

Routeways in the High Weald

A guide to their historic function,
character and significance



Guidance for the High Weald AONB Partnership

Jeremy Lake and Nicola Bannister, 2021

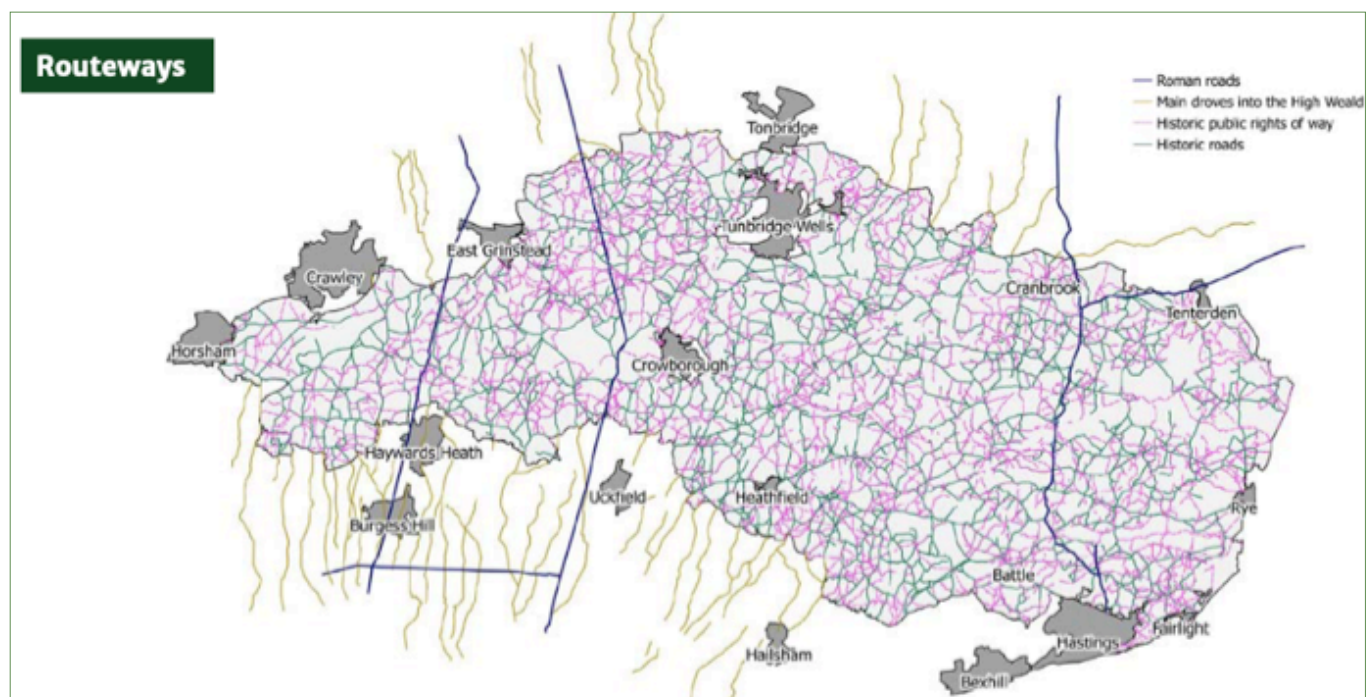
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SUMMARY

Their function, history and character

Routeways have been identified in the High Weald AONB Management Plan as one of the significant and yet least understood features that make the High Weald such a beautiful and recognisably distinct place to live and visit. They help to tell the story of how its landscape and communities have developed and changed over thousands of years, and provide the means by which local communities and visitors experience and value one of the most remarkable historic landscapes in England. They are an integral part of ‘one of the best-surviving medieval landscapes in northern Europe’ (AONB Management Plan), with many dating from earlier centuries and with a rich variety of later uses.



This map shows the high density of routeways in the High Weald, 80% of which date from before around 1800. Anglo-Saxon and earlier droveways run in a north-south direction and extend into the landscapes around the High Weald while the ridgeways, in striking contrast, extend across the High Weald in an east-west direction. Roman roads – either cutting across or making use of the existing network – are strongly associated with ironworking sites, and in the west extend from London towards the south coast and villas along the South Downs.

This guidance is divided into four parts, with case studies that demonstrate how routeways help to tell the story of landscapes across the High Weald.

Part 1 sets out legal definitions and the basic types of routeways.

Part 2 sets out the characteristics of routeways and how they result from the interaction of historic and natural processes over centuries. It shows that the dense radiating network of routeways in the High Weald has a variety of origins including:

- prehistoric droveways, often running in a north-south direction, used for moving livestock and also for the transport of iron, timber and other goods
- ridgeways on high ground and often running east-west, closely associated with prehistoric sites and medieval trading settlements
- Roman roads cutting across these patterns and strongly associated with iron-working sites, and in the west extending towards villas along the South Downs
- routeways which connect and provide access to its distinctive medieval pattern of scattered farms and hamlets, irregular fields with wooded boundaries and ancient woodland, either predating or forming part of the expansion of farmsteads into the High Weald between the 8th and 13th centuries
- medieval routeways linked to navigable waterways in the Eastern High Weald

The later history of routeways provides further evidence for the development of farming and settlements, the iron and other industries and the working of woodland. The building of turnpikes, from the mid 18th to the early 19th centuries, usually improved existing routes such as the A21, which stimulated trade, agriculture, and in some places the building of new houses. The movement of livestock on the hoof and the export of timber declined in the mid-late 19th century. In its place came the increasing use of routeways for providing access to the growing resorts on the south coast, new villas and other developments, and for visiting and exploring the High Weald landscape. From the early 20th century there has been investment in the road system for motorised transport, starting with the surfacing of many routeways but also including other interventions such as widening, straightening and roundabouts as well as new routes such as the Bexhill Link Road.

Part 3 sets out how the functions of routeways have given rise to distinctive features in the landscape, focusing on:

- greens, stock funnels, forstals, ponds, public houses and other features associated with the droving industry
- their relationship to farmland and farmsteads
- how settlements developed along and around them
- how they enabled the management and use of woodland
- how they provided access to industrial sites and enabled trade

Part 4 sets out how to assess the significance of routeways, the benefits that they provide to people, wildlife and habitats and sets out the opportunities to conserve and enhance them.

The Sources section summarises the range of sources that will provide further help in identifying, understanding and assessing routeways.

AUTHORS OF THIS REPORT

The High Weald AONB Partnership commissioned Jeremy Lake with Nicola Bannister to undertake this study into the history and character of routeways of the High Weald as part of its on-going research into the evolution of the High Weald landscape, and in order to assist its conservation and enhancement.

Jeremy Lake, FSA, MLI and MCiFA, is a heritage consultant who worked in private practice and between 1988 and 2016 with English Heritage (now Historic England), where he worked for the Listing Team on area surveys and thematic assessment of buildings for protection and management, landscape characterisation and scoping the future issues for change for landscape and resources. This work and personal interests has resulted in a wide range of professional and academic publications, from swimming pools to farmsteads, historic landscapes, military heritage and the architecture of Methodism: he has served and continues to serve various societies and serves on the Methodist Church Listed Buildings Advisory Group, the National Trust's Historic Environment Advisory Group, and the Landscape Institute's Landscape Management Leadership Forum. He also chairs the Buildings Archaeology Group of the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists and is a research associate with the Countryside and Community Research Institute, at the University of Gloucestershire. Since 2016 he has worked on a range of projects including neighbourhood plans, conservation management plans, 20th century heritage, ecosystem service assessment and the relationship of the historic environment to Natural Capital, settings analysis and statements of significance for heritage assets (e.g. Saltdean Lido near Brighton, Ightham Mote in Kent and the Langley Urban Extension to Birmingham) and the development of routeways and farmsteads guidance for the High Weald AONB, Historic England, the National Trust, Cadw and the Brecon Beacons National Park.

Nicola Bannister, PhD, has over 25 years experience of Landscape Archaeology, Historic Landscape Characterisation and Historic Landscape Surveys and Assessments. She has written and published on the subject. Nicola worked on a project on 'Field Systems in the High Weald' with the High Weald AONB and Historic England which produced a High Weald Field Systems Assessment Methodology and Character Statement. This project developed in part from the Kent Farmsteads Characterisation and from the Kent and Sussex Historic Landscape Characterisation. In the past she has worked extensively with the National Trust in the South East undertaking Level 3 Historic Landscape Surveys, including the one for Ightham Mote in 1999. She has recently completed a Historic Landscape Characterisation of the Darent Valley in Kent, for the HLF Darent Valley Landscape Partnership.

Both authors have collaborated together on projects in recent years, including assessment of the landscapes at Scotney and Ightham Mote, and the production of a conservation management plan for the National Trust's West Kent portfolio, where the work of Octavia Hill and others stimulated the early development of the National Trust and the landscape conservation movement in England.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank the High Weald AONB Partnership for commissioning this work, and in particular Sally Marsh and Claire Tester for their comments and encouragement.

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Introduction

Background to this guidance

This guidance was prompted by an increasing awareness of the vulnerability of historic routeways to damage and destruction. Harmful actions to the historic routeways of the High Weald include:

- Diversions of public rights of way, which may change alignments travelled by people for hundreds, even thousands, of years.
- Damage and loss due to new housing and road development, including deep visibility splays, passing bays, inappropriate signage and the inappropriate installation of features (e.g. ornamental shrub and flower planting, kerb stones, crash barriers, closed panel and security fencing) that erode the rural character of routeways.
- Inappropriate management of veteran trees and roadside coppice, including the practice of ‘chip and smother’ which threatens fragile flora.
- Encroachment onto routeways, and damage to ditch and banks features, through ploughing or inappropriate fencing.
- The effects of erosion and run-off caused by heavy use, particularly by wheeled vehicles along hollow ways.
- Generic and insensitive highway maintenance, including the degrading of wildflower verges through inappropriate mowing regimes.
- Informal acquisition of roadsides for private gardens.

Status and purpose of the guide

The purpose of this guidance is to raise the general awareness of the importance of historic routeways and to provide guidance on how to identify an historic routeway, assess its heritage significance and consider the effect of any change and potential for conservation and enhancement.

The document should be read in association with other guidance published by the High Weald AONB Partnership, in particular the AONB Management Plan and the High Weald Housing Design Guide. Also available on the AONB website are the results of research on related topics such as fieldscapes and farmsteads.

This guidance is intended for anyone considering or proposing change to or near an historic routeway within the High Weald AONB. This could include residents, local authority public rights of way officers, landowners, farmers and foresters, housing and road developers, agents, advisers, architects and landscape architects, and the utilities companies.

This guidance will also help public bodies, who take decisions that impact on the AONB, to meet their statutory responsibilities towards AONBs. This includes local planning authorities, national government agencies and neighbourhood planning groups with responsibility for setting the framework for housing, commercial, and road development and for making decisions about local development plans, road and rail infrastructure plans, and individual planning applications.

The legal framework which provides for the conservation and enhancement of the High Weald AONB includes:

- The High Weald AONB Management Plan, which local authorities with land in the AONB are required to produce and update every five years and ‘formulates their policy for the management of the AONB and for the carrying out of their functions in relation to it’ (Section 89 of the Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000). The AONB Management

Plan is a material consideration in relation to planning. This guidance provides further detail on routeways than the Management Plan.

- The Countryside and Rights of Way Act (CROW) 2000 which reaffirmed that the primary purpose of AONB designation is to conserve and enhance natural beauty. Section 85 of CROW places a duty on all public bodies and statutory undertakers to 'have regard' to 'the purpose of conserving and enhancing the natural beauty of the AONB' when exercising or performing any function in relation to the AONB or so as to affect it. Using and applying this guidance will help those organisations demonstrate their compliance with this duty.

To comply with these requirements any changes to routeways must conserve and where desirable enhance their heritage and natural significance, the contribution they make to local distinctiveness and how the High Weald is experienced.



Walkers and picnickers enjoying Ashdown Forest. Photo © J Lake

1 TYPES OF HISTORIC ROUTEWAYS AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

1.1 Functions and legal definitions

Routeways can be simply defined as ways along which people, animals and vehicles can travel, for either private or public use. They form a fundamental part of our landscape, connecting places to each other, for providing access to farmland, woodland, grazing land and waterways, and to local and distant markets.

This guidance is concerned with routeways over land, although the term ‘routeway’ describes all ways of moving over land or water from one place to another. Different types of routeways result from:

- their historic and present-day use: historic terms such as ‘footway’, ‘packway’ (for packhorses) and ‘cartway’ simply describe their intended or actual use for pedestrians, pack animals or wheeled vehicles;
- their legal status, and specifically whether the public has a legal right of way, which in the past may have resulted from their dedication (express or implied) by a landowner and acceptance (by use) of the public. Since 1949 local authorities have been required to maintain Definitive Maps which are a legal record of all public rights of way, and Ordnance Survey maps have indicated Rights of Way since 1960.



A view of the fine mid Georgian farmhouse at Netter's Hall, Hawkhurst, from one of the historic droveways that extended into the parish (see maps on pages 16 and 39). Photo © J Lake

PRESENT DAY ROUTEWAY TYPE BASED ON LEGAL DEFINITION

If a highway:

- **Road** A highway or other route to which the public has access (*).
- **Highway** A road or other way (including navigable rivers) over which the public may pass and repass as of right (*).
- **Footpath** Any highway over which the public have a right of way on foot only but is not a pavement or footway at the side of a public road (S.329 (1) Highways Act 1980).
- **Bridleway** A highway over which the public has a right of way on foot and or horseback or leading a horse, and over which there may be a right to drive animals of any description (S.329 (1) Highways Act 1980). It may also be used to cyclist (S.30 Countryside Act 1968).
- **Byway** Open to All Traffic (BOAT) A highway over which the public have a right of way for vehicular and all other kinds of traffic, but which is used by the public mainly for the purposes for which footpaths and bridleways are used (S66 Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981).
- **Restricted byway** A highway over which the public have a right of way on foot, on horseback or leading a horse ... and in a vehicle other than a mechanically propelled vehicle e.g. pedal cycle or horse drawn vehicle (S.47 Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000)
- **Carriageway** A highway over which the public have a right of way with vehicles, on foot, or on horse and a right to drive livestock (*).
- **Driftway** A highway over which there exists a right to drive cattle, accompanied by person either on foot or mounted (*).
- **Green lanes and lost paths** Green lane is not a legal definition but symbolic of the often ancient unsurfaced tracks the form part of the routeway network (Ramblers.org 2018). Lost paths are abandoned routeways which are visible in the landscape.

* Taken from: Law, J. (2018). A Dictionary of Law (9 ed.). Oxford University Press.

