

# Lewes

## Historic Character Assessment Report

March 2005



Sussex Extensive Urban Survey (EUS)

*Roland B Harris*





# Lewes

## Historic Character Assessment Report

March 2005

*Roland B Harris*

## Sussex Extensive Urban Survey (EUS)

in association with Lewes District Council



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.

All photographs and illustrations are by the author.

First edition: March 2005.

Copyright © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton and Hove City Council 2005

Contact:

*For West Sussex towns:*

01243 642119 (West Sussex County Council)

*For East Sussex towns and Brighton & Hove:*

01273 481608 (East Sussex County Council)

The Ordnance Survey map data included within this report is provided by East Sussex County Council under licence from the Ordnance Survey. Licence LA 076600 2004.

The geological map data included within this report is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.

*The views in this technical report are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of English Heritage, East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, Brighton & Hove City Council, or the authorities participating in the Character of West Sussex Partnership Programme.*

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author wishes to acknowledge the advice, assistance, and support of Bob Connell, John Mills, Mark Taylor, Peter Ross, Keith Watson and Mike Hicks (West Sussex County Council); Dr Andrew Woodcock and Greg Chuter (East Sussex County Council); Graham Fairclough (English Heritage); Mike Lea (Lewes District Council); Dr Mark Gardiner (Department of Archaeology and Palaeoecology, The Queen's University of Belfast); Jeremy Haslam; John Bleach (Sussex Archaeological Society); members of Lewes Priory Trust; and staff at the county records offices, English Heritage, and the library of the Sussex Archaeological Society.

*Cover photo: The inner gateway, Lewes castle.*

## Contents

List of maps, tables and other illustrations	6
1 INTRODUCTION	8
2 SETTING	12
3 HISTORY	16
4 ARCHAEOLOGY	28
5 STATEMENT OF HISTORIC URBAN CHARACTER	48
6 HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT RESEARCH FRAMEWORK	63
7 NOTES	64

## List of maps, tables and other illustrations

- Fig. 1. Location of Lewes within Sussex.
- Fig. 2. View from Lewes castle looking westwards.
- Fig. 3. St John-sub-Castro: 11<sup>th</sup>-century former south doorway, re-sited in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century church.
- Fig. 4. Lewes Castle keep.
- Fig. 5. The early suburb of Westout, at the convergence of Rotten Row and St Anne's Hill (High Street).
- Fig. 6. Lewes friary: surviving 15<sup>th</sup>-century doorway, relocated to All Saints church, Friars Walk.
- Fig. 7. Lewes castle: ground-floor interior of the south turret (13<sup>th</sup> century).
- Fig. 8. Market Tower, Market Street (1792).
- Fig. 9. Law Courts, High Street.
- Fig. 10. Harveys brewery, Cliffe.
- Fig. 11. Jireh Strict Baptist chapel, Malling Street (1805).
- Fig. 12. Fitzroy House, High Street: the former library.
- Fig. 13. Westgate Street, showing the town wall.
- Fig. 14. Watergate Lane: view northwards.
- Fig. 15. St John-sub-Castro: the Magnus inscription.
- Fig. 16. St John-sub-Castro: detail of re-sited 11<sup>th</sup>-century doorway (see also Fig. 3).
- Fig. 17. Lewes castle: view from shell keep towards gatehouse, gun garden and bailey.
- Fig. 18. Brack Mount from the south-west motte.
- Fig. 19. Lewes priory: view westwards along rere-dorter.
- Fig. 20. St John the Baptist, Southover: view of 12<sup>th</sup>-century nave arcade from the south-east.
- Fig. 21. Lewes priory. View of 'infirmarium chapel' from east.
- Fig. 22. St Michael's church, High Street.
- Fig. 23. Lewes castle: 14<sup>th</sup>-century barbican with the 12<sup>th</sup>-century gateway beyond.
- Fig. 24. Lewes priory: *in situ* remains of the main arch of the early 13<sup>th</sup>-century gatehouse.
- Fig. 25. All Saints, Friars Walk: 15<sup>th</sup>-century west tower.
- Fig. 26. St Thomas at Cliffe: 14<sup>th</sup>-century north arcade of nave.
- Fig. 27. 70-2 High Street: undercroft looking northwards.
- Fig. 28. Staircase to street at the undercroft below the town hall, High Street.
- Fig. 29. Anne of Cleves House, Southover High Street.
- Fig. 30. 74-5 High Street: 14<sup>th</sup>-century timber framing.
- Fig. 31. 49, 50 and 51 Southover High Street.
- Fig. 32. 18<sup>th</sup>-century 15-16 Keere Street, with Southover Grange beyond.
- Fig. 33. 199 and 200 High Street (School Hill).
- Fig. 34. Georgian grandeur in School Hill: nos. 211, 212 and 213.
- Fig. 35. Late 18<sup>th</sup>-century former store of Beard's brewery, Castle Ditch Lane.
- Fig. 36. James Edwards' map of Lewes, 1799.

Fig. 37. Waterloo Place: early 19<sup>th</sup>-century terrace.

Fig. 38. 34 High Street (School Hill).

Fig. 39. Cliffe High Street: south side as rebuilt after 1828.

Fig. 40. Warehouses on the west side of the River Ouse, south of Lewes Bridge.

Fig. 41. Former Methodist church, Station Street (1867).

Fig. 42. The former National School, Southover Road (1840).

Table 1. Sussex EUS Historic Character Types

Table 2. Sussex EUS chronology

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

Map 1. Extent of Lewes EUS study area

Map 2. Solid and drift geology with 10m contours

Map 3. Ordnance Survey 1<sup>st</sup> Series 25" (1873)

Map 4. Historic buildings and Scheduled Monuments

Map 5. Main archaeological excavations in the town from 1960s

Map 6. Period 3 (410-949)

Map 7. Period 4 (950-1065)

Map 8. Period 5 (1066-1149)

Map 9. Period 6 (1150-1349)

Map 10. Period 7 (1350-1499)

Map 11. Period 8 (1500-1599)

Map 12. Period 9 (1600-1699)

Map 13. Period 10 (1700-1799)

Map 14. Historic Character Types (2005)

Map 15. Historic Character Type areas showing principal period from which present character is derived

Map 16. Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs)

Map 17. Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs) – detail of town centre

Map 18. Historic Environment Value (HEV)

## 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to the project

This report is an archaeological, historical, and historic urban character assessment of Lewes. It is part of the Sussex Extensive Urban Survey (henceforth Sussex EUS) that examines 41 towns across the ancient county.<sup>1</sup>

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 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> 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*,<sup>2</sup> 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 Lewes 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, jurisdictional and more recent social history – have been published elsewhere, most notably in the *Victoria County History* and in the works of Colin Brent.<sup>3</sup>

### 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 and the topography, the latter drawing on maps of the town from 1620 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 Lewes 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

The town of Lewes has stimulated considerable archaeological and 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

Lewes has been the subject of many local histories. That undertaken by **Sharp, Midgley** and **Godfrey**, under the editorship of **Louis Salzman**, for the *Victoria County History* (published in 1940), is perhaps most noteworthy for it represents a major advance in the scholarly use of primary documentary research in the study of the whole town.<sup>4</sup> More recent historical research has focused on discrete institutions, events, or periods: the works of **Colin Brent** are particularly valuable.<sup>5</sup>

### 1.5.2 Archaeology

Lewes is fortunate in having had numerous excavations within the historic town since the 1960s, of which many have been published. In chronological order they comprise:

**Naval Prison** – 1962-5<sup>6</sup>

**Green Wall** – 1967<sup>7</sup>

**Lewes Priory** – 1969-82<sup>8</sup>

**Edward Street** – 1971<sup>9</sup>

**Brook Street** – 1974<sup>10</sup>

**Lancaster Street** – 1974<sup>11</sup>

**North Street** – 1975<sup>12</sup>

**Friars Walk** – 1976<sup>13</sup>

**Brooman's Lane (Clothkits)** – 1978<sup>14</sup>

**Brooman's Lane (garden)** – 1979<sup>15</sup>

**Lewes Castle** – 1985-8<sup>16</sup>

**Lewes Friary** – 1985-6 and 1988-9<sup>17</sup>

**Cliffe** – 1987-8<sup>18</sup>

**Friars Walk (Clothkits)** – 1989<sup>19</sup>

**St Nicholas's Hospital** – 1994<sup>20</sup>

**Lewes Library (Friars Walk)** – 2004<sup>21</sup>

**St John Street** – 2005.<sup>22</sup>

Several minor archaeological assessments have also taken place and comprise those at **Barbican House**,<sup>23</sup> **Brack Mount**,<sup>24</sup> **Castle Ditch Lane**,<sup>25</sup> **Castle Lodge** (Castle Precincts),<sup>26</sup> **Church Lane** (Westout),<sup>27</sup> **East Gate**,<sup>28</sup> **Keere Street**,<sup>29</sup> **East Street**,<sup>30</sup> **Lewes Castle** (floodlighting trench),<sup>31</sup> **Lewes Castle**,<sup>32</sup> **Lewes House** (High Street),<sup>33</sup> **Old Railway Station** (Friars Walk),<sup>34</sup> **Pipe Passage**,<sup>35</sup> **St Anne's church** (High Street),<sup>36</sup> **Lewes Library** (Friars Walk/Broomans Lane),<sup>37</sup> and **Wellington Street**.<sup>38</sup>

The **East Sussex Historic Environment Record** (HER) database has been invaluable for identifying such unpublished sites, and for providing the pre-urban archaeological context.

No single archaeologist has dominated the study of Lewes and – perhaps as a result – there is no scholarly archaeological assessment of the whole town. There has been considerable archaeological excavation, however, with key figures including **David Freke** (several research-focused excavations in the 1970s), **Peter Drewett** (castle), **Mark Gardiner** (Grey Friars and hospital of St Nicholas), **David Rudling** (several minor excavations and a useful summary of many earlier sites) and **Richard Lewis** (priory).

### **1.5.3 Historic buildings**

Lewes has 508 listed buildings, reflecting the unusual number of surviving historic buildings. There has been no systematic study of these buildings (for example, to identify timber-framed buildings hidden by Georgian and later re-fronting), although **Walter Godfrey** published many analyses of buildings between 1927 and 1960. English Heritage's statutory list of historic buildings is also of use, though many of the descriptions date from the 1950s and were necessarily produced without internal inspection. 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 (1873 onwards) have proved invaluable, especially as these have been used in digital form, allowing overlaying with each other and with other data. Numerous large-scale maps capture the pre-railway town, the earliest being George Randoll's map of 1620, with other key maps including those by William Figg (1775, 1799 and c.1800), James Edwards (1799), and J. Marchant (1824). These maps have been digitized and rectified to fit the National Grid to allow comparison with other maps and data. Vertical air photo coverage of 2000 provides a useful snapshot in time. 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 Lewes covers the historic core of the town. This includes the ancient borough, the historic suburbs of Cliffe and Southover, and such other development as had occurred by c.1800 (e.g. the barracks on the west of the town). The wider and more recent suburbs are covered by the parallel project of the Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) for Sussex.

Lewes is one of five towns in Lewes District that have assessments such as this. The others are Ditchling, Newhaven, Peacehaven and Seaford.

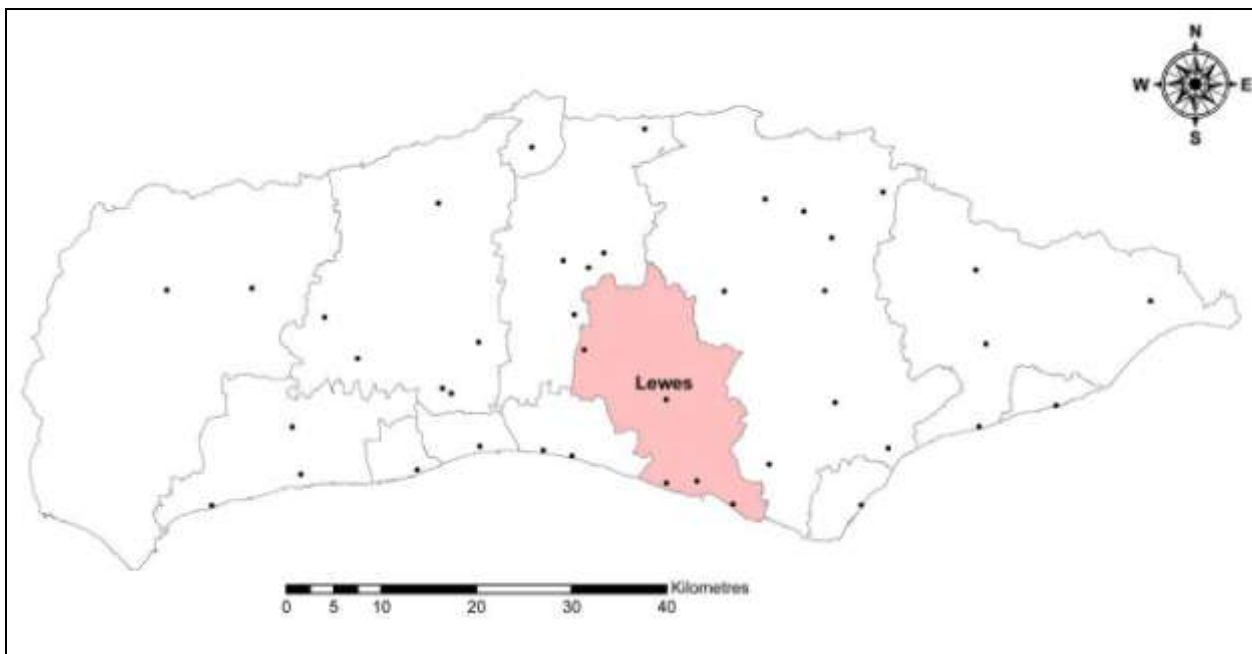


Fig. 1. Location of Lewes within Sussex. Lewes District is highlighted and points locate the 41 Sussex EUS towns.

## 2 THE SETTING



Fig. 2. View from Lewes castle looking westwards across The Wallands to the South Downs.

### 2.1 Topography (Map 2)

Lewes is located on the River Ouse at the point where it flows southwards through a gap in the South Downs. The river reaches the sea at Newhaven, 9km distant. The historic borough is located on a spur of the downs that projects into the west side of the river valley (favouring a crossing here), rising from c.4m OSBM near Lewes Bridge to c.62m OSBM by the prison. The suburb of Cliffe is located largely within the river valley, on the east side of the channel of the Ouse. To the south of the borough, Southover is another historic suburb, rising from c.8m OSBM near the Priory School to c.18m OSBM at the western end of Southover High Street.

The principal street of the town is the east-west High Street (known west of the West Gate as St Anne's Hill, and east of the war memorial as School Hill), which continues in the suburb of Cliffe as Cliffe High Street. This remains the focus for shopping.

Suburbs have extended the borough to the north-west, on the slope of the Downs. Likewise, Cliffe has expanded northwards both in the floodplain (a commercial area) and on eastern

slope of the valley, merging into South Malling. The town is at the centre of Lewes Civil Parish.

### 2.2 Geology (Map 2)

#### 2.2.1 Solid geology

Along with the whole of Sussex, the rocks in the vicinity of Lewes are sedimentary. The town lies on the South Downs, so that the entire area is underlain by the relatively pure White Chalk limestones of, from youngest to oldest, the Newhaven, Seaford, Lewes Nodular, New Pit, and Holywell Chalk Formations, and the older (Cenomanian) Grey Chalks of the Zig Zag Chalk Formation and West Melbury Marly Chalk Formation. The uplifting and gentle folding of the chalk began 70-75 million years ago and continued beyond the end of the Cretaceous period (65 million years ago) until as recently as 1.8 million years ago.

#### 2.2.2 Drift Geology

The drift geology of the Lewes area shows that the scoured and embanked drainage channel that is the River Ouse today is surrounded by reclaimed marshland. Alluvium (flanked by river terrace deposits) marks the location of the former marshy estuary of the Ouse. As with the Adur and Arun rivers, the estuary widened to a tidal compartment north of the Downs, in this case 3.5km across. Given the staggered nature of the scarp of the Downs around Lewes, this area of brookland lies immediately south of the town and Mount Caburn. An arm of alluvium (marked by the course of a stream – the Winterbourne) separates Southover and the ancient borough, while Cliffe is almost entirely built on the alluvium itself.

The distinctive dry valleys of the Downs (overlain by the north-western suburbs of the modern town) are largely a product of periglacial erosion.<sup>39</sup>

### 2.3 Communications

#### 2.3.1 Water

The River Ouse is tidal till 5km north of Lewes, at Barcombe. The present channel differs from the natural state of the former estuary with its multiple channels. Reclamation of the valuable alluvial soils of the river valley, the associated management of freshwater drainage in the Weald, and the prevention of tidal ingress (through creation of sea walls) increased silting so that the Ouse had ceased to function as a significant communications route for Lewes by



1400, the establishment of Seaford as an outpost in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century reflecting earlier difficulty with navigation (see section 3.3.1). From c.1539, Newhaven replaced silted up Seaford as the Lewes's outpost at the mouth of the Ouse. The river between Lewes and Newhaven was canalized rapidly after the formation of the Lower Ouse Navigation Company in 1791, and from Lewes to Upper Ryelands Bridge (2.5km south-east of Balcombe) in 1790-1812, by the Upper Ouse Navigation Company.<sup>40</sup> The most significant modifications to the river that this made in the Lewes area were the removal of slight meanders immediately north and south of Lewes Bridge.

### 2.3.2 Road

Since 1979 Lewes has been bypassed by the A26 (via the Cullfail Tunnel to the east of Cliffe) and by the A27(T), to the south of the town. Previously these routes to London, Brighton and Eastbourne passed through the town. The construction of the bypass and tunnel also involved creation of two new bridges across the River Ouse: one 1km south of the town, but the other within the town. This lies 150m north of Lewes Bridge, and carries a new road (Phoenix Causeway) into the town centre, forming an integral part of a one-way system that manages remaining traffic in the Market Street/North Street, Friars Walk and School Hill area.

On the south-west of the town Brighton Road connects to the A27(T), and to the north-west the A275 leads to Chailey, thence to London, and also provides access to the east-west scarpfoot road (from Offham to Plumpton, Ditchling and beyond).

### 2.3.3 Railway

The London Brighton and South Coast Railway (LBSCR) opened lines from Brighton to Lewes and from Lewes to Bulverhithe/St Leonards in 1846. This was followed in 1847, by the line from Lewes to Newhaven (extended to Seaford in 1864), and from Lewes to the Brighton-London line at Keymer Junction (Burgess Hill). In 1858 the Uckfield line opened (linking to Tunbridge Wells in 1868), to which (at Culver Junction) the East Grinstead line connected (1882).<sup>41</sup>

## 2.4 Evidence for pre-urban activity

### 2.4.1 Prehistoric

Within the EUS study area, several excavations and evaluations have revealed prehistoric archaeology (though mostly residual finds):

- Brook Street (south) – Mesolithic flints comprising a micro-core and flakes.<sup>42</sup>
  - Lancaster Street – Mesolithic flints comprising a roughed-out axe, flakes, and a retouched blade.<sup>43</sup>
  - North Street – probable Mesolithic scraper and flake, and 52 other indeterminate prehistoric flints (including three scrapers, 13 retouched flakes and 32 waste flakes) in disturbed medieval layers.<sup>44</sup>
  - Broomans Lane (garden) – six prehistoric flints, including four retouched flakes (one possibly a scraper), probably Neolithic/Early Bronze Age.<sup>45</sup>
  - Friars Walk (Clothkits) – four flint flakes, all residual and two retouched, probably Neolithic/Bronze Age.<sup>46</sup>
  - Lewes House (High Street) – worked flint including a scraper and a retouched flake or probable Late Bronze Age date, and, most remarkably for such early material at Lewes, a small assemblage of Late Iron Age (or possibly Early Roman) pottery from a contemporary pit.<sup>47</sup>
  - St Nicholas's Hospital – seven pieces of probable prehistoric worked flint were recovered (six waste flakes and one core with a single flake removed). Six flints were residual and one was within the colluvial (hill-wash) layer. An Iron Age coin (an Atrebatian attributed to Commius, c.45-30 BC) was recovered, also from the colluvium that appears to date from the Iron Age.<sup>48</sup>
  - Castle Ditch Lane – a single prehistoric hard hammer flake, retouched.<sup>49</sup>
  - Lewes Priory – 15 sherds of Iron Age or Roman pottery were recovered in excavations of the 'infirmary chapel' and reredorter.<sup>50</sup>
- Elsewhere in, or on the edge of, the town, there have been prehistoric find spots:
- Mountfield Road – a Lower Palaeolithic (500000 BC to 150001 BC) handaxe was found in an area of floodplain alluvium [HER reference: TQ 40 NW55 – ES1656].
  - Lewes station – a Neolithic (4000 BC to 2351 BC) ground stone axe, found in 1911 when abutments were being dug for Lewes railway

station bridge [HER reference: TQ 40 NW58 – ES1657].

- Reservoir next to St Anne's church – Bronze Age (2350 BC to 701 BC) inhumation and cremation burials, possibly representing a barrow, were found during the excavation of the reservoir in 1834 [HER reference: TQ 41 SW49 – ES1623].
- Priory School (Ham Lane) – 200 fragments of La Tene (Iron Age: 800 BC to 42 AD) and Romano-British pottery were found c.1930 during preparation of foundations for the Boys' Secondary School. Also a coin and '3rd brass' of Gallienus [HER reference: TQ 40 NW53 – ES1654].

Several prehistoric finds have been made at unspecified 'Lewes' locations:

- Palaeolithic handaxe [HER reference: TQ 41 SW7 – ES1631].
- Bronze Age bronze dagger [HER reference: TQ 41 SW43 – ES1618].
- Bronze Age bronze founders hoard comprising axes and ingot pieces [HER reference: TQ 41 SW44 – ES1619].
- Bronze Age palstaves [HER reference: TQ 41 SW47 – ES1621].
- Bronze Age socketed spearhead [HER reference: TQ 41 SW9 – ES1633].

The Caburn (2km south-west of Lewes) is a major Middle Iron Age (450 BC to 40 BC) enclosure, or hillfort, although there was earlier (and indeed later) occupation of the site.<sup>51</sup>

### 2.4.2 Romano-British

Lewes is located near two major Roman roads: the north-south London-Lewes road has been traced to 1.3km north of Lewes, and the east-west 'Greensand Way' ran from Pulborough to Barcombe, joining the road to London c.4.5km north of Lewes. Minor Roman roads in the area include the Heighton Street-Glynde-Lewes road, but the Roman origin of such routes descending the Downs via terrace ways is questionable.<sup>52</sup>

Within the EUS study area, several excavations have revealed Romano-British archaeology in the form of residual finds:

- Friars Walk – four residual sherds of Roman pottery.<sup>53</sup>
- Friars Walk (Clothkits) – three Roman tiles were recovered from pits immediately north of Broomans Lane. Although residual, their

discovery within a small excavation is significant.<sup>54</sup>

- Brooman's Lane – a single residual sherd of Roman pottery was recovered in small-scale trial excavations in 1979.<sup>55</sup>

Elsewhere in, or on the edge of, the town, there have been Romano-British find spots:

- Churchyard of St John-sub-Castro – two mounds, possibly representing Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon, or earlier, barrows. That destroyed by the building of present church in 1839 contained secondary inhumations, cremated human bone, boar and other animal bones, and an urn and spearhead. The second mound was in the south-east corner of the churchyard, and was destroyed in 1779 with no record of any finds.<sup>56</sup> Several Roman coins were also found in the churchyard in the 19<sup>th</sup> century [HER reference: ES7176].

- Abinger House (Abinger Place) – mound, possibly representing Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon, or earlier, barrow. Destroyed in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century without record, though apparently contained internments and pottery.<sup>57</sup>

- Elephant and Castle (Whitehill) – mound, possibly representing Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon, or earlier (e.g. Bronze Age) barrow, and possibly used as a medieval and later gallows mound. Destroyed when Elephant and Castle public house was built in 1838.<sup>58</sup>

- Brack Mount (Mount Place) – inhumation with charcoal and boar's head adjacent, discovered by workmen in 1838 on the north side of Brack Mount. Probably represents Roman or later burial in natural end to chalk spur (later built up as part of Norman castle).<sup>59</sup>

- 159 High Street – 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>-century AD coins of Domitian and Antoninus Pius were found in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in a garden on south-west of castle keep (most probably 159 High Street).<sup>60</sup>

- 166 High Street – pit discovered in 1814 at base of (natural part of) castle motte, containing bones and teeth of a boar and horse, quantities of mussel and oyster shell and a Romano-British pot containing cock bones.<sup>61</sup>

- St Martin's Lane (possibly to rear of 74-5 High Street) – a Romano-British pot containing cock bones was discovered during digging of a cesspool.<sup>62</sup>

- 34-7 High Street – a 1<sup>st</sup>-century AD coin of Tiberius found with two boar tusks, prior to 1824.<sup>63</sup>

- Castle – Roman coins and the lower stone of a quern found at the base of Lewes castle motte



(before 1935), possibly in the gun garden area. The coins were of Domitian, Antoninus Pius and the Lower Empire [HER reference: TQ 41 SW70 – ES1576].

- Stone Pound Gate (possibly to be identified with the surviving stone pound in Southover High Street) – a coin of Vespasian, found before 1824 [HER reference: TQ 41 SW38 – ES1613].
- Houndean (immediately west of prison) – a 1<sup>st</sup>-century AD silver denarius (coined by T Carisius) dug up before 1890 [HER reference: TQ 41 SW54 – ES1628].
- Houndean Rise – a coin of Constantine found c.1956 [TQ 30 NE56 – ES1682].
- Warren Drive – a Roman glass unguentum (or lachrymatory) was found in the garden of Winterbourne Lodge, Brighton Road, before 1896, but may have been moved to the site with earth during construction in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century [HER reference: TQ 40 NW5 – ES1669].

Several Romano-British finds have been made at unspecified 'Lewes' locations:

- numerous Roman coins comprising examples of Marcus Antoninus, Maximinus, Gallienus, Tetricus, Constantine, Constans, and Magnentius [HER reference: TQ 41 SW46 – ES1620].

### **2.4.3 Early Anglo-Saxon**

One excavation has produced considerable evidence of Early Anglo-Saxon activity in the EUS study area:

- Saxonbury – 32 or 33 Anglo-Saxon inhumation graves excavated by builders in 1891 (and published in 1979) during the building of a house (later named Saxonbury). Weapons dominate the grave goods. Artefacts suggest the cemetery was 6 to 7<sup>th</sup> century in date.<sup>64</sup>

Elsewhere in, or on the edge of, the town, there has been only one Early Anglo-Saxon find spot:

- Crown Court (High Street) – a late 5<sup>th</sup>/early 6<sup>th</sup>-century throwing axe and a late 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup>-century seax were discovered during extension of the building in 1899 [HER reference: TQ 41SW – ES7001].<sup>65</sup>

### **2.4.4 Undated finds**

Remains of an undated boat and adze were found during the construction of an extension to Southover County Grammar School for Girls (in the 1950s), c.27m south of the Winterbourne [HER reference: TQ 40 NW52 – ES1653].

### **2.4.5 Implications of pre-urban archaeology**

The implications of these pre-urban finds are clear: evidence for prehistoric and Romano-British occupation in the vicinity of the EUS study area has been found and should be anticipated in any archaeological excavations in or near the town. The discovery in 2000 of an assemblage of Late Iron Age (or possibly Early Roman) pottery from a contemporary pit at Lewes House (High Street) is especially important since it shows the potential (here within a small evaluation only) for locating prehistoric and Romano-British archaeological features (as opposed to the predominant residual finds, and unstratified find spots) within the town centre. Moreover, although Early Anglo-Saxon pottery has been scarce, such finds are habitually so and, thus, there remains a possibility of locating a pre-burh and pre-minster settlement at Lewes. Burials attributable to this period at Southover (Saxonbury site – see above) certainly attest to 6<sup>th</sup>-century activity in the area.

## 3 HISTORY

### 3.1 Origins: 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries

#### 3.1.1 Place-name

The name *Lewes* has become one of the most debated Sussex place-names, and its derivation remains unresolved. Forsberg suggests a source in Old English *læw* ('gash, wound'), here describing the Ouse gap in the Downs, but unique in such a usage.<sup>66</sup> Coates proposes derivation from Brittonic Celtic *Lexowiās* ('hillsides, slopes'), though this requires special pleading as a near unique survival of a Celtic place-name in Sussex.<sup>67</sup> What is agreed by Forsberg and Coates (and, in the course of her broader analysis of the landscape of place-names, by Gelling<sup>68</sup>) is that the traditional derivation of Lewes from Old English *hlæw* or *hlāw* (meaning 'tumulus, hill', primarily used for artificial mounds<sup>69</sup> and typically rendered today as 'low') is no longer tenable, not least since the initial *h* is absent from pre-Conquest spellings.<sup>70</sup>

Recently there has been some consideration of the possibility of a late medieval and later monosyllabic pronunciation of the place-name (as in *truce* or *news*). There is limited evidence for such a pronunciation and at most it would have represented an alternative to the more firmly recorded disyllabic form in use today.<sup>71</sup>

#### 3.1.2 Anglo-Saxon burh

Lewes is an Anglo-Saxon *burh* founded as part of the system of 31 fortresses built by King Alfred (871-99). The most recent and convincing analysis suggests that construction of the entire system was undertaken between May 878 and August 879 as a crucial part of Alfred's successful military strategy to drive the Vikings from Mercia and London, and, especially relevant to the location of Lewes, to protect against further Viking incursion.<sup>72</sup> Lewes was one of five burhs recorded in Sussex in the broadly contemporary Burghal Hidage, the others being Hastings, Burpham, Chichester and *Eorpeburnan* (possibly Castle Toll on the Kent border at Newenden, or Rye).<sup>73</sup>

It has been suggested that Lewes replaced Ditchling as an Anglo-Saxon regional centre, with the relocation required for both defensive reasons and as a result of the increasing need for a port.<sup>74</sup> Certainly, the burh of Lewes was, or shortly became, more than a fortress, since it developed rapidly as a centre of trade. The establishment of mints in Sussex in the early 10<sup>th</sup>

century was a direct response to burgeoning commerce,<sup>75</sup> and, with two moneys in the burh c.930 during the reign of Æthelstan (924-39<sup>76</sup>), Lewes was at the forefront of such activity.<sup>77</sup> Coins of this period give Lewes the rare accolade of *urb*, a reflection of urban status found at only four other mint-towns.<sup>78</sup>



Fig. 3. St John-sub-Castro: 11<sup>th</sup>-century former south doorway, re-sited in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century church.

#### 3.1.3 Anglo-Saxon minster

The church of St John-sub-Castro has been identified as an Anglo-Saxon minster (a mother church serving several later parishes).<sup>79</sup> Although there has been no published analysis of the evidence for the minster, it is certainly consistent with the existence of the church by the mid to late 11<sup>th</sup> century and the large extent of the parish of St John-sub-Castro that (until 1894) lay outside the borough and included a large detached portion at Allington (the dependent chapel there recorded in the 12<sup>th</sup> century) stretching northwards almost to South Chailey (i.e. 6.1km north-north-west of the church of St John-sub-Castro). Hamsey separated the two parts of the parish and, therefore, is likely to have formed part of the extensive *parochia* (the link perhaps reflected in the fact that the two parishes together formed Southborough, one of the three divisions of the hundred of Barcombe).<sup>80</sup> It has been suggested that the *parochia* of St John's also extended westwards to Houndean and Ashcombe.<sup>81</sup>

More relevant to the origins of Lewes is the fact that several urban parishes were evidently subordinate to that of St-John-sub-Castro in that they buried their dead there: in 1337 St John's was the normal place of burial for those living in the parishes of St Mary-in-Foro and St Peter the Less, and those parts of the parishes of Holy Trinity, St Sepulchre, and St Nicholas lying north of the High Street/School Hill.<sup>82</sup> This 14<sup>th</sup>-century evidence of dependency suggests that the burh was created within the area of the minster *parochia*. Together with the likelihood that the church lay outside the Anglo-Saxon defences (section 4.1), this indicates that St John's pre-dates the burh and, thus, is likely to have attracted settlement to the area before the late 9<sup>th</sup> century.

Implausibly, there has been a recent suggestion that there was a second minster (even dating back to the time of St Wilfrid) on the site later occupied by Lewes priory.<sup>83</sup> This relies on late medieval forged documents in the Lewes chartulary to interpret an excavated free-standing chapel for which there is no secure archaeological dating.<sup>84</sup> By contrast, the only reliable foundation document is the copy of the original foundation charter (1078-81) for Lewes priory that was kept at Cluny and this simply records the gift of the church of St Pancras.<sup>85</sup> The Anglo-Saxon origins of the chapel are not proven, and there is absolutely no basis (even from the fabricated documents) to suppose that this was ever a minster here.

## 3.2 The late Anglo-Saxon and Norman town

### 3.2.1 Economic history

The history of 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>-century Lewes is that of a prospering town, dominating a wide area and, effectively, the capital of east Sussex. One indication of economic importance is that its mint continued after the Conquest until c.1170.<sup>86</sup>

Domesday Book (1086) provides a more detailed picture, as it describes Lewes as a borough and records that it had 127 demesne burgage tenements in 1066. The number is not given for 1086, but the total value had risen from £24 to £36, and at this date there were also 258 burgesses, dwellings (*mansuræ*) or sites (*hagæ*) in Lewes attached to manors in Lewes Rape. An additional 39 inhabited and 20 uninhabited dwellings are listed with Lewes borough, but evidently formed part of Pevensey Rape in 1086: while these have been conjectured as evidence for an early suburb at Cliffe, they are more likely to relate to Seaford.<sup>87</sup> Whatever the ambiguities

as to the population that can be derived from these statistics (and c.900 would seem an absolute minimum, with the figure likely to be considerably higher<sup>88</sup>), it is clear that Lewes was a significant town both on the eve of the Battle of Hastings and in 1086. The importance of Lewes as a port and market is also underlined by Domesday Book's record of ship-service to the king, and customary payments to the reeve on the sale of horse, ox or man.<sup>89</sup>

The Norman market is referred to more explicitly in a charter dating to the period after 1138, in which Lewes priory is granted the pre-emption (*primum mercatum*) for the purchase of meat, fish and other goods, after the purchases of the seigneurial household, at markets at Lewes, Seaford, and elsewhere in the north-south strip of Sussex called the Rape of Lewes.<sup>90</sup> The market appears to have been daily.<sup>91</sup>

The existing borough was utilized shortly after the Conquest for the building of a Norman castle. The castle defended the Ouse estuary and formed the principal fortification and administrative centre of the Rape of Lewes. Early Norman castles at Hastings, Pevensey and Arundel had the same function in relation to their eponymous rapes. Bramber Rape, and castle, were added in a pre-Domesday modification of the initial arrangement. There has been much debate as to the origins of the Sussex rapes, and their relationship to Anglo-Saxon territorial divisions. It is clear, however, that the rapes as we know them are a Norman creation or reorganization, dating from the immediate aftermath of the Conquest.<sup>92</sup>

The first lord of the Rape of Lewes and builder of the castle was William de Warenne (i.e. Warenne, 3km south-east of Arques and 8km south-east of Dieppe), who had risen from comparative obscurity to great power, with his success particularly accelerated after Hastings.<sup>93</sup> Apart from the direct construction and provisioning of the castle, the economic benefit to Lewes of the seigneurial seat was considerable. For example, the court for the whole rape met every three weeks, drawing trade and visitors to the town.<sup>94</sup> Warenne's choice of Lewes for the foundation of a major Cluniac priory (1078-81: section 3.2.3) was a direct consequence of the location of his power base, and of major economic importance to the town and surrounding countryside. The use of Lewes castle as the seat of the prospering Warenne dynasty, and their endowment of Lewes priory, continued undiminished despite, even, the 12<sup>th</sup>-century civil war.



