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STONEHENGE WORLD HERITAGE SITE LANDSCAPE PROJECT
STONEHENGE, AMESBURY, WILTSHIRE

ARCHITECTURAL ASSESSMENT

Rebecca Lane

ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION

ENGLISH HERITAGE

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Research Department Report Series 42-2011

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SUMMARY

The Stonehenge World Heritage Site is designated for the importance of its surviving prehistoric monuments, but the defined geographic area has been subjected to much later alteration. The settlements and their buildings tell the story of the later phases in the development of the area, from the medieval period onward. The settlements and buildings indicate the primary importance of agriculture to this evolution. From the 18th century this was increasingly tempered by a growing aesthetic and romantic appreciation for the landscape in the area, which had a strong influence on the architecure of the settlements. This report seeks to assess the architectural character of the buildings in the World Heritage Site, in the context of the evolving agricultural and settlement patterns.

CONTRIBUTORS

The fieldwork and on-site investigation was undertaken by Barry Jones, Olivia Horsfall Turner, Rebecca Lane and Nigel Fradgley. Aerial photography was by Damien Grady. Ursuala Dugard Craig assisted in the primary documentary research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to a number of house owners, tenants and agents who allowed access to their buildings, in particular Peter Bailey at Springbottom Farm, and Carole Kent-Robinson at Wilsford Manor. Colleagues in Archaeological Survey and Investigation have provided a considerable amount of assistance, particularly Dave Field, Sharon Bishop and Mark Bowden. Other colleagues have also provided support including Martin Barbor, Susan Greaney and members of the Stonehenge WHS Landscape Project Board. Documentary research included work at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, with support coming in particular from Dorothy Treasure and Avis Lloyd in the Wiltshire Buildings Record, who allowed access to their archive including the detailed building survey of Countess Farm.

ARCHIVE LOCATION

National Monuments Record at The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon, SN2 2EH. For more information on access see www.english-heritage.org.uk

DATE OF SURVEY

The field survey for this project was undertaken in May and June 2010, with documentary research undertaken in September and October 2010.

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INTRODUCTION

The Stonehenge World Heritage Site is a landscape defined by the significance of a complex series of prehistoric monuments, focused on Stonehenge but encompassing a large range of other monuments from different time periods within the prehistoric era. Along with Avebury, the site was adopted by UNESCO as 'a unique embodiment of our collective heritage', representing 'two thousand years of continuous use and monument building' between C.3700 and 1600 BC.[1]

These monuments are predominantly located on the chalk upland, although running down into the Avon Valley towards the east of the area. The site boundary is defined by both natural and man-made features, following the line of the River Avon to the south-east, but the modern road system to the west and north (Figures 1 and 2). It encompasses land from five civil parishes and in terms of historic development (from the medieval period onwards) it represents a landscape which is sparsely and disparately settled.

As part of a wider examination of the World Heritage Site landscape by the English Heritage Archaeological Survey and Investigation team, the Architectural Investigation team was commissioned to examine the buildings which fall within the World Heritage Site. The upland landscape has not been favoured for settlement within the historic period, with a predominantly agricultural use. There are small settlements in the Avon Valley to the south-east, some isolated farmsteads on the upland, and modern development, associated with the military presence on the downs, to the north (Figure 3). The modern development is predominantly associated with larger military

Figure 1. Looking into the Stonehenge World Heritage Site from the west, with Amesbury in the foreground and Stonehenge at the top centre. (NMR 26709-038)

Map Scale: 1:50000

Print Date: 1 April 2011

Figure 2. Location map

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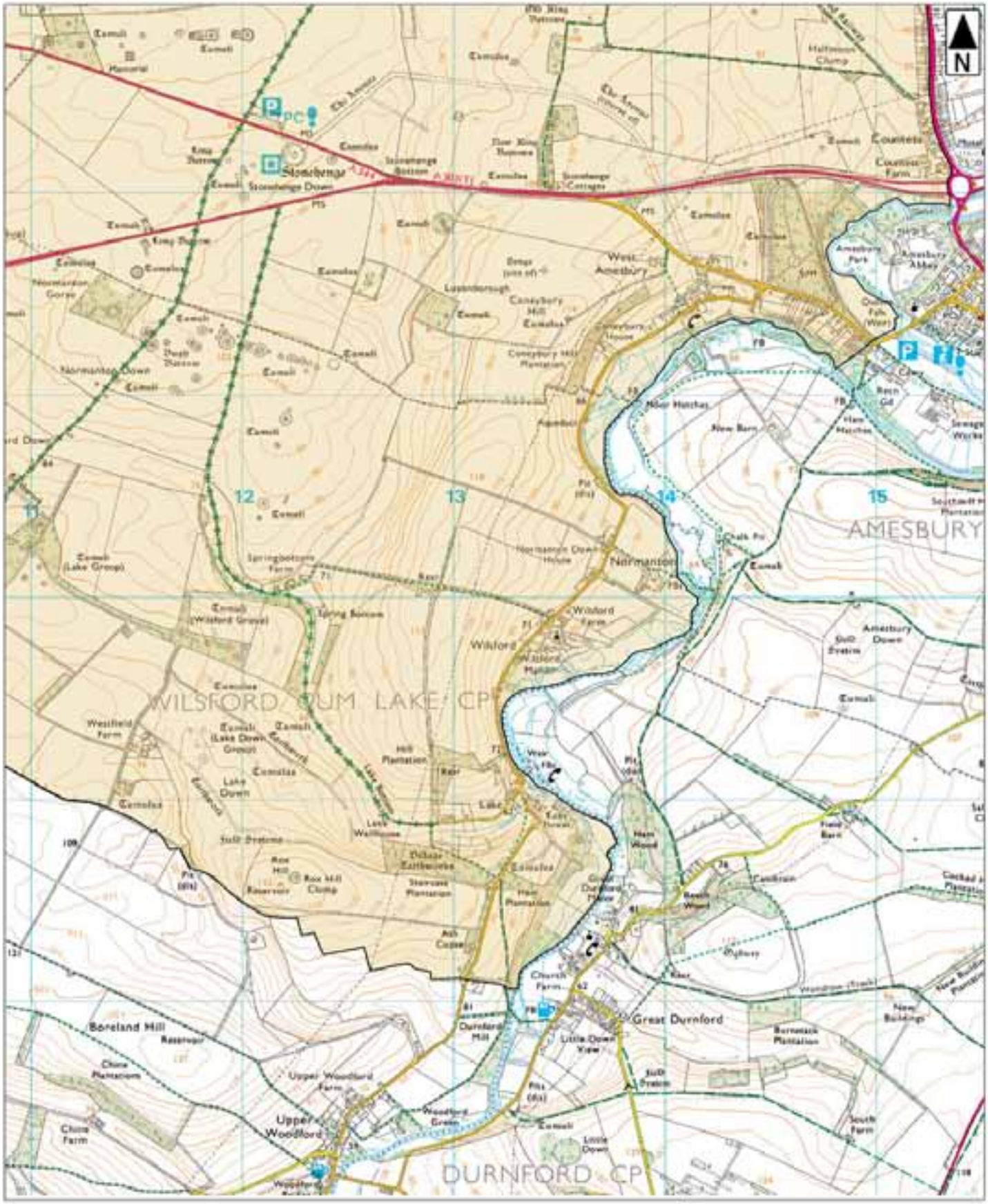

Map Scale: 1:25000

Print Date: 1 April 2011

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1 Waterhouse Square, 138-142 Holborn,
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Figure 3. Detail of settlements in the southeast corner of the World Heritage Site

settlements outside the site boundary, and as such the development of these areas has been judged as outside the scope of the current project. The military presence on the downs has been considered elsewhere, and has not been addressed in this document.[2]

The buildings examined in this document therefore represent medieval to early 20th century architectural development within the World Heritage Site: a development which is dominated by the agricultural role of the downs throughout much of this period.

Methodologically, the assessment has followed established guidelines, adapted to meet the demands of a rural landscape.[3] A full external survey of buildings within the World Heritage Site boundary was followed by a more in-depth analysis of a number of interesting buildings. As part of this visual assessment phase it was intended that any notable reused stonework, potentially corresponding to the types used at Stonehenge itself, would be noted and further analysed. However, although the use of local stones was noted frequently, no definite cases of reuse were identified.

As well as fieldwork, the project also made use of records created by the RCHME in the late 1970s and early 1980s, which examined a high proportion of the significant buildings that now fall within the World Heritage Site. Fieldwork and visual assessment were complemented by cartographic analysis and targeted documentary research. This information has been used to create an account of the development of built heritage within the site, and also forms the basis of the gazetteer included as an appendix to this volume.

PART ONE – BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT: ORIGINS, TENURE AND SETTLEMENT

Overview - prehistoric to early medieval periods

The prehistoric, Romano-British and early medieval development of the landscape within the World Heritage Site falls outside the defined scope of this document, but it is important to acknowledge that the area has been the focus of ritual and domestic activity from at least the Mesolithic period. In these early periods, the evidence identified has been interpreted as indicating ritual and settlement activity on both the chalk uplands and in the river valleys which cut into it. Following the political upheaval at the end of the Roman Empire there is some suggestion that settlement retreated off the uplands but remained in the valleys.[4] Whilst this is a somewhat simplified interpretation of the complex patterns of settlement and use identified throughout the World Heritage Site, it serves to highlight the underlying importance, for the development of the landscape, of the agricultural potential of the river valleys. The alluvial deposits of the river provided a band of fine agricultural land on the valley sides, a resource which has undoubtedly been exploited for several millennia.

The settlements which are now identifiable within the World Heritage Site, and more specifically within the Avon Valley, appear to have originated in the Anglo-Saxon period. Tangible links to this period survive in the place name evidence of the settlements, and some of the boundary delineations for administrative areas such as the hundreds and parishes. It is clear that cultivation at this time already focussed on exploiting the varied land forms in the area, making use of the valley bottoms for meadow, the valley sides for cultivation and the downs for pasture, in a pattern which would extend well into later periods. This cultivation pattern is reflected in the administrative boundaries which were largely defined in the Anglo-Saxon period. The hundreds were first defined in the 10th century, but may be based on earlier institutional areas. Many of the hundreds in the area are centred on the river valleys, indicating the extent to which these formed the focus for settlements and populations at this date.[5] Within the hundreds, many of the parishes reflect a transverse division of the river valleys, providing each parish with a cross-section of the various land types available in the area.[6] The extent to which specific settlements may reflect earlier points of habitation is largely unknown, although it has been postulated that the arrangement of villages may reflect Romano-British settlement patterns in the area at the very least.[7]

Amesbury, immediately west of the World Heritage Site, is known to have been an important settlement in the late Anglo-Saxon period, probably deriving from its strategic location at a crossing of the River Avon below the earlier settlement at Vespasian's Camp which appears to have been reoccupied in the post-Roman period.[8] The manor was held by the king in the 9th century, and in the 10th century the Witan was held in the town twice, and an abbey founded circa 979. Evidence for the form of the settlement is slight, although it is suggested that it may have run north from the crossing point on the River Avon, following the route of the present high street.[9] Linear settlement patterns such as this are characteristic of the area in the medieval period, and as with the settlement locations, may well reflect earlier traditions in the area.[10] Amesbury was still

held by the King in 1086. His holdings (not assessed in hides as it paid no tax) included land for 40 ploughs with 85 villagers, 56 smallholders and 8 mills. The large number of mills could suggest that the entry included not just Amesbury but also additional settlements, although some of these were not necessarily contiguous with the manor.[11] As well as the King's holdings there were two further small estates in Amesbury at that time, both held by Edward of Salisbury (the county sheriff). This could suggest that settlement in Amesbury may have had more than one focus.

At that date, as now, Amesbury was one of a string of settlements along the Avon Valley (Figure 4). The place name evidence and Domesday entries suggest that south of Amesbury, both Wilsford and Lake had been defined as settlements by the late 11th century. Wilsford has an entry in Domesday as 'Wiflesford(e)' with the manor divided into two holdings, one held by Hamon de Masci, from Hugh de Avranches and the other by another Hugh from Robert Fitz Gerold.[12] It is suggested that these two holdings could be associated with the surviving settlements of Wilsford and Lake, the latter having a name which originates from the Old English 'lacu' (stream) which suggests it was defined before the Conquest.[13] Each manor consisted of one hide of land, and together they held enough land for 2 ploughs with extremely small populations. One settlement had a mill.

Despite the difference in settlement size suggested by the contrasting landholders and tenants of the two principal manors, it is notable that this area of the Avon Valley in general had one of the highest population densities in the county, according to comparative analysis of the Domesday entries.[14] As with the early evidence for settlement activity in the area, this again must reflect the agricultural potential of the land within the area which continued to encourage settlement activity.

Figure 4. Settlement along the Avon Valley, West Amesbury (NMR 26710_005)

Late medieval period

Manorial History

The landholding patterns of 1066 and 1086 as indicated in the Domesday survey appear to reflect an on-going process of fragmentation, as large Anglo-Saxon manors slowly broke down into smaller estates.[15] Eventually these smaller estates themselves achieved manorial status in their own right. Such a process is illustrated in the World Heritage Site area by the subdivision of Wilsford into two separate holdings, probably reflected in the two landholders identified in 1086 within the single manor. It is clear that during the medieval period the division was formalised, eventually creating two separate manorial centres.

Settlements at Countess, West Amesbury and Normanton can first be positively identified in documentary sources in the medieval period, Countess in 1327, West Amesbury in 1232 and Normanton in 1332.[16] However it is possible that they may have pre-Conquest origins as small settlements which were not important enough to be individually identified in the Domesday survey. Their identification by name in the 13th and 14th centuries could simply be a reflection of their independence from their earlier manorial centre, a status they had come to achieve in their own right. The names of Countess and Normanton are thought to derive from post-Conquest owners, Countess' probably the Countess of Lincoln, who owned the estate in the early 14th century when the name was first used.[17] There is also some suggestion that West Amesbury originated in the 13th century as a planned 'colonization' on Amesbury manor.[18]

Amesbury Abbey is now just outside the World Heritage Site but was a notable religious presence in the Avon Valley throughout the medieval period. Wilsford Church was in the possession of Salisbury Dean and Chapter in the 11th century and was closely linked to Woodford, the two parishes forming a single Prebend in the 12th and 13th centuries. The church was largely rebuilt in the Victorian period, but the tower retains sections of 12th century fabric, including the west door and tower arch, representing the earliest medieval structure known to survive in the World Heritage Site. Single references also indicate that Lake and Normanton were served by chapels in the medieval period. Lake has a reference from the early 12th century, when the chapel was granted to Bradenstoke Priory by the Earl of Salisbury.[19] Normanton had a chapel in 1405, dependent on Great Durnford (the parish of which it was part), which was served by the priest of Landford with some complaint about the discharge of his duties at the latter.[20] It seems likely that their abandonment was due to the reduction in size of both these settlements in the late medieval or early modern period.

By the 13th century, West Amesbury contained several freeholds, one of which (subsequently known as Dawbeney's) was probably derived from a half knights fee granted in the 13th century and which had become its own manor by the 15th century.[21] Court records for the manor survive for a few years between 1491 and 1645.[22] Several of the other freeholds were merged into another estate (subsequently known as South's estate), and Amesbury Abbey held land in the village, following a grant of circa 105 acres of land by Roger le Convers in 1268.[23] This was the only land the abbey held within what is now the World Heritage Site. The only known medieval domestic building surviving

in the World Heritage Site is West Amesbury House, the earliest phase of which is tentatively dated to the late 15th or early 16th century, although containing some features which may be earlier. This may have been the house associated with the Dawbeney's estate, and certainly appears to have been used as the manor house in the early 17th century.[24] However, local tradition links its construction and earliest phase of use to Amesbury Abbey's holdings in the village.[25]

Settlement patterns, population and economy

Notwithstanding the varied origins of the settlements, it is clear that in the period after the Conquest the settlements of Countess, Amesbury, West Amesbury, Normanton, Wilsford and Lake were all defined, creating the broad outline of the settlement pattern which survives to the present day. West Amesbury had a more complex landholding record than the other Avon Valley settlements during this period, which remained as single holdings under various lords. This may suggest that West Amesbury contained a relatively substantial number of holdings in comparison to the other settlements. Even so, on the basis of taxation records from the 14th century, it is unlikely that it ever contained more than 10 holdings.[26] The other settlements were almost certainly smaller. Population size and population increase are difficult to assess in the medieval period, as the taxation records that do survive were never intended to enumerate or assess the totality of a parish or settlement, seeking only the relevant citizens who would pay tax.[27] However, given the establishment or consolidation of settlements at Countess, Normanton and West Amesbury in the medieval period it seems reasonable to suggest that the population of the Avon Valley area as a whole increased during the period.

