HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT

Prepared by Dyfed Archaeological Trust
For: Pembrokeshire County Council

DYFED ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST

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By
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HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE,

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EXEXCUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2020 DAT Archaeological Services were commissioned by Pembrokeshire County Council to assess the potential impact of proposed development work on the archaeological remains in and around Haverfordwest Castle, Pembrokeshire (roughly centred on SM 9531 1574). The assessment details the history and development of the castle and its surrounds, describes and discusses the physical evidence, and outlines the archaeological potential of the area. In doing so the assessment seeks to improve the understanding of the archaeological resource, the constraints and opportunities of this resource, and inform detail development proposals.

CRYNODEB GWEITHREDOL

Ym 2020 comisiynwyd Gwasanaethau Archeolegol YAD gan Gyngor Sir Penfro i asesu effaith bosibl gwaith datblygu arfaethedig ar yr olion archeolegol yng ac yn gwmpas o Gastell Hwlffordd, Sir Benfro (wedi'i ganoli'n fras ar SM 9531 1574). Mae'r asesiad yn manylu ar hanes a datblygiad y castell a'i amgylchoedd, yn disgrifio ac yn trafod y dystiolaeth gorfforol, ac yn amlinellu potensial archeolegol yr ardal. Wrth wneud hynny mae'r asesiad yn ceisio gwella dealltwriaeth o'r adnodd archeolegol, cyfyngiadau a chyfleoedd yr adnodd hwn, a llywio cynigion datblygu.

HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT

1.   INTRODUCTION

1.1   PROJECT BACKGROUND & ASSESSMENT OUTLINE

1.1.1 Project Proposals and Commission

DAT Archaeological Services were commissioned by Pembrokeshire County Council to draw together the available archaeological resource and assess the archaeological potential of an area of proposed development at Haverfordwest Castle, Pembrokeshire (roughly centred on SM 9531 1574; Figures 1 to 3). The castle itself is a Scheduled Monument, with upstanding remains of the castle also designated a Grade I listed building, with later internal buildings Grade II listed. The proposed development has been divided into four initial stages, or Work Packages, focussing on different areas of the castle and its immediate surrounds (Figure 3). Work Package 1 (WP1) is focussed on an area of steeply sloping ground to the south of Haverfordwest Castle that has been terraced, which has been subject to a recent assessment. Work Package 2 (WP2) focuses on the Castle Perimeter Walkway to the east and north of the castle, Work Package 3 (WP3) focuses on the Inner Ward of the castle, and Work Package 4 (WP4) focuses on the outer ward of the castle. The aim of this assessment is to draw together the known archaeological resource for the proposed development area to provide detailed baseline data, to improve the understanding of the archaeological resource and any constraints and opportunities that may offer, in order to inform detailed development proposals and future assessments.

WP1 includes an intention to repair and restore the South Burgage Plots, provide Green Infrastructure, improve existing staircases and provide new access paths/ramps. WP2 includes an intention to provide a linking stair to Bridge Street and associated landscaping, a new walkway link to Castle Back, a new walkway link to Hayguard Lane and improvements to the north staircase. WP3 includes essential repairs to the Inner Ward curtain walls, and proposals for events structure and associated infrastructure. WP4 includes proposals for the redevelopment of the existing gaol building (Record Office) and Governor's House (museum) and essential repairs to the outer ward walls. These development proposals are in outline stage at the moment, therefore detailed impact assessments are not proposed as part of this assessment.

The following assessment is laid out in three main sections. **Section 1** (this section) describes the background to the project, provides an introduction to the location and historical background to the castle, describes the legislative framework for the historic environment, and outlines the baseline information for the study area currently recorded in the regional Historic Environment Record. **Section 2** describes the castle area in detail, describing the history and development of the castle, the physical evidence, a discussion of this evidence, and outlines the archaeological potential of the castle in relation to the proposed work areas. **Section 3** describes the castle periphery in detail, describing the history and development of Haverfordwest, the physical evidence, a discussion of this evidence, and an outline of the archaeological potential of the area in relation to the proposed work areas. Detailed appendices are included to the rear. **Appendix 1 (Section 6)** details transcripts of sources relating to the castle's documented development. **Appendix 2 (Section 7)** provides a detailed historical timeline relating to the castle.

1.1.2 Scope of the Project and Methodology

The scope of the assessment follows the Standard And Guidance For Historic Environment Desk-Based Assessment as laid down by the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA 2014). The standard is stated as:

> *Desk-based assessment will determine, as far as is reasonably possible from existing records, the nature, extent and significance of the historic environment within a specified area. Desk-based assessment will be undertaken using appropriate methods and practices which satisfy the stated aims of the project, and which comply with the Code of Conduct and other relevant regulations of CIfA. In a development context desk-based assessment will establish the impact of the proposed development on the significance of the historic environment (or will identify the need for further evaluation to do so), and will enable reasoned proposals and decisions to be made whether to mitigate, offset or accept without further intervention that impact.*

A desk-based assessment is defined by CIfA as:

> *……a programme of study of the historic environment within a specified area or site on land, the inter-tidal zone or underwater that addresses agreed research and/or conservation objectives. It consists of an analysis of existing written, graphic, photographic and electronic information in order to identify the likely historic assets, their interests and significance and the character of the study area, including appropriate consideration of the settings of historic assets and, in England, the nature, extent and quality of the known or potential archaeological, historic, architectural and artistic interest. Significance is to be judged in a local, regional, national or international context as appropriate.*

The desk-based study of the area identifies known archaeological sites within the site and its environs, and assesses the potential for hitherto unknown remains to be present within the proposed development area. An indication is also given of what further archaeological works might be required in advance of or during the proposed development.

The report presents relevant information from a number of sources including:

- Dyfed Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record data;

- On-line National Monuments Record of Wales data held by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Wales in Aberystwyth (Coflein);

- Map regression exercise using earlier cartographic sources;

- Identification of any Scheduled Monuments, Listed buildings, Registered Parks and Gardens, Registered Historic Landscapes, Historic Landscape Character Areas or Conservation Areas within or in the vicinity of the site area (Cadw, DAT, NRW);

- Site visit and walkover survey;

- Recent, project-related, archaeological investigations (geophysical surveys and watching brief on geotechnical investigations)

- Assessment of the archaeological potential of the area;

- Assessment of the likely impact upon the settings of surrounding features of the historic environment; and

- Assessment of likely impacts on any identified remains within the development site (or potential remains) and likely requirements, if any, for further stages of archaeological work.

For the purposes of planning policy in Wales, the historic environment is defined as:

> *All aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time, including all surviving physical remains of past human activity, whether visible, buried or submerged, and deliberately planted or managed* (Welsh Government 2017).

A historic asset is:

> *An identifiable component of the historic environment. It may consist or be a combination of an archaeological site, a historic building or area, historic park and garden or a parcel of historic landscape. Nationally important historic assets will normally be designated* (ibid).

1.1.3 Abbreviations

All sites recorded on the regional Historic Environment Record (HER) are identified by their Primary Record Number (PRN) and located by their National Grid Reference (NGR). Sites recorded on the National Monument Record (NMR) held by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW) are identified by their National Primary Record Number (NPRN). Altitude is expressed to a height above Ordnance Datum (aOD). References to cartographic and documentary evidence and published sources will be given in brackets throughout the text, with full details listed in the sources section at the rear of the report.

1.1.4 Illustrations

Printed map extracts are not necessarily reproduced to their original scale. North is towards the top of the page unless otherwise indicated.

1.1.5 Timeline

The following timeline gives date ranges for the various archaeological periods that may be mentioned within this report.

Table 1: *Archaeological and Historical Timeline for Wales*

Period	Approximate date	
Palaeolithic –	*c.*450,000 – 10,000 BC	**Prehistoric**
Mesolithic –	*c.* 10,000 – 4400 BC	
Neolithic –	*c.*4400 – 2300 BC	
Bronze Age –	*c.*2300 – 700 BC	
Iron Age –	*c.*700 BC – AD 43	
Roman (Romano-British) Period –	AD 43 – *c.* AD 410	**Historic**
Post-Roman / Early Medieval Period –	*c.* AD 410 – AD 1086	
Medieval Period –	1086 – 1536	
Post-Medieval Period[1] –	1536 – 1750	
Industrial Period –	1750 – 1899	
Modern –	20th century onwards	

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[1] The post-medieval and Industrial periods are combined as the post-medieval period on the Regional Historic Environment Record as held by Dyfed Archaeological Trust
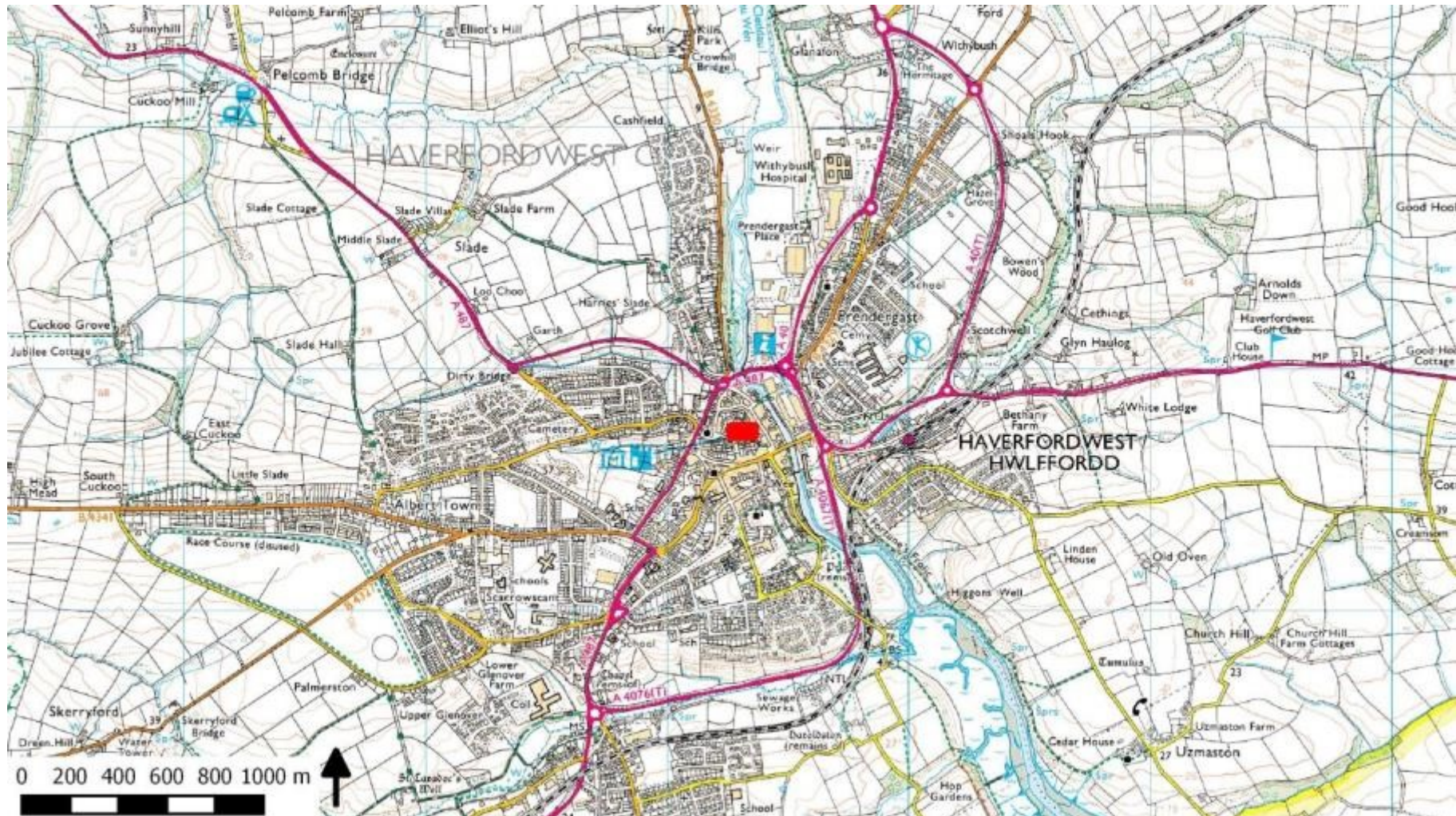
Figure 1: Location map showing the location of Haverfordwest Castle in red.

Figure 2: Aerial photograph, as viewed from the southwest, taken in 1983 of Haverfordwest Castle (© DAT AP93-3.44)
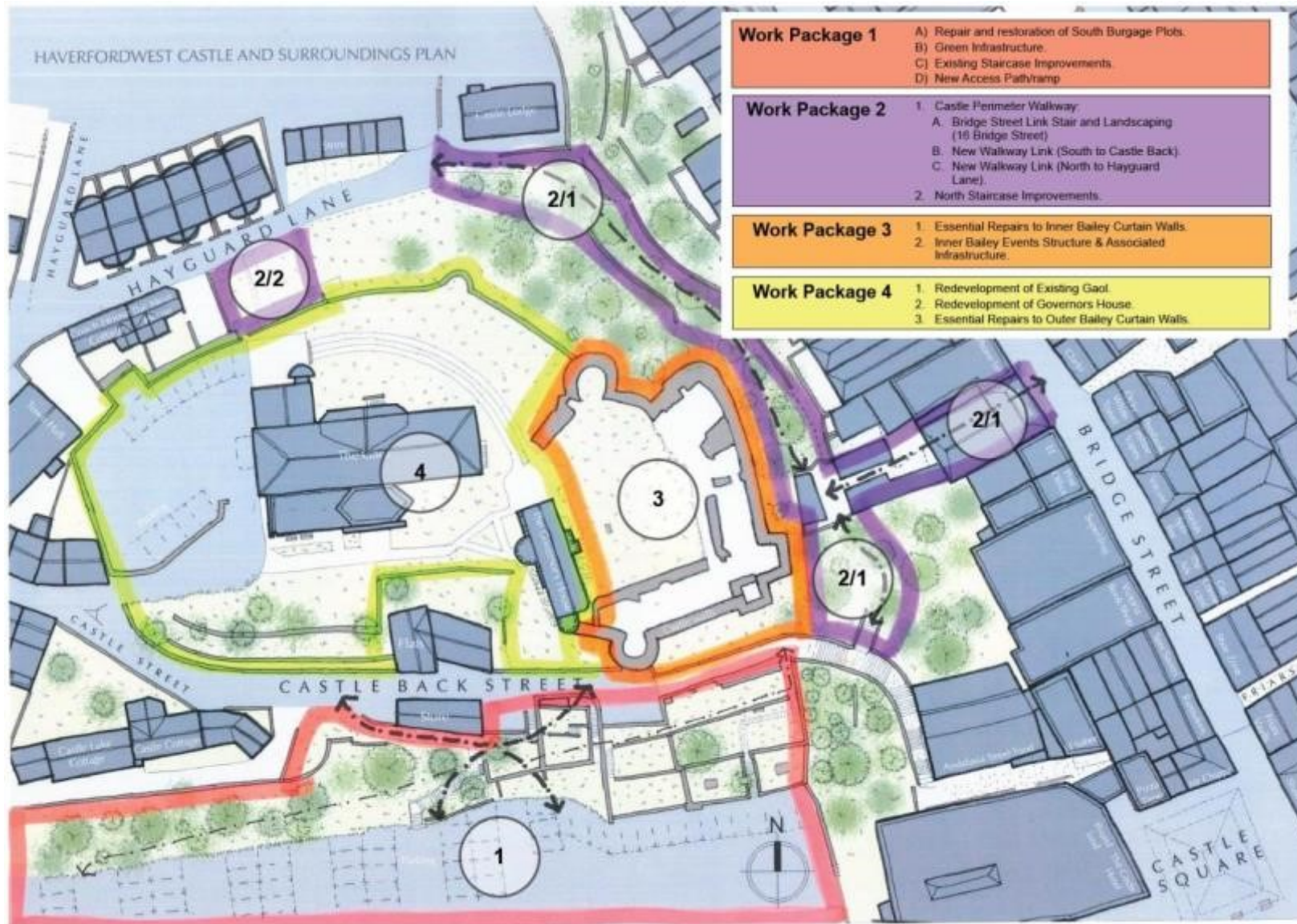
Figure 3: Plan showing defined areas of proposed work packages (supplied by client).

1.2 LOCATION AND HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Haverfordwest Castle (NGR 9534 1572; DAT PRN 3320; SAM Pe366) lies at around 23 metres OD at the eastern end of a strong isolated east-west ridge, where it terminates as a steep rocky bluff overlooking the Western Cleddau at its lowest bridging point (Davis 2000, 78; King 1983, 393). The ground falls away on all sides except to the west. A steep slope to the south descends to a watercourse, 'Castle Lake', now culverted beneath the main car park, which separates the castle from the town's High Street. A much shallower slope on the north side descends to the early town. More level ground separates the castle from St Martin's Church to the west.

The castle is flanked by the commercial areas of High Street to the south and Bridge Street to the east, with residential areas to the north and west. The centre is further surrounded light industry around the river, and residential properties all around, set within a relatively rural landscape. Roads radiate out from the town, which had traditionally functioned as the administrative and commercial centre of the county. The Western Cleddau is tidal up to Haverfordwest, and flows southward where it joins the Eastern Cleddau, before turning westward into the deep and wide Milford Haven Estuary and out into the Bristol Channel. The underlying geology of the area comprises east – west bands of alternating mudstones and sandstones, with some interbedded conglomerates around the southern edge of the town, and limestone outcrops to the southwest and northeast (BGS 2021).

The castle, like all those that saw continuing use as administrative centres or gaols, has suffered the loss of much medieval fabric, but has nonetheless fared rather better than many of its contemporaries, for instance the castles at Carmarthen, Oxford and Winchester. And what remains is of the highest quality.

The castle comprises two baileys in line, defined by a deep ditch along the north and west sides which was largely infilled in the nineteenth century, and by scarping and terracing of the natural slope to the south (Fig. **4**); the steep natural slope on the east appears to be unaltered. Origins as an Iron Age promontory fort cannot be ruled out (see DAT PRN 7615; King 1999, 34). Later walling has given the smaller inner ward a polygonal plan, masking an essentially rounded shape that suggests it began as a 'partial' ringwork, ie. an enclosure with a ditch on one side only (Davis 2000, 78); the ditch dividing it from the larger outer ward, implied in an early account (Owen 1911, 166), has however long since been infilled. Any internal earthworks have moreover been lost (King 1964, 313).

Not unusually for a castle, however, we have no precise dates either for its foundation or its eventual abandonment. Nor can we be entirely sure who was responsible for the bulk of the masonry buildings we see today. The first dateable reference to a castle and town at Haverfordwest is not until 1152-76 (Charles 1948, 180) – a late appearance in the records, but probably half a century or so after the castle was first established. Most of the present castle masonry would appear to belong to a period between *c*.1190 and the early fourteenth century; it is mainly confined to the inner ward and includes a palatial ensemble of buildings that are thought to have been built for the Queen of England in the late thirteenth century, but may be a little later (Fig. **13**). The outer ward defences were probably always slighter than those in the inner ward, and may have remained entirely of timber until the early/mid-fourteenth century; their scant remains include some later medieval masonry.

No successful attack is recorded until the mid-seventeenth century Civil War (Davis 2000, 78; Kenyon 2010, 74; King 1981, 10), after which the castle was slighted on Oliver Cromwell's orders. The remains were used as a County Gaol from 1780 until 1878, with a new gaol built in the outer ward in 1820 which survives as the county record office. The inner ward is now empty of medieval buildings, while very little survives of the medieval outer ward.

There are a number of published descriptions of the castle, of variable quality, but all are brief and a comprehensive, up-to-date published account is still lacking. Two of the more useful summary accounts are by Michael Freeman (Freeman 1999, 51-4), and the entry in the Pevsner guide (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204-6).

See Appendix **1** for transcripts of sources relating to the castle's documented development, and Appendix **2** for a detailed historical timeline.
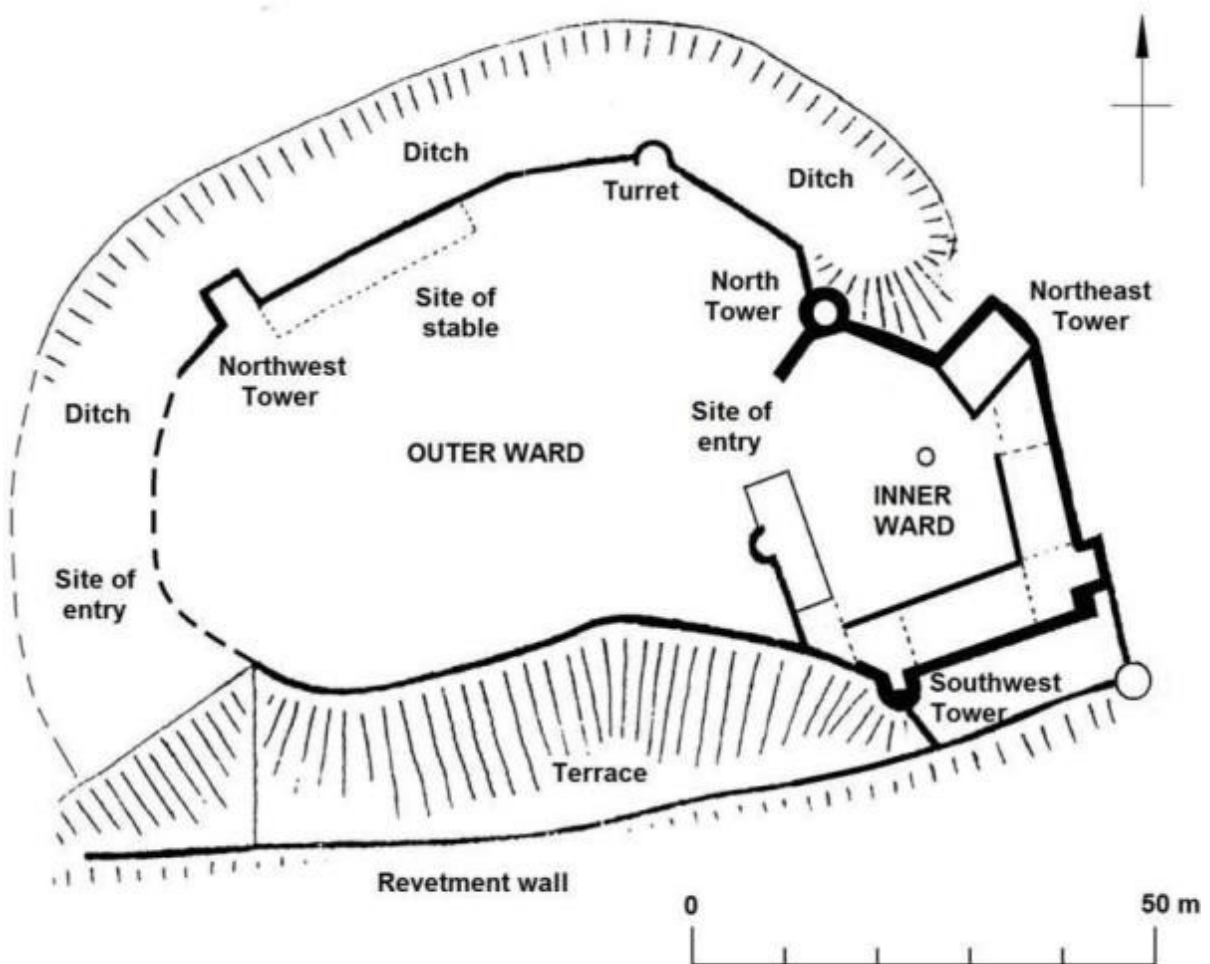
Figure 4: Sketch plan of the medieval remains at Haverfordwest Castle
(adapted from Ray 1969).

1.3   LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

1.3.1 National Policies And Guidance

The Historic Environment (Wales) Act

The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 was previously the primary legislation for protecting archaeological remains and scheduled monuments. This has more recently been amended by The Historic Environment (Wales) Act 2016 which has three main aims as defined by Cadw:

- to give more effective protection to listed buildings and scheduled monuments;
- to improve the sustainable management of the historic environment; and
- to introduce greater transparency and accountability into decisions taken on the historic environment.

The new Act amends the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 and also the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990. It is supported by a number of planning guidance documents. The Act most specifically provides better safeguards for the protection of scheduled monuments, listed buildings and historic parks and gardens. It also includes further guidance on place names.

Planning Policy Wales

Planning Policy Wales (Ed.11, 2021) sets out the Welsh Government's land use planning policies. Its primary objective is to ensure that the planning system contributes towards the delivery of sustainable development and improves the social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being of Wales, as required by the Planning (Wales) Act 2015, the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 and other key legislation.

Chapter 6, 'Distinctive and Natural Places', explains how planning systems must take into account the Welsh Government's objectives to protect, conserve, promote and enhance the historic environment as a resource for the general well-being of present and future generations. It also sets out the planning policies for the sustainable management of specific categories of historic environment assets.

Technical Advice Note 24: The Historic Environment

This technical advice note provides guidance on how the planning system considers the historic environment during development plan preparation and decision making on planning and Listed Building consent applications. It also provides specific guidance on how the following historic environment assets should be considered:

- scheduled monuments
- archaeological remains
- listed buildings
- conservation areas
- historic parks and gardens
- historic landscapes
- historic assets of special local interest
- World Heritage Sites

The technical advice note usefully gathers together the selection criteria employed in the designation of scheduled monuments and listed buildings and the registration of historic parks and gardens and historic landscapes.

Advice and decisions on planning applications affecting nationally significant historic environment features (or designated historic environment assets) is provided by Cadw acting on behalf of Welsh Government.

Other guidance documents are also published by Cadw, namely: Conservation Principles (March 2011); Heritage Impact Assessment in Wales (May 2017); Managing Historic Character in Wales (May 2017); and Setting of Historic Assets in Wales (May 2017).

1.3.2 Local Development Plan

The Historic Environment is subject to the relevant policies and procedures as laid out in the Pembrokeshire County Council Local Development Plan (LDP). The LDP was adopted February 2013, and is presently under review.

The historic environment is referenced throughout the document in numerous policies, emphasising its significance to the county. The main policy references to the Historic Environment are outlined in policy GN.38: ***GN.38 Protection and Enhancement of the Historic Environment:***

> *Development that affects sites and landscapes of architectural and/or historical merit or archaeological importance, or their setting, will only be permitted where it can be demonstrated that it would protect or enhance their character and integrity*

> *6.154   Pembrokeshire has a rich and varied historic environment made up of architectural, historical and archaeological features that are integral to its quality and distinctiveness. The historic environment enhances quality of life, forging cultural identity and community cohesion and is a major asset to Pembrokeshire's visitor economy. This policy builds on national policy, to draw attention to the scale and significance of these assets within Pembrokeshire and to protect, preserve and enhance these features and designations. It ensures that Pembrokeshire's historic environment including formally designated sites together with buildings and features of local importance and interest, and their setting, are appropriately protected and enhanced. Development that may detrimentally affect the character or integrity of such areas will not be permitted.*

> *6.155   The special qualities of the historic environment can be derived from numerous other factors, in addition to those listed in formal designations, such as the form, scale or grouping of buildings; vistas and visual composition of the townscape/landscape; architectural detailing; building materials; trees and other landscape features. Many of these features make an important contribution to the character and appearance of local communities.*

> *6.156   In assessing development that may affect archaeological remains the Council will take into account:*

> *1.   Information (including from the Historic Environment Record (HER), held by Dyfed Archaeological Trust) on the character, extent and importance of the remains,*

> *2.   The extent to which the proposed development is likely to impact upon them,*

> *3.   The means of mitigating the effect of the proposed development by redesign to achieve physical preservation in situ.*

> *6.157   Areas and sites of national significance are protected by national policy including Listed Buildings, Conservation Areas, Scheduled Monuments, Landscapes of Historic Interest and Historic Parks and Gardens. In addition to national policy adopted Conservation Area Character Appraisals will also be a material consideration when determining planning applications.*

1.4   BASELINE INFORMATION

1.4.1 General

Baseline information on the historic resource of Haverfordwest Castle and its immediate environs is recorded on the regional Historic Environment Record (HER), held and maintained by Dyfed Archaeological Trust. Further records are also held on the National Monument Record (NMR), held and maintained by the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments in Wales. Additional information on designated historic assets (Scheduled Monuments, Listed Buildings, Conservation Areas) is held and maintained by Cadw. Within the castle, and its immediate surrounds, a total of nine records are recorded on the HER, and seven on the NMR, of which all but one record relates to the same site or feature. These are recorded on the table below (Table 2), and illustrated on **Figure 6**. This does not include the entirety of the archaeological resource within and around the castle, but records much of what is known at present, and can be used as a guide to indicate further archaeological potential and inform further archaeological research. As expected these records relate largely to the castle (PRNs 3320, 7615) and its subsequent use as a gaol (PRNs 8630, 58422), but include some individual features in the immediate vicinity (PRNs 4536, 20669, 46277), and general records relating to the town (PRNs 2350, 8788).

Haverfordwest Castle is a Scheduled Monument PE366. The Scheduled Area is illustrated in Figure 6 and includes the entirety of the castle including outworks to the northeast, but excludes the dwelling on Castle Back, the Museum building and the County Records Offices and lawns adjoining the building. The Museum and County Records Office are however Grade II listed structures (references 12032 & 12033 respectively), and the standing remains of the castle itself is also Grade I listed (reference 12031). Further information about these sites and their designations can be found on Cof Cymru - National Historic Assets of Wales, an online service that has been developed by Welsh Government's Historic Environment Service (Cadw).

The site lies within the Haverfordwest Conservation Area. 'Haverfordwest Conservation Area Character Appraisal and Management Plan' published in 2014 by Pembrokeshire County Council defines a conservation area as '…*of special architectural or historic interest, the character of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance'*. Haverfordwest Conservation area was designated in 1975 and comprises the medieval core of the town, including the Castle (PE366), St. Thomas Green, Market Street and High Street. Councils have a duty to identify areas that have a character worthy of protection and to designate them as Conservation Areas. They are required by law to formulate policies and proposals for their preservation and enhancement. The Appraisal and Management Plan identified a number of key characteristics for the area, of which there are many but they include:

- *Historic market town with a long history inherently connected with the establishment of the Castle.*

- *Natural characteristics of the landscape and underlying landform that have influenced the plan of the town.*

- *Historic medieval street patterns, layout and burgage plots that remain evident in the modern town.*

- *Architecturally distinctive landmark buildings, providing focal points of interest within the town and from a wider area.*

- *Significant views into, out of and within the Conservation Area.*

- *Two Scheduled Ancient Monuments and a large number of Listed Buildings.*

Table 2: HER entries for the castle and immediate environs

PRN	Name	Type	PERIOD	SUMMARY	STATUS	NGR
2350	Haverfordwest	Town Defences	Medieval	Fortifications of Haverfordwest, enclosing Castletown.		SM 950 150
3320	Haverfordwest Castle	Castle	Medieval	Medieval castle	Scheduled Monument, Grade I Listed Building	SM 95343 15728
4536	Hayguard Lane	Summerhouse	Post Medieval	Late 18th to early 19th Cent. Garden wall and Summerhouses.		SM 9524 1577
7615	Haverfordwest Castle	Ringwork, Hillfort	Medieval, Iron Age	Castle founded in around 1110. Potential site of earlier hillfort.	Scheduled Monument, Grade I Listed Building	SM 9534 1573
8630	Town And County Gaol; Pembrokeshire County Museum	Prison	Post Medieval	Former county gaol, built c.1780, in the inner castle ward. Replaced by the building in the outer ward in 1822.	Grade II Listed Building	SM 95297 15738
8788	Haverfordwest	Town	Medieval / Post-Medieval	General record for the town.		-
20669	Castle Back	Dwelling	Post Medieval	Early 19th century dwelling		SM 9532 1571
46277		Bee Bole	Unknown	Two bee boles used to keep bees in skeps.		SM 953 157
58422	The Governor's House	House	Post Medieval	Late 18th century gaol governor's House	Grade II Listed Building	SM 95327 15721

1.4.2 Archaeological work to date

A variety of archaeological investigations have been undertaken within the castle and in the immediate environs, to varying degrees of success and record. All of which provide important detail on the layout, function and state of preservation of the castle and its associated remains, and aid in highlighting areas of particular potential.

Some of the earliest known 'investigations' were undertaken in the late 19th and early 20th century within the Inner Ward of the castle. In 1871 the gaol governor carried out an excavation behind the Governor's House (the current Museum building), an area that appears to have been re-excavated when the site was a Police Station in 1914. No detailed or accurate record of these works survive, but newspaper reports at the time suggest the excavations were carried out in the lawned area behind the museum, possibly towards the southern end, and uncovered medieval masonry and remains of a 'cellar'. This was apparently a triangular area of masonry up to depth of '13ft' (4m). This is discussed in more detail in sections 2.2.11 and 2.5.2.

From 1964-7 the gaol buildings of the Inner Ward were demolished, and the area was subsequently part excavated in 1968-9 (Ray 1969), but this was limited to clearance

works around the base of the East and South Ranges. These records are useful in describing the layout of the site however, and are discussed in more detail below.

The Inner Ward was reinvestigated in 2008 by Dyfed Archaeological Trust (Crane 2008) prior to a proposed museum extension (never built). Three evaluation trenches were opened up, relatively shallow in depth, but uncovering some medieval masonry, as well as features relating to the 18th/19th century gaol and subsequent police station, and more modern features. The work also indicated a wide variation in depths, with bedrock occurring close to the surface in some trenches, and much deeper archaeological deposits in others, also discussed in further detail in sections 2.2.11 and 2.5.2.

As part of the current scheme of works a series of non-intrusive geophysical investigations have also been undertaken in the Inner Ward (Poucher 2020). These surveys included magnetometry, resistivity and ground penetrating radar. These revealed a complex arrangement of potential features at varying depths. Some could be equated with the medieval castle layout, others corresponded to mapping evidence of the 18th-19th gaol, and 19th – 20th century police station, but a number of features remain uncategorised.

Within the outer ward Freeman carried out some excavations around the north curtain wall in 1981. No detailed records of this work survive, although some records are recalled in later publications (Freeman 1999). More recently a watching brief was undertaken by Dyfed Archaeological Trust (Shobbrook 2009) during the erection of a memorial stone. The shallow foundations however revealed little of archaeological interest, other than post-medieval layers.

A number of informative investigations have also taken place beyond the limits of the castle. In 1978 excavations were carried out on the north side of Hayguard Lane by M Freeman for the Pembrokeshire Museum Services. No formal post-excavation report exists for this work but it was reassessed in 2003, when further small-scale excavations were carried out by Dyfed Archaeological Trust (Crane 2003). This revealed tracks, pits, postholes and gullies of possible 12th century date, sealed by bank of probably late 12th—early 13th century date, thought at the time to be a counterscarp bank of the castle ditch contemporary to major remodelling works at the castle, although this is further discussed in Section 3.4.1. The area remained as such until it was turned into gardens in the early 18th century. The current housing that covers the site was designed to preserve the archaeology below.

In 2008 an archaeological watching brief was undertaken on the south side of Hayguard Lane during redevelopment works (Crane 2008b). This revealed the inner edge of the castle ditch, its relationship to the existing castle tower, later deliberate backfill, and the foundations of the previous (19th century) cottage.

In October 2020 a series of geotechnical test pits were investigated in the area surrounding the castle, in order to inform design proposals associated with the current project. A small number of hand-dug test pits were excavated to the south and east of the castle. Of these most were excavated in areas of limited archaeological potential along the south side of the castle where the ground was known to have been heavily disturbed in the past. Three pits however were excavated to the east of the castle in areas where the archaeological potential was higher. As a result PCC requested that an archaeological watching brief be maintained upon these investigations. The results of this watching brief have not been reported on in an individual report (Shobbrook 2020), and instead a summary of the findings is given below and in Appendix 3.

The work was undertaken on a single day, with archaeologist Andrew Shobbrook present to observe the hand-dug test pits. The test pits measured 0.3m wide, between 0.5m to 0.7m long, and 0.6m deep.

Test Pit 1 (**Fig 6**) was located close to the outer edge of the northeast tower of the Inner Ward. The earliest deposit encountered was a light brown-black silty-clay, heavily

truncated by tree roots, and containing modern glass fragments. This was overlaid by a 0.36m thick topsoil deposit of black silty-clay.

Test Pit 2 (**Fig 6**) was located close to the outer wall of the southeast tower of the Inner Ward. As with the previous test pit the earliest deposit encountered was a brown-black silty-clay containing fragments of modern glass and mortar, This was overlaid by a 0.18m thick layer of mid grey-brown silty-clay, and then a 0.1m thick topsoil above.

