East Grinstead

Historic Character Assessment Report

September 2005

Sussex Extensive Urban Survey (EUS)

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The Sussex Extensive Urban Survey (Sussex EUS) is a study of 41 towns undertaken between 2004 and 2008 by an independent consultant (Dr Roland B Harris, BA DPhil MIFA) for East Sussex County Council (ESCC), West Sussex County Council (WSCC), and Brighton and Hove City Council; and was funded by English Heritage.

Guidance and web-sites derived from the historic town studies will be, or have been, developed by the local authorities.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Cover photo: High Street, East Grinstead – nos. 68-76, looking eastwards.

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1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the project

This report is an archaeological, historical, and historic urban character assessment of East Grinstead. It is part of the Sussex Extensive Urban Survey (henceforth Sussex EUS) that examines 41 towns across the ancient county.[1]

The Sussex EUS forms part of a national programme of such surveys initiated by English Heritage in 1992. The national programme is already well underway, with roughly half the English counties having been completed or currently undergoing study.

As the surveys have progressed, the approach has developed. In line with recent surveys, the Sussex EUS includes more modern towns, the main significance of which stems from the 19th and 20th centuries. Another recent innovation is the introduction of the characterization concept, comparable with the map-based techniques adopted by historic landscape characterization. This approach was developed in Lancashire (2000-4), and is further refined in Sussex.

The Sussex EUS has been funded by English Heritage, and supported in kind by the commissioning authorities: East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton and Hove City Council. A wide range of stakeholders (including district and borough councils, and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty) has supported the project.

In West Sussex the Sussex EUS forms part of the *Character of West Sussex Partnership Programme*,[2] aiming to provide guidance and advice on the protection and enhancement of all aspects of character in the county. Other historic environment projects come under this umbrella:

• Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) of Sussex

• Intensive Urban Survey of Chichester and Fishbourne

• Local Distinctiveness Study of West Sussex.

1.2   Aims and objectives

1.2.1   Aims

The aim of the Sussex EUS is to deliver a unique and flexible tool to aid the understanding, exploration and management of the historic qualities of 41 of the most significant towns in Sussex with a view to:

• archaeological and historic environment research and management.

• informing strategic and local policy.

• underpinning urban historic land and buildings management and interpretation.

• encouraging the integration of urban historic characterization into the wider process of protecting and enhancing urban character.

1.2.2   Objectives

Key objectives of the project include the:

• synthesis of previous archaeological and historical work.

• creation of a Geographic Information System (GIS) that maps and allows the analysis of archaeological events, monuments and urban plan components using information obtained from a variety of sources.

• analysis of the origins and development of each town by establishing and examining its principal plan components and existing standing structures.

• identification of county-wide Historic Character Types and attribution of the types to different areas within each town.

• preparation of a Statement of Historic Urban Character for each town, to include assessment of archaeological potential and Historic Environment Value.

• identification of gaps in the understanding of the past occupation and historical development of character of each town through the development of a Research Framework.

• advice to local authorities on the development of guidance derived from the town studies.

1.3   Outputs

The principal outputs of the project comprise:

• Historic character assessment reports. Documents (of which this is one) that, separately for each town, summarize the setting and pre-urban activity; synthesize current archaeological and historical research; describe the development from origins to the present day; assess the surviving historic character and historic environment value; and set out a framework for future research on the historic environment of the towns.

• Geographical Information System (GIS) for the historic environment of each town. The GIS underpins the analysis and mapping of the town

reports, and is available to local authorities as a unique tool to support their decision making. The EUS-generated GIS data includes historic buildings and archaeological data, and mapping of areas for which Historic Character Type, historic land use, and Historic Urban Character Areas have been defined. The GIS data will be maintained and updated by the West Sussex County Council *Sites & Monuments Record* (SMR) and the East Sussex County Council *Historic Environment Record* (HER).

• Informing historic environment management guidance specific to each local planning authority, for the 41 EUS towns and Winchelsea, produced under the new Local Development Frameworks, and subject to formal consultation procedures.

• Background papers for the Sussex EUS project. Documents that include the project design, a summary of the methodology and an overall bibliography.

1.4   The structure of this report

1.4.1   The Setting

This introductory section describes the topography, geology, communications, and pre-urban archaeology of the town.

1.4.2   History

The history of East Grinstead in this report can be a brief summary only. It aims to synthesize published research, and to provide a chronological overview of the development of the town as seen from documentary sources. The focus is placed on those matters – such as origins, economy, trade and institutions – that are most closely related to the urban historic environment today. Aspects of the town's history – such as the ecclesiastical, manorial, jurisdictional and more recent social history – have been published elsewhere.[3]

1.4.3   Archaeology

The archaeology section of this report draws on published and unpublished reports of excavations, archaeological assessments, and records of finds. This section also includes analysis of historic buildings (listed and non-listed) and the topography, the latter drawing on large-scale maps of the town from 1840 onwards. Again, this section follows a chronological structure, and focuses on aspects of the material evidence of the town's past that relate most closely to the historic environment today.

1.4.4   Statement of Historic Urban Character

Whereas sections on history and archaeology (above) explore the development of East Grinstead over time, this part of the report considers and defines the physical evidence of the past in today's townscape. It does this by means of a character-based approach, operating at three different scales: areas of common Historic Character Type; larger and topographically familiar Historic Urban Character Areas; and the whole town. Assessment is made of the Historic Environment Value of each of the Historic Urban Character Areas, taking account of the archaeological potential.

1.5   Principal sources

East Grinstead has been the subject of limited archaeological and some amateur historical interest. The principal sources drawn on during the writing of this report are listed below. Many other sources have been used too, and full references have been given by use of endnotes.

1.5.1   History

East Grinstead lacks an authoritative historical study such as the *Victoria County History*, and this absence is keenly felt for the medieval and early post-medieval period. That said, the development of the town has been of considerable interest to local historians, and recently and notably **Michael Leppard** has written on many aspects of the town's history: this is especially useful for the 18th century onwards.[4] However, it is **Patrick Wood**'s translation and discussion of the 1564 survey of the borough that remains the most important historical work on the town.[5]

1.5.2   Archaeology

East Grinstead is unfortunate in that it has seen considerable redevelopment within the historic core in the 20th century (in addition to great expansion of the suburbs) without significant archaeological excavation and record, most such development having occurred before archaeological conditions became a normal part of planning procedures.

There has been one recent excavation in the historic core:

Town Museum, Cantelupe Road[6]

A minor unpublished archaeological assessment was undertaken at **42 High Street**.[7]

The **West Sussex Sites & Monuments Record** (SMR) database has been invaluable for identifying such unpublished sites, and for providing the pre-urban archaeological context.

1.5.3   Historic buildings

East Grinstead's rich vein of surviving timber-framed buildings has been the subject of studies by local students of vernacular architecture. Recently – and unusually – this has extended to the commissioning of a limited programme of dendrochronology by **Dan Miles**.[8] English Heritage's statutory list of historic buildings is also of use, though many of the descriptions are rather dated, were necessarily produced without internal inspection, and show an unusual reluctance to date many buildings. Very limited fieldwork only was possible during this assessment and focused on correcting dating derived from such sources, identifying hitherto ignored buildings of historic interest, and re-evaluating the dating and function of key buildings and monuments.

1.5.4   Geology and topography

The contextual discussion of the solid and drift geology has principally derived from 1:50,000 British Geological Survey digital data. Ordnance Survey Historic 25" maps for Epochs 1-4 (1875 onwards) have proved invaluable, especially as these have been used in digital form, allowing overlaying with each other and with other data. The 1840 Tithe Map (*West Sussex Record Office*) captures pre-railway East Grinstead at a large scale. This map has been digitized and rectified to fit the National Grid to allow comparison with other maps and data. RAF vertical air photo coverage of 1947 provides a useful snapshot in time, as does the modern equivalent flown for West Sussex County Council in 2001. All analysis and maps utilize the most recent large-scale Ordnance Survey mapping (digital MasterMap data).

1.6   Area covered by the report

The Sussex EUS assessment of East Grinstead covers the historic core of the town.

East Grinstead is one of five towns in Mid Sussex District that have assessments such as this. The others are Burgess Hill, Cuckfield, Haywards Heath, and Lindfield. Although Lindfield adjoins Haywards Heath, the two settlements remain quite distinct and, thus, each has its own report.
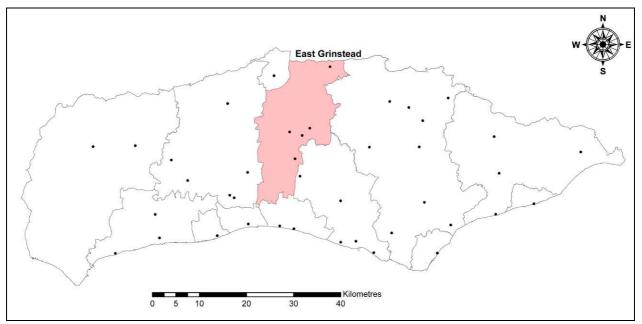

Fig. 1. Location of East Grinstead within Sussex. Mid Sussex District is highlighted and points locate the 41 Sussex EUS towns.
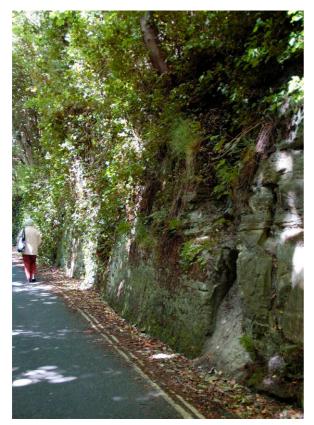
2 THE SETTING

Fig. 2. Hermitage Lane, approaching the High Street – deeply cut through Ardingly Sandstone.

2.1 Topography (Map 2)

East Grinstead is a hill town, situated on the northern edge of the High Weald on a ridge overlooking the valleys of the eastwards flowing rivers – the Medway (to the south) and the Eden (to the north). The historic core of the town sits above 130m OSBM, with the churchyard and Sackville College occupying much of the crown of the hill (over 135m OSBM) and the High Street just below this. On the south side of the High Street the land falls away steeply east of Portland Road, dropping up to 23m over the length of the historic burgage plots in this area. Otherwise the historic core is on comparatively level land, although the 19th and, especially, 20th-century suburbs have spread to cover the slopes surrounding the earlier town. The main ridge extends to the north-east (rising to 172m OSBM at Dry Hill fort, 5km distant), and to the south-west (where it joins the main Horsham-Cranbrook Forest Ridge). A minor ridge runs south-east of the town, to Ashurst Wood and Blackberry (or Pock) Hill.

The street layout of the town centre town has seen only minor changes, such as the creation of Portland Road in the late 19th century, and the western end of the High Street remains at the centre of the main shopping area. Suburbs extend in all directions from the historic core, up to 2.7km to the north-west of the High Street.

The town sits north of the centre of its extensive civil parish, with modern suburbs reaching (and being contained by) the ancient Sussex-Kent border, 1.5km north of the High Street. The medieval parish was more than twice this size, however, since in 1894 a new parish of Forest Row was created out of the eastern and southern part of East Grinstead parish.

The ancient subdivision of Sussex into east and west administrative areas was formalised by the County of Sussex Act 1865. When the boundary between the two was shifted eastwards in 1974, under the Local Government Act 1972, East Grinstead (together with the entirety of what is now Mid Sussex District) moved from East Sussex to West Sussex.[9]

2.2 Geology (Map 2)

2.2.1 Solid geology

Along with the whole of Sussex, the rocks of the East Grinstead area are sedimentary. Descending the higher land of High towards the Low Weald, the rocks get more recent.

All of East Grinstead lies on the complex succession of sandstones, silty sandstones and mudstones (commonly clays) of the Hastings Beds (Lower Cretaceous). The historic core is built on a wide band (up to 650m) of Ardingly Sandstone, seen in the deep exposures of Hermitage Lane. To the south and east (i.e. downhill) of this there is the narrower band of the Lower Tunbridge Wells Sand Formation. Below this, the outer south-east suburbs lie on the Wadhurst Clay Formation. To the north-west of the historic core, the Ardingly Sandstone is succeeded by the Grinstead Clay Member. Beyond this, the suburbs along the London Road north-west of the old railway line lie on the more extensive silty sandstone of the Upper Tunbridge Wells Sand Formation.

