

Eastbourne

Historic Character Assessment Report

September 2008



Sussex Extensive Urban Survey (EUS)

Roland B Harris

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in association with Eastbourne Borough Council



Sussex EUS – Eastbourne

The Sussex Extensive Urban Survey (Sussex EUS) is a study of 41 towns undertaken between 2004 and 2009 by an independent consultant (Dr Roland B Harris, BA DPhil FSA MIFA), supported from January 2008 by a Research Assistant (Elizabeth Ruffell BSc MSc), for East Sussex County Council (ESCC), West Sussex County Council (WSCC), and Brighton and Hove City Council; and was funded by English Heritage.

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

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Cover photo: Claremont Hotel, 5-10 Grand Parade.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the project

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

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

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

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

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

- Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) of Sussex
- Intensive Urban Survey of Chichester and Fishbourne
- Local Distinctiveness Study of West Sussex.

1.2 Aims and objectives

1.2.1 Aims

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

- archaeological and historic environment research and management.
- informing strategic and local policy.
- underpinning urban historic land and buildings management and interpretation.
- encouraging the integration of urban historic characterization into the wider process of protecting and enhancing urban character.

1.2.2 Objectives

Key objectives of the project include the:

- synthesis of previous archaeological and historical work.
- creation of a Geographic Information System (GIS) that maps and allows the analysis of archaeological events, monuments and urban plan components using information obtained from a variety of sources.
- analysis of the origins and development of each town by establishing and examining its principal plan components and existing standing structures.
- identification of county-wide Historic Character Types and attribution of the types to different areas within each town.
- preparation of a Statement of Historic Urban Character for each town, to include assessment of archaeological potential and Historic Environment Value.
- identification of gaps in the understanding of the past occupation and historical development of character of each town through the development of a Research Framework.
- advice to local authorities on the development of guidance derived from the town studies.

1.3 Outputs

The principal outputs of the project comprise:

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

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

- Informing historic environment management guidance specific to each local planning authority, for the 41 EUS towns and Winchelsea, produced under the new Local Development Frameworks, and subject to formal consultation procedures.
- Background papers for the Sussex EUS project. Documents that include the project design, a summary of the methodology and an overall bibliography.

1.4 The structure of this report

1.4.1 The Setting

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

1.4.2 History

The history of Eastbourne 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.

1.4.3 Archaeology

The archaeology section of this report draws on published and unpublished reports of excavations, archaeological assessments, and records of finds. This section also includes analysis of historic buildings (listed and non-listed) and the topography, the latter drawing on large-scale maps of the town from 1816 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 Eastbourne 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

Eastbourne has been the subject of 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

There are several histories of Eastbourne, which include the earlier works of the **Rev. Walter Budge**³ and the **Rev. William Hudson**,⁴ with their focus on the medieval town and manor, and more recent summaries of the town's history – such as the works of **John Surtees**⁵ – with their emphasis on the emerging resort and 20th-century history, and the pictorial record of these times. There remains no modern scholarly study of the history of the parish and town from the medieval period onwards.

1.5.2 Archaeology

Eastbourne has seen two significant excavations within the historic town (i.e. the EUS study area) since the 1960s. In chronological order they comprise:

Church Street, Old Town – 1977-84⁶

Star Brewery, Old Town – 1980⁷

Minor archaeological excavations, watching briefs and evaluations have been undertaken too and include those at **99-107 Seaside** (1997),⁸ and **29 St Anne's Road** (2002).⁹

The area covered by post-1874 suburbs (i.e. outside the EUS study area) has seen several archaeological investigations, mostly in advance of the expansion of the built-up area of the town and the associated new roads. These published and unpublished sites include the **Shinewater** Bronze Age site (see below, section 2.4), and

Saxon cemeteries at **Ocklynge Hill** and **St Anne's Hill** (see section 4.1.2).

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

Lawrence and **Patricia Stevens** have been the principal archaeologists studying the town in recent times,¹⁰ with key sites also investigated by **Michael J. Allen**¹¹ and **Christopher Greated**.¹²

1.5.3 Historic buildings

No systematic analysis of the historic buildings of Eastbourne has been undertaken. However, **David** and **Barbara Martin** have undertaken detailed surveys of the Lamb Inn and Old Parsonage Barn, both in Old Town,¹³ **Walter Godfrey** recorded the Old Dower House, High Street, before demolition,¹⁴ and the **Rev. Walter Budgen** made a detailed study of St Mary's church (although, almost inevitably given that he was writing c.100 years ago, his stylistic dating is not followed here).¹⁵ English Heritage's statutory list of historic buildings is also of use, though many of the descriptions date from the 1950s and early 1970s 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 (1876 onwards) have proved invaluable, especially as these have been used in digital form, allowing overlaying with each other and with other data. William Figg's map of 1816 (*East Sussex Record Office*¹⁶) and the Tithe Map (undated, but the date of the award is 1841: *East Sussex Record Office*) captures pre-railway Eastbourne at a large scale. These have been digitized and rectified to fit the National Grid to allow comparison with other maps and data. Vertical air photo coverage of 2006 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 Eastbourne covers the historic core of the town as defined c.1876. Since the town at this date was still polyfocal, comprising Eastbourne itself (i.e. Old Town), Meads, and the focus of the post-1850 resort at Southbourne and Seahouses, the EUS study area inevitably includes areas that remained undeveloped in 1875, most significantly that area between Devonshire Park and the hamlet of Meads, here referred to as lower Meads.

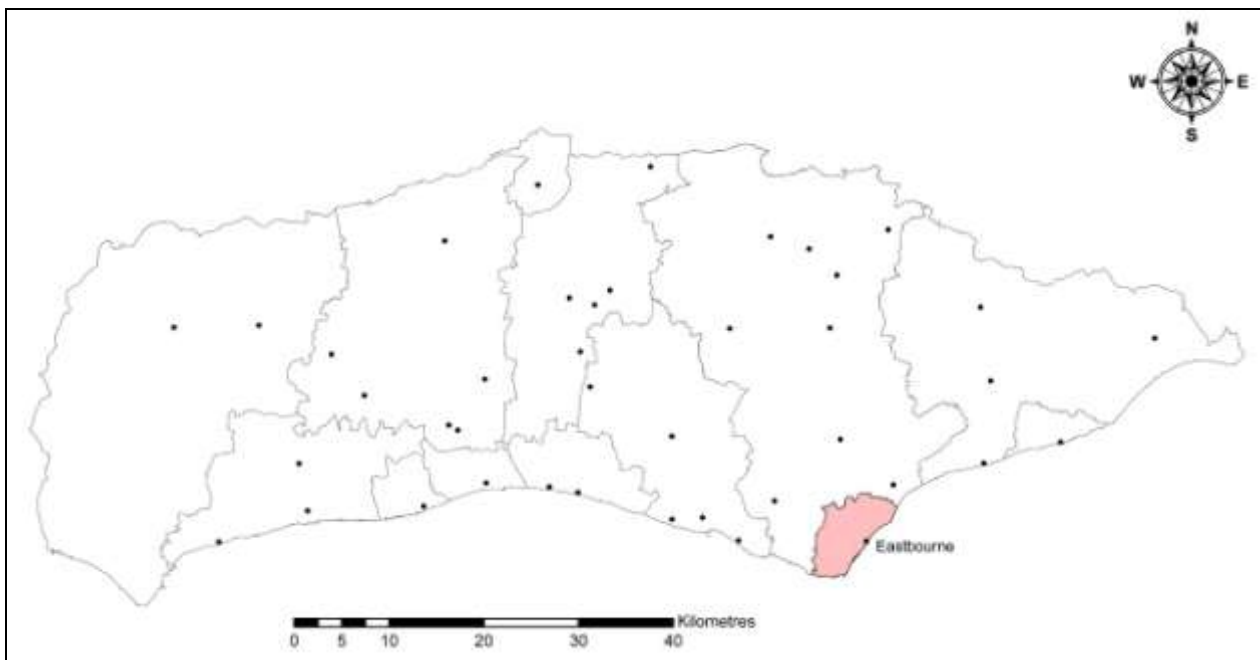


Fig. 1. Location of Eastbourne within Sussex. Eastbourne Borough is highlighted and points locate the 41 Sussex EUS towns.

2 THE SETTING



Fig. 2. View south-west from near the Wish Tower towards Cow Gap and Beachy Head.

2.1 Topography (Map 2)

Eastbourne is situated on the lower slopes of the scarp of the South Downs, which rise to 168m OD immediately west of the town. To the south-west of the town, the South Downs meet the sea, forming chalk cliffs, the highest part of which are known as Beachy Head (c.155m above sea-level). The main medieval settlement (i.e. that now known as Old Town) lies c.1.8km from the modern seafront: the historic hamlet of Southbourne was located c.850m inland, the hamlet of Meads c.500m inland (on the rising ground towards the Downs), and only the hamlet of Seahouses lay directly on the seafront.

Off-shore contours measured by bathymetric survey are steeply sloped in the Eastbourne area and are not likely to be a product of erosion. This suggests that, despite the rapidity of recent cliff erosion, the prehistoric coast was within 1km of that today.¹⁷

The centre of the modern town is in the area marked east and west by the historic hamlets of Seahouses and Southbourne or, in more modern topographic terms, by the pier/the Queen's Hotel and the railway station. Terminus Road is the principal shopping street.

