

The Archaeology of Wiltshire's Towns
An Extensive Urban Survey

MARLBOROUGH

Prepared by:

Wiltshire County Archaeology Service
Libraries and Heritage
Wiltshire County Council
Bythesea Road
Trowbridge
Wiltshire
BA14 8BS.

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The Archaeology and History of Marlborough

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1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1. Towns are an important component of the historic environment which have developed over many hundreds of years and are under constant development pressures. The archaeological resource within our historic towns is an invaluable and irreplaceable source of data about past societies and the evolution of our culture. Despite these factors the archaeology of many towns, especially the smaller market towns, is poorly understood.
- 1.2. In 1976 the D.O.E. sponsored a study of the archaeology of Wiltshire's historic towns, aiming to assess the relative importance of the towns at different points in time as a basis for future archaeological research. This resulted in the publication of *"Wiltshire Towns: the archaeological potential"* (Haslam 1976). Since then, the book has been one of the key references for archaeologists monitoring urban development and its impact in the county.
- 1.3. A massive increase in the amount of archaeological and historical data available and changes in legislation such as the introduction of Planning Policy Guidance note No. 16 have meant that a reappraisal of the situation is now due. The Extensive Urban Survey of Wiltshire has been commissioned by English Heritage, as part of a National programme, to address the need for a new assessment of urban archaeology in the county. The current structure of the historic county of Wiltshire is two-tier, with the County Council working in conjunction with the four District Councils (Kennet, North Wiltshire, Salisbury and West Wiltshire) and the new unitary authority of Swindon - historically part of the county. The survey aims to map the development of all of Wiltshire's and Swindon's historic towns (Fig. 1) and to assess the extent of the surviving archaeology and built heritage. It is also proposed that the threat of development on the historic environment within the county's towns will be examined.
- 1.4. The origins of urban centres in England reach back to the Iron Age. During the Roman occupation new, planned, urban centres were linked by an efficient road system. In the Saxon period, defended towns and royal boroughs were developed and later medieval towns grew around markets as economic conditions improved or were 'planted' as planned new centres.
- 1.5. As far as is known the first towns in Wiltshire appeared during the Romano-British period but all the known examples are now greenfield sites, although some may have given rise to nearby settlements. Most modern towns in the county have their roots as Saxon villages or defended settlements such as Cricklade and Wilton. Many of the villages grew into small towns after the Norman invasion, often focussed around a castle or market and in the early thirteenth century 'planted boroughs', in which individual plots of land were sold by the major landowner.

- 1.6. The definition of a town for inclusion in the survey follows the criteria laid out in Heighway (1972), by which the settlement must possess certain facilities such as defences, a mint, a market, a street plan, or a judicial centre, and demonstrate such urban attributes as high population, a diversified economic base or a central or key location. For the purposes of the survey, however, the towns should meet these criteria historically, even if they no longer do so. This allows, for example, the inclusion of the five known Roman towns in the county, and settlements such as the village of Heytesbury, which was developed as a planned town in the 13th century, but which did not succeed as an urban centre. The full list of 34 towns included in the survey and the criteria for inclusion are included as Appendix 1. Marlborough satisfies at least eight of the criteria: it has evidence of a planned street layout (*criteria ii*); it has medieval market (*criteria iii*); it had a mint recorded in 1068 (*criteria iv*); it had a borough charter (*criteria v*); it occupied a strategic position on the road network (*criteria vi*); it has sustained a substantial population (*criteria vii*); it had clear burgage plots in the medieval period (*criteria ix*) and it had three parish churches and four monastic institutions (*criteria xi*).
- 1.7. The area of study in each town is defined by the size of the town as it stood in 1945, encompassing both the historic core of the town and the older industrial and suburban development. There is an emphasis on the earlier material, and the later Victorian and 20th century development are covered here only very briefly. Although more detailed than Haslam's report, in most cases each study remains no more than a brief summary of the data, and a guide to the location of more detail for other researchers. The extent of the study area for Marlborough is depicted in Fig. 2.
- 1.8. The research into each town will be encapsulated into two reports: a summary and assessment of the data gathered and an outline strategy for future management of specified sections of the urban area. This first report is intended to provide a clear and up-to-date synthesis of the available archaeological and historical data for Chippenham, with an assessment of the main areas of historic settlement in the town and of the potential and sensitivity of the archaeologically important areas. The assessment reports are compiled from four main data streams: geographical and geological sources for the location and topographical summary; secondary historical sources for the historical outline; recorded archaeological data for the sites and finds information; the archive of the Wiltshire Building Record (WBR) for architectural data. The architectural summary is not subject to the same level of research as the other three data streams, and the information presented in the reports is based upon evidence compiled from the existing WBR archive, updated in places by field visits to note non-listed buildings of historic interest, combined with the Department Of Culture Media and Sport schedule of listed buildings.
- 1.9. This Assessment was prepared originally in 2001, with amendments from consultations added in 2004. Table1 (archaeological investigations) has been updated, but the results of these more recent events have not been assimilated.

2. LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY

- 2.1. The river Kennet flows east from Fyfield to Preshute, then turns north-east for a mile or so before again swinging to the east after its confluence with the River Og. Marlborough is situated between the bend at Preshute and the confluence of the two rivers and straddles the crossroads of the London to Bath road with the road north from Salisbury to Swindon. There was a ford at the west end of the town, where the Salisbury road crosses the Kennet, although later the river was crossed by two bridges at either end of the settlement.
- 2.2. A chalk outcrop forms a gently sloping terrace parallel to the river at the base of the valley side, separating the river gravels to the south-east from the clay-with-flints that underlies the high ground on the north-west side of the town. The High Street follows the line of the chalk outcrop between the crossroads and the castle, which nestles in the protective arm of the river bend. From this position there would have been a clear view not only along the High Street to the crossroads, but also along the Kennet in both directions and dominating both the Bath and Salisbury roads. The town extends along the High Street and down the Salisbury Road to the bridge, gradually expanding up the slope and across the valley on to the far bank of the river.

3. PAST WORK AND THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE

3.1. Historic Sources

- 3.1.1. This is a desk-based study, using material available within the County Council research facilities in Trowbridge: the Sites and Monuments Register; The Wiltshire Reference Library; the Wiltshire Record Office; and the Wiltshire Buildings Record. Historical data are generally drawn from secondary sources, normally the Victoria County History and histories of the individual towns, based on recommendations or specific requirements. Data on archaeological events and their results are drawn directly from the original reports or publications wherever these are available.
- 3.1.2. The use of primary sources in the Record Office is restricted to maps and sometimes other pictorial material, which are consulted to accurately locate individual entities and to trace the growth of the settlement.
- 3.1.3. Of particular note in the study of Marlborough were the reports of the Marlborough College Natural History Society (RMCNHS) which recorded the findings of the archaeology branch of the society resulting from their occasional excavations about the college and town.

3.2. Archaeological Work In The Town

- 3.2.1. Table 1 is a list of known archaeological events based on the County Sites and Monuments Record, Excavations Register, and the Fieldwork reports kept in the County Archaeology Section in Trowbridge. Others have been added as a result

of incidental mention in one of the above sources, and where there is enough information to get at least a general idea of the location of the event. The location of these events, where known, is shown on Figure 3.

Event	Year	Site Name/Location	Event Type	Excavator	Reference
001	1807	St. Margaret's Mead	Excavation	Not known	
002	1892	Wye House	Excavation	Not known	
003	1905-1912	Marlborough Mound	Excavation	Marlborough College Natural History Society	Brentnall 1913
004	1936-1938	Marlborough Castle, Bailey Wall	Excavation	Marlborough College Natural History Society	Brentnall 1937, Hillyard 1938
005	1933	Bridewell Street	Excavation	Marlborough College Natural History Society	Sewell 1938
006	1938	West of the Salisbury Road	Excavation	Marlborough College Natural History Society	Sewell 1938
007	1999	Swimming Pool, Marlborough College	Evaluation	Archaeological Site Investigations	A.S.I. 1999
008	1988	109 High Street	Evaluation	Thamesdown Archaeology Unit	Digby 1988
009	1998	111, High Street	Evaluation	Thames Valley Archaeological Services	Pine 1998
010	1998	Chandler's Yard	Evaluation	Cotswold Archaeology Trust	Coleman 1998
011	1991	Burt's Yard Gasworks	Excavation	AC Archaeology	Hawkes 1991
012	1997	behind Wye House	Excavation	AC Archaeology	Valentin 1997
013	1993	Old School Gardens, Herd Street	Excavation	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 1993
014	1999	Cold Harbour Lane	Watching brief	G. Swanton	Swanton 1999
015	1995	Waitrose site, S of High Street	Evaluation	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 1995
016	1998	Angel Yard tannery	Evaluation	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 1998
017	1995	Old Police Station, George Lane	Excavation	Cotswold Archaeological Trust	Manning 1995
018	1996	Sewage Works	Watching brief	Mike Lang Hall	Hall 1996
019	1997	Duck's Meadow	Evaluation	Cotswold Archaeology Trust	Kenyon 1997
020	1998	Salisbury Road	Evaluation	Thames Valley Archaeological Services	Weaver 1998
021	1999	Land Adjacent to Tree Toft, Salisbury Road	Evaluation	Archaeological Site Investigations	ASI 1999
022	2000	23-25 High Street	Evaluation	John Samuels Archaeological Consultants	John Samuels Archaeological Consultants 2000
023	2000	Swimming Pool, Marlborough College	Watching brief	Archaeological Site Investigations	A.S.I. 2000
024	2000	Land Adjacent to Tree Toft, Salisbury Road	Watching brief	Foundations	Foundations 2000
*025	2000	Waitrose, High Street	Watching Brief	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 2000
*026	2002	Sempringham	Evaluation	Foundations	Foundations 2002
*027	2002	St Martin's Mews	Excavation	Bernard Phillips	Bernard Phillips 2002
*028	2003	2 New Road	Watching Brief	Border Archaeology	Border Archaeology 2003
*029	2003	18 Salisbury Road	Evaluation	Foundations	Foundations 2003
*030	2003	St John's School	Evaluation	Cotswold Archaeology	Cotswold Archaeology 2003
*031	2004	Coombe End House	Evaluation	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 2004