### 3.2.2 Castle



Fig. 4. Lewes Castle keep.

As with many other non-royal castles, there are few early records of Lewes castle, and none that relates to its construction. Reference in Domesday Book to some of Warenne's lands in Norfolk belonging to the *castellation* or *castellum* of Lewes may be significant, but it can hardly be doubted that the castle was established earlier than this, most probably as part of a first wave of Norman castle building in England that was marked by rapid creation of timber and earth defences in response to urgent strategic requirements. Programmes of castle construction were begun in 1067 on William I's behalf by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and his half-brother, and William fitz Osbern,<sup>95</sup> and, following the king's return from Normandy in December 1068, under his own supervision.<sup>96</sup>

### 3.2.3 Priory

Uniquely of the five Norman rapal centres in Sussex, Lewes gained a major monastery, in the form of the first and chief of the Cluniac houses in England. The early history of the priory is comparatively well documented, although the apparent 11<sup>th</sup>-century documents of the Lewes chartulary are in fact later medieval forgeries. While the survival of bona fide traditions within such reworked sources is possible and an interesting matter for debate, the Lewes

chartulary does not constitute a reliable documentary record of the foundation of the priory.<sup>97</sup> We have seen (section 3.1.3), however, that the copy of the original foundation charter held at Cluny survives. This lacks the detail of the fabricated documents, but dates William de Warenne's foundation to 1078-81 and records his gift of the church of St Pancras, from which the priory inherited its dedication.<sup>98</sup> A later charter of 1147 confirmed the de Warenne gifts and marked a formal dedication of the church, indicative of necessary expansion of the priory church (and monastic buildings) during its early growth.<sup>99</sup>

### 3.2.4 Churches

The scale of the Late Anglo-Saxon and Norman borough is reflected in the proliferation of churches. The first firm documentary evidence for eight of these (the churches of Holy Trinity, St Andrew, St John-sub-Castro, St Martin, St Mary-in-Foro, St Mary Westout [now St Anne], St Nicholas, and St Peter Westout) dates to 1121, at which point they were possessions of the priory. The churches of St Michael (first recorded 1301) and All Saints (first recorded 1148) must have existed at this date too, since they were mother-churches of others existing in 1121. The parish of St Sepulchre is first recorded in 1237, but possibly dates from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. St Peter the Less may also date from the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>100</sup>

Of the ten churches recorded or implied in 1121, St John-sub-Castro can be dated on *ex situ* architectural grounds to the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century (section 4.2.1) and, given the evident scale of the borough in 1066, it is likely that several of the other churches have pre-Conquest origins.

### 3.2.5 Urban institutions

Lewes continued to operate a mint in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Prior to the Conquest this was the busiest in Sussex and it quickly revived, still with Saxon moneyers. Minting finally ceased c.1170, after the demise of most other Sussex mints: only Chichester continued later, during the reign of King John (1199-1217).<sup>101</sup>

In addition to the Norman rapal court, it is probable that a borough court was already functioning by the Conquest.<sup>102</sup>

There is an isolated reference to a merchant guild in a letter of Rainald de Warenne (on behalf of the third William of Warenne, absent on Crusade [i.e. 1147-8]) restoring the guild to the burgesses, as had existed in the time of 'my

grandfather and father' (i.e. before death of the first William in 1088).<sup>103</sup>

### 3.2.6 Suburbs



Fig. 5. The early suburb of Westout, at the convergence of the early routes of Rotten Row (left) and St Anne's Hill (High Street).

With the additional 39 inhabited and 20 uninhabited dwellings listed in Domesday Book alongside those of Lewes borough now seeming more probably to relate to Seaford than to Cliffe (section 3.2.1), the case for the often proposed early suburb on the left bank of the River Ouse is considerably weakened. Certainly, there is no other early documentary evidence for an early Norman suburb at Cliffe.<sup>104</sup> Indeed, the first reference to activity in the area is to the repair of the bridge in 1159, though this does not imply settlement.<sup>105</sup>

The emergence of a suburb at Southover, clustered at the gate of the priory in an echo of Cluny itself, is more probably datable to this period. This suburb appears to have had two foci by the 13<sup>th</sup> century, at Westport and Eastport.<sup>106</sup> It is likely that the suburb is largely contemporary with the priory.

The existence of the churches of St Mary and St Peter by 1121 confirms the early development of

the suburb of Westout, focused on St Anne's Hill. The inclusion of this suburb within the medieval borough, although not the walls,<sup>107</sup> suggests early assimilation and, possibly, pre-Conquest origins.

With such incorporation, Westout differs significantly from the suburbs of Cliffe and Southover that long remained distinct settlements within, respectively, the lordship of the archbishops of Canterbury and the control of the Cluniac priory.

## 3.3 The later medieval town

### 3.3.1 Economic history

The improvement in the county ranking of Lewes in terms of wealth from 5<sup>th</sup> in 1327 Lewes to 2<sup>nd</sup> in 1524 could suggest a 13<sup>th</sup>-century decline from its earlier position, followed by revival.<sup>108</sup> The reality, however, was 13<sup>th</sup>-century growth (albeit masked in comparative statistics by still greater success elsewhere, most notably and temporarily at New Shoreham), followed by early to mid-14<sup>th</sup>-century decline, and, finally, revival in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and beyond.

Although the Battle of Lewes in 1264 (in which Simon de Montfort and fellow barons defeated Henry III) offers little insight into the economic history of the town, it is likely that it caused the town walls either to be built or repaired in 1266.<sup>109</sup> This places Lewes within a small group of walled towns in Sussex. Walls at Arundel, Rye and Winchelsea are of similar 13<sup>th</sup>-century origins, with only Roman Chichester an exception.

The major institutions of the Norman town increased their economic contribution. Aside from new works and its draw as the centre of administration for the rape, the castle saw irregular occupation by the seigneurial household and occasional royal visits. The recorded huge entourage that accompanied Edward I in 1299 is indicative of the impact of such events.<sup>110</sup> With the great church largely completed by c.1200, the 13<sup>th</sup> century also saw the priory at its peak. To this must be added the draw of the Franciscan friary established between 1224 and 1241 on the east side of the town. There were 24 friars in 1299, and the economic impact of constructing and running the house – as well as its attraction to visitors from the hinterland – must have been significant.<sup>111</sup>

More direct stimulus to the urban economy was provided by markets and fairs. A Whitsun week fair is recorded from 1440, possibly dating back to the 1240s. In 1406, and probably earlier, the

market in Lewes was on a Saturday.<sup>112</sup> Although there was no market place in Southover, Cliffe was granted markets on a Thursday (1331), Tuesday and Friday (1345) and Wednesday (1409).<sup>113</sup> By 1410 Cliffe was also granted two annual three-day fairs.<sup>114</sup> Records of eight houses in Cliffe in 1276, and 52 messuages, four shops and three kilns there in 1285 confirm that a settlement at Cliffe had emerged by the late 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>115</sup>

Although the late 11<sup>th</sup>-century foundation of Seaford (then at the mouth of the River Ouse) had echoed the creation of New Shoreham by William de Braose on the River Adur, the involvement of William de Warenne and the prior of Lewes (together with the Count of Mortain, lord of the Rape of Pevensey) indicates that in this case the new port was not a planned attempt to eclipse the up-river port. The convenient location of Seaford seems to have been the determining factor.<sup>116</sup> Seaford was evidently established as a significant port in its own right by c.1200.<sup>117</sup> Sea-going ships to Lewes appear to have largely stopped by this time, but the river must have been in use for smaller vessels as the town remained actively involved in the export of wool and corn that was a feature of late 13<sup>th</sup>-century Seaford.<sup>118</sup> For example, merchants exporting from Seaford were local (as opposed to alien, or continental), dominated by those based in the town and an almost equal number at Lewes.<sup>119</sup> There is other evidence that direct trade between Lewes and the continent simply made use of Seaford – such as when Lewes Priory imported a cargo of Caen stone through Seaford in 1225, and John le Beure of Lewes hired a ship and crew of 13 from Seaford for Gascon wine trade in 1258.<sup>120</sup> Lewes also functioned as an entrepot for the export of Wealden timber.<sup>121</sup>

Lewes did not escape the Black Death of 1348 or the widespread economic decline that marked the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This is seen in the development of tenements on the slope south of the High Street, where both amalgamation and abandonment to gardens occurred.<sup>122</sup> The fortunes of the priory and, therefore, its local expenditure went into decline as its extensive agricultural holdings suffered from decreasing yields (especially in the increasingly inundated rich meadowland of the Ouse valley<sup>123</sup>) and – as a consequence of the Black Death – increased labour costs.

The effects of national economic crisis and pestilence were compounded by the death, in 1347, of John de Warenne, which meant that Lewes ceased to be the seat of a major magnate.<sup>124</sup> Active dislike of the new seigneurs

(the Fitzalans) could explain the sacking of the castle in June 1381 in the Peasants' Revolt, and the local economic impacts of absenteeism may have been of some significance.

### 3.3.2 Church



Fig. 6. Lewes friary: surviving 15<sup>th</sup>-century doorway, relocated to All Saints church, Friars Walk.

The economy of the priory has been discussed (above) with the decline of the later 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries matched by political uncertainty brought about by the difficulty of alien control during the Hundred Years' War (from 1337). As a result, the prior secured naturalization for the Cluniacs at Southover in 1351, and the priory was finally dissociated from Cluny, and placed under jurisdiction of the province of Canterbury in 1490.<sup>125</sup>

The friary, in existence by 1241, probably peaked in scale in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century and remained a modest house. Certainly, at dissolution its debts were greater than its assets.<sup>126</sup>

The later medieval history of the parish churches of Lewes contrasts with the earlier proliferation. In 1337 the churches within the borough were sufficiently impoverished for the bishop to propose the assimilation of other parishes by St John-sub-Castro and All Saints, with St Michael's to be kept also. The scheme was not carried out, but the deterioration of the churches is evident for there are no later references to St Martin's, St Peter the Less, St Sepulchre and



Holy Trinity. St Nicholas is last recorded in 1410.<sup>127</sup>

The Brotherhood of St Sebastien is recorded in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when it was given the 2.5 acres of what was later Lewes House (32 High Street).<sup>128</sup>

### **3.3.3 Urban institutions**



Fig. 7. Lewes castle: ground-floor interior of the south turret (13<sup>th</sup> century).

The history of the castle remains largely undocumented. At the Battle of Lewes, in 1264, the castle (already vacated by John de Warenne and Prince Edward) was attacked by Simon de Montfort after his success on the battlefield outside the town. The siege was light and short, and Montfort turned his attention to the priory. Neither siege was successful and Montfort was keen to reach settlement as quickly as possible: peace was brokered the following day. Defeat at Lewes was amended at the Battle of Evesham in 1265.<sup>129</sup> As king, Edward I visited Lewes castle on several more occasions.<sup>130</sup> In a different context – that of a more consistently absentee lord – the castle was again attacked and damaged in the Peasants' Revolt, in 1381, suggesting that it no longer had the defensive capability that it once possessed.<sup>131</sup>

In the early 13<sup>th</sup> century the common gaol of Sussex was at Chichester and, thereafter, at Guildford castle, in Surrey. A prison is recorded at Lewes, however, in 1249 and 1261, and thereafter to 1305, almost certainly using the

castle and delivering prisoners to Guildford. Pleas for a county gaol in Sussex as early as 1320 were finally met in 1487, with a gaol in action by 1489 and Lewes deliveries regular by 1500. Early references to this being the gaol of the town could simply refer to the fact that it had previously functioned as the borough gaol. Certainly it was within the castle by 1497.<sup>132</sup> The choice of Lewes for the Sussex gaol was no doubt dictated by it being the meeting place of the county court, a role that it had fulfilled frequently since the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>133</sup>

Lewes had a school as early as 1248, and its schoolmaster – John of Hampton – is named in 1285.<sup>134</sup>

There were two hospitals in medieval Lewes, both controlled by the priory. The hospital of St James was at Southover, and appears to have replaced the 12<sup>th</sup>-century hospital of St John in the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>135</sup> The hospital of St Nicholas was just west of the suburb of Westout, and is first recorded as a leper house at the time of the Battle of Lewes (1264). At the suppression of the priory, however, the hospital produced foundation charters dating to the time of the first William of Warenne (d.1088), so it is probable that is an early foundation. The location at a road junction outside the borough is consistent with, though not proof of, use as a leper hospital from the outset, and the dedication is also associated with early leper houses at Canterbury (here pre-1087), Carlisle and York.<sup>136</sup>

## **3.4 The town c.1500-1800**

### **3.4.1 Economic history**

The later 15<sup>th</sup> century saw economic revival across the country and this continued until the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. In 1524 Lewes was evidently a key town in Sussex with its population of at least 1,500 matched only by Chichester and, possibly, Rye.<sup>137</sup> This rose to a total of 2,350 by the early to mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, despite a decline in the numbers living in Southover, but then fell to 1,125 by 1676 (largely as a result of epidemics). Recovery was evident with a population of c.2,000 in 1724,<sup>138</sup> and Lewes and Chichester were the largest towns of mid 18<sup>th</sup>-century Sussex.<sup>139</sup> The population of Lewes grew more rapidly during the 1700s, reaching 5,200 by 1801.<sup>140</sup> However, still faster growth in the closing decades of the century at nearby Brighton resulted in a population there of c.7,000 in 1801, and this expansion was accelerating.<sup>141</sup> Lewes was beginning to be overshadowed by its neighbour although the economic basis of the two towns remained wholly distinct.

County importance during the period from 1500-1800 is otherwise evident as Lewes was a focus of government and justice in eastern Sussex in the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, and, consequently, adopted as the place of residence by lawyers, a burgeoning professional and mercantile class, and gentry.<sup>142</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the town maintained the county gaol; held the county court alternately with Chichester; usually held the assizes for the eastern part of the county; and was used on occasion for distribution of military supplies.<sup>143</sup> In 1555-7, Protestant recalcitrants were burnt at the stake, and Lewes had the dubious honour of being chosen as the principal of five Sussex locations for Marian martyrdom. That 17 of the 27 recorded killings in Sussex took place at Lewes (though none of the victims was resident) was a stark warning to the perceived radicalism of eastern Sussex.<sup>144</sup> Lewes played no significant role in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century civil war, with an advance on Lewes by royalists cut off at Haywards Heath in December 1642.<sup>145</sup> The later threat of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815) saw Lewes in the midst of military build-up, with soldiers billeted in the town and barracks for 1,000 men built in 1796.<sup>146</sup>

Throughout this period, Lewes's position as a centre of communications remained important. The River Ouse was made more navigable, and the valley returned to valuable meadow by the relocation of the mouth from Seaford to Newhaven c.1539.<sup>147</sup> Later, the river between Lewes and Newhaven was canalized (immediately following the formation of the Lower Ouse Navigation Company in 1791), and from Lewes to Upper Ryelands Bridge (2.5km south-east of Balcombe) in 1790-1812, by the Upper Ouse Navigation Company.<sup>148</sup>

Increasing coach travel in the 17<sup>th</sup> century saw the town with substantial provision for guest beds (99) and stabling (245) at its inns recorded in a survey of 1686. Only East Grinstead and Horsham (key towns for travellers crossing the difficult Wealden clays) had more provision for stabling, and only East Grinstead had marginally more beds.<sup>149</sup> The Star (now the location of the town hall) and the White Hart were the principal coaching inns of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The latter was built c.1717 in response to increasing coach traffic, but the former had been owned by the priory.<sup>150</sup> In addition to an important crossing-point of the River Ouse and the ancient Downland east-west route, turnpike roads gave Lewes a still greater role in overland travel. Rival roads from the north end of Malling Street to Wych Cross (through Uckfield and through Offham) thence London were improved

in 1752, and also to the Broyle in same year. The Broyle to Heathfield road was turnpiked in 1767-8, and, of particular importance, in 1770 the road to Brighton was turnpiked.<sup>151</sup>

The town was central to the exchange of agricultural and rural craft production from the Downs and Weald. A medieval daily provision market had lapsed by 1789, though the general market on Saturdays was still in existence. A new market was to be held daily (except Sundays), and a new site was established in 1792. A twice-monthly livestock street market began at the same time. A separate corn market existed by 1630 and continued throughout the period.<sup>152</sup> A fish market (possibly in Fisher Street) was in existence in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>153</sup> A wool fair (26 July) was established in 1786, providing a more consistent sale price for the numerous flock-masters.<sup>154</sup>

Less institutionally based was the role that Lewes played in the export of Wealden ordnance and wrought iron, with Lewes merchants such as John Harman involved in the export to English and continental ports. The trade was short lived, however, as the Wealden iron industry flourished in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and faded from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>155</sup>

Although the marketing of agricultural produce dominated the post-medieval economy of Lewes, a wide range of minor manufacturing and trades played a role in the economy of the town. Lighter industries clustered together in the town centre: for example, clothiers were concentrated on the north side of the High Street in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Other trades required more space and a supply of water supply: a tannery was established in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century by the river north-east of St John-sub-Castro; and Southover saw a concentration of malsters and brewers, and, by 1654, a tannery had replaced the mill there.<sup>156</sup>

### **3.4.2 Church and religion**

This period began with Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries, and its impact on Lewes was considerable. The surrender of the Cluniac priory in November 1537 was the first of a major monastic house. The priory and its estates were granted to Thomas Cromwell, with his son Gregory converting part of it into a residence (the Lord's Place).<sup>157</sup> The Grey Friars followed in 1538, a large house being built within it by John Kyme, purchaser of the site in 1544.<sup>158</sup> The hospitals of St James and St Nicholas had relied upon the support of the priory and, consequently, gradually disappeared, the latter continuing its irregular work as an almshouse.

Sherman's chantry in St Peter Westout was confiscated in 1547.<sup>159</sup> In Cliffe, the Brotherhood of St Thomas the Martyr (recorded in 1514) was suppressed as doubtless was the more obscure Brotherhood of Colyn in Southover (recorded in 1521).<sup>160</sup>

The impoverished state of the churches of Lewes noted in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (section 3.3.2) was as evident in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with the parishes of St John-sub-Castro, St Mary-in-Foro combined in 1538; the parishes of St Peter Westout and St Mary Westout in 1539; and St Andrew's and St Michael's in 1545.<sup>161</sup> In each case the superfluous church (usually in disrepair) was given up, so that the remaining churches in the borough from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century comprised those of St John-sub-Castro, St Mary Westout (also known as St Anne's by the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and officially so by 1669), St Michael, All Saints, together with the churches of Southover (St John the Baptist) and Cliffe (St Thomas).

Roman Catholic recusants were few in Lewes. Bishop Compton's religious census of 1676 records 687 conformists, no papists, and 173 nonconformists,<sup>162</sup> reflecting an unusually high level of dissent that flourished in eastern Sussex in the renewed conformism of the Restoration (1660) and, especially, the Act of Uniformity (1662) with its Revised Book of Common Prayer.<sup>163</sup> Quakerism in the town followed a visit by George Fox (founder of the Quakers in 1647) in 1655. A meeting house on the west side of Friars Walk was acquired in 1675 (replaced in 1784 by the present premises, c.100m to the south) and a burial ground in operation in 1697.<sup>164</sup> Independents and Presbyterians were more numerous, however, and, following the Toleration Act (1689), respective premises are recorded in School Hill and, possibly, at the former Music School in Watergate Lane. A smaller Baptist congregation registered a meeting house in Eastport Lane in 1697 (and built a new meeting house and burial ground there in 1741). A large Presbyterian meeting house opened at Westgate in 1700. In 1775 the Countess of Huntingdon's Methodist chapel opened at East Street (thereafter, Chapel Hill), Cliffe.<sup>165</sup>

### **3.4.3 Urban institutions**

Lewes's free grammar school was founded in 1512 by Agnes Morley. The school was located near the priory in Southover, on the west side of modern Garden Street. In 1714 new premises were acquired on St Annes Hill.<sup>166</sup>

A market house was built in 1564 opposite Castlegate, and rebuilt in 1649. This was demolished in 1791, as a result of the relocation of the market, and a new market house, or tower, was built in 1792.<sup>167</sup>



Fig. 8. Market Tower, Market Street (1792).

Whatever the pre-1564 arrangements, it is clear that thereafter the market house was distinct from the sessions house. This was new-built in 1565, and was used for (occasional) assizes, the county court (alternating between Chichester and Lewes), quarter sessions for the eastern half of the county, and as a town hall.<sup>168</sup> The sessions house was rebuilt in 1761.<sup>169</sup>

A house of correction was built at Cliffe in 1610 to serve the Rapes of Lewes and Pevensy.<sup>170</sup> The gaol at Cliffe was replaced in 1793 by a more modern building with 32 cells, on the corner of North Street and Lancaster Street.<sup>171</sup>

The building of the early 17<sup>th</sup>-century gaol at Cliffe could suggest that the gaol within the castle at Lewes had lapsed in the later 16<sup>th</sup> century, as a result of the new county gaol at Horsham (opened by 1541) and, presumably, the continuing decline of the castle. Certainly, the castle was ruinous by 1635, and was being used as a source of building materials by 1620-1. The Gun Garden was the subject of grants in 1559 and 1574, probably relating to the White Horse (on the corner of High Street and Castlegate), and indicative of earlier defensive



redundancy for this allowed tenements to expand as far as the outer walls. Similar grants between 1614 and 1634 relate to Castle Ditch Lane. Such was the decline of the castle that by 1639, and possibly by 1620, the bowling green occupied part of Castleyard. While gardens, then houses, came to occupy the castle in the later 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, some residual military use did persist as late as the 1750s-80s in the form of cavalry stables on the west side of Castleyard.<sup>172</sup>

A poor house for the parish of St John-sub-Castro was built at Castle Banks in 1633.<sup>173</sup> A borough pest house was established in 1742, as result of smallpox, the severity of an outbreak in St Mary's Lane leading to general inoculation being carried out in 1794.<sup>174</sup> A workhouse, or almshouse, was built for All Saints in 1730 (now 31 High Street).<sup>175</sup>

Lewes races, perhaps starting in the reign of Queen Anne, were flourishing by 1714.<sup>176</sup> Cricket was played in the area from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, and a Lewes team played on Spital Hill in 1763. Most remarkably, we have seen (above) that the present bowling green within the castle bailey was in existence by the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. From 1753 this was more formally organized by the new Lewes Bowling Green Society.<sup>177</sup> Theatre came to Lewes in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, using the sessions house in 1752, a former 'academy' in Fish Street in 1770, and purpose-built theatres in Castleyard in 1775 and in West Street in 1789.<sup>178</sup>

### 3.5 Expansion: c.1800-2005

#### 3.5.1 Economic history

Lewes borough retained its two members of parliament at the first electoral Reform Act (1832), but this was reduced to one by the Representation of the People Act (1867) and, from 1885, the town shared one MP with other rural and urban areas.<sup>179</sup> To some degree this reflects the more rapid expansion of other, and especially coastal, towns, led by the startling growth of Brighton in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>180</sup> It also reflected the faltering economy of Lewes itself in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The rural market basis of much of the town's economy made it vulnerable to the agricultural depression that marked the period from 1815-30. This was compounded by the loss to peace of the barracks (built in support of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in 1796 at Haredean, then moved in 1803 to the site of the present prison, and demolished 1814<sup>181</sup>), and growing success of the ports at Shoreham and

Newhaven (the latter becoming increasingly independent of Lewes). However, the picture of stagnation from c.1815-60 followed by 'four decades of High Victorian vigour' is questionable.<sup>182</sup> Population figures indicate a slightly different economic history, for growth was sustained at a high level until the 1830s (rising from c.5,200 in 1801 to c.8,900 in 1831<sup>183</sup>), at which point expansion became minimal and stayed so until the Second World War (rising only to 9,199 in 1841 and, remarkably, only to 10,784 in 1941<sup>184</sup>). Population growth at Lewes since 1945 has been significant (15,988 in 2001<sup>185</sup>), but well below coastal towns and even below that of nearby inland towns (e.g. Burgess Hill and Uckfield have both more than tripled their populations since 1951<sup>186</sup>).



Fig. 9. Law Courts, High Street.

Despite the decline in size relative to other Sussex towns, however, Lewes has maintained its status as the main administrative centre for the eastern half of the county. The formal creation of East Sussex and West Sussex by the Local Government Act 1888 reinforced this position, as indeed has the creation of a unitary authority for Brighton and Hove (1997), and Lewes remains home to county hall, county courts, and police headquarters.<sup>187</sup>

Markets and fairs continued to thrive during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A

horse fair was added in 1832, and the weekly cattle market was moved from the open streets to dedicated premises near the railway station c.1880 (closed 1992 and demolished 1994-5).<sup>188</sup>



Fig. 10. Harveys brewery, Cliffe.

An ironworks on the riverside was producing ordnance during Napoleonic Wars and thereafter (later, the Phoenix ironworks).<sup>189</sup> A foundry opened south of Cliffe High Street in 1808, also near the river, and in 1835 was expanded by its then owner, Ebenezer Morris.<sup>190</sup> The numerous breweries of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Lewes were consolidated during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the main ones comprised two of the earlier breweries (Verrall's Southover brewery and Beard's brewery, Fisher Street), and two new ones, both opening in 1838 (the South Down brewery, Thomas Street, Cliffe, and Harvey's brewery).<sup>191</sup> Remarkably, the latter is still working, on its original site on Bridge Wharf, just north of Cliffe High Street. Brickyards were few in number at Lewes, with one on the corner of Lancaster Street and North Street c.1800, and one between North Street and the River Ouse between 1823 and 1844.<sup>192</sup> The tanneries north of St John-sub-Castro and at Southover continued to work into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the former closing shortly after 1820,<sup>193</sup> and the latter being succeeded by the cattle market c.1880 (above).

Communications remained central to the trading economy of Lewes. By 1812 the Upper Ouse Navigation Company completed its canalization of the river from Lewes to Upper Ryelands Bridge (2.5km south-east of Balcombe) that had begun in 1790.<sup>194</sup> Wharves, warehouses, and

the heavier industries clustered along both banks of the river and the town developed a small ship-building industry in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first sea-going vessel was made there in 1839.<sup>195</sup> Road improvements continued to be made with the turnpiking of the Offham to Ditchling road in 1812,<sup>196</sup> and in 1819-20 the new direct road to Eastbourne.<sup>197</sup> Thereafter, roads to Lewes remained largely unchanged until the opening of the Cullfail tunnel on the east of the town in 1979,<sup>198</sup> together with the associated bypass to the south by the A27 and the creation of a second bridge (and Phoenix Causeway) bypassing Cliffe High Street. This had the effect of turning Little East Street and Eastgate Street into busy one-way traffic lanes, but stopped well short of creating an inner ring road. The opening of the London Brighton & South Coast Railway (LBSCR) lines from Lewes connected the town to Brighton and the coast line (1846), London (via Brighton, 1846; direct, 1847), Eastbourne (1849), Hastings (1851); and Tunbridge Wells (1868).<sup>199</sup> Despite such rail connections, the immediate impact was less than might be expected, not least since the flourishing port of Newhaven was able to bypass Lewes with both its freight and new London-Paris passenger traffic.<sup>200</sup>

There is only limited economic zoning in Lewes. The riverside commercial and industrial zone is maintained only by Harveys brewery and by the Phoenix industrial estate (on the site of the foundry). Other industrial estates are located north and south-east of the EUS study area (at Malling Brook and South Road, Cliffe). Although Lewes has acquired a superstore at the edge of the town (Malling Brook industrial estate) and has had no major town-centre re-planning to attract retail trade (e.g. shopping centres, multi-storey car parks, or inner ring road), it is noteworthy that the retail focus of the town has remained within the historic centre, along High Street and Cliffe High Street.

### **3.5.2 Church and religion**

The medieval and post-medieval decline of the parish churches in Lewes (sections 3.3.2 and 3.4.2), was followed by 19<sup>th</sup>-century revival. This is seen the flurry of church school building (section 3.5.3) and in the major rebuilding of All Saints in 1806, the complete replacement of St John-sub-Castro in 1839, and the addition of the Warrene chapel at St John the Baptist (Southover) in 1847.<sup>201</sup> Decline in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, is seen by the closure of All Saints church in 1975 (now a community centre).<sup>202</sup>



Fig. 11. Jireh Strict Baptist chapel, Malling Street (1805).

Nonconformism continued to flourish in Lewes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, again followed by 20<sup>th</sup>-century decline. Early chapels continued in use: Westgate Chapel; the Countess of Huntingdon's Methodist chapel at Cliffe (closed c.1880); the Baptist meeting house in Eastport Lane (possibly closed 1825-6, but used in the later 1820s by Arminian Bible Christians<sup>203</sup>); and the Friends Meeting House in Friars Walk.

New nonconformist places of worship, often created by secession from earlier chapels, include: Jireh Strict Baptist chapel, Malling Street (1805-26); Tabernacle Congregational church, High Street (1816; demolished 1955); Bethesda Calvinist chapel, St John Street (1827; a school house from 1813, closed 1929 and demolished 1973); Baptist chapel, Eastgate Street (1843: church established 1818); Providence Baptist chapel, Lancaster Street (c.1860; closed 1932); Methodist church, Station Street (1867; closed 1973<sup>204</sup>); Gospel Temperance Mission Hall, Little East Street (1906, then became Providence Baptist Chapel 1924-c.1980); and the Presbyterian church, Market Street (c.1870; closed c.1945).<sup>205</sup>

A Roman Catholic chapel of The Sacred Heart and St Pancras was built in 1870, in the High Street opposite St Anne's church (demolished 1939 and replaced by the present church).<sup>206</sup>

The famous and exuberant annual Guy Fawkes Night celebrations in Lewes make considerable display of continuing Protestant Dissent (at least in their current organized form, which dates back to the 1850s). However, it has been argued that the event is principally underpinned by the social (and territorial) identity of the bonfire societies that represent different neighbourhoods of the town.<sup>207</sup>

### **3.5.3 Urban institutions**

Lewes Grammar School was found to be in poor shape in 1864, but unlike other ancient free grammar schools in the county (Hastings, Horsham, Midhurst, Rye and Steyning) it was not revitalized. Instead, its endowments were made transferable as exhibitions to other schools in 1885, ending the grammar school (the present use of the building by Lewes Old Grammar School – an independent school – is mildly confusing as it suggests survival of the earlier school).<sup>208</sup>

The demise of the grammar school was countered by the rise of other free or subsidised education. The British School in Lancaster Street was built in 1809 and provided for boys and girls. A National School opened in 1840 at the corner of St Mary's Lane (Station Street) and Southover Road, again catering for boys and girls, with an infants school adjacent. Other schools followed: a school at Malling Street, Cliffe, in 1848; a National School (St John the Baptist's parish) off Southover High Street in 1871; a National School (St John-sub-Castro) at St John's Street in 1871; a National School (St Anne's parish) at De Montfort Road in 1872; a Roman Catholic school adjoining the earlier chapel (of 1870<sup>209</sup>); and a voluntary school, now The Pells Primary School, in Pelham Terrace (1897). An art school opened in Albion Street in 1868 and closed in 1932. Although Lewes did not set up a board following the Education Act 1870, the borough became responsible for elementary education under Balfour's Education Act 1902 and an Education Committee for Lewes was formed in 1903. St Anne's mixed school in Western Road (1914) and St Pancras Primary School (De Montfort Road) formed part of the ensuing reorganization and expansion of education. The county council was responsible for secondary education, with the County Grammar School for Girls opening in 1913 at Southover, and Lewes County Secondary School for Boys in 1930: the two have subsequently amalgamated (becoming Priory School) on the site of the boys' school on Mountfield Road. Adjacent to this is Lewes Tertiary College, part of Sussex Downs College since 2001. Post-war reorganization of primary



education has seen closure of the schools in St John's Street, Station Street, De Montfort Road (now used for tertiary education), and Western Road. Within the EUS study area new primary schools have opened in Southover (Southover C of E School, on the site of the girls' grammar school), and at Rotten Row (St Anne's School).<sup>210</sup>



Fig. 12. Fitzroy House, High Street: the former library.

Lewes Library Society was established just before the beginning of this period (1785), and was handed over to the Corporation in 1897 to become a public library. From 1862 this was located in Fitzroy House, and then was replaced by the Albion Street library in 1956.<sup>211</sup> A new library in Friar's Walk opened in 2005.

