undergraduate dissertations mentioned earlier, which may be of interest to future researchers. The Modern Records Centre also digitized an old video copy of a forgotten, 13-minute film on the workings of Cryfield House Farm by J. B. Rice, dating back to 1968. Closely following the progress of Alex's researches and chairing the group's meetings, I provided some additional bibliographical, pictorial and contextual material: the latter has led, most visibly, to the summaries and illustrative vignettes intercalated into Alex's detailed account.

The fabric of the house—its stones, bricks and mortar, timberwork and carpentry, its windows old and new—also tells the story of Cryfield Grange, complementing and sometimes correcting and challenging the documentary evidence. Dr Nat Alcock and James Edgar have reinvestigated its existing structural, architectural and artistic features. Dr Jenny Alexander's student team (Fenella Thornton-Kemsley, Jinhee Park and Jun Wang) carried out an archaeological assessment of the vaulted cellar, and for the first time ever an independent dendrochronological examination was conducted by Dr Martin Bridges (Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory). In broad lines, their reports confirm that the 'nucleus' of the house as it stands today appears to go back to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and that it incorporates earlier elements. Significant improvements likely took place in the first half of the eighteenth century, the 1870s, and around the mid-nineteenth century. Most of the building was also re-roofed in the nineteenth century, reusing some older timbers. Following planning approval, the house was split into two dwellings in 1964; a swimming pool enclosure was added in 1984, and a porch added and further refurbishment carried out in 2009, after the house had passed into university ownership.¹

Relevant details and illustrations of these findings have been absorbed into the present study.

Throughout the project, we have met with enthusiasm and interest in Cryfield Grange, and a spontaneous sharing of information. How delighted Alex and I were to meet groundsman Dave Graham whilst on an exploration of the gardens and brook near Cryfield Grange: a former student of Stephen Hill, Dave had taken part in the archaeological explorations of the Cryfield mill dam. Nat Alcock has been especially generous with his time and expertise, whilst his and Jenny Alexander's sense for precision quashed any ahistorical notions about the Grange any of us might have entertained. Katie Klaassen, Carly Hegenbarth (Research and Impact Services), Lucy Horrocks (Engagement Coordinator, External Affairs) and Sarah Shalgosky (The Mead Gallery) helped us think 'outside the box', about audiences, forms and presentations. The librarians and archivists at the Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive, the National Archives and the Warwickshire County Record Office were unfailingly helpful in furthering our research. We also express our gratitude to the Vice-Chancellor Stuart Croft and his office, Professor Giorgio Riello, John Burden and Tina Hoare of the Institute of Advanced Study and the many colleagues from the Estates Office for facilitating access to the premises, and trust that any inconveniences have been kept to a minimum. The project was funded by the University of Warwick's Estates Office.

Inevitably, the research carried out over the past eight months has not been exhaustive, nor was it intended to be. Other than the dendrochronological samples, no invasive

forms of investigation were undertaken. Similarly, we have not carried out any new ecological, resistivity or other archaeological assessments of the grounds. The Grange possesses a sizeable garden with a man-made ornamental pond, a tennis court, patios, and particularly the remains of a long stone wall which may yield further archaeological insights. The Cryfield Grange researchers are nonetheless confident that, thanks to this new account, any future work on the property and grounds will be carried out with due sympathy for its history and charm. Cryfield Grange, after all, is so much more than an old house.

Professor Ingrid De Smet

Director, Centre for the Study of the Renaissance
Academic coordinator, Cryfield Grange Project (2017)

Chapter 1: Medieval Cryfield (c. 1150 – 1500)

For most of the later middle ages Cryfield Grange was a possession of Stoneleigh Abbey (a Cistercian house). Our knowledge of it derives mainly from sources preserved by the monastery, especially the fourteenth-century *Stoneleigh Leger Book*, which combines a chronicle of the abbey with the records of its properties. Before the monks were granted the manor of Stoneleigh in the reign of Henry II, the manor, including Cryfield Grange and the lands encompassing it, belonged to the crown. According to the *Leger Book*, the Stoneleigh lands contained two mansions: one in the town of Stoneleigh and the other in Cryfield. The latter had six virgates of land (180 acres).² It was apparently a very ancient estate, and a leading social historian of medieval England, R. H. Hilton, claimed that ‘the oldest centres of arable farming in the Stoneleigh soke (district) were in the Avon and Sowe valleys, around Cryfield.’³

Stoneleigh Abbey was initially known as the Abbey of Radmore, founded in the reign of King Stephen (c. 1092-1154). The first location of their house in Cannock Forest proved unsuitable, because the monks were constantly harassed by foresters. As a result, they petitioned the Empress Matilda, the wife of Henry I, for a new endowment. They eventually moved to Stoneleigh in the reign of Henry II, probably in 1155 or 1156. The *Leger Book* mentions that the monks initially settled at Cryfield Grange, expelling to Hurst those already inhabiting the grange. They may have chosen the site of the present-day Oak Tree Cottage (just to the west of Cryfield Grange) for their settlement.⁴ But because they were too close to a public road, the monks decided to move again, establishing a permanent residence at Stoneleigh, near the confluence of the Sow and Avon rivers.⁵ Henry II’s foundation charter conferred ‘dominium’ (the lordship) of the land on the monastery, but did not explicitly exclude the exercise of royal authority over the manor’s courts and the levying of service payments. To free the monastic estates from royal interference, Abbot William of Tyso bought the whole soke of Stoneleigh in 1204, thus exempting the manor from the king’s usual exactions from his tenants.⁶

Cryfield – What is in a name?

Cryfield Grange and its surrounding lands have lent their name to Cryfield Grange Road, some 3.3 miles to the South West of Coventry city centre. This street links Kenilworth Road—the impressively straight yet leafy access road to Coventry and itself a registered conservation area—to the more winding, and decidedly rural, Crackley Lane.

The Cryfield name also echoes in the late twentieth-century, suburban development of Cryfield Heights (leading to Little Cryfield), off Gibbet Hill Road. On the university campus itself, there are the student residences of Cryfield Village and the Cryfield Cottages for staff and families. The Cryfield Sports Pavilion lies next to the university’s cricket, football, lacrosse, and rugby pitches, created on farmland that once belonged to Cryfield Grange, or from the late seventeenth century onwards, to the separate farmstead of Cryfield House Farm. Some Warwick alumni from 1979-1989 may remember Cryfield’s Milking Parlour as a student pub; it now serves a more sedate purpose as a music room. The all but forgotten locations of Cryfield Dam and Cryfield Pool (a fishing pond) now only

resonate with the greatest aficionados of the area's history. Nevertheless, the twentieth-century house names of Abbotsvale and Priors Croft in Cryfield Grange Road maintain a nod toward Cryfield's monastic past.

Student lore persistently links Cryfield to nearby Gibbet Hill. However, the name of Warwick's Gibbet Hill dates from the eighteenth century. In *Foul Deeds and Suspicious Deaths in Coventry* (2004), the historian David McGrory recounts how in 1765 Edward Drury, Robert Lesley and Moses Baker were hung for murder on Stoneleigh Common 'by the Three Mile Stone'; their bodies, clothed in metal suits, were exhibited on the gibbet as a deterrent—for 45 years! Even the site's previous designation as Gallow Hill (going back to at least the sixteenth century) appears to postdate Cryfield.

Indeed, the various historical spellings of Cryfield as Croilesfelda or Crulefeld already led the seventeenth-century antiquarian William Dugdale to suppose an Anglo-Saxon root; Dugdale thought it referred to the name of the first owner of the field. Twentieth-century etymologists of English place-names suggest the first part of the toponym derives from the Old English word 'creowel', a fork in a river or a road. The same word also occurs in Croughton and Crowley.



Illustration 1: Gatehouse to Stoneleigh Abbey (Originally a monastic guesthouse in the late 1200s) Photographed by Alex Russell on 30/7/2017.

Cryfield as a Cistercian Grange

Cistercian granges were farms which provided food and rental income to the monks.⁷ When people in the middle ages referred to Cryfield Grange, they could mean either the

grange house itself, or the house along with the lands attached to it. It is very difficult to know precisely how the grange house at Cryfield was used by Stoneleigh Abbey. Some Cistercian houses arranged granges as monastic farms, partly staffed by the monks themselves and partly by lay helpers.⁸ In their desperation to flee the corruption of the world around them, some of the first English Cistercians settled at remote sites, evicting the peasants who might already be living there.⁹ When monks were housed in a grange, they sought to uphold the spiritual life of the community by constructing chapels and dining halls.¹⁰ But Cistercian granges were not necessarily either remote or inhabited by the brothers. There was very little standardisation, and granges could be located in a range of topographies, from mountainous country to estuarine islands.¹¹

Recent work has stressed that the lands first acquired by Cistercian houses had often already been settled and cultivated before the Cistercians took over.¹² There is no evidence that any community of Cistercian monks lived in the house at Cryfield Grange. Unfortunately, the surviving sources do not describe the layout of the grange house and make hardly any mention of construction work. Stoneleigh Abbey assumed the ownership of a working Norman manor, with its farming land and peasants, but it probably made efforts to improve agriculture and introduce new technology.¹³ The *Leger Book* tells us, for example, that a mill was built at Cryfield by several abbots, monks and lay brothers and sisters.¹⁴ We will discuss the mill later in the chapter. First, however, we must examine the abbey's tenants, whose activities at Cryfield Grange are generally better documented than the work of the monks themselves.

What is a grange?

The word 'grange' is derived from the Old French *grange*, via the Medieval Latin *granica* (*villa*). It designated a granary, a barn for storing grain, or other agricultural products, but would also refer to the whole farm. During the Middle Ages, the Cistercian monastic order established a system of outlying granges or farm holdings that allowed the monks to operate a self-sufficient economy in their houses.

In the early sixteenth century, the French equivalents which John Palsgrave proposes for 'grange' in *Lesclarcissement de la langue Francoyse* (1530), a Tudor manual explaining French grammar to English speakers, hint at a small, rural community: 'Graunge or a lytell Thorpe [village], hameau [i.e., 'hamlet']. Graunge, *petit uillage* ['small village']'. This notion did apply to Cryfield Grange for parts of its history.

By the eighteenth century, a grange mostly indicated 'a large Farm furnished with Barns, Granaries, Stables, and all Conveniences for Husbandry; also a Farm-House' (Nathan Bailey's *Dictionary Britannicum*, 1730), a definition that is concordant with Richard Neve's guide for builders, *The City and Country Purchaser* of 1703.

At the same time, there developed some emphasis on the isolated character of the grange: Henry Cockeram's *English dictionarie* of 1623 speaks of 'a lone house in the Countrey, a Village', whilst the celebrated lexicographer Samuel Johnson specified that a grange was 'generally a farm with a house at a distance from neighbours' (*A Dictionary of the English Language*, 1755).

Victorian novelists relished the remote character of a grange: think of Thrushcross Grange, owned by Heathcliff and leased to Mr Lockwood in Emily Brönte's *Wuthering Heights*, of Tipton Grange in George Elliott's *Middlemarch* or of the 'sequestered home' and 'crumbling', 'old grange' that is Moor House in Charlotte Brontë's *Jayne Eyre* (cf. Daniel Pool, *What Jane Austen Ate and Charles Dickens Knew: From Fox Hunting to Whist—the Facts of Daily Life in 19th-Century England*, 1993). Similarly, the poet Alfred Tennyson implored the soul of his departed friend Arthur Henry Hallam (d. 1833) to return to him 'When summer's hourly-mellowing change | May breathe, with many roses sweet, | Upon the thousand waves of wheat, | That ripple round the lonely grange; ...' (*In Memoriam A. H. H.*, completed 1849).

But how far removed was the thriving post-Medieval farm of Cryfield Grange, with its (likely long-wooled) sheep, brewing and cheese manufacturing, from Ben Jonson's (d. 1637) foolish inheritor 'of an unlucky old *Grange*!' Like his model in Plautus's *Trinummus*, the unwise granger is given to list its flaws rather than its virtues to future buyers: '*Nothing* ever thriv'd on it (saith he). *No Owner* of it, ever dyed in his bed; ... the trees were all blasted; the Swine dyed of the *Measils*, the Cattell of the *Murrein* [a pestilent disease], the Sheepe of the Rot: they that stood, were ragg'd, bare, and bald as your hand; nothing was ever rear'd there; not a Duckling, or a Goose...' *(Timber, or Discoveries made upon men and matter...)*. That said, Alex Russell's research (see pp. 21–2) shows that in the fourteenth century Cryfield was the scene of two murders...

The abbey and the tenants

Stoneleigh Abbey's tenants possessed a relatively high degree of freedom. When a royal survey of the counties, the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, was made in 1280, it noted that only seven out of Stoneleigh's two hundred tenants were of villein (unfree) status. In practice, however, as R. H. Hilton noted, the duties owed by the villeins to the abbey were very similar to those required of the bulk of their nominally free neighbours.¹⁵ Most of the tenants held their lands for life, some at will, and all owed a money rent and a few days of labour service to the abbey, principally at the autumn harvest. There were about thirty or forty privileged tenants, or sokemen, who were obliged to manage the abbey's court held at harvest time (the so-called bederepe court) and were also responsible for collecting communal fines and for maintaining law and order as the manor's constables. All those sokemen holding thirty acres of land had to pay the abbey thirty pennies yearly at its court. Much about the daily existence of the abbey's tenants is obscure to us, but a record of the customs of Stoneleigh abbey reveals something of the relationship between monks and tenants. The lesser tenants were required to pay a fine collectively twice per year to a local court, named the view of frankpledge. The sokemen also had to pay heriot, a form of death-duty, to the lord, usually in the form of their best beast or their best possession if they had no stock. In addition, all the tenants were liable to pay a tenth part of all their goods to the abbey at those times when the king exacted tallage from his own towns and manors.¹⁶ Some of the privileges conferred on the sokemen were the enjoyment of estover (a supply of wood) and pannage (food for their swine) in the woods belonging to Stoneleigh Abbey. In addition, all the men of Cryfield had to supply the abbey annually with one stone of wax at the feast of St Michael (29 September) in return for the use of twelve acres of waste.¹⁷ The wax was used by the monks at Stoneleigh to make candles for church ceremonies and indicates that the medieval inhabitants of Cryfield were beekeepers (as they certainly were in the seventeenth century).



Illustration 2: A peasant sowing (Fourteenth century)
Luttrell Psalter, British Library, Add MS 42130, fol. 170v. © The British Library Board

The *Stoneleigh Leger Book* provides detailed rules for the annual harvest. All tenants of the lord and the subtenants of the sokemen were to come to the harvest with their sickles to reap the lord's grain. The sokemen were to oversee proceedings with their rods and were to present and fine those who did bad work. Any absent subtenants were to be fined. All the reapers were to arrive at daybreak and work until sunset. They were to bring lunch with them, but the lord would provide them with food and drink at dinner. This consisted of a small loaf of white bread made of wheat, four eggs and a gruel cooked without meat. The sokemen would be provided with better fare according to their status.¹⁸ It is difficult to know how widely attended these harvests were in the early history of Stoneleigh manor. By the fifteenth century most of the tenants who were supposed to attend the harvest were routinely absent and fined accordingly.

Expansion and plague at Cryfield Grange

Let us turn our attention to Cryfield Grange in particular and survey the changes to land occupancy over time. The *Stoneleigh Leger Book* names the fields surrounding Cryfield Grange as Dallefeld, Hurstfeld, Mulnefeld (Mill Field), Parkfeld (Park Field) and Cotefurlonge.¹⁹ Thanks to a survey map of 1766 (Illustration 5), we can see the location of Park Field and Mill Field in relation to the present grange house. According to R.H. Hilton, 'the tenants' holdings, as one would expect in so old a settlement, consisted partly of open field land... but severalities are prominent as well, though unfortunately the acreage of tofts, crofts, separate fields, and wastes is not given.'²⁰ In other words, mixed farming was practised at Cryfield: there would have been a concentration of arable strips being worked by the plough, with livestock grazing taking place on fallow fields or in enclosed pastures. The sources are silent about the kinds of crops grown in Cryfield. Studies have shown that in the Avon oats may have constituted between a third and a half of the cultivated area, with wheat and barley also important.²¹ As we shall see, there is evidence of dairy farming and cheese-making in Cryfield in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and it is likely that they were cultivated in the medieval period as well. Certainly, the tenants at Cryfield never seem to have been short of cows to pay as heriot.