Table 1: Archaeological Events and Interventions in Marlborough. Reports flagged thus * were received after the preparation of this Assessment, which was compiled in 2001.

- 3.2.2. Marlborough College has since the 19th century had an active Natural History Society that has from time to time undertaken small excavations and what would today be termed watching briefs. Most of these were confined to the environs of the college but occasionally they took on sites in the town. In 1915 and 1922 digs on the south side of the mound revealed the stone wall footings of medieval buildings in the bailey and subsequent excavations produced considerable detail relating to the medieval castle.
- 3.2.3. Excavations on the Salisbury Road helped to define St Margaret's Priory (Sewell 1938), and with the later work in Ducks Meadow (Kenyon 1997) revealed the presence of a small prehistoric settlement in that area of the town.
- 3.2.4. Sadly no investigation has been made around St Mary's church, the most likely site for the postulated Saxon settlement, although some Saxon finds were retrieved from excavations at Wye house, immediately to the east.
- 3.2.5. Recently AC Archaeology undertook a desk-based assessment (Hawkes 1996) of the college, the mound, and the site of the bailey which reviewed the historical background, and in early 1999 another more detailed assessment of the mound was undertaken by Wessex Archaeology. As non-intrusive events, these have not been numbered on the map.

4. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

- 4.1. This report is not intended to provide a major historical review of the history of Marlborough, and the material included here relates mainly to events which might have had some impact on the archaeology of the town, or its survival.
- 4.2. The town is mentioned in Domesday as "Merleberge", although little detail about the settlement apart from the presence of a church are given. There being no indication of a Saxon burgh here, the name is usually thought to derive from "Maerle's barrow or hill", or more fancifully Merlin's barrow, and to refer to a prehistoric burial mound supposed to lie beneath the medieval motte (but see below). Whatever the origin of the name and despite very sparse evidence, most researchers believe that a Saxon settlement existed, clustered around the Green (Hughes 1953, Haslam 1976).
- 4.3. The Great Bedwyn mint was transferred to Marlborough in 1068, and just two years later Bishop Ethelric was confined in the town; both events suggest a degree of security such as might be expected if there was a castle defending the settlement (Brentnall 1938). The town was a royal borough and remained so until at least 1273.

- 4.4. Market charters were granted in 1204 and by the end of the century the market place was established at the north-east end of the High Street. At least four market crosses are recorded in the 16th century, with six being cited a hundred years later (Stevenson 1975). Marlborough was a major redistribution centre for goods coming from Southampton and the coast. With a plentiful water supply it was also a centre for the cloth and tanning industries. There were fairs in June, August and November established in the first half of the 12th century, some of them probably sited on the green and moved to the common in the 19th and 20th centuries. St Peter's fair was held around the churchyard; it became a horse fair in the 18th century and lapsed in 1879.
- 4.5. The town was severely damaged in April 1653 by a fire which started in a tannery at the western end of the High Street. The destruction was sufficient for Evelyn to comment the following year that the town appeared 'new-built' (Stevenson 1975). In the Tudor period, pin-making was noted as one of the minor industries of the town and pipe making was of some importance during the 17th century, when other industries were declining in the face of competition from Devizes. The latter town lacked a good water supply and could not compete with increasing industrialisation, so that by the end of the 18th century the Marlborough cloth mills were again expanding, and the tanneries also experienced renewed prosperity through the 19th century. Brewing was another of the chief trades of the town in the 19th century, with breweries in High St., Kingsbury St. and The Marsh.
- 4.6. Castle House was built early in the 18th century by Lord Hertford, and new gardens were laid out in the area of the castle bailey. It became an inn for a while after 1751 before becoming the centrepiece of the Marlborough College buildings.
- 4.7. Marlborough was a regular stop for mail coaches to London, Bristol and Exeter until the coming of the railway in 1864. The sewage works in Elcot Lane was built in 1900, with mains sewer installation taking place through the 1920s and 1930s.

5. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL SUMMARY

5.1. Introduction

- 5.1.1. The following is a resume of the archaeological record of the town, drawn from the county SMR and the various excavation reports. Data on surviving buildings come from the Wiltshire Buildings Record unless otherwise stated. The bold print numbers in this section refer to entries in the Urban Survey database, and appear on the location maps in Figs. 5 - 9, which were created from the database and the SMR.

5.2. Prehistory (Fig. 4)

- 5.2.1. The castle mound (**MR002**, Best 1997) is a Scheduled Monument (AM321) and is widely believed to be of prehistoric origin although the evidence is largely circumstantial. Attention has been drawn to the similarity between the mound (Fig 3) and the early phase of Silbury Hill in composition and dimensions, but it is difficult to assess the effect of the early 18th century landscaping episode, and the feature is well within the size range of other early Norman mottes (Best 1995, 1997). Roman coins were found on the mound during and after the landscaping, and antler fragments which were possibly Neolithic picks came from a service trench dug in 1912: the latter have unfortunately been lost and cannot be re-examined. More antler pieces were recovered during construction work next to the mound in the late 1960's. Unfortunately the location of these is also uncertain as is the context from which they were retrieved. If these can be relocated it is hoped that samples from them can be used to confirm their age and use as implements (P. Fowler pers. comm.).
- 5.2.2. These features aside there seems to be a general background of prehistoric activity visible in the study area. Finds are most common within 300m of the river, but are not confined to this area, and come from all the geological zones. A Palaeolithic handaxe (**MR024**) was found during construction work at the gasworks, and Mesolithic flints have been found north of Elcot Lane (**MR025**).
- 5.2.3. A linear feature and some postholes were discovered during archaeological field evaluation in 1997 (**MR022**, Kenyon 1997). Within these features 26 body sherds and 5 rim sherds of at least 2 grooved ware vessels were found. Also some high quality unweathered flint tools including a triangular arrowhead were recovered, which it was suggested might have been deliberately cast into the feature and not simply an accidental inclusion in the backfill.
- 5.2.4. There is an SMR record of a ploughed out round barrow (**MR023**) near the river east of the town, just north west of the sewage works.
- 5.2.5. Excavations for the Gasworks in 1898 revealed a midden of animal bone and pottery (**MR037**) recorded in the late 19th century as Neolithic (Brooke 1898) but was also compared with pottery from a nearby site now thought to be Romano-British. There are no extant finds, and since the map reference given for the finds is some distance from the gasworks, there is understandably some doubt over the correct provenance of the midden.
- 5.2.6. Several other Neolithic and Bronze Age artefacts have been recovered from around the town, including: a polished stone axe (**MR026**); a leaf-shaped flint arrowhead (**MR027**); a bronze axe fragment (**MR029**); and an adiaagnostic flint flake (**MR091**). To the east of the Salisbury Road on the southern edge of the modern town evaluation produced a small number of flint tools dated to the Neolithic period (**MR030**) (Weaver 1998).
- 5.2.7. One of the most important discoveries from the town was the fragments of bronze and iron from the Marlborough Bucket, a large wood and metal vessel

found in an Iron Age flat grave about 200m south of the river in 1807 (**MR034**). Two Iron Age brooches (**MR028**; **MR032**), some potsherds (**MR031**) and a coin (**MR033**) have been recovered within the study area. There is no real evidence yet of an Iron Age settlement at Marlborough closer than the earthworks of a large Iron Age camp (Scheduled Monument AM850) on Forest Hill to the south east of the town.