Clay ironstone, or siderite mudstone, provided ore for the Wealden iron industry, and there is a significant concentration of minepits to the east of the town. Most of these are on the mudstones and ironstones of the Wadhurst Clay Formation, immediately next to the interbedded sandstones and siltstones of the Ashdown Formation. The occurrence of clay ironstone in proximity to

sandstone is due to the fact that iron carbonate was produced in certain environments where organic matter was abundant, such as 'in clays on the outer fringes of sandy deltas' that existed at the time these sedimentary rocks were formed.[10]

2.2.2 Drift Geology

The drift geology of the East Grinstead area is limited in extent, reflecting the inland and hilltop location of the town. Alluvium is found along tributaries of the Medway, most noticeably in the case of the brook that marks the south-west limit of the modern town.

2.3   Communications

2.3.1 Water

East Grinstead is not located on or near any navigable water. Rather, it straddles the boundary of the catchments of the tributaries of the River Medway: the River Eden and the (upper part of) the River Medway.

2.3.2 Road

East Grinstead lies on the A22 (the London-Eastbourne road) and the A264 (the Horsham/Crawley-Tunbridge Wells road). Since 1978 the main through-routes use the inner relief road (named Beeching Way in reference to the reused line of the former railway) in preference to the High Street.

2.3.3 Railway

In 1855 East Grinstead was connected to London via Three Bridges on the 1841 London-Brighton line: in 1858 this line was taken over by the London Brighton and South Coast Railway (LBSCR). The single track branch was extended to Tunbridge Wells in 1866. Better north-south connections came with the opening of the Lewes and East Grinstead Railway in 1882, and its northwards continuation, the Croydon, Oxted and East Grinstead Railway, in 1884. Both these lines were double tracked and also operated by the LBSCR.[11] The Lewes line closed in 1958 (though part of it operates as a steam railway – the Bluebell Railway) and, as a result of the Beeching Plan, the service on the Three Bridges-Tunbridge Wells line stopped in 1967.[12] Only the line from East Grinstead to London, via Croydon, survives in use.

2.4   Evidence for pre-urban activity

2.4.1 Prehistoric

Within the EUS study area, no excavations have revealed prehistoric archaeology, doubtless reflecting the lack of archaeological excavation rather than an absence of prehistoric material.

Elsewhere in, or on the edge of, the town, there have been prehistoric find spots:

• 25 North End – Early Bronze Age (2350 BC to 1501 BC) axe head found in the back garden [SMR reference: 6803 – WS6832].

2.4.2 Romano-British

The north-south London-Hassocks road is the only reliably attributed Roman road in the area. It passes *c.*3.7km west of the centre of East Grinstead [SMR reference: 1932 – WS4200].

Within the EUS study area, no excavations have revealed Romano-British archaeology, again doubtless reflecting the lack of archaeological excavation rather than an absence of material remains of this period.

2.4.3 Anglo-Saxon

No excavation or findspots have produced evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity in the EUS study area, again doubtless reflecting the lack of archaeological excavation rather than an absence of material remains of this period.

2.4.4 Implications of pre-urban archaeology

Few pre-urban finds or features have been discovered within the EUS study area, either from archaeological excavations or more casually. The absence of Anglo-Saxon material may not be rectified by future archaeological excavations since there is no evidence for a settlement of this period, but evidence of earlier periods is likely to be found: the ridge top appears to have been an early route and, more significantly, Mesolithic and Iron Age sites and finds are well attested in the general area.[13]

3   HISTORY

3.1   Origins: 11ᵗʰ-13ᵗʰ centuries

3.1.1   Place-name

The name *Grinstead* was applied to the area and hundred in Domesday Book (1086). The prefix *East* is evident from the late 13ᵗʰ century simply to differentiate it from West Grinstead. The Old English form *grenestede* means 'green place'.[14] It remains pure speculation as to what place the name referred to, but the pre-settlement nature of the church (see below) suggests that in the 11ᵗʰ century *Grinstead* was already attached to the area subsequently occupied by the town.
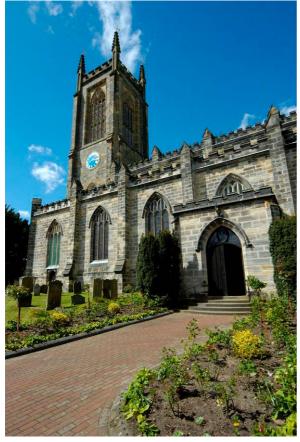

Fig. 3. St Swithun's church, the successor to the church built on the site by the late 11ᵗʰ century.

3.1.2   Church

There appears to have been a church at East Grinstead on the site of the present parish church in the 11ᵗʰ century. Although the dedication to an Anglo-Saxon saint (in this case Swithun) is hardly proof of pre-Conquest origins,[15] a church at East Grinstead was granted to Lewes Priory *c.*1091-1106 and, thus, is likely to have been in existence earlier.[16]

3.1.3   The origins of the borough

East Grinstead is similar to the Wealden town of Horsham in that they are both first recorded as boroughs, in 1235.[17] This in itself does not mean that East Grinstead was founded in the 13ᵗʰ century, since, for example, borough status for other post-Conquest towns in Sussex at New Shoreham (founded *c.*1086-96) and Bramber (founded *c.*1070) is not recorded until 1208-9 and 1294 respectively.[18] However, in the case of East Grinstead, there are no documentary sources that provide insight into any earlier town.

Certainly it is clear that in the 11ᵗʰ century there was no nucleated settlement in the area. Rather it was characterized by a scatter of Wealden farmsteads that were outliers of Downland and coastal plain manors, with origins as seasonal wood-pasture for swine. Usually such Wealden outliers are invisible in Domesday Book as they were incorporated with their parent manors, but adjustments to the boundaries of the rapes of Pevensey and Hastings between 1066 and 1086 – which required separation of outliers from parent manors – means that 13 estates are recorded in the area of the (later) parish.[19] Thus, it is clear that, along with most pre-1100 Wealden churches, St Swithun's served a dispersed community rather than a village or a town.

It has been suggested that East Grinstead was a new town founded by Gilbert de Aquila in the early 13ᵗʰ century as a commercial venture on the road from London to Lewes, Seaford, and Pevensey.[20] Similar origins at the same period have been proposed for Uckfield, on the Lewes-Tonbridge road.[21] Certainly, around 1214-24 de Aquila (lord of Pevensey Rape) held the estate later called the manor and borough of East Grinstead, and it descended thereafter with Pevensey Rape.[22] However, there is no documentary evidence for the planned creation of a new town (this is considered further under section 4.1.3).

3.2   The medieval town

3.2.1   Economic history

Evidently the weekly market that was granted by the Crown in 1247 had long been in existence, as might have been the fair on 24ᵗʰ and 25ᵗʰ July, granted at the same time. In 1285 the market moved from Sunday to Saturday.[23]

The town was important enough to send representatives to Parliament from 1300-1.[24] East Grinstead's position in the county stayed broadly consistent during the later medieval

period: in 1327 the town was ranked 14th in terms of wealth, and in 1524 it was ranked 13th (both figures excluding the Cinque Ports), with growth of 308%. The absence of the much more rapid growth – and rise in status – seen at other Wealden towns (namely Horsham, Battle and Cuckfield) could reflect the greater isolation of East Grinstead and the comparative poverty of its hinterland: it was in a less productive area for timber, a key Wealden export.[25]
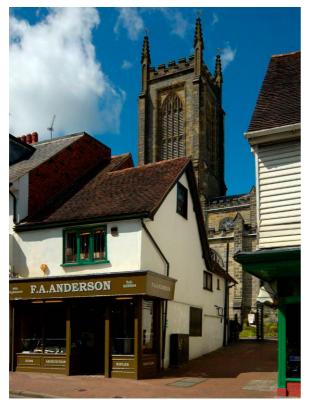

Fig. 4. High Street 'cottages' without substantial back plots, built in front of the churchyard.

There are few early references to medieval shops, though the 'cottages' that are documented from the 1390s onwards were evidently commercial premises. These included butchers' stalls and a shop. A forge was also in existence by 1478, in the middle of the western end of the High Street (where Constitutional Buildings now stand).[26] Such properties were distinct from the earlier burgages as they lacked extensive burgage plots (or, as they are consistently referred to in East Grinstead, 'portlands'): such properties in the medieval town were largely confined to the row in front of the church and to Middle Row. Both appear to be typical encroachments at the commercial heart of the town and are most likely developments of the late 13th century or early 14th century, when the property market was at its most intense both nationally and locally.[27] Accordingly, a rise in rent-income recorded in 1292 is more likely a

reflection of encroachment than, as has been suggested, creation of new burgages.[28]

What was later known as the George (now Clarendon House, High Street) is likely to have provided inn-like hospitality since built in the late 15th century, as it combined four burgages and was in the possession of the Brotherhood of St Katherine (see below).[29]

3.2.2   Church

Although a rector was appointed by Lewes Priory, parish duties were deputized to a vicar at least by 1291, with the priory absorbing the rectorial income from 1360 on condition of a permanent and endowed vicarage.[30]

A brotherhood of St Katherine is recorded in 1419, with an altar so dedicated recorded three years later. As at the similarly large parish of Horsham, it is probable that the brotherhood assisted the vicar. The chantry of St Mary is recorded only in the 16th century, although an altar to St Mary is recorded at the church in 1416.[31]

3.2.3   Urban institutions

East Grinstead has a long jurisdictional history, but there is no clear evidence that the medieval borough court and the assizes (held in the town in 1277 and 1392[32]) used a dedicated building.

3.3   The town *c.*1500-1800

3.3.1   Economic history

East Grinstead began this period as one of the lesser towns of Sussex, its 44 taxpayers of 1524 suggesting a total population in the borough nearing 220.[33] The 49 different households recorded within burgage tenements and cottages in a survey of 1564 imply stability, perhaps even some growth, and certainly no decay.[34] Borough populations are less clear later in the period, but a total parish population of perhaps 800 in 1547 had grown to *c.*1,050 in 1676, thereafter accelerating to 1,400 in 1724, and, more dramatically, to 2,659 in 1801.[35] The prosperity of the borough compared to other Sussex market towns in the late 17th century is confirmed by the Hearth Tax returns of 1670, which show East Grinstead having the lowest proportion of houses with between one and four hearths and the highest proportion with five hearths or over.[36]

Another indication of county importance in the 16th to 18th centuries is the use of East Grinstead for the assizes, underpinned by the town's accessibility to the London-based judges. In the

early 16th century the summer assizes were normally held in the town, and from 1568 the Lent assizes too. Likewise most assizes were held at East Grinstead in the 17th century, but the summer assizes were lost from the town at the beginning of the 18th century and the Lent assizes were moved to Lewes in 1800.[37] In 1555, East Grinstead had the dubious honour of being chosen as one of five Sussex locations for Marian martyrdom 1555, as Anne Tree, John Foreman and Thomas Dungate were burnt at the stake.[38]

Fig. 5. The Dorset Arms, 58-62 High Street (formerly the Cat), refaced in brick in the early 18th century.

