## THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF CRYFIELD

Dissertation
M. J. Spendlove

BA/BSc Environmental Studies Yr 4
University of Warwick
April 1999

## 1. SYNOPSIS

This study shows that it is possible to support what is known about Cryfield as an archaeological site using the historical record. Cryfield is located in the southern section of the University of Warwick campus. It is documented that there has been prehistoric human activity on the site. The remains of a medieval mill dam can be observed and it can be seen that during the past there have been extensive alterations to the water course. Upstream, there seem to be the remains of other mill buildings and the possible remains of a breached mill dam.

It has been possible to establish through historical investigation that there was a mill on the site at the time of the monastic settlement c .1155 . Primary archival evidence has been found for the existence of a mill at Cryfield in 1363-4 and for Cryfield mill's use for fulling in 1545. (Fulling is part of the cloth finishing process). Primary evidence also demonstrates that the mill building had gone by 1697 and this date reflects the decline in the Warwickshire cloth trade. The historical record indicates that fulling and cheese making were particularly important at Cryfield but that farming was the main activity.

## 2. CONTENTS

SECTION ..... PAGE
3. INTRODUCTION ..... 4
4. AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESIS ..... 7
5. METHODS ..... 9
5.1. Archaeological evidence ..... 9
5.2. Historical evidence ..... 9
5.3. Abbreviations ..... 11
6. RESULTS ..... 11
7. DISCUSSIONS AND EVALUATION
7.1. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CRYFIELD
(i) Geology and Drainage ..... 12
(ii) Prehistoric Cryfield ..... 13
(iii) Medieval Cryfield ..... 15

## SECTION

PAGE

### 7.2. THE HISTORY OF CRYFIELD

(i) The Boundaries of Cryfield ..... 17
(ii) The First Monastic Settlement ..... 22
(iii) Historical Evidence for a Mill at Cryfield ..... 25
(iv) The Wool Industry in Warwickshire ..... 32
(v) The Fulling of Cloth ..... 34
(vi) Timbering ..... 38
(vii) Farming and Cheese Making ..... 39
7.3. Conclusion ..... 44
8. REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... 46

## 3. INTRODUCTION

Cryfield is marked on the map on page 3 of the Appendix. The approximate borders of the study area are marked and consist of Gibbett Hill Road to the east and Crackley Lane to the south and west. Roughknowles Wood, Whitefield Coppice and Old Brickyard Plantation form the northern limit of the area which has been investigated. Features of note include Cryfield Mill dam at SP745298, Cryfield House at SP755298 and Cryfield Grange at SP748300. (OS 955, SP27/37 1991). Cryfield forms the southern section of the University of Warwick campus.

The most visible archaeological features within Cryfield are the remains of a medieval mill dam, west of Cryfield Grange. Photographs are in the Appendix, page 4. Also, the water course running through Cryfield is clearly artificial and there is evidence that there were other dams in the area. The mill dam is said to be the best example of its kind in Warwickshire, possibly even in England. It is described in various internal site reports for the University of Warwick. Although some archaeological investigation has taken place, Cryfield mill dam is not a Scheduled Monument, although it is protected to some extent through its ownership by the University.

At present, both the archaeological and historical records of Cryfield are fragmented, although Alcock (1993) has published details of the buildings and probate inventories on the Stoneleigh estate. Also, recent archaeological reports carried out for the University of Warwick are changing our interpretations of the area. If an application is made to schedule the mill dam, it will also be necessary to provide historical documentation to support the archaeological data. The aim of this study is to gather together what is known about Cryfield and provide archival historical support for the archaeology of Cryfield.

The first part of the dissertation examines the existing evidence about Cryfield as an archaeological site, particularly in respect of the mill dam. This includes a brief examination of the geology of the area and what is known about prehistoric Cryfield. The second portion discusses the results of the historical investigations. It begins with an account of the area and boundaries of Cryfield, and includes a brief history of its ownership.

There is a danger when studying such a small area that the evidence will be taken out of context. Dyer's recent paper on "Rural settlements in medieval Warwickshire" stated that "investigations must proceed which take a broad view of settlement as the key to understanding the material culture and social dynamics of the period and which relate the sites and landscapes of the Middle Ages to those of earlier and later times" Therefore, in evaluating the evidence, events and changes which were taking place in Warwickshire are also taken into account.

The historical investigations begin with the first records of the monastic settlement at Cryfield (c1156) and end in 1766, when the first detailed map of Stoneleigh was produced. (SBT TD $63 / 19 / 2: 1766$ ). The main focus of the historical study is the medieval period, or Middle Ages. These are terms which are applied by some historians to the period from the fall of the Roman Empire in Europe (c. 400 AD ) to the Reformation (c.1535).

## 4. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

# HYPOTHESIS <br> "It is possible to support what is known about Cryfield as an archaeological site using the historical record." 

- To investigate what is known about Cryfield as an archaeological site.
- To seek documentary evidence concerning Cryfield mill dam and other archaeological features using the historical record where this is possible.

In order to interpret the evidence and place it in context, it is necessary to look beyond Cryfield itself as a medieval archaeological or historical site. This project therefore has several secondary aims:-

- It is necessary to discover the extent of the boundaries of Cryfield and the Stoneleigh estate during the period studied.
- To examine relevant evidence concerning the Stoneleigh estate as a whole, rather than to consider Cryfield in isolation. Not only will this place the evidence about Cryfield in context, but this may enable some of the gaps in the historical record to be filled.
- To briefly consider the time before and after the medieval age, as the artefacts and history of earlier periods may be important. It is also necessary to study the history of Warwickshire, to establish whether this correlates with the evidence about Cryfield.


## 5. METHODS

The methods made use of evidence from two disciplines, archaeology and history and are illustrated in the diagram on page 5 of the Appendix.

The fieldwork site is described in the first paragraph of the Introduction on page 4.

### 5.1. Archaeological Evidence

- An investigation was carried out into the geology and drainage of Cryfield, through observations made during fieldwalking and reference to internal site reports.
- Observational evidence of Cryfield's artefacts and landscape was gained from fieldwalking, and photographs were taken. Geophysical evidence and internal site reports of Cryfield were also examined.


### 5.2. Historical Evidence

The main focus of the project was to gain historical evidence about Cryfield mill dam. In order to do this, documentary evidence was gathered from several sources:-

- The Stoneleigh Leger Book. This gives details of the early monastic settlement at Cryfield. The published Latin transcription was studied to extract references to the site at Cryfield, particularly those relating to a mill. The account was written by an abbot of the monastery c. 1382 and therefore constitutes secondary evidence. However, the Stoneleigh Leger Book also contains details of charters, court procedures, customs of the manor and details of rentals, the originals of which can be traced and studied.
- The Leigh collection at Stratford Record Office This provided the focus for finding primary archival evidence for a mill, Cryfield's boundaries and other activities at Cryfield. The collection includes leases and assignments, together with maps, surveys and drawings. Archival evidence is also available at Warwickshire County Record Office, Warwick.
- Probate Inventories Probate inventories for Stoneleigh were not available at either Warwick or Stratford Record Office, therefore published copies were studied. These are referenced as they appear.

To evaluate the material and place it in context, it was important to establish whether any events which took place in Warwickshire could alter the interpretation of either the archaeological evidence or the historical documentation. Therefore, a desk-top study was carried out when necessary using books and academic periodicals.
SLB Stoneleigh Leger Book

SBT Shakespeare Birthplace Trust
WCRO
Warwick County Record Office
6. RESULTS

A list of historical documents of Cryfield is on pages 18 and 19 of the Appendix.
These are listed in italics at the beginning of each relevant section in Section 7 in which they are discussed.

## 7. DISCUSSION AND EVALUATION

### 7.1. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CRYFIELD

(i) The Geology and Drainage of Cryfield

It is clear from the geological map on page 6 of the Appendix that Warwickshire is divided into north and south by the River Avon. Cryfield lies on the Arden Plateau, most of which is formed of Pleistocene clays and sandstones. The Nuneaton Ridge, to the north, is a complex upthrust syncline which contains carboniferous coal deposits, which led to the industrial development of this region. The south, or Feldon area, consists of Liassic clays and limestones, which give rich agricultural land.

Tile Hill Mudstone is found over the majority of the Arden plateau, and its distinctive red colour and heavy clay texture is evident at Cryfield. The mudstone also contains some sandstone and there is a quarried outcrop of sandstone along Gibbet Hill Road. Most of the site comprises Tile Hill Mudstone and sandstone, although there are some alluvial deposits around Canley Brook.

Canley Brook runs through a low valley defined by the sandstone ridges of Gibbet Hill to the East and the hill on which Cryfield House farm stands to the West. (Bradley \& McLean, 1997). The alluvium of Canley Brook comprises clays, silt, sand and gravel. (Hill \& Smith, 1997).

## (ii) Prehistoric Cryfield

Archaeological evidence has demonstrated that there has been human activity within the University campus since at least the Mesolithic period. Prehistoric stone artefacts have been discovered and numerous Neolithic worked flints have been found, particularly in the fields around the mill dam. Iron Age/Romano-British occupation is evident from the upstanding enclosure in Tocil Wood and the banjo-shaped enclosure at Westwood. From at least the first century, clay has been extracted from the area and there is evidence of quarrying during different periods at Gibbet Hill, Cryfield House and Brickyard Plantation.