5.3. Roman (Fig. 5)

5.3.1. The major focus for Roman settlement in the Marlborough area lies 2km east of the town where a significant Small town stood. *Cunetio* was the largest town in Roman Wiltshire with clear sign of town planning and two phases of defensive walls. The town has been dealt with as a separate entity in the project with its own report. Its presence, however, would have a major impact on this part of the Kennet valley and probably helps explain the number of Romano-British finds from Marlborough.

5.3.2. The main concentration of Romano-British finds lies in the area just north of Elcot lane, to the east of the town, where several burials in possible association with coins and Samian and New Forest wares (**MR038**) were discovered (Hoare 1812). These have been suggested as indicative of a settlement site. A nearby burial in a stone coffin probably belongs with the same group which seems likely on balance to be of Romano-British date (**MR040**). A short distance away Meyrick unearthed a section of a road or trackway with more pottery and a 1st century silver coin (**MR036**) (Anon. 1971). If the Gasworks midden (**MR037**) was Romano-British rather than Neolithic, it would add support to the settlement theory. Other finds of Romano-British material from this area includes a sherd of coarseware pottery (**MR039**) and a brooch (**MR041**).

5.3.3. A substantial amount of Romano-British material was recovered from Summerfield, to the north of the High Street, in 1888 (**MR046**) (Brooke 1888). This collection included a coin of Trajan, approximately 500 sherds of pottery, stone roof tiles, nails, bone, oyster shells and cement. Unfortunately only the coin was recovered on the site, the rest of the collection was recovered from the spoil which had been removed to the common. Thus an element of caution should be introduced with regard to this site.

5.3.4. To date the only masonry excavated in Marlborough was part of a carving from the college end of the High Street (**MR043**), and there is a sculptural fragment built into the wall of St Mary's church (**MR047**).

5.3.5. Romano-British finds have been recovered during several archaeological interventions, notably from the excavations at the "Old Bowling Green" (**MR049**), the evaluation behind Wye House, (Valentin 1997) (**MR050**) and the evaluations east of the Salisbury Road (Weaver 1998) (**MR051**). There is a wide scatter of Romano-British finds from sites across the town (Fig 3), mostly single coins or brooches (**MR080**, **MR035**, **MR042**, **MR044**, **MR048**, **MR095**), although there have been a few potsherds (**MR053**, **MR052**). A ring (**MR056**) and the cheek

piece from a Roman helmet (**MR054**) were found in the meadows between the river and the Poulton Road, not far from the findspot of a Byzantine coin found with a scatter of pottery (**MR055**).

- 5.3.6. The nearest settlements seem to be villas at Brown's Farm and Forest Hill to the south and east respectively. Another small cluster of material occurs just outside the study area on the lower slopes of Granham Hill, where a low mound has been associated with a nearby pottery scatter and a hoard of over 500 Romano-British coins.

5.4. Saxon (Fig. 6)

- 5.4.1. Despite its mention in the Domesday Book and other early post conquest historic sources (see above 4.3) suggesting Saxon origins of the town, evidence for the early medieval period is sadly lacking in the archaeological record. There are no structural remains or features known from archaeological investigations carried out around the town.
- 5.4.2. Recorded finds a sherd of late Saxon pottery found in a mixed context with medieval and post-medieval material on an evaluation at the eastern end of the historic town (**MR059**), a sherd of 7th - 9th century pottery found on the banks of the River Kennet east of the modern town (**MR060**) and an unprovenanced sceatta.
- 5.4.3. There is some confusion surrounding discoveries made in the area of Summerfield House, north of the High Street. In 1888, during construction of either a tennis court, a large quantity of pottery was found, supposedly in a mixed deposit which included undated building material and food waste (Brooke 1888). The provenance of this material, not to mention the association of the various finds, is unreliable. The pot was later identified as Saxon by Goddard (1913) who also stated that the finds had been misplaced. Robinson has, however, stated that the finds are located at Devizes Museum and that a recent reassessment demonstrates that there are no Saxon sherds in the collection (1981).

5.5. Medieval (Fig. 7)

- 5.5.1. The castle(**MR003**) was first mentioned in 1110 when Henry I visited it, but may have been built earlier. Initially the castle may have been of wood, but must have been rebuilt in stone at an early stage.
- 5.5.2. There is little archaeological data about the castle or its construction, but historical sources contain a great deal of information about the use and development of the site in the medieval period. This information has been usefully summarised by Stevenson in 1992.
- 5.5.3. Brentnall (1938) has drawn a plausible reconstruction of the structure based on what little evidence there is, with a tall motte surmounted by a keep, with a

well defended bailey on its south side, both surrounded by a moat supplied with water from the river. There were royal apartments, a great hall, and the chapels of St Nicholas and St. Mary in the bailey and four or five towers around the perimeter. He suggests that the many repairs recorded to correct for subsidence were because the southern side of the bailey extended beyond the limits of the river gravels and onto the less consolidated alluvium. The parliament of 1269 was probably held in the great hall, with additional stabling and accommodation provided in the newly acquired paddock to the north-east.

5.5.4. Stukely's drawings showed in 1723 the remains of a sub-rectangular ditch south-east of the mound, which he attributed to the Roman castrum. Whilst this attribution is surely erroneous, Brentnall labelled it in his paper as the ditch of the 14th century bailey, this attribution deriving from a reference on a 1382 Patent Roll to the diversion of the stream which used to run around the castle to include the "King's Garden and the mill within the ditch" (Brentnall 1934). By 1390 the castle required an extensive rebuild which it appears was never completed. From that time on it was in decline, and by Leland's visit in 1541 it was in ruins. The defences may have been repaired by Parliament in 1642, but by 1654 the castle had gone and the mound had been landscaped, with Lord Seymour's spiral path ascending to a summer house and pond at the summit.

5.5.5. Excavations on the mound and in the area of the bailey to the south have revealed ample evidence of the Norman builders there in the form of pottery and, in the bailey at least, wall foundations of buildings and the curtain wall itself (MCNHS 1915 & 1922, Hillyard 1938, Brentnall 1934 & 1937). The remains of the moat are also well documented and have been observed on a number of occasions (Hawkes 1996, Brentnall 1937) although there are no records of any excavations in the 14th – 15th century extensions to the bailey.

5.5.6. Evaluation on the site of proposed Swimming pool at Marlborough College produced medieval pottery, and a subsequent watching brief revealed evidence of 12th - 14th century activity. Features recorded included a large ditch, a robbed out wall foundation and a group of cess pits. The features appeared to be broadly contemporary. (**MR099**, Archaeological Site Investigations 1999 and 2001).

5.5.7. There are two surviving medieval churches in the town. At the north east end of the High Street lies St. Mary's (grade A) (**MR011**) which was founded in 1160, although churches in the town are first mentioned in 1091. It has a typically Norman round zig-zag and cable-moulded doorway with collonnettes. Most of the fabric of the largely 15th century church is in ashlar stone with crenellated parapet and mullioned windows. It was partially rebuilt after the 1653 fire. Skull fragments found in a garden north of the church (**MR066**) suggest that the graveyard once extended beyond its current limits.

5.5.8. At the south western end of the High Street lies St. Peter and St Paul (**MR010**). Although this would also probably have had an early foundation date what is visible today dates to the late 15th or early 16th century (Wordsworth &

Ponting 1906). Road widening operations during World War Two revealed evidence of burials across a much larger area than the current graveyard (Free 1950). Unfortunately the reports of this event do not give any more detail and it is not known whether this was on the northern or southern side of the church, although the main road now runs to the south so this might be more likely.

5.5.9. A third medieval church, St. Martins (**MR012**), was built in 1239-40 on the west side of Coldharbour Lane. This served the area north-east of St. Mary's, which is still called St. Martin's, until it was pulled down in the mid-16th century.

5.5.10. St. Margaret's Gilbertine priory (**MR009**) was established in the late 12th century and held land south of the river near the ford which included 3 acres of gardens and orchards. The land was granted to Anne of Cleves at the dissolution in 1539. Excavations in 1937 between Duck's Meadow and the Salisbury Road revealed traces of two medieval buildings, one marked by wall foundations, the other by remnants of a tiled floor. Beneath and beside the footings were several burials. The remains were interpreted as part of St. Margaret's Priory (Sewell 1938). More recently, Cotswold Archaeological Trust carried out an evaluation in Duck's Meadow and a watching brief in George Lane immediately to the north. Nothing medieval was found in the meadow, suggesting that it lay beyond the bounds of the Priory, and whilst two pits containing 12th –14th century pottery (**MR070**) were located behind the Police Station there is nothing to indicate their association with the nearby religious house. A steelyard weight (**MR071**) found in nearby Isbury Road is similarly difficult to link with the Priory.

5.5.11. A Carmelite priory (**MR014**) was founded in 1316 in the middle of town between the river and the High Street: that the friars here lived in extreme poverty is clear from the inquest of 1538 (Stevenson 1975). The complex consisted of a church, cloisters, chapter house, dormitory, prior's lodgings and a kitchen. The last remnants of the monastic buildings were demolished in 1820 when a house called 'The Priory' was built on the site.

