

HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE FLAGSHIP DEVELOPMENT, HAVERFORDWEST, PEMBROKESHIRE: STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE



Prepared by DAT Archaeological Services
For: Pembrokeshire County Council



DYFED ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST

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**HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE FLAGSHIP DEVELOPMENT, HAVERFORDWEST,
PEMBROKESHIRE:**

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

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**HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE FLAGSHIP DEVELOPMENT, HAVERFORDWEST,
PEMBROKESHIRE:**

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

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**HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE FLAGSHIP DEVELOPMENT,
HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE:
STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

DAT Archaeological Services were commissioned to produce a Statement of Significance for Haverfordwest Castle, a Scheduled Monument (Pe366).

Haverfordwest Castle's significance lies in the strong evidential value of the 12th to 14th century structures arranged around the Inner Ward, and northern edge of the Outer Ward, which provide important physical evidence to back up the historical value of a strategically and administratively significant castle site linked to major figures throughout the medieval period. Combined with this is the proven artefactual evidence of the buried resource and plentiful documentary evidence. The fact the site was repurposed as gaol and police station in the 18th and 19th centuries, and the physical evidence of this, is an important and distinctive element of this site. The dominant location of the castle, visually and historically, and its multifarious connections to the town of Haverfordwest, are of significant aesthetic and communal value as well.

There are elements of the 18th, 19th and 20th century developments that have affected the significance, through demolition of internal features, repair and rebuild of medieval masonry, and later 20th century additions and renovations to the castle and gaol. The diminishing use of and access to the site also offers the potential to improve the significance through the enhancement of public appreciation and understanding of the site.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Project Proposals and Commission

- 1.1.1 DAT Archaeological Services were commissioned by Pembrokeshire County Council, to produce a statement of significance to inform a proposed flagship development on Haverfordwest Castle, Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, centred on NGR SM 9531 1574 (Figures 1 & 2). The proposals are currently in the pre-planning stages of development.
- 1.1.2 Haverfordwest Castle is a Scheduled Monument (PE366) with upstanding remains of the castle also designated a Grade I listed building (Ref.12031), with later internal buildings of the former County Gaol (Ref.12033) and Governor's House (Ref.12032) Grade II listed. The castle is Scheduled as a monument of national importance "for its potential to enhance our knowledge of medieval defensive and domestic practices. The monument is well-preserved and an important relic of the medieval landscape. It retains significant archaeological potential, with a strong probability of the presence of both structural evidence and intact associated deposits. The scheduled area comprises the remains described and areas around them within which related evidence may be expected to survive" (Cadw Scheduling Description).
- 1.1.3 The proposed flagship development is part of a phased programme of works on the castle and its surrounds as part of a scheme of regeneration of these important heritage assets (Figure 3). The proposals for work within the Scheduled area are in the design phase, but a Statement of Significance is required as part of the heritage impact assessment looking at the potential impacts of development.
- 1.1.4 The requirement is based on the *Conservation Principles for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment in Wales*, published by Cadw in 2011. This sets out Cadw's approach to the protection and management of the historic environment, and is informed by six principles, identified as:
- Historic assets will be managed to sustain their values
 - Understanding the significance of historic assets is vital
 - The historic environment is a shared resource
 - Everyone will be able to participate in sustaining the historic environment
 - Decisions about change must be reasonable, transparent and consistent
 - Documenting and learning from decisions is essential
- 1.1.5 A detailed archaeological assessment of Haverfordwest Castle has been prepared by DAT Archaeological Services (Ludlow et al 2021) drawing together the available archaeological resource relating to the castle, and assessing the archaeological potential of the site. This work will form the basis of the Statement of Significance, and will be submitted alongside it. The purpose of this report is to provide Cadw and the local planning authority with the information they will require in respect of the proposed development, the requirements for which are set out in Planning Policy (revised edition 11, February 2021), Section 6, and Technical Advice Note (TAN) 24: The Historic Environment (2017).