Test Pit 3 (**Fig 6**) was located at a lower level, between some abandoned buildings to the northeast of Test Pit 2. The earliest deposit revealed comprised a light grey-brown silty-clay, in excess of 0.36m thick, containing frequent inclusions of oyster and whelk shells. No datable material was recovered. This was overlaid by 0.14m of mixed yellow and grey clay, upon which was laid a cobbled surface. This surface was constructed of river-washed cobbles, set within the clay by otherwise without bonding material. It abutted a line of bricks on the northern side, thought to represent either part of a service capping, or marking a path edge. This surface is assumed to be associated with the adjacent buildings, which are 19th century in appearance. The cobbles were overlaid by a dark brown, organic rich topsoil, 0.05m thick.

The watching brief indicated a build-up of modern materials in the areas investigated to the south and east of the castle. Nothing of archaeological interest relating to the castle was uncovered. Potential 19th century surfaces and earlier deposits were encountered within Test Pit 3, but these are likely related to the establishment of buidings in this area in the later post-medieval period. During the course of the watching brief however a section of walling was recorded adjacent to the Northeast Tower of the Inner Ward, of potential medieval date (see Section 3.5.1, and Figs. **5**, **6, 26 & 27**).

Figure 5: Section of walling recording during a recent watching brief (Shobbrook 2020). For further detail see Section 3.5.1, Figs 26 & 27)
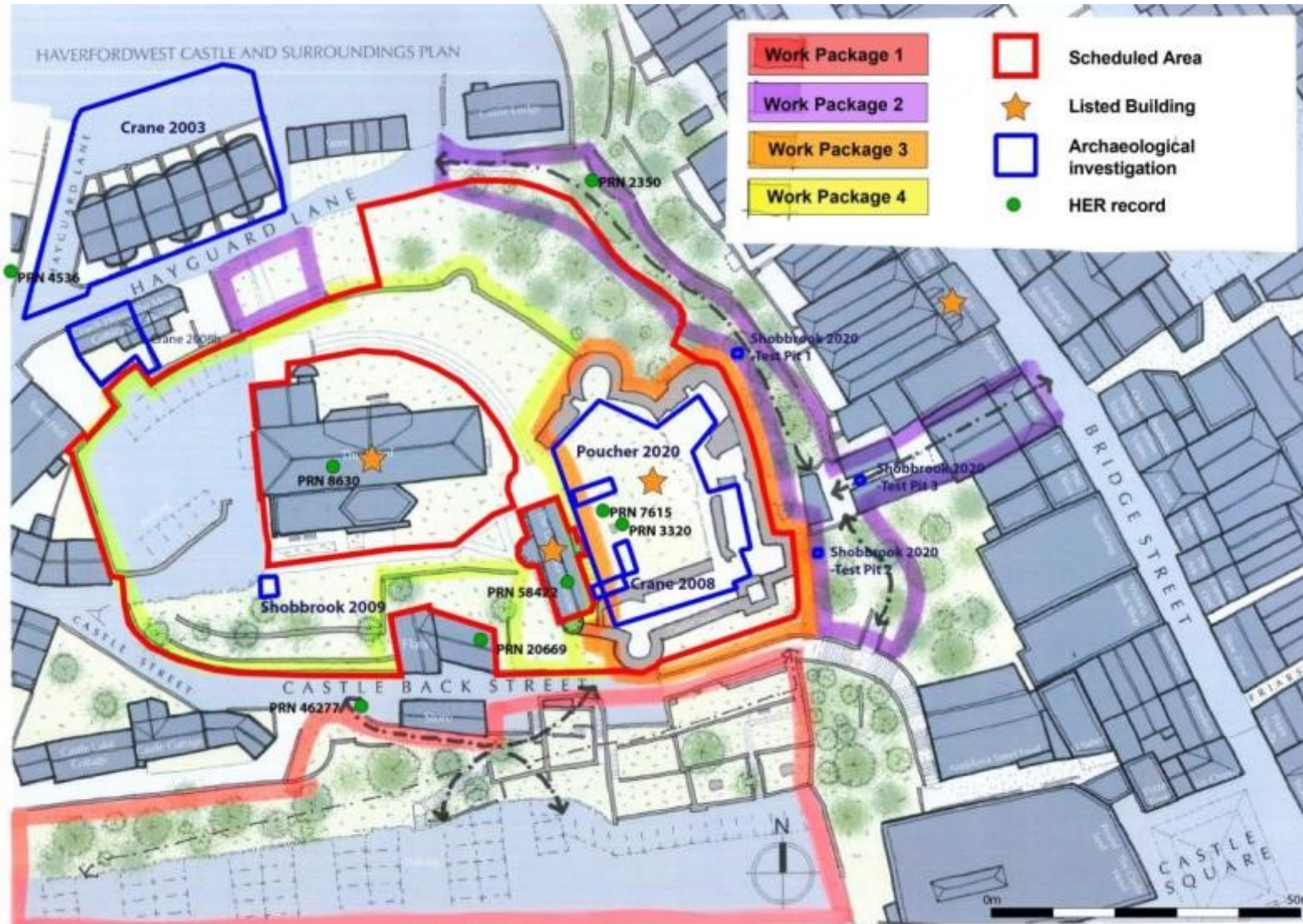
Figure 6: Location of archaeological assets and investigations recorded in the proposed development area and the extent of the Scheduled Area.

2.   HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE (WORK PACKAGE AREAS 3 AND 4)

2.1   HISTORICAL SUMMARY

2.1.1 The twelfth to early fourteenth centuries (Figs. 4, 7 and 13)

Haverfordwest Castle was probably founded between 1108 and 1113 by Tancard, a Flemish settler (Davis 2000, 78; James 2002, 432; King 1999, 34; Thorpe 1978, 141-4). From it, the region of Rhos was subdued, and re-organised as the Anglo-Norman lordship of Haverford (Walker 2002b, 161; Rowlands 1981, 144-5, 148). Like most early castles in Wales, it was situated on a navigable waterway to enable supply by sea.

The inner ward is small, only half the size of the inner ward at Pembroke Castle which is similarly a partial ringwork. This suggests that the larger, suboval outer ward at Haverfordwest, though first mentioned in 1343 (Owen 1918, 117-18), may have been a necessary requirement from the first. Confirmation is perhaps furnished by the location of both St Martin's Church, the original parish church of Haverfordwest, and the early marketplace (now Queen's Square), beyond the outer ward gateway. Moreover the earliest reference to the castle and town, from 1152-76, mentions an urban property next to the market cross, extending 'from the ditch as far as the stream called *Connall"* (Charles 1948, 180). These attributes would best match a location on the south side of Queen's Square/Castle Street, between the outer ward west ditch and Castle Lake watercourse (see Fig. **22**). An early ringwork-and-bailey layout is therefore indicated. It has however been suggested that the outer ward ditch, at least in the north side, was an entirely new feature of *c*.1300 (Crane and Courtney 2004, 66-7; and see below, **Section 3.4**): while this is far from certain, it may indicate that a smaller outer ward was later extended.

Castle and lordship remained in the hands of Tancard's descendants, as lords of Haverford, throughout the twelfth century as vassals firstly of the Crown, then of the Clare earls of Pembroke 1138-1170, and the Crown again until 1213 (see **Appendix 2**). 'Towers' are mentioned in an account of 1188 (Thorpe 1978, 141-2), but the castle may have remained entirely of timber until the large rectangular Northeast Tower was built, probably *c*.1190-1210, which may have functioned as the castle keep.

Tancard's grandson Robert FitzRichard was dispossessed by King John in 1210, and in 1213 Haverfordwest Castle and lordship were granted to William Marshal I, Earl of Pembroke, for a payment of £1000 (Hardy 1833, 159; Hardy 1835a, 105; Hardy 1835b, 499, 522). Marshal died in 1219, but Haverfordwest remained in the hands of his sons, the 'younger' Marshal earls, until 1245-8 when it passed to Humphrey de Bohun II, lord of Brecon (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-58*, 8; Owen 1911, 3). He held it until 1265, when it was captured by William de Valence, lord of Pembroke, during the baronial wars (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 503; Owen 1911, 4). The fortification of the castle inner ward with a towered masonry curtain, including the surviving circular North Tower and a possible twin-towered gatehouse, now gone, would appear to belong to the Younger Marshal or Bohun II period, and was perhaps triggered by the hostile environment of the period which included Welsh attacks in west Wales in 1220 and 1257. These defences were partly replaced in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century, while most of the remainder have been lost.

Valence surrendered Haverfordwest to Bohun's son Humphrey de Bohun III in 1274 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-81*, 54, 56; Owen 1911, 4). Humphrey hosted a visit, in 1284, by King Edward I and his queen, Eleanor of Castile, who stayed at the castle on 28-9 November during their 'victory' tour of Wales, following the defeat of Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1283 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 146; Owen 1911, 5). The Queen appears to have been impressed by what she saw and, in an exchange of lands with Bohun, she acquired Haverfordwest in 1288-9 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 330-1; *Rot. Parl*. 1, 30). It is generally considered that the palatial south and east ranges at the castle, and a garden terrace to the south immortalised as the 'Queen's Arbour', belong to her tenure (eg. Colvin *et al*.

1963, 670-1; Davis 2000, 81; Hislop 2020, 240; Kenyon 2010, 74; King 1999, 36; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204). She spent at least £400 on work the castle, but £360 went on timber (Colvin *et al*. 1963, 670-1), while she died just two years after receiving Haverfordwest. There are moreover subtle architectural differences between the two ranges. So her work was probably completed – if not begun – by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who held Haverfordwest 1308-24 (Phillips 1972, 3, 29; Walker 2002a, 87-99), a context which may be more consistent with its stylistic attributes (discussed below). The outer ward may also have been defended in stone by the mid-fourteenth century when the inner ward buildings, at least, were lead-roofed (Owen 1911, 117-18).

2.1.2 The fourteenth century

The castle reverted to the Crown upon Aymer's death in 1324 and was henceforth subject to grants of varying duration to loyal crown officers and high-ranking peers. Among these were Edward II's widow Queen Isabella, 1327-58, and King Edward III's eldest son Edward the 'Black Prince', 1358-76, who farmed the castle out to one of his knights. The castle eventually found its way into the hands of King Richard II's kinsman Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, in 1393 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-96*, 208, 210; Colvin *et al*. 1963, 671; Owen 1911, 21, 153-5; Rees 1975, 125-6). His family allied themselves with Owain Glyndŵr, and he was executed in 1403 (King 1999, 37; Turvey 2002, 205, 210). Haverfordwest returned to the Crown.

Although the building accounts are relatively full during these years, far outweighing those from earlier periods, this imbalance is somewhat misleading: surviving records are normally confined to those episodes when castles were under royal control, while nearly all the fabric that we see today at Haverfordwest was already in existence by 1324. Some new building was undertaken – for example the new stable built in the outer ward in 1387-8, when moreover one of the towers was rebuilt (Owen 1911, 162) – but in general, relatively small sums were involved. Haverfordwest was, after 1324, valued chiefly for the revenues from the lordship and the courts held there, which yielded between £130 and £160 annually (Owen 1911, 116, 120). Many of its holders were absentee, with extensive estates elsewhere, and governed through deputies which were sometimes appointed by the Crown; most others held it solely on behalf of the Crown. However, the castle was maintained for the use of its officers, and the accounts make it clear that its buildings were habitable (eg. Colvin *et al*. 1963, 671; Owen 1911, 117-18), confirmed perhaps by King Richard II's overnight stays at the castle in 1394 and 1399 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-96*, passim; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396-99*, passim); its courts and gaol moreover survived until the late sixteenth century. The constable, gate-keeper/porter, armourer and watchman were normally the only castle officers on a salary (Owen 1911, 59, 63, 65, 165-7); the remainder, including the steward, obtained their income from the issues of their offices and the lordship.

The castle was munitioned during the Scots wars of the 1320s (Owen 1911, 150), against the potential threat of alliance with France. And a considerable quantity of arms and armour, including gunpowder, were recorded at the castle in 1388 (Owen 1911, 163), presumably a response to the threatened French invasion of the mid-1380s.

The outer ward ditch and banks had begun to be leased to the townsfolk, for the grazing of livestock, by 1324, and by 1343 a garden had been established in the ditch (Owen 1911, 113-18). Such encroachments reveal the 'dynamic interface' that existed between castle and town.

2.1.3 The later medieval period, 1400-1543

Haverfordwest faced its first major threat since the thirteenth century in 1402-6, during the Glyndŵr rising. The castle had been bestowed upon the King Henry IV's son Henry, Prince of Wales, who in 1403-5 appointed Roland Lenthall as constable on condition that

he was permanently resident at the castle (Griffiths 2002, 228-9; Owen 1911, 25-7, 165-6; Turvey 2002, 210); absenteeism was not to be tolerated during the crisis. The castle was garrisoned and provisioned, while minor defensive works were undertaken (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401-05*, 295; Owen 1911, 25, 27-8, 165; Turvey 1990, 155; Wylie 1884, 375); their very slight nature however suggests that the castle was already in a strong condition. Haverfordwest town, but not the castle, fell to Glyndŵr's forces in 1405 (Turvey 1990, 163; Turvey 2002, 213), but was soon recovered.

The castle was strengthened following the attack, including a new tower built in the outer ward in 1407-8 (Owen 1911, 166), probably the one that survives in the northwest corner. It remained in royal hands, under Roland Lenthall who was appointed 'tenant for life' in 1426, and referred to informally as 'Lord of Haverford' until his death in 1452 (King 1999, 37; Owen 1911, 52, 123). The castle passed between various magnates of the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions during the Wars of the Roses, 1455-71, settling upon the Prince of Wales in 1471 (Owen 1911, 31). It reverted to the Crown in 1483, and in 1488 was granted by King Henry VII to his uncle, Jasper Tudor (Owen 1911, 32). Jasper died in 1495 and Haverfordwest was henceforth to remain a royal castle (King 1999, 38), though briefly under the control of Anne Boleyn, as Marchioness of Pembroke, 1532-6 (Griffiths 2002, 261; Owen 1911, 33).

Building work after 1408 appears to have been confined to the repair of existing fabric. Although recorded sums are occasionally fairly large - £100 was allocated in 1479 (Owen 1911, 168) – the work is rarely itemised and little from the late medieval period can be recognised in the surviving remains. However, the sources sometimes identify specific buildings and their function, for instance the Great Hall, the stable, the outer ward gatehouse and exchequer, which are mentioned in the 1470s (Owen 1911, 167-8). The costs suggest that the exchequer, which lay on the first floor of the outer gatehouse in 1577 (Owen 1903, 40), may have been new in the 1470s; it presumably replaced an existing exchequer for the lordship. Nothing remains of this gatehouse.
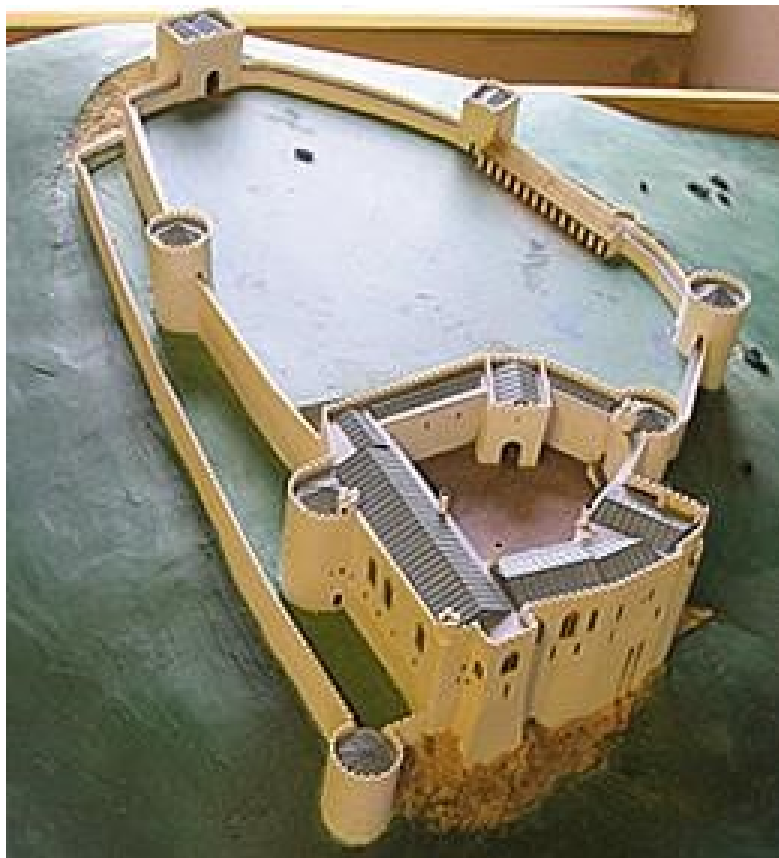
Figure 7: A model of Haverfordwest Castle in Haverfordwest Town Museum: view from east, illustrating the medieval castle.

2.1.4 The early post-medieval period, 1543-1700

Under the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1543 a new county, Pembrokeshire, came into being and Haverfordwest Castle ceased to be the centre of an independent lordship (Charles 1967, 1; Owen 1911, 124 and n. 1) – the first step towards the end of its active life. However, the 1543 Act established Haverfordwest Castle as the main seat of the courts of the Great Sessions for Pembrokeshire (King 1999, 38; Owen 1903, 41, 46; Owen 1918, 203 n.2), prolonging its administrative life a little longer. The castle remained Crown property, but under the control of the County authorities.

In 1545-6, a room was repaired for the use of a court official (Owen 1918, 203 n. 2). But the castle clearly proved unsatisfactory as a venue: by 1560 the Pembrokeshire County Sessions were being held in the borough guildhall, 'in default of a convenient Shire Hall or court-house in the castle' (Owen 1903, 41, 47), a process we also see at Carmarthen during the sixteenth century (Ludlow 2014, 227-9). A survey of 1577 described Haverfordwest Castle as 'utterly decayed' (Owen 1903, 40), but probably in its legal and financial sense rather than with reference to physical decay: it appears to have still been in use as a gaol, while two 'courts of the castle gate', for minor affairs, remained operational (Owen 1903, 42).

The survey is otherwise an invaluable resource which reveals the uses to which the inner ward buildings had recently been put (Owen 1903, 40-1): the east range was a chamber-block, a chapel lay at the southeast corner while the Great Hall occupied the south range, with a prison in the Southwest Tower and the 'Queen's Arbour' at its foot. The inner gate was flanked by 'lodges' while a round tower, now gone, lay south of it. The outer ward, within which lay the stable, was defended by at least four towers, and a gatehouse with an outer work (barbican?), overlain by the exchequer.

The castle had lost any vestiges of a resident household by *c.*1600, and the offices of constable and gatekeeper were abolished soon afterwards (Fenton 1811, 212). Disuse was formalised in 1610 with the permanent removal of its courts, and the establishment of a new County gaol in the town to take its prisoners (Charles 1967, 73, 150, 154; Fenton 1811, 207 n. b; Owen 1903, 41 n. 1).

But the castle was pressed back into service during the Civil Wars of 1642-48. It was garrisoned for Parliament when the first Civil War reached west Wales in autumn 1642, changing hands six times before the end of the war in 1645. The Royalist garrison began begun 'making and strengthening bulwarks, walls, gates and turnpikes' around Haverfordwest in 1643, work that continued under their Parliamentarian successors (Charles 1967, 14). Its nature and extent are however unknown, and no new lines of defence have been recognised. Only minor masonry work at the castle is specifically recorded (Charles 1967, 74-5), suggesting the fabric was in reasonable condition and not 'decayed'.

Although the castle had played no part in the second Civil War, Oliver Cromwell ordered its demolition in 1648 (Carlyle 1872, 188-9; Charles 1967, 15). Only hand-tools appear to have been used (Carlyle 1872, 190; Laws 1888, 348), but it is nonetheless possible that the west curtains of both the inner and outer wards, along with their gatehouses, were lost to this slighting rather than to the later gaol conversion (King 1999, 40). It is significant that only the castle is mentioned in Cromwell's orders, which are silent about the other fortifications suggested in 1643.

The castle thereafter appears to have remained an empty shell, though still under the control of the County authorities on behalf of the Crown, until 1779. It was valued at 40s per annum in 1653, when it was under lease to a private individual (Owen 1911, 170). Unusually, the 1653 valuation suggested that the remains were not favoured by the townsfolk as a source of building stone, implying that any post-slighting losses were systematic and deliberate, rather than piecemeal.

2.1.5 The eighteenth – twentieth century

In 1779, the Pembrokeshire authorities purchased the castle site absolutely, buying out leasehold interests, and established a new County Gaol in the inner ward, the existing county gaol in the town having been deemed unsatisfactory by the prison reformer John Howard (Howard 1777, 465-6); the castle was once again a prison. The medieval South Range was converted to take the prison cells and its inner wall was partly rebuilt, with loss of medieval fabric. The east range inner wall was also demolished. The Governor's House (now the town museum) overlay the medieval west curtain, which had probably been demolished, at least in part, in 1648. A Debtor's Block was built against the northwest curtain in 1816 (Freeman 1999, 45; Hancock 2020, 25); features within this wall suggest that the block might similarly have occupied the site of a medieval building.

Conditions soon proved unsatisfactory (Neild 1808, 256-8), and in 1820 an entirely new, and much larger gaol was built in the castle outer ward (Freeman 1999, 46; King 1999, 40; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204), which still survives as the County Record Office. While its management by the Pembrokeshire County authorities continued, the gaol was soon also constituted as a Borough Gaol (Freeman 1999, 47; Lewis 1849), like many other County Gaols including Carmarthen (Ludlow 2014, 241). There is however no evidence that it was enlarged for its new purpose, while some penal use of the inner ward continued: a treadwheel was erected in the southeast corner in 1820-1 (Freeman 1999, 48), while the medieval North Tower is said to have been used for executions until 1821 (Phillips 1922, 453 and n. 1). After the Gaol Acts of 1823 and 1865 stipulated the segregation of male and female prisoners (Ireland 2007, 113-14, 116), the Debtor's Block was used as a Female Wing and a Matron's House was built nearby in the late 1860s (Freeman 1999, 46, 50). There were normally between 20 and 40 prisoners, but the figure could rise to 70 or 80 (Freeman 1999, 50).

Britain's gaols were nationalised in 1877, their management being taken out of the hands of County authorities (Ireland 2007, 116). Many closures followed, including Cardigan and, in 1878, Haverfordwest, whose prisoners were moved to Carmarthen Gaol causing serious overcrowding there (Freeman 1999, 51; Ludlow 2014, 261, 345).

The inner ward buildings were subsequently occupied by Pembrokeshire Constabulary, but the outer ward gaol remained disused (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204; Phillips 1922, 449). The Police remained until 1963 (Ray 1969, 1), when the castle was acquired by Pembrokeshire County Council, in whose hands it remains. The 1820 gaol building in the outer ward was converted to a museum, after 1972 becoming the county record office. The gaol buildings in the inner ward were demolished 1964-7 (Freeman 1999, 51; Ray 1969, 1); the National Monuments Record houses a collection of photographs taken during the work (RCAHM(W) Coflein, NPRN 94235).
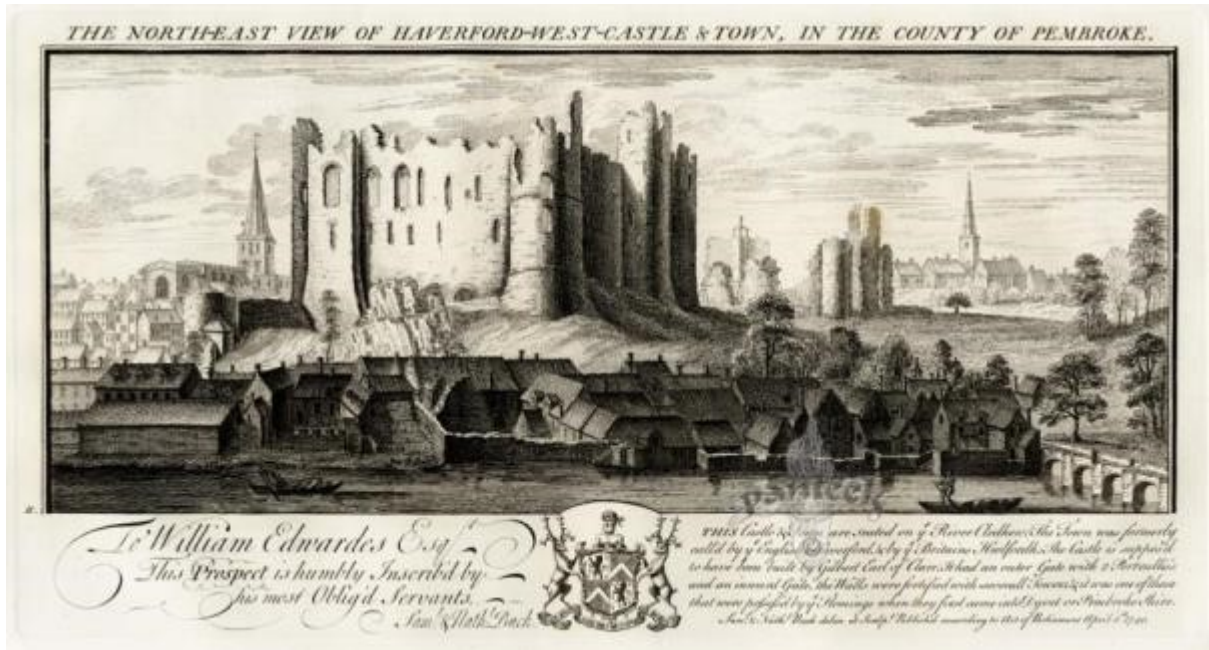
Figure 8: Haverfordwest Castle from ENE, by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1740.
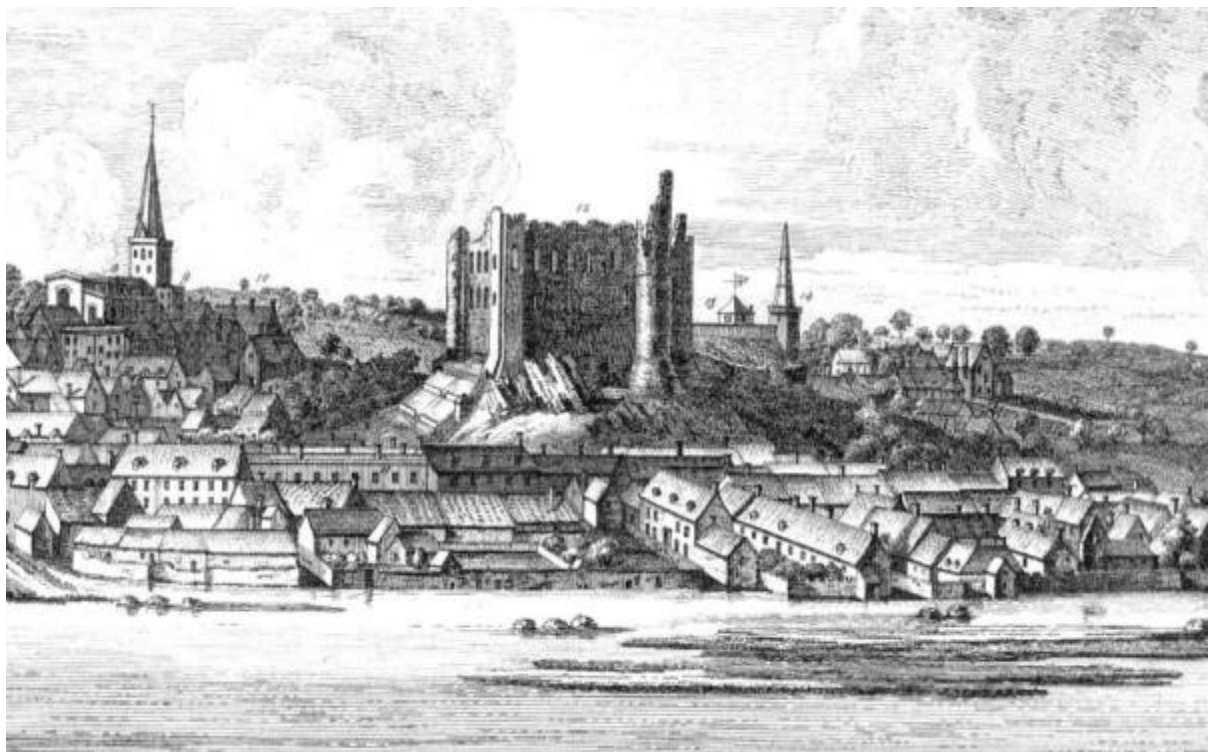
Figure 9: Haverfordwest from ESE, by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1748 (detail).

Figure 10: Haverfordwest Castle from south, by W. Cook after J. P. Neale, 1790s.

Figure 11: Haverfordwest Castle from northeast, by Richard Colt Hoare, 1806.

Figure 12: Haverfordwest Castle Inner Ward from SSW: an undated postcard view showing glasshouses within the Castle Back terraces.

2.2   THE INNER WARD: DESCRIPTION OF THE REMAINS

(Work Package Area 3; Fig. 13)

2.2.1 Introduction

The inner ward is a polygonal enclosure of medium size, measuring 40 metres by 40 metres, now with two round towers and two fine ranges of buildings; the whole has been described as 'strong and lofty' (King 1983, 393), but the west side, and all internal walls, have gone. The castle well is still open and lies towards the northeast corner of the enclosure.

The sub-rectangular Northeast Tower, which can probably be regarded as a keep, was built a decade or so either side of the year 1200, but there is no evidence to suggest that the inner ward was otherwise defended in masonry until later in the thirteenth century. The cylindrical North Tower, and the adjoining northwest and northeast curtain walls, can be broadly assigned to the Younger Marshal earls or the Bohuns, 1220-65, perhaps triggered by one of the Welsh attacks in west Wales in 1220 and 1257. The east and south curtains were rebuilt, probably on entirely new foundations (Freeman 1999, 53), as part of the L-shaped block added in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

The curtain walls survive to a consistent height throughout the circuit, averaging 14 metres, but in the main have lost their parapets; the North Tower and Southwest Tower rise somewhat higher, around 20 metres in the latter. The walls vary in thickness.

The entire western curtain has gone, possibly as a result of the 1648 slighting. The entry probably corresponded with the present gap between the eighteenth-century Governor's House (now Museum) and the northwest curtain. The enclosure was originally divided from the outer ward by a ditch, now gone; work at the castle in 1407-8 included a 'new bridge next to the inner gate' (Owen 1911, 166). It is possible that the ditch was infilled in the late 1640s by debris from the demolition of the curtain and gatehouse. No trace of any earthwork bank remains beneath the curtain walls.

Further loss of fabric took place when the inner ward was converted for use as a County Gaol in 1779-80. The inner wall of the east range was demolished, while the south range was modified for use as a cell-block, apparently also at the expense of its inner wall (Phillips 1922, 449; RCAHM(W) 1925, 109). In compensation, the gaol Governor's House, also from 1780, survives as a handsome piece of Georgian architecture.

A survey of 1577, invaluable to the historian of Haverfordwest Castle, describes the inner ward as the 'late inhabited part of the castle, being utterly decayed' (Owen 1903, 40-1). Some caution must be exercised, as 'decayed' could here be being used in its legal and financial sense (ie. no longer in use, or profitable). But it is clear that the buildings were no longer in permanent occupation. Similarly, its description as 'an inner ward or green' must not be taken too literally: many castle baileys were described as 'greens' in early post-medieval accounts, during periods of at least partial use (Ludlow 2014, 230). The survey follows an anticlockwise sequence, beginning at the inner ward gateway; the dimensions given in the account are not necessarily reliable.

The medieval building materials comprise a mix of local brown sandstone and grey Boulston gritstone, with bands of hard grey limestone in the south range, while purplish Nolton stone and yellow sandstone are used in the dressings (Freeman 1999, 54; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 206; Phillips 1922, 449). The walls were whitewashed during the gaol phase (Freeman 1999, 45; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 206; Phillips 1922, 449).

The inner ward will be described in a clockwise sequence, beginning north of the present entrance.
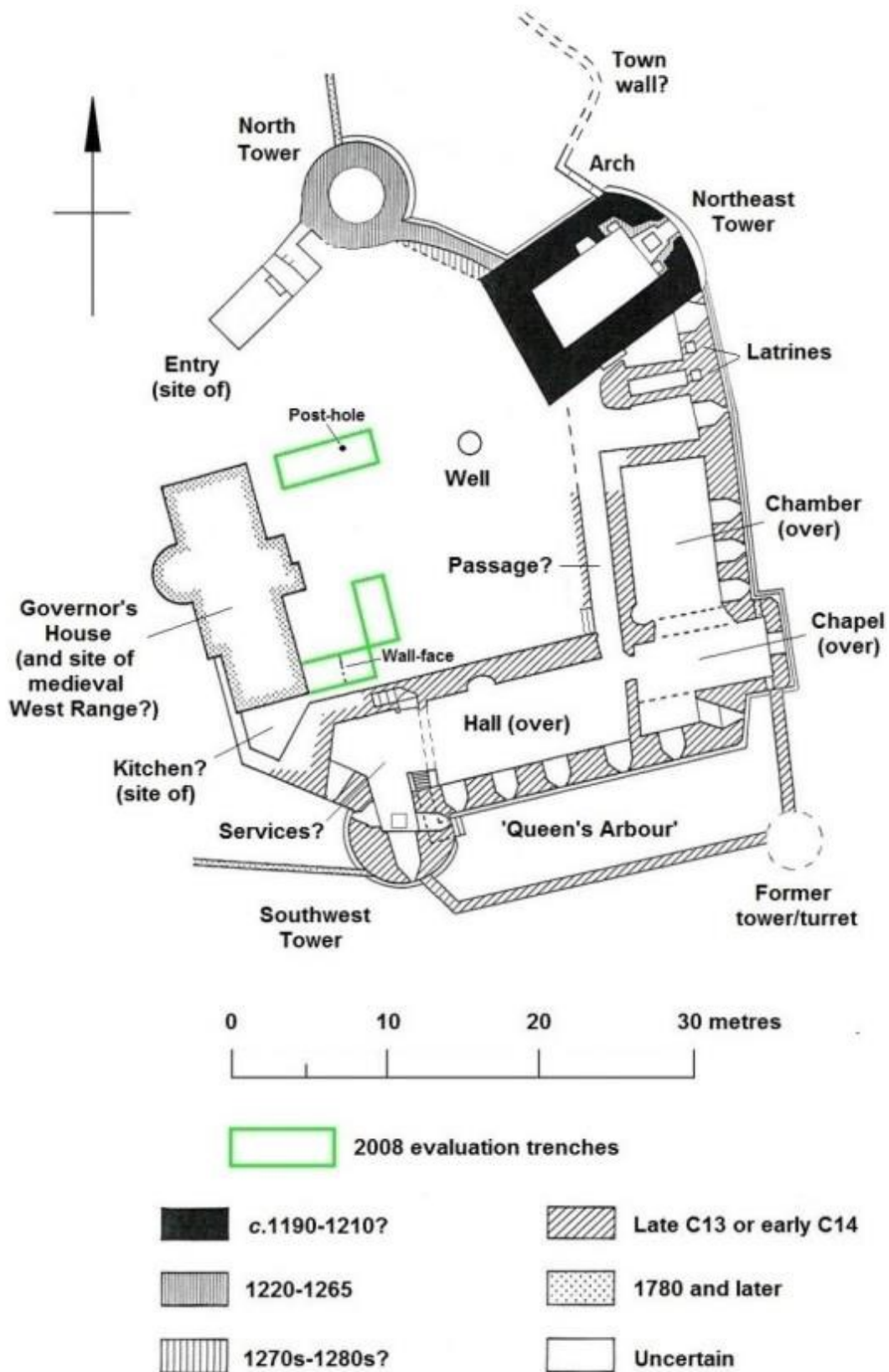
Figure 13: Phased plan of the castle Inner Ward at ground-floor level, also showing 2008 evaluation trenches.

2.2.2 The northwest curtain wall

A section of walling on the northwest side of the enclosure appears to incorporate the remains of the medieval curtain wall, but was much altered in 1816 when the Debtor's Block (later becoming the Women's Wing) was built against it (Freeman 1999, 45; Hancock 2020, 25; Figs. **14** and **15**); it was subsequently 'badly restored' (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 206). It is around 2.75 metres thick. Its southwest end formerly terminated against a gaol-phase kitchen block shown in late nineteenth-century plans (Figs. **14** and **15**), suggesting that any medieval walling beyond this point had already been lost; this end was finished off with even facework during the post-gaol period.