A new sessions house, or County Hall, was built in 1808-12 (now the county court), and a new town hall in 1893. The latter followed the incorporation of Lewes, Cliffe and Southover as a borough in 1881.<sup>212</sup>

The house of correction in North Street was extended in 1817 and 1834, and provided the county gaol for eastern division of Sussex after the closure of Horsham (1845<sup>213</sup>). It was too small, however, so a new (the present) prison built and first used in 1853. The old prison was utilized for Crimean prisoners of war (1854-6), and then became a naval prison. It was used again for prisoners of war in the First World War and the Second World War, and demolished in 1963.<sup>214</sup>

A police house was built in Lancaster Street in 1842, followed by new headquarters and divisional station on the corner of West Street and John Street (1884). Although the latter is still used by the police, in 1948 the East Sussex police force moved to Malling House, Church Lane, this then becoming the headquarters of the Sussex police in 1968.<sup>215</sup>

The old poor house of St John's on Castle Banks ceased in 1835, but others continued in use as no new workhouse immediately followed the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. Eventually, in 1867-8, a new union workhouse was built north of De Montfort Road to the design of Henry Currey. It was demolished in 1960 and the site is now occupied by the houses of Ousedale Close and Shelley Close.<sup>216</sup> The Victoria Hospital opened as a cottage hospital in 1909, and a nurses' hostel was added in 1935.<sup>217</sup>

Sporting provision increased with the Dripping Pan, Convent Garden and adjacent land given to the borough in 1895 for recreational use, though this was already the home of Lewes Priory Cricket Club.<sup>218</sup> By 1920 this was also used for football, tennis and croquet, and by the late 1930s had a bowling green. More recent expansion of facilities here to the south-west of the priory ruins comprises a club house, tennis courts and an artificial hockey pitch.<sup>219</sup> On the north side of the town the Pells swimming baths date back to pre-1875, and by c.1900 the adjacent recreation ground had been created. In Cliffe, wharves at the south end of South Street have given way, since 1945, to a recreational boat club.<sup>220</sup> Although early 19<sup>th</sup>-century decline in the Lewes races (largely due to the more fashionable new rival of Goodwood) was followed by something of a revival in the 1850s,<sup>221</sup> the racecourse eventually closed in 1964.<sup>222</sup>

## 4 ARCHAEOLOGY

### 4.1 Anglo-Saxon burh (Maps 6-7)

#### 4.1.1 Introduction

The extent of the Alfredian burh of Lewes is less clearly defined than some other examples, in that it lacks the surviving circuit of ramparts and ditches seen at, say, Wallingford or Wareham. Of published reconstructions David Hill's circuit is the most convincing in that the burh is confined to the more defensible part of the Downland spur bounded by Westgate, Brack Mount, and the top of School Hill, with the southern defences midway across the slope between High Street and Southover Road.<sup>223</sup> Hill's eastern line is less plausible, however, as he places the junction of North Street and School Hill just within the walls: Jeremy Haslam has pointed out that an extramural road junction is far more likely,<sup>224</sup> as is the case to the west of the town. Colin Brent's more recent suggestion that Hill's circuit be extended to include the area north of the castle is less likely. This tortuous circuit abandons his proposed intramural street (Market Street and North Street) half way along its length (presumably to avoid the sites excavated in North Street in 1975 and in Brook Street in 1974, with their emphatic evidence for no defences: see below) and then forms a northerly projection to encompass the churchyard of St John-sub-Castro. More worrying is the underlying aim to match the length of the perimeter of the defences to the value of the hidage for Lewes in the Burghal Hidage,<sup>225</sup> despite the fact that a strict relationship between hides, manpower, and wall length demonstrably does not apply throughout the system of Alfredian fortresses. Thus, the 1,300 hides allocated to Lewes do not imply a circuit of 5,363 feet, and any identification of the limits of the burh must be based on topographic and archaeological evidence.<sup>226</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Excavations (Map 5)

Few excavations have taken place within the area of Hill's suggested burh, and those that have mostly relate to the Norman castle. In 1972 an attempt was made to excavate the ditch to the west of the town's medieval west wall (along **Keere Street** and Westgate), but, not surprisingly, failed to reach the bottom of the ditch. As a result it remains uncertain as to whether the earthworks that underlie the medieval walls are the western ramparts of the Alfredian burh.<sup>227</sup>



Fig. 13. Westgate Street, showing the town wall.

There have been numerous excavations outside Hill's reconstructed burh, however, and several of these are relevant to the early development of the town. Excavations in **Brook Street** in 1974 were designed to investigate the traditional line of the medieval and earlier town wall. The substantial trench south of the road crossed the line of the wall identified by antiquarians and the Ordnance Survey and demonstrated that no such defences had existed and, equally importantly, that there was no evidence for any urban structures before the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>228</sup>

The Brook Street excavation is important for the interpretation of **Green Wall**, which apparently formed the northern part of the eastern defences of the town. This was subject to small-scale salvage excavation in 1967. The Green Wall proved to be an earth bank (no ditch was discovered) that was dated to the Mid Anglo-Saxon period, but the circumstances of the work, and the poverty and uncertainty of the report, indicate that the conclusions are unreliable.<sup>229</sup> The demonstrable absence of medieval and Anglo-Saxon defences in Brook Street increase doubts over the Green Wall results and strongly suggest that, irrespective of date, it did not form part of a complete defensive circuit.

In 1974, the southern side of the ditch and bank around St John-sub-Castro, in **Lancaster Street**, was excavated, with surprising results: the ditch was a 12<sup>th</sup>-century feature, possibly a short-lived defence created during the civil war

and anarchy.<sup>230</sup> A large medieval ditch exposed during works in 1971 north of the junction of **Wellington Street** and North Street could suggest other medieval defences in this part of the town.<sup>231</sup>

Two further trenches were excavated in 1975 on the east side of **North Street**, designed to explore the northern limits of the medieval town. Again there was no evidence for defences, though Saxo-Norman pottery gave a broad dating to numerous rubbish-pits that indicate occupation that was then abandoned by the 14<sup>th</sup> century and remained open ground until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>232</sup> Apparently, similar rubbish-pits with Saxo-Norman pottery were found on the site of the **Naval Prison** on the west side of North Street in 1962-5, although there is no excavation report.<sup>233</sup> An archaeological evaluation was undertaken nearby at the north end of **St John Street**, in 2004, followed by fuller excavation in 2005. The analysis is weakened by the assumption that the site lay within the Anglo-Saxon burh, but the small trench was significant for revealing a ditch or pit with pottery dating from the late 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>234</sup> Limited excavations to the south at **Edward Street** (in 1971) produced no evidence of occupation earlier than the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>235</sup>

Several excavations have occurred on the eastern side of the medieval town, in the general area of School Hill. Excavations at **Friars Walk** in 1976 produced one pit with Saxo-Norman pottery, similar to that found in North Street. Finds otherwise were of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and later.<sup>236</sup> Excavations at **Brooman's Lane (Clothkits)** in 1978 were re-assessed and published in 2001, and reveal continuous occupation from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, though much of the Saxo-Norman pottery appears late in date.<sup>237</sup> Similar caution is expressed about the Saxo-Norman pottery excavated from rubbish-pits at a nearby garden at **Brooman's Lane** in 1979,<sup>238</sup> at **Friars Walk** in 1976,<sup>239</sup> and at excavations at **Friars Walk (Clothkits)** in 1989 similar pottery from rubbish-pits again indicated continuous occupation from the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>240</sup> At the nearby new **Lewes Library** site (Friars Walk), excavation in 2004 found features mainly dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the earliest pottery datable to the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>241</sup>

Evidently, the archaeological evidence for the burh, and Anglo-Saxon Lewes in general, is limited, with neither the location nor the extent of the burh proven through archaeological excavation. A surprising lack of excavations within the High Street and back lanes south of the castle is to some extent countered by more activity to the north and west. In both these

areas Saxo-Norman occupation is attested, but this evidence is predominantly post-Conquest. Even if reliably attributable 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup>-century material is recovered from these areas this would not of itself suggest the extent of the burh, given the presence of a possible pre-burh minster church, with likely associated settlement. Indeed, it is probable that the burh had suburbs from the outset (most obviously linking the burh to the river crossing, or crossings, thus making a single functional entity<sup>242</sup>) and that these expanded in the 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. Thus, the excavation of defences is necessary to define the limits of the Alfredian fortress, with the negative evidence of the Brook Street and Lancaster Street the most valuable to-date in that there are no longer any good grounds for assuming that the burh extended northwards to include the church of St John-sub-Castro.

#### **4.1.3 Topographic analysis (Maps 6-7)**

Topographic evidence for Anglo-Saxon and medieval Lewes has both been dismissed<sup>243</sup> and, perhaps, over-elaborated.<sup>244</sup> The plan of the town, however, does provide considerable insight into the likely form of the burh and a basis for future archaeological investigation.

General factors defining the location of the burh include the topography of the natural chalk spur of Lewes, overlooking the River Ouse; the possible pre-existence of a minster church and any associated settlement; and the meeting of early routes – a road to the coast in the direction of Brighton (Rotten Row),<sup>245</sup> the east-west Downland route, the road to Malling and the Weald (North Street), and the crossing points on the Ouse.<sup>246</sup> The needs of defence and the location of the early routes seem to have weighed more heavily than the location of St John's church (if earlier) as the Anglo-Saxon burh appears to have been located further up the spur either side of the main east-west route.

The key feature that can be linked to the layout of the burh is the **gridded street pattern** of the town, in which parallel minor lanes (some now no more than twittens) meet the main spinal thoroughfare, the High Street, at right angles. The gridded plan is reinforced by additional lanes, now lost but recorded: Bull Lane (now Paines Twitten) formerly reached the High Street; and an additional lane was located midway between St Andrew's Lane and St Mary's Lane (now Station Street), on the line of the parish boundary (marked by the White Hart Hotel carriageway). Stewards Inn Lane runs parallel to the High Street and it appears to have extended eastwards beyond St Mary's Lane



(Station Street).<sup>247</sup> It has also been suggested that a direct southwards continuation of St Swithun's Lane was enclosed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>248</sup> but the present offset line of Green Lane is evidently as early as George Randall's map of 1620. It is also possible that the short north-south extent of modern Bull Lane (i.e. immediately east of the Westgate Chapel) continued southwards.



Fig. 14. Watergate Lane: view northwards.

The antiquity of these lanes is not suggested purely by comparison with other similarly laid out burhs, but also by the fact that north of the High Street the imposition of the Norman Castle appears to overlie streets similar to those that survive to the south. The southernmost 80m of **Fisher Street** lies just outside the footprint of the castle and follows the same alignment as the lanes south of the High Street: Fisher Street is a continuation of Station Street (formerly, St Mary's Lane). West of the castle, the medieval town wall to the rear of the **Westgate Street** properties continues the alignment of that behind **Keere Street** on the south side of the High Street. The alignment of the southern part of Fisher Street and the northern section of the west wall are implausible if they post-date the construction of the castle (which had largely achieved its full extent by c.1100<sup>249</sup>).

Further, and invariably overlooked, evidence for the antiquity of the gridded street pattern is provided by the parish boundaries of St Michael and St John-sub-Castro (anciently the

boundaries of St Andrew and St Mary-in-Foro<sup>250</sup>) that lie parallel to the north-south lanes both south of the High Street and, significantly, to the north, as far as the castle. Finally, the difference between the gridded layout of the area between the west gate and the war memorial, and the street pattern of the early extensions to the town on School Hill and Westout (in existence by the early 12<sup>th</sup> century) not only helps identify the limit of the burh, but also suggests that the gridded plan is pre-Conquest and, thus, most probably datable to the establishment of the burh.

There are grounds, therefore, for a consideration of the gridded street pattern of Lewes as evidence for the location of the burh. We have seen that, notwithstanding the failure of the 1972 excavations, it is reasonable to suggest that the massive earthworks underlying the west wall of the medieval town mark the western limit of the burh (the most vulnerable side of the fortress). Likewise, **St Nicholas Lane** marks the eastern limit of the regular gridded street pattern and, as this coincides with the point just west of the junction of North Street and School Hill, it is likely that the eastern limit of the burh lies in this area, possibly coincident with the parish boundary (of St John-sub-Castro, previously of St Mary-in-Foro) that runs parallel to, but c.20m west of, the lane.<sup>251</sup> Placing the east gate of the burh to a more logical position just west of the junction of North Street and School Hill removes the eastern bulge of Hill's circuit and gives an eastern defence parallel to the strongly gridded street pattern, akin to the arrangement at other burhs with similarly regular street layouts (e.g. Wareham and Wallingford). It is unclear whether the origins of any of the former churches in this area (St Mary-in-Foro, probably on the site of what is now 49 High Street,<sup>252</sup> St Nicholas, where the war memorial now stands,<sup>253</sup> and, possibly, St Peter the Less<sup>254</sup>) lie before the Conquest (they are all recorded in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>255</sup>), but their concentration could reflect the proximity of the east gate of the burh.

The parallel lanes south of the High Street descend the hill to Southover Road, which marks the line of the medieval town wall. Hill has proposed that the Alfredian burh had defences uphill from the later town wall, making a more easily defendable fortress.<sup>256</sup> Stewards Inn Lane (set back c.32m from the High Street) could represent an immediately intra-mural street, but generally the slope of the parallel lanes is steeper from c.75m south of the High Street. Even if this simply reflects the natural form of the chalk spur, the break of slope represents an obvious location for defences. At this point a slight hump (c.10m long) in **Station Street**, and

major and long-term cracking (and patching) of the walls in **Watergate Street** could result from the underlying presence of rampart and ditch, but neither amounts to anything approaching convincing evidence.<sup>257</sup> Likewise, the slightly greater irregularity of the lower parts of the lanes could result from their later extension towards the medieval town wall, but is hardly conclusive. Moreover, there is no obvious change in the character of the western earthworks that underlie the medieval town wall: the earthen bank appears to continue as far as the south-west corner of the medieval defences, though, of course, this could be the result of later addition. Clearly, excavation is needed to test the logic that the defences were not at the bottom of the slope.

North of the High Street the imposition of the Norman castle obliterated most elements of the burh, other than the lower part of Fisher Street and the west wall (see above). However, the extreme topography of the town suggests that the northern limit was defined by the precipitous (and highly defensible) steep slope that was later utilized by the Norman castle and town (**Castle Banks**). It is probable that the circuit incorporated **Brack Mount** since this is largely a natural spur, albeit artificially heightened (possibly as a motte in the first phase of the Norman castle works<sup>258</sup> and, even, pre-burh as a barrow<sup>259</sup>).

## 4.2 Anglo-Saxon minster (Map 6)

### 4.2.1 Architectural evidence

Although the church of **St John-sub-Castro** was replaced by the present building in 1839, there are antiquarian records of the earlier church. Moreover, two architectural elements from the demolished church were reset in the external faces of the chancel of new building, and apparently relocated to the chancel when it was added in 1884: the so-called 'Magnus inscription' is on the east wall and the former south door is set into the north wall.<sup>260</sup>

Against the evidence, the Magnus inscription – 15 voussoirs with a Latin text in Lombardic and Roman letters referring to the cell of a Danish prince turned anchorite – continues to be associated with the Anglo-Saxon church and the chancel arch thereof.<sup>261</sup> However, it is evidently of much later date (possibly c.1200) and, at c.8ft diameter, can hardly derive from what was a 16ft-wide chancel arch. More probably it comes from an opening from the chancel to an attached anchorite cell.<sup>262</sup>

The re-sited south doorway is shown on antiquarian views of the medieval church towards the west end of the south wall of the nave. It was blocked up in 1779 (thereafter framing a 13<sup>th</sup>-century graveslab, as it does today in its reset location) and replaced by a doorway in the west tower.<sup>263</sup>



Fig. 15. St John-sub-Castro: the Magnus inscription.



Fig. 16. St John-sub-Castro: detail of re-sited 11<sup>th</sup>-century doorway (see also Fig. 3).

Surprisingly, the doorway has been subject to very little analysis. A recent assertion that it has shafts of Quarr stone is erroneous and significantly so:<sup>264</sup> there are only four pieces of Quarr, and these form part of the impostes and their continuation as a stringcourse. Most of the stone is Caen, the first firmly datable and large-scale use in England of which is in Lanfanc's cathedral at Canterbury c.1070.<sup>265</sup> However, the small-scale use of Caen stone along the south coast does not necessitate conquest, and it is found in the lowest stage of Sompting church tower. In the works that pre-date the late 11<sup>th</sup>-century tower and arch, and which appear wholly



Anglo-Saxon in character.<sup>266</sup> Thus, the petrography at St John-sub-Castro does not preclude a pre-Conquest date. Moreover, several features do suggest Anglo-Saxon workmanship (although not necessarily a pre-Conquest date): the two-dimensionality of the decorative treatment of the doorway (the three orders of roll mouldings are all on the same plane); the curved and largely symmetrical mouldings of the impost; and the cutting of the lowest parts, or springings, of the roll moulding orders of the arches as integral elements of the impost.<sup>267</sup> The latter raise a problem, however, as they provide for four orders whereas there are only three today and, from the evidence of the voussoirs, no provision for an additional outer order. The oddly flattened profile of the arch roll mouldings could suggest that these are later, as could the misshapen voussoirs. Another anomaly is the treatment of the upper faces of the impost, where the moulding returns and meets the main plane of the wall: the impost evidently stopped short and did not continue through the doorway, yet a tympanum is hardly practicable unless a considerable portion of the height of the doorway has been lost. In short, the doorway at St-John-sub-Castro does not represent the original design or, probably, initial construction. The demolition of the porch and blocking of the doorway in 1779, the demolition of the medieval church in 1839 and the removal of the doorway to the replacement church, and the final relocation of the doorway in 1884 provide several opportunities for modification.

More tenuous evidence for the Anglo-Saxon church has been advanced. Until 1779, the nave floor was seven or eight steps below the west door. Far from suggesting a collapsed crypt,<sup>268</sup> however, this can be more reasonably interpreted as merely reflecting the rise in external ground level: the churchyard probably initially served a large *parochia* and, more certainly, in the medieval period was the burial place for several Lewes parishes (section 3.1.3).

### 4.2.2 Excavations and topography

The probable minster status of **St John-sub-Castro** (section 3.1.3) could imply a much more extensive precinct than the present churchyard, as John Blair has demonstrated elsewhere.<sup>269</sup> Excavation has yet to determine the location and scale of such a putative precinct. The floodplain of the River Ouse is almost immediately adjacent to the churchyard and limits any northerly projection, and it is wholly reasonable to conjecture that the minster site may have extended as far east as the ambiguous Green Wall and that it could have incorporated earlier

mounds on the site of the Elephant and Castle and at Abinger House, as well as the two mounds recorded within the present churchyard.<sup>270</sup> Such a purely hypothetical c.300m x c.200m extent would at least be typical for a minster. It would be likely that any precinct was significantly secularized and reduced by the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and, if there was a minster here, this is supported by the results of archaeological excavations in this part of the town (section 4.1.2). In more general terms, the location of the likely minster of St John-sub-Castro echoes the location of the more assuredly identified minster at Steyning (West Sussex), also on the edge of the floodplain and a similar distance up-river (in this case the River Adur).<sup>271</sup>

## 4.3 The Norman town (Map 8)

### 4.3.1 Buildings and monuments



Fig.17. Lewes castle: view from shell keep towards gatehouse (with 14<sup>th</sup>-century barbican), gun garden (bottom right) and bailey (now bowling green, top left).

**Lewes castle** is ruinous, but preserves significant upstanding masonry. Several sections of curtain wall that enclosed the substantial bailey survive above Castle Ditch, but have been patched and refaced. The herringbone flint-rubble construction of the wall at the north end of the gun garden (i.e. on the south of the bailey), however, is convincingly early Norman in character. This extends eastwards to the largest

remnant of the Norman castle: the gatehouse. Although only the south (outer) wall survives to any great extent, the plan has been recovered from excavation and gives internal dimensions of 9.75m north-south and 6.70m east-west, with walls c.2.40m thick.<sup>272</sup> It is of similar plan and scale to that at Bramber and, likewise, may have had a middle arch. The use of herringbone flint again suggests an early date, perhaps pre-1100.



Fig. 18. Brack Mount from the south-west motte.

Similar construction is used for the shell keep on the chalk-built motte. Here the southern half of the shell keep largely survives, together with a fragment on the north side. The shell keep is elliptical, measuring c.27.4m E-W and c.24.4m N-S. The flint wall has a batter and rises to what appears to be the primary wall walk height of c.6.7m above modern internal ground level. At the north-east of the bailey, another substantial artificial mound survives, now called Brack Mount. Although a masonry structure (possibly another shell keep) is shown on Randall's 1620 map of Lewes, no upstanding remains survive. It is possible that Brack Mount represents the motte from the first castle, quickly made redundant, but it is equally likely that two mottes functioned simultaneously, from c.1100.<sup>273</sup>

There are no accessible remains of buildings from the bailey, although the 18<sup>th</sup>-century house

called Castle Precincts is built over a barrel-vaulted undercroft with herringbone flint-rubble walling of the late 11<sup>th</sup> or early 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Although **Lewes Priory** is of great significance as the first and chief church of the Cluniac order in England, the upstanding remains are minimal. Of the great church (on architectural grounds, begun in the 12<sup>th</sup> century) nothing is visible except for the excavated base of the south-west tower. Upstanding remains of Romanesque buildings to the south are preserved, however, in the form of parts of an earlier (11<sup>th</sup>-century) church or chapel, the 11<sup>th</sup>-century rere-dorter (latrine), the undercroft that supported a c.1200 extension of the dormitory (also over the old rere-dorter), a new rere-dorter of c.1200, and the south wall of the refectory. Several of the windows in the latter have been interpreted as Late Saxon on the basis of double splays and arch-building technique,<sup>274</sup> but this stands up to little serious scrutiny and there is no convincing pre-Conquest architecture at the priory today.<sup>275</sup> As we have seen (section 3.1.3), there is no reason to assume that the gift of the church of St Pancras at the foundation of the priory in 1078-81 implies a pre-1066 church, let alone pre-Cluniac monastic buildings.

The demolition of the priory following its surrender in 1538 led to considerable re-use of stone and the *ex situ* preservation of sculptural details. Antiquarian interest since the first excavations in 1845 (section 4.3.2) has also led to the recovery of further fragments from the site. Such material includes a figure fragment with damp-fold drapery probably datable to the 1160s;<sup>276</sup> finely sculpted capitals of c.1160-70, transported with other ashlar to Kingston in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and re-used in Kingston Manor;<sup>277</sup> and 35 pieces of 12<sup>th</sup>-century Tournai marble sculpture, including the tomb slab of Gundrada (now in St John's church, Southover) and a shaft and base at Rodmell church.<sup>278</sup>



Fig. 19. Lewes priory: view westwards along rere-dorter.

Nothing survives above ground of the **hospital of St Nicholas** (first recorded in 1264), but late 18<sup>th</sup>-century views by Lambert record a massive gable with plain round-arched windows, supporting pre-c.1200 origins.<sup>279</sup>



Fig. 20. St John the Baptist, Southover: view of 12<sup>th</sup>-century nave arcade from the south-east.

The church of **St John the Baptist, Southover**, retains a late 12<sup>th</sup>-century arcade, with squat cylindrical piers. The westernmost pier is whole and not a respond, so the arcade has been shortened. There is no other Romanesque work to support or refute Godfrey's suggestion that the arcade was central to two evenly sized aisles of a hospital, or hospice, positioned near the gate of the priory (this being a normal location and reflecting the broader hospitality of the medieval hospital, exemplified by the hospice of St Hugh, at Cluny itself: 1095-1107<sup>280</sup>). Godfrey suggests that such a conversion happened in the 14<sup>th</sup> century as a chapel of St John built within the priory gatehouse became too small for the use of parishioners, with the hospital being replaced by that of St James.<sup>281</sup> There is an absence of 13<sup>th</sup>-century fabric, but substantial evidence of 14<sup>th</sup>-century work (the north wall of the nave) more consistent with a later date.

The **church of St Anne** (formerly, St Mary Westout) has a nave, west tower, chancel (the

western part thereof) and a south chapel (or single-armed transept) of the early 12<sup>th</sup> century. An aisle was added on the south side in the 1190s, with the inserted arcade of cylindrical piers with square abaci and sophisticated stiff-leaf capitals. At the same time, the south transept was opened into the aisle (evidently becoming a chapel if not one before) and given a rib-vault. The font is 12<sup>th</sup>-century.

No 12<sup>th</sup>-century fabric is visible at the **church of St Thomas at Cliffe**, although the thick-walled construction of the short chancel contrasts with the thinner walls of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries and is likely to be Norman.<sup>282</sup>

Although the undercroft below the town hall (formerly the Star Inn) has been dated to the Norman period,<sup>283</sup> it is of the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, and there are no known examples of Romanesque domestic architecture in Lewes.

### 4.3.2 Excavations (Map 5)

Excavations at **Lewes castle** have been limited in scope. Work has focused on the south-western motte, with exploratory trenches dug in 1884, 1930 and 1974.<sup>284</sup> Subsequently almost the whole area within the 11<sup>th</sup>-century shell keep was excavated in 1985-8. This recovered the plans of buildings built against the keep wall. Two of these belonged to the period before c.1200. At the north-west of the keep much of a substantial stone building had been robbed and destroyed by later buildings, but extended c.5m from the shell keep wall and has been interpreted as a possible ground-level hall. Opposing this, to the south-east, a similarly scaled building appears to have been a kitchen: an apparent hearth against the keep wall was succeeded by a tile-backed fireplace in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The centre of the keep remained open.<sup>285</sup> The second motte, Brack Mount, has attracted less attention with minor investigations of the bottom of the chalk motte at 4 Castle Banks in 1971,<sup>286</sup> and excavations of a chalk-lined well, or cistern, in 1962<sup>287</sup> and 2001, neither confirming nor refuting its supposed origins as the first 11<sup>th</sup>-century motte at Lewes castle.<sup>288</sup>

The castle bailey has seen equally little investigation. A watching brief at Castle Lodge in 2001 found nothing of archaeological interest as a result of the shallowness of the trenches being monitored.<sup>289</sup> Another watching brief at Castle Lodge in 2004 monitored construction of a retaining wall, apparently located where building of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century house had cut away the motte. A pit of possible 12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup>-century date here could indicate that the northern profile of



the motte has been reshaped by later medieval or post-medieval slumping.<sup>290</sup>



Fig. 21. Lewes priory: view of 'infirmary chapel' from east.

**Lewes Priory** has been the subject of much archaeological interest since the site was disturbed by the cutting through of the Lewes-Brighton railway line in 1845. Most famously this almost immediately recovered the lead mortuary chests containing two skeletons and inscribed with the names of William and Gundrada (now in St John's church, Southover). Located in what was quickly identified as the chapter house, there is no reason to doubt that these are the remains of the founders. This stimulated excavation along the line of the cutting, exposing the eastern end of the great (i.e. 12<sup>th</sup>-century) church; parts of the cloister; the chapter house; and the north side of the refectory.<sup>291</sup> Later non-scientific excavations and clearance exposed more ruins: the south-west tower of the great church (1849-50), the dormitory area (1882), the infirmary range (1900-2), and the lavatorium (1902-3).<sup>292</sup> These early excavations confirm that the church was heavily influenced by the vast third church at Cluny itself (1088-1130; mostly completed by 1109) in that it had an ambulatory with apsidal chapels, and double transepts.

More recent excavations (1969-82) focused on what had been known since discovery in 1900-2 as the 'infirmary chapel', and on the rere-dorter.<sup>293</sup> Although this included, in contrast to earlier excavations, analysis of burials, pottery, building materials, and environmental material, the published report is seriously undermined by what Richard Gem has described as unacceptable use of 'speculations [relating to the

fabricated foundation documents in the Lewes chartulary] as a starting point for interpreting the archaeology'.<sup>294</sup> This applies to the questionable identification of an Anglo-Saxon free-standing chapel (with a dubious *sacrarium*), a first priory church in what was hitherto called the 'infirmary chapel' (an hypothesis made in an earlier article<sup>295</sup>), and an Anglo-Saxon crypt. The excavation of the rere-dorter and analysis of the dormitory range at this time, however, was more satisfactory.<sup>296</sup> Here the excavations confirmed earlier discussion of the sequence of construction,<sup>297</sup> albeit with slight refinement of the dating: a late 11<sup>th</sup>-century rere-dorter was engulfed by the extension of the dormitory and the building of a new rere-dorter to the south of this c.1200. Significantly, the extension of the eastern range confirms that the late 11<sup>th</sup>-century location of the cloister, refectory (which is evidently late 11<sup>th</sup> century anyway) and monastic church was identical to that in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and contradicts the identification of the late 11<sup>th</sup>-century monastic church further to the east.<sup>298</sup>

This has wider implications for the dating of the great church itself. Freda Anderson argues that the date of the cloister is the key factor in defining the chronology of the 12<sup>th</sup>-century church. This argument is based on the assumption that the earlier monastic church was the 'infirmary chapel' and that this had a cloister that had to be demolished before the new church and cloister could be built.<sup>299</sup> Anderson quite reasonably identifies an *ex situ* Tournai marble double-base (and other single bases and shafts) as deriving from the main (and indeed only known) cloister, dating them to the 1160s or 1170s (although her arguments here are slightly circular as the dating of the bases draws heavily on the assumed date of the great church and cloister).<sup>300</sup> Hence the case for construction of the great church in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>301</sup> The *in situ* bases excavated in the south-west tower (still visible today) are the only datable architectural evidence for the main church, and Anderson cites these as further evidence for her dating. Even if the precise dating of these to the 1140s is accepted (and the simple forms are surely possibly earlier), this suggests (with conventional east-west progression of construction, as seen so pertinently at Cluny III itself) early 12<sup>th</sup>-century commencement of work on the priory church. Of course, the upper parts of the western end of the Romanesque church (nave and west tower, or towers) could have been built later than the 1140s, with the remodelling of the chapter house and dormitory range, and the cloister (including the building of the elaborate lavatorium) following on from c.1150-1200. In short, much of

the architectural development of even the identified elements of Lewes Priory (and many parts have yet to be located) remains unresolved.

The excavated evidence for the extent of the **Norman town** is considerable, and is discussed above in the context of the Anglo-Saxon burh (section 4.1.1). This confirms that the town extended as far north as Lancaster Street and Wellington Street, and as far east as the river. There has been insufficient excavation to show the southwards extent and density of the town (and thus the degree of separation from the priory precinct and the *extra mural* settlement it attracted at Southover) or the extent of the western suburb. Excavations at **Cliffe** in 1987 and 1988 failed to find evidence of Norman occupation.<sup>302</sup>

### 4.3.3 Topographic analysis (Map 8)

Excavations show how the Anglo-Saxon burh had been expanded by or during the Norman period, and a combination of archaeological and architectural evidence reveals the scale of the Norman creations of the castle and the priory (above). To this evidence can be added that of the 10 churches in existence by 1121 (section 3.2.4). Several of these were located outside the burh and, thus, are good indicators of the extent of the 12<sup>th</sup>-century town.

Between the probable eastern defence of the burh and the river were located All Saints (represented by the later surviving church at the bottom of the hill at the western end of Friars Walk) and the lost churches of St Nicholas (on the site of the war memorial at the junction of High Street/School Hill and Market Street) and Holy Trinity (at 214 High Street – the corner of School Hill and Eastgate Street).<sup>303</sup> We have seen that St Sepulchre might also date from the 12<sup>th</sup> century and that this lay between the churches of St Nicholas and Holy Trinity, either north or south of School Hill.<sup>304</sup> The existence of three, possibly four, churches in this area confirms the archaeological evidence for intensive occupation in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. All Saints' church also suggests that the borough boundary by this date extended to the bottom of the hill and that Friars Walk and, possibly, the flanking lanes of Pinwell Street (now lost<sup>305</sup>) and Church Lane were in existence.

To the west of the burh were St Peter Westout (lost, but on the site of St Anne's Rectory, 110 High Street<sup>306</sup>) and St Mary Westout (surviving as St Anne's church), suggesting a suburb extending at least 400m west of the burh and later town wall by the early 12<sup>th</sup> century. With

both churches directly on the High Street, this suggests ribbon development contrasting with the broader settlement of the School Hill area.



Fig. 22. St Michael's church, High Street.

Within the area of the gridded streets (and likely confines of the Anglo-Saxon burh) in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century there were the churches of St Michael (surviving), St Martin (probably on the High Street, west of St Martin's Lane<sup>307</sup>), St Andrew (probably on the High Street, west of St Andrew's Lane<sup>308</sup>), St Mary-in-Foro (on the eastern corner of High Street and St Mary's Lane, now Station Street<sup>309</sup>) and, possibly this early, St Peter the Less (perhaps around the area of the present town hall, High Street<sup>310</sup>). With the parish and mother-church influence of St John-sub-Castro in addition within this area (increasingly confined since the construction of the castle), the existence of so many churches at this date suggests that this area was densely occupied, although not necessarily significantly more so than the School Hill area. The addition of 'in foro' ('in the market place') to the name of the church of St Mary indicates that the market may have been concentrated at the east end of the High Street, where the burh met the School Hill area suburb. It appears that this church stood at least 9m forward of the frontage to the west and possibly to the east (these properties appear to have encroached on the street), thus making the church a projection or even an island within the medieval market place.



#### 4.4 Later medieval town (Maps 9 and 10)



Fig. 23. Lewes castle: 14<sup>th</sup>-century barbican with the 12<sup>th</sup>-century gateway beyond.

##### 4.4.1 Buildings and monuments

Of later medieval modifications **Lewes castle** preserves two 13<sup>th</sup>-century angle-towers added to the Norman shell keep of the south-west motte. These have stringcourses, arrow-slits, and heavily battered bases. The barbican is evidence of 14<sup>th</sup>-century updating of the castle. Like the gatehouse at Battle Abbey, it probably dates from the late 1330s and, if so, was likewise built as a response to increasing French raids that precipitated the Hundred Years' War: Edward III certainly required increased security at the castle for this reason in 1336.<sup>311</sup> With its corbelled-out corner turrets to front and rear, portcullis and its machicolations, it substantially reinforced the simple Norman gatehouse.

The **town wall** at Lewes survives in fragmentary form only. Sections stand east of and parallel to Westgate Street, Keere Street and Southover Road, but have been so repeatedly patched and repaired that little is visibly medieval. The lower parts of the northern bastion of West Gate itself and the adjacent wall survive inside, and below

the floor of, the Freemasons Hall (148 High Street). The remains, and earlier views and a plan,<sup>312</sup> suggest a 13<sup>th</sup>-century date.

Of the upstanding parts of the **Lewes priory**, almost nothing of significance post-dates c.1200. An exception is the fragmentary remains of the great gatehouse just north-east of the church of St John the Baptist. Here, the southern respond of the west-facing main arch survives *in situ* next to the gate to the churchyard. To the east of this the capital and lower part of an internal arch on the south wall of the gatehouse also remain. The smaller pedestrian arch of the west wall was rebuilt in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and, confusingly, now faces northwards nearby at the west end of Priory Crescent. Elaborately decorated with dog-tooth and stiff-leaf foliage, the Sussex marble arches date from the early 13<sup>th</sup> century.

There are no *in situ* upstanding remains of the second major religious house at Lewes – the Franciscan friary, or **Grey Friars**. However, a 15<sup>th</sup>-century archway to the nearby churchyard of All Saints is reputed to derive from the friary, apparently relocated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century during construction of the first railway station at Lewes.<sup>313</sup>



Fig. 24. Lewes priory: *in situ* remains of the main arch of the early 13<sup>th</sup>-century gatehouse, adjacent to the present gate to the churchyard of the church of St John the Baptist.



Fig. 25. All Saints, Friars Walk: 15<sup>th</sup>-century west tower.