Suburbs extend inland c.5.5km to the borough boundary, where they seamlessly join those of Lower Willingdon and, then, Polegate. To the south-west suburbs rise up the lower part of the Downs and to the north-east they extend to Sovereign Harbour (on the Crumbles) and thence inland at Langney.

The town lies at the centre of Eastbourne Civil Parish, which is coterminous with Eastbourne Borough.

2.2 Geology (Map 2)

2.2.1 Solid geology

Along with the whole of Sussex, the rocks in the vicinity of Eastbourne are sedimentary. The town lies on the South Downs, so that the western part of the town is underlain by the relatively pure limestones of, from youngest to oldest, the Seaford, Lewes Nodular, New Pit, Holywell Nodular, Melbourne Rock, Zig Zag and West Melbury Marly Chalk Formations (Upper Cretaceous), with the eastern part of the town lying on the earlier siltstones of the Upper Greensand Formation (with outcrops visible along the shore between Eastbourne and Beachy Head) and the mudstones (commonly clays) of the Gault Formation.

2.2.2 Drift Geology

The drift geology of the Eastbourne area shows alluvium marking the location of western part of Pevensey Levels (known as Willingdon Levels, Eastbourne Levels and Southbourne Levels): that is, a former marshy lagoon, which contained multiple and changeable channels comprising tidal creeks and minor rivers draining the High Weald. From the present coastline (but east of Langney) the embayment extended inland for 8km. Between the alluvium and the sea lies the storm beach deposits of the Crumbles, which tapers out by Sea Houses Square: this shingle beach has been supplied from western Sussex (with large deposits occurring between 800 and 300 BP), but, with the supply having dried up, has seen rapid coastline retreat.¹⁸ To the south-west of the alluvium and beach deposits, the undifferentiated head marks the Bourne Valley: the stream had no floodplain in the true sense, and the dry-valley deposits of colluvium, or

hillwash, have been the subject of recent geo-archaeological study.¹⁹

2.3 Communications

2.3.1 Water

Eastbourne appears to have developed as a minor port or landing place in the late Saxon period (see section 3.1.2). Although the location of the landing place is unclear it would have been directly from the shingle beach, near the mouth of the Bourne or otherwise, and suitable only for small fishing boats. Rather than from the western extremity of the lagoon (i.e. the levels), since the sea appears to have retreated from the estuary that is now Willingdon Levels by the Bronze Age.²⁰ Moreover, the formation of the shingle beach of the Crumbles would cut-off access to the levels by the high medieval period (see above section 2.2.2).

2.3.2 Road

Eastbourne lies on the A259 (the Brighton to Hastings coast road, subsidiary to the A27 further inland, which it joins at Pevensey). The A22 leads from Eastbourne to London, via East Grinstead.

The road from Langney Bridge to Eastbourne was turnpiked in 1754, and the Eastbourne to Lewes road, via Polegate, in 1759.²¹

2.3.3 Railway

The London Brighton and South Coast Railway (LBSCR) opened a branch line from Polegate, on the Lewes to St Leonards line (which had opened in 1846), to Eastbourne in 1849.²² The line remains in frequent use.

2.4 Evidence for pre-urban activity

2.4.1 Prehistoric

Within the EUS study area, one excavation has revealed prehistoric archaeology:

- Star Brewery site, Old Town – excavation in 1980 of trench 81m x 2m across the Bourne Valley was undertaken principally for geo-archaeological study of prehistoric colluvium (hillwash) and deposits relating to the former Bourne. The excavation recovered Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery sherds, most of which dated to the Middle Iron Age. An Iron Age lynchet was also identified.²³

- Meads Street – Neolithic (4000 BC to 2351 BC) flint sickle was found in about 1846 (HER ref: MES635 – TV69NW).

- Terminus Road – two Bronze Age (2350 BC to 701 BC) socketed axes, the largest of which was ornamented with raised lines and roundels, were found during the rebuilding of premises on the west side of the road in 1916 [HER reference: MES630 – TV69NW].

- Eastbourne Beach – Iron Age (800 BC to 42 AD) Gallo-Belgic gold coins were found c.1984 comprising a quarter stater of c.80 BC [HER reference: MES658 – TV69NW], and a quarter stater of c.125-100 BC [HER reference: MES659 – TV69NW].

Outside the EUS study area, significant archaeological sites and finds nearby further illustrate the nature of prehistoric occupation in the Eastbourne area and include:

- Shinewater platform and trackway – excavations on Shinewater Marsh (part of Willingdon Levels, immediately east of Eastbourne) in 1995 revealed a timber occupation platform of national, even international importance, dating from c.900-800 BC. This was connected to the higher land c.250m to the south-west by a timber track or causeway.²⁴
- St Anne's Hill – excavations (principally in 1991 and 1997-8) of the Saxon cemetery found evidence of prehistoric activity, which included a small number of Mesolithic/Early Neolithic struck flints, a larger number of Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age flints, a Bronze Age barrow, a 1st-century BC domed oven, over 100 Late Iron Age pits, and a Late Iron Age trackway and remains of an associated field system.²⁵

2.4.2 Romano-British

- Cavendish Place and Queen's Gardens area (i.e. extending to the present seafront near the pier) – large early Roman villa identified from numerous finds and excavations, with major discoveries in 1712 and 1848-53, including evidence of a bath, rooms and a lengthy corridor. Finds have included coins, bones and horns of animals, box tiles (for wall-jacketing), roof tiles, bricks and pottery (including Samian ware) [HER ref: MES628 – TV69NW].²⁶
- Grand Parade/King Edward's Parade area – Roman pottery was found that was believed to derive from amphorae when extending the western end of the esplanade towards the Wish Tower (therefore in the 19th century) [HER reference: MES627 – TV69NW].

- Seaside Road / Elms Road area – Roman coin of Postumus was found in 1709 and of Constantine in 1710 [HER reference: MES629 – TV69NW].

Just outside the EUS study area, finds at one site indicate Roman occupation further inland at Eastbourne:

- St Anne's Hill – excavations in 1997-8 of the Saxon cemetery found evidence of Romano-British pot sherds, one pit of possible Roman origins, tile fragments and, redeposited within Saxon graves, Romano-British dressed sandstone blocks with mortar adhering.²⁷

2.4.4 Implications of pre-urban archaeology

There have been additional finds from the Eastbourne area (such as 13 Lower Palaeolithic – 500,000 BC to 10,001 BC – handaxes: HER reference MES660 – TV69NW), for which the find spots are unknown, but the implications from all the pre-urban finds are clear: considerable evidence for Prehistoric and Romano-British, occupation of the EUS study area has been found and should be anticipated in any archaeological excavation in the area.

3 HISTORY

3.1 Medieval origins



Fig. 3. St Mary's church: view from the south-east.

3.1.1 Place-name

The name *Eastbourne* represents expansion from the earlier simplex form of the place-name derived from the Bourne (Old English *burna*) – the stream that flows from near the church to the sea. The name *Bourne* was applied to a place as early as Domesday Book (1086), and the expanded form of *Eastbourne* is recorded from the early 14th century: the prefix was evidently adopted to distinguish the place from another *Bourne* in the west of Sussex (recorded from the early 14th century as Westbourne).²⁸

3.1.2 10 and 11th-century trading place

Eastbourne is similar to other coastal places in the south-east in that it appears to have developed as a minor port or landing place in the late Saxon period. In describing the bounds of a place called East Hale (preserved in the name East Hale Bottom at Eastbourne), a charter of 963 refers to the bourne and an 'old hythe'.²⁹ In Domesday Book the manor of Eastbourne was

substantial (46 hides) and included 68 villagers and 3 smallholders, with 28 ploughs.

Despite having a minster church, and being a substantial royal manor and a single-village hundred, Eastbourne failed to emerge as a town in the 11th century. This is likely to be due to the success of nearby Pevensey, which had the benefits of a large haven and, after the Norman Conquest, promotion as the rapal centre by Robert, count of Mortain.³⁰

3.1.3 Church

There is no direct reference to a church at Eastbourne in Domesday Book, although the existence of a church is indicated by the presence of a priest. That there was a pre-Conquest church on the royal estate is evident as in 1054 Edward the Confessor granted the church to the abbey of Fécamp.³¹ The evident collegiate status of St Michael's church in the mid-11th century almost certainly reflects its origins as a minster (a mother church serving a large, pre-parish, *parochia*):³² it is likely that the royal estate, recorded in the will of Alfred (d.899),³³ reflected earlier status as an ecclesiastical centre.

Despite further endowment of the collegiate church after 1066, by the lord of the rape, Robert of Mortain, the church disappears from the record. Gardiner suggests that this reflects the foundation of a new chapel at Pevensey castle in 1100-6, intended by William of Mortain to be a more conveniently located collegiate church (a foundation interrupted by seizure of the rape and the castle by the king in 1106).³⁴

By the 15th century Eastbourne church was dedicated to St Mary. At this point it had a chapel dedicated to St Margaret and St Bartholomew, and altars to eight fraternities. The most significant of the fraternities was the Brotherhood of Jesus, which had its own guildhall (located opposite the church and adjoining the old vicarage until c.1895³⁵) and priest.³⁶ The others were dedicated to St George, St John, St Michael, St Nicholas, Our Lady, St Stephen and St Ositha.³⁷ The church was appropriated by the Bishop of Chichester in c.1150 to maintain the office of treasurer who, thereafter, was rector of Eastbourne. A vicarage was ordained in 1244-5, with the charter recording provision of a house for the vicar (Robert de Boseham, previously chaplain).³⁸ In 1440-1 the vicarage was located (and evidently had been for some time) to the south of the church.³⁹ The earliest fabric of the surviving church dates from c.1190-1200 (see below, section 4.1.1).