An archaeological investigation was carried out in 1997 in the field south east of Cryfield Farm House (SP 7540 2967) prompted by the discovery of worked flints and Roman pottery in the area. Using geophysical survey, aerial photographs and excavation, the investigation revealed evidence of earlier horticultural systems, animal bones and a spatial arrangement of post-holes and pits, probably the remains of a wooden superstructure. (Hill \& Smith 1997). The archaeological potential of the campus is particularly rich and evidence to date supports the view that there was prehistoric activity on the site.

Evidence of settlements of Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age are rare in Warwickshire, as in most of the rest of the country. However, this may reflect a lack of published information on the area, rather than the absence of settlement. However, there is limited Mesolithic and more frequent Paleolithic evidence in the form of stone axes. (Hingley, 1996)

It has been suggested that the Feldon (or southern) area of Warwickshire had been cleared by the Roman period (c.46AD-c400AD). Derivations of the word "Feldon" include "champion areas" (Hooke, 1996) and "at the open land" (Hill ed 1998), reflecting its agricultural past. The Arden area, remained well wooded: "Arden" is an ancient Celtic word, meaning possibly "hilly wood", (cf Ardennes in Belgium) or "Highland" (Hooke, 1996). Evidence from the rest of Warwickshire indicates that the contrast between the wooded north and the agricultural south continued throughout the Anglo Saxon period.

## (iii) Medieval Cryfield

The most outstanding archaeological features of the area are the remains of a mill dam which stands some 2 m above the surrounding land. It has been subject to erosion, and would have stood higher when it was operational. The present water course in the area is clearly artificial and there are ploughed-out remains of another mill dam downstream from Cryfield Dam. (Hill \& Smith, 1992). A resistivity survey carried out in 1998 (page 7 of the Appendix) on an area close to Cryfield dam confirmed that there is evidence of a structure underneath the soil alongside Canley Brook, which may be the foundations of building. (Barnes et al 1998). A site plan of the mill dam appears on page 8 of the Appendix.

Evidence from fieldwalking suggests that there have been other buildings alongside the stream at some time in the past. When walking approx. 200 m upstream, specific areas of Roman tiles, medieval brick and stones can be observed. Further archaeological investigation is necessary to determine whether these indicate the location of other mill buildings.

In this area, the soil is predominantly sandstone. In part of one of the fields alongside the stream, an area of clay can be seen on top of this sandstone. Also, there is a change in the vegetation which grows on this clay. (Photograph, page 9 Appendix). There is prehistoric flint in the sandstone fields around this area, but there is none in the clay region.

The Roman tiles and sandstone evident above ground upstream from Cryfield dam suggest that several mills may have operated along this stretch of Canley Brook at various times in the past. Upstream, the presence of clay on top of the sandstone strongly suggests that one of the dams which existed at Cryfield has been either deliberately or accidentally breached, spreading clay on top of the sandstone and the Neolithic flint. Excavation may reveal this flint, sandwiched between the clay above and the sandstone beneath.

### 7.2. THE HISTORY OF CRYFIELD

## (i) The Boundaries of Cryfield

```
Documents:
Stoneleigh Leger Book (1960) pp. 24, 209, 219, 22
DR 18/1/928 (1544)
DR 18/3/52/19 (1558 \& 1560)
DR 18/25/69a (1597)
WRCO CR 561/2 (1638)
DR 18/3/52/18b (1661)
TD 63/19/2 Map 5 (1766)
DR 671/81 (Map 5) (1766)
WRCO Z142 (L1/SEP) (1767)
```

Prior to monastic occupation c.1155, Cryfield appears to have been part of a large manorial estate. Its name is probably derived from the Saxon word "creowel", meaning "open land by the fork" (Poulton-Smith, (1996) p.125) The Stoneleigh Leger Book records that before the foundation of the Abbey, the king had two mansions in the manor, one in Stoneleigh and the other at Burystede. Attached to Burystede, there were six carucates of land held in demesne, two at Dullesworth and four at Cryfield. (SLB: p.219) Land measured in carucates is generally assumed to be cultivated in open fields. There were no buildings but it was enclosed by earthworks. It was wooded when the Leger Book was written in the late fourteenth century. (SLB p.24). The evidence in the leger book indicates that the total amount of the demesne land at Cryfield amounted to about 480 acres. There were probably six nuclei of settlement: Stoneleigh village, Sareton, Finham, Canley, Fletchampstead and Cryfield. These are indicated on the map on page 10 of the Appendix. Page 11 of the Appendix shows the approximate boundary of the land included in the grant of Stoneleigh Abbey at its foundation.

The description of the land included in the grant states that two ploughlands of Dullesworth were attached to Cryfield grange. From the earliest times, Westwood was regarded as part of Cryfield. Some of the field names include Dallefeld, Hurstfeld, Milnefeld, Parkfield and Cotefurlong. (p.220) Millfield (Milnefeld) can be placed on the 1766 map. (TD 63/19/2 Map 5: 1766) : (page 12 in the Appendix). Hurstfield would probably be to the north west of Cryfield Grange.

Hilton (p.xiviii) suggests that Dallefeld is associated with Burystede Wood (next to Cryfield Grange) but place names containing "Dalle" are also found south of Cryfield Grange. The leger book describes a holding to Robert Lytulmon of 30 acres of "Dallemor de vasto de Dalle" (the waste of Dalle) attached to Cryfield Grange (SLB: p.209) Hodgetts (1999) states that Dalley Field must be connected with Dalle Wood, which ran down Kenilworth Road and ultimately became Stoneleigh Common. This suggests a location north of Mill Field, perhaps in the area known as Wall Field in 1766. (Hodgetts, 1999)

Hilton (1960) is also unable to place Parkfield. However, the 1766 Mathias Baker Survey (TD 63/19/2: 1766) shows Parkfield and Parkfield Meadow next to Monks Heyes. Monks Heyes is said to be the Park of the Monks. This could be the location of the Parkfield mentioned in the deeds.

Hilton suggests (p. xivi) that the granges were probably manors taken over by the monks. Others were granges in the specifically Cistercian sense, new centres of cultivation pioneered by the monks and their servants. By the later years of the fifteenth century, the nearby granges of Milburne and Bockendon were being leased out, but Cryfield seems to have remained the property of the abbots.

Most of the income of the estate was derived through rentals: as Alcock (1993) states, the most significant feature of tenure in Stoneleigh was its informality. Most tenants held at will, which implied life tenure at a fixed rent. This seems to have been controlled by custom and accepted by both lord and tenant. Life leases were usual in the 16th century, being replaced by 21 year leases in the late 17 th century. The succession of a widow seems to have been automatic. The major freeholds were created by Crown land sales after the Dissolution. (Alcock, 1993)

Cryfield Grange was sold in 1544, after the Dissolution (1536-9) to Robert Bocher and Elizabeth, his wife. The first surviving map of 1597 (DR 18/25/69a: 1597) shows land in the Leigh ownership and enables the limits of the Bocher grant to be determined, as the blank areas (Cryfield) are labelled "Mr. Ugnall's freehold". Bocher's purchase of Cryfield Grange with 30 acres of land included Whitefield, Pottersfield, Rough Knowles, Smooth Knowles, Monksheyes, Parkfield and Mattmakers, together with twenty acres of pasture on Blackwaste, Benfield, Hobbens and Walforde, and thirty more of arable on Millfield. (DR18/1/928:1544) In his will, Bocher left "all his land lying at Cryfield in Warwick" to his older brother's son. (Description of Deed No. 2: WRO CR 561/2:1638).

Cryfield later came into the possession, through part-inheritance, of Dame Elizabeth Egerton, mother-in-law of Thomas, first Baron Leigh. The grange then passed to Thomas and his wife Mary in 1649. (Hill, (ed) 1991) An indenture dated 1661 details the field names and the woods. (DR 18/3/52/18b:1661) These are transcribed in the Appendix on page 20.

The Leighs rented Cryfield before they owned this part of the Stoneleigh estate. In 1558 and 1660, accounts for rent due to Sir Thomas and Lady Mary Leigh for land at Cryfield "late belonging to the Lady Elizabeth Egerton" shows that they paid $£ 132$ per annum for Cryfield Grange and all the land. (DR 18/3/52/19:1558 and 1560).

In about 1638 , the Cryfield Grange estate included three small-holdings. In 1675 , two much larger farms were created: Gibbet Hill Farm (87 acres in 1766) and Cryfield House Farm (197 acres in 1766). By 1736 the original grange was known as Old Cryfield and Cryfield House was known as New Cryfield. (Hill (ed) 1991)

The extent of Cryfield Grange in 1544 follows almost exactly the extent of Cryfield outlined on the 1766/7 maps. (TD 63/19/2 Map 5 (1766), DR 671/81 (1766) and WRCO Z142(11/SEP)
1767) The boundaries changed very little from 1544 to 1766 . The historical record shows that the extent of Cryfield remained virtually unchanged from the time of the foundation of the Abbey until 1766.