The sources give us an impression of a flourishing estate in the period from the twelfth to the mid-fourteenth century. The numbers of inhabitants increased from 1280, when five householders were registered at Cryfield, to 1305, when sixteen people were taxed.²² These figures only supply the numbers of heads of households, not the total number of men, women and children living at Cryfield, but they are indicative of the increases in the general population. It may be the case that the 1280 survey left off smaller landholders who were included in the 1305 list, but it seems, nonetheless, that there had been an extension of settlement over the period. Remarkably, even after the depredations of the Black Death, the abbey's rentals in Cryfield were worth more than ten times in 1392 what they had been in 1280. This was at a time when the value of rentals were declining elsewhere. R.H. Hilton thinks that the augmentation in value of the lands at Cryfield, and Stoneleigh more generally, was a result of the rapid extension of the cultivated land in the Arden woodland to supply nearby Coventry's growing demand for produce.²³



Illustration 3: A water mill (Fourteenth century)
Luttrell Psalter. British Library, Add MS 42130, fol. 181r. © The British Library Board

The mill at Cryfield was a sign of the area's economic dynamism. As mentioned above, the monks from Stoneleigh appear to have assumed a driving role in its construction. A charter made by King John in 1203-4 mentions a dam at Cryfield which was probably intended to supply the mill with hydraulic power, as pictured in Illustration 3.²⁴ The damming of rivers also produced fishponds, as they did at Kenilworth from c. 1175 onwards.²⁵ In contrast to the fishponds – discussed at the end of the chapter – references to the mill at Cryfield are scarce. In 1364 it was held by Nicholas Lichefeld, Henry Pype, William Stokton, John Bray, Thomas Blacohale, John Filongle, Richard Ymayn and Roger Stok along with the manor of Millburn.²⁶ We also know that the miller at Cryfield was fined four pence in 1390 for charging too high a toll.²⁷ It is not clear, however, whether the mill was used to grind grain or to beat wool to prepare it for the production of textiles (fulling). Some medieval mills could perform both functions.²⁸ A deed of 1545 specifies that a fulling mill was situated at Cryfield.²⁹ Whatever its original function, the mill was probably used for fulling by the fifteenth century. At this time sheep farming was becoming more prevalent in the area and demand for finished wool in Coventry was growing. Fulling was used to felt and thicken woollen cloth. First the wool was washed in a mixture of water and urine to remove grease and salts. After it had been rinsed, the wool was dried on a frame and beaten with sticks to open the texture. The woollen fibres were worked into an even layer by carders. Fulling involved beating the cloth so that the fibres held together. In the early middle ages the woollen cloth was trampled by foot, but engineering innovations of the eleventh century enabled this process to be performed by wooden mallets in a mill. The power was provided by a water wheel attached to the mill.³⁰ Thanks to the research

of M.J. Spendlove, we know that the probable location of the mill was at Gatebridge (see Gatebridge Meadow on Illustration 5).³¹ By 1581 the steward of Stoneleigh, John Fryar, mentioned that the fulling mill was 'decayed' and by 1697 it was gone.³²



Illustration 4: Walls of the medieval mill dam at Cryfield. Photographed in 1947
Coventry History Centre, CCG/CG/1/371/5.

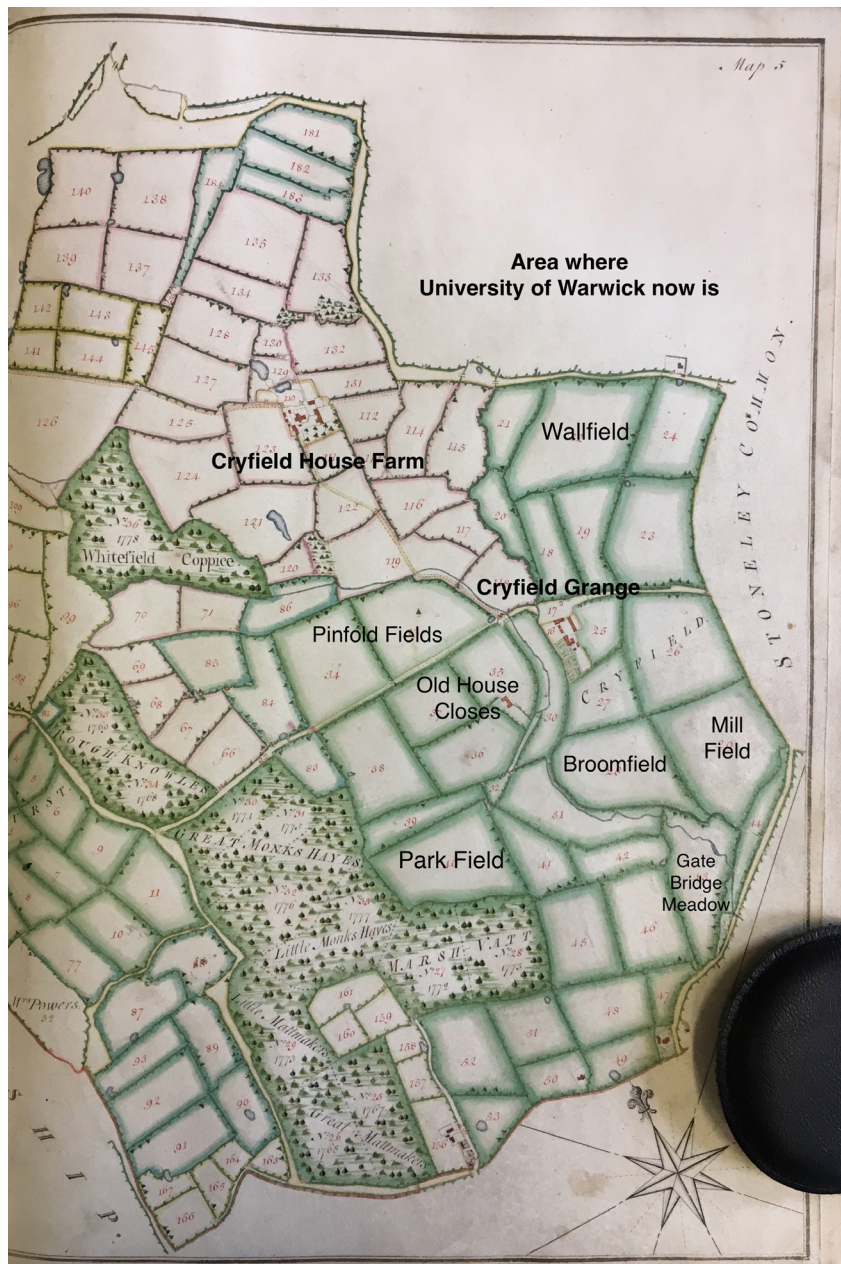


Illustration 5: 1766 Survey of Stoneleigh Manor and Parish by Matthias Baker SCLA, DR 671/30a. Map 5.



Illustration 6: Picture of peasants harvesting (Fourteenth century) British Library, Add MS 42130, fol. 172v. © The British Library Board

The Black Death, which swept across Europe from 1348 onwards, caused significant depopulation at Cryfield. A comparison of a list of those liable for tallage in 1305, i.e. before the Black Death, and the 1379 poll tax record gives some indication of the damage inflicted by the plague. In 1305 sixteen householders were taxed, whereas in 1379 the number was only seven.³³ Some families are identifiable across the period, though the records only present superficial points of contrast, as female paths of inheritance are, of course, obscured by the loss of maiden names at marriage. Richard Dadeley (alias Daddale or Dadle) of Canley, who possessed goods worth fifteen shillings in 1305, was probably related to Andrew and John Dadeley of Cryfield and William Dadeley of Canley who were liable for the poll tax in 1379. The Dadeley family apparently took advantage of the economic opportunities created by the Black Death: after 1349 John Dadeley and his wife Alice took possession of the chief tenement once occupied by Robert le Heyr and left vacant by the death of his two sons in the first wave of plague.³⁴ Other continuities are apparent in the post-plague era: William Thornhale of Cryfield, who was taxed in 1305, was almost certainly the ancestor of Richard Thornhale, who was present there in 1379. Indeed, the Thornhale family were chief tenants in Cryfield as late as 1551.³⁵ This was a remarkable survival over a period when the disintegration and alienation of family estates was taking place constantly: if one compares the names of Warwickshire lords of the manor in 1349 and 1520 one will find that 80% of the names have changed over the period.³⁶ Similarly, a majority of the names listed in Cryfield and its surroundings in 1305 are not present on the poll tax register of 1379. This may be explained primarily by the deaths caused by the plague, but we should also recognise that the survivors of the plague were more likely than ever before to move elsewhere to take advantage of better rental terms, larger and more fertile plots or higher wages for agricultural labour.³⁷

Thomas Pype and Cryfield Grange

One of the only people known to have inhabited Cryfield Grange during the middle ages was Thomas Pype, Abbot of Stoneleigh from 1352 to 1381, who was also known as Thomas of Weston.³⁸ Pype was responsible for compiling the abbey's records into the *Stoneleigh Leger Book*. He was a controversial head of house, whose sexual misconduct and self-interested stewardship of the monastery's estates caused great friction with his brethren. He was summoned to the court of King's Bench in Westminster in 1364 on charges of alienating the abbey's property. The ensuing enquiry revealed that Thomas had given his concubine, Isabel Heynes of Beausale in Warwickshire, and their eldest son, John, the use of some of the abbey's lands in Finham free of rent. Finham was not far to the



Illustration 7: A Cistercian monk
New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, MS M. 359 fol. 131r.

east of Cryfield. His fellow monks alleged that Pype had fathered more children by Isabel than there were monks at Stoneleigh! Pype refuted the charge that he had alienated the abbey's lands without charging rent, but did not deny his relations with Isabel.³⁹ The court case was a reflection of Pype's unpopularity and it apparently led to his deposition in the same year. After he had been removed, the administration of the abbey's estates was given to two wardens to avoid further mismanagement. The former abbot remained a thorn in Stoneleigh's side, however, and was accused of organising raiding parties on the abbey in 1366. Remarkably, Pype must have retained the support of a large enough faction at Stoneleigh to secure his re-election in 1372, but he had retired again by 1382.⁴⁰ Shortly before that time the abbey had given him the use of Cryfield Grange for life.⁴¹

Enclosure and fifteenth-century decline

Stagnation appears to have set in across the fifteenth century. The Warwickshire antiquarian John Rous, writing in 1486, claimed that in his day Cryfield had become severely depopulated owing to enclosure, i.e. the fencing-off of arable land in order to create pasture for sheep-farming.⁴² Although its economic effects are now the subject of dispute, many contemporaries believed that enclosure damaged the countryside, as fewer hands were required per acre to maintain sheep farms and so humble, hard-working ploughmen were driven off the land. Landowners in the areas surrounding Cryfield were certainly guilty of this: John Smith was accused of having fenced off one hundred acres of arable land in Fletchamstead in 1493 in order to graze his livestock. In the process, he had put four ploughs out of service and made twenty-six people homeless.⁴³ With regard to Cryfield, John Rous claimed that whereas there had been twelve tenants there in the reign of Edward I, in 1486 it consisted of one grange.⁴⁴ This comment is difficult to interpret. Several historians have taken it to mean that there was mass depopulation at Cryfield.⁴⁵ A more nuanced reading of Rous's comment would conclude that in the thirteenth century twelve tenants worked the lands attached to Cryfield Grange, even if they did not inhabit the monastic grange house itself, whereas by 1486 only the inhabitants of the grange house were tenants. The titular tenants of the grange might have possessed any number of subtenants, whose identities are concealed from us. Rous's claim was, in any case, exaggerated. The abbey's rental records tell us that in 1467 Robert Thornhale and John Savage's wife were tenants at Cryfield and in 1488 there were still two tenants there: John Thornhale and Henry Mill.⁴⁶ We also have evidence of two substantial houses in Cryfield in the 1430s, belonging to William Stalworth and Thomas Beele (for whom more below). These hitherto unacknowledged facts from the manorial records should prevent us from jumping to an extreme conclusion about depopulation at Cryfield.

Rous's comments may still indicate that there had been a drastic decline in agricultural activity at fifteenth-century Cryfield, even by comparison with the decades following the Black Death. The strategy of turning arable land to pasture was a threat to the livelihoods of Cryfield ploughmen and women that endured into the early modern period. Two of the main tenants at Cryfield, Henry Porter and James Cruse, were presented to the manor court in 1540 for allowing the two plough teams that had traditionally worked the land to fall into disuse. It appears that Henry Porter had conveyed the land to a gentleman, William Rainsford, who had converted the arable land to pasture and had illegally allowed his sheep to graze on Dadley Heath.⁴⁷ Such economic changes may have contributed to the depopulation of Cryfield in the fifteenth century and slowed any demographic resurgence.

Estimating the population of medieval Cryfield is difficult owing to the omissions of the rental records. As already mentioned, the chief tenants (often the only ones listed in medieval rental documents) may have leased portions of their lands to any numbers of subtenants and may have employed several labourers. One of Robert Thornhale's subtenants in 1434, for example, was William Stalworth, who held one curtilage (a yard), two tofts (homesteads), cottages and half a virgate of land, i.e. 15 acres, in the common fields of Cryfield.⁴⁸ We happen to know this because Stalworth mentioned it when paying heriot in the manor court, but there must have been many like him whose bonds to other tenants are not so clearly documented. Another resident of Cryfield at this date was Thomas Beele, who in 1438 held two and a half yardlands at Cryfield with a three-bay house and a four-bay barn.⁴⁹ Most of the inhabitants of Cryfield registered in the tax rolls of 1305 and 1379 were not listed as the abbey's tenants in rental documents and thus either held land from the chief tenants or were landless.⁵⁰ It is also difficult to determine how many of the tenants actually lived at Cryfield. Some of them did not. Indeed, John Savage, a citizen of Coventry, owned lands in Cryfield in 1455 and even rented a portion of them to another Coventry townsman, John Imayn.⁵¹ It seems that Savage was more actively involved in civic life in Coventry than as an overseer of his plots at Cryfield: municipal records show that he was a councillor to the mayor in August 1456 and welcomed Edward IV to Coventry in 1461.⁵² Savage's widow was, as we have seen, still in possession of his lands in 1467. It is possible that the Savage family lived primarily in Coventry rather than in Cryfield. More commonly, residents in other villages within the Stoneleigh manor rented or made use of lands in Cryfield. Up till 1307 Robert Wynryche of Stoneleigh had, for example, enjoyed housebote, i.e. the privilege of taking wood from an estate, at Monkeshay and an enclosure next to Cryfield mill.⁵³

Disorder and the abbey

Alongside the dry details of the manorial records, judicial sources expose traces of social disorder in medieval Cryfield. These sources have not been utilised in previous histories of Cryfield and they shed new light on social relations in the locality. In October 1377, Adam Attellogge from Kenilworth was killed at Cryfield mill. Twelve witnesses swore under oath to the coroner that Adam had been murdered by an unknown stranger.⁵⁴ Five years later, William Payn of Kenilworth was allegedly murdered by John Hernest and one of his servants in consort with William's wife, Alice.⁵⁵ Unfortunately the sources are silent about the motives for these killings and we do not know whether any of the accused parties were convicted and punished. It is interesting that two residents of Kenilworth should have been in Cryfield when they met their unfortunate ends: an indication of the mobility of those living within Stoneleigh manor and the social bonds that reached across village boundaries.

Relations between the abbey and the residents of the manor were not always warm. Desperate for money, Abbot Thomas Pype alienated certain lands to new tenants in April 1380 for the duration of their lifetimes, and this appears to have angered many of the abbey's pre-existing tenants. The abbot's enemies broke into the abbey and seized cattle, books, chalices, vestments and jewels and otherwise vandalised the buildings.⁵⁶ Perhaps the older tenants had been ousted by the newer non-resident landlords, mainly gentry or Coventry merchants, or they may have been forced to pay higher rents. The disturbance in 1380 was followed by others. In February 1381, a few months before the explosive summer of the Peasants' Uprising, John Kibbeclif, a miller, and John and Roger Fisher of Leamington were presented to the assize court in Warwick for having broken into the cloisters of Stoneleigh Abbey and stolen fish to the value of £10 whilst threatening the abbot that they would take his life and burn his house down. In June the next year, John Walsyngham of Kenilworth and Ralph Cokelerpleyer of Warwick stole a horse worth more than twenty shillings from the abbot.⁵⁷ These thefts probably indicate restiveness towards the abbot's management of his estates at a time of enormous social unrest.⁵⁸ Of all those named in the cases involving murder and disruption, only John and Roger Fisher are mentioned elsewhere in the records.⁵⁹ The fact that none of the other names occur in the *Stoneleigh Leger Book* or the taxation records suggest that they were humbler members of Stoneleigh manor, who were either landless or rented land from the wealthier peasants. Unfortunately, we don't know how the accused were punished for their actions, or if they were given a sentence at all.

