



The
BULLETIN
 of the
EAST GRINSTEAD
SOCIETY

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THE EAST GRINSTEAD SOCIETY

The Society was founded in 1968 to protect and improve the amenities of East Grinstead and its environs. The town has a long history and a unique architectural heritage, entrusted for the time being to the hands of our generation. It should be our concern that such contributions as we in turn make are worthy of the past and a fitting bequest to the future.

The Society arranges regular talks, discussions and visits. It produces a bi-annual Bulletin of articles of local interest and a more frequent Newsletter. In 1969 it produced a report on the High Street conservation area which was well received as a basis for future policy. It is very active in monitoring all planning applications and making representations to the authorities on planning matters. It has held six exhibitions, published a book of reminiscences two town trails and three sets of postcards reproducing old photographs, restored the churchyard railings, planted trees, produced a tree survey, presented a seat to Sackville College, put up a plaque to commemorate a 1943 bombing tragedy and, with the Town Council, established a now independent Town Museum.

The Society is registered as a charity (no. 257870) and with the Civic Trust and is a member of the Federation of Sussex Amenity Societies. A copy of its constitution is available on request.

The strength of such a society lies in the extent to which it can be seen to represent public opinion; the larger its membership the greater its influence. The subscription is £10 p.a., to be renewed on 1 January every year (except by those joining on or after 1 October).

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EDITORIAL

This is arguably the most important issue of our Bulletin so far, devoted to major original research in an aspect of our history no-one has tackled before. Although not completed to its author's satisfaction (and therefore not offered to a more august outlet) it is important that it be published, both in its own right and as a basis for development by others. The fieldwork, documentary research and critical evaluation are, as one expects of Mr Wood, impressively thorough in both extent and depth. Once again, we and all who will follow after are in his debt.

COVER PICTURE: Mr Wood's diagrammatic representation of the evidence discussed below, located in relation to rivers (apart from the two unidentified holdings). The cross in a circle at the site of the parish church aids getting one's bearings. A location map at 2½" to the mile occupies the centre pages. Maps of particular holdings in the text are at a 6" scale.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

EAST GRINSTEAD IN THE DOMESDAY SURVEY

P.D.Wood

When I moved away I was in the middle of an attempt to establish in detail the Domesday landscape of East Grinstead. This work was nowhere near complete but enough had been done for it to be worthwhile for someone else to carry on: so here is a summary of progress so far.

The object was twofold: first to establish as exactly as possible the actual boundaries of the known Domesday farms and secondly to estimate as far as possible what other holdings might have existed but which are not identified in the survey.

I had done about half of all this - the easy half, of course - and the results are exposed below. However, one holding, Burleigh, I had not touched at all. It is outside the parish in Worth and was going to need a special effort among unfamiliar sources. It is omitted from what follows.

My hope was to use progressively earlier maps and surveys for each holding, starting with the tithe survey of 1841 and going back if possible into mediaeval records, to establish the approximate extent of each holding, then to walk the boundaries looking for physical evidence on the ground. This procedure has been fairly successful as far as it has gone and has enabled us, out of 13 listed holdings, to be pretty sure of four and sure of at least some parts of six more. Brambletye, the most interesting, remains an enigma; two, Felsmere and Sperchdene, remain unidentified: and Burleigh, as already mentioned, has been left aside.

The best edition of Domesday is Domesday Book - Sussex edited by John Morris (Phillimore, 1976) and I have used it throughout. At this point a discussion of Domesday statistics becomes necessary. I venture into this minefield with reluctance since there is little agreement even among experts and an amateur can get his feet blown off but it cannot be shirked. I offer the following

thoughts only to show how I have tried to interpret the entries in the survey (hereafter referred to as D.B.).

Apart from place-names there are four potentially useful quantities given for most holdings which can help towards an estimate of their size and character. The holding (or farm or manor) is assessed to x hides, its arable land can be tilled by y plough-teams, there are actually z ploughteams on the place and there are so many villein farmers and/or smallholders (bordars). The assessment to hides is primarily a matter of taxation. One cannot equate a hide with 120 acres or a virgate with 30 but one hide probably represented an average-sized family farm and one virgate a small farm.

The land available for tillage (ploughlands) may again represent roughly 100+ acres per team but some of it may be abandoned or some may be purely pastoral without arable and therefore without teams. The actual number of ploughteams is probably the most valuable quantity. One team could, and if present presumably did, plough 100-150 acres of arable land. We must not forget, however, that the eight oxen of a team had to be fed; the villein had no tractor nor could he buy fodder, so arable necessarily implies pasture as well.

The number of villeins probably represents the number of families tilling and living off the land. A difficulty arises when there are more villeins than ploughteams. Did they share? Were some of them purely graziers? And the bordars, or smallholders - how big were their holdings? 5 acres? 20 acres? Sometimes several bordars appear to be sharing one team among them, a practical and sensible arrangement.

One can only put all the figures together for any one holding and see what they suggest, which may be anything from obvious to impenetrable. An finally one must never forget that the mediaeval mind did not equate truth with factual accuracy, as we like to think we do.

Before considering individual farms in detail, opposite for easy reference is a table giving the essential statistics for the whole D.B. entry for Grinsted hundred.

TWENTY FIVE YEARS AGO: Bulletin 5 (January 1971) reported an attendance of over 160 at a joint meeting with the Soil Association, with discussion going on well after 10 p.m. There were 'signs of disorder re-asserting itself' after the clear-up which had followed our 1969 High Street report. We regretted the siting of the new church hall in the churchyard and hoped for the removal of the tarmac covering the paths there. Bulletin 6 (May 1971), in an experimental move to three issues a year (for there was no separate Newsletter yet), reported that the railway viaduct was definitely to be demolished and discussed government proposals for re-organising local authorities (effected in 1974). 'Far too little consideration seems to be given', opined the editor, 'when street names are chosen. The nadir must be at Garden Wood, apparently a list of "Writers everyone Has Heard Of".'

Domesday name	Identification	Occupier 1086	Occupier 1066	Hides or virgates	Plough lands	Plough teams	Inhabitants	Rent 1066/1086		Sundries
CALVRESTOT	SHOVELSTRODE	Mortain	Alnoth	1h	2	2	1 villein 2 bordars	20s	20s	8 hogs from woods etc.
CELRESTVIS	LITTLE SHOVELSTRODE	Ansfrid	Aelmer	1v	-	-	-	5s	7s	2 hogs
FELSMERE	-	Mortain	-	1½h	-	-	-	-	-	-
BERCHELIE	BURLEIGH	William	Alfhere	1½h	4	1	3 villeins	20s	10s	-
WARLEGE	GULLEGE & TILKHURST	William	Wulfeva	2h	5	3	3 villeins	20s	15s	7 hogs
SPERCHDENE	-	William	Cana	1v	½	-	-	3s	2s	-
-	LAVERTYE	Ansfrid	King Edward	1¼h	6	2	6 villeins	15s	20s	6 hogs, 1 acre meadow 1 ironworks
HALSEELDENE	HAZELDEN	Ansfrid	Wulfward	½h	2	-	-	10s	5s	-
BIOCHEST	BROCKHURST	Ansfrid	Fran	½h	1	1	1 villein	15s	5s	-
BRANBERTIE	BRAMBLETYE	Ralph	Cola	1h	1½	1½	1 villein 14 bordars	30s	20s	12 hogs, 5 ac. meadow mill, priest
WASLEBIE	WALESBEECH	Ralph	Fulk	1h	3	½	2 villeins	30s	20s	-
STANDENE	STANDEN	Mortain	Azor	1½v	-	-	-	-	-	-
FERLEGA	FAIRLIGHT	Mortain	-	1v	½	1	1 villein	10s	5s	-

DOMESDAY BOOK'S INFORMATION IN TABULAR FORM

WARLEGE

It has long been thought probable that this holding was the later Warley or Wardleigh, and this has been satisfactorially confirmed recently [1]. The bounds are given in an extent of 1564 [2]; they are those of the present Gullege and Tilkhurst farms and are almost identical with those given by the tithe survey. The bounds

'beginneth at the Sherestone and from thence leading by the way to the corner of Imberhorne wood as a banke doth lead on the East and thence leadeth by the Manor of Imberhorne unto Depe Lane from the said land [sic] to Sallye Lane upon the South East and thence to the parcel of land called Hopers [Hophurst]. Mem. that within the said Borough is one Common called Felbridge Common which belongyth to the Manor of Broadhurst in the parish of Horsted Keynes.'