Fig. 4. The Lamb Inn: a much modified Wealden house, with an earlier undercroft (see section 4.1.1).

Two medieval chapels are recorded outside the old town itself: one at Ocklynge (Knights Hospitallers), recorded from 1167, and the other, recorded from 1239 and dedicated to St Gregory, probably near Holywell (where land called Chapel Piece survived between St John's Road and Cliff Road until built over at the end of the 19th century).⁴⁰

3.1.4 Urbanization

In 1232 Eastbourne was granted a fair on the eve, day and morrow of the feast of St Michael – 29th September. This is recorded as being held by the treasurer of Chichester Cathedral in 1279. 1315 saw the granting of a weekly (Thursday) market, to be held at the manor, and an annual fair on the eve, day and morrow of St Matthew the Apostle – 21st September.⁴¹ Political expediency by Edward II had much to do with the flurry of market grants in the early 14th century and, rather than indicating radical change in the nature of the settlement and its economy, this grant is likely to have done no more than formalize customary usage.⁴²

Given that the hundred of Eastbourne was little more extensive than the parish, the figures for the hundred recorded in the lay subsidy rolls of

1296, 1327 and 1332 reflect something of the likely parish population: in 1296 there were 97 taxpayers, suggesting a population of around 485; in 1327 there were 67 taxpayers, suggesting a fall in the population to around 325; and in 1327 there were 70 taxpayers, suggesting a population of 350.⁴³ Hudson examined the changing subdivisions of the hundred in the subsidy rolls, and identified the 1296 *villatae* of *Oppertune* and *Upwycke* (the latter containing the wealthiest taxpayers) as relating to the old town, separated by the stream itself: together, these suggest a population of 190. In 1332 the hundred was divided into three, with the old town forming the division of Upperton with a population of perhaps around 135.⁴⁴

The modest scale of Eastbourne in the early 14th century contrasts with Cornwall's ranking of the town as the second wealthiest in Sussex, after Chichester, in 1327. His caveats of excluding the Cinque Ports and, especially, for basing his Eastbourne calculation on the whole hundred (not disaggregated in 1327) render this ranking (and that of fifth in the county in 1524) rather unrealistic.⁴⁵ Indeed, the rural wealth of the hundred was significant throughout the medieval period. The value of corn and sheep farming in Eastbourne was considerable: it had the most

profitable farming of the marshland parishes around Pevensey as recorded in the *Inquisitio Nonarum* of 1340.⁴⁶ It had salterns on the marshes, 16 of which were recorded in Domesday Book at a substantial £4 40d. Eastbourne also provided stone from its quarries: for example, for Pevensey castle, by road and boat, in 1288.⁴⁷

Despite its evident agricultural economy, Eastbourne was sufficiently important to be required – like Seaford – to supply a ship for the war with Scotland.⁴⁸ A more local engagement occurred in 1339, when an attempted landing by 15 galleys and other boats was repelled:⁴⁹ such French raids along the coast were accelerated by the advent of the Hundred Years' War in 1337.

In 1524 the population of the hundred was around 455.⁵⁰

3.2 The town c.1540-1740

3.2.1 Economic history

Allowing for its rural parish, the population of Eastbourne can be estimated at c.630 in 1565 (although Gautry, working from parish registers, estimates a population of c.900⁵¹) at which point the town may have ranked along with Horsham, Midhurst, Petworth and Winchelsea.⁵²

Whilst very much a productive agricultural parish, the coastal location of Eastbourne continued to be significant in this period. In 1565 there were 12 fishermen, mainly engaged in inshore fishing, with the four largest boats ranging from three to nine tons.⁵³ Goods continued to be imported through Eastbourne in the 16th and 17th centuries, but were largely for local consumption. Only one or two freighters at most were based at the town.⁵⁴ Longer distance coastal trade is indicated by a record in 1608 of 24 tones of stones being shipped from the seashore at Eastbourne to London.⁵⁵ Cross-channel trade is also suggested by the fact that in 1614 an Eastbourne man was described as a merchant shipping wool and other goods to France, though it is not clear if he shipped from Eastbourne itself or another port.⁵⁶ The end of the port of Pevensey, when it was finally cut off by the building of a sluice in 1694, is likely to have had an impact on nearby Eastbourne's modest seaborne trade: certainly its beach-based trade continued on a modest scale throughout the 18th century.⁵⁷

Eastbourne has been described as a 'decayed commercial centre' in the period 1621-40,⁵⁸ with expanding Lewes serving its former hinterland



Fig. 5. Dovecote, Motcombe Gardens (but previously part of Motcombe Farm), probably of 17th-century date.

by the mid-18th century.⁵⁹ From an Eastbourne parish total of around 630 (or even 900 – see above) in 1565, the population remained static or dropped to c.540-630 in 1621 and c.550 in 1676, before recovering to c.630 in 1724.⁶⁰

Eastbourne provided under 20 guest beds and under 50 stabling at its inns recorded in a survey of 1686. This was more substantial provision than at nearby decayed Pevensey or Seaford, but smaller than Brighton and insignificant when compared to Lewes (99 guest beds and 245 stabling).⁶¹ The Lamb Inn was a coaching inn in 1635.⁶²

The September fairs appear not to be recorded in this period, although a fair on the Feast of St George the Martyr (23rd April) is recorded as being held in the manor of Medsey in 1577 and 1582.⁶³

3.2.2 Church and religion

This period began with the drama of Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries. The parish church was institutionally robust, although the Dissolution Act of 1547 swept away the eight fraternities of Eastbourne.⁶⁴ The chapel at Ocklynge was confiscated as the Order of the Knights Hospitallers was suppressed.⁶⁵

Although Eastbourne escaped the dubious honour of being chosen as one of five Sussex

locations for Marian martyrdom in 1555-7, the parish provided one of the Protestant recalitrants that were burnt at the stake elsewhere.⁶⁶

The vicarage was recorded as collapsed in 1586, with the new vicar (Richard Vernon) in 1588 having to find his own house. The Grayes, Borough Lane (demolished 1910⁶⁷) was used by Vernon and in the Commonwealth, but in 1686 there was again no standing vicarage, and the house later known as the Old Vicarage (i.e. next to Old Jesus house – the former gildhall of the fraternity) was presumably built after this.⁶⁸

No Roman Catholic recusants or any Protestant nonconformists were recorded in Bishop Compton's census of 1676.⁶⁹ In 1724, the 140 families of Eastbourne included two Presbyterians and two papists.⁷⁰

3.2.3 Defence

A survey of the Sussex coast in 1587, in response to the Spanish threat, identified seven towns with artillery, amongst them Eastbourne with its demi-culverin, two sakers, three robinets, and three 'bases'. The survey also described earthen bulwarks and 'rampiers', which were both to be mended and strengthened with 'flanckers'. The plan in this survey shows these defences extending north (or north-east) from the town to the rear of the Crumbles.⁷¹

The guns – possibly all or some of those identified in 1587 – were readied for action in 1626 (in the context of war with Spain and France). Six guns were to be mounted on carriages, and around the same time three barrels of powder were sent to the constable.⁷²

3.2.4 Urban institutions

A schoolmaster is recorded in 1586,⁷³ and repairs were made to a school house in 1638. This school was built against the north side of the church tower. In 1709 there was provision for the schoolmaster to teach 12 children.⁷⁴ By 1734-5 the charity school provided for 15 poor children.⁷⁵ A second charity school, in a rented room, was started in opposition in 1735-6.⁷⁶

In 1737 Pillory House, in Southbourne, was acquired by the parish vestry for use as a workhouse.⁷⁷

There was a customs house at Seahouses from the 17th century and an Excise office or warehouse further inland on Church Street.⁷⁸

Cricket was played at Eastbourne by 1738.⁷⁹ Horse racing meetings are recorded in 1729 and



Fig. 6. Borough House, Borough Lane: 18th century.

1737 on Beachy Head Downs, near present-day Bullock Down.⁸⁰

3.3 The resort: c.1740-1850

3.3.1 Economic history

Eastbourne's agriculturally based economy in the mid-18th century was reflected in a typical scatter of windmills, which included three of only five horizontal mills known to have been built in England. All were built by Thomas Mortimer in the 1750s and 1760s, and include the Round House mill to the east of the later pier. Following storm damage in 1769 the Round House was converted to seaside apartments for rental in the season: in 1780 it was rented for Prince Edward during a visit by the children of George III.⁸¹

The re-use of the Round House illustrates the transition of Eastbourne to a resort in the second half of the 18th century although the impact of the royal visit has been much over-emphasized,⁸² in a similar manner to the myth of Dr Richard Russell (then later George, Prince of Wales) transforming Brighton from a supposed fishing village in the 1770s.⁸³ Eastbourne was one of several Sussex towns that were visited for recreational seabathing by the 1750s. These included Worthing, Hastings, Seaford and



Fig. 7. 27 and 28 Marine Parade: resort architecture of c.1840.