Whatever the relative size of the settlements, it seems likely that they would have appeared more uniform in size and plan form than is now evident in the surviving settlements. The settlements of Lake and Wilsford, which now appear nucleated, were almost certainly more linear in arrangement, with a more regular pattern of plots adjacent to the main road. Countess and Normanton, now represented by single farmhouses, were both also small hamlets with a number of farmsteads in the early medieval period. These probably would not have had the regular layout of the larger settlements, perhaps comprising a group of irregular farmsteads.[28] Countess appears to have become a single farmstead by 1364.[29] Thus it seems likely that in the medieval period many of the settlements in the study area were linear in plan arranged along the roadside, in a manner now best exemplified by West Amesbury, with some irregular hamlets or groups of farmsteads interspersed.

Regular settlement patterns were accompanied by regular field and agricultural patterns, the practice of agriculture dominating the economy of the area (Figure 5). Of the settlements listed above, Amesbury and West Amesbury certainly had open field systems and Countess, Normanton and Wilsford probably also did.[30] Cultivation took place on the fertile valley sides, with shared meadows in the valley bottoms and the upland areas used for pasture. It is likely that defined areas of cultivation and pasture were extended as the population increased in the 13th and 14th centuries, with earlier cultivation having focussed on the areas around the villages. Boundaries on the uplands therefore may not have been properly defined until the 14th century.[31] Countess,

Figure 5. Settlement was focussed in the valley, with an agricultural use for the downland area (NMR 26709_38).

West Amesbury and Lake all had associated mills, although only Lake has a structure surviving, the other two only known through documentary references in the 14th and 15th centuries.[32]

16th and 17th centuries

The Reformation saw the dissolution of Amesbury Abbey, which passed into private hands and was rebuilt in the last decade of the 16th century as a large house for Lord Hertford.[33] The area around the house up to the River Avon was emparked by 1560.[34] The acquisition of the abbey and the manorial centres around Amesbury by one single owner marked the beginning of a process whereby the Avon Valley around Amesbury and the associated chalk upland areas increasingly came under the control of the Amesbury Abbey estate. This would have a great influence on the 18th and 19th century development of this area (see below). In the 16th century however, the neighbouring estates of Countess and West Amesbury remained independent of the estate.

The early 17th century saw changes in landholding in West Amesbury, with the purchase of both the manor (sometimes known as Dawbeney's estate) and South's estate by one owner. The consolidation of land ownership was also reflected in the number of individual farmsteads, with a reduction to around four in West Amesbury by the early 17th century, including a significant increase in the size of the demesne farm.[35] The house now known as "Fighting Cocks" in West Amesbury may be one of these farms, with the earliest phase possibly of 17th century date (Figure 6).[36] West Amesbury Manor appears to have become simply West Amesbury Farm in the early 17th century.

Land in Wilsford parish was also consolidated in the late 16th century, with the purchase of Lake by John Duke in 1579. Duke was a wealthy clothier, and built a large manor house on the estate, the façade of which remains today. There is some suggestion that an earlier house was incorporated into the north wing of the present house, although

Figure 6. The house now known as Fighting Cocks, the earliest parts of which may represent a farmhouse of the 17th century.

Figure 7. Surviving early flint and limestone chequer work in the garden wall of West Amesbury House

there appears to be no substantial surviving evidence for this.[37] The Duke family were to own Lake for the next 350 years.

In contrast Wilsford was passed through a series of owners from the late 16th century onwards, and it is not clear whether any were resident on the estate. The current manor house (which dates from the early 20th century) was built on the site of an earlier, possibly Georgian building, with some suggestion that the foundations of an even earlier house were discovered during the construction of the most recent building.[38] These walls were apparently of chequer-work with limestone and flint, a characteristic high-status style of the late 16th and early 17th century in the area (Figure 7). It could suggest that a large house was built in Wilsford during this period, perhaps comparable with the surviving house at Lake, and again this could reflect the position of the medieval manorial centre, with its location immediately south of the church supporting that interpretation.

As well as building at Lake, and possibly at Wilsford, the earliest elements of the surviving houses at Countess and Normanton both date from the late 16th or early 17th centuries. In both cases these appear to have been timber-framed, although later alterations have concealed the external evidence for this. The choice of material must reflect the relative size and status of the estates at that time, particularly in comparison to the level of investment at Lake. The surviving evidence suggests therefore that in the higher-status farms of the Avon Valley settlements, the domestic buildings received a substantial investment in the late 16th and 17th centuries.

Religious life in the settlements was by this date reflected only by the church at Wilsford, the earlier chapels at Lake and Normanton both having gone out of use by this time. In West Amesbury however, there is evidence of a Baptist influence in the late 17th century. In 1672 the house of one William Long was licensed for Baptist meetings, he and his wife Alice having been Baptists for at least 10 years by this date. It is not clear where Long lived, but there is apparently a local tradition that part of Moor Hatches house to the south of the road, was used as a chapel at some stage. This is notable because although the main range of the house is of 18th century date, against the road a series of lower ranges, now heavily altered, may conceivably represent a smaller house of late 17th century date.

Agricultural practice

Investment in the buildings coincided with changes in agricultural practice. More land was brought into cultivation in West Amesbury in the 17th century, with a fourth common field added to the original three.[39] At Normanton the Long family, who leased the farm at the time, undertook the construction of floating water meadows. This was a substantial investment in creating a water-management system in the low-lying meadowland adjacent to the river. A system of ditches and sluices, fed by the river, allowed the meadows to be flooded or 'floated' and kept underwater in the early part of the year to prevent frosts and allow an early crop of grass on the meadow. As winter feed was critical to the number of animals that a farm could maintain through to the spring, this early crop was crucial in allowing farmers to keep larger numbers of sheep. Greater numbers of sheep provided more dung for fertiliser, and thus supported the

expansion of cultivation seen in the valley at that time. The process of creating the water meadows is proved by documentary evidence to have taken place in the 1680s at Normanton, but surviving earthworks indicate that a similar process was undertaken at West Amesbury and also at Countess and in the early- to mid-17th century at Lake.[40] It greatly increased productivity, and thus considerably improved land value, which may have provided the incentive for landlords to undertake or allow such investment.

18th and early 19th centuries

From the early 18th century alterations to landholding practice began to have a significant effect on the parishes within the study area. The process of consolidation begun in the 17th century continued, with some associated investment in buildings. This is represented, in West Amesbury, by a single farmhouse, Moor Hatches, standing to the south of the road (Figure 8). A large 18th-century house in brick, it is probably that described as 'new' in 1728.[41] This has a series of associated farm buildings to the west of the house, which also apparently date to the same period, although, as mentioned above, there is a possibility that part of the farm complex reflected the position of a much smaller earlier farmhouse, built along the roadside.

Amesbury Abbey and park

In 1724 the Amesbury Abbey estate passed to the 3rd Duke of Queensbury. In contrast to the earlier owners of the estate, who appear to have taken only a sporadic interest in the house, and no particular interest in the surrounding area, the 3rd Duke and his

Figure 8. Moor Hatches, a substantial farmhouse of the early 18th century, possibly attached to an earlier house.

wife appear to have favoured residence in Amesbury. In 1729 they were exiled from the court over their support of the writer John Gay, who had published an opera banned by the government. Subsequently they gave considerable attention to both the improvement of the house and park, and the consolidation and improvement of the wider estate (Figure 9). In 1734/5 they purchased West Amesbury manor and in 1760 they bought Countess Court, bringing the entire parish of Amesbury under the control of the estate.

The purchase of West Amesbury manor allowed them to extend the parkland around the house to include land on the west of the River Avon and within the current World Heritage Site boundary. This had formerly been cultivated farmland, but was now included in the designed landscape setting for the house. It included the ancient earthworks known as Vespasian's Camp, thought at the time to be a Roman fortification associated with Emperor Vespasian. On the side of the Vespasian's Camp a grotto was constructed, now known as Gay's Cave, and other landscape features and buildings were added throughout the mid-18th century.

Land improvement and the expansion of the Amesbury Estate

In conjunction with the alterations and improvements to the house and its surrounding park, by the late 18th century the Duke of Queensbury was responsible for a considerable investment in, and reorganisation of, the wider estate. The process included the enclosure of earlier common land. In the early 18th century the common field system still existed, illustrated on the estate map of 1738 and in a survey of 1742, but by 1771

Figure 9. The house and park at Amesbury Abbey, on the edge of Amesbury, largely laid out in the early 18th century on the site of the medieval foundation (NMR 26709_037)

the land appears to have been almost completely enclosed. There appears to have been no formal enclosure award and associated legal process, but the Duke's control over the parish probably allowed him to bypass this process and enclose the land piecemeal over the middle of the 18th century.[42] As part of the enclosure process a considerable proportion of the land on the downs appears to have been ploughed and cultivated for the first time. In the early 18th century sheep numbers were still high, but as the century progressed there appears to have been a gradual increase in cultivation at the expense of pasture for sheep.[43]

Following the process of enclosure, the Duke reorganised the estate landholding into 6 farms, which together farmed over 5000 acres in a series of large holdings.[44] Both West Amesbury Farm and Countess Farm were maintained, although they were both reorganised to create an additional farm in between the two, run from Kent House one of the earlier lodges to Amesbury Abbey (outside the World Heritage Site). Other farm holdings, for example the additional farmsteads in West Amesbury, were amalgamated into these, with the associated farmsteads apparently also used as part of larger farm complexes. This reorganisation of landholding and the expansion in cultivation appear to have preceded a considerable investment in farm buildings in both West Amesbury and Countess.

Other Estates

The investment by the Duke of Queensbury in buildings on the Amesbury Abbey Estate, is mirrored by similar investment, albeit on a smaller scale, by the landowners in Wilsford and Lake. As at West Amesbury there appears to have been some consolidation of earlier farms into a single holding in Wilsford in the very late 18th century, the last few separate tenements becoming part of the main manor circa 1796.[45] This may have preceded the enclosure of land in the parish. Again, there is no surviving enclosure award, but the controlling interest of the Pinkney family, may have allowed more piecemeal enclosure to take place.[46] The manor at Lake remained in the ownership of the Duke family throughout the 18th century, but appears to have followed the same process that was seen at West Amesbury and Wilsford.

Early 19th century

In the first quarter of the 19th century the remaining parishes that now form the World Heritage Site were enclosed by Act of Parliament. As with the earlier processes in Amesbury and Wilsford, enclosure was accompanied by the conversion of large areas of upland pasture into cultivation. Increased agricultural activity on the uplands in turn led to a number of new farmsteads and barns centred in the newly arable areas. In Wilsford and Amesbury, where enclosure had been undertaken in the 18th century, the continued increase in the cultivation of pasture in these parishes in the early 19th century also led to the establishment of a number of out-farms in the upland area. Some pasture continued to be maintained in conjunction with the newly cultivated areas, but sheep were no longer required in such numbers and by the 1840s some of the breeds associated with the Wiltshire downs were virtually extinct. By the late 19th century Springbottom Farm, Westfield Farm, Greenland Farm and other smaller barns and cottages were all built on

the upland areas supplementing the farmsteads in the river valleys.

In 1824 descendants of the Duke of Queensbury sold the Amesbury Estate to Sir Edward Antrobus. Further alterations were made to the house and park, with areas of the 18th century parkland around the house falling out of use, and many of the earlier walkways becoming lost, although the buildings beyond the river were kept. In the wider estate the earlier holdings of the estate were maintained and added to, with the purchase of Normanton Farm in 1835.[47]

In the mid-19th century Wilsford was the subject of considerable alteration by the manorial owner Giles Loder. The farmhouse at Wilsford Farm appears to have been rebuilt or substantially altered in the period circa 1830-40. Loder was also responsible for the substantial rebuilding of Wilsford Church, undertaken c1852. The earlier tower was retained, but the remainder of the church was demolished, with a new nave and chancel designed by T H Wyatt. Finally in 1857 Loder was responsible for the construction of a small joint boys' and girls' school equidistant between Lake and Wilsford.

Mid-19th to early 20th centuries

Agricultural change

The late 19th century saw the continuation of the process begun with the enclosure of the upland areas in the late 18th or early 19th century. From this period the use of manufactured fertilisers increased, and removed the need to maintain large herds of sheep for manure. The fall in the number of sheep meant that the floating water meadows were no longer required, as less feed was needed to maintain the smaller flocks through the winter. Thus the irrigation systems slowly fell out of use in the late 19th century.[48]

The agricultural depression of this period probably discouraged and restricted investment in all of the farmsteads in the area, whether upland or river-valley based, but it is clear that in this period the buildings on the upland out-farms were consolidated whereas many of the earlier farmsteads appear to have fallen out of use. Traditionally the agricultural depression is associated with a phase of rural depopulation, as struggling agricultural labourers moved into urban areas where alternative jobs were available.[49] It is difficult to estimate the impact this may have had on the rural settlements in the study area, although the census records suggest that population numbers there did not fall in the late 19th century. It may have been that the shift in agricultural practices in the area, towards more labour-intensive livestock production for example, may have countered any inclination towards a downward population trend. It is clear however that some of the farms continued to invest in provision for their workforce for example at Normanton where a number of cottages were constructed between 1840 and 1878 (Figure 10). The reasons for this investment are not clear, but it coincided with the purchase of the farm by the Antrobus family, and there may have been a change in the organisation of the farm and its workers at the time.

Figure 10. An example of the cottages built at Normanton in the mid-19th century, possibly reflecting a change in agricultural practices at the time.

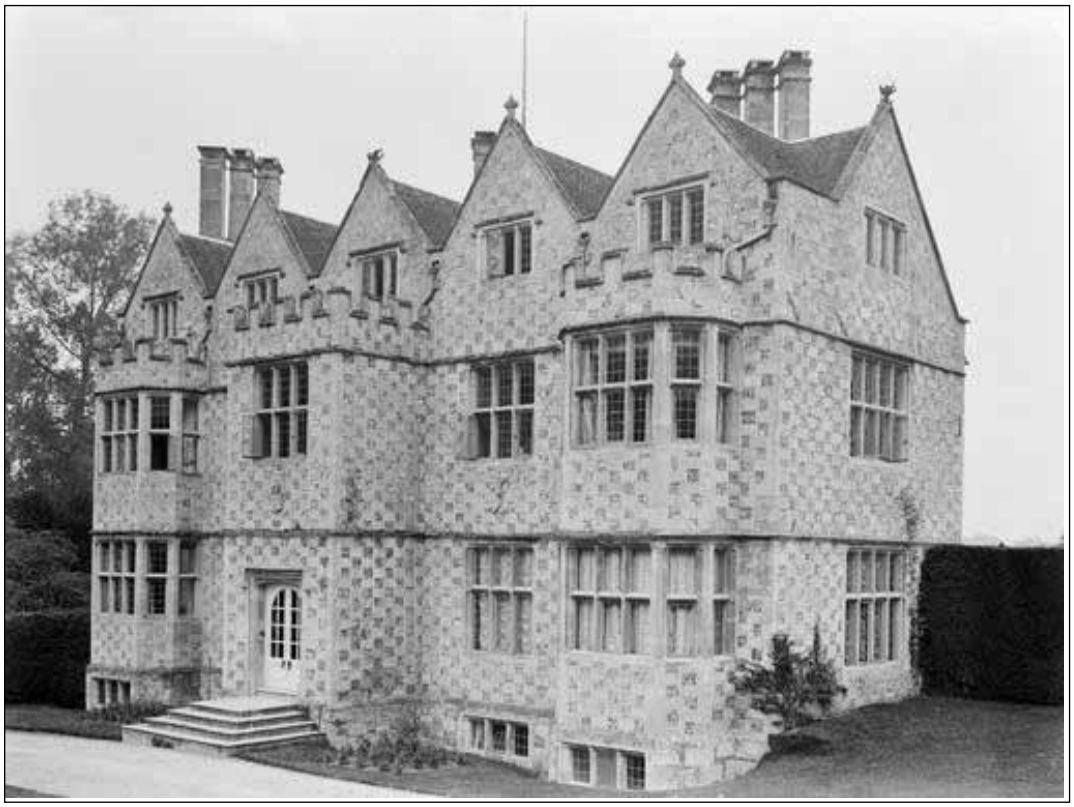

Figure 11. The main, southwest facade of Lake House photographed in 1924 following the rebuilding of the interior of the house. (NMR CC001309)

The wider effects of the depression and more general changes to land holding patterns, also may have contributed to a change in the ownership of the larger manors in the World Heritage Site at this time. West Amesbury and Normanton remained in the hands of the Antrobus family, but in the late 19th century both Wilsford and Lake were sold to new owners. In 1898 the Duke family, who had held the Lake estate since the late 16th century, sold Lake House and the estate to Joseph Lovibond, a brewer and entrepreneur from Salisbury, and at roughly the same time Wilsford was first leased and then sold to Edward Tennant, Lord Glenconner.

The purchase of these two estates by owners with fortunes independent of their land holdings can be seen as indicative of an important change in attitude to country estates in this period. The purchase of such estates generally reflected a desire to consolidate the social standing of families. There was nothing new in the purchase of landed estates to aid in achieving social standing; in Lake the Duke family had undertaken exactly the same process in the late 16th century with a fortune made in the cloth trade. From the late 19th century however the social importance of the purchase of these estates is more pronounced, as they could no longer be considered as a financial investment, instead requiring significant outlay, from alternative financial sources, to sustain them.