5.5.12. The Hospital of St. John the Baptist (**MR013**) stood on the Salisbury road near the crossroads and St. Mary's church. Founded before 1215, the hospital survived the dissolution, but in 1550 became a grammar school; in 1577 the buildings were demolished and a new schoolhouse erected on the same site.

5.5.13. A leper hospital, St Thomas the Martyr also existed from at least 1220, but by 1393 had been annexed by St Margaret's priory, and nothing further is known of its history. It has been assumed that this institution lay on the eastern side of the town, and one suggested location is east of Stonebridge Lane (Chandler 1977), but this has not been confirmed.

5.5.14. The Chantry House (**MR015**) of St. Catherine, built c.1410, had a 15th century fireplace (removed in the 1920's).

- 5.5.15. The planned medieval town was laid out around a broad High Street and Market Place which ran between the two parish churches of the town. This must have occurred by the mid 13th century, although there is a suggestion that some of the burgage plots may date from the 11th century, and the street plan might be contemporary with the castle. Whilst the High Street was clearly part of the planned medieval town, it is first mentioned by name only in 1504 (Gover *et al*).
- 5.5.16. North of the High Street a block of burgage plots can still be easily recognised. Within this area an evaluation at 109 High Street (**MR062**, Digby 1988) recorded several pits beneath a preserved medieval garden soil. In one was an 11th century pot containing lime for making mortar; if this was connected to the planned development of the Norman town, it is the earliest evidence for that event found to date. At Chandlers Yard adjacent to Back Lane two post-holes were recorded in an evaluation (**MR103**, Coleman 1998), whilst these were thought to be post-medieval there remains a possibility that they were medieval in origin. At 111 High Street an evaluation carried out 80m behind the Street frontage produced evidence of medieval activity with a pit producing 12th-14th century pottery (**MR104**, Pine 1998).
- 5.5.17. The burgage plots on the south of the High Street can also still be recognised. They would originally have spread up to a point adjacent to St Peter and St Paul's, but the pattern at this western end has been greatly eroded, both historically by the introduction of the priory (see above 5.5.7) and in the 20th century. Overall the plots on the southern side of the High Street do not survive in as good a condition as those to the north. A trench opened up on the Waitrose site (**MR063**, Wessex Archaeology 1998) uncovered a cobbled yard surface of 15th or early 16th century date and some medieval roof and floor tiles, but no traces of the structures that were presumably associated with them. Nearby in Angel Yard a few potsherds of 13th - 14th century date were recovered from a test pit (**MR092**, Wessex Archaeology 1995).
- 5.5.18. In the old School Gardens west of Herd Street (**MR065**, Wessex Archaeology (1993) exposed and sampled a group of medieval and later pits they regarded as being "typical of those commonly found in the yards to the rear of urban buildings". Since the trench ran to within a few metres of the road and contained no foundations, it is likely that any structure lay to the south, and the pits may mark the limit of the medieval expansion up Herd Street.
- 5.5.19. A watching brief carried out during excavations for a new swimming pool at Marlborough college revealed evidence of 12th - 14th century activity (**MR099**, ASI 1999, 2001). Features recorded included a large ditch, a robbed out wall foundation and a group of cess pits. The features appeared to be broadly contemporary and occur in an area where no medieval settlement evidence had previously been found and away from the main focus of the town. Although the exact location is poorly understood a silver gilt pin, two padlock keys and two medieval iron arrowheads of medieval date (**MR058**) were found in the same area from an insecure context in the 19th century (Robinson 1981),

- 5.5.20. A document of 1289 mentions Newland Street (now St Martin's St.) (**MR019**) and the Green (**MR021**), and Barn St., then Baron Street after a local family, was mentioned in the early 14th century. Neubury St (1334) became St Mary's Street, and Kingesbur' (1335) had become Kingsbury St. (**MR018**) by 1438. The other street mentioned in medieval documents is Herd Street, also in 1438. The remaining street names are known only from 16th or 17th century records. London Road (**MR020**) would have been the main road to Salisbury in the medieval period, running south from the town it would have crossed the Kennet via a ford before running past the Gilbertine Priory.
- 5.5.21. Archaeological field evaluations in the gardens of Wye House (**MR064**) and adjacent to the old Gasworks (**MR097**) have produced medieval pottery indicating that this area was the scene of limited activity at this time.
- 5.5.22. Two medieval arrowheads (**MR072**) found near the water meadows to the south-east were probably lost in the fields there. Other casual finds from near the river have included pottery (**MR075**, **MR077**), an iron buckle and knife (**MR074**), an arrowhead in a watering pot (**MR076**), and a seal ring (**MR078**). Another arrowhead and seal ring were found to the north, near Barton Farm (**MR079**).
- 5.5.23. To the north east of the town lie the unexcavated remains of the medieval royal fishpond (**MR061**), a dam built across the Og and first mentioned in 1179 and used throughout the 13th century (Currie 1994).
- 5.5.24. Also within the study area are portions of two satellite settlements, based around two medieval farms, Barton (**MR007**) and Poulton (**MR017**).
- 5.5.25. Documentary sources indicate that Marlborough contained a number of mills in the medieval period. These would have served the woollen industry as well as agricultural production. The location of these, with the possible exception of Town Mill (see below 5.7.2), is not known, but it is probable that two stood near the castle.

5.6. *Post Medieval* (Fig. 8)

- 5.6.1. Post-medieval horizons and finds occur on most of the archaeological sites in the town centre, although there have been no significant structural remains found. Postholes were excavated behind Waitrose (Wessex Archaeology 1998), 111 High Street (Pine 1998), and at Chandlers' Yard (Coleman 1998) but these seem to belong to minor sheds and fences within properties which follow the pattern of the medieval burgage plots (**MR062**) where there is any attribution. Similarly, a probable post-medieval burial (**MR073**) found near St. Martin's must simply relate to the medieval church there.
- 5.6.2. The site of the castle was developed as a private house (**MR004**) which was built in 1621 by the Duke of Somerset (the Seymour family) (Kempson 1958, Hayman 1959). A landscaped garden (**MR016**) was laid out around the house by the mid 17th century. A stone revetment for the moat dated to this

phase of activity was located during excavations by the college society (Brentnall 1934). The gardens were developed through the middle of the century and were added to by the Hertfords (also part of the Seymour family) who took over the house in the late 17th century and who had the current house (now used as the main school building) built between 1702 and 1721 (Kempson 1958).

5.6.3. A significant group of post-medieval metalwork including coins, a token, two sets of spurs and horseshoes were found during building works at the college in 1892 (**MR098**).

5.6.4. In the Kennet valley south of Marlborough College a series of features survive which relate to the use of this area as watermeadows (**MR102**). These were in existence by the middle of the 17th century (Leatherdale 1958) and their outline can be seen on a plan of 1661 (PECH 1959). A further area of extensive watermeadows survive on the valley bottom on the eastern side of the town (**MR082**). This system of periodic flooding is characteristic of the chalk rivers of central southern England and was introduced in the post-medieval period, although it is difficult to date precisely an individual group like this.

5.7. *Industrial* (Fig. 8)

5.7.1. The only excavated remains of Marlborough's industrial past comprised a single cobble surface found in a test pit at the old tannery site in Angel Yard and thought to be associated with a earlier (19th century) phase of the tannery (**MR092**). The tannery may have been at this location for some time as major fire in the town is recorded as starting in a tannery located in the southern part of the town in 1653.

5.7.2. Town or Port Mill (**MR101**) stood on an artificial island in the River Kennet south of the town. The Mill building was of 18th-19th century date and was demolished in the early 1980's. It is highly possible that this building stood on the site of the medieval town mill which is first recorded in c.1193.

5.7.3. The railway (**MR089**) was built in two phases. A branch line connecting Marlborough to the main line at Savernake was opened in 1864. In 1881 this was extended to reach Swindon.

5.7.4. The Gasworks (**MR090**) was established in 1822 and worked until 1945, although one of the Gas holders was still in use in 1982.

5.7.5. A workhouse was built in 1837 on the northern outskirts of the town (**MR100**). This building still stands and is today used as private dwellings.

5.8. *Undated* (Fig 9).

5.8.1. In the landscape surrounding the town a number of undated archaeological sites have been recorded. These are generally the remnants of field systems of probable prehistoric origin (**MR067**, **MR083** & **MR086**), linear boundaries which

probably date to the later prehistoric period and may relate to the large Iron Age enclosure of Forest Hill to the east (**MR084 & MR087**) and trackways running down the steep slopes from the south and are of probable medieval origin (**MR085 & MR088**).

5.8.2. The most significant of the undated features is the trapezoidal enclosure on the common north of the town (**MR005**). This enclosure survives as an earthwork and has traditionally been assigned a late medieval origin (Grinsell 1957). However, the form of the site indicates an earlier date and the discovery of a significant quantity of Romano-British material might support such a thesis (Hoare 1821). In the post medieval period the site was used as a bowling green.