Legal terms over time

Many long-distance routeways have evolved over a long period of time and they may also simply result from the joining up of shorter lengths used by people getting around their local area. Some of these result from Roman roads, and in the Anglo-Saxon period the term 'straet' was used to indicate these and other major routeways. The Statute of Winchester in 1285 placed responsibility for maintenance of highways on landowners in their respective manors. They could not obstruct or otherwise interfere with the common right to use highways, and the protection offered to travellers, although in practice the blocking and diversion of routes continued.

By the 17th century, the law recognised three different types of routeway – footpaths of three feet (0.91 metres) or less in width which could not be used by pack horses or cattle; bridleways for foot and horse traffic; and cart or waggon roads which required a width of eight feet (2.43 metres).

The 1835 Highways Act defined 'highways' – since the Highways Act of 1555 maintainable by individual parishes – as 'all Roads, Bridges (not being County Bridges), Carriageways, Cartways, Horseways, Bridleways, Footways, Causeways, Churchways and Pavements.' It was also careful to distinguish footpaths, and set out penalties for anyone riding, carting or driving along them. Since the late 19th century the land within public highways has been vested in the relevant local authorities.

1.2 Historic routeway types

The use of routeways as roads, trackways or footpaths often changed over time. Many of the most intensively-used routeways – including some of the engineered roads built for the Romans and the turnpike trusts - have become major roads, as have some historic droveways such as the A21 from Flimwell to Hastings. A close look at maps followed by fieldwork may also reveal how once significant routeways have been narrowed down as a result of field enclosures and built development, while others now serve as bridleways and footpaths.

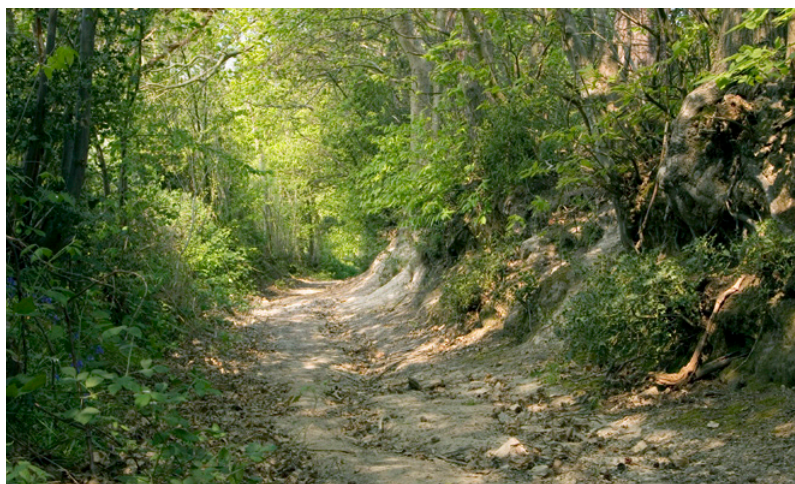
Roads are paved or metalled routeways, which enabled the most rapid means of transport, including of heavy wheeled loads, to and through areas. The most notable and best-documented examples are Roman roads and the turnpikes of the 18th and early 19th centuries. These are typically constructed with a metalled surface and are raised and cambered, with drainage ditches.



An early 19th century road raised above the surrounding ground level, with ditches for drainage to either side. Photo © J Lake

Many routeways were made into roads in the 20th century as the rubber tyres of bikes and vehicles necessitated the bonding of stone surfaces with tar, and over time resurfacing with tarmac (used from 1902), asphalt and concrete.

Trackways enabled the movement of livestock, people and sometimes wheeled vehicles over long or short distances. These include ‘droveways’ for moving cattle and other animals over long distances, and the ridgeways which may have the same purpose but are so-called because of their hill-top location. They may run in parallel and ‘braid’ out as they emerge into common land and other open areas. Fences, hedges, banks or ditches (or a combination of these) also constrained the movement of animals so that they did not damage the ground or adjacent crops. Short lengths may be paved or cobbled.



An Anglo-Saxon droveway which passes through Broadham Wood and connected communities to open commons at Kilndown. Photo © J Lake



A 19th century routeway for wheeled vehicles, built to provide access to a newly-built oast house. Photo © J Lake



One of the driveways within the historic park at Bayham Abbey. Photo © J Lake

1.3 The characteristics of routeways – history and nature combined

Archaeological and historic features provide evidence for the age and use of routeways, and how they have been adapted over centuries.

- Holloways are found on sloping land, where long use combined with water run-off has eroded the sandstone and soft geology of the High Weald.
- ‘Braiding’ comprises parallel or radiating sunken tracks which result from how people, vehicles and animals have found their way up or down slopes or around impassable areas, leaving parallel ruts or hollows worked into the land where they have sought out drier and better routes. They are associated with holloways and where livestock emerged onto unenclosed grazing land.
- Earth banks and lynchets (which mark a step or break on a slope) and/or drainage ditches to one or both sides of a routeway may indicate its former width and also a desire to separate livestock and other users of a routeway from farmland, woodland and private land to either side. Banks were usually topped with managed hedges.
- Higher or lower ground to one or both sides of the routeway may indicate how it has been worked into the landscape, either through use over many years or as part of its design, and how ploughed soil has moved downslope.
- Evidence for the narrowing of routeways can be indicated by earth banks within historic routeways, planted with coppiced chestnut, beech or other species. Houses and their gardens may also have encroached onto routeways (see page 32).
- Evidence for lost routeways can be indicated by the presence of holloways, earth banks and depressions in the ground which are not shown on maps.

-
- Historic surfacing, usually at fording points and to assist the movement of packhorses, usually made of cobbles, paving stones and (in the Weald) slag from Iron Age and later ironworks.
 - Markers, milestones and signposts can also be found along routeways. Fewer than 120 Roman milestones have survived in Britain, and in the medieval period wayside crosses and stone markers were used to guide travellers. The marking of routes became an obligation for parishes after the Highways Act of 1555, and Turnpike Trusts were required to install milestones after 1767. Fingerposts became more common from the late 17th century. They were commonly replaced in cast iron by county authorities in the early 20th century, and continued to be erected until the introduction of the modern system of road signage in the mid 1960s. They were higher than milestones and so much easier to read for those travelling on horseback or on a coach.

Trees and flora provide important evidence for the use and development of routeways.

- Broadleaf tree species may show evidence of coppicing or pollarding for hop poles, fuel for charcoal or timber for fuel, construction and other uses. Holly was used for fodder, and old stands of holly might also be found along routeways.
- Coniferous trees were commonly planted in the setting of parkland and houses from the mid 19th century.
- Stubbed trees, pollarded trees and lines of veteran trees may act as boundary markers where trees are sited next to routeways.
- Woodland indicator species such as bluebells and wood anemones may reveal where routes have passed through ancient woodland.
- Bracken alongside routeways was grown and cut for bedding.

The linear nature of routeways contributes significantly to the ecological interconnectedness of the High Weald, connecting them other habitats and facilitating the foraging and dispersal of flora and fauna.

- Sunken routeways (holloways) have a high potential for species diversity due to variations in shade and microclimate, and the presence of bare soil.
- Wide flowery grass verges are common, indicating the historic width of routeways and their function as linear strips of common grazing land within this anciently-enclosed landscape.
- Small-scale variations in habitat along routeways may have a complex mixture of substrates, aspects and moisture levels that support a rich biodiversity, especially invertebrates.
- Frequent sandstone exposures along routeways are associated with diverse assemblages of specialist plants and animals.
- Veteran trees, including stubbed and pollarded trees marking boundaries, and ancient coppices along routeways (often showing evidence of laying) are frequent, providing niches for lichens and beetles that thrive on dead wood.
- Pits, quarries and ponds alongside routeways, dug for marl or minerals and as places for livestock to drink, have created habitats for invertebrates and other species.



Holloways were used as droveways for driving livestock, and some, as here in Wadhurst, were wide enough to admit wheeled vehicles if the ground conditions were favourable. Photo © High Weald AONB Partnership



Ancient chestnut lining a routeway in Broadham Wood. Photo © N. Bannister



A holloway in woodland, carpeted with bluebells. Photo © J Lake



Evidence of braiding. A metalled road now forms the means of travel along this holloway on the ascent from the valley through Sowdens Wood, but to either side of it are clear signs of long-abandoned trails now evident as 'braiding'. Photo © J Lake



This medieval or earlier routeway retains clear evidence of its historic width in its outer banks flanking the raised and narrower metalled road. Photo © J Lake



A routeway – bounded by early 19th century thorn hedgerows with oak standards – built on sloping ground, the land being embanked downslope. Photo © J Lake



Banks planted with chestnut coppice have narrowed this historic routeway in Lamberhurst parish. Photo © J Lake



This holloway extending into the Brede Valley is not shown on late 19th century or recent maps. Photo © J Lake



Cobbling on a routeway leading to hop pickers' huts and an early 19th century outfarm. Photo © J Lake



Fingerposts such as this continued to be erected until the modern system of road signage was introduced in 1964. Photo © J Lake

2 THE HISTORY OF ROUTEWAYS

2.1 Routeways in prehistory (before AD 43)

National context

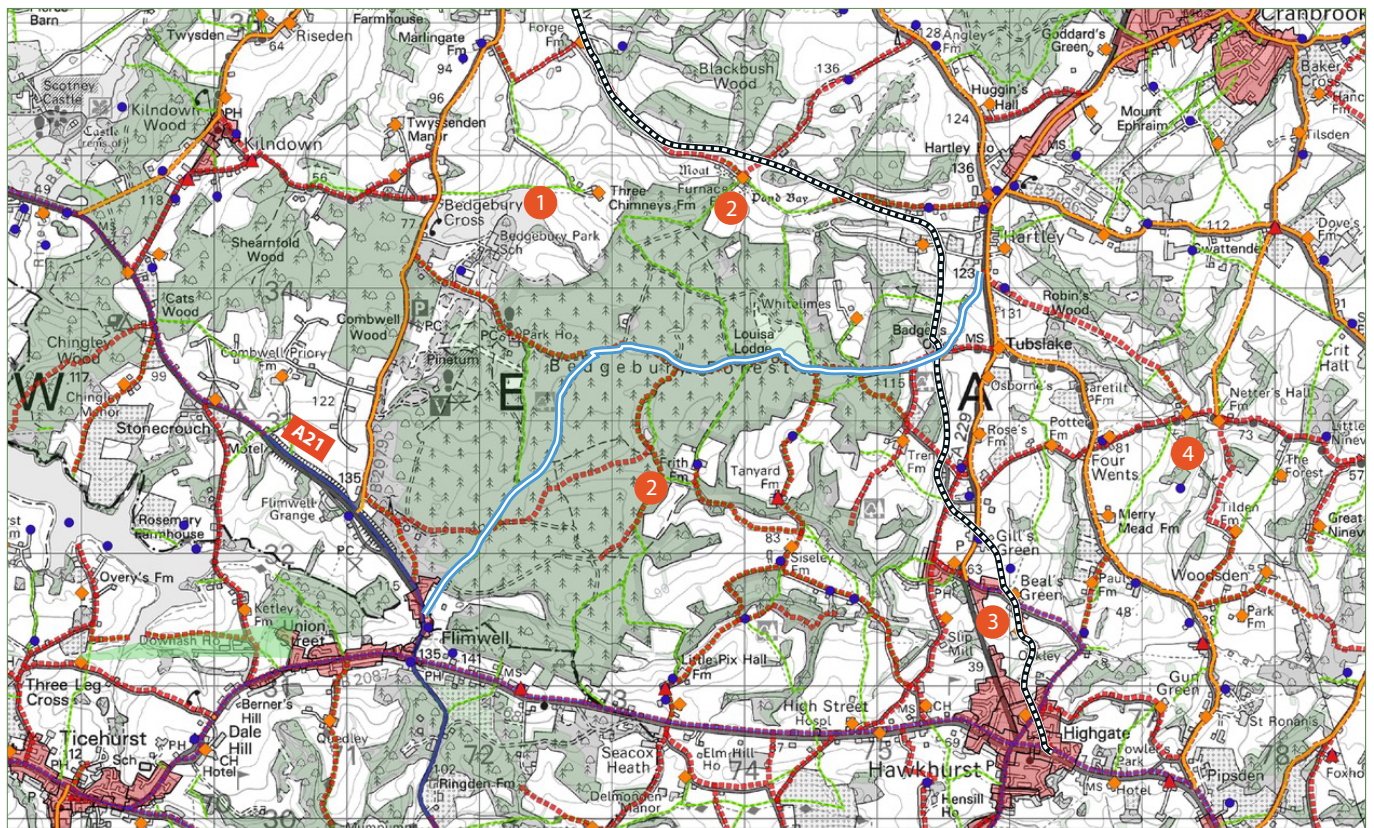
The first farming communities and their associated ritual and ceremonial sites were established from around 4000 BC in the Neolithic period. From around the middle of the Bronze Age (2500-700 BC) and then in the Iron Age, we see the emergence of extensive and planned 'fieldscapes' relating to clustered and scattered farms, and the early development of territories and finally trading centres. There is evidence for routeways connecting these to each other, and to seasonal pastures which were increasingly used to source fuel and building materials, often becoming more open through over-exploitation.

Flint scatters, concentrated close to springs and on the drier ridgetops, offer evidence of how people were moving around the High Weald in the Mesolithic (8000 to 4000 BC) and earlier in the Palaeolithic periods. The system of moving livestock into seasonal grazing areas in the Weald from the surrounding downs and vales is thought to have originated in the Neolithic period, or possibly earlier. By the Bronze Age there is significant evidence for communities using and clearing woodland, cultivating land and forming heathland.

Iron Age ironworks are concentrated around the northern and eastern fringes of the High Weald, enabling the export of iron via tributaries of the Thames, the Rother and the Brede. Routeways were thus needed to move livestock and export out of the Weald, and their close relationship to Iron Age forts along the Greensand Ridge, such as Goodley Stock and Squerryes near Westerham, suggests that they exercised a degree of control and supervision over this trade. At least some of these routeways defined the boundaries of territories that extended northwards and eastwards into different agricultural landscapes which had less woodland and grew more corn.



A section of the prehistoric trackway in Bedgebury Forest (see map on page 16), which is also aligned along a key water catchment boundary, that formed the division to swine and cattle pasture territories that developed in the Anglo-Saxon period.