The Lake estate was purchased by Joseph Lovibond, a Salisbury brewer who had made his fortune perfecting a colour definition apparatus known as a Tintometer. Lovibond invested heavily in restoration work at Lake House, employing the noted Arts and Crafts architect Detmar Blow, and undertook a further rebuilding following a fire in 1912 (Figure 11). He and his family also took an interest in the plight of the agricultural workers at the time, and were concerned over the loss of agricultural jobs and the general conditions of the agricultural families. He built a number of new houses on the estate and founded the Stonehenge Woollen Company to provide employment and additional income for some of the wives and families of the agricultural workers. This made use of the traditional resources that the area could offer in its surviving flocks of sheep – with the wool bought from local farmers or exchanged for finished cloth. The cloth produced could also be retained by those working on it. It was apparently begun in an upper room at Lake House, using looms and other simple machinery.[50] The company appears to have had considerable success and samples were shown at an exhibition in the Albert Hall in 1900, and in the early decades of the 20th century Lovibond constructed a workshop for the company. The company appears to have used the building until 1920 when it moved into Salisbury.[51] The building was subsequently converted to form residential accommodation, now known as Fir Tree Cottage.

At Wilsford, the Tennants again employed Detmar Blow, this time in the construction of an entirely new house, although strongly influenced by the traditional architectural forms of the area. Blow's involvement at Lake and Wilsford was an important influence on development in the area in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

20th century

The first part of the 20th century saw the arrival of the military on the downland, which had a huge influence both on the agricultural landscape, and on domestic buildings, due to the growing population level. Towns such as Amesbury rapidly expanded, but further south the expansion of housing within the valley appears to have been largely resisted. Modern development can mainly be observed therefore on the main roads into Amesbury – Countess Road and West Amesbury Road – where ribbon development began in the early 20th century and appears to have intensified in subsequent decades. Within the southern part of the valley some additional housing was constructed in the early 20th century, particularly by the Bailey family in Lake, who first leased and then bought the Lake estate from Joseph Lovibond. This housing is varied in style, although a number adopt the styles laid down by Blow's influence in the Avon Valley, reflecting broadly traditional building practices.

Another notable trend in building in the Avon Valley during this period was the conversion of earlier farm buildings for other uses. This in many ways reflects the final phase of the process which started with the construction of the upland out-farms in the mid-19th century. It is clear that by the early 20th century most of the farmsteads in the valleys were completely out of use, and the farm buildings were rationalised, with the demolition of some of the smaller buildings. In the 1930s the large threshing barn in the former farmyard at Lake was converted to create a village hall (latterly converted again into residential accommodation). A similar process is clear at West Amesbury where the huge farmstead to the north of the road was considerably altered. Two barns were converted, the first in 1939 into a terrace of cottages, the second sometime later (Figure 12).

The attraction of the Avon Valley as a place of seclusion and beauty, perhaps first properly expressed by the arrival of the Lovibonds and Tennants in the late 19th century, continued to appeal throughout the 20th century. This has led to high property prices which have contributed to the separation of most of the principal houses in the valley from their traditional landholdings. The Bailey family, who purchased the Lake Estate from Joseph Lovibond, eventually bought the Wilsford Estate and parts of the Antrobus Estate, but none of the manor houses from which the land derives are held with the estate, which is instead managed from Springbottom Farm. The break-up of the Antrobus estate saw the sale of Amesbury Abbey (now a retirement home), with the family moving to West Amesbury House immediately after the Second World War.[52]

Coupled with the loss of farmhouses and farmsteads in the valleys was an increase in status for the out-farms, which now became the principal focus for some of the larger holdings in the area. At both Westfield Farm and Springbottom Farm, the initial construction phase in the mid-19th century included small semi-detached cottages, suggesting accommodation for farm workers involved in the management of livestock at the farmstead. In the mid-20th century these semi-detached cottages were merged to provide single houses – becoming the principal farmhouses for the landholdings in the area and completely supplanting their traditional centres in the villages.

Figure 12. Barn's End in West Amesbury. A late 18th century aisled barn converted into a terrace of cottages in 1938.

PART TWO – BUILDINGS AND SETTLEMENTS: FORM, TRADITION AND INFLUENCE

The low density of settlement within the Stonehenge World Heritage Site belies the complexity of the phases of development that have been seen in the area. This applies not just to the prehistoric period, which understandably has received considerable attention, but even to the comparatively short span of the historic period – and indeed is represented in the surviving buildings of the area.

Late medieval agricultural development

It is clear that, throughout the historic period, the development of buildings in the World Heritage Site has been largely dictated by the agricultural character of the area. The form and function of the settlements in the area is a direct response to the requirements of the farming system as it developed in the Anglo-Saxon and later-medieval period. The arrangement of centrally located settlements surrounded by cultivated common fields is a feature which can be recognised throughout England. In the Wiltshire chalkland area in general, and specifically in the World Heritage Site, the location of these cultivated areas, and their associated settlements, was dictated by geological conditions; the sides of the river valleys providing the most fertile soil for cultivation. Below this, in the valley bottoms, meadow could be provided, with further pasture on the chalk downlands. The early origins of this system are indicated by the parish boundaries in the area, which generally run from the river up onto the downland providing each parish with a cross-section of the available land types. Bond has suggested that this system was even more pronounced in the earlier part of the medieval period, as the broader parochial boundaries that were eventually defined were created out of what originally would have appeared as narrow manorial strips reaching from the river on to the downlands.[53]

The road system in the area also supports the settlement locations, running along the valley sides and linking the string of agricultural settlements. Some roads may reflect early long-distance routes, linking important Anglo-Saxon settlements for example. Whether the settlement sites determined the location of the road, or whether the road provided a natural focus for development, is difficult to establish as both emerge as established features in the medieval period.

The settlements themselves follow two established patterns. Linear settlements, with a series of tofts on one side (or sometimes both sides) of a road, often with an established and regular measurement, are common in the downland region and examples are present in the World Heritage Site. Of these, the most legible today is that of West Amesbury, where the subdivision into individual plots can still be discerned, despite the almost total replacement of the medieval buildings that must have sat within them. Cartographic evidence from the late 18th century suggests that Wilsford and Lake may also have had regular tofts sited to the north of the road line, although in both cases a combination of demolition and later settlement patterns makes the earlier form difficult to discern today.

The regularity of these linear settlements has led some historians to speculate that

these may represent planned settlements, with local landowners dictating the form and layout of the village.[54] This suggestion persists with West Amesbury, often linked to the landholdings of Amesbury Abbey in the village, although there appears to be no evidence for such a deliberate action on the part of the owner. Indeed, others have suggested that the toft alignment may be equally likely to reflect local tradition, largely dictated by village members and the established practices of their settlements.[55] This is certainly plausible given the communal nature of the agricultural practice of the time. The management of the common field system in all of these villages must have relied upon a strong sense of common interests, which could also have extended to guiding the form and function of plots and buildings within the settlements as well as the land around them.

A second type of settlement form seen in the downland area is of less-regular nucleated settlements, perhaps comprising a smaller number of farmsteads. In the World Heritage Site this may have been the case at Countess and Normanton, both of which are now represented by single houses with associated farm buildings, but which appear to have originated in the medieval period as groups of farmsteads. Normanton in particular, if we assume that the location of the current house reflects at least one of the medieval farmsteads, is notably different from the linear form of the other settlements, in that the farmstead lies some distance from the main road rather than fronting directly onto it. It is possible that this reflects a later alteration to the farmstead location, but the date of the earliest parts of the current house suggests it was built (or rebuilt) at a time when the medieval settlement pattern was probably still discernable, as the settlement appears to have survived into the 17th century, only reduced to one holding in the late 17th or 18th century.

There is some evidence that agricultural practice dictated not just settlement patterns but also population growth in the area. This is illustrated by the example of Durrington, just to the northeast of the World Heritage Site, where the greater availability of land for cultivation appears to have been a factor behind the significantly higher population levels in the settlement in the 14th century,[56] compared to other settlements in the Avon Valley. Thus whilst population levels in the valley are assumed to have risen until the mid-14th century, any expansion was clearly contingent on the amount of land available for cultivation and the associated levels of food production and wealth.

Of the form of the individual houses within the settlements there is little surviving evidence. The only medieval building fabric to survive within the World Heritage Site in a non-domestic building is the tower of Wilsford Church, which is 12th century. This is of knapped flint with stone dressings. A photograph of the church taken before the demolition of the original nave (circa 1857), indicates that it was built of the same materials, although partially rendered by the 19th century (Figure 13). Stylistically the form of the detailing on the tower has been linked to a number of churches in the area which date to the first part of the 12th century, with Wilsford probably late in that period, perhaps mid-12th century.[57] The two principal features of this date are the west doorway and the tower arch. The west doorway has single shafts to either side with scalloped capitals, with similar responds and slightly simpler capitals to the tower arch, with stud decoration to the imposts (Figure 14).

Figure 13. Wilsford Church in 1857, prior to the rebuilding of the nave. Note the farm buildings of Wilsford Farm to the left (Reproduced courtesy of Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum)

Figure 14. Detail of capital, in the west doorway of Wilsford Church (NMR 9C-23)

The detailing of the shafts at Wilsford has been used to associate the church with similar features identified in the churches at Amesbury and Durrington.[58] Woodford, with which the church seems most likely to have a close association due to the shared prebendary, apparently had Romanesque fabric which was destroyed in the 19th century.[59] Wilsford Church's isolation within the World Heritage Site therefore should not mask the extent to which it was part of a wider network of churches, some of which are now just outside the boundary of the assessment area.

The only domestic building which retains an identifiable medieval phase is West Amesbury House, the earliest parts of which date to the late 15th, or possibly early 16th, century. The building was constructed to the north of the main

Figure 15. West Amesbury House medieval roof structure photographed in 1979 (NMR RCHME field photo, file BF50119)

road along the Avon Valley, and also on the alignment of the Stonehenge Avenue, the Neolithic processional route linking Stonehenge to the River Avon. This alignment appears to be coincidental, probably reflecting the fact that the qualities of the area which made it suitable for a broad trackway also made it suitable as a building platform, although there is some evidence that the alignment of the avenue had an influence on the boundary pattern within the settlement.[60] West Amesbury House was examined by the RCHME in the late 1970s. The medieval elements of the building, which has been substantially remodelled in several subsequent phases, are in the west wing of the house and include the roof structure, a doorway at first-floor level and potentially some small sections of the external walling (Figure 15). The medieval roof is of 5 bays, with surviving arch-braced collar trusses and two sets of purlins with curved wind-braces. At the northern end of the wing, a chimney stack of narrow bricks and the associated walling of rubble flint with stone detailing may also be part of this phase. The medieval doorway at first-floor level is two-centred with a simple chamfer moulding. The form of the arch in fact suggests a date earlier than the 15th century, but in the absence of other evidence it is perhaps not enough to positively identify an earlier phase to the house. It is possible, however, that the house had formed the manorial centre for one of West Amesbury's estates for much of the medieval period. Much of the discussion of West Amesbury House in published sources has focussed on the possibility of the house representing part of Amesbury Abbey's holdings in the settlement, possibly as a grange building.[61] There is no documentary evidence for this association however, and the Victoria County History account of the settlement has suggested instead that it may have been the centre of one of the other late medieval manors.[62] The building is undoubtedly high-status, but it should be viewed as broadly typical of manorial-level buildings in the area, rather than as an exception associated with the abbey estate.

These two buildings provide a limited pool of information from which to create a picture of buildings in the settlements at the time. Their common construction materials of sandstone and flint do suggest that these materials were typical of high-status buildings in the area during the medieval period. This is supported by the continuation in the use of these materials for high-status buildings well into the post-medieval period.

There are no known surviving lower-status buildings in the area from the period,

although these undoubtedly would have existed in all the settlements, providing the standard accommodation for most of the inhabitants at the time. It is possible to speculate that the form of these buildings may reflect the traditions of the wider Wiltshire area, which saw housing typically in timber or chalk cob. Both these building materials are represented in post-medieval houses within the World Heritage Site, which could support the idea that they reflect vernacular traditions stretching back into the medieval period. Typical plan forms of the period were for one or two rooms providing hall and service accommodation, and only a single-storey in height, with rooms open to the roof.

16th and 17th centuries

The form of the settlements and agricultural practices established in the medieval period continued broadly unaltered in the 16th and into the 17th century. The Reformation saw the transfer of landholdings in West Amesbury from the abbey to a new secular lord, but this appears to have had limited impact in the area at this time. There was a trend in the smaller manorial centres towards more consolidated landholdings, with a number of small freeholds in West Amesbury, for example, being combined into one holding in the early 17th century.[63] A similar process was also seen in Lake and Wilsford. This had implications for the settlements as, although the common field system continued throughout this period, there were a smaller number of freeholders which may have been reflected in the number of farmsteads operating in any given settlement. In the 17th century West Amesbury may have had just four farm holdings, down from a postulated peak of ten in the late-medieval period.[64]

Some modification of farming practice was seen in the greater cultivation of the downlands towards the end of the 17th century. In the valley bottoms, the 17th century also saw the creation of the floated water meadows which provided additional feed for the sheep which were crucial to the expansion of the cultivated area. These changes may have been facilitated by the trend towards a smaller number of landowners and larger land holdings, creating wealthier individuals who were better able to invest in improving agricultural infrastructure.

A number of buildings of this period survive within the World Heritage Site boundary. The most notable is Lake House, built circa 1578 by the Duke family following their purchase of the estate, possibly on the site of the medieval manor. Only the exterior of the house survives, having been gutted by fire in the early 20th century. However, it is still a striking example of late 16th century domestic architecture in the gentry-house manner. Built of flint and limestone chequerwork the house has a symmetrically-arranged main (southwest) façade articulated by five narrow gables, a central porch and canted two-storey bay windows to the outer bays. Originally the house had an L-shaped plan, with the principal rooms arranged in the main range, and service rooms in the wing to the northeast. In form and style, Lake is characteristic of many of the higher-status houses of this area of Wiltshire, with the chequerwork façade being a particularly distinctive local feature.

The earliest phase of the remaining farmhouse at Countess also appears to have 16th

Figure 16. The west front of Countess House, with the earlier house now forming the rear portion of the building (NMR RCHME field photo, file BF50098).

Figure 17. The attic storey of the earlier wing of Countess Farmhouse, showing the box framing of the internal partitions. Such framing may have also formed the original external walling for the house (Reproduced courtesy of the Wiltshire Buildings Record).

century origins, albeit of less ambitious status (Figure 16). It was timber framed, with post and truss construction, possibly with brick used in the gables. It appears to have originally had a three-room plan, comprising a room at either end heated by gable-end chimney stacks and a central unheated service room. At first-floor level the house had a further three rooms, possibly with additional accommodation in the attic storey. Some vertical posts are still visible within the building, although the majority of the wall framing has been concealed by later brickwork added to the rear (west) elevation, and by the later wing added to the east. The roof indicates a three-bay plan, with box-framed partitions still surviving under the trusses and with two tiers of clasped purlins with straight wind braces. 17th century houses may be represented by the earliest phases of the farmhouses at Normanton and 'Fighting Cocks' in West Amesbury. The first phase of the Normanton building also appears to have been timber-framed. This phase is now so vestigial that it is difficult to assess its exact form, and the evidence for the timber-framed nature of the earliest phase is apparently only the narrowness of the southern wall of this range where it abuts a later block, as at Countess. Internally no timber-framed elements appear to have been observed by the Royal Commission in their late 1970s survey. The plan form is discernable but as a single-pile three-room plan similar to that at Countess Farm, with an additional bay added to the east soon after the initial construction, but after the encasing of the range in rubble-stone. Fighting Cocks is now rendered and has not been examined internally so the construction material is not readily discernable although a low flint and brick plinth is visible below the render and the render itself could suggest that the building is of timber or cob (see Figure 6).

Timber framing had apparently been 'reasonably common' in the chalk downland area of Wiltshire in the medieval period, but by the 16th century had become rare.[65] This may explain the sparse evidence of timber-framing in the surviving buildings of the assessment area, and the concealment of these timber-framed elements relatively soon after construction as timber became unpopular as a building material. The surviving evidence from the two buildings identified as containing timber-framed elements makes the form of the external framing impossible to confirm, but the surviving internal partitions in the house at Countess Farm utilise box framing (larger square panels), which could suggest that this form was used in the exterior of the building (Figure 17). Such framing would conform to the timber-framed traditions of south-west England. There are two known timber-framed buildings in Amesbury, one of which has box-framing which also supports the idea that the Avon Valley area tended towards the south-west tradition. The small number of surviving timber-framed buildings in the area however, makes a definite identification of the local form very difficult.

