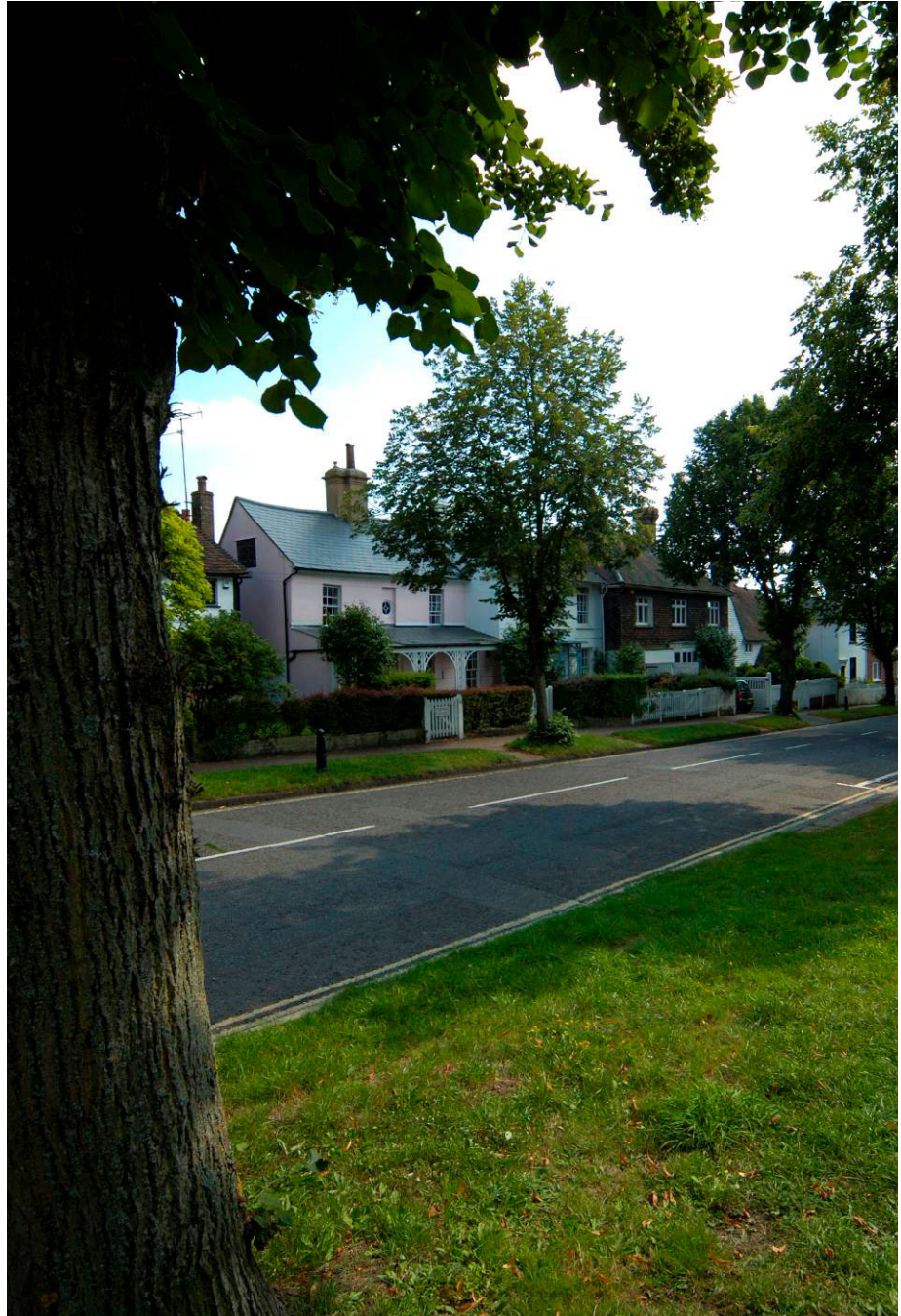


Lindfield

Historic Character Assessment Report

January 2006



Sussex Extensive Urban Survey (EUS)

Roland B Harris

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in association with Mid Sussex District Council and the Character of West Sussex
Partnership Programme



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

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

All photographs and illustrations are by the author.

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Cover photo: The High Street (with lime trees), Lindfield.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the project

This report is an archaeological, historical, and historic urban character assessment of Lindfield. 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 Lindfield in this report can be a brief summary only. It aims to synthesize the very limited and largely incidental 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 1845 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 Lindfield 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

Given its obviously medieval origins, Lindfield has been the subject of remarkably little recent published 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

Lindfield is one of several lesser historic towns in Sussex that have almost entirely escaped scholarly study and, thus, the absence of a study of the settlement within the completed volumes of the *Victoria County History* is felt particularly keenly.

1.5.2 Archaeology

Archaeological investigation of the historic town is equally lacking, with no substantial controlled excavations in the town. Two informal watching briefs, at 91 High Street (in 2000) and at 117 High Street (c.1999) did not identify any archaeological features or finds.³

The **West Sussex Sites & Monuments Record** (SMR) database has been invaluable for providing the pre-urban archaeological context of the area.

1.5.3 Historic buildings

Lindfield's rich vein of surviving timber-framed buildings has fared somewhat better, with recent study by **Annabelle Hughes**. English Heritage's statutory list of historic buildings is also of use, although many of the descriptions date from the 1950s, underplay and undervalue medieval timber-framed survivals, 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 (1875 onwards) have proved invaluable, especially as these have been used in digital form, allowing overlaying with each other and with other data. The 1845 Tithe Map (*West Sussex Record Office*) captures Lindfield before the emergence of its new, and quickly dominant, urban neighbour – Haywards Heath. The Tithe map has been digitized and rectified to fit the National

Grid to allow comparison with other maps and data. RAF vertical air photo coverage of 1947 provides a useful snapshot in time, as does the modern equivalent flown for West Sussex County Council in 2001. All analysis and maps utilize the most recent large-scale Ordnance Survey mapping (digital MasterMap data).

1.6 Area covered by the report

The Sussex EUS assessment of Lindfield covers the extent of the town c.1875.

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

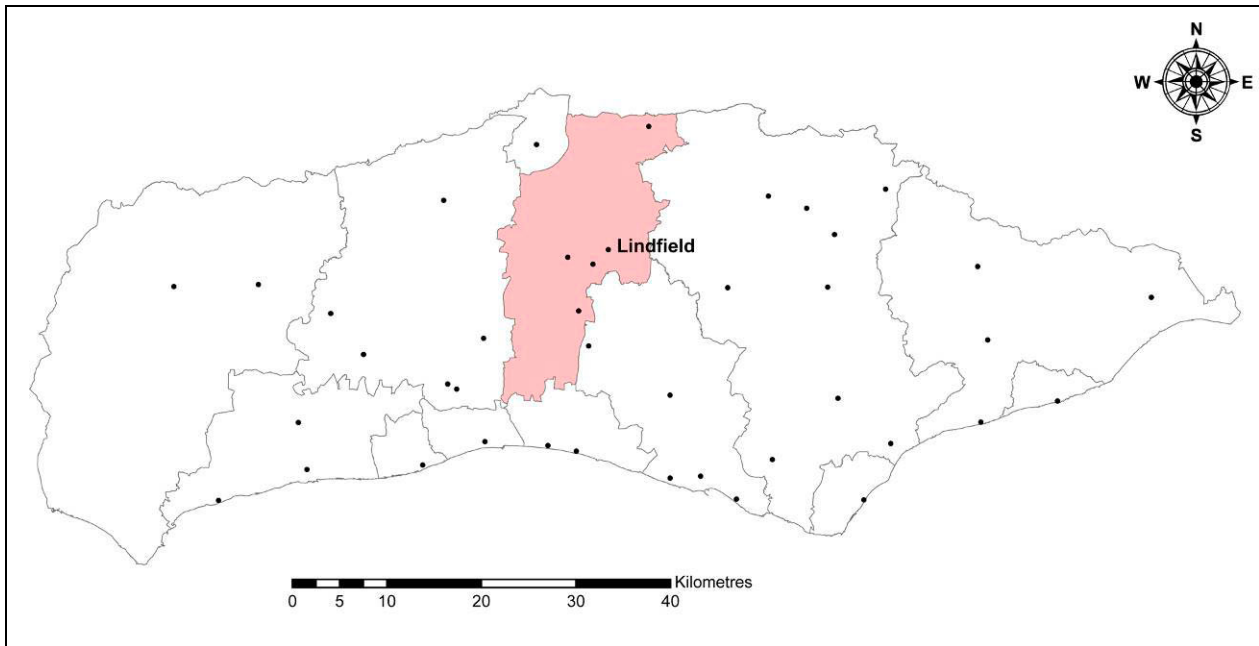


Fig. 1. Location of Lindfield within Sussex. Mid Sussex District is highlighted and points locate the 41 Sussex EUS towns.

2 THE SETTING



Fig. 2. Lindfield Common, looking north-east.

2.1 Topography (Map 2)

Lindfield is situated within the High Weald, on the edge of a minor east-west ridge. The ridge is partially separated from the bulk of the High Weald (and the protected landscape of that name) to the north by the valley of the upper part of the River Ouse (which flows mainly southwards to reach the sea at Newhaven, 28km distant). The river passes north and east of Lindfield, within c.300m of the village at Lindfield Bridge, while a tributary (Scrase Stream) passes the southern side of the village, and the latter's own tributary, issuing from Lullings Gill, passes to the south-west. The village is located on the gentle valley sides of the River Ouse and Scrase Stream, which descend from the north-west towards the south-east. The highest point of the EUS study area lies just north of the parish church, at c.55m OD. To the north of the church the High Street falls away increasingly rapidly towards Lindfield Bridge at c.30m OD. To the south of the church, the High Street gently descends to c.36m OD at the village pond, before slightly rising to c.44m OD on its continuation up Blackhill, towards Haywards

Heath: c.400m to the south of this a subsidiary north-south ridge reaches c.50m OD.

The principal street of the town is the north-east to south-west High Street.

Suburbs surround the historic core of the settlement on all sides except the north-east, with the most substantial residential area (to the south-west) joining the village to the later and more expansive railway town of Haywards Heath.