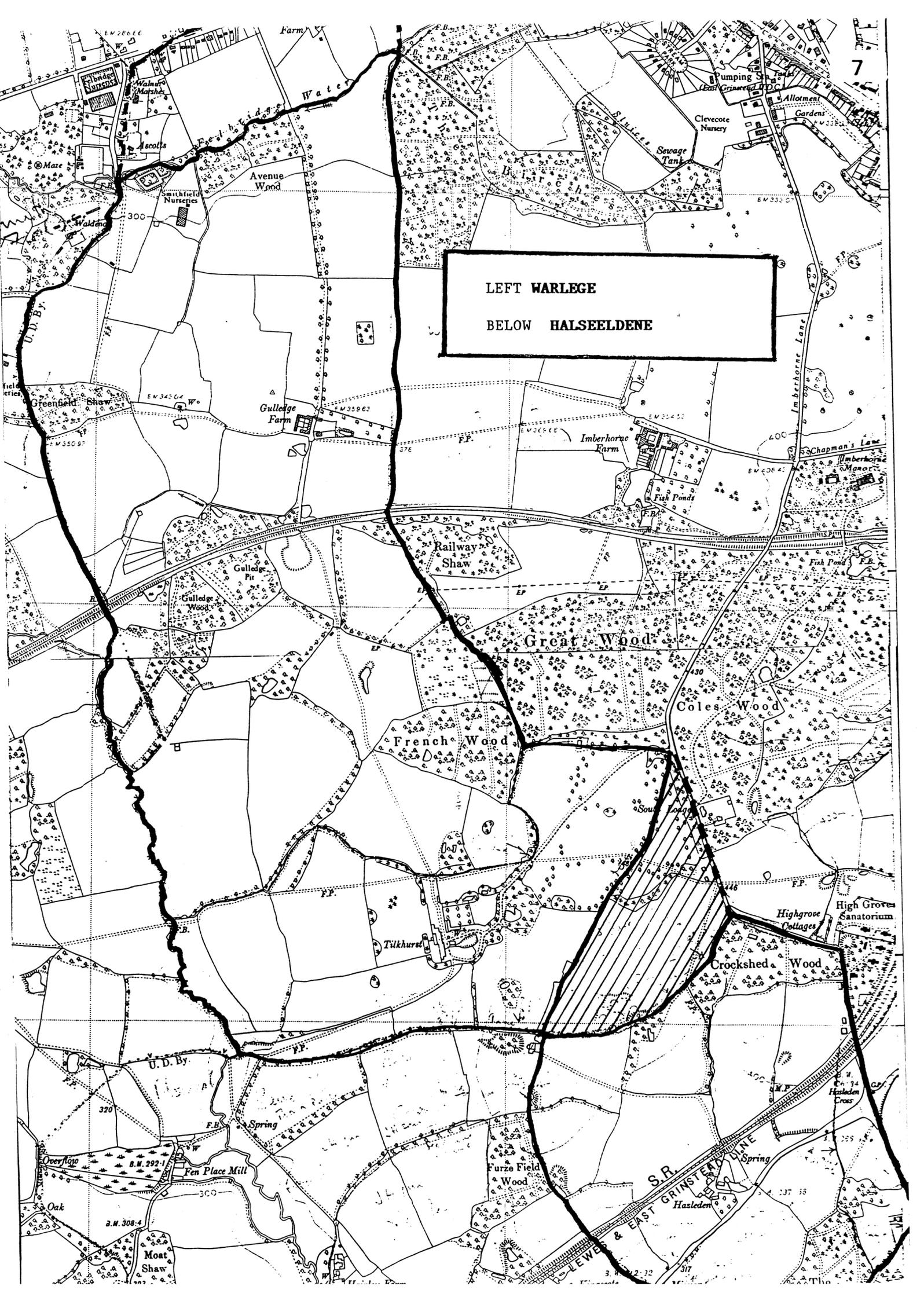
The sherestone was evidently a boundary stone at the north west corner, some of which still mark the county boundary. Imberhorne Wood is now called the Birches. The ancient boundary between Warlege and Imberhorne is recorded on a map of 1597 [3] and was about exactly the same in 1841. There can be no doubt that it was the Domesday boundary. Depe and Sallye Lanes are still traceable on the ground; they were respectively the old road to Hurley Farm, another ancient and probably early settlement (see below), and to Burleigh. The western end of this boundary consists of a very impressive bank some 10-12 feet high, partly natural, partly man-made. The west boundary follows the stream as far north as the old railway, and field boundaries and the old lane thereafter, back to the sherestone. It is also the parish boundary and must therefore be ancient.

There are two doubtful points about these boundaries. The extent of 1564 includes the common lying between Felbridge Water and the county boundary. I suspect that this was waste land taken in later and have shown the D.B. boundary following Felbridge Water but there is no certainty. Secondly, the land east of Tilkhurst, hatched on the map, could on the physical evidence, well have belonged to Hazelden (see below). Today it forms part of Tilkhurst. Its name, the Reedings, indicates a later clearance from the waste. I have followed the extent and excluded it from Warlege.

The total area in the tithe survey was 484 acres. Within the heavy black outline on the map it is 500 acres, *approximately*.

D.B. records 2 hides, 5 ploughlands, 3 ploughteams and 3 villein farmers. This suggests to me three farms with a total area of some 350 acres, the remainder being pasture, woodlands and waste, which agrees well enough with the area on the map to the sort of accuracy one can expect. Where are these farms? One was probably at the north end near the later moated site and the traces of building platforms. Tilkhurst was probably another: and one in the middle, perhaps near the present site of Gullege on the ancient east-west track which bisects this building. Later names for lands here were Cortesfield, Frenchland, Heathlands, Wardleigh, Cockmans, Telkhurst and, from 1558 only, 1e Gullege.

More research is needed here; the East Grinstead Museum Society's first occasional paper provides a starting point [4].



LEFT WARLEGE
BELOW HALSELDENE

BIOCHEST

This has long been identified with Brockhurst, an ancient freehold. Our earliest information is again from the Buckhurst Terrier [5]. The text names the fields and gives the total area as 106 acres 1 rood 33 perches. This agrees pretty exactly with the same lands as recorded in the tithe survey at 106-2-07. However, the terrier map goes badly astray: it contains about 126 acres and exhibits all the signs of having been fudged up in the drawing office. The northern part has been rotated through about 30 degrees and made to fit regardless; it is totally unreliable in this area.

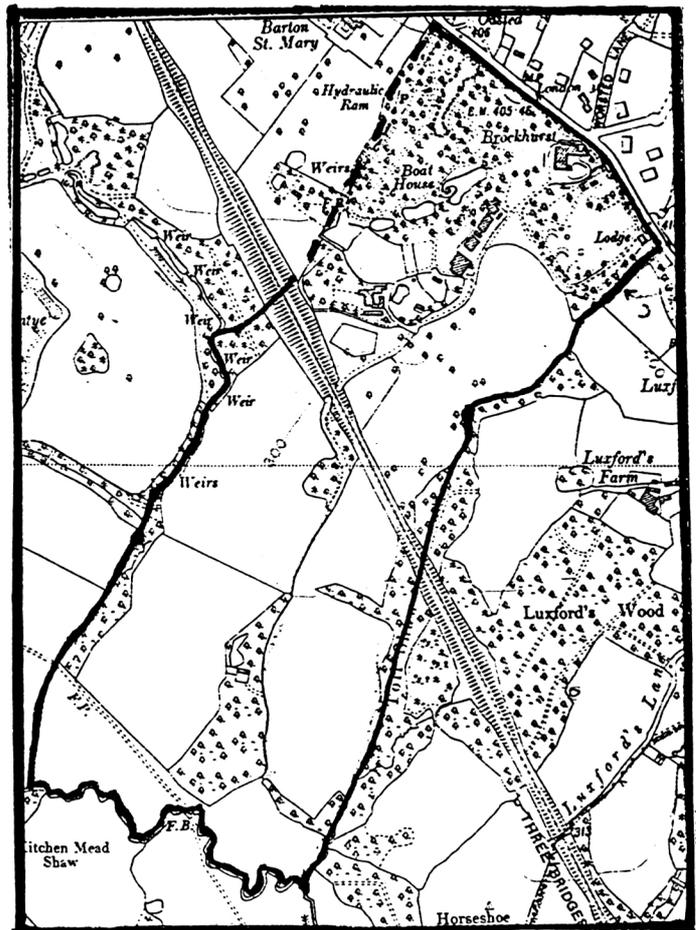
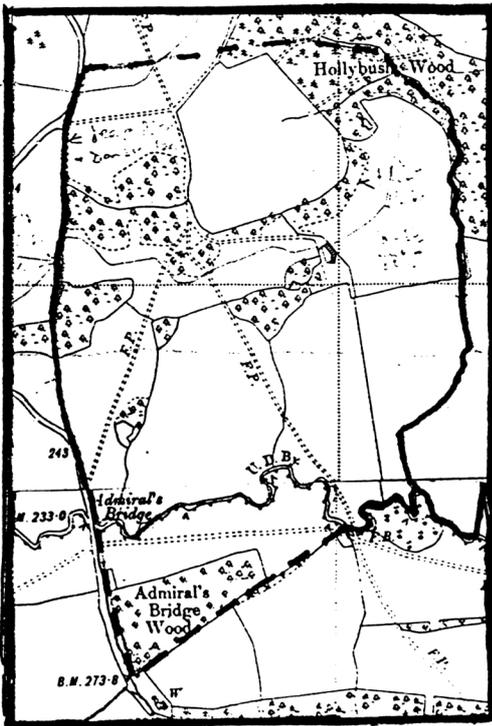
On the ground the N.E. boundary is the A22 road, which here follows the line of the ancient trackway. The S.E. boundary is marked for almost the whole of its length by a deep ghyll. On the S.W. boundary is the Dunnings - Horseshoe brook. Another stream bounds the holding on the N.W. as far north as the old railway but thereafter certainty vanishes. From the railway to the A22 is precisely the point where we cannot trust the terrier map and extensive 19th century landscaping has removed all ancient traces. There can be little doubt of its approximate line, however, and I have drawn my broken line along the small stream shown on the tithe map. The very close agreement of acreages makes this a reasonable conjecture.