Despite the limited evidence base, it is clear that many of the area's higher-status buildings received investment in this period. The evidence for this phase at one of the principal houses, West Amesbury House, is less clear, but suggests that it too was subject to alteration in the 17th century. It is possible that the north range of the building was added in the late 17th century, although stylistically this may also belong to the early 18th century. It is also possible that the complex phasing of the south façade of the house, which shows considerable evidence of refacing, includes sections in limestone and flint chequerwork which may date from the 17th century. It is of a different phase to that on the east elevation, which is far more regular and may in fact relate to a much later phase.

The earlier phase of chequerwork is very similar, in style and form, to the north gable wall of the adjacent stable block, which may include some fabric of 17th century date, incorporated into the later (18th century) building.

The stable block at West Amesbury House also sheds light on the treatment of service buildings and perhaps some agricultural buildings in the period (Figure 18). The north gable end of the stable is of chequerwork, with an irregular arrangement of stone blocks and knapped flint. There is brick detailing to the door and upper gable end, but these may represent later insertions associated with the stable-block conversion in the 18th century. Although the evidence for this building is only fragmentary, it nonetheless suggests that the form of the outbuildings associated with West Amesbury House at this early date were built of chequerwork, characteristic of the area. Although the stable is associated with a relatively high-status complex, as an example of very few surviving pre-18th century utilitarian buildings in the study area, the building has some implications for understanding the likely range of materials used in outbuildings at that time. The only other outbuilding which may possibly date to this period is the dovecote at Wilsford Manor. This is a square rubble stone structure with a pyramidal roof including a vent, now converted to form part of a house. Due to lack of access, the building has not been closely examined, but it characteristics are compatible with a late 17th century or early 18th century date.

As well as the surviving high-status buildings, or those associated with them, it is

Figure 18. The stable block of West Amesbury House, with an earlier chequer work gable wall incorporated.

possible that some of the earliest building fabric in the lower-status cottages, although heavily disguised by later alterations, may originate from the 17th century or earlier. The treatment of these buildings makes their earliest phases difficult to discern, and they reflect long continuing traditions in both form and material, which also makes accurate dating difficult. They have largely been examined in the subsequent section as representative of the type of housing certainly present by the mid-18th century, but their form and materials could equally be a reflection of this earlier period. The surviving buildings of this category, and which may incorporate 17th century fabric, include the Old Post Office in Lake, Chalk Cottage and Merion Cottage in West Amesbury. Evidence is also provided by historic photographs of buildings now destroyed, between Wilsford and Lake. These buildings are generally of mixed materials, using some brick but particularly timber-framed and cob elements. Generally they are of one or one and a half storeys, with hipped or half-hipped thatched roofs. Indeed these building forms and techniques probably reflect many of the styles which would have been seen in earlier periods, especially in the humbler classes of building.

18th and early 19th centuries

Amesbury Abbey

In the 1720s the Amesbury Abbey estate passed into the hands of the 3rd Duke of Queensbury and became the subject of considerable attention from the Duke and Duchess. This effected alteration not only to the house and park but also to the wider estate which was expanded considerably. The purchase of West Amesbury manor allowed them to extend the parkland around the mansion to include land on the west of the River Avon and hence land that now falls within the World Heritage Site boundary. This included the ancient earthworks known as Vespasian's Camp, thought at the time to be a Roman fortification associated with Emperor Vespasian. Around the sides of the camp they created a garden with walks up to the summit of the mount, influenced by the ideas of essayist Joseph Addison, and designed by the Royal gardener Charles Bridgeman, following an extensive survey of the estate by Bridgeman in 1738. A bridge was constructed over the Avon linking the newly emparked area to the older gardens nearer the house, which were also altered to suit emerging fashions.

On the side of the Vespasian's Camp a grotto was constructed, now known as Gay's Cave, and built partially into the side of the hill, with a groin-vaulted chamber and classical detailing (Figure 19). The exterior stonework feigns the effect of classical detail emerging from the natural stonework through the use of rock-cut stone blocks. The design and workmanship is of high quality and the design has been attributed to Henry Flitcroft.[66] The land in front of the grotto was laid out in a formal garden called 'The Diamond' with symmetrical walkways, illustrated on Bridgeman's plan of the park in 1738.[67]

Further south, on waterways feeding into the River Avon, a Chinese pavilion was constructed (Figure 20). There is some debate as to whether the pavilion surviving today is of the 1730s or represents a later redesign of the 1770s by Sir William Chambers.[68] The pavilion certainly existed in the 1740s and 50s, when it was seen and noted by visitors to the estate. In 1757 it was described by one visitor as 'an humble imitation of a

Figure 19. The entrance to Gay's Cave, in the grounds of Amesbury Abbey

Figure 20. The Chinese bridge spanning the small waterway running through the parkland.

Chinese house, which is well shaded and agreeable; but it consists of only one room and is yet unfinished'.[69] Chambers may have been involved in the finishing of the building in the 1770s, as it is referred to in passing in correspondence between him and the Duchess of Queensbury. Chambers was known for his Chinese designs, having visited China and published a book on the design of Chinese buildings on his return. The extent to which the 'finishing' of the building included substantial alteration to the earlier structure is unknown. It has been suggested that he may have completely demolished the earlier design, but Bold thinks that unlikely and he may simply have been consulted about the finishing of the earlier design by virtue of his ongoing relationship with the Duke and Duchess of Queensbury.[70] The building as it survives today comprises a single span stone bridge over the watercourse, surmounted by a square single-room building with a pyramidal roof. Although built of brick, the building has detailing in flint and limestone, creating geometric patterns on the main facades, a surprising combination of local vernacular building materials and exotic design. Surrounding the building on all four sides is a veranda, with a lean-to tile roof supported on timber columns and with a fretwork timber balustrade.

The Amesbury Estate and other landholdings

The 18th century saw a substantial reorganisation of the earlier agricultural and settlement patterns. West Amesbury and Countess passed into the hands of the Amesbury Abbey Estate, and were part of the widespread reorganisation of land. This saw the enclosure of the common fields in the Amesbury area, apparently on a piecemeal basis through the mid-18th century (and substantially complete by 1771) followed by the rationalisation of the farms within the estate. Thus the 18th century saw two significant reorganisations of the farm holdings in West Amesbury, as one had been undertaken prior to the purchase by the Amesbury Abbey Estate.

Initially, in the 1720s, reorganisation saw the number of farmsteads in the village reduced to two, known as Homeward and Westward, probably represented by Fighting Cocks (Westward) and Moor Hatches (Homeward), the latter of which was newly built for the purpose.[71] Later in the century, following the purchase of the manor by the Amesbury Estate, it was again consolidated into a single farmstead, known as West Amesbury Farm. Although both earlier farmsteads were retained, cartographic evidence and the surviving buildings indicate that the new focus for the farm was north of the main road and appears to have extended along the full length of the village. Immediately adjacent to the road the earlier subdivision of tofts appears to have survived with the domestic buildings constructed adjacent to the roadside respecting the earlier subdivisions. To the north however the farmstead area appears to have largely eroded the northern part of the tofts, in the area where presumably a number of them had earlier farm buildings.

Whilst the reorganisation of West Amesbury appears to have been the most dramatic, the pattern of enclosure and substantial investment in farm buildings is repeated in the other settlements and farmsteads in the area. This included Countess, which also became part of the Amesbury estate, but also Wilsford and Lake which both appear to have been subject to piecemeal (as opposed to legislated) enclosure during the 18th century, and appear subsequently to have received investment in new farm buildings.

There appears to be less documentary evidence about the extent of farmsteads and landholdings in these settlements prior to the enclosure than exists for West Amesbury, and thus it is not clear whether the same rationalisation, or reduction, of farms took place here. The survival of farmsteads which indicate parallel investment in farm buildings could suggest that the farmsteads were consolidated in the same way, but as the enclosure process included the cultivation of additional downland areas, then the increase in capacity required on the farms to deal with additional cultivation may be enough to explain the additional investment in buildings even if the number of farmsteads was not reduced.

In 1773 Andrews and Drury's map of Wiltshire was published, providing cartographic evidence for the form of settlement in the area (Figure 21). This confirms the focus of settlement in the Avon Valley, with few buildings and no settlements shown on the downland area. It also shows the linear nature of settlement in West Amesbury, Wilsford and Lake. Countess and Normanton are both depicted as single farmsteads with a number of associated buildings constructed in a disparate grouping. This is confirmed by the surviving farm buildings of the period at Countess although those at Normanton have largely been demolished. It is notable however that, relative to the tithe maps of the 1840s, comparatively few farm buildings are depicted. It may be that these buildings were of less interest to the cartographers, leading to a limited depiction, although an extensive complex depicted at Normanton probably includes farm buildings

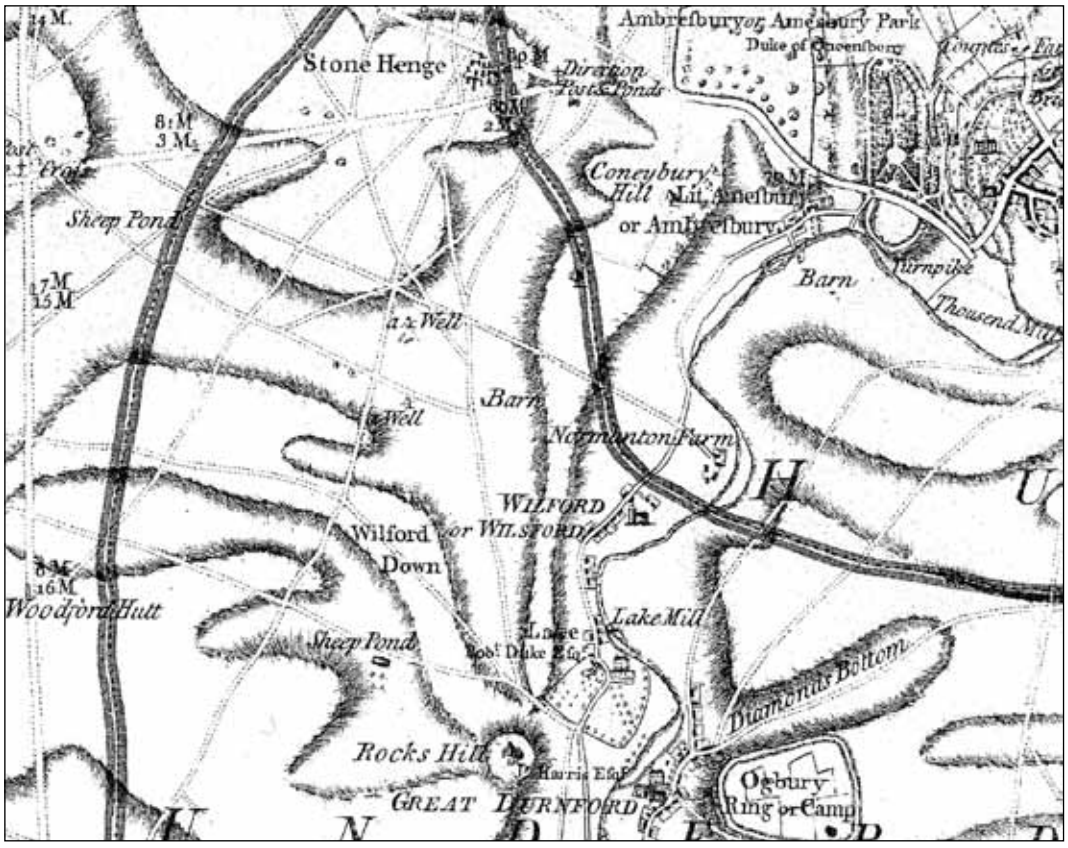

Figure 21. Extract from Andrews and Dury 1773 Map of Wiltshire showing the Avon Valley south of Amesbury.

as there was only one farm there by this date. It seems more likely that the surviving buildings reflect a substantial period of farm building after the production of the map, between 1773 and the 1840s which also coincided with the completion of the enclosure programme in most of the settlements.

The combined cartographic and archaeological evidence indicates that many of the surviving buildings in all three settlements of Wilsford, Lake and West Amesbury were constructed during the 18th century. These range from substantial farm houses and associated farm buildings to much smaller domestic accommodation for farm workers. Most notable in West Amesbury is the large farmhouse built south of the road, known as Moor Hatches. This was probably built before 1728 and thus prior to the purchase of the manor by the Amesbury Estate, but is indicative of a considerable investment in a farm complex at this date, and suggests that farming practices were already changing prior to the investment by the Amesbury Estate and the associated enclosure of common land. The farmhouse is built entirely of brick and of two and a half storeys, a much larger scale than would have existed at the earlier farmhouses of Countess or Normanton at this time, although both were to receive investment in the late 18th century. Moor Hatches is also notable for its position in the settlement, the only complex to be constructed in West Amesbury south of the road. Again this may indicate an expansion of agriculture (and population) at this time, perhaps arrested by the purchase of the manor by the Amesbury Estate which clearly had an interest in maximising the profitability of its landholdings. In size and material, Moor Hatches presents a significant contrast to the other domestic buildings in West Amesbury, those built both before and after its construction. Its sole use of brick is rare in the area, the only other examples being 19th century. It thus marks a significant departure from local domestic architectural trends and it is interesting to note that the associated farm buildings, probably of a similar date, revert to more vernacular forms.

A number of other buildings in West Amesbury and Lake can be dated broadly to the 18th century although their precise construction dates are unknown. This includes the first definite survival of lower-status housing, probably used to house agricultural labourers. In West Amesbury this is particularly well represented by what is now the semi-detached Chalk Cottage and Merion Cottage, although actually representing an earlier mini-terrace of five separate dwellings (Figure 22). This utilises a mix of building materials including brick, chalk, flint and some timber-framed elements, with a thatched roof. Buildings fabric evidence indicates that the cottages were probably constructed on a piecemeal basis with a number of junctions visible in the walls and variation in the materials used in different bays. Later cartographic evidence and the fabric suggest that originally these would have formed single-room cottages. Originally the cottages would have been single-storey, the building having been altered to allow the insertion of an upper floor at a later date. The earliest parts probably date to the early to mid-18th century, but were added to later using similar, although not identical, forms and materials.

In Lake a similar terraced arrangement is represented by the house now known as the Old Post Office (Figure 23). This is now largely rendered, but appears to be of brick and flint construction. This was originally inhabited as three separate households. The earliest parts of this building may pre-date the 18th century, but there are indications that

Figure 22. Chalk Cottage and Merion Cottage, West Amesbury. 18th century workers' housing

Figure 23. The Old Post Office, Lake. 18th century terraced housing like that seen in West Amesbury, now converted into a single dwelling.

Figure 24. The earlier cottage on the site of Diamond Cottages. Different phases of development created an irregular terrace.(NMR C.1 B35/1272)

different sections of the building represent a variety of dates. The central section may reflect the earliest, possibly 17th century fabric, with later, probably 18th century, additions to the north and south of this. The units vary in size, again reflecting the piecemeal nature of the construction, but all three appear to have originally provided single-room units. To the north of the Old Post Office, the house now known as Kingfisher Cottage also appears to have been constructed as two separate units, with the eastern part appearing later than the western. The larger western section appears to have originally been a two-room cottage with a central entrance, the form suggestive of an 18th century date. Again this is built of a mixture of materials, including brick, flint and cob with a thatched roof. In the West Amesbury and Lake examples the individual holdings would have provided accommodation for a family, perhaps those of a farm worker serving the estate. Other examples of lower-status housing are shown in photographic evidence. One of these is an additional cottage in Lake, which originally inhabited the site now occupied by Diamond Cottages (Figure 24). A late 19th century photograph shows a single-storey timber-framed building with brick infill panels which again appears to have provided more than one residential unit.

The most striking grouping of this kind of lower-status housing is a number of cottages between Lake and Wilsford forming a very small hamlet which was apparently referred to as Teazle. This appears to have been essentially part of Wilsford. A series of buildings appear on Andrews and Drury's map of 1773 indicating that the hamlet was in existence at least in the 18th century, although its origins may be much earlier. The older houses here were demolished at some point in the 20th century, but an early 20th

century photograph taken from the riverside shows these cottages still extant, with some additional 19th century housing uphill, further from the river and closer to the road (Figure 25). These earlier cottages were grouped on a rise immediately above the river and the photographic evidence indicates that they included one long single-storey cottage and two or three other detached cottages apparently of one and a half storeys with a symmetrical arrangement and a central front doorway, similar to the original form of Kingfisher Cottage surviving in Lake. All the buildings appear rendered so it is difficult to establish what they were built of, but all have thatched roofs. The grouping clearly indicates a piecemeal development, with no suggestion of a regular layout, borne out by its location on what could be considered marginal land, located between the river and the steep scarp on which the road runs. As with the humbler housing of this period identified within the main villages, these houses at Teazle may well have been built by farm workers or others connected with the estate. The location, scale, forms and standard of this housing suggests that it was not built by the estates. During this period, none of the estates appear to have taken responsibility for establishing recognisable estate-workers' housing, with the cottages suggesting an arbitrary development over a considerable period of time. The planned estate-workers' cottage was a development that came to the area later, in the 19th century.