5.8.3. The discovery of a group of inhumation burials during construction of a sanatorium for the school in 1907 may be of some significance (**MR068**). These were not recorded accurately. There is no indication of any material from the site being retained and they are therefore impossible to date. The recent discovery of extensive medieval activity (MR099) on an adjacent site might give a clue as to their origin. But, if the location of the raquets court is taken to be that immediately south of the sanatorium then a significant group of Roman (MR043 & MR095), Saxon (MR058) and post-medieval (MR098) material has also been recovered from this area.

5.9. Built Heritage

5.9.1. This section of the report is intended to provide an introduction to the surviving built heritage of Marlborough, and as such is not designed to be a comprehensive account of the town's notable structures. It consists of a selection of the salient architectural features and buildings within the Study Area, including, if present, significant unlisted structures. This data has been compiled by Wiltshire Buildings Record.

5.9.2. Detailed lists of historic buildings and architectural detail are included as Appendices 3, 4 & 5. Although individual Grade II listed buildings may be (where relevant) discussed in this section, they are not included as a comprehensive list in the Appendices, due to the very large quantities of additional data this would involve. Researchers seeking information on Grade II structures are directed to the appropriate Department of Culture, Media and Sport schedule lists.

5.9.3. Twelfth Century

5.9.3.1 The earliest fragment of building dates from c1160 and is contained in the largely C15 parish church of St Mary's. It is a decorated doorway in the West tower, which has collonnettes, and a cable-moulded hood and imposts.

5.9.4. Sixteenth Century

5.9.4.1 Of mid-late C15 date, the second of only 5 buildings noted of this date, is the grade II* Church of St Peter & St Paul, High Street, remarkable for its vaulting and the site. The other three probable C15 houses are identified at 75 & 76 High Street, and 1 & 2 The Parade, the only crucks noted so far in Marlborough, in each case hidden behind an C18 or C19 refronting. 99 High Street, a high status jettied timber framed house is the other early building and was possibly a chantry.

5.9.5. Seventeenth Century

5.9.5.1 The VCH suggests that during the C17 most of High Street, the south end of Kingsbury Street, Silverless Street, and the north and west sides of the Green were continuously built up with two-storeyed timber timber-framed and plastered houses of which some had attics.

A good number of 16th and 17th century timber-framed buildings survive, despite a serious fire in the High Street in 1653. 23 C16 buildings and 31 C17 buildings have survived either by updating their main elevation in the 18th or 19th century (1 & 2 Angel Yard, 6 & 7 Barn Street), or downgrading in status as a rear wing (The Green Dragon, High Street). 132 & 133 High Street (grade II*) has a triple gabled front and timber framing under later tile-hanging. Similarly treated are 136, 137, 139, 140 & 141 High Street. Other timber framed houses are at 5-7 George Lane, and 2-4 The Green, 2 High Street and grade II* Dormy House, 43 Kingsbury Street, dating from 1654-6. Evidence remains in a wall that 21 High Street (not listed) was once timber-framed, and other buildings in the schedule are noted as being a 'refronting of (an) older building' i.e. 25 High Street.

31 to 34 High Street is an early brick house dating from the C17, as are a group of buildings in Silverless Street (6-8). The Hermitage and Hyde Close (grade II*) is also a C17 house in multi-coloured brick with original elaborate bargeboards.

5.9.6. Eighteenth Century

5.9.6.1 During the 18th century much new building was in brick, of which 195 are listed. The most distinguished of these is grade I listed C House, Marlborough College, a formal early C18 built by Charles, 6th Duke of Somerset, on the site of Marlborough Castle. The listing for a good group of C18 buildings in Alma Place includes the possibly sarsen pavement, a rare survival, together with the cobbled paving in Herd Street. Some brick boundary walls also survive from this date.

1 The Green is listed grade II*, it is a good example of a formal 18th century chequer brick town house. 36 & 37 High Street is also grade II* and an early 18th century stucco or stone refronting of an earlier house. 142 & 143 (grade II*) is a formal C18 stuccoed house in the High Street. 10 & 11 Kingsbury

Street (grade II*) is a late C18 house, formerly two designed as a symmetrical block.

5.9.7. Nineteenth Century

5.9.7.1 In the 19th century the decorative brick tradition continued. 144 buildings from this period are listed. The Bear Hotel, High Street has two storeys in grey headers with red brick dressings. The old Corn Exchange in the High Street, built before 1864, is now a supermarket. The town centre has a number of older buildings, some timber framed, which have been refronted in the 19th century. These have been subsequently altered over the 20th century, somewhat diminishing their value. Partly as a desire to prevent further deterioration of the original fabric and the isolation of those houses more worthy of listing, central buildings such as 46 & 47 High Street have been listed for group value.

A number of architect designed houses in Bath road date from 1862-86. Two are early concrete buildings by GE Street.

5.9.8. Twentieth Century

5.9.8.1 The 7 listed buildings from the C20 are all architect designed. CE Ponting was responsible for 5 of these.

6. PLAN FORM ANALYSIS

6.9. Introduction

6.9.1 The town has been divided into components, each representing blocks of activity and sub-divided by period. Marlborough has no foundation in the prehistoric period, although unrelated archaeological remains belonging to this period are present within the study area. Evidence for Romano-British settlement is present on the south-east side of the town and possibly to the north of the High Street, but this would appear to be of rural rather than urban character.

COMPONENT	PERIOD	COMPONENT TYPE	FIGURE No.
COM1	Medieval	Castle	10
COM2	Medieval	St Peter & St Paul Church and Graveyard	10
COM3	Medieval	St Mary's Church and Graveyard	10
COM4	Medieval	St Martin's Church and Graveyard	10
COM5	Medieval	St Margaret's Gilbertine Priory	10
COM6	Medieval	Carmelite Friary	10
COM7	Medieval	Hospital of St John the Baptist	10
COM8	Medieval	Hospital of St Thomas the Martyr	10
COM9	Medieval	Market Place	10
COM10	Medieval	11 th -12 th Century Settlement, Burgage Plots	10
COM11	Medieval	Settlement Extension, 12 th -13 th century	10

COM12	Medieval	St Martin's Suburb, 13 th Century	10
COM13	Medieval	The Green	10
COM14	Medieval	Unplanned Settlement, 12 th -14 th Century	10
COM15	Medieval	Fish Ponds	10
COM16	Post Medieval	Mansion and Gardens	11
COM17	Modern	Town Mill	11
COM18	Modern	Workhouse	11
COM19	Modern	Gasworks	11
COM20	Modern	Railway	11
COM21	Modern	Tannery	11

Table 2: Plan form components. (The period column denotes the period within which that component had its origins.)

6.9.2 There is little evidence for Saxon settlement activity either in or close to the town and it would appear that Marlborough is a post-conquest foundation. For the medieval and later periods it is possible to begin to identify the different plan form components which make up the town and these are summarised in Table 2 and described in detail below.

6.9.3 It should be stressed that for some of these components the evidence is not strong and their identification and mapping is based on parallels from other towns, a broad understanding of the nature of urbanism in southern England and guesswork.

6.10. Saxon

6.10.1 Previous assessments of Marlborough have repeatedly stated that the town had its origins in the Saxon period and was already established as an urban centre by the time of the Norman conquest (Hughes 1953, Haslam 1976, Wessex Archaeology 1999). However, as has been shown above the archaeological evidence for settlement activity in the Marlborough area is scant. There have been only two finds of material of this date from within the study area and each of these has been an isolated find, with some uncertainty over the context of one of them. The place name evidence has also been used to support occupation, but the name could simply suggest that the Marlborough Mound did indeed pre-date the castle and was a well known local landmark. The possibility remains that, like Silbury Hill (Whittle 1997), the mound was used for defensive purposes in the middle of the 11th century and this may be one reason why the castle was subsequently constructed on the site. Unfortunately the recent damage to the top of the mound and the castle site in general make it unlikely that this theory will ever be adequately tested.

6.11. *The Medieval Town* (Fig.10)

6.11.1 **COM1 - The Castle.** The layout of the medieval town is based around the twin foci of the crossroads and the castle, reinforced by the existence of the chalk terrace which runs roughly in a straight line between the two. The castle stood on the mound at one end of the town, and presumably held all the land within the curve of the river at this point. It appears to have been

positioned to control the river and the Bath-London road, rather than the crossroads and river crossing. Whether this was a conscious decision, or whether it was precipitated by the proximity of a convenient sized mound will probably never be known.