The chapel of the **hospital of St James** survives as a private house adjacent to Elm Tree House, Southover High Street. This preserves two cusped ogee-headed windows that, like the east window that is known only through antiquarian record,<sup>314</sup> are of 14<sup>th</sup>-century date. This is consistent with Godfrey's suggestion that this hospital replaced the earlier hospital that was converted to the parish church of St John the Baptist. More recently it has been proposed that the hospital of St James existed in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and that it was its enlargement (rather than the need for a larger parish church) that made the other hospital redundant.<sup>315</sup> This is implausible, not least since the hall of the hospital of St James was recorded in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century at 33.5m x 11m,<sup>316</sup> thus probably making it a little smaller than that of the 12<sup>th</sup>-century hospital at St John's.<sup>317</sup> With its wide hall (akin to a church nave) and narrower axial chapel (akin to a church chancel), the hospital of St James was similar in plan to the surviving late 13<sup>th</sup>-century hospital of St Mary, in Chichester.

Several of the surviving **parish churches** of Lewes are predominantly late medieval. Notwithstanding the possible Norman core to the chancel walls, St Thomas at Cliffe is predominantly of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with a short three-bay nave and aisles of this period.

Evidently this replaced an earlier nave and aisles of the same plan, since the west end of the north aisle is of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. A substantial west tower was added in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Another three-bay 14<sup>th</sup>-century arcade survives at St Michael's church, in this case to the south aisle only. Otherwise the only other medieval remains at St Michael's are the west wall (excluding the window and door) and the western round tower, both dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century by Godfrey, but possibly earlier.<sup>318</sup> All Saints has suffered still greater loss of medieval fabric, with only its 15<sup>th</sup>-century west tower surviving later rebuilding. St Mary's Westout (St Anne's) saw only minor modification in the later medieval period with its eastern extension to the chancel dating from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and the buttressing of the west tower probably dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The likely former hospital next to the priory gate (St John's church), was almost entirely rebuilt in the later medieval period, with the single-aisled nave (re-using the shortened 12<sup>th</sup>-century arcade) dating from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The west bay (heavily rebuilt) of the chancel, and the crown-post roof of the nave are of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.



Fig. 26. St Thomas at Cliffe: 14<sup>th</sup>-century north arcade of nave, with 13<sup>th</sup>-century west window to north aisle.

An absence of systematic survey of the **townhouses** of Lewes means that current understanding of the survival of medieval buildings is likely to be a considerable underestimate. Nevertheless, the 10 known survivals of pre-1500 houses are significant as they include four examples of townhouses with undercrofts.





Fig. 27. 70-2 High Street: undercroft looking northwards, with blocked doorway on the left to adjacent undercroft (no. 73).

At 70-2 High Street, there is an undercroft of c.1300 with a pointed barrel-vault of chalk, and two primary cupboards in the front wall. The undercroft is set directly on, and oriented at right-angles to, the street-front. The only primary doorway is in the side (west) wall, so that the undercroft formed a pair with that at no. 73. The latter is now clad and has no vault, but a large 19<sup>th</sup>-century window to a lightwell in the front wall appears to reuse the original doorway to the street. The combination of (possibly) timber-ceiled undercroft with a less accessible vaulted undercroft beyond is found elsewhere and has been linked to use as a tavern.<sup>319</sup>



Fig. 28. Staircase to street at the undercroft below the town hall, High Street.

At 66 High Street a timber-ceiled sandstone undercroft is again oriented at right-angles to the street. In the front (north) wall a 1.43m-wide central doorway is now blocked but led directly to the street, and the adjacent window opened into a lightwell. Both features date the undercroft to the early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

At the town hall a more substantial barrel-vaulted undercroft (6.17m x 12.6m) lies parallel to the High Street, with both doorway and steps to street intact. Additionally, there is a small spiral stair at the rear of the undercroft, providing internal access. The architectural features date from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Although all these undercrofts are now entirely below ground level (that at the town hall with its floor 3.76m below the pavement), the details of the external face of the doorway at the town hall and at 66 High Street suggest a substantial rise in the external ground level since their construction, perhaps in the order of 1-1.5m. This would have left such undercrofts only partly subterranean and the present ground floor slightly above street level. This type of townhouse dominated the high streets of the larger towns of England from the early 13<sup>th</sup> to the mid-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, with its combination of large commercial space (undercrofts) and smaller upper-level shops maximizing the valuable street frontage, and confining the domestic parts of the house to the rear.<sup>320</sup> It must be suspected, as Godfrey pointed out as long ago as 1940, that undercrofts (and thus such split-level townhouses) were the norm, or at least common, along the market place in Lewes.<sup>321</sup> The possibility that the town hall undercroft was part of the house of Robert Spicer, MP for Lewes in 1322-4, is at least consistent with the type of substantial merchants that would have used such undercrofts.<sup>322</sup>

Of the more intact medieval townhouses, 74-5 High Street is perhaps the earliest example, with its corner site allowing jetties on two sides (with dragon beam), and, on the first-floor elevation to St Martin's Lane, remarkably well-preserved tracery combining trefoils and quatrefoils dating from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. To the east, 67 High Street is a heavily restored timber-framed townhouse, with its 15<sup>th</sup>-century crown-post visible from the exterior in its diminutive gable. More substantial 15<sup>th</sup>-century timber-framed houses are found elsewhere in the High Street at nos. 92 (Bull House) and 99/100, both of which have gables to the street, jetties on adjacent sides, and close-studding. In Southover, Anne of Cleves House has a 14<sup>th</sup>-century cellar beneath the hall of the later house above.



Fig. 29. Anne of Cleves House, Southover High Street.

12/13 Cliffe High Street is a Wealden house, with a near contemporary rear range: both have crown-post roofs.<sup>323</sup>



Fig. 30. 74-5 High Street: 14<sup>th</sup>-century timber framing.

#### 4.4.2 Excavations (Map 5)

While the chief value of many of the excavations in Lewes lies in the Late Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods, they have produced important evidence for the later medieval town. For dates of the excavations and their publications, refer to sections 4.1.2 and 4.2.2, above.

The most important later medieval site excavated is that of the Franciscan friary (**Grey Friars**). The site of the friary buildings has seen extensive reuse since dissolution in 1538, with the most recent redevelopment of part of the site as a magistrates court being preceded by archaeological excavation (1985-6 and 1988-9). This followed earlier trial trenches in 1967 and 1981. The excavations revealed the stone footings of parts of the church (chancel and part of nave), sacristy, chapter house, dorter undercroft, cloister, a small courtyard, refectory, kitchen, garderobe, a culvert (which probably flushed the rere-dorter) and what is likely to have been the cellarer's stores. These buildings could not be accurately dated, but the earliest seem to relate to the initial construction of the friary in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, on reclaimed land in the floodplain. This was followed by a major programme of rebuilding, probably in the late 13<sup>th</sup> or early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. This rebuilding and an intermediary phase of more minor works were marked by the raising of floor levels in response to a continuing problem with dampness. Large buttresses on the east side of the complex also appear to have been built in response to the proximity of the River Ouse, and the buildings are located at the extreme west of the site (i.e. as far from the river as possible).<sup>324</sup>

The Grey Friars church was smaller than at many other Franciscan monasteries, with an unaisled nave and a chancel of identical width. The part-surviving late 13<sup>th</sup>-century Grey Friars church at Priory Park, Chichester, is arguably the best parallel for the plan of the Lewes example, although there is insufficient evidence from the excavation at Lewes to reconstruct the elevation of the church.

The excavation of the friary produced tantalizing evidence for the **waterfront** before the 13<sup>th</sup> century. An apparently extensive and certainly artificial deposit of flint gravel has been interpreted as a hard for access to the river and for beaching ships. This was subsequently covered with alluvium and dumped rubbish in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps behind a new timber-revetted waterfront.<sup>325</sup> During widening of the bridge in 1931 a layer of flint and ashes was found beneath the bridge and just beneath the river bed, extending across the river, and this



could represent more of the surface of the pre-12<sup>th</sup>-century hard rather than evidence of an early pre-bridge crossing of the River Ouse.<sup>326</sup>

The friary excavation also demonstrated that the Grey Friars infilled and built over the **town ditch**, 10.5m east of, and parallel to, the east side of Friars Walk. Although no evidence of a town wall was found, only part of the ditch fell within the excavation area and, thus, any wall would have stood further to the west. The infilling of the ditch and construction of a wall over it is documented by a grant of 1244. There was no archaeological evidence for the date of the ditch.<sup>327</sup>

The borough continued to be occupied west of the town ditch at this time, since mid-12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup>-century pottery was excavated at the site to the rear of **Lewes House** (High Street), from rubbish-pits to properties fronting Broomans Lane or Friars Walk.<sup>328</sup> More substantial excavations at **Lewes Library** (Friars Walk) located numerous cess and rubbish-pits, again predominantly of 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup>-century date.<sup>329</sup> On the northern side of the medieval town the **Edward Street** excavations revealed 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>-century pottery associated with a copper furnace, perhaps indicative of an industrial zone<sup>330</sup> To the north of this at **St John Street**,<sup>331</sup> **Brook Street**,<sup>332</sup> and **Lancaster Street**<sup>333</sup> there was no evidence of late medieval occupation. Similar evidence came from the excavations in **North Street** and together, these suggest abandonment of much of the area between Brack Mount and the church of St John-sub-Castro by the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>334</sup>

Excavations to the north of the church of St Thomas at **Cliffe** revealed deposits of compacted chalk dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. This confirms that Cliffe is built on made ground and that this was late in date even this far east, though the church itself has 13<sup>th</sup>-century fabric and, possibly, even a 12<sup>th</sup>-century chancel (section 4.3.1). No burials were found, which is consistent with the recorded practice of burials from Cliffe at South Malling and elsewhere, and the open space north of the church may have been the 'Fair Place' used for the two annual fairs from 1410.<sup>335</sup>

#### **4.4.3 Topography (Maps 9 and 10)**

While the street pattern of the historic core of Lewes was largely in place in the preceding period, it is only from the later medieval period that finer topographic details are discernible. These include tenement, or burgage plot, boundaries, along the High Street from the bottom of School Hill to the Westgate. Those within the area of the gridded streets (i.e. west of

the war memorial) have little depth (those on the south side showing no continuity of boundaries beyond Stewards Inn Lane) and, thus, are largely preserved as the boundaries between medieval and post-medieval buildings. This not only accounts for the lack of archaeological excavations of such boundaries, but also precludes the identification of larger plots and their subdivision. Thus, John Houghton's proposed 20ft-width for burgages in Lewes is based on the disposition of the grid of lanes rather than on the size (or antiquity) of individual plots. His argument that such 20ft-wide burgage plots continued uninterrupted down School Hill undermines the case for early (i.e. pre-Conquest) origins, for no allowance is made for the interruption of the eastern defences of the burh.<sup>336</sup> In noting this, Brent's suggestion of wider burgage plots on School Hill (perhaps 25ft) is equally unsupported by any identifiable early plot boundaries.<sup>337</sup> In short, the absence of long plots and the ambiguity as to the dating and primacy of the numerous building boundaries limit the potential for study of burgage plots in Lewes, though it is probable that many property boundaries along High Street/School Hill were in existence by the Conquest and that these were likely to have been subdivided by the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. Similar plots developed along other the continuations of the high street at this period at the suburbs of Westout and, to a greater degree, at Cliffe.

At Southover, the suburb adjacent to the priory had developed two centres by the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Westport was concentrated on Southover High Street west of Cockshut Lane, but also included houses on the rectangle of roads to the north formed by St Pancras Lane, The Course and Potters Lane. To the east of the hospital of St James, a second concentration called Eastport also had a rectangular street pattern, in this case formed by Southover High Street (here on a north-south alignment), Priory Street, Garden Street and Eastport Lane. The latter had tenements with plots stretching northwards to the Winterbourne.<sup>338</sup>

The medieval market place of the borough of Lewes is identifiable from this period in the length of the High Street broadly between Castlegate and the war memorial.<sup>339</sup> The advancement of the southern street frontage east of Station Street suggests encroachment of c.12m eastwards of the church of St Mary-in-Foro, most likely dating from the pre-Black Death commercial zenith of the town. That 16<sup>th</sup>-century 42, 43, and 49 High Street were built on this line certainly precludes later encroachment, and it

could suggest that commercial pressure was most intense at the eastern end of the market.

### 4.5 The town c.1500-1800

#### 4.5.1 Buildings

Lewes has 239 surviving buildings and monuments that date from between 1500 and 1800: 42 from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, 32 from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and 164 from the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>340</sup> The latter includes 13 substantial flint and brick property boundary walls that have been dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> century (but which may prove otherwise), and 19 tombs, and also is likely to include several buildings that were simply re-fronted at this date.

All except three of the 42 surviving 16<sup>th</sup>-century buildings in Lewes are timber framed. Many of these buildings have continuous jetties, and mark the demise of open halls. Nos. 49, 50 and 51 Southover High Street are good examples of the type, with exposed timber framing of close-studding on the first floor, although the ground floor in each has been underbuilt in masonry.



Fig. 31. 49, 50 and 51 Southover High Street.

With the demolitions of the Lord's Place (adapted from the prior's lodging) soon after 1668<sup>341</sup> and, in 1846, the mansion created on the site of the Grey Friars,<sup>342</sup> Lewes lost its 16<sup>th</sup>-century adaptations of dissolved monastic houses. However, stone from the priory appears to have been used at surviving Southover Grange, built of Caen stone in 1572. Certainly the walls then built up around its substantial garden include Quarr stone, almost never used outside the immediate vicinity of the Isle of Wight and Hampshire after the early 12<sup>th</sup> century and, thus, likely to originate from the priory, where it was employed extensively.



Fig. 32. 18<sup>th</sup>-century 15-16 (The Caprons) Keere Street, with Southover Grange, Southover High Street (1572) beyond.

Of the 32 17<sup>th</sup>-century buildings, at least 20 have timber frames. One example, Brack Mound House, represents an early survival of re-use of the castle site. Almost all these timber-framed buildings were clad or re-fronted in the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Amongst the clad buildings, is the timber-framed gentry lodging house of 1640-80 called The Great House, and now represented by 4-8 Cliffe High Street (although no. 7 is a modern replacement for part of the structure).<sup>343</sup>

Nine timber-framed buildings of the 18<sup>th</sup> century have been identified to-date. Systematic study of the townhouses of Lewes may produce more timber frames of this period or evidence that many of the apparently 18<sup>th</sup>-century buildings hide earlier timber framing. While 39 of the 134 18<sup>th</sup>-century buildings have stuccoed, or partly stuccoed, façades, 22 have the more unusual mathematical tiles simulating brickwork on both flat elevations and bow windows.



Fig. 33. 199 and 200 High Street (School Hill): late 18<sup>th</sup>-century mathematical tiles and wooden quoins.

18<sup>th</sup>-century townhouses are especially numerous on School Hill and on St Anne's Hill. On a more modest scale, the row of cottages at 7-17 Fisher Street, or the row of houses at 9-11 Market Street (here with successive bands of brick, black mathematical tiles, and tile-hanging), anticipate 19<sup>th</sup>-century terrace housing.

To the surviving 18<sup>th</sup>-century houses can be added numerous instances where new façades were added to earlier timber-framed buildings: Lewes is unusual in that few such earlier buildings escaped this type of treatment in the 18<sup>th</sup> century or in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Such re-fronting ranges from impressive wholly new façades of brick or mathematical tile (such as the early-mid 18<sup>th</sup>-century façade of no. 33, School Hill House, School Hill) to the more modest use of stucco or tile-hanging.



Fig. 34. Georgian grandeur in School Hill: nos. 211 (early 18<sup>th</sup> century), 212 (mid 18<sup>th</sup> century), and 213 (early 18<sup>th</sup>-century façade to 16<sup>th</sup> century house).

The 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century conversion of the castle from ruinous defence to recreational and commercial use has left some permanent remains despite 19<sup>th</sup>-century restoration. The rusticated doorway to the west tower of the keep survives as a record of Thomas Friend's pleasure of the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. The bowling green pavilion is a rare such survival from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and also of this date are the maltings (now East Sussex Record Office) and

the large residences within Castleward (Castle Lodge, Castlegate House and Castle Precincts).



Fig. 35. Late 18<sup>th</sup>-century former store of Beard's brewery, Castle Ditch Lane.

Industrial buildings survive from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. 16 Station Street hides an early to mid 18<sup>th</sup>-century timber-framed maltings behind a late 19<sup>th</sup>-century façade. This was replaced by a late 18<sup>th</sup>-century flint and brick maltings (see above), in Castle Precincts, nearer to Beard's brewery, of which the brick and cobble late 18<sup>th</sup>-century store in Castle Ditch Lane, and the brick, stone, and flint brewery in Fisher Street, also survive.

The architectural changes to the parish churches of Lewes during the period 1500-1800 were generally modest, with the most significant – and still visible – comprising the rebuilding in brick of the west tower at St John the Baptist in 1714-38, and the rebuilding of much of the nave of St Michael's church in 1748.<sup>344</sup>

Other church and nonconformist buildings survive from this period. The Westgate Chapel is the most remarkable of these, being converted into a Unitarian chapel in 1698 from a timber-framed house of 1583.<sup>345</sup> The flint and brick General Baptist Chapel, Eastport Lane, dates from 1741, but is now a house. The Friends' Meeting House and adjoining cottage, Friars Walk, is dated 1784, faced with mathematical tiles, and remains in use by Quakers.

Several secular institutional buildings survive from the period: the Old Poor House, Castle Banks (for the parish of St John-sub-Castle) dates from 1633; the workhouse, or almshouse, for All Saints (now 31 High Street) dates from 1730; and the Market House dates from 1792.



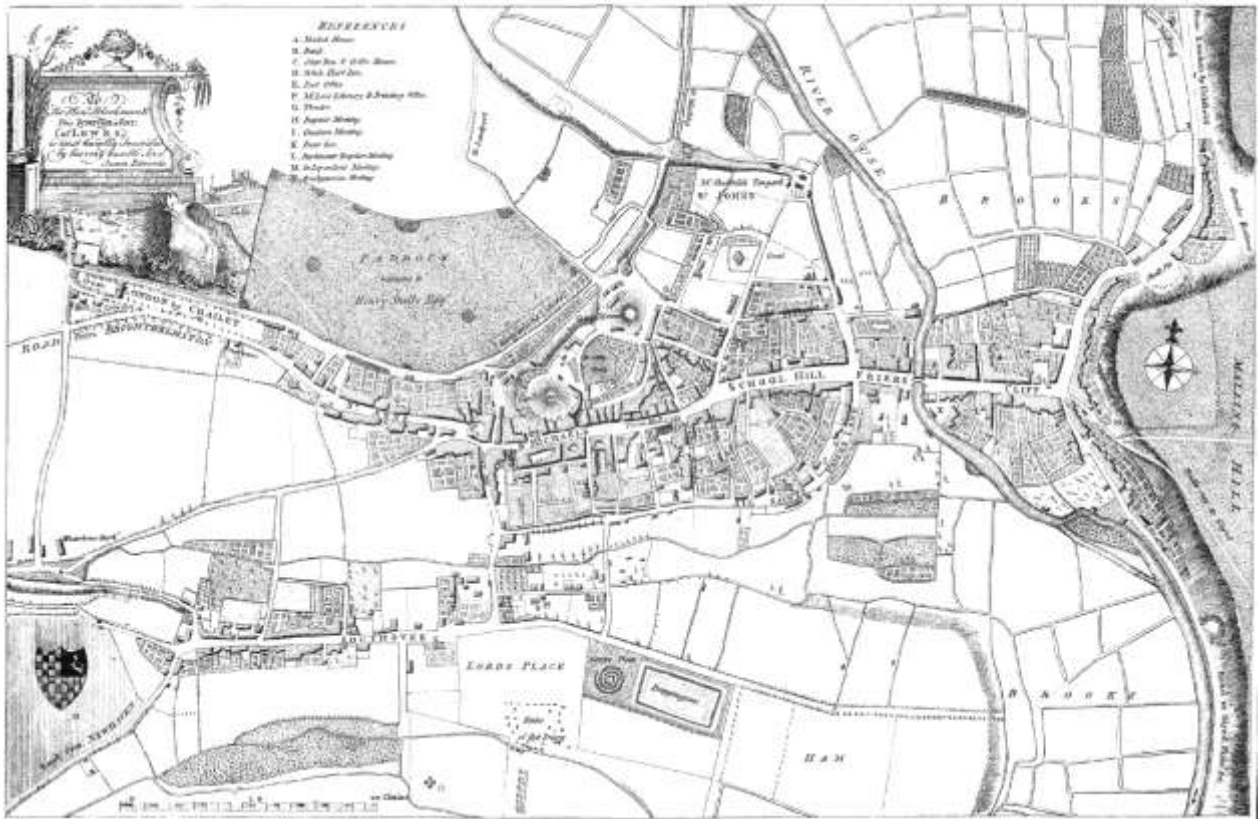


Fig. 36. James Edwards' map of Lewes, 1799.

#### 4.5.2 Excavations (Map 5)

The excavations in Lewes have less value for this period, as a result of focus on earlier periods, and disturbance of later layers. The most informative have been those on the northern side of the town (at **Edward Street**,<sup>346</sup> **St John Street**,<sup>347</sup> **Brook Street**,<sup>348</sup> **Lancaster Street**,<sup>349</sup> and **North Street**<sup>350</sup>) which suggest that much of the area between Brack Mount and the church of St John-sub-Castro (abandoned by the 14<sup>th</sup> century) remained open until c.1800.

#### 4.5.3 Topography (Maps 11-13)

There was little large-scale re-organization of Lewes between 1500 and 1800 to upset the medieval topography. Growth was largely confined to rebuilding or reoccupation of tenements abandoned to gardens and yards in the late medieval period, including ribbon development along the historic routes into the town (e.g. on St Anne's Hill, Southover High Street, and Malling Street and South Street at Cliffe).

Finer topographic detail is possible to determine between 1500 and 1800 than for earlier periods with the survival of several maps of the town, from that of 1620 by George Randoll to the detailed maps by William Figg<sup>351</sup> and James

Edwards, both 1799. Such detail includes the location of key lost institutions such as the old sessions house and town hall (1565, rebuilt 1761, demolished 1810<sup>352</sup>), located in the High Street in front of White Hart; the Market House (1564, rebuilt 1649, and demolished 1791), built at the High Street entrance to Castlegate; and the house of correction built at Cliffe in 1610 (to the rear of 50-1 Cliffe High Street), replaced by the new building in North Street in 1793.

Post-Dissolution depopulation of Southover saw considerable change in this area as it became a focus for the development of the brewing and tanning industries, with ready water supply ensured by the Winterbourne. Although the substantial Southover mansion of the Lord's Place no longer survives, the motte-like mound known as The Mount and the adjacent sunken Dripping Pan are likely to have originated as features of its garden in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century: certainly 'Mount garden' existed by 1604.<sup>353</sup> On the edge of the town, the most substantial change was modification of the routes leading to the town, most dramatically in the form of the new Brighton Road (1770 – see section 3.3.1).

Cliffe was distinguished in this period by five open sewers that crossed the High Street. On the basis of historic buildings that respect the sewers, it appears that they were in existence by



the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, and were covered over in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. That they were effective in keep the water table low in this area of reclaimed land is evident by the existence of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century cellars at 4 and 12 Cliffe High Street.<sup>354</sup>

## 4.6 Expansion: c.1800-2005 (Maps 1, 3 and 4)

### 4.6.1 Buildings and topography



Fig. 37. Waterloo Place: early 19<sup>th</sup>-century terrace with brick façade to flint-rubble walling.

The majority of the buildings in Lewes date from this period, not so much as a result of loss of earlier buildings, but through expansion of the town. This growth was significant in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and, again, after 1945, although the arrival of the railway in 1846 did not have the impact seen elsewhere.

There are 213 buildings, or groups of buildings, dating from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and this is varied and scattered infill similar to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century houses, with an important exception: after late medieval abandonment the area between Brack Mount and the church of St John-sub-Castro was developed between c.1800 and 1825. The surviving cottages of Sun Street are almost all of this period and are in sharp contrast to the more uniform terracing that began to appear in significant numbers at this time. Surviving early 19<sup>th</sup>-century examples include 8-

12 Little East Street (grey brick with red brick quoins); 1-11 New Road (modest cottages with red and grey brick in chequer pattern); 5-9 and 10-14 Mount Pleasant (red and grey brick, nos. 5-9 with more decorative treatment); Priory Crescent (stucco and stock brick); and 1-9 and Penrha, Waterloo Place. The façade of the latter is red and grey brick with cement bands between the three storeys across the whole terrace, but the visible flint rubble of the back of the terrace confirms that local materials still played a key role in the pre-railway housing in Lewes. Similar use of flint is found in the side and rear walls of the more sophisticated terrace at 2-10 Albion Street, with its stucco façade replete with rusticated ground floor and continuous iron balcony.

Building of more substantial townhouses continued in the areas previously built up, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Grand examples are the street-front range of Lewes House, 32 High Street (School Hill), and Amon Wild's 63-7 High Street, both of c.1810. Other early 19<sup>th</sup>-century townhouses include 13 and 83 High Street. Both these employ mathematical tiles, evidently as popular as in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century for it is found at 30 of the other buildings dating from 1800 to 1840.



Fig. 38. 34 High Street (School Hill): early 19<sup>th</sup>-century stucco refacing of 16<sup>th</sup>-century timber-framed townhouse.

Re-fronting of earlier townhouses continued apace, with mathematical tile (as applied to the 17<sup>th</sup>-century timber frame at 159 and 160 High Street), but with more frequent use of stucco and

tile-hanging, either wholly disguising the underlying timber-framed construction (as at 16<sup>th</sup>-century 34 High Street) or simply covering the timber studs (as at 53-4 High Street, where jetties remain plainly visible).



Fig. 39. Cliffe High Street: south side as rebuilt after 1828.

More radical rebuilding and re-fronting was occasioned as a result of the Cliffe Improvement Act 1828, which, though seemingly only partly implemented, had a considerable effect on the south side of Cliffe High Street, with demolitions to allow widening, and most of the buildings here date from this period.<sup>355</sup> The Act also led to covering over of the open sewers. With its proximity to the river and its associated warehouses and industrial buildings, the commercial success of Cliffe High Street was inevitable in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The survival of shops along the entire street in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, is in sharp contrast to Southover, where the commercial and industrial character (still evident in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most notably in the tannery and breweries) has been entirely lost.

Although delayed and restrained, new housing ushered in by the railway developed along newly created roads and with use of non-local materials and styles. Later 19<sup>th</sup>-century examples include large terraced housing on Grange Road with two-storied bay windows and attics with cement faux timber framing. Some half-hearted attempts at adopting local, or regional, features appear to be in evidence just before 1900, however, as at the tile-hung first floors of the terrace housing in Dorset Road, though still very subordinate to more general Late Victorian suburban design.

Large-scale, often detached, villas were a feature of late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Lewes, as seen at Rotten Row. However, they are more frequently found outside the EUS study area, as in the newly set-out streets at Wallands Park (e.g. Prince Edward's Road and King Henry's Road). Likewise, the extensive 20<sup>th</sup>-century suburbs, with their increased provision of semi-detached housing but also including flats (as at Landport), fall almost entirely outside the EUS study area.

Industrial buildings survive in considerable numbers from this period. Early 19<sup>th</sup>-century examples include Harveys brewery (heavily remodelled c.1881), and the former malthouse and Harper and Eade warehouse (now flats) in Foundry Lane. The former Stricklands Warehouse (now converted to residential use) on Railway Lane dates from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, and has a cast-iron frame and, like many 19<sup>th</sup>-century buildings in the town, is faced with slate-hanging. North of Stricklands, the right bank of the River Ouse is lined warehouses (and a school building) of the later 19<sup>th</sup>-century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, culminating in the mid 19<sup>th</sup>-century Riverside Centre, also of cast-iron construction. These buildings record the functional nature of the river frontage at this time.



Fig. 40. Warehouses on the west side of the River Ouse, south of Lewes Bridge, from Riverside (foreground) to Stricklands Warehouse.





Fig. 41. Former Methodist church, Station Street (1867).

The parish churches of Lewes saw significant change with religious revivalism (and a newly expanded population) in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: most radically, St John-sub-Castro was demolished and a new brick church was built on a north-south axis nearby in the churchyard (1839); only the medieval west tower survived the rebuilding of All Saints, with the brick nave dating from 1806, and its east end from 1883; St John the Baptist, Southover, saw addition of the a south chapel to house the newly found relics of William de Warenne and Gundrada (1847), and the rebuilding of the chancel in 1885; and St Anne's saw substantial restoration (e.g. exterior of chancel) in 1889.<sup>356</sup>

Numerous other surviving church and nonconformist buildings date from after 1800. Of particular interest is the massive Jireh Strict Baptist (i.e. Calvinistic Independent) chapel, Malling Street, built (and clad with mathematical tiles and slat-hanging) in 1805 and subsequently expanded with its adjacent Sunday school. Equally ambitious was the Baptist church at Eastgate Street was built in 1843, in Romanesque style in flint and stone. Smaller Providence Baptist chapels at Lancaster Street (c.1860) and Little East Street (1906; built as a mission hall) have been converted, respectively to a theatre and residential use. The brick-built Methodist church in Station Street (1867) has likewise been converted, in this case to commercial use. The Roman Catholic church of

The Sacred Heart and St Pancras, High Street, was rebuilt c.1939 in red brick and flint.<sup>357</sup>

Secular institutional buildings are well represented from this period. The wide-fronted County Hall, High Street, (now the Law Courts) was built of Portland stone and Coade stone in 1808-12 to replace the 1761 sessions house and town hall; the police house, Lancaster Street (1842); the polychrome brick and stone Gothic Revival former library, Fitzroy House, High Street (1862); the red brick Town Hall, High Street (1893); and, in castellated style and flint, brick, and stone, Lewes Prison (1850-5).

Schools surviving from the 19<sup>th</sup> century include: the flint, brick and stone Old Grammar School, High Street (1851); the flint and brick National School at the corner of St Mary's Lane (now Station Street) and Southover Road (1840); the National School at St James Street, off Southover High Street (1871), now a hall; the National School at De Montfort Road (1872), now part of the tertiary college; and The Pells Primary School, Pelham Terrace (1897). The Gothic Revival art school in Albion Street (1868) survives as the public library.



Fig. 42. The former National School, Southover Road (1840).

## 5 STATEMENT OF HISTORIC URBAN CHARACTER

### 5.1 Town summary

#### 5.1.1 Historic environment overview

Lewes has retained its county town function, seeing significant expansion and redevelopment of shops and offices. Yet it retains much of its historic fabric: despite the arrival of the railway in 1846, mid and later 19<sup>th</sup>-century expansion was desultory and that of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has tended to add to rather than destroy the earlier town. The high streets of the borough and of the ancient suburbs of Cliffe and Southover are closely lined with pre-1840 buildings. The Norman castle dominates the town, and the ruinous priory marks the southern edge of the built-up area. Less visible is the archaeological evidence of the earlier town, whose origins lie in the 9<sup>th</sup>-century burh and, possibly, an earlier minster church. The potential of this archaeology has begun to be realized through a series of excavations.

#### 5.1.2 Historic environment designations (Map 4)

There are 508 listed buildings, groups of buildings (e.g. terraces) or structures (e.g. property boundary walls, or tombs) in the EUS study area (eight Grade I, 19 Grade II\*, and 481 Grade II). Of these, 29 predate 1500; 42 are 16<sup>th</sup> century; 31 are 17<sup>th</sup> century; 164 are 18<sup>th</sup> century; 209 are early 19<sup>th</sup> century; 25 are 1841-80; and eight are post-1880.<sup>358</sup>

There are an additional 11 important historic buildings recognized in this assessment that have not been listed, including a 17<sup>th</sup>-century timber-framed house (8 Cliffe High Street).

Lewes has a Conservation Area. There are five Scheduled Monuments in the town: the Cluniac priory, the Norman castle, the medieval chapel of the hospital of St James, The Mount north-east of the priory, and a section of Green Wall east of Waterloo Place. The scheduled Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Saxonbury lies immediately outside the EUS study area.

#### 5.1.3 Historic building materials

The pre-1700 townhouses of Lewes are almost all timber framed, although there are a few surviving brick and flint houses from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Earlier large-scale domestic buildings (such as

16<sup>th</sup>-century Southover Grange) and, especially, the medieval parish churches, the priory, the castle, and the town walls are of stone. Caen stone and flint rubble predominate, but Quarr stone was used at St John-sub-Castro and the priory: since the Dissolution, Caen and Quarr from the latter have been re-used elsewhere, such as in the walls of Southover Grange. After 1700, brick is the dominant building material (the principal material at 172 of the houses of this date). Flint is used as the main material at 32 houses, but this probably seriously undervalues its importance in the pre-railway period since it was increasingly hidden by stucco and other cladding. Such cladding of timber-framed and flint-rubble buildings includes mathematical tiles (survives on 65 buildings), tile-hanging (also 65 buildings), stucco/render (140 buildings) and slate-hanging (concentrated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and found on 19 buildings). Unusually, timber framing after 1700 is employed in at least 14 buildings but, given the prevalence of clad buildings and the lack of systematic analysis of historic buildings in the town, could be even more widespread.

### 5.2 Historic Character Types

#### 5.2.1 Historic Character Types and chronology (Maps 6-15)

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 20<sup>th</sup>-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 6-15) 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 Lewes (Maps 14 and 15)

Although Historic Character Types represent county-wide types, modern Lewes 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 town and the comparatively good preservation of medieval buildings and plot boundaries. The considerable extent of *irregular historic plots* reflects the survival of areas that saw later medieval abandonment and post-medieval (especially 18<sup>th</sup>-century) reorganization and expansion.

## 5.3 Historic Urban Character Areas (Maps 16 and 17)

### 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 7 in Lewes combines five Historic Character Types that represent a *religious house*

dating from Period 5 (i.e. 1066-1149); a *church/churchyard* that, while dating from Period 6 (1150-1349) itself, derives its character in part from the *religious house* of Period 7; the comparatively open spaces of a *sports field* and a *market garden*, both originating in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; and the intrusive railway (categorized as *stations, sidings and track*) of 1846. Combining this complexity into a single HUCA called *Priory*, however, 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 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century development and that it is misleading to assume complete destruction. Also, whilst pre-urban archaeology (such as the prehistoric and Romano-British features and finds located in Lewes) 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 18)

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 Lewes 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 Lewes (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 Lewes's Historic Urban Character Areas (Maps 16 and 17)

The following assessments of the Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs) of Lewes 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 – central (HEV 5)**

HUCA 1 is in the centre of the Anglo-Saxon (representing the likely core of the Alfredian burh) and the modern town.