D.B. records half a hide, one ploughland, one ploughteam and one villein. Clearly a modest single-family farm, and the area of 106 acres is in good agreement.

RIGHT: BIOCHEST

(A22 diagonally across top right-hand corner)

BELOW: STANDENE



STANDENE

The identification with Standen need not be doubted. The original Standen comprised only the southern part of the present estate, running down to the Medway; the northern part, where the house and buildings stand, was anciently Homewood, later Hollybush, and was copyhold of the manor of Imberhorne. Though an early settlement, it appears to have been some years post-Domesday.

The earliest map available is Yeakell and Gardner's survey of 1776 [6], which shows both farms, with the boundary between them separating the copyhold of Hollybush from the freehold of Standen. The boundaries are those indicated by the heavy line on the map. The total acreage is given as 97-1-37 gross; woodland 29-1-09, cultivated land 68-0-28.

We have some 16th century references without maps: a grant of Shovelstrode manor and lands from Henry VIII to John Aske, 1546 [7], which refers to '100 acres in Shovelstrode and Grynsted called Standen'; Gage's inquisition post mortem, 1598 [8], says 'messenger, granary, garden and 60 acres': and a lease of 1611 [9] comprising 'messenger, 2 barns, 3 parcels of meadow 15 acres, 8 acres of pasture and 45 acres of arable, rent £14'.

The tithe survey does not separate Hollybush and Standen but its east, south and west boundaries of Standen do not differ from the map of 1776.

Fieldwork is hampered by the fact that the southern half of Standen is now under the waters of Weir Wood reservoir. It is impossible to determine whether the triangle south of the river formed part of the original Domesday holding. I have included it since that agrees better with the very consistent acreages but I feel that the river makes a more natural and likely boundary. On the west the boundary is a derelict sunken track which led from Saint Hill Green via Admirals Bridge to Ashdown Forest, and on the east is a small stream. The northern boundary runs through woodland and is marked by no very evident physical features but, believing that the division between freehold and copyhold is likely to be ancient, I have followed the map of 1776.

D.B. says of Standen only that it is assessed to $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates and gives no other information. This is no help but suggests a small farm of about the right size.

HALSEELDENE

The identification with Hazelden is undisputed. This is a difficult one. The only known maps of Hazelden are the tithe map and one of 1840 [10], both of which include about 180 acres including a good deal attributed elsewhere by the Buckhurst Terrier. The Domesday holding must have been smaller than this. The terrier itself [11] agrees with a deed of 1387 in the Lewes chartulary [12] in assigning 40 acres to Hazelden, which seems too small.

D.B. records an assessment to half a hide and two ploughlands but is silent as to ploughteams and inhabitants. The value, 5s., is only half that for 1066 and it is not impossible that the hold-

ing was temporarily deserted. At all events, none of this gives much help in deciding the Domesday boundaries.

However, on the map and on the ground they stand out. The very clear sweep of the west boundary, co-inciding almost all the way with the old sunken lanes, joins up neatly with the old road to Ridgehill on the south and Imberhorne Lane on the east. It looks obvious, and at about 140 acres it is a likely size, but there are many difficulties of detail. The line of Imberhorne Lane in antiquity is doubtful south of Imberhorne itself; the portion adjoining Tilkhurst (see above under Warlege) may have belonged to Tilkhurst and anyway is an odd shape; all the documentary evidence is obscure: and so on. Much more research and fieldwork is needed but I feel fairly sure that the broken line on the map is not far wrong.

UN-NAMED HOLDING

This has never been conclusively identified. There are several grounds, however, for suggesting that it was Lavertye, now Ashdown Farm.

First, Dr Salzman thought it was. His articles on Sussex Domesday tenants [13] trace, after a fashion, the descent of Lavertye from Ansfrid in 1086 to Isabel de la Haye in 1285. This falls far short of proof but a note in his preface to the Sussex Domesday [14] suggests that he found it convincing; he was certainly not one to make rash unsupported statements.

Secondly, Lavertye is a large, easily worked, south-facing block of land in the Medway valley with easy access from the ancient Cansiron Lane trackway. If it was not settled in 1086 it would form the only sizeable piece of unfarmed valley land in the hundred.

Thirdly, it is a substantial holding as specified in D.B. It answered for $1\frac{3}{4}$ hides, had 6 villein farmers, 6 ploughlands and 2 ploughteams. It also had some river meadows, a distinction it shared only with Brambletye. If it was not Lavertye, where was it? No other large area of demesne lands suggests itself as suitable.

I cannot prove it but I find these considerations convincing.

As to its precise extent, the earliest map we have (the map in the Buckhurst Terrier is missing, alas) is a rough cropping plan by Martin Hoath, the bailiff, in 1796 [15]. Though not drawn to scale, there is no doubt about the identity of these lands, and they are edged with a heavy black line on the map; they amount to some 440 acres. The tithe map includes all of this except Pock Hill, and Ryst Wood besides. The verbal description in the Buckhurst Terrier [16] is obscure; when adjusted to include the separately listed Katherine lands it is obviously describing approximately the same lands but falls short by some 40 acres.

We have an extent of 1285 [17] which describes Lavertye on the death of Isabel de la Haye as comprising:

11

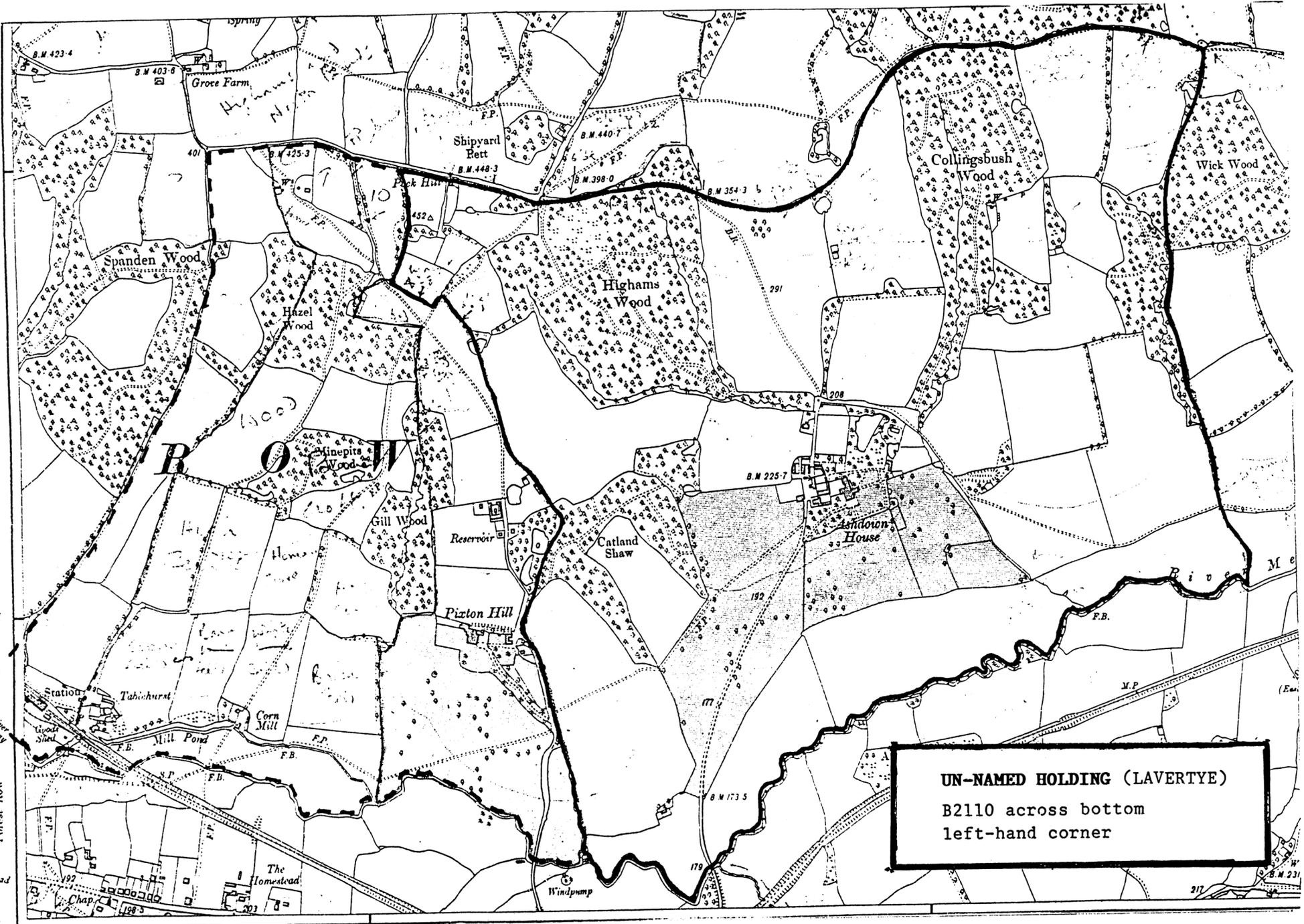
S.W.
30''