Sustaining natural resources at Cryfield

There is plenty of evidence that those who owned lands in Cryfield were concerned about how best to manage their natural resources. The common fields were of great value to the farmers living in Cryfield, as elsewhere, because they allowed them to provide pasture to their livestock. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that manorial custom forbade anyone to let pigs onto the commons for fear that they would tear up the earth.⁶⁰ The manorial courts in Stoneleigh are full of presentments of those who disobeyed this ruling.⁶¹



Illustration 8: Peasants herding hogs
British Library, Add. MS 18851, fol. 6r. © The British Library Board

A concern for the conservation of natural assets is also apparent in the fishing rights accorded by the abbey to Thomas Gelwarde of Kenilworth in 1488 for twenty years at Cryfield Pool. This was probably the same fishing pool called 'Neyercrulfeldpol' (Nether Cryfield Pool) by the *Stoneleigh Leger Book* in 1384 and rented along with the mill.⁶² The pool was clearly man-made and had presumably been created when the stream leading from the mill to Gate Bridge (at the end of Gate Bridge Meadow, shown on Illustration 5) had been dammed up.⁶³ A picture of the dam walls can be seen in Illustration 4. The medieval rental makes reference to Thomas's duty to keep the pool in good repair and to

maintain the floodgates attached to it. In return for the right to take fish from the pool, he would pay the abbey thirteen shillings and four pence, as well as a plate full of fish, every year. Significantly, the rental stipulates that Thomas should release twice a year into the pool three bream and thirteen tench of six inches in length, one measure of perch and roach and forty pairs of tench of four inches.⁶⁴ A recipe of 1381 described how a tench could be fried with olive oil.⁶⁵ Some later commentators considered the tench a base, tasteless and unwholesome fish, but in the middle ages it was consumed by the upper classes, and was served at the table of the bishop of Hereford in 1289.⁶⁶

How to cook fish in the early seventeenth century

Additions for dressing of Fish. To souce any fresh fish.

Take any fresh-fish whatsoever (as Pike, Breame, Carp, Barbel, Cheain, and such like), and draw it, but scale it not; then take the Liver and the refuse, and having opened it, wash it; then take a pottle of faire water, a pretty quantitie of white wine, good store of Salt, and some Vinegar, with a little bunch of sweet Hearbs, and set it on the fier (fire), and as soone as it begins to boyle, put in your fish, and having boild a little, take it up into a faire vessel, then put into the liquor some grosse *Pepper*, and slit *Ginger*; and when it is boyled well together with more Salt, set it by to coole, and then put your fish into it, and when you serve it up, lay *Fennell* there upon.

...

To bake a Carpe.

After you have drawne, washt and scalded a faire large Carpe, season it with *Pepper*, *Salt* and *Nutmeg*, and then put it into a coffin with good store of sweet *Butter*, and then cast on *Raysins* of the Sunne, the iuyce of *Lemons*, and some slices of *Orenge* pills (peal); and then sprinkling on a little Vinegar, close it and bake it.

To bake a Tench.

First, let your Tench blood in the tayle, then scower it, wash it and scald it: then having dried it, take the fine crummes of bread, sweet Creame, the yelkes of Egges, *Currants* cleane washt, a few sweete Hearbs chopt small, season it with *Nutmegs* and *Pepper*, and make it into a stiffe paste, and put it into the belly of the Tench: then season the fish on the outside with *Pepper*, *Salt* and *Nutmeg*, and so put it into a deepe coffin with sweete *Butter*, and so close up the pie and bake it: then when it is enough, draw it, and open it, and put into a good piece of a preserved *Orenge* minst (mince): then take *Vinegar*, *Nutmeg*, *Butter*, *Suger*, and the yelke (yolk) of a new-laid Egge, and boyle it on a Chaffing-dish and coals, alwaies stirring it to keep it from curding; then power it into the pie, shake it well, and so serve it up.

From Gervase Markham's *Countrie Contentments, or the English Huswife: containing the Inward and Outward Vertues which ought to be in a Compleate Woman*, first published 1615 (London, 1623), pp. 92-94

The abbey was rightly concerned about the risk of over-fishing. Historians of medieval fishing have determined that stocks of English riverine fish were dramatically depleted by the end of the thirteenth century through human consumption and environmental

changes caused by human settlement. On the basis of fish bones preserved in medieval archaeological sites, researchers have determined that from the year 1000 onwards, and especially from 1200, there was a marked switch to sea fish in English diets, probably as a result of the strains placed on fresh-water stocks.⁶⁷ As more and more forested land was converted into arable fields a number of environmental changes were unleashed which adversely affected fish populations. Ploughed fields caused rainwater to run off faster than forested area, in turn eroding stream beds and causing more erratic water flows which hampered the reproduction of many kinds of lotic fish adapted to life in fast-flowing streams. The damming of streams for mills and the creation of smaller watercourses for irrigation and sewerage prevented migratory fish species from returning to their spawning grounds. Most damagingly of all, the acceleration of urban growth from the twelfth century onwards produced a huge demand for fish which put freshwater stocks under enormous pressure.⁶⁸ As a reaction to a deteriorating situation, Stoneleigh Abbey's attempt to conserve its natural resources can be paralleled with efforts across Europe to regulate fishing through proscribing certain types of nets and limiting the times of year at which fishing could take place.⁶⁹

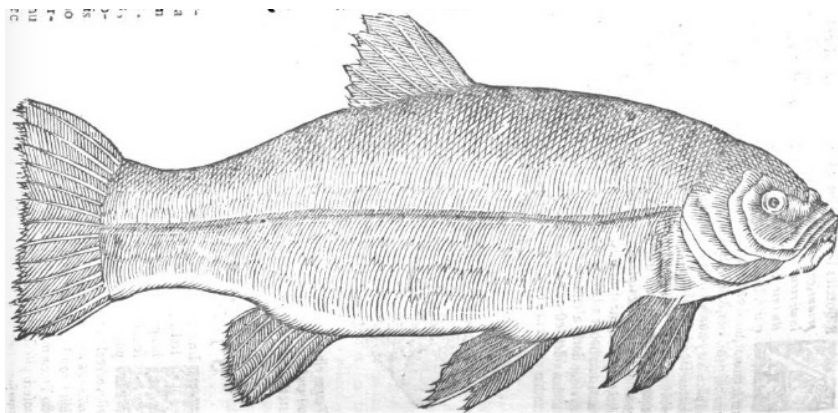


Illustration 9: A tench
Ulisse Aldrovandi and Johannes Cornelius, *De Piscibus libri V...* (Bologna, 1638), p. 646.
Image courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

Chapter 2: Cryfield Grange (1500-1800)

The history of Cryfield Grange house as it currently stands begins in the early modern period. It is not entirely clear whether the present structure is situated on the same site as the medieval grange house and incorporates architectural features of the medieval building, such as smoke-blackened beams and medieval tracery on the window heads, or whether it was laid on new foundations, reusing some older materials from other sites (see Appendix 2 below). The fact that the sixteenth-century grange was surrounded by the same fields as the monastic grange strongly suggests, however, that it occupied the same site. A recent architectural analysis of the grange by James Edgar confirms the supposition that the early modern structure, including the two-storey tower of around 1600, 'incorporates parts of an earlier medieval window.'⁷⁰



Two surveys of the fabric of the house which date its structural changes are found in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 of this document.

Illustration 10: Tracery window head at Cryfield Grange
Photographed on 22/2/2017 by N. W. Alcock

Illustration 11: Seventeenth-century bay window
Photographed on 22/2/2017 by N.W. Alcock

After the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the grange became the property of the crown and Henry VIII sold it to Robert Boucher of Twickenham (d. 1556) in October 1538. The house, gardens, adjacent fields and dwellings were said to amount to an acre and a half and included orchards and dovecotes. In addition, the grange possessed 430 acres of pasture in the following fields: Wallfield, the Hobbes, Leyfields, Whitefield, Pottersfield, Rough Knowles, Smooth Knowles, Monks Hayes, Park Field and Mattmakers. Some of these field names are visible on the survey of the area produced in 1766 (See Illustration 5). Twenty-three acres of pastures were also attached to the Grange in a field named Black Waste on the western side of Westwood Heath. The property deed transferring the land to Boucher also mentioned that Mill Field contained thirty acres of arable land.



Whitefield Grove, Rough Knowles, Monks Hay, Black Waste, Welshemens Waste and Bordalles are described as woods and assessed at forty-eight acres.⁷¹

The surveys of Cryfield Grange in the seventeenth century help us to determine how the estate was divided up, even if there are some elusive references. A rental document of 1606 mentions two messuages (dwellings) within the lands surrounding the grange house, one 'late in the tenure of Stephen Willson' next to Park Fields.⁷² These two messuages were presumably separate from the grange house. This supposition is confirmed by Thomas Bankes's survey of 1638, which mentions three houses at Cryfield. One was a 'mansion house, orchard, yards and garden with the grounds about the same sometimes compassed about with a stone wall'. This was surely the ancestor of the present grange house. There is also a mention of Stephen Wilson's 'old house'. The 1766 estate map reveals the location of the 'Old House Closes', so the house itself must have been in their vicinity (see p. 18). The third inhabitation was a 'house and garden wherein Stephen Willson sometimes dwelt'. This house is difficult to place. An indenture (property deed) in 1661 mentions two dwellings: one was near Park Fields, which was 'late in the tenure or occupation of widdow Wilson or her assignes'. Presumably this is the same structure as the 'old house' in the 1638 survey. The second dwelling and garden was said to be close to Potters Field meadow and coppice to the north-east of the grange. This second house had been in the occupation of Henry Beare.⁷³ Could this be the house wherein 'Stephen Willson sometimes dwelt'?

The amount of land attached to Cryfield Grange was estimated at around 600 acres when Robert Boucher senior leased it to Henry Porter in 1541.⁷⁴ A major change occurred between 1661 and 1736, however, when many of the larger woods and coppices previously attached to the grange were separated from it by the Leigh family. When Edward, Lord Leigh drew up a draft lease for Joseph Gibbs in 1736, the White Fields, Great and Little Monks Hayes, Mattmakers, Rough Knowles, Bardalls and Black Waste were not listed among Cryfield Grange's appurtenances. The fields now joined to the property amounted to 284 acres.⁷⁵ This figure remained more or less constant until the twentieth century: Matthias Baker's survey of 1766 put Joseph Gibbs's widow's holding at 282 acres and when the property was sold in 1978 it was said to hold 292 acres.⁷⁶

Cryfield Grange's absentee owners

Boucher's purchase of the land started a trend whereby absentee landlords, living in London, rented their lands to local tenants. Boucher bequeathed Cryfield Grange to his nephew, Robert Boucher, in 1556,⁷⁷ but the younger Boucher ran up heavy debts in London and was forced to sell his lands to George Ognell and Richard Loftis by 1578.⁷⁸ Boucher's sisters, Judith Capett, Susan Boucher and Dyna Boucher tried unsuccessfully to reclaim the estate in a Chancery case. They mentioned that their brother had been arrested at the suit of John Hynde who had demanded such large sums that he was

not able to fynde suerties to aunswere the same or to bayle hym selfe out of prison, wheruppon he so continued in the saide prison by the space of three yeres or more, untill he ... dyed about a yere or two paste without yssue of his bodye.⁷⁹

In March 1600 the grange was purchased by two prominent London citizens, Otho Nicholson and William Allen. Nicholson was a wealthy lawyer and examiner in the court of Chancery, with properties scattered across England. According to Robert Burton, an Oxford scholar, Nicholson financed the construction of water-works and an 'elegant conduit' in Oxford.⁸⁰ The seventeenth-century biographer Anthony Wood reported that Nicholson 'was much

skilled in the Oriental Tongues, and had travelled Abroad into several Countries. He was a Gentleman much beloved, and his Death much lamented.'⁸¹ William Allen and George Ognell were both members of the Company of Mercers and the professional connections between them must have facilitated the purchase of the property.⁸²



Illustration 12: Sixteenth-century Merchants
From Hans Sachs, *Eygentliche Beschreybung Aller Stände* (Frankfurt, 1568). Image courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Cryfield Grange's status as an asset to be traded among wealthy Londoners sheds light on the ruthless dealings taking place among the city's elite. Testimony from a case in the Court of Chancery suggests that George Ognell took advantage of the younger Robert Boucher's desperate predicament in prison to acquire the grange at a knock-down price. The attorney of the Earl of Leicester's Hospital at Warwick claimed that Ognell

paid not the tenth parte of the value thereof [Cryfield Grange] to the said Robert Boucher by reason that by [George Ognell's] meanes and by meanes of Andrewe Ognell his brother the said Boucher was detained longe in prison till he assured the said premisses to them or out of them.⁸³

Indeed, the grange was sold to Ognell for the measly sum of £280. George Ognell himself came to suffer the same fate as Boucher when he offered the grange to the alderman Robert Lee in 1597 as security for an outstanding loan of £1,700. Lee kept hold of the Cryfield Grange estate and enjoyed its revenues until Ognell could repay the money. All the while, Ognell was detained in debtor's prison. As Ognell had defaulted on the loan, Otto Nicholson bought the grange from Lee in 1600 for £2,200, thereby dispossessing

Ognell. The grange's London owners calculated that if they could rent it for £200 or more for twenty years (and James Altham leased it for £202, 7 s. per annum in 1606) they could make a return of over 40% on their original investment.⁸⁴ It is impossible to be sure who was in the right and who in the wrong in the long legal battle that ensued. It is certain, however, that deep personal wounds were inflicted and social bonds shattered as a result of self-interested financial calculations. Ognell lashed out at Nicholson, saying that Nicholson had 'ment no parte of trew love to [him] as he pretended, althoughe [Ognell] had manye waies deserved very well at the hands of the said Otho and brought him upp manye yeares under him when the said Otho was a yonge man and in want'.⁸⁵

A few years before this, Ognell had contested the legality of an annuity that was owed by the owners of Cryfield Grange to the Earl of Leicester's new hospital in Warwick (founded in 1571). The annuity had arisen because in 1571 Robert Boucher junior had given an annuity of £20 to Robert Starre to be paid by the tenants of Cryfield Grange. On the death of Robert Starre, his son William had inherited the annuity and had sold it to the Earl of Leicester who had, in turn, awarded it to his hospital in Warwick. Ognell contested the legality of the annuity, saying that it was made secretly by Boucher after he had agreed to sell the grange to Ognell, thereby burdening him with debts that were owed by Boucher himself.⁸⁶ Although he was unsuccessful, Ognell was dogged in his repudiation of the payment, for as well as a suit in Chancery, Ognell took the matter up in parliament in 1598.⁸⁷ The hospital's endowments and revenues had been certified by a private parliamentary act in 1597, so it was the natural venue for Ognell's legal contestation.



Illustration 13: Lord Leicester's Hospital, Warwick
Photographed on 8/6/2017 by Alex Russell.

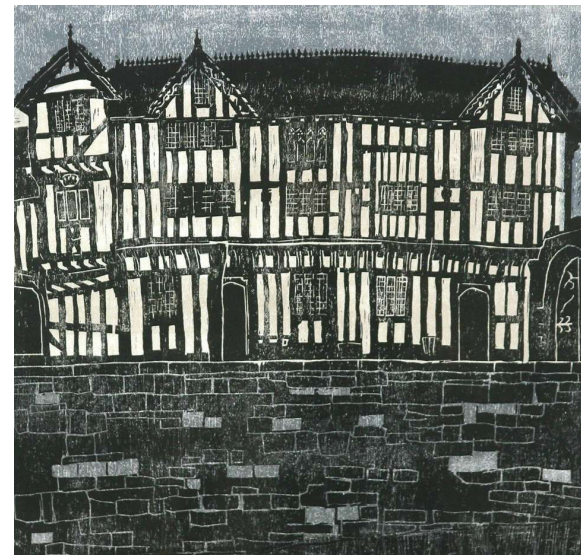


Illustration 14: Tessa Beaver, *Lord Leicester's Hospital, Warwick*, 1974, University of Warwick Art Collection.