6.11.2 Historic maps tend to suggest that the burgage plots of the market place (see below 7.2.6) stop to the north east of St Peter and St Paul's church. Stukely's drawing of 1723 also shows the area to the south of the church devoid of any settlement activity, indicating that even by this date the area was not utilised (Fig. 3). Additionally there is some evidence that the road out of the town ran to the north of the church. If these indications are correct then it would suggest that a large open area stood between the castle and the town. The large ditch found north of the castle (Asi 2001) may represent the defences of an outer bailey, as existed at Devizes, providing a better defensive landscape and a large area of land for the retinue of the Royal household to make camp during their frequent visits to the castle (Stevenson 1992). This appears to be supported by references to St Peter's parish, and by implication the church itself, lying in the Bailey Ward (Bradby 1923). Previous interpretations have suggested that the outer bailey ditch enclosed the area now represented by the school courtyard and that the main road curved to pass this by. The presence of a significant ditch outside this line might suggest a much larger outer bailey existed, but leaves a question mark over the line of the road.

6.11.3 **COM2 - St. Peter and St Paul's Church.** This stands in the centre of the south western end of the High Street. The evidence that burials exist under the road suggests that its graveyard is significantly reduced. The alignment of the road to the west would logically have passed the church to the north through an area which does not display signs of the classic long burgage plots seen elsewhere on the High Street. It might be possible that the church in its early phase was connected to the Castle and was therefore situated in the open ground between it and the town (see above para 7.3.2). The street pattern may have been re-arranged later in the medieval period when the T-shape junction at the end of the High Street was formed.

6.11.4 **COM3 - St Mary's .** St Mary's stands at the north eastern end of the High Street and would have dominated the town from this position. Like St Peter and St Paul's there seems to have been significant encroachment onto the graveyard surrounding the church. The discovery of human remains in properties surrounding the church indicate that originally it would probably have occupied the whole of the rectangular block bounded to the east by the green (see below 7.2.11) and to the north, west and south by streets.

6.11.5 **COM4 - St Martin's Church.** The construction in 1239-40 of a new church north east of the town is connected to suburban expansion of the urban area.

6.11.6 **COM5 - St Margaret's Priory.** A Gilbertine Priory was founded in the latter part of the 12th century and occupied a poorly defined patch of land near the Salisbury road. The exact location and extent of this establishment is not fully

understood. However, it can be safely assumed that it lay on the western side of the road.

- 6.11.7 **COM6 - Carmelite Priory.** On the southern side of the High Street a Carmelite Priory was founded by at least 1315, but probably not much earlier. The siting of this establishment in what would appear to have been a prime area of the town is of some interest. It can be assumed that the block of burgage plots occupied would have previously been used for industrial, retail or residential purposes for at least 100 years prior to the founding of the Priory. Historical records suggest that the Priory was never very successful in attracting funds and the Friars lived a life of extreme poverty. How it came to occupy a prime location in the town centre is a matter of conjecture. Two possible reasons might apply, firstly a wealthy benefactor might have purchased the site for them, but not then provided funds to allow the successful development of the establishment. Alternatively the focus of economic activity might by the 14th century have shifted to the east and land at this part of the town might have been readily available.
- 6.11.8 **COM7 - The Hospital of St John the Baptist.** This monastic institution was in existence by 1215 and was located on the southern side of this settlement area on a site which may well have been prone to flooding and was described as in the marsh in early records, but the full extent of the site it occupied is not fully understood
- 6.11.9 **COM8 - The Hospital of St Thomas the Martyr.** This leper hospital which is first mentioned in 1231. The exact location of this establishment is not recorded but it is likely to have been on the Hungerford Road a short distance from the town. The fact that it was taken over by St Margaret's Priory might indicate that it lay not too far away.
- 6.11.10 **COM9 - Market Place.** A broad main street which would have served as a market place was laid out between St Peter and St Paul's and St Mary's. This is on the classic lines of the planned medieval towns based on a single focal point, in this case the castle, which are found across Great Britain (Butler 1975).
- 6.11.11 **COM10 - 11th - 12th Century Settlement (Burgage Plots).** Along each side of the High Street a series of long narrow burgage plots were laid out. The pattern of these burgage plots survived little unchanged into the 20th century. However, on the southern side of the High Street, especially at its south-western end, modern development has significantly reduced the surviving pattern. The pattern of burgage plots shown on the early editions of the Ordnance Survey maps indicate that they stopped east of St Peter and St Paul's, suggesting this was the limit of settlement at this stage. Also still in evidence is the Back Lane that would once have provided a rear access to the

Burgage plots on the northern side of the street and is likely to have marked the boundary of the built area.

6.11.12 Dating the laying out of the High Street and burgage plots has proved problematic in the absence of any major archaeological investigations in the area. Most of the material recovered during evaluations and watching briefs tends to date to the broad medieval period, 12th-15th century. However, during investigation of an area north of the High Street a pit dated to the 11th century which was apparently used to mix lime mortar was discovered. This indicates construction activity in the area and might indicate an earlier date for laying out the area than previously assumed. The fact that a mint was set up in the town in 1068 might indicate that its owners had ambitions for it as a urban centre from an early date.

6.11.13 **COM11 - Settlement Extension.** The settlement around St Mary's also displays clear evidence of a planned layout. However, instead of the long narrow burgage plots of the high street this area appears to be laid out on a grid pattern. The Street pattern, indicates that a series of rectangular blocks were laid out around this area forming a pattern, which does not conform strictly to the criteria set out by Butler in 1975, but can be seen in other planned medieval towns found across the British Isles.

6.11.14 **COM12 - St Martin's Suburb, 13th Century.** This expansion again appears to have been planned on a grid, with dimensions very similar to the settlement area to the west (see above 7.2.10). It is difficult to judge the full extent of settlement activity in this suburb, but the fact that the church was pulled down in the 16th century and that late 18th century maps show large gaps in this area, suggest that it might not have been completely successful

6.11.15 **COM13 - The Green.** At the centre of this planned area lay St Mary's church and the Green, which forms a focus for all the major routes through the town and might have acted as a secondary market for the town.

6.11.16 **COM14 - Unplanned Settlement 12th -14th Century.** The recently discovered settlement activity north of the castle has come as bit of a surprise. The topographic evidence from elsewhere suggests that the medieval pattern survives fairly well in the modern town. This area shows no signs of medieval planning and no previous finds of medieval activity have been found here. It s possible that unplanned settlement activity grew here to take advantage of the castle and the economic opportunities it offered. However, as the castle declined in importance and the focus of the town shifted to the east this area would have been less attractive and may have been abandoned in the 14th or 15th century.

6.11.17 **COM15 - Fishponds.** To the north east of the town lay a large fishpond which was created by damming the River Og. This pond is recorded in the medieval period and evidently supplied a large amount of fish for the castle.

6.12 The Post Medieval Town (Fig. 11)

6.12.1 The form of the town would have changed little in the post medieval period. Maps of the town dating to the latter part of the 18th century suggest that the medieval pattern continued to dominate with properties lining the street frontages and gardens or allotments to the rear. Some expansion occurred along the new London Road which now ran south of the river Kennet, and new properties were laid out at the south western end of the High Street, up to the gates to the new Mansion and gardens built in the 16th - 17th century.

6.12.2 **COM16 - Mansion and Gardens.** The Castle had fallen into ruin by the end of the 15th century and during the 16th Century the Duke of Somerset built a large mansion on the site. Although a limited refortification of the mound took place during the civil war, by 1652 a spiral walkway had been cut into its sides as a Garden feature. Lord Hertford took over the mansion and gardens soon after. A great deal of work was done on the gardens at this time and drawings made by Stukely in 1723 show the scale and complexities of these. However, the gardens were not very long lived and in 1751 the house was sold as an Inn, in which use it remained until the foundations of Marlborough College in the middle of the 19th century, and the gardens were left to fall into a state of ruin.

6.13 Industrial Development (Fig. 11)

6.13.1 **COM17 - Town Mill.** Although a number of mills are recorded in Marlborough from the 12th century the location of only one of these is known. Town mill stood close to the centre of the town during the 18th century and may have been on the site from c.1193. The last mill building was 18th-19th century in date and stood on the site until the early 1980's when it was demolished to make way for a housing scheme.

6.13.2 **COM18 - Workhouse.** A workhouse was built on a site on the common north of the town in 1837. The building survives and has recently been converted into residential properties.

6.13.3 **COM19 - Gasworks.** A gasworks serving the town was built on this site in 1822 and continued in use until 1982. The site has recently been redeveloped for residential purposes.

6.13.4 **COM20 - Railway.** The railway, built in two phases skirted around the eastern side of the town with a station located some way south of the historic core.

6.13.5 **COM21 - Tannery.** The tannery located on the southern side of the High Street was in existence from the 19th century, although tanning was a significant industry for at least 200 years previously.

