

The Archaeology of Wiltshire's Towns
An Extensive Urban Survey

WILTON

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The Archaeology and History of Wilton

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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. An 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. 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.
- 1.5. 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 characteristics 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 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. Wilton satisfies ten criteria: it has evidence for urban defences (*criteria i*); it has some evidence for internal street planning (*criteria ii*); it has a documented early market (*criteria iii*); it was home to a Saxon mint (*criteria iv*); it has documents proving an early legal existence (*criteria v*); it lies in a central position for historic trade routes (*criteria vi*); it has had a relatively high population from an early date (*criteria vii*); it historically had a diversified economic base (*criteria viii*); it has evidence for burgages (*criteria ix*); it was home to an important abbey (*criteria xi*).

1.6. 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 Wilton is depicted in Fig. 2.

1.7. 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 Wilton, 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 Buildings 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 The Environment schedule of listed buildings.

2. LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY

2.1. The town of Wilton lies within the chalkland of South Wiltshire, c.4km to the west of Salisbury, and equidistant between Salisbury Plain to the north and Cranborne Chase to the west. Chalk downland rises from either side of the valley in which the town lies, the elevation rising from c.60m AOD in the valley base to 150-180m AOD along the chalk ridges (Barron 1976).

2.2. Wilton is situated upon a slightly raised island of gravel in the largely alluvial valley of the rivers Nadder (flowing largely west to east) and Wylde (flowing

north to south), within the angle formed by the confluence of these two rivers. These rivers converge into a single braided watercourse south-east of Wilton, where the Nadder/Wylve valley widens. Wilton is therefore enclosed on nearly all sides by flowing water, forming an easily defensible site (James 1962).

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 Heritage Services facilities in Trowbridge: the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR); The Wiltshire Reference Library; the Wiltshire & Swindon 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 investigations 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 sites or buildings and to trace the growth of the settlement.

3.2. Archaeological Work In The Town

3.2.1 This section outlines the known archaeological investigations that have taken place in Wilton. The list is compiled from information in 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 site. The numbers refer to the map included in this report (Fig. 3).

Event	Year	Site Name/Location	Event Type	Excavator	Reference
001	1860	Between Wilton House and Kingsbury Square	Chance Find	Anonymous	Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine 1867
002	1964	Kingsbury Square	Excavation	J.W.G. Musty and D.J. Algar	Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine 1964
003	1967	New Rectory, West Street	Observation	C.N. Moore	Archaeological Review 1967
004	1970	St. John's Square	Excavation	Salisbury Museum Archaeological Rescue Group	Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine 1971
005	1971	South-west of St. John's Chapel	Excavation	Salisbury Museum Archaeological Rescue Group	Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine 1972
006	1971	South-west of SS. Mary & Nicholas Parish Church	Excavation	Salisbury Museum Archaeological Rescue Group	Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine 1972

007	1976	South Street	Excavation	Salisbury Museum Archaeological Rescue Group	Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine 1978
008	1983	Bulbridge	Watching Brief	B.N Eagles and P.J. Woodward	Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine 1984
009	1989	Wilton House	Watching Brief	Wessex Archaeology	Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine 1991
010	1992	Landmark House, Primrose Hill	Evaluation	AC Archaeology	AC Archaeology 1992
011	1993	St. John's Hospital	Evaluation	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 1993
012	1994	13a Russell Street	Evaluation	Oxford Archaeological Unit	OAU 1994
013	1995	South Street	Evaluation	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 1995
014	1996	St. John's Hospital	Excavation	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 1996
015	1997	St. John's Hospital	Watching Brief	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 1997
016	1999	Primrose Hill	Evaluation	Foundations Archaeology	Foundations Archaeology 1999
017*	1999	Kingsbury Square	Evaluation	ASI	ASI 1999
018	2000	Wilton House	Evaluation	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 2000
019	2000	Kingsbury Square	Excavation	K. Taylor	Thames Valley Archaeological Services 2000
020*	2000	Wilton House	Watching Brief	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 2001
021*	1999	Park & Ride Scheme	Evaluation	Foundations Archaeology	Foundations Archaeology 2001
022*	1992	St Mary & St Nicholas Church	Excavation	AC Archaeology	AC Archaeology 2001
023*	1992	St Mary & St Nicholas Church	Watching Brief	Pathfinders	Pathfinders 2002

Table 1: Archaeological Events and Interventions in Wilton. Reports flagged thus * have not been used in this Assessment

4. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

- 4.1. This report is not intended to provide a major historical review of the history of Wilton and the material included here relates mainly to events which might have had some impact on the archaeology of the town, or its survival. The chief source of historical information for Wilton is Volume 6 of the Victoria County History (1962), upon which, unless otherwise stated, this Historical Outline is based.
- 4.2. There is little direct evidence for the existence of Wilton prior to the 8th century. However, the later eminence of the town in economic, strategic and defensive terms suggests that its origins lie within the earliest phase of the Saxon colonisation of what was to become the kingdom of Wessex. By the 8th century, Wilton had become the capital of the nascent shire of Wiltshire, and by the early 9th century the king had a palace in the town, from whence royal charters were

issued and where according to tradition the royal archives were kept. The earliest known examples of such charters from Wilton are those of 838 (a concordat between the King of Wessex and the Archbishop of Canterbury, made at Kingston on Thames, but confirmed at Wilton) and 854, when King Ethelwulf ratified the decision to tithe his lands.

- 4.3. Early in the 9th century a nunnery was founded in Wilton which was to grow into one of the foremost religious houses in the country. A chronicle of the early 15th century records that the first chantry was built c.800 to celebrate a victory by the West Saxons over the king of Mercia, that the chantry was converted into a convent for thirteen nuns in 830, and that finally King Alfred founded another religious house on the site c.899 which took two years to build and which was dedicated to Saints Mary & Bartholomew. The chronicle, written so long after the events it describes, may be unreliable, but it is certain that a nunnery existed by 934 when land was granted to it by Athelstan and money was bequeathed to it in King Eadred's will (Crittall 1976). The early timber-built abbey church was rebuilt in stone late in the reign of Edward the Confessor, being completed in 1065. The convent buildings of this period seem to have been of timber, as there are records of gifts of wood for their repair. The nunnery quickly prospered and was recorded as the richest in England at the time of Domesday.
- 4.4. Wilton in the 9th and 10th centuries was an important link in the chain of defence during the Danish invasions. In 871 the final battle of a long campaign is recorded as being fought at 'Wiltun', indicating the settlement to be a stronghold by this time. In the late 9th century Wilton became one of the key Alfredian fortified sites along the Wessex border, listed in the contemporary *Burghal Hideage*. The choice of Wilton as the *burh* fort rather than the nearby hillfort settlement of Old Sarum points to the town's importance as a settlement and urban centre during this period. Conflict came again to pre-Conquest Wilton in 1003 when a Danish army under Sweyn breached the defences, sacking and burning the town.
- 4.5. A mint is known in the town from at least the reign of King Edgar (959-975). This is further evidence for the urban nature of Saxon Wilton, for an edict of King Athelstan (924-939) stated that 'minting should only take place within a port' (town), demonstrating that at least by the reign of Edgar Wilton was a recognised and secure trading centre. The mint at Wilton remained in operation longer than any other in Wiltshire, finally closing in 1250 (de Shortt 1954).
- 4.6. The town has been a centre for communications since its earliest times, commanding the river crossings and linking the settlements that lay along the valleys of the Nadder, Wylye and the neighbouring River Avon. The names of three Saxon highways survive in early documents – 'Port Herepath' led into the town from South Burcombe over Bullbridge, and 'Theod Herepath' led into Wilton from the neighbouring Avon valley. The location of Widan Straet, first mentioned in 988 is no longer known.

- 4.7. There is little documentary evidence for events in the town in the period between the raid of 1003 and Domesday, although the description of Wilton in the survey suggests that the town was the principal urban centre in the county during the 11th century. There was an extensive network of ties between the town and the rural manors in the surrounding countryside, and the tenants of those manors participated as burgesses in the town.
- 4.8. Eight parish churches are recorded in the town from an early period and a further four in the suburbs, some doubtless of Saxon origin, although the sites of most of these are lost. Today only two of the ancient churches survive – the partially ruinous St. Mary's, once the most important church in Wilton, and St. Peters at Fugglestone, outside the Medieval borough.
- 4.9. Attendant upon the growth of ecclesiastical life in the town was the establishment of three hospitals, only two of which - St. John's & St. Mary Magdalene's - were within the study area. The hospital of St. John the Baptist was founded before 1195 in the suburb of Ditchampton. The present St. John's Almshouses occupy some of the Medieval buildings. The hospital of St. Mary Magdalene was established before 1420, and from documentary evidence appears to have been closely connected with the abbey.
- 4.10. The prosperity of Wilton was boosted in the early 12th century with the establishment of a Guild Merchant in 1121, conferring a number of privileges including free passage and tolls. The market place in the centre of the town probably dates from the Saxon period, although it is not mentioned in documentary sources until the reign of Henry II (1154-1189). The Medieval guildhall is said to have stood on the site of the present town hall. Market stalls and shambles were let nearby, and a market cross erected, possibly in the 12th century or earlier. This was sited in the centre of the Market Place to act as a focus for trade. The town gaol was located in the market place from at least 1250, and is mentioned frequently throughout the 14th century.
- 4.11. Four suburbs are known, all of which probably have their origins in the Saxon period. Bullbridge, to the south-west of the town is mentioned in connection with a mill in the 10th century, and Ditchampton to the north-west is probably of early origin, lying just beyond the old *burh* defences. Washern, to the south of the town, included Washern Grange, a large barn of 14th century date and part of the abbey farm. Both suburb and grange were later absorbed into Wilton Park, although it is probable that the suburb was considerably depopulated by that time. To the north-east of Wilton lay the separate parish of Fugglestone and part of Burdens Ball, both of which to all practical purposes were parts of the town, and which are referred to in documents through the Medieval period.
- 4.12. Three mills can be positively identified from Medieval references and documents. The existence of a mill in the suburb of Bullbridge is inferred from a 10th century Saxon land grant which refers to a weir on the Nadder. No mills are mentioned in the Domesday Survey, but the returns for Wilton are not given in detail. By the 13th century the Isembards, one of the town's prominent families,

owned several mills, three in a place which cannot now be located called 'Patchford', although the site of one of their mills is known in Mill Lane off South Street. Another Wilton family – the Harveys – possessed Bullbridge Mill (a small woollen mill) in the 13th century, and another is mentioned in the suburb of Ditchampton. Other Medieval mill sites are thought to have been Crow Mill in Crow Lane, Plane Mill off Minster Street (now lost) and a fulling mill in the southern suburb of Washern called Wodemyll, from at least the 13th century. The abbey had its own mill on the Nadder which came to be known as Monastery Mill. The site of this structure is indicated in the Pembroke Survey of c.1568 as lying between the abbey and Washern. It was destroyed in a post-Dissolution dispute in 1545 and never rebuilt.