The Leigh family's acquisition of Cryfield Grange

Cryfield Grange came into the hands of the Leigh family through several twists and turns of dynastic alliance. In 1606, James Altham acquired Cryfield Grange from Nicholson and Allen. Altham was a judge, based at Gray's Inn and knighted in 1607.⁸⁸ His daughter, Frances, married Richard Vaughan, second earl of Carbery in 1637. Cryfield Grange, which she inherited, thus passed into the hands of her husband.⁸⁹ Carbery sold the property to Dame Elizabeth Egerton for £2500 in 1639 and it was to be held in trust for her during her lifetime, to pass to her brother-in-law Thomas Leigh (first Baron Leigh of Stoneleigh, d. 1672) or his heirs on her death.⁹⁰ When Elizabeth died in 1649, her wishes were duly carried out. The grange's inheritor, Thomas Leigh, had been an MP for Warwick from 1628-9, as well as a leading figure in county politics during the 1630s. Although he had had reservations about ship money and the forced loan (Charles I's controversial fiscal policies), he nevertheless took the king's side during the Civil War, even inviting him to stay at Stoneleigh Abbey while the royalist army bombarded Coventry.⁹¹



Illustration 15: Thomas Leigh, first Baron Leigh of Stoneleigh, d.1672.
Reproduced with permission from the Lamport Hall Trustees.

The Leigh family owed its fortunes originally to mercantile capital. Sir Thomas Leigh (d. 1571) had been a prominent member of the Mercers' Company in London, and its master in 1553. As a company of traders heavily involved in importing and exporting wool and luxury goods, the Mercers were well-placed to profit from England's overseas ventures. Leigh amassed great wealth in connection with the wool trade with the Low Countries, establishing particularly close relations with Antwerp.⁹² He was also influential in civic government in London, where he became an alderman in 1552, and lord mayor in 1558.⁹³ The Leigh family had first acquired properties in Warwickshire from the 1550s onwards, purchasing Stoneleigh Abbey itself in 1562.⁹⁴ Sir Thomas Leigh's son, Thomas (d. 1626) had been involved in local government in Warwickshire, becoming the sheriff of the county in 1581 and a baronet in 1611. Once Cryfield Grange had been added to the Leighs' estates in 1649, it remained in their ownership until the twentieth century.

The sixteenth-century residents

The Bouchers and Ognells were wealthy Londoners who were largely absent from Cryfield. Who then were the area's inhabitants in the sixteenth century? Robert Boucher leased Cryfield Grange to Henry Porter in 1541 and Porter was accused by an enclosure commission of having caused one plough-team to fall into decay. This probably meant that he had caused a certain amount of arable farming at Cryfield to lapse owing to the intensive grazing of livestock on his lands.⁹⁵ From 1551 onwards Sir William Rainsford leased Cryfield Grange from Robert Boucher senior, but only five years later his grandson, Hercules, granted it to Henry Beare for twenty-three years.⁹⁶ It is highly unlikely that the Rainfords, who lived at Clifford Chambers, Gloucestershire, inhabited the grange, but it seems that Henry Beare did, and he occupied it as late as 1571. Beare also acted as an overseer of the last will and testament of another local resident, Christopher Shaw. A rental of 1536, on the eve of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, tells us that the tenants in chief at Cryfield, i.e. those who held their land directly from Stoneleigh Abbey, were William Thornhale and John Hancorn and that the other tenants were Robert Cuthbert, John Hygginson, William Alyson and John Smith. Other rental documents show that Cuthbert held Dycon's Waste, Hygginson held Cox's Waste, and Richard Harper a tenement next to Cryfield.⁹⁷ Hygginson was clearly a worthy of the local community, who was responsible for reporting local misdemeanours and paying common fines to the court of frankpledge in 1538.⁹⁸ By mid-century, the chief tenants were William Thornhale and John Hancorne, and in 1575, Baldwin Hill and Joan Saunders held two parts of the lands named 'Sokemans Towsall', presumably including what is now Tocil Wood.⁹⁹

It is difficult to get a sense of the day-to-day activities of the sixteenth-century inhabitants, so scarce is the available evidence. We do know, however, that they were fined by the Stoneleigh courts for infringements of manorial custom: in October 1573, for example, Joan Saunders was told to clean her ditch between her little coppice and Dallemoor meadow before Christmas on pain of forfeiting six shillings and eight pence.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, Andrew Ognell was warned to clean and scour his ditch in Holleyes Lane in Cryfield in 1581.¹⁰¹ Some of the tenants in the area got into trouble for enclosing certain parcels of common land or land belonging to the Leighs. One of the houses alleged to have enclosed common land lay 'in Master Crosbeys grounds in Canley fieldes nowe in the tenure of Francys Symcocks.'¹⁰² A dispute erupted c. 1570 between Henry Beare and Robert Carter over the right to graze sheep on Dowley Common, which led to a suit in the Court of Chancery. Robert Carter had tried to pasture his four hundred sheep in Dowley Common, whereas Beare alleged that as the leaseholder of Cryfield Grange he alone had the right to graze two hundred sheep there, even if other freeholders and

copyholders of Stoneleigh manor had the right to graze their horses, cows and oxen on the common.¹⁰³ The legal case supplies evidence that relations between neighbours at Cryfield were not always harmonious and that the competition for pasture for large flocks could generate tensions.

A list of instructions for the manor of Stoneleigh from April 1576 gives some idea of the kinds of common offences that took place from day to day. The farmers were forbidden from keeping more than two horses or mares in the corn fields at the time of reaping, presumably to prevent the trampling of the grain. The inhabitants were also told that they could not take any dog into the fallow fields to chase sheep. Understandably, the overseers of the manor court were concerned to keep hedges and mounds in good order and the pledges were worried that cattle were being illegally bought and sold from the commons.¹⁰⁴ The Leighs were zealous in asserting their exclusive rights over the game in their estates. In the seventeenth century, John Higgenon of Burton Green and William Brookes were fined by the jurors for trapping hares with gins (mechanical devices) and wires.¹⁰⁵

The seventeenth-century residents

The sixteenth-century records do not make it clear what the grange building looked like.¹⁰⁶ Recent architectural and archaeological analysis shows, however, that several features from the present-day grange house date from the period c. 1550-1625. These include the arched vaulted cellar (Illustration 16) and the gabled bay of red sandstone with a blocked window of four ogee-headed lights (see Illustration 11).¹⁰⁷ Further observations about how these features were incorporated into the seventeenth-century house and how they changed over time can be found in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 of this document.



Illustration 16: Cryfield Grange Cellar
Photographed by James Edgar

The survival of wills, inventories and detailed surveys from the seventeenth century means that we can finally learn what the inhabitants of Cryfield Grange kept in the house. Stephen Wilson is the first known inhabitant of the grange building as it approached its current form. He was a wealthy yeoman (a farmer who worked his own land) whose property was assessed at £1,330 in an inventory of 1633.¹⁰⁸ His house had sixteen rooms, including a hall, parlour, kitchen, two bedrooms, servants' quarters with three beds, a cheese chamber, buttery, dairy house, mill house, back house, bolting house, cellar and barn. N. W. Alcock has revealed the specific uses of different parts of the house. Despite having a kitchen, Stephen's wife Anne Wilson clung to the old-fashioned practice of cooking in the hall, where all the cooking equipment was listed in the inventory after her death in 1650. In 1633 the bolting house was used for sifting grain and storing dough in a dough kiver (tub). The inventories reveal that the Wilsons made ale or beer, and the first steps in the brewing process were presumably carried out in the bolting house in a yielding vat. It seems that this was where the malted grain was mixed with hot water to form a mash. The liquid wort thus yielded was handled in the backhouse in the brewing vat. It is probable that the wort was here boiled and, after cooling, fermented with yeast.¹⁰⁹ The 1650 inventory reveals that at some point after Stephen's death Anne had apparently removed the backhouse, and from that point on all the stages of the brewing probably took place in the brew-house.¹¹⁰

On malting - the first step towards brewing

It is most requisite and fit that our *Hous-wife* be experienced and well practised in the well making of Malt, both for the necessarie and continuall use thereof, as also for the generall profit which accrueth and ariseth to the husband, housewife, and the whole familie: for as from it is made the drinke, by which the household is nourished and sustained, so to the fruitfull husbandman ... it is an excellent merchandize, and a commodity of so great trade, that not alone especiall Townes and Counties are maintained thereby, but also the whole Kingdome, and divers others or our neighbouring Nations.

From Gervase Markham,
Country Contentments, or the English Huswife...
(London, 1623), p. 190

Illustration 17: Brewing in the sixteenth century
Hans Sachs, *Eygentliche Beschreybung Aller Stände*
(Frankfurt, 1568). Image courtesy of the Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek.



The Wilsons, like most farmers at Cryfield, made cheese. It is probable that these cheeses were made not only for their own consumption, but to sell to others in the locality: at his death, Stephen Wilson had 215 cheeses 'hard and soft' in the cheese chamber. Indeed, Warwickshire cheese was sold on the London market during this period.¹¹¹



Illustration 18: Cheese-making in the seventeenth century
Rijksmuseum, RP/P/OB/84/307. Image courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

There were also thirty ells (roughly 37.5 yards) of hemp cloth in the Wilsons' cellar in 1633. Hemp was less prized than flax or linen as a material for textiles, but could be used to make cheaper varieties of sheets or shirts.¹¹² The inventory of 1633 reveals that the Wilsons were involved in arable as well as pastoral farming and were in possession of one rick (stack) of barley and a quantity of oats and rye as well as 300 sheep at Stephen Wilson's death.

The literacy of the Wilsons is attested not only by the desk in one of the bedrooms, but by the bible and sermon book in the kitchen in 1633. We also know that Stephen Wilson was fond of bowls, for he was fined twice (once in 1599 and again in 1619) for playing it in contravention of the statute of 1541, which forbade unlicensed sports.¹¹³ The



authorities were worried that if the people spent too much time playing cards, dice and bowls, they would neglect their archery practice.¹¹⁴ The English skill at archery was, of course, bound up with the nation's memories of its victories in the Hundred Years War. Despite his penchant for bowls, Stephen Wilson was a respected member of the local community who acted as a juror, surveyor of the highways and parish overseer. He also served as a witness to the wills and inventories of several people living in Cryfield, such as Isabella Hunt and Henry Kyrby (whom we will encounter again shortly).

Illustration 19: A farmer
The Country Farmer's Vain-Glory (London, c. 1688). WING C6530.

Anne Wilson gives the impression of being a generous woman. She left a number of livestock (including cows, sheep and calves) to her children and grandchildren, but also gave all the household servants five shillings at her death and left forty shillings to the poor of Stoneleigh parish. Anne's will also stipulated that ten shillings be given to 'my poore workemen living in the new way at Kenelworth'. The warm bonds between her and other prominent farmers within the Stoneleigh parish are suggested by her reference to her executors as her 'lovinge frends William Bennion of Stonley, yeoman and Thomas Devis of Kenelworth, yeoman'. An entry from the baptismal register shows that Andrew, the son of a poor vagrant woman, was born in Anna Wilson's house in 1636 and was baptised on 8 December.¹¹⁵ The child was almost certainly illegitimate and the anonymity of the record makes it impossible to recreate the mother and child's story. The manorial and probate records do not make it easy to pinpoint the ways in which the outside world impinged upon the lives of the inhabitants of Cryfield. It is difficult, for example, to reconstruct the dislocation caused by the Civil War (1642-1651) and the lives which may have been lost in the local community. We do know, however, that Anne Wilson was paid £18, 10 s. in compensation for quartering soldiers and horses, providing the parliamentary forces with cattle and suffering their plunder, although, unusually, no details are provided of what she had lost.¹¹⁶

Anne Wilson had two children who survived to adulthood and established families of their own: a son, Edward Wilson, and a daughter, Susanna Roote. Another daughter, Jane Downes, who was alive in 1640, had apparently died by the time of Anne Wilson's death in 1650. The will is indicative of the uncertainties resulting from mortality rates in the early modern period. Each bequest is qualified by a proviso in the event of the named child's death. Anne and the testator were aware that if all her grandchildren survived to adulthood, she might not have enough livestock to make good her promises and she stipulated that any shortfall should be evenly distributed among those receiving their inheritance.

The patchy evidence from the Stoneleigh parish registers provides us with some details about the lifespan of Anne Wilson's family. James Downes and Jane Downes lived in Cryfield and had two children who survived the early years of childhood: Elizabeth and Sarah, the latter ten years old when her grandmother died. They had had a sister, Anne, who was born in 1634, but died a few months short of her fifth birthday. Edward Wilson and his wife Elizabeth also lived in Cryfield, where Edward may have taken over some of his father's farming concerns. In 1650 they had six children: Anne Flecknowe and her five brothers, Stephen the elder, Gamaliel (aged 13), Stephen the younger, Edward (aged 15) and Charles. A daughter, Margaret, was lost to the family in 1635. Wills show that an early demise could cause complications for the nuclear family unit. We can surmise that Edward Lee (d. 1693), a yeoman of Cryfield faced an early death: his will provided that his father Edward Lee senior should take on 'the tuition and care' of his children after his death, unless his children and his wife, Mary, mutually agreed that she would assume this responsibility.

The parish registers also tell us about other locals whose names have otherwise slipped through the records. William Collens, a labourer, lived at Cryfield and had a daughter Phyllis in 1635, although he himself was dead three years later. Arthur Radman and his wife, Eleanor, as well as Ralph Tricket (a labourer) and Katherine his wife also lived in the area. The parish registers give us hints about the range of occupations (other than agriculturalist) within the locality: Henry Yorke, a carpenter, lived at Canley and John Tricket, a blacksmith, lived on Westwood Heath in the 1630s.¹¹⁷

Family bonds between Cryfield residents can be glimpsed in the probate evidence. Mary Benion's daughter, Joyce, married a later occupant of Cryfield Grange, John Hartley. Hartley (d. 1678) was a rich landholder, who had properties in Milburn Grange, Banbury and Warwick. Anne Wilson's will mentions a William Benion of Stoneleigh, who may have been Mary's husband. As the inventory of Mary's goods at her death in 1659 only gives a single room's worth (including bed, cupboard and press) it is possible that she lived with her daughter and son-in-law in the grange house.

The later part of the seventeenth century brought changes to the house at Cryfield Grange. In 1650, after Anne Wilson's death, John Hartley became the Leighs' tenant at Cryfield Grange.¹¹⁸ Hearth tax returns from 1662 to 1674 reveal that the house had only four hearths, a reduction upon the Wilsons' sixteen rooms.¹¹⁹ This implies that there must have been some division of the property. Such a supposition is confirmed by the inventory of a later resident, Zachariah Groves (d. 1708), which lists only nine rooms in the house. As N. W. Alcock has observed, Groves used the kitchen and parlour as living rooms, but in contrast to Stephen and Anne Wilson, he slept in the parlour, and only had four beds in contrast to Anne and Stephen's dozen.¹²⁰ At around the time Joseph Gibbs inhabited Cryfield Grange (c. 1736) certain improvements were made to the house, including the addition of a baroque-style, semi-circular headed display cupboard with cut shelves to

a room on the ground floor. Thanks to the design of the trusses, we can tell that the house was also re-roofed with previously used timbers at around this date.¹²¹ For details of the changes see Appendix 2 below.

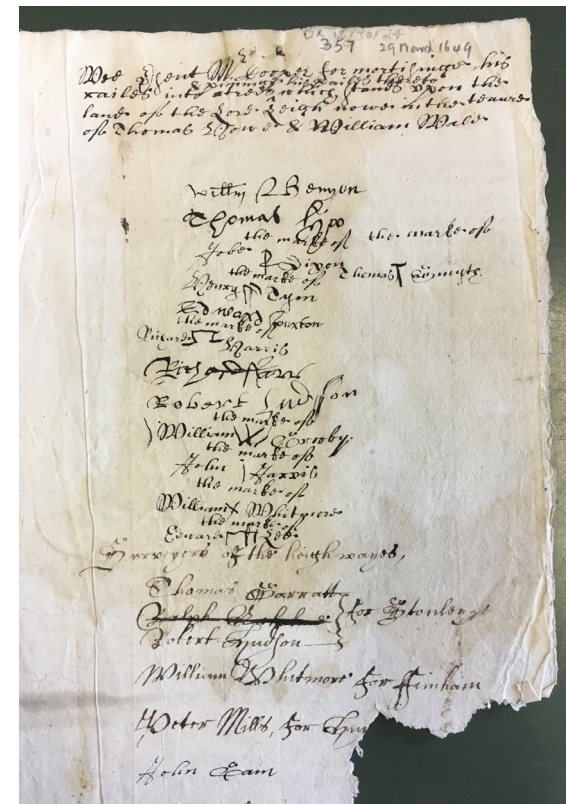


Illustration 20: List of presentments for view of frankpledge (1649). As many of the jurors in the local courts were illiterate they made marks rather than sign their names. SCLA, DR 18/30/24/357.