Throughout this period, East Grinstead's position on a major route remained vitally important to the economy of the town. An East Grinstead carrier is recorded delivering fish loaded at Southwark, along with Wealden charcoal, to Lewes priory as early as the 1530s.[39] The value to the town of more distant connections is reflected in the backing by the inhabitants of a proposal to improve Newhaven Harbour (1677).[40] Another indication of the importance of road connections is the early record of inns. We have seen that the origins of the George probably lie in the late 15th century (section 3.2.1), and this became the principal inn during the 16th century until, apparently, converted to a house in 1630. The Crown was named as such when bequeathed in 1502, suggesting earlier

origins, and was formed from three burgages (now the Crown Hotel and the area occupied by later Cantelupe Road). Immediately west of this was the Chequer, in existence by 1585, but already two burgages combined in 1564 (when held by a burgess recorded as a brewer and tippler in 1577). The Cat (in 1605 the Ounce and Ivy Bush, and now the Dorset Arms) developed from a tavern to the town's principal inn during the early 17th century. The Bull (10-14 High Street) and the Lion (34-40 High Street) are mentioned in a will of 1619, the Swan (1-3 London Road) *c.*1660, the Spread Eagle (by 1696, the Ship on its eponymous street) in 1677, and the King's Head (High Street) in 1679.[41] The proliferation of inns reflected increasing coach travel (including the post by 1673) in the 17th century, and such was the number of inns that in a survey of 1686 East Grinstead topped the county in terms of provision of guest beds (103). The town was second in its available stabling (247), similar to that at Lewes (245) but substantially less than that at pre-eminent Horsham (365).[42]

The turnpiking of the London to East Grinstead road in 1717 was the first in the county, reflecting the importance of the route and ensuring the (albeit temporary) continued importance of the town. The turnpike was extended to Ashdown Forest in 1723, and to Lewes in 1752. In 1766 this road was connected (by a turnpike from Forest Row) to the emerging fashionable spa town of Tunbridge Wells.[43] Turnpiking heralded the advent of stage-coaches, here linking Shoreham, Brighton, Newhaven and Lewes to London, via an overnight stop at East Grinstead, from 1741. Despite rebuilding, the Chequer ceased trading in the later 18th century, and the Crown and the Cat (by now the Dorset Arms) remained the principal coaching inns at the end of the century.[44] The direct interest of the town's inns in coach travel is evident from a London-East Grinstead-Lewes-Brighton stage-coach service established by the owner of the Dorset Arms in 1756.[45]

A second fair was granted in 1516 (29th and 30th November, and 1st December), and this was still a buoyant affair as late as 1794. In 1665 the Saturday market was transferred to Thursday, and two more fairs were granted (16th April and 25th September). A monthly Wednesday cattle market was added in 1703.[46]

The increasing documentary record during the period saw the expected range of trades of a medium-sized market town. These included specialized trades, such as that of armourer who also appears to have dabbled as a barber-

surgeon (1598),[47] tailor (1599), barber-surgeon (1636), apothecary (1639), cutler (1692), and pewterer (1698).[48] The 1564 survey refers to 12 posts marking temporary market stalls, apparently concentrated in the Middle Row area. The survey also lists shops, shambles and a currying house in Middle Row. This cluster of leather trades in Middle Row evidently reflected a key industry in the post-medieval (if not earlier) town, for inspectors and sealers of leather were appointed by the borough in the period 1637-1749.[49] By 1650 the area immediately east of Church Lane was leased to a shoemaker, marking the beginning of a long association with leather-working.[50]

Fig. 6. Cromwell House, High Street, built by iron furnace owner, Edward Payne, in 1599.

A key product of Sussex in the 16th century was the coarse fabric called Hampshire kersey, and evidence of at least some production in the parish is recorded in the fine (in 1564) at Blackwell Hall, London, of an East Grinstead clothier for marketing sub-standard 'watchet kersies'.[51] Further evidence of the trade is provided by a reference to a draper in 1530,[52] but there is no evidence that East Grinstead represented a significant centre in the cloth industry.

Wealden iron production is likely to have had a significant impact on the economy of the town, with the beginning of the period coinciding with the development of the blast furnace, expanding markets, and rapid growth in the industry. The first English blast furnace had been established 8km from East Grinstead, at Newbridge on Ashdown Forest, in 1496. The industry expanded rapidly in the 16th century, thereafter declining to the point of extinction by the end of the 18th century. There were 22 ironworks of this period within 10km of East Grinstead.[53] Burgage holders such as Edward Payne and John Duffield were owners and operators of furnaces in the late 16th century. The employment of woodland workers, charcoal burners, and furnace workers would have been significant. Certainly, the strong interest of the Sackvilles in the town and parish (their estates covered a quarter of the parish in 1597-8) supports this inference, since iron production and ordnance trade were important activities for the Buckhurst based branch of this family in the 16th and 17th centuries.[54]

3.3.2   Church and religion

This period began with the drama of Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries. Its impact on the chantry and brotherhood was immediate and terminal. Whilst the parish church was institutionally more robust, the dissolution of Lewes Priory made possible Richard Sackville's acquisition of the rectorial rights (and other local interests) by 1560.[55]

The struggle for Protestant Reformation was enacted on the local stage at East Grinstead, as Mary's counter-Reformation proclamation forbidding the ministry of married clergy (December 1553) saw the removal of the vicar, Robert Best. Of the 52 clergy in Sussex so deprived, he was one of only around seven who were reinstated following the accession of Protestant Elizabeth in November 1558.[56] Although three Protestants martyrs were burnt at East Grinstead, a total of five came from the parish.[57]

In 1640-1 17 Roman Catholic recusants were recorded in the parish, predominantly of gentry stock.[58] Five were recorded in the Bishop Compton's census of 1676. Protestant Nonconformity was stronger (as typical in the

eastern Sussex Weald), with 28 Nonconformists (3.5% of the adult population).[59] Quakers, Independents and Presbyterians met in the parish,[60] stimulated by the renewed conformism of the Restoration (1660) and, especially, the Act of Uniformity (1662) with its Revised Book of Common Prayer.[61] The collapse of the church tower in 1785 followed years of neglect and took much of the church with it. The rest was demolished and new building began in 1789, to the designs of James Wyatt. In 1795 services returned to the church from their temporary location at Sackville College chapel (see below).[62]

Fig. 7. Sackville College: south doorway of *c*.1620.

3.3.3   Urban institutions

Although East Grinstead did not have a medieval or early post-medieval free grammar school, schoolmasters worked in the town from the 16th century, and in 1708 Robert Payne endowed a free school that ran as a grammar until 1772. This was attached to the church, probably in the vestry. The school re-opened in 1775, albeit no longer strictly a grammar school (but still with several free places), and, on the collapse of the church tower in 1785, moved to 51-5 High Street.[63]

A Sessions House was in existence by 1618, and its alternative names of the Court House and Town Hall confirm that it had the usual multiple use for the borough court, elections, and market toll collections. During the Lent assizes in 1685 the floor of one of the courts collapsed. The building was then demolished and rebuilt ready for the Lent assizes the following year.

This new building had become unsatisfactory by the time voted to relocate the assizes to Lewes in 1799.[64]

Sackville College was founded by the will of Robert Sackville, 2nd Earl of Dorset, who died in 1609. The building was in existence by *c*.1620, and the college, or hospital, was effectively an almshouse, albeit with private lodgings for the Sackvilles.[65]

The location of a parish workhouse in existence by 1725 is unknown, but its (later demolished) successor of 1747 was in London Road.[66]

3.4   Expansion: *c*.1800-2004

3.4.1   Economic history

The first year of this period saw the loss to Lewes of the remaining assizes (section 3.3.1). The first electoral Reform Act (1832) was a further indication of East Grinstead's decline, when the town was identified as one of 56 rotten boroughs and disenfranchised.[67] The decline can be traced (at least in part) to the creation of a more direct route from London to Brighton (and thence Dieppe) in 1761. By the 1770s Brighton was established as a major resort, and growth of the town accelerated dramatically after 1780 and continued in the 19th century.[68] With East Grinstead off the main route to Brighton the chance for reflected prosperity was reduced, but its decline was only relative to the rapid expansion of other (and especially coastal) towns in Sussex: between 1800 and the present East Grinstead has experienced a sustained period of population and economic growth. This has been punctuated by hiccups, perhaps most notably that caused by the failure of local Head's bank in 1892, which led to bankruptcy of several businesses in the town.[69]

The parish population rose slowly but steadily from 2,659 in 1801 to 3,586 in 1841,[70] lagging behind many neighbouring parishes,[71] but representing more growth in the borough than seen at many other inland ancient market towns (such as Steyning and Midhurst).[72] This modest growth changed with the arrival of the railway in 1855: the rise from 3,820 in 1851 to 4,266 in 1861 shows immediate impact, with population rising briskly to 5,390 in 1871 and 7,569 in 1891. Thereafter census statistics relate to the newly defined urban district, with 6,094 in 1901, 7,392 in 1921, 10,942 in 1951, and 23,942 in 2001.[73] Rates of growth in the second half of the 19th century were comparable with the nearby new railway towns of Haywards Heath and Burgess Hill, and ahead of all inland Sussex market towns except Horsham.[74] The growth of the first

half of the 20th century was considerable for Wealden Sussex, which lagged far behind the coastal zone.[75] It is the more than doubling of population in the second half of the 20th century, however, that is most remarkable, and comparable with the very rapid expansion of Horsham and Burgess Hill.[76]

Improvements to turnpike roads continued, notwithstanding the more direct London-Brighton road and, from 1809, the termination of the service at Lewes. Expenditure for road maintenance remained considerable around 1800, and then, in 1826, improvements were made to the Lewes Road as it entered the eastern side of the town. These reduced the steepness of the eastern approach to the town and were followed, in 1828, by lowering of the High Street and the southern end of London Road, again to reduce the incline. Stage-coaches from London to Brighton and the post continued to use the road, the latter surviving until *c.*1838. The Dorset Arms and the Crown remained the principal coaching inns.[77] The competition from alternative routes, however, was dramatically increased with the opening of the London-Brighton railway in 1841, and the market and general trade of the town immediately suffered.[78]

Fig. 8. East Grinstead station (1855), now re-used.

Schemes to connect East Grinstead by rail were developed and came to fruition in 1855 (see section 2.2.3). Even if only a single-tracked branch line in the first instance, the arrival of the railway played a significant role in the retention and expansion of trade and industry (see below). It also resulted in rapid expansion of the north-western side of the town, most immediately (by the early 1870s) on London Road, West Street,

and newly created Glen Vue Road, Cemetery Road (now Queen's Road), and Moat Road. With opening of the additional lines to Tunbridge Wells (1866), Lewes (1882), and Croydon and Oxted (thence to London: 1884), building accelerated, again concentrated near the railway (such as the Chequer Mead estate, St James's Road, Lingfield Road, and Station Road). Smaller terraced housing was included, but a significant proportion of the new housing comprised large detached and semi-detached villas built to service commuting that notwithstanding the continuance of minor industries and trades, became the new economic basis for the town. The late 20th-century development of Gatwick airport and the creation of Crawley New Town have reinforced this earlier trend.

Local authority housing was needed following the First World War, and was quickly begun in the town with the *c.*100 houses of the Copyhold Estate (1921), Halsford Croft, London Road, (1923-6), and, in the immediate aftermath of the depression, Sackville Estate (1932).[79] This accelerated in the post-war years, at such estates as Orchard Way (late 1960s), but large-scale private estates were also responsible for much of the town's expansion. For example, 1950s Imberhorne estate comprised *c.*800 houses.[80]

At the beginning of the period, between its days as a buoyant coaching and assize town, and its railway-led resurgence, East Grinstead's trade and industry still prospered. The town now had three fairs, though just two after 1816: these were in serious decline by 1890. The monthly Wednesday cattle market continued to be well attended and stocked in 1842, though the weekly Thursday market declined in the period before the railway connection arrived. Even the railway failed to save it, and this ancient charter market closed *c.*1870. In 1884 the new fortnightly stock market opened on Cantelupe Road, to the rear of the Crown, with a weekly corn market in the Crown itself. [81] The livestock market survived until 1970.[82]

The brewery on London Road, opposite the entrance to Park Road, was rebuilt in 1839, becoming the Hope Brewery, and a second brewery opened just off the London Road, at North End, *c.*1861. The latter closed in the 1890s but the Hope Brewery survived merger with a Lewes brewery, before closing in 1922.[83]

3.4.2   Church and religion

St Swithun's church has remained intact as an institution throughout this period. Most of the

vicarage garden was sold off (1965) – and then built over by housing – and the vicarage replaced by a more modest house.[84] The churchyard proved incapable of coping with the increased population and was closed in 1869, to be replaced by the new cemetery (Queens Road), with this in turn replaced by that at Mount Noddy in 1916.[85] The expanding population around and north-west of the railway required further Anglican provision, provided by St Mary's church, Windmill Lane (1891-1911): this acquired its own ecclesiastical parish in 1905.[86]
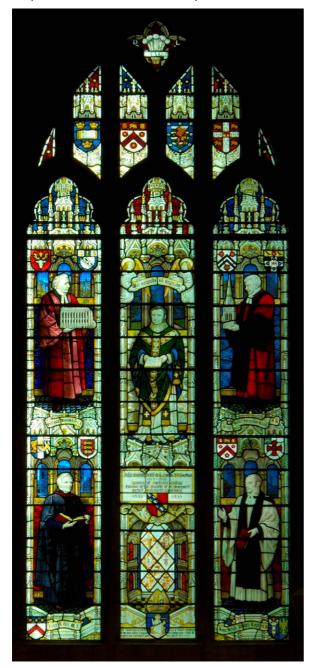

Fig. 9. St Swithun's church: nave north aisle window commemorating John Mason Neale and the centenary of the Oxford Movement (1833-1933).