- 4.13. There is evidence for a considerable number of urban industries and crafts in the 11th and 12th centuries, but these were declining by the mid 13th century, and there is little evidence that the prosperity and economic importance of the town was maintained for much longer than this. The activities documented over this period included amongst others goldsmithing, tanning, tailoring, skinning and glove-making. The town is known to have been an important wine distribution centre in Medieval times, with links to Southampton and Winchester, and there is documentary evidence for a cloth industry. It is possible to identify two dyers in the 1330s, although the overall quantity of cloth production in the middle ages is not known. However, it is likely that the one known fulling mill on the Nadder could only have fulfilled local needs, and it is clear that Wilton's cloth industry in no way competed with that of Salisbury. Wilton at this time was famed as a centre for needle making, and the place-names of Nedlers Stret and Nedlers Bridge clearly indicate an area of the town where this craft was conducted, although the location of the area is now lost.
- 4.14. The town was disastrously caught up in the civil war between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda. In 1142 Stephen arrived in the town intending to renew its fortifications and use it as a stronghold. Matilda's forces, however, launched an attack before this work was achieved. Stephen fled, the town was burnt and the nunnery violated. This serious though temporary check to the prosperity of the town was followed in the later 12th century by the construction of the city of New Sarum (Salisbury), sited on the banks of the Avon south of Old Sarum. This new neighbour quickly became an aggressive competitor.
- 4.15. From the first half of the 13th century through to the 15th century there are records of near continuous argument and litigation between the burgesses of the two towns over market rights, liberties and patronage. In 1244 Wilton lost the monopoly over trade routes and the river crossing following the construction of Harnham Bridge west of Salisbury. Traders and travellers no longer had to pass through Wilton on their east-west journey, or to get to the new trading centre at Salisbury. This seriously affected the prosperity of the Wilton markets, and was followed in 1250 with the closure of the mint. However, it is likely that the town had already lost its pre-eminence by this time, and the root of this is probably to be found in the rapid growth of Salisbury.

- 4.16. The industrial and economic activity of Wilton had virtually ceased by the mid 15th century. By this time the Market Place had fallen into decay with the disuse and dereliction of the stalls and shambles, and some of the streets and lanes leading off it had likewise decayed or disappeared, particularly in what had formerly been the industrial quarter. Apparently, almost every church in the borough was in total ruin or decay, bridges were on the verge of collapse, and tenements were derelict. The topography of late Medieval Wilton illustrates this decline; by the end of the 15th century the town had shrunk to a nucleus well within the borough boundaries.
- 4.17. The abbey was dissolved in 1539, and the buildings demolished probably before c.1550, all except the Almonry, which still stands, and which may have been the Bellhouse Court of the barony of Wilton. The Earl of Pembroke commissioned the first Wilton House in c.1550. This was located on or adjacent to the site of the abbey. The original quadrangled Tudor house was destroyed by fire in 1647 and replaced by the present Palladian structure.
- 4.18. Wilton Park was inclosed at the time of the house's construction, and the Pembroke Survey of c.1568 undertaken to assess the holdings of the estate provides data for the topography of the borough in the late 16th/early 17th centuries. By this time the decay of the preceding centuries had markedly altered the character of the town, leaving it substantially empty. It seems evident that by the mid 16th century even the centre of the town was sparsely populated, with little concentration of houses. In c.1568 there were many tofts in the town where houses had been demolished.
- 4.19. A turnaround in fortunes occurred after the middle of the 17th century with the rise of the cloth industry. This was modest by comparison with the great Wiltshire cloth centres such as Bradford-on-Avon and Malmesbury, but was enough to spur regeneration. The clothiers and weavers were granted a Charter of Incorporation in 1699.
- 4.20. In 1738 a new town hall was constructed upon the site of the old Medieval guildhall, and the site of the town gaol cleared. During the 18th century a carpet factory, later to become a household name, was built in Warminster Road. The development of this site, along with the other manufacturing interests associated with the cloth industry spurred the extensive building of both large individual houses and numerous artisans dwellings. By 1810 a rate assessment demonstrated that the town had been transformed, with many small businesses, workshops, combing-shops, dye-houses and drying-houses. Despite this growth, the Inclosure Map of 1860 shows that much of the former Medieval borough was still covered by meadows and pasture fields.
- 4.21. The cloth industry in Wilton was not technology-led, and by 1840 the reluctance to adopt steam power or new methods and machinery had virtually killed the local industry. The sole survivor into the 21st century is Naish Felts, located upon the site of the former Crow Mill.

4.22. During the 19th century the town received the usual Victorian infrastructure of gasworks (built 1854, closed 1935) and railway. The latter was brought by two companies, Great Western and London & South Western, and as a consequence of this the town had two stations, one each for the northern and western lines. These had both closed by 1966.

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 sites and findspots location maps in Figs. 4 - 8, which were created from the database and the SMR.

5.2. Prehistory (Fig. 4)

5.2.1. There is very little evidence for prehistoric archaeological activity within the study area. A single find of an earlier prehistoric flint blade is known from a site off Primrose Hill (**WI001**, AC Archaeology 1992).

5.3. Roman (Fig. 4)

5.3.1. Romano-British evidence is also sparse within Wilton. At St. John's Hospital (**WI002**, Wessex Archaeology 1993 & 1996) the Saxon defences were found to seal a soil horizon containing Romano-British pottery, and a metalled surface of the period appeared to have been incorporated into the Saxon defences. Other finds include a single sherd of pottery recovered during archaeological work at the new doctor's surgery in South Street (**WI003**, Wessex Archaeology 1995) and a coin of Tetricus I (271-4) from the garden of 40 West Street (**WI004**).

5.4. Saxon (Fig. 5)

5.4.1. Although Wilton is known to have been an important urban centre during the Saxon period, the recorded archaeological evidence is surprisingly sparse. Archaeological investigations at the new surgery site, South Street (**WI005**, Wessex Archaeology 1995 & 2000) have produced quantities of well-preserved Saxon pottery within a group of three pits of 9th to 12th century date and also residually within Medieval features. A series of evaluations and excavations adjacent to St. John's Hospital (**WI007**, Salisbury Museum Archaeological Rescue Group 1970, 1971 & Wessex Archaeology 1993, 1996 & 1997) have revealed evidence of the *burh* defences, comprising a large bank and ditch earthwork with a rammed chalk berm between the two. At a later date the bank appears to have been surmounted by a wall. To the north-east of St. John's Hospital, within Castle Mead is a north-east/south-west aligned earthen bank

(WI030), a possible continuation of the burghal fortifications requiring further research.

5.4.2. To the east of the town is the site of Wilton Abbey **(WI008)**, founded in the 9th century and demolished in the mid 16th century to make way for Wilton House and Park. Within the grounds of the park a Saxon hanging bowl was discovered in 1860 **(WI006)**. Unfortunately the precise context of the find, discovered whilst cutting drains, is unknown.

5.4.3. To the south of the historic core of the town are three sites referred to in late Saxon documents. To the west of Bullbridge House is the suggested site of 'Burebrigge' Mill **(WI033)**, Perrett 1986), first mentioned in a land grant of 956. The present Bull Bridge over the Nadder may lie on the site of the 'Burebrigge' of the 956 document **(WI034)**. The present South Street may lie along the course of the Saxon trackway 'Port Herepath' **(WI035)**, which led into the town from South Burcombe. A second Saxon route into Wilton came from the Avon Valley via South Newton. This was called 'Theod Herepath', and may lie in the vicinity of the present Queen Street/A36 road **(WI036)**.

5.5. Medieval (Fig. 6)

5.5.1. There are many features of archaeological interest of this period within the town, some the result of archaeological work, others located through documentary references. Right at the heart of Wilton are two of its earliest components. The Market Place **(WI042)** probably dates from the Saxon period, but the first market grant is from the later 12th century. Within the Market Place stood several medieval features including the guildhall, which stood on the site now occupied by the town hall, the market cross (partially extant), the town gaol and the shambles, both cleared in the Post-medieval period. Nearby is Kingsbury Square **(WI044)**, also probably of Saxon origin, although first mentioned in 1296. Excavations on the south side of the Square **(WI040)**, Musty & Algar 1964) revealed the foundations and hearth of a large building of greensand blocks datable to the 13th or 14th centuries. Pottery of 12th century date was also recovered. An excavation on the north side of the area **(WI037)**, Pine 2001) recorded a number of intercutting pits and a wall, dating from the 12th to 14th centuries. Connecting The Market Place and Kingsbury Square areas are Minster Street **(WI047)**, first mentioned in the 14th century, and Brede Street **(WI049)**, first mentioned in 1248.

5.5.2. Leading into the town from the north-west, West Street **(WI048)**, may be of Saxon origin, but the earliest reference to it is from the 14th century. At the north-west end of the street is the suburb of Ditchampton **(WI050)**, first mentioned in 1045. A bronze belt fitting was found in adjacent Waterditchampton **(WI018)**, next to the site of Ditchampton Mill **(WI070)**, Perrett 1986), which can be traced to the 13th century and which may have existed at Domesday. Just on the boundary of the Medieval borough is St. John's Hospital **(WI041)**, a partially extant Medieval foundation of c.1195. To the rear of the hospital, excavations have revealed the robber trenches of a 12th to 14th

century building cut into the former Saxon defences, and in association with a contemporary oven or furnace. (**WI020**, Wessex Archaeology 1993, 1996 & 1997). Archaeological work on the south side of West Street has recorded probable Medieval building foundations to the south-west of the parish church (**WI039**, SMARG 1971), and excavation at the New Rectory site encountered flint and limestone walling and probable Medieval burials (**WI011**, Moore 1967). These may be associated with the Medieval church of St. Nicholas (**WI064**), the site of which is thought to lie either beneath or close by the site of the present parish church. The site of the church of St. Andrew (**WI014**) is indicated in the Pembroke Survey of c.1568 as lying to the south-east of St. Nicholas' church. Between these two churches is the site of the Friars Preachers church and lodging (**WI017**), shown on the Pembroke Survey, and which was founded in 1245. Two sites are known on the north side of West Street – Crow Lane (**WI046**) is of at least 15th century date, and leads to the site of Crow Mill (**WI058**, Perrett 1986), for which there are frequent references in the 14th and 15th centuries.