Contents of other Cryfield houses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Cryfield Grange and the surrounding houses manifested the improved living standards and modernisation of building design that occurred during the early modern period. Extra service rooms and storerooms were added to the medieval core of hall, chamber and kitchen. The house of Christopher Shaw (d. 1584) in Cryfield displays the characteristics of this change: the milk-house and the chamber over the hall enlarged upon the model of most medieval houses.¹²²

The inventory of the possessions of labourer and subtenants living in houses provides evidence of farming practices at Cryfield. Cheese-making was a very widespread occupation. Christopher Shaw (d. 1584) had a 'milk howse' with several cheese vats and was in possession of as many as fifty cheeses at his death. The house of Henry Kyrby (d. 1625), a labourer, also contained a buttery, replete with 'creme potts', in which he and his family made cheese and other dairy products. A 'wool hurdle' (presumably a kind of frame) in the nether room was probably used for drying and cleaning washed wool. As was typical of the labourers and yeomen of the area, Kyrby possessed an array of livestock (twelve sheep, two cows and poultry). The farmers in Cryfield turned their hands to a number of cottage industries: a later inhabitant of Cryfield, Samuel Adkins (d. 1713) had a brew house with a brewing tub. Bee-keeping was also widespread: Anne Wilson had three stocks of bees at her death in 1650 and Edmund Casemore (d. 1728) had four stocks.¹²³ The eighteenth-century evidence gives some indication of the greater sophistication of household furniture: Samuel Adkins had a brass clock and case in his kitchen, and Edmund Casemore had a clock and Edward Lee a looking glass in their parlours.

Wool and linen

Our English Hous-wife ... must learne also how out of her owne indeavours, shee ought to cloath [her family] outwardly and inwardly; outwardly for defence of the cold and comelinesse to the person; and inwardly, for cleanlinesse and neatnesse of the skinne, whereby it may be kept from the filth of sweat, or vermine; the first consisting of woollen cloth, the latter of linnen.

Of making woollen cloth.

... it is the office of the Husbandman at the sheering of his sheepe, to bestow upon the Hous-wife such a competent proportion of wooll, as shall bee convenient for the clothing of his family...

From Gervase Markham,
Country Contentments, or the English Huswife...
(London, 1623), p. 154

In contrast to the medieval records' silence about the types of arable farming in Cryfield, the early modern probate documents allow us to reconstitute what kinds of crops were grown: Thomas Higson (d. 1682) grew twenty-six acres of oats and eight acres of barley. In addition to a store of oats and barley, Edmund Casemore had a rick of peas and beans. Zachariah Groves (d. 1708), a tenant of Cryfield Grange, farmed twelve acres of wheat, twenty acres of rye and fifty acres of barley, oats, peas and vetches. These activities seem typical of arable farming at Stoneleigh, where oats, barley, and increasingly peas and

beans were the most widely grown crops in the later seventeenth century.¹²⁴ Groves also devoted considerable energy to dairy farming: three rooms in his house were named as cheese chambers in the inventory records and we know that he had thirty-six 'dairy beasts' at his death. These details confirm and supplement the standard historical presentation of farming in the Arden during this period as 'wood-pasture'. Cryfield was part of a trend in seventeenth-century Arden, observed by Joan Thirsk, whereby dairying and cheese production were intensified. The maintenance of adequate pasture usually involved a rotational field system, where land was used to grow crops for two or three years at a time and then left fallow for fifteen or twenty years in order for the grasses to return. The switch from wheat-growing to the cultivation of barley taking place in the Arden at this time is also attested by the Cryfield inventories.¹²⁵

Natural resources in early modern Cryfield

Forests were an important resource to the inhabitants of Cryfield, for they provided wood for fuel and construction, forage for animals, and berries and other pickings to supplement human diets. When James Altham leased Cryfield Grange to Otho Nicholson in 1606, Altham made detailed provisions for the conservation of forested areas. The lease stated that at the end of the period of forty-one years the coppice called Great Whitefield should be 'left standing and groweing', especially the 'timber trees and pollingers (pollarded trees)'. Whitefield Coppice is clearly marked to the west of Cryfield Grange on the survey map of 1766 (Illustration 5). Pollarding was a method of pruning trees to stunt their growth by cutting back shoots at about head-height, so as to use the shoots, mangled foliage and branches for fuel. Although Nicholson could cut down trees elsewhere on the leased land for fuel, he had to use the wood only on the premises and not elsewhere. Thomas Thorpe, a surveyor, was to be sent to measure the woods and to set down their contents in a map which would be used to hold Nicholson and his subtenants to account. As well as refraining from chopping down the trees on Whitefield coppice, Nicholson was to 'doe his ... best endeavors to preserve the same woods and coppices from the biteing of cattell or other spoyle'. The degree to which the lessor sought to regulate the management of the plots is remarkable. Nicholas was also to lay compost on those areas of the pasture, meadows and arable lands where it was most needed. He was also allowed to quarry stone on the estate, but only to repair the buildings on the estate and could 'stocke or scrubb upp all manner of bushes, brambles, thorne trees and underwoods'.¹²⁶ An indenture in 1661, giving William Pryor the lease of the grange, mentions that there was



a quarry near Wallfield and a yard at the end of Holdens Meadow where crops were grown. Stone, like wood, was a precious resource and the owners of Cryfield Grange naturally realised that limitations needed to be placed on its exploitation if it were to be conserved.

Illustration 21: University of Warwick Sports Fields, facing towards Cryfield Grange
Photographed on 28/6/2017 by Alex Russell

Chapter 3: Cryfield Grange (1800 – 1950)

Cryfield was noticeably altered by the rapid socio-economic metamorphoses of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain. This was a momentous period for British agriculture. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had registered continuous gains in farming productivity and by the 1750s England was a net exporter of wheat. What is more, the food supply had kept pace with population growth. Thanks to the acceleration of industrial development in towns, which drew 'surplus population' away from the countryside, wages for agricultural labourers remained healthy and many farmers were contented with the relatively high price of wheat in the early years of the nineteenth century. But the demographic changes of the ensuing period imposed new burdens. The general population more than doubled from 13 million people in 1783 to 26.7 million in 1841 and it became increasingly difficult for British agriculture to supply domestic needs.¹²⁷ Moreover, the competitiveness of British agrarian farming could not be sustained in the long term, and even before the repeal of the protectionist tariffs of the Corn Laws in the 1840s cheap grain imports caused the price of local cereals to fall.

The free market in agricultural produce supplied the population with cheap food, but it imposed severe strains upon British farming. The 1850s were a prosperous time for British agriculture, with improvements in manuring, draining and mechanisation allowing most farmers to sell wheat at a profit.¹²⁸ After 1870, however, agricultural depression set in. In 1894 the price of wheat reached a historic low of 22 s. 10 d. a quarter, less than half of what it had been in the 1870s. Under these conditions, it was difficult for British farmers to make a living growing crops, and between 1886 and 1903 over five million acres of arable land ceased to be used for this purpose.¹²⁹ It is true that livestock farmers were not as severely affected, and low grain prices helped them to buy cheap fodder for their animals, but even they had to compete with the refrigerated meat brought by ship from Argentina and New Zealand from the 1880s. Milk, on the other hand, as a highly perishable foodstuff, was largely insulated from the deflationary pressures of the international market. By 1909 British agriculture was, in sum, only capable of producing 25% of the wheat, 60% of the barley and 74% of the oats that were needed by the national market and Britain imported 47% of its beef, mutton and lamb and 76% of its cheese.¹³⁰

It is likely that Cryfield itself saw significant demographic increases over the period. In 1672, Cryfield was said to contain eight hearths in three dwellings, and was probably populated by no more than fifteen people.¹³¹ Over 150 years later, the 1841 Census listed 51 people living at an address in Cryfield. These figures must, of course, be handled with care. It is difficult to extrapolate the total population on the basis of hearth tax returns, and the 1841 census was not very precise in specifying the location of each abode in Cryfield. It is possible, therefore, that the area included under Cryfield in 1672 did not exactly match the zone containing dwellings headed 'Cryfield' in the 1841 Census. In contrast with the enormous population growth of Warwickshire as a whole, the population of the parish of Stoneleigh remained relatively stagnant across the nineteenth century. The population of Warwickshire increased spectacularly from around 216,000 people in 1801 to around 480,000 in 1851. Much of this was, of course, attributable to the growth of towns, such as Birmingham and Coventry (the latter increasing from 16,000 to 36,000 people across the same period). The civil parish of Stoneleigh did not, however, register demographic increases of a similar magnitude. The 1801 census recorded that

Stoneleigh had 279 houses with 1,347 inhabitants. By 1861 the situation was more or less the same, with 283 inhabited houses and 1,283 residents. Stoneleigh experienced only modest growth thereafter, with 1,400 inhabitants in 1911.

The main farms in the area were Edward Swinnerton's Cryfield House Farm which in 1871 comprised 223 acres, and employed three men and one boy; William Campbell's farm at Tocil which employed thirteen men and one boy, and Joseph Jenaway's farm at Cryfield Grange which employed six men and two boys. The University of Warwick's Cryfield Accommodation, and Redfern and Lakeside Residences are situated upon what were formerly the fields of Cryfield House Farm. Tocil House was further to the east, where the Tocil Halls of Residence are today. Most of the labourers were Warwickshire-born, and many came from other towns and villages within Stoneleigh parish. There were also several Irish labourers, including Patrick Doyle, aged 26, who worked Cryfield House Farm in 1851, and Owen Calgan, Michael Gibbins and Thomas Brannen who had their own dwellings in Cryfield in 1871. The nineteenth-century censuses enumerate a wide range of occupations in Cryfield: household servants, washerwomen, gamekeepers, wagoners, cowmen, plough boys, brick-makers, dairy maids, stable boys, drapers (dealers in cloth), carters, shepherds, wood-cutters, nursemaids. Resident in one of the outhouses of Cryfield Grange in 1911 was a fitter for the railways, William Parson, who was the brother-in-law of a local farm labourer. Another visitor resident in the Cryfield labourers' cottages at this date was a coal dealer. Newspaper advertisements give us an impression of the kind of skills that were required to manage a farm in this period. Thomas Wheeler, who occupied Cryfield Grange in the 1880s, looked for male farm labourers who could milk, plough, groom and do general farm work; girls who could do housework; and a foreman who could stack and thatch. Wheeler even looked for a governess for his three children, who could teach them and instruct them in music as well as sewing.¹³²

By the middle part of the twentieth-century, Cryfield began to witness migration of city-dwellers into the countryside as it became easier and easier for residents to commute to nearby towns. An advertisement in 1940 drew attention to a detached residence on Cryfield Grange Road in 'an exceptionally attractive location' with five bedrooms, a bathroom and two reception rooms.¹³³ It would seem that the house was not intended for a farming family, but a well-off family whose breadwinners worked in Coventry or another neighbouring town.

The fabric of Cryfield Grange

The basic plan of Cryfield Grange itself seems to have remained the same across the period, as can be seen from the survey evidence and contemporary satellite pictures. The L-plan of the original seventeenth-century structure is clearly visible in Matthias Baker's survey of 1766 and barns and outhouses are also visible on the north side of the grange. The shape of the grange and the outhouses is unchanged on the 1854 survey. The 1886 Ordnance Survey Map shows that a brick built tiled barn had been added on the eastern side of the grange, and further structures had been erected closer to the Cryfield Grange Road. A survey of 1871-2 clarifies that the outbuildings consisted of a barn, stable, brick built, tiled piggeries, old wagon hovel and new open shed.¹³⁴ The group of buildings shaped like an upside-down horse-shoe immediately to the north of the grange house consisted of stables and barn, according to an architectural plan of c. 1875. The design proposed the construction of a new wagon hovel with granary, as well as separate storage spaces for turnips, calves, eleven cows and ten beasts (sic), new

labourers' cottages and a double fold yard with two open sheds and a loose pen.¹³⁵ The 1905 Ordnance Survey Map shows, however, that the work was not completed along the lines of the 1875 plans.



Illustration 22: Cryfield Grange from Matthias Baker's Survey of 1766 SCLA, DR 671/30a. Map No. 5.

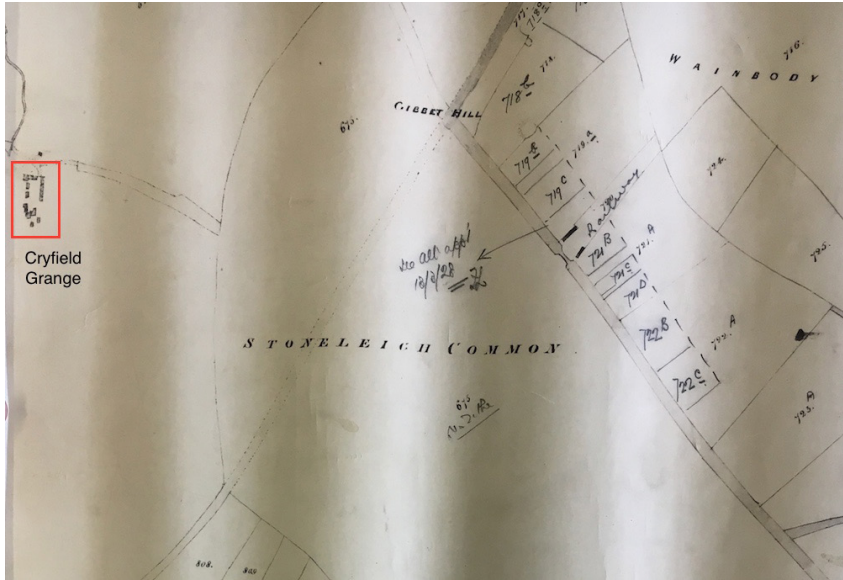


Illustration 23: 1854 Survey
SCLA, DR 18/25/81a.

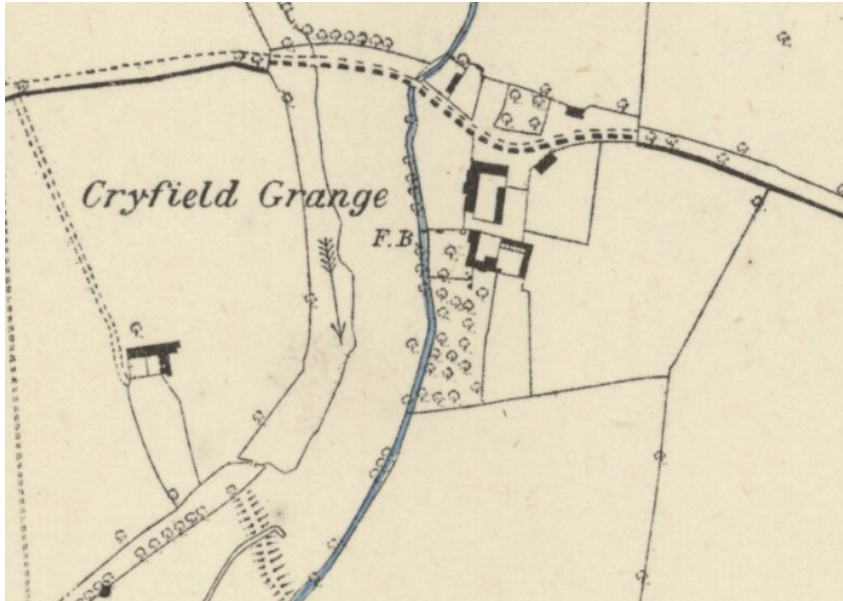


Illustration 24: Ordnance Survey, 6 Inch (1886). Warwickshire, Sheet XXVI. N.W.

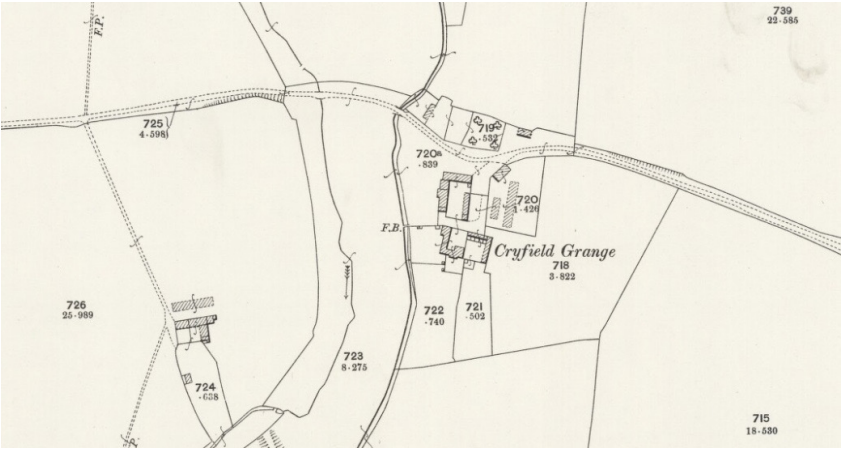


Illustration 25: Ordnance Survey, 25 Inch (1905). Warwickshire, sheet XXVI.6.