Just to the southwest of the World Heritage Site, the earliest building at Druid's Head may also date to the late 18th century, with the appearance of a lobby-entry house of that date (Figure 26). In many ways it is atypical of the development patterns observed at the time, as an apparently domestic building in an isolated position rather than associated with an earlier settlement. It does not appear on Andrews and Drury's map of the area, but may have been built soon after, possibly in association with the phase of construction of the turnpike roads, as it sits adjacent to a major route.

Figure 25. The hamlet of Teazle, part of Wilsford, viewed from the river in the early 20th century.

Figure 26. The possible 18th century lobby-entry house at Druid's Head, just outside the World Heritage Site.

Figure 27. Aerial view of the farmstead at Countess Farm, showing the farmhouse fronting the road to the south with the farmbuildings to the side and rear (NMR 26708_013).

Late 18th century farm buildings survive in all of the settlements examined. Most notable among these is the large complex at Countess Farm, dated by an inscription to 1772 (Figure 27). Initials included with the date indicate that they were built by John Osgood, who is known to have been a local carpenter based in Amesbury.[72] The four barns include a small three-bay granary building on a grid of four by three staddle stones and a larger five-bay staddle barn on a grid of four by nine staddle stones. Two further barns now known as the Great Barn and Little Barn, are both built on brick sleeper walls the small barn of five bays and the great barn of seven bays. All four have timber frames covered in weatherboard, and all originally appear to have had thatched roofs, although some of these have now been replaced with tile. All the timber-framed structures are of comparable design, with jowled wall posts from which straight braces rise to the wall plate and the tie-beams. Above the roofs are half-hipped with clasped-purlin trusses with queen struts rising from the tie-beams to the collars. The three larger barns have straight wind braces rising from the principal trusses to the purlins.

None of the other farmsteads have such a complete range of barns surviving, but two barns which are similar in form and construction survive in West Amesbury. 'West Barn' is raised on staddle stones and is timber framed, with weatherboarding and a thatched roof (Figure 28). It is dated to 1798, and although the basis for this attribution is not clear it certainly appears late 18th century. The interior of this was not examined. The other surviving barn in West Amesbury was converted into estate cottages in the 1930s, and is now called Barn's End (see Figure 12). It has been altered externally, with the insertion of doors and windows to create a terrace of small cottages, although it retains

Figure 28. West Barn, West Amesbury, late 18th century staddle stone barn now converted into a house.

its external weatherboarding. Internally, and to the south, however the roofs structure is visible indicating a large fully-aisled barn. The timber framing included large arcade posts, with curved braces rising from the posts to the arcade plate and the tie- beams. The upper portion of the roof could not be fully viewed, but appeared to be of butt-purlin construction with raking struts running from the tie-beam to the principal rafters. Some carpenters' marks were visible, and the form of the marks, together with the overall form of the roof structure again suggest a late 18th century date.

There is a further building attached to the southeast corner of the barn and running towards the main road, and a thatch capped wall which runs along the roadside and into the side of the earlier farmhouse known as 'Fighting Cocks'. These three features, together with the house, form a small courtyard arrangement. The house is thought to be 17th century in date, but there are several phases of alteration, at least one of which may relate to the late 18th century. It is possible to speculate that as part of the consolidation of the farmsteads in West Amesbury in the mid-18th century 'Fighting Cocks', which earlier may have served as a farmhouse with associated yard, may have provided accommodation for farm workers possibly sub-divided to create a series of smaller cottages. This group of buildings therefore would have actually formed part of the wider estate farm in the 18th century, rather than representing a discrete farmstead, although its form may reflect a separate, earlier farmstead in the same location.

Lake has one surviving barn of a similar form to those seen at Countess and West Amesbury (Figure 29). This was converted to a village hall in the 1930s and is now in use as a house, but retains its weatherboard cladding and half-hipped roof structure, which strongly associates it with the agricultural trends seen in the other settlements. In Wilsford no large barns survive but there is a small granary building in the grounds of Wilsford Manor which is in a similar style, with a staddle-stone base and weatherboard exterior.

Examined together these buildings display considerable parallels in form, materials and function, when the likely spread of dates of construction over the late 18th century is taken into consideration. In terms of supports, framing and external materials all make use of similar elements, despite the variety of estates responsible. Some variation in construction form, particularly of the timber framing, is indicative of subtly different trends, perhaps reflecting different carpenters. As a whole they also certainly reflect wider trends in farm building at the time, associated with development in the southeast of England rather than the southwest, the weatherboarding being a vernacular tradition associated with areas such as the Sussex Weald for example.[73] This appears to have been typical of the chalk upland area in Wiltshire, which was strongly influenced by south-eastern vernacular traditions.

As well as this series of barns, other, smaller, farm buildings also survive. Notable among these is a building now converted into three small cottages and known as Carter's Row, in West Amesbury (Figure 30). The original walls are of brick and knapped flint, with occasional stone pieces including large quoins in roughly-squared blocks. It appears that this formed part of the farmstead associated with West Amesbury along with the larger barns of Barn End and West Barn, perhaps serving as a stable. Similar brick buildings

Figure 29. Former barn in Lake. Converted to a village hall in the 1930s and a house in the 1980s.

Figure 30. Carter's Row, West Amesbury. A converted farmbuilding from the large farm complex, possibly originally a stable.

may be represented in Lake by another converted building, now forming a pair of semi-detached cottages known as Stable Cottage and Finch Cottage. Domestic conversion makes identification of the original purpose of the buildings difficult, although the naming of one of the cottages indicates that one may have been a stable. Certainly, they appear to have originated as two adjoining single-storey brick farm ranges of late 18th or possibly early 19th century date. Although similar in form and materials, some differences in proportion suggest the two buildings were not constructed contemporaneously.

The construction of these smaller agricultural buildings in both West Amesbury and Lake, as with the barns, reflect regional and national patterns in the development of farm practices at the time – with the expansion of farm holdings through enclosure and greater specialisation in the buildings in the farmstead both driving the demand for new buildings. However these smaller buildings, more than with the larger barns and granaries, show a greater association with the vernacular traditions of the area, particularly in the use of limestone and flint as construction materials. This has obviously been adapted with the use of some less traditional materials, such as brick, but this reflects the modification of vernacular building traditions seen in domestic buildings at the time.

With the exception of the surviving farmstead at Countess, all the other farm buildings mentioned above represent piecemeal survival of buildings from earlier complexes, as disuse in the late 19th and early 20th century led to demolition and loss of a substantial number of buildings. Cartographic evidence, particularly from the Tithe maps however, indicates that the farmsteads at West Amesbury, Normanton, Lake and Wilsford were all substantial, containing far more buildings than survive today. In particular it is clear that both Normanton and Wilsford had large barns and other structures which have been completely destroyed (see Figure 13). The farmstead at West Amesbury appears to have been quite disparate, spread over a large area to the north of the road but loosely grouped into two yards (Figure 31). Wilsford, Normanton and Lake appear to have had the same loose courtyard arrangement by the 1840s, but in all cases this appears to represent a series of separate buildings rather than a coherent planned farmstead. This supports the idea that even where buildings are not extant, they may well have represented part of the late 18th century investment phase, added to in the early 19th century. They certainly do not appear to represent the type of compact farmstead typical of an entirely 19th century build. Thus it would appear that all the settlements received substantial investment in the late 18th century, resulting in a typical farmyard layout of buildings loosely arranged around a courtyard. Where these buildings survive they typically comprise large timber-framed threshing or storage buildings with some smaller brick, flint and/or stone buildings, potentially for housing animals. These buildings moreover can be seen to represent an interesting mixture of national and local building traditions.

Andrews and Drury's 1773 map also depicts one field barn in the area, on the downland above Normanton. This does not survive, but the location of the barn probably reflects the elongated form of the settlement landholdings as they stretched from the villages up into the downland. The furthest of the downland areas were some distance from the settlements, and thus it was useful to provide storage for feed and other items nearer the grazing land.

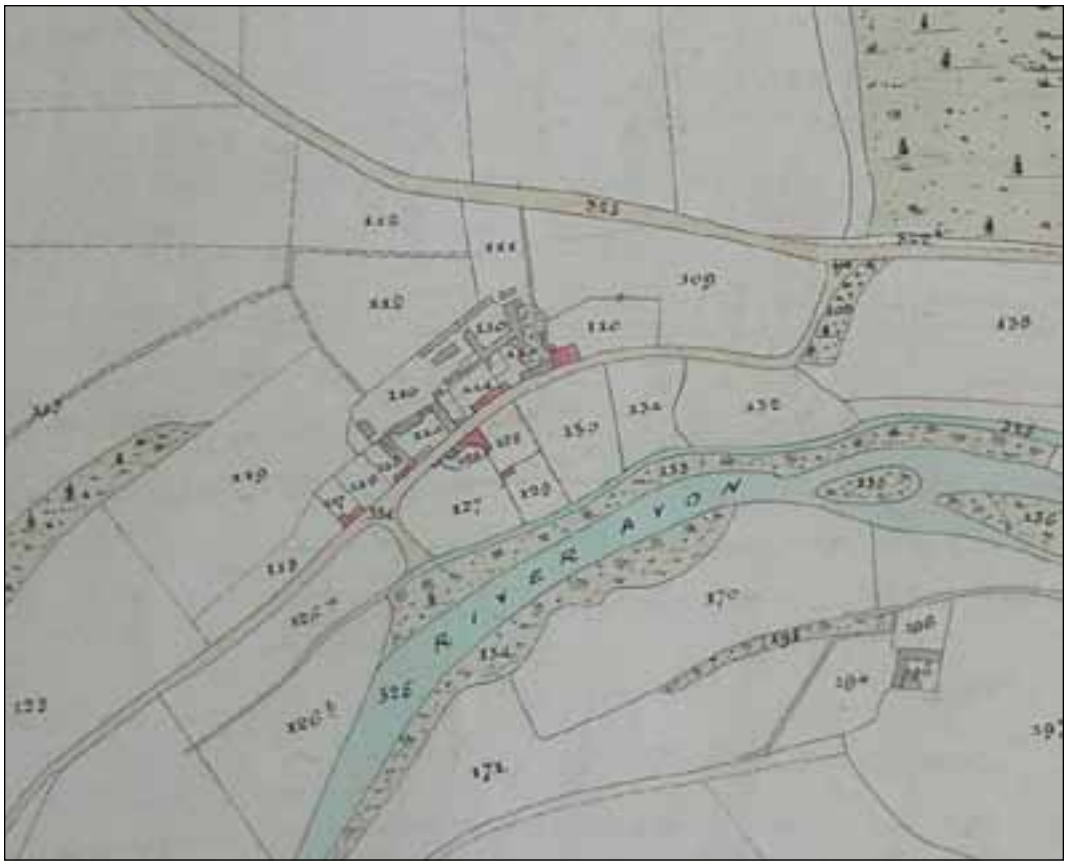

Figure 31. West Amesbury Tithe Map, showing the large farm complex to the north of the road, depicted as the grey (non-domestic) buildings. (Reproduced courtesy of Wiltshire and Swindon Archives.)

Many of the domestic buildings associated with the farmsteads also appear to have undergone investment in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Both Countess and Lake Farms received new wings circa 1800. The new range at Countess was built parallel with the older building, providing a new frontage onto the main road. This was built entirely of brick, and by this date, if not earlier, the rear range was also encased in brick to mask the timber framing. At Lake Farm (now The Grange) the new range was constructed at right-angles to the original building, fronting southwards and away from the road but towards the main farmstead. This has a façade of brick and flint bands. Wilsford Farm appears to have undergone remodelling considerably later. The present building appears to date from circa 1830-40. The 1773 map however indicates that there was an earlier farmhouse in the same location, and the asymmetrical arrangement of the bays may indicate that some elements of the earlier house were retained. As at Countess the new façade was entirely of brick, but faced away from the main road and towards the church.

Mid-19th to early 20th centuries

The mid-19th century saw further cultivation of the chalk downlands, which by the late 19th century had necessitated the construction of out-farms on this higher ground. At least five farms appear to have been created on the downland between the 1840s and 1878, a marked shift from the river-valley focus which had characterised the historic

period up until this date. These new out-farms were characterised by courtyard arrangements with some domestic accommodation to one side, typically small cottages for farm workers rather than farmhouses for principal tenants. One of these, known as Fargo, was built just southwest of Stonehenge and is visible in the background to early photographs of the monument (Figure 32). It was demolished following the military purchase of this area of the downs in the First World War, but the surviving cartographic and photographic evidence show it to have been typical of the compact courtyard arrangement. Continuing farm practice on the surviving downland farms has lead to considerable alteration to all the surviving complexes. Springbottom Farm, to the west of Wilsford, represents the best survival of the original form of the out-farms, although even here the majority of the buildings have been converted from their original use. Here, the courtyard comprises a large threshing barn forming the eastern side, with pens (now stables) to the west and a cart-shed (now a cottage) to the north (Figure 33). The threshing barn has brick sleeper walls with a timber frame above, weatherboarded on the exterior, with a tile roof. This can be seen to reflect the traditional barn form seen in the late 18th century, but with some adaptation in the wider use of brick and the tile roof.

At Normanton Farm, purchased by the Amesbury Estate in 1834, the original farmstead was not supplemented by an out-farm. However additional workers' cottages were constructed against the main road and away from the earlier farmstead. These were two pairs of semi-detached cottages, sitting in large plots of land, built of brick with tile roofs. They represent a distinct move away from the forms of buildings seen previously in the area, with little use of the traditional local materials. This reflects widespread practice at this date, and in most areas these buildings would have presaged a wholesale departure from the vernacular traditions of the area. In the Avon Valley however, the turn of the 19th century saw a considerable effort, on the parts of many of the landowners in the area, to develop additional housing in the villages in a form which reflected traditional characteristics.

Arts and Crafts movement

The late 19th century was marked by the sale of both the Wilsford and Lake estates to new owners. In many ways this maintained the earlier landholding pattern, with the continuation of the large estate holdings with tenant farmers, rather than a move towards freehold which was seen in many other areas. Both sets of owners were responsible for changes to their estates however, particularly in the construction of additional housing in the settlements. These groups of buildings reflected the interests of the respective owners, including two cottages in Wilsford built in the vernacular tradition of the area by the Tennant family. There are two cottages now flanking the driveway to Springbottom Farm, one forming an individual property, now known as Beechway, and the other a pair of semi-detached cottages, now known as Lilac Cottage and Wilsford Cottage. They both bear the initials of the new owner Edward Tennant and are dated to 1905 and 1906, the period during which a new principal house, Wilsford Manor, was being constructed by noted Arts and Crafts architect Detmar Blow. Both buildings are of one and a half storeys and thatched. Beechway is rendered with a small jetty feature at its north end. Lilac Cottage and Wilsford Cottage are of exposed rubble stone and flint (Figure 34). Both exhibit the type of traditional forms and features associated with

Figure 32. The out-farm at Fargo, visible in the background of an early 20th century photograph of Stonehenge. (NMR S613)

Figure 33. Farm complex at Springbottom Farm, a late 19th century out-farm which became the principal farm for the Lake Estate (NMR 26713_009).

Blow's architecture, in particular their response to the local vernacular form, showing a nuanced understanding of the architectural styles adopted in the Avon Valley for buildings of different status.

At Wilsford, the Tennants had inherited a Georgian and Victorian house considered to have little architectural merit.[74] They therefore commissioned a total rebuild in 1904. Blow's approach to construction in this early stage in his career was very active, embodying the principles promoted by Ruskin, by being directly involved in the building process and on-site during construction.[75] Indeed at Wilsford this system appears to have gone a step further with the owners also involved. In her article on the building in Country Life, Pamela Tennant promoted the idea of direct involvement in construction, stating that '[p]erhaps Bess of Hardwick never mixed her own mortar, but she would have enjoyed building even more if she had'.[76] A daughter of Percy Wyndham, Pamela Tennant had grown up at Clouds House near Milton, Wiltshire, the archetypal Arts and Crafts house, and her view of the countryside was clearly influenced by the thinking of John Ruskin and Philip Webb, the latter of whom designed Clouds for her father. For the group, country houses were the key to social interaction, but were used in a way which rejected many of the dominant principles of country house design in the late 19th century. Families associated with the Arts and Crafts movement tended to build smaller houses, designed to allow them to spend time out of doors but not pursuing the sports and fashions typical of the rest of the aristocracy.[77]

Blow's previous knowledge of the architectural traditions of the Avon Valley, garnered during his work at Lake House, provided him with the perfect template for designing the house, further promoted by the discovery, during the course of construction, of the foundations and low walls of an earlier house on the site of the Georgian one. This earlier house apparently had the chequerwork walls characteristic of 17th century construction in the area, and surviving elements, including some stone mullions, were apparently incorporated into the new building.[78] The romantic appeal of the idea of restoring the form of an earlier house on the same site obviously appealed to both owner and architect although it is unclear how much of an earlier structure was legible during the construction, and how much influence it actually had on the design of the house. The house is a convincing evocation of the late 16th or early 17th century style as seen at houses such as Lake House, although Drury believes that the main influence on the house may have been William Morris' house at Kelmscott, Oxfordshire.[79] The traditional design forms were also adapted to meet the requirements of the Tennants with the inclusion of features such as an outdoor dining room (Figure 35).