Lindfield lies just west of the centre of the historic parish (now largely Lindfield Rural Civil Parish, and partly Haywards Heath Civil Parish) and at the centre of the smaller modern Lindfield Civil Parish). The large scale of the historic parish had a considerable influence on the viability and growth of the town.

2.2 Geology (Map 2)

2.2.1 Solid geology

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

All of Lindfield lies on the complex succession of sandstones, silty sandstones and mudstones (commonly clays) of the Hastings Beds (Lower Cretaceous). The EUS study area lies on the silty sandstones of the Upper Tunbridge Wells Sand Formation, with the small exception of the area north of Old Place: here a fault line marks a transition to a narrow band of the Lower Tunbridge Wells Sand Formation which, due to the valley erosion, gives way to a wide band of the Wadhurst Clay Formation extending 1.3km north of the village.

Clay ironstone, or siderite mudstone, provided ore for the Wealden iron industry, and one Roman bloomery and four post-medieval blast furnaces are located within c.4km of Lindfield. These are located on or near the interfaces of the sandstone and the clays of the Hastings Beds.⁴

2.2.2 Drift Geology

The drift geology of the Lindfield area is limited to the alluvium and undifferentiated head marking the courses of the River Ouse and its tributary, the Scrase Stream (and the latter's own tributary, issuing from Lullings Gill).

2.3 Communications

2.3.1 Water

The upper reaches of the River Ouse extend to the north of Lindfield, passing within 300m of the town. The navigability of the river in the area was demonstrated by canalization from Lewes to Upper Ryelands Bridge (3.2km north-west of Lindfield) in 1790-1812, by the Upper Ouse Navigation Company. Work reached as far as Lindfield in 1809.⁵

2.3.2 Road

The High Street of Lindfield is the B2028, part of a trans-Wealden route heading generally northwards through Ditchling, Haywards Heath, Lindfield, Ardingly, and Turner's Hill (thence to London). Towards the southern end of the High Street, Lewes Road (the B2111) leads towards Scaynes Hill and, via the A272 and A275, Lewes.

2.3.3 Railway

Lindfield has never been directly on the railway, but the London and Brighton Railway (from 1846 the London Brighton and South Coast Railway – LBSCR) was authorized to build a line passing close to the town, connecting London and Brighton. This opened in 1841, and Lindfield was served by a station 2km to the south-west, at Haywards Heath. A line from the expanding channel port at Newhaven opened in 1847, joining the London line south of Haywards Heath at Keymer Junction (Burgess Hill). Both these lines remain in service.⁶ The main line was electrified in 1933.⁷

2.4 Evidence for pre-urban activity

2.4.1 Prehistoric

No prehistoric finds or features have been found through controlled excavation or by chance find in the town.

2.4.2 Romano-British

No Romano-British finds or features have been found through controlled excavation or by chance find in the town.

2.4.3 Anglo-Saxon

No prehistoric finds or features have been found through controlled excavation or by chance find in the town.

2.4.4 Implications of pre-urban archaeology

The paucity of known pre-urban archaeology at Lindfield is likely to reflect the lack of controlled excavations rather than an actual absence. Certainly, prehistoric finds should be anticipated in any excavation in the area. This potential was demonstrated by evidence of a flint-working area at East Mascalls Farm [SMR reference: 4189 – WS772], and a scatter of Mesolithic (10000 BC to 4001 BC) flints east of Paxhill Park [SMR reference: 5080 – WS3827], both north-east of the village, within Lindfield Rural Civil Parish. Greater usage of this area of the Weald between the Late Iron Age and the Norman Conquest means that finds and features from these periods may also occur in future excavations within Lindfield.

3 HISTORY

3.1 Origins to c.1350

3.1.1 Place-name

The name *Lindfield* is recorded from c.765, in a grant of a discontinuous estate stretching from Stanmer across the Downs and the Weald to the Surrey border. Although surviving in a corrupt form in a 13th-century cartulary, the grant is essentially reliable in its description of boundaries of the estate,⁸ and includes land at Lindfield. The likely reconstructed Old English form – *linda-feld* – means ‘open country with lime trees’.⁹

In the Weald, the *field* (Old English *feld*) element is strongly associated with ridges and, more specifically, areas of later medieval ‘downland’ or common. The ‘open country’ sense of *feld* suggests that woodland was thinner than elsewhere in the Weald or had been cleared and kept so by grazing.¹⁰ The topography, geology, vegetation and history of the Lindfield area (including its implied nature in the c.765 estate) is completely consistent with this.



Fig. 3. The church of All Saints (formerly St John the Baptist).

3.1.2 Church

There is no reference to a church at Lindfield in Domesday Book (1086), nor in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291. Neither absence should be given too much significance, however, as both sources are demonstrably unreliable in their recording of churches.¹¹ The c.765 record of Lindfield within the Stanmer estate is of relevance to the early development of the church, however, since this is in a charter recording the grant by King Eadwulf to Hunlaf to build there a *monasterium*, or minster. The extent of the *parochia* of this minster is likely to have coincided with that of the estate. While it has been assumed that this minster was at Stanmer itself, there is no later architectural or documentary evidence for such a mother church.¹² In this context it is not surprising that it has been long suggested that centrally located Lindfield was the minster church to the 8th-century *parochia* of the Stanmer estate.¹³ Indeed, there are some grounds to support a Lindfield identification: the topography of the site is consistent with minster sites (see section 4.1.2), in sharp contrast with the site at Stanmer; the church possibly retains pre-12th-century fabric of a substantial scale (see section 4.1.1); Lindfield had an important role in the extensive Deanery of South Malling (including being the required residence for three months of the year for the dean of South Malling (also rector of Lindfield), when upgraded to a college of canons c.1150); and the church (in its surviving form largely of c.1300 and later) was provided with five altars, three within the presbytery, possibly reflecting a minster-derived collegiate-style priesting (although, such provision may only be a late medieval feature).¹⁴ The evidence, then, is suggestive rather than conclusive, perhaps inevitably so given that, wherever located, the minster had been ‘downgraded and its importance subsumed’ by the college of St Michael’s at South Malling by 1086.¹⁵ What is certain, on architectural grounds too (see section 4.1.1), is that there was a church at Lindfield by the 12th century.

3.1.3 Settlement

No manor or settlement at Lindfield is recorded in Domesday Book. However, as with many Wealden settlements, this almost certainly merely reflects the fact that Lindfield was assessed with its parent village of Stanmer, near Brighton. Indeed, there is good evidence that Downland Stanmer itself supported only half its 1086 population of 59 families, and that the rest lived on its Wealden lands at Wivelsfield, Lindfield, Ardingly, West Hoathly and Worth.

These Wealden lands were known as the Manor of South Malling Lindfield:¹⁶ by Domesday Stanmer was held by the Canons of Malling from the Archbishop. The Wealden population in 1086 is likely to have been dispersed in typical Wealden manner and does not imply anything as substantial as a village at Lindfield.

From the late 13th century there are records of a significant population in the manors of Lindfield Bardolf and Lindfield Arches: these being the chief manors in the parish, respectively of the Bardolf family and of the College of South Malling (*Arch[es]* being a contraction of *archiepiscopi*).¹⁷ In 1327, 12 taxpayers are recorded in the *Villata de Lyndefeld Bardolf* and 18 in the *Villata de Lyndfeld Archid'*, suggesting a parish population of perhaps around 150. The different figures for the 1296 and 1332 subsidies, however, and the lack of clarity as to the exact boundaries of these manors (and the 'Lindfield and Burleigh' mentioned in 1327 and 1296), means that the size of any village or town is not clear.¹⁸

3.2 The late medieval town

3.2.1 Economic history



Fig. 4. The Thatched Cottage, one of Lindfield's many surviving late medieval houses.

That there was a small town at Lindfield by the mid-14th century is suggested by the fact that a market and two annual fairs were granted in 1344, to the Dean of Lindfield (i.e. the Dean of the College of South Malling). The weekly market was on Thursdays, and the two fairs were on the Feast of the Apostles St Philip and

St James the Less (May 1st) and on the Feast of St James the Great (July 25th): both were for an unusually substantial eight days.

While the granting of the market at Lindfield could have formalized an existing use, it indicates expansion of permanent settlement at this time, strongly suggesting that, like Wealden villages in general, a recognizable trading settlement quickly developed here. This would have been later than the majority of other grants of markets and establishment of settlements elsewhere in the Weald (mostly – and certainly most successfully – occurring during the second half of the 13th century).¹⁹

Primary documentary and archaeological research is needed to provide much needed detail of the important cloth and iron industries in late medieval Lindfield.²⁰ Certainly, the six smiths recorded working in medieval Lindfield represent an unusual density that strongly implies direct involvement in iron production.²¹ Evidence of the cloth industry (albeit potentially post-medieval) is provided by three fieldnames in the area immediately south of Brushes Lane (now largely occupied by housing along newly created Dukes Road) called Upper Tainter Mead, Great Tainter, and Lower Tainter Mead.²²

The population of the Hundred of Lindfield (coterminous with the parish) had risen to c.400 by 1524.²³ This growth was experienced by other Wealden towns (Cuckfield, Horsham and Battle), reflecting Lindfield's productive hinterland for timber, a key Wealden export.²⁴ The population strongly suggests that the late medieval settlement was a substantial and successful small town.

3.2.2 Church and religion

The parish church of All Saints evidently continued to benefit from the interest of the College of South Malling, and, as a result, so did the town. Nowhere is this clearer than in the numerous late medieval buildings owned, and presumably built by, the college: examples include The Bower House, 135 High Street (the Dean's rectory c.1360).²⁵

3.3 The town c.1500-1800

3.3.1 Economic history

During this period Lindfield's position on a trans-Weald route continued to be of importance, though it did not see the dramatic change of fortunes experienced by towns on new and faster routes to London. In the survey of inns and alehouses of 1686, Lindfield had less than

20 stablings and less than 10 guest beds, and was on a par with nearby Cuckfield. This was insignificant, however, when compared to the major Wealden towns for travellers: Horsham provided 365 stablings and 83 beds, on the main road from London to Brighton, via Steyning; and East Grinstead provided 247 stablings and 103 beds, on the main road from London to Lewes and (increasingly) Newhaven and Brighton.²⁶



Fig. 5. The Bent Arms (late 18th century).