ST

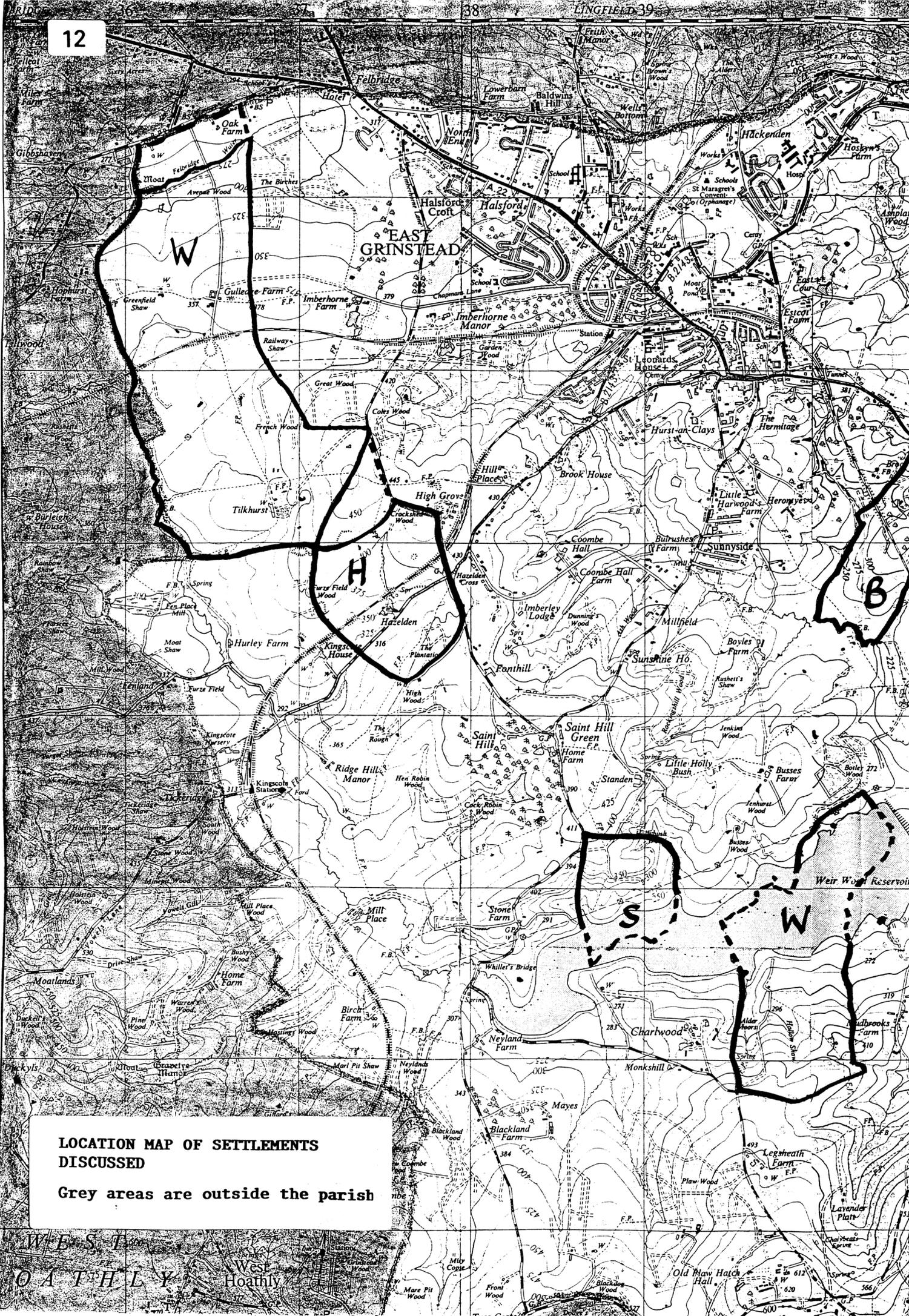
50''