1.2 Scope of the Project and Methodology

- 1.2.1 The scope of the assessment follows the guidance offered in 'Heritage Impact Assessment in Wales' (Cadw 2017), as well as making use of Conservation Principles for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment in Wales' (Cadw 2011), and 'Setting of Heritage Assets in Wales' (Cadw 2017). This assessment also conforms to the Standard And Guidance For Historic Environment Desk-Based Assessment as laid down by the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA 2014).
- 1.2.2 The 'Heritage Impact Assessment in Wales' (Cadw 2017) advises the main elements of the assessment should be:
- A statement explaining the objectives
 - A statement explaining significance
 - The justification for the work
 - A summary of the proposed work
 - An assessment of the impact of the proposals
 - Mitigation strategies.
- 1.2.3 The primary aim of the current stage of work is to establish the objectives and explain the significance. This will then feed in to the developers justification for the work, and allow them to finalise plans for the proposed work. Guidance on the potential impacts of proposals can be provided at this stage, but a detailed assessment of the impact and mitigation proposals are not possible until more definitive development plans have been drawn up.
- 1.2.4 In order to establish significance, the heritage values as laid out in Cadw's Conservation Principles (Cadw 2011) have been applied to this site. These values are:
- **Evidential Value** – the physical remains or surviving fabric of an historic asset. The contribution of documentary sources, pictorial records and museum collections to forming an understanding of an historic asset.
 - **Historical Value** – how historic assets through illustrative or associative values can connect the past with the present.
 - **Aesthetic Value** – the way in which people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from an historic asset through its form, external appearance or setting.
 - **Communal Value** – the social and economic values, and spiritual meanings, that an historic asset has for the people who relate to it.
- 1.2.5 The report utilises relevant information from a number of sources. These sources are laid out and examined in detail in the accompanying Archaeological Assessment (Ludlow et al 2021).
- 1.2.6 Subsequent to the Statement of Significance individual areas within and around the site have been examined and assessed, with some of their individual areas of significance highlighted. This work has been undertaken in order to provide greater detail and clarity in establishing development proposals around the site, and is provided as an Appendix to this Statement of Significance (Appendix I).

2. POLICIES AND GUIDANCE

- 2.1 The framework of national and regional legislation and policies that have a bearing on the historic environment within the planning process are laid out in detail in the accompanying Archaeological Assessment (Ludlow et al 2021).
- 2.2 At a national level the safeguards for the protection of Scheduled Monuments, Listed Buildings and Historic Parks and Gardens are incorporated into The Historic Environment (Wales) Act 2016, which amends the previous Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 and also the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990. The historic environment in the planning system is detailed in Chapter 6, 'Distinctive and Natural Places', within Planning Policy Wales (Ed.11, 2021), as required by the Planning (Wales) Act 2015, the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 and other key legislation. Guidance on how the planning system considered the historic environment is included in Technical Advice Note 24: The Historic Environment, which references the guidance used in the creation of this assessment.
- 2.3 At a regional level the local government strategy regarding the historic environment is included in the Pembrokeshire Local Development Plan (LDP), adopted in February 2013, running up to 2021, with the replacement LDP currently being reviewed. The historic environment is specifically dealt with in policy GN.38 – *Protection and Enhancement of the Historic Environment*.



Figure 1: Aerial photograph, as viewed from the southwest, taken in 1983 of Haverfordwest Castle (© DAT AP93-3.44)