With the growth of Brighton accelerating in the late 18th century, a more direct route to London was required, and the parallel routes through Cuckfield and Lindfield were both turnpiked through Acts of 1770.²⁷ The Lindfield turnpike used the medieval road from Turners Hill, ascending the South Downs at Ditchling, while the Cuckfield road offered the easier and faster route through Clayton and Pyecombe. Coaching inns comprised the Tiger, the Bent Arms (earlier known as Wichelo's and then the White Lion) and the Red Lion.²⁸

The post-medieval iron industry saw the development of the blast furnace, expanding markets, and rapid growth of works in the Weald. The first English blast furnace had been established 12km from Lindfield, at Newbridge on Ashdown Forest, in 1496. The industry expanded rapidly in the 16th century, thereafter declining to the point of extinction by the end of the 18th century. There were 19 ironworks of this period within 10km of Lindfield,²⁹ and the impact on the town through direct employment as well as secondary economic benefit is likely to have been considerable.

From the early 18th century to the mid-19th century, paper was made by the Pim family, at the site of the present Dean's Mill.³⁰

In the absence of primary documentary research, there is little evidence of retail trade in the post-medieval town, although the bakery, later (and still) Humphrey's, was established in 1796.³¹

From a parish total of around 400 in 1524, the population only numbered c.390 in 1676, but then rose to around 738 in 1717.³² The low figure for 1676 probably at least partly reflects sharp decline caused by epidemics, for the average annual poor rate (directly a result of numbers) increased from £9 in 1595-7, to £60 by 1634-9, and to £115 by 1652-7.³³ From c.1700 the population continued to grow more steadily, reaching 1,237 by 1811.³⁴ The predominance of parish, rather than town, statistics and the diverse source of these figures, mean that they should be taken as indicative of general trends only.

3.3.2 Church and religion

This period began with the drama of Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries. Whilst the parish church and the Deanery of South Malling survived the suppression of the college of South Malling in 1545, the impact was considerable as its estates were broken up and redistributed.³⁵ The town immediately lost a key patron, though it is likely that this was masked in the general economy by the burgeoning iron industry (see above).



Fig. 6. 'Malling Priory', High Street: a visible sign of the post-Dissolution connection with the Deanery of South Malling.

As late as 1569 the Bishop of Chichester's visitation of his diocese identified the people of Lindfield as 'very blind and superstitious' – that is, hardly influenced by Protestantism and Reformation.³⁶ The delay in removing the rood loft from Lindfield church until 1583 was symptomatic of this lack of zeal for Reformation.³⁷ Inevitably, a century later the situation was quite different. Although the Congregationalist curate of Lindfield, John Stonestreet, was ejected in 1662, he continued to preach in the parish. In 1672 there were repeated applications for a licence to permit Dissenting preaching at Kenwards Farm, just north-west of the town.³⁸ The strength of Protestant Nonconformism is reflected in Bishop Compton's religious census of 1676, which recorded ten Nonconformist adults and no Roman Catholic Recusants.³⁹ In 1717 there were ten Presbyterian and three Anabaptist families in the parish.⁴⁰

3.4 Expansion: c.1800-2005

3.4.1 Economic history



Fig. 7. The Toll House, of c.1690.

The early 19th century saw the peak in London-Brighton coach traffic, as the seaside resort expanded rapidly. Increased road travel meant that the granting of a new and more direct

London-Brighton turnpike route – approximately on the line of the present A23 – in 1808 (opened 1813) had little effect on Lindfield.⁴¹

The advent of the railways brought the coaching trade to an abrupt end. After early fruitless proposals, more serious consideration of a London to Brighton main line took off in the 1830s and the eventual route – approved in 1837 and opened in 1841 – crossed Haywards Heath, with a station there 2km south-west of Lindfield. Evidently, the inevitable demise of coaching was recognized and local economic optimism for the new communications route to was reflected in reference as late as 1840 to the proposed station as that 'for the Towns of Cuckfield and Lindfield'.⁴² While larger Cuckfield more obviously missed out almost entirely on the late 19th-century expansion of population and economy that marked the railway towns of Sussex, and lost its urban institutions such as the courts, Lindfield's fortunes were similar. Doubtless it was the appreciation of the value of a direct railway connection that lay behind the abortive and economically risible plan for the Ouse Valley branch line in 1866, with its proposed station just north of the Lindfield church.⁴³

As the station at Haywards Heath began to attract businesses and residences, aided by the availability of land for development after enclosure of the heath (under an Act of Parliament in 1858 and settled by an award in 1862⁴⁴), Lindfield (like Cuckfield) started to lose trade and tradesmen to its new rival. For example, a hairdresser and picture framer from Lindfield had relocated to Boltro Road in Haywards Heath by 1878. Lindfield simply lacked the attraction of Haywards Heath's shops such as the early department store (from the late 1870s to the 1920s) of Beeny's, on Commercial Square.⁴⁵ More dramatic was the loss of Lindfield's spring fair (then in the High Street), which ceased when the market in Haywards Heath started (although the summer sheep fair, on the Common, remained buoyant).⁴⁶

At the same time, the proximity of the railway station evidently benefited some Lindfield businesses. For example, the town's organ builder since 1840, Thomas Durrant, expanded his business by 1879 becoming Durrant's Pianoforte Manufactory, with branches in London and Birmingham.⁴⁷ Even this was to be shortlived, however, since he relocated the business to Rugby in 1886.⁴⁸

An advertisement placed by a Lindfield draper in the month that the railway opened foretold the economic future of the medieval town: this

offered a villa for rent in Lindfield ‘within ten minutes walk’ of the station.⁴⁹ The town was to become a place of residence near a railway, increasingly for commuting and retirement. In physical emphasis of this functional change, the early 20th century saw gradual expansion of Haywards Heath as far as Lindfield: this accelerated post-1945 so that Lindfield has become engulfed in suburbs, though retaining a (dwindling) High Street of shops.



Fig. 8. 107 High Street: early 19th-century shopfront (to medieval house).

Although the changing administrative areas mean that population figures are not comparable throughout this period, those for the early to mid-19th century are significant. A steady rise from 1,237 in 1811, to 1,410 (1821), to 1,485 (1831), and to 1,939 (1841), was followed by a fall to 1,814 in 1851, and a figure still short of recovery of 1,917 in 1861.⁵⁰ Evidently the decline of Lindfield after the arrival of the railway was real and not just relative to the growth of other towns. The population in 2001 was 5,394, but this is largely meaningless for the purposes of historical analysis as the much reduced parish encompasses suburbs that seamlessly join those of Haywards Heath civil parish.⁵¹

3.4.2 Church and religion

The church of All Saints has remained intact as an institution throughout this period. Although

the new ecclesiastical parish of St Wilfrid’s, Haywards Heath was carved out of Cuckfield parish in 1865,⁵² the expanding new town has reduced the ecclesiastical parish of Lindfield: a year after the replacement of the Chapel of the Holy Spirit, Sydney Road, Haywards Heath, by the present brick-built church (St Richard’s) in 1938, it gained its own parish out of those of St Wilfrid’s, Cuckfield and Lindfield.⁵³ A more significant change to the parish church was the loss of its status as peculiar, with the transfer of the benefice (along with the rest of the Deanery of South Malling) from the archbishop to the See of Chichester, in 1845.⁵⁴

The small churchyard closed for burials in 1854, and a new cemetery was formed from part of Walstead Common, 1km south-east of the town. The Tiger (now Church House) was bought for use of the church and village in 1916, and the present vicarage bought in 1939.⁵⁵

Regular Independent services began in Lindfield in 1811, initially using the old Ball Room (the large room later known as the Assembly Room of the Bent Arms). Subsequently it used a purpose-built chapel (built 1812-13), itself replaced by the present Congregational church in 1857-8.⁵⁶

Quaker William Allen established a colony of small cottages for poor working families near Gravelye Lane, in 1824. They became known as America, and were demolished in 1944: their location is preserved in the names America Lane and Allen Road.⁵⁷



Fig. 9. Congregational (now United Reformed) church.



Fig. 10. Pelham Cottages, Black Hill – formerly part of William Allen's school.

3.4.3 Urban institutions

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

William Allen founded a school on Blackhill in 1824, where the houses of Glenfarne and Hurstbury now stand. Although a British School (a Nonconformist equivalent of a National School), it also had an industrial focus, with a school farm, and printing workshops adjacent. The school closed in 1881, following the election of a School Board and restructuring of educational provision in the area.⁵⁸ Wider provision had also been provided by Lindfield National School, built on the Common by Amon Anscombe, in 1851.⁵⁹ This was substantially expanded by 1900. With secondary school provision leaving the town for Haywards Heath following the Butler Education Act (1944), this now functions as Lindfield County Junior School.

The parish workhouse was in Old Place in the early 19th century, with accounts and inventories surviving from 1804-34.⁶⁰ The Lindfield poor went to the new Cuckfield Union Workhouse from 1845 (later Cuckfield Hospital), built to

serve the extensive Cuckfield Poor Law Union created in the light of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act.⁶¹

Increasing social activities in the 19th century led to a need for a dedicated public space – as opposed to use of the Ball Room or Assembly Room in the Bent Arms – and, after temporary use of Durrant's former piano factory from 1886, this was finally provided by the opening of the village hall in 1911.⁶²

Although cricket has been played on the common since 1779, and probably earlier (cricket was played in the parish as early as 1733), more formal sports and facilities have been a feature of this period. For example, the football team was founded in 1900, and the bowling green on west side of common was created in 1905.⁶³

4 ARCHAEOLOGY

4.1 Origins to c.1350 (Maps 5 and 6)

4.1.1 Buildings



Fig. 11. The church of All Saints: view west from chancel.

The parish church of All Saints is the oldest building surviving from this period. The earliest datable fabric is a fragment of a Romanesque semi-circular arch preserved in the north wall of the tower. This is a plain arch with a simple chamfer, suggestive only of a broad 12th-century date. The arch appears to match the bay spacing of the early 14th-century nave arcade, indicating that the latter replaced an earlier arcade extending further west: the shortening doubtless occasioned by the building of the west tower in the 13th century. The early arcade implies aisles (or at least a northern aisle) in the 12th century, making the Norman church a substantial building.