A blocked doorway with a square voussoired head is visible in the external face of the wall, at ground level, and corresponds with an internal area of apparent infill; the opening appears post-medieval, and corresponds with an entry shown on plans of the gaol (Figs. **14** and **15**). Above it is a second through-opening, still open, with a pointed arch; its voussoirs are very regular and, in their present form, belong to conservation work during the 1960s (RCAHMW) Coflein, PRN 94235, photos). Between these openings and the North Tower is a square internal recess, ascending almost to the full height of the wall. In the main, it is very crudely finished with exposed corework, but the remains of quoining are intermittently visible while the upper part is well-finished and lies beneath a segmental-pointed head, also conserved during the 1960s. The whole may represent a series of recesses or blocked openings in two, or perhaps three tiers (incorporating a medieval latrine shaft?); externally, however, they seem to correspond with an area of infill and may again represent gaol-phase intervention. One or other of these features has been suggested to represent a secondary or 'postern' entry to the inner ward (Phillips 1922, 453; Wiles 2014, 184, 186), but this is inconsistent with their form, while their very close proximity of the inner gate would make it unlikely. A mural passage has been said to occupy this wall, at first-floor level (Freeman 1999, 52), but this is not readily apparent and the northeast curtain may have been meant.

David King held this to be the 'thick wall, 34ft long' of the 1577 survey (King 1999, 39), but the anticlockwise sequence of the account, beginning at the inner gate, makes it clear that the southwest curtain is meant.

2.2.3 The North Tower

The cylindrical North Tower lies at the northern apex of the inner ward and stands to three storeys, possibly its original height, but has lost its parapet. Externally, it is roughly 8 metres in diameter with walls over 2 metres thick (Freeman 1999, 52); a basal batter is visible on its northeast side, where external levels are lower. The interior is inaccessible, while the exterior is now featureless; medieval openings may have been blocked during the gaol period when the tower was incorporated within the Debtor's/Women's block. The tower curves back into the curtains on either side, in the manner of an early/mid-thirteenth century corner tower; its rear face also shows a slight curve. The opening in this internal face, at first-floor level, is likely to represent the original entry (the ground floor, as in many thirteenth-century towers, was probably a basement reached by ladder), but it is very weathered; the passage appears segmental-headed but the doorway itself is now featureless. A model of the castle on display in the museum suggests a spiral stair shaft may also occupy this rear face (Fig. **7**), an unusual location but also seen in the outer ward towers at Pembroke Castle (Meek and Ludlow 2019, 226).

The upper storey shows a very slight inward taper, while its facework is somewhat different to that lower down. Two phases are suggested, but no great interval is necessarily implied and there seems to be no basis for a claim that the upper storey is 'quite modern' (Phillips 1922, 453 and n. 2).

The North Tower was not mentioned in the 1577 survey (Owen 1903, 40-1); while some authorities have identified it as the tower called *Brehinock* in the account (Kenyon 2010,

74; King 1999, 39; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 205-6), this clearly refers to the Southwest Tower described below.

Use of the North Tower during the gaol period was apparently grisly, being said to have been the site of the last execution at Haverfordwest in 1821, but it was thereafter disused (Phillips 1922, 453 and n. 1). A laundry-block was built against its west face 1820-*c*.1870 (Figs. **14** and **15**), since removed.

2.2.4 The northeast curtain wall

A length of walling connects the North Tower with the Northeast Tower, and is clearly medieval but appears to be of two builds. The lower half, which bonds with the North Tower, is around 1.5 metres thick, widening to around 2 metres in its upper half through internal 'squinching' as a series of corbelled-out courses. This upper half appears to be secondary and to butt against the North Tower (Freeman 1999, 52), and is in different masonry; it is said to contain a mural passage between the two towers (Kenyon 2010, 74; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 206), and simple slit-light faces the bailey at the west end, but the passage has not been observed by the writer and quite what happens at the junction of the wall with the Northeast Tower is unclear. Above it, part of the parapet appears to survive. The wall is otherwise featureless.

2.2.5 The Northeast Tower or 'Keep'

The large Northeast Tower projects from the northeast corner of the inner ward as a bold salient, its north and east sides being clear of adjoining structures. Its south wall is abutted by the secondary east range. It rises to the same height as the adjoining curtain walls, which may represent its full height – part of the parapet may survive at the junction with the northeast curtain – but the Buck print of 1740 shows it rising above the curtains (Fig. **8**). In plan, it is an irregular rectangle, measuring around 13 metres NE-SW by 8 metres NW-SE, with an acute angle at the southern corner. Externally, its northeast (external) face is strongly curved or 'bowed' outwards and, like the northwest face, shows a pronounced basal batter and a prominent offset, halfway up, which gives the tower a stepped profile. Above this, the external faces show a pronounced inward rake or batter.

The tower comprises a tall upper chamber and a lower ground-floor chamber; a vaulted basement storey is apparently also present, though now inaccessible and buried in rubble (Davis 2000, 81; Freeman 1999, 52; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 206; Ray 1969, 2). Walls are thick – up to 3 metres – but of the two internal walls only the footings survive; the south wall was partly removed when the East Range was built against it (see below) while the west wall, as in the south and east ranges, was probably a casualty of the gaol conversion rather than slighting in 1648. Neither is shown on nineteenth-century plans (Figs. **14** and **15**).

Evidence for access has been lost in these demolitions, but the main entry probably lay in one of the internal walls, at first-floor level. There are ruinous fireplaces at ground- and first-floor level in the north wall (possibly secondary? See below, and Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 206), and blocked windows at ground- and first-floor level in the east wall. Like other openings in the inner ward, the blocking probably belongs to the gaol period.

The Northeast Tower was integrated within the later East Range, and included alongside its description in the 1577 survey (Owen 1903, 40-1).

2.2.6 The East Range and curtain wall

The east curtain was entirely rebuilt in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, as part of a new east range which articulates, as an L-shape, with the south range, adjoining the Northeast Tower at the other end. The range was of two storeys,

measuring in total 20 metres north-south, and with a width of 8.5 metres (east-west). The scar from ground-floor vaulting survives throughout, though the vaults themselves have gone and their form cannot be ascertained. Like the Northeast Tower, moreover, the internal (west) wall of the range has also gone (and was not depicted on nineteenth-century plans, Figs. **14** and **15**), but the lower courses survive to show it was a metre thick. The external (curtain) wall is roughly 2 metres thick and rises from a basal plinth and batter externally, and decreases in width internally at first-floor level, at an offset above the vault scar.

At ground-floor level, the range comprised a large southern room of four bays, possibly with a spiral stair in the southwest corner, and a smaller room to the north; two more spaces further north, which are much smaller, are of uncertain nature and function but may be connected with the two latrine shafts in the external wall here; they lead down to a large pit discharging through an arched opening at the base of the curtain (Ray 1969, 3). No entries can now be discerned, but the southern room may have been entered at its northwest corner where the walling has gone. Internal division is less clear on the first floor, at which level the Northeast Tower was integrated into the range with the loss of its south wall.

Architecturally, both ranges are of the highest quality. At ground-floor level, the external wall of the east range is pierced by five windows, three lighting the southern chamber, one lighting the northern chamber and the fifth lying at the far north end; the latter two are blocked. They were all single lancets, with large rear embrasures, with pointed arches, descending to floor-level. Any dressings have been lost or are now obscured. The embrasures in the southern room apparently retain traces of a painted scheme of red lines, possibly imitating ashlar jointing (RCAHMW), Coflein, NPRN 9425). The window pattern, though not its spatial rhythm, is repeated at first-floor level where all windows are blocked. The three southern windows are of differing sizes, with two larger windows to the south (of two lights?), and a smaller one to the south (single lights?), all with pointed heads. The embrasures show finely-moulded surrounds, now weathered but apparently of multiple orders, with pointed rear-arches. The northernmost window is small and square-headed, with a plain segmental rear-arch; the intermediate one is a slightly larger lancet retaining part of its moulded external surround, though very weathered, and with a moulded rear-arch similar to those in the southern three. Lead roofs were recorded in 1343 (Owen 1911, 117-18), but little evidence of the roof structure survives.

In the anticlockwise sequence followed by the 1577 survey, the East Range follows the South Range (Owen 1903, 41). It is clear that it was a chamber-block, which is described in the following terms: 'a great chamber (with a chimney) of 34ft long, and 14ft broad. One other chamber (with a chimney) of 20ft long, and 20ft broad. One other room for offices of 12ft long and 7ft broad'. The description matches the tripartite division of the ground floor, but during the medieval period the great chamber itself must have lain at first-floor level, as convention demanded, suggesting the ground-floor partitions were replicated.

The east range was not re-used during the gaol conversion. Instead, its inner (west) wall was demolished, along with that of the Northeast Tower, their interiors becoming incorporated within the open yards that occupied the inner ward (Figs. **14** and **15**). Its outer wall windows were nevertheless blocked (Phillips 1922, 452), and remain so.

A length of masonry wall runs north-south parallel to, and 2 metres west of, the west wall of the range (Fig. **13**). It survives to a height of around half a metre, but revets higher levels to the west so that its top lies at ground level in the bailey. It appears to belong to an external passage against the east range, connecting the entries and linking them with the main entry to the south range (see below, **Section 2.3**). There is an entry from the bailey to the passage at the south end of the wall, in which the two steps down from bailey level may be original. The walling may never have been much higher than it is today, probably representing a sill-wall for a timber arcade, supporting a lean-to roof against the East Range.

2.2.7 The South Range, south curtain wall and chapel

The south range is roughly contemporary with the east range, with which it was formally planned as an L-shaped unit and is stylistically very similar, but with subtle differences that reveal a break in construction. In total, the range measures 32 metres east-west and 8.5 metres in width. Like the east range, it was of two storeys, the ground floor was formerly vaulted, and the south (external) wall shows the same offset and decrease in thickness at first-floor level; however the external face, while being battered, lacks a basal plinth. At least part of the vault still remained in 1934, according to a report by HM Office of Works (Freeman 1999, 53). Externally, irregular bands of lighter grey limestone contrast with the brown sandstone of the rest of the facework.

As in the east range, the inner wall has gone, but enough remains to show that here it was somewhat thicker – about 1.75 metres – possibly to house the ground-floor fireplace; the remains of a ground-floor entry survive at its east end. The east end of the range projects 3 metres beyond the east curtain as a square 'turret'; like the southeast corner of the range, its corners show rounded (or 'bevelled') quoin-stones, which do not appear to result from the weathering of simple diagonal chamfers.

At ground-floor level were three rooms, a large central room of four bays which is flanked at either end by two somewhat smaller areas. The central rooms was heated, with a fireplace in the north (internal) wall. It is lit by four single-lancet windows in the south wall, still open, with rounded (or 'bevelled') chamfers in their external surrounds, and somewhat rounded heads; the internal embrasures, with pointed rear arches, descend to floor level. The western area is irregular in plan, being open to the Southwest Tower (see below) and showing a diagonal west wall where it may have been built against a pre-existing structure. There is an entry onto a dog-legged stair in both north and south walls; the former, with the remains of a diagonally-chamfered surround, without stops, led to the first floor while the other, which lacks a surround, led down to the external garden terrace. A large window, now weathered but possibly of two lights, lies in the southwest corner beneath a segmental-pointed rear arch. The eastern chamber coincides with the south end of the east range, and extends east into the projecting 'turret'. It was lit by four windows, a single lancet in the south wall like those in the central space, a similar lancet in a thickened section of the east wall, at the southeast corner, and three blocked window, probably single-light, in the north, south and east walls of the turret.

The first floor was similarly divided into three spaces, by internal walls overlying those below. The central room, measuring 13 metres east-west, is lit by two large windows in the south wall, still open, which unlike those in the east range appear never to have had internal surrounds; their external surrounds are moreover somewhat plain showing bevelled external surrounds like those on the ground floor. They were probably of two lights, and show the remains of window-seats. Lead roofs were recorded in 1343 (Owen 1911, 117-18) but, as in the east range, little evidence of the medieval roof structure survives. The western room is very weathered at this level, but shows evidence of having been divided into two storeys like the adjoining Southwest Tower. Each was lit by a square headed opening, partly blocked, in the south wall.

The eastern area formed a discrete functional space which can be identified, from architectural and documentary evidence, as the castle chapel (see below). Its 'chancel' occupied the projecting turret, the east wall of which is pierced by a very large window, now open, originally of three or even four lights but now without its tracery. Its pointed rear arch was replaced in brick, presumably after the gaol period when it had been blocked (unblocked in 1912; RCAHMW) 1925, 109); the sharply-pointed external surround is formed of two chamfered orders, apparently without capitals and said to be of Caen stone (*Pembroke County Guardian*), beneath a similar drip-mould. The north and south walls of the turret are each pierced by a window, only slightly smaller, both now weathered but retaining fragments of their pointed, single-chamfered surrounds. A further, blocked window was said to be visible externally and to belong to a basement-level space (*Pembroke County Guardian*); this has not been seen by the author and is

mentioned in no other sources. The south wall of the 'nave' shows a window like those in the central room of the range. A spiral stair to parapet level occupies the thickened section of wall at the southeast corner, and its caphouse oversails the south range and chapel as a small square turret (labelled 'Turret' on old maps and plans; also see Phillips 1922, 450, 453).

The South Range is clearly the 'hall of 45ft foot long and 20ft broad', of the 1577 survey, 'having under it a large room with a chimney' (Owen 1903, 40). At 'each end' was a 'tower', ie. the Southwest Tower and the square eastern turret, while the range also housed a 'chapel of 24ft long, and 16ft broad', corresponding to the overall measurements of the chancel and nave areas. As today, a stair led out of the range 'into a walk called the Queen's Arbour' (see below).

The south range formed the core of the 1779-80 gaol, housing the cells. Nineteenth-century plans showed the cell-block as being of similar width to the medieval range (Figs. **14** and **15**), suggesting either that its inner wall may have incorporated medieval masonry, or that it had already been lost; the sources are however unanimous that it was demolished to make way for the new work (eg. Freeman 1999, 54; Phillips 1922, 449; RCAHMW) 1925, 109), while no earlier work appears to have been encountered when the wall was removed in the 1960s. The cell-block was only half the height of the medieval range, and the scar left by its roof can be seen cutting across the middle of the south wall windows (Freeman 1999, 54; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 205), which were at least partly blocked. The block, then, was fairly small with limited accommodation; in 1797, nevertheless, 415 captives from the French landing at Fishguard were apparently housed within it (Freeman 1999, 45; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204). The chapel was brought back in to service as the prison chapel (Freeman 1999, 53; Neild 1808, 257), when the east window was partly blocked. It was replaced by a chapel in the new gaol in 1820 when a treadwheel, by Sir William Cubitt, was erected in the ground floor of the turret (Freeman 1999, 48, 53; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 206), which is labelled 'wheel-house' in a late nineteenth-century plan of the gaol (Fig. **14**).

2.2.8 The Southwest Tower

The round Southwest Tower is *c*.20 metres high (Phillips 1922, 449), and may be complete minus its parapet, comprising three storeys over a basement. It is contemporary with the south range to which it was always open, lacking a rear wall and forming a unit with the western chambers of the range. First- and second-floor level correspond with the first-floor level in the remainder of the range, though the upper floor rises higher to oversail its roof-line. The tower is circular externally, with a diameter of around 8 metres, but the internal chambers are square. At their widest point, the walls are 3 metres thick, above an external basal batter; the external facework shows the same colour-banding as that in the south range. A central shaft in the ground floor, beneath a grating, leads to an unlit basement which is now inaccessible.

There is a south-facing single-light window on all three storeys above the basement, the uppermost blocked. Externally, they have bevelled surrounds like those in the south range. The ground-floor window has a pointed rear arch, while the two above have flattened, segmental-pointed rear arches, the uppermost almost triangular. Similar windows face west and east at ground-floor level. The tower was apparently equipped with a latrine chamber (Ray 1969, 3); this has not been observed by the writer.

A spiral stair in the northeast corner of the tower, at its junction with the south curtain, has lost its newel and most of its treads, but formerly connected the first floor, second floor and parapet. Beneath it is the dog-legged stair leading from the western room of the south range to the garden terrace. This descends through the eastern flank of the tower, to exit through a doorway with a concave-shouldered head (or 'Caernarfon arch'). The tower wall is externally flattened at this point, being corbelled or 'squinched' out above it to form a regular curve, at first-floor level.

The sequence followed by the 1577 survey identifies the Southwest Tower as the 'round tower, under which is a strong prison house called *Brehinock*' (Owen 1903, 40), perhaps revealing how the basement chamber was used in the sixteenth century (Davis 2000, 81; Phillips 1922, 449; nb. other authorities regard the North Tower as the *Brehinock*, eg. Kenyon 2010, 74; King 1999, 39; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 205-6).

2.2.9 The 'Queen's Arbour'

The doorway in the Southwest Tower accesses a terraced east-west platform at the foot of the south range, measuring 22 metres east-west by 6 metres north-south, and retained against the natural slope by revetment walls along its southern and eastern sides. These join the Southwest Tower and the projecting chapel turret. The revetment walls are now rather ruinous, but the platform survives as a well-defined feature.

It appears to represent a garden terrace associated with the medieval south range, and can be identified as the 'walk called the Queen's Arbour, in the east corner where there is a round turret', mentioned in the 1577 survey (Owen 1903, 40); the turret has now gone, but the Buck print of 1748 shows that it stood at the southeast corner of the platform (Fig. **9**). The garden was said to have remained parcel of the castle curtilage in 1577, and although the constableship of the castle was, in 1532, accompanied by a grant of the 'garden called the Queen's Arbour' (Fenton 1811, 212), this was a privilege presumably restricted to officers of the castle.

2.2.10 The Governor's House (Work Package Area 4)

The Governor's House (DAT PRN 58422), which was built in *c*.1780 and survives in good condition (Grade II listed), now forms the southwest side of the inner ward, replacing the medieval west curtain which had probably been slighted, at least in part, during the late 1640s (King 1999, 40). The building, which is in the castellated Gothic style of the period, and battlemented, is of rubble facework which has been roughcast towards the east. It comprises two storeys beneath a slate roof, and three bays, the central bay projecting on the west side as semicircular 'turret' housing the entry. Openings have pointed arches, the windows now containing nineteenth-century four-pane sashes, replaced on the east side in the twentieth century; the similar doorway has a fanlight with intersecting Gothic glazing bars, and a four-panel door. The opposite entry, in the east wall, is modern along with its porch. The north wall is blind (description from Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204, and British Listed Buildings website). A later extension, added before 1888, lies at the south end, but is now ruinous; it features a blocked doorway in its east wall from which a latrine was formerly entered (see Fig. **14**). A scullery, in the angle between its east wall and the south range, was planned in 1924 but appears never to have been built (Morag Evans, Haverfordwest Museum, pers. comm.). The Governor's House became the residence of the Inspector of the Pembrokeshire Constabulary after 1878 (Fig. **15**), and since the 1990s has been home to the town museum.

An eastward extension was proposed in 2008, but not built. A preliminary evaluation trench, excavated by DAT in the angle between the Governor's House and the south range, revealed the east face of a length of well-constructed walling, at least 0.9 metres thick, running on a north-south axis 3.5 metres east of the Governor's House east wall: it was thought to belong to a medieval building, and contained a relieving arch of uncertain purpose (Crane 2008a, 5, 8; Fig. **6**). A further mass of masonry was thought to represent collapse from a standing medieval building; a stone-lined drain was probably gaol-period to serve the latrine in the Governor's House extension (ibid; see Fig. **14**). If medieval, it is possible that the walling represents the east wall of a west range, mainly lying beneath the Governor's House, which perhaps formed an integrated suite with the east and south ranges; its projected width of 8 metres compares closely with the 8.5 metre width of the East Range. Although its well-preserved facework suggested to the excavator that the east face of the building may have been internal, this might result

from early burial beneath debris or may even indicate that a passage, like that in the East Range, ran alongside this wall.

No internal building is mentioned in this location in the 1577 survey, but it is possible that it had become disused or even demolished (see below, **Section 2.3**). We have seen that the survey clearly follows an anticlockwise sequence, beginning at the gateway to the inner ward. After the inner gate, a 'round tower' comes next in the sequence, apparently lying 'east' of the gate (presumably meaning southeast), and connected to the Southwest (or '*Brehinock*') Tower by a length of curtain wall (Owen 1903, 40; dimensions not necessarily reliable). It is therefore possible that the west wall of the Governor's House, while entirely rebuilt in the 1780s, follows the line of this curtain and that its semicircular bay may moreover represent the site of the site of the (half-)round tower mentioned in the survey (Davis 2000, 81; Phillips 1922, 449).

2.2.11 The Inner Ward interior

The interior of the inner ward is now a grassy space, and the only visible feature is the castle well, first mentioned in 1407-8 (Owen 1911, 166), and said to be 120ft in depth (Phillips 1922, 449; Ray 1969, 3). It was in use during the gaol period (Neild 1808, 257), when it saw the addition of an overlying well-house and laundry, shown on plans of the 1870s-80s and 1922 (Figs. **14** and **15**; Phillips 1922, 450).

Some investigation, not all of a systematic nature, has been undertaken within the interior. In 1914, a trench was excavated just east of the Governor's House in an attempt to find a 'supposed underground passage which collapsed in 1871' (Crane 2008a, 4; *Pembroke County Guardian*). The trench was said to have been nearly 4 metres deep. A number of conflicting secondary accounts of this work exist, but it seems that no passage was found. However the work did apparently reveal 'a recess measuring eight feet by seven and about three feet deep formed by a solid mass of grouted masonry lying against rock on three sides; beneath this there was rubbish and black mud, through which a five foot bar was thrust down without touching anything solid' (ibid.). Also retrieved was a 'time capsule' deposited in 1871; otherwise only animal bone was seen. It is difficult to interpret these accounts, which are discussed further in Section **2.5** below.

Two more evaluation trenches were excavated in the inner ward in 2008 (Crane 2008a), and the results are discussed below in Section 2.5.

More recently a series of geophysical surveys have been undertaken (Poucher 2020), which revealed a complex layout of potential below-ground structures surviving. These are also discussed further in Sections 1.4.2 and 2.5.

2.2.12 The former gaol buildings (Figs. 14, 15 and 16)

The traveller Richard Fenton, writing in 1811, was rather forgiving is his description of the 1779-80 gaol conversion, suggesting that it did 'not materially take away from the picturesque and venerable appearance of the ruin' (Fenton 1811, 205-6) – presumably restricting his scope to views of the castle from the outside.

The gaol had been visited by the reformer James Neild, in 1803, and some concern over conditions was raised (Neild 1808, 256-7). A gaoler, a chaplain and a surgeon were all salaried, but there was neither infirmary nor bathing facilities. Neild noted the presence of an open courtyard 'about 36 yards square', and the well, but his description is otherwise limited to more general observations.

Plans from *c*.1870 and 1888 depict the inner ward before and immediately after the closure of the gaol (Figs. **14** and **15**), and show the internal buildings that were demolished in the 1960s. An open courtyard occupied most of the north half of the inner ward, labelled 'airing yard' ie. for fresh air and exercise, as recommended by John

Howard; the former cell-block in the south range, and a further yard, lay in the southern half. The inner ward was entered through a narrow passage in its western corner, north of the Governor's House.

A roofed building against the northwest curtain, measuring roughly 17 metres by 6 metres, housed the Women's Wing which had been established, after 1823, in the Debtor's Block originally built in 1816 (Freeman 1999, 45; Hancock 2020, 25); a plan of the gaol from *c*.1870 shows the ground floor was divided into three cells, entered from a passage along the northwest side of the block (Fig. **14**). It is not known whether the block was converted from a medieval building: it stood clear of the northeast curtain, separated from it by a small yard (Fig. **14**), while all openings shown in old photographs appear to be post-medieval (Pembrokeshire Record Office, PCC/SE/77/39). Nevertheless some of the features present in the surviving section of the northwest curtain may have been associated with the block (for example the entry shown in Figs. **14** and **15**). This curtain continued southwest towards the gaol entry as a thinner section of walling which appears to have been entirely new in the 1780s, replacing a section of medieval curtain slighted in the late 1640s, with a kitchen-block lying against its northwest face. The North Tower and northeast curtain are shown as today, although a laundry lay against the west face of the latter.

The internal walls of the Northeast Tower and East Range had gone. The interior of the Northeast Tower was an empty space, but partly occupied by the detached Matron's House built in the late 1860s (Freeman 1999, 50; Fig. **14**), a hip-roofed building that was retained as the Police Sergeant's residence after 1878 (Fig. **15**). The northern half of the East Range was similarly empty, forming part of the open courtyard in this area of the inner ward.

A passage ran eastwards from the Governor's House across the width of the inner ward, dividing the courtyard from the area to the south. It incorporated a building over the well, still roofed and divided into two areas, labelled 'Well-House and Laundry', before turning south to run along the inner face of the east curtain. It connected with the South Range at its northeast corner. Lead water-pipes leading towards the well were revealed in the 2008 evaluation by DAT (Crane 2008a, 7-8) and more recent geophtyscial surveys (Poucher 2020).

The footprint of the cell-block in the south range corresponded with that of its medieval predecessor, the north wall of which was apparently demolished when it was converted to a gaol (Freeman 1999, 54; Phillips 1922, 449; RCAHM(W) 1925, 109); this raises the question whether the wall had retained any medieval fabric, as it is unlikely to have been a victim of the 1648 slighting. An undated photograph of the internal (north) wall of the block shows a series of small, square windows at ground floor level and slightly taller ones above them at first-floor level (Fig. **16**), all of which appear to be gaol-phase. However, while the ground-floor entry at the east end of the block appears to be of similar date, the vault from the former east range is 'fossilised' in the wall-face above it, apparently confirming that here, at least, some of the walling itself was medieval. Moreover, the suggestion that the cell-block roof was 'arched with stone' (Hancock 2020, 24) may imply that the south range vault had been rebuilt, and perhaps partially retained. As in the Debtors'/Female Wing, the cells were entered from a passage along the south side of the block (Fig. **14**). The chapel was labelled 'wheel-house' in *c*.1870 (Fig. **14**), suggesting the treadwheel of 1820-21 was still operational here: it was mentioned in 1849 (Lewis 1849, 'Haverfordwest'), while these devices did not face their overdue abolition until the Prison Act of 1898.

Between the south range and the central passage was an open yard, with a (secondary?) subdivision into two areas labelled 'Old Trial Yard' and 'Wheel Yard' in *c*.1870 (Fig. **14**). Both were presumably airing yards. Its dimensions suggest that the courtyard 'about 36 yards square', seen by James Neild in 1803 (Neild 1808, 256), occupied the entire inner ward interior, the division of which by the east-west central passage must therefore have been a later event. The passage is, in fact, labelled 'passage to wheel-house', suggesting it was established after the 1823 Gaol Act to prevent any contact between male inmates

of the new gaol in the Outer Ward, on their way to the treadwheel, and the female prisoners in the Inner Ward.

Fig. **15** shows the gaol after it had been taken over by the Pembrokeshire Constabulary. All gaol buildings are shown, and the south range is labelled 'cells', but the nature and extent of continuing use under the Police is uncertain. The Governor's House is labelled 'Inspector's Residence', and was larger than today, extending further at both its north and south ends; one of these extensions contained the gaol bakehouse erected in 1818 (Hancock 2020, 25). The latter end ran up to the south curtain, apparently disregarding the line of the medieval footings here. Its north wall formed an oblique angle, against the entrance passage, which kinked southwards around its canted northeast corner.
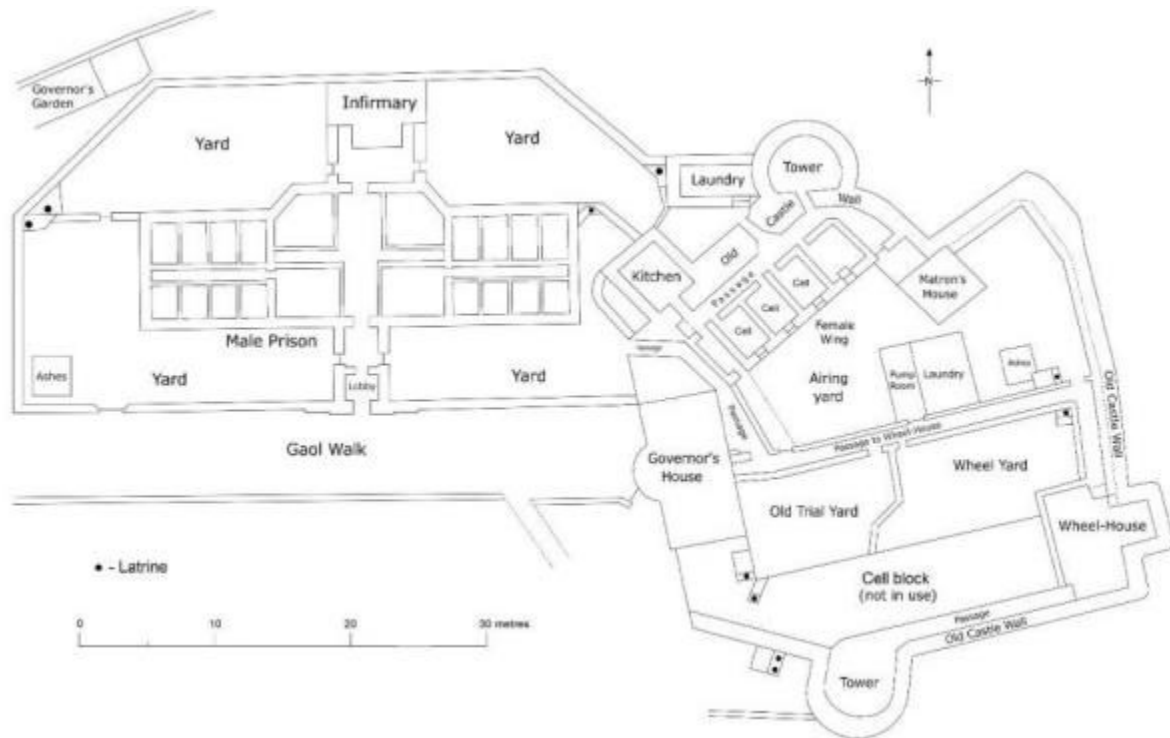
Figure 14: Schematic plan of Haverfordwest Gaol in *c*.1870
(adapted from plans held in Pembrokeshire Record Office, PCC/SE/77/39).
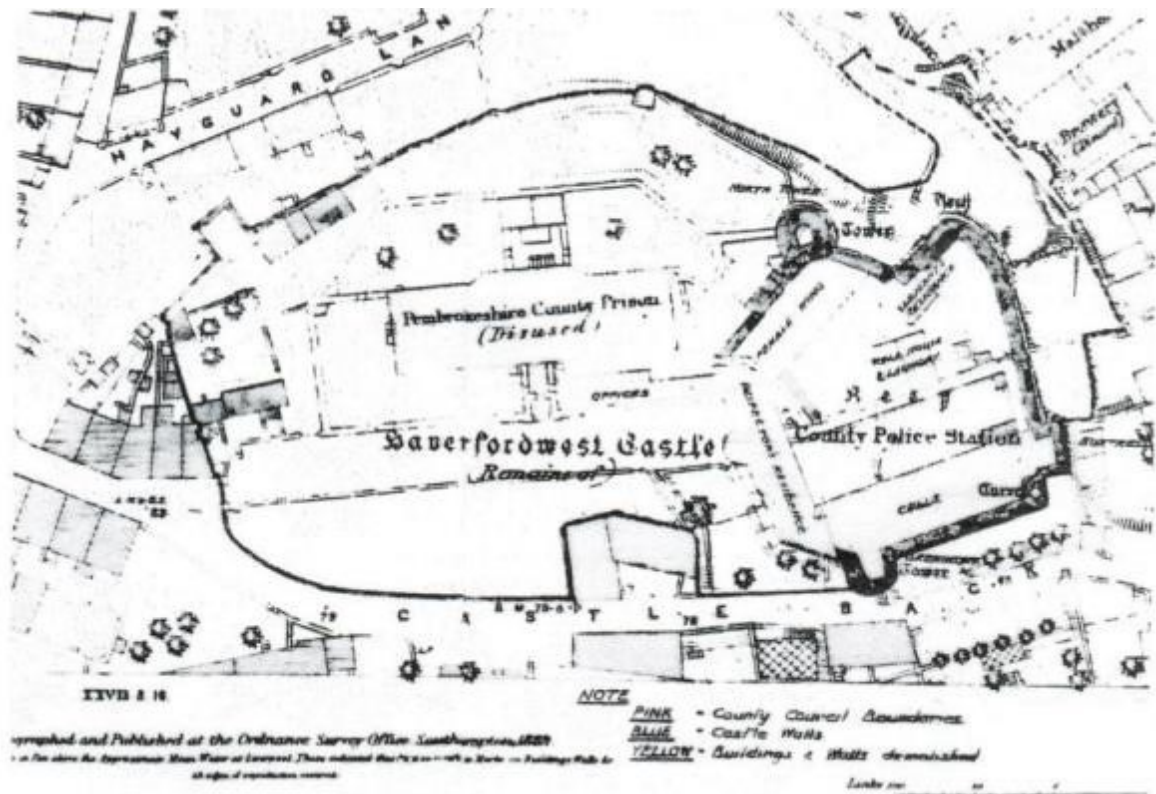
Figure 15: Plan of Haverfordwest Gaol in 1888 (Pembrokeshire County Council).

Figure 16: Undated photograph of the 1780 cell-block north wall, possibly showing the profile of the medieval East Range ground-floor vault at the east (left) end (Pembrokeshire Record Office, PCC/SE/77/39).

2.3   THE INNER WARD: DISCUSSION (Fig. 13)

2.3.1 The North Tower and curtain walls

The overall form of the North Tower is representative of a fairly wide date-range, from *c*.1220 until *c*.1270, but no closely dateable features survive, nor evidence for its original use. The Younger Marshal earls granted a series of charters to Haverfordwest between 1219 and 1231 (James 2002, 437 *et al*.), indicating a close interest in the borough which may have extended to the castle; at least one visit by the earls is known, in 1245 (Williams ab Ithel 1860, 85). So it is possible that the work belongs to the campaign of William Marshal II, as a reaction to the Welsh raids of 1220, in which Narberth Castle was rebuilt, Wiston probably received its shell-keep and Pembroke's inner ward was given a circular mural tower (Ludlow 2019, 254).

But a case might also be made for Humphrey de Bohun II who, in 1252-5, acquired further land in the lordship of Haverford through exchange (James 2002, 438; Walker 2002b, 161), implying a commitment in the region, while a major Welsh attack in west Wales in 1257 may have tempted thoughts of refortification (Jones 1952, 111; Jones 1971, 243; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 93-4): a 'murage' grant towards defending the town was granted in 1264 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 348; Owen 1911, 127). The North Tower, in general form, is not unlike the Southwest Tower built by Bohun at Caldicot Castle, Mon. (Kenyon 2010, 108), probably in the 1240s-50s.

While the tower's tapering upper storey gives it a silhouette redolent of the 'entasis' (or bulging outline) seen in the Younger Marshal towers at Cilgerran and Chepstow (1220s-40s), it may be secondary at Haverfordwest, while entasis persisted well into the later medieval period in west Wales eg. the inner ward towers and outer gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle, from the 1270s and c.1400 respectively (Kenyon 2007, 25, 37). Nevertheless the rounded rear face of the Haverfordwest tower is also characteristic of Younger Marshal work (Ludlow 2019, 227-9).

While the overall form of the North Tower, and possibly its stair, are not unlike the outer ward towers at William and Joan de Valence's castle at Pembroke, built in the 1250s (Meek and Ludlow 2019, 225-31), a Valence date ie. 1265-73 may be rather late for the beginnings of stone fortification at Haverfordwest. The murage grant of 1264 appears moreover to relate to the masonry town defences which adjoined the castle, implying that the castle was already stone-walled. However, some authorities have suggested that Valence work can be seen at the castle (eg. Goodall 2011, 208; RCAHM(W) 1917, 109), although it is not specified where. In summary, construction by the younger Marshals 1220-45 is most likely, while a date under Humphrey de Bohun II 1248-65 remains possible.

2.3.2 The Northeast Tower or 'Keep'

The Northeast Tower may have been built during the early part of the castle's history, as a great tower or 'keep' (Davis 2000, 81; Kenyon 2010, 74; King 1964, 313; King 1981, 10; King 2002, 539-40; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 203). When Giraldus Cambrensis visited Haverfordwest in 1188, a prisoner was being held in 'one of the towers' of the castle, which had 'crenellations' and 'battlements' (Thorpe 1978, 142-3), while William Camden, in his *Britannia* of 1586, recorded a tradition, perhaps derived from Giraldus's account, in which 'the earls of Clare fortified [Haverfordwest] castle on the north side, with walls and a rampart' (Gibson 1695, 631).