## (ii) The First Monastic Settlement

## Document: All page numbers in this section refer to The Stoneleigh Leger Book (1960)

The foundation of the Abbey predates the grant of land at Stoneleigh. Originally, the monks had been granted land at Radmore, near Cannock, where they stayed for thirteen years. Henry and his Mother, Empress Maud, granted and confirmed the foundation of a Cistercian Abbey in the Forest of Cannock, with two hides of land. However, the monks claimed that they were "multa inedia molestati et forestariorum oneroso aduentu pregrauati" (molested with such penury and sore aggrieved with the chargeable access of foresters) that they petitioned King Henry in order to obtain an exchange of the site. (p.15)

It was not unusual for royal gifts of land to be made to religious houses at the time. Many were founded in Warwickshire in the twelfth century. (Slater, 1981) These are shown on page 13 of the Appendix. The Cistercians, also known as "White Monks", because of their white habits, were a reform movement of the Benedictine order, who sought to revive the primitive rules of poverty and stark simplicity advocated by St. Benedict. (Gies, 1994). Launched in Citeaux, Burgundy, the popularity of this order diminished towards the end of the thirteenth century.

Henry's subsequent grant of Cryfield may not have been entirely altruistic. Not only would prayers be said regularly for him and his mother, but the gift offered him the chance to evict a disreputable tenant.
"There belonged to the same mansion at Burysteede vi caracates of land with appurtenances in a demesne where a certain earl a stranger born was permitted to dwell by the King's licence. Which earl was reported to be a very great robber and an intollerable destroyer of the travellers of the highway adjoining on each side of him. Therefore King Henry ... gave to the abbey and monks of Radmore towards the foundation of the abbey of Stoneleigh certain possessions ... in the manor of Stoneleigh for the exchange of the Abbey of Radmore". (p.219)

However, this gift had a condition attached. The monastery had to be of the Cistercian order. William, the abbot of Radmore, and his monks were not Cistercians, so two monks were sent to Haymone, the second abbot of Bordesley for instruction. (p.15, 249) They appear to have become friends with their fellow monks at Bordesley.

It appears that the land given by exchange to the monks was already occupied. The inhabitants at Cryfield were "removed from thence to a town called Hurst. (p.15) Another account gives a more detailed description. "et primitus quidem in loco vbi munc est grangia de Crulefeld manserunt translatis hominibus qui ibi habitauerand ad villam que munc dicitur Hurst." (First they settled in the place where Cryfield Grange now is, moving the people who lived there to a village which is now called Hurst") Future archaeological investigations may reveal the remains of these abandoned homes.

There is evidence that Hurst and Cryfield were "tythings" at the time. These would have consisted of a few scattered homesteads, rather than being nucleated villages. By 1303, the number of householders recorded lists Hurst as having 17, the highest number on the Stoneleigh estate. Cryfield had 16, of a total of 88 taxed householders at Stoneleigh (excluding the monks). (Alcock, 1993) It is evident that settlement was still very thinly scattered, even at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

It is not known for how long the monks stayed at Cryfield, but it is possible that it did not offer them the solitude they sought. They wished to "dwell further from the town than near the town of Cryfield". Instead, they "chose their foundation near where their greater portion was, especially for nearness to the River Avon on one side and Eachills on the other". (p.220)

## (iii) Historical Evidence for a Mill at Cryfield

Documents: $\quad$ Stoneleigh Leger Book pp.22-23, 168, 220<br>DR 18/1/712 (1363)<br>DR 18/3/52/8 (1545)<br>DR 18/10/32/1-7 (1611)<br>DR 18/3/52/26 (1696)<br>DR 18/10/38 (1697)<br>DR 662/129/132 (undated)<br>DR 18/17/12/8 (1702)

It would appear that there was already a mill at Cryfield at the time of the grant of Stoneleigh to the monks. John's charters (SLB p.22-3) includes "omnibus aliis pertineciis suis et molendinium eisdem ville .." (all other pertinences and mill in the village). (p.22) A later tenancy agreement with Robert Lytulmon dated 1384 refers to "indenturam molendinium aquaticum de Crulefeld cum stagno hommis baiis boscis ... vocato Neyercrulefeldpol cum piscibus et boscis ..". (A water mill at Cryfield with pools ... called Nether Cryfield Pool, fish and cattle.) (SLB p.220) Also, letters patent from Edward III dated 1363 include a mill at Cryfield. (DR 1/8/1/712: 1363)

The archival evidence shows that this mill was used for fulling cloth. A grant to Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, dated 13th March 1545 includes "all that fulling mill with appurtenances now or later in the tenure of William Allison or his assignees in Cryfield in the Lordship of Stoneleigh in the late priory." (DR 18/3/52/8:1545). A copy of this grant and a transcript are on page 21 and 22 of the Appendix. (Fulling was part of the finishing process in cloth making and closed the weave in the cloth. The process of fulling is described in more detail under Section 7.2 (v):The Fulling of Cloth.)

Articles of Agreement dated August 1697 for the purchase of land at Cryfield describes part of Cryfield as the "scite" (site) of a fulling mill". (DR 18/10/38: 1697) (pages 23 and 24 of the Appendix). This reference provides conclusive evidence that the mill had gone by 1697.

Of particular interest is that the same document refers to the sites at Cryfield, Gatebridge and Griffolds as one and the same, as the document includes the word "als", meaning "alias":
"All those closes called Griffolds, als. Cryfield Damme, als, Gatebridge, als. Gatsbridge Grounds containing 30 acres and the land covered with water and the fishing therein in Hurst and Cryfield in the parish of Stoneleigh near to Gatebridge, and the scite of a fulling mill ...."

Great care must be taken when interpreting this document. It is as well not to read too much into it, as it could be construed in several ways, yet its message must not be missed. As Cryfield Dam is described as "the scite (site) of a fulling mill", it is clear that the mill at Cryfield had gone by 1697. However the reference to "all those closes called Griffolds als Cryfield Damme als Gatebridge als Gatsbridge Grounds containing 30 acres" is more difficult to interpret. There are a number of explanations of the meaning and it must be remembered that closes (or fields) rather than dams or mills are described. Interpretation rests upon the meaning of the word "als" (alias) which can vary in definition

One meaning given by the Oxford English Dictionary (Swannell, 1992 p .25 ) is "also named or known as". With this interpretation, the 30 acres of land were known as either Griffolds, Cryfield Damme, Gatebridge or Gatesbridge Grounds in 1697 and we might assume that the lawyer who drew up the document included all the names for the sake of clarity. On the other hand, the word "alias" is derived from Latin, meaning "at another time, otherwise". (ibid) The Latin context is, I feel, the more likely meaning for a lawyer to use. This leads to the conclusion that in 1697, the 30 acres of land were known by other names in the past.

This suggests that in 1697, Gatebridge and Griffolds were names given to fields in the past, but that these names were no longer in use. At the time that the agreement was drawn up in 1697, we can reasonably assume that Cryfield Dam was sufficiently important to be mentioned separately, as the "scite of a fulling mill". There is also an implication that in 1697 , the fulling mill was still within living memory at Cryfield. Gatebridge and Griffolds had no distinguishing features at the time that the agreement was drawn up.

If this latter interpretation of the word "alias" is correct, it also has implications for the interpretation of the archaeological record. It suggests that Cryfield mill remained after any buildings which existed at Griffolds and Gatebridge had gone.

The agreement of 1697 is not the only use of "alias" in a legal document referring to Cryfield. An earlier agreement for the sale of timber in Little Mattmakers dated 1696 also makes reference to "Cryfield alias Gatebridge". (DR 18/3/52/26) This supports the view that the two locations were synonymous at the time.

Concerning the location of "Griffolds", the 1547 Bailiffs Accounts for Warwick states that it was close to Gatebridge. Griffolds is described as "near Gatebridge" and at the time was described as a dam, not a mill. At the time, Griffolds had a fish pond, rather than a mill.
> "... and of one pool with fishery in the same being near Gatebridge, within the lordship of Stoneley, called Griffelde Dame ... let to Humfrey Reignolds and Richard Andrews ..." (Bickley (1923) p.4)

A Suit in Chancery of 1611 refers to "Gatebridge alias Cryfield Dam". (DR 18/10/32 1-7:1611) Therefore Cryfield Dam and Gatebridge were regarded as one and the same as early as 1611.

This document raises another issue: the location of Gatebridge. A plan in the Appendix (p14) shows a sketch of the fishponds, dams and mill complex of the area. Gatebridge is indicated downstream from Cryfield Dam but its position is not marked. However, the Stoneleigh Leger Book refers to ".. pons vocatus Gatebrugge in ville de Stonleye" (a bridge called Gatebridge in the town of Stoneleigh). (p. 168). Hilton (1960) places Gatebridge Meadow in the Avon loop. (p.xllviii) over two miles south west of Cryfield Grange. He shows Gatebridge in this position on the map of Stoneleigh. (page 10 of the Appendix). If Stoneleigh Village was situated in 1611 in the place where it is now, and Gatebridge was where Hilton has placed it, it would not be contained within the thirty acres of land of Cryfield mentioned in the document of 1697. This would necessitate a strip of land a maximum of 35 yards and 9 in . wide. (See calculations on page 15 of the Appendix).