The Society of St Margaret, an early Anglican order of nuns, was founded by the Rev. John Mason Neale in 1854, and moved into Church Lane two years later. Neale was the Warden of Sackville College from 1846-66 (also responsible for the enlargement of the college chapel in 1850[87]), and, together with vicar, was an avid Puseyite. Reaction in the town was considerable and occasionally violent, but had subsided by the time of the start of building works for the new convent in Moat Road in 1865. This was completed in 1892, but even before this housed and educated large numbers of orphans. The Sisters of St Margaret moved to a new and smaller retreat in the grounds in 1975, the old building being converted to flats.[88]

Nonconformism strengthened in the 19th century, with Zion Chapel, built in 1810 (now styled West Street Baptist church); Rocks Chapel, Old Road, built in 1850 (a Congregational splinter group from Zion Chapel, used by Primitive Methodists from 1868 to 1884: now demolished); Moat Road Congregational Church (1870); Wesleyan Methodist Church, London Road (1881: demolished 1937); and Providence Strict Baptist Chapel, London Road (1894; demolished after church took over the former Zion Chapel in 1981). Roman Catholicism was catered for by the church of Our Lady and St Peter, London Road, built in 1898.[89]

3.4.3   Urban institutions

During the 19th and 20th centuries East Grinstead has seen the development of a range of social and public functions that did not exist previously. The detail of these is beyond the scope of this brief account, but the salient institutions are included.

The town's educational function was expanded with the creation of a girls' National School in 1828: in 1816 the National Society had come to the aid of the decayed grammar school (or Payne's School), which at this time moved into Sackville College.[90] This accommodation was withdrawn in 1839 and the school did not re-open until 1847, finally closing in 1887: its endowments were reclaimed under the Endowed Schools Act 1888 and made transferable as exhibitions to other schools.[91] Although a new National School opened in Chequer Mead in 1861, education in the town faltered again as the National Schools closed through lack of funds in 1875. The parish was ripe for the establishment of a school board under the Education Act 1870, and under such auspices the school reopened in 1880 and was expanded with a separate building for girls in 1882. East Grinstead County

Secondary School, Windmill Lane, opened in 1928, becoming a grammar school after the 1944 Education Act: the Chequer Mead buildings continued in use as the secondary modern and primary schools.[92] Blackwell School opened for infants in 1952 and for juniors in 1955. Juniors from the Chequer Mead school transferred to it in 1958, allowing the secondary modern (Sackville) to expand: additional capacity was created by the opening of the Imberhorne Secondary Modern in 1959. Sackville itself relocated to Lewes Road in 1964. Comprehensive schooling was adopted from 1970. Primary schools had opened to accommodate the expanding population, such as St Mary's School, North End (1955), and Halsford Park School (1958).[93] Chequer Mead School closed in 1990, reopening at the Meads, with the old school becoming an arts centre in 1996.[94]

The Session House, rendered redundant by the loss of the assizes from 1800, was variously used as a meat and vegetable market, a playhouse, and, presumably a market house and town hall, until demolished in 1828 during the levelling of the High Street (see above).[95]

Despite a reduced role in law and order, East Grinstead retained a lock-up (initially at the Sessions House) and accommodated County Court sittings (from 1847: initially in the Dorset Arms, then the Corn Store in London Road, and eventually, in a purpose-built magistrates court at the police station, in 1875). Since 1860 there has been a purpose-built police station, initially in West Street (demolished, and now the car park).[96] More recently, a purpose-built police station and magistrates' court opened at East Court in 1965, though the police control room was moved to Haywards Heath in 1992, and the court closed in 1991: the County Court closed too, in 1993.[97]

A charitable cottage hospital was established in Green Hedges Avenue in 1863, but closed in 1874. In 1888 Landsdowne House opened, to be replaced by a new hospital in 1902, converted from a former holiday home.[98] The new hospital in Holtye Road opened in 1936, and developed its plastic surgery unit during the Second World War.[99]

In addition to the facilities of the larger inns and public houses (especially the Dorset Arms and the Crown), this period has seen demand for public spaces for its diverse formal social activities. The Public Hall, London Road, replaced the Corn Store in 1875. Nearby, the Grosvenor Hall was in use from 1883, becoming the Whitehall in 1910, with restaurant, skating rink and theatre: the latter showing films. The Public Hall had gone out of public use by the end of the 19th century, but was converted to the Cinema-de-Luxe in 1913. The 1200-seater Radio Centre cinema opened in 1936, at which point the Whitehall was rebuilt, again as a cinema. The new Whitehall was largely destroyed by Luftwaffe bombing in 1943, which left 108 dead.[100] The Radio Centre became the Classic in 1966, and was demolished in 1989.[101]

Sports facilities have appeared during this period. The town cricket club was founded in 1857, initially using the Chequer Mead, returning to the site of earlier cricket matches at the common (*c.*1878), and moving to West Street in 1890 (the site recorded, since sold for housing in 1988, by Pavilion Way). A football team was founded in 1874, while that existing today was founded in 1890: both this and the athletics club (founded by 1896) were based at the West Street cricket ground. The tennis club in Ship Street began in 1881. Mount Noddy recreation ground was established by the Urban District Council in 1906. Swimming in the stream at Brooklands Park was formalized in 1911 with the building there of a swimming pool. This was replaced by the present pool in 1982. The King's Centre for indoor sports was built in 1974.[102]

As a result of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, East Grinstead was created as one of the new Unions (1835), covering an extensive Wealden area. It was not until 1859, however, that a purpose-built union workhouse was erected (to Frederick Peck's design) within the town, in Glen Vue Road, adjacent to the station.[103] The workhouse later became St Leonard's hospital and was demolished in 1982.[104]

4   ARCHAEOLOGY

4.1   Origins: 11th-13th centuries

4.1.1   Buildings

There are no surviving or recorded buildings that date from this period. Unusually, no medieval fabric survives at the parish church as a result of its partial collapse and subsequent demolition in 1785 (section 3.3.2). Drawings of the earlier building show no features earlier than the three eastern windows, all in richly curvilinear style of the mid-14th century.

4.1.2   Excavations

No archaeological features have been discovered that relate to the origins of the town. The excavation at the **East Grinstead Museum** site in Cantelupe Road, however, did recover 28 sherds of medieval pottery, mostly of 13th to 14th-century date, with some possibly as early as the late 12th century.[105]

4.1.3   Topographic analysis (Map 5)

The lack of documentary and archaeological evidence for the origins of East Grinstead means that study of the town has necessarily relied heavily on topographic analysis. Much has been written on this subject that is highly speculative and it is beyond the scope of this report to discuss each hypothesis in turn.[106]

A key element to the early topography of the town is the presence of prehistoric and later ridgeways. Even here there is disagreement, and an absence of archaeological evidence. What does appear reasonable supposition is that pre-borough ridge-top roads led from the general area of the later town broadly following the routes of modern Holtye Road, Lewes Road, and Park Road/Chapman's Lane.[107] Additionally, West Street and its continuation towards either Selsfield Common or Turners Hill follow a very minor ridge: the origins of this route, however, could lie in an Anglo-Saxon droveway (see below).[108]

Although not following a ridge it is likely that London Road was also substantially pre-borough, linking to the London-Hassocks Roman road near Felbridge. Ivan Margary proposed that this road did not continue as far as the High Street,[109] and this hypothesis has been further developed by Michael Leppard, who argues that the earlier line of London Road is preserved in the twittens of Institute Walk and Vicarage Walk, joining the old Lewes road (Old Road) at

Beeching Way. In this scheme, the southernmost stretch of London Road was a 'short cut' created with the borough. However, Vicarage Walk does not fit the alignment of the proposed pre-borough route and this is explained away as a necessary re-alignment required by the creation of the burgage plots. This, though, is at odds with Leppard's argument that the main evidence for Institute Walk and Vicarage Walk pre-dating the borough is that after creation of the town they had no function: a lack of a southern counterpart is cited as further proof.[110] The paucity of the logic is evident, and it is more likely that Institute Walk and Vicarage Walk both post-date the creation of the borough. Since the former marks the boundary of what appears to be an expansion of the borough, this is perhaps post-medieval. Similar later medieval and post-medieval development of lanes or twittens to the rear of burgage plots occurs elsewhere (e.g. at Charlton Street, Steyning: like East Grinstead, without a counterpart on the other side of the High Street[111]). Moreover, the argument for the Institute Walk and Vicarage Walk line of the London Road fails to account for the fanning out of the plots north of the High Street as they approach the southern part of the present London Road: most plausibly, this was determined by the fact that this road, which joins the High Street at an angle, was already in existence.

Fig. 10. Middle Row (from the west), standing within the width of the High Street.

A second major component of the pre-borough routes – and one not systematically discussed in any analysis of the early topography of the area

– is that established by Downland-Wealden transhumance, certainly by the mid-late Anglo-Saxon period. Although the strong grain of south-north drove roads linking Downland permanent settlements with Wealden wood-pasture is weaker near the county border and in the more convoluted topography of the High Weald, several roads in the East Grinstead area seem to follow this general Wealden trend. With the possible exception of West Street (possibly originating as a droveway via Selsfield Common, rather than a ridgeway from Turners Hill: see above), the most relevant to the early topography of the town is Hermitage Lane, passing through the known Anglo-Saxon swine pasture at Standen. Church Lane, and thence Blackwell Hollow, may represent a staggered continuation of Hermitage Lane to Hackenden, another apparent Anglo-Saxon swine pasture.

Leppard has suggested that Hermitage Lane and Church Lane aligned perfectly to produce a through-route pre-dating the creation of the borough.[112] The evidence is against this for there nothing existing or mapped to indicate such an earlier route and later realignment. Moreover, Hermitage Lane appears to predate the burgage plots: it is deeply sunk into the Ardingly Sandstone, defines the irregular rear boundary to several plots to the west, has its sinuous line reflected in the plots to the east, and marks a change in the length of the plots. Church Lane – if it is earlier than the borough – can hardly have been routed more to the west as it already hugs the eastern boundary of the churchyard. The evidence of Hermitage Lane, therefore, is that of an Anglo-Saxon drove road forming a T-junction at High Street, the latter necessarily pre-existing.

Likewise, West Street joins the London-Lewes route at the High Street in East Grinstead, suggesting that, if the latter had seen modification to follow the present line of the High Street, this occurred well before the borough was founded. Indeed, with its use of minor ridges this provides a direct route to Turners Hill.

The evidence for the routes at and around East Grinstead on the eve of the foundation of the borough strongly suggests, therefore, that High Street, West Street, Hermitage Lane, London Road, Old Road (the pre-1826 alignment of Lewes Road) and, possibly, Church Lane were all in existence.

The origins of the burgage plots have been seen as contemporary with the founding of a town in the early 13th century. This a wholly reasonable conclusion since the linear plan, and the uniformity and spaciousness of the *c.*180m deep plots lying at right-angles to the High Street

certainly implies deliberate planning, and, in the absence of earlier references to the town, these plots are indeed likely to have been set out in the early 13th century. Similar evidence has been used to identify the planned origins of what was intended to be a small town at Burwash, also sitting astride a major ridge-top route in the High Weald.[113]

Fig. 11. Old Road, the former route to Lewes. Prior to replacement by the turnpike this ascended to the higher foreground on the line of the cottages on the right hand side.