Tony Way has explored the possibility of the present church incorporating upstanding remains of the nave of an Anglo-Saxon church of 10th-century date.⁶⁴ His archaeological evidence, however, is restricted to the observation that a small area of temporarily exposed rubble stonework next to the Norman arch contrasted with Norman work in the aisles. This is of questionable value as none of the very small amount of pre-14th-century rubble stonework in the aisles is demonstrably Norman (it could be 13th century) and, even if it were, there is evident

scope for more than one phase of Romanesque work. Likewise, even if the assumption that the Norman arch was inserted into a pre-existing aisle-less nave proves correct, this does not necessitate pre-Conquest, let alone 10th-century, origins. Indeed, the case that has been made for Anglo-Saxon origins is not based on the identification of early fabric, but rather on the evidence of proportions of the assumed primary nave (surviving above the 14th-century arcades), internally measuring 58ft (17.68m) long, 16.5ft (5.03m) wide and 30ft (9.14m) high, with walls 2.21ft (670mm) wide. Although compared by Way to several mis-dated⁶⁵ and mis-measured⁶⁶ churches from elsewhere in the county, these measurements are, as he suggests, consistent with an 11th-century or earlier church (the one-rod [16.5ft] width being especially interesting), albeit rather tall. However, systematic structural analysis during future repairs is necessary before a pre-1100 date can be accepted. On present evidence, a new-built 12th-century church is also possible, perhaps aisled from the outset: a Wealden example of this – built on a slightly larger scale, but with simple architectural detail – is found in the early work at Horsham.⁶⁷

The later pre-c.1350 structural history of the church is more straightforward. As we have seen, the nave arcades were rebuilt in the 14th century, at which point the aisle walls were rebuilt. Also of this period are the (rebuilt) east window of the chancel (and therefore probably the whole chancel – later remodelled), the porch, and the lower west window in the tower.

Although Lindfield preserves several late medieval townhouses (see section 4.2.1), only 65 High Street (Humphrey's bakery) possibly pre-dates c.1350. Here, an aisle-derivative base-cruick hall of three bays, with a northern cross-wing, has been dated to c.1300-1330, largely on typological grounds.⁶⁸ While the form is typically of the 14th century, however, there is insufficient diagnostic detailing to support a *terminus ante quem* of 1330 that, in turn, places the building significantly earlier than the formal market grant of 1344: the building could well post-date 1330 by two decades or more.⁶⁹ Although 65 High Street thus falls short of providing entirely reliable evidence of a pre-1344 settlement, it is of great interest as a building from around the time of the market grant that occupies the main street frontage well away from the earlier church. This suggests that building on burgrave plots was either rapid, or did indeed have pre-1344 origins. Moreover, the two-storey cross-wing is unusual for its lack of interconnection with the hall: this could suggest a specifically urban function, such as shop with solar above.



Fig. 12. The High Street curving as it passes the churchyard and the medieval Wealden house (126, Church Cottage) on the right.

4.1.2 Topography (Maps 5-6)

In the current absence of significant archaeological or historical evidence for the origins and early development of Lindfield, the surviving and historically mapped topography assumes a greater significance. No previous published analysis has been undertaken, but there are distinctive surviving and recorded topographic features in Lindfield that relate to the earliest development of the settlement.

The key feature of the settlement is its linear plan based on what is almost certainly a pre-existing north-south route, established through seasonal moving of livestock – predominantly pigs – from the Downland area to the Wealden woodland pastures in the Anglo-Saxon period.⁷⁰ The relatively unrestricted plots of tenements running back from the street frontage remain visible, and are clearer still on early large-scale mapping such as the 1845 Tithe map. These regular plots extend to rear boundaries parallel with the street, with occasional changes in length of the plots coinciding with minor lanes that join the High Street: Denman's Lane, Hickman's Lane, the twitten opposite Church House, and Brushes Lane. The regular plan form strongly suggests a planned settlement: for example, it is similar to that of Burwash, which received a market grant in 1259 and was certainly village or small town by 1329.⁷¹ As at Burwash, the

planned area of regular tenements along the High Street at Lindfield is terminated at one end by the irregular churchyard (at Burwash too the church is earlier, c.1100). At the other, southern, end the regular burgage plots stop at the northern edge of Lindfield Common (with its pond), with plots south of the junction of High Street and Lewes Road representing later encroachment on the Common.

This then suggests the creation of a planned settlement in the 14th century, adjacent to the pre-existing parish church and, possibly, a pre-existing informal market. There is no topographic evidence, however, for a pre-c.1100 market, or focal, place pre-dating the church, as appears to be the case at Horsham, Cuckfield, Ticehurst, and Wadhurst.⁷² Indeed, the very distinctive widening of the High Street in its central area (especially evident when the historic building line is considered rather than the encroached line formed by gardens, pavements, and verges) provides the only topographic evidence for a market site.

Mark Gardiner has noted that the planned settlements of the Weald were confined to the manors of more substantial lords, especially monasteries: hence, Burwash was the demesne manor of the lord of the Rape of Hastings, Boreham Street was founded by Bayham Abbey, Sedlescombe Street by Battle Abbey, and Robertsbridge by Robertsbridge Abbey.⁷³ Thus,

it is of particular significance that at the time of development of the town, the manor of Lindfield (and, in due course, its market) had long been granted to the canons of the college of South Malling.

The pre-urban church seems to have had little impact on the form of the planned town, other than defining its northern limit. The form of the churchyard, however, is of some interest as there is topographic evidence for it having been of larger extent than that today. The 1st series Ordnance Survey map (c.1875: Map 3) suggests that it formerly extended east of Francis Road, which was cut through in the late 19th century. Although cleared by 1875, this plot was built up at the time of the Tithe map, and, thus, evidently was already distinct from the churchyard. Likewise, late medieval Church Cottage (126 High Street: a former vicarage) on the north side of the churchyard also represents an encroachment. The curving eastern boundary of this reconstructed churchyard appears to be continued north of the meandering High Street on the Tithe map, perhaps suggesting that late medieval Little Blacklands and Firs Cottage (135 and 155 High Street, respectively) also represent early encroachment. This suggests an earlier curvilinear churchyard of c.150m diameter.

Such a putative more extensive early churchyard echoes the form of enclosed Anglo-Saxon minster precincts, and is consistent with their typical size – between 150 and 300m across.⁷⁴ On topographic grounds alone, the site is certainly consistent with the location of known minsters: it is adjacent to and overlooking the navigable River Ouse (and, hence, not as marginal as its Wealden location might suggest); it is elevated; and, as a result of the convergence of the Ouse and its tributary, the Scrase Stream, is on something of an enclosed peninsula.⁷⁵ Given the possibility of a minster allowed by the limited documentary evidence (section 3.1.2) and, even, the possible presence of an 11th-century or earlier church on the site (section 4.1.1), the topographic evidence for the siting and form of a more extensive curvilinear churchyard is suggestive of, but hardly conclusive evidence for, the identification of Lindfield as an early minster site.⁷⁶

Although outside the EUS study area and the modern built-up area, the probable motte and bailey castle near Dean's Mill may have had an influence on the early development of Lindfield. Located 800m east-north-east of the church on the northern bank of the River Ouse, this modest fortification comprised a motte 40m x 30m (now only 1.5m above the floodplain), with a moat of c.14m width, and bailey of 45m x 14m.⁷⁷ In the

absence of excavation or documentary record, precise dating is impossible, but it has been dated tentatively to the 12th century.⁷⁸ Still less certainty relates to an alleged (but seemingly undocumented) medieval nunnery approximately 200m to the north of this site.⁷⁹

4.2 Later medieval town (Map 7)

4.2.1 Buildings

The parish church saw late medieval, or Perpendicular, modification and addition, in the form of the building of chancel aisles (functioning as chapels) and associated creation of arcades in the chancel; building, or remodelling, of transept-like north and south chapels; and replacement of aisle windows.



Fig. 13. Old Place.

Other than 65 High Street (see above), which could well post-date the market grant of 1344, a remarkable 14 houses and one barn in the town date from the late (post-c.1350) medieval period. With the exception of Carriers, on Lewes Road, these are all on the High Street: 36-8, 76 (Crosskeys), 84-6 (Malling Cottage and Priory Cottage), 95 (Well House), the barn to Barnlands, 107 (Marlow House), 115 (Cobblers), 122 (Church House/The Tiger), 126 (Church Cottage), 135 (The Bower House), 153 (Little Blacklands), 171 (Clock House), Old Place, and The Thatched Cottage. All of these houses are

timber framed, and with an open hall: in 1935, a 4ft-diameter open hearth was found at the late 14th-century Bower House.⁸⁰



Fig. 14. Church House (formerly The Tiger): a medieval Wealden house refaced in the early 19th century.

That six of the houses are of Wealden type oriented parallel to the street reflects the wide plots and the fact that Lindfield lacked the pressure on the street frontage typical both of more substantial towns and of the preceding period (i.e. the late 13th and early 14th centuries). The Wealden houses include Church House, which may have functioned as an inn from the late medieval period. Its apparent early name of the Michelbourne Arms and its certain name as The Tiger (the crest of the Michelbournes) may simply reflect the local prominence of the family in the 15th century rather than indicating that it was their home.⁸¹

4.2.2 Topography (Map 7)

Again, an absence of archaeological excavation reduces our capacity to understand the late medieval period in Lindfield. Moreover, topographic evidence for the later medieval period is almost equally lacking: the town does not seem to have expanded beyond its simple linear plan based on the High Street. The location of the buildings of this period is informative, however, for the wide spread from north of the church to the western end of the Lewes Road, suggests that the town was as extensive in the late medieval period as it was at the time of the Tithe map, excepting the later houses on Black Hill and on the Common. The density of occupation is not so clear.

The topographic evidence for a wider central area of the High Street suggestive of a market place is discussed above. The location of the

medieval houses reinforces this, since houses on the east side, such as numbers 76 (Crosskeys) and 84-6 (Malling Cottage and Priory Cottage), are set back from the line of the 16th-century and later houses. This suggests a maximum width of the street of c.28m, compared to the c.11m between The Bower House and Church House (The Tiger) at the north end of the High Street. Given the implausibility of an intensely competitive property market in such a minor town (corroborated by the number of buildings built parallel to the street), and the early date of these houses, it is highly unlikely that the narrow northern end of the High Street results from encroachment. The wider section of the late medieval High Street is comparable to that at East Grinstead, certainly used as the location for the market at this time.⁸²

4.3 The town c.1500-1800

4.3.1 Buildings



Fig. 15. Barnlands (97 High Street): 16th-century continuous jetty, with 15th-century cross-wing beyond (95 High Street).