1:35,140 0 1 2 3 km

Legend

- ▲ C18 Farmsteads
- ◆ C17 & Medieval Farmsteads
- All Other Farmsteads
- Historic Routeways (PROW)
- Historic Settlements
- Line of railway
- Prehistoric 'iron way'
- Drovers
- Turnpike
- Historic Routeways (roads)

Prehistoric and later routeways in Bedgebury and Hawkhurst Traversing this map, and passing through Bedgebury Forest, is a prehistoric routeway which can be traced along the line of modern roads, the forest track and as holloways with braided tracks where it crossed open ground. This routeway had by the 7th century become a boundary between two 'lathes' (Kentish territorial units) which extended from the Weald to their estate centres at Wye and Hollingbourne. It then served to mark the boundaries of dens, manors, hundreds, parishes, Bedgebury deer park (1) and woods. It joins the present A21 to the south-west, a prehistoric routeway from the coast to the Medway. Minor tracks and paths feed into it, to enable the movement of stock, woodland products and iron from Bedgebury, which was established as a bloomery in the Roman period, and post-medieval iron-working sites (2). Numerous greens or small commons with routeways funnelling into them (including Beal's Green, 3) sit astride or close to the droveway to the east, and served as places to hold stock during the droving process. Many of the farmsteads have developed from Saxon 'dens' or seasonal pastures located at the southern end of the lathes and the royal manor of Wye to its 'dens' in Hawkhurst (4), part of the final push of Saxon colonization of the Kentish Weald. Many of these have recorded 15th to 17th century buildings, and comprise either the small-scale courtyards or dispersed plans that are characteristic of the Weald (see Figure x). The railway from London enabled the export of top fruit and hops, and the building of more houses including a strip of development along a new straight road extending south from Gill's Green which was built to avoid the sunken lanes. Fine villas, first evident from the mid 18th century along the ancient ridgeway from Flimwell which was turnpiked in 1761, continued to be built within and around Hawkhurst. For more details see Bannister N and Bartlett D 2009. 'An initial investigation of an early routeway and boundary, possibly prehistoric, in Bedgebury Forest', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 129, 295-311.

2.2 Routeways in the Romano-British period (AD 43 - 410)

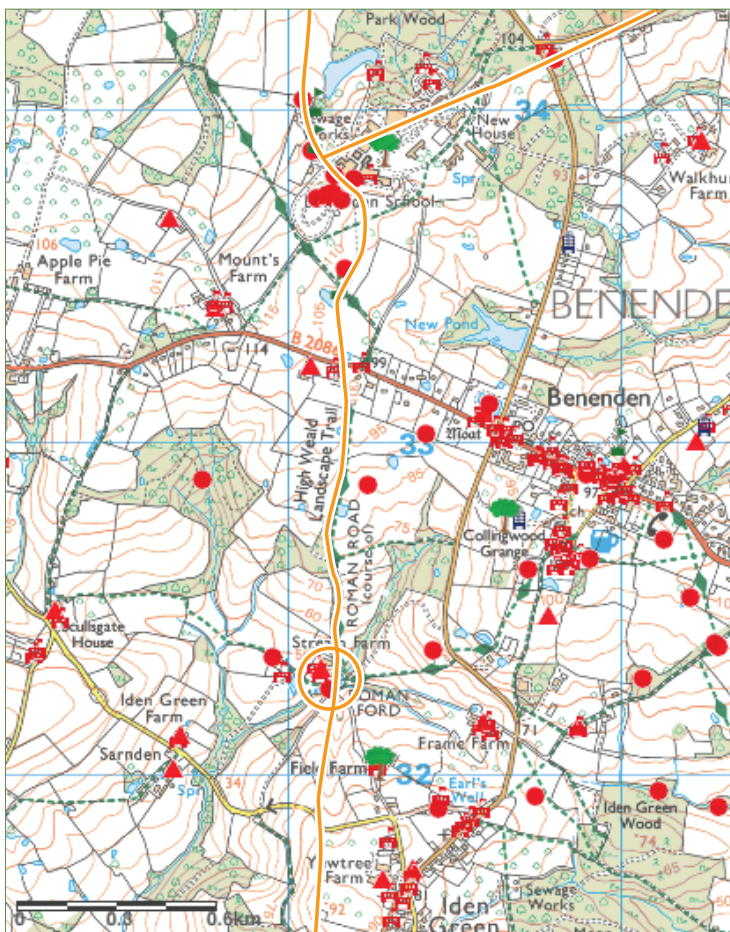
National context

More than 10,000 miles of roads had been built in the hundred years after Emperor Claudius's successful invasion of AD 43. Whilst major routes connected London to different parts of the province, many other roads were built. These typically cut across earlier routeways, supporting the army and navy, connecting forts, villas and settlements and enabling the export of agricultural and industrial produce, from salt and pottery to iron and lead. Pre-existing routes continued to feed into this new system, and more rarely were appropriated by it (the conversion of part of the Fosse Way being one example).

The Roman roads that intersect the High Weald enabled the movement of military force and the extraction of iron. Unlike most routeways - whether earlier or medieval in date - which avoid boggy ground, Roman roads drive across the landscape requiring paved fording points where they crossed rivers and streams. It can often be seen how they intersect earlier routes.

Iron production, which peaked in the 2nd and first half of the 3rd centuries AD, was located within 1.86 miles (3.5km) of known Roman roads. The industry was concentrated to the east of the High Weald, where it was managed as an Imperial estate by the Roman Fleet (the Classis Britannica) with good access to the rivers Brede and Rother, and to the west, next to major highways where manufacturers were well-placed in relationship to both the London market and the wealthy villas and cornlands of the South Downs. Recorded Roman villas avoid the Weald, and are concentrated in river valleys and around the coast.

It is also likely that the Romans used existing routeways into the Weald, especially those linking the Iron Age bloomery sites with waterways. These are not likely to show the characteristics of engineered Roman roads.



This is a screenshot from the Kent Historic Environment Record (Exploring Kent's Past, at <https://webapps.kent.gov.uk/KCC.ExploringKentsPast.Web.Sites.Public/Default.aspx>), marked to show the position of Roman roads at Benenden and the site of a surviving ford at Stream Farm. The paved ford, which is a scheduled monument, is made up of sandstone blocks and was probably intended as a pedestrian causeway and was excavated in 1935 and 1980-83. The den of Benenden (which developed into the village of Benenden and its immediate environs) is thought to have been a large swine pasture located in what was to become the middle of the parish and centred on the cross way between the east-west ridgeway route (along which the medieval village developed) and the north-south Rochester to Hastings Roman Road. There was a Romano-British farmstead beneath the site of Benenden School.

2.3 Routeways in the Anglo-Saxon period (AD 410 - 1066) and the medieval period (AD 1066 - 1540)

National context

There is evidence for both the declining maintenance of Roman roads in some areas and their continued use in others. Some of them, alongside earlier routeways, provided a framework for the territorial units and kingdoms that developed up to the Viking invasions in the 9th century and then the emergence of England as a state. Routeways played a key role in the developing market economy, ecclesiastical and monastic institutions, and the system of counties and parishes that we have inherited.

Roman roads continued to form nearly half of the principal national routes into the 14th century and beyond. These included the 'king's highways' which enabled the movement of the Court and others between major centres of power. The character and development of the transport network, including the building of bridges and the improvement of navigable waterways, was strongly influenced by:

- the developing pattern of settlement, gathering pace from around the 8th century and mostly complete by the 14th century, with strong distinctions between areas dominated by villages (typically with local routeways serving open fields and common land as well as routeways connecting villages to each other) and areas, such as the High Weald, dominated by scattered farmsteads which tended to support denser networks of routeways
- the growth of trade, especially strong between the 11th and early 14th centuries, and, after the Black Death (1348-9) and later outbreaks of plague, the restructuring of the economy and of agriculture as larger more specialised farms emerged.

The High Weald is crossed by one of the most famous routeways in English history, the one that took King Harold's army from victory at Stamford Bridge near York, and along the line of the present A21, to defeat at Hastings in 1066.

Routeways played a critical role, in the early part of this period, in connecting estates based in the fertile vales to the north and elsewhere to the wood pasture landscapes and resources of the Weald. Many of these defined territorial units – called 'lathes' in Kent and Surrey, and 'rapes' in Sussex – which developed between the 5th and 8th centuries, and also by the 11th century the boundaries of counties and parishes. Shires were also divided for military and legal purposes into 'hundreds', meeting at courts which may again be dispersed in the landscape.

This way of estates using routeways to access the High Weald had declined by the 11th century, probably due to the gradual break-up of the large estates by the Saxon kings granting lands to secular and ecclesiastical holders. Place names and documents attest to the creation of individual and clustered groups of farmsteads between the 9th and 12th centuries as more land was enclosed for growing crops and pasturing cattle. An increasing number of churches were built, to serve individual parishes, accompanied also by the development of small manors. Cattle farming developed as a key part of the local economy, the demand for meat increasing after the Black Death. Unenclosed areas of wood pasture, studded with pollarded trees, remained as an important part of the Wealden landscape, but banks and other boundaries were needed to keep stock from wandering into areas of woodland for coppicing wood and growing timber. The numbers of permanent farmsteads increased until the 14th century, requiring an increasingly dense network of routeways linking them to droveways and providing access to fields and common land. Most locally-produced corn was produced as animal feed and for home consumption rather than as an export crop.

In the 13th century, villages for trading local products (iron, livestock and cattle hides, woodland products) developed along and at the meeting point of routeways. Examples include Chiddingstone (see page 36), Goudhurst, Burwash (planned along a ridgeway), Wadhurst and Ticehurst.

Routeways also enabled the export of iron and timber from wharfs along navigable rivers (most importantly the Rother

and Brede to the east) and ports. Timber and firewood, mostly bound for France, were major exports from Sussex ports in the later 15th century, and the ease of export from here stimulated the woodland industry in this part of the Weald. This trade declined as a result of the silting up of these rivers and estuaries, caused by the movement of silt from cultivated fields into the fast-flowing gill streams to the river tributaries. Once the valleys were reached the flow of water slowed significantly, resulting in the sediment load being dropped. Hence the small rivers sited in wide flat valleys, with tracks, paths and holloways often terminating at the bottom of the valley slope, where the tidal mudflats once reached.

2.4 Routeways in the post-medieval period (AD 1540-1750)

National context

National context: Between the 15th and 18th centuries, the number and diversity of local and regional carriers, and drovers, grew in response to increasing demand stimulated by the growth of London and the development of specialised regional economies. Part-time carriers, including local farmers, worked local routes. Improvements in the breeding and care of oxen and horses as well as transport technology – in waggons and stagecoaches in particular – paved the way for the transport of faster and heavier loads.

The use of routeways increased despite a sharp fall in the maintenance of roads and bridges on medieval monastic and ecclesiastical estates after the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s, and the largely failed efforts from the 1550s to encourage parishes to maintain significant routes. Local trusts and companies began to be involved in running major routeways, and the first parliamentary act for a turnpike trust was passed in 1663, whereby the road users paid a toll for repairs and improvements.

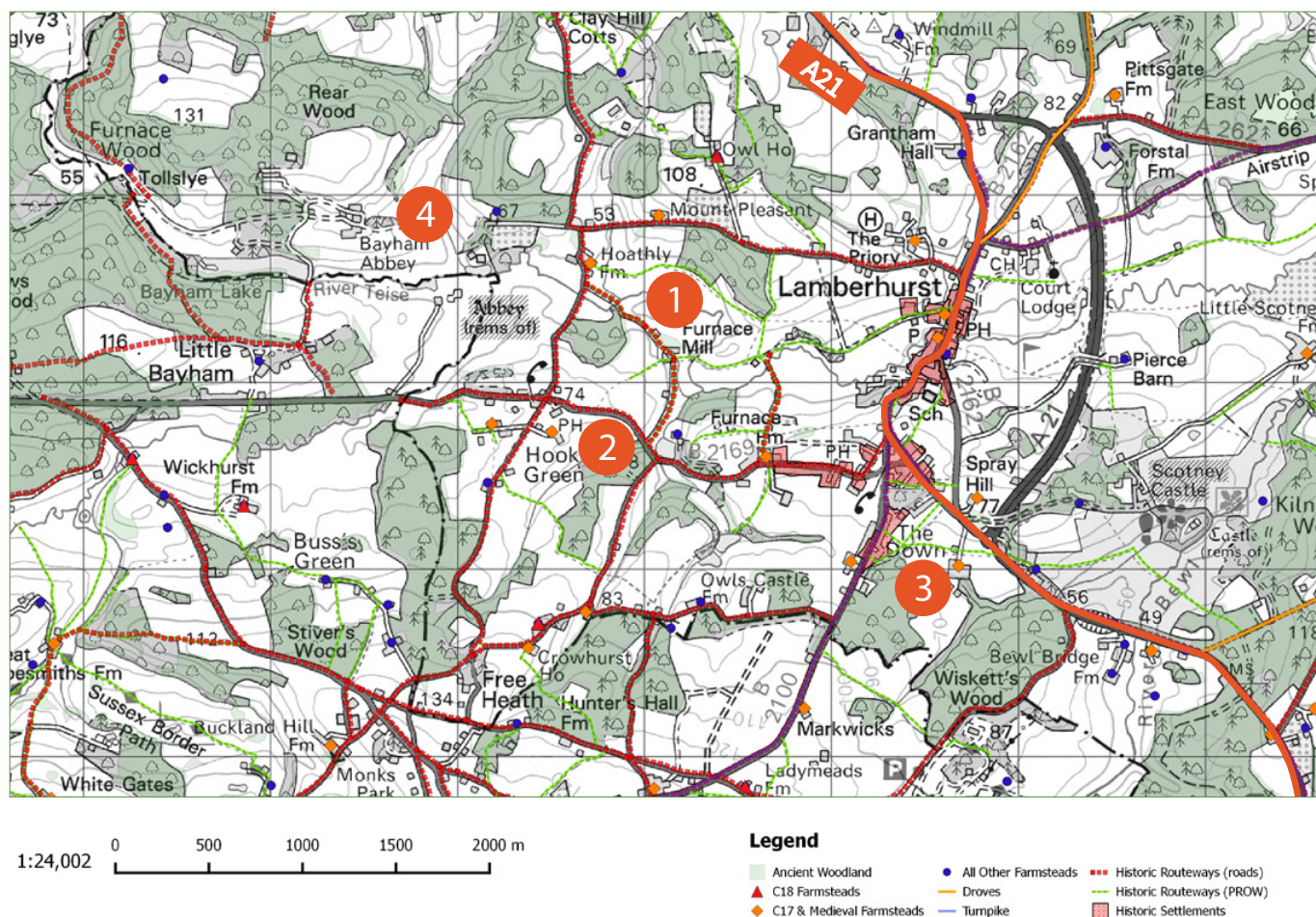
Some colonisation of the woodland continued up to the 17th century, by which time there was a considerable increase in population linked to the growth of industries such as broadcloth manufacture around Tenterden and Marden to the east, and iron founding. More houses were built along routeways, enclosing areas of common land along them. In some areas as much as a quarter of families were housed in areas enclosed from wayside commons (see page 32).

The Weald became a centre of British iron making for armaments from the early 16th century, following the successful import of blast furnace technology from the Low Countries in the 1490s. This was concentrated in the eastern and central Weald but with significant expansion to the north and west. The industry declined in the late 17th and 18th centuries as a result of cheaper imports; the rising price of fuel; the successful development of the use of coke by Abraham Darby at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire, and the loss of naval contracts to provide cannon.