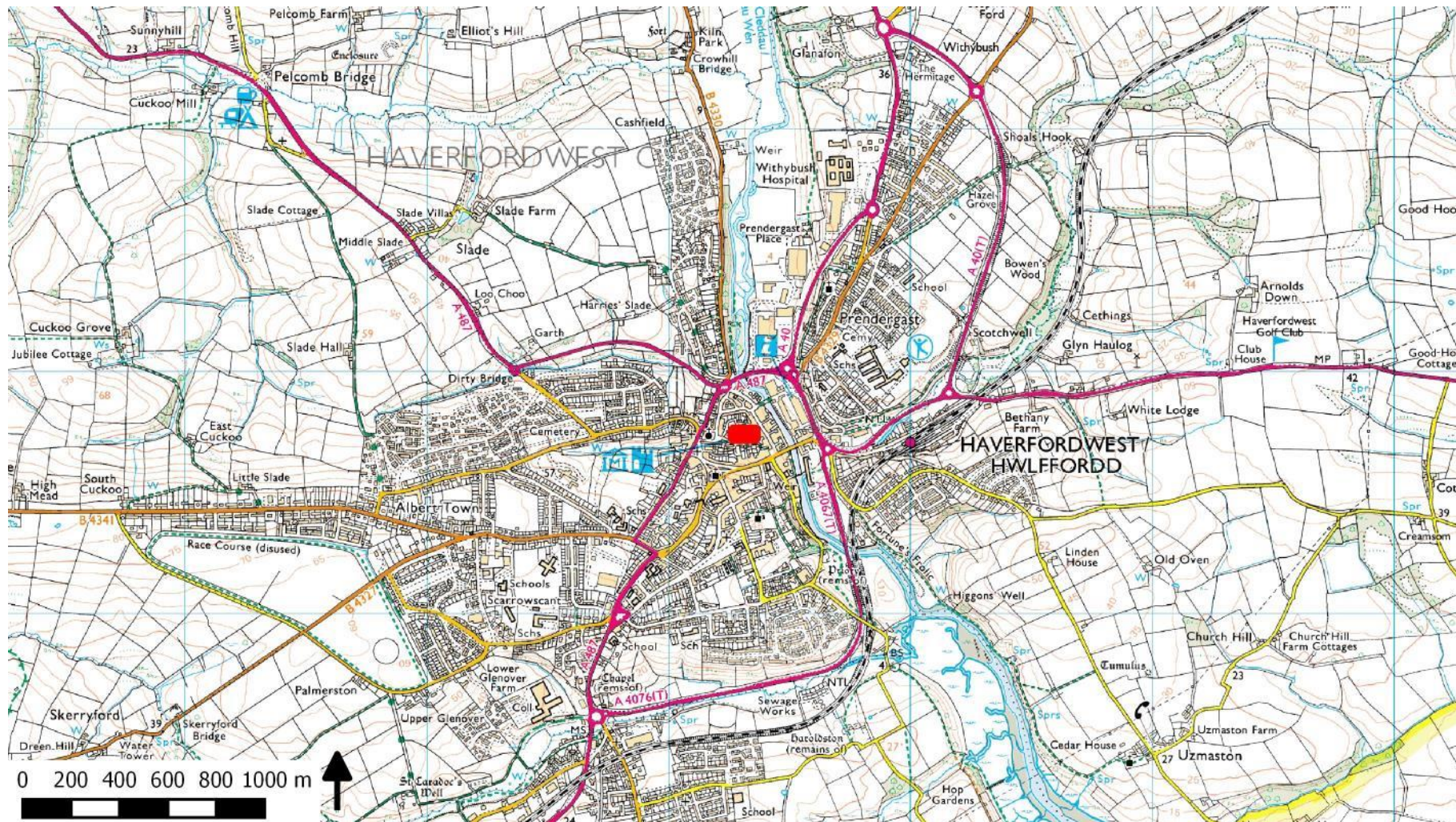


Figure 2: Location map showing the location of Haverfordwest Castle in red.

Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 scale Map with the permission of The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office,
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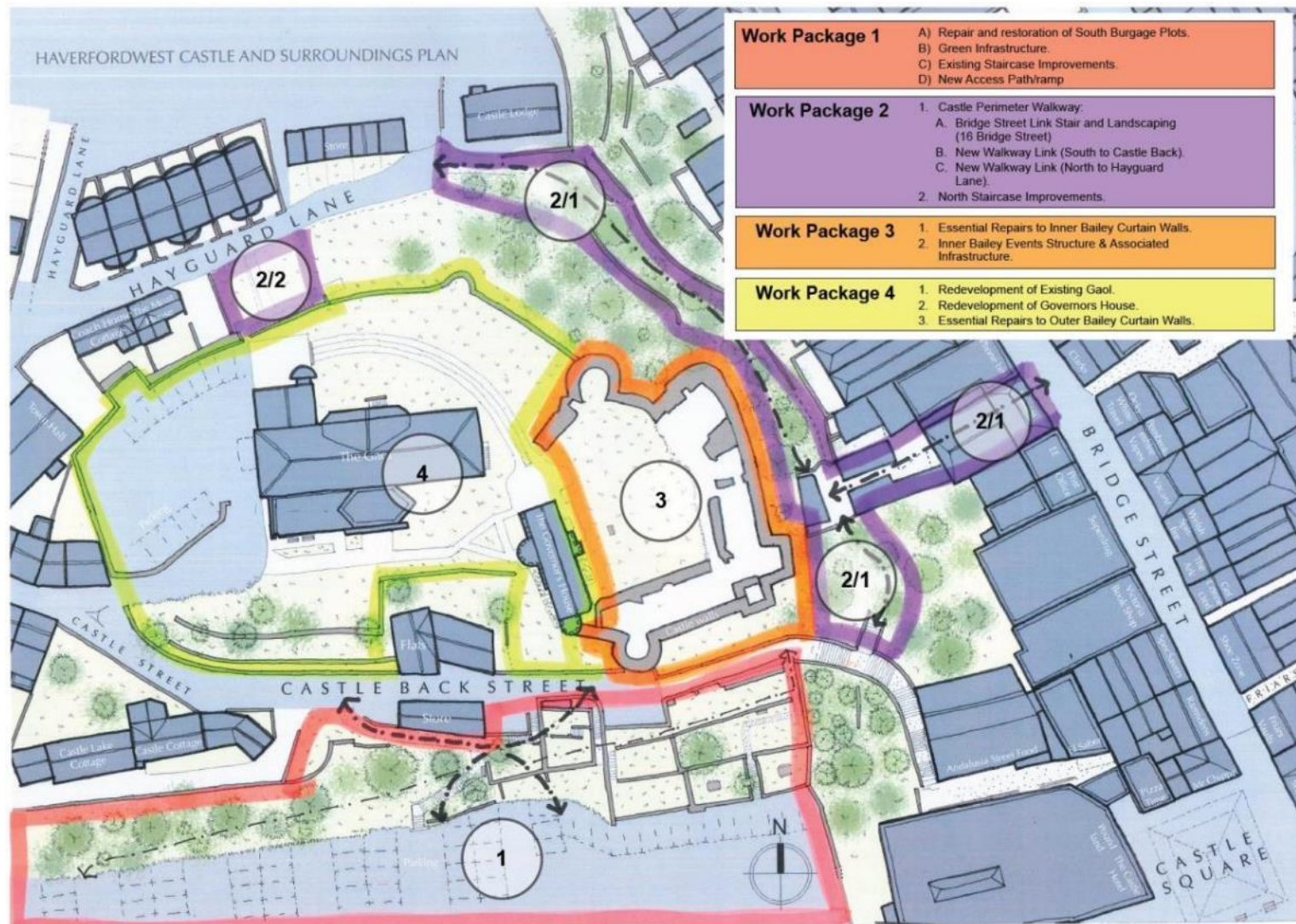