Brighton, but it was the latter – with its good access to Lewes and London, and with the infrastructure of a large and existing town (desperate for an alternative to its failed fishing industry) – that developed first and which became the most successful resort.⁸⁴

The early development of the seaside resort at Eastbourne was based on several centres: the old town, Southbourne, Seahouses and, to a lesser degree, Meads. Seahouses was directly on the coast and east of the others, and was used as a centre for fowling on the adjacent marshes and for fishing. By 1771 the Ship Inn was equipped for sea-bathing visitors, and lodging houses had begun to be built.⁸⁵ Accommodation was also found at the Angel and, in the old town, at the long-established Lamb Inn.⁸⁶ Warm water baths had been established by 1780.⁸⁷ Equally important for an emerging resort were its communications, and these were improved with the turnpiking of the road from Langney Bridge to Eastbourne in 1754, and the Eastbourne to Lewes road, via Polegate, in 1759.⁸⁸

The development of the nascent resort received a boost with the outbreak of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815), and a consequent need for renewed

coastal defence and for accommodation of soldiers (see below, section 3.3.3). Additional impact was made by *émigrés* arriving in England, with, for example, 300 Frenchmen disembarking at Eastbourne in September 1792.⁸⁹

Although significant, it is hard to quantify more precisely the economic stimulus of military activity in and around Eastbourne. By 1819 the town had a broader range of facilities than had been the case before the outbreak of war, with a theatre (established in 1798), an assembly room (at the Lamb Inn⁹⁰), baths, 12-15 bathing machines, a ballroom, a circulating library (established in 1794-5⁹¹) and a billiard room. As at Wick near Brighton, at Eastbourne an existing chalybeate spring near Seahouses had been promoted as a spa as an alternative to seawater. In addition to the inns, there were 30 lodging houses to accommodate the seasonal visitors.⁹² The construction of groynes on the beach probably began in the opening years of the 19th century.⁹³

The modest development of Eastbourne as a resort seen between the mid-18th century and the 1810s was not sustained, however, and it remained comparatively unchanged in the 1820s and 1830s. This is reflected in the population which, having risen from c.630 in 1724 to 1,668 in 1801 and 2,607 in 1821,⁹⁴ only rose to 2,726 in 1831 and 3,015 in 1841. This is in marked contrast to Brighton, which saw its population treble between 1801 and 1821, and then nearly double to 40,634 in 1831: even here, however, growth slowed in the 1830s, only rising to 46,661 by 1841 (although the adjacent resort of Hove emerged in the 1830s, with the population rising from a meagre 319 in 1829, to 1,360 in 1831 and 2,509 in 1841).

Tangible signs of stagnation at Eastbourne include the closure of the South Street Theatre (established in 1798), which became a carpenters' workshop in 1838.⁹⁵ However, although not enjoying Brighton's success, Eastbourne in the 1830s supported a wide range of economic activity. Professionals were represented by a medical doctor and a lawyer, with trades including many of a more urban type such as bookseller/binder, chemist, grocer, linen draper, milliner, dressmaker, tailor, hatter, hairdresser, hotelier, bricklayer, painter, plumber, glazier, toy seller, watchmaker and carrier.⁹⁶

In the 1830s cargoes at Eastbourne were a significant contribution to the totals of the Port of Rye (which, in 1841 accounted for 22% of the traffic of the Sussex Ports). Looking at cargoes

of coal specifically, in 1830, Eastbourne, Hastings and Rye received 54, 116 and 121 cargoes respectively.⁹⁷ In 1828, Henry Bradford, coal merchant, had wharves and yards at Seahouses.⁹⁸ Quarrying of the cliffs for chalk for lime-burning, also attracted numerous boats bound for Rye and Bexhill (in addition to land-based carriage).⁹⁹ Fishing had expanded in the 1790s, with a fishing station created at Holywell c.1790, with fishermen's cottages.¹⁰⁰ The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars caused problems for fishing, with recovery delayed until the 1820s.¹⁰¹ Thereafter, fishing for mackerel and herring prospered, serving local and London markets, before the industry began to decline in the mid-19th century.¹⁰²

Fairs in this period comprised one on Old (i.e. pre-1752) Michaelmas Day (October 11th) held on Motcombe Farm,¹⁰³ and in 1819 described as commonly having 10,000 sheep for sale; and one on St Gregory's Day (March 12th) at Stocks Bank, Southbourne, for toys (still going in 1831).¹⁰⁴

3.3.2 Church and religion

The church of St Mary continued as the parish church throughout this period. The growth of the resort had a material impact on the church, with a new peal of bells added in 1818.¹⁰⁵ The parish church was soon unable to cope with the expanding numbers and was poorly located for the new development, which was predominantly located near the seafront. As a result, Holy Trinity, Trinity Trees, was built in 1837-9, initially as a chapel of ease to the parish church, and then the church of its own parish from 1847.¹⁰⁶ The Old Vicarage (i.e. opposite St Mary's church and adjacent to Jesus House), ceased to be popular with the incumbents being neither used in the later years of Dr Lushington (1734-79), nor by Dr Brodie (1809-28).¹⁰⁷ The churchyard was expanded in 1830-7 and again, on the west side of the Old Parsonage, in 1846.¹⁰⁸

Wesleyan Methodists established themselves in Eastbourne in 1803, unusually, the impetus coming from Methodists amongst the soldiers then flooding the town.¹⁰⁹ Their first chapel was built in Grove Road in 1810 (becoming a Strict Baptist chapel in 1840, with the present building dating from 1881). Other early Nonconformist places of worship included Marsh chapel, (Independent, originated c.1800-5, failed c.1845: former buildings demolished c.1902¹¹⁰); Seaside chapel, Cavendish Place (Independent, created by secession 1820; church built 1857, closed 1985: now Greek Orthodox); and North Street chapel (Calvinist, registered 1823).¹¹¹



Fig. 8. Holy Trinity, Trinity Trees: view of east end.

3.3.3 Defence

There were no barracks in Sussex before 1793, and Eastbourne was one of the locations chosen for tented camps that sprang up along the coast. Barracks quickly followed and are first recorded at Eastbourne in 1794. Provision of barracks had grown by 1798 and in 1800 (when fear of invasion reduced) the large temporary infantry barracks was given up, with only the small permanent cavalry barracks retained. With renewed threat of invasion from 1803 further artillery barracks were erected.¹¹² New defences included two batteries (each with six 24-pounders) at Langney point, built in 1794-5.¹¹³ In addition a chain of Martello towers was built along the south and east coasts of England – a decision apparently made following robust defence of a stone tower at Mortella Point, Corsica, against a Royal Navy attack in 1793-4.¹¹⁴ Those in the Eastbourne area (Nos. 66-73) were finished in 1808.¹¹⁵ The new coastal defences included the more substantial Redoubt at Seahouses, Eastbourne (mainly built 1805-6), armed with 24-pounder muzzle loading guns and designed for a garrison of 350 men. This was designed to protect Newhaven harbour, prevent



Fig. 9. The Wish Tower (one of Eastbourne's Martello towers).

access to the main road to London, and to support the left flank of the batteries at Langney Point.¹¹⁶ At the end of the war the Martello tower system ceased to be maintained. The cavalry barracks were sold by the War Office in 1817;¹¹⁷ the temporary artillery barracks were dismantled in 1818;¹¹⁸ and other barrack buildings in Eastbourne were demolished in 1818-23.¹¹⁹

3.3.4 Urban institutions

Notwithstanding the foundation of an additional charity school in 1790 by Mrs Bonar for 20 poor girls and boys,¹²⁰ provision was insufficient for the growing town. Accordingly, a National School was founded opposite St Mary's church in 1814 (set back from Church Street at the eastern end of later Brightland Road), replacing the schoolroom adjoining the church tower.¹²¹ By the will of Charles Gilbert a second storey was added in 1816 to accommodate girls.¹²²

A proposal to build a new workhouse in 1755 came to nothing, so the old workhouse in Southbourne continued in use.¹²³ Increasing numbers of inmates saw additional accommodation found in the poor house barn in 1816-17,¹²⁴ and then in 1817 the redundant cavalry barracks became a parish poorhouse.¹²⁵ The parish vestry sold an otherwise unidentified workhouse in Watery (later Water) Lane in 1825.¹²⁶ In 1835 the parish poorhouse in the

former cavalry barracks became the Union workhouse, following the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act which saw the creation of Eastbourne Poor Law Union,¹²⁷ and the old workhouse in Southbourne was sold.¹²⁸

Despite its growth, Eastbourne gained little in the way of local justice in this period. The origins of policing in the town are unclear although the employment of two beadles ceased in 1837¹²⁹ and then in 1842 a single police constable was appointed.¹³⁰ In this period petty sessions were not held in Eastbourne except on rare occasions, in which event the magistrates met at the workhouse.¹³¹