One of several explanations is possible. There could have been two places known as Gatebridge on the Stoneleigh Estate. This seems unlikely, although there must have been several bridges with gates over the years. Alternatively, the writer of Stoneleigh Leger Book, Thomas Pype, could have been inaccurate in his descriptions of the location of Gatebridge. However, this does not explain its closeness to Stoneleigh village, described in the leger book. A third explanation is that the original position of Stoneleigh village was closer to Cryfield than it is now. Gate Bridge Meadow is marked downstream from Cryfield Dam on the 1766 map and I feel that this is its most likely position, bearing in mind its inclusion in a 30 acre parcel of land at Cryfield.

The archaeological evidence has indicated that upstream, a mill dam may have been breached, spreading clay on to the fields. It is tempting to speculate that Gatebridge and Griffolds were upstream, rather than downstream, from Cryfield. This would explain the historical evidence, the disappearance of the mill at Gatebridge and the clay area around Canley Brook.

The operation of several mills at the same time seems unlikely. This could have led to periodic loss of power for a downstream mill, for instance during a drought, when the resources of the stream had been stored in the pools of upstream mills. Also, in periods of prolonged wet weather, upstream mills may have been forced to release excess water, flooding downstream dams. It would seem sensible to build new mills upstream of existing dams, to avoid the silt load of the stream. It is certainly likely that a series of dams was constructed over the centuries, and it appears logical that each one would be built further upstream from the last.

The archaeological and historical evidence concerning the construction of mills and dams along this particular stretch of Canley Brook is extremely complex. It is possible that further archaeological and historical investigation will clarify the past. What is clear is that mills and dams were planned and built from before the monastic occupation of 1156 until the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century brought steam power to such industries as milling and fulling.

Mills were still planned for Stoneleigh until this time. A set of four working drawings for the construction of a water mill was discovered amongst the miscellaneous documents of Cryfield. (DR 662/129-132) Intriguingly, this is described as "The Hurst design for two pairs of stones" and incorporates twin mill wheels, both fed from troughs. Copies of these drawings are included on pages 25-28 of the Appendix.

Unfortunately, they are undated and not signed. The drawings are produced on good quality paper rather than parchment, but there is no watermark. According to the Archivist at Stratford Record Office, stylistically the hand is late eighteenth century or early nineteenth century. We can estimate this as between 1770 and 1810. It is tempting to conclude that these drawings were designed for a location in Hurst, given their title. They were clearly designed for a particular location as maximum dimensions are given for the ground floor.

There is evidence that dams and pools were under construction in Hurst until at least the beginning of the seventeenth century. A lease from Thomas Leigh to Nicholas Hall of Berkswell dated 1702 shows that he planned to set up a water mill on Umbers Spring, on Westwood Heath (in Hurst) "with the newly made dames and pooles.... " (DR 18/17/12/8: 1702) However, it could be that "Hurst" was a coincidental name given to the unusual design of the mill shown in the drawings. It is also possible that the mill building was never constructed. Further archival research is necessary to establish whether a mill was planned for Hurst at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century.

## (iv) The Wool Industry in Warwickshire

The wool industry was of prime importance in Warwickshire until the latter part of the seventeenth century. It began as a "cottage industry": well before the Roman occupation of Britain, sheep's wool was being spun into yarn for weaving into cloth. A parliamentary statute of 1337 encouraged and protected the domestic clothmaking industry by forbidding the import of foreign wool textiles. (Ramsay, 1982). Gradually, wool gained in importance, particularly in the Feldon region. The resources of the Arden were better suited to mixed land use and developed along a less specialised route. (Dyer, 1996)

The reasons for this are complex but can be partially explained by the geology of the region, the historical development of the two areas and the impact of the Black Death. We can be confident that in the 14th and 15th centuries, the Black Death of 1348-9, subsequent epidemics, and possibly changes in patterns of marriage and fertility and economic problems halved the population of Warwickshire. Villages and hamlets shrank everywhere and a minority were totally deserted. However, these are outnumbered by the number of villages which shrank. (Appendix, p.16) Demographic decline was one element in a deep crisis in society with far-reaching results. The relations between lords and their tenants went through a period of stress, in which both sides learnt to adjust to the bargaining power that the peasants had gained from their scarcity. (Dyer, 1996)

There was a move from arable to pastoral farming in Warwickshire which is well documented: this was particularly apparent in the Feldon. There was a third more pasture in 1500 than before 1349. (Dyer, 1981) The shortage of labour after the Black Death encouraged landlords to keep flocks of sheep, which required only the labour of one shepherd, rather than the more labour-intensive cultivation of the fields.

Finding that their labour was no longer required for cultivating crops, many people left the Feldon area and moved north, to enclose land from the forest and diversify into timbering, keeping livestock and mixed farming. Stoneleigh, however, cannot be regarded as typical of the Arden settlements, as it was a monastic estate. Land could not be assarted from the forest as it was already owned by the monastery. Nevertheless, it is clear that Cryfield benefited from this move from arable farming to keeping flocks of sheep as it brought with it the rise of the wool industry in the region. Stoneleigh became a centre for one of the stages in finishing woven cloth: the fulling process.

## (v) The Fulling of Cloth

Wool had to be cleaned, oiled, sorted and carded or combed before it reached the spinner. The yarn was fed into a loom and the weaver transformed it into a piece of cloth, which was then fulled. This is an ancient process, which consists of steeping the fabric in fulling agents, then beating the cloth, so that the fibres hold together, closing the gaps in the weave.

The Greeks and Romans used various alkaline detergents, including plant ashes and stale human urine, together with fullers earth, as fulling agents. After being steeped in this mixture, the cloth was then trampled in a vat. As the fabric shrank during the fulling process, it was stretched on frames, or tenters and held in place by tenter-hooks. Lines of post-holes at Silchester may have been for tenter frames. (Singer et al, 1956). Lastly, the nap of the cloth was raised by passing teasels, mounted on a frame, across the fabric, after which shearmen clipped off the fluff and rough wool. (Ramsay, 1982). There is an illustration of monks producing fulled cloth on page 17 of the Appendix.

It is thought that the Cistercians may have brought the technology for mechanically fulling cloth from France. The trampling feet of the fullers were replaced by wooden hammers, which beat the cloth, driven by the power of a water mill. The first fulling mill is documented in France in 1050. (Singer et al, 1956).

By the latter part of the seventeenth century, fulling mills had died out with the general decline in the clothing trade. Worcester became the new development point for the wool trade, with its close proximity to Hereford and Shropshire and Coventry moved into decline. (Ramsay, 1982).

Although there are references in the Stoneleigh Leger Book to a mill at Cryfield at the time of monastic occupation, this gives no indication that it was used for fulling. Conclusive archival evidence of fulling is only found in 1545 , with the grant to the Duchess of Suffolk of a fulling mill at Cryfield. (DR18/3/52/8) However, the evidence suggests that fulling on Stoneleigh had been important before 1545 .

In its time, fulling was exceptionally important in Stoneleigh. Few inventories list cloth, therefore the Stoneleigh fullers were probably finishing cloth for Coventry merchants. Alcock states that at its height in 1600 , the parish of Stoneleigh had six fulling mills and several Coventry cloth merchants used Stoneleigh as a base. Probate records show four fullers from 1533 to 1600 at Stoneleigh, nine from 1601 to 1650 . We can say that fulling at Stoneleigh reached its peak in 1558, with the domination of the Coventry Guild of Fullers by Stoneleigh fullers, who constituted half of its members at this time. (Alcock, 1993)

During the Middle Ages, proximity to a market such as Coventry was a great economic advantage. The town was the unofficial regional capital of the Midlands, the third largest provincial centre of England in the 1377 Poll Tax. It was still a top ranking town at the end of the sixteenth century. (Dyer, 1996) Probably, the fullers of Stoneleigh were carrying out work for Coventry clothiers and merchants on their way from the Feldon to sell their cloth at Coventry market.

Coventry's clothing trade declined in the latter part of the seventeenth century. By 1766, only three mills remained on the Stoneleigh estate, all for corn. (Alcock, 1993) Archival evidence shows that Cryfield mill reflected this decline as it had gone by 1697, when the site was described as "the site of a fulling mill". (DR 18/10/38:1697) This correlates with other historical evidence concerning Stoneleigh, Coventry, and what is known of the wool trade in Warwickshire. .

To summarise, we can say with some conviction that there was a mill at Cryfield at the time of the monastic occupation in 1155. There is conclusive evidence that it was used for fulling in 1545. (DR18/3/52/8:1545) However, the historical record suggests that it would have been used for fulling much earlier than this, possibly even from the time that the monks first came to Cryfield. The fulling trade was at its height in 1558 but there is conclusive documentary evidence that the mill had gone by 1697.(DR 18/10/38L 1697).