Six years earlier, at Lake, Joseph Lovibond purchased the Dukes' late-16th century house which had apparently fallen into a state of some disrepair. Immediately after his purchase therefore he employed Detmar Blow to carry out repairs, on a recommendation from the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), whom he approached for advice. At this date SPAB were at the forefront of the crusade to retain and repair earlier buildings, resisting, or trying to resist the practice of 'improvement' to historic buildings, which they saw as immensely damaging. The organisation had close links to significant members of the Arts and Crafts movement, and SPAB policy could be seen to reflect the principles of this movement in the preservation of earlier buildings.

Figure 34. Lilac Cottage and Wilsford Cottage, probably designed by Detmar Blow during his work on Wilsford Manor for the Tennant family.

Figure 35. Pamela Tennant, Lady Glenconner, sitting in the outdoor dining room at Wilsford Manor, circa 1910. (NMR BB82)

The process undertaken at Lake House therefore was painstaking in its attention to the retention and maintenance of the early fabric. The principal structural problem to be addressed appears to have been the splitting of the inner and outer walls of the house, and Blow approached this by removing the core of the walling piece by piece and replacing it, allowing both skins of wall to remain in place. Open joints were infilled with tile or slate in order to differentiate the old fabric from new introductions, and lintels and mullions were braced and repaired without being replaced. Completed by 1899, the house was promoted as an example of what was it possible to achieve using SPAB techniques.[80]

Just 13 years after the restoration was completed a fire gutted the house, leaving only the external walls standing. Lovibond again commissioned Blow, this time to complete a full reconstruction of the interior, despite the fact that at the time of the fire Lovibond was living elsewhere on the estate allegedly because he could not afford to live in the main house.[81] It is clear from photographs taken immediately after the fire that Blow had almost no original internal fabric to work with; however he created interiors which carefully complemented the surviving exterior.

As well two phases of restoration on Lake House, Lovibond was also responsible for a series of estate buildings. As a great innovator he appears to have used the construction of these buildings as an opportunity to experiment, particularly with the use of concrete as a building material. The result is a series of estate buildings predominantly of concrete; the stable block at Lake House, Lake Rising (the house he apparently subsequently occupied), a pair of semi-detached cottages on the road approaching Wilsford and finally a workshop building to house another experiment, the Stonehenge Woollen Company. Visually, it can now be observed that all of these buildings are of concrete, cast in situ between vertical timber posts of a narrow scantling (Figure 36). The concrete appears to have been cast in rises, a practice which had traditional origins as the usual way to build with cob. He may also have made use of early ideas of reinforcing concrete, apparently using cast-off iron railings and bedsteads to help provide additional strengthening.[82] The buildings all have thatched hipped roofs, which together with the timber-framed elements mean that they still reflect something of the local traditional forms of building. Indeed, whilst the use of a modern material contrasts considerably with the vernacular materials in use in Wilsford, it could perhaps be argued that the use of concrete in these buildings reflects a less nostalgic and more practical, vernacular, approach to the construction of buildings in the early 20th century.

Lake Rising may have been the first of these to be constructed, certainly the form of the frame and concrete present an irregular appearance, possibly suggestive of an experimental phase, particularly in comparison to the other concrete structures which are more regularly arranged. The building must have been completed prior to 1910, when it was visited by a 17-year old Dorothy L Sayers, who wrote about the visit to her mother - 'we had been invited to tea by some dear little people who lived the simple life in a little house on the top of a hill, overlooking the most perfect scenery. The old grandfather, whose name is Mr Lovibond, is most awfully clever and a perfect old dear. He owns Lake House – a glorious old place, but has let it and built himself this sweet little house on the hill' (Figure 37).[83]

Figure 36. A concrete cottage, with applied timber frame elements, as built on the Lake Estate by Joseph Lovibond in the early 20th century

In 1900, soon after the work at Lake House was completed, Blow was employed to effect alterations to Amesbury Abbey. At its core the abbey was still a house by John Webb built in the late 17th century, but with a number of later phases forming a mixed architectural ensemble in a Palladian style. It was very different from the type of houses that Blow was typically employed to build or restore, but he appears to have taken a similar approach, reconfiguring the entrance and staircase gallery but taking care to match his alterations to the earlier decorative schemes that could already be observed in the house.[84]

West Amesbury House, at this time part of the abbey's estate, was allegedly also worked on by Blow at this stage. A series of small extensions along the eastern side of the building have been attributed to him; however, the cartographic evidence makes it clear that these were in fact in place prior to 1878, and cannot have been part of Blow's work for the estate. Indeed, it appears that he did not make any changes to the footprint of the building, as it appears consistent throughout the late 19th and early 20th century mapping. If Blow did work at the house it may have been on the facades or interiors, perhaps reconfiguring using a similar approach to that at Amesbury Abbey (Figure 38). Blow's involvement at West Amesbury House may reflect a change in status for the building, which had been used as a farmhouse since the 18th century. The shift in agricultural patterns during this period may have lead to a reinvestment in the house as a higher-status residence, and it was apparently leased by the Tennants during the construction of Wilsford Manor.[85] As at Wilsford there is some suggestion that Blow was also involved in the construction of other estate buildings, apparently responsible for Sandall's Farm (now Sandall's House) at the south end of West Amesbury in 1902.[86]

Figure 37. Lake Rising in the top left hand corner, on the high ground above Lake and the River Avon. (NMR 26712_016)

Figure 38. West Amesbury House. Detmar Blow's alleged involvement may have included the refronting of the building.

The wider estates

Later in the 19th century and in the early 20th century the focus of farming continued to shift onto the upland with the abandonment of the farmsteads in the villages. In some cases this appears associated with the break up of the larger estates, notably that of Amesbury Abbey which was largely sold after the First World War. However the same process appears to have been undertaken in Lake despite the continuation of the traditional estate holding until the mid-20th century. This process of abandonment included the demolition or conversion of almost all of the older farmsteads including those in Lake, Wilsford, Normanton and West Amesbury. Only Countess retained its original function, probably because the proximity of its land to Stonehenge meant it was purchased by the National Trust in the 1920s, and the associated land was therefore managed with less concern for economic expediency.

In rationalising these early farmsteads aesthetic considerations appear to have dictated the retention of some buildings, particularly the larger barns which were preserved but converted in West Amesbury and Lake, along with some associated, smaller buildings. In some ways the decision to retain and convert the larger buildings reflects a practical judgement on the type of buildings suitable for conversion, but the desire to preserve these agricultural buildings despite their obsolescence must be viewed as an acknowledgement of their contribution to the traditional character of these settlements. Economically the agricultural focus had shifted out of the villages, but the estate owners clearly wished to preserve the aesthetic of the traditional mix of domestic and farm buildings which characterised their villages.

The partial exception to this move to the downland is Wilsford where, although the original farmstead associated with Wilsford Farm was demolished in the first part of the 20th century, a new farm complex was constructed immediately north of the house still near the river meadow and within sight of the settlement (Figure 39). This was apparently constructed as a dairy, and thus the exception may be associated with the use of the river meadow for cattle, as opposed to the other farmsteads which were increasingly associated with the cultivation of the upland. The dairy complex, now a racing stables, comprised an E-shaped barn complex, with a large weatherboarded threshing barn provided in the northeastern corner. Immediately north of the barns a small detached building (now a house) was apparently originally used as an engine house, and suggests that the process undertaken in the dairy complex included substantial mechanisation.

Associated with this shift was the conversion of the earlier workers' cottages provided on the out-farms into the principal farmhouses for the landholdings. This is seen at both Westfield Farm and Springbottom Farm where the semi-detached cottages were converted into single dwellings in the early 20th century. By the mid-20th century Springbottom Farm was the centre for the Lake Estate, as well as additional land which had previously formed parts of Normanton and West Amesbury Farms.

Finally, the arrival of the military on the downs led to a considerable expansion in the size of Amesbury in the early 20th century, with ribbon development to either side of the town extending along the principal roads which ran up the valley bottom. Initially

Figure 39. The early 20th century E-shaped farmstead constructed in association with Wilsford Farm. This now forms racing stables. (NMR 26711_022)

this appears to have been represented by large houses built on individual plots, but development of these areas appears to have become more intensive in the late 20th century, although the overall size of the development areas has not been allowed to grow. To the north, the military presence led to the establishment of a settlement at Larkhill, the planned housing estates of which extend into the northern area of the World Heritage Site. This housing is laid out on a grid plan, with terraces and semi-detached houses grouped around central amenity buildings.

PART THREE – CONCLUSION: DISTINCTIVENESS AND SIGNIFICANCE

Themes emerging from the built heritage

From an examination of the evolution of the buildings within the World Heritage Site two complementary themes emerge as the main context for the construction and design of most of the buildings seen in the area: agriculture and romanticism.

Agriculture

For most people, Stonehenge and its surrounding landscape, is synonymous with ritual and symbolism and those early associations certainly appear to have had a significant legacy throughout the historic period. However the built heritage of the World Heritage Site underlines the extent to which the area has been utilised as a practical landscape where people have lived and worked throughout the historic period. The form and style of the settlements in the area has been almost entirely dictated by practical considerations, reflecting the underlying geology and agricultural potential of the area. Indeed it is agriculture that has dominated the evolution of the settlements from their establishment to the present day, with remarkably little other industry having a significant impact on the development of the area until the military in the 20th century. This is reflected in the historic buildings in the area, with low population levels and a high proportion of buildings linked to agricultural practice.

The evolution of farming practice and the buildings constructed in response to the changes have been outlined above. Historic farmsteads survive both in the settlements and on the downland providing the most legible features associated with the industry, but such was the dominance of agriculture that a far wider range of buildings are indirectly linked to it, with the domestic buildings built to provide accommodation for the agricultural labourers, and the manorial houses built and maintained with the profits from the agricultural estates.

Romanticism

Against the continuing backdrop of functional, practical landscape, a Romantic view of the landscape in the downland area appears to have emerged during the 18th century. This was a reflection of wider trends in England with the evolution of the concept of the picturesque by Gilpin, which included a new focus on the historic features within the landscape which could provide points of beauty. The influence of this movement is most clearly reflected at Amesbury Abbey, where the landscape around the house was manipulated to provide the setting for a series of buildings and objects of interest. The extension of the park apparently deliberately to include the earlier landscape feature Vespasian's Camp, which had for many years been part of the functional agricultural landscape, indicates that features such as these now had a wider resonance, at least to the aristocratic elite at the time. As well as the significance of the hillfort of Vespasian's Camp itself, this feature moreover could be used as a viewing platform from which to see the wider landscape around, including other prominent prehistoric features, not least

Stonehenge. These changes to the landscape reflect a growing interest in Stonehenge and the associated monuments, embodied by the work of antiquarians such as William Stukeley, whose work on Stonehenge was published in 1740. Stukeley's research was undertaken with the approbation of the local aristocracy, enthusiasts such as the Earl of Pembroke, who constructed a model of Stonehenge in his garden.[87] The Queensburys however, could boast the original on their estate and now set within the wider landscape around their park, the ultimate in 'romantic' feature for a garden in the new landscape style. From this period onwards therefore the romance of the landscape in the area was a continuing trend, almost always focused on looking back at the historic antecedents of the area.

The formal 'Romantic' landscape movement was supplanted by other fashions by the early 19th century, but its chief principles, most notably the aesthetic and historic appreciation of the landscape, are clear factors in the development of the area throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Interest in these factors can be particularly associated with the purchase of the Lake and Wilsford estates in the late 19th century. For both new owners the social and financial implications of the purchase were clearly accompanied by a deep personal interest in the architectural and agricultural traditions of the area. Both Lovibond, at Lake, and Tennant, at Wilsford, had the money to effect considerable change on the estates, but this was channelled into projects which showed a great respect for the history of the buildings and wider landscape they had purchased. In both cases this must have been motivated by a romantic attachment to the forms and functions of the area they had moved into as it had considerable financial and practical implications. The extent to which these actions were associated with a particular ideology probably varied, but both owners appear to have shown a considerable affinity to the principals of the Arts and Crafts movement.

At Wilsford, to Pamela Tennant, Lady Glenconner, the countryside was a source of beauty, both in the natural landscape and in the traditional skills and practices associated with it. This had a strong resonance with Detmar Blow, who's work for the Tennants and on other Avon Valley estates could be seen to epitomise the nostalgic view of the vernacular building forms. Blow's buildings at Wilsford also reflect the more socialist principles held by many involved in the political aspects of the Arts and Crafts movement, which focused attention on the plight of rural workers and the perceived nobility of their traditional way of life. This is reflected both in the aspiration of many members of the movement to live a 'simple' life, but also in an idealised interest in those who were undertaking such work.[88] Such attention is open to criticism – the extent to which Blow or any of his clients really understood the hardship of a physical life is easily called into question – but nonetheless may have provided some amelioration of poor conditions through the provision of facilities such as new estate buildings.

At Lake Lovibond does not appear to have directly engaged with any of the political ideas which motivated families such as the Tennants. However in practical action his ideas nonetheless could be seen to embody many of the Arts and Crafts ideals of respect for the past and craftsmanship, with an egalitarian interest in those around him. This is reflected both in the restoration of Lake House, and its rebuilding following the fire of 1912, utilising the techniques propounded by the SPAB who embodied an Arts and

Crafts approach to restoration. As with Wilsford, these principles also appear to have extended outwards into the wider estate, to address issues emerging in the agricultural market of the time. Lovibond appears to have taken a practical approach to helping struggling workers on his estate, with the creation of the Stonehenge Woollen Company for example, accompanied by the provision of a number of new houses built using an experimental concrete technique. This was clearly a striking new departure for buildings in the area, but it must be stressed that despite the use of an experimental material the buildings were still broadly reflective of elements of traditional buildings in the area. In this way they could be seen to be combining the traditional and the modern in a way which was less idealised and more practical than the buildings constructed on the Wilsford Manor estate.

By the early 20th century the changing agricultural patterns had left the village farmsteads largely out of use. Instead of widespread demolition however almost all of the owners chose to retain the more significant, and evocative, farm buildings converting them for a variety of uses. A generation on from the Arts and Crafts movement, this retention can still be seen to reflect a pervasive ideology which cherished the traditional form. With the developmental pressures in the area following the arrival of the military on the downland, this marks a point of divergence, where the smaller valley settlements must have resisted pressure to expand, choosing instead to cherish a nostalgia for the agricultural past, despite the realities of the economic expediency which had forced most of the agricultural practice out of the settlements. This is still reflected today in the contrast between the standard early 20th century architecture of the ribbon settlement along the roads into the towns of Durrington and Amesbury, both of which were heavily altered by military settlement in the first part of the 20th century, and the southern Avon Valley where the limited building that was undertaken at that stage retained a far more traditional character.

The form of the buildings

The modern creation of the defined World Heritage Site imposes an artificial boundary around the buildings examined, and it is clear that the buildings largely reflect the traditions of the broader, chalk downland area rather than embodying a typology unique to the area examined. Buildings of the medieval period are poorly represented in the area, but the two high-status buildings which do survive indicate a strong tradition in the use of knapped flint and limestone – materials which subsequently continue in use well into the post-medieval and modern periods. Other vernacular building materials such as cob and timber-framing, which probably represented a high proportion of lower-status medieval buildings, survive from the 17th century. Examples of timber-framing are very ephemeral, surviving only in early phases of some farmhouses and only visible internally.

High-status buildings of the 16th and 17th centuries were characterised in the wider downland area by the use of the distinctive chequerwork patterning of flint and limestone. This is typified by Lake House, a striking late 16th century example of the form. From the 17th century a few of the earliest identified elements of lower-status buildings may tentatively be identified, generally utilising cob as a building material with some internal timber elements.

Most of the buildings surviving in the area date from the 18th century or later, set in the context of the earlier settlement patterns. By this date higher-status buildings made use of brick, but with some continuing use of the flint and limestone traditions. More modest buildings appear to have used a broad range of materials including brick, timber framed elements (largely internally but occasionally visible externally as wall plates for example), cob, flint and limestone. Many buildings reflect a mix of materials with continual accretions reflecting varying materials.

The predominance of agriculture in the area has ensured a rich legacy of farm buildings, mainly dating from the late 18th century or mid-19th century reflecting two main phases of farm expansion. The buildings largely reflect the southeast England traditions common to the Wiltshire chalk downlands – with the use of timber-framing on sleeper walls or staddle stones, weatherboarded exteriors, and thatched, half-hipped roofs also typical. Smaller farm buildings appear to have reflected more of the local vernacular traditions, at least in the materials used.