Lindfield has 40 surviving buildings that date from between 1500 and 1800: eight from the 16th century, 14 from the 17th century, and 12 from the 18th century. Nearly all of the 16th-century buildings are timber framed. Continuous jetties are an early feature of this period, representing the demise of the medieval open hall: several Lindfield examples are obscured by later façades, but the 16th-century timber framing of that at 97 High Street (Barnlands) remains visible. Existing medieval open halls were converted to two storeys too, with a good example of an inserted floor being that inserted

at Church House (The Tiger) in the early 16th century.



Fig. 16. The Manor House (85 High Street).

The 17th century houses continue the timber-framed tradition (albeit, mostly later re-fronted), but usage of local sandstone – previously largely limited to plinths below framing – is used more extensively, as in the south elevation of the c.1600 rear wing at Church House (The Tiger).



Fig. 17. Lindfield House.

The smaller number of 18th-century buildings compared to the previous centuries is misleading, as this period of steady population

growth saw not only new houses but also substantial remodelling of existing buildings. For example, the 17th-century timber-framed Manor House, 85 High Street, was re-fronted with mathematical tiles (now painted) and given a typically 18th-century projecting modillion cornice, and a pedimented porch with a Venetian window over. Wholly new 18th-century houses include substantial examples in the newly dominant building material of brick, such as early 18th-century Lindfield House, and the late 18th-century Bent Arms (with a large Venetian window to its first-floor Assembly Room).

4.3.2 Topography (Maps 8-10)

Despite the post-medieval population growth in the parish and, probably, in the town, there was little change to the medieval topography. The most significant expansion was the gradual spilling over of the town onto the north edge of the Common by small-scale piecemeal enclosure. The early date of this is indicated by surviving Bay Pond Cottage, 8 High Street – a weatherboarded timber-framed house of c.1690. Similarly limited expansion occurred north of the church in the 18th century.

4.4 Expansion: c.1800-2006 (Maps 1, 3 and 11)

4.4.1 Buildings and topography

The majority of the buildings in Lindfield date from this period, partly through loss of earlier buildings, but also as the town expanded in the 20th century, especially by post-1945 suburbs advancing from nearby Haywards Heath.

There are 15 buildings dating from the early 19th century, and while many of these represent varied and scattered infill and replacement similar to that of the 18th-century houses, they also indicate pre-railway expansion of the town along Black Hill, and further expansion on to the Common. In addition, the remodelling of earlier buildings continued. For example, black mathematical tiles are used on the grand scale at 141-3 High Street (Green Orchards and Townlands), masking the 17th-century timber-framed building. The small scale and unindustrialized nature of early 19th-century Lindfield means that it lacks examples of typically urban forms of the period, such as terrace housing. However, the urban influence of Regency Brighton and Lewes is just discernible in a scattering of genteel building details such as those at the Red Lion, with its two-storey bow windows and mathematical tiles. More typical, though, are early 19th-century detached villas,

such as Pelham House (6 High Street), and Black Hill House. An unusual survival from this period is Pelham Place Cottages, Black Hill, the former dormitories and workshops of Quaker William Allen's school of 1824. The former schoolmaster's house is Little Pelham.⁸³



Fig. 18. Mathematical tiles used for the early 19th-century re-fronting of 17th-century 141-3 High Street.

With the decline of coaching and the bypassing of Lindfield by the railway, large-scale villa construction was much less of a feature of the town between 1840 and 1880 than at nearby Haywards Heath or Burgess Hill. Some more detached examples were built, however, as at Milton House, Black Hill, and, on a more modest scale, at 221-9 High Street (overlooking the town pond). Semi-detached houses also first appeared at this period (as at 1 and 3 High Street) as did small rows of terrace houses (as at Frederick Cottages, Lewes Road, and at Alma Cottages). Notwithstanding the new commercial rivalry of Haywards Heath, the High Street saw further infill and, more particularly, replacement. Examples of more substantial blocks with shops include 41-7 and 62-8 High Street.

Lack of population growth in the second half of the 19th century saw limited expansion of the town even after 1880: by 1900 little had changed, although the area around the town pond had become more built up with more villas, especially those of semi-detached form (such as

5-15 High Street). Significantly, however, the modest late 19th-century semi-detached houses of Francis Road marked a departure from the hitherto largely single-street plan of the town, by expanding eastwards on to fields at the rear of the north end of the High Street. By the First World War this had been joined by similar, though slightly more extensive, development behind the west side of the High Street along newly laid out Compton Road. It was this western side of the town that saw most of the limited expansion of the inter-war years, along Denman's Lane and Denman's Close. For the first time the small-scale suburbs of Lindfield reached the north-east extent of the vast suburbs of Haywards Heath. There was inter-war building on the east of Lindfield too, but (typical of local authority housing) wholly detached from the historic town, along Luxford Road and Eastern Road, and to the south-east of the Common: development in this area had begun as early as 1900.



Fig. 19. Late 19th-century houses and shops, 41-3 High Street.

After 1945, notwithstanding the niceties of parish boundaries and identities, Lindfield effectively became engulfed in the spreading suburbs of Haywards Heath, although the north-east part of the historic town has become the limit of expansion. From the church southwards, housing estates (of detached and semi-detached houses and short terraces) occupy the fields formerly at the rear of the High Street tenement plots, infilling the area between Lindfield and the previously isolated housing of Luxford Road and Eastern Road; entirely surrounding the remaining Common; and seamlessly joining the town with Haywards Heath.



Fig. 20. Villa development around the ancient pond at the northern edge of Lindfield Common.

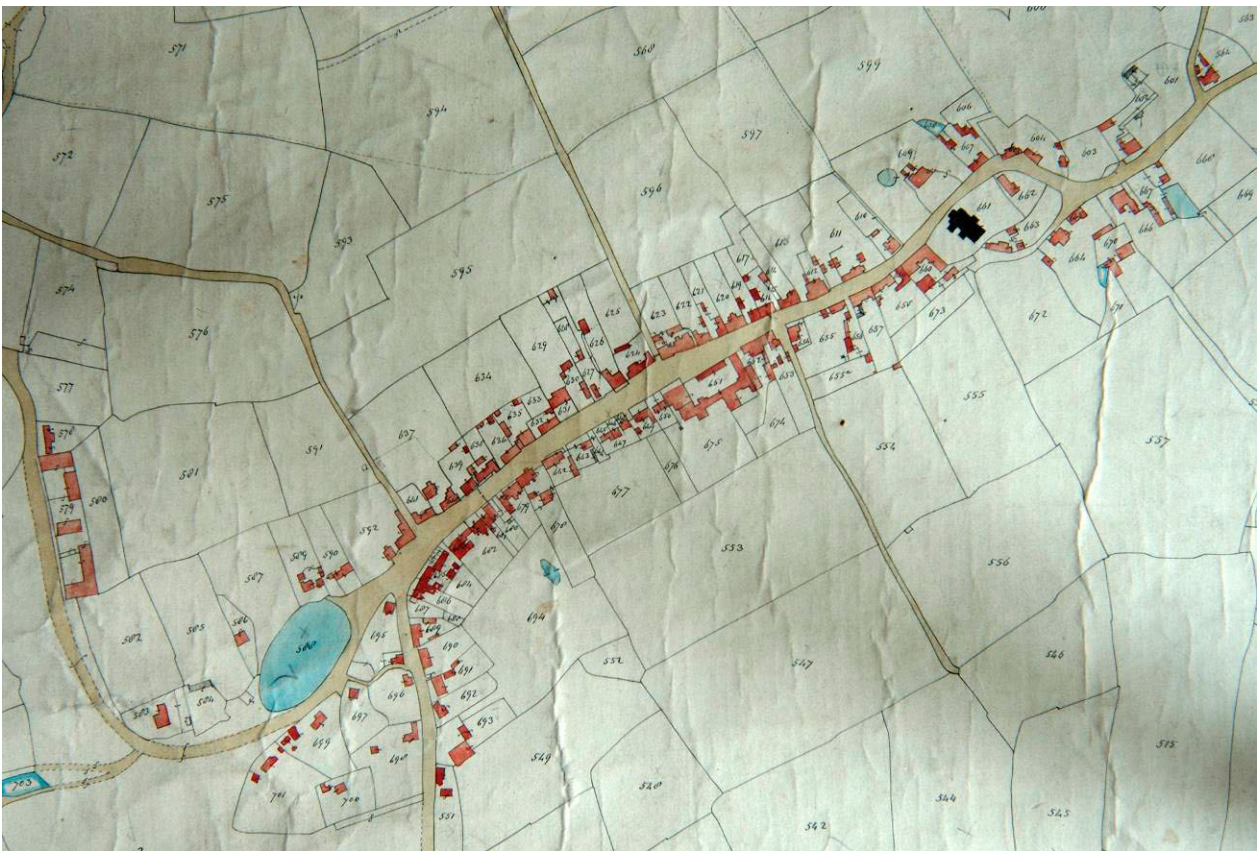


Fig. 21. Lindfield Tithe map, 1845 (copy in WSRO).

5 STATEMENT OF HISTORIC URBAN CHARACTER

5.1 Town summary

5.1.1 Historic environment overview

Bereft of its function and status as a minor medieval market town and, later, as a coaching station on one of the London-Brighton roads, Lindfield missed much of the development seen elsewhere in the second half of the 19th century and 20th century, until largely engulfed in suburbs in the late 20th century. This had much to do with the expansion of adjacent Haywards Heath. The early relative decline of the town and the lateness of the addition of large-scale new housing have had the effect of preserving a very high proportion of the pre-c.1840 buildings and topography of the town. Although survival has been high, Lindfield was much smaller than many other medieval market towns and never achieved borough status, so the numbers and range of buildings is smaller than those found, for example, at Lewes, Rye or Steyning. That said, the area around the church and along the High Street is almost unrivalled in Sussex for its mixture of medieval and post-medieval buildings. Less visible is the as yet wholly unexplored archaeological evidence of the 14th-century planned town, or the 12-century or earlier church – possibly a pre-Conquest minster.