5.5.3. South Street (**WI043**) leads into the town from Burcombe and the Ebble Valley, and is likely to be of great antiquity, although the first reference to it is in the 13th century. The road travels through the former suburbs of Bullbridge (**WI012**) and Washern (**WI051**). The former settlement may well be of Saxon origin and may have been fairly extensive, as an excavation south of Bullbridge House at the junction of South Street and Burcombe Lane (**WI063**, SMARG 1976) recorded pits, ditches and the foundations of a possible icehouse, in association with 11th and 12th century pottery (Salisbury Museum, pers. comm.) Bullbridge was also the home of Bullbridge Mill (**WI057**), a mill with Saxon origins for which there are no documentary references after 1287. The suburb of Washern is at least of 13th century date, and although largely outside the study area was effectively part of the Medieval town. All that remains of this settlement is Washern Grange (**WI051**), a large barn of 14th century date which is thought to have been part of the abbey farm complex. Washern Mill (**WI059**) stood on the Nadder and was known as 'Wodemyll' in the 13th century. This comprised a three storey building in the 16th century, although nothing remains on the site now. On the town centre side of Bull Bridge is the site of the church of St. Michael (**WI015**), indicated on the Pembroke Survey. East of this site was found evidence for Medieval river modifications (**WI019**, Eagles & Woodward 1984) comprising timber joists, planks and stakes revetting a mass of large flints. These are thought to represent a 'hard' landing place, possibly associated with the abbey.

5.5.4. Further along South Street, at the site of the new surgery (**WI038**, Wessex Archaeology 1996) an excavation revealed pits & ditches of 11th to 13th century date and foundry waste of no later than 12th century date. To the east of this site is the probable location of Monastery Mill (**WI060**), suggested by relict masonry observed during a site walkover (Perrett 1986). Midway along South Street the road bisects a stream which once fed Isembards Mill (**WI056**), which is at least of 13th century date and which was derelict by the 18th century, later to be demolished. The present Mill House may comprise part of the former mill

structure. Leading to this site is Mill Lane (**WI055**), first mentioned in the 14th century. Parallel to the north end of South Street is Bell Lane (**WI054**), formerly called Frog Lane, of at least 14th century date.

5.5.5. North Street (**WI045**) was formerly called East Street, and is first mentioned in the 14th century, although like many Wilton streets it may have much earlier origins. Just off North Street is the partially ruinous St. Mary's Church (**WI013**), of at least 13th century date, and formerly the main parish church of the town. Beyond this church is Russell Street, where a Medieval key was found (**WI010**), and where recent work at No.13a (**WI021**, Oxford Archaeological Unit 1994) found organic soil deposits at a depth of c.1m below ground surface containing 12th century pottery, possibly indicating a midden deposit or the manuring of garden plots. Further along North Street is the findspot of a Medieval religious locket or *ampulla* (**WI022**).

5.5.6. North Street, at its north-west end, abuts the suburb of Burdens Ball (**WI052**). This is first mentioned in the 14th century, and although within a separate parish was effectively part of the town. Settlement evidence within the suburb is signified by the group of refuse pits containing 13th century pottery excavated off Primrose Hill (**WI023**, AC Archaeology 1992). South-east of Burdens Ball is the outlying suburb of Fugglestone (**WI053**), mentioned in the Domesday Survey. The church of St. Peter (**WI062**), of at least 12th century date, is the only surviving structure of the Medieval settlement. South of the church a 15th century shoe was found near the River Wylve (**WI032**).

5.5.7. To the east of the historic core of the town lies the site of Wilton Abbey (**WI008**), founded in Saxon times and one of the great Medieval religious houses. The abbey was demolished after the Dissolution, all except for The Almonry (**WI061**), thought to be the Bellhouse Court of the barony of Wilton, which still stands. Closely related to the abbey was the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene (**WI016**), founded before 1271. The buildings were demolished in 1831 and the hospital almshouses removed to Fugglestone.

5.6. Post Medieval (Fig. 7)

5.6.1. Wilton's decline in the later Middle Ages led to a period of relative stasis, leaving little for the archaeological record. The most significant event of this period was the demolition of the abbey and the construction of Wilton House (**WI027**) in the later 16th century. Also at this time the rebuilding of the market cross (**WI024**) in the Market Place took place, and excavations at 13a Russell Street, off North Street (**WI025**) and the new South Street surgery (**WI026**) revealed, respectively, a shallow east-west aligned ditch and refuse & latrine pits of the period.

5.7. Industrial/Recent (Fig. 8)

5.7.1. The Industrial Revolution had little impact on Wilton, and indeed the reluctance to adopt new technology was the death of the towns cloth industry. In terms of

impact on the landscape the arrival of the railway (**WI070**) was the most significant event of the period. This happened in two phases, the GWR line to Warminster opening in 1856 and the LSWR line to Exeter in 1859. The two operating companies each had a station, located just to the north of the town, either side of Kingsway. Also at Kingsway is the former Union Workhouse (**WI067**) built in 1837 and which replaced an *ad hoc* poorhouse within the town. This building still stands, although converted to a repository. Adjacent to the workhouse is the site of Wilton Gasworks (**WI066**), which opened in 1854 and closed in 1935.

5.7.2. Within the town are two significant enterprises. The carpet factory in Queen Street (**WI068**) was founded in the 18th century and its products are renowned worldwide. The felt factory in Crow Lane (**WI069**) has its origins in the 18th century, but the oldest extant buildings on the site are of the 19th century. In South Street is Wilton Park Sawmills (**WI065**), built in 1836 and still operating.

5.8. Undated (Fig. 7)

5.8.1. Undated finds include a group of burials found during works at Wilton House (**WI027**), which may be associated with the Medieval abbey; a funeral lamp/cresset and candle holder found during the construction of the new parish church (**WI028**) and which may be associated with the former church of St. Nicholas; a well of chalk block and stone construction at No. 3 South Street (**WI029**); and a large ditch at Ditchampton (**WI031**) later converted into a metalled trackway.

5.9. Built Heritage

5.9.1. This section of the report is intended to provide an introduction to the surviving built heritage of Wilton, and as such is not designed to be a comprehensive account of the town's notable structures, but is 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 Environment or Department of National Heritage schedule lists.

5.9.3. The Saxon borough of Wilton became an important royal and religious centre dominated by the Hospital of St John, of which traces remain in the later Wilton House built by the Earl of Pembroke.

- 5.9.4. Wilton's economic importance was overshadowed by the growth of Salisbury from the end of the 13th century. As a consequence during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries there was steady economic decay.
- 5.9.5. The character of the town is largely that of an 18th and 19th century rebuilding in brick, some very decorative, and to a lesser extent stone, some reused from the ruins of stone buildings, especially the many churches, which are particularly visible in South Street. In some cases the facades are replacements, with earlier timber framed structures intact behind them.
- 5.9.6. The weaving industry, and later the carpet industry which grew out of it in the 18th century became the town's salvation. 19th century redevelopment was motivated by the carpet industry, which necessitated the building of many artisan houses, and also the considerable dwellings of the overseers.

5.9.7. Selected Architectural Details

- 5.9.8. St Peter's Church, Salisbury Road, Fugglestone (grade B) has 12th century origins seen in the two-bay nave, south aisle and chancel and a 15th century turret, the earliest building noted in Wilton. It has been extensively restored in the 19th century.
- 5.9.9. In St John's Square are the remnants of the Medieval hospital of St John founded in 1195. The buildings on the site are of various dates but incorporate Norman and Medieval fragments. Dating from 1300 is St John's Hospital Chapel, 3 St John's Square (grade II*). The first documentary evidence for the hospital comes in 1195 and a chapel is said to have been dedicated in 1217. Some 14th century windows remain.
- 5.9.10. No. 4 St John's Square (grade II) is probably an 1825 rebuild of a 16th century house and incorporates part of a (late) Norman arcade and pier. No. 5 St John's Square (grade II*) has a front of c.1400 and also incorporates a (late) Norman pier with heavy cap and traces of square headed tracery containing a cusped ogee. No. 8 (grade II) St John's Square is an 18th century rebuilding, also incorporating Medieval fragments. No.s 10 & 12 St John's Square (grade II) are of 17th century origin but were almost entirely rebuilt in 1825.
- 5.9.11. The Church of St Mary, Market Place (grade B) originates in the 15th century, though only the easternmost bay of the nave with the chancel and small chapel remains from this date, amongst other fragments. It was restored by Robert Bingham, ambassador to the USA who claimed descent from Robert Bingham, consecrated Bishop of Salisbury in 1229.
- 5.9.12. There are a number of buildings identified as having an older core, not investigated at the time of listing. Greatly altered is the County Cross, Market Place, which is listed as 'an undatable jumble of forms in stone.', although the octagonal base is probably Medieval.

- 5.9.13. No. 4 King Street (grade II) has possibly older timber framing included in a rebuild of 1725, whereas The Old Rectory, Market Place (grade II) is a rebuild of a random rubble and flint house. The Old House, 11 & 13 North Street (grade II) is described as a c.1800 front to a much older, possibly late Medieval core. It retains timber-framing to the rear as do 47 & 49 Russell Street (grade II), an early-mid 18th century pair on a 1600 or earlier core. The Mill House, South Street (grade II) is a 16th century timber framed building, once jettied, now infilled by flint and Chilmark rubble.
- 5.9.14. The Moat House, 23 North Street (grade II) is on the site of, and incorporating an earlier house. It was a former Charity Free School. Burden's Ball, 117 North Street (grade II) is an early 19th century remodelling of an older house, said to have been an inn called the 'Bird on the Ball'. No. 64 North Street (grade II) is described as mid-18th century on an older site. Burden's Ball Farmhouse, 3 Queen Street (grade II), 31 South Street (grade II), 9, and 6, West Street (grade II) are all described as 18th or 19th century rebuildings or recasings of older constructions. No. 8 West Street (grade II) is of c.1700 date with what appears to be an earlier, timber-framed extension probably relegated to service purposes with the construction of a new house. Undated timber framing is also visible to the rear of 14 West Street (grade II), and internal carpentry suggests an earlier core to 16 & 18 West Street (grade II).
- 5.9.15. Of great interest are 25 North Street (grade II*), and 19 South Street, the only two Wealden-type houses in Wilton, and two of only three or four in the county, the other examples being in Salisbury. This type of plan originated in the south-east of England c.1400, though these examples may be 16th century or earlier.
- 5.9.16. Of grade A importance is the Parish Church of St Mary & St Nicholas, built between 1841 – 44 by T.H. Wyatt and D. Brandon for the Rt. Hon Sir Sydney Herbert (later Lord Herbert of Lea), Secretary at War, and for his mother the Russian dowager countess of Pembroke at a cost of £20,000. It is built in the North Italian Romanesque style, partly on the site of the Medieval church of St Nicholas.
- 5.9.17. Wilton House (grade I) is described as one of England's principal country houses. It is outstanding for both historical and architectural reasons. The Herbert family (Earls of Pembroke) has been a great patron of the arts and builders. The south range of Wilton is of seminal importance to the development of Palladianism, almost a century later. The suite of staterooms on the piano nobile by Inigo Jones is by far the best surviving 17th century example in England.
- 5.9.18. The house is probably on the site of the Benedictine nunnery founded by King Alfred of which only The Almonry (grade I), perhaps part of the 'Bellhouse' court of the barony of Wilton, remains that is of any substance. It was rebuilt by the first earl of Pembroke after 1544 and largely finished by 1563. The south wing was rebuilt by John Webb and remodelled by Inigo Jones after a fire in 1647. It was Gothicised by Wyatt c.1801 who built the cloister in the courtyard

and remodelled the north and west fronts. Also thought to be either by Inigo Jones or by Isaac de Caux are the columns to the south-east and south-west of the Orangery (grade II*), these are illustrated on Rocque's plan of 1746 at the former Porter's Lodge.