Masonry towers of twelfth-century date survive in the Pembrokeshire castles at Carew, Manorbier and Nevern (Caple 2016, 388; Kenyon 2010, 62; King and Perks 1970, 114). But, while it is possible that the Northeast Tower was meant by Giraldus (and it was not unknown for keeps to be used to confine high-ranking prisoners), his description could merely be a literary convention, or might refer to a timber tower: a masonry tower is

unlikely to have been built between 1170 and the 1190s, when a royal constable was imposed on the castle at the expense of Richard FitzTancard's control (Scott and Martin 1978, 91; see **Appendix 2**), while it is probably no earlier (Renn 1973, 201). In fact construction rather later, under William Marshal I, has been suggested (Wiles 2014, 186 n. 29). Nevertheless Marshal's interests during his short tenure at Haverfordwest, between 1213 and 1219, lay elsewhere – the Magna Carta crisis, a French invasion, and a direct threat by the Welsh to his lands in southeast Wales (Crouch 2002, 118-34). And a post-1219 date is stylistically unlikely.

Comparative analysis may help in its dating. The bowed external face of the Haverfordwest tower is unusual, but is also seen in the North Turret or 'Platform' at Pembroke (King 1978, 109-10; Wiles 2014, 186 n. 29), which is similarly undateable and apparently now truncated. Like the Haverfordwest tower, it lies at the far end of the bailey from the gatehouse, on the edge of a cliff and overlooking a river. It measures 7.3m x 8.3m, and is thus slightly smaller than Haverfordwest's 9.5m x 13.5m, but closely compares with the keep built by the Clare earls of Pembroke at Goodrich, Herefs., 1138-76 (Ashbee 2009, 29), which measures 7.5m square. The Pembroke tower may similarly have been built by the Clares after 1138, or perhaps under crown control 1176-1200 (and was possibly truncated when William Marshal's great keep was begun there in 1200-01), and may have provided a model for the Haverfordwest tower. Also unusual are its stepped external faces, and its raking. The 'classic' stepped tower in Britain is St George's Tower at Oxford Castle, which in addition is similarly raked but is much earlier, from the late eleventh century (Shapland 2017, 110). However, the polygonal Avranches Tower at royal Dover Castle is strongly-stepped, and can be broadly dated to 1180-1216 (Brindle 2012, 30). And while it is possible that the Haverfordwest tower might be of two phases, beginning as a low, squat single-storey structure, later heightened above an offset which merely marks the junction between two builds, there are no obvious parallels for such a squat tower in Britain – unless the Pembroke tower had always been equally low.

It is therefore most likely that the Haverfordwest tower was built *c*.1190-1210, under Robert FitzRichard, and possibly in response to the Welsh resurgences of the 1190s; it may have inspired the stepped profile of the late thirteenth-century gate-tower at Newport Castle, Pembs.

The windows are not closely dateable but their internal heads, square at ground-floor level and segmental on the first floor, suggest later medieval alteration or insertion (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 206), perhaps after it had been integrated within the East Range. The same may be true of the vault that apparently lies over the inaccessible basement chamber: no domestic vaulting is known before the mid-thirteenth century in Pembrokeshire (that in the twelfth-century hall-block at Manorbier is secondary; King and Perks 1970, 96), and insertion in the late thirteenth or fourteenth date, to match the vaulting in the east and south ranges, is more likely.

2.3.3 The East and South Ranges, the Southwest Tower and the Queen's Arbour

The East Range

The east range is defined as a chamber-block in the 1577 survey (Owen 1903, 41; some earlier authors identified it, incorrectly, as the survey's hall eg. Phillips 1922, 453). Chamber-blocks like this contained private accommodation for the lord, lady and their immediate household; at Haverfordwest, its integration with the Northeast Tower – the probable keep – suggests that this eastern side was always the highest-status zone within the castle. Its external frontage, with its numerous high-quality windows, was clearly very much a 'show' front, facing the main eastern approach to the town over the bridge.

In 1577 there were apparently three rooms at both levels of the range, including a Great Chamber (presumably on the first floor) another chamber, and 'offices'. The sequence

followed by the survey, and its phrasing, suggest that a 'kitchen with three chimneys' also occupied the range, or lay nearby. It is possible that it occupied the conjoining Northeast Tower, providing a context for its multiple inserted fireplaces; the similar North Turret at Pembroke Castle may have been repurposed for catering use, if not for cooking itself (Day and Ludlow 2016, 77).

A kitchen is however an unusual adjunct to a chamber-block (unless a privy kitchen for the exclusive use of the lord or lady), while the services – the buttery and pantry – appear to have been far away, at the west end of the South Range. Perhaps the main kitchen originally lay elsewhere, and was relocated to the East Range in the late medieval or early post-medieval period; this is explored further in the following.

The South Range, Chapel and Southwest Tower

The south range formed another show front, facing the High Street and dominating views from the town. In 1577, it contained a Great Hall lying over an undercroft, with a chapel at the east end and a stair to the 'Queen's Arbour' at the west end (Owen 1903, 40). Use of the space beyond the west end, which incorporated the Southwest Tower, is not identified, but it is reasonable to suppose that it contained the services ie. the buttery and pantry (Ray 1969, 3), possibly on more than one level. Nevertheless, the stair – which led to a private garden – blurs the distinction between 'high' and 'low' ends, as does the latrine apparently lying within the Southwest Tower (ibid.); high status appears to have prevailed throughout. Taken along with the general form and detail of the range, it appears that the hall may have been primarily ceremonial, with restricted use for the lord or lady as and when they visited, like the equally well-appointed hall built by Joan and William de Valence at Pembroke Castle (Day and Ludlow 2016, 68). If so, then the hall for the steward and resident castle household may have been located elsewhere, and now lost – perhaps in the possible medieval building beneath the Governor's House, mentioned in **Section 2.2.10**.

The hall undercroft is also well-appointed, with a fireplace and large, south-facing windows, and was clearly always used for something more than just storage. In 1577, it was 'a large room (with a chimney) called the Coining House' (Owen 1903, 40), but there is no record of any mint in Haverfordwest (Freeman 1999, 53), while provincial mints had been suppressed in 1279-81 when coining was centralised in London (Allen 2012, 75). The name may however be indicative of general administrative use, at least by 1577. In overall form, the undercroft is very similar to that beneath the Pembroke hall which was also equipped with a fireplace, was equally well-lit and similarly communicated with the services; it has been suggested that it may been built as retainers' accommodation, for the use of the Valences' personal household should they visit (Day and Ludlow 2016, 74; its interpretation as a kitchen, by eg. King 1978, 113, is inconsistent with the evidence).

The east and south ranges connect at the chapel, which represents a transition from 'private' space in the former to more 'public' space in the latter. It appears to comprise a chancel, in the projecting turret, and a wider nave. While it has been suggested that the 'nave' was in fact a private withdrawing space, screened off from the 'chancel' (Ray 1969, 3), we have seen that their overall dimensions tally with those given for the chapel in the 1577 survey, while it may be questioned whether such a space would be necessary given the presence of a private chamber-block in the east range.

The Southwest Tower is the same build as the south range, and forms an integrated element of the suggested services block. Although the basement appears to have been used as a gaol cell in 1577 (Owen 1903, 40), this may not have been its original purpose: we have seen that the entire south range appears to have been of high status, while high-status prisoners were not confined in unlit basement chambers. The tower also houses the stair to the private garden or 'Queen's Arbour', and is said to have been equipped with a latrine in its upper level. In fact, the basement chamber has been interpreted as a cess-pit for this latrine (Freeman 1999, 54; Ray 1969, 3).

The possible West Range

The now-ruined west wall of the suggested services block appears to have been very thick (3 metres at its widest; Fig. **13**). It is therefore possible that it housed ovens, belonging to a kitchen occupying the southwest corner of the inner ward (as suggested in Ray 1969, 3), within the possible medieval West Range beneath the Governor's House: a location just beyond the services was more-or-less standard in the kitchens of high-status medieval buildings. If so, it may furnish further evidence that this range also contained the hall for the castle household, as suggested above: this hall, and the ceremonial hall in the South Range, could thus be served by the same kitchen. We have seen that no building is mentioned here in the 1577 survey, but the loss of a *former* building might explain the relocation of the kitchen to its unusual position in the East Range chamber-block. The reduction of the castle household during the later medieval period (see **Section 2.1.3** above) will doubtless have made two halls unnecessary.

Date and affinities

The south and east ranges are normally attributed to Edward I's queen, Eleanor of Castile, who acquired Haverfordwest in an exchange, for three Essex manors, with Humphrey de Bohun III. The precise date of this exchange is however unknown. It was first agreed in 1286 (Parsons 1995, 187) and had occurred by May 1289 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 330-1); internal evidence shows that it was after 1287 (Edwards 1939, 170), while at an unknown date in 1290 it was recorded that the Queen had been in possession of Haverfordwest for two years (*Rot. Parl*. 1, 30). The year 1288 has been suggested (Edwards 1939, 170; Parsons 1995, 109, 187; Rees 1975, 252-2), but most authorities prefer a date in early 1289 for her acquisition (eg. Colvin *et al*. 1963, 670; Hislop 2020, 240; Kenyon 2010, 74; King 2002, 539-40; Walker 2002a, 85).

Queen Eleanor died in November 1290, which means that she may have been limited to just two seasons of building work at Haverfordwest. Records of her transactions are moreover limited to a loan of £400 from Gilbert de Clare (Earl of Gloucester) and Robert Tibetot (Justiciar of south Wales), to pay for works at the castle, while £360 was spent on timber from Ireland and its carriage by sea, and £47 went towards carpentry work (Colvin *et al*. 1963, 670). Tenure by the Queen, rather than the King, means these accounts are doubtless incomplete, but they do not suggest the ambitious programme of works which is seen at Haverfordwest.

Most published accounts are hampered by the persistent view that the east and south ranges show uniform architectural detail (eg. Freeman 1999, 53; Hislop 2020, 240-1; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 206). But they do not: though clearly designed as a unit, stylistic differences between them reveal that execution of the design was in two main campaigns that could not have been undertaken in a single two-year period. Others have suggested that Queen Eleanor begun work on the ranges but it was completed under her successors (eg. Davis 2000, 81; Freeman 1999, 53). But any continuation cannot have been immediate: during the 1290s, Haverfordwest Castle was held, in custody only, by a succession of Crown officers rather than nobles (Owen 1911, 5-8), none of whom had the status, or sufficient resources, to undertake work on such a palatial scale. In 1301 it was conferred upon Edward Prince of Wales, but as part of a much larger grant of all Crown castles in Wales (Owen 1911, 8), only a handful of which received any attention. No building work at Haverfordwest is recorded under the prince, his expenditure being concentrated upon his more strategic castles eg. Carmarthen, Caernarfon and Beaumaris (Hislop 2020, 222-36; Ludlow 2014, 194-9). And no recent works are implied in an account of 1307-8, before its grant to Aymer de Valence, which stated that the castle had needed to be made good because it 'rained in each house' (Rees 1975, 100), suggesting that its roofs were incomplete or decayed.

The detail may provide a clue. The internal surrounds of the first-floor windows in both ranges have been described as wave-moulded (Hislop 2020, 241; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204, 206). This is incorrect: there are no wave-mouldings in the south range (see below),

while the nature of the east range surrounds is uncertain. They are weathered, have been obscured by later blocking, and are difficult to see clearly without closer access, but seem superficially to comprise more than one order of roll-mouldings, flanked by hollow chamfers. Nevertheless, their identification as wave-mouldings may be correct – it is possible that the rolls flow smoothly into the hollows in a manner characteristic of the form. If so – and if the ranges were to belong to the period 1289-90 – then they would be among the earliest examples of wave-mouldings in Britain: their earliest reliable dating is in the later 1290s, in Crown work at Caernarfon Castle in north Wales (Coldstream 1994, 43, 130; Hislop 2020, 146). And while use of wave mouldings in the 1280s has been suggested, under Crown influence, at Acton Burnell Castle in Shropshire and Vale Royal Abbey in Cheshire (Coldstream 1994, 43; Hislop 2020, 146, 239; Thompson 1962, 206 fig. 8/7), this is far from certain; the mouldings at Vale Royal are very ill-defined, those at Acton Burnell appear to be hollow chamfers in a single order, while at both sites they are most unlike the multiple waves seen at Caernarfon. On balance, therefore, a date after the mid-1290s would be most likely for the Haverfordwest mouldings.

In contrast, all surviving surrounds in the south range, with the exception of a single diagonal chamfer, show rounded or bevelled chamfers. This *motif* appears to have originated in the baronial castles of southeast Wales and the borders, where it is seen in work of *c.*1280-*c.*1320 in the castles at eg. Caerphilly, Chepstow, Goodrich and Powis, and clearly belongs to a regional 'school' or tradition. The same school was employed at royal St Briavels Castle near Chepstow, which shows these rounded chamfers in work from 1291-3, and during the early fourteenth century their use spread further afield, for instance at Carreg Cennen Castle (*c.*1300-10). Most significantly for Haverfordwest, rounded chamfers were used by Aymer de Valence in his castles at Bothwell in Scotland, 1301-10 (probably by masons who had been employed by him at Goodrich), and Bampton in Oxfordshire 1315-24 (Ludlow 2018, 258-61). They were also used by members of his wider affinity in Gloucs.

Other attributes of the Haverfordwest ranges may similarly point to Aymer, and a date after his acquisition of the castle in 1308. Affinities with work at Pembroke Castle by his parents, Joan and William, have been noted above; to these may be added similarities, which are more than just superficial, to the Valence castle at Ferns, Co. Wexford in Ireland. Both castles present big show façades, pierced by numerous openings. The spatial rhythm of these openings is similar at both, as is the use of alternating tiers of mullioned windows and single-lancets, the form of these lancets and, perhaps most significantly, the use of lighter bands of stone between the upper and lower tiers of opening. Aymer was also lord of Wexford 1307-24; Ferns castle had been built for his parents in the later thirteenth century (McNeill 1997, 144; O'Keeffe and Coughlan 2003, 144-8), and its similarities with contemporary castles in south Wales, rather than Ireland, suggest that the work may have been undertaken by masons sent from Wales.

The Haverfordwest ranges arguably reveal the same regional influences. The first-floor hall was, until later in the fourteenth century, almost exclusively a feature of baronial castles, and was most widely used in Wales; halls over vaulted undercrofts are a defining feature of Pembrokeshire in particular, where they are normally plain barrel-vaults (Parkinson 2002, 550-1; Smith 1988, 21-4), but sadly we cannot be sure of the form taken by those at Haverfordwest. The doorway to the 'Queen's Arbour' in the Southwest Tower has a concave-shouldered head, or 'Caernarfon' arch. These arches were used in King John's east tower at Carrickfergus Castle (Co. Antrim), from *c.*1215-22 (McNeill 1981, 28-30, 44), and in Henry III's donjon at York, from the 1250s (Clark 2010, 26-7). They did not however become frequent in the British Isles until the later thirteenth century when they were extensively used by the Crown in Wales, and their use at Haverfordwest has been linked with Queen Eleanor's tenure (Hislop 2020, 241). But they were also quickly adopted by the barons of Wales, and were used by Joan and William de Valence at Goodrich Castle in the 1290s (Ashbee 2009, 21). The squinched wall-face over the Haverfordwest doorway is characteristic of Pembrokeshire and is widely employed in the elder Valences' work at Pembroke Castle (Day and Ludlow 2016, 68). The

embrasures in the Southwest Tower show segmental-pointed rear arches, the uppermost almost triangular in a manner characteristic of the Welsh borderlands (Goodall 2011, 211-13, 236), where it is a defining feature of the Valences' Goodrich Castle. The surviving fireplace in the south range has a rounded back, a resurgent but localised fashion which is also seen at baronial Caerphilly Castle (*c*.1285-1300), St Davids Bishops Palace (1342-50), and in the elder Valences' Great Hall at Pembroke Castle, *c*.1270. And to the similarities with the hall at Pembroke may be added the use of rounded chamfers on one of its corners, and on the external corners of the chapel turret at Haverfordwest.

The banded facework at Haverfordwest is much more clearly-defined in the south range and Southwest Tower and, like the differences in window detail, indicates two phases of work, and possibly two different master-masons or teams. Like the Caernarfon arch, it has been linked to Queen Eleanor via the king's use of bold colour-banding at Caernarfon Castle, in the 1280s (Hislop 2020, 241), but we have seen that it was used at the elder Valences' Ferns Castle in Ireland. The banding at Haverfordwest is moreover irregular as at Ferns – unlike the regular strips seen at Caernarfon – while banded masonry was also employed at the baronial, borderlands castle at Newport, Mon., in work from the 1290s (see Turner 2016, 19). Its use at the Pembrokeshire abbey of St Dogmaels, in the early fourteenth-century infirmary (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 437), may be directly derived from Haverfordwest Castle, persistent influence from which may lie behind the banding in the gatehouse at Llawhaden Castle, Pembs., built in *c*.1400-10 (Turner 2000, 33, 35). In summary, it might be expected that work by the Queen would betray more evidence of involvement by, or at least influence from royal masons, but very few 'signature' attributes of the King's Works are apparent at Haverfordwest. The other major building project by the Queen, at Leeds Castle (Kent), where work appears to have been more-or-less continuous from 1278-90, is of a rather different nature (see Colvin *et al*. 1963, 695).

Finally, the East Range at Haverfordwest shows good evidence for a covered passage against its internal face, connecting its entries in the manner of a monastic cloister alley. The closest parallel in another castle is again at the Valence's Goodrich, where both the Great Hall and chamber-block opposite show the remains of similar passages (Ashbee 2009, 9; Fig. **17**). It is possible that the good preservation of the facework in the former West Range suggested at Haverfordwest indicates that, as at Goodrich, a similar passage ran against its inner wall, too – and perhaps confirming that it was another important building such as a hall/kitchen block. This raises the intriguing possibility that a further passage might have run alongside the South Range, to form an integrated system of three linked 'corridors'; no evidence for a sill-wall was encountered in the 2008 evaluation (see Fig. **13**), or identified in the geophysical surveys, but this area had been heavily disturbed by post-medieval activity (Crane 2008a, 5-6, 8).

So the question that must be asked is whether Queen Eleanor even began any of this work. Was her work confined to timber, as her recorded expenditure might imply? Important royal apartments were being built in timber well into the later medieval period, without any negative status implications, as for example at Windsor itself, and Rhuddlan Castle in north Wales (Colvin *et al*. 1963, 324; Goodall 2011, 285). It is just possible, particularly if wave-mouldings are not present, that the east range at Haverfordwest was built for Queen Eleanor, but the south range cannot be convincingly attributed to her tenure. It is more likely that all work, on both ranges, was undertaken by Aymer de Valence soon after 1308, using master-masons, from southeast Wales or the border, working with local teams (a fourteenth-century date is also suggested in Phillips 1922, 452-3). And it remains unclear which of the two ranges was the earliest: their detail, though different, belongs to the same date-range.

It has nevertheless been observed that the Haverfordwest ranges appear to have been planned around the requirements of a female household, their integrated layout echoing arrangements at dower apartments elsewhere (Neil Guy, pers. comm.), within which the suggested arrangement of linked passages is surely significant. But such requirements were not confined to queens: we see a similarly compact and integrated arrangement –

including the passages – at Goodrich Castle, which was a favourite residence of Joan de Valence at which, moreover, she may have contributed to the design (Mitchell 2016, 64-6). It could even be plausibly argued that the Haverfordwest work was modelled on Goodrich. So might it have been intended for Aymer's wife Beatrice de Clermont (*d.* 1320), following a pattern set by his parents?

A further clue may lie in the 'Queen's Arbour' (Owen 1903, 40). The name is recorded as early as 1532 (Fenton 1811, 212), but this was over 200 years after Queen Eleanor's death and the attribution may be questioned. Gardens were created for Eleanor at *inter alia* the castles of Caernarfon, Chester, Rhuddlan, Rockingham, Conwy and probably Harlech (Guy 2018, 237, 252-3). But a terraced platform very similar to that at Haverforwest, although without a turret (the so-called 'mantlet'), also survives on the south side of baronial Kidwelly Castle and is attributed to the Joan and William Valence, 1283-96 (Kenyon 2007, plan). As at Haverfordwest, it lies outside the main curtain wall but articulates with the Great Hall and Chapel Tower (Fig. **18**). I (Ludlow) have suggested elsewhere that it was similarly a garden enclosure (Day and Ludlow 2016, 91-2; two gardens were recorded at the castle in 1361, see James 1980, 7). St Ann's Bastion at Pembroke Castle was possibly built, by Aymer, to fulfill a similar function (Day and Ludlow 2016, 91-2), while gardens may have occupied the narrow outer ward at Goodrich Castle (Shoesmith 2014, 54, 65, 189-91), which is normally assigned to the Valences, *c.*1290-1324 (Ashbee 2009, 24), and shows corner turrets not unlike the one at Haverfordwest. So these suggested garden enclosures/terraces may have been a feature of Valence design, probably in emulation of royal precedent but also, perhaps, reflecting their personal tastes – while possibly confirming the 'gendered' identity of the Haverfordwest ranges.

It has been argued elsewhere that, during this period, Aymer was engaged in another major castle-building operation, at Bothwell in Scotland (see above; Ludlow 2018, 272). Nevertheless, both projects could have been comfortably accommodated within his annual income of around £4000, while the latter work might plausibly have been financed solely from the revenues of the Barony of Bothwell itself, which was valued at £1000 *p.a.* (Ludlow 2018, 265).

The name 'Brehinock', used for the Southwest Tower in 1577, is unusual. The Inventory Commissioners felt that it might be derived from the Welsh '*Brenhinog*', to mean the 'King's Tower' (RCAHMW) 1925, 109), but Haverfordwest lies within a notably Anglophone region of Pembrokeshire. And, perhaps significantly, its Bohun lords also held the lordship of Brecon, or 'Brecknock/*Brycheiniog*', from 1241 onwards. While the Southwest Tower is too late, stylistically, to belong to their tenure, might it have been thought to have done during the later medieval period? And thus given the name 'Brecknock Tower'? (It has in fact been suggested that Humphrey de Bohun III was responsible for the east and south ranges, with the tower, before relinquishing the castle in 1289 (Wiles 2019, 143), in defiance of the stylistic evidence).

2.3.4 The medieval Inner Gate (site of)

During the gaol period, the inner ward was entered through its western apex, north of the Governor's House (Figs. **14** and **15**), which was possibly the site of the medieval entry, although this may have disappeared when the west curtain was slighted in the late 1640s. The 1577 survey tells us that the inner gate had 'on either side a lodge' (Owen 1903, 40), suggesting that it was gatehouse with flanking chambers, and perhaps twin-towered; this arrangement would be consistent with the suggested 1220-65 date for the masonry refortification of the inner ward. While the Younger Marshals built a simple square gate-tower at Cilgerran Castle 1223-45, and probably at Tenby, their gatehouse at Chepstow is flanked by round towers (Ludlow 2019, 235, 238), and by the time the Bohuns acquired Haverfordwest in 1248 gatehouses of this form were becoming widely used. A model of the castle, in the museum, shows a square gate-tower but apparently without the flanking chambers mentioned in 1577 (Fig. **7**), and wholly internal to the

curtain in a manner more characteristic of the pre-1220 period. However, the 1577 description allows for the possibility that the entrance passage merely lay between two internal buildings, as it did during the gaol period (Figs. **14** and **15**).

Figure 17: The Inner Ward at the Valences' Goodrich Castle, Herefordshire, showing the former passages against the hall and chamber-block (at top and bottom of frame).
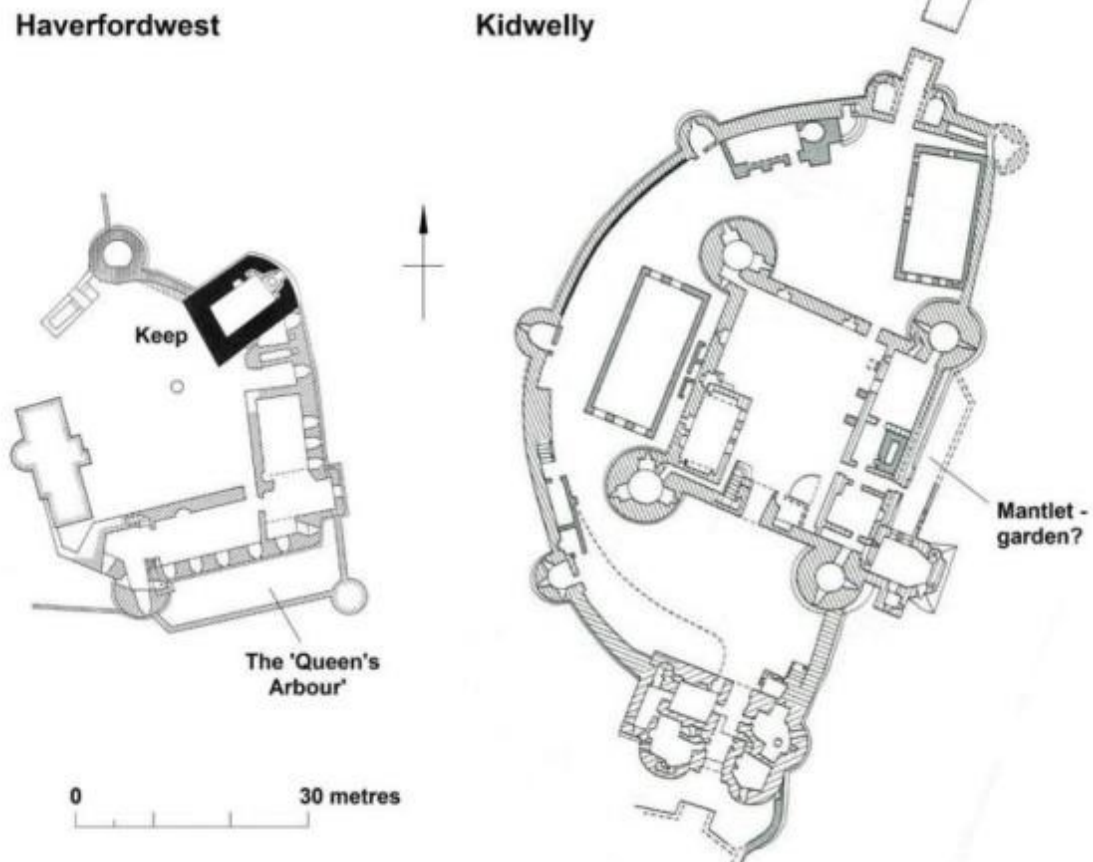
Figure 18: Comparative plans of the walled garden(?) terraces at Haverfordwest Castle and William de Valence's Kidwelly Castle.

2.4   THE OUTER WARD: DESCRIPTION OF THE REMAINS

(Work Package Area 4; Figs. 14 and 15)

2.4.1 Introduction

The large, suboval outer ward was first specifically mentioned in 1343 (Owen 1918, 117-18), but may have been a primary element of the castle, if possibly as a smaller enclosure. It is still a strongly-defined feature, although post-medieval development has obscured its southern edge which may have followed a slightly concave, sinuous line north of the present cottages on Castle Back; a section of its west end, including the site of the gatehouse, may also have been lost to post-medieval development (see below; Figs. **4, 15, 19 and 20**). The enclosure now measures around 75 metres east-west, and at least 45 metres north-south, which accords with the 1577 survey in which, as the 'castle green', it was said to comprise half an acre (Owen 1903, 40).

The interior is now a level platform, revetted against the natural slope on the south side, and against the ditch around the north and west sides; it is clear however that it has been levelled with made ground, much of it quite possibly from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. No trace of any earthwork bank is now apparent. The ditch, which is frequently mentioned in the medieval accounts, is obscured both by infill from the seventeenth century onwards (Crane 2008b, 2), and by development within its west and northwest limbs during the nineteenth century (see below, **Section 3.4**), but was apparently still open in 1811, at least in part, and still very deep (described as a 'ravine'; Fenton 1811, 205). It is 10 metres wide, and cut into solid bedrock (Crane 2008b, 2; Freeman 1999, 51). It has been suggested that the ditch, in its northwest section, was an entirely new feature of *c*.1300 (Crane and Courtney 2004, 66-7), which if true may perhaps represent the secondary extension of a smaller outer ward (see below, **Section 3.4**). The ditch appears originally to have continued eastwards, along the north side of the inner ward, to run out at the edge of the bluff (see below, Section 3.5.1 and Fig. **27**).

2.4.2 Internal features: medieval (Figs. 4, 19 and 20)

The outer ward had probably been given masonry defences by 1343 (Owen 1911, 117-18) and at least some of the revetment walling on the north side probably belongs to the medieval curtain, if much rebuilt – small, narrow arrowloops were apparently visible low down on its outer face in the 1920s, though buried internally (Phillips 1922, 453). And excavation in 1981 revealed that the wall was 2 metres thick at its base (Freeman 1999, 51); while it was set only 1.5 metres into the subsoil, this represents a fairly deep footing for a medieval castle wall in west Wales. The curtain apparently connected with the inner ward at its North Tower, and with its southwest corner west of the Southwest Tower.

A rectangular tower on the northwest side of the enclosure, some 7 metres square, was fully exposed when a building butting its external face was demolished in 2008 (Crane 2008b; Fig. **6**). It is almost certainly medieval in origin (King 1999, 39), and may be the 'new tower built next to the outer gate' in 1407-8 (Freeman 1999, 51; Owen 1911, 166): square towers enjoyed a revival in the fourteenth century (Goodall 2011, 247), predominating over the cylindrical form during the early 1400s when we see their addition to pre-existing curtains at many other castles, including Carmarthen (Ludlow 2014, 204). Nevertheless, in a watching brief by DAT, on the demolition of the adjoining building in 2008, it was considered possible that the ditch bowed out to accommodate the tower (Crane 2008b, 2): this could be incidental, and is not illustrated in the watching brief report, but if it is the case, it would suggest that a structure or other projection may have occupied the site of the tower when the ditch was originally cut. The Northwest Tower is probably to be identified with the tower, 'on the north side' of the gate, mentioned in 1577 when it comprised 'divers rooms' (Owen 1903, 40). It has been open to the bailey, without a rear wall, since at least the late nineteenth century but this may be a secondary loss; the Buck print of 1740 shows the remains of a square tower in

this location (Fig. **8**), apparently with a solid rear wall (and surmounted by a cupola of some description). The tower was said to have been used as a stable in the early twentieth century (Phillips 1922, 453). A building shown just to the east in *c.*1870 was associated with the gaol governor's 'Garden' (Fig. **14**).

A rounded 'turret', around 3 metres in diameter, lies at the northern apex of the enclosure; it too is now open-backed, although a stub of walling projects into the bailey on its west side. It may also have medieval origins (King 1999, 39), though probably subject to later alteration: a 'watch-tower' and a 'turret' occupied this section of wall in 1577 (Owen 1903, 40), while it appears to be shown in external view on the Buck print of 1740, and was present in 1888 (Figs. **8** and **15**). There is no clear indication of any location for the third turret.

The new stable built in 1387-8 (Owen 1911, 162) was probably the same as the one that adjoined the northwest tower in 1577, and measured 29 metres by 3.5 metres (Owen 1903, 40; Freeman 1999, 51). It may be compared with the 'large stable' at Carmarthen Castle, which seems similarly to have occupied the outer ward there (Ludlow 2014, 194).

The outer gatehouse has gone but, like the present entry, it occupied the west end of the enclosure towards the town and the Castle Street access (King 1999, 39). In 1577, the gatehouse comprised two elements, an 'outer gate', and an inner gate with two portcullises, a porter's lodge and a 'prison house' below (Owen 1903, 40); overlying both, apparently, was a first-floor chamber housing the exchequer, suggesting that the 'outer gate' cannot have been a detached barbican. The chamber is possibly the same as the exchequer mentioned in an account of 1477-78 (Owen 1911, 168), when it may have been newly-built, but if so it presumably replaced an existing exchequer for the lordship. The gatehouse and the curtains either side were probably slighted, at least in part, during the late 1640s (King 1999, 40): they are concealed behind the inner ward in the Buck prints (Figs. **8** and **9**), and had gone by the later nineteenth century at the latest (Fig. **19**). Three properties on the north side of Castle Street, immediately outside the present outer ward entry, appear moreover to overlie the former curtain and gatehouse, giving the west end of the enclosure an uncharacteristically straight boundary (Figs. **19** and **20**). A post-slighting encroachment into the outer ward, recorded in 1653, had been facilitated by the loss of a section of the curtain wall (Owen 1911, 169-70), possibly at this western end.

2.4.3 The southern boundary (Figs. 4, 19 and 20)

Unlike the outer ward's northern boundary, which has remained stable through time, its southern boundary appears to have been more fluid, and its line may have changed since the medieval period. It is here, too, that the distinction between seigneurial and civic property was, historically, the most blurred.

Here, the outer ward is now a level area retained by a high wall along the north side of the lane known as 'Castle Back'; at least part of this wall probably represents the line of the medieval south curtain although it is not known whether any original fabric has been retained. Set into a deep recess midway along the wall, however, is a pair of cottages of early nineteenth-century date (RCAHMW), Coflein database NPRN 21722; shown in the 1880s, Figs. **14** and **19**). It has been suggested that the medieval south curtain followed a sinuous line, curving in towards the bailey interior and now represented by the north wall of these cottages (Ray 1969, 4; Fig. **4**). This is a convincing suggestion that is followed by most published plans (eg. King 1999, 39; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 205; Phillips 1922, 450, labels the present south wall 'modern'): the natural topography may indicate something of a hollow at this point, while the cottages were presumably established outside the castle boundary rather than at the expense of County property. The Castle Back lane may already have been in existence (see below, **Section 3.3**), and the outer ward was subsequently extended up to the lane, either side of the cottages (incorporating a flight of steps down to the lane; Fig. **15**), before any further development took place – presumably when the gaol was established in 1820.

However, this part of the castle has experienced a fairly complex tenurial and developmental history. It is possible that the cottages were established on the site of the 'turret' that lay 'in the midst' of the south curtain in the 1577 survey (Owen 1903, 40); demolition or collapse of this tower may have obscured the boundary here, perhaps taking part of the bailey interior with it. The tower is shown in just this location in a model in the town museum (in which the present wall along the north side of Castle Back follows the medieval line; Fig. **7**).

Moreover, 'herbage' or grazing rights on the slope beneath the south curtain wall appear to have been granted to the burgesses of Haverfordwest by the later fourteenth century. Between 1376 and 1481, the 'Castle Green' was rented for £15 annually (Owen 1911, 86-91 and n. 11); while the name Castle Green was, in 1577, applied to the entire outer ward, an account of *c*.1403-5 makes it clear that it was then restricted to an area to the south of the enclosure, which had similarly been subject to a grant of herbage (Owen 1911, 27-8). In 1477, moreover, 'le Castell Grene' was claimed as parcel of the town rather than the castle curtilage (Owen 1911, 140-2 and n. 1).

So the 'Castle Green' of these accounts can perhaps be identifiable with the 'green walk' of the 1577 survey, which tells us that 'without' the south curtain wall was 'a forced bank borne up with another wall, and within that circuit a green walk' (Owen 1903, 40). The survey appears to be describing a strip of made-up ground at the foot of the south curtain, revetted by a further wall concentric to the curtain. By 1577 ownership of this strip appears to have been settled in favour of the castle – or at least was claimed to have been. But ownership had clearly become uncertain again by the later post-medieval period, when Castle Back was established within the 'green walk' of 1577, benefiting from the earlier forced ground. This event cannot be closely dated, but was probably after the slighting of the castle in 1648, and perhaps before 1748 (see below, **Section 3.3**). The southern wall along Castle Back may therefore follow the line of the medieval revetment wall, at least at its east and west ends, with the potential, if slight, for survival of medieval fabric.

The 'forced bank' and revetment wall may have been purely functional, to help support a curtain wall which, lying at the top of a natural slope, may always have been vulnerable to collapse; medieval walls tended to have very shallow footings, while a dispiriting cycle of collapse and rebuilding is recorded in the similarly situated south curtain wall at Carmarthen Castle during the fifteenth century (Ludlow 2014, 194-5). While it may instead have been a response to the fashion for concentric defence in the later thirteenth century, such a date is perhaps too early. Gilbert Ray's plan and the model in the museum (Figs. **4** and **7**), suggest that it was a western extension of the Queen's Arbour, but its release to the town for herbage in the fourteenth century may argue against this: occupation of the Queen's Arbour itself seems to have been restricted to Crown officers at the castle (Fenton 1811, 212).

Those sections of this boundary that lie externally to the castle are discussed further in **Section 3.3** below, with Work Package area 1.