Illustration 26: Satellite view of Cryfield Grange Farm from Google Maps: Map data ©2017 Google

In a survey of the house taken in 1891 after Thomas Wheeler had vacated it, and before Oswald Hague and his family had occupied it, twenty rooms or partitions are listed, including kitchen, back kitchen, dairy, office, parlour, store room, six bedrooms, laundry and staircase, pantry, small sitting room, best sitting room, hall, entrance passage, kitchen and scullery.¹³⁶ The number of rooms is similar to that enumerated in the Wilsons' inventories of the seventeenth century, although some of the rooms such as the buttery and dairy house had been repurposed in the interim.

Agricultural activities

Thanks to evidence from auctions recorded in local newspapers, we can gain insights into the kind of farming that took place in Cryfield over the course of the nineteenth century. The advertisement for the sale of Mrs Perkins's farm equipment in 1825 reveals that the character of farming at Cryfield had not changed substantially from the middle of the eighteenth century. The Cryfield House Farm contained more than forty-two ewes, thirteen dairy cows and several horses, including a mare who was 'steady in harness and a good roadster', and a 'fierce yard dog'. Mrs Perkins also possessed ploughs and harrows, which demonstrates that arable farming took place on her lands. The advertisement told of a 'capital' eight-day clock. The 'famous' double cheese press with iron screws, the barrel churns, cheese tubs and whey and butter kivers (tubs) were, as we have seen, precisely the tools that Cryfield farmers had been using to make cheese for centuries.¹³⁷ The crops grown at Cryfield also remained largely unchanged across the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. An auction notice of 1866 reveals that Cryfield Farm had a stock of twenty large ricks of old and new wheat and beans, as well as a selection of brewing vessels. The fields were allocated thus: 49 acres to wheat, 31 acres to barley, 16 acres to oats, 10 acres to peas and 6.5 acres to seed vetches and potatoes.¹³⁸

Cryfield remained a source of meat for local markets. To promote their wares, farmers, especially Edward Swinnerton of Cryfield House Farm, worked with butchers' shops to put on special displays at Christmas time. According to the Coventry Standard in 1858, Swinnerton's eight heifers on display at Mr Hill's butcher shop in the Burges 'presented a most tantalising sight to the gourmand and excited many an imagination with lively visions of the coming Christmas dinner.'¹³⁹ An advertisement for 'Good Old English Beef' in 1866 declared that 'notwithstanding the extraordinary depression in trade, our butchers have vied with each other this year who should produce the largest and best show of Christmas beef'.¹⁴⁰ The depression mentioned in the advertisement had doubtless resulted from the cattle plague of 1865-6 which caused the ruin of many livestock farmers. As well as breeding sheep and cattle, the farms attached to Cryfield Grange and Cryfield House both carried out horse-breeding. Mr Jenaway of Cryfield Grange won a prize for a stallion in the Warwickshire Agricultural Society's competitions in 1869 and 1870.¹⁴¹

Dairying and livestock farming continued to be important activities at twentieth-century Cryfield. Oswald Hague was engaged in cattle-rearing and sheep-farming, although the latter were reared only for their meat and not for their wool.¹⁴² Hague was also a director of Coventry Farmers' Dairies, later absorbed by the Midland Counties Dairy, Ltd.¹⁴³ The auction of the contents of William Swinnerton's Cryfield House Farm in 1929 revealed that he possessed 68 grand store cattle, including steers, heifers and milking cows, as well as 143 sheep and lambs.¹⁴⁴ A later occupant of the farm, Thomas Edgar won prizes for his shire filly, Lady Lincoln and shire mare, Rosalind. In 1939 he had a herd of Friesian cows.¹⁴⁵



Illustration 27: Sheep-shearer's bench and sheep shears, 1850 - 1900. Oak, pine and iron. Image Courtesy of Compton Verney Art Gallery.

The rise of potato farming

The potatoe is an esculent root, which now forms a principal part of the food of man. ... From no crop that is cultivated, will the public derive so much food as from a good crop of potatoes; ...

From Adam Murray, Land-Surveyor and Estate-Agent, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Warwick* (London, 1815), p. 119

With respect to arable farming, however, change was evident. The crops grown at Cryfield were not entirely the same as those farmed in the eighteenth century. Wheat and oats were still cultivated, but they probably provided less of Cryfield Grange Farm's income than hitherto.¹⁴⁶ Oswald Hague diversified his crop selection and grew potatoes, chard, swedes and cabbages, all of which won prizes at the Warwickshire Field Competitions.¹⁴⁷ A meeting of Warwickshire farmers at Edgar's Cryfield House Farm in 1942 (partly organised to raise public consciousness of farmers' efforts during war-time) remarked upon the growing tendency of local farmers to cultivate vegetables. One of the farmers remarked that 'these greens have always come into Warwickshire from counties many miles away. In these times it is too costly.' Edgar showed the assembled company his savoy cabbages, gave them a demonstration of his potato-picking machine and showed how to spray potatoes with sulphuric acid to control blight.¹⁴⁸ A film made by J.B. Rice in 1968-9 shows potato farming taking place in the locality at the time the University of Warwick was being constructed.¹⁴⁹



Illustration 28: Frank Lowe senior potato digging in Broom Field, Cryfield Grange with Sam and Dolly (1940)
 Reproduced with permission from R. Lomas, *Nothing Was Wasted: A patchwork of Kenilworth farming memories* (Kenilworth, 1998), p. 36.

The cottage industries of cheese-making and brewing (so prominent in Cryfield during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) appear to have fallen by the wayside in the twentieth century. At a time when cheese and beer were increasingly produced on an industrial scale (the first cheese factories appeared in Derbyshire in 1869-70) it was probably no longer viable for Cryfield Grange farmers to produce them profitably.

The Leighs and the local community

Now that we have examined some of the long-term trends in population and farming practices at Cryfield Grange we will be better placed to examine the personalities, relationships and political ideals that animated the area in the modern period. Most of the lands in Stoneleigh parish were owned by the Leigh family, much as they had been around 1600. It is, therefore, appropriate to begin our narrative with an account of the family's stewardship of their lands.

Unlike his father, Chandos, who was more preoccupied with poetry than with estate management, William Henry Leigh, second Baron Leigh, was by all accounts an extremely committed overseer of his lands and tenants. An 1883 survey shows that Leigh possessed 14,891 acres of land in Warwickshire.¹⁵⁰ From 1853 - 1896 he diligently inspected and improved farm buildings, readily extended money to the poor within Stoneleigh parish and earned the respect of the local farmers and labourers.

His patriarchal involvement could, however, verge on the dictatorial: he instructed his tenants, for example, to turn out of their houses any children older than sixteen to force them into gainful employment and prevent overcrowding in the cottages.¹⁵¹ The close relations the Leighs sought to cultivate with the farmers of Stoneleigh are illustrated by the provisions for the wedding of their son Dudley Leigh in 1891. Lord and Lady Leigh arranged a grand invitation ball for all the Stoneleigh tenants at the King's Arms Hotel, Kenilworth. The aristocratic guests were paired off with the wives and daughters of the local yeomanry for the first dance. Victor Villiers, seventh earl of Jersey, and brother-in-law to Lord Leigh, was assigned as his first partner Mary Swinnerton, aged 43, who lived at Cryfield House.¹⁵² At a time when English aristocrats tended to be more aloof than hitherto, Lord Leigh strove to create the impression of a socially cohesive community at Stoneleigh.¹⁵³ But for all Leigh's attempts to stress harmony, it was impossible to disguise

the strong social divisions in rural society. The pecking order was reflected in the seating arrangements at Westwood parish church (established in 1842) in the second half of the nineteenth century. According to an observer, 'the front seats were occupied by the farmers and their families - one presumes payment was made - then came the middle seats for the craftsmen of the village; thirdly, the agricultural labourers were in the rear.' It seems that different classes tended to congregate at different times, so that at morning service, the farmers and craftsmen predominated and the labourers tended to come to the evening service.¹⁵⁴

Politics and Trade Unionism

The lives of workers in the Victorian and Edwardian countryside were often beset with hardship. In the 1870s, Warwickshire saw the first stirrings of an agricultural labour movement. Attempts to unionise farm workers had been encouraged by the Trade Union Act of 1871 which recognised the legal status of trade unions and their funds. The Warwickshire Agricultural Labourers' Union was led by a self-educated Warwickshire hedge-cutter and Primitive Methodist preacher, Joseph Arch, who complained that the labourer 'had a right to a greater share of the profits of



Illustration 29: William Henry Leigh (1824 - 1905), second Lord Leigh, nineteenth-century owner of Cryfield Grange
 by George J. Stodart, after a photograph by Netterville Briggs. Stipple and line engraving. 1880s - 1890s.
 NPG D5055
 © The National Portrait Gallery



Illustration 30: Joseph Arch
 By Unknown photographer. Albumen print, 1898 or before
 NPG P1700(40d)
 © National Portrait Gallery

the land than he now receives'.¹⁵⁵ The union meetings initially took place in Wellesbourne in February 1872, but they were quickly followed by gatherings at Leamington and Kenilworth in March and April. The initial meetings in Warwickshire led to the formation of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union (NALU) in the same year.¹⁵⁶

It is difficult to know whether farmers and labourers at Cryfield were involved in this cause, but it is likely, at the very least, that they came to hear of its aims. Arch claimed that the union possessed more than 4,000 members. One of the union representatives at a meeting in Leamington in May 1872 explained that necessary household expenses for labourers amounted to 15 s. per week, 'exclusive of any provision for sickness, and other incidental items which were sure to arise'.¹⁵⁷ It has been estimated

that in the 1880s, the average weekly earnings of a farm worker in south Warwickshire were around ten or eleven shillings a week.¹⁵⁸ Slightly later, a parliamentary report found that at Stratford-upon-Avon in the 1890s the average weekly wage for agricultural labourers was between 11 and 12 shillings.¹⁵⁹ The figure may have been higher still in the vicinity of Cryfield, because the growing manufacturing centre of Coventry competed with farmers for the local labour supply, driving up wages to some degree. Labourers also took on supplemental odd jobs (piece work) over and above their normal duties, especially at harvest time, but this must have amounted to a considerable sacrifice of their time and strength.¹⁶⁰ The labourers' union demanded that labourers be paid at least 18 s. per week, so that they would not have to rely on unpredictable piece work to supplement their regular wages.

Arch was aware that the movement would encounter enormous resistance from farmers and landowners, and reassured his followers that their tactics would be 'defensive' only, and they would not strike at critical points in the agricultural year, such as harvest time. His aim to raise the weekly wage to 18 s. was apparently a failure, judging by the figures cited above from the 1880s and 1890s. But the labour movement did lead to the renegotiation of some employment contracts and caused the better treatment of rural workers to become a political issue. Indeed, the Warwickshire Union quickly became a template for a national movement of agricultural labourers and Arch extended his fight to win higher wages for his fellows across England.¹⁶¹

Although the agricultural labourers' union had achieved mixed results in persuading or forcing farmers to pay their labourers greater wages, their agitation was partly responsible for the extension of the franchise to rural labourers in 1884. Thereafter, their political programme centred on securing the agricultural labourer's vote for the Liberal Party. Arch bragged that the labourers in the Rugby division (Cryfield's parliamentary constituency) could outvote the farmers six to one. As it happened, the Liberal Candidate, Henry Cobb raced to a comfortable victory in the election of 1885.¹⁶² He won again in 1892, attributing his success 'to the support he received from bricklayers, artisans, railwaymen, and especially agricultural labourers.'¹⁶³ His campaigns had involved heated attacks on landlords, the Church of England and fox-hunting. Although these tirades embittered conservative opinion in the area, Cobb was helped immeasurably by the fact that Lord Leigh was a backer of the Liberal cause.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, it was a measure of the success of the Liberal platform in the Rugby division that even Conservative candidates promised 'to give local authorities power to acquire land and let it at a fair rent to the agricultural labourer'.¹⁶⁵ By the 1880s the Liberal Party in rural Warwickshire was trying to win supporters from outside the ranks of the labourers. Joseph Arch addressed a meeting in Kenilworth in 1885 where he promised to remedy the grievances of tenant farmers who were concerned at the instability of rents and were angry that the money they invested in improving their farms only caused landlords to raise rents, crippling them as they were seeking to maximise their output.¹⁶⁶

Oswald Hague and Cryfield Grange to c. 1950

The broad presentation of British agriculture given above may lead one to gloomy conclusions about its fortunes in the twentieth century. The case of Cryfield Grange demonstrates, however, that the mixed farming so long practised in the area could be profitable if well managed. The success of the farm from 1891 onwards owed much to the energy of Oswald Hague. Hague was born in Alderley in Cheshire in 1886 and grew up at Sandbach near Crewe. In April 1891 he married Rosella Perkins at Rode Heath and

immediately moved to his new residence in Warwickshire. A wedding announcement in the *Cheshire Observer* reported that 'after the wedding breakfast the happy couple, amid hearty good wishes, drew to Crewe, where they took trains for their future home - Cryfield Grange'.¹⁶⁸ Hague was a member of the Church of England and attended Westwood Heath Church. One of his labourers in the 1940s, Frank Lowe, remembered Hague riding to the church in a trap drawn by a pony.¹⁶⁸ Hague was also a canny businessman and made good profits from potato-farming. His success can be judged from his purchases in the 1920s. A number of circumstances contributed to the disintegration of the large landed estates after World War I. The raising of death duties to up to 40% on estates worth more than £2 million encouraged the nation's great landowners to sell off some of their properties. At the same time, war-time rents had not risen as quickly as prices, so farmers were unusually keen to buy.¹⁶⁹ With this in mind, it is easy to see why Oswald Hague decided to purchase his Cryfield Grange Farm from Lord Leigh in 1928 when Leigh put 1,700 acres of his Stoneleigh estates up for sale.¹⁷⁰ Hague had already cashed in on the favourable conditions of the 1920s to buy 39 acres of arable and pasture lands for £2,000 in Princethorpe, Warwickshire in 1921.¹⁷¹

Cryfield and the World Wars

Many people from Cryfield and the surrounding area served in World War I. Captain Percy Hood Hollick lost his life and his sacrifice is commemorated in Westwood Church. Before the war Hollick had been a solicitor in Tile Hill. Other men survived and were rewarded for their service. Sidney Frank Huffadine, part of the family that managed Crackley Dairy Farm, was a gunner in the Royal Garrison Artillery. Other locals who fought were Charles Smitten from Cannon Hill who served in the Royal Warwickshire Regiment and Frederick Satchwell, a wheelwright from Westwood, who was a private in the Labour Corps. All of these men were awarded the British War Medal and the Victory Medal. Frank William Bluemel from Cannon Hill was a lieutenant in the Tank Corps. Frank Lowe's father also served in the Great War and was careful to remember his comrades every Armistice Day.