Most of the wool for dyeing was imported from Romney Marsh into the main cloth manufacturing areas around Cranbrook and Tenterden. Cloth was transported overland by packhorse and more rarely wheeled transport to dealers in London. Smaller items of ironwork such as horseshoes, and other products such as glass, were also exported in this way.

By the end of the 17th century many clothiers and ironmasters were moving into cattle rearing in response to increasing demand for beef. The hop industry developed on an industrial scale from this period, supplying maltings and breweries. Demand for timber, especially chestnut for hop poles, stimulated the further exploitation of woodlands and shaws.

By the 18th century many farms had waggons with distinctive broad wheels to negotiate the clay, which as well as farm work were used for carrying goods to and from the Weald.



Anglo-Saxon and later droves and routeways in Lamberhurst and Bayham The landscape contains plentiful evidence for woodland, exploited for its iron and later hop industries. At Furnace Mill (1 on map) an industrial area of forge and furnace is located on a small green or drove linked to the ridgetop routes. There is also plentiful evidence for former greens, heaths and commons where stock was held or grazed, some of which partly remain as at Hook Green (2, see also page 28). Some of these open areas are remarkably ancient. Historic buildings dating from at least the 16th century, including farmsteads, cottages and villas, face into The Down (3, and abutting the western edge of the medieval deer park at Scotney) south of Lamberhurst, the high density of Mesolithic flints suggesting that this was an open area before the first evidence for farming in the Neolithic period. It was further enclosed and developed for housing in the 19th century. The A21, a former prehistoric ridgeway route, has provided a focus for settlement including at Lamberhurst. The medieval trading and farming settlement has a wide street close to the crossing of the Teise, suggesting a wet area, and a wide drove flanked by houses and other buildings dating from the medieval period passes through the village before climbing up to the Down. This is also a significant boundary zone. The area extending from Lamberhurst towards Wadhurst to the south-west is sited at the end of the Saxon transhumance routes extending into the Weald, meeting with the Hastings territory from Sussex. The Kent Ditch and associated streams form the boundary. Note also the influence of the Bayham estate. It developed around the ruins of the medieval abbey (4) into a substantial private estate, resulting in the blocking and diversion of many routeways. The straight road to its south was built in 1799, enabling the construction of an extensive system of drives as part of Humphrey Repton's reworking of its landscape.

2.5 Routeways in the industrial revolution (AD 1750-1914)

National context

This period witnessed profound changes which increased the speed and reduced the cost of transport as a result of the continuation of earlier improvements, the impact of turnpike roads, the integration of a national canal network in the early 1800s and especially the development of railways after 1825. These developed to serve an increasingly urban and industrial economy, whose population increased from around 6 million in 1750 to 8.3 million in the 1801 census (one million of whom lived in London), nearly 17 million in 1851, and 33 million in 1911.

The development of the turnpike network – concluding with the last act in 1836 – reduced the cost and increased the speed of heavier loads for wheeled vehicles. Turnpikes involved the adaptation of earlier roads and trackways, the construction of new routes and from the 1750s more professional approaches to road repair with embankments, engineered gradients, cambers and drainage ditches.

The expansion of the horse-drawn freight network and a faster coaching network, usually run by partnerships of innkeepers, was accompanied by a decline in journeys by carrier and horseback. Long-distance droveways and other routeways were disrupted and often closed off due to the final phase of enclosure of common land and medieval open fields.

New highway authorities were able to fund roads at a county and national level, after the 1835 Highways Act, and the establishment of county surveyors with the Highways Act of 1862. County Councils assumed responsibility for main roads after 1888 and Rural District Councils for roads outside urban areas after 1894. A massive increase in urban development (most notably London, industrial towns and coastal and inland leisure resorts), suburban development and the rural building stock drove the improvement and creation of roads. Omnibuses, bicycles (especially as they decline in price from the 1890s) and the first motor cars made fresh demands, although widespread improvements to the road system outside of urban areas were rare until after the First World War. Walking and access to the countryside emerged as another hugely significant development, enabled by the shortening of working hours as well as the increased expansion of the communications network.

Over this period the Weald continued to shift from a diverse industrial and farming economy to one that was more linked to the development of capital in London and the coastal resorts, and the enjoyment of its landscape by new residents and visitors. Arthur Young, William Cobbett and others, admired the area's wayside cottages with their gardens. This period witnessed a gradual decline in the droving of livestock, accompanied by the further enclosure of roadside commons and greens (called 'purpesture' settlement, a process which had begun in the 19th century) and the building of new houses within them (see page 32). These included large numbers of smallholders who were bereft of employment on account of the decline in the cloth and iron industries. By the middle of the 19th century landless labourers outnumbered farmers and smallholders. Many of them were employed by parishes to quarry stone and maintain the roads and other routeways that passed through them.

Improvements to turnpikes followed the introduction of more trained surveyors and of stone-breaking and roadmaking techniques introduced by Robert Macadam after his visit to Lewes in 1817. The building of turnpikes improved pre-existing highways and droveways, such as the A21 to Hastings, with local farms continuing to maintain their own tracks. They enabled, for example, the import of lime to raise the fertility of soils and the easier export of corn and supplies of goods and services for the burgeoning south coast resorts (Brighton and Hastings in particular). One turnpike connected the spa resorts of Tonbridge and Tunbridge Wells. Although many turnpike trusts had closed down by the 1880s, they also stimulated property transactions and rents, and enabled significant amounts of residential development around them, particularly villas. These were concentrated in the areas south of Tunbridge Wells and around the Brighton-London road to the west.

'Villa farms' or 'pleasure farms' developed from the 18th century, as farmsteads were converted into residential use, and

some routeways were diverted around new villas and converted into private drives providing approaches through new ornamental landscapes. Some landowners funded the construction of turnpikes and converted green lanes into roads to enable better access to their estates. These developments were often accompanied by the reorganisation of farmland with enlarged fields and straightened hedgerows and the rebuilding of farmsteads.

The railway network often increased the demand for improved roads to connect new and improved housing to railway stations, whilst diminishing the competitiveness of droving and long-distance routeways. Additional cattle yards were built around railway stations (for example at Hawkhurst and Paddock Wood), and rail was increasingly used for exporting livestock and milk as well as top fruit and market garden produce. Railways and, at the end of this period, bicycles, motor cars and buses also enabled tourism, accompanied by guides and books such as Arthur Beckett's *The Wonderful Weald* (1911).



The building of turnpikes stimulated housing development and landscape change, including the import of new trees for the gardens of new villas, as here close to the former London-Brighton turnpike in the west of the AONB. Photo © J Lake



Four Wents (see map on next page) from the south. This 15th century house is prominently positioned at a road junction, with no expense spared on its close-studded timber frame elevations; the fine front porch was added in 1681.



A postcard of c. 1900, showing tourists at the Chiding Stone. Newspaper articles show that Chiddingstone, like many other places in the High Weald, was an increasingly popular destination for cyclists from the late 19th century. Postcard from Kent History and Library Centre CHI 33



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The impact of turnpikes. This map of Eridge from the OS map of c. 1880 shows how some of the oldest routeways, although reworked and re-engineered when they became turnpikes, have enabled profound settlement and social change. The A26, which traverses this map, is a prehistoric route extending from the coast into the Weald, with ready access to medieval farmsteads (1 and 2 on the map have houses recorded as 17th century) and with other droveways funnelling into it. Eridge Green was an area for enclosing and holding stock before driving them through the forest to the north. It was annexed in the 19th century by the Nevilles of Eridge Park to the east (which expanded from its late 11th century origins), and its common rights extinguished: note the regular pattern of enclosure within it, and also the many straight enclosure boundaries which result from early-mid 19th century reorganisation of the estate's farms. The A26 then became a turnpike linking London to Brighton via Tunbridge Wells in the 18th century, when the Neville Crest and Gun (3, see page 31) was converted into a hostelry with stabling. Turnpikes stimulated residential development. The church (4) with a school to its south was built in the 1850s to serve a new residential community, mostly developed by the Tunbridge Wells architect John Montier in the 1820s but including some earlier wayside houses. The Forstal is a settlement of small cottages in an area of former track or drove waste, which was also developed with houses by the Nevilles in the mid-late 19th century: the Abergavenny estate crest is a notable feature of the area. From 1868 - the date of the station at Eridge - the railway further encouraged suburban development, many estate cottages and farms being upgraded to gentrified villas.

2.6 Routeways in the 20th and early 21st centuries (AD 1914 to the present)

This period is marked by a rising population (from 33 million to 41 million in 1951, to 62 million in 2011) and the much greater (nearly three times higher) growth in the number of households. The areas around the Weald experienced the most substantial and disproportionate increase in housing in England in the inter-war period.

Rapid development of private and freight motor transport took place in the inter-war period, with the numbers of cars growing from 78,000 in 1918; and then from one to two million between 1930 and 1939. Together with the extension of the electricity grid, this enabled a far higher proportion of the working population to live at a distance from their place of work. County Councils became responsible for all 'county roads' except unclassified county roads in 1929. From the early 20th century there has been investment in the road system for motorised transport, starting with the surfacing of many routeways but also including other interventions such as widening, straightening and roundabouts as well as new routes such as the Bexhill Link Road.

Access to and appreciation of the historic landscape and heritage of the High Weald was enabled by motor transport and the growing popularity of walking and cycling in the early part of this period, facilitated by publications such as the Shell county guides and the Batsford Heritage Series. The county committees of the Commons Preservation Society continued their work in mapping access and rights to common land, invigorated by the work of Octavia Hill who had led the campaign to preserve common land with views towards the Weald Hill from the late 1870s; this is one of the key area for the establishment of the National Trust, in 1898. The Council for the Protection of Rural England was founded in 1929 with local groups promoting good garage design and roadside development from the 1930s, and the growing popularity of walking was given fresh impetus by the establishment of the Ramblers Association which was founded in 1935. The behind-the-scenes work of individuals and committees laid the foundations of the post-war planning system and the protection of rural heritage and landscapes through the designation of National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, and of historic buildings through listing.

Today, 81% of the population live in urban areas, defined as having populations of more than 10,000 people, and rural settlement has tended to become more nucleated. In many places there is severe pressure on the road network and on the routeway network generally for recreational purposes.



A fine example of a combined forge for shoeing horses and a motor garage, opposite the drive to Bayham Abbey (see map on page 20).

3 ROUTEWAYS IN THE LANDSCAPE

3.1 Introduction

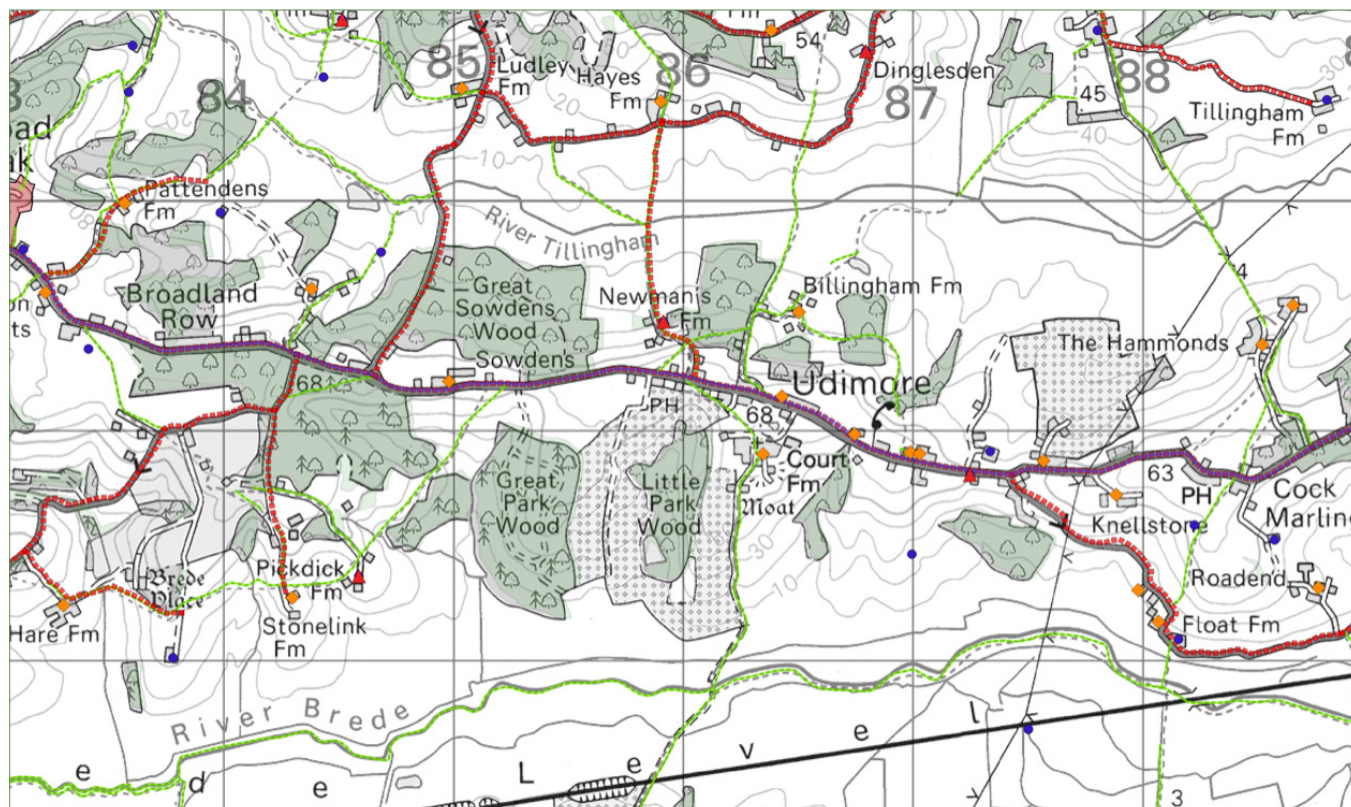
The dense network of routeways provided alternatives for moving around the High Weald, useful when roads were poor and often impassable in bad weather. Diaries from the 19th century and earlier bear witness to what many travellers regarded as the appalling state of the Weald's roads. Its heavy clays and poor drainage made them particularly difficult in winter and in wet weather – ‘bad beyond all badness’ as Horace Walpole noted in August 1752, after a journey from Bayham Abbey to Battle; writing about Cranbrook in the late 18th century, Edward Hasted observed that while there was a paved road leading from the market place ‘through mere necessity’ the other main routeways ‘made with sand’ were ‘very offensive and painful’ and those leading into them were ‘barely passable till they are hardened by the drought of the summer’. Where possible, heavy goods such as timber and iron were floated onto the rising tide of the navigable rivers that extend into the eastern part of the Weald – hence the importance of the ports of Rye and Winchelsea until they silted up from the late 16th century when water-borne trade shifted westwards to Arundel and Littlehampton. Despite these real difficulties, and the much cheaper cost of transport by water (around eight times cheaper than overland), the High Weald was sufficiently rich in resources and close enough to London, naval dockyards and coastal ports to develop a vibrant and specialised local economy.