Forest Row

from
the lead



UN-NAMED HOLDING (LAVERTYE)
 B2110 across bottom
 left-hand corner

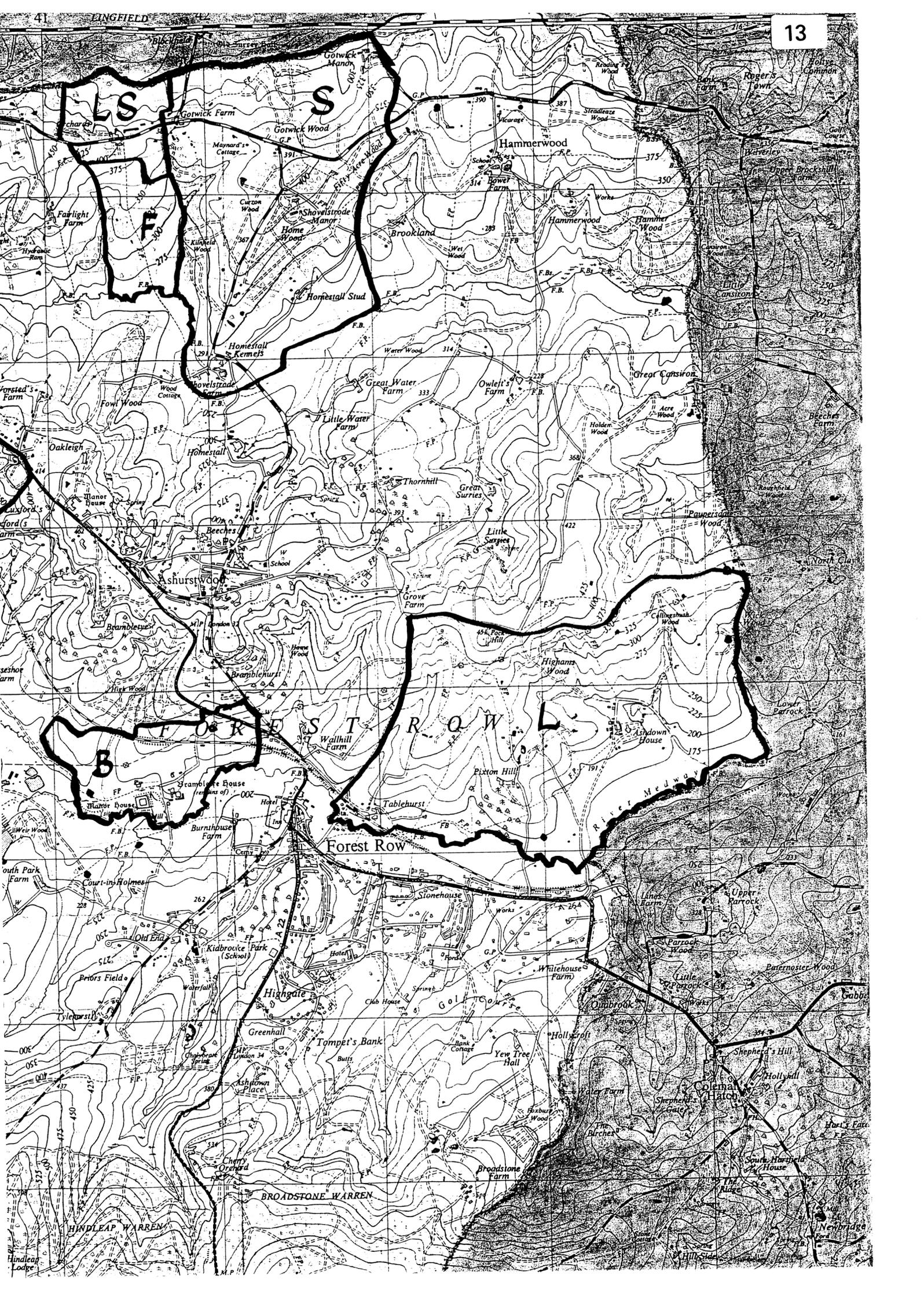


**LOCATION MAP OF SETTLEMENTS
DISCUSSED**

Grey areas are outside the parish

W E S T
O A T H L Y

West
Hoathly



LS S

F

T O R K E S T R O W

Forest Row

HINDLEAP WARREN

BROADSTONE WARREN

Newbridge

71 acres of land at 3d.	20s. 8d.
48 acres of waste at 2d.	8s. -
10 acres of meadow at 18d.	15s. -
foreign pasture	1s. -
pannage	2s. -
assize tenants	8s. 5½d.
customary tenants	10s. 11¼d.
services and ploughing	2s. 9d.

This gives us a total of 129 acres of farmland in demesne plus the freeholds, leaseholds and copyholds in the hands of tenants, not to mention extensive woodlands. The information is too vague to be very helpful but the description does not appear inconsistent.

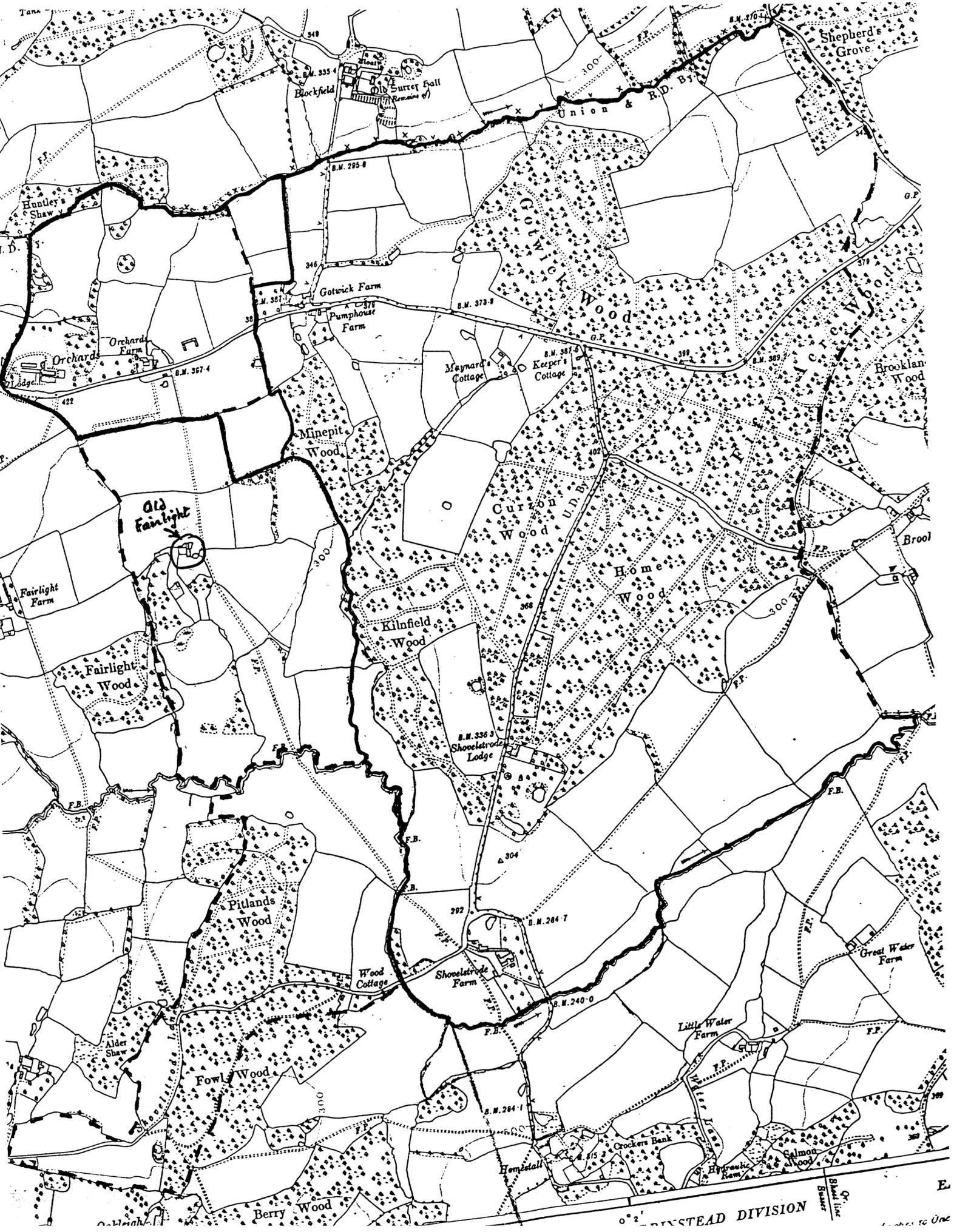
If we accept that the black edging defines Lavertye itself, at least approximately, back to the 13th century, what can we deduce about Domesday? If there were 6 villein farms (some pastoral only, to judge by the deficiency in ploughteams) 440 acres, much of it woodland, seems barely sufficient. If we look at the physical boundaries we find on the east the parish boundary following a ghyll dividing Lavertye from another Domesday manor, Parrock. To the south is the River Medway, and Parrock again; to the north the prehistoric Cansiron Lane ridgeway described by Margary [18]. And to the west? The black line on the map follows a variety of possibly ancient hedgebanks but along the broken line runs a very attractive alternative. This is another prehistoric track, also referred to by Margary, and it encloses Pixton and Tablehurst along with Lavertye. Now, the Buckhurst Terrier's description of Lavertye includes the lands of Pickstones, and the map of Tablehurst [19] shows them lying on both sides of Tablehurst itself and bounded on the west by the said track. This alternative would add about another 240 acres, giving a grand total for the whole area of about 680 acres including woodland. This is much more like the size suggested by the entry in D.B. and I tentatively advance it as a serious hypothesis.

CALVRESTOT, identified by all authorities with Shovelstrode.

I have been unable to trace any old maps of Shovelstrode earlier than the tithe map of 1841 but the Gage MSS in the East Sussex Record Office contain several rentals going back to the mid-16th century. During this period the farm and the extensive woodland seem to have changed very little. The tithe map shows 180 acres of cultivated land and 229 acres of woodland. A grant of 1546 from Henry VIII to John Aske [20] gives about 196 acres of cultivated land but does not specify woodland. A terrier which appears to relate to another grant of 1653 [21] specifies 170 acres of wood, 150 of which are accurately identifiable on the tithe map. Other records give variations on the same theme but where field-names are given it is clear that we are dealing with the same lands.

The question is: What was the extent of the Domesday settlement? D.B. lists an assessment to 1 hide, 2 ploughlands, 2 teams, 1 villein and 3 bordars. There can be little doubt that we have one single-family farm with one ploughteam and three smallholders sharing one team among them. The single farm is Shovelstrode. The candidates for the smallholdings, if they coincided at all with modern divisions, are Gotwick, Pumhouse and

CALVRESTOT (right), CELRESTVIS (top left) AND FERLEGA (bottom left)



Maynards, nicely grouped to the north and north west, and just possibly Brooklands on the east. The first three suggest themselves at once, from a glance at the map, while Brooklands is named in 1544 as parcel of the manor of Shovelstrode [22]. The northern boundary must have been the Kent water, which today forms the county boundary. The southern must have been the Shovelstrode brook. The tributary stream and the boundary with Little Shovelstrode and Fairlight (q.v.) account for the west side. On the east it depends on Brooklands. I don't really believe it was a smallholding; it's too big, though the possibility must remain at present. If it wasn't, the east boundary probably followed approximately the route of the tithe map as indicated by the broken line.