- 5.9.19. The Palladian Bridge (grade I) was completed by Roger Morris, clerk of works, in 1737. The design was inspired by Palladio's rejected design for the Rialto Bridge in Venice. It was adapted and supervised by Henry 9th Earl of Pembroke. The original entrance to the house was through the Holbein Porch (grade I), now reset as a garden pavilion by Wyatt c.1800. It is said to have been designed by Hans Holbein (d.1543)
- 5.9.20. Protecting the forecourt of Wilton House from the town is the Triumphal entrance arch and flanking lodges (grade I). An early work by Sir William Chambers (1758-62) it was moved from the south of the house to its present position in 1801 by Wyatt, who added the lodges. The arch was built to carry the equestrian lead statue of Marcus Aurelius. He was also responsible for the Casino, Wilton Park (grade I, 1757-62) another early work comprising a small tetrastyle pedimented portico on a wider balustraded and rusticated basement. It is an eyecatcher on a hill behind Washern Grange (grade I) which is said to date from 1632-5, a rebuilding of an earlier stable block and incorporating a 14th century barn which presumably belonged originally to the Abbey.
- 5.9.21. The Riding School (grade I) is now known to have been designed by the French architect Vallin de la Mothe and executed c.1755, though the design was somewhat modified probably by the 10th Earl of Pembroke. It was altered before 1800 by James Wyatt, who also designed the Gothic kitchen courtyard walls (grade II*). Possibly by Wyatt and Sir Richard Westmacott is the Loggia to the west of Wilton House (grade I), the simple Italianate design of three arches probably executed in 1826. It is approached by Wyatt's moulded steps from the Italian Garden. A good number of listed statuary and furniture is dated from the early 19th century remodelling of the grounds; this includes the grade I Column of Venus Genetrix, an Egyptian granite shaft dating from the 3rd century AD topped by a late Renaissance bronze statue of Venus. Both were originally purchased for the Arundel collection by Evelyn c.1650. The Park School House (grade I) is probably early 19th century. The building was originally a three-bay classical pavilion but altered when Wyatt re-erected the centrepiece of Isaac de Caux's c.1635 grotto here.
- 5.9.22. Near the eastern boundary of the Park are two bridges designed in 1822 by Sir Richard Westmacott. The Image Bridge (grade II*) is chiefly notable for two large marble statues – probably by the architect, which probably represent Ceres and Bacchus. The Dairy Bridge (grade II*) is characterised by heavy cast-iron lattice work grilles which pierce the parapet over the arches.

6. PLAN FORM ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 The town has been divided into components, each representing blocks of activity, and sub-divided by period. Wilton, in common with all existing Wiltshire towns, has no foundation in the prehistoric or Romano-British periods, although archaeological remains belonging to both periods are present within the study area. Historical and documentary archives have clearly identified the presence of a settlement from at least the 8th century, although the lack of either archaeological evidence or a detailed description of the Saxon settlement has meant that a conjectural reconstruction has been necessary for that period. Otherwise, the town has been divided into different plan components (settlement areas, church, market place, etc.) for each relevant period, and these are illustrated in the stated figures.

6.1.2 Table 2: Plan form components

COMPONENT	PERIOD OF ORIGIN	COMPONENT TYPE	FIGURE No.
COM 1	Saxon	Early settlement	9
COM 2	Saxon	Royal seat	9
COM 3	Saxon	Minster church	9
COM 4	Saxon	Possible market area	9
COM5	Saxon/Medieval/Late Medieval	Abbey	9, 10, 11
COM 6	Saxon	Burh defences	9
COM 7	Saxon	Settlement area within burh	9
COM8	Saxon	Possible Church Sites	9
COM9	Saxon/Medieval	Suburb - Ditchampton	9, 10
COM10	Saxon/Medieval	Suburb – Bullbridge	9, 10
COM11	Saxon/Medieval	Suburb - Fugglestone	9, 10
COM12	Saxon	Mill site	9
COM13	Saxon	Known roads	9
COM14	Medieval	Borough settlement	10
COM15	Medieval	Market area	10
COM16	Medieval	Extant churches	10
COM17	Medieval	Known site of former church	10
COM18	Medieval	Suburb – Washern	10
COM19	Medieval	Suburb – Burdens Ball	10
COM20	Medieval	Mill sites	10
COM21	Medieval	Known roads	10
COM22	Late Medieval	Settlement area	11
COM23	Late Medieval	Surviving churches	11
COM24	Late Medieval	Market Place	11
COM25	Late Medieval	Mill Sites	11

6.2 Saxon (Fig.9)

6.2.1 COM1 – Early Settlement. It is likely that the initial Saxon settlement at Wilton was far less extensive than the area enclosed by the later burh defences (COM6). This early settlement is known from documentary evidence (Par. 4.2) to have been in existence since at least the 8th century, and Haslam (1984) has argued that the origins of a settlement at Wilton may be as early as the later 6th or early 7th centuries, as a direct successor to the long-established nearby tribal centre at Old Sarum. Although there is at present no archaeological evidence for this component, the local topography suggests the most likely site to be the south-eastern end of the raised gravel spur upon which the modern town core is built. This zone of domestic or ‘civilian’ occupation may have extended up to the nearest major streams of the Wylve to the north-east and the Nadder to the south-west. Surrounded on three sides by rivers and marsh, it would only have easily been approached along the spur from the north-west, where it is possible that some form of defence existed.

6.2.2 COM2 – Royal Seat. The early settlement (COM1) would have been focussed upon the seat of royal power, probably a large residence, and possibly sited within its own enclosure. The place-name ‘Kingsbury’ may indicate the general location of this site, and Haslam (1984) has shown that there may be such sites – each comprising a discrete block of land at the heart of the historic core settlement – within a number of Wiltshire’s Saxon towns. Unfortunately there is no archaeological evidence at present for the Wilton site, although the two known interventions within the area of this component were both small-scale, and may not be representative of the wider stratigraphy.

6.2.3 Given the town’s early importance as an administrative and urban centre, the royal site is likely to have been larger and more extensive than the ‘villa regalis’ sites known to have existed at other early Saxon settlements in the county such as Amesbury, Chippenham or Calne (Haslam 1984, Extensive Urban Survey Assessment Reports 2001). There are few regional parallels for a site of this type and early date, and perhaps the closest available comparison at present is the early phases of the Saxon ‘palace’ at Cheddar, Somerset (Rahtz 1979), where a very large, timber-built hall was constructed along with a number of ancillary buildings and protected by a palisade fence. The ‘Kingsbury’ name at Wilton may suggest that a more substantial bank and ditch defined the complex here.

6.2.4 COM3 – Minster Church. Accompanying the royal palace was a minster church, thought to be on the site now occupied by St. Mary’s church, and which may have been one of the first such foundations in Wessex (Haslam 1984, 123). It is probable that the principal royal centre within the region would have been one of the foremost places to be colonised by the church following the conversion of the Wessex kings in the late 7th century. It is likely that the minster – like the royal site – lay within an enclosure. A recent synthesis of excavated, adjacent, Saxon royal/manorial and ecclesiastical enclosures has been published by Reynolds (1999), who compared examples from Trowbridge

(Wiltshire), Facombe Netherton (Hampshire), Raunds Furnells (Northamptonshire) and Goltho (Lincolnshire) amongst others and showed such an arrangement to be a regular feature of these central places.

6.2.5 COM4 – Market Area. If the sites of the minster church and the royal palace are correct, then a large open space would have existed between the two, most probably used as a market area. This site has historically been Wilton's market place, and although much diminished, the modern market is still held in a part of this area. Once again, Haslam (1984) provides similar topographic comparisons from other Wiltshire towns, demonstrating the close relationship between the twin pillars of authority in Saxon Wessex – royal/noble secular power and the church, and their common proximity to the communal trading area.

6.2.6 COM5 – Abbey. The evidence suggests that a religious house was founded at Wilton as early as c.800, although the references are unclear whether this early foundation was on the same site as the later, Alfredian nunnery of c.899 (Par. 4.3). The exact size of the Alfredian nunnery and its precinct is not known, although its location may have been identical to that of the later Medieval abbey (Par. 6.3.1.5), which stood on the site to the south-east of the historic town core now occupied by Wilton House. The evidence suggests that the pre-Conquest abbey – apart from its church – was constructed in timber. If true there is a potential for the preservation of organic remains relating to this building, due to the low-lying aspect of the site within a floodplain. It is recognised, however, that this early site may have been substantially destroyed by the successive phases of rebuilding and landscaping associated with both the later abbey and with Wilton House.

6.2.7 COM6 – Burh Defences. King Alfred's other great act in Wilton was the construction of large-scale defences defining a much larger area than the earlier settlement, an event recorded in the Burghal Hideage (Hill & Rumble 1996). Burhs were created at numerous locations in the later 9th century in order to counter Danish incursions (Peddie 1989). The defences at Wilton, at least in part, utilised the broadest streams of the Wylve and Nadder rivers, a situation paralleled at the burh of Wallingford in Oxfordshire (Reynolds, pers. comm.). In addition to the natural defences a massive bank-and-ditch earthwork was erected in areas considered more vulnerable to attack. The nature of the earthen defences has been demonstrated during archaeological work near St. John's Hospital (SMARG 1970, 1971 & Wessex Archaeology 1993, 1996 & 1997), and a section of extant earthwork at the north end of Castle Mead may be a continuation of these defences.