Ridgeways run across higher ground along the watersheds between major drainage systems, typically following the topography of the Weald in an east-west direction. Being drier, they were favoured for the transport of heavy goods. Ridgeways are associated with prehistoric sites, medieval trading villages such as Lamberhurst and chains of settlements, with a mix of wayside and prestigious properties. It is possible that their use increased as the navigable waterways, so important since prehistory, silted up between the 14th and 18th centuries.

The ridge and valley topography of the High Weald also meant that at some point routeways had to descend into the valleys to cross principal watercourses and their tributaries. Well-drained roads were difficult to achieve where the Wealden clay did not sit upon beds of rock close enough to the surface; such roads easily became quagmires. Fording points and causeways were necessary. A range of materials available in the landscape were used - limestone and sandstone slabs; cinders and slag from ironworks or brushwood and packed-down clay.



Pill boxes and other anti-invasion defences were constructed during the invasion threat of 1940 along stop lines or clustered around nodal points, as at Penshurst, Tonbridge and here on the high green on the historic droving route at Frant. Photo © J Lake



Below: Detail from the Ordnance Survey of c.1800, showing routeways tunnelling into the Brede Valley.



Routeways and waterways in the Brede and Tillingham valleys This area illustrates how routeways were used for taking stock and timber to the navigable waterways and marshes in the river valleys either side. The Brede remained navigable by barge into the 18th century for the export of livestock, timber and iron including from Roman bloomeries and from the 16th century cannon from the furnaces at Brede. The dock at Float Farm (1) used tidal waters to float off timber and other goods, there being much evidence within them for trackways and for stone and iron quarries, sawpits and charcoal stands. The moated medieval settlement at Udimore (2) with its 11th century church (see page 31) and large farmstead straddles the top of one of the ancient routeways extending into the Brede Valley.

The ridgeway has been narrowed down by post-medieval settlement (a process of illegal encroachment called 'purpusture') in several places, such as at Broadland Row (3, see page 32). Many smaller houses (surviving examples are recorded as dating from the 17th-18th centuries) for artisans, smallholders and craftsmen developed along it.

There are many farmsteads of medieval origin, some with 17th century and earlier buildings, along the valley sides; there is evidence for lost routeways to the south of Pickdick Farm (4) and elsewhere which provided access to the valley grazing marshes (see inset detail from the Ordnance Survey drawings of c. 1800), some of which were lost after the marshlands were enclosed and reclaimed for agriculture in the early 1800s. Brede Place and its park is sited to the west.

3.2 Routeway functions and their landscape settings

This section provides further detail on how routeways have developed, in particular:

1. as long-distance droveways and other routes for taking animals and agricultural produce to grazing grounds and to markets
2. for providing access to farmland and farmsteads
3. for linking and getting access to settlements and houses
4. for providing access to woodland, for taking and then exporting timber, wood, making charcoal and other products
5. for providing access to industrial sites and enabling trade

This section sets out how each of these themes are associated with distinctive features in the landscape, from greens and stock funnels to churches and houses.

3.2.1 Droveways and moving livestock

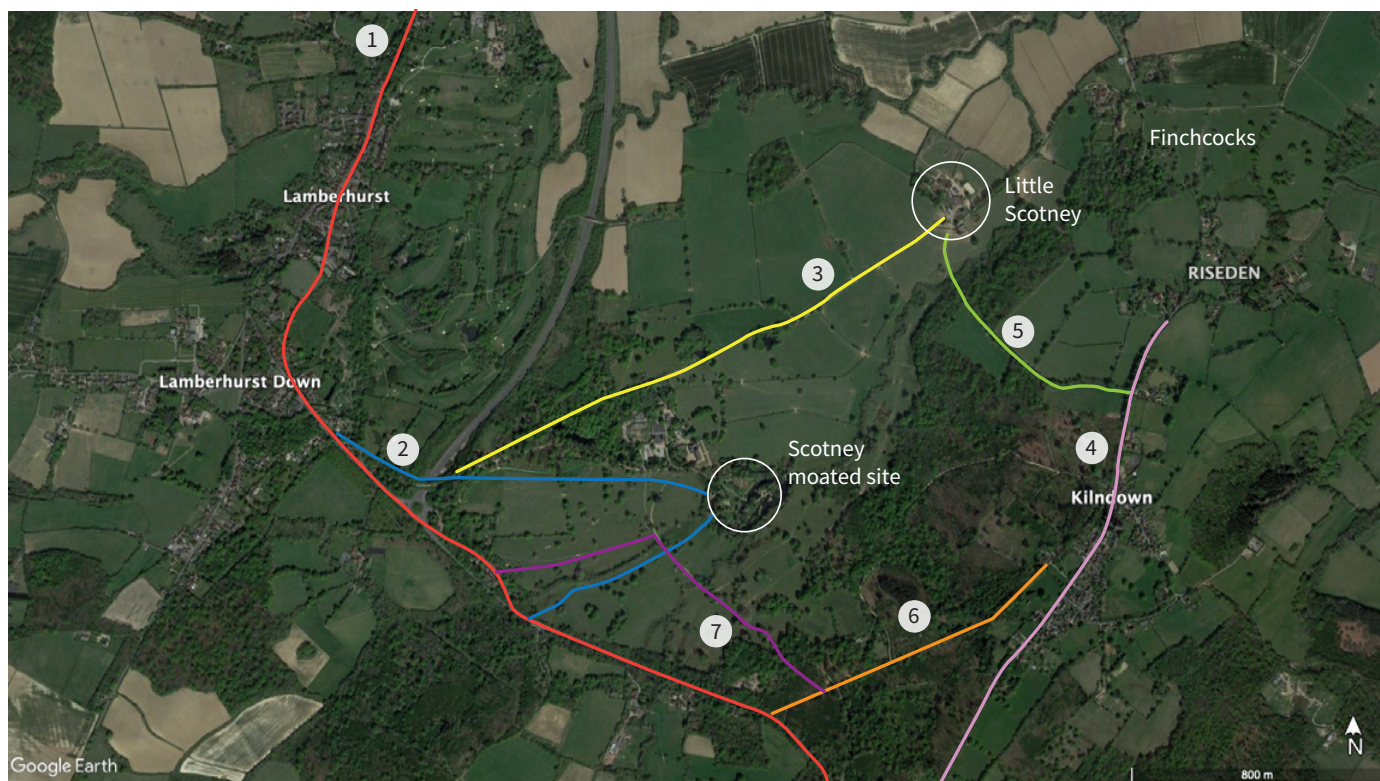
Droveways tend to run in a north-south direction, connecting the High Weald to historic sites such as Iron Age forts and ancient estate centres (in particular of the Anglo-Saxon period) in the landscapes around it. Along these droveways are historic farms, ponds, commons and greens for holding and provisioning livestock.

Anglo-Saxon legal documents and place names (particularly those ending in ‘-den’ and ‘-fold’) provide the first recorded evidence for places for pasturing cattle and in the autumn pigs, a practice known as pannage (although pigs would have been kept away from managed coppice woodland because of the damage to bark, soils and roots). Pannage had declined by the 14th century when pigs and other animals were increasingly kept in farmyards. Cattle from other parts of England and Wales were fattened in the Weald and on the coastal marshland by Wealden farmers and butchers for export to London. The wide streets of settlements such as Lamberhurst are an indication that droveways for cattle once passed through them. Toll roads and bridges were generally avoided. The growth of railways in the mid 19th century marked the end of long-distance droving, and of professional drovers, as historic livestock fairs were replaced by auction marts next to railway stations.

Commons and roadside greens are mostly found along the main droves or at the meeting point of routeways where they could also provide overnight stopping points for livestock passing through. Ponds, stock funnels, forstals next to farmsteads (see page 29) and other areas besides routeways were used to provision, channel and control livestock moving through the landscape. Public houses next to greens, as at Iden Green and Hook Green, developed to serve travellers, and as elsewhere in England drovers needed places to sleep overnight, with brewhouses and drinking rooms in houses also springing up to serve them.



This extract from a 1758 map of the Scotney estate (see page 20) shows a droveway leading from the present A21 via a stock funnel (arrowed) into Courthope Den. The A21 was a former major droveway which linked manors based in the Vale of Hollingbourne to its dens in the Weald. Little Scotney developed as an outfarm with a 15th century barn and oxhouse out of the eastern part of Courthope Den, which served the Manor of Ulcombe and became part of the medieval estate that developed around Scotney Castle to the south of Lamberhurst. Map reproduced by permission of the National Trust, Scotney Archive 1/8)



Ancient routeways for moving livestock, iron and other goods are the key heritage feature which underpin and influence the landscape of Scotney Castle, giving structure to the present Picturesque parkland experienced today. Scotney comprised the Jutish dens of Courthope and Ewhurst, and by the 8th century had been carved out of the Jutish lathe or agricultural estate of Hollingbourne (see map on previous page). Apart from the medieval drovers and swine herders, the creation of the parkland by Edward Hussey in the 19th century had the greatest impact on the routeways across and around Scotney, leaving a legacy of footpaths, bridleways, lanes, engineered carriage drives, abandoned holloways and ghostly alignments of lost ways through woods and fields, marked only by gates, stiles and slight earthworks in the ground.

The map shows ① the line of the prehistoric and Saxon ridgetop droveway (now the A21, recently by-passed around Lamberhurst and cutting across the parkland of Scotney Castle) from Medway to Hastings, linking Iron Age settlements producing iron deep in the Weald with the coastal ports. This road enters the area of Scotney from the south west and originally passed through the village of Lamberhurst which developed at a fording point on the Sweetbourne river and close to common grazing on the Down. This route then became turnpike in the late 18th century, providing an opportunity for Edward Hussey to have the turnpike road re-aligned away from his developing parkland.. It enabled access via medieval droveways ② to the medieval moated site at Scotney Castle, and via a Saxon droveway to Courthope Den and the medieval cattle farm at Little Scotney ③. Another droveway ④ provided access to the common grazing ground at Kilndown, along which the hamlet developed. At the north end this is legible as a holloway, extending to the north of the enclosed woodland ⑤ to Little Scotney. A new road was laid out after the final phase of the enclosure of the common in 1839 ⑥, extending from the A21 close to the site of the old Chingley manor stock pound and its farm. The medieval routes to the moat were re-engineered by Edward Hussey in 1837, some three years after he had laid out a carriage drive ⑦ providing access across the new parkland to the new castle designed by the architect Anthony Salvin. Map from Google Earth.



A roadside pond, showing the farmstead at Larkins to the east of Chiddingstone with its 15th century house and early 19th century oast. Photo © J Lake



The Elephant's Head at Hook Green (see page 20), a 17th century or earlier common-edge house converted into a public house by the late 18th century. This part of the green remains from one of a string of greens sited along a droveway extending into the Weald from the north (see map on page 20). The Elephant's Head was restored in the inter-war period when it became a popular rendezvous and base for day outings by car and bus. Photo © J Lake

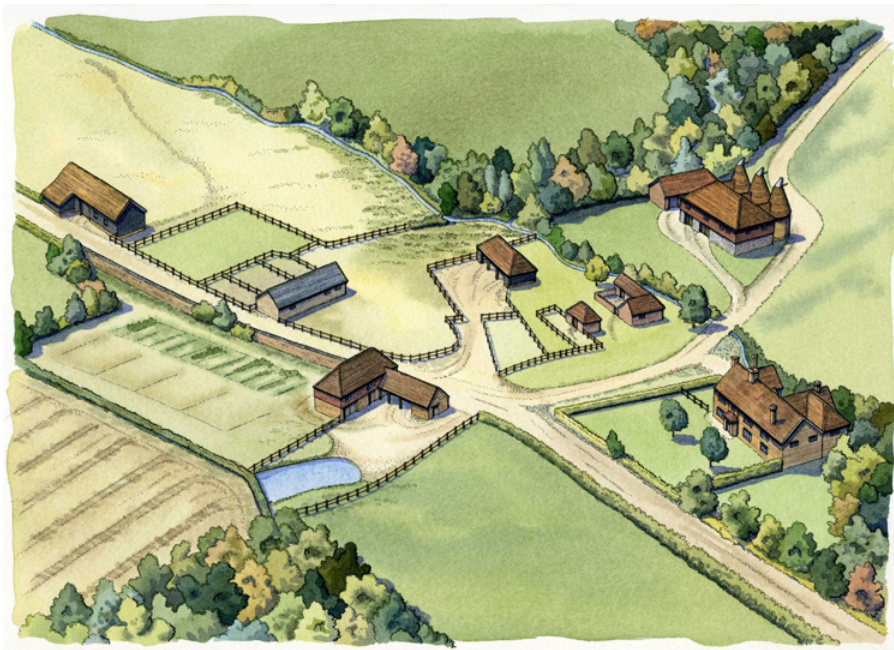
3.2.2 Providing access to farmland and farmsteads

The High Weald is remarkable in a national context for its high number of medieval farmsteads which are also set within fields mostly enclosed by the 14th century: the High Weald AONB Partnership has studied both of these (see Sources).

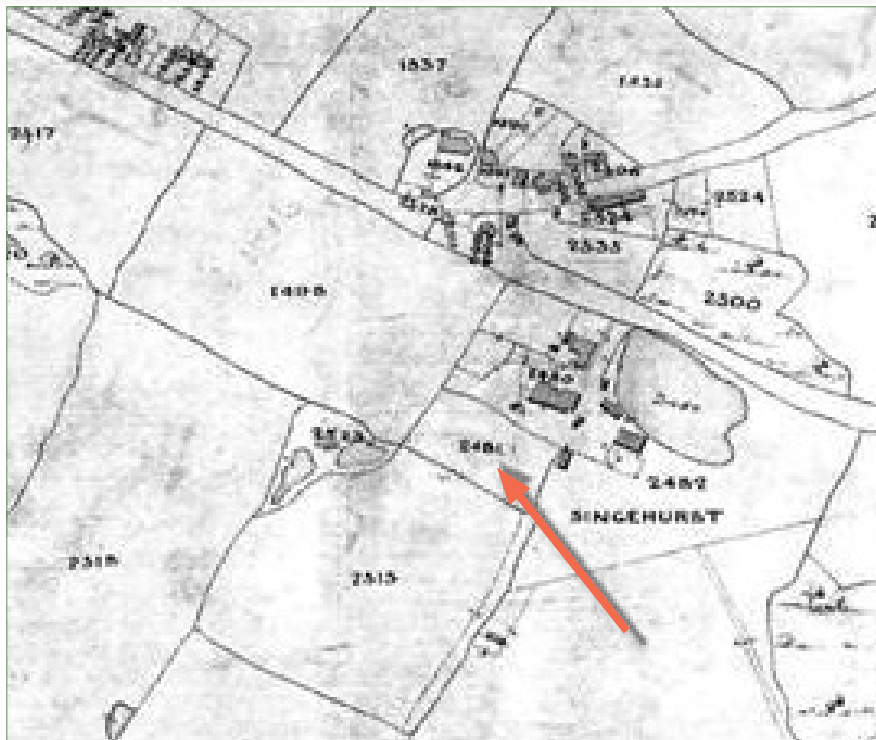
The position of farmsteads was strongly influenced by topography and access to water. Farmsteads were commonly sited along or at the meeting point of routeways, thus allowing people to experience the historic significance of these features in the landscape. In recent years research has highlighted the central role that cattle played in Wealden farming, influencing the establishment of large cattle farms (vaccaries) and the distinctive dispersed layouts of its farmsteads. Farmsteads typically developed as dispersed groupings of stock pounds and buildings at the intersection of routeways, sometimes also with paddocks or areas of open ground (termed 'forstals') which were used to milk and gather together cattle and other farm animals. The names of farmsteads may also hint at the existence of earlier (Saxon) swine pastures (ending in '-den') and enclosed stock yards for livestock (ending in '-fold' and '-stall').