This leaves one dubious area in the S.E. corner - quite a large area - outside the suggested Domesday bounds but nevertheless part of the holding by the 16th century. Why suggest its exclusion from the 11th century farm? One reason is that the original bounds are likely to have followed natural features like streams. Another is concerned with access roads to the farm. Roads are dealt with more particularly below but the original access must have been from the ancient trackway of Holtye Road. The other way in, from the Lewes Road (admittedly another old ridgeway) may well have come into use after the creation of the town made this a useful route, and this in turn may have led to the clearance and inclusion of extra land along the line of this access way at some time in the 13th century.

More fieldwork and a search for mediaeval records are needed. Meanwhile I tentatively propose the solid line as the Domesday boundary.

CELRESTVIS

This holding, with Calvrestot, has always been identified with Shovelstrode. It was clearly much smaller than the principal farm (see above), being assessed at one virgate as against one hide, and there is a strong case for allocating it to Orchards Farm. This farm, previously Goodwins, was named Little Shovelstrode on the 1808 O.S. 2" map and Sholstrode in a lease of 1774 [23], and it adjoins Shovelstrode itself on the east and Fairlight (see below) on the south. Also it has an interesting 14th century house. [24].

The only known maps are the tithe map and one in auction particulars of 1907. Acreages can be obtained from the lease of 1774 (81), Turner's valuations of 1829 and 1835 [25] (respectively 73 and 74 plus 21 woodland), the tithe survey (73) and the auction particulars (70). The heavy outline on the map shows the 73 acres of the tithe map. I am tempted, on grounds solely of symmetry, to regard the protruding southern field as a later acquisition from Fairlight (q.v.) and to suggest that the Domesday boundary followed the broken line.

On the ground the Kent Water marks the county boundary and provides the obvious boundary to the north. The others are disappointingly nondescript and I am unable to glean anything from them. Perhaps someone else will be more successful.

D.B. tells us very little. An assessment to one virgate indicates a holding of roughly the suggested size: and there I have had to leave it.

FERLEGA, identified by all authorities as Fairlight.

Unfortunately we have no useful maps. The tithe map shows a large farm, far too large to have much relevance to the Domesday holding. I have found various passing references to Fairlight in the 16th century Gage MSS but all have it either fragmented or combined with other lands such as Ashplats and Hollands. Acreages, field-names, etc. are not given. Further searches are needed.

There is one clue on the tithe map. Field no. 2579 is named Old Fairlight and adjoins the old steading circled on the map. (A new house has lately been built here.) This leads me to a pure piece of conjecture: a rectangular block of land fitting neatly alongside Shovelstrode and Little Shovelstrode with its southern edge defined by Shovelstrode brook. The area is approximately 90 acres.

D.B. gives us an assessment to one virgate, half a ploughland, one team and one villein farmer. I would expect from this to find a small farm, between 50 and 100 acres, and the suggested boundaries as shown on the map fit this well enough. All that is lacking is evidence.

WASLEBIE

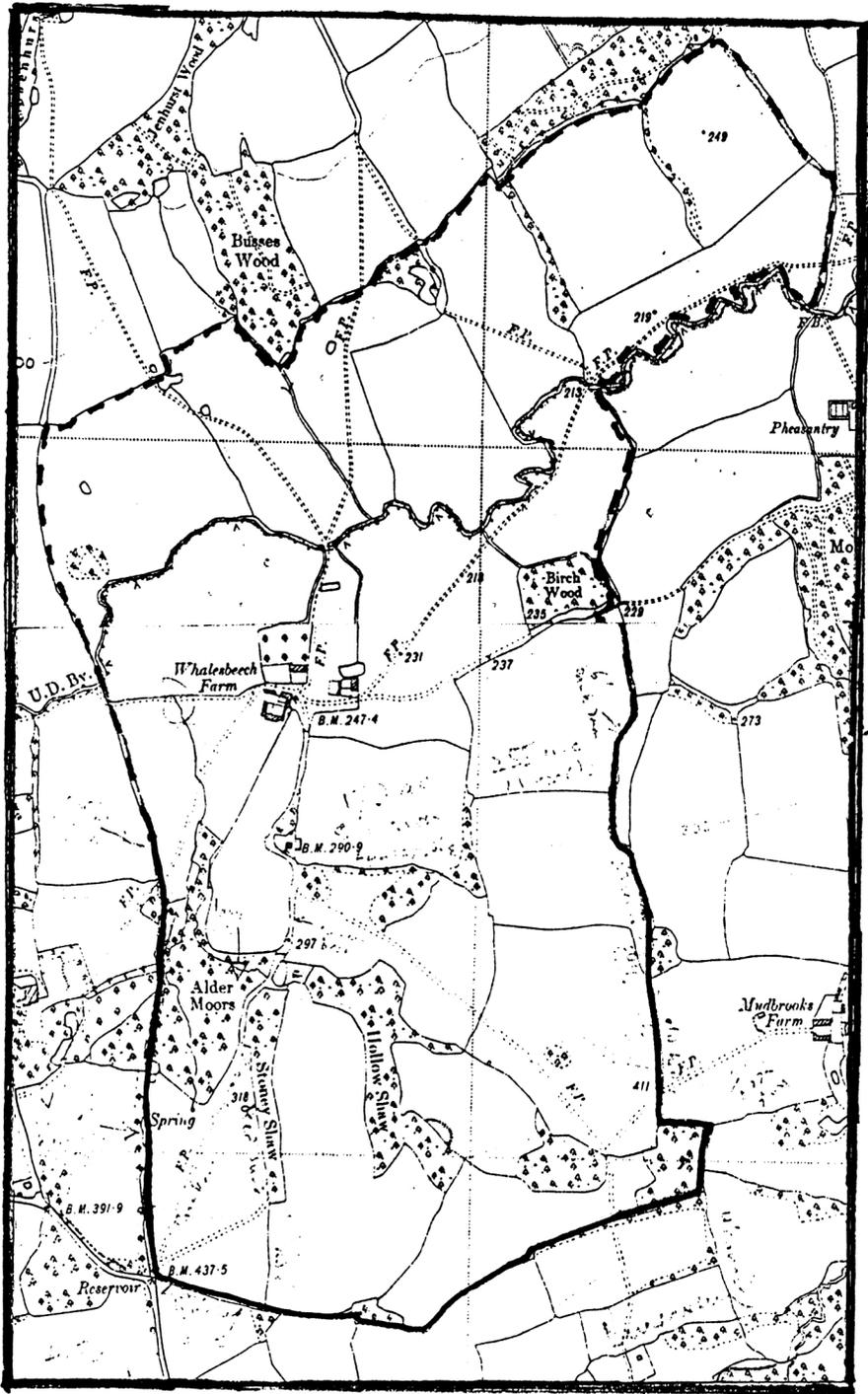
No-one doubts that this is Walesbeech.

I have been unable to trace any map of Walesbeech earlier than the tithe map or any significant documents, though something must surely exist somewhere. This leaves us relying on fieldwork for the southern half of the holding; the northern now lies under Weir Wood reservoir.

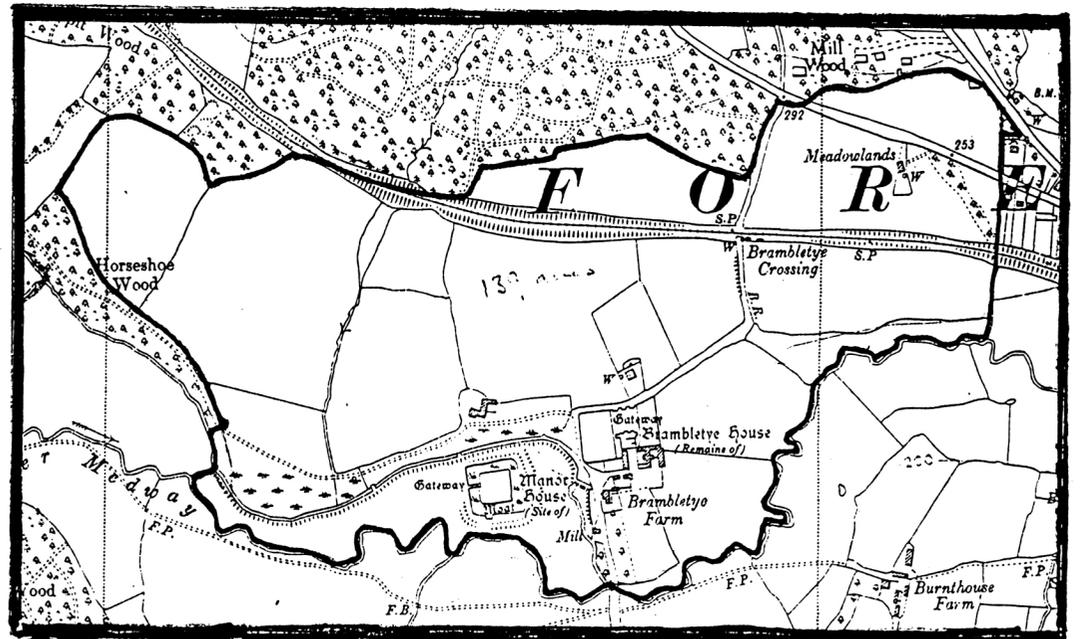
The black outline on the map is the tithe boundary and encloses 280 acres. On the ground, the west side as far north as the water's edge is an ancient bank, particularly impressive at the south end. Banks and a watercourse satisfactorily define the east side. The south boundary is physically unremarkable - a mere hedge - but it separates the freehold of Walesbeech from Legsheath Farm, formerly copyhold of the manor of Maresfield, so is probably ancient. For the rest, in the absence of other evidence, we are thrown back on the tithe map. It is possible that the Domesday north boundary may have been the river but good river meadow land was valuable (see the values per acre at Lavertye) and was snapped up early. The fact that no other farm secured it on the north side suggests that it had already been collared by Walesbeech. And that is as near as we can get until further and better particulars become available.