6.2.8 The line of the eastern defences is more problematic. A potential course may be suggested by a map of the town made as part of the Pembroke Survey of c.1568 (James 1962). This shows a near right-angled return of a line of obviously established property boundaries to the south-east of Kingsbury Square, away from the course of the Nadder's stream. It is possible that these property boundaries, a few of which are extant, may terminate where the burh ditch once lay. The situation on the ground is unclear, as part of this area was

taken into Wilton Park and landscaped, and such early maps can often be inaccurate. The extent of the defended area is given in the Burghal Hideage as 1400 hides, an area equal to that given for the burh at Oxford. If a plan of Oxford's burh defences is superimposed onto the topography at Wilton, it becomes apparent that an area equivalent to that depicted in Fig. 9 may have comprised the Alfredian stronghold.

6.2.9 COM7 – Later Saxon Defended Settlement. This component represents a far greater area of settlement than that depicted within COM1, and illustrates both the rise in importance of Wilton since its foundation and the nature of Alfredian military thinking. Within the circuit of defences settlement activity may have been quite dense, although it is not suggested that the whole of the area within the defences was built-up. The evidence from other burhs such as Cricklade, Wiltshire (Haslam 1984) and Wareham, Dorset (Keen 1984) suggests that a large enough area was enclosed to allow for areas of reserve or pasture, so that people and livestock from the surrounding area might be accommodated in times of trouble. Once again, direct archaeological evidence is lacking for the extent of this activity, but is reasonable to suggest that it included the area of earlier Saxon settlement and was centred upon the two axial routes through the town – the modern West Street and North Street.

6.2.10 COM8 – Lesser Late Saxon Churches. A common feature of Saxon towns was a proliferation of churches, especially within important centres. As Wilton grew as an urban place it is likely that shrines, chapels and other foundations were established – especially in the later Saxon period as the minster system began to fragment (Blair 1988). Unfortunately the Domesday returns for Wilton are not given in detail, and offer no information on church life, but documentary records from the 13th century (James 1962) state that Wilton had twelve churches, eight of which were concentrated within the core area of the town. It is highly likely that at least some of these churches are of Saxon origin. Those known to be already in existence during the 12th or 13th centuries and for which a location is known - the churches of St. Nicholas (WI064), St. Andrew (WI014) and St. Michael (WI015) – are speculatively suggested to be later Saxon foundations and are shown on Fig. 9. Within the eastern suburb of Fugglestone (COM11), the 12th century church of St. Peter (WI062) may also have pre-Conquest origins. If confirmed by archaeological research, the presence of Saxon church sites within the town would significantly enhance the archaeological record (see para. 6.4.5, below).

6.2.11 COM9 – Suburb, Ditchampton. The suburb at Ditchampton is referred to in a document of 1045 (James 1962) and is likely to have extended from the western entrance to the town across to the junction between the Wylde and Shaftesbury roads, although there is as yet no archaeological evidence for this.

6.2.12 COM10 – Suburb, Bullbridge. Along South Street lay the suburb of Bullbridge, first referred to as 'Burebrigge' in 956. An excavation on the site of the new surgery, east of South Street (Wessex Archaeology 1995) revealed later Saxon occupation evidence. This suburb possibly extended from the

southern entrance to the town across to Bull Bridge itself, but further research is required to confirm this assumption.

6.2.13 **COM11 – Suburb, Fugglestone.** To the north-east of the burh lay the settlement at Fugglestone. This may have been a substantial component, as its church dedicated to St. Peter was one of only two in Wilton to survive the later Medieval decline. The church itself has 12th century elements and may lie on an earlier site (Par. 6.2.10). Although no archaeological evidence exists for this suburb it was mentioned in Domesday and therefore is probably at least of later Saxon origin. It may have extended along its northern axis from the River Wylye to the church and beyond to the site of Fugglestone Farm (now demolished, the site has been enclosed within Erskine Barracks). The settlement would probably also have extended along the main Wilton to Salisbury road, possibly as far as the boundary with Quidhampton parish to the east.

6.2.14 **COM12 – Mill Site.** The only mill referred to in Saxon documents was at Bullbridge, possibly on the same site as its Medieval successor (Par. 6.3.1.7), the site of which along with other Medieval mills was identified by Perret (1986).

6.2.15 **COM13 – Roads.** Three roads can be discerned within the Saxon town: West Street, South Street and North Street may all lie upon ancient routes, and the latter two may correspond respectively to the two Saxon highways known as 'Port Herepath' and 'Theod Herepath' (Par. 4.6). Beyond the western entrance to the town, Shaftesbury Road and Wylye Road may also be of very early date.

6.3 Medieval: 11th – 13th centuries (Fig. 10)

6.3.1 **COM14 - The Borough.** This was Wilton's period of maximum expansion and prosperity. The Medieval borough (COM14) comprised approximately the area defined by the Saxon burh (COM6) and was surrounded by extensive suburbs (COMs 8, 9, 10, 18, 19). This core area was densely occupied, with many houses, tenements and workshops (James 1962, Par.s 4.7, 4.10, 4.13), and many archaeological sites and findspots have been identified (section 5.5, Fig. 6). Within the centre of the borough a major change is the absence of the royal seat, which appears to have fallen out of use and the site incorporated within the general settlement area. It is not known when this transition occurred.

6.3.2 **COM15 – Market Area.** It is likely that the Market Place occupied much the same area as in Saxon times, although a small area adjacent to the West Street/South Street junction may have been built upon (James 1962), reflecting the pressure for housing space in the centre of the borough at this time. Documentary evidence records the erection of market-related structures in this period (Par. 4.10), and a number of features of archaeological interest have been identified (Par. 5.5.1), of which only the market cross base is extant.

6.3.3 **COM16 – Extant Churches.** Although a total of twelve churches are known from the borough and its suburbs, only two Medieval foundations survive today. The former parish church of St. Mary (Par. 5.5.5, WI013) – though to be built on the

site of the Saxon minster (COM3), and St. Peter's in Fugglestone (Par. 6.2.13, WI062), architecturally of 12th century date, but which could have Saxon origins.

6.3.4COM17 – Former Church Sites. Of the remaining ten churches the sites of only four can be located with a degree of confidence: St. Nicholas (WI064), St. Andrew (WI014) and the church of the Friars Preachers (WI017) in West Street, and the church of St. Michael (WI015) near Bullbridge. Section 5.5 describes the known archaeological details of these sites.

6.3.5COM5 – Abbey. To the east of the borough, the abbey continues in existence, and by this time is hugely powerful and wealthy. Although the exact extent of the Saxon abbey precinct is unclear, it is known from surviving documentary references that by the early Medieval period it had extensive land holdings both in the area and beyond (James 1962). It is beyond the scope of this report to attempt to plot the agricultural land held by the abbey, and Fig. 10 depicts the probable extent of the complex of cloisters and ancillary buildings. An analysis of Wilton House, the palladian mansion which today stands on the abbey site, has determined the presence of some surviving Medieval architectural fragments within its structure (Bold 1988), confirming continuity of use on the same site. Further research is required to determine the full extent of the Medieval ranges.

6.3.6COMs 8, 9, 10, 18, 19 – Suburbs. Five suburbs now lay outside the main area of settlement. Three of these (Ditchampton (COM9), Bullbridge (COM10) and Fugglestone (COM11)) have their roots in the Saxon period (Par.s 6.2.11-13), and each probably experienced some expansion during the 11th-13th centuries. The settlement at Washern (COM18) included Washern Grange, an abbey farm unit, of which a 14th century barn survives today, and probably extended from the banks of the Nadder south to the grange complex, which lies beyond the Study Area. Beyond the northern entrance to the town lay Burdens Ball (COM19), which although first mentioned in the 14th century probably has earlier origins. This was most likely a ribbon development along the route north towards Warminster. Archaeological evidence in the form of pits containing 13th century pottery is known from a site off Primrose Hill (Par. 5.5.6), within the area postulated. It is possible that Burdens Ball and Fugglestone, during Wilton's period of peak prosperity, formed a continuous ribbon of settlement along the eastern bank of the Wylye.

6.3.7COM20 – Mill Sites. Several mill sites are known from this period, although only one – Isembard's Mill in South Street (WI056, Par. 5.5.4) – has any extant mill buildings. The remaining sites have been located after historical descriptions or documentary references (James 1962), or are placed at the locations suggested by Perrett (1986). They are listed here with their EUS database references for identification on Fig. 10. The known archaeological details of each site are referenced by paragraph: Crow Mill (WI058, Par. 5.5.2); Ditchampton Mill (WI070, Par. 5.5.2); Bullbridge Mill (WI057, Par. 5.5.3); Washern Mill (WI059, Par. 5.5.3); Monastery Mill (WI060, Par. 5.5.4).

6.3.8 COM21 – Roads. Several roads are known from the Medieval period, some of which have been in use since Saxon times, whilst others within the town centre area are referred to in early documents. The roads depicted on Fig. 10 include routes leading to other settlements in existence at this time. Further research would undoubtedly reveal additional thoroughfares.

6.4 Late Medieval (by end of 15th century) (Fig. 11)

6.4.1 COM22 – Settlement Area. The decline in Wilton's fortunes and the contraction of the settlement was advanced by the end of the Medieval period. By this time the core area of occupation had shrunk to well within the boundaries of the borough (COM14), and much of the outer part of the borough had returned to pasture or withy beds (James 1962). The Pembroke Survey map of c.1568 shows a low concentration of houses even within the town centre. There is archaeological evidence for occupation along West Street and on the eastern side of South Street (Par. 5.6.1), and the area of Ditchampton closest to West Street was probably still occupied. The suburbs had by now almost completely vanished, with small areas prevailing at Bullbridge, Fugglestone and Burdens Ball.

6.4.2 COM23 – Surviving Churches. Two churches remained of the original twelve (COM16) – St. Mary's in the Market Place (WI013) and St. Peter's at Fugglestone (WI062). In St. Mary's case this probably reflects its historic position as the head church of the town, whereas the survival of St. Peter's may reflect continuing settlement at Fugglestone.

6.4.3 COM5 – Abbey. By the late 15th century, with the Dissolution over the horizon, the abbey was the sole reminder of the former wealth and status of Wilton. It is not known to what extent the decline of the town affected the abbey, but its revenues must have been significantly reduced.