Fields in the High Weald typically belonged to individual farmsteads rather than being farmed communally, as in other parts of the country. Once they were enclosed from woodland it was difficult to create or divert routeways, meaning that the type and date of fields and their boundaries can be a useful way of dating routeways. Access routes were needed for wheeled vehicles to collect the harvest and for cattle to eat off the stubbles from the harvested land and drop their manure. Access was also needed to hedgerows for cutting fuel, fodder and timber.

In 1797 the historian Edward Hasted described the landscape of Brenchley and Matfield as being 'wooded especially around the edges, with old-fashioned timber farmsteads sited around small forstals and greens, with wide verged and green-swarded bye roads, deep and miry in winter'.



Wealden farmsteads commonly developed as dispersed plans with scattered buildings and yards at the meeting point of routeways, as here at Attwaters in Hawkhurst. Drawing © Donna Scott



This extract from a tithe map of 1839 for Singehurst shows the forestall (2482) just south of the farmstead. Note also the large pond. Extract from the Tithe Map for Ticehurst, High Weald AONB Partnership.



Hop pickers' huts and kitchens are sited off a routeway passing through woodland west of Lamberhurst. Photo © J Lake

3.2.3 Settlements

Routeways link together the High Weald's pattern of dispersed settlement with its medieval churches and manors and its high numbers of surviving 15th to 17th century houses and farm buildings. The siting of houses and other buildings in relationship to routeways suggests how their owners and tenants, in the medieval and later periods, saw themselves in local society. Houses were often refronted to reflect the status and aspirations of their owners, and barns were often sited close to roads for display as well as ease of access. Routeways might also be diverted around parks and gardens, including farmsteads converted into villas in the 18th and 19th centuries.

It is common for houses of various dates to be strung along ridgeways, reflecting their importance as commercial arteries of the Weald. New houses and inns were built along or close to turnpike routes. 18th century and later houses are often clustered in hamlets and villages, including market places as at Hawkhurst, as they developed at the junction of routeways, and later railway stations, and as service and commercial centres.



The tower of the Church of St Mary in Udimore (see page 26), whose fabric dates from the 12th century, is prominently sited in relationship to the routeway ascending the historic grazing lands of the Brede Valley. The relationship of medieval churches to historic routeways and open spaces is little understood. Photo © J Lake



The Crest and Gun at Eridge – a reference to the Abergavenny estate and an 18th century ritual – is located on the former turnpike from Tunbridge Wells to (A267) to Lewes (see map on page 23). It was converted into an inn from an earlier farmhouse. Note the mounting block in the foreground. Photo © J Lake



Four Wents (see map on page 38) from the south. This 15th century house is prominently positioned at a road junction, with no expense spared on its close-studded timber frame elevations; the fine front porch was added in 1681. Photo © J Lake



This 17th century house at Pell Lane in Wadhurst, its timber frame clad in later tile hanging, is prominently sited at the junction of two routeways. Photo © J Lake



Later houses built within historic routeways and strips of common land alongside them, including shops within settlements and enclosures of roadside verges by smallholders and cottagers, also indicates the steady decline of droving; this process was called 'purpesture' if done without official permission, and is documented from the medieval period.

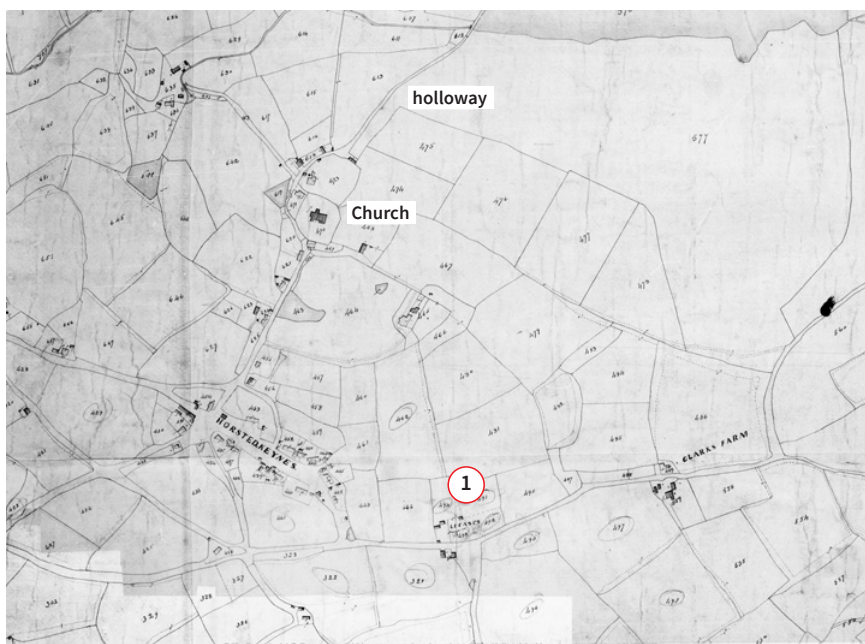
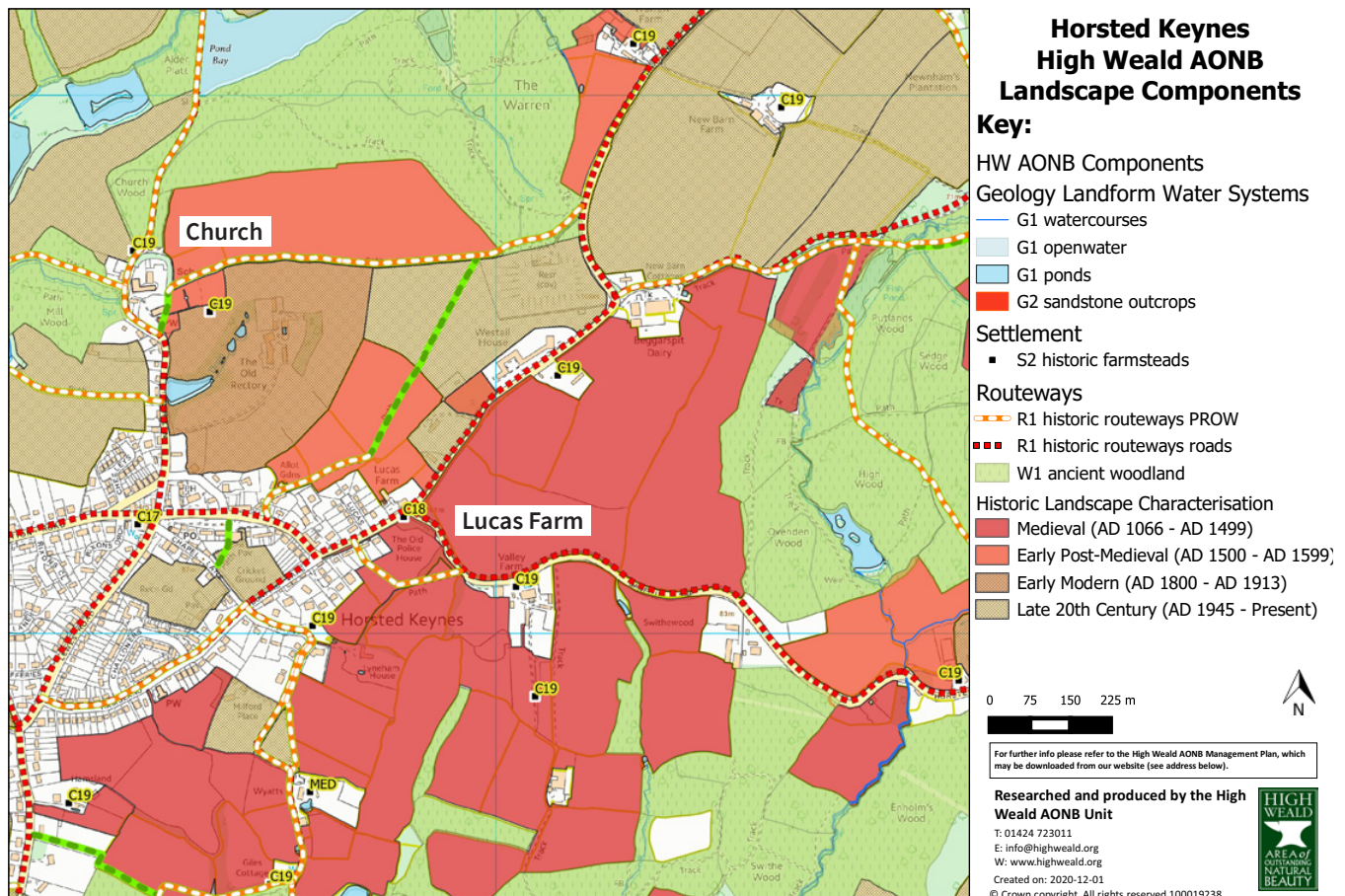


These 17th-19th century houses and their plots have encroached on this historic ridgeway at Broadland Oak, as shown in this photograph and extract from the first edition Ordnance Survey map. Photo © J Lake



Late 18th and 19th century houses are often found strung along ridgeways, as with this terraced row at Lamberhurst, and turnpikes, as on the right at Henfield. Photos © J Lake

Routeways and settlement at Horsted Keynes The pattern of routeways in and around Horsted Keynes owes its origins to the development of farmsteads and cottages around greens. These sit between two north-south droveways. The irregular fields around it had been enclosed by the 14th century. The drove to the east, shown in this map, continues to the north past 16th to 17th century houses and the 12th century and earlier church which is set in an ovoid enclosure that is probably earlier. It descends a holloway and crosses the dam of a series of mill ponds associated with ironworks first recorded in the 16th century. The tithe map of 1842 shows how routeways with wide verges, houses and outbuildings developed around the settlement's cluster of greens, and comparison with the present-day map shows how houses developed along these routeways and encroached on the greens – especially after the arrival of the railway and then the motor car. Note also the funnel-shaped routeway which channelled the movement of cattle up the slope towards the junction next to Lucas Farm (1).



3.2.4 Providing access to woodland

Routeways, banks and ditches in woodland provide evidence for the subdivision of woods into working areas (termed 'coups' or 'falls'), and sawpits and stands for burning charcoal for the processing of wood into timber and fuel. Evidence for wide routeways may also hint at land which was cleared to provide warning of footpads and highwaymen. The abundant woodlands in this part of England were considered as dangerous for travellers, and tenants were often required to accompany lords of the manor on journeys through the Weald.

Through history woodland has provided a vast array of products that needed harvesting, processing and transporting. As well as timber products such as construction timber, fuelwood, fencing and charcoal, woodland produced fruit, nuts, honey and wild animals and birds; and was used for grazing animals, iron production and stone extraction. Large quantities of charcoal from coppiced woodland fed local industries which thrived into the 17th and 18th centuries, particularly iron, cloth in the Tenterden area and glass to the north. Coppiced wood was also exported from the Weald via the ports to the south or overland, sometimes being floated off waterways on the rising tide. Bark, used for tanning, was also exported. Much timber and firewood was exported to France before the fall of Calais in 1558.

Production of charcoal increased with the introduction of blast furnaces and finery forges in the 16th century. Routeways were needed to feed them with charcoal from surrounding coppiced woodland, from as much as a quarter of the area in a 3-mile radius of each of site. Charcoal production declined with the increase in the use of coke and then coal from the late 18th century. Charcoal was still being used in the late 19th and 20th centuries, for artists' materials and filters including for gas masks.

Heavy timber was particularly difficult to transport through wet and muddy clay soils. Much timber was sawn in woodlands to make it easier to transport, and even prefabricated in yards as houses and barns prior to export. The naval dockyards along the Thames and Medway, and also Sheerness and Portsmouth, increased the demand for timber in the 17th to early-19th centuries. Due to the state of the roads, it would take two years for timber to be taken from their point of felling to the naval dockyards.



Routeway lined with woodbanks at Kilndown Wood. Photo © N Bannister



This map of a part of Dering Wood from Hasted's *History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, published in 1797, provides evidence of the widening of a routeway in order to create safe passage for travellers; to the east on the junction at Frith Corner was the site of a gibbet. The outer banks to the widened routeway remain. For more details see Bannister N, 2002, 'The Management of Dering Wood, Smarden since the Medieval Period', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 122, 221-35



A team of oxen pulling timber at Bedgebury. The heavy clays of the High Weald suited oxen rather than horses for haulage and farm work. Bells on the lead oxen provided warning to other travellers of their approach.



The white line marks the site of a charcoal platform or hearth. The dark soil at the base of the tree is rich in charcoal dust. The tree itself has grown since the hearth was abandoned as well as the scrub. Photo © N Bannister

3.2.5 Providing access to industrial sites and enabling trade

Routeways helped to facilitate the growth of trade and industry by local producers and specialist carriers such as the 'rippiers' who took their packhorses laden with fish from Rye and Hastings across the High Weald to London. The Weald had a diverse economy underpinned by a relatively independent population of farmers, exporting wool (especially from the Rother valley), fruit, nuts, flax and cheese as well as animals (mainly cattle) on the hoof. Farmers often used their horses and oxen to transport goods for other traders and residents. They also had other sources of income which spread their capital and risk. For example, in Sussex the 19th century owner of the Brede Powder mills also had a shop in Rye, as well as being a farmer and a grazier.

Cloth-making developed as an industry between the 14th and early 18th centuries, and has left its own distinctive heritage of domestic architecture and clothier's halls to house looms. Prior to the casting of cannon in the High Weald between the early 16th and mid 18th centuries, the main products resulting from iron making were capable of export by packhorse and cart. In the Iron Age and Roman periods the main product was a worked 'bloom' of iron weighing around 4.4 pounds (2 kg), sometimes worked into bars. Documents and artefacts also attest to the export of easily-transportable bar iron and finished products such as nails, horseshoes and arrows in the medieval period, and firebacks and grave slabs in the 16th and 17th centuries.