5.1.2 Historic environment designations (Map 4)

There are 84 listed buildings and monuments in the EUS study area, although seven are separately itemized tombs in the churchyard (ranging from the 17th to 19th centuries); and eight are monuments (gates, walls, statuary etc.) at Old Place, relating to the post-1884 restoration by Charles Eamer Kempe, the stained glass artist. Of the remaining 69 buildings and monuments, nine are Grade II* and 60 are Grade II. Of these, 17 pre-date 1500; seven are 16th century; 15 are 17th century; 15 are 18th century; 16 are early 19th century; and 14 are from 1840-1913.⁸⁴ Lindfield has a Conservation Area. There are no Scheduled Monuments in the town.

There are an additional three important historic buildings recognized in this assessment that have not been listed: two 17th-century timber-framed houses (8 and 52 High Street) and one 18th-century brick house (78 High Street).

5.1.3 Historic building materials

With the exception of the church (largely of local sandstone), the pre-1500 buildings of the town are all timber framed, albeit often with sandstone plinths. The survivors from the 16th and 17th centuries see similar dominance of timber framing, with the important exception of the rear wing of c.1600 at Church House (The Tiger). The 18th-century saw the rise to dominance of brick (and a small amount of mathematical tile), although this again was very much a locally available material, and brick continued to be the main building material thereafter. Clay tiles are used for roofs, tile hanging (20 examples) and mathematical tiles (three examples). Horsham Stone is a flaggy sandstone used for roofing (10 examples all on pre-1700 buildings).

5.2 Historic Character Types

5.2.1 Historic Character Types and chronology (Maps 5-12)

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

Market garden [inc. nursery]
Allotments
Race course
Sports field [inc. stadia, courts, centres etc.]
Park
Informal parkland [e.g. small civic areas, large grounds]
Seafront [piers, promenades etc.]
Beach/cliffs

Table 1. Sussex EUS Historic Character Types.

Historic Character Types have been developed in the Sussex EUS to describe areas of common character by reference to generic types found across all 41 towns. Historic function is often the key determinant of character type, hence the term ‘Historic Character Types’ and the time-depth implicit in many of the types in Table 1 (e.g. *regular burgage plots*). The types also reflect the character of these towns, and, thus, they are different from those that would be applied nationally or to another county.

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

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

Table 2. Sussex EUS chronology.

This approach gives time-depth to the map-based character component of the Sussex EUS, and is structured to take account of both upstanding and buried physical evidence of the past. It enables the generation of maps (e.g. Maps 5-10) showing the changing land use of the urban area throughout the history of each town, and, through use of the Geographical Information System developed as part of this assessment, for simple interrogation of any area in the town to show all its known past land uses.

5.2.2 Historic Character Types in Lindfield (Map 11)

Although Historic Character Types represent county-wide types, modern Lindfield is characterized by its particular concentration of some types and the comparative rarity, or absence, of others. For example, the identification of significant areas of *regular burgage plots* reflects the fact that the small medieval market town was planned.

5.3 Historic Urban Character Areas (Maps 13 and 14)

5.3.1 Defining Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs)

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

Thus, HUCA 1 in Lindfield combines four Historic Character Types that represent the *church/churchyard* dating from at least Period 5 (i.e. 1066-1149) and possibly Period 3 (410-949); *irregular historic plots* dating from Period 7 (1350-1499) and Period 10 (1700-99) that partly represent encroachment on the earlier more substantial extent of the *church/churchyard*; residential infill or expansion – or *suburb* – of Period 12 (1841-80) onwards; and the grounds or *informal parkland* of restored and expanded Old Place, from Period 13 (1881-1913). Combining this complexity into a single HUCA called *Church* reflects the largely coherent character of the area today. This coherence renders HUCAs suitable spatial units for

describing the historic environment of the EUS towns, for assessing their **archaeological potential**, **Historic Environment Value** and for linking to **research questions**.

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

5.3.2 *Archaeological potential*

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

When considering the archaeological potential of the towns, it is important to recognize that archaeology often survives 19th and 20th-century development and that it is misleading to assume complete destruction. Also, whilst pre-urban archaeology (such as the prehistoric, Romano-British, and Anglo-Saxon features and finds that are likely to be located in the Lindfield area) tells us little about the towns themselves, it contributes to wider archaeological research.

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

5.3.3 *Historic Environment Value (Map 14)*

The **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of each HUCA is assessed here, and expressed as a value from 1 (low) to 5 (high). Such values are iniquitous to some and always subjective, but here provide a necessary means of consistently

and intelligently differentiating (for the purposes of conservation) the upstanding fabric, boundaries and archaeology that form the historic urban environment. The Historic Environment Value (HEV) of each HUCA is based on assessment of:

- Townscape rarity
- Time-depth or antiquity
- Completeness.

Lesser additional considerations in the assessment comprise:

- Visibility
- Historic association.

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

5.3.4 *Vulnerability*

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

5.3.5 *Research questions*

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

5.3.6 *Lindfield's Historic Urban Character Areas (Maps 13 and 14)*

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

HUCA 1 Church (HEV 5)

HUCA 1 lies to the north of the centre of the medieval and modern town, and abuts open countryside on the north-east. Parts of the HUCA outside the present churchyard overlie the putative greater extent of the pre-1300 churchyard (which may represent the precinct of an 8th-century minster).

Today the area is dominated by the church and its churchyard. There are 31 listed buildings and monuments (27 Grade II and four Grade II*), of which seven are tombs, or groups of tombs, in the churchyard, dating from the 17th century onwards. The Grade II* listed church itself dates from the 12th century, if not significantly earlier, with major rebuilding c.1300 and in the 15th century. To the north of the church is the well preserved, though now tile-hung, Wealden house of Church Cottage, 126 High Street: a very obvious medieval encroachment on the former churchyard. To the north-east of the church another Wealden house – The Thatched Cottage – has exposed timber framing making it the most readily comprehensible example in the town. To the south of this the substantial late medieval timber framing of Old Place (Grade II*) is infilled with brick: the building has been restored c.1590 and after 1884 (when it was extended considerably). To the north of the church, Lindfield House and Lindfield Place are fine large-scale 18th-century houses of brick (both Grade II*). Black mathematical tile is used extensively in the early 19th-century re-facing of the 17th-century timber framing at 141-3 High Street (Green Orchard/Townlands). Other key historic building materials include Horsham stone roofs (three buildings), tile-hanging (six buildings) and widespread use of sandstone (the church, lychgate, most of the churchyard monuments, and various walls and gate piers).

The post-1884 remodelling of Old Place has had the greatest impact on the historic environment, not least in reshaping boundaries on the east side of the churchyard. Otherwise the excellent survival of medieval and post-medieval buildings suggests that the **archaeological potential** of nearly all this HUCA is high.

The survival of some irregular historic plot boundaries and, especially, the medieval and post-medieval buildings, the visibility of the historic fabric, and the archaeological potential give this HUCA the very highest **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 5.

HUCA 1 has seen some change in the 20th century (most notably through very limited residential development within existing grounds, and through sub-division of historic buildings) but this appears to have stabilized. The degree of change, coupled with the degree of protection through listing of most buildings, means that although the Historic Environment Value of the area is high, **vulnerability** is only moderate. Perhaps the greatest threat is further subdivision of large historic buildings, more infill development within their grounds, or

development of large-scale garden features (swimming pools, hard tennis courts etc.).

Research questions especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the church and putative minster site (RQ2, RQ3).

HUCA 2 High Street (HEV 5)

HUCA 2 was and remains the principal urban street by the 13th century. Today this length of the High Street is almost continuously built up. There are 46 listed buildings (41 Grade II and five Grade II*), of which seven are Period 7 (1350-1499), seven are Period 8 (16th century), nine are Period 9 (17th century), and eight are Period 10 (18th century). Probably the earliest, and certainly one of the most important, buildings is 63-5 High Street (Humphrey's bakers). Traditionally dated to c.1300-30, this may in fact be as late as the market charter (1344), but is important both as an example of aisle-derivative base-cruck construction, and as early evidence for the town: the putative shop function of the self-contained cross-wing is a tantalizing possibility. Later timber framing is best represented by 97 High Street (Barnlands), where the continuous-jetty is exposed. These are but two examples of 25 timber-framed buildings in HUCA 2, of which many are hidden behind later (especially 18th-century) brick façades. Examples of later re-facing include the impressive (now painted) 18th-century mathematical tile frontage to The Manor House, 85 High Street (Grade II*). Brick is the predominant 18th and early 19th-century material, and wholly new built houses of this period include the substantial Malling Priory, 88 High Street (c.1730: Grade II*). Other key historic building materials include Horsham stone roofs (seven buildings), weatherboarding (eight buildings) and tile-hanging (nine buildings).

There are two unlisted locally important historic buildings: 17th-century 52 High Street and 18th-century 78 High Street.

Burgage plots are well preserved, both in terms of side boundaries and rear boundaries, although it is unclear as to how plots have been altered by amalgamation and subdivision prior to the large-scale mapping of the Tithe map (1845).

Although redevelopment of plots (most notably with the surgery, car park and housing to the rear of 59-73 High Street) has been destructive, the otherwise good survival of the extensive area of medieval plots (and the buildings thereon) and the likelihood of the presence of 14th-century and later archaeology mean that the **archaeological potential** of nearly all this HUCA is high.

The rarity of the survival and condition of plots and, especially, the late medieval and post-medieval buildings; the completeness of historic street-front (in the context of a functional high street); the visibility of much of the historic fabric (externally and internally in easily accessible commercial premises); and the archaeological potential give this HUCA the very highest **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 5.

The combination of commercial pressures on the High Street and considerable Historic Environment Value mean that **vulnerability** is high. Internal and shop-front refitting of business premises; minor structural additions; and occasional rebuilding of non-listed buildings are all constant and continuing threats to buildings and archaeology. Additionally, the less protected boundaries of plots are vulnerable to neglect and conversion to residential use, the latter also undermining the commercial character, or function, of these medieval burgage plots that dates back to their creation. This conversion to residential use is more evident in the northern half of the HUCA and – aside from its functional implications – brings with it other threats: for example, several plots have seen the introduction of swimming pools.