Fulling was only one of a number of activities at Cryfield in the medieval period. The final part of this study involves briefly examining other activities at Cryfield: timbering, farming and cheese making.
(vi) Timbering

Documents $\quad$ DR 18/17/12/8 (1689)
DR 18/17/12/9
DR 18/3/52/26 (1696)
WRO CR 561/2 (1638)

In 1638, there were still 255 acres of woodland on the 914 acres of Cryfield. (WRO CR 561/2: 1638: pp.29-33 in the Appendix). Details of the management of the woods on Cryfield is evident from agreements which were often drawn up by a lawyer. These carefully specify the number of years of growth which may be taken, and which has to be left. For example, the sale and purchase of underwood and other specified timber in Little Monks Heyes Coppice can be found in document 18/17/12/8 (1689) and the sale of underwood in Great Whitefields Coppice in DR18/17/12/9. An agreement for the sale of timber in Little Mattmakers specifies that timber of 18 years growth can be taken, from oak, ash, aspen and aloe. The strongest underwood had to be left standing. (DR18/3/52/26:1696) These agreements show that timbering should be considered as part of the economy of medieval Cryfield.

Watkins (1997) suggests that the carefully managed woodlands of the Arden allowed the pursuit timber by-occupations, for example, the manufacture of wood-based fuels such as charcoal. There was also gathering of underwood for fuel, fruits, game, wax and honey. Although by no means universal, these diverse arable, pastoral and woodland economies may have kept the local economy of the Arden comparatively buoyant. (Watkins, 1996)

## (vii) Farming and Cheese Making

## Documents: WRO CR 561/2 (1638) <br> DR18/1/939 (1674) <br> TD 63/19/2 (1766)

By 1392, the abbey had leased out most of its land to farmers who were, as Alcock has remarked, "the backbone of its community" (1993, p.197) No evidence has been found concerning specific farming practices at Cryfield during the monastic occupation. Few clues have emerged concerning the crops which were grown or which animals were reared. However, the grant of Cryfield Grange to Robert Bocher (DR 18/1/939:1574) mentions "Whitfelde" (later known as Whitefield) which is said to be derived from "wheat field".

Alcock (1993, p.10) says that almost everyone in Stoneleigh was a farmer, practising mixed husbandry, with good access to pasture and meadowland as well as arable. He feels that Stoneleigh must have felt the same economic influences as both the Arden and the Feldon: pastoral farming, especially dairying, but with a more Feldon-like emphasis on arable crops. Also, the extensive commons of Stoneleigh allowed farmers whose land lay in the open fields good access to grazing. (Alcock, p.187).

More detailed evidence of farming practices can be found in later probate inventories. The inventories of two tenants of Stoneleigh, Thomas Higinson (1689) (Alcock, 1993) and Richard Tompson (1727) (Hill (ed) 1991) show that mixed farming was practised at the time. These are reproduced in the Appendix, pp.34-39. Thomas Higinson was one of four tenants who held portions of Cryfield Grange in 1689. His inventory shows that he kept sheep, pigs and cows and grew corn, oats and peas. He also had twenty acres of corn and was preparing to sow five acres with rye.

Richard Tompson of Stoneleigh left far less. His inventory includes 61 sheep, two old cows, two heifers, two lame mares and one lame cow. He kept a few pigs and geese and only had a little corn growing in the fields, a rick of oats, and small parcels of hay and white peas. However, both Tompson and Higinson died in the winter, when only store animals were kept for the following year's stock. Also, crops would have been grown and sold before the winter months, leaving only sufficient for winter use on the farms.

Both inventories show equipment for making cheese. In Stoneleigh, the sale of dairy products was probably of equal importance to wool. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Warwickshire cheese was modestly celebrated and sought after by the nobility, supposedly being a favourite of Queen Anne. (Alcock, 1993). The trade had almost disappeared by the 19th century, due to the relatively low yield in Warwickshire of 3cwt. per cow a season. (Hill (ed) 1991. Before mass-production in the dairy industry, cows gave the most milk in the spring and early summer, therefore most cheese was made then.

Most farms had a cheese press and sold the surplus. The largest stocks were held in early autumn, gradually being eaten or sold over the winter. Thus inventories taken in the autumn are likely to reveal the maximum stock. Alcock (1993) has also shown that cheese production is demonstrated by a change in the construction of houses between 1600 and 1700. An extra room was built for use as a cheese-chamber, and these were almost universal in eighteenth century farmhouses on the Stoneleigh estate.

Relatively large stocks of cheese were held in the Autumn and Winter months. For example, the inventory of Stephen Wilson, who died in November 1633, lists 215 cheeses "hard and soft" worth £16. (Alcock 1993) However, the inventory of his widow Anne, who died in April 1650 shows only four cheeses, apparently for household use. (This appears on pages 37 to 39 in the Appendix).

Stephen and Anne Wilson were, according to the documentary evidence, the largest cheese producers on the Stoneleigh estate. They are supposed by Alcock (1993) to have lived at Cryfield Grange. It is evident that Stephen Wilson did own land at Cryfield. The Thomas Banks survey of 1638 (WRO CR 561/2:1674) describes part of Cryfield as "belonging then or late to Stephen Willson". Also, it includes an entry describing "the house and garden wherein Stephen Willson sometimes dwelt with the Peece of ground adjoining together with the two smooth Knowles". An indenture dated 1674 from Lord Leigh to Bocher (DR 18/1/939:1674) describes the land at Cryfield as "belonging now or late to Widdow Wilson or her assignees".

However, none of this represents conclusive proof that the Wilsons lived at Cryfield Grange. The room-by-room inventory of Anne Wilson shows that she lived in a very large house at Cryfield but neither this nor other documents examined to date indicate that the Wilsons actually lived at Cryfield Grange.

Anne Wilson's inventory reveals that she was comparatively wealthy. Seventeen years earlier, her husband had left $£ 1,330$, the largest amount of money for a tenant at Stoneleigh at the time. (Alcock, 1993). The dairy industry was not the only source of the Wilsons' wealth. Stephen's inventory shows that he left 47 beasts, 303 sheep, 14 swine, 11 stocks of bees, 21 horses and $£ 250$ in harvested rye, barley and oats (presumably grown to feed the stock.) Anne Wilson held similar stocks of cattle at her death and also kept turkeys. Some of the field names mentioned in this inventory can still be placed. For example, Millfield, Wallfield and Pinfield can be located on the 1766 map (TD 63/19/2: 1766) on page 12 in the Appendix.

Limited production of cheese continued at Stoneleigh as late as the first part of the 20th century. The last cheese producer at Stoneleigh was Thomas Hands of Canley Hall Farm, who delivered cheese to Birmingham and Nottingham markets. It is said that when he died, the recipe for Warwickshire cheese died with him, but it is still possible to buy Warwickhire cheese at some "cottage industry" outlets.

Farmers who made cheese often kept pigs. They were useful animals as they disposed of the whey from the cheese- and butter-making process. Pigs were kept by Edward Lee at Cryfield Grange. His inventory of January 1730 included six great swine and 17 pigs. His successor, Zak Groves (1708) also kept twenty pigs. (Alcock, 1993). On the Stoneleigh estate, some farmers diversified into specialised stock breeding. In the late eighteenth century, John Webster of Canley provided the stock from which Robert Bakewell's great bull, Twopenny, was bred.

It is clear from this brief review of other activities at Cryfield, that mixed farming and cheese production were practised from the seventeenth century onwards. These were activities which had probably been continuing for centuries.

### 7.3 CONCLUSION

The archaeology of Cryfield indicates prehistoric activity on the site since at least the Neolithic period. There are possible remains of a Neolithic settlement at Cryfield House Farm and indications of prehistoric farming activities. Evidence from the rest of Warwickshire suggests that the site was predominantly wooded, possibly into the medieval period. The existence of a mill dam at Cryfield, together with the artefactal evidence, strongly suggests that there may have been several buildings alongside a relatively short stretch of Canley Brook, although these did not necessarily operate simultaneously. Also, there is a strong possibility that a mill upstream from Cryfield dam has been breached. This archaeological evidence at this stage does not tell us when such an event could have happened, when buildings were constructed or for how long they operated.

The historical record has told us much more about the site at Cryfield. There is secondary evidence from the Stoneleigh Leger Book that a mill existed at Cryfield at the time of the first monastic settlement (c. 1156). Also, it would appear that the homesteads of the people living nearby were abandoned when the monks arrived. Primary evidence of a mill at Cryfield was found in Letters Patent of Edward III, (1363-4) and that a mill at Cryfield was used for fulling in 1545 in the grant of this date. The archives also show that the mill building had gone by 1697. This evidence correlates with the historical record concerning the rise and decline of the Warwickshire clothing trade.

This supports the hypothesis: "it is possible to support what is known about Cryfield as an archaeological site, using the historical record". More than this, the historical record has added to what we know about Cryfield. It has been established that the site existed from the twelfth century until 1766 as a stable parcel of land. The position of some of the areas mentioned in the Stoneleigh Leger Book, such as Parkfield and Gatebridge, are now clearer. Although farming was the main activity at Cryfield, fulling and cheese production were particularly important in their time. This study has raised many more questions than it has answered and prompts further archaeological and historical investigation into the site at Cryfield.

## 8. REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

## REFERENCES

Alcock, N.W. (1993) People at Home Living in a Warwickshire Village 1500-1800 Phillimore, U.S.A.