Today the area is dominated by the continuously built-up street frontage of the High Street between Westgate and the War Memorial. There are 73 listed buildings, groups of buildings, or monuments (26 Grade II; six Grade II\*; and one Grade I), of which seven are Period 6 (1150-1349), three are Period 7 (1350-1499), 11 are Period 8 (16<sup>th</sup> century), five are Period 9 (17<sup>th</sup> century), and 27 are Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century). Particularly remarkable is the almost unbroken run of listed buildings along both sides of this 350m section of the High Street. Within this certain key buildings stand out: St Michael's church, with its round west tower of (at least) 13<sup>th</sup>-century date (Grade I); the remains of the 13<sup>th</sup>-century town wall along Westgate Street; the important small group of early 14<sup>th</sup>-century undercrofts to commercial townhouses at 66, 70-2, and the Town Hall, High Street; the 14<sup>th</sup>-century timber framing of 74-5 High Street; 15<sup>th</sup>-century Bull House (Grade II\*); the 16<sup>th</sup>-century White Hart Hotel (re-fronted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century); the Westgate Chapel, converted in 1698 from a 16<sup>th</sup>-century timber-framed building (Grade II\*); and the wide frontage of the Law Courts (1808-12: Grade II\*).

Burgage plots are hard to determine since the plots rarely extend beyond the confusion of buildings along the street frontages, though the antiquity of many of these buildings suggests that the earliest boundaries are marked by some party walls and that there has been later subdivision. The grid of lanes running back from the High Street is partly preserved (especially on the south side) and is likely to represent planning from the creation of the Alfredian burh (i.e. the late 9<sup>th</sup> century).

The survival of so many medieval and pre-1800 post-medieval buildings (and plots), the absence of substantial 20<sup>th</sup>-century redevelopment, and the likely coincidence of this area with the burh means that **archaeological potential** of nearly all of this HUCA is high.

The rarity of the survival and condition of the late medieval and post-medieval buildings; the completeness of historic street-front; historic associations (17 Protestant martyrs were burnt at the stake in the market place between 1555 and 1557); the visibility of the historic fabric; and the archaeological potential give this HUCA the very highest **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 5.

HUCA 1 has seen modest change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (principally through refitting of shops, but also with some replacement of buildings, such as the rebuilding of Newcastle House in 1928), but this has stabilized. The Historic Environment Value of the area, however, means that **vulnerability** is high. The present shops and business premises are vulnerable to change of occupancy or, even, change of use, with potential for considerable impact on the historic fabric and on the ancient and defining commercial character of the High Street.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the origins of the burh and the early development of the town (RQ4, RQ5, RQ6, and RQ9).

### **HUCA 2 Castle (HEV 5)**

HUCA 2 comprises the extent of the Norman castle (excluding small areas lost to housing and gardens on the High Street and at Mount Place/Castle Banks), and overlies part of the Anglo-Saxon burh.

Today the castle combines elements of the ruinous medieval castle with later houses and, on the south-east side, the buildings on the west side of Castle Ditch Lane clinging to the sloping defences. Most of the HUCA is a Scheduled Monument. There are 14 listed buildings (11 Grade II and three Grade I) of which five are Period 5 (1066-1149), one is Period 6 (1150-1349), one is Period 9 (17<sup>th</sup> century), and six are Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century). Of the Norman castle itself significant parts remain visible above ground: the two mottes survive, that to the south-west with remains of the 11<sup>th</sup>-century shell keep and two 13<sup>th</sup>-century turrets (Grade I); largely refaced sections of the late 11<sup>th</sup>-century curtain wall survive on the eastern side of the bailey; and the Norman gateway with adjacent contemporary walling and – most remarkably – its protective 14<sup>th</sup>-century barbican still provide access to the bailey (both Grade I). Less visible is a c.1100 barrel-vaulted undercroft preserved below an 18<sup>th</sup>-century house (Castle Precincts). Other large post-medieval houses were built within the bailey, with the earliest (Brack Mound) being a timber-framed building of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. East Sussex Record Office occupies a flint and brick former Maltings of c.1800 within the bailey. The earliest survival of non-military usage, however, is the bowling green, in existence by the early 17<sup>th</sup> century and preserving an 18<sup>th</sup>-century timber pavilion. As its name suggests, Castle Ditch Lane appears to occupy the former ditch, with the earliest

buildings on the castle side dating from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Although the post-medieval buildings within and adjacent to the castle have had an impact on the earlier deposits, much of the castle remains open and as yet not redeveloped or excavated, and thus the **archaeological potential** of nearly all of this HUCA is high.

The importance of the surviving elements of the medieval castle; the survival of post-medieval buildings; the visibility of much of the historic fabric (especially the keep, gatehouse, and barbican); and the archaeological potential give this HUCA the very highest **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 5.

The castle itself has seen no significant recent change. With most of the site scheduled, most of the buildings listed, and key elements of the castle within the care and ownership of the Sussex Archaeological Society, the **vulnerability** is low. Perhaps the greatest threats are to the rich archaeology through garden landscaping within the bailey, and through redevelopment of those areas (especially Castle Ditch Lane) outside the Scheduled Monument.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the origins and development of the castle (RQ12 and RQ18).

### **HUCA 3 School Hill (HEV 4)**

HUCA 3 lies just to the east of the probable position of the Anglo-Saxon burh, and represents an early suburb (probably built-up in the 11<sup>th</sup> century) focused on the continuation of the High Street towards the bridge over the River Ouse.

Today the area remains dominated by the continuously built-up frontage (largely comprising shops and other business premises) of School Hill (as this part of the High Street is known). There are 62 listed buildings, groups of buildings, or monuments (59 Grade II; and three Grade II\*), of which four are Period 8 (16<sup>th</sup> century), three are Period 9 (17<sup>th</sup> century), and 33 are Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century). Particularly remarkable are the almost unbroken runs of listed buildings along the north side of School Hill and on the south side west of 30 High Street. Of particular importance are number of large-scale Georgian townhouses, or large-scale remodellings of earlier houses at this time: the Crown Hotel, High Street, with grey and red brick, and a central first-floor Venetian window (Grade II\*); Lewes House, 32 High Street (Grade II\*); School Hill House, 33 High Street (Grade

II\*); and, in particular, the consecutive run of 211, 212, and 213 High Street. Other significant buildings include the Market Tower, Market Street (1792); and the Gothic Revival public library in Albion Street (built as an art school in 1868). Burgage plots are generally hard to determine, but are better preserved on the south side of School Hill, where the historic lanes of Brooman's Lane, Church Twitten, and Walwers Lane also survive and indicate the irregular nature of the rear of plots in this area.

The survival of so many post-medieval historic buildings (and some earlier plots), and the known archaeology from the Saxo-Norman period onwards from evaluations and excavations in the area mean that **archaeological potential** of nearly all this HUCA is high.

The survival and condition of the post-medieval buildings; the completeness of historic street-front; the visibility of the historic fabric; and the archaeological potential give this HUCA a high **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 4.

HUCA 3 has seen significant change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. On School Hill and Market Street this has been through refitting of shops, but also through replacement of buildings (such as the rebuilding of 25-6 High Street). To the rear of these main thoroughfares more widespread demolition and redevelopment has occurred: e.g. the council offices south of Brooman's Lane, the bus depot on Eastgate Street, the car park on East Street, and 36-42 Friars Walk. Significant scope for further redevelopment of open areas of such plots or replacement of non-listed buildings combines with the considerable Historic Environment Value of the area and mean that **vulnerability** is high.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the early development of the town and its suburbs (RQ4, RQ5, RQ6, RQ7, RQ8, RQ9, RQ10 and RQ16).

### **HUCA 4 Southern lanes (HEV 4)**

HUCA 4 is in the centre of the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman town, and comprises the area of gridded lanes and twittens south of the High Street, but within the medieval borough walls.

Today the HUCA consists of a mixture of residential, office, and commercial buildings, together with gardens. There are 10 listed buildings (nine Grade II; one Grade II\*), of which one is Period 6 (1150-1349), one is Period 8 (16<sup>th</sup> century), one is Period 9 (17<sup>th</sup> century), and four are Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century). Pelham House, St Andrew's Lane (Grade II\*) is 16<sup>th</sup> century with



substantial rebuilding in brick as the Goring townhouse in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the most impressive in the HUCA. On the western and southern edge of the area, the medieval town walls (possibly overlaying the Anglo-Saxon burh defences for part of its length) survive, albeit in heavily patched and rebuilt form. 16 Station Street hides an early to mid-18<sup>th</sup>-century timber-framed maltings behind a late 19<sup>th</sup>-century façade.

Pre-1800 plots are poorly preserved, with the best survivals off Station Street. However, the lanes and twittens that survive probably represent early planning of the Anglo-Saxon burh. Moreover, the lines of contemporary lost lanes (such as that between, and parallel to, St Andrew's Lane and Station Street) are still marked by property boundaries.

The survival of the Anglo-Saxon gridded pattern of lanes, the probability of below-ground survival of Anglo-Saxon and medieval defences (large-scale features likely to resist serious truncation), the late medieval part abandonment of the area, and the survival of several open areas mean that **archaeological potential** of nearly all this HUCA is high.

The combination of surviving post-medieval buildings; the preservation of the Anglo-Saxon gridded pattern of lanes and twittens; the survival of lengths of the medieval town wall (and possibly, the 9<sup>th</sup>-century ramparts) and the archaeological potential give this HUCA a high **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 4.

Following the late medieval abandonment to gardens, redevelopment has been a feature of the area. The tunnelling of the railway line saw the creation of an entrance between St Martin's Lane and Watergate Lane (opened 1847); St Swithun's Terrace was created in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; and large-scale modern buildings include Southover House, Southover Road (the county planning department office), and Caburn Court, Station Street (flats). This degree of change and the lack of protection (for example, as Scheduled Monuments) for some of the key features of this HUCA mean that the **vulnerability** is high.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the origins of the burh and the early development of the town and its walls (RQ4, RQ5, RQ6, RQ9 and RQ21).

#### ***HUCA 5 Southover Grange (HEV 4)***

HUCA 5 lies between the ancient borough of Lewes and the suburb of Southover. It is

bisected by the stream known as the Winterbourne.

Today the area comprises the large house of Southover Grange (built 1572) and its extensive public gardens, and associated lodge and ancillary buildings. Southover Grange itself is the only listed building (Grade II\*), but the garden wall along Southover High Street and Eastport Lane, and the well and pump within the garden are listed too. The wall shows considerable evidence of re-used Caen and, more diagnostic of origins before the early to mid 12<sup>th</sup>-century, Quarr stone, with the obvious source being the dissolved priory. The Caen stone of the house might have been similarly sourced.

The open nature of the area, the lack of redevelopment, the survival of the historic house, and the known medieval dense occupation of the site (e.g. tenements stretching from Eastport Lane to the Winterbourne and, at the east end of the garden, the medieval grammar school) mean that the **archaeological potential** of this HUCA is high.

The rarity of the survival of a large stone-built 16<sup>th</sup>-century residence within the town; the preservation of re-used material almost certainly taken from the medieval priory; the visibility of the historic fabric; and the archaeological potential give this HUCA a high **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 4.

There has been almost no change to this HUCA in the last century. The historic components are all listed and redevelopment of the garden is implausible, so that the **vulnerability** of the HUCA remains low.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the development of early suburbs (RQ7, RQ8 and RQ10).

#### ***HUCA 6 Cliffe High Street (HEV 4)***

HUCA 6 lies east of the Anglo-Saxon town and the River Ouse, and comprises the core of the medieval and distinct suburb of Cliffe largely built on reclaimed land within the floodplain.

Today the area is focused on Cliffe High Street with its continuously built-up frontages mostly of shops, and includes the area between the east side of the southern end of Malling Street and Chapel Hill. There are 46 listed buildings (45 Grade II, and one Grade II\*), of which one is Period 6 (1150-1349), one is Period 7 (1350-1499), seven are Period 8 (16<sup>th</sup> century), six are Period 9 (17<sup>th</sup> century), six are Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century) and 25 are Period 11 (1800-40). These include the church of St Thomas at Cliffe, built of

stone and flint (with a Horsham stone roof), possibly with a 12<sup>th</sup>-century core to the chancel walls, but certainly largely in its present aisled form by the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and heavily rebuilt in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Like the church, other earlier listed buildings are concentrated on the north side of Cliffe High Street and on Chapel Hill, as the south side of Cliffe High Street was largely rebuilt after road-widening in 1828. Behind 19<sup>th</sup>-century tile-hanging, 12-13 Cliffe High Street is a late 15<sup>th</sup>-century Wealden house with former open hall and crown-post roof, together with a contemporary rear range. The demise of open halls is seen in the continuously jettied early 16<sup>th</sup>-century building adjacent (listed separately as 9 and 10, and 11 Cliffe High Street, and the Medieval House, English's Passage – the latter with its timber frame visible). There are five unlisted locally important historic buildings, one of which (8 Cliffe High Street) dates from 1640-80 and forms part of a major 17<sup>th</sup>-century timber-framed gentry lodging house called The Great House, extending as far west as 4 Cliffe High Street: nos. 4-6 survive and are listed, but no. 7 is a modern replacement for part of the structure. Also included amongst the non-listed buildings are the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century terraces of 1-9 English's Passage and that at North Court now forming part of a Harveys brewery warehouse. Some of the boundaries of the irregular historic plots survive.

The findings of archaeological excavations near the church, and the survival of historic buildings (and some plots) suggest that the **archaeological potential** of this HUCA is moderate to high (especially north of Cliffe High Street and in the Chapel Hill/Malling Street area).

The survival of the late medieval and post-medieval buildings, the completeness of historic street-front, and the archaeological potential give this HUCA a high **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 4.

HUCA 6 has seen modest change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (principally through refitting of shops). The Historic Environment Value of the area, however, means that **vulnerability** is high. The present shops and business premises are vulnerable to change of occupancy or, even, change of use, with potential for considerable impact on the historic fabric and on the ancient and defining commercial character of Cliffe High Street. Flood damage is a recurrent event in this part of Lewes.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the development of the river

crossing and early suburbs (RQ6, RQ7, RQ8 and RQ10).

### **HUCA 7 Priory (HEV 5)**

HUCA 7 lies on the southern edge of the medieval and modern town in the distinct suburb of Southover. It comprises low-lying land on the edge of the floodplain of the River Ouse.

Today the area is focused on the ruins of the medieval Cluniac priory and its former precinct, with much of the area comprising sports and playing fields and tennis courts. There are two Scheduled Monuments: the area of the ruins and excavated priory buildings (both south and north of the railway line), and the motte-like mound to the east called The Mount (possibly an Elizabethan garden feature for the Lord's Place – a mansion made from the prior's lodgings after the Dissolution, itself demolished after 1668). There are only two listed buildings, comprising the substantial upstanding remains of the Romanesque priory (the refectory wall, the so-called infirmary chapel, and the undercrofts, or basements, of the dormer and successive reredorters, or latrines: Grade I), and a mock-medieval round tower of mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century date.

The findings from the construction of the railway (1845-6) and more recent archaeological excavations, the survival of upstanding remains of the priory, and the open, undeveloped, nature of much of the area confirm that the **archaeological potential** of this HUCA is very high.

The survival of the priory ruins and the archaeological potential give this HUCA the very highest **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 5.

Although nothing more recently has matched the destructiveness of the railway slicing through the great church and adjacent monastic buildings in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed modest changes in HUCA 7. These comprise the increasing density of sports facilities and associated buildings, and the development of Southover nurseries (the latter overlies the site of the great church itself, and is now abandoned and, thus, vulnerable to re-use). The area of the upstanding monastic ruins has also long been the subject of questionable antiquarian exploration, with a consequent loss of stratified medieval deposits. Given the exceptional Historic Environment Value of the area, these factors suggest that **vulnerability** is high, notwithstanding the scheduled status of parts of the HUCA.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the origins and development of the priory (RQ11 and RQ18).

#### **HUCA 8 Southover High Street (HEV 4)**

HUCA 8 forms the core of the medieval suburb of Southover, built outside the borough of Lewes to serve the Cluniac priory. It also includes the northern part of the priory precinct, where built up along Southover High Street and Priory Street.

Today the area is focused on Southover High Street, largely with a continuously built-up street-front and, in contrast to its historic use, almost entirely residential in character. There are 76 listed buildings (74 Grade II, one Grade II\*, and one Grade I), of which three are Period 6 (1150-1349), one is Period 7 (1350-1499), ten are Period 8 (16<sup>th</sup> century), five are Period 9 (17<sup>th</sup> century), 34 (14 of which are tombs in the churchyard) are Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century) and 21 are Period 11 (1800-40). These include the church of St John the Baptist (Grade I), a parish church from the 13<sup>th</sup> or, more likely, 14<sup>th</sup> century, but possibly previously a hospital at the gates of the priory: certainly the piers of the arcade are 12<sup>th</sup> century. Otherwise the church is predominantly 14<sup>th</sup> century and later, and built of flint, stone and, in the case of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century tower, brick. Immediately adjacent to the east of the church, parts of the early 13<sup>th</sup>-century great gateway to the priory survive *in situ*, although the pedestrian outer arch has been relocated nearby (Grade II). To the west of the church, on the corner of Southover High Street and Cockshut Road a fragment of the medieval priory precinct wall survives: it is neither scheduled nor listed. Another early survival is the former chapel of the hospital of St James, built in flint with windows with cusped ogee heads, of 14<sup>th</sup>-century date (Grade II). Anne of Cleves House is a substantial building (now a museum owned by the Sussex Archaeological Society) of c.1500, combining timber-framed, brick and stone (and Horsham stone roof) construction, over a 14<sup>th</sup>-century cellar surviving from its predecessor (Grade II\*). Timber framing is found in nearly all the other 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>-century houses in the HUCA, most visibly in the close-studding of the continuous jetties at 16<sup>th</sup>-century 49, 50 and 51 Southover High Street, but also plainly discernible in the rendered jetties of 17-19 Southover High Street (a former inn – the Swan). At Fairhall, Southover High Street, 18<sup>th</sup>-century cladding in mathematical tile maintains the side jetty of the underlying 16<sup>th</sup>-century timber frame, to curious effect. Mathematical tiles are also used at wholly

18<sup>th</sup>-century Southover Old House, and 12/13 Southover High Street.

The antiquity of the suburb, the inclusion of part of the medieval priory precinct, and the survival of historic buildings (and some plots) suggest that the **archaeological potential** of this HUCA is high.

The survival of the medieval and post-medieval buildings, the completeness of historic street-front, and the archaeological potential give this HUCA a high **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 4.

HUCA 8 has seen modest change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, principally through conversion of commercial premises to residences, but also with some redevelopment such as the building of The Rectory, Southover Cottage, garages west of Cockshut Road, and houses between the church and the railway line. Minor adjustments have been made to the roads at the west end of Southover High Street in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Bell Lane was widened leading to the demolition of the Old Brewery House, and the entrance to Jugg's Road has been moved northwards. The scope for further similar changes is reduced (the area is more built up, and change of use is unlikely now that most commercial premises have already gone), but small-scale infill and rebuilding of non-listed houses remains possible, which, given the considerable Historic Environment Value of the area, mean that **vulnerability** is medium to high.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the early development of suburbs and late medieval decline (RQ7, RQ8, RQ10 and RQ19).

#### **HUCA 9 Westout (HEV 4)**

HUCA 9 lies to the west of the probable location of the Anglo-Saxon burh, but represents an early suburb (possibly pre-Conquest). The area extends from Westgate to the western limit of the medieval borough (i.e. junction of the eastern end of St Anne's Crescent and High Street).

Today the area is focused on the continuously built-up street frontage of the High Street (here also known as St Anne's Hill), but includes Keere Street and the western side of Westgate Street. There are 69 listed buildings, groups of buildings, or monuments (65 Grade II; four Grade II\*; and one Grade I), of which one is Period 5 (1066-1149), one is Period 7 (1350-1499), six are Period 8 (16<sup>th</sup> century), seven are Period 9 (17<sup>th</sup> century), 29 (including three tombs) are Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century), and 18 are Period 11 (1800-40). Particularly remarkable is



the density of listed buildings along both sides of the 300m section of the High Street east of the churchyard of St Anne's, and on Keere Street. Within this section, certain key buildings stand out: St Anne's church (formerly known as St Mary Westout), is the only parish church in the town with substantial Norman fabric: the nave, west tower, chancel (the western part thereof) and a south chapel (or single-armed transept) all date to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century. An aisle was added on the south side in the 1190s, with the inserted arcade of cylindrical piers with square abaci and stiff-leaf capitals. The earliest known house is late 15<sup>th</sup>-century 99-100 High Street (on the corner with Keere Street) which has continuous jetties to both faces, a dragon beam, close-studding, and arch braces. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century houses are also timber framed, but mostly clad: the visible continuous jetty at 27 Keere Street is an exception, but even this is underbuilt in brick. Flint building is first seen at the 17<sup>th</sup>-century cottages of 25/6 Keere Street, and on a grander scale at late 17<sup>th</sup>-century 139 High Street (with Horsham stone roof). 18<sup>th</sup>-century houses are predominantly of brick construction, but include flint, mathematical tiles, and stucco. St Anne's House, 111 High Street is a particularly impressive brick-built house of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (Grade II\*), as is the early to mid 18<sup>th</sup>-century The Caprons, 15-16 Keere Street (Grade II\*). Although originating in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Shelleys Hotel, High Street, was extended and acquired its wide rendered frontage with modillioned cornice in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and is the most substantial townhouse in the HUCA (Grade II\*). Some irregular historic plot boundaries survive.

The survival of so many medieval and pre-1800 post-medieval buildings, the absence of substantial 20<sup>th</sup>-century redevelopment, and known early medieval occupation of this part of the town (as well as the discovery of prehistoric cremations near St Anne's church) mean that **archaeological potential** of nearly all this HUCA is high.

The survival and condition of the medieval and, especially, post-medieval buildings; the completeness of the historic street-front; and the archaeological potential give this HUCA a high **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 4.

HUCA 9 has seen modest change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (principally infill housing at the rear of plots on the north side of the High Street), but scope for further change is reduced. The Historic Environment Value of the area, however, means that **vulnerability** remains relatively high. Perhaps the greatest threat is to structural alterations to listed buildings associated with

change of use, further small-scale infill, and replacement of non-listed buildings in the western part of the HUCA.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the early development of suburbs (RQ7, RQ8 and RQ10).

### **HUCA 10 Lewes bridge (HEV 4)**

HUCA 10 lies east of the Anglo-Saxon town, adjacent to the bridge over the River Ouse that separates the ancient borough of Lewes from Cliffe. This area continues to form part of the commercial centre of the modern town.

Today the area comprises the commercial frontages to High Street and Cliffe High Street, the bridge, and the built-up riverside. There are eight listed buildings (seven Grade II, and one Grade II\*), one is Period 9 (17<sup>th</sup> century), three are Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century), and two are Period 11 (1800-40). The area is remarkable for its preservation of elements of the historic commercial waterfront. The bridge itself dates from 1727 (replacing an earlier bridge), saw the addition of the northern pedestrian walkway in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and was widened on its south side in 1931. The right bank of the River Ouse south of the bridge has a near-continuous range of warehouses (and a former Sunday school building) ranging in date from the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century iron-framed examples to the north and south (respectively, the Riverside Centre and Stricklands – the latter slate hung), to the (unlisted but locally important) late 19<sup>th</sup>-century and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century examples in between. More important is Harveys brewery on the left bank above the bridge, an increasingly rare example of a town centre working brewery (Grade II\*). The red-brick brewery dates from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but was largely rebuilt c.1881. Away from the river, 220-1 High Street is an impressive wide-fronted townhouse of mid-18<sup>th</sup>-century date, built of Caen stone.

The presence of mostly post-1800 buildings and the findings of excavations nearby (at the friary site) suggest that the **archaeological potential** of nearly all this HUCA is moderate.

The survival of post-medieval buildings (especially those of a commercial or industrial nature), the relative completeness of historic waterfront, and the archaeological potential give this HUCA a high **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 4.

HUCA 10 has seen change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, principally through conversion of the warehouses to retail outlets and residences, but also with some replacement of buildings, such as the



replacement of the Bear Hotel, 58-9 Cliffe High Street, burnt down in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Harveys brewery has also continued to develop, especially internally. Although the Historic Environment Value of the area is high, scope for further change is limited, meaning that **vulnerability** is medium. Perhaps the greatest threat is to the unlisted but locally important warehouses, and loss of the defining commercial and light industrial character of the area (and to the structure and internal fitting of the building) should Harveys brewery cease to function on its historic site.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to early river crossings and the development of suburbs (RQ6, RQ7, RQ8 and RQ10).

### ***HUCA 11 St John-sub-Castro (HEV 3)***

HUCA 11 lies to the north of the castle, the probable site of the Anglo-Saxon burh, and the modern town centre. The area includes the church and churchyard of St John-sub-Castro, which may represent the remains of a larger pre-burh minster precinct.

Today the area chiefly comprises streets of terrace housing set out from c.1800. There are 71 listed buildings, groups of buildings, or monuments (all Grade II), of which two are Period 9 (17<sup>th</sup> century), five are Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century), and 59 are Period 11 (1800-40). This includes the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century rows of varied cottages in Sun Street (mixing cobblestone, brick, mathematical tiles, stucco, timber framing and weatherboard) and the near-contemporary but more unified terraces of 8-12 Little East Street and Waterloo Place: both of these are ostensibly of brick, but the rear elevation of the latter confirms widespread use of flint-rubble for the underlying structure. Although a replacement of 1839 for the medieval church, brick-built St John-sub-Castro has a reset 11<sup>th</sup>-century doorway and a reset arch inscribed with a text probably of c.1200 relating to an anchorite cell, both features being salvaged from the previous building.

The survival of so many historic buildings, the absence of substantial 20<sup>th</sup>-century redevelopment, and the results from several excavations in the area mean that the **archaeological potential** of nearly all of this HUCA is high.

The number of post-medieval buildings, the completeness of historic street-fronts (especially Sun Street), and the archaeological potential

give this HUCA an **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 3.

HUCA 11 has seen significant change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (principally through the loss of the Naval prison, and the loss of terrace housing north of Wellington Street and Spring Gardens). The Historic Environment Value of the area means that **vulnerability** is medium. Perhaps the greatest threats are to those demolition sites that now form car parks (thus especially susceptible to redevelopment) and to the replacement of the numerous unlisted 19<sup>th</sup>-century houses.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the putative minster, the origins of the burh, and the development of suburbs (RQ2, RQ3, RQ4, RQ5, RQ6, RQ7, RQ8 and RQ10).

### ***HUCA 12 Friars Walk (HEV 3)***

HUCA 12 lies to the south-east of the probable position of the Anglo-Saxon burh, and represents an early suburb (probably built-up in the 11<sup>th</sup> century) focused on the continuation of the High Street towards the bridge over the River Ouse, the rear of plots to School Hill, and the line of the medieval town wall (represented by the later road, Friars Walk).

Today the area remains dominated by the substantially built-up frontage (largely comprising public buildings and houses) of Friars Walk itself. There are 38 listed buildings, groups of buildings, or monuments (37 Grade II; and one Grade II\*), of which one is Period 7 (1350-1499), five are Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century), and 30 are Period 11 (1800-40). This includes medieval All Saints church, of which only the 15<sup>th</sup>-century west tower remains (the nave and chancel dating from 1806 and 1883, respectively); the adjacent Friends' (i.e. Quaker) Meeting House; and, on the corner of Friars Walk and High Street, Fitzroy House (formerly a library) built in Gothic Revival style in brick in 1862. The rows of grey brick houses formed by 1-15 and 19-31 Friars Walk and 15-27 Lansdown Place are early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and valuable for their continuous street frontages and early terrace housing. A more unusual survivor is 35 Friars Walk, an unlisted stock brick former Turkish bath-house of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

The survival of one medieval and numerous post-medieval historic buildings, and the known archaeology from the Saxo-Norman period onwards from evaluations and excavations in the area (including part of the site of the medieval Grey Friars itself) mean that **archaeological potential** of nearly all this HUCA is high where

recent redevelopment (and, often, associated archaeological excavation) has not already occurred.

The survival of All Saints church and, more numerous, the post-medieval buildings; the completeness of sections of the historic street-fronts; and the archaeological potential give this HUCA an **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 3.

HUCA 12 has seen substantial change since the Second World War. Most significantly, the railway goods depot and associated buildings have been demolished and replaced by magistrates courts; council offices have been built to the rear of the Friends' Meeting House, and subsequently replaced (2004-5) by the new public library; and All Saints church was made redundant 1975 (now a community centre). Further redevelopment (e.g. to the north and west of All Saints church) is possible, and means that **vulnerability** is medium.

**Research questions** especially relevant to this HUCA relate to early suburbs, the port and friary (RQ 7, RQ8, RQ10 and RQ18).

### **HUCA 13 South Street Cliffe (HEV 3)**

HUCA 13 lies south of the medieval core of the suburb of Cliffe. It comprises ribbon development along South Street, constrained by the rising Downs on the east and the river (and former wharves) on the west.

Today the area is dominated by 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century housing, with some shops and commercial premises. There are 12 listed buildings (all Grade II), of which one is Period 8 (16<sup>th</sup> century), six are Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century), and five are Period 11 (1800-40). These are concentrated in the area near the junction with Cliffe High Street, with buildings further south representing 19<sup>th</sup>-century expansion and rebuilding. Timber framing is represented by 16<sup>th</sup>-century 1 South Street, on the corner with Chapel Hill. Tile-hanging, mathematical tiles, and weatherboarding are also used, but brick is the dominant building material.

Although there have been no archaeological excavations in this area, the survival of several pre-1800 post-medieval historic buildings in the northern part of the HUCA and the proximity of this to the medieval church of St Thomas at Cliffe suggest that there is moderate **archaeological potential**.

The survival of several pre-1800 post-medieval buildings; the completeness of sections of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century street-front; and the archaeological

potential give this HUCA an **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 3.

HUCA 13 has seen modest change since the Second World War, limited to some rebuilding of houses and minor infilling. The survival of numerous unlisted 19<sup>th</sup>-century houses, however, means that **vulnerability** is medium, the main threat being demolition and replacement.

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

### **HUCA 14 Malling Street (HEV 2)**

HUCA 14 lies north of the medieval suburb of Cliffe, and largely comprises ribbon development along Malling Street (a main historic route).

Today, the area is a mixture of 19<sup>th</sup>-century housing and commercial premises. There are nine listed buildings and monuments (eight Grade II; one Grade I) of which one is Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century), and six are Period 11 (1800-40). The most remarkable of these is the Jireh Chapel, a Calvinistic Independent Chapel built in 1805 and extended in 1826 (Grade I). This is timber framed, with mathematical tiles and slate-hanging, and the adjacent Sunday school (1874) is of brick. The industrial nature of the area is recalled by Old Tanyard Cottage (itself a grey-brick house of c.1830) and, more directly, by the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century former brewery (now warehouses and offices) in Thomas Street (rendered). Brick-built Undercliffe House dates from 1860-70 and, with its Rhenish Helm roof and hillside location, is a distinctive Gothic Revival villa substantially predating similar Downland development, immediately to the south, at Cuilfail, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

There have been no archaeological excavations in this area and the survival of post-medieval historic buildings is limited, suggesting limited **archaeological potential** (mostly of an industrial nature) in those areas where there has not been major 20<sup>th</sup>-century redevelopment.

The survival of several post-medieval buildings, the completeness of sections of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century street-front, and the archaeological potential give this HUCA an **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 2.

HUCA 14 has seen radical change since 1970, with construction of the Cuilfail Tunnel and Phoenix Causeway resulting in destruction of 225m of the east side and 115m of the west side of Malling Street, and the re-routing of this ancient street. The minor streets of Hooper's Lane and Soap Factory Lane were swept away,

and the natural floodplain of the Brooks that fringed the west side of this HUCA was developed into an industrial estate. Change has stabilized, however, and **vulnerability** to the surviving historic environment is low, with the main threat being demolition and replacement of unlisted buildings (such as the 19<sup>th</sup>-century terraces) and flood damage.

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

### **HUCA 15 Cliffe riverside (HEV 1)**

HUCA 15 lies south-east of the medieval Cliffe High Street, and largely comprises riverside land long used for industrial purposes.

Today, the area is predominantly residential. There are two listed buildings (both Grade II) of which one is Period 10 (18<sup>th</sup> century), and one is Period 11 (1800-40). This includes an early 19<sup>th</sup>-century maltings in Foundry Lane, later converted to a warehouse (now flats) and built of brick and flint with slate-hanging. Most other evidence of the former industrial use (e.g. iron foundry, gasworks, timber yard, and brewery) has been lost (e.g. through late 20<sup>th</sup>-century housing such as Hillman Close), though the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century small terrace houses of Morris Road (built to house workers in this riverside industrial area) remain. The boat club at the southern end of the HUCA provides limited continuity with previous wharves in this area.

There have been no archaeological excavations in the area and the survival of post-medieval historic buildings is limited, suggesting limited **archaeological potential** perhaps concentrated in the riverside area near Cliff High Street in the northern part of the HUCA.

The survival of few post-medieval buildings; the quality of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century developments; and the archaeological potential give this HUCA an **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 1.

HUCA 15 has seen considerable change since 1945, with the loss of industrial buildings to redevelopment. Remaining commercial buildings are vulnerable to similar redevelopment, especially along the river frontage, but the value of the historic environment is such that **vulnerability** is low.

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

### **HUCA 16 Spital (HEV 2)**

HUCA 16 lies on the western edge of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century and modern town. It comprises the site of the medieval hospital of St Nicholas, areas of

18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century ribbon development along the western continuation of High Street, and the site of the barracks of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.

Today it is dominated by Lewes prison, with an adjacent mid 20<sup>th</sup>-century housing estate (South Down Avenue and Houndean Rise), and more mixed housing and commercial premises on Western Road/Spital Road. There are three listed buildings (all Grade II, and all 19<sup>th</sup> century). Of these the prison is the most significant, a vast flint, brick and stone building of 1850-5, emulating castle design with its machicolations.

Although located outside the medieval borough, the only partly excavated medieval hospital of St Nicholas suggests that there is further moderate **archaeological potential**.

The architectural quality of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century development, the absence of many historic buildings or many historic boundaries, and moderate 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 the hospital of St Nicholas (RQ13 and RQ18).

### **HUCA 17 Station (HEV 2)**

HUCA 17 partly overlies the north-east part of the medieval suburb Southover (where a tanyard was located on the Winterbourne) and extends to the south-east edge of the medieval borough.

Today it comprises the railway station and 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century housing to the west. There is one listed building – the extensive brick-built railway station of 1889 (replacing earlier stations to the north), complete with cast-iron platform buildings and extensive footbridge. To the west, Dorset Road was built on vacant land c.1900, and Tanners Brook on the site of the cattle market (opened c.1880, demolished 1994-5), in turn built on the site of the tannery (17<sup>th</sup> century or earlier). To the north of Tanners Brook two corrugated-iron sheds function as auction rooms, and represent 1920/30s survivors from the cattle market.

Although overlying, at least in part, medieval and early-post medieval Southover, the destructive redevelopment for the railway and subsequent cattle market and housing suggest limited **archaeological potential**.