The suggested area of 280 acres is reasonable for the D.B. statistics of 1 hide, 3 ploughlands, half a plough team and 2 villein farmers. It is possible that the two villeins shared the farmstead site; there is no trace of any other.

LEFT: WASLEBIE



BELOW: BRANBERTIE



BRANBERTIE

Brambletye was the most important and probably the oldest of the Domesday settlements, with one villein, 14 smallholders, a priest and a mill. It is also one of the most obscure.

To start with, all seems obvious. The tithe map shows two farms called Brambletye and Brambletye Mills totalling 139 acres. Various inquisitions in the Public Record Office give similar areas:

1285	66 acres arable, 66 pasture, 10 meadow, total 141	[26]
1327	100 arable, 20 meadow, total 120 + 200 acres of park	[27]
1336	69 arable, 16 pasture, 24 meadow, 15 underwood, total 130 + park of 1½ leagues circuit	[28]
1424	30 acres arable, 20 pasture, 23 meadow, total 73 (The description shows the farm to have been in a delapidated state.)	[29]

It seems therefore that the single-villein farm must have been roughly the tithe map farms, indicated by a heavy black line on the map. It is when we consider the smallholders and the rest of what later became the manor and estate of Brambletye that darkness descends. As bordars it is unlikely that the smallholders would have farmed more than 10-20 acres apiece: where were they? Did they form the nucleus of craftsmen in an embryo Forest Row village, supplying the hundred with carpenter, miller, blacksmith and so on? Were they scattered over the landscape, staking claims to Horseshoe, Burnt House, South Park, Mudbrooks, Luxfords, Park Corner and Court-in-Holmes? The difficulty is that the creation of the park in the 13th century, whatever size it may have been, must have completely wiped out what was there before. The present pattern of farms was created at the disparking, probably in the 16th century, so that there must have been not just one-phase transition but two.

The first requirement must be to establish by fieldwork the line of the old park pale, or such part as has not been destroyed by Weir Wood reservoir. This may not be easy; the 1327 inquisition lists the park as containing 200 acres, that of 1336 as having a circuit of 1½ leagues. These measurements tally quite well, marginally better for a long thin park than for a square one. The evidence of place-names tempts us to think that the park extended from Park Corner in the north to South Park Farm in the south but in that case the area would be much more than 200 acres.

Even if this can be done (and the reservoir covers much of it) it is doubtful how much of the Domesday landscape can be recovered as we are unlikely to get documentary evidence much earlier than 1285. D.B. gives us an assessment to 1 hide, 1½ ploughlands, 1½ ploughteams, 1 villein farmer, 14 smallholders, 1 priest and a mill, also some river meadow. We may assume the villein farm to be about 140 acres with one ploughteam. the odd four oxen may have been shared among the bordars or, less probably, may have been shared with Walesbeech to make one whole team; the holdings were in one ownership and lay close together. Further conjecture seems useless until more work has been done.

FELSMERE AND SPERCHDENE

These two holdings have never been identified and I have no suggestions to make.

D.B. gives no figures for Felsmere except the assessment to $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, which suggests a holding of considerable size. It is difficult to imagine where such an area of freehold could be fitted in unless it is either Imberhorne or Ridgehill. The form of the place-name suggests the Imberhorne area but speculation is idle without some facts to go on.

Sperchdene was very small: one virgate, half a ploughland, no team, no inhabitant and valued at a mere 2s. It was probably absorbed into some larger holding and lost its identity but any guess is as good as another until the name crops up in some medieval document and we can nail it down.

NON-DOMESDAY HOLDINGS

It is usually agreed that in the Weald generally there were many more settlements in 1086 than are named in D.B. They were silently included in the entries for the parent manors in south Sussex and are hard to identify. We can make a few suggestions for East Grinstead.

1 **IMBERHORNE**, a large and important manor: The place-name is known to have existed in 1100 [30]. It adjoined the known Domesday holdings of Warlege and Hazelden and lay astride the old trackway described by Margary (see below). I believe it must have existed in some form in 1086, whether as Felsmere, as the half-hide listed in D.B. under Sedlescombe manor or under some other heading.

2 **HAWLEY**: This is today spelt either Hurley or Hairley and lies south west of Tilkhurst. In the past it has been spelt Haley, Yawley, Haldeley, Hewawley and Healdeleia among other forms. One wonders why. The Buckhurst Terrier (p.47) lists the Deane (adjoining Mill Place) as a freehold parcel of the hide of Haldeley. The Lewes chartulary [31] speaks, in 1103, of 'one hide of land which is called Healdeleya which is of the manor of Ripe' with details of manorial duties. D.B. probably includes this under the main entry for Ripe (10:86 in D.B. Sussex). The hide apparently comprised various detached lands along the Medway from Hairley Farm itself as far as the boundary of Stone Farm.

3 **RIDGEHILL**: The only claim this farm has for an 11th century date is that it formed part of the demesnes of Imberhorne manor, marches with Hawley and Hazelden and, like Walesbeech, Standen and Warley, was associated with Roman ironworking.

4 **DALLINGRIDGE**, generally allowed to be a 7th or 8th century place-name, was freehold land lying close to the ancient Forest ridgeway. It is contained by the parish boundary, which makes a special diversion south of the ridgeway to include it.

Other, wilder, conjectures, just worth bearing in mind, are Wallhill, Hollybush (early but copyhold), Mill Place and Tickeridge (freeholds with early houses). There may be others.

CONCLUSIONS

This survey is barely half-finished and partly conjectural at that. Nevertheless, from what has emerged we may cautiously draw a few provisional conclusions.

1 SETTLED AREA

The old parish of East Grinstead was 15,130 acres in extent and probably did not greatly vary from the Domesday hundred, apart from Burleigh which I have omitted altogether.

The total area of the Domesday holdings suggested above is approximately 2500 acres including their associated woodlands. Adding something for the unidentified holdings will bring this close to 3000, or about 20% of the parish. We must then make a stab at the holdings not specified in D.B. such as those noted on p.20. By an historical accident [32] D.B.'s description of East Grinstead was unusually comprehensive for a High Weald hundred, so we must not add too much. Accuracy is not to be looked for but adding a further 1000 acres would lead us to guess that between a quarter and a third of the landscape in 1086 was settled, farmed in some way, and at least partially cultivated.

2 ROADS

It is possible to say, with an unusually high degree of accuracy, where the access roads to most of the holdings ran. This can tell us something about the pattern of main trackways in the area in the 11th century. These accesses were as follows:

BRAMBLETYE: From Hammerwood Road at Ashurst Wood war memorial, due south via Wall Hill, a track through Mill Wood, across the A22 and down a derelict hollow way on the west side of the modern entrance drive;

LAVERTYE: From Cansiron Lane at the N.E. corner of Highams Wood S.S.E. to the farm;

BROCKHURST: From the A22 near enough along the present drive to the farm;

SHOVELSTRODE: From Holtye Road along Shovelstrode Lane direct to the farm;

LITTLE SHOVELSTRODE: Directly off Holtye Road;

FAIRLIGHT: From Holtye Road but line unknown;

WALESBEECH: From the Wych Cross - West Hoathly road at the Goat crossroads, north down Monkshill Lane to the S.W. corner of Wales-beech, then down a hollow way through the Aldermans to the farm;

STANDEN: Possibly from the Saint Hill - West Hoathly road but line uncertain;

WARLEY: Directly from the ancient east-west trackway which bisects the holding;

[**IMBERHORNE**]: As Warley;

[**HURLEY**]: From Imberhorne Farm via Depe Lane;

HAZELDEN: As Hurley initially then south round the west side of Crockshed Wood to the farm;

[**RIDGEHILL**]: From Imberhorne Lane at Fonthill Lodge, S.W. down the old track to the farm.