Barnes, S., Mogul, S., Pugh, A., Renshaw, L., Spendlove, M. (1998) Archaeology in the Environment: Background Research and Fieldwork University of Warwick

Bickley, W.B. (1923) Abstract of Bailiffs' Accounts of Monastic and Other Estastes in the County of Warwick under the supervision of the Court of Augmentation for the year ending at Michaelmas 1547 Dugdale Society Oxford University Press

Bradley, M. \& McLean, J. (1997) Campus Geology Walk, University of Warwick
Dyer, C. (1981) Warwickshire Farming 1349-1520 Preparations for Agricultural Revolution Dugdale Society Occasional Paper No. 27, Buckley U.K.

Dyer, C. (1996) Rural Settlements in Medieval Warwickshire Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society No. 100, pp.117-132

Gies, F. \& Gies, J. (1994) Cathedral, Forge \& Waterwheel. Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages Harper Collins U.K.

Hill (ed) (1991) A Spaceship Landing in Green Fields: The Archaeology and History of the Campus of the University of Warwick. University of Warwick

Hill, S. \& Smith, D. (1997) Mills, Dams and Ponds at Cryfield - Preliminary Notes University of Warwick

Hill, S. \& Smith, D. (1997) Archaeological Evaluation, Cryfield House Farm (SP 2967 7540) Archaeological Field Unit, Department of Continuing Education, University of Warwick

Hilton, R.H. (ed) (1960) The Stoneleigh Leger Book Dugdale Society, University Press, Oxford U.K.

Hingley, R. (1996) Prehistoric Warwickshire: a review of the evidence. Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society No.100, pp.1-23

Hodgetts, C. (1999) Historical Evaluation: Postgraduate Building, University of Warwick.
Hooke, D. (1996) Reconstructing Anglo-Saxon Landscapes in Warwickshire Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society No. 100, pp.99-115

Poulton-Smith, A. (1996) Warwickshire Place Names Countryside Book, U.K.
Ramsay, G.D. (1982) The English Woollen Industry 1500-1750 McMillan, U.K.
Singer, C., Holmyard, E.J., Hall, A.R., and Williams, T.I. (1956) A History of Technology Vol.
II Clarendon Press, pp.214-219
Slater, T. (1981) Revised Edition 1997 A History of Warwickshire Phillimore U.K.
Swannell, J. (1992) The Oxford Modern English Dictionary Oxford University Press USA p. 25
Watkins, A. (1997) Landowners and their Estates in the Forest of Arden in the Fifteenth Century Agricultural History Review Vol. 45, Part I pp.18-33 British Agricultural History Society, U.K.

## MAPS

British Geological Survey Sheet 184: Warwick: Solid and Drift Edition 1:50000 series
Pathfinder 955 SP 27/37 Coventry (South) \& Kenilworth 1: 25000
OS Landranger 140 (1994) Leicester \& Coventry area 1:50000
Warwickshire Geology Sketch Map: Warwickshire Museum TPB/WCA 1984

## SHAKESPEARE BIRTHPLACE TRUST DOCUMENTS

DR 18/1/712 (1363)<br>DR 18/1/928 (1544)<br>DR 18/3/52/8 (1545)<br>DR 18/3/52/19 (1558 and 1560)<br>DR 18/25/69a (1597)<br>DR 18/3/52/18b (1661)<br>DR 18/1/939 (1674)<br>DR 18/17/12/8 (1689)<br>DR 18/3/52/26 (1696)<br>DR 18/10/38 (1697)<br>DR 671/81 Map 5 (1766)<br>TD 63/19/2 (Map 5) (1766)<br>DR 662/129-132 (undated)<br>DR 18/17/12/9 (undated)

WARWICK RECORD OFFICE DOCUMENTS

CR 561/2 (1638)
Z142 (L1/SEP) (1767)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baker, A.R.H. \& Harley, J.B. (1973) Man Made the Land David Charles, U.K.
Booth, D.T.N. (1978) Warwickshire Watermills Midland Wind \& Watermills Group U.K.
Booth, P. (1996) Warwickshire in the Roman Period: a review of recent work Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society No. 100 pp.25-55

Cantor, L. (1987) The Changing English Countryside 1400-1700 Routledge \& Kegan Paul Inc. U.S.A.

Child, J. (1995) Britain 1750 to 1900 Heinemann U.K.
Currie, C.K. (1990) "Garden History" Fishponds as Garden Features. Part 2 Literary and Archaeological Evidence for pond construction techniques c. 1550-1750 Garden History Society, Vol 18, No. 1, Spring 1990

Currie, C.K. (1991) The Early History of the Carp and its Economic Significance in England Agricultural History Review, Vol. 39 (1991) pp.97-107

Darvill, T. (1987) Prehistoric Britain B.T. Batsford Ltd. U.K.
Drewett, J. \& Roberts, J. (1994) Midland Woods and Forests Quercus, U.K.
Fisher, S. (1997) Using Local History and Archaeology for Creating an Understanding of the Environment Unpublished Dissertation, University of Warwick

Greene, K. (1983) Third Edition 1996 Archaeology: An Introduction Routledge U.K.
Hoskins, W. G. (1955) The Making of the English Landscape Penguin Books Ltd. U.K.
Jarman, J. (1998) John Brome of Baddesley Lecture at Baddesley Clinton 11th November 1998
Monuments at Risk Survey of England (1995) Summary Report. Bournmouth University and English Heritage

Parker, M. St. John (1990) Britain's Kings and Queens Pitkin U.K.

Renfrew \& Bahn (1991) Second Ed. 1996 Archaeology: Theories Methods and Practice Thames \& Hudson Ltd., London

Southern, R.W. (1970) The Pelican History of the Church: 2 Western Society and the Church in
the Middle Ages Penguin
Taylor, C. (1975) Fields in the English Landscape J.M. Dent, U.K.
Taylor, D. (1988) Mastering Economic and Social History MacMillan U.K.
Thomas, K. (1983) Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800 Penguin Books Ltd. U.K.

Watkins A (1989) Cattle Grazing in the Forest of Arden in the late Middle Ages Agricultural History Review 16/37 pp.12-25 British Agricultural History Society, U.K.

Woods, K.S. (1949) Rural Crafts of England D.P. Publishing Ltd. U.K.
Wenham, P. (1989) Watermills Robert Hale Ltd. U.K. pp.1-39

# THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF CRYFIELD 

## APPENDIX

Dissertation
M. J. Spendlove

BA/BSc Environmental Studies Yr 4
University of Warwick
April, 1999

## APPENDIX CONTENTS

PART I<br>METHODS, MAPS, SKETCHES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE
3
Location of Cryfield: Extract from Pathfinder 955 (SP 27/37): 1991
Photographs showing Cryfield Dam ..... 4
Diagram showing methods ..... 5
Geological map of Warwickshire ..... 6
Resistivity Survey: Cryfield Mill Site 1998 ..... 7
Part Site Plan of Cryfield Mill Site: 1998 ..... 8
Photograph showing vegetation change around Canley Brook ..... 9
Outline map of Stoneleigh Parish and Soke ..... 10
Outline of Stoneleigh Abbey land at the time of the Foundation ..... 11
Cryfield 1766 ..... 12
Religious Houses in Medieval Warwickshire ..... 13
Plan of Fishponds, Dams and Mill Complex (after M. Aston): 1988 ..... 14
Calculations in respect of a 30 acre parcel of land ..... 15
Settlement pattern in late medieval Warwickshire ..... 16
Illustrations of the Medieval Fulling Industry ..... 17

## PART II

## HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

PAGE
List of Documents ..... 18
Transcript of description of Cryfield land included in Indenture (Leigh to Lucy and others) 1697 ..... 20
Copy of Grant from Duchess of Suffolk: 1545/6 ..... 21
Transcript: Extract from Grant from Duchess of Suffolk: 1545/6 ..... 22
Copy of Agreement, Leigh to Lucy and others: 1697 ..... 23
Transcript: Agreement, Leigh to Lucy and others: 1697 ..... 24
Working drawings of a mill building ..... 25
Extract from Thomas Banks Survey, 1638 ..... 29
Inventory of Thomas Higinson of Cryfield: 15th December 1689 ..... 34
Inventory of Richard Tompson of Cryfield: 2nd November, 1729 ..... 36
Inventory of Anne Wilson of Cryfield: 7th April 1650 ..... 37

## PART I

METHODS, MAPS, SKETCHES
AND ILLUSTRATIONS



Northern section of Cryfield Dam, viewed from the West


Northern Section of Cryfield Dam, viewed from the East

## 

## METHODS



GEOLOGY of WARWICKSHIRE


Key
$\square$ Alluvial Clays.
$\square$ Pleistocene Sands and Gravels

Pleistocene Clays

Oolitic Limestone

Jurassic Sandstones and Ironstones

Liassic Clays and Limestone
$\square$ Mercia Mudstone
$\square$ Productive
Coal Measures.

Coal Measures
Sandstones
$\square$ Cambrian and Pere. Cambrian Stales. Lavas and Igneous.

Compiled from SLATER T. "A History of Warwickshire" (1981) published by Phillimore. Also British Gedogical Survey Map Sheet 184 (Warwick) 1984.