The quality of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century development, the absence of many historic buildings (with the substantial exception of the station) or many historic boundaries, and limited archaeological potential give this HUCA a **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 2.

The Historic Environment Value of the area means that its **vulnerability** is low, the greatest threat being to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century station complex.

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

### **HUCA 18 Grange Road (HEV 1)**

HUCA 18 lies between the western part of the medieval suburb of Southover and the south-western edge of the medieval borough. It is bisected by the Winterbourne.

Today the HUCA comprises Southover C of E Primary School (occupying the site the County Grammar School for Girls, of 1913) and housing. The latter ranges from large (mostly detached) mid to late 19<sup>th</sup>-century villas on Rotten Row and the north side of Grange Row, to the large, late 19<sup>th</sup>-century terrace houses on the south side of Grange Row, and the early to mid 20<sup>th</sup>-century terraces of The Course and Cleeve Terrace. There are no listed buildings.

Most of this HUCA is located outside the pre-1800 town, but the open grounds of the school are adjacent to the site of the medieval hospital of St James, Southover Grange and the known areas of medieval Southover, suggest moderate **archaeological potential**.

The quality of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century development, the absence of historic buildings or many historic boundaries, and the moderate archaeological potential combine to give this HUCA an **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 1.

The Historic Environment Value of the HUCA means that its **vulnerability** is low, the greatest threat being loss of the open spaces of the school grounds and infill development within the gardens of the more substantial 19<sup>th</sup>-century villas on Rotten Row.

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

### **HUCA 19 Phoenix Causeway (HEV 1)**

HUCA 19 lies north-east of the medieval borough, occupying low-lying land in the floodplain on either side of the River Ouse. Its known usage has been for industry, stimulated by its riverside location. Until closure of the

Uckfield line in the 1960s it was bisected by the railway.

Today the HUCA still has a largely commercial character, with modern retail outlets on its short High Street frontage, a superstore to the north of this, and light industrial units along the right bank of the river. To the east of the river, the HUCA comprises public areas (car park, surgery, and the Phoenix Centre) created in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century from wharves and light industry. There is one listed building – early 19<sup>th</sup>-century brick-built 6 Eastgate Street (Grade II) with its distinctive first-floor band of five windows.

Most of this HUCA is located outside the pre-1800 town – or on the industrial fringes – and has been heavily redeveloped in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This suggests limited **archaeological potential**.

The quality of the predominant late 20<sup>th</sup>-century development, the absence of historic buildings or many historic boundaries, and the moderate archaeological potential combine to give this HUCA an **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 1.

HUCA 19 has seen radical change since 1945, with the removal of the railway line, the disappearance of the wharves, the replacement of the Phoenix ironworks with the Phoenix Place industrial estate, and the construction of Phoenix Causeway and the new road bridge over the River Ouse. Change has stabilized, however, and **vulnerability** to the (very minimal) surviving historic environment is low.

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

### **5.3.7 Summary table of Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs) for Lewes**

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 Lewes				
Historic Character Types (HCTs)	Historic Urban Character Area (HUCA)	Archaeological potential	Historic Environment Value (HEV)	Vulnerability
Regular burgage plots Church/churchyard Town defences Irregular historic plots	<b>1. High Street – central</b>	High	5	High
Castle Public	<b>2. Castle</b>	High	5	High
Regular burgage plots Irregular historic plots	<b>3. School Hill</b>	High	4	High
Irregular historic plots Town defences Suburb	<b>4. Southern lanes</b>	High	4	High
Informal parkland	<b>5. Southover Grange</b>	High	4	Low
Irregular historic plots Church/churchyard Retail and commercial Light industry Suburb	<b>6. Cliffe High Street</b>	Moderate to high	4	Relatively high
Religious house Market garden Station, sidings and track Sports field Church/churchyard	<b>7. Priory</b>	High	5	High
Irregular historic plots Light industry Church/churchyard Suburb	<b>8. Southover High Street</b>	High	4	Medium to high
Regular burgage plots Irregular historic plots Church/churchyard School/college Utility Suburb	<b>9. Westout</b>	High	4	Relatively high
Irregular historic plots Light industry	<b>10. Lewes bridge</b>	Moderate	4	Medium
Irregular historic plots Church/churchyard Allotments School/college Light industry Public	<b>11. St John-sub-Castro</b>	High	3	Medium

<b>Summary of assessment of Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs) for Lewes</b>				
<i>Historic Character Types (HCTs)</i>	<i>Historic Urban Character Area (HUCA)</i>	<i>Archaeological potential</i>	<i>Historic Environment Value (HEV)</i>	<i>Vulnerability</i>
Sports field Suburb				
Irregular historic plots Church/churchyard Retail and commercial Public Suburb	<b>12. Friars Walk</b>	High (where not already excavated)	3	<b>Medium</b>
Irregular historic plots Suburb	<b>13. South Street, Cliffe</b>	Moderate	3	<b>Medium</b>
Irregular historic plots Retail and commercial Suburb	<b>14. Malling Street</b>	Limited	2	<b>Low</b>
Irregular historic plots Quay/wharf Light industry Suburb	<b>15. Cliffe riverside</b>	Limited	1	<b>Low</b>
Public Irregular historic plots Mill Suburb	<b>16. Spital</b>	Moderate	2	<b>Low</b>
Station, sidings and track Irregular historic plots Light industry Public Suburb	<b>17. Station</b>	Limited	2	<b>Low</b>
Irregular historic plots Suburb School/college Utility	<b>18. Grange Road</b>	Moderate	1	<b>Low</b>
Retail and commercial Public Light industry	<b>19. Phoenix Causeway</b>	Limited	1	<b>Low</b>

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



## 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 Lewes should address:

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

### 6.2 Origins

**RQ2:** What was the location, form and construction detail (e.g. sculpture) of the Anglo-Saxon church(es)?

**RQ3:** Was there an identifiable minster precinct at St John-sub-Castro (or elsewhere), what was its nature, and how and when was it secularized and reduced to the present churchyard?

**RQ4:** What evidence is there for the location of the defences of the Alfredian burh?

**RQ5:** What evidence is there for Anglo-Saxon secular settlement (and its economy), both within and without the burh?

**RQ6:** What was the road layout, how did this evolve, and how did it relate to east-west routes, river crossings, a transhumant Downland-Wealden economy, and the burh?

### 6.3 Late Anglo-Saxon and Norman town

**RQ7:** What was the extent of the town and its suburbs in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, and to what degree did it change over this period?

**RQ8:** What evidence is there for the evolution of the street plan during this period, especially in relation to the expanding settlement and the development of suburbs?

**RQ9:** What evidence is there for early burgage plots, and when and where did built-up street frontages first occur?

**RQ10:** What different zones (especially with reference to the suburbs) were there during this period, and how did they change (assessing the

value of the Domesday Book evidence for late 11<sup>th</sup>-century change)?

**RQ11:** What archaeological evidence is there for the origins of the priory?

**RQ12:** What evidence is there for the origins and early development of the castle (especially with reference to the Brack Mount)?

**RQ13:** What evidence is there for the origins and form of the parish churches and hospitals?

**RQ14:** What was the location and form of the port, and what was the nature of the seaborne trade?

**RQ15:** What evidence is there for the economy of the town, especially with regard to its Downland and Wealden hinterland?

### 6.4 Later medieval town

**RQ16:** How have tenements/burgage plots developed from the first built-up street frontages to the plots that survive today?

**RQ17:** What different zones (e.g. social differentiation, or types of activity: especially consider industry) were there during this period, and how did they change?

**RQ18:** What evidence is there for the development of institutions, such as the castle, priory, friary, hospitals, chantries, and grammar school?

**RQ19:** What documentary and archaeological evidence is there for late medieval decline?

**RQ20:** What evidence can the standing buildings provide for their function and date (i.e. through dendrochronology), especially those on the main commercial streets?

**RQ21:** How and when did the town walls, gates and associated ditches develop?

### 6.5 Post-medieval town

**RQ22:** What different zones (e.g. social differentiation, or types of activity: especially consider the brewing and tanning industries) were there during this period, and how did they change?

**RQ23:** 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)?

## 7 Notes

---

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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).*

<sup>3</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 7-50; Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993); Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004).

<sup>4</sup> Sharp, M., Midgley, M., and Godfrey, W. H., in Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 7-50.

<sup>5</sup> Especially: Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993) and Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004).

<sup>6</sup> Norris, N. E. S., & Thomson, D., 'The Naval Prison site, Lewes', *SNQ* 16 (1963), 35.

<sup>7</sup> Thomson, D., 'Green Wall (Lewes)', *SNQ* 16 (1967), 337-9.

<sup>8</sup> Lyne, M., *Lewes Priory: Excavations by Richard Lewis 1969-82* (1997).

<sup>9</sup> Page, A. B., 'Excavations at Edward Street, Lewes, 1971', *SAC* 111 (1973), 113-114.

<sup>10</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Excavations in Lewes 1974', *SAC* 113 (1975), 66-84.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Further excavations in Lewes 1975', *SAC* 114 (1976), 176-93; O'Shea, E. W., 'Further Finds from Lewes Excavations, 1974-1976', *SAC* 118 (1980), 369-73.

<sup>13</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Excavations at Friar's Walk, Lewes, 1976', *SAC* 116 (1978), 179-97; O'Shea, E. W., 'Further Finds from Lewes Excavations, 1974-1976', *SAC* 118 (1980), 369-73.

<sup>14</sup> Locke, A., 'Excavations at Clothkits Warehouse Extension, Broomham's Lane, Lewes, by C. E. Knight-Farr, 1978', *SAC* 139 (2001), 227-34.

<sup>15</sup> Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', *SAC* 121 (1983), 52-77.

<sup>16</sup> Drewett, P., 'Excavations at Lewes Castle 1985-1988', *SAC* 130 (1992), 69-106.

<sup>17</sup> Gardiner, M., Russell, M., & Gregory, D., 'Excavations at Lewes Friary 1985-6 and 1988-9', *SAC* 134 (1996), 71-123. This was preceded by a trial excavation in 1981 to assess the potential of the site: Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', *SAC* 121 (1983), 52-77, at 66-9.

<sup>18</sup> Rudling, D., 'Excavations at Cliffe, Lewes, 1987 and 1988', *SAC* 129 (1991), 165-81.

<sup>19</sup> Russell, M., 'Excavations in Friar's Walk, Lewes, 1989', *SAC* 128 (1990), 141-56.

<sup>20</sup> Barber, L., and Siburn, L., *The Medieval Hospital of St Nicholas, Lewes, East Sussex: Excavations 1994* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1994/148, Dec 1998).

<sup>21</sup> Griffin, N., *Lewes House Library* (draft text for Sussex Past – the SAS newsletter – January 2005).

<sup>22</sup> The excavation by Archaeology South-East in 2005 (report forthcoming) was preceded by an evaluation in 2004: Griffin, N., *An Archaeological Evaluation of Land Adjacent to the Former Scout Headquarters, St John Street, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1980, Jan 2005).

<sup>23</sup> Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', *SAC* 121 (1983), 52-77, at 63-5.

<sup>24</sup> Page, A. B., 'The Lip of the Brack Mount Ditch Lewes', *SAC* 110 (1972), 123-4; Thomas, G., 'An archaeological discovery on Brack Mount, Lewes, East Sussex', *SAC* 139 (2001), 224-7.

<sup>25</sup> Barber, L., *An Archaeological Evaluation (Stage 1) on the former County Council store and adjacent land in Castle Ditch Lane, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1660, March 2003).

<sup>26</sup> James, R., *An Archaeological Watching Brief at Castle Lodge, Castle Precincts, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1251, July 2001); Riccoboni, P., *An Archaeological Watching Brief at Castle Lodge, Castle Gates, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1778, July 2004).

<sup>27</sup> Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', *SAC* 121 (1983), 52-77.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>30</sup> Bradley, J., & Gaimster, M., 'Medieval Britain and Ireland, 2002', *Medieval Archaeology* 47 (2003), 232.

<sup>31</sup> Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', *SAC* 121 (1983), 52-77, at 63.

<sup>32</sup> *SNQ*, 17 (1970-6), 184-8.

<sup>33</sup> Greatorex, C., *An Archaeological Field Evaluation of the Lewes House Site, High Street, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1240, June 2000).

<sup>34</sup> Unpublished excavation by C. E. (Jock) Knight-Farr and D. Thomson: see Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', *SAC* 121 (1983), 52-77, at 66.

<sup>35</sup> Sussex Archaeological Society newsletter 75 (Apr 1995), 7.

- <sup>36</sup> Littlewood, F., *An Archaeological Watching Brief at St Anne's Church, Lewes East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1255, Sept 2000).
- <sup>37</sup> Riccoboni, P., *An Archaeological Watching Brief at the proposed Lewes Library site: access road; Friars Walk, Lewes East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1789, Oct 2004).
- <sup>38</sup> The Wellington Street observations by Martin Bell are not published, but notes were deposited at Barbican House: Freke, D. J., 'Excavations in Lewes 1974', SAC 113 (1975), 66-84, at 76.
- <sup>39</sup> Robinson, D. A., & Williams, R. B. G., 'The landforms of Sussex', in Geographical Editorial Committee of the University of Sussex (eds.), *Sussex: Environment, Landscape and Society* (1983), 33-49, at 43-4.
- <sup>40</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 21-2.
- <sup>41</sup> Farrant, J., 'Growth of Communications 1840-1914', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 80-1.
- <sup>42</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Excavations in Lewes 1974', SAC 113 (1975), 66-84, at 78.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>44</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Further excavations in Lewes 1975', SAC 114 (1976), 176-93, at 179.
- <sup>45</sup> Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', SAC 121 (1983), 52-77, at 55-6.
- <sup>46</sup> Russell, M., 'Excavations in Friar's Walk, Lewes, 1989', SAC 128 (1990), 141-56, at 154.
- <sup>47</sup> Greatorex, C., *An Archaeological Field Evaluation of the Lewes House Site, High Street, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1240, June 2000), 11, 15-16.
- <sup>48</sup> Barber, L., and Siburn, L., *The Medieval Hospital of St Nicholas, Lewes, East Sussex: Excavations 1994* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1994/148, Dec 1998), 41-2.
- <sup>49</sup> Barber, L., *An Archaeological Evaluation (Stage 1) on the former County Council store and adjacent land in Castle Ditch Lane, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1660, March 2003), 12.
- <sup>50</sup> Lyne, M., *Lewes Priory: Excavations by Richard Lewis 1969-82* (1997), 81.
- <sup>51</sup> Drewett, P., & Hamilton, S., 'Marking time and making space: excavations and landscape studies at The Caburn hillfort, East Sussex, 1996-98', SAC 137 (1999), 7-37.
- <sup>52</sup> Margary, I. D., *Roman Ways in the Weald* (1948), 124-64, 185-203.
- <sup>53</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Excavations at Friar's Walk, Lewes, 1976', SAC 116 (1978), 179-97, at 194.
- <sup>54</sup> Russell, M., 'Excavations in Friar's Walk, Lewes, 1989', SAC 128 (1990), 141-56, at 147.
- <sup>55</sup> Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', SAC 121 (1983), 52-77, at 54.
- <sup>56</sup> Bleach, J., 'A Romano-British (?) barrow cemetery and the origins of Lewes', SAC 135 (1997), 131-42, at 134.
- <sup>57</sup> Ibid., 135.
- <sup>58</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid. 135-6.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid., 136.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid., 136-7.
- <sup>63</sup> Ibid., 137.
- <sup>64</sup> Craddock, J., 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Saxonbury, Lewes, East Sussex', SAC 117 (1979), 85-102.
- <sup>65</sup> See also: Bleach, J., 'A Romano-British (?) barrow cemetery and the origins of Lewes', SAC 135 (1997), 137.
- <sup>66</sup> Coates, R., 'Book notice: Forsberg, R., *The place-name Lewes: a study of its early spellings and etymology* (1997)', *Locus Focus* 2/2 (Autumn 1998), 18-19.
- <sup>67</sup> Ibid; Coates, R., 'Appendix A: The name of Lewes', in Bleach, J., 'A Romano-British (?) barrow cemetery and the origins of Lewes', SAC 135 (1997), 131-42, at 141-2.
- <sup>68</sup> Gelling, M., & Cole, A., *The Landscape of Place-names* (2000), 179.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>70</sup> For the traditional and obsolete view see (e.g.) Mawer, A., & Stenton, F. M., *The Place-names of Sussex* (1929-30; reprinted 2001), 318-19.
- <sup>71</sup> Coates, R., 'On the later history of the name Lewes', *Locus Focus* 3/1 (Spring 1999), 18-20; Whittick, C., Coates, R., & Leppard, M. J., 'More on the syllable count of Lewes', *Locus Focus* (Autumn, 1999), 8. Other examples of the monosyllabic (and indeed, disyllabic) pronunciation are given by contributors to later editions of *Locus Focus*.
- <sup>72</sup> Haslam, J., 'King Alfred and the Vikings – strategies and tactics, 876-886 AD', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 13 (forthcoming, 2006).
- <sup>73</sup> Gardiner, M., 'Economy and landscape change in pot-Roman and early medieval Sussex, 450-1175, in Rudling, D. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Sussex to AD 2000* (2003), 151-160, at 157.
- <sup>74</sup> Warne, H., *Ditchling Parish Survey: Its Topography ca.900-1984* (unpublished research project, 1998, copy at SAS library), 14.
- <sup>75</sup> Gardiner, M., 'Late Saxon Sussex c.650-1066', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 30-1.
- <sup>76</sup> Initially king of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, and only king of the English following the acquisition of Northumbria in 927.
- <sup>77</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 14, 32.
- <sup>78</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 21.
- <sup>79</sup> E.g. Rushton, N. S., 'Parochialization and patterns of patronage in 11<sup>th</sup>-century Sussex', SAC 137, 133-52, at 138.
- <sup>80</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 33.
- <sup>81</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 39.
- <sup>82</sup> Godfrey, W. H., 'The parish churches of Lewes in the 14<sup>th</sup> century', SAC 68 (1927), 170-7.
- <sup>83</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 12-13.



- <sup>84</sup> Gem, R., 'Review of Lyne, M., *Lewes Priory, Excavations by Richard Lewis 1969-82*', *Archaeological Journal* 155 (1998), 411-12.
- <sup>85</sup> Clay, C. T., 'Early Yorkshire Charters Vol. VIII: the Honour of Warenne', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (Extra Series)* 6 (1949), 54-5.
- <sup>86</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 118.
- <sup>87</sup> Pers. comm. Pamela Coombes in Whittick, C., 'Cartographic and documentary sources', in *Lewes Riverside: a report on the historical and archaeological significance of the Lower High Street and Cliffe High Street area* (unpubl. report, The Conservation Studio, February 2002), no pagination.
- <sup>88</sup> This is based on a multiplier of 450% applied to the 127 demesne burgesses, together with the 53 burgesses and 11 dwellings held of other manors, but excluding the Pevensey Rape dwellings and the 196 'sites', both of which are likely to have comprised, at least in part, inhabited dwellings.
- <sup>89</sup> Morris, J., (ed.), *Domesday Book: Sussex* (1976); Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 14.
- <sup>90</sup> Salzman, L. F., (ed.), 'The chartulary of the priory of St. Pancras of Lewes: Part 2', *SRS* 40 (1934), xxiii. In this Salzman corrects an earlier date of c.1089 given in error in: Salzman, L. F., (ed.), 'The chartulary of the priory of St. Pancras of Lewes: Part 1', *SRS* 38 (1932), 7-9.
- <sup>91</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 31.
- <sup>92</sup> Gardiner, M. F., *Medieval Settlement and Society in the Eastern Sussex Weald* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1995), 48-58.
- <sup>93</sup> Douglas, D., *William the Conqueror* (1964), 99-100.
- <sup>94</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 29.
- <sup>95</sup> Plummer, C. A., & Earle, J., *Two Saxon Chronicles parallel* (1892), vol. 1, 200.
- <sup>96</sup> Allen Brown, R., Colvin, H. M., Taylor, A. J., *The History of the King's Works: Volume I, The Middle Ages* (1963), 21-3.
- <sup>97</sup> Clay, C. T., 'Early Yorkshire Charters Vol. VIII: the Honour of Warenne', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (Extra Series)* 6 (1949), 54-66.
- <sup>98</sup> Clay, C. T., 'Early Yorkshire Charters Vol. VIII: the Honour of Warenne', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (Extra Series)* 6 (1949), 54-66.
- <sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 84-5, 97-8.
- <sup>100</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 14, 32; Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 52.
- <sup>101</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 22-3, 118.
- <sup>102</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 24.
- <sup>103</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 24.
- <sup>104</sup> Whittick, C., 'Cartographic and documentary sources', in *Lewes Riverside: a report on the historical and archaeological significance of the Lower High Street and Cliffe High Street area* (unpubl. report, The Conservation Studio, February 2002), no pagination.
- <sup>105</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 9.
- <sup>106</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 141-3.
- <sup>107</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 7-8.
- <sup>108</sup> Cornwall, J., 'Sussex Wealth and Society in the Reign of Henry VIII', *SAC* 114 (1976), 1-26. Note that these statistics do not include the Cinque Ports, though Lewes was probably more successful than the most prosperous of these in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century – that is, Rye.
- <sup>109</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 7.
- <sup>110</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 118.
- <sup>111</sup> Gardiner, M., Russell, M., & Gregory, D., 'Excavations at Lewes Friary 1985-6 and 1988-9', *SAC* 134 (1996), 71-123, at 73.
- <sup>112</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 32; Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 121, 132, 134, 181.
- <sup>113</sup> Bleach, J., & Gardiner, M., 'Medieval Markets and Ports', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 42-3.
- <sup>114</sup> Rudling, D., 'Excavations at Cliffe, Lewes, 1987 and 1988', *SAC* 129 (1991), 165-81, at 165.
- <sup>115</sup> Whittick, C., 'Cartographic and documentary sources', in *Lewes Riverside: a report on the historical and archaeological significance of the Lower High Street and Cliffe High Street area* (unpubl. report, The Conservation Studio, February 2002), no pagination.
- <sup>116</sup> See, EUS report for Seaford.
- <sup>117</sup> Thompson, K., 'Lords, castellans, constables and dowagers: the Rape of Pevensey from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century', *SAC* 135 (1997), 209-20, at 214-5, and 220, n. 97; Page, W. (ed.), *Victoria County History 2* (1907), 129.
- <sup>118</sup> Gardiner, M., 'Aspects of the history and archaeology of medieval Seaford', *SAC* 133 (1995), 190.
- <sup>119</sup> Pelham, R. A., 'The exportation of wool from Sussex in the late thirteenth century', *SAC* 74 (1933), 131-9; Pelham, R. A., 'The distribution of wool merchants in Sussex in 1296', *SNQ* 4 (1933), 161-3; Pelham, R. A., 'Further evidence of the distribution of wealth in mediæval Sussex', *SNQ* 5 (1935), 18-19; Pelham, R. A., 'Sussex wool ports in the 13<sup>th</sup> century: 3 - Seaford', *SNQ* 5 (1935), 166-171.
- <sup>120</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 123 & 135.
- <sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 128-9.
- <sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.
- <sup>123</sup> Brandon, P. F., 'The Origin of Newhaven and the Drainage of the Lewes and Laughton Levels', *SAC* 109 (1971), 94-106.
- <sup>124</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 154-5.
- <sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 163, 193.
- <sup>126</sup> Gardiner, M., Russell, M., & Gregory, D., 'Excavations at Lewes Friary 1985-6 and 1988-9', *SAC* 134 (1996), 71-123, at 73.
- <sup>127</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 40-1; Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 183.
- <sup>128</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 9.
- <sup>129</sup> Carpenter, D., *The Battles of Lewes & Evesham 1264/5* (1987).
- <sup>130</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 62-70; Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 15, n. 88.

- <sup>131</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 16, 21; Farrant, J. H., "A garden in a desert placed and a palace among the ruins": Lewes castle transformed, 1600-1850', SAC 134 (1996), 169-77, at 169.
- <sup>132</sup> Pugh, R. B., 'Mediaeval Sussex Prisons', SAC 97 (1959), 69-81.
- <sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 79; Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 15.
- <sup>134</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 15; Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 177.
- <sup>135</sup> Godfrey, W. H., 'Mediaeval hospitals in Sussex', SAC 97 (1959), 130-6; Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 96-7.
- <sup>136</sup> Whittick, C., 'The Hospital of St Nicholas, Lewes', SAC forthcoming; this article is reproduced in Barber, L., & Sibun, L., *The Medieval Hospital of St Nicholas, Lewes, East Sussex: Excavations 1994* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1994/148, Dec 1998).
- <sup>137</sup> Cornwall, J., 'Sussex Wealth and Society in the Reign of Henry VIII', SAC 114 (1976), 14; Cornwall, J. (ed.), 'The Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex 1524-25', SRS 56 (1956): 96-101.
- <sup>138</sup> Cornwall, J. (ed.), 'The Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex 1524-25', SRS 56 (1956), 102; Cooper, J. H., 'A Religious Census of Sussex in 1676', SAC 45 (1902), 142-8; Ford, W. K. (ed.), 'Chichester Diocesan Surveys 1686 and 1724', SRS 78 (1994), 137; Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 282.
- <sup>139</sup> Berry, S., 'Urban Development 1750-1914', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 92-3.
- <sup>140</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 213.
- <sup>141</sup> Brandon, P., Short, B., *The South East from AD1000* (1990), 265.
- <sup>142</sup> Bleach, J., 'Elizabethan and Early Stuart Lewes', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 64-5; Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 273.
- <sup>143</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 16.
- <sup>144</sup> Wilkinson, P., 'The Struggle for a Protestant Reformation 1553-1546', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 52-3.
- <sup>145</sup> Howard, M., 'Civil War', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 58-9.
- <sup>146</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 79.
- <sup>147</sup> Brandon, P. F., 'The Origin of Newhaven and the Drainage of the Lewes and Laughton Levels', SAC 109 (1971), 94-106; Farrant, J. H., 'The evolution of Newhaven harbour and the Lower Ouse before 1800', SAC 110 (1972), 44-60; Farrant, J. H., 'The seaborne trade of Sussex, 1720-1845', SAC 114 (1976), 97-120, at 98; Woodcock, A., 'The Archaeological implications of coastal change in Sussex', in Rudling, D., (ed.), *The Archaeology of Sussex to AD2000* (2003), 1-16, at 9-10.
- <sup>148</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 21-2.
- <sup>149</sup> Pennington, J., 'Inns and Taverns of Western Sussex, England, 1550-1700: A Documentary and Architectural Investigation', in Kümin, B., & Tlustý, B. A., (eds.), *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (2002), 116-35, at 120; see also, Pennington, J., 'Inns and Alehouses in 1686', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 68-9.
- <sup>150</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 1-18.
- <sup>151</sup> Johnston, G. D., *Abstract of Turnpike Acts relating to Sussex* (transcript at SAS, c.1948), 2-3, 10.
- <sup>152</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 31-2; Smith, V., 'The Lewes Market', SAC 107 (1969), 87-101.
- <sup>153</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 264.
- <sup>154</sup> Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 83.
- <sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 261-3.
- <sup>156</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 259, 328, 347, 350.
- <sup>157</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 16.
- <sup>158</sup> Gardiner, M., Russell, M., & Gregory, D., 'Excavations at Lewes Friary 1985-6 and 1988-9', SAC 134 (1996), 73.
- <sup>159</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 16.
- <sup>160</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 208.
- <sup>161</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 40-1.
- <sup>162</sup> Cooper, J. H., 'A Religious Census of Sussex in 1676', SAC 45 (1902), 142-8.
- <sup>163</sup> McCann, T., 'Religious Observance in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 56-7.
- <sup>164</sup> Rector, W. K., 'Lewes Quakers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', SAC 116 (1978), 31-40.
- <sup>165</sup> Elleray, D. R., *Sussex Places of Worship: A Gazetteer of Buildings erected between c.1760 and c.1960* (2004), 38-9; Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes* (2004), 381-3.
- <sup>166</sup> Page, W., (ed.), *Victoria County History 2* (1907), 411-15.
- <sup>167</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 31-2; Smith, V., 'The Lewes Market', SAC 107 (1969), 87-101.
- <sup>168</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 16.
- <sup>169</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 210.
- <sup>170</sup> Whittick, C., 'Cartographic and documentary sources', in *Lewes Riverside: a report on the historical and archaeological significance of the Lower High Street and Cliffe High Street area* (unpubl. report, The Conservation Studio, February 2002), no pagination.
- <sup>171</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 70-1.
- <sup>172</sup> Farrant, J. H., "A garden in a desert placed and a palace among the ruins": Lewes castle transformed, 1600-1850', SAC 134 (1996), 169-77.
- <sup>173</sup> Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 103.
- <sup>174</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 18.
- <sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.
- <sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19; Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 129-33.
- <sup>177</sup> Farrant, J. H., "A garden in a desert placed and a palace among the ruins": Lewes castle transformed, 1600-1850', SAC 134 (1996), 170.
- <sup>178</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 133, 140-3.
- <sup>179</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 31.

- <sup>180</sup> Berry, S., 'Urban Development 1750-1914', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 92-3.
- <sup>181</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 79-80.
- <sup>182</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 58-60.
- <sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 59, 213.
- <sup>184</sup> Brandon, P., Short, B., *The South East from AD1000* (1990), 265.
- <sup>185</sup> 2001 census data.
- <sup>186</sup> Boughton, S., & Hardman, K., 'Population Change 1951-2001', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 120-1.
- <sup>187</sup> Godfrey, J., 'Local Government in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 126-7.
- <sup>188</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 32; Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 88, 91-3.
- <sup>189</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 32.
- <sup>190</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 47, 60.
- <sup>191</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 60.
- <sup>192</sup> Beswick, M., *Brickmaking in Sussex: A History and Gazetteer* (2001), 152.
- <sup>193</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 38.
- <sup>194</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 21-2.
- <sup>195</sup> Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 36.
- <sup>196</sup> Johnston, G. D., *Abstract of Turnpike Acts relating to Sussex* (transcript at SAS, c.1948).
- <sup>197</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 13.
- <sup>198</sup> Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 56.
- <sup>199</sup> Farrant, J., 'Growth of Communications 1840-1914', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 80-1.
- <sup>200</sup> Harris, R. B., *Newhaven Historic Character Assessment Report* (2004).
- <sup>201</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 37-40, 48-9; Elleray, D. R., *Sussex Places of Worship: A Gazetteer of Buildings erected between c.1760 and c.1960* (2004), 38.
- <sup>202</sup> Elleray, D. R., *Sussex Places of Worship: A Gazetteer of Buildings erected between c.1760 and c.1960* (2004), 38.
- <sup>203</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 155-6, 165.
- <sup>204</sup> The Wesleyans had acquired the site (a warehouse) in 1807. It appears that the warehouse was built for the use of Countess Huntingdon's Methodist missionaries (1788-96): Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 165.
- <sup>205</sup> Elleray, D. R., *Sussex Places of Worship: A Gazetteer of Buildings erected between c.1760 and c.1960* (2004), 38-9.
- <sup>206</sup> Elleray, D. R., *Sussex Places of Worship: A Gazetteer of Buildings erected between c.1760 and c.1960* (2004), 38.
- <sup>207</sup> Etherington, J. E., 'The Community Origin of the Lewes Guy Fawkes Night Celebrations', *SAC* 128 (1990), 195-224.
- <sup>208</sup> Page, W., (ed.), *Victoria County History 2* (1907), 415; Davey, R., 'Schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 84-5.
- <sup>209</sup> Elleray, D. R., *Sussex Places of Worship: A Gazetteer of Buildings erected between c.1760 and c.1960* (2004), 38.
- <sup>210</sup> Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 76-9; Davey, R., 'Schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 84-5; Freeman, A., 'Education', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 138-9.
- <sup>211</sup> Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 18.
- <sup>212</sup> Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 19, 22, 94.
- <sup>213</sup> Hudson, T. P. (ed.) *Victoria County History 6:2* (1986), 134.
- <sup>214</sup> Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 96-9.
- <sup>215</sup> Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 101.
- <sup>216</sup> 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), 211; Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 103-4.
- <sup>217</sup> East Sussex County Council Historic Environment Record (HER) ref no. TQ 41 SW 134 - ES1775.
- <sup>218</sup> Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 111.
- <sup>219</sup> OS maps, Epoch 2 onwards.
- <sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>221</sup> Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 147-8.
- <sup>222</sup> Poole, H., *Lewes Past* (2000), 109.
- <sup>223</sup> Hill, D., 'Gazetteer of Bughal Hidage sites', in Hill, D., & Rumble, A. R., (eds.), *The Defence of Wessex – the Bughal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (1996), 207-8.
- <sup>224</sup> Pers comm.. Jeremy Haslam (2005).
- <sup>225</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 29-32.
- <sup>226</sup> Haslam, J., 'King Alfred and the Vikings – strategies and tactics, 876-886 AD', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 13 (forthcoming, 2006).
- <sup>227</sup> Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', *SAC* 121 (1983), 52-77, at 47.
- <sup>228</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Excavations in Lewes 1974', *SAC* 113 (1975), 66-84.
- <sup>229</sup> Thomson, D., 'Green Wall (Lewes)', *SNQ* 16 (1967), 337-9.
- <sup>230</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Excavations in Lewes 1974', *SAC* 113 (1975), 66-84.
- <sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.
- <sup>232</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Further excavations in Lewes 1975', *SAC* 114 (1976), 176-93.
- <sup>233</sup> Norris, N. E. S., & Thomson, D., 'The Naval Prison site, Lewes', *SNQ* 16 (1963), 35.
- <sup>234</sup> Griffin, N., *An Archaeological Evaluation of Land Adjacent to the Former Scout Headquarters, St John Street, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1980, Jan 2005), section 6: the report on the 2005 main excavation by Archaeology South-East was unwritten at the time of drafting this EUS report.
- <sup>235</sup> Page, A. B., 'Excavations at Edward Street, Lewes, 1971', *SAC* 111 (1973), 113-114.