2.4.4 Internal features: the nineteenth-century gaol (Figs. 14 and 15)

A bowling green had been laid out within the outer ward by 1748 (Hancock 2020, 27; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202), suggesting that some levelling of the ground had taken place. Otherwise, it is uncertain how the enclosure was used during the period between its slighting in the seventeenth century and the establishment of the new County Gaol.

The new gaol building, in the outer ward (DAT PRN 8630), was completed in 1820 and in 1833 was subject to a fairly lengthy description by Samuel Lewis, revised in 1849: 'the common gaol and House of Correction for Pembrokeshire .is appropriated for the reception of prisoners both for Pembrokeshire and Haverfordwest [ie. both a County and Borough Gaol since 1822]. The buildings are well calculated for the classification of prisoners, and comprise eight wards; two workrooms, one for males and one for females;

eight dayrooms, and eight airing-yards, in one of which is a treadwheel' (Lewis 1849, 'Haverfordwest'). While segregation of the sexes had yet to be carried out (see above, **Section 2.1.5**), the number of airing yards in Lewis's description suggests that it encompassed both the inner and outer wards, while the treadwheel appears to remained within the inner ward until at least *c*.1870 (see above and Fig. **14**).

The new gaol block contained 110 cells (Ray 1969, 1), as well as a court-house, gallows and chapel (Hancock 2020, 27), and still occupies the greater part of the outer ward. Designed by J. P. Pritchett of York (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204), it is a substantial late-Georgian prison building, Grade II listed and now housing the County Record Office. Facework is in local brownish sandstone rubble, with the quoins, voussoirs and dressings in contrasting grey limestone. It comprises three storeys and thirteen bays, facing north and south, beneath a hipped slate roof. It is entered from the south through a projecting, central tripartite 'gatehouse' front or porch; this is massive in form, in grey limestone ashlar, and surmounted by a heavy entablature, cornice and parapet. The large, round-headed entry has flush stone voussoirs. On the opposite, north wall is a central gable. The very small, square window openings are now mostly now blocked, and lie beneath ornamental grilles installed in 1963; the lower two tiers have stepped voussoirs and flared keystones; the upper tier lies beneath the roof eaves. Those to the rear (north) were similar but with plain voussoirs, and lintels in the upper tier. The prominent castellated observation tower, which rose centrally from the front wall, has been removed (description from Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204, and British Listed Buildings website). An undated plan suggests 16 cells occupied the ground floor, along with two administrative rooms (Fig. **14**).

The projecting entrance gateway was flanked by the walled exercise yards, shown on late nineteenth-century plans (Figs. **14** and **15**). The eastern yard extended up to the inner ward and its entry, with a detached office building in its southeastern corner. Behind and to the north of the main gaol block was another, trapezoid enclosure, around an extension from the rear of the block housing the gaol infirmary. South of the block, a narrow yard (or wide lane) – the 'Gaol Walk' (Fig. **14**) – bisected the outer ward all the way from the entrance, at the west end, to the inner ward, with an open space to the south as far as the south curtain. Cottages and a garden, presumably for prison staff, lay north of the outer ward entrance.

After its acquisition by the county council in 1963, a number of alterations were undertaken by the county architect Gilbert Ray (British Listed Buildings website). The eastern exercise yard was demolished, while the western yard was rebuilt for accommodation and incorporates an unusual, millstone-like concrete roundel with incised radiating lines, installed in 1974. A large extension was built at the northwest corner, and the yard walls here were removed, along with the infirmary block. The interior was entirely refurbished. The area between the gaol block and the west/northwest curtain walls is now a car park, while the other internal divisions shown in 1888 have gone.
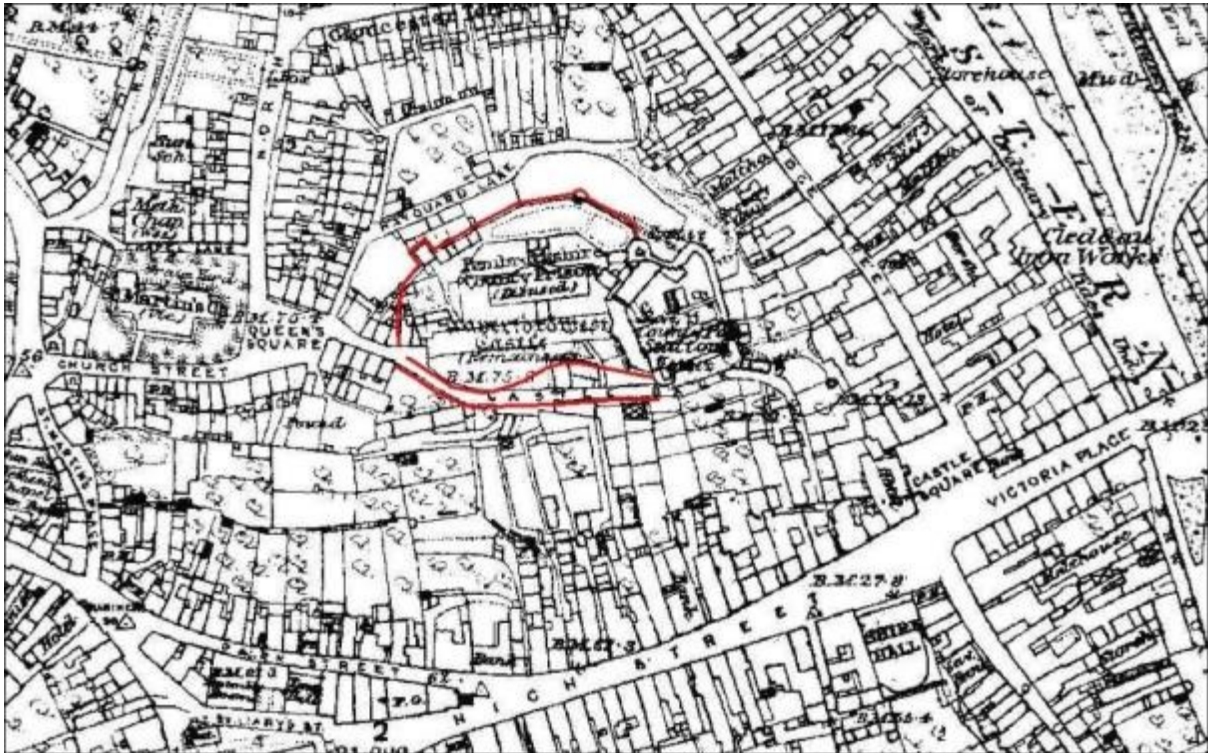
Figure 19: An extract of the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map of Haverfordwest, 1889. The line of the outer ward curtain wall, and the southern revetment wall beyond it, are shown in red.
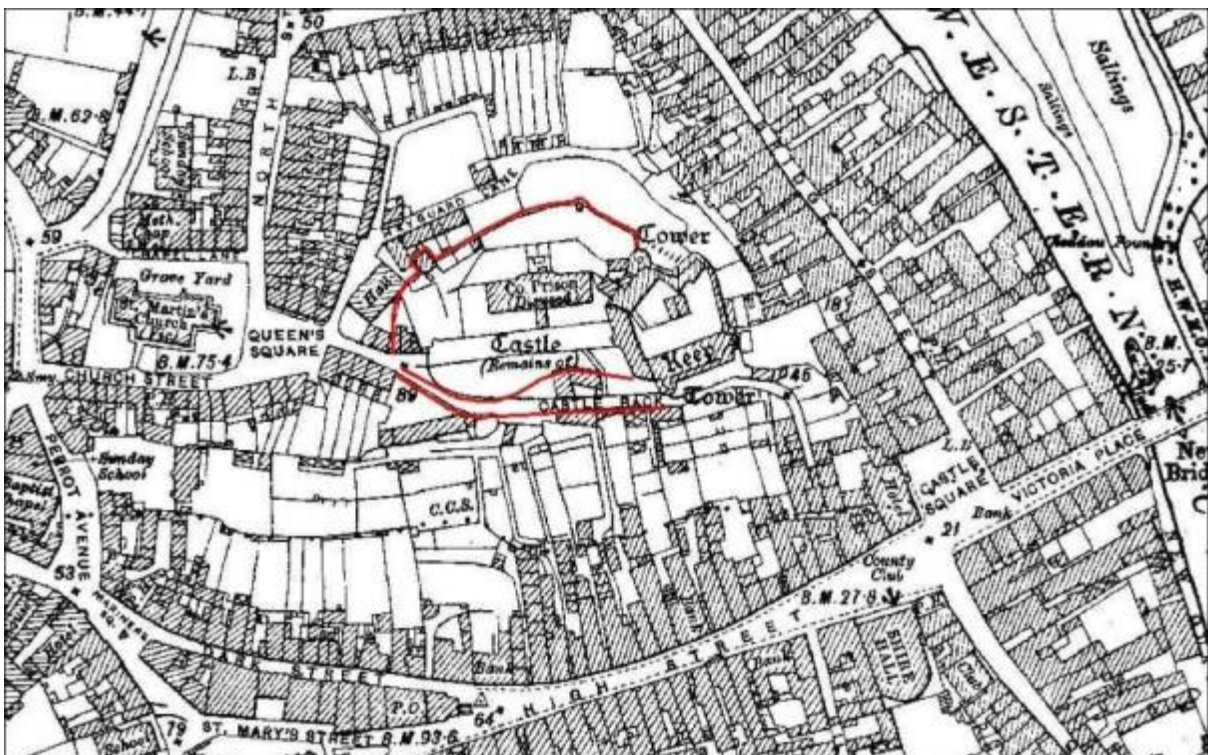
Figure 20: An extract of the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map of Haverfordwest, 1907. The line of the outer ward curtain wall, and the southern revetment wall beyond it, are shown in red.

Figure 21: An extract of the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map of Haverfordwest, 1937.

2.5   ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL

2.5.1 Introduction

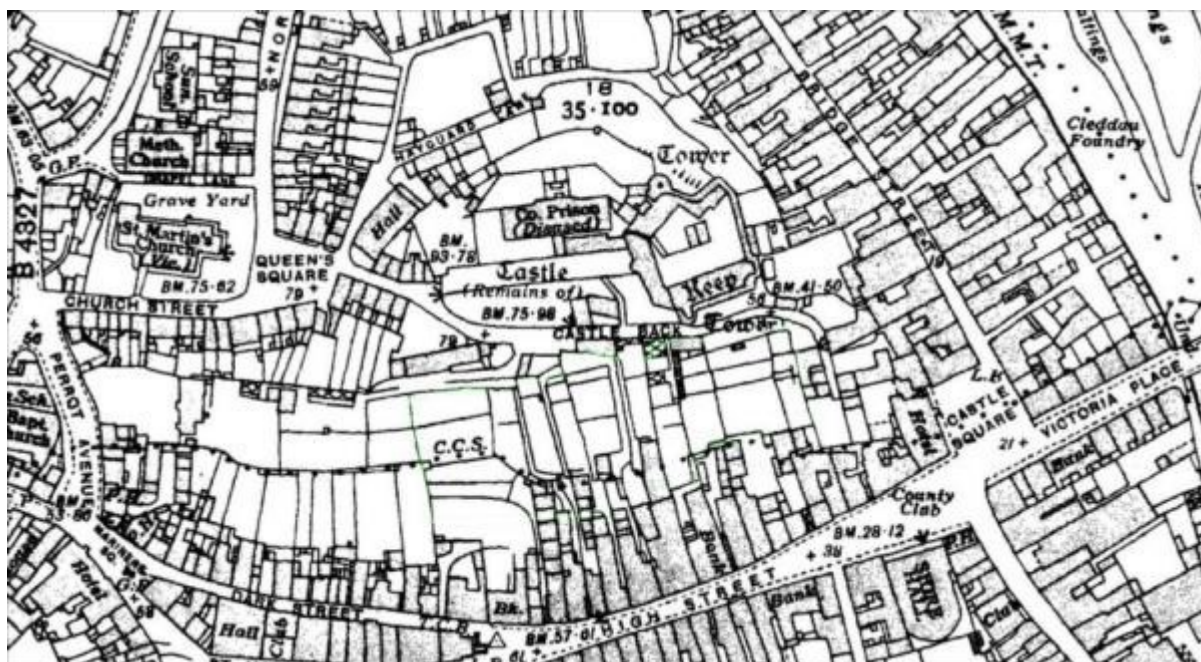The entire castle curtilage has very high archaeological potential, of national significance, reflected in its designation as a Scheduled Monument (SM Pe366) and Grade I listed building (LB No. 12031). It contains features and deposits from all periods from the early twelfth century to the twentieth century.

2.5.2 The Inner Ward

Buildings and structures

The inner ward contains buildings from a wide range of periods, from *c*.1200 until the late eighteenth century. Most are sadly incomplete, but the surviving remains of all are of great importance to castle studies and of national significance. The east and south ranges, from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, are of the highest architectural quality, possibly built for the Queen of England, and an outstanding resource for architectural and cultural historians. Their aesthetic value, too, cannot be overstated.

The late eighteenth-century gaol buildings were removed in the 1960s, an initiative which might perhaps be questioned today but undoubtedly assisted the appreciation, if not the understanding of the medieval remains. Nevertheless, Fig. **16** may suggest that some medieval work had been incorporated within the demolished southern cell-block (see **Section 2.2.12** above). The National Monuments Record houses a collection of photographs taken during the work (RCAHM(W) Coflein, NPRN 9425), and shows structures as they were being exposed; the sample uploaded to the Coflein website does not include any photographs of the gaol buildings prior to demolition.

The late eighteenth-century Governor's House was retained. It is Grade II listed (LB No. 12032) and of national significance.

Below-ground archaeology

The entire inner Ward is of the highest archaeological potential. Despite later use, the survival of below-ground deposits from the medieval period is demonstrated by the presence of the footings of the medieval east and south ranges, whose floor levels appear not to have been truncated. Below-ground structures, features and basements are known from the inner ward interior, beneath the Northeast Tower and possibly beneath the chapel (see above, **Sections 2.2.5, 2.2.7, 2.2.10** and **2.2.11**).

It appears moreover that the present level surface within the courtyard has been achieved through infill, at least towards the periphery of the present courtyard; the evidence from the East Range passage wall suggests that this infill may have begun during the medieval period. Below-ground evidence for further medieval internal buildings, some of which were possibly of masonry, may therefore survive. Nevertheless, some truncation might be expected towards the centre of the enclosure, which occupies the crest of the natural ridge.

Evaluation in 2008 revealed a masonry wall which may be of medieval date and possibly belonging to a former West Range building (see above, **Sections 2.2.10** and **2.3.3**; Fig. **13**). Geophysical surveys in 2020 revealed below-ground features of potential medieval date within the Northeast Tower and South Range (Poucher 2020). The evaluation trenches suggested medieval horizons lie at an average depth of 0.3 metres beneath the present surface, and bedrock was exposed in the middle of the inner ward, at the 'surprisingly' shallow depth of 0.25 metres (Crane 2008a, 7-8), perhaps confirming that some truncation of deposits has occurred in this area. The bedrock was cut by a post-

hole of unknown date and function (Fig. **13**). Ground Penetrating Radar surveys however suggest a complex picture, with a greater variation of depths throughout much of the Inner Ward area. The survey results suggested bedrock deposits soon dropped away in all directions, and significant depths of potential deposits (Poucher 2020).

The Inner Ward was part-excavated in 1968-9 (Ray 1969, 2), after the demolition of the gaol buildings. However, this appears to have been limited to clearance around the footings of the East and South Ranges. Reports of an investigation in the southwest corner of the present courtyard, in 1914, are vague, conflicting and difficult to interpret (see above, **Section 2.2.11**). It is said that a trench was excavated to a depth of nearly 4 metres, in an unsuccessful search for an 'underground passage' which is supposed to have been seen in 1871. No record was however made of the kind of material that it cut through. It is impossible to be certain what the accounts of this work are describing, and only further investigation might resolve the questions that they pose.

The geophysical surveys (Poucher 2020) revealed a complex picture of potential below-ground remains, many of which can be matched up with historic plans of the 18th and 19th century gaol, and subsequent police station. Identified structural remains include the Debtors Block/Female Wing against the north wall, the Matron's/Sergeant's House to the northeast, the Pump-/Well-house around the well, the central passageway, and associated services and pathways.

A number of cable- and service-trenches cross the inner ward interior, including cabling for floodlighting (Crane 2008a, 3, 5), while some further disturbance of deposits is likely, though possibly localised. For instance, a brick cavity-wall was revealed in the middle of the enclosure in 2008: it is not known from any other sources, and may be fairly recent, perhaps mid-twentieth century (Crane 2008a, 7-8). Gaol-phase drains, a number of which were revealed in 2008, are another potential source of disturbance.

2.5.3 The Outer Ward

Buildings and structures

The remains of the medieval curtain and towers around the north and northwest sides of the outer ward are of national significance. This designation should be extended all the way around the boundary, in the absence of clear evidence that it does not contain some medieval fabric throughout, or at least follow its line.

The nineteenth-century gaol building is Grade II listed (LB No. 12033) and of national significance.

Below-ground archaeology

The topography of the outer ward appears to have been considerably modified: the natural east-west ridge is now a level space. This may have been achieved partly through truncation of the crest of the ridge; more certain is the dumping of material around the periphery where levels can be shown to have been raised. Most of this infill took place during the post-medieval period, concealing earlier features (see above, **Section 2.4.2**), and much of it may belong to the 1820s and the establishment of the gaol and its yards. A watching brief by DAT in 2009, during trenching for the erection of a memorial stone 15 metres southwest of the new gaol (Fig. **6**), revealed the upper levels of this made ground, but with a trench-depth of only 0.15 metres it was not possible to determine the depth of this deposit (Shobbrook 2009, 6).

In addition, the 1820s gaol will have severely impacted on underlying deposits which, if not already truncated, will have been extensively excavated. It is apparent therefore that the best potential for the survival of earlier deposits is around the periphery of the outer ward, where they may lie some distance beneath the present ground level.

It is possible that the outer ward was originally a smaller enclosure, and was enlarged towards the northwest in *c*.1300 (see above, **Section 2.1.1** and **2.4.1**); if so, it is highly probable that evidence for the original ditch will survive below-ground.

The outer ward housed a stable from at least 1388 (Owen 1911, 162), but otherwise it is impossible to know how it was used during the medieval period. These enclosures were, at some castles, crowded with buildings including big storage barns (Goodall 2008, 19-23; Knight 2009, 39), but the outer ward at Pembroke, for example, appears to have been more-or-less an empty space until the fifteenth century (Day and Ludlow 2016, 109).

The surrounding ditch was largely infilled during the nineteenth-century, sealing earlier deposits which represent a resource of the greatest significance, potentially as a stratified sequence containing a wealth of structural, environmental and artefactual evidence (see below, **Section 3.4.2**). The suspected ditch between the inner and outer wards will have the same archaeological potential.

3   THE CASTLE PERIPHERY: URBAN ENCROACHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT (WORK PACKAGE AREAS 1 AND 2)

3.1   INTRODUCTION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF HAVERFORDWEST (Figs. 22 and 23)

A town, with burgages and market rights, had been established at Haverfordwest by 1152-76 (Charles 1948, 180, 190-4), and probably fairly soon after the castle was founded in 1108-13, *cf*. Pembroke, Tenby, Cardigan and Carmarthen where towns were in existence by the 1130s (Forester 1854, 252; Ludlow 2014, 19, 38; Walker 1989, 132, 137). Twelfth-century settlement was confined the higher ground immediately west and north of the castle, represented by Church Street, North Street, Holloway and Kiln Road, with the marketplace in its usual location outside the castle gate, in what is now Queen's Square (Fig. **22**). St Martin's Church will have been more-or-less contemporary with the founding of the settlement, in order to serve its inhabitants (James 2002, 435). Hayguard Lane appears to have begun as a 'back lane' giving access to the rear of the properties along the Holloway. While it is possible that the early town, at least in part, occupied the site of and was later replaced by the castle outer ward (as at eg. Pembroke; Day and Ludlow 2016, 70, 82), the arrangement of the inner and outer wards relative to the marketplace and church suggest both baileys were present at an early date (see above, **Section 2.1.1**).

The simple street-plan was dictated both by the underlying topography and by access requirements. Church Street led westwards from the castle and marketplace towards the town's extensive common lands at Portfield (Charles 1967, 1), which were presumably granted at an early date, and from it the main route south (Perrot Avenue) was also accessed just west of the church. North Street was the main route north, while Holloway led to the early crossing over the River Cleddau, where a stone bridge, with a chapel, had been built by the 1560s (Charles 1967, 196; Owen 1897, 516). A quay, too, will have been a primary feature of the town (see Nash 2013, 6-19). However, the compact nature of the street-plan suggests that the settlement may have received bank-and-ditch defences before the end of the twelfth century; it was known as the 'Castleton' by the sixteenth century (Charles 1967, 228-9; Owen 1897, 515; see Fig. **22**), revealing the close relationship between town and castle characteristic of west Wales (Creighton and Higham 2005, 83; Ludlow 2014, 38). In extent, the Castleton compares closely with contemporary defended areas at Carmarthen (Ludlow 2014, 8, 38-40), Kidwelly (Kenyon 2007, 6, 40), Bridgnorth (Shrops.) and probably Pembroke (Meek and Ludlow 2019, 202-4). Its defences remained of timber until the thirteenth century.

The town developed rapidly. An Augustinian priory was founded on the riverbank to the south of the quay in 1198-1210 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-34*, 147; Caley *et al*. 1849, 444; Rees 2002, 75), when the establishment of two more churches, St Mary's and St Thomas's, was planned if perhaps not immediately undertaken. St Mary's appears to be coeval with the new marketplace that was established around it, probably as a product of deliberate planning and economic growth fostered by William Marshal II's charters to the town in 1219-31 (James 2002, 438, 447); a 1220s date is consistent with the earliest architectural features in the church (Scourfield 1999, 79). A suburb, embracing High Street, Dew Street and Market Street, subsequently developed, and St Thomas's Church was established in open ground to the south (see Fig. **23**). No other town in Wales has three medieval churches (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 201), and although only St Martins was parochial in 1291 (Astle et al. 1802, 275), it had been joined by St Mary's and St Thomas's by the fifteenth century (Isaacson 1917a, 53).

The suburb was separated from the castle and Castleton by an east-west stream, Castle Lake, which flowed into the Cleddau and is now culverted beneath the car park. Development also took place east of the castle: a Dominican Friary was founded before 1246 (*Cal. Liberate Rolls 1245-51*, 31, 105), and in 1256 it moved to a new site in Bridge Street (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-58*, 482; James 2002, 449).

Haverfordwest was 'burnt' during an attack of 1220 (Jones 1971, 223; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 7), suggesting its defences were still of timber. The stone walls around the Castleton were probably built following a 'murage grant', ie. the right to levy tolls towards the cost of building town defences, issued to the burgesses in 1264 (Owen 1911, 127; Smith 1906, 63). Nothing remains of these walls, although traces were still visible in *c*.1900 (Phillips 1922, 455). They probably followed the line of the timber defences, with at least three gates (Fenton 1811, 204; Phillips 1898, 26; see Fig. **22**): one between the Holloway and the bridge (Northeast or 'Red Gate'); another at the end of North Street (North Gate); and a third at the end of Church Street, southwest of the church ('St Martin's Gate'). The North Gate is shown on a map of 1693 (James 2002, 441; Fig. **24**), but had gone before the late eighteenth century when the other two were demolished (Fenton 1811, 204).

The town's focus however soon shifted to the suburb, and from the later thirteenth century onwards plots in the Castleton were progressively abandoned (James 2002, 444-5, 452); they were not fully repopulated until the mid-nineteenth century (see eg. Figs. **8**, **9** and **25**). Documentary evidence shows that two more gates defended the suburb (Fenton 1811, 204; James 2002, 438; Phillips 1898, 26; see Fig. **23**), lying at the top of Market Street (South Gate) and halfway along Dew Street (West Gate). An account from *c*.1600 however tells us that only the Castleton was walled (Owen 1897, 515), and there is no evidence that these gates were linked by a defensive line (James 2002, 440). There appears moreover to be no physical evidence for any new 'bulwarks, walls, gates and turnpikes' that the accounts suggest may have been erected around the town during the Civil War of 1642-8 (see Charles 1967, 14). The South Gate had gone before the late eighteenth century, when the West Gate was demolished (Fenton 1811, 204; Fig. **24**).

By the end of the thirteenth century, there were 360-90 burgage plots in Haverfordwest (Beresford 1988, 67-8; James 2002, 442), making it one of Wales's largest boroughs; only another seven Welsh towns possessed over 200 burgages (Soulsby 1983, 23). It may, like Tenby, have reached its peak in the early fourteenth century. While rents from 1386 to 1481 suggest a steady 422 burgages (Charles 1967, 1), the town seems to have been badly hit by first the Black Death in the 1350s, and then the Glyndŵr rebellion of 1402-8 (James 2002, 452; Turvey 1990, 167-8), and in 1474 around 170 burgage plots were wholly or partly unoccupied (James 2002, 452; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202; Owen 1911, 135-40), while it was devastated by the effects of the Civil War of the 1640s (Mathias 1987b, 209). A further outbreak of plague occurred in three years later, in 1651-2 (Charles 1967, 15; Mathias 1987b, 211; Phillips 1898, 30).

The town's affairs had however received a boost in 1479, when a Charter of Incorporation was granted (Charles 1967, 1; James 2002, 453), and by the mid-sixteenth century it emerged as the pre-eminent town in Pembrokeshire and the unofficial county town (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202); Pembroke however retained this formal status, meaning that John Speed did not include a map of Haverfordwest in his *Theatre of Great Britain* of 1611, to the great regret of archaeologists and historians. By this time, if not earlier, most of its houses were stone-built (Parkinson 2002, 550). Haverfordwest's 'county town' status was enhanced by the shire buildings added early next century, including the county gaol and poorhouse. The town became increasingly fashionable during the eighteenth century, with much building including, in the 1830s, a new bridge which was accompanied by a major redevelopment of the eastern approaches to the town (Lewis 1849, 'Haverfordwest'; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202).
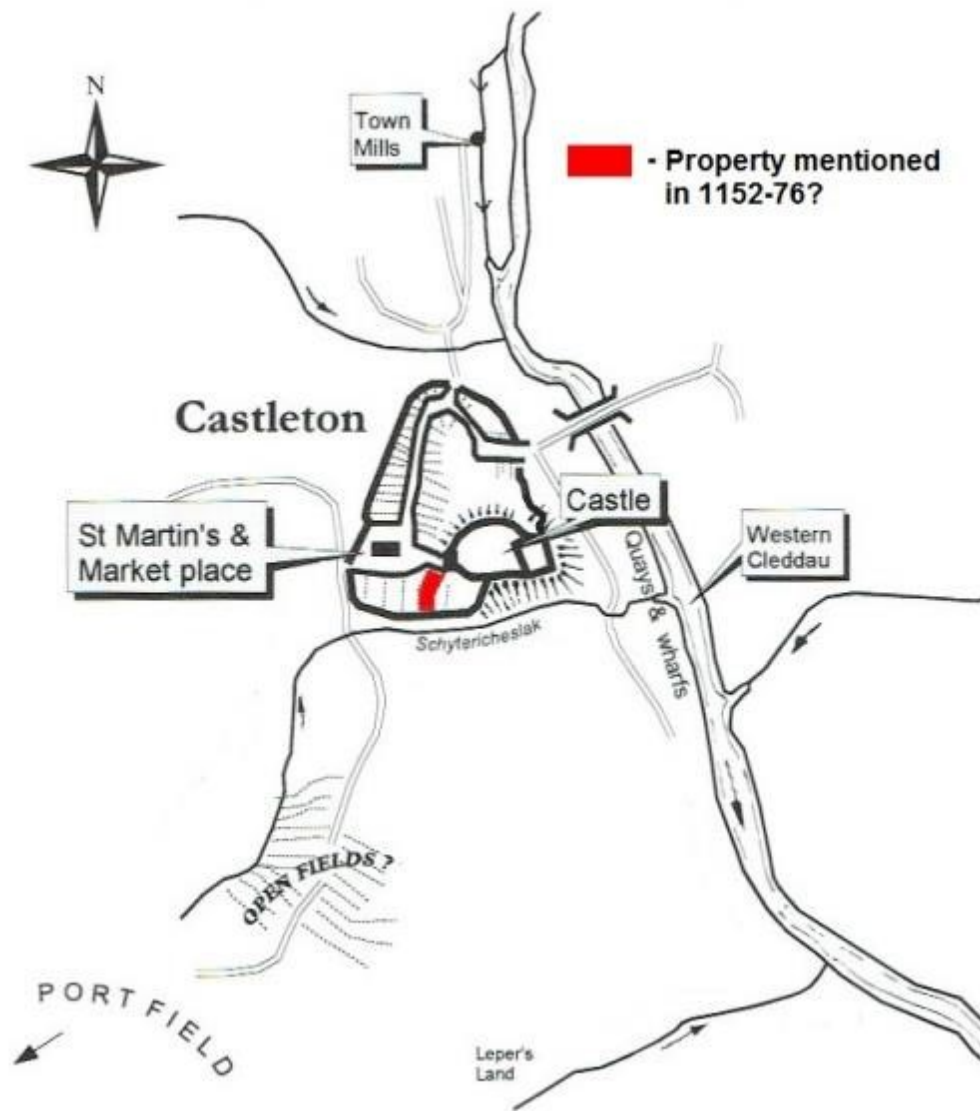
Figure 22: Plan showing the conjectured layout of Haverfordwest in *c*.1200 (adapted from James 2002).
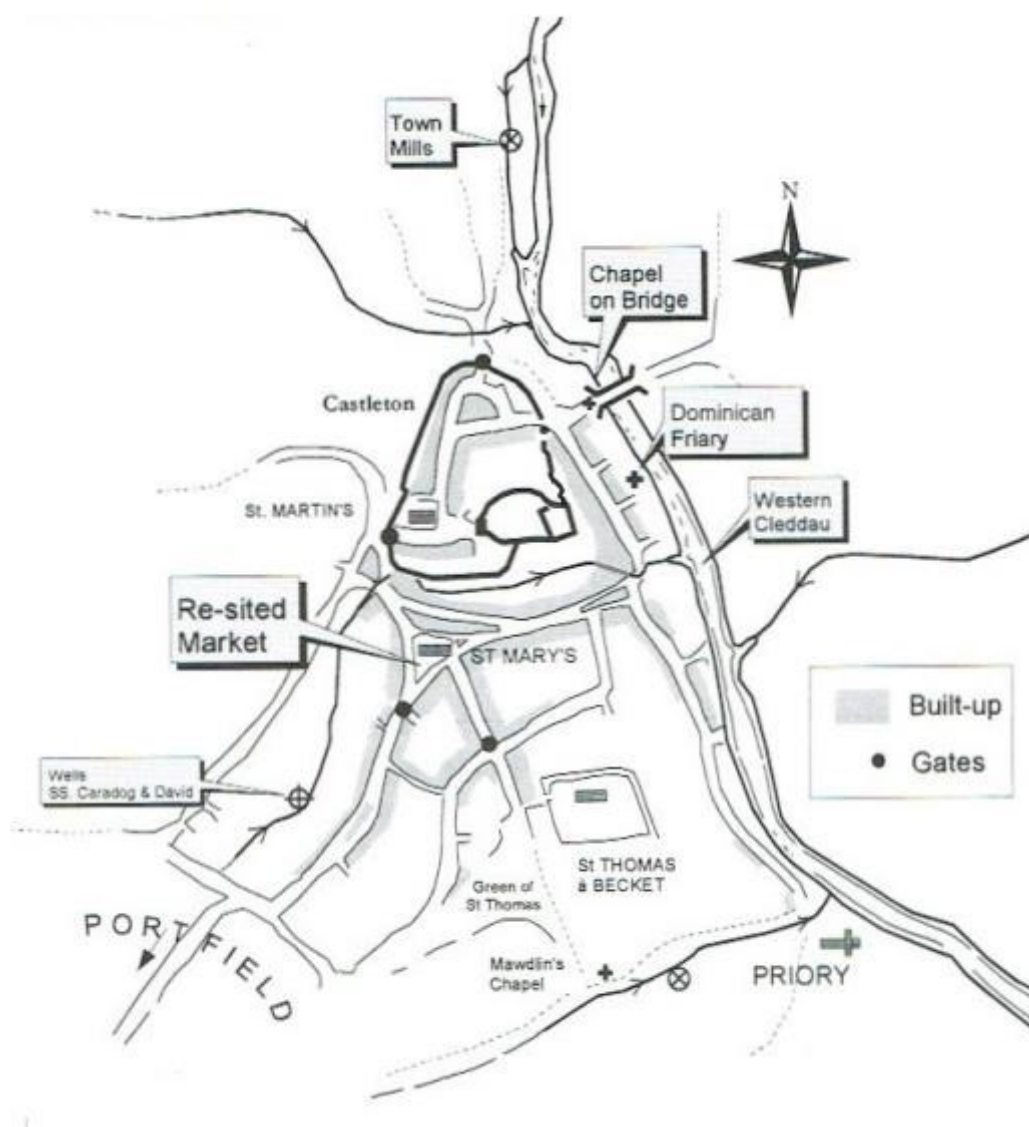
Figure 23: Plan showing the conjectured layout of Haverfordwest in *c.*1300 (adapted from James 2002).

Figure 24: Plan of Haverfordwest in 1693, by Philip Lea (from James 2002).

3.2 HIGH STREET BACKYARDS, 'CASTLE LAKE' AND THE CAR PARK (WORK PACKAGE AREA 1)

3.2.1 Description

A car park, established in the late twentieth century, now occupies the floor of the valley separating Haverfordwest Castle from the bulk of the modern town to th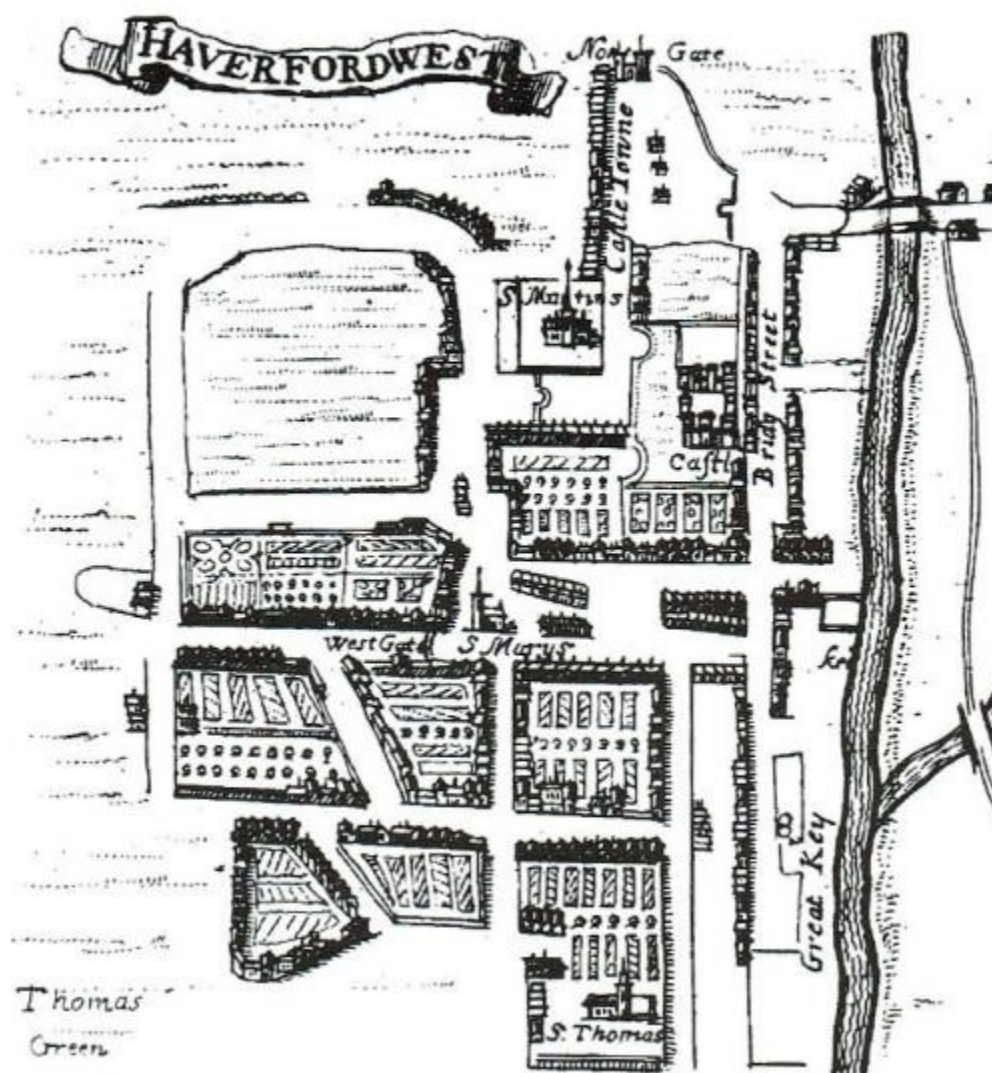e south. Beneath it a stream now known as 'Castle Lake', but long-culverted, flows eastwards into the River Cleddau. The ground rises steeply north of the car park, up to the castle walls.