6.4.4 COM24 – Market Place. By the end of the Medieval period the market was much reduced, with disused stalls and shambles reflecting the loss of traders to New Sarum.

6.4.5 COM25 – Mills. The depopulation of the town is reflected in the closure of half the mills, leaving only two for the town – Isembards and Crow Mills, and one for the abbey – Monastery Mill (see Par. 6.3.1.7 for details of these sites). In the Post-medieval and Industrial eras mills were again in production at a number of sites in Wilton, but this should not be seen as direct continuity from the Medieval mills.

6.5 Post-medieval and Industrial

6.5.1 There were few developments in the town during the Post-medieval period beyond the Dissolution of the abbey in 1539 and the destruction of Monastery Mill in 1545. The site of the abbey was redeveloped soon after its closure when

the first Wilton House was constructed, whose grounds largely comprised the former abbey precinct. By the 18th century Isembard's Mill was derelict and Crow Mill was converted into a felt factory in the 19th century. The town experienced a modest revival with the growth of a local cloth industry and the opening of the carpet factory, but this did not radically alter the plan form of the town, and the cloth trade was moribund by the mid 19th century. Due to the limited impact of these developments a plan form map has not been prepared for the Post-medieval and Recent periods.

7. ASSESSMENT

7.1.1 Summary of Research

7.1.1 The survey has established that there is ample documentary evidence for a sizeable settlement at Wilton since the mid Saxon period, centred upon a royal seat and minster church. There are references to the town and a religious house since the early 9th century, and it is clear that it had become a well-fortified *burh* during the reign of Alfred. The Saxon nunnery prospered and by the time of Domesday was one of the richest in England. Documentary sources indicate that by the later Saxon period the town had become the most important urban centre in the shire. The archaeological evidence for the Saxon period is sparse by comparison. Excavations have proved the existence of the western *burh* defences and an extant area of earthworks to the north of Castle Mead may be a continuation of these defences. A small excavation in South Street recorded pits dating back to the 9th century.

7.1.2 Other Saxon sites can be located by documentary references, and a few chance finds are known. It is interesting that all of the recorded Saxon sites and findspots lie on the periphery of the core area of settlement. It is possible that some of the few small scale archaeological interventions within the historic core of Wilton – often undertaken in difficult conditions, and with a high water table – may either have not penetrated to the level of early stratigraphy, or may have encountered aceramic levels. The earlier excavations in particular were unable to benefit from the advances in environmental analysis techniques of recent decades, which could have helped to identify early remains.

7.1.3 Wilton, from the 11th to 13th centuries, enjoyed a period of great prosperity. Documentary and historical records indicate a thriving urban community with national and international trading links. Many crafts and trades were carried out, the markets prospered from the town's monopoly over the river crossings and therefore also the trade routes, and the area of settlement expanded, with suburbs spreading from the town along all the major roads. There are abundant references to churches in the town – eight within the enclosed area alone – and also to mills, street names and hospitals, all of which confirm the importance of the town at this time. The abbey retained its privileges after the Conquest, and by the 13th century controlled a mill within its precinct and had extensive business and property holdings within the town and the surrounding area. Much

of the archaeological work in Wilton has confirmed the existence of extensive remains dating from the 11th to 14th centuries, although once again the number of controlled area excavations is low.

7.1.4A well-documented decline is evident in the later Medieval period, the roots of which can be traced to the rise of the planned city of New Sarum (Salisbury) as a competitor for the region's trade and market rights. This became an unequal struggle after the construction of Harnham Bridge in 1244, ending Wilton's monopoly over the river crossings and trade routes. The final closure of the mint followed in 1250, and by the mid 15th century the industrial and economic activity of the town had virtually ceased, a decline reflected in diminishing tax returns and vacant tenements. By the time of the Dissolution almost all the churches within the borough were derelict, and court records show that many were robbed of their building materials – indeed, a feature of many of the surviving early buildings in the town is the quantity and frequency of re-used dressed stone in their construction, including decorated architectural fragments, often comprising expensive ashlar and imported limestones. The abbey church and buildings were demolished in the mid 16th century, and only The Almonry left as visible evidence of the abbey's former existence.

7.1.5 The inclosure of the former abbey lands and the construction of the first Wilton House in c.1550 was followed by the Earl of Pembroke's Survey, which documents the topography of the town at around c.1568. It is apparent from the survey that by this time even the centre of Wilton was relatively sparsely populated, and that the outer areas of the borough had by now reverted to pasture and marshland. Historical records show that over the next two centuries, as the town recovered with the rise of the Wiltshire cloth industry, most of the former Medieval town was built over, and many of these new buildings exist to form the streetscape familiar today.

7.2 The Growth of the Town (Fig.12)

7.2.1 Saxon

7.2.1.1 The reasons for the location of the early to mid Saxon settlement at Wilton have been discussed by Haslam (1984), and are summarised here. The slightly raised gravel spur beneath the historic core of the town, surrounded by water and marshland on three sides, was a readily defensible location which could only be easily approached from the north-west. In this direction, and extending right up to the boundaries of settlement, lay Grovely Forest, an extensive area of woodland which would have provided ample game for royal hunting expeditions. It is also possible that the trackways called by the Saxons 'Port Herepath' and 'Theod Herepath' were pre-existing routes, utilising the relatively easy river crossing points afforded here, which the settlement would have controlled.

7.2.1.2 The choice of Wilton as the site of the Saxon royal seat and administrative centre over the nearby former Romano-British town of *Sorviodunum* may be explained in strategic terms. Haslam suggests that Wilton 'became the local

royal administrative centre on the consolidation of Saxon power in the area in direct succession to the tribal base at Old Sarum' (1984, 122). However, the extent of possible occupation within the hillfort at Old Sarum in the period immediately preceding the Saxon colonisation of the area is uncertain, but it is known that the hillfort was not the focus of Romano-British settlement, and that *Sorviodunum* was essentially a lowland town, centred around the point where the Roman road from Dorchester (*Durnovaria*) crossed the River Avon. From the Saxon military viewpoint the site of the Roman town was exposed and vulnerable: an undefended civilian settlement divided by a large river and dominated by Old Sarum hillfort. Any group controlling the hillfort would effectively also control the settlement.

7.2.1.3 The first Saxon settlement at Wilton was probably defined by the extent of the raised gravel spur, and it doubtful whether it would have expanded across either of the protective river channels, although it may possibly have extended along the spur to the north-west in the direction of the present West Street, and it is likely that some form of defensive barrier would have been erected across this one vulnerable flank.

7.2.1.4 Whatever the situation with the early settlement at Wilton, by the 9th century the evidence suggests that it had become a place of some importance, being the shire capital, and the home of the royal archive (James 1962). At this time the nunnery was founded, which quickly grew to become a rich and important institution, and which may have been separate from the minster church which lay adjacent to the royal seat. As the threat of Danish attack became reality in the mid to later 9th century, Wilton was fortified to become a *burh*, one of a chain of fortified settlements guarding the borders of the kingdom of Wessex. By this time the town had expanded beyond the area of original occupation and the size of the defences listed in the *Burghal Hideage* – 1400 hides – indicates a fortified area comparable to other large Saxon defended sites such as Chichester, Cricklade and Oxford (Reynolds 1999).

7.2.1.5 By the late Saxon period, three suburbs can be demonstrated to have grown around the town. Bullbridge to the south is not specifically referred to until after the Conquest, but a mill is known in this area from at least 956, and an excavation has determined Saxon occupation beyond the southern *burh* boundary, on the east side of South Street (Wessex Archaeology 1996). Bull Bridge itself is also known to have existed in the 10th century. There is a documentary reference to Ditchampton, north-west of the *burh*, in 1045, and the settlement at Fugglestone, detached from, and to the north-east of the *burh* is recorded as a sizeable entity at Domesday and therefore has its origins at least in later Saxon times.

7.2.1 Medieval (11th – 13th centuries)

7.2.1.1 Wilton enjoyed a continuing period of success and expansion through much of this period, although the roots of its later decline can be traced to the middle of the 13th century with the rise of Salisbury. At the time of the Conquest Wilton was a thriving urban centre, with documentary evidence for several

industries and crafts being conducted in the town. The area of the Medieval borough was probably that defined by the old burh defences, and within this area the density of housing and population must have been high, as eight churches are known to have co-existed within the borough, and by the 13th century there were three hospitals to minister to the poor and needy (one of these is outside the study area). At least six mills are known in Wilton during this period, most of which were flour mills, again testifying to the increased population of the town from earlier times.

7.2.1.2 Beyond the core of the town, five extensive suburbs are recorded in historical records, comprising the three established during Saxon times (Bullbridge, Ditchampton and Fugglestone), accompanied by Washern, located to the south of Bullbridge, and Burdens Ball, adjoining the northern extent of Fugglestone and which was a ribbon development along the main route north through the Wylve valley. At least two of these suburbs were served by their own churches.

7.2.1.3 By the 13th century the abbey is thought to have been wholly rebuilt in stone, and to have developed significant land holdings in the area. The abbey precinct expanded substantially from that of Saxon times, and included a farm complex at Washern Grange, just south of the study area.

7.2.2 Late Medieval (14th – 15th centuries)

7.2.2.1 This period saw a pronounced contraction of the town as the population gradually migrated to the nearby planned city of Salisbury (New Sarum). The beginnings of this decline can be traced to the establishment of Salisbury in the late 12th/early 13th centuries. Creating a separate focus for trade and commerce so close to an established urban centre inevitably led to intense competition, but Wilton's loss of the trade routes monopoly in 1244 was a severe blow. As a consequence Wilton lost much of the income generated by travellers and through traffic, leading to diminishing market returns and burgh rents. This coupled with the relocation of virtually all the industrial concerns, artisans and craftsmen to the burgeoning new manufacturing quarter at Salisbury caused the disappearance of most of the suburbs, the dereliction of the Market Place and the shrinkage of the core town to an area well within the borough boundaries. This period also saw the decay of all but two of Wilton's churches and the closure of half the mills.

7.2.3 Post Medieval

7.2.3.1 The abbey was Dissolved in 1539, and probably demolished before c.1550, when work began on the first Wilton House. Shortly after this time the Earl of Pembroke's survey revealed the extent of Wilton's decline, with the area of settlement now well within the boundary of the Medieval borough and little concentration of housing even at the centre of the town. The period of contraction ended in the middle part of the 17th century with the rise of a cloth industry in the town.