- <sup>236</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Excavations at Friar's Walk, Lewes, 1976', SAC 116 (1978), 179-97; O'Shea, E. W., 'Further Finds from Lewes Excavations, 1974-1976', SAC 118 (1980), 369-73.
- <sup>237</sup> Locke, A., 'Excavations at Clothkits Warehouse Extension, Broomham's Lane, Lewes, by C. E. Knight-Farr, 1978', SAC 139 (2001), 227-34.
- <sup>238</sup> Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', SAC 121 (1983), 52-77.
- <sup>239</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Excavations at Friar's Walk, Lewes, 1976', SAC 116 (1978), 179-97; O'Shea, E. W., 'Further Finds from Lewes Excavations, 1974-1976', SAC 118 (1980), 369-73.
- <sup>240</sup> Russell, M., 'Excavations in Friar's Walk, Lewes, 1989', SAC 128 (1990), 141-56.
- <sup>241</sup> Griffin, N., 'Lewes House Library', *Sussex Past* (forthcoming 2005).
- <sup>242</sup> Pers. comm.. Jeremy Haslam.
- <sup>243</sup> Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', SAC 121 (1983), 52-77, at 47.
- <sup>244</sup> Houghton, J., 'Burgage tenure and topography in Lewes, East Sussex', SAC 124 (1986), 119-28; Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 29-38.
- <sup>245</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 38.
- <sup>246</sup> In addition to Lewes Bridge and the North Street to Malling crossing, another early crossing point of the Ouse has been suggested on the line of Mountfield Road and Ham Lane: Rudling, D., 'Archaeological Survey of Lewes', in Allen, M. *et al* (eds.), *Aspects of Archaeology in the Lewes Area* (1987), 3.
- <sup>247</sup> Houghton, J., 'Burgage tenure and topography in Lewes, East Sussex', SAC 124 (1986), 119-28; Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 34-6.
- <sup>248</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 35.
- <sup>249</sup> Drewett, P., 'Excavations at Lewes Castle 1985-1988', SAC 130 (1992), 69-106, at 104.
- <sup>250</sup> Houghton, J., 'Burgage tenure and topography in Lewes, East Sussex', SAC 124 (1986), 127.
- <sup>251</sup> Such a location is broadly consistent with the, possibly significant, name 'le pale' that had attached itself to a strip of borough waste at the junction of Market Street and School Hill by 1570: Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 32.
- <sup>252</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 9.
- <sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.
- <sup>254</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 30, 32.
- <sup>255</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 40.
- <sup>256</sup> Hill, D., 'Gazetteer of Bughal Hidage sites', in Hill, D., & Rumble, A. R., (eds.), *The Defence of Wessex – the Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (1996), 207-8.
- <sup>257</sup> Apparently, there has been subsidence at this point in St Swithun's Terrace (a new road of the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century): pers. comm. John Bleach.
- <sup>258</sup> Drewett, P., 'Excavations at Lewes Castle 1985-1988', SAC 130 (1992), 69-106.
- <sup>259</sup> Bleach, J., 'A Roman-British (?) barrow cemetery and the origins of Lewes', SAC 135 (1997), 131-42.
- <sup>260</sup> Gilbert, R., 'Another Look at Magnus', SAC 123 (1985), 268-70.
- <sup>261</sup> E.g. Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 27-29.
- <sup>262</sup> Gilbert, R., 'Another Look at Magnus', SAC 123 (1985), 268-70.
- <sup>263</sup> Gilbert, R., 'Evidence for tower transepts at the old church of St. John-sub-Castro, Lewes', SAC 112 (1974), 44-7.
- <sup>264</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 27.
- <sup>265</sup> Tatton-Brown, T. W. T., 'Building stone in Canterbury, c.1070-1525', in Parsons, D. (ed.), *Stone: Quarrying and Building in England, AD 43-1525* (1990), 70-82.
- <sup>266</sup> Gem, R., 'The Early Romanesque Tower of Sompting Church, Sussex', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference in Anglo-Norman Studies 5* (1982), 121-8; Aldsworth, F. G., & Harris, R., 'The tower and "Rhenish helm" spire of St. Mary's church, Sompting', SAC 126 (1988), 105-44.
- <sup>267</sup> I am grateful to Dr John Crook for discussion of these points.
- <sup>268</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 14.
- <sup>269</sup> Blair, J., 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review', in Blair, J. & Sharpe, R., *Pastoral care before the Parish* (1992), 226-66.
- <sup>270</sup> Bleach, J., 'A Romano-British (?) barrow cemetery and the origins of Lewes', SAC 135 (1997), 131-42.
- <sup>271</sup> Blair, J., 'Saint Cuthman, Steyning and Bosham', SAC 135 (1997), 173-92.
- <sup>272</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 31.
- <sup>273</sup> Multiple and adjacent mottes are seen elsewhere in England at this time: at York from 1068, and by the mid 12<sup>th</sup> century in Lewes, Lincoln and Winchester, and in London itself at Mountfichet's and Baynard's. Although lacking a motte, the Tower of London appears to have been next to a private castle (Ravengar's), and there is abundant continental evidence of immediate proximity of independent strongholds within cities in the 11<sup>th</sup> century: Impey, E. A., 'Before the White Tower: the Site and Siting of the early castle and the context of its creation', in Impey, E. A. (ed.) *The White Tower* (forthcoming 2006).
- <sup>274</sup> Anderson, F., 'St Pancras Priory, Lewes: its architectural development to 1200', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference in Anglo-Norman Studies 11* (1989), 1-35, at 24-6.
- <sup>275</sup> For another example of a late 11<sup>th</sup>-century monastic building with rubble-built double-splayed windows (also historically mis-dated to pre-1066) see the west wall of Norwich Cathedral cloister, dated to the 1090s: Fernie, E., *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral* (1993), 22-3.
- <sup>276</sup> Thurlby, M., 'A twelfth-century figure fragment from Lewes Priory', SAC 120 (1982), 215-21.
- <sup>277</sup> Anderson, F., 'Two Romanesque capitals from Lewes Priory', SAC 127 (1989), 49-60.
- <sup>278</sup> Anderson, F., 'The Tournai marble sculptures of Lewes Priory', SAC 122 (1984), 85-100.
- <sup>279</sup> Whittick, C., 'The Hospital of St Nicholas, Lewes', SAC forthcoming; this article is reproduced in Barber, L., & Sibun,

- L., *The Medieval Hospital of St Nicholas, Lewes, East Sussex: Excavations 1994* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1994/148, Dec 1998).
- <sup>280</sup> Garrigou Grandchamp, P., Jones, M., Meirion-Jones, G., and Salvègue, J-D., *La ville de Cluny et ses maisons* (1997), 64-5, 232-3.
- <sup>281</sup> Godfrey, W. H., 'Mediaeval hospitals in Sussex', *SAC* 97 (1959), 130-6, at 132.
- <sup>282</sup> Godfrey, W. H., 'Sussex church plans: St Thomas at Cliffe, Lewes', *SNQ* 13 (1955), 156-7.
- <sup>283</sup> Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', *SAC* 121 (1983), 52-77, at 48.
- <sup>284</sup> Clarke, S., 'Some Supplementary Notes on the Castle of Lewes', *SAC* 34 (1886), 69-70; Godfrey, W. H., *Lewes Castle* (1949); Marsden, F., 'Lewes Castle Floodlighting, 1974', in Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', *SAC* 121 (1983), 63.
- <sup>285</sup> Drewett, P., 'Excavations at Lewes Castle 1985-1988', *SAC* 130 (1992), 69-106.
- <sup>286</sup> Page, A. B., 'The Lip of the Brack Mount Ditch Lewes', *SAC* 110 (1972), 123-4.
- <sup>287</sup> Unpublished excavation by David Thompson: Drewett, P., 'Excavations at Lewes Castle 1985-1988', *SAC* 130 (1992), 72.
- <sup>288</sup> Thomas, G., 'An archaeological discovery on Brack Mount, Lewes, East Sussex', *SAC* 139 (2001), 224-7.
- <sup>289</sup> James, R., *An Archaeological Watching Brief at Castle Lodge, Castle Precincts, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1251, July 2001).
- <sup>290</sup> Riccoboni, P., *An Archaeological Watching Brief at Castle Lodge, Castle Gates, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1778, July 2004).
- <sup>291</sup> Lower, M. A., 'Report on the Antiquities Lately Found at Lewes', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 1 (1846), 346-57.
- <sup>292</sup> Hope, W. H. St John, 'The Architectural History of the Cluniac Priory of St Pancras at Lewes', *SAC* 34 (1886), 71-106; Hope, W. H. St John, 'The Cluniac Priory of St Pancras at Lewes', *SAC* 49 (1906), 66-88.
- <sup>293</sup> Lyne, M., *Lewes Priory: Excavations by Richard Lewis 1969-82* (1997).
- <sup>294</sup> Gem, R., 'Review of Lyne, M., *Lewes Priory, Excavations by Richard Lewis 1969-82*', *Archaeological Journal* 155 (1998), 411-12.
- <sup>295</sup> Anderson, F., 'St Pancras Priory, Lewes: its architectural development to 1200', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference in Anglo-Norman Studies* 11 (1989), 1-35.
- <sup>296</sup> Lyne, M., *Lewes Priory: Excavations by Richard Lewis 1969-82* (1997), 33-70.
- <sup>297</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 46-7, with a phased plan reprinted in Smith, J. T., 'A note on the architectural history of Lewes Priory', *SAC* 102 (1964), 33-8.
- <sup>298</sup> Gem, R., 'Review of Lyne, M., *Lewes Priory, Excavations by Richard Lewis 1969-82*', *Archaeological Journal* 155 (1998), 411-12. A recent suggestion that this be resolved by allowing for an additional monastic church of c.1100 (i.e. following one of the 1090s) on the site of the great 12<sup>th</sup>-century church (to which the dormitory range was attached) is self-evidently implausible and also wholly without evidence: Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 77.
- <sup>299</sup> Anderson, F., 'St Pancras Priory, Lewes: its architectural development to 1200', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference in Anglo-Norman Studies* 11 (1989), 33-5.
- <sup>300</sup> Anderson, F., 'The Tournai marble sculptures of Lewes Priory', *SAC* 122 (1984), 85-100, at 94-5.
- <sup>301</sup> Anderson, F., 'St Pancras Priory, Lewes: its architectural development to 1200', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference in Anglo-Norman Studies* 11 (1989), 34.
- <sup>302</sup> Rudling, D., 'Excavations at Cliffe, Lewes, 1987 and 1988', *SAC* 129 (1991), 165-81.
- <sup>303</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 13.
- <sup>304</sup> Godfrey, W. H., 'The parish churches of Lewes in the 14<sup>th</sup> century', *SAC* 68 (1927), 174.
- <sup>305</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 32-3.
- <sup>306</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 11.
- <sup>307</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 35.
- <sup>308</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 10.
- <sup>309</sup> Godfrey, W. H., 'The parish churches of Lewes in the 14<sup>th</sup> century', *SAC* 68 (1927), 173.
- <sup>310</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 30, 32.
- <sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.
- <sup>312</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 11; Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 154.
- <sup>313</sup> Listed building description: ref no. 293108.
- <sup>314</sup> For a sketch of the remains in 1782, see Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 98.
- <sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.
- <sup>316</sup> Godfrey, W. H., in Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 45.
- <sup>317</sup> The surviving arcade at St John's suggests a minimum size of 14.5m x 26.4m, assuming that the nave width represents the width of the *hospitium* north aisle and that there was a similarly scaled south aisle.
- <sup>318</sup> Godfrey, W. H., in Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 38.
- <sup>319</sup> Harris, R. B., 'The English medieval townhouse as evidence for the property market', in Ayers, B. & Pitte, D. (eds.), *The Medieval House in Normandy and England* (2002), 47-56; Harris, R. B., *The Origins and Development of English Medieval Townhouses Operating Commercially on Two Storeys* (unpub. University of Oxford D.Phil thesis, 1994), 214-47.
- <sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>321</sup> Godfrey, W. H., in Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 10.
- <sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.
- <sup>323</sup> Martin, D., 'Archaeology South-East's report on the above ground archaeology', *Lewes Riverside: a report on the historical and archaeological significance of the lower High*

*Street and Cliffe High Street area* (unpub. report by The Conservation Studio, Feb. 2002), no pagination.

<sup>324</sup> Gardiner, M., Russell, M., & Gregory, D., 'Excavations at Lewes Friary 1985-6 and 1988-9', SAC 134 (1996), 71-123. This was preceded by a trial excavation in 1981 to assess the potential of the site: Rudling, D., 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', SAC 121 (1983), 52-77, at 66-9.

<sup>325</sup> Gardiner, M., Russell, M., & Gregory, D., 'Excavations at Lewes Friary 1985-6 and 1988-9', SAC 134 (1996), 75-8, 99.

<sup>326</sup> Whittick, C., 'Cartographic and documentary sources', in *Lewes Riverside: a report on the historical and archaeological significance of the Lower High Street and Cliffe High Street area* (unpubl. report, The Conservation Studio, February 2002), no pagination.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*, 73, 76, 80.

<sup>328</sup> Greatorex, C., *An Archaeological Field Evaluation of the Lewes House Site, High Street, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1240, June 2000).

<sup>329</sup> Griffin, N., *Lewes House Library* (draft text for Sussex Past – the SAS newsletter – January 2005).

<sup>330</sup> Page, A. B., 'Excavations at Edward Street, Lewes, 1971', SAC 111 (1973), 113-114.

<sup>331</sup> Griffin, N., *An Archaeological Evaluation of Land Adjacent to the Former Scout Headquarters, St John Street, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1980, Jan 2005).

<sup>332</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Excavations in Lewes 1974', SAC 113 (1975), 66-84.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>334</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Further excavations in Lewes 1975', SAC 114 (1976), 179.

<sup>335</sup> Rudling, D., 'Excavations at Cliffe, Lewes, 1987 and 1988', SAC 129 (1991), 165-81.

<sup>336</sup> Houghton, J., 'Burgage tenure and topography in Lewes, East Sussex', SAC 124 (1986), 119-28.

<sup>337</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 36-7.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, 140-3.

<sup>339</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 9.

<sup>340</sup> These numbers should not be treated as definitive since they derive largely from the listed buildings. They include as single buildings those that were built as one, but which have been subsequently subdivided. There are only a very few instances of houses built as and remaining as multiple properties but which are treated as a single listed building as they form terraces.

<sup>341</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 221.

<sup>342</sup> Gardiner, M., Russell, M., & Gregory, D., 'Excavations at Lewes Friary 1985-6 and 1988-9', SAC 134 (1996), 74.

<sup>343</sup> Martin, D., 'Archaeology South-East's report on the above ground archaeology', *Lewes Riverside: a report on the historical and archaeological significance of the lower High Street and Cliffe High Street area* (unpub. report by The Conservation Studio, Feb. 2002), no pagination; Martin, D., and Martin, B., *A Revised Archaeological Interpretative Survey of Bridge House, & 4-8 Cliffe High Street, Lewes,*

*East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 523, 1999).

<sup>344</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 38, 48-9.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>346</sup> Page, A. B., 'Excavations at Edward Street, Lewes, 1971', SAC 111 (1973), 113-114.

<sup>347</sup> Griffin, N., *An Archaeological Evaluation of Land Adjacent to the Former Scout Headquarters, St John Street, Lewes, East Sussex* (unpubl. Archaeology South-East report, project no. 1980, Jan 2005).

<sup>348</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Excavations in Lewes 1974', SAC 113 (1975), 66-84.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>350</sup> Freke, D. J., 'Further excavations in Lewes 1975', SAC 114 (1976), 179.

<sup>351</sup> ESRO, LEW/C2/3/1: central area reproduced in Houghton, J., 'Burgage tenure and topography in Lewes, East Sussex', SAC 124 (1986), 119-28, at 120.

<sup>352</sup> Dell, R. F., 'The Building of the County Hall, Lewes, 1808-12', SAC 100 (1962), 1-11.

<sup>353</sup> Brent, C., *Pre-Georgian Lewes c.890-1714: the emergence of a county town* (2004), 221. A more recent unpublished note derived from a 1993 survey by the then RCHME is consistent with this interpretation, and draws heavily on Colin Brent's research: Everson, P., 'Lewes Priory, Sussex: The post-Dissolution mansion and garden of Lords Place' (unpubl. English Heritage archaeological investigation report no. A1/7/2005, 2005).

<sup>354</sup> Martin, D., 'Archaeology South-East's report on the above ground archaeology', *Lewes Riverside: a report on the historical and archaeological significance of the lower High Street and Cliffe High Street area* (unpub. report by The Conservation Studio, Feb. 2002), no pagination.

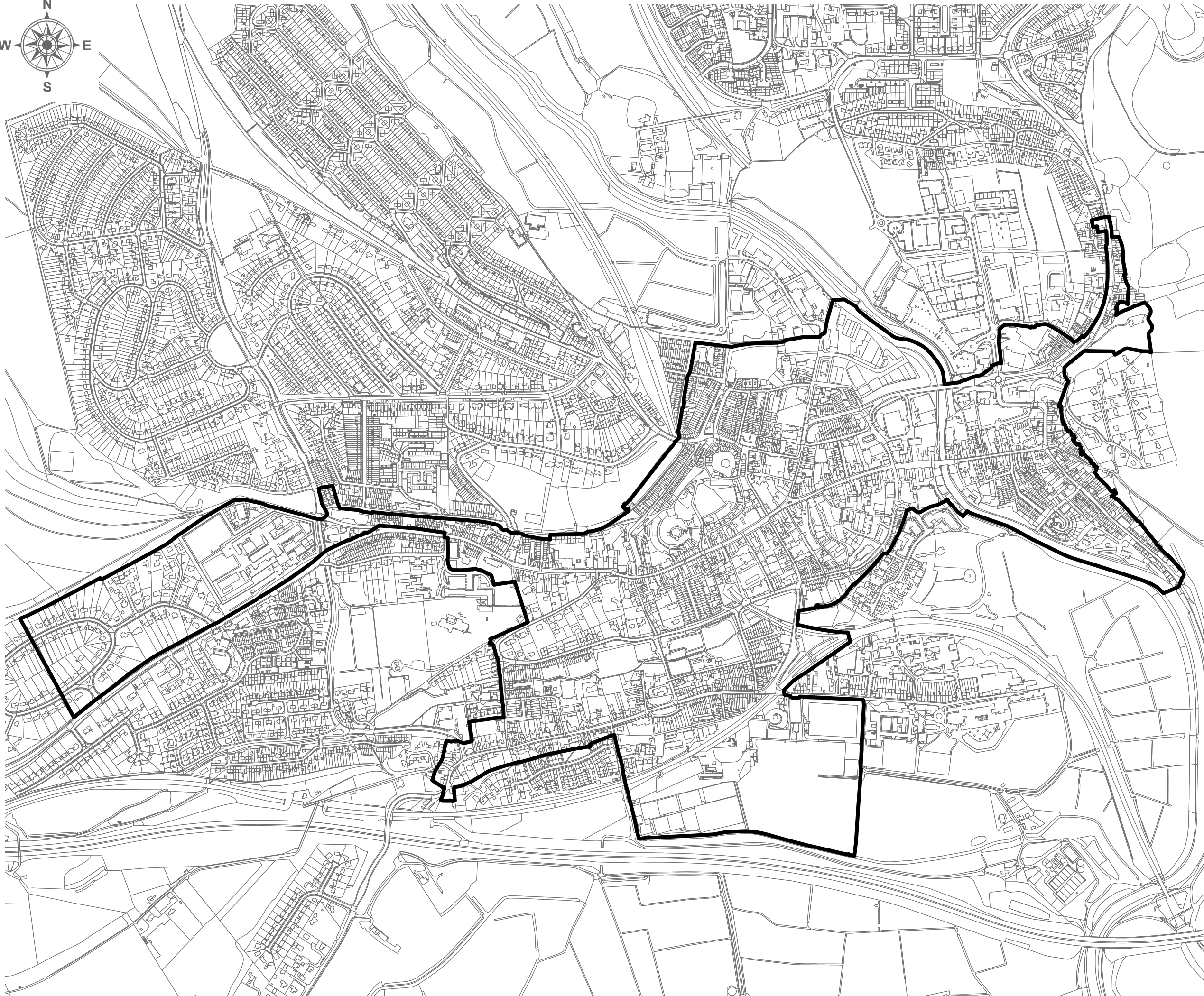
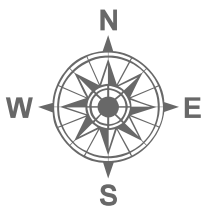
<sup>355</sup> Whittick, C., 'Cartographic and documentary sources', in *Lewes Riverside: a report on the historical and archaeological significance of the Lower High Street and Cliffe High Street area* (unpubl. report, The Conservation Studio, February 2002), no pagination.

<sup>356</sup> Salzman, L. F. (ed.), *Victoria County History 7* (1940), 38, 48-9.

<sup>357</sup> Elleray, D. R., *Sussex Places of Worship: A Gazetteer of Buildings erected between c.1760 and c.1960* (2004), 38-9;

<sup>358</sup> 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.





Sussex EUS




ENGLISH HERITAGE

### LEWES MAP 1

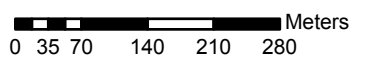
Extent of Lewes EUS study area

#### KEY

 EUS\_boundary

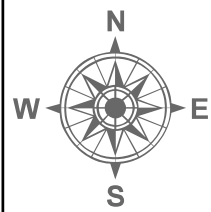
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

### LEWES MAP 10 Period 7 (1350-1499)

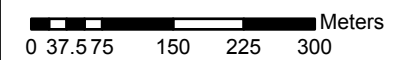
#### KEY

##### HCT

-  Castle
-  Church/churchyard
-  Inland water
-  Irregular historic plots
-  Lane/road
-  Market place
-  Mill
-  Public
-  Quay/wharf
-  Regular burgage plots
-  Religious house
-  Town defences
-  Vacant

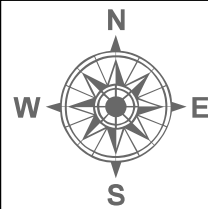
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

### LEWES MAP 11

Period 8 (1500-1599)

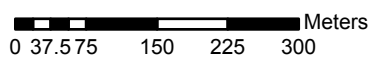
#### KEY

##### HCT

- Castle
- Church/churchyard
- Informal parkland
- Inland water
- Irregular historic plots
- Lane/road
- Market place
- Mill
- Public
- Quay/wharf
- Regular burgage plots
- Religious house
- School/college
- Town defences
- Vacant

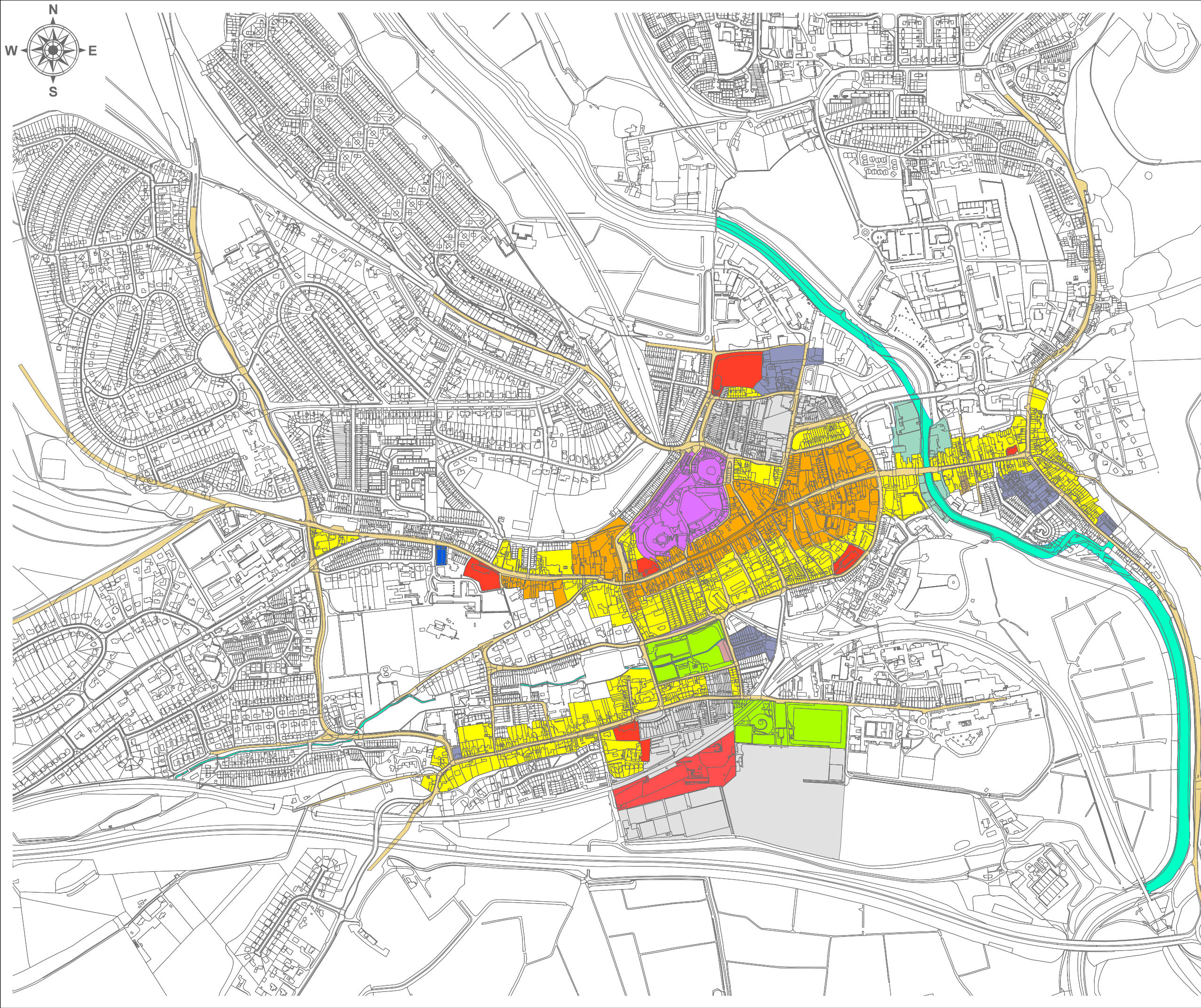
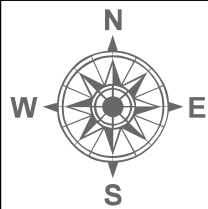
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

## LEWES MAP 12

Period 9 (1600-1699)

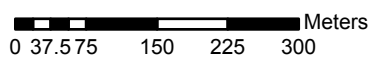
### KEY

#### HCT

-  Castle
-  Church/churchyard
-  Informal parkland
-  Inland water
-  Irregular historic plots
-  Lane/road
-  Light industry
-  Market place
-  Mill
-  Public
-  Quay/wharf
-  Regular burgage plots
-  Religious house
-  School/college
-  Town defences
-  Vacant

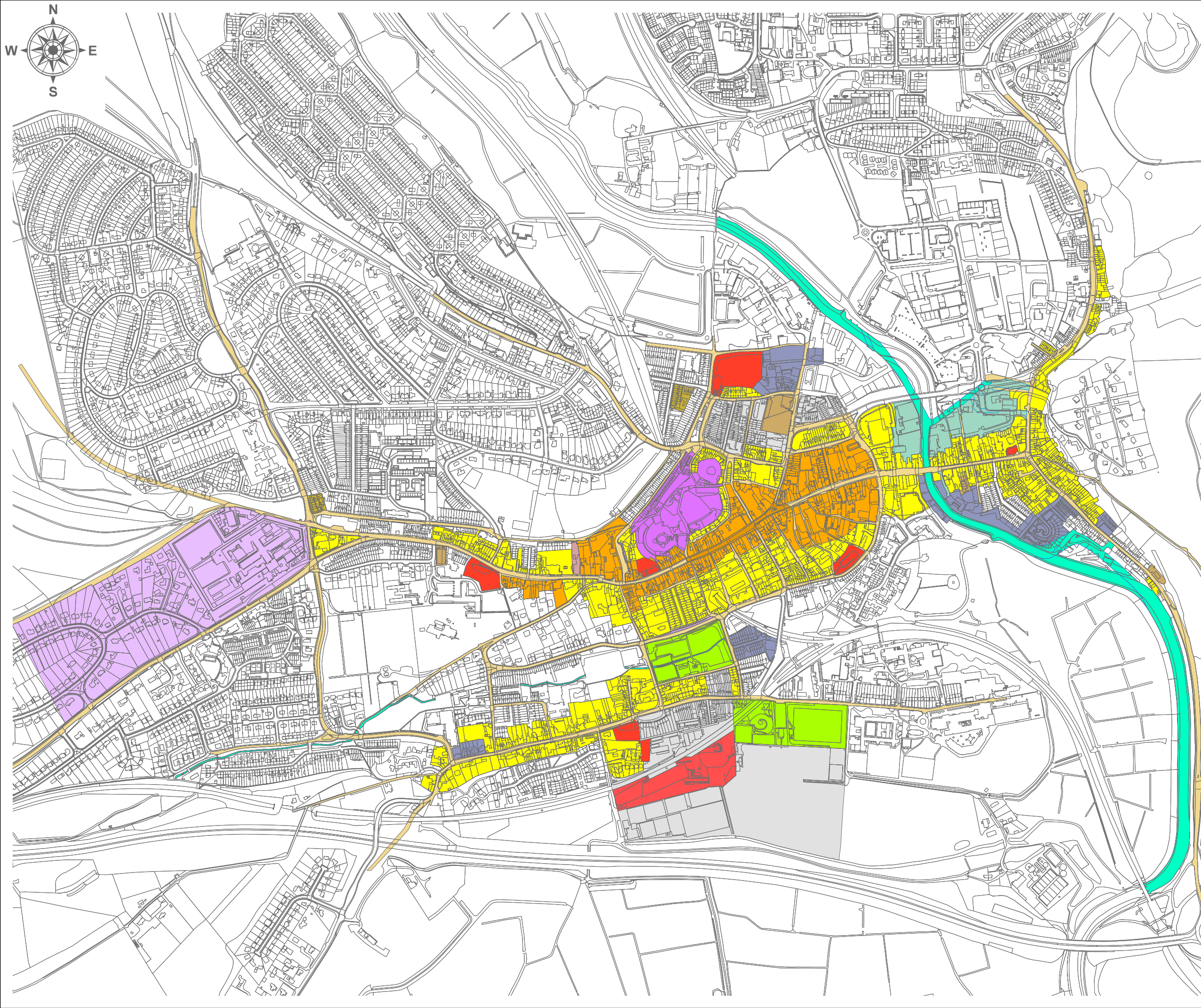
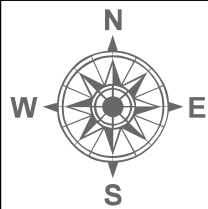
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

### LEWES MAP 13 Period 10 (1700-1799)

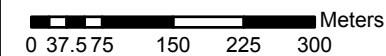
#### KEY

##### HCT

-  Barracks
-  Castle
-  Church/churchyard
-  Extractive industry
-  Farmstead/barn
-  Informal parkland
-  Inland water
-  Irregular historic plots
-  Lane/road
-  Light industry
-  Market place
-  Public
-  Quay/wharf
-  Regular burgage plots
-  Religious house
-  School/college
-  Town defences
-  Vacant

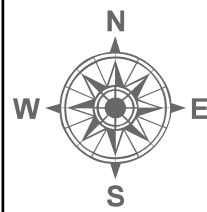
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

## LEWES MAP 14

### Historic Character Types (2005)

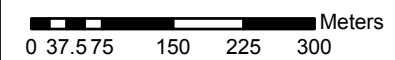
#### KEY

#### HCT

- Allotments
- Castle
- Church/churchyard
- Informal parkland
- Inland water
- Irregular historic plots
- Lane/road
- Light industry
- Major road scheme
- Market garden
- Mill
- Public
- Quay/wharf
- Regular burgage plots
- Religious house
- Retail and commercial
- School/college
- Sports field
- Station, sidings and track
- Suburb
- Town defences
- Utility

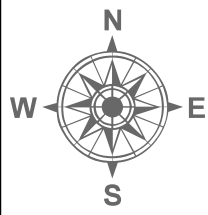
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

**LEWES MAP 15**  
Historic Character  
Type areas showing  
principal period from  
which present  
character is derived.

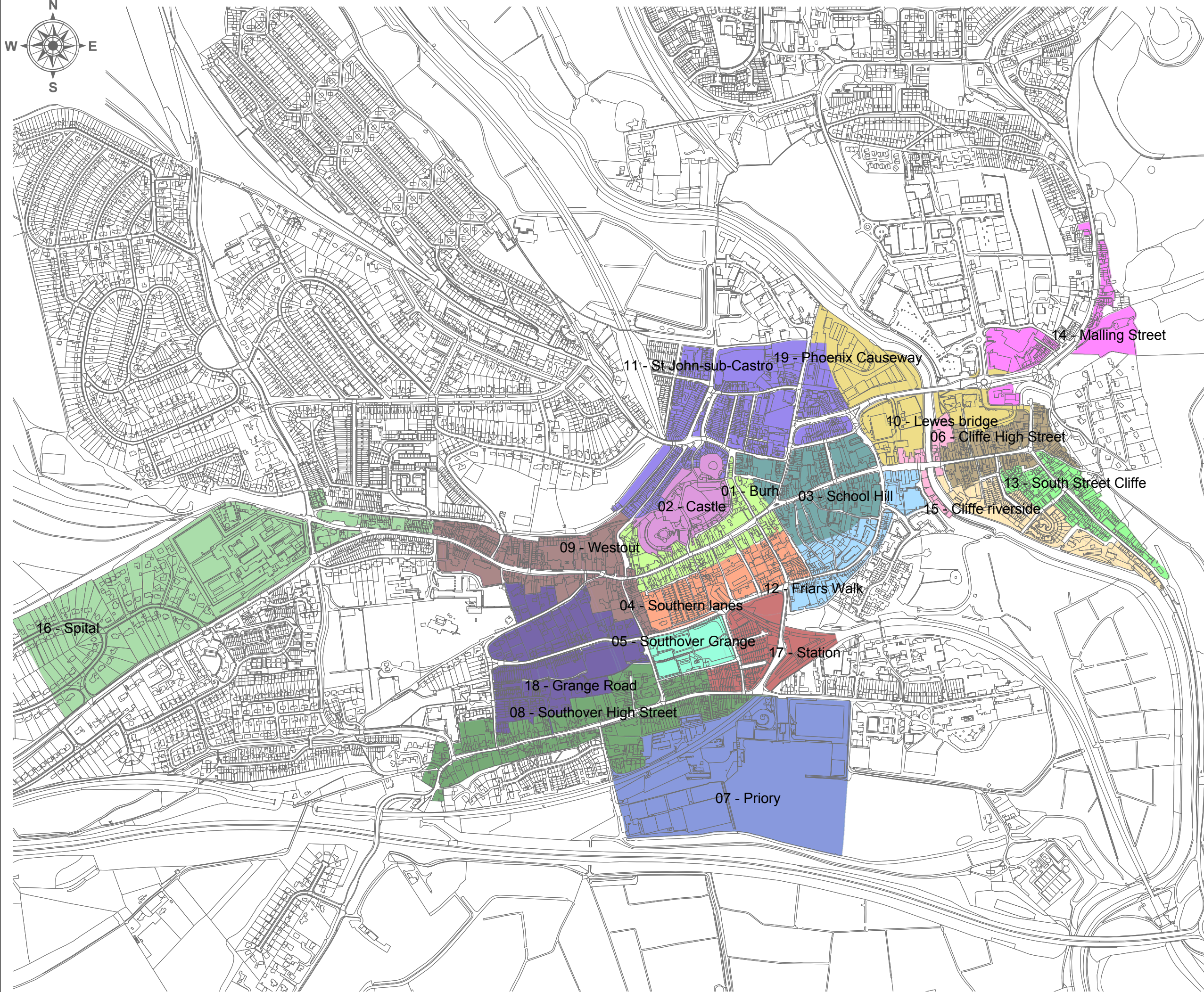
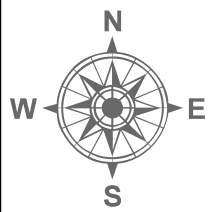
KEY	
PERIOD	
1	Dark Purple
2	Purple
3	Magenta
4	Light Purple
5	Red
6	Orange
7	Yellow-Orange
8	Yellow
9	Dark Green
10	Light Green
11	Very Light Green
12	Dark Grey
13	Medium Grey
14	Light Grey
15	Very Light Grey

EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000  
0 37.575 150 225 300 Meters

Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

### LEWES MAP 16

### Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs).