7. ASSESSMENT

7.9. *Summary of Research*

- 7.9.1 Marlborough has for a long time been considered to have been a pre-conquest foundation. However, the documentary evidence for the late Saxon period is very poor and to date little archaeological data has been provided to support this theory. The historical evidence for the medieval town is on the other hand very good. The location of a Royal castle within the town, and the frequent visits by the Royal Household, has led to frequent mentions of the town in the records and a good picture of the towns growth, especially through the 12th and 13th centuries, has emerged. The presence of four monastic institutions further enhances the position of Marlborough in the historical record.
- 7.9.2 Marlborough is fortunate that in the latter years of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century the Natural History and Archaeology Society of the college were in a position to record and report on many finds made in and around the town. However, this society carried out little in the way of planned or extensive research excavations even in the grounds of the school where much development on the site of the castle took place at this time. Several sites in key positions, both within the town centre and on the castle site, were developed in the 1960's and 1970's without adequate archaeological intervention. Much of the archaeological work in the town since the 1980's has been small scale and carried out in response to specific threats.

7.10. *Growth of the Town* (Fig. 12)

7.10.1. Romano-British

- 7.10.1.1 The number of Romano-British finds from the study area and the presence of the main road from *Cunetio* (Mildenhall) to *Aqua Sulis* (Bath) through the town are strong hints that settlement activity did take place here. However, there is no likelihood that this activity was in anyway urban in character and would probably have had little influence over subsequent development in the town.

7.10.2. Saxon

- 7.10.2.1 The historical evidence has been used to suggest that there was a settlement at Marlborough at the time of the conquest. However, the documentary evidence is not strong and the archaeological evidence is very weak. If settlement activity did exist then it is likely to have been fairly small

scale and might simply have involved an attempt to fortify the mound in the middle of the 11th century.

7.10.3. Medieval

7.10.3.1 The building of the castle utilising the mound and the planned development of the High Street in the 11th-12th century created space for expansion. There is clear evidence in the topography of the town for planning, both in the wide High Street market place and in the gridded urban growth to the north east. The town appears to have undergone a period of very rapid expansion in the two hundred years following the Norman Conquest, which must have been largely due to the Royal patronage the borough received.

7.10.4. Post-medieval

7.10.4.1 During the post-medieval period the town grew only slowly. Some expansion can be seen to the south east and to the north, but this is generally speaking on a small scale. Most change in the town in this period would have been seen in the built environment. Following the disastrous fire of 1653 a large part of the town had to be rebuilt. Many of the buildings on the High Street date to the late 17th and early 18th centuries and are the survivals of this rebuilding.

7.10.5. Industrial/Modern

7.10.5.1 There is little evidence for major industrial activity in the town and settlement growth up to the end of the 19th century is again limited. The development and growth of Marlborough College lead to significant new construction at the western end of the town. The Railway Skirted around the eastern edge of the town and there appears to have been little attempt to build up to this major transport link. The major area of 20th century growth is on the southern side of the river. To the north of the town development was based around the building of large individual properties with substantial gardens.

7.11. *The Archaeological Potential*

7.11.1 One of the principal aims of this phase of the Extensive Urban Survey is to examine the archaeological potential of the town to assist with the development of a management strategy in the later phase of the project. Whilst all of the core town may be considered important archaeologically, it is necessary to try to highlight those areas of greater interest, either because of the importance of the remains or because better than average preservation is expected there.

- 7.11.2 Mesolithic activity is well attested in the Kennet valley and there must be a possibility that settlement activity of this time survives on the floodplain or gravel terraces where the river runs through Marlborough.
- 7.11.3 Marlborough lies on the edge of the Marlborough downs, an area of international archaeological importance for its prehistoric remains. These extend into the town itself with finds, features, a round barrow and possibly the core of the Marlborough mound. Although this monument has often been studied even recent assessments have failed to come up with a firm conclusion about its origins. Further work, which might include geophysical survey utilising some of the newer techniques available and limited excavation, is required to get positive evidence of its date of construction.
- 7.11.4 The number of finds from the Roman period from the area of the town is significant. Whilst there is no likelihood that a major settlement stood here there must be a strong chance that a substantial rural settlement is located in the area. The site overlooking the Kennet, only 2km west of *Cunetio* and adjacent to the main road would have been an attractive one. The large quantity of Romano-British material recovered from Summerfield, north of the High Street, in the late 19th century might indicate one location as might the collection of material found off the London Road south of the river. Further work on these areas would help clarify the nature of this activity.
- 7.11.5 Of considerable importance is the lack of evidence for the location and layout of the Saxon Town. It has been suggested here that this may have been centred around the Green and St Mary's church, and no opportunity for further examination in this area should be overlooked. It has been further suggested that the establishment of the Norman town plan may have resulted in a significant realignment of the roads through the Saxon settlement: the verification of this hypothesis and the search for traces of Saxon buildings are both subjects best investigated with open area excavations rather than narrow trenches and test pits, should the chance arise.
- 7.11.6 The dominant feature of the medieval town was the castle lying to the south western end of the High Street. Although much research was carried out on this site in the 1920's and 1930's by Bretnall, the picture of the development of the castle we have is still very limited. Unfortunately a great deal of building work has gone on at the college in the latter part of the 20th century with little or no recording. Further research on this site to complement the excellent historical work undertaken would be of great use.
- 7.11.7 The towns churches are of some interest. Although records suggest foundation dates of 1170 the architectural and historical evidence suggests that at least two churches stood in the town at an earlier date. It is possible that the key to the Saxon settlement, if one existed, lies under or adjacent to St Mary's. The area around St Peter and St Paul's appears to have been significantly remodelled in the post medieval period and the use of this area in the medieval period requires some clarification.

- 7.11.8 Although Marlborough was not a large town it did possess four monastic institutions. The location of two of these, the Carmelite friary and the Hospital of St John the Baptist, are fairly certain, even if little detail about their character and extent is known. The Gilbertine Priory of St Margaret's has been subject to limited archaeological investigation, but there is still some doubt about its actual location, its character or its extent. The Hospital of St Thomas the Martyr is the least well understood, and its location is still to be established
- 7.11.9 It is reasonable to assume that many of the long narrow plots along the High Street today are medieval in origin and the limits of the town in this area are plain to see. Nonetheless it would be extremely useful to look for better dating evidence for the earliest phase of the new town, and to examine if possible the remains of the burgess's houses which have so far eluded attention. The origins of the gridded pattern to the street layout in the north eastern part of the town is not well understood and further research in this area, especially on street frontages, would be welcomed.
- 7.11.10 In a town of such historical richness, it is always difficult to define the priorities, but it is worth noting that many of the problems listed by Haslam in 1976 still await an answer. Some progress has been made, but the few small archaeological interventions of the last twenty-five years have so far failed to expose the most significant aspects of Marlborough's past. Marlborough Town Council has expressed concern that proposed developments east of Salisbury Road, at St John's School Stedman and St John's Savernake should be examined with care (response to consultation, June 2003).

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9. MAPS

1773. Wiltshire map series, No 12. Andrews & Dury.

1820. Map of the county of Wiltshire. Greenwood (Chandler 1998).

1839. Tithe Map

1886. Ordnance Survey, 1st Edition, 1:500 series.

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1923. Ordnance Survey, 3rd Edition, 1:2500 Series.

1938. Ordnance Survey, 4th Edition (with revisions), 1:2500 Series.

10. APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Towns included in the Extensive Urban Survey of Wiltshire, with reference to urban criteria defined by Heighway (1972).

	Town	Criteria
1	Amesbury	iii, xi
2	Bradford-on-Avon	iii, vi, viii, xi
3	Calne	iii, v
4	Chippenham	iii, viii, x
5	Cricklade	i, ii, v, xii
6	CUNETIO	i, ii, vi
7	Devizes	i, ii, iii, v, vi, vii, ix, xi
8	Downton	ii, iii, v
9	DUROCORNIVM	i, ii, vi
10	EASTON GREY	i, vi
11	Great Bedwyn	iii, iv
12	Heytesbury	ii, iii
13	Highworth	ii, iv
14	Hindon	ii, vi, ix
15	Lacock	ii, iii, xi
16	Ludgershall	v
17	Malmesbury	i, iii, iv, xi
18	Market Lavington	ii, iii, v
19	Marlborough	ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, ix, xi
20	Melksham	iii, vi
21	Mere	ii, iii
22	Ramsbury	viii, xi
23	Salisbury	i, ii, iii, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi,
24	Sherston	ii, iii
25	SORVIODUNUM	i, vi
26	Swindon	iii, viii
27	Tilshead	iii, v
28	Tisbury	vii, xi
29	Trowbridge	ii, iii, viii
30	Warminster	ii, iii, iv, vii
31	Westbury	iii, viii
32	Wilton	i, iv, v, vi, vii,
33	Wootton Bassett	ii, iii, v, viii
34	VERLUCIO	ii, vi

Appendix 2: Urban Criteria set out in Heighway (1972)