In the earliest reference to the town, a charter of 1152-76, five burgage plots occupied a piece of land in the Castleton, next to the market cross and extending 'from the [castle?] ditch as far as the stream called *Connall"* (Charles 1948, 180), almost certainly referring to plots stretching southwards from the outer ward to Castle Lake (see Fig. **22**). If so, the account shows that the Castleton had yet to receive bank-and-ditch defences, the line of which separated the plot backyards from the stream.

On the opposite side of the stream, High Street is first mentioned in the mid-thirteenth century and had probably been established during the 1220s (James 2002, 438, 447; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 201). Castle Lake will have formed a natural division between its burgage plots and the castle hill, defining the end of the plot backyards, and probably limiting their northward development until it was culverted.

Castle Lake seems to be the watercourse that, by the later medieval period, was referred to in the sources as '*Schytericheslak'* (or '*Schitrickislake'*) which Terry James translated as 'Shit Brook' or 'Shitter's Brook', implying that it was an open sewer (James 2002, 448). However, I (Ludlow) suggest the possibility that 'Schitrick/Schyteriche' may be derived from a personal name, as the watercourse was overlooked by the south range of the castle, which as we have seen was rebuilt as very high-status accommodation in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century – possibly for Edward I's queen, Eleanor of Castile. It is also some distance from the housing on the street frontage. Nevertheless, the existence of drains flowing into the stream from these properties is possible, and may have given rise to local tales of subterranean passages. A below-ground 'passage' leading north from a house in High Street, itself showing late-medieval features, had been recently exposed in 1922 (Phillips 1922, 453), and might represent a late-medieval or early post-medieval drainage culvert; early post-medieval culverting has been more recently observed in Swan Square, northeast of the Castleton, where it featured a flat-pointed tunnel vault (Parkinson 2002, 581).

The process of culverting Castle Lake itself may have begun at an early date. It appears to have still been open in 1421, when a deed mentioned a 'burgage in High Street, adjoining a stream called Schitrickislake' (Owen 1911, 158). But it seems to have been culverted – at least in part – by 1589, when part of the 'conduit over Shetres Lake' was 'mended' (Charles 1967, 207). However, as 'Scitterns Lake', the name was still in use at the junction of the stream with Bridge Street, in 1657 (Charles 1967, 155), so its east end at least may have still been open.

The stream had apparently ceased to represent a hard boundary by 1748, when the Buck print depicted the backyards of High Street plots running northwards up the slope towards the castle, and including the walled terraces that survive today (Fig. **9**); these have been subject to a separate report (Murphy and Ludlow 2020, 22). It is not clear whether the lane 'Castle Back' was already in existence in 1748, but it seems have originated as a 'back lane' providing access to the rear of the backyards; it is discussed further below in **Section 3.3**.

If not completed long before, culverting of Castle Lake may have been finally achieved throughout the length of the stream in 1835-6, when an ambitious new sewage system was initiated by the Borough Corporation (Lewis 1849, 'Haverfordwest'). It was certainly complete by the 1880s, by which time Castle Lake had become subsumed beneath, and completely effaced by the High Street backyards (Fig. **19**).

3.2.2 Archaeological potential

Buildings and structures

The walled terraces and plot boundaries south of Castle Back have been subject to a separate report (Murphy and Ludlow 2020, 22). Restoration of the terrace walls began, under Pembrokeshire County Council, in 2019 (*Western Telegraph*, 10 July 2019).

No other pre-nineteenth century structures have been recorded within this section of the Work Package 1 area boundary.

Below-ground archaeology

Potential exists for the survival of medieval or early post-medieval culverting beneath the car park.

Potential also exists for deposits containing environmental and artefactual evidence within and around the course Castle Lake.

3.3   CASTLE BACK (WORK PACKAGE AREA 1)

3.3.1 Description

Work Package area 1 runs up to the stone walls along the south side of Castle Back, and includes the footprint of former cottages alongside the lane. The walls may, in part, have medieval origins.

Castle Back occupies a revetted terrace that had been built, at the foot of the south curtain wall of the castle outer ward, by 1577 when it was described as a 'green walk' (Owen 1903, 40; see **Section 2.4.3**). Grazing rights at the foot of the curtain here had, apparently, been previously granted to the burgesses of Haverfordwest (Owen 1911, 27-8, 86-91 and n. 11), and ownership seems to have remained uncertain, permitting Castle Back to be established within the 'green walk'. This event cannot be closely dated. It was probably after the slighting of the castle in 1648 while, by 1748, the backyards of burgage plots along the north side of High Street plot extended all the way up the slope here (see above); while it is not clear whether Castle Back was already in existence, it probably originated as a 'back lane' providing access to the rear of these yards.

The terrace was, in 1577, retained by a revetment wall, the line of which may be followed – at least in part – by the present wall along the south side of Castle Back; survival of medieval fabric is a possibility. The history of disputed ownership may lie behind its identification as part of the town wall around the Castleton, rather than the castle, in 1922 (Phillips 1922, 453, 455; also see Soulsby 1983, 140). A model in the town museum, on the other hand, depicts the town wall here as joining the outer ward curtain at its southwest corner, separate from the town wall (while Terry James showed the town wall joining the outer ward further east; Figs. **7** and **23**).

The cottages on Castle Back are dateable to the early nineteenth century (RCAHMW), Coflein database NPRN 21722; DAT PRNs 20669 and 121829), and are shown on nineteenth-century maps (Fig. **19**). Two lie north of the lane, and one lies to the south. Footings for two others, west of the latter, may now be confused for further garden terraces.

A watching brief undertaken by DAT in 2006, in Castle Back, in produced no results (Wilson 2006).

3.3.2 Archaeological potential

Buildings and structures

The wall along the south side of Castle Back may in part follow the line of a medieval wall, possibly retaining some of its fabric.

No other pre-nineteenth century buildings have been recorded within this section of the Work Package 1 area boundary.

Below-ground archaeology

See **Section 3.2.2** above.

3.4 HAYGUARD LANE AND THE CASTLE DITCH (WORK PACKAGE AREA 2)

3.4.1 Description

Hayguard Lane is first recorded in 1791 (Charles 1992, 642), but appears to have medieval origins, as a 'back lane' giving access to the rear of the burgage plots along North Street and the Holloway, and also providing access to the northern edge of the castle ditch along which it runs. While it is not mentioned, under this name at least, in the fourteenth-sixteenth century records compiled by Henry Owen and B. G. Charles (Charles 1967; Owen 1911), few streets in the Castleton are distinguished by name and are normally treated collectively as the 'Castleton', *aka* 'Vicus Sancti Martini' or 'Vicus Pontis' (eg. Owen 1911, 135-42).

Early origins for a routeway here were confirmed by excavations by DAT in 2003 (Fig. **6**), in which part of a medieval trackway following a similar line, later metalled, was revealed just north of the present Hayguard Lane (Crane 2004, 4-6; Crane and Courtney 2004, 65); both phases were broadly dateable to the twelfth-early thirteenth century. Immediately to the north were a series of post-holes, beam-slots and 'industrial' hearths, that had been revealed in a previous excavation of 1978 (Crane 2004, 1-3, 9; Crane and Courtney 2004, 61-3; Freeman 1999, 51-2).

Hayguard Lane is not depicted in Terry James's plans of the medieval town (James 2002, 434, 446; Figs. **22** and **23**), presumably because it was not a through-way. However, it has been suggested, with some plausibility, that it formerly led to the northeast gatehouse (or 'Red Gate') in the Castleton town wall (Phillips 1922, 453; Soulsby 1983, 140), ie. if it was its back lane, it is likely that Hayguard Lane connected with the Holloway at its east end.

The Castleton was progressively abandoned from the late thirteenth century onwards, in favour of larger plots in the suburb to the south (James 2002, 444-5, 452). Thirty-two of its burgage plots seem to have been vacant in 1473-4 (Owen 1911, 135-40), and further vacant plots were recorded in 1596 (Charles 1967, 229); *pro rata*, the Castleton recorded by far the largest number of vacant plots in the town during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1648, 23 adults were liable for rates in the Castleton (Charles 1967, 82), perhaps giving an idea of its population. In 1652 it appears to have been used to isolate the town's plague victims (Charles 1967, 106), in an early imposition of lockdown measures.

The Hayguard Lane investigations of 1978 and 2003 revealed a deep deposit overlying the metalled trackway, hearths and other features (Fig. **6**). In 2003, this deposit was interpreted as a defensive counterscarp bank for the castle ditch (Crane 2004, 5-6, 9; Crane and Courtney 2004, 61-3, 66); its dating evidence was consistent with disuse of the underlying features *c*.1270-1300. In 1978, the deposit was also thought to overlie upcast silts derived from the re-cut of an existing castle ditch (Crane and Courtney 2004, 63, 66; Freeman 1999, 51-2). Conversely, the quantity of stone and earth in the deposit led the excavator of 2003 to conclude that it comprised spoil from a castle ditch that, here at least, was an entirely new feature of *c*.1300 (Crane and Courtney 2004, 66-7; see above, **Section 2.1.1**). Neither interpretation is certain. Either way, two questions arise: was the deep deposit a bank for the castle ditch? It would be very wide for such a feature (over 20 metres), while it has been observed by Heather James that back lane areas were prime locations for rubbish disposal (pers. comm.). And what happened to Hayguard Lane between the deposition of this material over the trackway, and the eighteenth century when the lane is again recorded?

The sources imply that a lane or trackway may have still been in existence here in 1324, by which time the castle north ditch had been leased to the townsfolk for the grazing of livestock (Owen 1911, 113-16): access to the ditch would be a necessary requirement. The name 'Hayguard' may be associated with these grazing rights, which would presumably have included the right to cut hay in the castle ditch (or, like the surname

Hayward, may refer to the official responsible for maintaining livestock enclosures). A garden, similarly under lease to the town, had also been created in the ditch by 1343 (Owen 1911, 66, 117-18), and again, some kind of access is implied.

Activity in the depopulated Castleton may have been dominated by such gardens and grazing rights during the later medieval period, and was memorialised in 1843 when the name 'Hayguard Meadow' was recorded (Charles 1992, 642). The outer ward ditch was held from the castle curtilage until the mid-seventeenth century (Owen 1903, 46; Owen 1911, 170), but the slighting of the castle in 1648, and its subsequent disuse, appear to have facilitated a more informal and permanent occupation of the ditch – and ultimately led to its development.

Repopulation of the Castleton was however gradual, and may not have been complete until the mid-nineteenth century. In the early seventeenth century, the 1978/2003 excavation site was levelled, apparently to create a garden (Crane 2004, 9; Crane and Courtney 2004, 64), presumably in the backyard of a property on North Street or the Holloway; infill of the castle ditch appears to have begun at the same time (Crane 2008b, 2), although it was still apparently open, at least in part, in 1811 (Fenton 1811, 205; see **Section 2.4.1** above).

Hayguard Lane is not shown on Philip Lea's 1693 map of Haverfordwest (Fig. **24**), which is however very stylised in its treatment of the Castleton. The Buck prints of the 1740s depict the area immediately north of the castle as green space (Figs **8** and **9**), but this is not necessarily evidence of Hayguard Lane's absence. The lane was recorded by name in 1791 (see above), and while it is not depicted on the Dawson map of 1832, and no buildings are suggested (Fig. **25**), the map is very sketchy with a number of other omissions. Hayguard Lane is shown on the tithe map of 1842, along with two small buildings (summerhouses?) that had occupied the 1978/2003 excavation site but were demolished in 1973 (Crane 2004, 1; Crane and Courtney 2004, 61); like the kitchen garden wall and summer-houses that survive just to the west, which are from *c*.1800 and Grade II listed (DAT PRN 4536), they presumably belonged to a property fronting onto North Street or the Holloway.

Further development had occurred in the Holloway backyards, and within the castle north ditch, by the later nineteenth century (Fig. **19**). By this time, at least, Hayguard Lane had been extended to the east, to cross the line of the Castleton town wall just north of the castle, connecting with the backyards of properties on Bridge Street. This extension is still identifiable as a green strip, though overgrown with trees, and is the route followed by the walkway access proposed in Work Package 2.

A group of six dwellings were constructed on the north side of the lane, north of the castle outer bailey, after the archaeological evaluation of 2003 (Crane 2004; Crane and Courtney 2004, 61).

Also see **Section 2.4.1** above for the castle ditch.

3.4.2 Archaeological potential

Buildings and structures

No pre-nineteenth century buildings have been recorded within this section of the Work Package 2 area boundary.

Below-ground archaeology

The castle ditch was largely infilled between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries, sealing earlier deposits. These deposits, where undisturbed, represent an undisturbed resource of the greatest significance, potentially as a stratified sequence containing a wealth of structural, environmental and artefactual evidence (see above, **Section 2.5.3**). It has been suggested that the ditch was re-cut during the later

medieval period, but this is uncertain and work at eg. Carmarthen Castle has shown the rich and well-preserved assemblages that ditch deposits can yield (Ludlow 2014, 141, 300-31). The undeveloped eastern half of the ditch is included within the scheduled area of the castle (SAM Pe366).

The deep deposit revealed in 1998 and 2003 (interpreted as a counterscarp bank in 2003) sealed earlier deposits along the north side of Hayguard Lane, meaning the potential exists for their survival anywhere that has not been subject to development.

The section of Work Package area 2 that lies north of the castle inner ward is still undeveloped, meaning that buried archaeological deposits could potentially survive anywhere within it.

The proposed walkway access between Bridge Street and Hayguard Lane crosses the medieval town wall line, which may survive as below-ground evidence (see below, **Section 3.5.2**).

Figure 25: Map of Haverfordwest in 1832, by R. K. Dawson (detail).

3.5 BRIDGE STREET AND THE EASTERN CASTLE SLOPE (WORK PACKAGE AREA 2)

3.5.1 Description

Bridge Street had probably been established at an early date as the sole access, until the thirteenth century, from the Castleton to the quay to the south (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202; Fig. **22**). It must have been in existence by 1256 when the Dominican friars of Haverfordwest were granted a new site on the east of the road (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-58*, 482; James 2002, 449). The move nevertheless suggests that civil development on Bridge Street had yet to get fully under way, and that there was still plenty of open ground – at least on the east side – in the mid-thirteenth century.

The new friary was located due east of the castle chapel between the lanes, called 'Friars' and 'Hole in the Wall', that subsequently developed either side of it (Phillips 1898, 26). It was a large house, with 39 friars by 1285; additional burgages were acquired in 1294 and it came to occupy the entire eastern side of Bridge Street (James 2002, 449). However, the 'meadow at the bridge', mentioned in 1567 (Charles 1967, 196), suggests that some open space had remained in the vicinity. No remains of the friary survive.

As late as 1937, the line of the mid-thirteenth-century Castleton town wall could still be traced as a continuous property boundary behind the properties on the west side of Bridge Street, at its northern end (Fig. **21**), while 'considerable remains of the town wall [could] be traced . . . in Gloucester Terrace' (Phillips 1922, 455). This line has now become obscured. Some authorities have suggested that the wall, rather than joining with the castle north wall at this point (as in Fig. **23**), instead continued southwards alongside Bridge Street to connect with the castle at its southeast corner (Soulsby 1983, 140). This is unlikely, representing a form of combined, concentric castle/town defence that was not normally employed during the Middle Ages, while there is no evidence on early maps for a southwards extension of the continuous property boundary (eg. Figs. **19** and **20**).

In 2021, moreover, a section of substantial masonry walling was observed by Andy Shobbrook, of DAT, adjoining the Northeast Tower of the castle and running northwest for 5 metres before petering out. Probably truncated and formerly higher, it contained an archway, 3.10 metres wide but perhaps always low, with a segmental head of plain voussoirs; all were of convincingly medieval date (Fig. **26**; also see Fig. **13**). It appears in none of the published descriptions of the castle and town seen by the author, but can be identified on the OS 1:500 map of Haverfordwest, of 1889, on which it is labelled 'Arch' (Fig. **27**). The remains of a return at its northwest end correspond with the 90° turn shown on the map, which depicts the walling as continuing northeastwards. It is possible that the walling represents the remains of the medieval town wall at its junction with the castle. The 1889 map shows that the walling eventually turned west to run along the north side of the castle ditch; this line is shown on all subsequent OS maps and represents the boundary of the Scheduled Area, which therefore embraces the surviving walling. The medieval wall, however, must have deviated from this line at some point, to run northwards (see Figs. **22** and **23**). The arch may have always been be too low (and perhaps too wide) to represent an entry and it is possible that its function was simply to drain the area immediately to the west, which slopes steeply downhill towards the east and appears to have been a continuation of the castle ditch (Fig. **27**). Two phases of work within the arch are possible, suggesting it was modified at some point.

Bridge Street appears not to be the 'Vicus Pontis' of an account of 1473-4, in which 15 burgage plots had become vacant; the name seems instead to refer to the Castleton, with reference to the castle bridge (Owen 1911, 139 and n. 3, 140-2). Nevertheless, the west side of Bridge Street was probably fully-developed by the late medieval period, and 39 adults were liable for rates in 'Bridge Street Ward' in 1648 (Charles 1967, 82), perhaps giving an idea of its population. Continuous housing was shown on both sides of the street in 1693 (Fig. **24**).

The Buck prints of the 1740s show the eastern slope of the castle, behind these properties, as undeveloped (Figs. **8** and **9**), but Ordnance Survey maps show that, by the later nineteenth century, backyards and ancillary buildings along the west side of Bridge Street had encroached uphill towards the castle; some of these are cut into the slope and 'the rock here has been much cut away in places to make room for modern buildings' (Phillips 1922, 449 n. 2). However, no features belonging to the medieval castle are suggested on this slope.

By 1811, a 'public walk' had been established, 'following the summit of the hill above the river, and the ruins of the priory . . . it is capable of great extension and improvement [and might be] as desirable a promenade as any town in the principality' (Fenton 1811, 223). The location of this walk was not specified but it was described along with the castle, around the outside of which it apparently ran, as it seems to have done in 1849 (Lewis 1849, 'Haverfordwest'); it may have coincided, at least in part, with the proposed walkway in Work Package 2. And, as noted in **Section 3.4.1** above, the proposed walkway access follows the line of the eastward extension of Hayguard Lane, which had by 1889 been driven through the Castleton town wall line (Fig. **19**).

No. 16 Bridge Street is shown as developed on all three editions of the OS maps, from 1889, 1907 and 1937 (Figs. **19**, **20** and **21**). It has now, however, become an empty plot.

3.5.2 Archaeological potential

Buildings and structures

A section of walling adjoining the castle Northeast Tower, containing an archway, appears to be medieval and possibly represents the town wall at its junction with the castle; it lies on the edge of the Scheduled Area, representing its boundary. No other pre-eighteenth century buildings have been recorded within the Work Package 1 area boundary.

The footprint of the former building occupying No. 16 Bridge Street, and its boundary walls, are now obscured, but may survive as footings.

Below-ground archaeology

Evidence for the historic development of the No. 16 Bridge Street plot and its latest building, with its boundary walls, will survive below ground.

The proposed walkway access between Bridge Street and Hayguard Lane crosses the medieval town wall line, where it turned to the north, which may survive as below-ground evidence (see above, **Section 3.4.2**).

Figure 26: The archway and walling, of probable medieval date, against the Northeast Tower of the castle, from NE.

Figure 27: An extract of the Ordnance Survey 1:500 map of Haverfordwest, 1889, showing the walling (labelled 'Arch').

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RCAHM(W), Coflein:

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NPRN 22452 – Castle Terrace.

NPRN 32071 – Haverfordwest Gaol.

NPRN 94235 – Haverfordwest Castle.

6.0 APPENDIX 1: HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE: DOCUMENTED DEVELOPMENT

THE TWELFTH CENTURY

1152-76 – Haverfordwest Castle first appears in the records, as 'the castle of Rhos', in a grant of 1152-76 (Charles 1948, 180). The grant mentions an urban property next to the market cross (in Queen's Square?), extending from a 'ditch', presumably belonging to the castle, 'to the stream called *Connall"* (probably 'Castle Lake', now culverted beneath the car park south of the castle, suggesting that town defences had yet to be built).

1188 – Haverfordwest Castle is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, who may have spent a night at the castle in March 1188. His account states that 'in our own time' (probably the 1170s), a prisoner had been held in 'one of the towers' of the castle, going on to mention the 'crenellations' and 'battlements' of the tower (Thorpe 1978, 142-3). While it is possible that the masonry Northeast Tower is meant (and it is not unknown for keeps to be used to confine high-ranking prisoners), the description could merely be a literary convention – or might refer to a timber tower.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

1198-1210 – The castle chapel was granted to Haverfordwest Priory when the latter was founded 1198-1210 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-34*, 147; Caley *et al*. 1846, 444).

1220 (Aug-Sept) – The castle was attacked without success by the Welsh prince Llywelyn ap Iorwerth of Gwynedd, although the town was burnt (Crouch 2015, 245-6; Edwards 1935, 4; Jones 1952, 97-8; Jones 1971, 223; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 74). This may imply that rebuilding in stone had begun (King 1981, 12; King 1999, 34; King 2002, 539-40), if perhaps confined to the rectangular Northeast Tower which had probably been built 1190-1210.

1257 (June) – Haverford lordship was attacked and 'burned' by the Welsh allies of Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd of Gwynedd, but the castle and town were spared (Jones 1952, 111; Jones 1971, 243; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 93-4).

1264 (Sept) – The burgesses of Haverfordwest were granted 'murage' for 7 years, that is, the right to levy tolls towards the cost of building town defences (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 348; Owen 1911, 127).

1288/9-90 – Haverfordwest Castle was in the hands of Edward I's queen, Eleanor of Castile. She borrowed £400 from Gilbert de Clare (Earl of Gloucester) and Robert Tibetot (Justiciar of south Wales) to pay for works at the castle, while £360 was spent on timber from Ireland and its carriage by sea, and £47 went towards carpentry work (Colvin *et al*. 1963, 670). These are the recorded sums; they may not represent her total expenditure on the castle. They are normally thought to have gone towards the construction of the east and south ranges of the inner ward (see eg. Colvin *et al*. 1963, 670-1; Davis 2000, 81; Hislop 2020, 240; Kenyon 2010, 74; King 1999, 36; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204).

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

1307-8 – Over £10 were spent on repairs to Haverfordwest Castle, prior to its grant to Aymer de Valence in November 1308, as 'it rained in each house' (Rees 1975, 100).

1308 (Nov) – King Edward II granted the 'castle and town' of Haverfordwest to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, for life (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-10*, 145; Owen 1911, 10; Phillips 1972, 246). Purely architectural analogies suggest he may have built the castle east and south ranges; as baronial work, its documentary record will not have survived.

1324 (June) – Aymer de Valence died. His *Inquisition Post Mortem* of August 1324 (Owen 1911, 113-16) tells us that Haverfordwest Castle was 'worth nothing yearly

beyond reprisals [ie. deductions], meaning that no part of its curtilage had been sold, rented or otherwise released into other hands, with one exception: 'a garden there, including the herbage of the ditch (*fossali*) around the castle' was rented out for 18s per annum. Private encroachment into castle ditches, sometimes unauthorised, was a frequent occurrence in the later Middle Ages (Ludlow 2014, 230); at Haverfordwest however part of the castle ditch had been formally leased, for the grazing of livestock, to the burgess(es) of the town. It appears to represent the northern ditch of the outer ward, as recorded in the later sources below.

1326-7 – A plumber (ie. leadworker) had been repairing 'various defects', all very minor (Owen 1911, 65): 12s was spent on lead, presumably for the castle roofs. 'Dead store' at the castle included a table in the hall, three pairs of trestles, a form, a pan for 'throwing lead', a grapping iron and 18 pairs of fetters (Owen 1911, 66), revealing its continuing use as a prison.

1343 (Aug) – King Edward III's eldest son Edward (the 'Black Prince'), Prince of Wales, received a reversionary grant of Haverfordwest castle and lordship upon the death of Queen Isabella (Colvin *et al*. 1963, 671; Owen 1911, 17). He ordered a survey of the castle, in anticipation (Owen 1911, 117-18). The castle comprised 'two curtilages', ie. the inner and outer wards, and was 'of stone', perhaps implying masonry defences in the outer ward as well as the inner. The buildings were 'covered with lead'. They were 'used only for the residence of the lord and his ministers, for the defence of the lordship and the custody of prisoners', showing that the buildings were in good repair and habitable. The only rents were from 'the herbage of the castle ditch, worth 18s yearly' as it had been in 1324; no further encroachment is indicated. No expenditure on the castle fabric was recorded.

1358 (Nov) – A survey of Haverfordwest Castle, after the death of Queen Isabella, found 'divers defects in the castle, in lead and timber, amounting to £100' (Owen 1911, 118); any repairs were not recorded. Rents were derived from the 'garden, with herbage of the ditch around the castle', now worth 15s (Owen 1911, 118). The garden implies a more lasting encroachment; it probably also occupied the northern ditch of the outer ward, as it did in 1383-93 (Owen 1911, 91). It is unlikely that the medieval garden terrace south of the inner ward, the 'Queen's Arbour', is meant; though itself subject to later grants of 'herbage', these seem to have been restricted to officers of the castle (Fenton 1811, 212). Outside the outer gate (immediately southwest of the gate?; Ray 1969, 4), but belonging to the castle, was a pound or 'pinfold', with an adjoining plot that was, from 1358 onwards, also under lease to a burgess of the town for 6d per annum (Owen 1911, 120); rent for the 'pinfold' plot continued to be paid until at least 1481 (Owen 1911, 91). *Cf*. Llawhaden Castle, nearby, where an early modern pound survives just outside the gatehouse.

1360-1 – Haverfordwest Castle, along with Aberystwyth and Dinefwr, was exempt from the allocation of £100 marks yearly towards the 'repair of all the royal castles in south Wales' (Lewis 1913, 64), perhaps implying it was in a satisfactory condition.

1376-7 – Herbage and a garden 'near the castle' is again mentioned, presumably referring to the northern ditch (Owen 1911, 66).

1376-1481 – Throughout the period between 1376 and 1481, the 'Castle Green' was rented for £15 annually (Owen 1911, 86-91 and n. 11). In 1577, the name 'Castle Green' was applied to the outer ward, but an account of *c*.1403-5 makes it clear that it lay to the south of the outer ward, and that it too had been subject to a grant of herbage (Owen 1911, 27-8). It was said to lie in the town, rather than within the castle curtilage, in 1477 (Owen 1911, 140-2 and n. 1); it may be identifiable with the terraced 'green walk', along the south side of the outer ward, which had been enclosed within an outer concentric wall before 1577 (Owen 1903, 40). Ownership of this area may therefore have become disputed as a result of herbage rights, but appears to have been settled in favour of the castle by 1577 (or was claimed to be). Disputed ownership may lie behind

the identification of the lower revetment wall as part of the town wall, rather than the castle, in 1922 (Phillips 1922, 455; also see Soulsby 1983, 140).

1381 – £129 was spent on the 'repair of the castle, mills and weirs' at Haverfordwest (Colvin *et al*. 1963, 671; also see Owen 1911, 161), a sum which might have paid for fairly substantial works at the castle, depending on its allocation (the town mills formed part of the castle demesne).

1383-93 – The garden in the ditch ('*in fossa castri*') was again mentioned, rented for 6d annually (Owen 1911, 91).

1387-8 – A 'new stable' was built in the castle, '92ft by 12ft'; payments for stone and sand make it clear that it was of masonry construction (Owen 1911, 162; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204). An 'old tower' was also 'erected anew' with a stone wall and roof. Over 200 'rafters' were required for the work. The total cost was not recorded, but the workmen were paid £17. In 1577, a stable of similar dimensions (86ft by 10ft) was recorded as occupying the outer ward (Owen 1903, 40), and the same building is probably meant; the phrasing of the account suggests that the rebuilt tower may have been located nearby, on the outer curtain.

1388 (Sept) – An inventory of arms and armour at the castle recorded a barrel of gunpowder and 120 balls, 6 crossbows and 400 quarrels, 18 bascinets and jacks, and 12 breastplates (Owen 1911, 163). The suggestion of artillery is interesting. This was a decade of national emergency, with invasion from France threatened, and many castles were munitioned, and garrisoned, in response (Ludlow 2014, 24).

1391-3 – Minor repairs were recorded, but neither the particulars nor the costs. The post of royal armourer at the castle had been created ('keeper of the king's armour'; Owen 1911, 164).

1394 (Sept-Oct) and **1399** (May) – King Richard II stayed at Haverfordwest Castle on both of his journeys to Ireland (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-96*, passim; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396-99*, passim), implying that the domestic buildings were well-maintained and habitable.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

*c.***1403-5** – Small-scale works were undertaken to strengthen Haverfordwest Castle, in response to the Glyndŵr rising, under the sub-constable John Castle (Owen 1911, 27-8, 171-2). They were of a very minor nature, costing a mere £12 8s, possibly indicating that the castle was already in a good defensive condition. The northern ditch appears to have been recut, while a 'chamber' over the town gate just west of the castle (St Martin's Gate) was pulled down, presumably so it could not be held against the castle. Minor repairs are also suggested, some building stone being obtained from a store in the property, adjoining the pinfold, which had been under lease since 1358. In this account, the 'Castle Green' is clearly located to the south of the outer ward (see above).

1404-5 – Very minor 'repairs to the castle' were undertaken under the constable Roland Lenthall, costing £1 6s 10d (Owen 1911, 165-6). No particulars.

1407-8 – Following the attack on Haverfordwest Castle by Glyndŵr and his French allies, in 1405, a 'new tower' was built next to the 'outer gate' (Owen 1911, 166), probably the square Northwest Tower that still survives in the outer ward. Also new, or rebuilt, was a 'new bridge next to the inner gate', presumably crossing the ditch between the inner and outer wards. Work on the castle well was also recorded. The total cost was £12 6s 8d, which perhaps does not seem consistent with a 'new' tower; however, it is very thin-walled.

1452-3 – £12 11s 10d was expended upon the castle (Owen 1911, 88 n. 11); no particulars.

1462-3 – Repairs were made to the castle, under the supervision of John Harry, who may have been a local man (Griffiths 2002, 244); no particulars.

1472-3 – £3 3s was spent on 'making a new gate *ad portam exteriorem castri Haverfordiae*' ie. the outer ward gateway (Owen 1911, 167), the sum suggesting that only the wooden doors were renewed. Timberwork was also replaced in the hall (Great Hall?), the drawbridge (*pontis tractabilis*; in the outer gate?), and the mill sluices, at a cost of £9 11s 6d.

1476-7 – 18s was spent on the 'repair of the large stable' (Owen 1911, 167), presumably the stable built new in 1387-8 (Owen 1911, 167). The 'ditch of Gwynditch' was also 'cleaned'; another, contemporary account suggests this may represent an adjoining section of the town ditch, rather than the castle ditch (Owen 1911, 134).

1477-8 – £30 7s 9d was spent on the 'repair of the Exchequer House and of the walls of the outer ward' (Owen 1911, 168). This is a considerable sum, indicating masonry and possibly implying a partial rebuild or even new work. The exchequer was situated over the outer ward gatehouse in 1577 (Owen 1903, 40); if new in the 1470s, it presumably replaced an existing exchequer for the lordship. Four acres of woodland had been purchased for these operations, and work on the mills (Owen 1911, 168).

1479 – An allocation of £100 from the issues of the lordship of Haverfordwest was made towards 'the repair of the castle there' (Owen 1911, 168). This is a considerable sum that could have contributed towards major building work but, frustratingly, no particulars are given.

1480-1 – £86 11s was spent on the 'repair of the Prince of Wales's manors and castles in south Wales' (Owen 1911, 169). These castles were Haverfordwest, Pembroke, Tenby, Aberystwyth, Cardigan, Carmarthen and Dinefwr, meaning that expenditure at each must have been fairly low.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1500-1 – Rent for the garden is again mentioned (Owen 1911, 142); in the outer ditch?

1532 – Robert Acton was appointed constable and gatekeeper of Haverfordwest Castle, and received with these offices 'herbage . . . with the ditch of the castle, and a garden called the Queen's Herber [ie. Queen's Arbour] adjacent to the said castle' (Fenton 1811, 212). This is the first certain mention of the medieval garden terrace south of the inner ward, the 'Queen's Arbour'; grants seem to have been restricted to officers of the castle, and it may not have been formally released from the castle curtilage; it seems to have been parcel of the castle in 1577 (Owen 1903, 41).

1536-9 – The topographer John Leland visited Haverfordwest. His account mentions the 'walled town and castle' in passing (Smith 1906, 63).

1545-6 – 15s was spent of the repair of a 'bedroom' at the castle, where the 'Great Sessions of Pembrokeshire' were being held (Owen 1918, 203 n. 2). This account confirms that the Pembrokeshire sessions have been established at Haverfordwest Castle, and reveals that a household, or administrative staff at least, was still resident at the castle.

1577 (May) – A survey of Haverfordwest Castle was undertaken for the Crown (Owen 1903, 40-1). It is reproduced here in full:

'The Castle has been a very proper pile, built upon a rock, and had the town in old time on the north side thereof; but the town now flourishing is well near on the south side of it'.

Outer Ward – 'Also, the gatehouse or entrance thereinto is on the west side having had in it a porter's lodge, an outer gate, and inner gate with 2 portcullises, all now utterly decayed (as the rest of the rooms hereafter touched are). Also, within the outer gate and over the inner gate has been the exchequer, of 14ft square with a prison house under it. Also, there is on the said north side a tower sometime consisting of divers rooms, and has adjoining to it the walls of a stable which was 86ft in length and 10ft in breadth. Also, from the said stable forward on that side stands a wall of 22 yards

long with a watch-tower in the midst thereof; from thence towards the north-east is a like wall compass-wise of 40 yards long, with a turret in the midst thereof. Also, from the said gatehouse southward, a short wall of 10 yards in length: from thence towards the southwest a wall of 100 yards in length with a turret in the midst; without this wall, a forced bank borne up with another wall, and within that circuit a green walk. Also, the castle green before you come to the main building contains ½ acre'.

Inner Ward (anticlockwise from the inner gate) – 'Also, concerning the late inhabited part of the castle being utterly decayed as before: the gatehouse or entry thereinto has in either side a lodge; under that gate is a vault which seems to have been made for some privy way into the town that none dare search the end of it. Upon the east side of the said gate a round tower, and from that a thick wall of 34ft long. At the end of that another round tower, under which is a strong prison house called *Brehinock*. The rooms within this main building, in brief, be these: a hall of 45ft foot long and 20ft broad with a chimney in it, having under it a large room (with a chimney) called the Coining House, out of which goes a stair into a walk called the Queen's Arbour, in the east corner where there is a round turret, and at each end of the hall a tower. Also a chapel of 24ft long, and 16ft broad, a great chamber (with a chimney) of 34ft long, and 14ft broad. One other chamber (with a chimney) of 20ft long, and 20ft broad. One other room for offices of 12ft long and 7ft broad, with other small rooms, and a kitchen with 3 chimneys. Also, within the circuit of these buildings, an inner ward or green of 70ft square having a well in it'.

The survey made it clear that the castle was no longer suitable for conducting the Pembrokeshire Great Sessions, which had moved into the borough guildhall, with the recommendation that it should 'be made as well for purpose'; this appears not to have been carried out. However, three 'courts of the castle gate' were recorded, two of them still operational (Owen 1903, 42); within them the freeholders of the lordship performed suit for their lands, fines were levied and various actions were tried. The castle ditches had remained within the castle curtilage, in Crown hands (Owen 1904, 46).

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1610 – The prison cells in the castle became disused after 1577, and were replaced by a new county gaol in the town called the 'Cock House' (Charles 1967, 73, 150, 154; Fenton 1811, 207 n. b; Freeman 1999, 42). Presumably because it was not the county town of Pembrokeshire, John Speed produced no plan of Haverfordwest for his *Theatre of Great Britain* (1610); an important resource is absent.

1603-20 – The castle was surveyed, as a result of which King James I (1603-20) abolished the offices of constable and porter at Haverfordwest Castle (Fenton 1811, 212); this confirms that the castle community was by now minimal, or even absent.

1642 (autumn) – Haverfordwest Castle, along with Pembroke and Tenby, was garrisoned for Parliament when the first Civil War reached west Wales (Charles 1967, 12; Mathias 1987a, 173).