Four Customs and Excise officers were employed in Eastbourne from at least 1751.¹³² By 1807 a boat and watch house had been established between Seahouses and Martello tower 73.¹³³ The Customs and Excise officers gained support against smuggling in 1809 with the introduction of the Royal Navy's inshore Preventive Water Guard,¹³⁴ which between 1816 and 1819 had 12 men stationed at Eastbourne.¹³⁵ Until it was damaged by storms in March 1818 they used the earlier boat and watch house, thereafter using a building made redundant by the withdrawal of the artillery troops.¹³⁶ A new force – the Coast Blockade – took over at the end of 1818, with a new watch house built in 1819 near the Redoubt. In 1831 the Coastguard replaced the naval forces of the Coast Blockade, and took over the Eastbourne watch house.¹³⁷ Many of the Martello towers in the Eastbourne area were also used by the Coast Blockade from c.1818-31,¹³⁸ and the chain of Coast Blockade stations also included a signal station at Beachy Head from 1819¹³⁹ (having been established as signal post in 1795¹⁴⁰). An experimental light house hut was erected on the cliff at Belle Tout in October 1828,¹⁴¹ with a permanent, but poorly sited, light house following in 1831-4.¹⁴² A lifeboat station was built in 1822,¹⁴³ replacing previous provision of a beach-based lifeboat launched from a site near Leaf Hall in Seaside.¹⁴⁴

Cricket appears to have been played on various sites around Eastbourne from the 1750s,¹⁴⁵ and a match recorded in 1788 was played on Bourne Links.¹⁴⁶ The earliest Eastbourne Cricket Club was founded in 1837.¹⁴⁷

3.4 Expansion: c.1850-2008

3.4.1 Economic history

Eastbourne's emergence as a large resort in the second half of the 19th century was, like Bexhill, based on the enterprise of its principal



Fig. 10. Eastbourne railway station (as rebuilt 1886).

landowner, the Duke of Devonshire. William, the 7th duke, had inherited the estates of the Compton family, which included Compton Place at Eastbourne.¹⁴⁸ In 1847 his architect, James Berry, drew up plans for the development of the resort.¹⁴⁹ This followed the passing of an act in 1846 for a branch line from Polegate, on the Lewes to St Leonards line (which had opened in 1846¹⁵⁰), to Eastbourne.¹⁵¹ The London Brighton and South Coast Railway (LBSCR) opened the new single track branch line in May 1849,¹⁵² with Eastbourne station initially comprising a modest wooden hut near the southern end of The Avenue.¹⁵³

With the railway opened, the Devonshire plans went ahead, and works began on Grand Parade and Cavendish Place in 1851, as well as a sea wall along Grand Parade and on the water supply.¹⁵⁴ In the same year, Terminus Road was built to link the station to the seafront,¹⁵⁵ and developers, of which the principal pioneer was Edward Maynard, began building here and at adjacent Seaside Road and Cornfield Terrace,

with the support of Cavendish capital.¹⁵⁶ Initial progress was hesitant, however, as speculative building on the Cavendish plots struggled in a weak rental market. With a new agent – Henry Currey – appointed to the duke in the late 1850s, progress accelerated.¹⁵⁷ The former hamlets of Southbourne and Seahouses had become joined up within the emerging resort by c.1860, and focus of new building moved west and north. Currey's plans included those for exclusive tree-lined streets of large villas in lower Meads: by the end of the 1880s these had extended from the western seafront to Compton Place. Plans for the Gilbert lands were drawn up by Nicholas Whitley, and resulted in the building in the Upperton area north and east of the old town by the end of the century.¹⁵⁸ Key elements of the early planning – ensured by covenants – by the Devonshire estate and local developers (most notably the Gilbert estate) were quality control on building and the social zoning that was created. Workers housing was created too, such as the terraced housing built c.1870 by the new gasworks on the eastern edge of the town: five of the heads of the families at Norway Cottages (since replaced by Coventry Court flats) were stokers at the gas works.¹⁵⁹

The shift to the south-west from Seahouses of the more fashionable housing was reflected in the development of hotels and other resort facilities. In 1851, the substantial Burlington Hotel was built on the corner of Victoria Road and the seafront.¹⁶⁰ This was followed in the early 1850s by Edward Maynard's Kinburn House, inland on Cornfield Road, which became the Railway Hotel.¹⁶¹ The fashionable emphasis for hotels continued to be the expanding seafront, most notably with the Cavendish Hotel (opened 1873¹⁶²); the Grand Hotel, King Edward's Parade, (1877¹⁶³); and the Queen's Hotel, Marine Parade (opened in 1880¹⁶⁴). Such developments were underpinned by extension of the sea wall and promenade as far as the Wish Tower in the 1860s and, starting in 1874, then to Holywell.¹⁶⁵ At the other end of the seafront, frequent flooding gave impetus to the construction of the Royal Parade Sea-wall (begun 1880),¹⁶⁶ which was then extended around the Redoubt c.1890.¹⁶⁷

The construction of Upperton Road in 1866 bypassed the Old Town and, together with the station, gave Terminus Road (set out as a residential street) an increasingly commercial function. As it became the town's principal shopping area, it was widened in 1894 and 1898.¹⁶⁸

The success of the 1850s development is reflected in the rise in population from 3,433 in



Fig. 11. Town Hall, Grove Road.

1851 to 5,795 in 1861, but growth thereafter accelerated with the population reaching 10,361 in 1871, 21,595 in 1881, 34,278 in 1891 (at which point only Brighton was larger¹⁶⁹) and 43,344 in 1901.

The growing town continued to be administered, insofar as there was a public administration, by the parish vestry until 1859, when it was succeeded by a Local Board.¹⁷⁰ However, in the rapid expansion of the 1860s to 1890s the Devonshires' enterprise continued to be more significant than that of the Local Board, with the estate providing finance to support, for example, the building of Eastbourne College (1867), the pier (1866-72¹⁷¹), the Eastbourne Baths Company, the road to Beachy Head and the parades west of the Wish Tower (early 1880s).¹⁷² Devonshire Park was begun by the estate in 1873-4, and included heated seawater swimming baths (1874), the Floral Hall (1875), the Pavilion (1876) and the Devonshire Park Theatre (1884).¹⁷³

More prosaically, but certainly of direct relevance to the success of the resort from the 1860s, was

the introduction of a new sewerage system in 1867-8. This was undertaken following the adverse publicity for Brighton's poor sewerage system and an outbreak of scarlet fever in Eastbourne, the spread of which was blamed on inadequate drainage.¹⁷⁴ The Devonshires were involved in such projects on the infrastructure, building most of the extensions to the drainage system in 1881-4, and dominating the gas and water companies.¹⁷⁵

Eastbourne was granted borough status in 1883,¹⁷⁶ under the Municipal Corporations Act 1882. The strengthening of local government (evident, for example, in expenditure of £50,000 on the Royal Parade, 1880-4; building of storm-water drainage and acquisition of the electric light company in the 1890s; and, most originally, introducing a municipal bus service in 1903) coincided with waning interest from the Cavendishes after the succession of the 9th duke in 1891 (largely on financial grounds, although the resort was losing its upper class attraction). This was especially evident in the early 20th century when the successive dukes of Devonshire sold many of the resort facilities to the borough: for example the Devonshire Baths in 1924; and the Devonshire Park Floral Hall, Indian Pavilion and skating rink in 1931.¹⁷⁷

Unlike Brighton, for example, there was a lack of non-service industries at Eastbourne. Even the more industrial scaled businesses, such as Caleb Diplock's large Lion Brewery (founded in



Fig. 12. Eastbourne Pier (1866-72).



Fig. 13. Houses with purpose-built ground-floor shops at 101-19 South Street (c.1900).

1863, and closed during the First World War),¹⁷⁸ directly served the local market. Likewise, the large-scale Bradfords coal business – which at its peak had 104 rail wagons – was essentially geared to supplying the growing town.¹⁷⁹ The lack of significant manufacturing industries was largely a conscious choice: for example, the council voted against the moving of the LB&SCR locomotive and carriage works to Eastbourne when proposed in 1901.¹⁸⁰ The fishing industry declined from the mid-19th century, despite such initiatives as creation of a new fishing station to the east of the Redoubt (1884), and fishing families diversified into pleasure boating and, even, provision of deckchairs.¹⁸¹ Other industries included private education (in 1897 there were some 82 schools¹⁸²).

Following the Local Government Act 1888, in 1911, Eastbourne became a county borough, operating independently from the county council: Eastbourne lost this status in 1974 when it was absorbed into East Sussex as a district (following the Local Government Act 1972).¹⁸³

The population of Eastbourne continued to grow rapidly in the early 20th century, rising to 51,554 in 1911 and (despite the considerable loss of 1,056 killed in action during the First World War¹⁸⁴) 62,028 in 1921. Although with a slightly increased area, following boundary changes in 1927 and 1938, the population fell to 57,435 in 1931 and 57,821 in 1951.