At East Grinstead, however, the pre-existence of the church and the great width (up to 35m) of the High Street could suggest that prior to the founding of a town in the 13th century, it was another example of what Mark Gardiner has identified as a common feature of the High Weald. Open areas or 'focal places' for trade were established on major routeways, to which churches were attracted to serve the dispersed settlement so characteristic of the Weald. With the churches a secondary development, the open spaces must pre-date *c.*1100, by which date most of the Wealden churches had been founded.[114] In many cases permissive, or unplanned, permanent nucleated settlements, or substitute towns, followed (e.g. Mayfield, Wadhurst, Ticehurst, Wartling, Rotherfield and Heathfield), but there is no evidence of this at East Grinstead: either no permanent settlement

had occurred by the time of the foundation of the planned town, or it was negligible. The pre-existence of the church and a route along the present High Street, and the likely pre-existence of a focal place (which could have functioned as hundred meeting place as well as a market-place in this instance), suggest that not only was the planned town located to capitalize on an existing place of trade, but that the topography of this town was influenced by this earlier use. A similar case can be made for the early development of Horsham, like East Grinstead first identified as a borough in 1235 and also with good evidence of regular burgage plots of *c.*180m length.[115]

The pre-borough activity on the site of East Grinstead could have implications for the debate on early routes in the town. That is, the focal place might have comprised a much larger area than that represented by the wide High Street alone. Indeed, it is possible that it comprised the whole 500m x 250m triangular area bounded by London Road, High Street/Old Road, and the notional line (favoured by Margary and Leppard) of Institute Walk and its continuation (see above), rendering irrelevant the precise identification of through-routes. That this is not far-fetched is evident from Wealden parallels: at Horsham the tentatively identified early focal place was of triangular form at the junction of several routeways, with the church at the narrow end, and measured 420m x 135m;[116] and at Rotherfield, Gardiner has identified a funnel-shaped focal place measuring 575m x 180m, within which the church was built.[117] In both cases the 13th-century town has encroached on the earlier triangular market place. Rotherfield developed as a permissive settlement so its later evolution can hardly be expected to parallel the planned town of East Grinstead. We have seen above, however, that Horsham was similar to East Grinstead in its provision of regular burgage plots, so it is perhaps significant that at Horsham such plots do not occur within the triangular Carfax. At East Grinstead, of course, regular burgage plots are found within the area of this putative triangular market place, and would have cut across its northern side. The lack of correspondence between the northern boundary of the burgage plots and the extrapolated line of the Institute Walk has been identified (above) as a weakness in the case for a pre-borough London Road-Old Road through route (before the High Street), and the same applies to the case for a triangular focal place. Both would require radical imposition of the new town plan over selected earlier topographic features, though the large triangular focal place hypothesis would at least account for the

southern end of London Road and the fanning out of burgage plots in its vicinity. Evidently, the pre-borough existence of such a large focal or market place remains no more than a possibility (and one certainly less plausible than an 11th-century or earlier market place confined to what became the High Street), but, in the context of similar evidence from other towns in the High Weald, one that requires consideration.

The absorption of the earlier church into the planned town (whatever the preceding topography) is hardly a matter of contention, although the irregularity of the eastern side of the churchyard (along Church Lane) is in contrast to the straight or gently sinuous boundaries of the burgage plots. Indeed, the slight dog-leg next to the lych gate could suggest that the north-east corner of the churchyard predates the setting out of the burgage plots. The regularity of the northern and western boundaries of the churchyard could imply regularization at the creation of the borough. The plot to the north of the churchyard was the location of the vicarage from the earliest records, and conforms to the length of the burgage plots, suggesting that it was set out at the same time.[118]

4.2 Later medieval town (Map 6)

4.2.1 Buildings

Fig. 12. 14th-century timber framing at 34-40 High Street.

Fig.13. 48 High Street (western part of Wilmington House).

Although nothing survives of the recorded late medieval fabric of the church, East Grinstead is fortunate in the survival of several pre-1500 townhouses. There are 12 buildings that least in part date from this period, all of which are timber framed, have evidence for former open halls (some of Wealden type), and are located on the High Street. Of these townhouses several stand out. Broadleys (34-40 High Street) actually comprises two medieval structures, 36-40 having a broad frontage parallel to the street, and 34 representing a range a right-angles to the street: the presence of a primary cart entrance could suggest a courtyard plan from the outset. The front range, which has an aisled hall, has been dated by dendrochronology to 1352, showing that wide plots (or amalgamation of plots) had occurred within a century or so of setting out of the burgages.[119] At Amherst House (68 High Street), the former open hall is more easily recognizable in the external the timber framing, and this has been dated by dendrochronology to 1370.[120] The western part of Wilmington House (i.e. 48 High Street) also appears to date from the later 14th century.

Other early townhouses are 15th century, and include the primary phase of Clarendon House, dated by dendrochronology to 1438-67 and,

concealed behind an 18th-century brick façade, 1-2 Judges Terrace (1448).[121]

4.2.2 Excavations

There have been no archaeological excavations to date that have provided evidence for the late medieval town.

4.2.3 Topography (Map 6)

While the street pattern of the historic core of East Grinstead was largely in place before or at the foundation of the town in the early 13th century, significant later medieval change occurred as a result of encroachment.

Encroachment in East Grinstead has had two main effects. The first has long been recognized and comprised the erection of permanent buildings within the wide market area of the High Street, forming the island that is Middle Row. Although the earliest architectural evidence discovered to date is from *c.*1500,[122] its origins probably lie in the conversion of market stalls to more substantial buildings in the late 13th or early 14th centuries. Certainly, the commercial pressure that underpins such encroachment can hardly have been intense after early to mid-14th-century economic decline and plague.
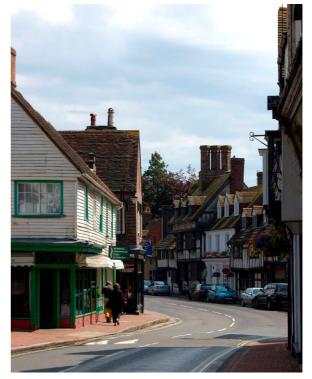

Fig. 14. Encroachment in the High Street: in front of the church (left) and within the road with Middle Row (right).

As Patrick Wood noted, the south side of the High Street is deflected in parallel with the curved south face of Middle Row, and this

feature appears to have existed by 1350.[123] Rather than evidence of the location of the market (which given the width of the street to the west is unlikely to have been so constrained), however, this suggests that Middle Row was indeed in existence by this date. The cause of the deflection of the south side of the street is itself likely to be the result of more modest encroachment by houses to the west of Middle Row.

The second main area of encroachment is more substantial and consists of those properties along the south side of the churchyard. These lacked burgage status in the 1564 survey, and have no rear plots. Rather than representing former church land, it is more likely, as Wood has suggested, that they took land from the highway as the rear of these properties aligns neatly with the northern side of Old Road – the pre-1826 alignment of the continuation of the High Street (Lewes Road).[124] There are no burgages east of these cottages, but progressively reducing encroachment is implied to their west as the present street frontage does not suddenly step forward at this point. Wood argues on the basis of the surviving buildings that this was a late 15th-century or 16th-century encroachment,[125] but it is perhaps more likely that it also belongs to the late 13th century, again solidifying insubstantial stalls. Certainly, it is more likely that encroachment in front of the churchyard was contemporary with, or even pre-dated, that of Middle Row since the latter is central to the narrower form of the High Street as encroached by properties in front of the church.

4.3 The town *c.*1500-1800

4.3.1 Buildings

At least 23 buildings of this period survive, six from the 16th century, 10 from the 17th century, and seven from the 18th century. These include the church – rebuilt (from 1789) after the collapse of the church tower in 1785, to the designs of James Wyatt (Fig. 3). More impressive, however, is Sackville College of *c.*1620: built around a quadrangle and including a communal hall and chapel, this stone-built Jacobean building is well preserved. It marks the eastern end of the High Street. Other stone building from the 17th century includes The Old Stone House (dated by dendrochronology to 1641), and the new front and rear elevations added to the Porch House.

Timber-framed construction had reached its apogee in the town at the end of the 16th century, with Cromwell House (1599), a three-storey townhouse with jetties marking each floor. Other, more modest, use of continuous jettying (and therefore no open hall) survive, most obviously nearby at Sackville House, 70 High Street (dated 1574[126]). Timber framing continued into the 17th century, with seven examples showing that it remained the dominant building material for all but the grandest buildings: a late example is 7-8 Middle Row, dated to 1690-1710, albeit over an earlier cellar.[127]

The 18th century saw brick replace timber framing and stone, with good examples such as 74-6 High Street. That timber-framed buildings were rendered unfashionable is evident from the considerable re-facing of such earlier buildings in brick. Both the Crown Hotel and the Dorset Arms were so treated, but the side passage to 1-2 Judges Terrace means that here the junction of 18th-century brick façade and underlying 15th-century timber frame is most visible.

Fig. 15. 1-2 Judges Terrace, High Street: 18th-century façade applied to mid-15th-century timber framing.

Although the absence of many large and finely executed wholly 18th-century townhouses reflects the fact that the heyday of the town had passed, buildings throughout the 1500-1800 period reveal provision for vehicular access. It is carriageways such as that at The Dorset Arms, however, that can best be related to the all-important coaching trade.

Fig. 16. Sackville College, south elevation (*c*.1620).

We have seen (section 3.3.1 and Fig. 6) that substantial Cromwell House was built with the profits of the iron industry, but more modest evidence of the importance of the industry is found in the parish church too in the form of iron graveslabs. Three are preserved here (surviving the late 18th-century rebuilding), with that to Anne Barcley (wife of the future M.P. for the town) dated to 1570 – the earliest dated example.[128]

4.3.2 Topography (Maps 7-9)

There was remarkably little re-organization of East Grinstead between 1500 and 1800 to upset the medieval topography. Indeed, even as late as 1840, the enlarged detail of the town that forms part of the tithe map of this date differs little in extent or layout from that recorded in the survey of 1564. As seen in the evidence of the standing buildings, change and growth was largely confined to rebuilding and occasion amalgamation of tenements, with the substantial exception of Sackville College. This appears to have been founded on a largely vacant site immediately to the east of the previous extent of the town.

4.4 Expansion: *c*.1800-2004 (Maps 1 and 3)

4.4.1 Buildings and topography

The majority of the buildings in East Grinstead date from this period, not so much as a result of

loss of earlier buildings, but through expansion of the town. This growth accelerated after the railway arrived (1855) and, again, after 1945.

Fig. 17. Zion Chapel, West Street.

Within the EUS study area, several buildings reflect the expansion of the town and the changing socio-economic structure. From the early 19th century, Zion Chapel, West Street (1810) marks both new provision for Nonconformism as well as the beginnings of the western spread of the town. Detached Grove House, 80 West Street, is typical of the scattered ribbon development along pre-existing roads at

this time. This was more noticeable in the north-west part of the EUS study area and further out along the London Road, where the enclosure of East Grinstead common *c.*1800 provided scope for new building. Redevelopment of this area both shortly after arrival of the railway and, again, in the late 20th century was thorough, however, so that no buildings survive to record the pre-urban scatter of settlement.

Fig. 18. Post-railway terrace housing in Queen's Road.

The impact of the railway is evident in surviving buildings. Early terraces housing survives at Alma Terrace, West Street (1865), and more substantially in the form of late 19th-century brick terraces along adjacent Queen's Road. Railway Approach has more fragmented survivals of the same date, but most remarkable is the original station (1855) itself, preserved on the south side of the inner relief road that re-uses the line of the defunct railway. Although development of the second half of the 19th century focused on the west and north-west of the earlier town, modest terraces and semi-detached housing were built further from the station: for example, in the 1890s and early 1900s the Chequer Mead estate, north of the church.

Although much of the 20th-century development within the EUS study area comprises unremarkable functional commercial premises, some examples are noteworthy. The extension

of the Chequer Mead estate along Christopher Road in 1935 included the first purpose-built flats in the town (Jubilee Court).[129] The same developer (Letheby and Christopher) was responsible for the surviving Art Deco buildings in the town, which enliven the London Road area: the Whitehall, and Caffyn's Garage (King's Road), both 1936.

Fig. 19. The Whitehall, London Road (1936).

The large-scale expansion of the town after 1945 largely concerns the area outside the EUS study area, but the new forms of houses that have appeared (bungalows, chalet bungalows, and small blocks of flats and sheltered housing), together with increased provision of drives and garaging for cars, have had some impact within the area. For example, late 20th and early 21st-century flats have been built in Railway Approach. More significant, however, has been the advent of large steel and concrete-framed office blocks, concentrated along London Road to the north-west of the inner relief road.

Fig. 20. East Grinstead tithe map, 1840 (copy in *West Sussex Record Office*).

5 STATEMENT OF HISTORIC URBAN CHARACTER

5.1 Town summary

5.1.1 Historic environment overview

Revival and expansion of the town from the mid-19th century has tended to add to rather than destroy the earlier town. Both the buildings and burgage plots of High Street are amongst the very best survivals of late medieval and early post-medieval Sussex. Comparative stagnation in the 18th and early to mid-19th centuries means that there are fewer survivals from this period. Less visible than the buildings is the archaeological evidence of the 13th-century planned town, and pre-urban usage – the latter including the church (certainly in existence by the late 11th century) and, possibly, the still earlier market or focal place. The potential of this archaeology has only begun to be realized through excavation.