Cell Length: X: $1.00 \mathrm{~m} \quad \mathrm{Y}: 1.00 \mathrm{~m}$

CRYFIELD GRANGE
PROBABLE MILL SITE
PART SITE PLAN-22-05-9

$$
\frac{\nabla}{\mathbb{T}} \frac{\nabla}{\mathbb{A}} \text { INDICATES PAM }
$$



Photograph showing vegetation change around Canley Brook

OUTLINE MAP OF STONELEIGH PARISH AND SOKE


Hilton, R. (ed) (1960) The Stoneleigh Leger Book University Press, U.K. p.liv


CRYFIELD: 1766


## RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN WARWICKSHIRE



Slater, T. (1981) Revised ed. 1997 A History of Warwickshire Phillimore \& Co., U.K. p. 49


## CALCULATIONS IN RESPECT OF 30 ACRE PARCEL OF LAND INCLUDED IN DOCUMENT DR 18/10/38 (1697)

(Based on Hilton's map in Stoneleigh Leger Book (p.liv) for position of "Gatebrugge Meadow")


SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN LATE MEDIEVAL WARWICKSHIRE

from Dyer, C. (1996) "Rural settlements in medieval Warwickshire", Transactions of the Birmingham \& Warwickshire Archaeological Society No. 100 p. 119


Plate 1. Cloth finishing in a monastery. Removing imperfections from the fabric (right) and stretching cloth on a tenter frame (top left) From an italian manuscript of 1421.
Singer et al (1956) p. 214


Plate 2. Fuller trampling cloth in the vat.
From the painted window of the Clothiers' Guild, Semur-en-Auxois cathedral, Cote d'Or. c. 1450
Singer et al (1956) p. 216

# PART II 

## LIST OF DOCUMENTS

| Reference and Date of <br> Document | Evidence |
| :--- | :--- |
| Stoneleigh Leger Book <br> ed Hilton, R.H. (1960) <br> Dugdale Society, University Press | a) Stoneleigh Boundaries: p.24. 209, 219, 220 <br> b) References to Mill: "omnibus alliis pertinenciis suis et <br> molendinium eisdem ville .." (all other pertinences and <br> mill in the village (pp. 22) Also p. 16 <br> Reference to tenancy of Robert Lytulmon 1384 includes: <br> "molendinium aquaticum de Crulefeld.." (a water mill <br> at Cryfield) p. 220 |
| Includes reference to a mill at Cryfield |  |
| DR 18/1/712 1363-4 |  |
| Letters Patent of Edward III: | Grant of Cryfield Grange to Robert \& Elizabeth Bocher <br> Describes extent of Cryfield grant and details field names |
| DR 18/1/928 1544 | Includes reference to " molendium .. fullorium " <br> Grant |
| fulling mill) |  |


| Reference and Date of <br> Document | Evidence |
| :--- | :--- |
| DR $18 / 3 / 52 / 18 \mathrm{~b} 1661$ <br> Indenture: Leigh to Lucy and <br> others | Description of land includes acreages and field names |
| DR 18/1/939 1674 <br>  <br> others) | Includes detailed description of Cryfield land <br> Land described as "belonging now or late to Widdow <br> Wilson or her assignees" |
| $18 / 17 / 12 / 9$ <br> Agreement | Sale of underwood in Great Whitefields Coppice |
| DR $18 / 17 / 12 / 8 \quad 1689$ <br> Agreement | Sale \& purchase of timber in Little Monks Heyes <br> Coppice |
| DR $18 / 3 / 52 / 26 \quad 1696$ <br> Agreement | Agreement for sale of timber in Little Mattmakers refers <br> to "Cryfield alias Gatebridge" |
| DR $18 / 10 / 38 \quad 1697$ <br> Articles of Agreement for purchase <br> of land at Cryfield | a) Cryfield described as "the scite of a fulling mill": The <br> mill had gone in 1697 <br> b) to "all those closes called Griffolds als. Cryfield <br> Damme als. Gatebridge als. Gatsbridge Grounds <br> containing 30 acres" |
| DR 18/17/12/8 1702 <br> Lease: Leigh to Nicholas Hall | Lease of land to set up a water mill in Hurst "with the <br> newly made dames and pooles ..." |
|  <br> SBT TD 63/19/2 1766 <br> Mathias Baker Survey | Detailed description of Cryfield in 1766 gives details of <br> extent of Cryfield and field names |
| DR 622/129-132 <br> Plans: undated | Plan, elevation and working drawings of a mill includes <br> "The Hurst design for a pair of stones" |

## Transcript of description of Cryfield land included in Indenture DR 18/3/52/18b (Leigh to Lucy and others) 2nd January, 1661

Messuages, houses, edifices, buildings, barns, stable yards, outhouses, garden ponds, lands curfolded and woods, underwood, coppices, meadows, leasehold pastures, minor quarries.
Grange house, orchards and plots - ( 6 acres) Pasture/arable Millfields Meadow (70 acres)
... and our little meadow commonly called Millfields Meadow (3 acres)
2 fields: Walfields (pasture/arable) including quarry in or near Wallfields ( 68 acres)
Bakers meadow adjoining or to side of Wallfields ( 5 acres)
Holdens Meadows with a hopyard at the end of same (17 acres)
Goose Meadows (near to said capital messenger) ( 5 acres)
Tosell Meadows (11 acres)
Whitefields (90 acres)
Middle Whitefields (70 acres)
Great Whitefields
Hither Whitefields (56 acres)
Great Whitefields Coppice (or Whitefields Coppice) (30 acres)
Little Whitefields Coppice ( 4 acres) (between little Whitefields and Great
Whitefields)
Little Meadow Grounds ( 2 acres)
Great Munks Heyes )
Little Munks Heyes ) (70 acres)
Matmakers (24 acres)
*Thorn in Warrenfields (18 acres)
Rough Knowles (23 acres)
Bardalls Wood (40 acres)
Blackroast Wood (40 acres)
Blastroast Wood (42 acres)
Parkfields (9 acres)
Smooth Knowles (4 acres)
Rough/Great Knowles (70 acres)
Foxes Earth (16 acres)
Reeds Meadow (*20 acres)
Potters Fields (82 acres)
Grounds \& Closes (20 acres \& 16 acres)
Heath Heyes (6 acres)

[^0]
# EXTRACT FROM DOCUMENT REF SBT DR 18/3/52/8 

(Grant to Katherine Duchess of Suffolk)

13th March 1545
"... all that fulling mill with appurtenances now or later in the tenure of William Allinson or his assignees in Cryfield in the Lordship of Stoneleigh in the late priory."










 higerforer (owornvelv.
A 130 uid from vileax to Gorjloigh for $16^{2}$ ?

Articles of Agreement
(heigh/hucy and others) August 1697. SBT De 18/10/38:16S7

## TRANSCRIPT OF DOCUMENT SBT DR 18/10/38

August 1697
Articles of Agreement between Thomas Lord Leigh and George Lucy Esq for the purchase of the Lands following:

Indices of lease and release the release being tripartate between Sir Henry Parker Bart George Bohun Esq. Francis Cater and Joseph Hunt Gould of the 1st part George Lucy Esq. and Mary his Wife daughter and Heir of John Boun and Mary Boun widow of the said John of the 2nd part and Thomas Lord Leigh of the third part whereby in const. of $£ 580$ paid by Lord Leigh the said Henry Parker Esq. Grand Bargain sale etc. Lord Leigh all those closes called Griffolds als Cryfield Damme als Gatebridge als Gatsbridge Grounds containing 30 acres and the land covered with water and the fishing therein in Hurst and Cryfield in the parish of Stonley near to Gatebridge and the scite of a fulling mill and all the tythes etc. of said lands except the small tythes to the Vicar of Stoneleigh to hold to said Lord Leigh his heirs and assignees for ever, executed by all the Grantors - two parts of this Deed and Bond to perform Covenants.

8th October 1698 A Bond from Wilcox to Lord Leigh for $£ 16$ A Bond from George Lucy to Lord Leigh to save him harmfuls on account of said purchase money of Cryfield Damme






多


110
Section of the Buceldeng
A. $\frac{1}{7}$ af a w irnch रो $\operatorname{lin}(\vec{c}$





# Inventory of Thomas Higinson of Cryfield, yeoman (1689) <br> (Higinson was one of four tenants who held portions of Cryfield Grange) 

## Inventory appraised by Thomas Gibbes, Francis Clayton, Lawrence Hands, William Meigh, 15th December 1689 (proved 1690)

His wareing apparill \& purse

## In the Parlar

One bedstid \& sett of curtains \& vallance, a fether bed, a flockbed \& bolster, two pillow, a coverlid \& a pare of blankitts £3, a table, a forme, four chears \& a grate 18 s ., a little looking glass 6 d

In the Chamber over the Parlar
A bedstid, a fetherbed \& boster \& sett of curtains \& vallance, a coverlid \& a pare of blankitts $£ 215$ s. a cofer, a little drunke \& a box 8 s , nine pare of sheets, a table cloth, a duzen of napkins \& som other linnen $£ 35$ s. two bedstids \& three bolsters \& three pillows, three pare of blankitts \& two old beds $£ 16 \mathrm{~s} 8 \mathrm{~d}$, a cover, a forme \& a pair of andirons 8 s

In the Chees Chamber \& another Chamber
A parsill of chees $£ 13 \mathrm{~s} 4 \mathrm{~d}$, three quarters of barley $£ 112 \mathrm{~s}$ fiveteen fleeces of wool 10 s. a pare of trestles \& two cheesbords 2 s .6 d , an old bed $\&$ bedstid \& three blankitts 6 s . 8 d , two cofers \& a parsill of fethers \& two baskits 4s.