1643 (Sept) – Haverfordwest fell to the Royalists. The garrison began 'making and strengthening bulwarks, walls, gates and turnpikes' around Haverfordwest (Charles 1967, 14). The nature of this work, and whether any new lines of defence were established, is however unknown. It continued under the Parliamentarian garrison in 1644 (Charles 1967, 14), so some of it may have been fairly substantial.

In November 1643, 27s was paid to 'the masons and labourers that wrought at [Haverfordwest] castle' (Charles 1967, 74), indicating that some of this work, if perhaps minor, was undertaken at the castle. In December 1643, masons 'walled up the foundation of the castle next the pinfold, that before fell of itself' (Charles 1967, 75), apparently an attempt to underpin the outer ward curtain.

1648 (July-Oct) – Oliver Cromwell gave orders for the demolition of the castle in July 1648 (Carlyle 1872, 188-9; Charles 1967, 15). Work began immediately, but the hand-tools used were insufficient to carry it out effectively: the corporation requested that

Cromwell should provide them with gunpowder, to be charged to the county (Carlyle 1872, 189). Cromwell could not, apparently, spare the powder (Laws 1888, 348), commanding that the inhabitants of the county be pressed into service to continue manual demolition (Carlyle 1872, 190).

The work appears to have been complete by 1650 (Charles 1967, 83, 90), but it is not known how much was achieved; most authorities feel it was minimal (eg. Davis 2000, 79; Laws 1888, 348). It is possible however that, rather than being casualties of the gaol conversion, the west (approachable) sides of both the inner and outer wards were slighted, along with their gatehouses (King 1999, 40). Early antiquarian depictions of the castle concentrate on views from the east; whether any from the west exist is unknown.

It is significant that only the castle is mentioned in Cromwell's orders – there is no mention of town walls, or any other fortifications.

1653 – A Parliamentary Survey was undertaken (Owen 1911, 169-70). It is reproduced here in full:

'A survey of the ruinous castle of Haverford West, late parcel of the possessions of King Charles I. All that ruinous castle, with the site thereof, Castleyard and appurtenances, stituated in the town and county of Haverfordwest, in the county of Pembroke, as it is now enclosed, encompassed and surrounded by the old walls and the ditch, called the Castle Ditch, together with the Castle Ditch on the west and north, and partly on the east, part of the said castle without the walls thereof, all of which said castle and site thereof and castle yard within the walls and ditch aforesaid, together with the Castle Ditch without the walls, containing by estimation 2 acres more-or-less, we estimate to be worth 40s per annum.

'We find the site of the said castle and castle ward in the tenure and occupation of one Mr Mayler, a shoemaker of Haverford West, who holds the same by the direction of the Commissioners for Sequestration in the said County of Pembroke, as belonging to the state, and the ditch without the walls on the north side of the said castle we find in the tenure and occupation of James Browne, who claims no interest therein, but only that he holds it because there is no enclosure between the said ditch and certain grounds that he enjoys, and therefore we return the said ditch together with the site of the said castle in possession valued as aforesaid.

'There are divers old stone walls now standing in and about the said castle which are of small value, there being good quarries of stone in and about the said town which is brought to the said town at as easy a rate as the stone can be dug out of the said walls, in consideration whereof we value the said old walls in gross at £10.

'Total value per annum - £40. Gross value - £10'.

The encroachment into the castle interior, by James Browne, may relate to the west side of the outer ward, rather than the north side as stated: the north curtain is still a hard boundary, whereas the west side has gone and may have been a victim of slighting. Two properties on Castle Street, immediately outside the present outer ward entry, appear moreover to overlie the former west curtain and gatehouse, and possibly originate from this early encroachment. The account also suggests that, unusually, the remains were not favoured by the townsfolk as a source of building stone, suggesting that any post-slighting losses of masonry were systematic and deliberate, rather than piecemeal.

1693 – The earliest known plan of Haverfordwest was produced by Philip Lea (James 2002, 441; Fig. **24**). The castle is depicted only schematically.

THE EIGHTEENTH – NINETEENTH CENTURY

1740s – A bowling green had apparently been established within the castle by 1748 (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202), presumably in the outer ward.

1779-80 – Haverfordwest Castle had remained under the control of the Pembrokeshire County authorities. In 1779, they ordered the construction of a new County Gaol in the

inner ward, to replace the county gaol in the borough. Completed in December 1780, by Griffith Watkins and John Webb of Haverfordwest, and at a cost of £1200, it occupied the medieval South Range, which was partly rebuilt to accommodate it (Freeman 1999, 44, 54; Hancock 2020, 24; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 203-4; King 1999, 40); the suggestion that its roof was 'arched with stone' (Hancock 2020, 24) may imply that the medieval vault had been rebuilt, and perhaps partially retained. The Governor's House (now the town museum) was built at the same time (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204).

1803 – The new gaol was visited by the reformer James Neild. His description is reproduced in full (Neild 1808, 256-7):

'This gaol, built within the walls of the old castle, has a spacious and airy court [ie. an 'airing yard', for fresh air and exercise], about 36 yards square, where men and women, debtors and felons, associate together during the daytime. Here are five cells and a kitchen for felons, and a Bridewell-room for men. Over these are five rooms for debtors, a room called the Women's Bridewell, and a store-room. The felons' sleeping cells (12ft by 6ft 9in) open into a passage 4ft wide, three steps underground, and damp, but on my visit in 1803 there was nothing but straw on the brick floors, and the gaoler told me that 8 or 10 prisoners had been crowded every night, in each cell, a month together. Here is a Chapel; no infirmary, or bath. A fine well of water in the centre of the courtyard'.

A gaoler, a chaplain and a surgeon were all salaried.

1816 – A Debtor's Block was added, lying against the northwest curtain wall between the North Tower and the Governor's House (Freeman 1999, 45; Hancock 2020, 25).

1818 – A bakehouse was built against the end of the Governor's House (Hancock 2020, 25).

1820 – An entirely new, and much larger gaol, designed by J. P. Pritchett of York, was built in the outer ward of the castle (Freeman 1999, 46; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204). The inner ward continued to be used for female prisoners, while a treadwheel was installed in the southeast corner in 1820-1 (Freeman 1999, 48).

1822 – The new gaol was reconstituted as a County and Borough Gaol, taking inmates from the old town gaol, but remained under the management of the Pembrokeshire County authorities (Freeman 1999, 47; Lewis 1849). There is no evidence that it was enlarged for this new purpose.

1823-65 – The Gaol Act of 1823 stipulated that male and female prisoners should be segregated, but was often ignored; it was not until the 1865 Prison Act that the rule was generally enforced (Ireland 2007, 113-14, 116). Upon its enforcement at Haverfordwest, the 1816 Debtor's Block was converted into a Female Wing (Freeman 1999, 46; King 1999, 40; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204). Although debt remained punishable by imprisonment until 1869, numbers had become minimal and most prisons had refitted their debtor's cells for other purposes (Ireland 2007, 152-3).

1860s – A Matron's House was built next to the Female Wing, soon after 1867 (Freeman 1999, 50).

1878 – Haverfordwest Gaol closed, soon after the nationalisation of Britain's gaols in 1877 (Freeman 1999, 51; Ludlow 2014, 261, 345). The inner ward gaol buildings were subsequently occupied by Pembrokeshire Constabulary (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204; Phillips 1922, 449).

***c*.1870 and 1888** – Detailed plans of the gaol were produced in *c*.1870 and 1888 (see Section 2.2.12 and Figs. **14** and **15**).

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

1963 – The Police moved out of the castle (Ray 1969, 1), which was acquired by Pembrokeshire County Council (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204).

1964-7 – The 1820 gaol building in the outer ward was gutted, and converted to a county museum. The gaol buildings in the inner ward were demolished (Freeman 1999, 51; King 1999, 40; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 203; Ray 1969, 1); the National Monuments Record houses a collection of photographs taken during the work (RCAHM(W) Coflein, NPRN 9425).

1972 – The museum moved to Scolton Manor and the outer ward gaol building was refitted for use as the County Record Office (Freeman 1999, 51).

1990s – Haverfordwest Town Museum was created within the Governor's House (Freeman 1991, 52).

7.0 APPENDIX 2: HAVERFORDWEST: HISTORICAL TIMELINE

The lordship was always known as 'Haverford'; it was probably coterminous with the earlier Welsh *cantref* of Rhos. The name may come from '*haefer*' and 'ford' ie. a place forded by he-goats (Charles 1992, 643), in probable confirmation of the immigration from the English West Country that is suggested to have accompanied influx from Flanders (Rowlands 1981, 148-51).

The qualifying adjective 'west' had begun to be applied to the castle and town by 1394, in the form 'West Haverford' (Owen 1911, 22); 'Haverford West' is recorded in 1442 and 1451 (Owen 1911, 28, 30).

THE TWELFTH CENTURY

*c.*1108-13 – Haverfordwest Castle was probably founded between 1108 and 1113 by Tancard, a Flemish settler (Davis 2000, 78; James 2002, 432; King 1999, 34; Thorpe 1978, 141-4). From it, the region of Rhos was subdued, and re-organised as the Anglo-Norman lordship of Haverford (Walker 2002b, 161; Rowlands 1981, 144-5, 148).
 (A number of early authors maintained that the castle was built by the Clare lord of Cardigan in *c.*1100, and were followed by some later authorities (eg. Lilley 1995, 34; Phillips 1922, 447; RCAHM(W) 1925, 109; Ray 1969, 2; Soulsby 1983, 140); this now regarded as implausible).

1130-38 – The lordship of Pembroke was in the hands of King Henry I, 1102-35; the lordships of Haverford, Daugleddau (Wiston) and Narberth had become subject to his sheriff at Pembroke by 1130 (Hunter 1833, 136-7; Rowlands 1981, 144), probably since around 1115. The unnamed *'filii Tanchelini'* of the 1130 Pipe Roll have been identified as Tancard's sons (Lloyd 1911, 425); they were in the custody of one William FitzWarmund (Hunter 1833, 137), suggesting that Tancard himself had died leaving under-age heirs.

1138 – The lordships of Pembroke, Haverford, Daugleddau and Narberth together formed the Earldom of Pembroke, created for Gilbert 'Strongbow' de Clare in 1138, by King Stephen (Davis 1967, 31, 133, 136; Howells 2002, 403; Thorpe 1978, 141-2).
 (Nb. some authorities (eg. King 1981, 8), have mistakenly suggested that Haverford did not belong to the earldom).

1148 – Gilbert de Clare died, and was succeeded by his son Richard 'Strongbow' de Clare (Walker 2002a, 29).

1170 – Richard Strongbow's earldom of Pembroke, including his overlordship in Haverford, was confiscated by Henry II (Howlett 1884, 168; Howlett 1889, 252). Royal constables were imposed upon the castles of the Pembrokeshire lordships (Scott and Martin 1978, 91), almost certainly including Haverfordwest
 It has been suggested that the seizure had already taken place, in 1154 (eg. Crouch 2002, 69; Flanagan 1984, 64), and conversely that Richard Strongbow retained the earldom without interruption until his death in 1176 (Walker 2002a, 29).

1172-3 – Richard Strongbow was reconciled with King Henry II (Flanagan 1984, 9), but royal constables remained in the castles of Pembrokeshire until 1174-5 (Brewer 1861, xviii, 25-6).

1152-76 – Haverfordwest Castle was first mentioned in the records, as 'the castle of Rhos', 1152-76 (Charles 1948, 180). Tancard's son Richard FitzTancard had succeeded to the lordship. He was the youngest heir, predeceased by his brothers (Thorpe 1978, 143-4), explaining his continued presence at Haverfordwest in 1188, 58 years after 1130 (King 1999, 34).
 By the 1150s-70s a town, with burgage plots and a Sunday market, had been established at Haverfordwest; FitzRichard granted five burgages, and a share of the market rights there, to the Hospitaller Commandery at Slebech (grant issued 1152-76; Charles 1948, 180, 190-4; Darlington 1968, xxxiii, 136-8). The market cross is also mentioned, presumably occupying what is now Queen's Square. The plots extended 'from

the [castle?] ditch as far as the stream called *Connall*" (Charles 1948, 180), almost certainly referring to plots stretching from the outer ward to Castle Lake, the stream now culverted beneath the car park south of the castle (see Fig. **22**). If so, the account shows that defences had yet to be built, the line of which separated the plot backyards from the stream.

1176 – Richard Strongbow died without an adult heir. The earldom of Pembroke fell to King Henry II (Flanagan 1984, 69-70, 73); his overlordship in Haverfordwest may have been at the expense of Richard FitzTancard's full tenure of the castle.

1188 (March) – Haverford was first mentioned by this name, and the castle and town were again mentioned, by Giraldus Cambrensis who visited in March 1188 with the Archbishop of Canterbury, preaching the Third Crusade; they stayed overnight, quite possibly in the castle (Thorpe 1978, 34, 141-4).

   Richard FitzTancard is described as 'castellan' by Giraldus, implying that full control of their castles may yet to have been restored to the region's lords by Henry II. Haverford's former membership of the earldom of Pembroke, under the Clare earls, is implied by the presence at the castle of a son of one of the Clares (Thorpe 1978, 142), possibly referring to the period 1173-6 and meaning Richard Strongbow's only son Gilbert (d. 1185-9; Flanagan 1984, 70).

1176-98 – Richard FitzTancard 'of Haverford' witnessed a grant dated 1176-98 (Davies 1946, 297).

1189-97 – The Welsh prince of independent Deheubarth, Rhys ap Gruffudd (the 'Lord Rhys'), recaptured much of Anglo-Norman west Wales with the exception of the lordships of Haverford and Pembroke (Walker 2002a, 34).

1198 – Richard FitzTancard's son Robert FitzRichard had succeeded to Haverfordwest by 1198, when he granted lands in the lordship of Haverford to Slebech Commandery (charter dated 1176-98; Davies 1946, 362).

1199 (May) – William Marshal I was created Earl of Pembroke. The lordship of Pembroke itself was withheld by the Crown until late 1200 (Crouch 2002, 86-7); Haverford was excluded from the grant altogether.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

c.**1204** – Robert FitzRichard 'of Haverford' was mentioned in a grant of 1203-10, probably issued in 1204 (Crouch 2015, 161-2; Owen 1911, 1).

1207 (Nov) – A charter was issued, by King John, confirming Robert FitzRichard in his hereditary rights to the castle and lordship of Haverford, and confirming a previous grant of a market and fair there; the market would continue to be held on Sundays, and the fair for 15 days from 1 May (Charles 1948, 181; Hardy 1837, 173; Owen 1911, 126). The original grant has been lost. Although charters from King Henry II, who was overlord of Tancard's descendants 1176-89, are mentioned by antiquarian authors (eg. Lewis 1849, 'Haverfordwest'), these have not survived (Soulsby 1983, 140).

   The market had been switched to Saturday by *c*.1600 (Charles 1967, 2; Owen 1892, 140); it was later supplemented by another market on Tuesdays (James 2002, 345) and, in 1689-1702, by a third on Thursdays. These three weekly markets were still operational in 1849 (Lewis 1849, 'Haverfordwest').

   The date of the fair had been changed to 7 July by 1324 (Owen 1911, 63, 66, 113-16). In 1689-1702, the town was granted permission to hold three fairs annually (Lewis 1849, 'Haverfordwest').

1208 (July) – A mandate was issued to Robert FitzRichard 'of Haverford' (Hardy 1835a, 85).

1198-1210 – Haverfordwest's Augustinian Priory was founded by Robert FitzRichard. Extensive remains survive.

Robert FitzRichard granted the priory the three Haverfordwest churches of St Martin, St Mary and St Thomas, and the chapel within Haverfordwest Castle (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-34*, 147; Caley *et al*. 1849, 444; Rees 2002, 75). The grant may represent an intention, rather than an existing situation: while St Martin was already in existence, and rapid growth was clearly underway at Haverfordwest, St Thomas – which lies some distance from the early town or 'Castleton' – may yet to have been established, and possibly also St Mary. They were established as chapelries of St Martin's parish, and do not appear to have become parochial until the fourteenth or fifteenth century (ie. not listed in the *Taxatio* of 1291; Astle et al. 1802, 275); they may be among the 'chapels of St Martin's church' mentioned in 1256 (Davies 1946, 393; *cf*. St Mary's parish church at Pembroke, which was a chapelry of Monkton parish until the 1480s; Isaacson 1917b, 510-11). St Thomas was parochial by 1400 (Isaacson 1917a, 53). All three are still functioning churches.

1210 – Robert FitzRichard was ejected, for reasons unknown, by King John who took Haverfordwest into his own hands in 1210; it was placed in the custody of his official Faulkes de Breauté (Hardy 1835a, 105; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 67).

King John was at Haverfordwest Castle in May and August 1210, on his way to and from Ireland (Hardy 1844, 172, 178; Owen 1911, 1; Williams ab Ithel 1860 66 and n. 4, 67). Robert apparently died in 1211 (Crouch 2015, 161-2).

1213 (Oct) – Grant to William Marshal I, Earl of Pembroke, of the lordship and castle of Haverfordwest, in 'full seisin'; Marshal, 'to whom the king restored the same', ie. as under the Clare earls, made a payment of £1000 for the grant (Hardy 1833, 159; Hardy 1835a, 105; Hardy 1835b, 499, 522).

1215 – No attack on Haverford was recorded during the Welsh winter campaign of 1215 (Jones 1952; Jones 1971; Williams ab Ithel 1860).

1217 – The Welsh prince Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, of Gwynedd, and his allies threatened the lordship and town of Haverfordwest, but was held off by the offer of 1000 marks and 20 hostages (Davies 1946, 347; Jones 1952, 95-6; Jones 1971, 219).

1213-19 – William Marshal I granted a charter to the burgesses of Haverfordwest (Ballard 1913, xxix, 56, 75; Beresford 1988, 567; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1327-41*, 227; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-36*, 33-4; Crouch 2015, 108-9; Owen 1911, 131). Its generous terms will have accelerated the town's already considerable development (James 2002, 437).

1219 (May) – William Marshal I died. Succeeded by his son William Marshal II (Crouch 2002, 139-40).

1219 (Sept) – A charter of William Marshal II, earl of Pembroke, confirmed his father William I's grants to the burgesses of Haverfordwest (Ballard 1913, xxxv; Ballard and Tait 1923, xxviii, 11; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1327-41*, 227-8; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-36*, 33-4; Crouch 2015, 245-6; Owen 1911, 131).

1220 (Aug-Sept) – Llywelyn ap Iorwerth campaigned in west Wales, taking Narberth and Wiston castles. Haverfordwest was burnt 'to the gates of the castle' but the castle itself resisted; the lordship of Haverford was ravaged before Llywelyn withdrew, upon a payment of £100 (Crouch 2015, 245-6; Edwards 1935, 4; Jones 1952, 97-8; Jones 1971, 223; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 74).

1219-29 – A second charter of William Marshal II granted a merchant guild and other privileges to the burgesses of Haverfordwest, ending Pembroke's monopoly (Ballard and Tait 1923, 279; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1327-41*, 228; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-36*, 33-4; Crouch 2015, 246-7; Davies 1946, 359; Owen 1911, 131). Like the following charter, it may have been intended to aid the town's recovery after the Welsh attack in 1220 (James 2002, 438).

1219-31 – A third charter of William Marshal II granted further privileges to the burgesses of Haverfordwest, including a duopoly (with Pembroke) on the sale of merchandise arriving in Milford Haven (Ballard and Tait 1923, 114, 243; *Cal. Charter*

Rolls 1327-41, 228; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-36*, 33-4; Crouch 2015, 247-9; Owen 1911, 131).

1231 (April) – William Marshal II died. His constable of Haverfordwest, Weremund de Peremart, surrendered the castle to the Crown until his brother and successor, Richard Marshal, was invested with the earldom in August (Owen 1911, 2).

1234 (April) – Richard Marshal died. Succeeded by his brother Gilbert Marshal (Crouch 2015, 26).

1234-41 – Letters Patent were issued by the king, on Gilbert Marshal's behalf, to the burgesses of Haverfordwest granting them quittance on customs in his lands (Ballard 1913, xxxv; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1327-41*, 228; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-36*, 33-4; Crouch 2015, 361-2; Owen 1911, 131).

Gilbert founded the leper hospital of St Mary Magdalen, on the outskirts of Haverfordwest (*Cal. Lib. Rolls 1245-51*, 91; Owen 1906, 351), where a colony seems to have existed since *c*.1200 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-34*, 147; Caley *et al*. 1849, 445). No remains survive.

1241 (June) – Gilbert Marshal died. Succeeded by his brother Walter Marshal (Crouch 2015, 31-2).

1245 (before July) – Walter Marshal was recorded at Haverfordwest, on his return from Ireland (Williams ab Ithel 1860, 85).

1245 – Walter Marshal and his brother Anselm, the last of the Marshals, died in November and December respectively. In January 1246, the constable of Haverfordwest was ordered to deliver the castle to Robert Walerand, who had been appointed custodian of all Marshal lands in west Wales by the king (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1232-47*, 468; Owen 1911, 2).

*c.***1220-46** – The Dominicans had established a friary at Haverfordwest (location unknown) by 1246 (*Cal. Liberate Rolls 1245-51*, 31, 105), probably under one of the younger Marshal earls who were patrons of the mendicant orders (James 2002, 449).

1246 – The Marshal estates were divided between a number of coheirs. The lordships of Haverford, Narberth and Cilgerran were assigned to Eva de Braose, daughter of William Marshal I (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1364-67*, 266-75).

Haverford however remained in Walerand's custody until 1248 because of the death firstly of Eva de Braose, and then her daughter and heiress Isabella, without issue, which necessitated further partitioning of the lordship (*Cal. Close Rolls 1242-47*, 480, 484; Owen 1911, 3; TNA C60/43). It was divided into three, between Isabella's sisters Maud (married to Roger Mortimer of Wigmore), Eva (married to William de Cantilupe of Abergavenny), and Eleanor (married to Humphrey de Bohun II, lord of Brecon since 1241) (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-58*, 8; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1367-70*, 91-2).

1248 (Feb) – Robert Walerand delivered the lordship of Haverford to the Mortimers, Cantilupes and Bohuns (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-58*, 8; Owen 1911, 3). The greater part, with Haverfordwest Castle itself, went to the Bohuns.

1250 – William de Valence, lord of Pembroke, and Joan his wife (granddaughter of William Marshal I) successfully claimed jurisdiction in the lordship of Haverford, as had existed when it had belonged to the earldom of Pembroke under the Clares and Marshals (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1367-70*, 91-2; Owen 1911, 45-50).

And in 1252, Bohun instructed his constable at Haverfordwest Castle, John de la Roche (lord of Roch), to comply with the Valences claim to jurisdiction (Edwards 1935, 211).

1252-5 – In an exchange of lands, the Bohuns acquired the Cantilupe third of the lordship of Haverford (James 2002, 438; Walker 2002b, 161). The Mortimers retained their share.

1256 (June) – Haverfordwest Friary moved to a new site on Bridge Street (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-58*, 482; Phillips 1898, 26), suggesting Bridge Street was already in existence (James 2002, 449). No remains of the friary survive.

Bohun instructed his new constable at Haverfordwest Castle, John Marshal, to comply with the Valences claim (Edwards 1935, 211).

1257 (June) – The Welsh allies of Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, of Gwynedd, campaigned in west Wales and took or burnt the castles of Llansteffan, Laugharne, Narberth and Newport; Haverford lordship was also attacked and 'burned', but the castle and town were spared (Jones 1952, 111; Jones 1971, 243; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 93-4).

1264 (Sept) – The burgesses of Haverfordwest were granted 'murage' for 7 years, that is, the right to levy tolls towards the cost of building town defences (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 348; Owen 1911, 127). It was to be the only murage grant the town received (James 2002, 438).

It may relate to construction of the stone walls around the Castleton. In *c.*1600, the topographer George Owen specified that only the Castleton area of the town was walled in stone (Owen 1897, 515), which is confirmed by all available evidence (see James 2002, 440); *cf.* claims, by a number of authorities, that the remainder of the medieval town was walled (eg. Creighton and Higham 2002, 27, 93, 95; Lilley 1995, 34-6; Soulsby 1983, 140). Haverfordwest can thus be compared with Carmarthen, where King Street and Spilman Street were undefended until the early fifteenth century, and the large suburb around Lammas Street was never walled (Ludlow 2014, 39-40), while Pembroke may not have received any masonry defences until the 1280s-90s (Day and Ludlow 2016, 70).

1265 (May-Nov) – Haverfordwest Castle was taken from the rebel Humphrey de Bohun II by the royalist William de Valence, during the Baronial Wars (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 503); this may have been more than mere opportunism ie. Valence may have been trying to re-assemble the Marshal earldom. Bohun died later in 1265 (King 1999, 36; Walker 2002b, 161), and William and Joan de Valence were granted the lordship of Haverford and the castle during the minority of his son Humphrey de Bohun III (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 503; Owen 1911, 4).

1273 – Humphrey de Bohun III came of age, but the Valences refused to yield him the 'castle and manor of Haverford', demanding homage for it as lord of the former earldom of Pembroke (Owen 1911, 4). Bohun appealed to the king, Edward I.

1274 (July-Sept) – The Valences were ordered to surrender Haverfordwest Castle to King Edward I, who then granted it to Bohun (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-81*, 54, 56; Owen 1911, 4). In 1276, Mark Brakesford was Bohun's constable of the castle (Owen 1911, 147).

1275 – Humphrey de Bohun III was created Earl of Hereford (Walker 2002b, 161).

1276-84 – The Valences' claim to jurisdiction in Haverford was contested by the Mortimers and the Bohuns (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 145; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1367-70*, 91; Owen 1911, 34-5; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 108).

1281 – There were an estimated 390 burgage plots in Haverfordwest (James 2002, 442), making it one of Wales's largest boroughs; only another seven Welsh towns possessed over 200 burgages (Soulsby 1983, 23). *Cf.* Pembroke, with 227 burgages in *c.*1300; Tenby, with 247 in 1307; and Cardiff, the largest in Wales, with 421 in 1296 (Beresford 1988, 255).

The borough Guildhall was first mentioned in the late thirteenth century, but may have been built for the guild merchant granted by William Marshal II (James 2002, 437). It stood to the east of St Mary's church, until its demolition in the mid-nineteenth century (Charles 1967, 2; Fenton 1811, 220; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 201).

1282 – Roger Mortimer died; the inquisition of Mortimer lands in the lordship was held at Haverfordwest (Owen 1911, 112-13). His widow Maud retained their third of the lordship

(Owen 1911, 147), but there is little evidence to show where these lands were located (Walker 2002b, 167).

1284 (Nov) – King Edward I and his queen, Eleanor of Castile, stayed with the Bohuns at Haverfordwest on 28-9 November, during their 'victory' tour of Wales following the defeat of Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1283 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 146; Owen 1911, 5).

1288-9 – The Bohun two-third share of Haverfordwest, including the castle, was acquired by Edward I's queen Eleanor of Castile, in exchange for three Essex manors. The precise date of this exchange is however unknown. It was first agreed in 1286 (Parsons 1995, 187) and had occurred by May 1289 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 330-1); internal evidence shows that it was after 1287 (Edwards 1939, 170), while at an unknown date in 1290 it was recorded that the Queen had been in possession of Haverfordwest for two years (*Rot. Parl*. 1, 30). The year 1288 has been suggested (Edwards 1939, 170; Parsons 1995, 109, 187; Rees 1975, 252-2), but most authorities prefer a date in early 1289 for her acquisition (eg. Colvin *et al*. 1963, 670; Hislop 2020, 240; Kenyon 2010, 74; King 2002, 539-40; Walker 2002a, 85).

The queen established a separate chancery and courts at the castle, enabling the future increase in crown control of the lordship and borough (James 2002, 442). Hugh de Cressingham, also royal Treasurer at Carmarthen, was her steward, in which he was accompanied by Robert de Bures by 1290 (Owen 1911, 37-9, 41).

1289-90 – The Valences persisted in claims to jurisdiction in Haverford, against the queen's officials there (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 330-1, 398; Edwards 1935, 170; Owen 1911, 34-44; Rees 1975, 88, 366).

1290 (Nov) – Queen Eleanor died, and her share of Haverfordwest reverted to her husband the king (Walker 2002b, 162).

1291 (Jan) – King Edward I granted Walter de Pederton (later Justiciar of south Wales), the custody and constableship of Haverfordwest Castle, along with the queen's other estates in west Wales (Owen 1911, 5-6). This was revised as a four-year lease, including the town of St Clears, in 1292 (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1272-1307*, 287, 302; Owen 1911, 5-6).

Nb. Ron Walker felt that the lease did not include Haverfordwest Castle, which he believed was instead leased to Walter Hakelut (Walker 2002b, 162); this is not however suggested in the sources that he cited.

1291 (Nov) – King Edward I granted the burgesses of Haverfordwest further privileges, based on the Hereford charter of 1256, which had been granted to a number of other west Wales charters including Cardigan and Carmarthen; they included the right to elect three men from whom the castle constable would choose a bailiff (Ballard and Tait 1923, lv, lxxxx, 26; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 406; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-36*, 33-4; Hemmeon 1914, 158 n. 1; Owen 1911, 130).

1293-4 – The Valences persisted in claims to jurisdiction in Haverford (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 49, 114; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1367-70*, 91-2; Owen 1911, 34-44; Rees 1975, 104).

1296 (Jan) – Walter de Pederton was succeeded as 'keeper of the castle and town of Haverford, and the town of St Clears' by Queen Eleanor's steward Hugh de Cressingham (Owen 1911, 6); he was appointed Treasurer of Scotland later that year.

1297 (Sept) – Hugh de Cressingham died in Scotland; as Justiciar, Walter de Pederton took Haverfordwest Castle into the king's hands (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1272-1307*, 368, 391; Owen 1911, 7).

1297-8 – The crown officer Walter Hakelut was granted 'custody of the castle and town of Haverford, and St Clears', renewed in March 1300 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 496, 576; Owen 1911, 7-8).

1297-1303 – William de Valence's widow Joan continued their claim to jurisdiction in Haverford (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 258-9; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1301-07*, 90-1; Edwards 1935, 212-13; Rees 1975, 251-2, 393-4).

***c.*1300** – By the end of the thirteenth century, there were an estimated 390 burgage plots in Haverfordwest (James 2002, 442), making it one of Wales's largest boroughs; only another seven Welsh towns possessed over 200 burgages (Soulsby 1983, 23).

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

1301 (Feb) – King Edward I's son Edward (later Edward II) was created Prince of Wales, receiving all Crown lands in Wales including the castle and manor of Haverford (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 576; Colvin *et al*. 1963, 671; Owen 1911, 8). Walter Hakelut was retained as his 'bailiff' of Haverford (Owen 1911, 9). No building work at Haverfordwest Castle is implied.
      Maud Mortimer died, having given her third of the lordship of Haverford to her son Roger Mortimer 'of Chirk' (Walker 2002b, 161).

1307 (July) – King Edward I died. Succeeded by his son Edward II.
      Hugh de Paunton was appointed the king's 'keeper of the castle, town and honor of Haverford' in August 1307 (Owen 1911, 10).

1308 (Nov) – King Edward II granted the 'castle and town' of Haverfordwest to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, for life (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-10*, 145; Owen 1911, 10; Phillips 1972, 246). This brought a (temporary) end to the jurisdictional dispute with the lordship of Pembroke.
      Aymer retained Hugh de Paunton as his steward of Haverford, alternating with Richard Symond (Phillips 1972, 292).
      Haverfordwest was among the many ports commanded to supply ships for the Scots campaign (Owen 1911, 10).

1317 (Nov) – Aymer de Valence's grant of Haverfordwest was upgraded to include his heirs (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317-21*, 47; Owen 1911, 11; Phillips 1972, 246).

1322 – Roger Mortimer of Chirk rebelled; after his defeat, his third of Haverfordwest lordship was forfeited to the Crown (Walker 2002b, 161).

1323 (Oct) – Aymer de Valence visited Pembrokeshire (Phillips 1972, 334-5; Walker 2002a, 99), possibly including Haverfordwest.

1324 (June) – Aymer de Valence died without issue (Phillips 1972, 3; Walker 2002a, 100); the inquisition of his lands in the lordship was held at Haverfordwest (Owen 1911, 113-16). Haverfordwest was taken into Crown hands. King Edward II re-appointed Aymer's officer Richard Symond to the stewardship of his Pembrokeshire lands, including the castle and lordship of Haverford (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1319-27*, 334-5; Owen 1911, 12, 61-2). Aymer's widow, Mary de St Pol, was pressured to surrender her dower rights in Haverford (Phillips 1972, 234, 246).
      Up to 360 burgage plots are estimated in the town (Beresford 1988, 67-8, 567; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202; Soulsby 1983, 141). Compare the 220 burgages at Pembroke and Tenby (Beresford 1988, 67-8).

1325 (June) – Haverfordwest Castle, along with all royal castles in south Wales, was victualled and munitioned against the Scots (Owen 1911, 150).
      Haverfordwest was among the many ports commanded to supply ships for the Scots campaign (Owen 1911, 150).

1326 (Jan) – Richard Symond was replaced as 'keeper of the king's castle, town and land of Haverford' by Robert de Penres, lord of Penrice (Owen 1911, 12, 44).

1327 (Feb-March) – The 'borough of Haverford' and the castle were granted to Isabella, Edward II's queen (and regent 1326-30), for life (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327-30*, 66-9; Owen 1911, 13, 63). Aymer de Valence's widow, Mary de St Pol, relinquished her rights in

Haverford, and in compensation was granted lands in England (*Cal. Close Rolls 1327-30*, 109; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1334-38*, 250; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1338-40*, 242; Owen 1911, 12).

1327 (Sept) – King Edward II was murdered. He was succeeded by his son, Edward III, under the regency of Queen Isabella until 1330.

1330 – The Mortimer third of Haverford lordship was seized by Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, first Earl of March, who was arrested for treason in November (Walker 2002b, 164).

His partner, Queen Isabella, was also arrested for treason. Haverfordwest was taken into King Edward III's hands, although custody of the castle nominally remained in Mortimer's hands, despite his execution in November 1330 (Owen 1911, 66).

1331 (Jan-Feb) – King Edward III appointed Guy de Brian, lord of Laugharne, 'keeper and steward of the castle, town and lordship of Haverford' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-34*, 225-6, 271; Owen 1911, 14, 66). The Mortimer share of the lordship had been forfeited to the Crown and was in the custody of Richard Symond, steward of Pembroke (Owen 1911, 14).

1331 (Nov) – The castle and borough of Haverford 'and appurtenances' were re-assigned to Queen Isabella, who had been absolved, by her son King Edward III (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-34*, 225-6). In March 1332, this was upgraded to a full grant, for life (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-34*, 271, 530; Owen 1906, 202; Owen 1911, 15, 151-2).

1343 (May) – King Edward III's eldest son Edward (the 'Black Prince') became Prince of Wales, receiving all Crown lands in Wales (Ludlow 2014, 23). Haverfordwest remained in Isabella's hands, under her steward and constable William Harald, but it was subject to a reversionary clause in which the Black Prince would receive the castle and lordship upon her death (Colvin *et al*. 1963, 671; Owen 1911, 17). He ordered a survey of the castle, in anticipation (Owen 1911, 117-18).

1350s – Haverfodwest town seems to have been badly hit by the Black Death in, as a decrease in trade is recorded in the customs returns (James 2002, 452).

1358 (Aug) – Queen Isabella died, in possession of Haverfordwest (Owen 1911, 17). A survey of the castle and lordship was undertaken (Owen 1911, 118-19); the castle needed £100 worth of repairs.

1359 (July) – The 'castle, town and lordship of Haverford' were delivered to Edward the Black Prince (Owen 1911, 17). Until at least 1362, however, its officers seem to have been the king's appointments (Owen 1911, 60, 167; Lewis 1913, 64).

Plague halved the town's population (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202).

1367 (Oct) – Edward the Black Prince granted the 'castle, town and lordship of Haverford' to his knight Thomas de Felton, for life (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1377-81*, 604; Colvin *et al*. 1963, 671; Owen 1911, 17-18, 67, 86 n. 1), probably as a reward for his service under the prince in France. However, administration of the lordship, and the courts, remained in the hands of the prince's officers (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1374-77*, 22), and Felton was described merely as 'constable' in 1376 (Owen 1911, 161).

1369 – Haverfordwest's relationship with the county courts at Pembroke was again under review (Owen 1911, 45-50).

1374 (Oct) – Thomas de Felton's grant of Haverfordwest was ratified. Stewardship of the lordship remained in the prince's hands, along with the courts; the 'house in which courts are held' was mentioned, presumably meaning the borough courts and referring to the Guildhall by St Mary's Church (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1374-77*, 22).