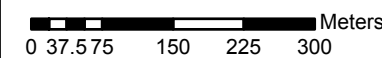
#### KEY

#### HUCA

- 01 - Burh
- 02 - Castle
- 03 - School Hill
- 04 - Southern lanes
- 05 - Southover Grange
- 06 - Cliffe High Street
- 07 - Priory
- 08 - Southover High Street
- 09 - Westout
- 10 - Lewes bridge
- 11 - St John-sub-Castro
- 12 - Friars Walk
- 13 - South Street Cliffe
- 14 - Malling Street
- 15 - Cliffe riverside
- 16 - Spital
- 17 - Station
- 18 - Grange Road
- 19 - Phoenix Causeway

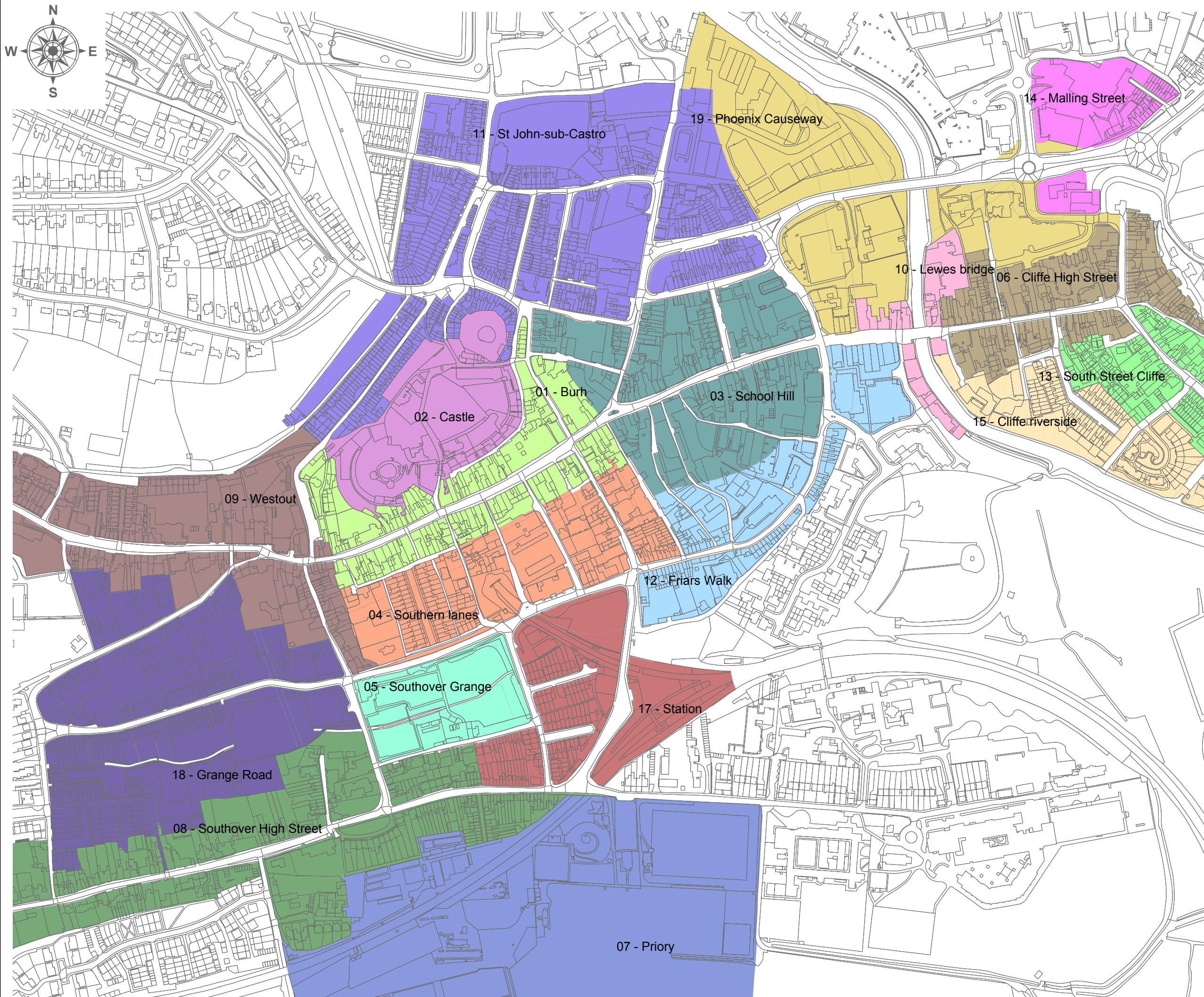
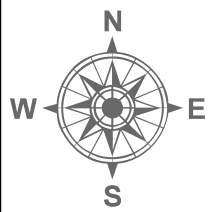
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

### LEWES MAP 17

Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs) - detail of town centre.

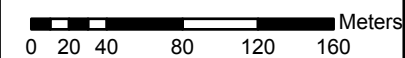
#### KEY

##### HUCA

- 01 - Burh
- 02 - Castle
- 03 - School Hill
- 04 - Southern lanes
- 05 - Southover Grange
- 06 - Cliffe High Street
- 07 - Priory
- 08 - Southover High Street
- 09 - Westout
- 10 - Lewes bridge
- 11 - St John-sub-Castro
- 12 - Friars Walk
- 13 - South Street Cliffe
- 14 - Malling Street
- 15 - Cliffe riverside
- 16 - Spital
- 17 - Station
- 18 - Grange Road
- 19 - Phoenix Causeway

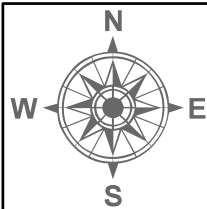
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:4,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

### LEWES MAP 18

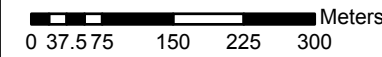
Historic Environment Value (HEV) - assessed for Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs).

**KEY**  
**HUCA\_HEV**

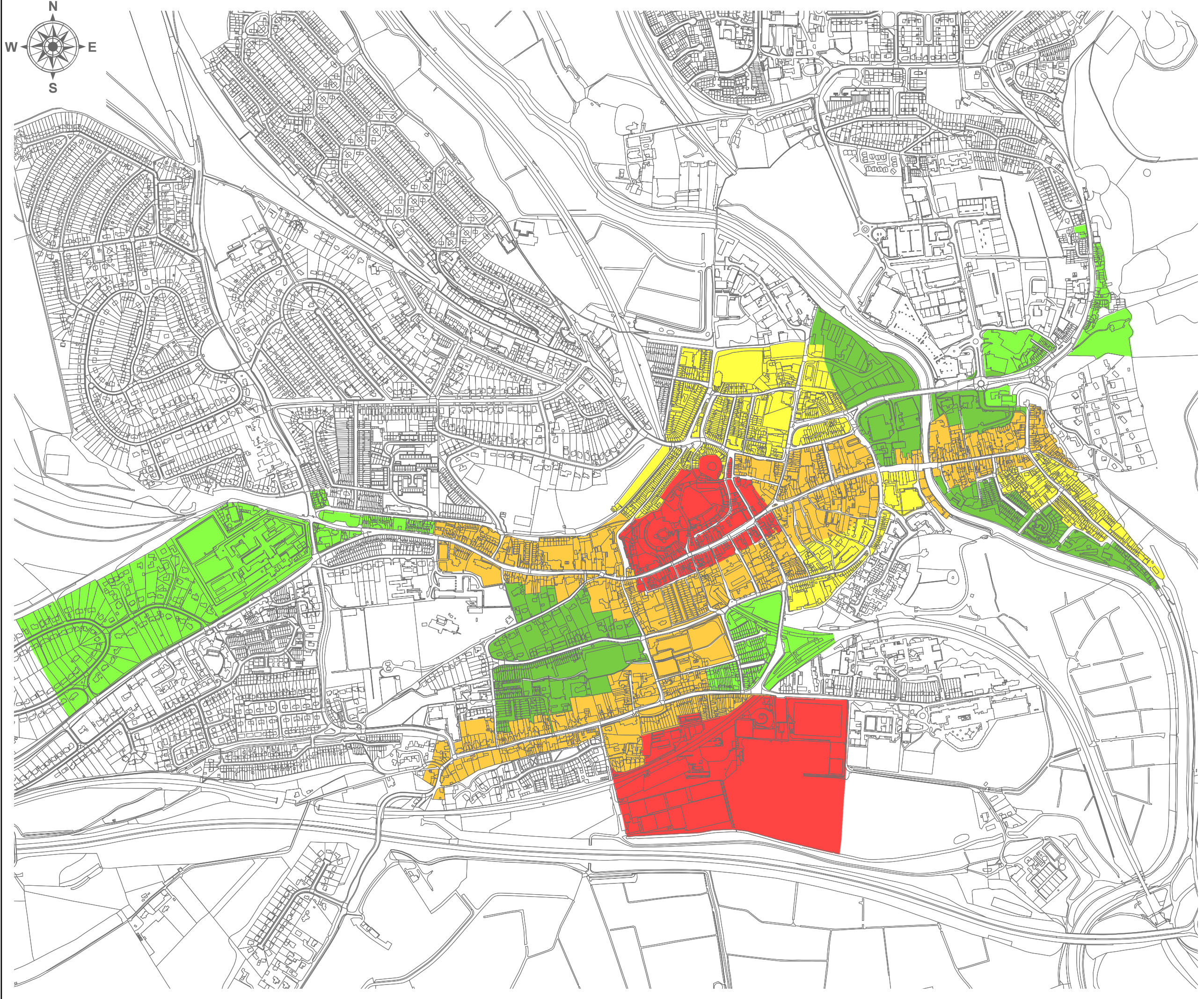
Green	1
Light Green	2
Yellow	3
Orange	4
Red	5

EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

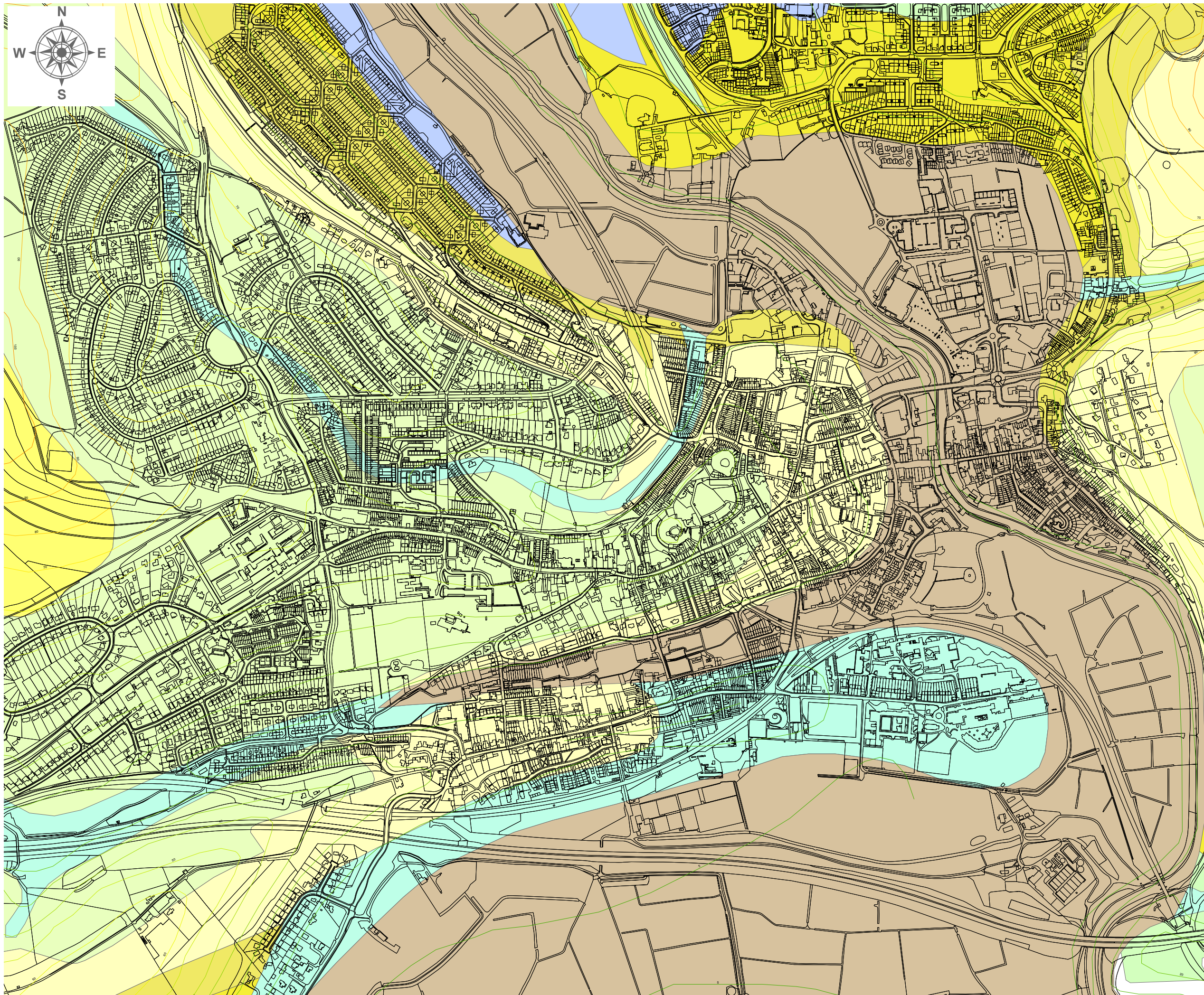
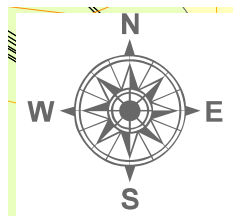
SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.







Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

## LEWES MAP 2

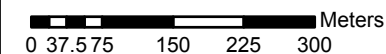
Solid and drift geology,  
with 10m contours

### KEY

- Drift geology**
  - ALLUVIUM
  - HEAD (UNDIFFERENTIATED)
  - RIVER TERRACE DEPOSITS, 1 (OUSE)
  - RIVER TERRACE DEPOSITS, 2 (OUSE)
  - RIVER TERRACE DEPOSITS, 3 (OUSE)
- Solid geology**
  - HOLYWELL NODULAR CHALK FORMATION
  - LEWES NODULAR CHALK FORMATION
  - NEW PIT CHALK FORMATION
  - NEWHAVEN CHALK FORMATION
  - SEAFORD CHALK FORMATION
  - ZIG ZAG CHALK FORMATION

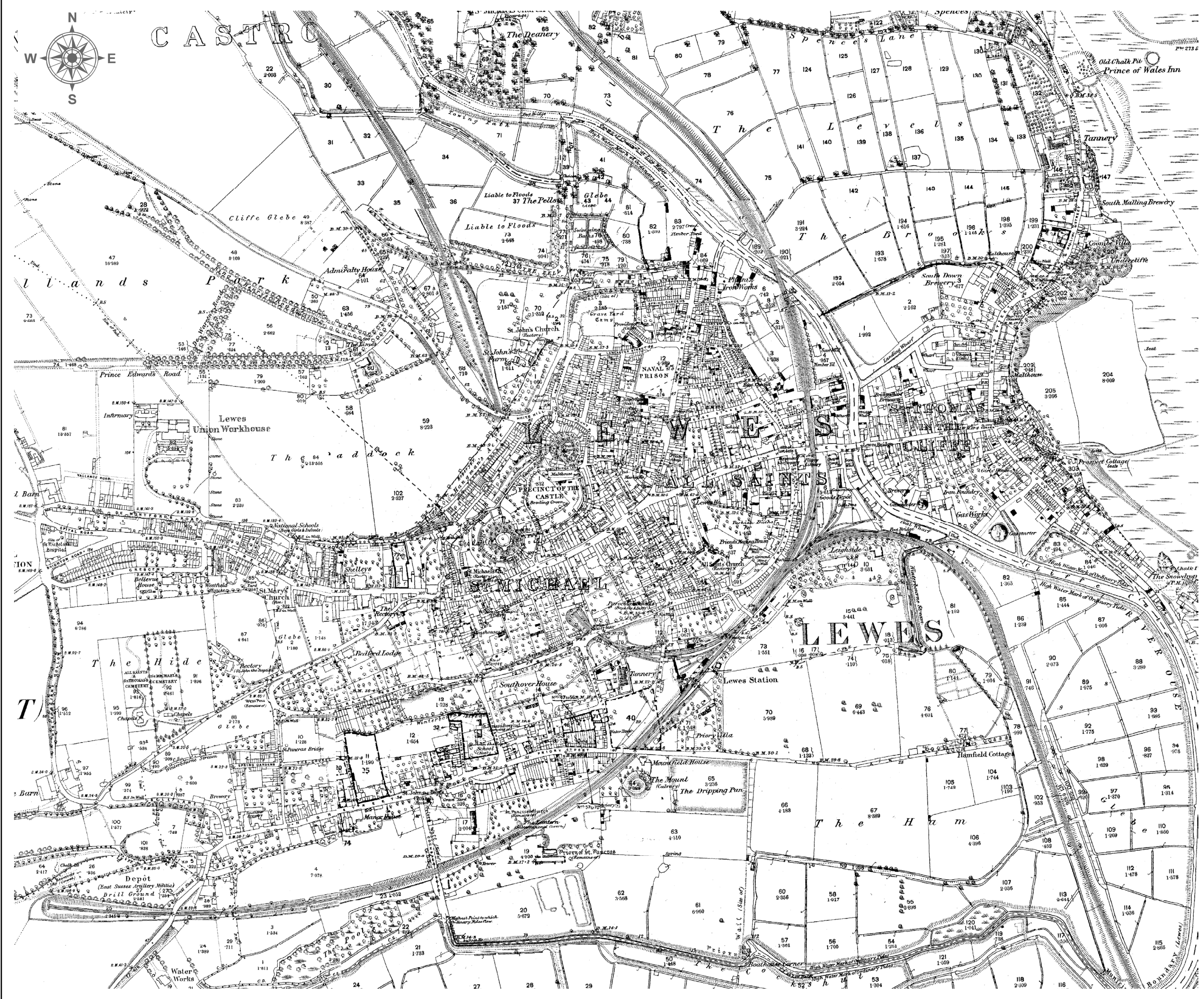
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.



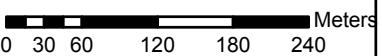


**LEWES MAP 3**

Ordnance Survey  
1st Series 25" (1873)

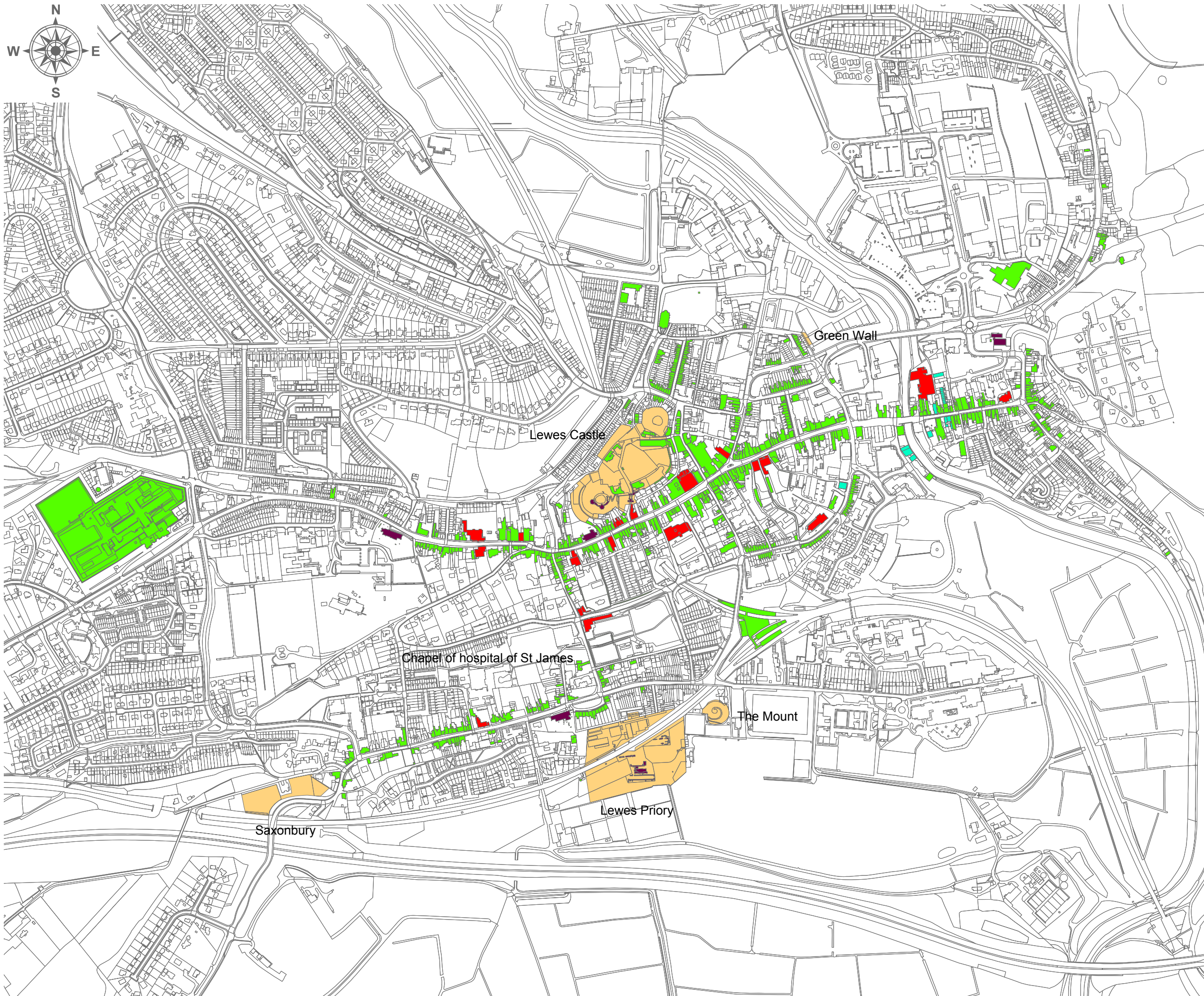
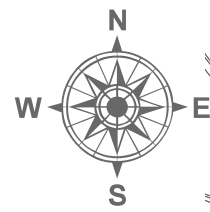
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2004

SCALE 1:6,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS








ENGLISH HERITAGE

### LEWES MAP 4

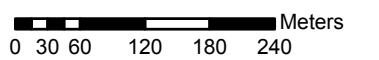
**Historic buildings and Scheduled Monuments.**  
**NB Grades of listed buildings are shown. No grade means that the building is not listed, but has significant historical value as determined by the Sussex EUS.**

#### KEY

-  Scheduled Monuments
- Lewes buildings**
- Grade**
-  I
-  II
-  II\*
-  None

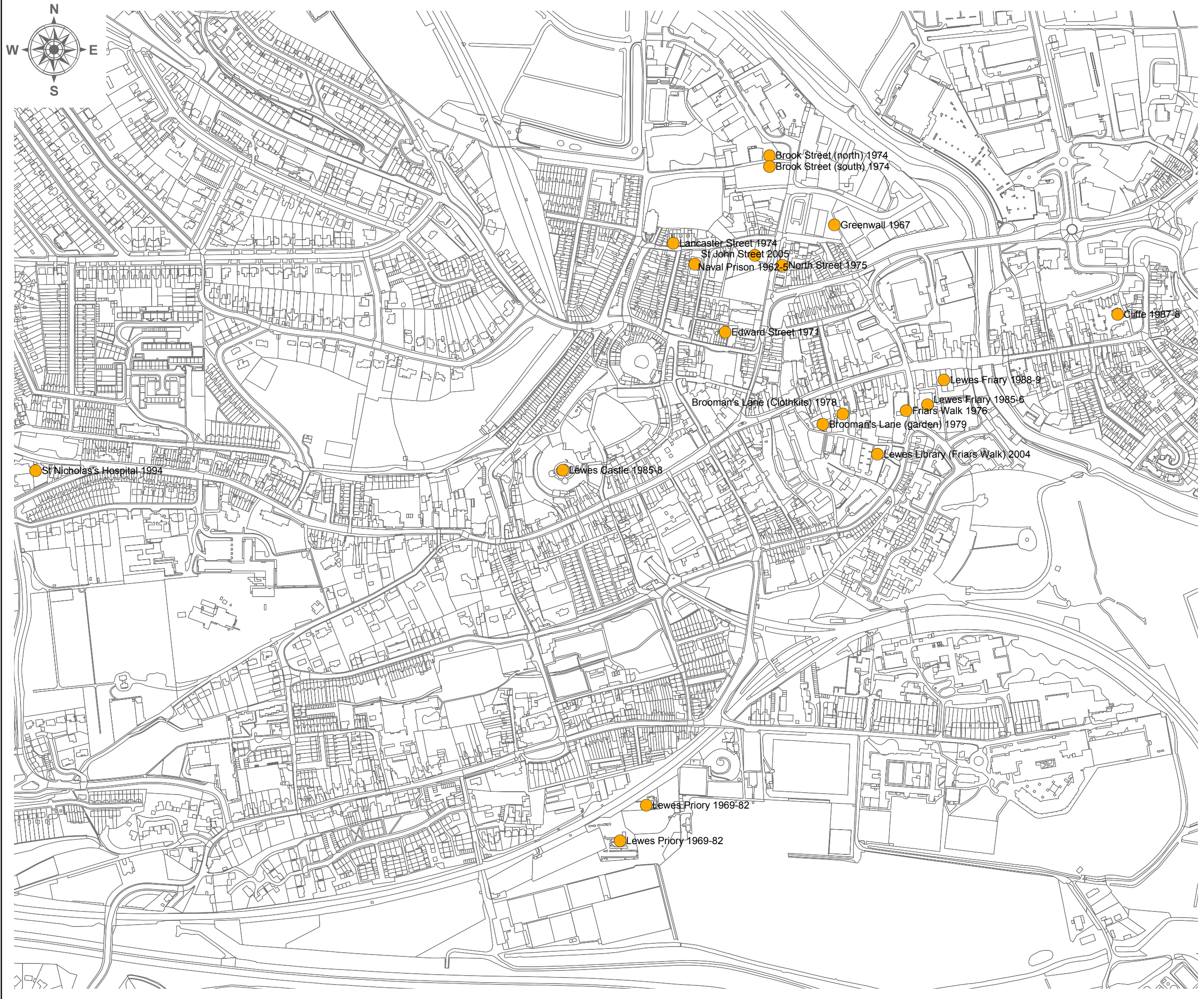
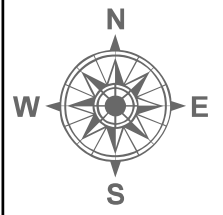
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:7,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



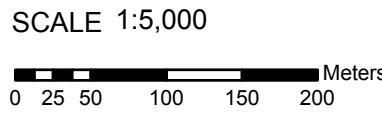
ENGLISH HERITAGE

### LEWES MAP 5 Main archaeological excavations in the town from 1960s

**KEY**

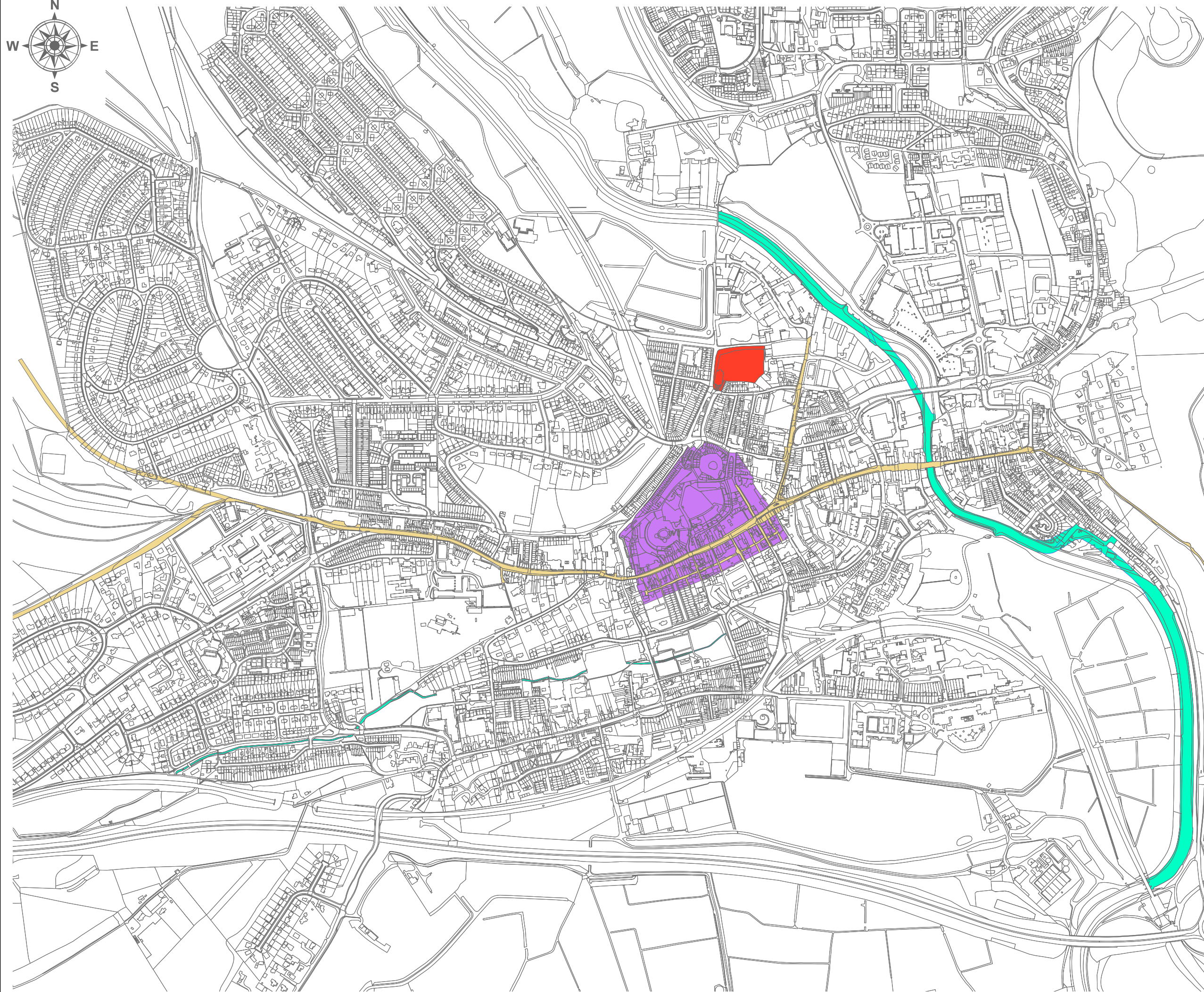
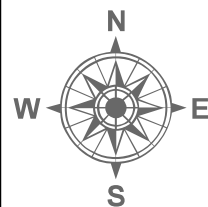
- Lewes excavations

EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



Brighton & Hove



ENGLISH HERITAGE

## LEWES MAP 6

Period 3 (410-949)

### Notes:

1. No internal layout of the burh is known below the site of the castle
2. If a minster, St John-sub-Castro is likely to have had a more substantial precinct than the area shown here.

### KEY

#### HCT

- Church/churchyard
- Inland water
- Lane/road
- Other fortification

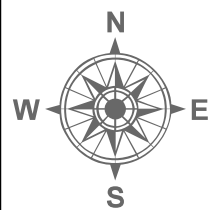
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000

Meters  
0 37.575 150 225 300

Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

## LEWES MAP 7

Period 4 (950-1065)

### Notes:

1. No internal layout of the burh is known below the site of the castle
2. If a minster, St John-sub-Castro is likely to have had a more substantial precinct than the area shown here.

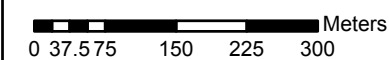
### KEY

#### HCT

- Church/churchyard
- Inland water
- Irregular historic plots
- Lane/road
- Regular burgage plots
- Town defences

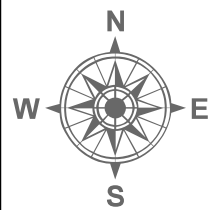
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

### LEWES MAP 8 Period 5 (1066-1149)

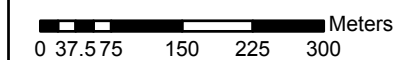
#### KEY

##### HCT

-  Castle
-  Church/churchyard
-  Inland water
-  Irregular historic plots
-  Lane/road
-  Market place
-  Other fortification
-  Quay/wharf
-  Regular burgage plots
-  Religious house

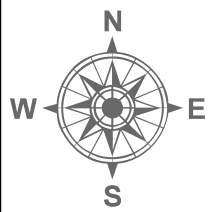
EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.





Sussex EUS



ENGLISH HERITAGE

### LEWES MAP 9 Period 6 (1150-1349)

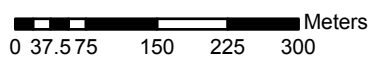
#### KEY

##### HCT

- Castle
- Church/churchyard
- Inland water
- Irregular historic plots
- Lane/road
- Market place
- Mill
- Public
- Quay/wharf
- Regular burgage plots
- Religious house
- Town defences

EUS research and mapping:  
Dr Roland B Harris BA DPhil MIFA  
March 2005

SCALE 1:8,000



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.  
OS Licence No. LA 076600 2004.  
The geological map data is reproduced from the British Geological Map data at the original scale of 1:50,000. Licence 2003/070 British Geological Survey. NERC. All rights reserved.  
This view and other data © East Sussex County Council, West Sussex County Council, and Brighton & Hove City Council.