5.1.2 Historic environment designations (Map 4)

There are 43 listed buildings, or groups of buildings, in the EUS study area (one Grade I, four Grade II*, one Grade B, and 37 Grade II). Of these, 11 predate 1500; six are 16th century; 10 are 17th century; seven are 18th century; four are early 19th century; four are later 19th century; and one is 20th century.[130]

East Grinstead has a Conservation Area. There are no Scheduled Monuments in the town.

5.1.3 Historic building materials

The pre-1700 buildings of the town are predominantly timber framed, although several 17th-century buildings are wholly or partly of sandstone : most notably, Sackville College, The Old Stone House and The Porch House (all on the High Street). Thereafter, brick is the dominant building material. Clay tiles are used for roofs, and tile-hanging (seven examples). Horsham Stone is a flaggy sandstone used for roofing (13 examples, all on pre-1800 buildings).

5.2 Historic Character Types

5.2.1 Historic Character Types and chronology (Maps 5-11)

Historic Character Types (HCTs) for Sussex EUS
Lane/road [includes all historic routes]
Major road scheme [modern ring roads, motorways etc.]
Bridge/causeway
Regular burgage plots
Irregular historic plots [i.e. pre-1800]
Proto-urban
Vacant [reverted from built-up to fields etc.]
Market place
Church/churchyard [i.e. parish]
Cemetery
Religious house [abbey, priory, convent etc.]
Great house
Castle
Town defences
Other fortification
Barracks
School/college
Public
Farmstead/barn
Mill
Suburb [estates and individual houses]
Retail and commercial [i.e. post-1800]
Extractive industry [e.g. sand pit, brickfield]
Heavy industry [e.g. steel or automotive industry]
Light industry [e.g. industrial estates]
Utility
Quay/wharf [inc. boatyards]
Harbour/marina/dock
Station, sidings and track
Inland water
Orchard
Market garden [inc. nursery]
Allotments
Race course
Sports field [inc. stadia, courts, centres etc.]
Park
Informal parkland [e.g. small civic areas, large grounds]
Seafront [piers, promenades etc.]
Beach/cliffs

Table 1. Sussex EUS Historic Character Types.

Historic Character Types have been developed in the Sussex EUS to describe areas of common character by reference to generic types found across all 41 towns. Historic function is often the key determinant of character type, hence the term 'Historic Character Types' and the time-depth implicit in many of the types in Table 1 (e.g. *regular burgage plots*). The types also

reflect the character of these towns, and, thus, they are different from those that would be applied nationally or to another county.

The Historic Character Types have been mapped to areas within the towns (polygons in the Geographical Information System that underpins the Sussex EUS). Whilst character type can prove consistent throughout a large area (for example, across a late 20th-century housing estate), different historic use of part of that area has been used as a basis for subdivision. This is to allow the application of the types in Table 1 to the mapped polygons throughout the 15 periods of the **EUS chronology** (Table 2). This means that for any area within the town, or mapped polygon on the Geographical Information System, both the present Historic Character Type and the past land use(s) are defined.

This approach gives time-depth to the map-based character component of the Sussex EUS, and is structured to take account of both upstanding and buried physical evidence of the past. It enables the generation of maps (e.g. Maps 5-9) showing the changing land use of the urban area throughout the history of each town, and, through use of the Geographical Information System developed as part of this assessment, for simple interrogation of any area in the town to show all its known past land uses.

Period	Date
Period 1	500,000BC-AD42
Period 2	43-409
Period 3	410-949
Period 4	950-1065
Period 5	1066-1149
Period 6	1150-1349
Period 7	1350-1499
Period 8	1500-1599
Period 9	1600-1699
Period 10	1700-1799
Period 11	1800-1840
Period 12	1841-1880
Period 13	1881-1913
Period 14	1914-1945
Period 15	1946-present

Table 2. Sussex EUS chronology.

5.2.2   Historic Character Types in East Grinstead (Maps 10 and 11)

Although Historic Character Types represent county-wide types, modern East Grinstead is characterized by its particular concentration of some types and the comparative rarity, or

absence, of others. For example, the identification of large areas of *regular burgage plots* reflects the early importance of the planned town and the comparatively good preservation of medieval buildings and plot boundaries. The modest extent of *irregular historic plots* reflects the small scale of change to the 13th-century town until after 1800.

5.3   Historic Urban Character Areas (Map 12)

5.3.1   Defining Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs)

Whereas Historic Character Types have been applied to areas of the Sussex towns with consistent visible character and historical development – and are mapped across the whole history for each town – **Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs)** represent meaningful areas of the modern town. Although similar areas are found in many towns, HUCAs are unique, can include components of different history and antiquity, and usually represent amalgamation of several Historic Character Types.

Thus, HUCA 1 in East Grinstead combines four Historic Character Types that represent *regular burgage plots* dating from Period 6 (i.e. 1150-1349); *irregular historic plots* also dating from Period 6, and from Period 7 (i.e. 1350-1499) and Period 10 (i.e. 18th century); *retail and commercial* areas dating from Period 13 (i.e. 1881-1913); *suburbs* from Period 13 and from period 15 (i.e. 1946-present); and a *sports field* from Period 15. Combining this complexity into a single HUCA called *High Street* reflects the largely coherent character of the area today. This coherence renders HUCAs suitable spatial units for describing the historic environment of the EUS towns, for assessing their **archaeological potential**, **Historic Environment Value** and for linking to **research questions**.

Some components of the towns are not included as HUCAs: roads (other than those that were built as part of a particular development) and waterways are kept separate as they frequently antedate surviving buildings or the known urban activity.

5.3.2   Archaeological potential

Whilst the nature and extent of areas to which Historic Character Types have been applied is closely related to the survival of buried archaeology, this assessment considers the

archaeological potential at the larger scale of the HUCAs. The reasons are twofold: first, the typically smaller scale of areas of common Historic Character Type could misleadingly imply that high, or even low, archaeological potential is precisely confined, or that archaeological value is exactly coterminous with the edge of specific features (standing or buried); and, second, most Sussex towns have had insufficient archaeological investigation to support this precision. For this reason, too, there is no grading or ranking of archaeological potential. Rather, the summary of archaeological potential is used to inform the overall (graded) assessment of **Historic Environment Value** of each HUCA (see below).

When considering the archaeological potential of the towns, it is important to recognize that archaeology often survives 19th and 20th-century development and that it is misleading to assume complete destruction. Also, whilst pre-urban archaeology (such as prehistoric and Romano-British features and finds for which there is the potential to locate within East Grinstead) tells us little about the towns themselves, it contributes to wider archaeological research.

In assessing the likelihood of buried archaeology within areas in the towns there has been consideration of the potential for archaeology 'buried', or hidden, within later buildings and structures, as well as that for below-ground features.

5.3.3 Historic Environment Value (Map 13)

The **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of each HUCA is assessed here, and expressed as a value from 1 (low) to 5 (high). Such values are iniquitous to some and always subjective, but here provide a necessary means of consistently and intelligently differentiating (for the purposes of conservation) the upstanding fabric, boundaries and archaeology that form the historic urban environment. The Historic Environment Value (HEV) of each HUCA is based on assessment of:

• Townscape rarity

• Time-depth or antiquity

• Completeness.

Lesser additional considerations in the assessment comprise:

• Visibility

• Historic association.

The full methodology for assessing Historic Environment Value forms part of the annexe to the historic environment management guidance for Mid Sussex District.

5.3.4 Vulnerability

The vulnerability of each HUCA is also considered, although many future threats cannot be anticipated. These brief analyses mean that this Statement of Historic Urban Character can be used to focus conservation guidance.

5.3.5 Research questions

Where relevant, reference is made to questions in the **Research Framework** for East Grinstead (below, section 6). This referencing links these key questions to specific HUCAs, helping ensure that any investigation of the historic environment (such as that as a condition of development, under PPG15 or PPG16) is properly focused.

5.3.6 East Grinstead's Historic Urban Character Areas (Map 12)

The following assessments of the Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs) of the EUS study area within East Grinstead commence with those that make up the historic core. Inevitably, these assessments are more extensive than those that relate to recent expansion of the town.

HUCA 1 High Street (HEV 5)

HUCA 1 is in the centre of the 13th-century and modern town.

Today the area has a continuously built-up street frontage. There are 30 listed buildings (26 Grade II and four Grade II*), of which ten are Period 7 (1350-1499), six are Period 8 (16th century), nine are Period 9 (17th century), and three are Period 10 (18th century). The nearly unbroken run of 14th, 15th and 16th-century townhouses extending along the south side of the High Street is particularly remarkable, not least given the scale of expansion of the town since the mid 19th century. This includes The Old Stone House and The Porch House, both 16th-century and Grade II*, and respectively wholly and partly built of stone. In addition to many examples of exposed and concealed timber framing from the mid-14th century onwards, the wide frontages of Cromwell House and Clarendon House are undoubtedly the most impressive timber-framed townhouses. Other key historic building materials include Horsham stone roofs (11 buildings).

Although eroded from their state as recorded in the 19th century (most destructively by the

creation of Portland Road), burgage plots (or plotlands) are evident on both sides of the street, but especially to the east of Hermitage Lane. These survive to their *c.*180m length as set out in the 13th century.

The cutting through of Portland Road and the subsequent building of houses along it have had the greatest impact on the historic environment. What might appear to be major redevelopment along the east side of Ship Street (to the rear of The Old Stone House) actually represents infill of land already vacant by the time of the 1564 survey. Otherwise the good survival of medieval plots (and the buildings thereon) and the scope for 13th-century and later archaeology means that **archaeological potential** of nearly all this HUCA is high.

The rarity of the survival and condition of plots and the late medieval and post-medieval buildings; the completeness of historic street-front; the visibility of the historic fabric; and the archaeological potential give this HUCA the very highest **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 5.

The combination of commercial pressures on the High Street and considerable Historic Environment Value mean that **vulnerability** is high. Internal and shop-front refitting of business premises; minor structural additions; and occasional rebuilding of non-listed buildings are all constant and continuing threats to buildings and archaeology. Additionally, the less protected burgage plot boundaries are particularly exposed to further loss.

Research questions especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the market place (RQ4), burgage plots (RQ6, RQ7), and medieval and post-medieval buildings (RQ10, RQ12).

HUCA 2 Church and college (HEV 5)

HUCA 2 forms the north-east part of the town as set out in the 13th century, and includes the churchyard that was in existence by the late 11th century and the 17th-century expansion of the town caused by the building of Sackville College. Post-1945 changes have included the demolition of the vicarage and replacement by a housing estate, church hall and car park; and the replacement of the ancient public space of the Playfield by a car park. There are nine listed buildings (seven Grade II, and one Grade I; the church is still listed 'Grade B'), of which three are Period 9 (17th century). Three are Period 10 (18th century), and three are 19th and 20th century. Unusually, although the late 18th-century rebuilding by James Wyatt is of considerable

value and interest, the parish church is not the most important building in the HUCA. Rather, this honour goes to Sackville College (Grade I), an almshouse (and townhouse for the Sackvilles) that is a Jacobean stone-built complex based around a quadrangle, having a communal hall and chapel. Remarkably, its present function remains close to that when established *c.*1620. The sandstone construction of Sackville College and St Swithun's church has an unusual and apparently deliberate echo in the stone-clad water tower of 1914 in the former Playfield (Grade II).

Although burgage plots did not extend over this area, historic boundaries are well preserved both along College Lane and Church Lane, and along the northern edge of the HUCA: here the historic plot depth matches that of the burgage plots to the west (see HUCA 1).

Although redevelopment of the vicarage – or glebe – land has been destructive, the otherwise good survival of the historic plots (including the pre-urban churchyard and the college) means that the **archaeological potential** of the rest of this HUCA is high for archaeology ranging perhaps from the 11th-17th centuries.

The rarity of the survival and condition of plots and, especially, the post-medieval buildings; the intact nature of both the church and college; the visibility of much of the historic fabric (externally and internally in easily accessible premises); and the archaeological potential give this HUCA the very highest **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 5.

The proximity to the High Street means that commercial pressures remain high, and this is especially the case for the areas currently functioning as car parks: development of these sites would threaten the archaeology and the residual openness of the areas. While the church is secure, any changes to the function of Sackville College (such as conversion to commercial use) would almost certainly have a severe and detrimental impact. Given the considerable Historic Environment Value, this means that **vulnerability** is high.