This information is interesting because it precisely confirms the hypothesis put forward by I.D.Margary in Sussex Notes & Queries, vol.11 (1946), pp.77-81. His fig.1 (reproduced opposite) accounts for access to every one of the Domesday holdings except Walesbeech (and Dallingridge) which got access from the Forest ridgeway between Selsfield and Wych Cross. The 'main roads' of the time were clearly:

- a The east-west trackway from Crawley Down through Warley, Imberhorne, Lewes Road, Hammerwood Road and Cansiron Lane to Hartfield and Withyham,
- b A branch from a via Mount Noddy and Holtye Road,
- c Imberhorne Lane, with branches to Ashdown Forest, Turners Hill and Selsfield,
- d The prehistoric trackway from Titsey via Dry Hill, Hammerwood, Thornhill and Forest Row to the South Downs,
- e The Forest ridgeway from Hartfield via Wych Cross to Selsfield.

3 TYPES OF SETTLEMENT

One or two recurring features can be discerned in these holdings.

First, they are all bounded on at least one side by a river or serviceable stream, for obvious reasons. However, they do not hog the valuable river ground but tend to run back up the hill into poorer, more broken ground. Standen and Brockhurst in particular have very rocky and unmanageable upper parts.

Secondly, one would expect primary settlements, carved from the waste, to be roughly circular, or at least with out-curving boundaries: but no, most of these holdings display a surprisingly tidy-minded preference for a roughly rectangular format. Hazelden and Brambletye are the only exceptions.

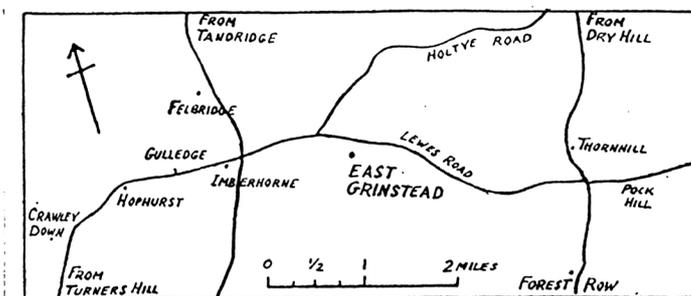
Thirdly, all except Walesbeech, they are situated on south-facing slopes, which is chiefly remarkable for being exactly what you might expect.

Fourthly, where their boundaries are hedgebanks they mostly run for considerable distances in an unbroken line, with other field boundaries butting against them but respecting their integrity.

Fifthly, the pattern of settlement is overwhelmingly that of single-family farms. Shared farmsteads, tending to a hamlet type of settlement, may have occurred at Brambletye and Lavertye and just possibly at Walesbeech but this is far from certain; the pattern of later development is against it.

There may well be other characteristics that I have missed, and they may all be worth bearing in mind when hunting for other possible early settlements.

RIGHT: Local prehistoric trackways as identified by I.D.Margary



REFERENCES

B.M. = British Museum; B.T. = Buckhurst Terrier (S.R.S., vol.39 (1933)); E.G. = East Grinstead; E.S.R.O. = East Sussex Record Office; P.R.O. = Public Record Office; S.A.C. = Sussex Archaeological Collections; S.R.S. = Sussex Record Society; W.S.R.O. = West Sussex Record Office

- [1] S.A.C., vol.126 (1988), p.248 [2] P.R.O. DL42/112, ff.236f. [3] B.T., map p.XXXVI [4] D.J.Skinner, Archaeological Findings at Imberhorne/Gullege Farm (E.G. Museum Society, 1988) [5] B.T., map p.XL [6] B.M. (Maps) C.7.e.18 (1) [7] E.S.R.O. Gage MSS G19/5 [8] This reference has been temporarily mislaid but will be given in a later issue [9] E.S.R.O. Gage MSS G13/82 [10] B.M. C.7.e.18 (2) [11] B.T., p.7 [12] S.R.S., vol.38 (1932), p.88 [13] S.A.C., vol.57 (1915), pp.162-79, and 58 (1916), pp.171-89 [14] Victoria County History of Sussex, vol.1 (1905), p.419 note [15] John Fuller's cropping book (E.S.R.O. RF/15/21) [16] B.T., p.44 [17] P.R.O. C133/42/1 [18] I.D.Margary in Sussex Notes & Queries, vol.11 (1946), p.77 [19] B.T., map p.XXXIII [20] E.S.R.O. Gage MSS G19/5 [21] *ibid.* G9/16 [22] *ibid.* G19/5a [23] In the possession of Mr M.J.Leppard [24] P.J.Gray and M.J.Leppard in E.G. Society Bulletins 28 (Spring 1980) and 29 (Autumn 1980) [25] Now lodged in W.S.R.O. [26] P.R.O. C133/42/1 [27] *ibid.* C135/1/5 [28] *ibid.* C135/44/3 [29] *ibid.* C139/3/38 [30] S.R.S., vol.38 (1932), pp.72f. [31] *ibid.* p.119 [32] J.Morris, Domesday Book - Sussex (1976), note on Outliers, and P.F.Brandon (ed.), The South Saxons (1978), p.205

AS OTHERS SAW US (5): 'East Grinstead is a dreamer within the territory of a dreamer. She gives you the impression of a town that "dwells apart", not in the sense of being isolated but in the sense of being sufficient unto herself. A palpably prosperous little town; a town whose inhabitants are "comfortably off" ... a stronghold of conservatism.' G.Tremaine, Sussex County Magazine, vol.8 (1934), pp.120f.

The Public Library now has on microfiche **LOCAL DIRECTORIES** (including the unique ones at the Town Museum) and our **CENSUS RETURNS** for 1841, 51, 61, 71 and 81, with 1891 to follow later this year.

BULLETIN 57 (Autumn 1995): p.6: 'Free Churches', paragraph 2: for 1887 read 1886.

BULLETIN 59 (Autumn 1996) will include some follow-up (we hope) to this issue's work on Domesday Book, a tribute to the late Mr Brian Desmond and some details of East Grinstead in 1896. Contributions to the editor by 30 June, please.

THREE PENNYWORTH OF DARK, reviewed overleaf, is obtainable only from the Town Museum (by post £1.25). The book of old photographs may be obtained there too.

David Gould, Britain in Old Photographs: East Grinstead (Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995, £7.99)

Another book of old photographs? Yes indeed, and a good one. The East Grinstead Town Museum must be stronger on the photographic side than any other, and David Gould, the Keeper of Photography, has trawled through his collection of 4000-odd pictures and selected just over 200 to illustrate the town and its people from 1855 to 1945.

The research and caption-writing are excellent: in every case one is told just what one is looking at, and the great majority are dated and attributed. (This is vital: where a photograph has a caption, the hard information is mostly in the caption - see our daily press, *passim*.) The collection is prefaced with a useful note on local photographers.

Mr Leppard, in his introduction, notes with approval the amount of information conveyed by these photographs, which is valuable indeed, but there is also entertainment here and there: Kenneth Nutt contemplating the railway like a character in an Alan Bennett film; the wonderfully eccentric Walter Crapps, organist and early motorist; the lethal-looking glider built (and flown!) by the East Grinstead scouts in 1912: and a railway train chugging down London Road. Drama too - fires, bomb damage, a German field gun hurled angrily into the mill pond at Dunnings - this is not a boring collection.

And how good the early photographers were. Connold may have been the latest and best but he took few better photographs than the earliest of all, Sackville College in 1855.

This is a splendid book and the publishers must be congratulated but the biggest bouquet goes to David Gould.

Tony Hounsome, Three Pennyworth of Dark (Trustees of East Grinstead Town Museum, 1995, £1)

Mr Hounsome has produced a compendious short history of the town's three former cinemas, the Whitehall, the Solarius and the Radio Centre. This well produced A4 booklet describes the varying fortunes of the three buildings, their construction, their demolition, their clientèle, their appearance and technical equipment. Illustrations include posters and other advertisements, drawings and photographs, the latter unfortunately poorly reproduced, always a problem where economy is necessary.

A lot of research has been done among the surviving records and staff, and the result gives a fascinating picture of a neglected corner of history, one that is rarely written up but which once entertained our townspeople in their thousands, and on one dreadful day killed not a few of them.

The long-postponed opening of the new Atrium occupies a short postscript and hints at the distant possibility of a second, enlarged edition.