## In the Kitchen

One long table \& fourme \& two little tables \& a bench 14 s. a cubart 3 s , four chears, a cradle \& some benches, a sault box 6 s , four brass kettles \& a skellitt $£ 1$, two brass potts \& a warming pan 10 s , nine pewter platters, four parengers, a flagon \& a pint, a drinking cup, two sawcers \& a duzen \& four spoons, a candle stick \& a brass ladle, a chamber pott, a tin driping pan \& a lanthern £1 1s 6 d pott hooks \& hangers, a fire shovell \& tongues, a smoothin iron \& two heals, \& a gridiron \& a pare of bellows 2s. 6d.
In the Dary House
A cheesepress, a powdering tubb \& some meal, five shelves, a little table, a frying pan \& other implyments Four barrill, four kivers, one tubb, one churne, four pales, four cheesefatts \& a suter, three suzen of trenchers, two wheels, som Ticknill ware \& a bottle

Twenty five sheep and lambs
4-0-0
Seven store piggs
A sow \& six pigs
3-10-0
Two fatt hoggs
One nagg, five mares, two old horses \& two colts
1-13-4
3-0-0
Five cowes, five heafers \& six calves
Corne in the barne
20-0-0

Oats in the barne
Peas in the barne
A rick of hay \& som in the barne
Corne growing upon the land supposed to be twenty acres
Five acres of land in tillage now ready to be sowed with rey
A waggon
A tumbrille
One great \& two small harrows \& a plow \& five pare of gears
A trine of fellyes, three axeltrees, a pare of wagon sides \& shafts, a pare of naves \& some plow timber
Six baggs, a strike, a hopper, an iron crow, a sith (scythe), a spad \& shovell \& other implyments for husbandry
For lumbar \& things forgotten

An Inventory of the goods and Chattels of Richard Tompson of the parish of Stoneleigh in the County of Warwick Deceased taken and appraised by us the second Day of November 1727

In purse and apparrell
1-10-0
a small parcell of Hay
a small Rick of oates
a small parcel of white peas
sixty one sheep at
2-0-0
2-2-6

2 old Cows 2 Heiffers and )
1-17-6
7-10-0
one Lame Cow )
2 Lame mares and Gears )
One sow and 9 piggs
9 Geese one Cock \& 3 hens
Corne Growing upon the Ground
In the Kitchen 1 table 3 old chairs one forme
1 spit 2 stools one Gun one frying pan some books some pot hooks \& earthen wares
)
) $0-18-6$
)
In the parlour One bed \& bedstead \& pillows \& 2 Blankettes 1 pair of sheets 2 table clothes 1 Trunk 1 glass 4 Cheeses

In the Nether Room 1 bed and bedstead 3 blankettes \& pillows 1 pr of sheets
1 Coffer \& a small parcell of woole
In the brewhouse
Three kettles 1 Iron pot 3 old tubbes )
and two barrels
In the Buttery
4 Barrells 1 Tubb 1 old forme
In the chamber 1 bedstead 2 wheels
1 forme at
4 Hives of Bees at
a small parcell of five jewell at
one spade one batchet one hook
Lumbar and things over lookt

| $0-6-0$ |
| :--- |
| $0-4-0$ |
| $0-5-0$ |
| $0-3-6$ |
| $0-3-0$ |
| $0-5-6$ |
| $30-16-0$ |

appraised by us
) 0-17-6
)
6-15-6
1-2-6
1-5-0
0-11-0
1-2-6
)
) $1-4-6$
)
)

- 12 -

0-6-0
) $0-4-0$
0-5-0
0-3-6
0-3-0
0-5-6

William Thompson
Samuell Harborne
from: Hill, S (ed) 1999 A Spaceship Landing in Green Fields: The Archaeology and History of the University of Warwick University of Warwick

## Inventory of Anne Wilson of Cryfield, widow, 7th April 1650

## Inventory appraised by William Benyon, Thomas Devis, Lawrence Nicholls, John Taylor, John Sherington, 7th April 1650

Her wearing apparrel
One bible
In the Chamber over the parlor
One joyned bedstid, one feather bed, one greene rug, two blankettes, one boulster, one trundle bed \& one sett of curtaines
Three great coffers, one chest, one little coffer, one box \& ones twiggen chaire
One great charger, twentie seven pewter dishes, three candlesticks, three chamber potts and divers other small pieces of pewter with some other implementes
Twenty foure paire of fine sheets, twenty three paires of courser sheetes, eight paires of pillowbieres, twelve table cloathes, six of them fine, the other courser, foure dozen of napkins, three longe towells, six short towells
In the Chamber over the Buttry
One joyned bedstid, one feather bed, one flock bed, three blankettes, one coverlid, two boulsters, one pillow and one sett of curtaines
One coffer, one deske with some other implements
In the Chamber over the Hall
Two bedstids, one trundle bed, one feather bed, two flock beds, one chaffe bed, foure paire of blankets, two coverlids, two boulsters, one pillow \& one piece of wolen cloath with some other implements
In the Cheese Chamber over the Hall
One coffer, one cheese rack, one dry fatt, two wheeles and divers other implements
In the Servants Chamber
Three bedstids, three wooll beds, six paire of blanketts, six boulsters, two pillowers, three twilleys with some other implements
In the Chamber over the Mill House
One bedstid, one feather bed, one coverlid, one blankett, one twilley, one flock bed \& one sett of curtaines
One little table, one trunke \& other implements
In the Lathshooters Chamber
One bedstid, one bed, three blankets and other implements

1-0-0
5-0-0
6-8

4-10-0
$1-10-0$

2-6-8

20-7-4

2-13-4
5-0

5-0

1-0-0

2-0-0
6-8
$10-0$

| In the Chamber over the Dairy House |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| One bedstid, five blanketts, one pillow and other imple |  |
| In the Cheese Chamber (for Corn Chamber) one garner, four | 1-3-4 |
| In the Dairie House | 4-0-0 |
| The milk vessells, shelves and other implements |  |
| Mill House $1-0-0$ |  |
| One malt mill, one cheese presse and other implements In the Brewhouse | 1-10- |
| One copper, one mashing fatt, two great cowles, two lesser cowles with some other implementes |  |
| In the Cellor | 1-13- |
| Six hogsheads, foure barrells, one dry fatt, one dough kiver and other implements |  |
| In the Parlor |  |
| One table, one great cubbard, one liverie cubbard, two chaires, foure stooles and other implements | 1-10-0 |
| In the Buttery 1-10 |  |
| One table one forme with other implements |  |
| In the Hall $10-$ |  |
| One long table, one short table, one forme, two brasse pannes, five great kittles, four brasse potts, three little kettles, foure skellets, two scummers, one chafinge dish, two dripinge pans, one warminge pan, two spits, one paire of cobbarts \& other implements | 5-13 |
| One peice | 6-8 |
| In the Farther Barne |  |
| Eight quarters of oates | 5-6-8 |
| In the barne yard, the soyle and eight ground racks | 16-0 |
| Rye in the Corne Barne | 24-0-0 |
| In the little fold yard, the soyle and eight ground racks | 5-0 |
| In the corne barne yard, eight racks and the soyle therein | 2-10-0 |
| Twnety loads of broome | 1-10-0 |
| In the Hay Barne, the hay therein and some implements | 1-6-8 |
| Twelve loads of wood | 1-6-0 |
| One silver spoone 6-8 |  |
| Twentie milch cowes and one bull | 80-0-0 |
| Eleven weaninge calves | 7-6-8 |
| In the Millfield foure beast two yeares old and ten yearlings | 24-0-0 |
| Fifteen young beasts in Potters Field | 40-0-0 |
| In the Millfield, fortie nine hogrills | 24-10-0 |
| In the Wallfield, eightie seven ewes | 43-10-0 |
| In the Pinfold field, sixtie five barren sheepe | 30-0-0 |

Three colts in the Millfield
In the Wallfield, fore fillies
Ten draught mares and two stoned horses
Two long carts, two dung carts, two great harrowes, two pare of small harrowes, two plowes, two sett of geares, some plow and cart timber \& other implements of husbandry
Five store swine
Turkeys, geese \& other poultrie
Winter corns growinge upon the ground
Oats growinge upon the ground
Beefe, bacon, cheese, butter, bread, beere and all manner of lumbar
Three stocks of bees
Desperate debts
Money found in the house at her death

14-6-8

$$
\begin{gathered}
6-0-0 \\
16-0-0 \\
70-0-0
\end{gathered}
$$

$$
3-15-0
$$

$$
1-0-0
$$

$$
100-0-0
$$

$$
150-0-0
$$

5-0-0
13-4
15-7-4
37-0-0

Total
711-11-8

From Alcock, N.W. (1993) People at
Home: Living in a Warwickshire Village
1500-1800 Phillimore, USA pp 194-196


[^0]:    * Script illegible