Research questions especially relevant to this HUCA relate to the market place (RQ5), burgage plots (RQ7) and medieval buildings (RQ9).

HUCA 3 Lewes Road (HEV 3)

HUCA 3 lies south and south-east of the main commercial centre of the modern and the medieval town. However, the northern side of the Lewes Road adjacent to the High Street was evidently settled – at least in part – in the medieval period, and may well represent part of the initial planned town. The triangular area between Lewes Road and the High Street, however, represents encroachment on the Common and is not part of the medieval development of the town. The early date of at least some of this encroachment, however, is indicated by the survival of a 17th-century house.

There are two listed buildings: Pelham House, 6 High Street, and Pear Tree Cottage, 30 High Street (both Grade II* and both early 19th century). Timber-framed Bay Pond Cottage, 8 High Street, dates from c.1690, and has not been listed. The redevelopment of this area in the 19th century and the likely irregular boundaries of earlier plots mean that it is difficult to identify pre-1800 boundaries.

The density of 19th and 20th-century development and the location of this HUCA to the south of the

medieval town suggest that the **archaeological potential** is limited.

The survival of post-medieval buildings, the lack of obvious historic plot boundaries, and the archaeological potential combine to give this diverse HUCA an **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 3.

HUCA 3 has seen significant change in the 20th century, mostly in the form of infill residential development. The continuing nature of such change, and the vulnerability of the predominant non-listed buildings, coupled with the medium Historic Environment Value mean that **vulnerability** is still relatively high.

Research questions especially relevant to this HUCA relate to encroachment on the Common (RQ14).

HUCA 4 Pond (HEV2)

HUCA 4 lies south-west of the centre of the medieval and modern town. It comprises villas (predominantly of 19th-century date) built on the west side of the High Street and around the ancient (though un-dated) town pond. Earlier buildings existed at the north of the HUCA, but were completely replaced as the potential of this previously under-utilized part of the town was recognized as post-railway Lindfield became increasingly residential in character. There are no listed buildings or substantial survivals of early plot boundaries. The density of 19th and 20th-century development and, especially, the location of this HUCA to the south of the medieval town suggest that the **archaeological potential** is limited.

The survival of post-medieval buildings, the lack of obvious historic plot boundaries, and the archaeological potential combine to give this diverse HUCA an **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 2.

HUCA 4 has seen significant change in the 20th century, mostly in the form of infill and replacement residential development. The continuing nature of such change, and the vulnerability of the non-listed buildings, coupled with the medium Historic Environment Value mean that **vulnerability** is moderate.

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

HUCA 5 Black Hill (HEV 3)

HUCA 5 lies south-west of the medieval town, mostly built over fields. Today the area is of spacious residential character. The earliest development is indicated by a 17th-century

house, probably representing an isolated cottage along the historic route from Lindfield to Haywards Heath. The area was chosen by Quaker William Allen for the building of his British School in 1824.

There are five listed buildings, all Grade II. Partridges and Dix’s comprise a 17th-century timber-framed house. The other historic buildings are of the early 19th century. St Anne’s and Black Hill House represent detached villas. Pelham Place Cottages are the former dormitories and workshops of the school, which closed in 1881. Little Pelham is the former schoolmaster’s house. The main school building stood where the houses of Glenfarne and Hurstbury now stand. South-east of the school was built one of the larger mid to late 19th-century villas of Lindfield (Milton House), now subdivided and with a late 20th-century housing development in the former extensive grounds. There are few historic boundaries, with little surviving from the earlier fieldscape.

Given that this area has not had an urban character until relatively recently, the **archaeological potential** is likely to be limited, although possibly higher in the proximity of Partridges and Dix’s.

The quality of the 19th and 20th-century development, the historic buildings, the absence of many historic boundaries, and the limited archaeological potential combine to give this

HUCA a **Historic Environment Value (HEV)** of 3.

The degree of listing of even the relatively late buildings of historic interest means that the **vulnerability** of the HUCA is low, with the greatest threat perhaps being that of inappropriate re-use, or redevelopment, of the former school workshops and dormitories.

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

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

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

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

Summary of assessment of Historic Urban Character Areas (HUCAs) for Lindfield				
Historic Character Types (HCTs)	Historic Urban Character Area (HUCA)	Archaeological potential	Historic Environment Value (HEV)	Vulnerability
Church/churchyard Irregular historic plots Informal parkland Suburb	1. Church	High	5	Moderate
Regular burgage plots	2. High Street	High	5	High
Irregular historic plots Suburb	3. Lewes Road	Limited	3	Relatively high
Irregular historic plots Suburb Inland water	4. Pond	Limited	2	Moderate
Irregular historic plots School/college Suburb	5. Black Hill	Limited	3	Low

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

6 HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

6.1 Pre-urban activity

Development pressure and opportunities for developer funding mean that archaeological excavations in the town, or prior to expansion of the town, are more likely to occur than in the surrounding area (although, to date, the town has seen no archaeological excavation). Thus, archaeological excavations in Lindfield should address:

RQ1: What was the nature of the palaeo-environment (ancient environment), and the prehistoric, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon human activity in the area? (NB for the Anglo-Saxon period, the putative minster site around – but more extensive than – the present churchyard is a particular area for study).

6.2 Origins

RQ2: What was the scale of the pre-14th-century churchyard, and is there any evidence – archaeological or documentary – to demonstrate that this was the precinct of a Saxon minster?

RQ3: What was the location, form and construction detail of the Norman (or any earlier) church?

RQ4: What evidence is there for permanent settlement at Lindfield before the market grant of 1344?

RQ5: What evidence is there for an early market place?

RQ6: What evidence is there for the chronology and zoning of the initial development of the town?

6.3 Later medieval town

RQ7: How have tenements developed from the first built-up street frontages to the plots that survive today?

RQ8: What different zones (e.g. social differentiation, or types of activity: especially consider industry), were there during this period, and how did they change?

RQ9: What evidence can the standing buildings provide for their function and date (i.e. through dendrochronology)?

6.4 Post-medieval town

RQ10: What different zones (e.g. social differentiation, or types of activity), were there during this period, and how did they change?

RQ11: How were the medieval and early post-medieval buildings adapted for new functions and changing status (e.g. creation of carriageways, or subdivision of hall houses)?

RQ12: Is there any evidence for early post-medieval decline prior to revival in the 18th century?

RQ13: What was the socio-economic impact of coaching on the town?

RQ14: When and how did the town encroach on Lindfield Common?

7 Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ 91 High Street pers. comm.. John Mills; 117 High Street pers. comm. Mark Taylor.

⁴ Worssam, B., 'The geology of Wealden iron', in Cleere, H., & Crossley, D., *The Iron Industry of the Weald* (2nd edn. 1995), 12.

⁵ Brent, C., *Georgian Lewes 1714-1830* (1993), 21-2.

⁶ Farrant, J., 'Growth of Communications 1840-1914', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 40-1.

⁷ Griffiths, I. L., 'Road and rail in Sussex', in Geography Editorial Committee (eds.), *Sussex: Environment, Landscape and Society* (1983), 239.

⁸ Gardiner, M. F., *Medieval Settlement and Society in the Eastern Sussex Weald* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1995), 38; Barker, E., 'Sussex Anglo-Saxon Charters: Part 1', SAC 86 (1947), 42-101, at 85-90.

⁹ Gelling, M. & Cole, A., *The Landscape of Place-names* (2000), 275; Mawer, A. & Stenton, F. M., *The Place-names of Sussex* (1929-30; reprinted 2001), 340.

¹⁰ Gardiner, M. F., *Medieval Settlement and Society in the Eastern Sussex Weald* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1995), 80-3.

¹¹ Rushton, N. S., 'Parochialization and patterns of patronage in 11th-century Sussex', SAC 137 (1999), 133-52; Rushton, N., 'The Parochialisation of Sussex 1000-1086-1291', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 36-7.

¹² Rushton, N. S., 'Parochialization and patterns of patronage in 11th-century Sussex', SAC 137, 133-52, at 137-9.

¹³ Maitland, G., 'Lindfield Church from Saxon Times', SNQ 12 (1950), 143-9; Warne, H., 'Shaping the Parish', in Warne, H.,

(ed.), *Wivelsfield: The History of a Wealden Parish* (1994), 1-22, at 5; Way, T., *A list of the thirty-six deans of the college of canons, South Malling and rectors of the parish of All Saints' Lindfield c.1150-1545, with biographical details* (unpublished manuscript, April 2000).

¹⁴ Way, T., *A list of the thirty-six deans of the college of canons, South Malling and rectors of the parish of All Saints' Lindfield c.1150-1545, with biographical details* (unpublished manuscript, April 2000).

¹⁵ Rushton, N. S., 'Parochialization and patterns of patronage in 11th-century Sussex', SAC 137, 139.

¹⁶ Warne, H., 'Stanmer: a restructured settlement', SAC 127 (1989), 189-210, at 192-4.

¹⁷ Hudson, W., 'Lindfield "Arch" and Burleigh "Arches"', SAC 53 (1910), 274-5; Mawer, A. & Stenton, F.M., *The Place-names of Sussex* (1929-30; reprinted 2001), 280-1, 340.

¹⁸ In the 1296 subsidy, 36 taxpayers are recorded in the *Villat' de Lyndefeld et Burle*; and in 1332, 84 taxpayers are recorded in the *Villata de Lyndefeld* [Bardolf], 41 in the *Villata de Lyndefeld* [Arches], and 28 in *Lyndefeld and Boughele*.: Hudson, W. H. (ed.), 'The three earliest subsidies for the County of Sussex in the years 1296, 1327, 1332', SRS 10 (1910), 52-3, 180-1, 294-5, 310-11. Note: Burleigh is now reduced to the name of a farm north-east of Turners Hill.

¹⁹ Gardiner, M., 'Trade, Rural Industry and the Origins of Villages: some Evidence from South-East England', in de Boe, G., & Verhaeghe, F., (eds.), *Rural Settlements in Medieval Europe: Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference* 6 (1997), 63-73.

²⁰ E.g. Brandon, P., & Short, B., *The South East from AD 1000* (1990), 46.