The growing town saw new businesses, such as Caffyn's garage at the corner of Meads Road (built 1910, Percy Caffyn having founded the firm in 1902);¹⁸⁵ the Eastbourne Flying School (opened on Willingdon Levels in 1911¹⁸⁶), which, through merger in 1913, became the Eastbourne Aviation Company, making seaplanes on a site by the present Sovereign Centre (following requisitioning during the First World War, the company continued, but struggled before finally being dissolved in 1932);¹⁸⁷ the development of the aggregates business on the Crumbles, with Hall and Co. (later Hall Aggregates) holding the lease for gravel extraction from 1931, mainly for use on roads and houses;¹⁸⁸ and a nascent conference trade, beginning with the YMCA annual conference in the town in 1928, and followed by Rotary international in 1931 (the latter still using Eastbourne).¹⁸⁹ Earlier industries continued: for example, the private schools of Eastbourne continued to flourish (and provide a considerable boost to the local economy¹⁹⁰) until the 1930s, with, in 1919, as many as 2,000 boarding pupils and nearly 100 schools;¹⁹¹ the fishing industry saw a period of growth from 1900-14 (with a new fishing station and market built to the west of the present lifeboat house¹⁹²), recovering after the interruption of war, then declining in the 1930s;¹⁹³ the resort continued to develop (e.g. with the Pier Theatre opening in 1901,¹⁹⁴ the expansion of the Grand Hotel by 1911,¹⁹⁵ the opening of the seafront Claremont Hotel in 1923,¹⁹⁶ and the creation of a municipal orchestra in 1922¹⁹⁷); and the retail sector expanded (e.g. with the first Marks and Spencer shop opening in 1912 at 51 Terminus Road¹⁹⁸); However, as Willoughby observed in 1931 '...many of the population...have settled in Eastbourne after retirement' and '...there are no large manufactories or special industry...'.¹⁹⁹ Much of the economy, thus, remained geared to the physical expansion and maintenance of the town (e.g. the building trades) and to serving the resident population and its visitors (e.g. the retail, provisioning, and hotel trades).

With its lack of manufacturing industries, Eastbourne was identified as a safe area at the outbreak of the Second World War and initially received 20,000 evacuees. However, with frequent air attacks beginning in 1940, the



Fig. 14. Congress Theatre, Devonshire Park.



Fig. 15. Eastbourne Arndale Centre, Terminus Road.

situation changed, many of its residents were evacuated, and the area saw increased military activity. The bomb damage to Eastbourne was severe, with destruction of around 500 houses, around 1,000 houses rendered uninhabitable and many more damaged.²⁰⁰ The 112 bombing raids on Eastbourne were particularly devastating for 'Hell Fire Corner', as the area around the junction of Langney Road and Bourne Street became known.²⁰¹ Civilian casualties were reduced by the evacuation of Eastbourne (which saw the peak population – when a reception town – of c.70,000 fall to 25,000 or fewer²⁰²), but still numbered over 1,000, of which c.170 died.²⁰³

Post-war Eastbourne attracted more industry with the Brampton Road Trading Estate (with early development led by the Amour & Co. pharmaceutical factory, 1954) and, more significantly, Lottbridge Drove industrial estate in 1964 (which included a Birds Eye factory, closed 1983: the site is now a Tesco superstore).²⁰⁴ Of earlier business, Caffyn's is notable, having expanded by 1965 (when the new premises in Upperton Road were opened) to have staff of 1,500 and acquiring Clark and Lambert in the mid-1970s and the Skinner's dealership in 2002.²⁰⁵ The resort thrived equally in the post-war period, with new developments including the Congress Theatre (opened 1963),²⁰⁶ and, as a sign of the growing conference trade, the Transport and General Workers' Union Holiday and Conference Centre, Grand Parade (opened 1976).²⁰⁷

Slight recovery of the population to 60,918 in 1961 in part reflected developments such as the post-war prefabricated government-built houses at Hampden Park (followed by permanent council houses, also built at Old Town and Langney Village).²⁰⁸ This was followed by large-scale development of residential areas and redevelopment of the spacious plots of earlier detached villas in the late 20th century so that the population in 2001 was 89,667. Residential developments in this period include the 1960s Langney Point estate and Green Street Farm estate (a private development of the 1960s built over post-1918 smallholdings near the Downs²⁰⁹). In 1971, for example, 371 new houses were built and a further 1,490 were under construction: numbers apparently only exceeded elsewhere in the country by Croydon.²¹⁰ Increasing provision of flats included the controversial 70m-high South Cliff Tower in Bolsover Street (1966), although the seafront did not see significant high-rise development,²¹¹ presumably reflecting the covenants enforced by the Devonshires that have also kept the seafront



Fig. 16. All Saints' church, Carlisle Road (1878).

free of shops.²¹² Major developments in the retail sector include the creation of a pedestrian precinct in Terminus Road (1970), the building of a covered shopping centre (the Arndale Centre, 1980), and building of superstores (such as Safeway (now Waitrose), on the former brewery site in Old Town, 1983-4).²¹³ A marina was built on the Crumbles (Sovereign Harbour) in 1991-3,²¹⁴ with development continuing thereafter so that by 2006 there were 1,300 berths and 3,000 houses, and a waterfront retail complex.²¹⁵ to make way for construction of the harbour, Hall Aggregates closed its gravel extraction plant (1986).²¹⁶

3.4.2 Church and religion

Since 1850, Eastbourne has seen numerous new churches and chapels built to serve its rapidly expanding population. The medieval parish church again found itself inadequate for its reduced parish: for example, the church of St Saviour and St Peter was built in 1865-7 as a district chapelry to St Mary's church, before becoming a parish church itself in 1892.²¹⁷ Eastbourne has witnessed the building of 17 wholly new Anglican churches or chapels since 1850. With the two parish churches, St Mary's and Holy Trinity, unable to cope with the

expansion of the early 1850s, the first new church was Christ Church, Seaside (1859), followed by nine churches opening in the peak period of building between 1867 and 1882.²¹⁸ There was a similar flurry of building of new Nonconformist places of worship (in addition to rebuilding of earlier chapels) in the 1870s and 1880s.²¹⁹ Roman Catholic churches or chapels made their appearance, beginning with the Stella Maris church, Junction Road (1869; demolished 1893).²²⁰

Despite pre-1850 expansion of the parish churchyard (see above, section 3.3.2), it closed and the newly formed Burial Board purchased four acres at Ocklynge in 1855 for use as a burial ground.²²¹ This was consecrated in 1857,²²² and doubled in size in 1873. An additional burial ground of over 16 acres was opened at Langney in 1885,²²³ and the Ocklynge cemetery extended again in 1893.²²⁴ The present crematorium is located at the extended Langney site.

The Old Vicarage (i.e. opposite St Mary's church and adjacent to Jesus House), remained unpopular with the incumbents, and a new vicarage was built on land next to the workhouse acquired in 1852.²²⁵ The modern vicarage is located in part of the garden of this building. The Old Parsonage (i.e. the former manor house of



Fig. 17. St Saviour and St Peter's, South Street (1865-7).

Rectory Manor and not a house for the priest²²⁶) was given to the church by the Duke of Devonshire in 1911 to be used for parochial purposes:²²⁷ when restored, in 1922, it was used as a hall and vestry (and remains a church hall today).²²⁸

3.4.3 Defence

The defences at Eastbourne continued to decline in the second half of the 19th century. Several Martello towers were destroyed: towers 70 and 72 were abandoned to the sea in 1850²²⁹ and, while tower 70 survived sufficiently to be used as a target for artillery trials in 1876,²³⁰ both had gone by the end of the century;²³¹ tower 71 was used for artillery practice in 1860,²³² and had gone by 1876,²³³ and tower 69 was lost to the sea by c.1872;²³⁴ and surviving tower 73 (the Wish Tower) was disestablished by the War Department in 1873.²³⁵ The Martello towers saw further losses in the 20th century with two of the Langney examples demolished: tower 67 was dismantled in 1922 following damage by the sea, and, further inland, tower 68 was demolished to make way for the expanding suburbs of the town c.1925 (although these, at St Anthony's Hill, commemorate the Martello tower in the concentric circular street plan of The Circus and Rotunda Road).²³⁶ The Wish Tower saw military service again when requisitioned by the War Office in 1940,²³⁷ when an observation post was built on the roof and the interior used for a magazine, both to support the new battery built next to the tower.²³⁸ On the eastern edge of the town, tower 66 was modified in 1940 to take a Vickers machine-gun.²³⁹

The Redoubt's importance also declined as it no longer had its former strategic significance.²⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it following a survey of 1859, the earlier guns were replaced by 110 pounders, 68 pounders and 8-inch muzzle loaders,²⁴¹ and then, in 1867, it was given the protection of a sea wall. In 1888, however, the Redoubt and the surrounding land were put up for auction by the War Department: this failed, so the land was leased to the council and the Redoubt retained by the War Department.²⁴² It was used as a barracks and munitions store then, during the First World War, it was used as a headquarters for the military police, then an observation post and military hospital.²⁴³ In 1926 it was purchased by the corporation (see below, section 3.4.4), although it temporarily reverted to military use during the Second World War, when it saw use as a store and anti-aircraft battery.²⁴⁴ By contrast the nearby Ordnance Yard continued to be used throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, and today is retained by the Ministry of Defence as the

Depot of the 56 Signals Squadron of the Territorial Army.²⁴⁵

3.4.4 Urban institutions

In 1851 a vestry hall was built in Grove Road, and this was subsequently used by the Local Board (1859-83), which succeeded the common vestry.²⁴⁶ Almost immediately following granting of borough status, Eastbourne saw the building of a town hall (1884-6).²⁴⁷ Corporation offices, together with a new library, were built in 1962-4 on the site of the Technical Institute and central library (damaged in 1943: see below).²⁴⁸

Despite its growing size, Eastbourne did not have provision for Petty Sessions until these were established in the vestry hall in the 1860s (in 1887 relocating to the new town hall). With county borough status in 1911, Eastbourne gained its own Bench.²⁴⁹ In 1975 new law courts opened in Old Orchard Road.²⁵⁰ The new borough police force was established in 1891, and was 38 strong.²⁵¹ New police headquarters were opened in Grove Road in 1938.²⁵² The borough force survived until the Sussex Police Authority was established in 1968.²⁵³