Where the Avon Valley may reflect a distinctive characteristic from the wider downland tradition is in the strength of influence of the Arts and Crafts movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This probably reflects a peculiar coincidence of owners during this period, all of whom drew heavily from this ideology, but they themselves may well have been drawn to the area by the extent to which it had already resisted any encroachment by industrialisation. The influence is given particular strength by the employment of one individual, Detmar Blow, to undertake work on all three estates in the south Avon Valley in this period – imposing an aesthetic trend which drew heavily on the area's traditions although still utilising a variety in design. These buildings now exert a strong influence on the settlements – with much of what gives the settlements their vernacular or traditional appearance actually dating from the early 20th century. The ideology is reflected in the continuation of the use of traditional materials well into the 20th century largely resisting the introduction of more modern construction forms.

NOTES

1 Young, Chadburn and Bedu 2009, 21

2 McOmish et al. 2002

3 English Heritage 2010

4 McOmish et al. 2002, 109

5 McOmish et al. 2002, 113

6 McOmish et al. 2002, 112

7 Lewis 1994, 188

8 Darvill et al 2005, 80; Bond 1991, 387

9 Chandler and Goodhugh 1989, 7

10 Lewis 1994, 176

11 Darby and Welldon-Finn 1967, 48

12 Crittall (ed.) 1962, 213

13 Groves et al 1939, 372; Gelling and Cole 2000, 20

14 Darby and Welldon-Finn (eds.) 1967, 64

15 Lewis 1994, 187

16 Groves et al. 1939, 359 and 372

17 Groves et al. 1939, 359 and 372

18 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 27

19 Crittall (ed.) 1962, 214

20 Crowley (ed.) 1995, c93

21 Pugh (ed.) 1947, xi

22 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 50

23 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 32

24 Pugh (ed.) 1947, 105

25 Dalton Clifford 1960

26 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 28

27 Crittal (ed.) 1959, 304

28 McOmish et al. 2002, 124

29 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 28

30 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 38; Crittal (ed.) 1962, 218

31 McOmish et al. 2002, 113

32 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 45

33 Crittal (ed.) 1995, 32

34 Bold 1991, 419

35 Crowley (ed.)1995, 43

36 Wiltshire Buildings Record Entry B8180.1

37 Crittal (ed.) 1962, 215

38 Tennant 1906, 450

39 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 42

40 Crittall (ed.) 1962, 218

41 Darvill (ed) 2005, Map O; Crowley (ed.) 1995, 28

42 Bold 1991, 419

43 McOmish et al 2002, 117

44 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 43

45 Crittall (ed.) 1962, 218

46 Crittall (ed.) 1962, 218

47 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 87

48 Bond 1991, 425

49 Crittall (ed.) 1959, 325

50 Crittall (ed.) 1962, 219

51 Crittall (ed.) 1962, 219

52 Dalton Clifford 1960

53 Bond 1991, 394

54 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 27

55 Lewis 1994, 187

56 Bond 1991, 395

57 RCHME 1987, 17

58 RCHME 1987, 17

59 RCHME 1987, 231

60 NMR 920424: measured survey of West Amesbury shrunken medieval village

61 Pevsner 1975, 93

62 Pugh (ed.) 1947, 105

63 Pugh (ed.) 1947, xvi

64 Crowley (ed.) 1995, 43

65 Slocombe 1988, 9

66 Bold 1988, 120

67 Bodleian Library MSGD a3* fo. 32

68 Bold 1988, 122

69 Bold 1988, 122

70 Bold 1988, 123

71 Crawley (ed.) 1995, 43

72 Slocombe (ed) 1996, 69

73 Lake and Edwards 2006, 53

74 Tennant 1906, 450

75 Drury 2000

76 Tennant 1906, 454

77 Aslet 1982, 7-8

78 Tennant 1906, 450

79 Drury 2000, 123

80 Architectural Review 1899

81 Chamberlain 1978, 32

82 Chamberlain 1978, 32

83 Quoted in Durman 2007

84 Drury 2000, 110

85 Drury 2000, 117

86 Drury 2000, 117

87 Hill 2008, 44

88 Drury 2000, 31

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APPENDIX 1: GAZETTEER

This selected gazetteer presents a brief summary of the principal buildings within the World Heritage Site, based on visual assessment of the buildings and, in some cases, supplementary documentary or cartographic information.

Countess

Countess Farm (listed grade II)

Countess farmhouse is a double-pile house, of which the rear block is a timber-framed building possibly dating from the 16th century. The front block (east) was added circa 1800 and is built of brick, with some flint panels. It is two-storeyed with a tile roof (see Figure 16). The earlier timber-framed building is now faced in brick, with gable walls of brick and flint. Internally this appears to have comprised a central unheated service room with a heated room to either end. The later front range is of brick resting on a sarsen plinth, and is symmetrically arranged with a central entrance flanked by the principal rooms.

Barns at Countess Farm (all listed grade II)

The large farmyard at Countess is notable for its four surviving late 18th century timber structures, now known as the Great Barn, Little Barn, Staddle Barn and Granary (see Figure 27). Two are inscribed with the date 1772, and the structural similarities between them suggest all four were probably constructed at this time. One of the date inscriptions includes the name I Osgood, a local carpenter and builder. All four are weatherboarded structures, two sitting on staddle stones and the others on brick plinths. There are additional 19th century buildings, including, most notably, a brick stable block attached to one end of the Little Barn. The 1878 OS shows further buildings to the south of the complex which no longer survive.

Ornamental buildings in Amesbury Abbey Park

Amesbury Abbey and its immediate surroundings fall outside the World Heritage Site. Part of its associated parkland however, principally an 18th century extension of its earlier grounds, extend over the River Avon (which marks the WHS boundary in this area) and have therefore been included in the study area.

Chinese House (listed grade II*)

A mid-18th century ornamental structure certainly started before the 1750s but possibly finished or altered by William Chambers circa 1772 (see Figure 20). It is built over a tributary to the River Avon and is formed as a single-span bridge on which stands a one-room folly building, with Chinese detailing, executed in flint and limestone, and with a pyramidal roof. Surrounding this on all four sides is a verandah with a lean-to tile roof supported on timber columns, with a fretwork balustrade in timber.

Gay's Cave (listed grade II*)

A small grotto built into the side of the hill, with a limestone façade including naturalistic rock-faced work, from which carved classical detailing breaks out, including a moulded triangular pediment (see Figure 19). The interior is lined with ashlar limestone, with two classical round-arched niches set into the sides and a large rounded apse to the rear. Possibly designed by Henry Flitcroft or William Chambers.

West Amesbury

West Amesbury House (house listed grade I, garden walls listed grade II)

A complex multi-phase house, the west range of which may date back to the 15th century. An RCHME survey interpreted this range as the earliest phase, built (or possibly rebuilt) in the late 15th or early 16th century, although noting a 1st-floor doorway which may be earlier. It has a high-status medieval roof with arch-braced trusses and windbracing. This range may have had an additional centrally-placed projecting stair wing to the east.

A substantial extension, including the surviving north range, was built in the late 17th or early 18th century, and the house assumed a 'U' or 'H'-plan, with projecting gabled wings flanking a courtyard to the front. This arrangement, with gate piers opening into the courtyard, is depicted on Kemm's c1865 drawing of West Amesbury House. The house was further altered with the demolition of the east range, and a rebuilding adjacent to the earlier west range in the early 19th century, creating the square plan surviving today. Finally, alterations were undertaken in the early 20th century, attributed to Detmar Blow. The current south façade, probably the work of more than one phase, presents a symmetrical arrangement, with two gables flanking a narrow, shallow, recessed central bay (Figure 38). Clearly this facade, built of flint and limestone chequer-work, has undergone extensive reworking, perhaps c1900, and may include work by Detmar Blow. There are stone-mullioned windows throughout, with hood moulds at ground-floor level, and raised stone surrounds on the 1st and attic storeys.

Documentary evidence suggests that the house was occupied by the lord of the manor of West Amesbury from at least 1618 to 1628, but may have been the manorial centre for longer. From 1628 until the 18th century it was used as a farmhouse. In 1735 it was purchased by Charles, Duke of Queensbury (owner of Amesbury Abbey) who undertook alterations. In 1824 the estate was bought by Sir Edward Antrobus, and the sale included 'West Amesbury Farm". Following the requisition of the Abbey, during the Second World War, the abbey was converted to flats, and the Antrobus family moved to West Amesbury House, which became the centre of the estate.

Gate piers and gates opposite West Amesbury House (listed grade II)

Late 17th or early 18th century. There are rusticated stone columns (2.4m high), surmounted by ball finials, with wrought-iron gates. The RCHME interpretation of the house suggests they are contemporary with the construction of the north range, possibly

Figure 40. The gate piers of West Amesbury House, now on the opposite side of the road but originally located in front of the house.

in the late 17th but more likely in the early 18th century. The piers are depicted on Kemm's c1865 drawing of West Amesbury House forming the front of the house's courtyard arrangement and must have been relocated when the front of the house was altered (Figure 40).

West Amesbury House - stables and coach house (listed grade II)

This building is predominantly early 18th century, comprising a long single-storey range attached to the main house at the east end by a large, roofed, carriage entrance set between the two. The east wall of the building is of flint with some pieces of stone interspersed (similar in style to some of the earlier phases of the main house), which may pre-date the remainder of the stable building (see Figure 18). The south elevation is of brick with stone mullioned windows (one with replacement wooden mullions). It appears that the western two bays of the five-bay building are an extension. Cartographically this extension has been dated to c1770-1840, although the style of the extension matches the earlier phase and is hard to discern in the facade. The listing description notes that the interior contains three open stalls, two loose boxes and a 2-bay carriage house at the south end, with a feed loft over – with the fittings probably dating to the late 18th century. The interior was not examined as part of this survey.

Chalk House and Merion Cottage (listed grade II)

Formerly a row of five cottages, now converted into semi-detached houses. The row has a thatched roof, with irregular ridge heights, and thatch swept over an extensive array of dormers (see Figure 22). Originally single storey, with the original wall plate surviving (although partly reset) in the heightened, one-and-a-half storey building. Chalk, brick and flint walls, with evidence of substantial reworking associated with the conversion into two cottages, but also reflecting the piecemeal nature of construction, with a series of additions. The earliest phases must be at least early 18th century, as the row is included in the 18th century mapping of the village. It is possible that the central part of what is now Merion Cottage, with a central doorway flanked by symmetrical bays, may represent the earliest phase of construction of a slightly higher status dwelling (possibly a modest farmhouse), but with the addition of single-room cottages indicating accommodation for labourers.

Carters Row

Originally a farm building associated with the extensive West Amesbury farmstead, and possibly dating to the late 18th century, Carters Row is now a row of three cottages of one and half storeys, with walls built of numerous contrasting materials (see Figure 30). The ground floor is predominantly brick with stone quoins, with additions of stone and flint on the west elevation. The building's original function within the farm is no longer clear, due to the extensive nature of historic alterations. At first-floor level, the building is predominantly of stone, possibly clunch, added in various phases. The building has weatherboard gable ends and a tiled roof, almost certainly the result of conversion from a large hipped, thatched roof form. The current building appears to have been heightened at least once and most window and door openings have 20th century flat-brick heads.

West Barn

Large weatherboarded barn and/or granary raised on staddle stones (11 by 4), with a half-hipped, thatched roof (weatherboarding and thatch appear modern). Now converted into domestic accommodation, with inserted window and door openings, although two high-level openings in the half gables have weatherboard doors and may therefore represent original hatches (see Figure 28). On the west elevation is a small date marker, which although modern bears the date 1798, flanked by the initials TT and RP. Cartographic evidence suggests that this was part of the farm complex associated with West Amesbury Farm in the late 18th century.

Barn's End

A large 18th century aisled barn converted into four cottages (dated to 1938 by a plaque on the building). The barn is of post and truss construction, of six bays, with weatherboarded stud walls and a thatch roof, although the former aisles are roofed in slate (see Figure 12). Internally the cottages have been inserted into the structure, leaving the timber framing of the barn visible from a rear alleyway formed in one of the original aisles. The trusses have jowled posts and spindley, bowed, up-swinging braces to the tie beam and to a square-set arcade plate. There are raked struts extending from the tie beam to the principal rafters. The visible carpentry joints are pegged. Externally, to the north, the insertion of dormer windows, doorways and chimneys give the building a more domestic appearance. An anomalous dormer, with a wider gabled form, may denote the position of a former cart entry.

To the south east of Barn's End, adjacent to the single-storey building described below, is a small single-storey outbuilding, thatched and rendered (possibly of concrete construction), which appears to date to the 1930s. This may relate to the domestic conversion of Barn's End, and was possibly built as a wash-house.

Building attached to Barn's End

Attached to the east end of Barn's End and running on a north-south axis is a long, low, single-storey building apparently built of rendered cob. This may have originated as a farm building used in conjunction with the aisled barn. To the east, the building has two inserted modern doorways and on the south elevation, fronting the road, a canted bay window has been added, possibly in the late 20th century. These features suggest the building has been adapted for a domestic use. A traditional, rough-rendered wall, with brick plinth and thatch capping, runs west from the building's south elevation to link this building to the adjacent farmhouse known as 'Fighting Cocks'. This wall may have been the boundary of an associated farmyard

Fighting Cocks

Fighting Cocks is a house of one and half storeys, rendered, with a brick and flint plinth and a thatched roof (see Figure 6). The earliest parts of the house may be 17th century. Straight joints and changes in material in the plinth suggest that originally this formed a small single-pile two-bay house, symmetrically arranged with a central doorway. Extensions to both ends and the rear have taken place over a considerable period, with the first (to the south) of possible 18th or early 19th century date. An extensive 20th-century phase of re-fenestration, coupled with the rendered walls, makes the house difficult to read from external observations. On the west elevation are painted figures with cockerels, these are clearly modern but may indicate the former location of similar figures which were noted earlier in the 20th century, and which were mentioned to the Wiltshire Buildings Record surveyor when he visited in 1969.

Moor Hatches

Large 18th century brick farmhouse, two and half storeys running at right angles to the road (north to south), with a low one and a half storey brick and flint range running along the roadside. The VCH believe that Moor Hatches is the 'new farmhouse' mentioned in a document of 1728. Farmhouse has been altered considerably in the 20th century, but retains a number of 18th century details including plinth, brick band above ground-floor window level, 'dog-tooth' decoration under the eaves and a central chimney stack (see Figure 8). A lower stone range, standing between the main range and the road, includes a canted timber-framed two-storey bay window towards the eastern end of the north elevation. This heavily-altered series of low ranges fronting the road may conceivably represent the remnants of a smaller house of late 17th century date. See Figure 8.

This range is connected to a small service building, possibly an earlier stable block, also in stone, flint and brick, although again much altered to form an extension to the domestic accommodation.

The Old Dairy

The Old Dairy is now a double-fronted bungalow, with central entrance and flanking square bay windows, matched by a similar bay window on the east side. The walls are rendered and set beneath a distinctive hipped thatched roof. The building does not

appear on the 1901 O.S. map and, therefore, was built between 1901 and 1925, when it features on mapping of that date. The name suggests that the building originally had an agricultural use. However, it presents as a bungalow dating from the period between the 1920s and the 1950s, with a series of later single-storey additions to the sides and rear.

Pike's Cottage

A small house or cottage of one and a half storeys, rendered with a thatched roof. It has an 'L'-plan, with a main range, parallel to the street, and an added wing to the east. Map evidence suggests that the street range could date from at least the late 18th century: a single-range building, parallel to the street, is shown in this position on the 1824 map of West Amesbury, whereas the 1773 map is less distinct, but may also show a building here. The wing has a datestone reading 1938.

Coneybury House

A two storey vernacular-revival house, in Arts and Crafts style, with rendered walls and a hipped, thatched roof. The front (south) façade has a symmetrical arrangement with a central doorway flanked by window openings. The thatch is irregular rising up over the second storey to the front, but running lower to the sides, with the second storey lit by dormer windows in the thatch. A datestone on the front gives the date of construction as 1929.

Normanton

Normanton House (house listed grade II, garden walls listed grade II)

A large farmhouse comprising an eight-bay double-pile house, with the main entrance in the westernmost bay of the front (north) elevation, marked by a large stone porch (Figure 41). Stone mullioned windows throughout. The six western bays of the north range may be the earliest part of the house, probably 17th century, and originally timber framed. Circa 1700 the south wing was added, with a central entrance and a heated room to either side. To give a uniform appearance, both the wings were encased in chequer work (flint and stone), and the north wing given stone-mullioned windows to match the external detailing of the south wing. In the 19th century the roof was heightened and the earlier hipped roof replaced with a pitched roof with stone gables, creating large attic rooms lit by dormer windows.