During World War II the residents of Cryfield and Crackley were threatened by the German bombing campaign. They had to keep an eye out for fires caused by the bombs. A landmine was dropped on the Edgars' Cryfield House Farm but luckily it exploded in empty fields. Four bombs were also dropped on Crackley. Fortunately, no one appears to have been injured. The army stationed batteries of guns as anti-aircraft defences at Gibbet Hill and in the fields of Cryfield Grange where Cryfield Heights now are.¹⁷²

Farmers and labourers

Frank Lowe worked as a labourer on Oswald Hague's Cryfield Grange Farm from 1940 to 1957 and his memories, recorded by Rosalind Lomas, allow us to recapture the lives of the workers on the farm. Many of Hague's labourers were housed in the Crackley Cottages along the Coventry Road, where Laneham Road and Redthorne Grove are today.¹⁷³ Lowe began work as a labourer at fourteen years of age and his father had started at thirteen. Labourers generally worked gruelling days from 7 am till 5 pm. They were only paid for time 'on the job' and hence took very few breaks. For much of the 1940s there was no sick pay and days lost to bad weather were not reimbursed. Frank's mother, Alice, did washing, scrubbing and cleaning for the Hagues for six pence per hour to supplement the family's income.¹⁷⁴

There are many stark points of contrast between labouring conditions in the 1940s and those prevailing today. While he was still a teenager, Frank was kicked in the face by a



Illustration 31: Sorting potatoes at Cryfield Grange. Left to right: Geoff Woodward, Frank Lowe and Dickie Brookes
 Reproduced with permission from Lomas, *Nothing Was Wasted*, p. 49.

bullock. He was rushed to a doctor in Kenilworth and had seven teeth removed, but was back at work in the afternoon.¹⁷⁵ Frank's jobs at Cryfield Grange included mending hedges, cleaning cattle pens, planting and sorting potatoes, preparing ditches and muck-spreading. He took particular pride in the skills he developed as a hedger. Wearing leather mittens to avoid being cut by thorns, he would trim the bushes, lay stakes and weave the hedge stems between the stakes in order to prevent gaps from developing in the hedge.¹⁷⁶ The local gymkhanas and the ploughing matches were social occasions for the farmers and farm workers. Frank remembered that Oswald Hague did not like to lose at the agricultural competitions. Prize crops, such as swedes and mangolds, had to be carefully prepared and presented.¹⁷⁷

Relationships between farmers and labourers were subject to strains, as they had been for centuries. The local newspapers reported cases of drunk and disorderly behaviour and theft. In April 1917, George Bayliss, a farm labourer at Cryfield Grange, was convicted of stealing ten pounds of potatoes costing 1 s. 8 d. from Oswald Hague's farm. Hague did not, however, press charges and wished to take Bayliss back into his employment. For these reasons, Bayliss was sentenced to fourteen days of hard labour, rather than a longer term.¹⁷⁸ He had worked for Hague since at least 1900 and had been resident in one of the labourers' cottages at Cryfield Grange in 1911. He probably provided much needed help on the farm at a time of acute labour shortages, with many men serving in the Great War. Indeed, Hague sought to exempt one of his wagoners, William Day (age 24) from military service in 1916. He was unsuccessful, however, as an adequate substitute for Day had been found.¹⁷⁹

It is not clear whether Oswald Hague showed equal clemency towards a former employee, Alfred Cecil Bishop, who was charged with stealing a lamb, worth 70 shillings, from his farm in January 1931.¹⁸⁰ The statistics concerning sheep stealing show that it was on the wane across the nineteenth century, with 649 offences being reported in 1857

and only 119 in 1892. However, when times were difficult, it was tempting for a labourer to steal an animal that would provide ample nourishment for his hungry family.¹⁸¹ The theft of produce and animals was a habitual hazard for farmers in the area, as a spate of newspaper stories reveal. When thieves stealing mushrooms from Cryfield House Farm in 1939 were caught red-handed by the farm owner, Thomas Edgar, a scuffle ensued and Edgar sued for grievous bodily harm.¹⁸² It seems, however, that farmers were largely philosophical about stealing. When asked by the press about a series of cattle thefts in 1939, John Hague (Oswald's son and partner at the farm) said that 'it would not be possible to patrol the farm every night and that he was doing nothing about it.'¹⁸³

Housing could be a source of contention between farmer and labourer. In 1937 Frank Lowe's father threatened Oswald Hague that he would leave his service if he were not allowed a comfortable labourers' house at the Crackley Cottages. Up till that point he had been living in 'the Cott', an isolated cottage with no running water or sanitation, situated where Oak Tree Cottage is today.¹⁸⁴ Labourers might find themselves in a bargaining position when their work was valuable to farmers, but the aged could find themselves in a precarious position. In 1957, when Frank Lowe junior gave John Hague notice that he would leave his employment, Hague ordered Frank's father to leave the cottage, which was intended for the occupation of a father and son.¹⁸⁵ To a certain extent, however, the Cryfield farmers were aware that they had to cultivate the trust of their workers and provide advantageous employment: if they did not, the labourers would take jobs in towns. The Warwickshire Agricultural Society recognised that the contributions of labourers needed to be rewarded alongside the efforts of the farmers who directly profited from greater productivity in husbandry. Although it might be seen as patronising today, the society awarded a prize to the cottager 'whose cottage, premises and garden are kept in the neatest and best order'. In 1900 one of the prizes of £2 was won by Edward Miller of Cryfield, who worked on the Swinnertons' Cryfield House Farm.¹⁸⁶ As the supply of labourers' accommodation in rural England deteriorated, Oswald Hague continued to house many of his workers on his farm. When he advertised a job for a shepherd in 1902, he specified that the labourer would be housed in one of his cottages.¹⁸⁷ Likewise, when advertising jobs on their farms in the 1950s, John Hague and Thomas Edgar both mentioned that their workers' cottages had electricity and running water. This suggests that such amenities were coming to be expected, although not all lodgings were supplied with them.

On Warwickshire cottages, in the early nineteenth century

In many parts of the county (Warwickshire), the old cottages, or houses for labourers, are built of clay, and thatched: these, compared with those lately built, are poor miserable hovels indeed. ... The new-built cottages have three apartments (rooms) in them; a large one, where the family sit, and cook their food; the other two are sleeping places. There is, in general, a large garden attached to each house, which I observed was usually kept clean, and in good order. The servants of farmers are so valuable a class of people, that their comfort should in all respects be considered; and in none is it so essential as the providing them with comfortable cottages on the farm. ...

From Adam Murray, Land-Surveyor and Estate-Agent,
General View of the Agriculture of the County of Warwick (London, 1815), p. 119

Epilogue

Our documentary history comes to a close on the threshold of the foundation of the University of Warwick. Cryfield Grange continued as a working farm into the 1960s, even as the construction of the university was taking place around it.¹⁸⁸ As noted in the foreword, there has long been interest in the rich and distinctive history of the farmhouse. Fifty years ago, in April 1967, Cryfield Grange was entered onto the list of Grade-II listed buildings. The neighbouring farmhouse Cryfield House (Gibbet Hill Road), dating from the early nineteenth century and situated the university's central campus, followed suit in 1987. In the intervening period, both properties ceased to operate as independent farms: Cryfield House Farm in 1973, when the (still very young) university leased its fields (but not the farmhouse or its outbuildings) to another Coventry farmer, and Cryfield Grange in the run-up to its sale by auction in 1978. A new phase in Cryfield Grange's history opened when it was purchased by the university in 2007.¹⁸⁹ Having been a farmhouse for over eight hundred years, Cryfield Grange now serves as a quiet residential facility for academics.

As a locale, and as a community, established close to former Meso- and Neolithic and Roman settlements, Cryfield Grange's fate was linked with the vicissitudes of Stoneleigh Abbey and the Leigh family (in the early nineteenth century still the largest land-owning estate in Warwickshire). Beyond the neighbouring farms and hamlets, it had connections with Kenilworth, Warwick, Coventry and London. It experienced scrapes with war, in medieval, post-medieval and modern times, whilst Cryfield Grange's evolving farming activities and cottages industries lend us an insight into daily life and the rural economy of over eight hundred years of the Midlands' past.

Endnotes

- 1 Edgar 2017, 31.
- 2 Hilton 1960, 220.
- 3 Hilton 1960, xlix; liii.
- 4 Wilson 2009, 5-9.
- 5 Hilton 1960, 15.
- 6 Hilton 1960, 23.
- 7 Berman 2012, 112-21.
- 8 Berman 2012, 116.
- 9 Williams 2014, 259.
- 10 Williams 2014, 261-2, 268-9; Platt 1969, 16-48.
- 11 Williams 2014, 259; Platt 1969, 71.
- 12 Berman 2012, 112.
- 13 Williams 2014, 264-6.
- 14 Hilton 1960, 220.
- 15 Hilton 1960, xxvii.
- 16 Hilton 1960, 103.
- 17 Hilton 1960, 224.
- 18 Hilton 1960, 103.
- 19 Hilton 1960, 220.
- 20 Hilton 1960, liii.
- 21 Dyer 1981, 13.
- 22 John 1992, 73; Hilton 1960, 53.
- 23 Hilton 1960, xl.
- 24 Hilton 1960, 23.
- 25 Aston 1988, 421-3.
- 26 CPR, 1361-1364 460. Salzman,
- 27 TNA, SC 2/207/77.
- 28 Berman 2012, 118.
- 29 SCLA, DR 18/3/52/8.
- 30 Patterson 1956, 215-6.
- 31 Spendlove 1999, 25 - 31.
- 32 DR 18/30/24/221; Spendlove 1999, 26.
- 33 Hilton 1960, 53; Fenwick 2001, 677.
- 34 Hilton 1960, 135.
- 35 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/107.
- 36 Dyer 1981, 3.
- 37 Dyer 2002, 278-9.
- 38 Hilton 1960, 254; Dugdale 1730, 257.
- 39 TNA KB 27/413, m.14r; Page 1908, 80-1.
- 40 Hilton 1960, xvii-xxi.
- 41 CPR, 1381-5, 311-2.
- 42 Dyer 1981, 10-12.
- 43 Leadam 1897, 2: 440.
- 44 Rous 1745, 123.
- 45 Starting with Dugdale 1730, 265. See also Salzman 1951, 230.
- 46 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/11 and 20.
- 47 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/83.
- 48 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/8.
- 49 Dyer 2013, 116.
- 50 Hilton 1960, xli.
- 51 TNA, E 210/11054.
- 52 Harris 1908, 285, 306, 316.

- 53 Hilton 1960, 127. SCLA, DR 836/14.
- 54 TNA, JUST 2/187. 77 TNA, PROB 11/38/50.
- 55 Kimball 1939, 100, 104-5. 78 *CPR, 1563-1566*, 525; *CPR, 1575-78*, 423.
- 56 *CPR 1377*, 462, 509. 79 TNA, C 2/Eliz/C17/5.
- 57 TNA, JUST 1/974. 80 Burton 1990, 2: 22.
- 58 Hilton 1975, 63-4 for the mood among the peasantry in Warwickshire in 1381. 81 Wood 1773, 18.
- 59 Fenwick 2001, 676. Both were taxed 4 pence in 1377, listed under Leamington. 82 Beaven 1908, 193; TNA, PROB 11/72/60.
- 60 Hilton 1960, 101. 83 TNA, C 2/Eliz/W8/57/1.
- 61 For example: SCLA, DR 18/30/24/166. 84 SCLA, DR 18/3/52/16.
- 62 Hilton 1960, 220. 85 TNA, C 2/Jas/O4/19/1.
- 63 Aston 1988, 423-4. 86 TNA, C 2/Eliz/W8/57.
- 64 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/21. 87 Dean 1996, 249.
- 65 Hieatt and Butler 1985, 74. 88 Ibbetson 2004.
- 66 Webb 1853, 5. 89 Hutton 2004.
- 67 Willoughby, 1686, 251-2; Barrett et al. 2004, 2417-2421. 90 SCLA, DR 18/10/27/1-3.
- 68 Hoffmann 1996, 638 - 43. 91 Broadway 2004.
- 69 Hoffmann 1996, 657-8. 92 Wright 2004.
- 70 Edgar 2017, 22. 93 Benbow 1995, 554-5.
- 71 SCLA, DR 18/3/52/33. 94 *CPR 1553-1554*, 143-4; *CPR 1554-1555*, 140-1, 191-2; *CPR 1560-1563*, 20. Alcock 1993, 9.
- 72 WCRO, CR 561/2, no. 40. 95 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/83.
- 73 SCLA, DR 18/3/52/18a. 96 Coke 1777, Part 4, p. 48 (Andrew Ognal's case).
- 74 SCLA, DR 18/3/52/9. 97 SCLA, DR 18/3/52/9 and 33.
- 75 SCLA, DR 18/3/52/23. 98 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/78.
- 76 SCLA, DR 671/30a, pp. 35-6. The size of the estate is listed in an auction document of 1978 produced by Bernard Thorpe and Partners of Kenilworth. Copy consulted in 99 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/107.
- 100 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/178.
- 101 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/222.
- 102 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/187.
- 103 SCLA, DR 18/3/52/36.
- 104 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/191.
- 105 SCLA, DR 18/30/24/319.
- 106 For the available source material see Alcock 1993, 12-19.
- 107 Edgar 2017, 21-22.
- 108 All references to Cryfield wills, unless otherwise stated, are to Lichfield Record Office, B/C/11. The probate records are organised by name and probate year.
- 109 For a description of the brewing process, see Unger 2004, 4.
- 110 Alcock 1993, 83.
- 111 Alcock 1993, 192.
- 112 Cox and Dannehl 2007.
- 113 Alcock 1993, 194; 33 Henry VIII, c. 9. *Statutes of the Realm*, 3: 841-2.
- 114 Gunn 2010, 53-81.
- 115 WCRO, DR 177/1.
- 116 TNA, SP 28/182/1/279, fol. 53r.
- 117 For all references to Stoneleigh parish records: WCRO, DR 177/1 (unpaginated).
- 118 SCLA, DR 18/1/933.
- 119 WCRO, QS 11/1, QS 11/5, Z 336/1, Z 336/2, QS 11/18, QS 11/30, QS 11/58. Arkell and Alcock 2010, 290.
- 120 Alcock 1993, 83.
- 121 Edgar 2017, 27-29.
- 122 Alcock 1993, 54-5.
- 123 Alcock 1993, 110-11.
- 124 Alcock 1993, 189.
- 125 Thirsk 1984, 182-4; Alcock 1993, 7-8, 10.
- 126 SCLA, DR 18/3/52/16.
- 127 Hilton 2006, 5.
- 128 Armstrong 1990, 113.
- 129 Searle 2004, 176.
- 130 Armstrong 1990, 114.
- 131 WCRO, QS 11/30. See also the figures for 1670 which give the same figures: Arkell and Alcock 2010, 290.
- 132 *Coventry Times*, 2 January 1889; *Coventry Times*, 31 July 1889; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 26 July 1890.
- 133 *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 27 May 1940.
- 134 SCLA, DR 18/31/715, fol. 50v.
- 135 SCLA, DR 662/28.
- 136 WCRO, CRR 2433/31/361.
- 137 *Coventry Herald*, 28 January 1825.
- 138 *Leamington Spa Courier*, 19 May 1866; *Coventry Standard*, 20 July 1866.
- 139 *Coventry Standard*, 24 December 1858.
- 140 *Coventry Standard*, 15 December 1866.
- 141 *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 15 September 1869; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 17 September 1870.
- 142 Lomas 1998, 5-6; 41.
- 143 *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 18 March 1955.
- 144 *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 23 March 1929.
- 145 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 July 1939.
- 146 Lomas 1998, 39.

- 147 *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 8 October 1932.
- 148 *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 16 October 1942.
- 149 MRC, UWA/HILL/15, 'Tray of Videos, Photographs and Slides of archaeological projects from Warwick University's Open Studies'.
- 150 Hampson 2004, 190.
- 151 Hampson 2004, 190-1.
- 152 *Banbury Advertiser*, 8 January 1891.
- 153 Searle 2004, 181-2.
- 154 *Coventry Standard*, 22 July 1944.
- 155 "The Strike in South Warwickshire", *The Times*, 1 April 1872.
- 156 Howkins 2004.
- 157 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 9 May 1872.
- 158 Quinault 2004, 2.
- 159 RCL, 59.
- 160 Horn 1976, 118-24.
- 161 Horn 1976, 131-43.
- 162 Quinault 2004, 7.
- 163 Quinault 2004, 9.
- 164 Pelling 1967, 198.
- 165 *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 19 September 1885.
- 166 *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 5 September 1885.
- 167 *Cheshire Observer*, 18 April 1891.
- 168 Lomas 1998, 17.
- 169 Armstrong 1990, 136-7.
- 170 *Rugby Advertiser*, 16 March 1928.
- 171 *Leamington Spa Courier*, 13 May 1921.
- 172 Lomas 1998, 27-30.
- 173 Lomas 1998, 8-11.
- 174 Lomas, 1998, 23.
- 175 Lomas 1998, 31-2.
- 176 Lomas 1998, 37-8.
- 177 Lomas 1998, 18; 35.
- 178 *Leamington Spa Courier*, 13 April 1917.
- 179 *Coventry Herald*, 3 November 1916.
- 180 *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 17 January 1931.
- 181 Horn 1976, 225-7.
- 182 *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 26 July 1939.
- 183 *Coventry Herald*, 8 July 1939.
- 184 Lomas 1998, 20.
- 185 Lomas 1998, 11.
- 186 *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 1 September 1900.
- 187 *Banbury Guardian*, 24 December 1902.
- 188 Rees 1989, 92-101.
- 189 For the history of the university, see Rees 1989; Shattock 2015.

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Abbreviations

CPR	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i>
MRC	Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick
RCL	Royal Commission of Labour. 1894. <i>The Agricultural Labourer: Vol. 5: General Report</i> . London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. Parliamentary Paper
SCLA	Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive
TNA	The National Archives, London
WCRO	Warwickshire County Record Office

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Appendix 1

Cryfield Grange: An Archaeological Study

The cellar under the N range of Cryfield Grange was measured and recorded by Dr Jenny Alexander with students Fenella Thornton-Kemsley, Jinhee Park and Jun Wang as part of their Art History course, *Deconstructing Medieval and Early-Modern Buildings* in June 2017. Their work forms the basis of the following report.