Research questions especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the medieval church (RQ2, RQ3), burgage plots (RQ6, RQ7), manor of Rowses (RQ8), and Sackville College (RQ13).

HUCA 3 Queen's Road (HEV 2)

HUCA 3 lies just to the west of the 13th-century town, and largely represents expansion of the town towards the railway station after the arrival of the railway (1855). An early example of post-

railway terrace housing is Alma Terrace, West Street, and further examples (with exposed brick) survive along the western end of Queen's Road. The cemetery off Queen's Road opened in 1869, replacing the overfilled churchyard and is itself a monument to the expansion of the town in the railway age. 19th-century housing in the south-east part of the HUCA has given way to commercial redevelopment, and along Glen Vue Road both the workhouse and modest terraces have been replaced by late 20th-century and more recent housing. Some element of the industrial nature of this area has been retained in the timber yard in Glen Vue Road, but the railway has gone, with its trackbed re-used by aptly named Beeching Way, an inner relief road of 1978. There is one listed building: Grove House, 80 West Street – an early 19th-century brick-built house that represents an important survival of the widely scattered ribbon development that marked the pre-railway expansion of the town in this direction.

The location of this HUCA outside the pre-1800 town, the absence of any known non-urban archaeology, the density of 19th-century development and the considerable amount of 20th-century redevelopment suggest limited **archaeological potential**.

The survival of considerable numbers of 19th-century houses and the cemetery give the area a **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 2.

The Historic Environment Value of the area and the lack of many opportunities for significant further infill mean that its **vulnerability** is low.

Broad, or East Grinstead-wide, **research questions** only apply to this area.

HUCA 4 London Road - inner (HEV 2)

HUCA 12 forms the western edge of the medieval and early post-medieval town. It includes the area of 13th-century burgage plots between Cantelupe Road and London Road, and is dominated by the continuously built-up commercial frontages of the west end of the north side of the High Street and the inner part of London Road – this forming the retail centre of the town today. There are four listed buildings (all Grade II), of which one is Period 7 (1350-1499), one is Period 10 (18th century), and two are Period 11 (1800-40). Of these, the most outstanding is 7-11 High Street, a 15th-century timber-framed Wealden House concealed behind later façades. Zion Chapel, West Street, is also of interest as the earliest Nonconformist chapel in the town (1810). Although London Road has seen continuous redevelopment, it is

not without interest: the Whitehall was rebuilt in 1936 as a cinema and its impressive façade has survived the bombing of the building behind in 1943. Nearby, in King Street, Caffyn's garage is another building of 1936, although its fine Art Deco details are gradually disappearing. Given the amount of redevelopment, it is perhaps unsurprising that few historic boundaries survive, even in the area of the ancient burgages.

Although there is absence of any known non-urban archaeology, and redevelopment has been intensive, the location of this HUCA on the western edge of the historic borough suggests that there is limited, and perhaps very localized, **archaeological potential**, especially to the east of London Road.

The small scatter of historic buildings and some good early 20th-century development, the absence of historic boundaries, and limited archaeological potential give this HUCA a **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 2.

The Historic Environment Value of the area and the lack of opportunity for significant further infill mean that its **vulnerability** is low.

Research questions especially relevant to this HUCA relate to burgage plots (RQ6, RQ7), and medieval and post-medieval buildings (RQ10, RQ12).

HUCA 5 Chequer Mead (HEV 1)

HUCA 5 lies immediately north of the town as defined between the 13th and 19th centuries. It was built across fields enclosed by the railway line (now defunct, and since 1978 the line of the inner relief road) and largely comprises terraced and semi-detached housing (with a predominance of bay windows) of the late 19th century. This Chequer Mead estate was extended in 1935 with housing along Christopher Road, which includes early flats at Jubilee Court. The earliest part of the HUCA, however, is the former National School of 1861 – after 1944 this became the secondary modern school, and then, in 1996, an arts centre: the 19th-century sandstone buildings survive and, like the water tower nearby (HUCA 2), echo the materials used at the church and Sackville College.

The location of this HUCA outside the pre-1850 town, the absence of any known non-urban archaeology, and the density of development suggest limited **archaeological potential**.

The quality of the 19th and 20th-century development, the absence of historic buildings or historic boundaries, and limited archaeological

potential give this HUCA a **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 1.

The Historic Environment Value of the area means that its **vulnerability** is low, with the greatest threat being that to the loss of 19th-century housing and, especially, the former school buildings.

Broad, or East Grinstead-wide, **research questions** only apply to this area.

HUCA 6 London Road - outer (HEV 1)

HUCA 6 lies north-west of the pre-railway town, although the area was marked by *c.*1800 by scattered ribbon development along London Road and on the edge of East Grinstead common (enclosed at this time). Today the area is dominated by large modern offices and other commercial buildings, interspersed with survivals form the post-railway development of the area. Of these earlier buildings, the Moat Road Congregational (now-styled United Reformed) church (1870) and the Roman Catholic church of Our Lady and St Peter (1898) are notable, facing each other across London Road at the junction wit Moat Road. More remarkable for its survival, given the closure of the railway and related redevelopment, is the survival of the first railway station in the town (1855), now isolated along the south side of the inner relief road. There are no listed buildings, and few pre-*c.*1800 field boundaries survive.

The location of this HUCA outside the pre-1800 town, the absence of any known non-urban archaeology, and the density of development and, especially, post-1945 redevelopment suggest limited **archaeological potential**.

The quality of the predominant 20th-century development, the absence of historic buildings or many historic boundaries, and the limited archaeological potential combine to give this HUCA a **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 1.

The Historic Environment Value of the HUCA means that its **vulnerability** is low, with the greatest threat being loss the remaining 19th-century houses, churches, and the former station.

Broad, or East Grinstead-wide, **research questions** only apply to this area.

5.3.7 Summary table of Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs) for East Grinstead

Table 3 summarizes the assessments made in the individual Historic Urban Character Area descriptions (above). It provides a simplified comparison of the assessments across different parts of the town, and helps to draw out key points. As such it supports the preparation of guidance for the town (see section 1.3).

The table shows how Historic Character Types combine into more recognizable Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs). It summarizes the archaeological potential that, along with historic buildings and boundaries, contribute to the assessment of the Historic Environment Value of each HUCA. The assessment of vulnerability of each HUCA is important for developing guidance.

Summary of assessment of Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs) for East Grinstead				
Historic Character Types (HCTs)	*Historic Urban Character Area (HUCA)*	*Archaeological potential*	*Historic Environment Value (HEV)*	*Vulnerability*
Regular burgage plots Irregular historic plots Retail and commercial Sports field Suburb	**1. High Street**	High	5	**High**
Church/churchyard Irregular historic plots Public Suburb Utility	**2. Church and college**	High	5	**High**
Irregular historic plots Informal parkland Light industry Cemetery Public Retail and commercial Suburb	**3. Queens Road**	Low	2	**Low**
Regular burgage plots Irregular historic plots Retail and commercial Suburb	**4. London Road - inner**	Limited (variable across area)	2	**Medium**
School/college Suburb	**5. Chequer Mead**	Low	1	**Low**
Irregular historic plots Informal parkland Public Retail and commercial Suburb	**6. London Road - outer**	Low	1	**Low**

Table 3. Summary of assessment of Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs) for East Grinstead.

6 HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

6.1 Pre-urban activity

Development pressure and opportunities for developer funding mean that archaeological excavations in the town, or prior to expansion of the town, are more likely to occur than in the surrounding area. Thus, archaeological excavations in East Grinstead should address:

RQ1: What was the nature of the palaeo-environment (ancient environment), and the prehistoric, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon human activity in the area?

6.2 Origins

RQ2: What was the location, form and construction detail of the medieval church(es)?

RQ3: What was the extent of the churchyard at the time of the setting out of burgages and before?

RQ4: What evidence is there for a market or focal place prior to the town and, even, church?

RQ5: What was the road layout in the 13th century, how did this evolve, and how did it relate to earlier routes?

RQ6: Was the extent of the town as recorded in the 1564 survey realized immediately in the 13th century, or can different phases of burgage plots be discerned?

6.3 Later medieval town

RQ7: How have tenements/burgage plots developed to the plots that survive today?

RQ8: What were the extent and origins of the manor of Rowses on the east side of Church Lane?

RQ9: What documentary and archaeological evidence is there for late medieval decline?

RQ10: What evidence can the standing buildings provide for their function and date (i.e. through dendrochronology), especially those on the main High Street?

6.4 Post-medieval town

RQ11: What different zones (e.g. social differentiation, or types of activity: especially consider industries), were there during this period, and how did they change?

RQ12: How were the medieval and early post-medieval buildings adapted for new functions and changing status (e.g. creation of carriageways, or subdivision of hall houses)?

RQ13: What was the nature of the area subsequently occupied by Sackville College?

7 Notes

[1] The 41 towns of the Sussex EUS are: Alfriston, Arundel, Battle, Bexhill, Bognor Regis, Bramber, Brighton, Burgess Hill, Crawley, Crowborough, Cuckfield, Ditchling, Eastbourne, East Grinstead, Hailsham, Hastings, Haywards Heath, Heathfield, Henfield, Horsham, Hove, Lewes, Lindfield, Littlehampton, Mayfield, Midhurst, Newhaven, Peacehaven, Petworth, Pevensey, Pulborough, Robertsbridge, Rotherfield, Rye, Seaford, Shoreham, Steyning, Storrington, Uckfield, Wadhurst and Worthing. Chichester and Winchelsea are omitted as they are the subjects of more intensive studies.

[2] The *Character of West Sussex Partnership Programme* is led by West Sussex County Council in conjunction with the borough and district councils, AONB agencies and stakeholders. The main aims of the partnership are to produce a range of interlocking characterization studies; to produce planning and land management guidance; and to raise public and community awareness of character as a vital and attractive ingredient of the environment of the county. The full range of characterization studies comprise:

Landscape Character Assessments and Landscape Strategy for West Sussex (2005).

Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) of Sussex (2003-8).

Sussex Extensive Urban Survey (EUS) (2004-8).

Intensive Urban Survey of Chichester/Fishbourne (2005-6) (Chichester District Council).

Local Distinctiveness Study of West Sussex (2004-6).

[3] E.g. Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001).

[4] E.g. ibid.; and notes in numerous editions of *The Bulletin of the East Grinstead Society*.

[5] Wood, P. D., 'The Topography of East Grinstead Borough', *SAC* 106 (1968), 49-62; see also, Wood, P., and Gray, P., in Warren, J., (ed.), *Wealden Buildings* (1990), 171-87.

[6] Butler, C., *An Assessment Excavation at the Museum site, Easy Grinstead, West Sussex* (unpubl. Chris Butler Archaeological Services report no. 2004/11/1, July 2005).

[7] Sawyer, J., *An Archaeological Watching Brief of an Extension to Nizam Restaurant, 42 High Street, East Grinstead, West Sussex* (unpubl. South East Archaeological Services report, project no. 82, June 1992).

[8] Miles, D. H., and Worthington, M. J., 'List 120: East Grinstead, West Sussex Dendrochronology Project', *Vernacular Architecture* 32 (2001), 84-6; and *Vernacular Architecture* 34 (2003), 112.

[9] Godfrey, J., 'Local Government in the 19th and 20th Centuries', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 126-7.

[10] Worssam, B., 'The geology of Wealden iron', in Cleere, H., & Crossley, D., *The Iron Industry of the Weald* (2nd edtn. 1995), 12.

[11] Farrant, J., 'Growth of Communications 1840-1914', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 40-1; Course, E., *The Railways of Southern England: Secondary and Branch Lines* (1974), 71-81.

[12] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 168.

[13] E.g. Holgate, R., 'Late Glacial and Post-Glacial Hunter-Gatherers in Sussex', in Rudling, D., (ed.), *The Archaeology of Sussex to AD2000* (2003), 29-38; and Hamilton, S.,

'Sussex not Wessex: a Regional Perspective on Southern Britain c.1200-200BC', in Rudling, D., (ed.), *The Archaeology of Sussex to AD2000* (2003), 69-88.

[14] Mawer, A, & Stenton, F.M., *The Place-names of Sussex* (1929-30; reprinted 2001), 327, 331.

[15] Such dedications can be high medieval: pers. comm. Dr John Blair, the Queen's College, Oxford.