Although fourteen coastguard cottages were built north of Ordnance Yard in 1850,²⁵⁴ in the census of the following year three of the Martello towers (nos. 66, 67 and 73) were occupied by coastguards.²⁵⁵ residential use by coastguards had ended by 1861.²⁵⁶ In 1856 the Coastguard service was transferred to the Admiralty.²⁵⁷ The Eastbourne watch house was damaged by a storm in 1857, with the Coastguard station relocating to Hurst's Cottages, then to a new station in Addingham Road (by 1881²⁵⁸), then Wartling Road.²⁵⁹ Martello tower 66 was used again in the 20th century by coastguards as an observation post (until 1989), and now houses harbour navigation beacons on its roof.²⁶⁰ The modern Coastguard Service is administered by the Department of Transport,²⁶¹

The development of schools in Eastbourne since 1850 is complex and can only be traced here in summary form. In the period 1850-1902 there was an expansion of voluntary schools. In 1853 a second building was added to the girls' National School in Church Street, and an infants' school was opened on the north side of Church Street in 1873. The boys' school was re-located in 1892 to Green Street (demolished 1983: the site now occupied by the Upwyke House retirement flats).²⁶² Holy Trinity C of E School for boys, girls and infants was built in Seaside Road in 1851 (finally closed 1958: the site lies just east of Susan's Road).²⁶³ Christ Church District National School opened in 1870 in Redoubt



Fig. 18. Former National School for Infants', Church Street, Old Town (1873), now Flint Halls (flats).

Road (destroyed by bombing in 1940, the site is now Norfolk Court);²⁶⁴ St Saviour's National School for boys and girls was built in Furness Road in 1874;²⁶⁵ All Souls C of E Infants' School was opened in the parish room on the corner of Longstone Road and Wellesley Road in 1883, with the mixed school opening in 1890 on the corner of Longstone Road and Bourne Street (closed 1949);²⁶⁶ the Whitley Road Schools (later known as St Philip's Schools after the church opposite was built in 1903-5) opened in 1894;²⁶⁷ Norway Hamlet School (later St Andrew's C of E School) on Winchelsea Road opened for boys and girls in 1894;²⁶⁸ in 1895 St Joseph's Roman Catholic Voluntary School opened in Whitley Rd;²⁶⁹ the schools in Willowfield Road (later Willowfield Council School, and, since 1977, Bourne County Primary School²⁷⁰) appear to have opened in 1898;²⁷¹ and in 1899 Eastbourne Boys' Municipal Secondary School was opened at Grove Hall, a former church hall to the rear of Grove Road (fronting later Saffrons Road).²⁷²

Following Balfour's Education Act 1902, the borough council assumed responsibility for elementary education and new schools included: the East Street Council Girls' School and the East Street Boys' School, which opened in 1905;²⁷³ the East Street Council Infants' School,

which took the children and staff from the closing All Souls C of E Infants' School (1907);²⁷⁴ and St John's Meads Primary School, Rowsley Road (c.1899-1910).²⁷⁵ Secondary education at this time saw the opening in 1903 of the Eastbourne Girls' Municipal Secondary School, at 38 Grove Road;²⁷⁶ and relocation of the Eastbourne Boys' Municipal Secondary School c.1904 to the newly-built premises at the Technical Institute at the junction of Grove Road and Old Orchard Road.²⁷⁷

In 1911 the new county borough of Eastbourne assumed responsibility for elementary, secondary and technical education. Abolition of the county boroughs in 1974, following the Local Government Act 1972, saw East Sussex County Council become the local education authority for Eastbourne. The main developments in elementary schooling – largely those involving opening of new premises – in this period include: the Hampden Park Council School for mixed junior and infants, built in 1911 on the eastern side of Brodrick Road;²⁷⁸ new premises in Salehurst Road built in 1925 to replace the former National School for infants in Church Street (becoming St Mary's County Infants School in 1952; closed 1960);²⁷⁹ the former East Street boys' and girls' schools merged in 1929 to become Cavendish Junior Mixed School,²⁸⁰ the juniors from Hampden Park Council School (see above) moved to new premises in The Hydneye in 1949, the school later becoming Highfield County Junior School;²⁸¹ Motcombe Community School, Macmillan Drive, opened in 1951;²⁸² Roselands Infants School, Woodgate Road, opened in 1952;²⁸³ Willingdon Primary School, Rapsons Road, opened in 1952;²⁸⁴ Langney Primary School, Chailey Close, opened in 1955;²⁸⁵ Ocklynge Girls' Primary School, Victoria Drive, opened in 1959 to replace the former girls' National School in Church Street (this was joined in 1972 by the boys' former National School in Green Street to form Ocklynge County Junior Mixed School);²⁸⁶ following closure of the infants' school in Salehurst Road (see above), the new Pashley Down County Infants' School, Beechy Avenue, opened in 1960;²⁸⁷ Tollgate Community Junior School, Winston Crescent, opened in 1968;²⁸⁸ Stafford County Junior School (whose origins lay in the former Christ Church National School in Redoubt Road, bombed in 1940) moved to new school premises in Ringwood Road in 1969;²⁸⁹ St Thomas à Becket Catholic Junior and Infants' Schools in Tutts Barn Lane were built in 1973-4, to replace St Joseph's Roman Catholic Primary School, Whitley Road;²⁹⁰ West Rise Community Infant and Junior Schools, Chaffinch Road, opened in 1975;²⁹¹ and



Fig. 19. Eastbourne College.

The Haven CE Methodist School, Atlantic Drive, Sovereign Harbour opened in 2001.²⁹²

The main developments in secondary and further education during this period include: New secondary schools comprised: the foundation of a Technical Institute, which included a School of Art, in 1904 at the junction of Grove Road and Old Orchard Road (after bomb damage in 1943, it relocated to The Grange, St Anne's Road, and, since 1997, all departments of Eastbourne College of Arts and Technology have been located on a new campus between King's Drive and Cross Levels Way),²⁹³ the relocation by 1915 of Eastbourne Girls' Municipal Secondary School to 5-7 Upperton Road, becoming Eastbourne High School for Girls in 1928 and moving to new premises in Eldon Road in 1938-9;²⁹⁴ in 1919 all except the science and art classes of Eastbourne Boys' Municipal Secondary School were transferred to Eversley Court, 14 St Anne's Rd, and the sixth form was established;²⁹⁵ the Bourne County Secondary School opened in 1939, initially using the old High School premises in Upperton Road, moving to the Cavendish School premises in 1942, before closing in 1955, with pupils transferred to

the new Ratton County Secondary School in Park Avenue;²⁹⁶ Eastbourne Technology College, Brodrick Road, developed as a secondary school (initially serving evacuees) from the earlier Hampden Park Council School in 1941, and is a community comprehensive school;²⁹⁷ Cavendish County Secondary Modern School opened 1957 in the former infants' school buildings in Melbourne Road, became a comprehensive in 1979, and since 1982 has been located at Eldon Road on a site previously used by Eastbourne Sixth Form College.²⁹⁸ Willingdon County Secondary School, Broad Road opened in 1957, and is now styled Willingdon Community School.²⁹⁹ Bishop Bell C of E School opened in new premises in Priory Road, Langney in 1958;³⁰⁰ in 1977 Eastbourne Grammar School for Boys (as the Boys' Municipal Secondary School called since 1928) merged with Eastbourne High School for Girls to become Eastbourne Grammar and High Schools, based on sites in Eldon Road and King's Drive (in 1979 this became Eastbourne Sixth Form College, and, since 1981, has been based solely on the King's Drive site);³⁰¹ Causeway School, Larkspur Drive, opened in 1998;³⁰² and in 2001 Eastbourne College of Arts and Technology merged with Lewes Tertiary College and in 2003 with adjacent Park College (until c.1994 the latter being known as Eastbourne Sixth Form College), to form the Sussex Downs College, which is a single – multi-campus – college of further education.³⁰³

Higher education in Eastbourne comprised teacher training established in the town in 1946 under the post-war emergency scheme to provide teachers, with Eastbourne College of Education founded in 1949 (as part of the University of London) to train women. In 1976 the College was amalgamated with Chelsea College of Physical Education (established 1898) and Seaford College of Education (established 1950) to form Eastbourne College of Higher Education (see below), which then became part of Brighton Polytechnic (now Brighton University).³⁰⁴

In common with other fashionable seaside resorts, Eastbourne has a long and complex history of private schools, many of which were small and short-lived. Most notable and long lasting is Eastbourne College, which opened in 1867, initially in Spencer Road, before moving to purpose-built premises on the present site in 1870.³⁰⁵ Few private schools returned after the Second World War, although schools teaching English as a foreign language have proliferated since then.³⁰⁶



Fig. 20. All Saints' Convalescent Hospital, Meads (1869).