From 1584 to 1767 Wealden ironmasters, unlike those from other areas of the country, were subject to a law which obliged them to make good the damage done by transporting cannon along routeways. Where possible, ironmasters exporting large quantities of iron to London used the Medway at Maidstone, and once navigation was improved in the 1630's, wharves to the south. In the 16th and 17th centuries iron was also taken down the Rother by barge from Bodiam Bridge to London via Rye.



Chiddingstone

Chiddingstone developed as a commercial and industrial centre, and with other estates was acquired by Henry Streatfeild (d.1591) who had made his fortune in the cloth and iron industries of the Weald. This extract from a 1702 plan shows the drove which linked the settlement, first mentioned in a charter of 814, to its parent manor in the Darent valley to the north. The map shows Tyehurst Green with its stock pound, Streatfeild's mansion and its associated ironworks which were pulled down for Chiddingstone Castle and its park in the early 19th century. It also shows to the south of the church the row of medieval and later merchants' and other houses and workshops which still survive today. Estate plan by William Woodward, 1702, Kent History and Library Centre U908 P1 and reproduced by courtesy of Richard Streatfeild

4 A QUICK GUIDE TO ASSESSING ROUTEWAYS

Set out below are some key issues to consider when assessing the heritage and natural significance of a routeway. It is especially useful to consider these issues when thinking about the nature, magnitude and extent of any proposed changes, and opportunities for conservation and enhancement that comply with national and local legislation and policy.

It is also useful to consider at the outset that:

- historic use has strongly influenced the range of fauna, flora and tree species along routeways and the landscapes they pass through¹
- routeways are a key means of experiencing landscapes and delivering the health and well-being derived from access to landscape²
- they are also linear habitats or corridors which link to other habitats and so play a critical role in Nature Recovery through connecting habitats to each other.³

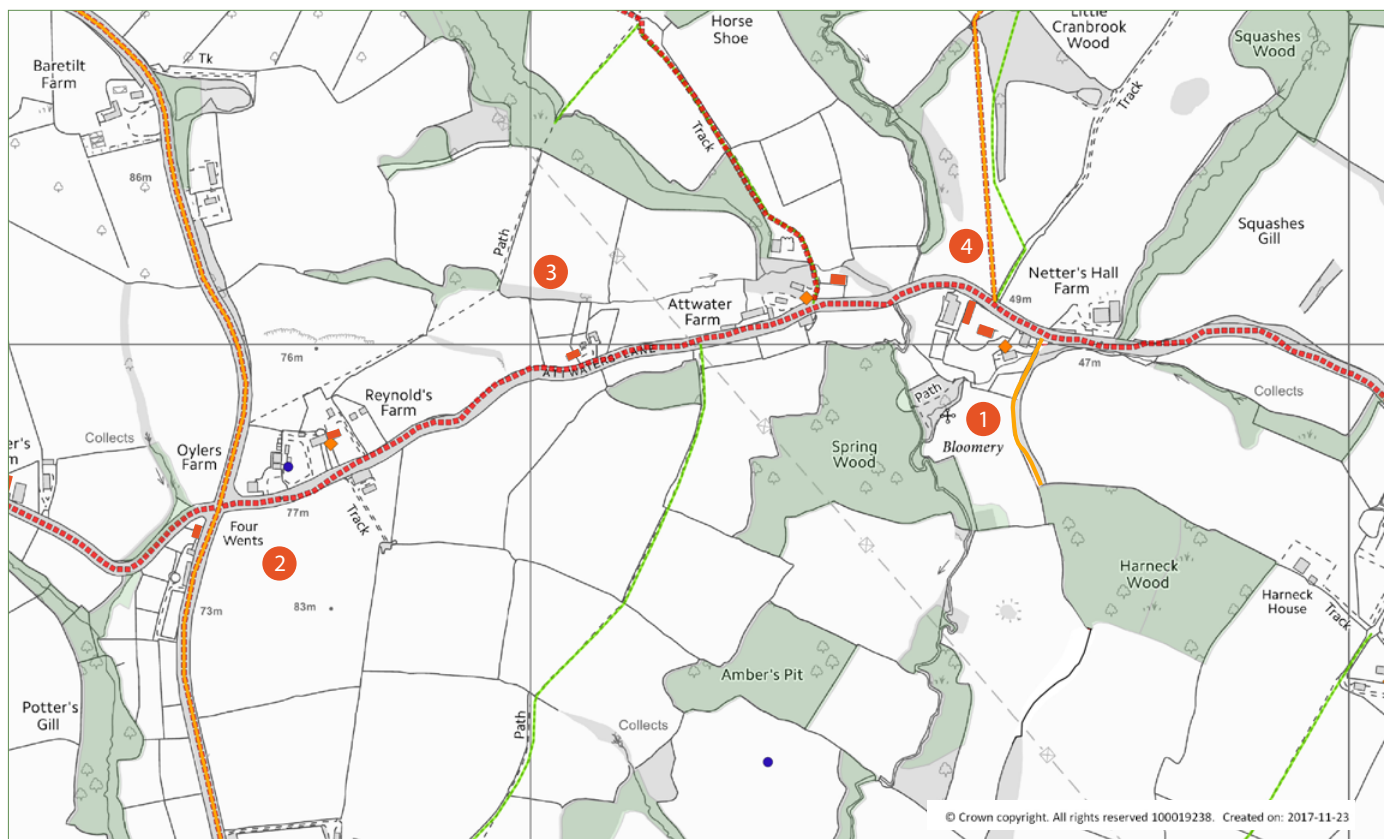
In addition to the High Weald AONB Management Plan, the section on Ecosystem Services and the Statements of Environmental Opportunity in the profile for the High Weald National Character Area suggests a range of such opportunities for conservation and enhancement. Opportunities to benefit the routeway's significance and the AONB include:

- maintaining the contribution that routeways make to local distinctiveness and identity, through retaining historic and geological features
- revealing and enhancing significant views to landmarks and heritage assets, including the protection of significant open spaces and considering the removal of features which have concealed once-prominent heritage assets from view
- taking opportunities to restore routeways and their associated verges and boundaries as linear habitats, linked where possible to woodland, heathland and unimproved grassland
- carrying out coppicing, laying and planting-up gaps in hedgerows in accordance with the Hedgerows Regulations (1997) and the relevant wildlife legislation where this does not conflict with the Highways Act 1980.

¹ The *European Landscape Convention* (2000) has a helpful definition of 'landscape' as 'an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors'.

² The High Weald AONB has published a report on how perceptions of landscapes have shifted over time and between cultures, with recommendations for how to implement public perception into policy strategies (see <http://www.highweald.org/downloads/publications/uk-landscape-research-reports/1057-human-landscape-perception-of-the-high-weald/file.html>). The *European Landscape Convention* (2000) has a helpful definition of 'landscape' as 'an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors'.

³ As taken forward in the 2011 National Ecosystem Assessment and the government's 25 Year Environment Plan. Sir John Lawton 2010 Making Space for Nature: A Review of England's Wildlife sites and Ecological Network, <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130402170324/http://archive.defra.gov.uk/environment/biodiversity/documents/201009space-for-nature.pdf>



Legend

- Ancient Woodland
- ◆ C17 & Medieval Farmsteads
- Historic Routeways (roads)
- Historic Routeways (PROW)
- All Other Farmsteads
- Droves

1:5,825



Heritage assets and routeways to the south of Hartley. The probable Roman-British bloomery site (1) is marked on the Kent Historic Environment Record, and is sited just to the south of an ancient east-west routeway which is in part evident as a holloway and is intersected by a droveway to the west. The junction is marked by the late medieval house at Four Wents (2), which has display fronts of timber frame facing east and north towards the crossroads. Apart from the mid 18th century pair of cottages (3) and Netters Hall (4), the other listed buildings shown in red comprise 17th century or earlier houses. The facade of the mid 18th century house at Netters Hall is aligned to face into the approach from the routeway extending to its north, and to its west is a fine 16th century or earlier barn which would have been prominent in views from the east.

Step 1 Identify the routeway

The first step is to identify, by using historic maps and other available information (see 1.3):

- features that identify it as a historic routeway
- trees, fauna and flora found along it
- how it relates to the historic development of its area, and the High Weald in its national context
- any other distinctive features resulting from its use, and heritage assets that developed in close relationship to it.

It is also useful at this stage to identify:

- its legal status and who is responsible for maintenance
- whether it is a short-distance routeway or part of a long-distance network
- any available information about its history and function, and how it has changed
- if the routeway sits within, relates to or is in the setting of any historic environment, heritage asset or natural environment designations
- how it contributes to local landscape character - what features that are characteristic of these areas does it relate to?

Step 2 Is it significant?

A routeway will have heritage and natural interest and make a positive contribution to the distinctive character of the High Weald AONB if, as set out in 1.3 (pages 11-12):

- it has archaeological and historic features that provide evidence for and illustrate its past use and development
- it has natural features and habitats which, as well as illustrating its past use and as part of its geology and land form, may be significant for their diversity of species

This significance can then be enhanced if:

- **it contributes to and enables appreciation of the setting of historic settlements, features and heritage assets that are characteristic of the High Weald AONB and may have a higher level of significance in a national context, of particular interest being:**
 - prehistoric, Roman and medieval settlement, industrial and defensive sites
 - ancient territorial, parish and other historic boundaries, which may have boundary markers including veteran trees often at least 200 years old
 - features resulting from the movement and provisioning of livestock greens, stock funnels, driftways, forstals with refreshment facilities (pubs/brewhouses), ponds and watercourses
 - farmsteads and hop workers' sites still associated with farmsteads or more remotely located
 - historic field boundaries, routeways either being an integral part of medieval and earlier fields or cutting across them
 - routeways in woodland, enabling their past use and providing access to quarries and woodland industries
 - industrial sites and places associated with them – historic ironworks and ore quarries, glassworks, stone

quarries, lime kilns, brickworks [brick industry thriving from c.1600], corn mills and also places associated with the Wealden cloth industry (wool halls, weavers' and clothiers' houses)

- historic houses and places of worship
 - designed landscapes, including entrance lodges
 - buildings and features associated with transport history, including historic waterways and embarkation points, toll house and finger posts, bridges and fording points
 - military sites including First and Second World War anti-invasion defences.
 - places for punishment, commonly at crossroads and with gibbets for hanging
-
- **it is associated with specific historic events and personalities**, such as the landscapes around Rudyard Kipling's house at Batemans
 - **it links to other habitats**, such as shaws, ancient woodland, heathland and unimproved grassland, and so contributes significantly to the ecological interconnectedness of the High Weald.

Historic England's 'Conservation Principles', which provides a framework for assessing the value that heritage assets and places offer through the evidence that they hold, how they illustrate historic developments, their aesthetic value and the value that they hold for communities.

Deepening an understanding of significance and sensitivity

It may be necessary - especially in cases of high significance and subject to an application with potentially harmful effects - to provide a more detailed understanding of significance and sensitivity to change. It may be useful in these cases to refer to:

- Historic England's 'Conservation Principles', which provides a framework for assessing the significance of heritage and the values it provides to people - the evidential value (including archaeological interest), historical value (including historical interest), aesthetic value (which allows for a broader analysis of 'architectural and artistic interest as defined by the NPPF) and communal value (particularly useful, as it demands understanding of how places are valued and by whom).
- The Landscape Institute's 'Guidance for Landscape and Visual Impact Assessment', which is used by landscape professionals as a method for assessing the effects of proposed changes on the landscape.

In a small number of cases there may be a case for archaeological investigation, which can reveal very significant evidence, not only about the routeway itself but also its date and use (as revealed by the date and type of artefacts found on and around them) and changes to the local environment and agriculture (for example in waterlogged organic materials).

USEFUL SOURCES

Legal status of routeways

There is separate legislation for public rights of way and access – see <https://www.gov.uk/right-of-way-open-access-land>.

One of the National Archives research guides (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/public-rights-of-way) provides very useful advice on where to look for legal and historic records.

The Land Registry website has a useful section on public rights of way (<http://www.landregistry-titleddeeds.co.uk/frequently-asked-questions/information/public-rights-of-way.asp>).

The Institute of Public Rights of Way and Access Management (<http://iprow.co.uk>) provides comprehensive guidance about public rights of way.

Natural England, following its 'Discovering Lost Ways' project, has provided guidance on Definitive Maps at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/414670/definitive-map-guide.pdf

Using maps

The presence or absence of routeways on maps can provide a useful guide to dating them, prior to any fieldwork.

- Roads and trackways, usually indicated by parallel lines, will subdivide into the primary routes extending out of the Weald (including droveways or ridgeways), the secondary routes which fed into them and the local routes which served to access farms, houses and other sites within parishes are the most likely to extend beyond the Weald
- Footpaths are usually indicated by either parallel dotted lines, and are less likely to extend beyond a local area.
- Private drives are clearly shown as terminating at their destination or winding their way around a designed landscape.

Historic maps provide an evidence base which can be supplemented by advice from historic landscape experts. The Ordnance Survey (OS) 2nd edition maps of around 1900, are particularly clear and show routeways in existence before the widespread introduction of motor vehicles and changes to historic settlements over the 20th century. The National Library of Scotland (<http://maps.nls.uk>) is a useful starting point, enabling you to view historic Ordnance Survey maps, including the detailed 25-inch maps, side-by-side with modern aerial images. The British Library (<https://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/ordsurvdraw/>) has the Ordnance Survey surveyors' drawings compiled from the 1790s. The Genealogist (<https://www.thegenealogist.co.uk>) is a fee-paying archive that provides access to tithe maps and other sources. Other historic maps and sources are available from your local record office or library. 18th century and earlier county maps need to be used with particular caution as they are not as reliable as estate and other more detailed maps.