²¹ Pers. comm. Jeremy Hodgkinson, citing Salzmann, L. F., 'Industries', in Page, W., (ed.), *Victoria County History 2* (1907), 242. These records are published as: Fenwick, C.C., (ed.), *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381*, Parts 1 and 2, (British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, n.s. 27 and 29, 1998-2001). See also: Cleere, H., and Crossley, D., *The iron Industry of the Weald* (revised edition, 1995), 93.

²² Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 127.

²³ Cornwall, J. (ed.), 'The Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex 1524-25', SRS 56 (1956): 86-7; Cornwall, J., 'Sussex Wealth and Society in the Reign of Henry VIII', SAC 114 (1976), 15-16. The calculation for total population is the author's and is necessarily indicative, with the following multiplier used: 490% for taxpayers.

²⁴ Cornwall, J., 'Sussex Wealth and Society in the Reign of Henry VIII', SAC 114 (1976), 1-26, at 16-17, 23.

²⁵ Pers. comm.. Dr Annabelle Hughes.

²⁶ Pennington, J., 'Inns and Alehouses in 1686', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 68-9.

²⁷ Johnston, G. D., *Abstract of Turnpike Acts relating to Sussex* (c.1948, transcript at SAS), 11.

²⁸ Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 127, 132.

²⁹ Cleere, H., and Crossley, D., *The iron Industry of the Weald* (revised edition, 1995).

³⁰ Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 157.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 58.

- ³² Cornwall, J. (ed.), 'The Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex 1524-25', *SRS* 56 (1956): 86-7; Cornwall, J., 'Sussex Wealth and Society in the Reign of Henry VIII', *SAC* 114 (1976), 15-16; Cooper, J. H., 'A Religious Census of Sussex in 1676', *SAC* 45 (1902), 142-8, at 143; Ford, W. K., (ed.), 'Chichester Diocesan Surveys 1686 and 1724', *SRS* 78 (1994), 229. The calculations for total populations are the author's and are necessarily indicative, with the following multipliers used: 131% for surveys of adults (1676), 450% for families (1724), and 490% for taxpayers (1524).
- ³³ Brandon, P., & Short, B., *The South East from AD 1000* (1990), 192.
- ³⁴ Caplan, N., *Annals of the Congregational Church at Lindfield – Sussex, 1810-1959* (1959), 9.
- ³⁵ Way, T., *A list of the thirty-six deans of the college of canons, South Malling and rectors of the parish of All Saints' Lindfield c.1150-1545, with biographical details* (unpublished manuscript, April 2000).
- ³⁶ Goring, J., 'Reformation and reaction in Sussex, 1534-1559', *SAC* 134 (1996), 141-54, at 151.
- ³⁷ Lower, M. A., 'On some old parochial documents relating to Lindfield', *SAC* 19 (1867), 36-52, at 39-40.
- ³⁸ Caplan, N., *Annals of the Congregational Church at Lindfield – Sussex, 1810-1959* (1959), 9.
- ³⁹ Cooper, J. H., 'A Religious Census of Sussex in 1676', *SAC* 45 (1902), 142-8, at 143.
- ⁴⁰ Ford, W. K., (ed.), 'Chichester Diocesan Surveys 1686 and 1724', *SRS* 78 (1994), 229.
- ⁴¹ Cooper, J. H., *A History of the Parish of Cuckfield* (1912), 178-201.
- ⁴² Ford, W. K., and Gabe, A. C., *The Metropolis of Mid Sussex: a History of Haywards Heath* (1981), 25-6.
- ⁴³ Construction work actually began on this project, and the cutting for the line remains visible from the London-Brighton main line (next to the junction of the Ardingly line) as far as Lindfield.
- ⁴⁴ Ford, W. K., and Gabe, A. C., *The Metropolis of Mid Sussex: a History of Haywards Heath* (1981), 39.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 39-52.
- ⁴⁶ Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 32. It is unclear whether the 'weekly market' in Haywards Heath referred to by Hall is the weekly corn market (begun 1846) or, more probably, the fortnightly stock market begun in 1868: Harris, R. B., *Haywards Heath: Historic Character Assessment Report* (2005).
- ⁴⁷ Ford, W. K., and Gabe, A. C., *The Metropolis of Mid Sussex: a History of Haywards Heath* (1981), 33.
- ⁴⁸ Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 57.
- ⁴⁹ Ford, W. K., and Gabe, A. C., *The Metropolis of Mid Sussex: a History of Haywards Heath* (1981), 31.
- ⁵⁰ Caplan, N., *Annals of the Congregational Church at Lindfield – Sussex, 1810-1959* (1959), 9.
- ⁵¹ 2001 decennial census.
- ⁵² Salzman, L. F., *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 148.
- ⁵³ Salzman, L. F., *Victoria County History* 7 (1940), 163; Ford, W. K., and Gabe, A. C., *The Metropolis of Mid Sussex: a History of Haywards Heath* (1981), 65-7.
- ⁵⁴ Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 97.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 84, 119, 179.
- ⁵⁶ Caplan, N., *Annals of the Congregational Church at Lindfield – Sussex, 1810-1959* (1959), 12-14, 29-31.
- ⁵⁷ Hall, H., *William Allen 1770-1843* (1953), 116-121; Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 21.
- ⁵⁸ Hall, H., *William Allen 1770-1843* (1953), 116-123.
- ⁵⁹ EH listed buildings ref. no. 473376 (citing WSRO ref E416B/6/1-3).
- ⁶⁰ Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 91.
- ⁶¹ Wells, R., 'The Poor Law 1700-1900', in Leslie, K. and Short, B. (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (1999), 70-1.
- ⁶² Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 44, 57.
- ⁶³ McCann, T. J., *Sussex Cricket in the Eighteenth Century* (*SRS* 88, 2004), xlix, 104; Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 28-30.
- ⁶⁴ Way, T., *The Anglo-Saxon Nave of All Saints' Church Lindfield* (unpublished manuscript, undated: post-1997); Way, T., *A list of the thirty-six deans of the college of canons, South Malling and rectors of the parish of All Saints' Lindfield c.1150-1545, with biographical details* (unpublished manuscript, April 2000).
- ⁶⁵ For example, Botolphs is of the late 11th century and is not pre-Conquest: Way is evidently using dating criteria derived from the Taylors' work on Anglo-Saxon architecture.
- ⁶⁶ For example, the only cited example of a pre-Conquest Sussex church of similar height is Bosham: however, the nave walls can be reconstructed at 26.6ft, not the 30ft cited by Way: Aldsworth, F. G., 'Recent observations on the tower of Holy Trinity church, Bosham', *SAC* 128 (1990), 55-72.
- ⁶⁷ Harris, R. B., *Horsham: Historic Character Assessment Report* (2004).
- ⁶⁸ Mason, R. T., *Framed Buildings of the Weald* (2nd, revised, edtn., 1969), 24, 31, 54, 75. In this Mason revises his previous dating and analysis: Mason, R. T., 'Three Medieval Houses in Sussex', *SAC* 91 (1953), 20-31, at 20-4.
- ⁶⁹ Alcock suggests that almost all examples fall before 1360: Alcock, N., 'The Distribution and Dating of Crucks and Base Crucks', *Vernacular Architecture* 33 (2002), 67-70. A more detailed review of the form by John Crook, however, notes the paucity of dendrochronological dating of the type, and makes a good case for such forms beginning in high status buildings early in the 14th century and being rapidly adopted further down the social scale (as here in Lindfield) during the 14th century: Crook, J., 'Bishops and base crucks: fourteenth-century timber halls in England and their carpentry', Meirion-Jones, G., Impey, I., Jones, M., (eds.), *The Seigneurial Residence on Western Europe* (BAR International Series 1088, 2002), 89-100.
- ⁷⁰ It has been suggested by Tony Way, with less likelihood, that this north-south route is crossed by a prehistoric east-west trackway from East Mascalls, past the north side of the church, then westwards towards Kenwards: Warne, H., *Wealden Settlement Study Circle: Minutes of contributions from members* (unpublished notes, 14th July, 2003, supplied by Heather Warne).
- ⁷¹ Gardiner, M., 'Trade, Rural Industry and the Origins of Villages: some Evidence from South-East England', in de Boe, G., & Verhaeghe, F., (eds.), *Rural Settlements in Medieval Europe: Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference* 6 (1997), 63-73, at 68.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Blair, J., *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (2005), 198.

⁷⁵ Blair, J., *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (2005), 191-4.

⁷⁶ Tony Way has suggested a much larger putative minster enclosure in the form of a (now lost) curving boundary hedge c.350m east of the church (seen on the 1st edition 25⁰⁰ OS map) and on the 1845 Tithe map. If a more substantial enclosure, this appears to have been truncated by the medieval town, but the lack of evidence for a boundary north-west and west of the church weakens the hypothesis. Moreover, at perhaps c.700m wide the postulated enclosure is less consistent with the typical dimensions of English curvilinear minster enclosures. Finally, it lacks the evidence for an early existence and association with the church, such as that for the more modest c.150m-wide former churchyard here argued: Warne, H., *Wealden Settlement Study Circle: Minutes of contributions from members* (unpublished notes, 14th July, 2003, supplied by Heather Warne).

⁷⁷ SMR reference: 4424 – WS3529.

⁷⁸ Jones, R., 'Hastings to Herstmonceux: the castles of Sussex', in Rudling, D., (ed.), *The Archaeology of Sussex to AD 2000* (2003), 171-8, at 173.

⁷⁹ SMR reference: 4423 – WS5797.

⁸⁰ Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 83.

⁸¹ Lower, M. A., 'Of certain inns and inn-signs in Sussex', *SAC* 10 (1858), 181-92, at 188; Hall, H., *Lindfield Past and Present* (1960), 117-18 [Hall also consider that the Tiger was the market hall, but this seems improbable: op cit, 32]; Hannah, I. C., 'Medieval Houses at Lindfield: The Tiger and The Bower', *SAC* 80 (1939), 165-9.

⁸² Harris, R. B., *East Grinstead: Historic Character Assessment Report* (2005).

⁸³ Hall, H., *William Allen 1770-1843* (1953), 116-123.

⁸⁴ Listed building data is drawn from the statutory lists produced by English Heritage, but has been amended – especially in regard to the dating – during the Sussex EUS. The GIS data prepared during the Sussex EUS contains the full references to the sources for revised dates: in many cases these come from fieldwork undertaken by the author.