- i) *Urban Defences*: A town, at some time in its history, might have a wall, or bank and ditch with wooden defences.
- ii) *Internal Street plan*: A town may be planned at any moment in its history; part of its street pattern may display evidence of deliberate planning, such as a grid lay-out. A street plan with provision for a market place will also distinguish a town.
- iii) *Market*: Perhaps the only indispensable criterion, although a market alone does not distinguish a town. The date of a market charter is usually taken in this study as indicating the date by which the place had become a town.
- iv) *Mint*: The existence of a mint often denotes a town.
- v) *Legal existence*: This aspect of the town was one of the first to be studied and formed the basis of most of the early studies of towns. It has long been evident that legal history, once a favoured method of study does not provide the only clue to urban origins, in which economic causes play an important part. However, the date of a borough charter or the dates of taxation at borough rates or of the town's parliamentary franchise may provide a date from which the place may be called a town.
- vi) *Position*: A town may have a central position in a network of communications and this can be a clue to its importance. This can be a difficult criterion to assess as it involves knowledge of the age of the road system in relation to the town itself, the past navigability of rivers, and other related problems.
- vii) *Population*: A town will often have or have had a high density and size of population compared with surrounding places.
- viii) *Diversified economic base*: Archaeological or documentary evidence might suggest a diversified economic base, particularly a concentration of various crafts in one area, and evidence of long distance trade. For earlier periods, only archaeological evidence can determine this; it is a reflection on the state of urban archaeology that so little is known of this aspect.
- ix) *House plot and house type*: The town-plan may show long, narrow 'burgage-type' plots; surviving houses will be urban rather than rural in form.
- x) *Social differentiation*: A town should contain a wide range of social classes and especially possess a middle class. House types, demonstrated in the earlier periods by archaeology, again form part of the evidence.
- xi) The presence of a *complex religious organisation* may also denote a town; i.e. the possession of more than one parish church or the existence of other institutions, especially monastic.
- xii) *Judicial centre*: A town may be a centre for courts of national or local status.

Appendix 3

Breakdown of listed building information: Grade I & II* buildings

Grade I

Church of St Mary (Kingsbury Street) – A, C15
Marlborough College, C House, early C18

Grade II*

1 The Green (C18)
36 & 37 High Street (early C18 and earlier)
Church of St Peter and St Paul, Centre Island, High Street (mid/late C15)
132 and 133 (C16 & C18), 142 & 143 (C18), High Street
The Hermitage and Hyde Close, Hyde Lane (C17 & 18)
10 & 11 (late C18), 43 Dormy House (1654-6), Kingsbury Street

Appendix 4

15th Century

Barton Farm, North Barn (C15/C16)
Church of St Mary (Kingsbury Street)
Church of St Peter & St Paul (mid/late C15)
75, 76, High Street
99 High Street

16th Century

1 & 2 Angel Yard (C16 or C17)
5 to 7 George Lane
2 – 4, 23 & 24, 25 – 28, 29 The Green (C16-C17)
113, 127, 132 & 133, 136, 137, 139 & 140, 141, High Street
4 to 8, 16, Kingsbury Street
3 & 4 The Parade
Little Thatch, Stonebridge Lane

17th Century

30 to 32, The Green
31 to 34, 82 & 83, The Castle and Ball Hotel, ?122 to 124, High Street
The Hermitage and Hyde Close, Hyde Lane
34, 40 & 41, 42, Kingsbury Hill House, 43 Dormy House, 45 to 48A, Kingsbury Street
Katharine House, 20 The Parade
1, 6, 7, 8, 13 & 14, 15, 18, Silverless Street

18th Century

1 to 10, 12, Alma Place
3 & 4 Angel Yard

Coach house behind Castle and Ball Hotel, Back Lane
 1 to 3, 5, Newton House, 9 -11 Barn Street
 Barton Farm house, stables, and granary, Virginia Cottage Bath Road
 Southfield, Bridewell Street
 1 to 3, 8 George Lane 29
 1A, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 & 16, 19 to 21, 22 The Green
 2 & 3, 4 to 6, 12 – 15, 26 to 29, 35, 36 & 37 Herd Street 52
 7, 8 & 9, 16, 19 & 20, 26 & 27, stable block to 28 (The Priory), 30, 38 & 39, Lloran
 House 42, Ivy House Hotel 43, 44 & 45, 73 & 74, The Sun, 93 to 98, 108, 109, 112
 Cromwell House, 117 to 120, 121, 131, 134 & 135, 138, 142 & 143, High Street
 Stables and coach house and wall to The Hermitage, Hyde Lane 84
 1 Kennet Place
 32 & 33, 38 & 39, 44, Kingsbury Street
 3 to 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 52 & 53, 95 & 96, 98, 107 & 108, wall and gate to right of 107
 & 108, The Bridge Garage, 119 & 120, 121, London Road
 Former stables to Marlborough Castle House, Marlborough College
 13 New Road
 4 & 5, 6 & 7 Oxford Street
 1 & 2 The Parade
 The Crown Hotel, 8 & 9, 10 & 11, 13, 16 & 17, 18, The Parade
 3 Riding School Yard
 6 & 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 to 18, 23 The Queens Head Inn, 24 to 28, 51 & 52, Saint Martins
 4, 5, 17 Church Cottage, Silverless Street 134

early

3 & 4, 5 (1739), 36 & 37, 114 to 116, stables & coach houses, High Street
 C House, Grotto, Marlborough College
 28 to 30, The Parade
 21 St Martins 147

mid-18th century

Alma House & no.14
 Mant House, Bridewell Street (1744)
 50 & 50A, 65 & 66, 69, 70 & 71, 100 (1748), High Street
 The Five Alls (1748) and stables and coach house, 14-23, London Road
 Rosetree, Silverless Street 167

late 18th century

11, coach house, Alma Place
 6 & 7, 8 Wye House, Barn Street
 5 The Green
 The Green Dragon, 12, 25 (1776), 52 Far End, 68, 77 & 78, 86, 112, High Street
 10 & 11, 17 to 21, Kingsbury Street
 40, 43 & 44, 45 & 46, 52 & 53, London Road
 24 The Parade
 4 George Lane
 Elcot Mill House, Stables, Elcot Lane (St George's Lane)

Linden Lodge Cottage 20, Salisbury Road

195

19th Century

58 George Lane

72 High Street

early

Messrs Frees' Warehouse, Angel Yard

Preshute Vicarage, Rose Cottage, Bath Road

Brick walls, Chandlers Yard c1800

10 The Green

30 to 33, 39 - 43 Herd Street

2, Ailesbury Arms Hotel 6, 10 & 11, The Priory 28, 35, 46 & 47, 49, 53 to 64

(c1830's), 107, Potters End, 144, High Street 25

2 to 9 Kennet Place

1 & 2, 14, 14A, garden wall between 14A and The Paddock, 28 (1829), 29 to 31,

Kingsbury Street 41

1 to 12 Kingsbury Terrace (1823)

1 to 8 Wellington Place (1825)

112-118 London Road (1830)

Children's Convalescent Home, Marlborough College (1836) 68

Masonic Hall, Oxford Street

Congregational Chapel, Wall, rails & gates, The Parade (1827 & 1873)

2 to 4 Pewsey Road

20, 22, 30 to 35, 36 to 39, 40 to 42 Saint Martins

Linden Lodge & wall, Salisbury Road

9 to 11 Silverless Street 91

mid

4 Barn Street

B House, A House, Master's Lodge, Marlborough College (1845-50)

Cinema at 17 High Street (c1859)

Elmshurst, Barton Hill, Bath Road (1862-3)

Old Sick House, Marlborough College (1863)

Littlefield, Cotton House, Bath Road (1870) 101

51, 80 & 81, 84 & 85, 88 to 90, 106, 126, High Street

1 to 4 Kingsbury Square

26 Kingsbury Street

1 to 3 Prospect Place, Lower Prospect 117

12, 25 to 34 London Road

19 St Martins

2, 3, & 3A Silverless Street 132

Late

Arcade between Museum Block and Bradleian Building, Bradleian Building,
Marlborough College (1871-2)

Porter's Lodge, Gatepiers, gates and railings to Chapel, Marlborough College (1876-7)
 Museum Block, Marlborough College (1882-3)
 Chapel, Marlborough College (1883-6)
 Upcot, Lodge to Upcot, Bath Road (1886)
 Salisbury Road Lodge Gate, Salisbury (1886)
 The Bear Hotel, 1 High Street
 North Block, Marlborough College (1893) 144

20th Century

The Lodge, Hyde Cross, Clements Meadow, Cross Lane (c1902)
 The Town Hall (1902), Centre Island, Midland Bank, High Street
 St Peter's and St Mary's Junior School, London Road (1904)
 Marlborough College Gymnasium (1908)
 Marlborough Grammar School
 Memorial Hall, Marlborough College (1921-25)
 Science Block, Marlborough College (1933)

Appendix 5 - possible additions/corrections

6 & 7 Kingsbury Street – listed C16 & C17 – found to be C15 in 1983
 6 & 7 Hughenden Yard – not listed but appears to be C18
 Marlborough Grammar School, The Parade (1905)