For Ordnance Survey see www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk; for its Open Source mapping and data see <https://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/businessandgovernment/products>

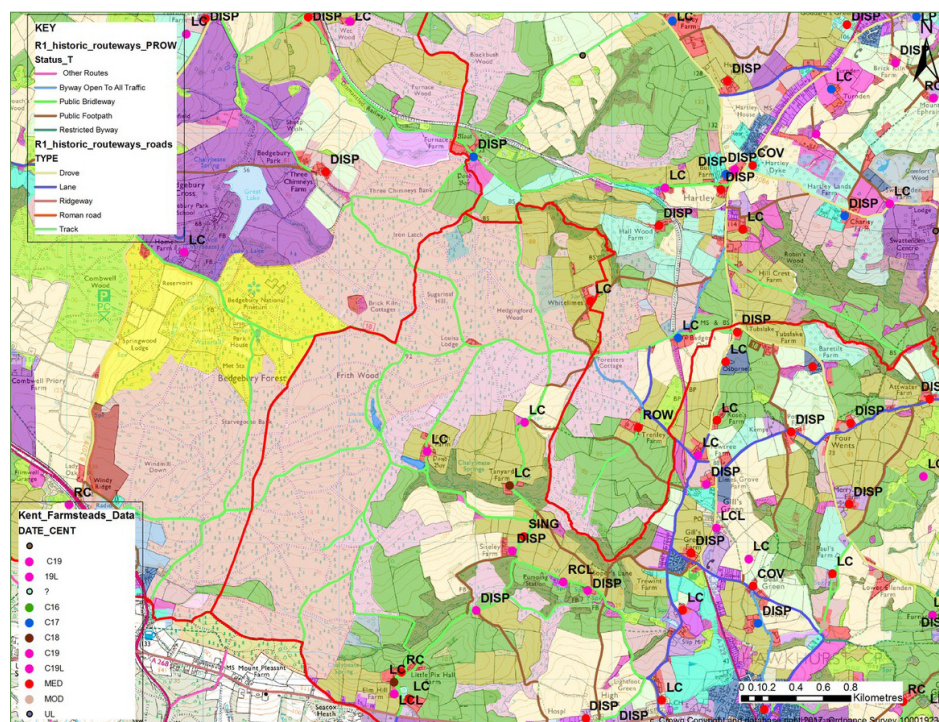
Tithe maps which date from after 1836 show routeways and their surrounding landscapes just before the changes wrought by the introduction of railways. Ref to The Genealogist

Landscape and historic character

Landscape Character Assessment (LCA), as published by Natural England, AONB partnerships and planning authorities, maps and describes local variation in landscape character. Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) will also help you gain a more detailed understanding of how the whole historic landscape in your area has developed, and how routeways relate to fields, settlements and woodland of different types and dates. Mapping and reports are available for Kent, Sussex and Surrey, and HLC has been used in the updating of LCA and is being updated for parts of the High Weald. The resulting understanding of the historic landscape has also been deepened by mapping the historic character, survival and recorded date of farmsteads. Both these sets of data have been used for more detailed method assessments including the recent Field Systems in the High Weald project in the High Weald AONB, supported by Historic England.

- Natural England's National Character Areas (<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-character-area-profiles-datafor-local-decision-making/national-character-area-profiles#ncasin-south-east-england-and-london>) provide useful overviews of the character of the High Weald and the Low Weald and surrounding areas, together with consideration of the benefits offered by local landscapes, the issues for change and supporting facts.
- Landscape Character Assessment – East Sussex (<https://www.eastsussex.gov.uk/environment/landscape>), Kent (<http://www.kent.gov.uk/about-the-council/strategies-and-policies/environmentwaste-and-planning-policies/countryside-policies-and-reports/kents-landscape-assessment>), Surrey (<https://www.surreycc.gov.uk/environment-housing-and-planning/countryside/countrysidestrategies-action-plans-and-guidance/landscape-characterassessment>)
- Historic Landscape Characterisation – East Sussex (http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/sussex_hlc_2014/), Kent (http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/kent_hlc_2014/) and Surrey (http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/surrey_hlc_2017/)

For fields, farmsteads and other research projects in the High Weald see <https://www.highweald.org/about-the-high-weald-unit/our-role/420-home/research-reports.html>. Also Edwards B, Lake J and Bannister N 2012 *Farmsteads and Landscapes in Kent: A Report on the Mapping of Traditional Farmstead Character and Survival* and 'Farmsteads and Landscapes in Kent' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 2014, 134, Bannister N 2017 *Field Systems in the High Weald; Character Statement, Method Assessment and Case Studies*.



GIS map extract from the Bedgebury Forest area (see map on page 15). It shows the high density of farmsteads with 16th century and earlier buildings (marked in red) which relate to historic routeways and medieval enclosed fields; many have the small-scale loose courtyard and dispersed plans, the latter derived from stock pounds and adding to the evidence provided by greens for holding livestock moving through the landscape. Derived from data in the High Weald AONB.

Identifying heritage assets and historic sites

As well as Conservation Areas within historic settlements, designated heritage assets in the High Weald comprise listed buildings, Scheduled Ancient Monuments, Registered Battlefields and Registered Parks and Gardens. These can be found in the National Heritage List for England at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing>; this includes a useful map search tool to zoom in and out of a selected area. A small number of routeways have been designated as Scheduled Ancient Monuments, and these are mostly well preserved sections of Roman roads and medieval or earlier trackways (often part of extensive sites) with banks, ditches and very rarely surfacing such as stone slabs. Historic England has published criteria for the selection of transport sites for national designation.

Routeways, as well as being heritage and natural assets in their own right, often form a vital part of the setting of heritage assets. Setting is defined (in the National Planning Policy Framework as ‘The surroundings in which a heritage asset is experienced ... (which) ... may change as the asset and its surroundings evolve. Elements of a setting may make a positive or negative contribution to the significance of an asset, may affect the ability to appreciate that significance or may be neutral.’

Non-designated heritage assets are buildings (including any on ‘Local Lists’ produced by planning authorities, outlined in the following section), monuments, sites, places, areas or landscapes identified as having a degree of significance meriting consideration in planning decisions but which are not formally designated. Heritage Assets (particularly archaeological sites and monuments) that are of demonstrably national significance, but are not yet designated, are treated in the planning system as if they were designated assets (see NPPF paragraph 139).

The Historic Environment Records for Kent, East Sussex and Surrey identify undesignated heritage assets and archaeological sites. These are available via the Heritage Gateway (<http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/gateway/>).

Information is also available via the National Record of the Historic Environment at <https://pastscape.org.uk>.

Identifying woodland, habitats and wildlife

Some routeways lie within natural environment designations, thus contributing to the rich diversity of habitats including SSSIs, Ancient Woodland and Nature Reserves. Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs) wildlife and habitat designations can be located on the DEFRA ‘MAGIC’ online portal (<http://magic.defra.gov.uk/>). The Biodiversity Planning Toolkit provides useful guidance on how to identify protected species and habitat potential (<http://www.biodiversityplanningtoolkit.com>).

In addition, the county wildlife trusts have links to many sources of information – Kent (<https://www.kentwildlifetrust.org.uk>), Surrey (<https://www.surreywildlifetrust.org>) and Sussex (<https://sussexwildlifetrust.org.uk>).

Further reading – national

The Roman Roads Research Association (www.romanroads.org) has useful information on Roman roads.

The Milestone Society (<http://www.milestonesociety.co.uk>) has an excellent database on milestones, guide stones, toll houses, boundary markers and other features associated with historic roads, which can be supplied as a separate database for downloading into Google Earth mapping.

For a list of turnpikes see <http://www.turnpikes.org.uk>

Barker T and Gerhold D 1993 *The rise and rise of road transport, 1700-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Gerhold D 2005 *Carriers and Coachmasters: Trade and Travel before the Turnpikes* Chichester: Phillimore & Co

Hindle P 1998 *Medieval Roads and Tracks*. Risborough: Shire Publications

Hindle P 1993 *Roads, Tracks and their Interpretation*. London: Batsford

Historic England 2011 *Pre-industrial Roads, Trackways and Canals*. One of the Introductions to Heritage Assets series, at <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/iha-preindustrial-roads-trackways-canals/>

Historic England 2012 *Transport Sites*. One of the Scheduling Selection Guides, available at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/selection-criteria/scheduling-selection/>

Langlands A 2019 *The Ancient Ways of Wessex. Travel and Communication in the Early Medieval Landscape*. London: Windgather Press

Margary I D 1973 *Roman Roads in Britain*. London: John Baker

Morriss R K 2005 *Roads: Archaeology and Architecture*. Stroud: Tempus

Oliver R 2005 *Ordnance Survey Maps: a concise guide for historians*. London: The Charles Close Society

Somerset County Council 2017 Somerset Fingerpost Restoration Project Handbook, at <https://www.somerset.gov.uk/waste-planning-and-land/somerset-fingerpost-restoration-project/>

Taylor C 1994 *Roads and Tracks of Britain*. London: Orion

Watts V, Insley J and Gelling M 2004 *The Cambridge Dictionary of English place-names*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Further reading on the High Weald

As stated above, the High Weald AONB Partnership (<http://www.highweald.org>) has a rich variety of information in its Management Plan and research reports.

The Wealden Iron Research Group (www.wealdeniron.org.uk) has compiled a comprehensive list of iron working sites as well as offering a useful starting point for anyone wishing to find out more about the subject. The Wealden Buildings Study Group (<http://www.wealdenbuildings.org.uk>) have recorded buildings across the Weald, and their website is a very useful source for anyone wishing to find out more about the area's historic buildings and settlements.

Austen B 2016 'Turnpikes to Battle and Hastings' *Sussex Industrial History* **46**, 26-42

One of a series of articles published in this journal in 2010-16, this one covers the transport of fish and other products from Hastings and the turnpiking of the present A21.

Brandon P 2003 *The Kent and Sussex Weald*. Chichester: Phillimore. An excellent introduction to the Weald and its history.

Chatwin D and Gardiner M 2005 'Rethinking the Early Medieval Settlement of Woodlands: Evidence from the Western Sussex Weald', *Landscape History* **27**, 31-50. This has revealed a contrast between these areas of late Saxon planning and earlier more 'organic' landscapes associated with commons and 'folds' for holding livestock or growing crops, around which some of the later routeways are diverted

Chester-Kaldwell B 2017 'Changing Patterns of Routeways in the Landscape of the Eastern High Weald from the end of the Roman period to the building of the turnpikes' *Archaeologia Cantiana* **138**, 227-255. Summarises the results of a detailed examination of how routeways have changed, as a result of Saxon and medieval settlement and also the drainage and reclamation of seasonally inundated land.

Clark C J 2006 'The Glass Industry in the Woodland Economy of the High Weald'. University of Sheffield PhD thesis. Available at <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/15153/1/485886.pdf>. This contains useful material on the use of woodlands including the transport of timber products.

Cleere H and Crossley D 1985 *The Iron Industry of the Weald*. Leicester: Leicester University Press: Merton Priory Press. The second edition of 1995 contains an updated inventory of sites and has been published on-line by the Wealden Iron Research Group at <http://www.wealdeniron.org.uk/The%20Iron%20Industry%20of%20the%20Weald%20-%20C+C.pdf>

Everitt A 1986 *Continuity and colonization: the evolution of Kentish settlement*. Leicester: Leicester University Press. This contains useful material on the use of woodlands including the transport of timber products.

Lake J, Edwards B and Bannister N R 2014 'Farmsteads and Landscapes in Kent' *Archaeologia Cantiana* **134**. Summarises the results of mapping farmsteads in Kent, including a Wealden case study.

Margary I D 1948 *Roman Roads in the Weald*. London: Phoenix House. Still the standard work, with useful maps, although superseded in part by recent research.

Margreth A 2021 *The Wandering Herd. The medieval cattle economy of South-East England c. 450-1450*. London: Windgather Press. This is a new and significant study that demonstrates the importance of cattle and their impact on routeways and other aspects of landscape in and around the Weald.

Pelham R A 1929 'The foreign trade of Sussex, 1300—1350', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **70**, 93-118. Examines the export of wool (Robertsbridge Abbey) and of timber products from the High Weald.

Townsend J 2007-8 'The Cowfold and Henfield Turnpike Trust, 1771-1871' *Sussex Industrial History* **37** (Part 1) and **38** (Part 2), 29-40 and 30-37. Examines how the improvement of roads in this area stimulated villa and other housing developments and agricultural improvement.

Turner D and Briggs R 2016 'Testing transhumance: Anglo-Saxon swine pastures and seasonal grazing in the Surrey Weald' *Surrey Archaeological Collections* **99**, 165-193. This uses a combination of landscape, material and textual evidence to demonstrate the origins of dens as places for the seasonal movement of swine, and also for the development by the 13th century of year-round stocking of livestock on permanent settlements.

Witney K 1976 *The Jutish Forest. A study of the Weald of Kent from 450 to 1380 AD*. London: Athlone Press. This contains useful material including maps on medieval and prehistoric routeways.

Research Issues

There is a growing literature on the archaeology of routeways and of the people and businesses that worked along them, but very little on how they have shaped, and in turn been shaped by, their surrounding landscapes and communities.

There is a growing realisation of the importance of earlier land routes to England's economic development, and how they enabled areas regarded as inaccessible – such as the Weald – to prosper and change. At the regional and local level, the South East Research Framework (<http://www.kent.gov.uk/leisure-and-community/history-and-heritage/south-east-researchframework>) has set out a research agenda and strategy for exploring and understanding its historic environment, including the role played by its communications network. The text below sets out some agenda topics for routeways, and ways of addressing them.

Agenda topics – gaps in our knowledge and main research questions

1. How does the historical development of routeways relate to the wider historic landscape, including past phases of enclosure? Are they older, integral to or later than these phases?
2. How do routeways relate to the recorded and potential evidence for Romano-British and earlier settlement?
3. How do routeways relate to the recorded and potential evidence for Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlement?
4. How have routeways, farmsteads and the trade in livestock developed in relationship to each other? Whilst there is now a considerable literature on the transhumance of pigs in the first millennium AD, there is little tangible evidence for trade in cattle which have been so important in shaping the form of routeways, farmsteads and working buildings. We do not know enough about how cattle were bred, fattened and moved within and out of the Weald.
5. What is the evidence from prehistory for farmsteads, greens and commons being used to stock, feed and water cattle and other livestock on the move?
6. What is the historic relationship of Roman roads to the droves that radiate out from the Weald and to ridgetop routes?
7. What is the evidence for the post-Roman use of Roman roads, and how routeways changed or were simply reused in the 5th-11th centuries?
8. What is the evidence for farmers acting as drovers and traders, and farmsteads for holding and even processing timber and other goods for export?
9. Can a chronology of routeways be linked to the development of Wealden industries in the period up to the 17th century?
10. Does the location of 18th and 19th century improved and new routeways relate to areas of agricultural improvement?
11. What can the dating, types and orientation to routeways and historic landscape of historic buildings dating from the medieval period tell us about the historic development of routeways?
12. How does pre-railway-era housing development relate to turnpikes and other improved routeways? What is the relationship between routeways and new architectural styles and related ornamental landscapes in the 18th and 19th centuries – particularly classical, Tudor and Gothic villas, and Gothic Revival and Domestic Revival architecture from the 1840s and 1870s?
13. How did access into the Weald in the period to 1939 enable significant architectural change – Modern Movement houses, bungalows, restoration of historic property including farm and industrial buildings?
14. How did turnpikes and railways change this?
15. What role did pre-1939 rambling and other groups have on appreciation of the Weald and its landscape?
16. What woodland plant species are associated with routeways away from historic woodland?
17. What is the potential for and survival of routeways of different types and levels of significance for species diversity and as corridors for the movement of animals and plants/ fauna and flora?