Fig. 1. The N range of Cryfield Grange, from the NE.

The VCH account of the building, (L.F. Salzman, ed., 'Stoneleigh', in *Victoria County History, Warwick*, Vol. 6, (London 1951), pp. 229-240), includes a partial description of the stone elements of the building. It identifies three features:

1. On the west side of the northern arm a length of original red sandstone ashlar splayed plinth is visible.
2. Under the northern end of this wing is a slightly arched barrel vaulted cellar of mid-sixteenth-century date, with two blocked openings on the west side.
3. [There is a] mid-sixteenth-century two-storied gabled bay of red sandstone ashlar having a blocked window of four ogee-headed lights under a flat head with splayed jambs and sills. Above is a three-light square-headed window with ovolo-moulded jambs and mullions.

To consider each of these in turn.

1. Stone plinths can be seen on most of the walls, not just on the W side of the N range but most appear to have been disturbed or made up of re-used stones. The section on the N range is *in situ* and is the only one that has two chamfered courses above a base course. It disappears under the concrete stairs at one end, and stops abruptly at the other, there is no evidence of a return at this point. A straight-line join in the

brickwork in the upper section of the wall, and the stitching-in of the brick coursing immediately above the end of the plinth, shows where the range abuts the gable end of the S range (Fig. 2).

A single course stone plinth with a chamfered edge, but with brick beneath it, is also present on the opposite side of the range, between its join to the S range and a point beneath the window where there was a doorway that has since been replaced by the three-light timber window (Fig. 3). A number of these features relate to the cellar and lie immediately above it.



Fig. 2. The chamfered plinth on the original end of the N range, note the straight-line join in the brickwork slightly to the left, above the trunking in the centre of the picture.

2. The cellar lies under the S, not the N, end of the N range. It does not extend the whole length of the N range but terminates at a point between the two rain water pipes on the E side of the range, to the right of the lattice-work porch. Open joints in the upper level brickwork show where settlement has occurred in the past at this point (Fig. 4).

The cellar lacks diagnostic features for dating, or use apart from storage. It is constructed of loosely coursed stone with an arched vault of coursed stone supported on the exterior walls and its brick floor lies at least 2 metres below the floor level of the range (Fig. 5). Coursing runs roughly across the corners without any obvious bonding stones. A number of features have



Fig. 3. The SE end of the N range, showing the site of an earlier door, behind the flowerpot, and the coal-shoot for the cellar.

been added at a later date, including brick partition walls and bins at the S end, and a low brick thrall with a channel in it for storage of beer or wine along three of the four walls. It is evident that it formed part of a range that was not originally connected to the S range.

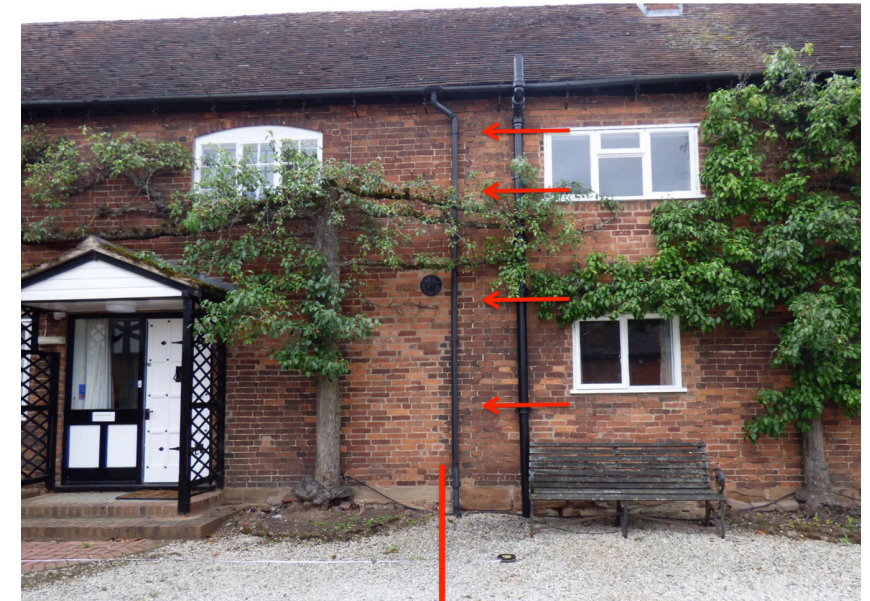


Fig. 4. N range with red line showing the internal length of the cellar, and the open brick joints of the past settlement of the extended range, indicated by the arrows.

Entry to the cellar is from a worn stone staircase in the corner of the S range that cuts through the end wall of the cellar (Fig. 6). The passage to the stair has a mixture of materials with a few courses of stone at the base of one side wall and the end wall, brick to the other side and at a higher level all round, with a section of timber framing trapped amongst the bricks on the left side. Brick patching has been used to make good the opening through the cellar wall which is one metre thick at this point. This is unlikely to have been the original access to the cellar. The thickness of the wall is sufficient to support a building above of one or two stories.



Fig. 5. The cellar N wall, note the blocked openings in the centre of the wall and to the left.

There are several small openings through the cellar walls, one covered by a metal



Fig. 6. Current entrance to the cellar, cut through the original S wall.

plate at the S end of the range, presumably used for a coal-shoot until the recent past, which leads directly into the cellar and is still open (Fig. 3). Two further openings in the cellar wall on this side are now blocked and lie under the steps to the door. A single opening in the N wall, and a second one in the NW corner, must have been blocked when the range above was extended (Fig. 5).

Occupying a large section of the W wall and projecting from it is a stone-built feature fronted by a pair of squared-headed openings for doors that would have opened inwards into the space of the cellar but are now blocked (Fig. 7). Next to the feature on the right



Fig. 7. The two blocked doorways in the W wall of the cellar, note the pintle for the door-hinge on the right frame.

than 2 metres at ground level, tapering off under the curve of the vault. The evidence for doors, including rebates and one surviving pintle, suggests that this was the original entrance to the cellar, accessed from an extension of the cellar to the W, and the evidence for this needs further investigation.

On the exterior it is noticeable that the ground falls away steeply to the W of the range with the current door on this side reached by a flight of concrete steps (Fig. 8). The door itself is recent and its site probably does not represent the position of an earlier door.



Fig. 8. The W side of the N range, showing the inserted doorway and concrete steps.

One possible reconstruction is that the cellar doorways provided the access to a chamber beneath a porch on the W side of the range. If such a porch was sited in line with the cellar doorways then it would line up with the blocked door on the opposite side of the range, and establish the site of a screens passage across the range. Assuming that the range would have been the same length as the cellar, as the blocked opening in the end wall would suggest, then it would have had two chambers, a larger one to the N and a smaller one to the S, containing a service range or providing the access to it. A porch sited on the W wall would have been reached by a flight of steps, possibly with a door in the side at the lower ground level that would have provided an entry to the cellar through the pair of doors on the interior.

Porches with upper rooms are a common feature of stone houses from the medieval period onwards and are frequently found at the ends of screens passages, as at Wingfield Manor in Derbyshire for example, or Great Chalfield in Wiltshire, both from the 15th century. Elizabethan houses also include them in the same position, as at Deene Park,

or more grandly, at Barlborough Hall in Nottinghamshire where the steep flight of stairs up to the main door provides space beneath the porch, although entry there is not to a screens passage (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9. Great Chalfield, right, and Barlborough Hall, showing their porches.

3. The stone 'tower' on the S wall now contains a staircase but there is evidence in the fabric that this part of the building has been modified and its relationship to the rest of the house is not straightforward (Fig. 10). The structure has been rebuilt, however, and it was not originally intended to be a stair turret but was either a two-storied closet accessed from other rooms, or possibly a modified porch.

It has a stone plinth with a chamfered top that originally extended round three sides. At the top of the wall the gable has been incorporated into the adjacent area of brickwork that is stepped forward to meet it. The roof, which has a narrow eaves course of brick and tile, is asymmetric and covers both sections with packing evident at both sides where the roof meets the end of the eaves. The roof meets a short section of lean-to roof above the return wall on the right with its part-gable built in brick since the stonework is not continuous above the level of the gable end of the front face (Fig. 11). The return wall and its plinth continue the coursing from the facade but abut the brick wall in the corner at the base of the wall where the join is hidden behind the rain water pipe, but higher up the stone stops short and is taken into the corner as brick patching. There



Fig. 10. The stone 'tower' on the S range.

are two narrow slit windows on this wall, both of which are now blocked. The lower one has been made by cutting through two courses of stonework but the second one, sited near the top of the wall, was carefully made. It has chamfered jambs and its sill and lintel have been cut with the courses of stone in which it sits. Slight errors in its fit suggest that it has been reassembled.

The red sandstone ashlar is coursed but the section under the blocked four-light window at ground floor level has mortar joints aligned between the courses and the sill of the window which is poor building practice and suggests rebuilding (Fig. 10). The jambs and sills of the window have a chamfer moulding, as does the lintel but there is no hood moulding and the lintel itself is very narrow and may have been cut down. The window is off-set to the left and runs into the corner on the interior. Stone coursing above the window is more regular but there is a crack that runs down the right hand side of the lower window, following a mortar line from the side of the upper window. The upper window which is centred in the wall, has ovolo mouldings to the mullions and to the lintel which is a feature of the 16th century, and distinctly different to the lower window.

Using the structure as a staircase has compromised its features and it seems likely that it has been modified more than once. The wall at the top of the



Fig. 11. Side with blocked windows shown by arrows.



Fig. 12. The staircase, showing the cut-back wall and upper window, left, and pair of blocked windows with glass still in place, right.

stairs (Fig. 12), takes on a strange shape to accommodate the turn, and is of different thicknesses, and the stairs obscure the lower part of the four-light window. It is evident that the window has been made out of a pair of two-light windows joined together clumsily, and that the major mullion is an intrusion, together with the section of sill on which it stands. Ogee headed lights are a feature used in windows from the 14th century onwards in houses, often combined with square heads as in this case. Fragments of glass trapped in the tracery may help provide a date for the windows' original construction. All of these observations lead to the conclusion that the structure has been rebuilt and includes re-used older materials.

The 'tower' is of a similar width to the feature with its doors in the cellar, it shares the same plinth and it is tempting to speculate whether it may have originally formed the porch on the W side of the N range. In this scenario, when the range was rebuilt in brick, presumably in the 18th century, as its brickwork would suggest, the porch was removed and rebuilt using an additional pair of windows instead of a door and eventually formed the staircase of the S range.

It is therefore recommended that a full measured survey of the 'tower' be undertaken and that were the concrete steps on the W side of the N range to be modified, the opportunity would be taken to investigate the ground level for traces of an original porch there.

Appendix 2

Cryfield Grange: The Building and its roofs

A detailed architectural/historical analysis of the house has yet to be undertaken and the following section provides only a brief summary of the main features. Fig. A1 shows the north view of Cryfield Grange, and Fig. A2 a block plan identifying the main units of the building.



Fig. A1. North view of Cryfield Grange (2017)

Apart from the stonework bay on the south side and the projecting unit D on the north, the house is now walled in brick, with segmental-arched windows. However, it is very probable that the whole house was timber-framed, and that this was replaced in brick, probably in the late 18th century at the same date as the main roof was reconstructed. The stone plinth that survives under units A, C and D would have carried the sill beam of the framed walls. The sandstone cellar under the south part of unit C has been surveyed by students under the supervision of Jenny Alexander.

The overall plan, compared to other typical buildings in the region suggests that units A and B comprise a three-room plan hall range, which was entered through a two-storey porch (D) (most probably an addition, though possibly

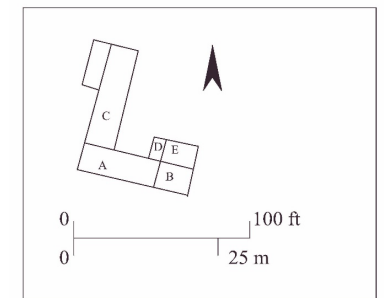


Fig. A2. Block plan of the Grange (redrawn from the 1:2,500 OS map, Warwickshire XXVI.6, of 1905)

original). The east unit of the main range (B) was probably the service end, though later its roof was slightly raised and it was modernised to provide a ground-floor parlour with chamber over. This may also be the date at which the ground floor of the porch was enclosed and the walls mostly rebuilt in brick; its first floor was probably left unaltered because of its decorative framing. Unit E seems to have originated as a timber-framed lean-to filling the corner between units B and C, but it was later raised in brick to two storeys, probably in the early 18th century, since the brickwork includes a plat band typical of this period; its roof oversails that of unit B.

Unit C, partly over the stone cellar, was certainly timber-framed, as some wallposts survive within the brickwork, with arched braces to their tiebeams. It presumably provided additional chambers for the original house, but also probably became the second dwelling when the house was divided in the late 17th century.

The roofs

The roofs have been examined fairly closely, to inform a tree-ring dating project undertaken on them. Unfortunately, though, all the timbers sampled proved to have too few rings for dating to be successful. The existing roofs over units A and C are closely similar, probably late 18th or early 19th century in date, with kingposts carrying principals, with V-struts. They have plank ridges and two sets of purlins (Figs. A3-4).

Particularly significant is that over unit C (only), the majority of the common rafters are smoke-blackened, with halved joints for former collars. Some other timbers in this roof space are also reused, including an axial ceiling beam that seems to have originated as the wallplate of a timber-framed close-studded structure. Most probably, these reused rafters came from the existing building, indicating that unit C may well have been the position of the open hall of the medieval house.



Fig. A3. The early nineteenth century roof structure in unit C (photos James Edgar) (a) Whole truss; (b) Apex of king post (smoke-blackened rafters in foreground)



Other roofs

The only surviving truss of the former porch (unit D) is that on the north elevation, with clasped purlins and curved V-struts over the collar. One truss remains for the roof of unit B, the earliest *in-situ* roof in the present building (Fig. A5). It has a crown strut under the collar, with straight braces and butt purlins. It carries a number of carpenter's marks formed by straight chisel marks. Many of the timbers in this part of the roof are clearly reused, including the crown strut, which has two empty mortices in it with peg-holes.

Fig. A4. The early nineteenth century roof structure, showing reused smoke-blackened rafters (photos James Edgar) (a) looking north (with brick partition wall); (b) Rafters beside king post.



Fig. A5. Truss of unit B, probably early-mid eighteenth century (Photo James Edgar).

Appendix 3

List of Cryfield Grange's Owners and Tenants

Date	Owner	Occupants
c.1155 - 1536	Stoneleigh Abbey	
1538 - 1556	Robert Boucher senior	Henry Porter from 1541
1556 - 1578	Robert Boucher junior	Henry Beare from 1556
1578 - 1600	George Ognell	
1600 - 1606	Otho Nicholson, William Allen	
1606 - 1637	James Altham and heirs	Stephen Wilson to 1633 Anne Wilson from 1633
1637 - 1639	Richard Vaughan, second earl of Carbery	Anne Wilson
1639 - 1649	Elizabeth Egerton	Anne Wilson
1649 - 1650	Thomas Leigh, first Baron Leigh of Stoneleigh, d. 1672	Anne Wilson to 1650
1650 - 1679	Leigh Family	John Hartley
1680 - 1689	Leigh Family	Thomas Higinson
1689 - 1708	Leigh Family	Zachariah Groves
1708 - 1726	Leigh Family	Richard Tompson
1736 - 1748	Leigh Family	Joseph Gibbs
1748 - 1769	Leigh Family	Anne Gibbs
1802 - 1805	Leigh Family	William Adkins
1805	Leigh Family	Edward Ryley
1851 - 1861	Leigh Family	Mary Ambridge
1876 - 1882	Leigh Family	Joseph Wiggins Jennaway
1883 - 1890	Leigh Family	Thomas Wheeler
1891 - 1928	Leigh Family	Oswald Hague
1928 - 1955	Oswald Hague	Oswald Hague and John Hague
1978 - 2007	Brian Dickens	
2007 -	University of Warwick	



We would welcome your feedback on this project. For more information and to tell us what you think, please go to:

warwick.ac.uk/cryfieldgrange

Cryfield Grange is a private, residential property owned by the University of Warwick. The residents' and neighbours' privacy must be respected at all times, and no unauthorised visits are allowed. For enquiries about Cryfield Grange, please contact the Institute of Advanced Study at the University of Warwick on 024 7615 0565.

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