7.2.4 Recent

7.2.4.1 The early part of the 18th century saw changes in the town centre, with the guildhall and gaol demolished and a new town hall built. Later in the century the opening of the carpet factory was a major factor to continued growth, expressed in further house construction, especially along Shaftesbury Road. By the early 19th century it is apparent that the town had revived, with many workshops, dye-houses and drying houses existing amongst the residential buildings. Even at the height of this new prosperity, however, many plots lay vacant and the outer parts of the former borough were still covered by fields. The cloth industry in Wilton had virtually died out by c.1840, apparently due to a reluctance to adopt new technology, and the plan form of the historic town core is now largely as it was in the mid 19th century. This period saw the arrival of the railway, the gasworks, and a large workhouse, sited between the gasworks and the railway junction. The later 19th century saw further ribbon development along Shaftesbury Road, and in the period following the First World War a small council estate was erected. Wilton has been relatively fortunate in avoiding the suburban sprawl of the 20th century which surrounds so many other towns.

7.3 The Archaeological Potential

7.3.1 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.

7.3.2 Wilton's importance as an urban centre from the mid Saxon period onwards, combined with a pronounced later Medieval decline and relatively little Victorian and later expansion, indicates that there is a heightened potential for the survival of sub-surface archaeological remains within the town. The low elevation of the town, surrounded by rivers and traversed by streams, has created a high water table, and previous archaeological work in Wilton has demonstrated the existence of deeply stratified deposits at a number of locations within the historic core. These factors mitigate towards a higher than usual potential for the preservation, within waterlogged or anaerobic environments, of sites and artefacts relating to Wilton's early history.

7.3.3 Although Wilton is known to have been an important royal settlement since the 7th or 8th centuries, no archaeological evidence exists to confirm this. The area of early settlement postulated on Fig. 9 was focussed upon the royal palace and the minster church. Although the whole of this area could be described as being of high potential, it is likely that repeated episodes of rebuilding over the centuries may have truncated a substantial percentage of any remains relating to domestic occupation. However, experience has shown

that elements of such occupation may survive within plots now used as garden areas, to the rear of properties.

7.3.4 Of greater potential are the sites of the royal palace and minster church, the former thought to lie beneath the present Kingsbury Square and the latter to lie beneath the present St. Mary's church. Two small excavations within Kingsbury Square (Musty & Algar 1964 and Taylor 2001) found no evidence for archaeological features earlier than the 12th century, although it should be stressed that these were very small samples. Further work in the Square may be more rewarding. St. Mary's church is partly ruinous, and it could be that limited fieldwork within the damaged part of the church may reveal evidence for an early foundation at Wilton. The possibility that some of the many churches known to have existed in Wilton in the Medieval period are of Saxon origin has been discussed above (Par. 6.2.10). If this were to be the case then the sites of those churches would be of high archaeological potential. Archaeological remains of the Saxon period can often be ephemeral in nature, even within urban centres. Saxon church sites offer the most substantial buildings of the period together with the wealth of artefactual, pathological, environmental and demographic data held within their graveyards. Any opportunity for controlled (preferably research-led) archaeological work at any of the known sites must be taken if we are to gain knowledge of the occupants of Saxon Wilton.

7.3.5 The later Saxon *burh* at Wilton is a significant part of the heritage of Wessex and as such should be regarded as of high archaeological importance. The course of the *burh* defences have only been positively identified in one location, adjacent to St. John's Hospital, although an upstanding earthwork to the north of Castle Mead may also be part of the circuit. A prime objective of any archaeological work within the town should be determine the presence of 9th or 10th century remains, and where appropriate the presence or otherwise of structured defences. Archaeological work could help to clarify the status of the royal seat at this later date, and the development of the minster church in relation to the contemporary abbey. Information is virtually non-existent on the nature, form, extent and character of the settlement within the defences, and of the three later Saxon suburbs only Bullbridge has produced positive occupation evidence. A mill at Bullbridge is known from documentary sources, and Perrett (1986) has suggested a site west of Bullbridge House. Field survey could confirm the existence of such a site at this relatively remote location.

7.3.6 Wilton enjoyed a period of great prosperity between the 11th and 13th centuries, resulting the growth of new suburbs and the expansion of existing ones. Occupation within the area of the Medieval borough is thought to have been concentrated, with several churches and specialised industrial and artisans' quarters. Although much documentary evidence exists for this period there have been relatively few archaeological excavations. Specific archaeological issues within the borough include: the chronology of the disuse and building over of the site of the royal palace; the exact size and form of the market place; the density of occupation within the core settlement area and the location of

industrial zones; the exact location of the eight churches within the town centre and their dates of establishment; the development of the two mills serving the central part of the town.

- 7.3.7 The town was surrounded by extensive suburbs on three sides, and archaeological work within these areas could determine their extent, character and density of occupation. Within the suburb of Bullbridge fieldwork could throw light on the sites of the church of St. Michael and both Bullbridge and Monastery Mills. In Fugglestone, archaeological survey could determine whether the church of St. Peter lay at the centre of the settlement, while at Ditchampton a possible 13th century mill site could be investigated. Within the grounds of Wilton Park is the site of Wilton Abbey. Although the site of the abbey church and buildings is thought to lie largely underneath the present mansion house, geophysical survey may establish the existence of building remains beyond the footprint of the current structure.
- 7.3.8 The rapid decline of Wilton after the 13th century left a small rump settlement centred upon the historic core of the town. Documentary and cartographic sources indicate that several of the outer parts of the Medieval borough reverted to pasture or withy beds. Many of these areas have never been redeveloped, and the one small archaeological excavation undertaken in such an area (SMARG 1971, Event 006) demonstrated the presence of a building, probably of Medieval date. These undeveloped parts of the former Medieval borough may represent a rich archaeological resource, especially given their low-lying situation, and it is likely that the ever-growing pressure for new housing sites may impact upon some of these areas. If so, no opportunity for archaeological investigation should be missed.

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9 MAPS

1568. Earl of Pembroke Survey Map, not to scale

1773. Wiltshire map series, No 5: Andrews & Dury.

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

1839. Tithe Map

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

1900. Ordnance Survey, 2nd Edition, 1:2500 Series.

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

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: Listed Buildings by Schedule Category

Grade I

Column of Venus Genetrix, Wilton Park (3rd Century AD)
The Almonry, Wilton Park (14th/15th century)
Wilton House, Wilton Park (1544-63, 1647, 1801)
Holbein Porch, Wilton Park (after 1548 and before 1563)
Washern Grange, Wilton Park (c.1632-5)
Palladian Bridge, Wilton Park (1736-7)
The Riding School, Wilton Park (1755)
Casino, Wilton Park (1757-62)
Triumphal entrance arch and flanking lodges, Wilton Park (1758-62)
Park School House, Wilton Park (probably early 19th century)
Loggia to west of Wilton House, Wilton Park (c.1826)

Grade II*

St John's Hospital Chapel, 3 St John's Square (c.1300)
5 St John's Square (c.1400 and earlier)
25 North Street (16th century or earlier)
19 South Street (16th century or earlier)
Columns to south-east. & south-west of Orangery, Wilton Park (17th century)
Kitchen courtyard walls, Wilton Park (c.1801)
Image Bridge, Wilton Park (1822)
Dairy Bridge, Wilton Park (1822)

A

Wilton Parish Church of St Mary & St Nicholas (1841-44)

B

Church of St Mary, Market Place (15th century)
St Peter's Church, Salisbury Road, Fugglestone (13th, 15th, and 19th century)

Appendix 4: Buildings Survival By Century

Antique

Column of Venus Genetrix, Wilton Park (3rd Century AD)

13th Century

St Peter's Church, Salisbury Road, Fugglestone (13th, 15th, and 19th century)

14th Century

St John's Hospital Chapel, 3 St John's Square (c.1300)
The Almonry, Wilton Park (14th/15th century)

15th Century

5 St John's Hospital, St John's Square (c.1400 and earlier)
Church of St Mary, Market Place (15th century)

Medieval

The County Cross, Market Place (probably Medieval)

The Old House, 11 & 13 North Street (possibly late Medieval core, c.1800)

16th Century

25 North Street (16th century or earlier)

19 South Street (16th century or earlier)

Mill House, South Street

Wilton House, Wilton Park (1544-63, 1647, 1801)

Holbein Porch, Wilton Park (after 1548 and before 1563)

17th Century

Columns to south-east & south-west of Orangery, Wilton Park (17th century)

20 West Street (1600-25, late 18th century)

Minster Cottage, 2 Minster Street (possibly 17th or 18th century)

Bull Bridge, South Street (said to be 17th century)

31 South Street (17th century on older foundations)

Washern Grange, Wilton Park (c.1632-5)

37 & 39 West Street (c.1651)

The Chantry, South Street (mid-late)

21 & 23 South Street (late 17th/early 18th century)

The Manor House, 27 South Street (late)

18th Century

8 St John's Square (with Medieval fragments)

37, 39 & 41 (odds), Shaftesbury Road

Barn & store to west of Almonry, Wilton Park

Gatepier near Orangery & wall near 19 Kingsbury Square, Wilton Park

Bulbridge House, South Street (c.1700, 1794, 1844)

8 West Street (c.1700)

Thomas', 4 King Street (1725)

Palladian Bridge, Wilton Park (1736-7)

Market Hall, Market Place (1738, 1889)

47 & 49 Russell Street (early-mid, on earlier core)

20 & 24 South Street (early-mid)

1 West Street (early-mid)

Radnor Cottage, 6 Kingsbury Square (mid, possibly earlier)

8, 18 & 19 Kingsbury Square (mid)

The Old Rectory, Market Place (mid)

64 North Street (mid, on older site)

Island House, Island Cottage & Island Lodge, Minster Street (mid)

23 St John's Square (mid)

32 & 34 South Street (mid)

44 Water Ditchampton (mid)

The Bear Inn 12, 24-30 (evens) West Street (mid)

22 West Street (probably mid)

Park walls to south and west, Wilton Park (mid)

Park walls to north-west, Wilton Park (mid)
 Garden wall south of barn at rear of 12 Kingsbury Square, Wilton Park (mid)
 The Riding School, Wilton Park (1755)
 Casino, Wilton Park (1757-62)
 Triumphal entrance arch and flanking lodges, Wilton Park (1758-62)
 Road Block at Royal Wilton Carpet Factory, King Street (mid-late)
 River Block at Royal Wilton Carpet Factory, King Street (mid-late)
 9, 14 Kingsbury Square (mid-late)
 The Greyhound Inn, 4 Market Place (mid-late)
 Ditchampton Cottage, 47 Water Ditchampton (mid-late)
 14 West Street (mid-late)
 6 West Street
 St Andrew's House, 27 West Street (c.1795)
 7, 13 Kingsbury Square (late)
 Old Mill House, Lower Road, Quidhampton (late)
 Albany House, 12 North Street (late)
 1 & 3 Russell Street (late)
 1 Minster Street (probably late)
 Lloyds Bank, 1 Silver Street (late)
 Albany House, 12 North Street (late)
 16 & 18 West Street (late front)
 Cross Bridge, Burden's Ball Bridge, North Street (18th/19th century)