1376 (June) – Edward the Black Prince died (Walker 2002b, 163). His widow Joan of Kent received one-third of the lordship of Haverford in dower (Rees 1975, 414-5), which she held until her death in 1385.

Thomas de Felton continued to hold the remainder of the lordship, now with crown officers at the castle; King Edward III re-appointed William de Skipwith 'steward of

Haverford', as he had been under the Black Prince (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1374-77*, 304; Owen 1911, 17).

1376-7 – David Cradock replaced William de Skipwith as steward of the king's lordship of Haverford (Owen 1911, 60, 70).

1377 (June) – King Edward III died; succeeded by his grandson Richard II.

1377-80 – David Cradock retained stewardship of the king's lordship of Haverford (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1377-81*, 378; Owen 1911, 70-2).
    In 1380, the office of king's justiciar of Haverford was created, and awarded to Cradock, with the command that he should not interfere with the judicial rights of the earldom of Pembroke within the lordship (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1377-81*, 570; Owen 1911, 50, 70-2, 95 n. 6).

1386-1481 – Rents in Haverfordwest were static throughout this period. They suggest 422 burgages were present, 127 of which were 'decayed' ie. vacant in 1474 (Charles 1967, 1).

1381 (May) – King Richard II appointed John de Clanvowe 'steward of the king's lordship of Haverford, and constable of the castle', for life; a survey of the lordship was commissioned (Owen 1911, 18).

1385 (Aug) – Thomas de Felton and Joan of Kent both died (Walker 2002b, 163). John de Clanvowe was given the 'castle, town and lordship of Haverford', as a full grant and for life, on condition that he 'safeguard the castle at his own cost' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-89*, 8, 14; Colvin *et al*. 1963, 671; Owen 1911, 17, 20); he is called 'lord' of Haverfordwest in 1388 (Owen 1911, 163). However, the financial machinery within the lordship remained under royal control (Owen 1911, 86-94), while in 1387 the constable, Maurice Wyn, also appears to have been acting for the Crown (Owen 1911, 162). Clanvowe died between 1388 and 1391 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-89*, 379; Owen 1911, 21, 153).

1385 (Dec) – King Richard II issued a charter granting the burgesses of Haverfordwest freedom from paying 'quayage' and 'murage' tolls (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-36*, 33-4; Owen 1911, 132).

1391 (Jan) – King Richard II granted Haverfordwest to his half-brother John, Earl of Huntingdon (and later Duke of Exeter), 'as it was held by John Clanvowe, deceased' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-96*, 15, 70, 208; Owen 1911, 21).

1392 (Feb) – Haverfordwest had reverted to the king, who appointed Maurice Gwyn steward and receiver of the lordship; John Penros was appointed its Justiciar in May (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-96*, 24, 56, 650; Owen 1911, 51-2, 76-7, 86-91).

1393 (Jan) – The 'castle, town and lordship of Haverford' were granted to Richard II's kinsman Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, 'as held by Edward [the Black Prince]', for life and on condition that he 'safeguard the castle at his own cost' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-96*, 208, 210; Colvin *et al*. 1963, 671; Owen 1911, 21, 153-5; Rees 1975, 125-6).

1394 (Sept-Oct) – King Richard II stayed at Haverfordwest Castle on 16 September, 19-28 September and 1-2 October, on his way to Ireland (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-96*, passim).

1396 (Oct) – Richard II's new queen Isabella was granted the earldom of Pembroke on their marriage (Owen 1892, 25-6; Wylie 1884, 108, 121); it has been suggested that Haverford formed part of the grant (Owen 1906, 202). Sir Thomas Percy was granted custody of her lordships of Pembroke and Cilgerran (Owen 1892, 25-6; Rees 1975, 125; Turvey 2002, 197).

1399 (May) – King Richard II stayed at Haverfordwest Castle on 15, 17-19, 20-1, 22-6 and 28 May, on his way to Ireland (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396-99*, passim).

1399 (June) – King Richard II was murdered; succeeded by his usurper Henry IV.

His widow Isabella retained a third of Pembroke (and Haverford?) in dower (Wylie 1884, 108, 121, 130-1).

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

1402 (March) – Sir Thomas Percy was appointed Justiciar of South Wales and Royal Lieutenant in Pembrokeshire, in response to the Glyndŵr rising (Turvey 1990, 154; Turvey 2002, 202). The lordships of West Wales begun mobilisation in July (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401-05*, 139), and Haverfordwest Castle was equipped in September, and 12 archers were sent there (Owen 1911, 164-5; Turvey 1990, 155; Turvey 2002, 203).

1403 (July) – Percy defected to the rebels, and was executed (King 1999, 37; Turvey 2002, 205, 210). Haverfordwest reverted to the Crown in the person of King Henry IV, who was styled 'lord of Haverford' (Owen 1911, 25, 86-91), and his constable Thomas Sturmyn (Owen 1911, 171-2).

1403 (Sept) – The lordship of Haverford was bestowed upon the king's son Henry, Prince of Wales. The castles at Haverfordwest, Pembroke and Tenby were provisioned, and given strong garrisons against Glyndŵr (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401-05*, 295; Owen 1911, 25, 165; Turvey 1990, 155; Wylie 1884, 375).

1404 (Nov-Dec) – Pembrokeshire was devastated by Glyndŵr's forces, and Haverfordwest put under siege; the siege was lifted before Christmas (Turvey 1990, 162; Turvey 2002, 212).

1405 (July) – King Henry IV was at Haverfordwest 8 July (Owen 1911, 25-7). Roland Lenthall had been appointed constable, on condition that he was resident at the castle (Griffiths 2002, 228-9; Owen 1911, 25-7, 165-6; Turvey 2002, 210)

1405 (Aug) – Haverfordwest town, but not the castle, was taken by a combined force of Glyndŵr's followers and their French allies (Turvey 1990, 163; Turvey 2002, 213).
The Glyndŵr rebellion badly affected the town, and recovery was slow (James 2002, 452; Turvey 1990, 167-8).

1404-5 – An account mentioned 'six town gates' (Owen 1911, 87 n. 7), only five of which have been located with any certainty (see **Section 3.1** and Fig. **23**; James 2002, 446). The sixth gate has been suggested to have occupied the southern line of the Castleton wall, just south of St Martin's Church, leading from Perrot Avenue (Soulsby 1983, 141).
The chamber over the Castleton west gate, 'next to St Martin's Church', had been rented by the church chaplain (Owen 1911, 28, 91).

1426 (March) – Haverfordwest remained in Crown hands, in the person of Henry VI. Roland Lenthall was his constable there, as in 1405, but as tenant for life (King 1999, 37), and is referred to (informally) as 'Lord of Haverford' (Owen 1911, 52).

1442 (Jan) – Roland Lenthall was constable and steward of the 'castle, town and lordship of Haverford West', but a reversionary grant of these offices, to come into effect upon Lenthall's death, was made to Geoffrey Pole (Owen 1911, 28).

1448 (June) – Geoffrey Pole's reversionary grant was changed to one in favour of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who in 1443 had already been granted the reversion of the earldom of Pembroke (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1446-52*, 174-5; Owen 1911, 28).

1450 (Nov) – Roland Lenthall died (Owen 1911, 123). In the same year, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, fell from power before receiving Haverfordwest, and was murdered (King 1999, 37).

1451 (Jan) – With the death of Lenthall and de la Pole, the reversionary grant to Geoffrey Pole came into effect, namely of the offices of constable and steward of the 'castle, town and lordship of Haverfordwest', on behalf of the Crown, for life (Owen 1911, 29, 86-94).

1455 (March) – A grant of the 'castle, town and lordship of Haverford' to Henry VI's son Edward of Lancaster, the new Prince of Wales, was confirmed (Owen 1911, 29). This was perhaps a measure towards the consolidation of crown authority in west Wales (Griffiths 2002, 239). Prince Edward was killed at the Battle of Tewkesbury in 1471.

1460 – The 'castle, town and lordship of Haverfordwest' were included in the lands granted to Richard, Duke of York, when he was nominated as King Henry VI's heir (Griffiths 2002, 242; Owen 1911, 30). He was killed at the Battle of Wakefield in December 1460, and was succeeded by his son Edward.

1461 (March) – The Lancastrian King Henry VI was overthrown by Edward Duke of York, who was crowned Edward IV in June 1461. Haverfordwest remained in his hands (Owen 1911, 30).

1462 (Feb) – King Edward IV granted the 'castle, town and lordship of Haverford West' to William Herbert of Raglan (Justice of South Wales) for 20 years, along with custody of the earldom of Pembroke and other castles in west Wales (Owen 1911, 30). The grant was re-issued in 1466, to include his male heirs (Griffiths 2002, 244; Owen 1911, 30).

1464-68 – Irrespective of the above grants, the financial machinery within the lordship of Haverford was under Crown control between 1464 and 1468 (Owen 1911, 86-91).

1468 (Sept) – William Herbert was created Earl of Pembroke (Griffiths 2002, 244; King 1999, 37).

1469 (July) – William Herbert was executed after the Battle of Edgecote (King 1999, 37). Haverfordwest and the earldom of Pembroke reverted to the Crown during the minority of his son and heir William Herbert II.

1469 (Nov) – The Yorkist John Dwnn was appointed constable and steward of the 'castle, town and lordship of Haverford West', and stewardship of Pembroke, Llansteffan and Cilgerran, during William Herbert II's minority (Griffiths 1972, 187; Owen 1911, 30).

1470-71 – King Henry VI briefly returned to the throne, from October 1470 until April 1471. The Lancastrian Jasper Tudor was restored to the earldom of Pembroke, and received the lordship of Haverford (Griffiths 2002, 245), but went into exile in 1471.

1471 (July) – King Edward IV's son Edward (later Edward V) was created Prince of Wales, receiving all Crown lands in Wales including freehold of the manor of Haverford; the grant was confirmed in July 1472 (Owen 1911, 31). The prince received issues from the lordship such as tallage (Owen 1911, 53), but its administrative machinery was under the king's control until 1481 (Griffiths 2002, 246-7; Owen 1911, 86-94, 134). Haverfordwest Castle itself passed to William Herbert II, along with the earldom of Pembroke, but on nominal terms as 'constable of Haverford Castle and steward of Prince Edward's lordship' (Owen 1911, 53-4, 95 n. 8, 134, 167-8).

1473-4 – The borough Guildhall, termed the '*praetorium*' in 1473-4 (Owen 1911, 135-40), was remodelled in the late fifteenth century; it overlay a meat shambles (James 2002, 446).

1474 – 167 plots in the town were wholly or partly unoccupied (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202; Owen 1911, 135-40).

1477-9 – Monthly courts were recorded at Haverfordwest Castle, under Herbert's steward Henry Wogan (Owen 1911, 53-4). The exchequer for the lordship, at the castle, was first recorded in 1477-78 (Owen 1911, 168).

1479 (July) – William Herbert the Younger exchanged the earldom of Pembroke with Edward, Prince of Wales, for the earldom of Huntingdon; confirmed in 1482 (Griffiths 2002, 246; Owen 1911, 30 n. 6, 55; Owen 1918, 44).

The exchange ended Herbert's nominal position at Haverfordwest Castle (Owen 1911, 54-5). Sir William Young, one of the prince's commissioners, was appointed steward of Haverford, and also of Pembroke in 1480 (Griffiths 1979, 159; Griffiths 2002, 247; Owen 1911, 60).

1479 – Prince Edward granted the burgesses of Haverfordwest a Charter of Incorporation, establishing a mayor, sheriff and two bailiffs (Charles 1967, 1; James 2002, 453). The mayor took over the duties of the steward of the lordship within the borough, which became independent of the rule of the castle (Charles 1967, 2).

In addition, Haverfordwest's status as a county in itself was enacted, at least informally, by this charter in which it was designated the 'county of the town of Haverfordwest'; succeeding documents frequently referred to it in these terms (for instance in 1528), while the town was henceforth described separately from the rest of the lordship (ie. Rhos) in the accounts (Owen 1911, 55 and n. 3). Its county status was not however formalised until 1543 (Charles 1967, 1).

The charter ushered in a period of renewed prosperity for the town (James 2002, 453).

1481 (Feb) – Sir William Young was replaced as steward of Haverford and Pembroke by the queen's kinsman Sir Richard Haute (Griffiths 2002, 249; Owen 1911, 169).

1483 (April) – King Edward IV died. He was briefly succeeded by his son the Prince of Wales, as Edward V. In June, Edward V was deposed by his uncle, who was crowned Richard III in July.

1483 (May) – Edward V granted his kinsman Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham and Justiciar of South Wales, the 'castle and lordship of Westhaverford', along with Narberth and Cilgerran (Colvin *et al*. 1963, 671; Griffiths 2002, 249; Owen 1911, 31). Stafford was executed for treason in November 1483 (King 1999, 37), and Haverfordwest reverted to the Crown in the person of Richard III.

1484 (Jan) – King Richard III appointed Richard Williams, an usher of the king's chamber, constable and steward of the 'castle, town and lordship of Haverford West', for life (Owen 1911, 31, 55). Williams was to acquire other offices in Pembrokeshire, including the constableship of Pembroke and Tenby castles, and was in command of Pembroke during Henry Tudor's invasion threat (Griffiths 2002, 250; King 1999, 38).

1485 (Aug) – Henry Tudor was at Haverfordwest on 8 August (Griffiths 2002, 252; Roberts 2015, 94), on his way to Bosworth where he defeated Richard III. He was crowned Henry VII in October.

King Henry's uncle, Jasper Tudor, was formally restored to the earldom of Pembroke in December 1485 (Griffiths 2002, 254).

1488 (March) – King Henry VII granted Jasper Tudor, and his male successors, the 'castle, town and lordship of Haverfordwest', Cilgerran, and other lands (Owen 1911, 32).

1495 (Dec) – Jasper Tudor died without issue. Haverfordwest, the earldom of Pembroke, and Cilgerran, reverted to the Crown in the person of Henry Duke of York, later King Henry VIII (King 1999, 38; Owen 1911, 81 n. 2, 142). The title of Earl of Pembroke fell into abeyance (Griffiths 2002, 255).

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1500 – 'Fee-farm' of the town of Haverfordwest was granted to the corporation, giving it responsibility for the rents and issues of the town as well as its government, and freeing it from feudal overlordship (Charles 1967, 1).

1509 (May) – Duke Henry appointed Gruffudd ap Rede to succeed John Walker as steward, chancellor and receiver in the 'county and lordship of Pembroke and Westhaverford' (Griffiths 1979, 204; Griffiths 2002, 256; Owen 1911, 55).

King Henry VII died.

1509 (June) – Duke Henry was crowned Henry VIII; he retained control of the earldom of Pembroke, and Haverfordwest (Owen 1911, 33).

1509 (Aug) – Gruffudd ap Rede died, and was succeeded by Wistan Browne as steward, chancellor and receiver of the lordships of Haverfordwest and Rhos (Owen 1911, 55). Browne was re-appointed in 1515 (Owen 1911, 56).

1517 – Henry VII's supporter Sir Rhys ap Thomas, with his son Gruffudd, replaced Browne as steward, chancellor and receiver of the 'manors' of Haverfordwest and Rhos (Griffiths 2002, 256; Owen 1911, 57). Sir Rhys held many offices in Wales including those of Justiciar and Chamberlain of south Wales (Ludlow 2014, 37).

1521 (Dec) – King Henry VIII had appointed John Stephens, Marshal of the King's Hall, constable of Haverfordwest Castle by 1521 (Owen 1911, 32, 171-2).

1525 (Aug) – Rhys ap Thomas died, predeceased by his son (whose place had been filled by his kinsman William Thomas of Aberglasney), and was succeeded by Ralph Edgerton as steward, chancellor and receiver of Haverfordwest and Rhos (Griffiths 2002, 256, 258 n. 141; Owen 1911, 57).

1526 (Feb) – King Henry VIII granted Robert Acton, page of the Privy Chamber, the reversion of the offices of constable and gatekeeper of Haverfordwest Castle, on the death of John Stephens (Owen 1911, 32). He was in office by 1532 (Fenton 1811, 212; Owen 1911, 125).

1532 (before Oct) – Ralph Edgerton had in turn been succeeded as steward of Haverfordwest by James Vaughan (Owen 1911, 124). Robert Acton was constable and gatekeeper of the castle (Owen 1911, 125, 171-2).

1532 (Sept) – Anne Boleyn was created Marchioness of Pembroke by King Henry VIII, before their marriage; she was also granted the lordship of Haverford with the castle (Griffiths 2002, 261; Owen 1911, 33).

1536 (May) – Anne Boleyn was executed. Haverfordwest reverted to King Henry VIII, and was to remain under Crown control (Owen 1911, 86-91).

1536 – The first Act of Union began the process of dividing Wales into shires and hundreds. Haverfordwest had emerged as the pre-eminent town in Pembrokeshire, becoming the unofficial county town (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202), and the Bishop of St Davids unsuccessfully petitioned Thomas Cromwell that Haverfordwest, rather than Pembroke, should be formalised as the county town of the new shire (Charles 1967, 1; Owen 1911, 144).

1536-7 – Haverfordwest Priory was dissolved, valued at £133 11s in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 (Caley *et al*. 1849, 444 n. a). In 1546 it was purchased by the Barlows of Slebech but was allowed to become ruinous (Caley *et al*. 1849, 444; Charles 1948, 184; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 206; Rees 2002, 76). It was in crown hands by 1577 (Owen 1897, *passim*; Owen 1903, 46).

1536-9 – The topographer John Leland visited Haverfordwest. He called it a 'walled town and castle', with 'three parish churches, one them [St Thomas] lying without the town in the suburb' (Smith 1906, 63).

1543 – The second Act of Union was passed, completing the division of Wales into shires, and modern Pembrokeshire came into being. Courts of Great Sessions were established in each shire (Ludlow 2014, 228; Owen 1911, 124 and n. 1).

Pembroke had remained the administrative centre for the old county until 1543: the county courts were recorded there in 1526-7 (Griffiths 2002, 260; Owen 1918, 110-13), while the exchequer at Pembroke Castle represented the county exchequer in the 1530s (Caley *et al*. 1846, 132) and prisoners of the county authorities were held at the castle until at least 1541 (Owen 1918, 254, 256-7, 740.

From 1543 onwards, the Sessions for the new county of Pembrokeshire – and prisoners of its authorities – were normally held at Haverfordwest, adding to its increasing regional status. Pembroke however remained the official county town (Howells 1987a, 85; Howell 1987, 325; Thorne and Howell 1987, 378) and it was the occasional

venue for the Sessions until later in the sixteenth century eg. in 1568 (Owen 1897, 447 n. 4, 449 n. 2).

But the second Act of Union also formalised Haverfordwest's status as a county in itself: the borough was withdrawn from the new county of Pembrokeshire, with its own MP, and was granted its own Great Sessions, quarter sessions and borough court, all of which were held in the borough Guildhall (Charles 1967, 11; Jones 1939, 307-8; Owen 1892, 11, 213 n. 2).

Haverfordwest Castle remained in royal hands, separate from borough administration, and was formalised as the seat of the Pembrokeshire county authorities.

1545-6 – The Great Sessions of Pembrokeshire were recorded at Haverfordwest Castle, and resident officers are suggested in the account (Owen 1918, 203 n. 2).

1560 – The borough corporation were commanded to allow the Pembrokeshire County Sessions to be held in their guildhall (Owen 1903, 47).

The Great Sessions for Pembrokeshire were initially held at Haverfordwest Castle (King 1999, 38; Owen 1903, 41, 46; Owen 1918, 203 n.2), but during the third quarter of the sixteenth century were increasingly held in the borough guildhall. While they occasionally srill met at the castle during the 1560s and early 1570s (King 1999, 38), they had effectively moved out by 1577 (Owen 1903, 41, 47); exactly the same process occurred at Carmarthen during the sixteenth century (Ludlow 2014, 227-9).

1567 – The chapel 'on the [town] bridge', and the almshouse next to it, are mentioned (Charles 1967, 11, 196); the chapel was dedicated to the Holy Trinity (James 2002, 449). The bridge was, by now, of stone (Owen 1897, 516). Haverfordwest lay on the pilgrim route to St Davids, perhaps providing a context for the bridge chapel.

1577 (May) – A survey of Haverfordwest Castle was undertaken for the Crown (Owen 1903, 39-41), while Sir Edward Mansell was 'Seneschal of Haverford':

'Within the Outer Ward the Justices of the Great Sessions do begin the same Sessions . . . for the county of Pembroke [but] the Justices are forced to sit in the Town Hall [ie. borough guildhall] in default of a convenient Shire Hall or court house in the castle which, in my poor opinion, would be made as well for purpose, as for the keeping of the courts concerning the lordship' (Owen 1903, 41); while the preliminaries of the Sessions appear still to have been held in the castle, the proceedings themselves were held in the guildhall. The move out was to become permanent, and was formalised in 1610 (Owen 1903, 41 n. 1).

Two of the three 'courts of the castle gate' were however still operational, and held in the outer ward; within them the freeholders of the lordship performed suit for their lands, fines were levied and various actions were tried (Owen 1903, 42).

1577 – Haverfordwest was apparently described as the 'best built, most civil and quickest occupied town in south Wales' (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202).

1596-8 – An account mentions the three Castleton town gatehouses, 'St Martin's Gate', 'Red Gate' (ie. northeast gate) and 'North Gate' (Charles 1967, 229, 236).

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

*c.***1600** – Haverfordwest was described by the topographer George Owen as 'a good town, wealthy and well-governed' (Owen 1906, 359).

Owen specified that only the Castleton area of the town was walled in stone (Owen 1897, 515).

1610 – The borough of Haverfordwest's Charter of Incorporation was renewed (Charles 1967, 2). The justices of Great Sessions of Pembrokeshire were empowered to hold their courts in the guildhall at Haverfordwest (Owen 1903, 41 n. 1). The prison cells in the castle, which became disused after 1577, were replaced by a new county gaol in the town called the 'Cock House' (Charles 1967, 73, 150, 154; Fenton 1811, 207 n. b; Freeman 1999, 42).

Presumably because it was not the county town of Pembrokeshire, John Speed produced no plan of Haverfordwest for his *Theatre of Great Britain* (1610).

1603-40 – Following a further survey, King James I (1603-20) abolished the offices of constable and porter at Haverfordwest Castle (Fenton 1811, 212), suggesting the castle community was minimal. King Charles I however revived them after 1620, appointing John Stepney as 'Governor of the castle' (Fenton 1811, 212); the constableship survived into the nineteenth century as a sinecure.

1642 (Aug) – The first Civil War began. Haverfordwest Castle had remained in the hands of the Crown, via its governors and the county authorities of Pembrokeshire, and was still separate from the borough administration; it also housed the county armoury for Pembrokeshire (Howells 1987b, 157).

1642 (Nov) – However Haverfordwest, along with Pembroke and Tenby, was garrisoned for Parliament before November (Charles 1967, 12; Mathias 1987a, 173). Otherwise Pembrokeshire, like the rest of Wales, was Royalist, under Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove, Earl of Carbery and commander-in-chief for the king in south Wales (Ludlow 2014, 231).

1643 (Sept) – Haverfordwest fell to the Royalists on 8 September, and was garrisoned for the king by the Earl of Carbery (Charles 1967, 13; Mathias 1987a, 177). Its Parliamentary garrison had withdrawn to Pembroke, perhaps in a bid to recover Tenby which had been taken in August.

Carbery begun 'making and strengthening bulwarks, walls, gates and turnpikes' around Haverfordwest (Charles 1967, 14; Mathias 1987a, 184).

1644 (Feb) – Haverfordwest was recaptured by Parliamentary forces, under the command of Major-General Rowland Laugharne, on 25 February (Charles 1967, 13); its Royalist garrison had abandoned the town and castle for Carmarthen (Mathias 1987a, 183). Tenby was also recaptured on 7 March (Charles 1967, 14), followed by Carmarthen in April (Ludlow 2014, 232).

Laugharne garrisoned Haverfordwest and continued Carbery's fortification (Charles 1967, 14; Mathias 1987a, 174, 183-4).

1644 (June-July) – The new Royalist commander in west Wales, Colonel Charles Gerard, recaptured Carmarthen in June (Ludlow 2014, 232), proceeding to blockade Haverfordwest (Charles 1967, 14).

1644 (July) – Haverfordwest fell to Gerard (Mathias 1987a, 191-2; Phillips 1898, 29). King Charles was however defeated at Marston Moor, and Gerard was obliged to take part of his army to England.

1644 (Sept) – The Royalists withdrew from Haverfordwest, which was again garrisoned for Parliament (Mathias 1987a, 192; Phillips 1898, 29).

1645 (late April) – Gerard again took Haverfordwest for the king; the Parliamentarians withdrew to Tenby and Pembroke (Charles 1967, 14; Mathias 1987a, 194).

1645 (summer) – King Charles was defeated at Naseby in June. Gerard and his army were recalled to England, leaving a garrison at Haverfordwest (Charles 1967, 14; Mathias 1987a, 194). Laugharne and his army moved out from Tenby and Pembroke, to attack the Royalist forces left behind, enjoying a decisive victory at Colby Moor, near Wiston, on 1 August (Charles 1967, 14).

1645 (Aug-Sept) – Laugharne entered Haverfordwest on 2 August, and took the castle on 5 August. By 13 September the entire county was in his hands (Charles 1967, 14; Mathias 1987a, 195; Phillips 1898, 29). Carmarthen capitulated on 12 October (Ludlow 2014, 232). The first Civil War had come to a close in west Wales.

1648 (July-Oct) – Haverfordwest escaped the fighting in the Second Civil War, and was not garrisoned (Mathias 1987b, 202), but Oliver Cromwell gave orders for the demolition of the castle in July (Carlyle 1872, 188-9; Charles 1967, 15). Work began immediately,

but the hand-tools used were insufficient to carry it out effectively: the corporation requested that Cromwell should provide them with gunpowder, to be charged to the county (Carlyle 1872, 189). Cromwell could not, apparently, spare the powder (Laws 1888, 348), so commanded that the inhabitants of the county be pressed into service to continue manual demolition (Carlyle 1872, 190). It appears to have been complete by 1650 (Charles 1967, 83, 90).

A charge of £20 4s 10d was imposed on the townsfolk for the demolition, badly affecting the town's already diminished finances; Haverfordwest, like the rest of Pembrokeshire, had been devastated by the effects of the war (Mathias 1987b, 209). The rest of the cost, which totalled over £150, was spread through Pembrokeshire (Charles 1967, 15, 82). 23 adults were liable for the charge in the Castleton (as 'St Martins Ward'), perhaps giving an idea of its population in 1648 (Charles 1967, 82).

1651-2 – Plague arrived in Pembrokeshire in October 1651, and stayed for 18 months. Haverfordwest was particularly badly hit with very heavy mortality in summer 1652 (Charles 1967, 15; Mathias 1987b, 211; Phillips 1898, 30). By April 1652, 60 victims were 'locked up within the gates in the Castleton' (Charles 1967, 106).

The mayor estimated the total population of the town, before the plague, as 2000 individuals (Charles 1967, 100).

THE EIGHTEENTH – TWENTIETH CENTURIES

1700-1800 – Haverfordwest increasingly took the bulk of maritime traffic from Pembroke and other Pembs. ports during the course of the eighteenth century (Donovan 1805, 336; Howell 1987, 294).

1726 – The medieval town bridge was rebuilt; repaired in 1829 (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 224).

1760s-70s – The borough guildhall was repaired, and the quay was rebuilt with contemporary warehousing (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202, 219; Parkinson 2002, 562).

1777 – The prison reformer John Howard visited the County Gaol in the town (known as the 'Cock House'). His report was damning (Howard 1777, 465-6). There were 6 cells on two storeys, the lower 'damp dungeons', the upper 'dirty and offensive', with neither an exercise yard nor sewage facilities. Five inmates were present.

1779-80 – Haverfordwest Castle had remained under the control of the Pembrokeshire County authorities. Following the Howard report, they purchased the castle site 'absolutely', buying out leasehold interests, and a new County Gaol was established in the inner ward to replace the county gaol in the 'Cock House' (Freeman 1999, 44, 54; Hancock 2020, 24; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 203-4; King 1999, 40).

1797 – 415 captives from the French landing at Fishguard, in 1797, were apparently housed in the new County Gaol (Freeman 1999, 45; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204). Otherwise the prison population reached a peak in 1818 with 59 inmates (Hancock 2020, 25).

*c.*1800 – The Borough Gaol, which stood next to the Guildhall adjoining St Mary's churchyard wall, moved to a new site on St Thomas's Green in *c.*1800 (Fenton 1811, 220).

The new gaol was visited by the reformer James Neild, in 1803, who produced an unfavourable report (Neild 1808, 258). It ceased to operate in 1822 when its inmates were moved to the County Gaol in the castle.

1820 – Although John Howard had initially approved of the new gaol (Freeman 1999, 45), some concern had been raised by James Neild here, too (Neild 1808, 256-8), and an entirely new gaol was built, in the castle outer ward, in 1820 (Freeman 1999, 46; King 1999, 40; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204).

1821 – The last execution in Pembrokeshire, a hanging for murder, was held at the castle (Freeman 1999, 50).

1822 – The gaol was reconstituted as a County and Borough Gaol, like many other county gaols including Carmarthen (Ludlow 2014, 241), taking inmates from the Borough Gaol on St Thomas's Green. It remained under the management of the Pembrokeshire County authorities (Freeman 1999, 47; Lewis 1849).

The Borough Gaol was converted into a lunatic asylum (Freeman 1999, 47; Lewis 1849 'Haverfordwest').

1820s-30s – Major urban infrastructure works were undertaken in Haverfordwest town, including the erection of a new bridge on a virgin site south of the existing bridge, alongside which the eastern approaches of the town were remodelled with the addition of new residential terraces (Victoria Place), all by the architect William Owen. A Shire Hall and a market hall were built, the town was equipped with gas lighting, and a new sewage system was installed (Lewis 1849, 'Haverfordwest'; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 202, 219; James 2002, 447).

1853 – The railway arrived at Haverfordwest. The town declined as a port, but it was an impetus for development to the southwest, in the Portfield area (Lloyd *et al* 2004, 203).

1871 – The gaol staff comprised a Governor, three Warders, a Matron and her assistant; there were 17 male prisoners, four females and two infants (*Pembroke County Guardian*).

1877 – Britain's gaols were nationalised, and their management taken out of the hands of County authorities (Ireland 2007, 116).

1878 – Haverfordwest Gaol closed, and its prisoners were moved to Carmarthen Gaol causing serious overcrowding there (Freeman 1999, 51; Ludlow 2014, 261, 345). The inner ward buildings were subsequently occupied by Pembrokeshire Constabulary (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 204)

1963 – The Police moved out of the castle, which was acquired by Pembrokeshire County Council (Freeman 1999, 51; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 203-4), in whose hands it remains.

1972 – Queen's Square, outside the entry to the castle outer ward, was redeveloped (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 224).

8.0 APPENDIX 3: ARCHAEOLOGICAL WATCHING BRIEF DURING GEOTECHNICAL WORKS – NOTES

8.1   The watching brief monitored the excavation of 3 test pits (TP1-TP3) positioned just outside and to the northeast of the inner ward of Haverfordwest Castle (Figure 1).
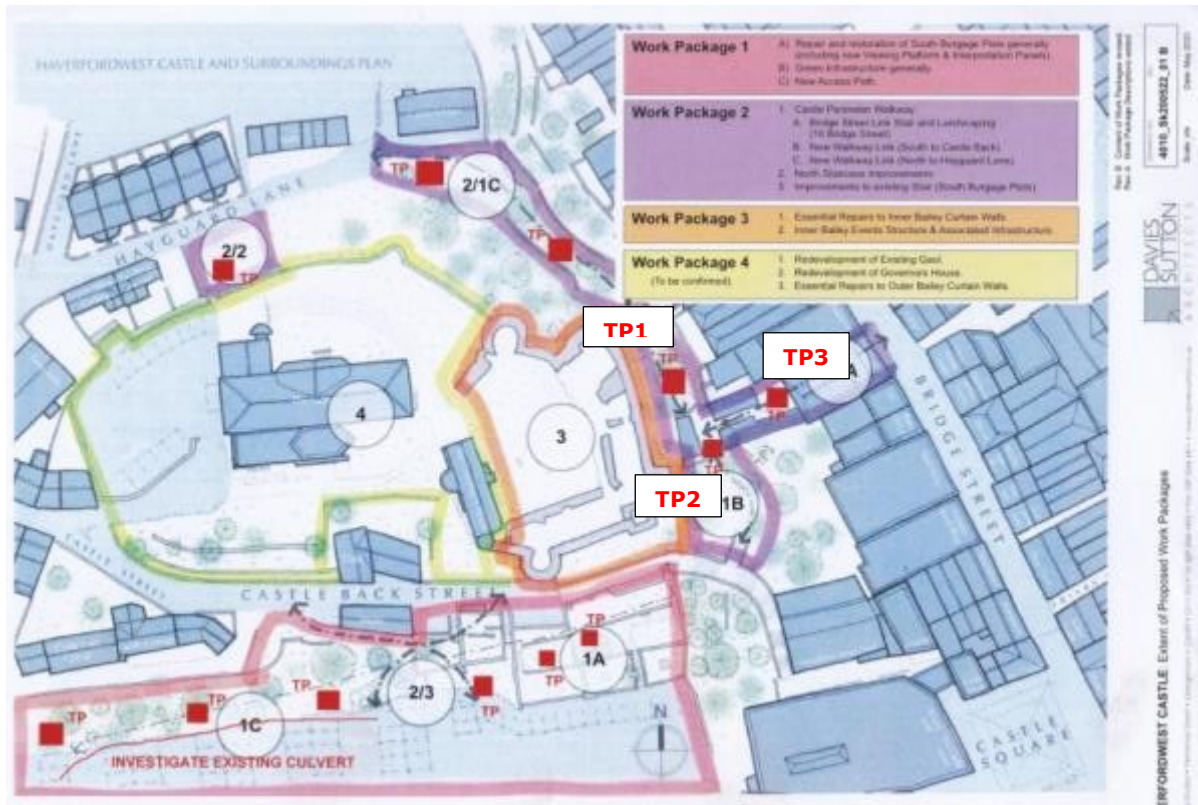
Figure 1: Plan of the proposed locations of the geotechnical test pits; as well as the location of TP1-TP3 monitored during the watching brief.

8.2   **Test Pit 1 (Photos 1-2)**

8.3   Within the base of Test Pit 1 the remains of a blackish brown silty clay [102] was revealed, measuring an exposed depth of 0.24m and containing fragments of modern glass and mortar.

8.4   Overlying the basal deposit was mid-greyish brown silty clay [101] which contained frequent flecks of mortar and measured 0.18m deep.

8.5   The topsoil contained within Test Pit 1 comprised light greyish brown silty clay [100] that measured an average depth of 0.10m and had been heavily truncated by rooting.

8.6   **Test Pit 2 (Photos 3-4)**

8.7   Sequentially the earliest deposit found within Test Pit 2 comprised light brownish black silty clay [201] which was very heavily truncated by roots and was organic in nature. This deposit measured 0.24m in depth and contained modern glass fragments.

8.8   The overlying topsoil [200] was formed of black silty clay and was also heavily rooted and very organic in nature.

8.9 **Test Pit 3 (Photos 5-6)**

8.10 Test Pit 3 was excavated several metres west of the location shown in Figure 1.

8.11 The basal deposit viewed within the confines of Test Pit 3 comprised light greyish brown silty clay [303] which contained frequent inclusions of oyster and whelk shell. This deposit measured an exposed depth of 0.36m.

8.12 Deposited over [303] were the remains of a mixed yellow and grey coloured clay layer [302]. This deposit measured around 0.14m deep and contained no dateable finds.

8.13 The remains of a cobbled surface [301] overlay [302] that had been constructed using sub-oval river cobbles bonded in a drystone fashion. The cobbles abutted a linear line of bricks to the north that could demark the edge of a former path.

8.14 The overlying topsoil was formed of dark brown organic rich clay [300] which measured an average depth of 0.04m deep.

8.15 The watching brief demonstrated that archaeological remains were only observed within Test Pit 3 and included a cobble surface. The excavation of Test Pits 1 and 2 revealed only recent deposits which it is suggested are the remains of modern landscaping works.

Photo 1: View south of Test Pit 1.

Photo 2: View west of Test Pit 1. 1m scale

Photo 3: View north of Test Pit 2. 1m scale

Photo 4: View north of Test Pit 2. 1m scale

Photo 5: View roughly west of Test Pit 3 showing revealed cobble surface. 1m scale

Photo 6: View roughly south of Test Pit 3 showing revealed cobble surface and brick edging. 1m scale