Normanton Lodge

A two-storey house, rendered with a slate roof. It has a symmetrical façade (to the south), with window openings flanking a central front door with a projecting timber flat-roofed porch. It appears on the 1st edition O.S. map (1878) as a pair of semi-detached cottages, presumably for farm workers. At some point in the 20th century substantial alteration was undertaken to create a single dwelling.

Figure 41. North and west elevations of Normanton House, showing evidence of the earlier chimney arrangement in the gable (NMR RCHME field photo, fire BF50941).

25 and 26 Normanton

A pair of semi-detached cottages of late-19th-century date. It is of two storeys in rendered brick with a slate roof. Central brick chimney stack. Originally the cottages were two bays with a hipped roof, but both have been extended in the late 20th century, although retaining their symmetrical arrangement. They appear on the 1st edition O.S. (1878).

Normanton Down

A two-storey house, rendered with hipped slate roofs. It was originally a symmetrically-arranged block, but with significant 20th century extensions to the north and south. It appears on the 1st edition O.S. as another pair of semi-detached cottages, again extended in the mid-to-late 20th century into a single large house.

Falcons

A two-storey house in flint with brick detailing used for the windows, quoins and decorative bands. It has a gabled, tiled roof (see Figure 10). There are stone drip moulds above the ground-floor windows. The building appears on the 1878 O.S. map as a single house.

44, 45, 46 Normanton

A terrace of three houses, arranged symmetrically with twin, south-facing gables on the front elevation. Of two storeys and built of brick, with a steep, pitched, slate roof and gabled dormers. It appears on the 2nd edition O.S., but not the first, and was therefore built between 1878 and 1901.

Parsonage Cottage and The Parsonage (listed grade II)

A pair of semi-detached estate cottages in concrete, with vertical and horizontal timber bracing (see Figure 36). Thatched gabled roof, with additional thatch to the small projecting porches. One of a series of concrete buildings ('in-situ' concrete) constructed for Joseph Lovibond, who leased Lake House in the late 19th and early 20th century. First appears on the 3rd edition O.S. and therefore built between 1901 and 1925.

Wilsford

Wilsford Racing Stables

The complex appears to have originated as a dairy, laid out between 1878 and 1901, and associated with Wilsford Farm (now the Red House). It replaced an earlier farmyard which was nearer to the house. The yard is now arranged in a E-shaped plan, with a larger weatherboarded barn to the north and a series of lower brick ranges running south (see Figure 39). At some stage in the 20th century, the Red House ceased to be Wilsford Farm, and the dairy was used as a self-contained unit. The structures were not closely examined.

The Red House (listed grade II)

Originally Wilsford Farmhouse. A two-storey brick house, with hipped slate roof, of mid-19th century date. The main range is of four bays, with single-storey addition to the north end. Main (east) front has an asymmetrical arrangement, indicating that the end bay (northern) of the main range is a slightly later addition. It is notable however that in its earlier three-bay form, the façade is still slightly asymmetrical, with a wider gap to the right of the front door (north) than to the south. This and the presence of a house (or a building) to the north east of the church on the map of 1773, could suggest that the 1830-40 phase is a rebuilding or alteration of an earlier building.

Lilac Cottage and Wilsford Cottage (listed grade II)

A pair of cottages in rubble stone and flint (see Figure 34). One and a half storeys with a gabled thatched roof, with upper storey lit through dormers in the thatch. Small timber porches symmetrically arranged in the outer bays of each cottage. Central stone panel has the inscription 'EPT 1906', indicating construction as an estate cottage by Edward Tennant, Lord Glenconner. To the rear are small paired outhouses in the same style as the main house, with a hipped, thatched roof.

Figure 42. Beechway, Wilsford, built c1905, possibly designed by Detmar Blow.

Beechway (listed grade II)

A one–and-a-half-storey cottage with a half-hipped, thatched roof, with the upper storey lit by dormers in the thatch (Figure 42). The north elevation has a small overhanging jetty at first-floor level. The house is rendered, with the initials EPT and the date 1905 in pargeting on the north elevation, indicating construction as an estate cottage by Edward Tennant.

Wilsford Church (listed grade II*)

The Church of St Michael, Wilsford was largely rebuilt in the gothic style in1852 by T. H. Wyatt, for Giles Loder. However the tower is much earlier, with the lower two stages of 12th century date, including the west door and, internally, the tower arch, which both have cushioned capitals indicative of that period (see Figures 13 and 14). Both the medieval and Victorian work is executed in flint with stone dressings (limestone to the nave, greenstone to the tower). There are random pieces of chevron ornament, and other reused stonework, suggestive of a 12th century date incorporated into the walling of the nave. The upper portion of the tower has been rebuilt, presumably at the same time as the reconstruction of the church. Internally, the chancel and nave are distinguished by two contrasting roof truss forms, with the chancel arch marked by stone shafts supporting a pierced timber truss.

Wilsford Manor (listed grade II*)

Wilsford Manor is a revivalist country house designed in 17th century style by Detmar Blow, and built in 1904-6. It replaced an earlier manor house which appears to have been demolished entirely. The main block is of limestone and flint chequer work, and of two and a half storeys with triple gables to each façade, adopting the traditional style of the area. Stone mullioned and transomed windows are used throughout, with a stone slate roof. The main range has a square plan with the principal entrance to the north-west .and a garden front with central entrance facing towards the River Avon. To the east is a lower service block of one and a half storeys, which is thatched with casement windows (see Figure 35).

Little Wilsford (dovecot and granary listed grade II)

Between Wilsford Manor and Wilsford Church to its east is a series of buildings forming a modern service area for the Wilsford Estate. This includes some modern residential accommodation, but also two older buildings. One was originally a dovecote, and is built into the wall that divides the house from the church. Probably 18th century, this building is in flint and limestone with a hipped tiled roof. Along with the attached one and a half storey building (probably early 19th century), it has now been converted to form residential accommodation. Further west, towards the house is a small timber-framed weatherboard building on staddle stones. Possibly an early granary this may also date to the 18th century.

Teazle Cottage

This presents as a modern two-storey building in the vernacular style, with a main (north) façade with a brick and flint used at ground-floor level and a rendered upper storey and a thatched roof. The mapping information and one early photograph however show that this small area adjacent to the river and slightly removed from Wilsford itself, once formed a hamlet with a number of very small single-storey cottages, many with thatch roofs (see Figure 25). The house was not closely examined and it is possible that some fabric from these cottages has been incorporated into the rear (southern) end of the house.

School Cottage

A purpose-built, joint boys' and girls' school, built by Giles Loder in 1857. The school has flint walls, with brick detailing and decorative brick bands. It has a gabled, tiled roof. Formerly contained a tall single-storey classroom, now modified to form a one-and-half storey house, with some subsequent extension. Early photographs show the school room lit by full-height windows. These openings have now been altered, with conventional domestic windows inserted and areas of flint and brick added to match the original work (Figure 43).

Figure 43. The mid-19th century school building built between Wilsford and Lake. Now converted into a dwelling.

Lake

Kingfisher Cottage

One-and-a-half storey house in brick and flint with some cob sections, and a hipped thatched roof. Probably of two phases, the earliest to the west, with a curved west end which is rendered, but probably cob on a flint base. The south elevation is rendered but appears to be brick and flint. The footprint of the cottage suggests a one-and-a-half or two-room plan, with a centrally-placed thatched porch. Additional block, to the east, again built in brick and flint, although partially rendered. Both phases appear on the tithe map (1840). A house in this location is also visible on the 1773 map of Wiltshire.

The Old Post Office

Originally three cottages, The Old Post Office is, now a single house of brick and flint, partially rendered, and of one and a half storeys, with a hipped thatched roof (see Figure 23). Internally the evidence suggests that the earlier three units were constructed in separate phases, each with a single-room plan. The central section may be the earliest. This has waney-edged timbers of indeterminate date, with a large fireplace positioned centrally in the north wall. The southern section has a beams and roof timbers suggestive of a late 17th or early 18th century and the northern section has one beam of 18th century date. The 1773 map of Wiltshire shows a building approximately in this location, confirming at least an 18th century date for the cottage. It appears that the southern cottage acted as the Post Office in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Fir Tree Cottage (listed grade II)

A two-storey building in 'in situ' concrete, with timber framing and a hipped tiled roof (originally thatched). Brick extension to the east. Originally constructed to serve the 'Stonehenge Woollen Industry': a small company set up by the Lovibonds in the first decade of the 20th century to help reduce rural unemployment. The current owner indicates that the upper room may originally have served as a large single workroom, with lateral timber boards running the length of the room and trap doors between ground- and first-floor levels. Early photographs indicate that the building was originally accessed from the road at the west end, straight into the upper room (as the ground falls from west to east around the building).

Mill Cottage (listed grade II)

One and half storey thatched cottage, probably representing the domestic accommodation associated with the now demolished mill. Present façade rendered with plasterwork band and other decorative features, but these are almost certainly modern. The maps indicate that a building was on this site before 1878, but that the present west façade (the only which was visible at the time of survey), is part of a wing added in the 20th century. To the east, the building is shown on the 1878 map with an attached block which overhangs the waterway and may have housed a wheel, but this has been demolished.

Pump House Cottage

To the east of Mill Cottage is a further one-and-a-half-storey cottage, with cement rendered walls and a gabled, tiled roof. The mapping evidence indicates that this was constructed between 1901 and 1925, possibly at the same time as, or soon after, the demolition of the putative mill block attached to Mill Cottage.

Diamond Cottages

A group of four cottages in a symmetrically-arranged H-plan form, of early 20th century date. It is of one and a half storeys, in flint with brick bands and detailing with rustic-style timber porches (Figure 43). Early photographs indicate that prior to the construction of this building there was an earlier cottage on the site (see Figure 24). This was apparently burnt down during the First World War and the present cottages constructed. To the rear of the cottages is a single-storey outbuilding in flint and stone chequer work.

Lake House (house listed grade I, stables and other structures listed grade II)

The house was constructed in 1578 for George Duke, a wealthy clothier, and the estate was owned by the Duke family for over three-hundred years, until 1898. The original building is limestone and flint chequer work, with an impressive south-west façade of 5 bays, each with a gable (See Figure 11). There are stone mullioned and transomed windows and a stone-tile roof. The original house was L-shaped, although this has been altered by a 20th century addition to the northwest. Following the purchase of the estate by Joseph Lovibond in 1898 the house was restored by Detmar Blow. This was followed

Figure 44. Diamond Cottages, Lake.

by a huge fire in 1912, which gutted the house completely, leaving only the external walls standing. Blow was again employed to rebuild the interior.

There are a number of further buildings or features at Lake House, including gate piers and isolated garden features of the 18th century and a kitchen garden and ornamental bridges of 1900-1920. Most notable is the early 20th century stable block (incorporating a cottage and garage), of in situ concrete braced with timber, beneath a thatched roof. This is associated with a series of wider estate buildings in the same material constructed by Joseph Lovibond in his time as owner of the estate.

The Grange (originally Lake Farm, listed grade II)

This house originally formed the principal farm for Lake, with its associated farmyard detached and sited to the south of the lane. The house now forms a U-shaped plan, with a main south-facing range of two and half storeys with basement, with a south façade of brick and flint, but with a chequer work side wall, and a tiled roof. Extending to the rear (north) are two narrow ranges of one and half storeys. The earliest range may be the northeast wing, which fronts the road, and may represent a late 17th century house built of cob, to which the main south range and northwest range were added later. The facade of the main (south) range suggests a date of circa1800 but this in fact may be a re-fronting of an 18th-century range.

Inchcape Hall

A converted barn, originally part of the farmyard associated with Lake Farm, and which formed part of a loose courtyard arrangement. The former barn has a weatherboard exterior with a half-hipped, tiled roof, with hung tiles in the half-gable ends. Regularly-spaced doorways on the north and south elevations suggest it was originally a threshing barn. These have brick surrounds, with a similar treatment given to an inserted doorway in the centre of the gable end. A plaque over the door at the east end records the conversion of the barn to a village hall in 1932. It was converted to domestic accommodation in the 1980s (see Figure 29).

New Cottages

This is a semi-detached pair of cottages, built of brick with a tiled roof. A pair of wall plates bears the date 1944 and also a heavily stylised set of initials, which may read FTB (possibly relating to the Bailey family who have owned the Lake Estate since the early 20th century). Generally quite plain but with a decorative brick eaves course laid in a dentilated style.

Stable Cottage and Finch Cottage

A semi-detached pair of cottages, which appear to be of different dates, probably converted from earlier farm buildings associated with Lake Farm. To the south Stable Cottage may be of 18th century date, with Finch Cottage representing a later addition. The larger, Stable Cottage, is of one and half storeys, with elevations principally in flint and lime or green stone, but with brick detailing to distinctive two-centred arched window openings and a large centrally-placed doorway. A large stone band running immediately above the ground-floor windows may indicate that the building was originally single storey. Finch Cottage is smaller, and of flint with brick detailing, with a more steeply-pitched roof and a first floor lit by dormer windows in the tile roof.

Futchers

A single-storey house, rendered with a rubble stone plinth, squared stone quoins and a thatched roof. The plan includes a projecting apsidal room to the south-west. Datestone with FBT inscribed and the date 1931.

Lake Rising

A house of one and a half storeys and built using cast in-situ concrete, with a very irregularly-arranged timber frame, and a thatched roof (see Figure 37). Later wing added to the south. This building appears to have been built and lived in by Joseph Lovibond in the early 20th century, when he could no longer afford to live at Lake House. The irregular timber frame may suggest that this house was one of the earlier, more 'experimental' of his concrete buildings. Accounts suggest that Lovibond was living here, when the house was known as The Pleasance, at the time of the fire at Lake House, in 1912. It does not appear on the 2nd edition O.S. map of 1901, suggesting a construction date in the first decade of the 20th century

Outlying Farmsteads

Springbottom Farm

Springbottom Farm was first developed in the mid-19th century and comprised what was probably a pair of farm workers' cottages, now the farmhouse, with a set of farm buildings to the rear (see Figure 33). The farmhouse is of two storeys, rendered with a hipped tile roof, and first appears on the 1878 O.S. as two cottages, suggesting it may have originally housed farm workers. There is some suggestion from the current owners that originally it may have been four one up, one down cottages, although there is no visible evidence for this.

To the rear of the house, the farm buildings stand in a courtyard arrangement. The north side of the yard is formed by a large ten-bay barn, with two threshing bays, with a high brick plinth and weatherboarded stud walls beneath a hipped tile roof. To the west, a small cottage has been formed from a former farmbuilding whose original function is unclear. This is of one and a half storeys with a flint plinth, rendered above and a half-hipped tile roof. To the south of the yard are two low single-storey ranges, separated by a gateway. These buildings have breeze block outer walls, but internal spine walls of cob with a brick plinth. They show some evidence of once being partially open-fronted, but now form pens and loose boxes.

Westfield Farm

Although not surveyed for this project, the 1901 O.S. map shows a rectangular farmyard, with a separate block of two semi-detached cottages. It did not appear on the 1878 O.S. indicating a late 19th century construction date. Current O.S. mapping indicates that the house has been extended and converted into one dwelling, and much of the 19th century farmyard demolished.

Greenland Farm

The farmhouse is a single storey building lying at right-angles to the road, and probably dating from the late 19th century. The 1901 O.S. map indicates that originally the house formed two semi-detached cottages. It is built of flint with red and blue brick, and has a gabled tiled roof. Beyond this, and running parallel with the road is a further single-storeyed block, in brick and flint: a possible stable block, with a series of large modern sheds beyond. The 1901 O.S. map also shows that the putative stable formed the southern part of a courtyard arrangement of farm buildings.

Druid's Lodge

This group of buildings is located on the west side of the A350, which marks the southwest limit of the WHS, and so is outside the study area but has been included for completeness. The site is now principally a large stable complex, with a series of buildings both domestic and agricultural. Against the road is the earliest house, now two dwellings, which may be a late 18th century lobby-entry house (see Figure 26). This has a brick exterior, although this may encase an earlier walling material. No building appears

here on the 1773 map, suggesting that the house may date from the last quarter of the 18th century. To the north however is a large 19th century two-and-half-storey brick block running at right-angles to the earlier house with brick detailing to the gable end. The principal house of this complex is late 19th century, and is set back from the road to the west of the earlier house. The stable buildings appear predominantly late 20th century.

Garage Cottages and associated buildings

This group of building fall within the World Heritage Site, standing slightly northeast the Druid's Head, on the east side of the A350, and originally was associated with the early military use of the downland area. At the north end is a large concrete workshop or shed with a half-hipped tiled roof. South of this is a pair of semi-detached cottages, of two-storeys with a tiled gabled roof. The final component of the group is a large water tower with an associated pump house. None of these buildings are on the 1901 O.S. map. On the 3rd edition O.S. published in 1925 the northern building and the water tower are marked and the former is labelled engine house. The cottages appear on the 1939 O.S. map. By then, the northernmost building is no longer labelled engine house, possibly suggesting that it was no longer in use for its original purpose.

Figure 45. Garage Cottages with the engine house beyond.






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