19th Century

2 Kingsbury Square (c.1800)
 The Pembroke Arms, Stable block to rear, Minster Street (c.1800)
 19 North Street (c.1800)
 33 & 35 South Street (c.1800)
 19-23 (odds), 25 West Street (c.1800)
 The Moat House, 23 North Street (1801)
 Kitchen courtyard walls, Wilton Park (c.1801)
 10 pairs of vases flanking alleyway from Palladian Bridge, Wilton Park (c.1805)
 Statue to east of semi-circular seat to east of kitchen courtyard, Wilton Park (added early)
 The Wheatsheaf Inn, 1 King Street (early)
 Manager's House, Wilton Royal Carpet Factory 5 King Street (early)
 Georgian Cottage, 4 Kingsbury Square (early)
 6A, 10 & 11 Kingsbury Square (early)
 Burden's Ball, 117 North Street (early, older core)
 1-3 (consecutive) Penny's Lane (early)
 Kingsbury Lodge, 4 Silver Street (early)
 25, 29, 2 & 4, 26, 36 South Street (early)
 5 & 7 West Street (early)
 Gatepiers to east of former coach-house, Wilton Park (early)
 Sawmills Bridge (and weir), Wilton Park (early)
 Loggietta, Wilton Park (probably early)
 Park School House, Wilton Park (probably early 19th century)
 12 Kingsbury Square (early-mid)

67-75 North Street (early-mid)
 Kingsway House, Queen Street (early-mid)
 Burden's Ball Farmhouse, 3 Queen Street (early-mid)
 6-10 South Street (early-mid)
 29 West Street (early-mid)
 32 West Street (c.1820)
 Semi-circular garden seat to east of kitchen courtyard walls, Wilton Park (c.1822)
 Whispering Seat, Wilton Park (c.1822)
 Bridge over River Wylde, Wilton Park (c.1822)
 Image Bridge, Wilton Park (1822)
 Dairy Bridge, Wilton Park (1822)
 The Orangery, Wilton Park (1822-5)
 Fountain to south of Orangery, Wilton Park (1822-5)
 4, 10 & 12, Gatepiers to 10 & 12 & garden wall, St John's Square (c.1825)
 Walls enclosing Italian Garden together with Fountain, Wilton Park (1825-50)
 Loggia to west of Wilton House, Wilton Park (c.1826)
 Footbridge to north of Park School House, Wilton Park (c.1826)
 29 Shaftesbury Road (1830-40)
 40-44 West Street (c.1830's)
 Magdalene Hospital, 22-32 (evens) King Street (1831)
 41 & 43 South Street (c.1840's)
 Wilton Parish Church of St Mary & St Nicholas (1841-44)
 25A The Coach House, West Street (1843)
 Churchyard walls & railings to Wilton Parish Church, West Street (c.1844)
 55-65 North Street (1844-59)
 34 West Street (before 1845)
 St Giles's Hospital, 8-16 (evens) King Street (mid)
 5, Garden wall of the Old Rectory, Market Place (mid)
 1 & 2 St John's Square (mid)
 50 Shaftesbury Road (mid)
 The Washing Well, 1A Silver Street (mid)
 3, Garden wall to 4, Silver Street (mid)
 Stable block to The Manor House, 27 South Street (mid)
 31 & 33, 35 The Victoria Arms Inn, West Street (mid)
 Former coach-house, Wilton Park (mid)
 9 West Street (mid, earlier core)
 Daye House, Wilton Park (mid)
 Home Farm Buildings & Farmhouse, Wilton Park (mid)
 3 Kingsbury Square (c.1860)
 Quadrant walls to entrance of former C of E school (c.1870's)
 Boat House, Wilton Park (probably 1870's)
 Roman Catholic Church of St Edith, 5 Kingsbury Square (mid-late)
 Statue at north end of Wilton House approach, Minster Street (after 1895)

20th Century

Water Trough, Minster Street (1901), War Memorial, West Street (early)

Appendix 5: Individual Architectural Details

14th Century

Elongated quatrefoil windows (St John's Hospital Chapel, 3 St John's Square c.1300); cusped windows (The Almonry, Wilton Park)

Rubble with ashlar dressings (St Peter's Church, Salisbury Road, Fugglestone), ashlar (The Almonry, Wilton Park)

15th Century

Squared stone, carved capitals (Church of St Mary, Market Place)

Stone and flint chequerwork 5 St John's Hospital, St John's Square

16th Century

Timber framing (Mill House, South Street); Timber framed Wealden plan (25 North Street, 19 South Street)

Queen post and windbrace roof (47 & 49 Russell Street), windbraces to purlins (19 South Street); dragon beam (Mill House, South Street); moulded cross beam (6 West Street); high arched Tudor fireplace (6 West Street)

17th Century

Timber framing (20 West Street)

Chilmark ashlar with flint panels and galletting (21 & 23 South Street); brick (37 & 39 West Street)

Brick with a diaper of blue headers (The Chantry, South Street); thatch (37 & 39 West Street); Plaster ceiling with corner stamps (10 & 12 St John's Square)

Mullioned windows (The Chantry, South Street)

Stone architrave doorcase (The Chantry, South Street)

Jacobean panelling (37 & 39, 20 West Street)

18th Century

Symmetrical façade (8 Kingsbury Square), L plan (14 Kingsbury Square); Double pile construction (St Andrew's House, 27 West Street)

Chequer brick on plinth (Radnor Cottage, 6 Kingsbury Square); brick on plinth (1 Minster Street); brick on stone plinth (Market Hall, Market Place); gault brick (7 Kingsbury Square); red brick header bond on stone plinth & rusticated quoins (8 Kingsbury Square); red brick with gault brick dressings (Old Mill House, Lower Road, Quidhampton); red and blue brick in English bond (1 & 3 Russell Street);

tile hanging (8 Kingsbury Square). Stucco over projecting plinth (9 Kingsbury Square, 2 Minster Cottage, 20 West Street); ashlar (18 & 19 Kingsbury Square); centre portion broken forward (18 & 19 Kingsbury Square); cob on brick (37, 39 & 41 Shaftesbury Road); Chalk-cob (Ditchampton Cottage, 47 Water Ditchampton); thin timber framing (44 Water Ditchampton); eaves cornice (8 Kingsbury Square), brick block eaves course (13 Kingsbury Square); modillion eaves cornice (14 Kingsbury Square). Parapet and coping (Minster Cottage, 2 Minster Street); double fronted (1 & 3 Russell Street)

Mansard roof (Road Block at Royal Wilton Carpet Factory – mid-late); steep-pitched tile roof (Radnor Cottage, 6 Kingsbury Square). Thatch (64 North Street).

Fluted half-column doorcase (7, 13, 14 Kingsbury Square); voussoir lintels (8 Kingsbury Square); six panel door with semi-circular radiating fanlight (7 Kingsbury Square, 1 Minster Street); six panel door with panelled architrave surround, corner blocks and pediment (9 Kingsbury Square); cut brackets to flat hood over door (The Old Rectory, Market Place). Doric porch with slender columns (Island House etc., Minster Street).

Segmental heads to casement windows (Radnor Cottage, 6 Kingsbury Square); Glazed sashes (Thomas', 4 King Street); flush frame glazing bar sashes (8 Kingsbury Square); tripartite glazing bar sashes (2 Minster Cottage); Venetian window (St Andrew's House, 27 West Street); cross glazed sashes (1 & 3 Russell Street); gabled dormers (The Greyhound Inn, 4 Market Place) Staircase with occasional diagonally braced balusters (Old Mill House); oak stairs with turned balusters (Island House etc., Minster Street)

19th Century

Colourwashed brick (The Wheatsheaf Inn, King Street), six pane sashes in flush frames (2 Kingsbury Square). Colourwashed gault brick (5 King Street, Magdalene Hospital; 3, 6A, 12 Kingsbury Square); gault brick (The Pembroke Arms, Minster Street); Brick on projecting plinth (4, 6A, Kingsbury Square); red and blue brick (The Moat House, 23 North Street, 25, 33 & 43 South Street); brick (Kingsway House, Burden's Ball Farmhouse, Queen Street); brick and flint (5 Market Place, 40-44 West Street); English bond brick (stable block at rear of Pembroke Arms, Minster Street); rubble with brick bands and quoins (Stable block to The Manor House, 27 South Street; rusticated quoins (32 West Street);

cob (Garden walls of the Old Rectory, Market Place), stucco (Burden's Ball, 117 North Street); flint and ashlar chequerwork (1 & 2 St John's Square); flint and brick (50 Shaftesbury Road); ashlar (29 Shaftesbury Road); Render grooved as ashlar (5 & 7 West Street. Slate roof (Kingsway House, Queen Street); hipped tile roof (Burden's Ball Farmhouse, Queen Street); thatch (50 Shaftesbury Road).

Tudor/Gothic style (St Giles' Hospital, King Street, 1 & 2 St John's Square, 41 & 43 South Street); Palazzo front (Roman Catholic Church of St Edith, Kingsbury Square); Gothic details (55-65 North Street, 25A The Coach House, 32, West Street).

Italianate (Daye House, Wilton Park). Cogged eaves cornice (3 Kingsbury Square); flat eaves with paired brackets (4 Kingsbury Square); sawtooth eaves cornice (33 & 35 South Street); deep porch with Doric columns (The Pembroke Arms, Minster Street); porch with pargetted gable (29 Shaftesbury Road).

Six panel door, with raised and fielded panels (2 Kingsbury Square). Reeded six panel door (32 West Street); Panelled pilaster doorcase (4 Kingsbury Square); bracketted hoods to doors (2 & 3 Penny's Lane); glazing bar sashes (6A Kingsbury Square); canted oriel window (The Old House, 11 & 13 North Street. Hipped gable dormers (1-3 (cons) Penny's Lane.

Arched slate fireplace (3 Kingsbury Square) Staircase with stone treads and cast iron balusters, and mahogany handrail (3 Kingsbury Square), stair with turned rail to bottom stair (Minster Cottage, 2 Minster Street). Urn friezes to ceilings (Pembroke Arms, Minster Street); coved ceilings (Bulbridge House, South Street); cast iron trusses (The Orangery, Wilton Park)