The workhouse in the former cavalry barracks (temporarily taken over as a military hospital in the First World War) finally closed in 1930, becoming a hospital (see below).³⁰⁷

All Saints' Convalescent Hospital, Meads, opened in 1869 and was run by The Sisters of the Community of All Saints (taken over by the National Health Service after 1959, closed 2004 and converted to flats).³⁰⁸ Princess Alice Hospital, Carew Road, opened 1883, and functioned as the general hospital for the area (closed 1996 and demolished).³⁰⁹ An independent hospital opened at 36 Enys Road in 1888 and in 1928 was incorporated with London Homoeopathic Hospital.³¹⁰ Also in 1888 the Leaf Homeopathic Cottage Hospital was founded at 2 Marine Road, moving to 33 St Anne's Road in 1933, and closing in 1976.³¹¹ Eastbourne Infection Diseases Hospital opened in 1889 on the edge of the town in East Dean Road and closed 1974 (demolished).³¹² St Luke's Hospital for Children was built next to All Saints' Convalescent Hospital in 1890 (demolished in the 1960s, the site now occupied by Dolphin Court flats).³¹³ Following a smallpox epidemic in 1895 (15 cases and two deaths), Langney Isolation Hospital for smallpox was built on the beach at the Crumbles in 1895-6 (closed 1940,

demolished later 1940s).³¹⁴ The Eye Infirmary (later Royal Eye Hospital), Cavendish Place/Pevensy Road was founded in 1912-14 (transferred to the NHS in 1948, closed 1949).³¹⁵ Eastbourne Borough Sanatorium, Longland Road, opened in 1914 (known later as Eastbourne Tuberculosis Hospital, then Gildredge Hospital, it closed in 1976 and was demolished).³¹⁶ Eastbourne Ear, Nose and Throat Hospital, 49 Cavendish Place, was established in 1917, then transferred to the Princess Alice Memorial Hospital in 1940.³¹⁷ The borough purchased a former Red Cross Auxiliary Hospital at 9 Upperton Road and opened it in 1920 as a maternity hospital for married mothers only (closed 1976 and redeveloped as Marlborough Court in 2002).³¹⁸ St Mary's Hospital, (formed from the old union workhouse in Old Town) opened 1930 (closed 1976, demolished 1990).³¹⁹ The District General Hospital, Kings' Drive, opened 1977, replacing many of the other units in Eastbourne.³²⁰ The Jubilee Eye Unit was added in 2004.³²¹ St Wilfred's Hospice, 2 Millgap Road, was established in 1983.³²²

Sporting and leisure provision increased with the development of numerous parks, which include: Devonshire Park (opened 1874);³²³ Seaside recreation ground (1882, given to the borough in 1887);³²⁴ the Western Lawns (opened 1883, given to the borough in 1902);³²⁵ Gildredge Park (leased by the corporation from 1887, purchased in 1903);³²⁶ Hampden Park (opened in 1902 on land bought by the council the previous year);³²⁷ Motcombe Gardens (given to the borough c.1903);³²⁸ the Redoubt gardens (laid out as a pleasure garden in 1903, then expanded by the 1920s with the music garden to the west and bowling and putting greens to the east);³²⁹ Holywell (a former chalk-pit, laid out as gardens in 1904-5);³³⁰ Gilbert Recreation Ground (given to the borough in 1908 and renamed Princes Park when the Prince of Wales planted a tree there in 1931);³³¹ Manor House Grounds, Borough Lane (purchased by the council in 1921);³³² Helen Garden (with its bowling green and putting course, opened in 1935);³³³ Five Acres playing fields, east of Princes Park (former area of gravel extraction, grassed and opened in the 1960s);³³⁴ and Shinewater Park (opened in 2002).³³⁵

Eastbourne's most notable sporting event is the annual International Women's Open at Devonshire Park, the origins of which date back to 1881.³³⁶



Fig. 21. Eastbourne International Lawn Tennis Centre, Devonshire Park.

A football club was established at Devonshire Park in 1881, moved to the new Saffrons sports ground when it opened in 1886, and in 1889 became Eastbourne Football Club (now Eastbourne Town Football Club).³³⁷ The second main club, the Sussex Royal Engineers, formed in 1894, since 1947 playing at Prince's Park Oval (changed to Eastbourne United in 1950-1, and in 2002-3 to Eastbourne United Association).³³⁸ The Eastbourne Rugby Football Club was founded 1895 and reformed in 1928, and after various pitches, has since 1947 played on Martin's Field at Hampden Park.³³⁹ Eastbourne Men's Hockey Club was founded in 1919, and plays at the Saffrons.³⁴⁰

In 1858 Marsh Field, by the railway, became the main cricket ground.³⁴¹ The Saffrons has hosted cricket since it opened in 1886, and remains the home of Eastbourne Cricket Club: it is not clear whether this is the same team that was founded in 1837 (see above, section 3.3.4).

The Royal Eastbourne Golf Club was established in 1887 on the Links.³⁴² An independent Ladies Club was formed in 1888, became the Royal Ladies Golf Club,³⁴³ but closed before 1939 when women were admitted to the Royal Eastbourne Golf Club.³⁴⁴ Willingdon

Golf Club was founded in 1897,³⁴⁵ and the Eastbourne Artisans (later Eastbourne Downs) Club was constructed in 1907-8 on Davies Gilbert land to the west of the town.³⁴⁶

The Saffrons Bowling Club was founded 1897 by members of the Eastbourne Cricket Club, moving to new greens in 1901.³⁴⁷ The club became Eastbourne Bowling Club in 1920, and Saffrons Ladies club was formed in 1994.³⁴⁸

In addition to the Devonshire Baths of 1874 (see above section 3.4.1: closed in 1976³⁴⁹), Eastbourne soon had other bathing in the form of the Eastbourne Royal Marine Baths and Laundry Company Ltd, at the junction of Pevensey and Langney Roads with Seaside (opened in 1883);³⁵⁰ Seaside baths (1902: closed 1976);³⁵¹ and Motcombe Swimming Baths in Old Town (opened in 1905 and still in use).³⁵² More modern provision came in the 1960s with a new swimming pool near Langney Point, which in 1989 became part of the Sovereign Centre.³⁵³ Other modern sports and leisure centres comprise: Cavendish Sports Centre, Eldon Road,³⁵⁴ Hampden Park Sports Centre, Brodrick Road,³⁵⁵ Shinewater Sports and Community Centre, Milfoil Drive, Langney,³⁵⁶ and Eastbourne Sports Park, Cross Level Way, Eastbourne (the last is Eastbourne's main leisure facility, and has a synthetic running track, grandstand, a large complex of multi-purpose grass and all weather pitches, and a tennis centre).³⁵⁷



Fig. 22. Motcombe Swimming Baths, Motcombe Lane.

A public library was combined with the slipper baths that opened in Seaside in 1902 (closed



Fig. 23. Winter Garden, Devonshire Park.

1976: now Eastbourne Operatic and Dramatic Society). The large central library (and, originally, also the Technical Institute) in Grove Road followed in 1904.³⁵⁸ Following war damage, the new central library was opened on the site in 1964.³⁵⁹

The Towner Art Gallery and Manor Gardens opened in 1923.³⁶⁰ it closed in 2005 to allow re-location to the new Cultural Centre in Devonshire Park (2008).³⁶¹ Eastbourne Lifeboat Museum, King Edward's Parade, opened in 1937.³⁶² Eastbourne Heritage Centre, 2 Carlisle Road, was opened in 1985.³⁶³ The Redoubt was bought from the army in 1926.³⁶⁴ After varied uses (such as housing the Blue Grotto Aquarium³⁶⁵) the Redoubt was renovated and opened as an historic building and museum in 1979.³⁶⁶ the Royal Sussex Regimental Museum moved to the in 1983 and the Regimental collection of The Queen's Royal Irish Hussars was added in 1988.³⁶⁷ The Wish Tower (Martello tower 73) was also restored and opened as an historic monument and museum relating to coastal defence in 1970,³⁶⁸ closing in the early 1990s, before re-opening as a puppetry museum in 1995 (the building currently appears to be closed).³⁶⁹

In addition to the Devonshire Park and pier theatres (for which see above, section 3.4.1) Eastbourne gained the Theatre Royal and Opera House, Seaside Road (opened 1883, renamed the Royal Hippodrome in 1904).³⁷⁰ Halls used for

general entertainment included the Vestry Hall, Grove Road (1851, demolished 1902),³⁷¹ and Diplocks Assembly Room, at the corner of Terminus and Pevensey Roads (built shortly after 1851, and used for lectures and concerts in the 1850s and 1860s),³⁷² although it was again Devonshire Park and the pier that provided the main facilities.

Films were shown on the pier as early as 1903,³⁷³ with the Picture Palace (later Mansell's Picture Hall and from 1916 the Tivoli Cinema) opening in Seaside in 1906-7,³⁷⁴ in what had been built as the Mutual Improvement Society's hall in 1879:³⁷⁵ it closed in 1982.³⁷⁶ This was followed by other early cinemas that included the Central Hall Electric Theatre, 56 Seaside Rd (opened c.1908, closed 1970);³⁷⁷ the Eastern Cinema in Seaside (opened 1912, closed 1953, by 1955 becoming Woolworths);³⁷⁸ the Kinemacolor in the Devonshire Pavilion (by 1912);³⁷⁹ and the Eastbourne Picture Palace, 186 Seaside (opened 1914, closed 1974).³⁸⁰ More substantial inter-war cinemas included examples such as the Luxor cinema, Pevensey Road (opened 1933, most recently the Cannon, closed 1991),³⁸¹ and the Picturedome, Langney Road (still in use as the Curzon).³⁸²