[16] Salzman, L. F., (ed.), 'The chartulary of the priory of St. Pancras of Lewes: Part 1', *SRS* 38 (1932), 32; Leppard, M. J., 'Church origins at East Grinstead', *SAC* 142 (2004), 148-50. The note by Michael Leppard suggests that the church implied by the presence of a priest at Brambletye, recorded in Domesday Book (1086), was actually that in the borough of East Grinstead.

[17] Hudson, T. P. (ed.) *Victoria County History* 6:2 (1986), 131.

[18] Bleach, J., & Gardiner, M., 'Medieval markets and Ports', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 42-3.

[19] Gardiner, M. F., *Medieval Settlement and Society in the Eastern Sussex Weald* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1995), 53.

[20] Wood, P., and Gray, P., in Warren, J., (ed.), *Wealden Buildings* (1990), 171-87, at 172-3; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 16-17.

[21] Gardiner, M. F., *Medieval Settlement and Society in the Eastern Sussex Weald* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1995), 147.

[22] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 16-17.

[23] Ibid.; Bleach, J., & Gardiner, M., 'Medieval Markets and Ports', , in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 42-3.

[24] Hills, W. H., *The History of East Grinstead* (1906), 22.

[25] Cornwall, J., 'Sussex Wealth and Society in the Reign of Henry VIII', *SAC* 114 (1976), 1-26, at 16-17, 23.

[26] Wood, P., and Gray, P., in Warren, J., (ed.), *Wealden Buildings* (1990), 176-7.

[27] Harris, R. B., 'The English medieval townhouse as evidence of the property market', *The Medieval House in Normandy and England* (2002), 47-56.

[28] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 18; Leppard, M. J., 'Expansion of the Borough of East Grinstead in the Middle Ages', *The Bulletin of the East Grinstead Society* 57 (Autumn 1995), 4-6.

[29] Ibid., 13.

[30] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 12-13.

[31] Leppard, M. J., 'The Chantry Commission of 1547 and some unpublished chantry records for East Grinstead', *SAC* 109 (1971), 24-36, at 34-5; Harris, R. B., *Horsham Historic Character Assessment Report* (2004), 3.2.2.

[32] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 19.

[33] Cornwall, J., 'Sussex Wealth and Society in the Reign of Henry VIII', *SAC* 114 (1976), 15, 26.

[34] Wood, P. D., 'The Topography of East Grinstead Borough', *SAC* 106 (1968), 49-62.

[35] Cooper, J. H., 'A Religious Census of Sussex in 1676', SAC 45 (1902), 142-8; Leppard, M. J., 'The Chantry Commission of 1547 and some unpublished chantry records

for East Grinstead', *SAC* 109 (1971), 36; Ford, W. K., (ed.), 'Chichester Diocesan Surveys 1686 and 1724', *SRS* 78 (1994). The calculations for total populations are the author's and are necessarily indicative, with the following multipliers used: 131% for surveys of adults (1547 and 1676), and 450% for families (1724). These multipliers are widely accepted (e.g. see Martin, D., Short, B., and Wilkinson, P., 'Population in 1676 and 1724', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 66-7), and contrast with the less explicable populations calculated for East Grinstead in Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001).

[36] Wood, P. D., 'The Topography of East Grinstead Borough', *SAC* 106 (1968), 55, citing Cowley, G. O., *Sussex Market Towns 1550-1750* (unpubl. University of London M.A. thesis, 1964), 120.

[37] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 30, 38, 49.

[38] Wilkinson, P., 'The Struggle for a Protestant Reformation 1553-1564', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 52-3; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 22.

[39] Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c890-1714* (2004), 267.

[40] Ibid., 271.

[41] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 27-8, 33-4.

[42] Pennington, J., 'Inns and Alehouses in 1686', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 68-9.

[43] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 46.

[44] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 47.

[45] Hills, W. H., *The History of East Grinstead* (1906), 147-51.

[46] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 30, 39, 49.

[47] Contrary to suggestion (Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 23), not the only armourer in the county: in Horsham, at least, this trade was also recorded in the 16th century: Hudson, T. P. (ed.) *Victoria County History* 6:2 (1986), 175. For his interest as a barber and surgeon see: Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c890-1714* (2004), 274.

[48] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 22-3, 34.

[49] Wood, P. D., 'The Topography of East Grinstead Borough', *SAC* 106 (1968), 56-7.

[50] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 34.

[51] Cornwall, J., 'Sussex Wealth and Societyin the Reign of Henry VIII', *SAC* 114 (1976), 18.

[52] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 23.

[53] Cleere, H., and Crossley, D., *The iron Industry of the Weald* (revised edition, 1995).

[54] Ibid., 172-3, 181-2, 358; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 23-4.

[55] Hills, W. H., *The History of East Grinstead* (1906), 75; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 21.

[56] Wilkinson, P., 'The Struggle for a Protestant Reformation 1553-1564', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 52-3.

[57] Wilkinson, P., 'The Struggle for a Protestant Reformation 1553-1564', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 52-3; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 21.

[58] Ibid., 41.

[59] Cooper, J. H., 'A Religious Census of Sussex in 1676', *SAC* 45 (1902), 142-8, at 144.

[60] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 42.

[61] McCann, T., 'Religious Observance in the 17th Century', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 56-7.

[62] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 51.

[63] Page, W., (ed.), *Victoria County History* 2 (1907), 430; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 34, 52.

[64] Hills, W. H., *The History of East Grinstead* (1906), 217; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 37-8, 49.

[65] Hills, W. H., *The History of East Grinstead* (1906), 97-107.

[66] Ibid., 230; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 56.

[67] Childs, R., 'Parliamentary Representation', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 72-3.

[68] Berry, S., 'Brighton in the Early 19th Century', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 94-5.

[69] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 93-5.

[70] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 61.

[71] Short, B., 'Population Change 1801-1851', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 88-9.

[72] Berry, S., 'Urban Development 1750-1914', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 92-3.

[73] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 71, 85, 96, 134, 165, 177; 2001 census statistics.

[74] Berry, S., 'Urban Development 1750-1914', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 92-3.

[75] Gray, F., 'Population Change 1911-1951', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 114-15.

[76] Boughton, S., and Hardman, K., 'Population Change, 1951-2001', in Leslie, K., and Short, B., (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 120-1.

[77] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 60-1.

[78] Ibid., 71; Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 15.

[79] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 131-2.

[80] Ibid., 165.

[81] Ibid. 61, 71, 85-6.

[82] Ibid., 167.

[83] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 79, 85, 111, 114, 134: note, however, that the North End brewery first appears on the Epoch 2 OS map.

[84] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 88, 173.

[85] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 88, 127.

[86] Elleray, D. R., *Sussex Places of Worship: A Gazetteer of Buildings erected between c1760 and c1960*, 22; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 104.

[87] Elleray, D. R., *Sussex Places of Worship: A Gazetteer of Buildings erected between c1760 and c1960*, 22.

[88] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 73, 76-8, 91, 178, 187.

[89] Elleray, D. R., *Sussex Places of Worship: A Gazetteer of Buildings erected between c1760 and c1960*, 22; Hills, W. H., *The History of East Grinstead* (1906), 86-7, 90-5; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 187.

[90] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 64.

[91] Page, W., (ed.), *Victoria County History* 2 (1907), 430; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 64, 73-4, 90.

[92] Ibid., 89-90, 135, 162.

[93] Ibid., 171-2.

[94] Ibid., 185, 187.

[95] Ibid., 60-1, 67.

[96] Hills, W. H., *The History of East Grinstead* (1906), 217, 244; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 80, 86, 89.

[97] Ibid., 172, 186.

[98] Hills, W. H., *The History of East Grinstead* (1906), 251-4.

[99] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 133, 148.

[100] Michell, R. and Gould, D., *East Grinstead – Then and Now* (1985), no pagination, figs. 67-8, 102-3; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 91, 114, 133, 153.

[101] Ibid., 175, 187.

[102] Hills, W. H., *The History of East Grinstead* (1906), 247-50; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 75, 85, 101, 109, 141, 188.

[103] Wells, R., 'The Poor Law 1700-1900', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 70-1; Morrison, K., *The Workhouse: A Study of Poor-Law Buildings in England* (1999), 210.

[104] Michell, R. and Gould, D., *East Grinstead – Then and Now* (1985), no pagination, fig. 106.

[105] Butler, C., *An Assessment Excavation at the Museum site, Easy Grinstead, West Sussex* (unpubl. Chris Butler Archaeological Services report no. 2004/11/1, July 2005).

[106] E.g. Margary, I. D., 'The early development of tracks and roads in or near East Grinstead', *SNQ* 11 (1946), 77-81; Wood, P., and Gray, P., in Warren, J., (ed.), *Wealden Buildings* (1990), 171-87, at 172-4; Leppard, M. J., 'East Grinstead before the town', *SAC* 129 (1991), 29-32; Leppard, M. J., 'The hamlet of East Grinstead: origins, access and area', *Bulletin of the East Grinstead Society* 75 (2002), 7-13; Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 2-3, 16.

[107] Margary, I. D., 'The early development of tracks and roads in or near East Grinstead', *SNQ* 11 (1946), 77-81.

[108] Patrick Wood and Peter Gray considered West Street to be a major route, and the town to have been founded at the junction of this route from Turners Hill and the London-Lewes road: Wood, P., and Gray, P., in Warren, J., (ed.), *Wealden Buildings* (1990), 172-3.

[109] Margary, I. D., 'The early development of tracks and roads in or near East Grinstead', *SNQ* 11 (1946), 77-81.

[110] Leppard, M. J., 'East Grinstead before the town', *SAC* 129 (1991), 29-32, at 29.

[111] Harris, R. B., *Steyning Historic Character Assessment Report* (Sussex EUS, 2004).

[112] Leppard, M. J., 'East Grinstead before the town', *SAC* 129 (1991), 29.

[113] Gardiner, M., 'Trade, Rural Industry and the Origins of Villages: some Evidence form South-East England', in de Boe, G., & Verhaeghe, F., (eds.), *Rural Settlements in Medieval Europe: Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference* 6 (1997), 63-73, at 66.

[114] Gardiner, M., 'Trade, Rural Industry and the Origins of Villages: some Evidence form South-East England', in de Boe, G., & Verhaeghe, F., (eds.), *Rural Settlements in Medieval Europe: Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference* 6 (1997), 63-73.

[115] Harris, R. B., *Horsham Historic Character Assessment Report* (Sussex EUS, 2004), 22-4.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Gardiner, M., 'Trade, Rural Industry and the Origins of Villages: some Evidence form South-East England', in de Boe, G., & Verhaeghe, F., (eds.), *Rural Settlements in Medieval Europe: Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference* 6 (1997), 63-73.

[118] Despite this conformity, Leppard suggests that churchyard and vicarial glebe were not part of the borough: Leppard, M. J., 'The hamlet of East Grinstead: origins, access and area', *Bulletin of the East Grinstead Society* 75 (2002), 12.

[119] Miles, D. H., and Worthington, M. J., 'List 120: East Grinstead, West Sussex Dendrochronology Project', *Vernacular Architecture* 32 (2001), 84-6.

[120] Miles, D. H., and Worthington, M. J., in *Vernacular Architecture* 34 (2003), 112.

[121] Miles, D. H., and Worthington, M. J., 'List 120: East Grinstead, West Sussex Dendrochronology Project', *Vernacular Architecture* 32 (2001), 84-6.

[122] Wood, P. D., 'The Topography of East Grinstead Borough', *SAC* 106 (1968), 58.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Wood, P. D., 'The Topography of East Grinstead Borough', *SAC* 106 (1968), 56.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Wood, P., and Gray, P., in Warren, J., (ed.), *Wealden Buildings* (1990), 181.

[127] Hughes, A., *The Bulletin of the East Grinstead Society* 82 (Spring 2004), 9.

[128] An earlier undated example of *c.*1537 survives at Burwash, East Sussex, and an uninscribed slab with a double cross at Rotherfield is also likely to be pre-Reformation. The 'Anne Forster' sepulchral inscription at East Grinstead church is a fireback, not a graveslab, and one

of several surviving copies. Williams, R. M., 'Iron graveslabs: a sideline of the early iron industry', *SAC* 125 (1987), 99-113.

[129] Leppard, M. J., *A History of East Grinstead* (2001), 132.

[130] Listed building data is drawn from the statutory lists produced by English Heritage, but has been amended – especially in regard to the dating – during the Sussex EUS. The GIS data prepared during the Sussex EUS contains the full references to the sources for revised dates: in many cases these come from fieldwork undertaken by the author.