Figure 3: Plan showing defined areas of proposed work packages (supplied by client).

3 SITE DESCRIPTION

3.1 Location and layout

- 3.1.1 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.
- 3.1.2 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).
- 3.1.2 The castle comprises two baileys in line, defined by a deep ditch along the north and west sides which was largely infilled in the 19th century, and by scarping and terracing of the natural slope to the south; the steep natural slope on the east appears to be unaltered. The bulk of the visible medieval remains constitute the smaller eastern bailey, referred to as the 'Inner Ward', which has a polygonal plan. Medieval walling encircles the north, east and south sides. The western side of the Inner Ward is marked by a late 18th century 'Governor's House', remains of the later use of the site as a gaol.
- 3.1.3 To the west lies the larger 'Outer Ward', defined by partial medieval walling to the north, and post-medieval enclosure walling to the west and south. Occupying a prominent central location in this ward is the large former 19th century gaol building, more latterly used as the county record offices, but now standing empty.

3.2 Historical Development (based on Ludlow et al 2021)

12th – early 14th century

- 3.2.1 Not unusually for a castle, we have no precise dates for its foundation, but it was probably founded between 1108 and 1113 by Tancard, a Flemish settler, located on a navigable waterway, and from which the region of Rhos could be subdued.
- 3.2.2 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, sub-oval outer ward at Haverfordwest, though first mentioned in 1343 (Owen 1918, 117-18), may have been a necessary requirement from the first. The likely layout of the medieval town, mentioned from 1152-76, also suggests the outer ward was in place from an early date, indicating an original ringwork-and-bailey layout. It has been suggested that the outer ward ditch

was a new feature of c.1300. This is far from certain, but may indicate a smaller outer ward was later extended.

- 3.2.3 The castle and lordship remained in the hands of Tancards descendants, as vassals alternatively of the Crown and the Clare earls of Pembroke throughout the 12th century. 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.
- 3.2.4 In the early 13th century the castle was granted by King John to William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. It was then held by his sons, the 'younger' Marshal earls, until passing to Humphrey de Bohun II, lord of Brecon, in 1245-8. 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.
- 3.2.5 In 1288-9 the castle was acquired by Eleanor of Castile, queen to Edward I. It is generally considered that the palatial south and east ranges of the Inner Ward, and a garden terrace to the south immortalised as the 'Queen's Arbour', belong to her tenure. However, it is suggested (Ludlow et al 2021) that this work was largely the work of subsequent owners of the early to mid-14th century.

14th century

- 3.2.6 Aymer de Valence, early of Pembroke, held the castle from 1308-24, and it is argued that it was during this tenure that the south and east ranges were completed, if not begun, which also suits some of its stylistic attributes.
- 3.2.7 The castle was held by various loyal crown officers and high ranking peers throughout the 14th century, reverting to the crown in the early 15th century, although these were largely absentee holders. The outer ward may have become walled (replacing timber) by the mid-14th century. Some new building was undertaken, a new stable was built in the Outer Ward in 1387-8, and a tower was rebuilt, but the majority of the fabric still visible today was already in existence by the early 14th century.
- 3.2.8 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. Such encroachments reveal the 'dynamic interface' that existed between castle and town.

15th – mid-16th century

- 3.2.9 Haverfordwest town, but not the castle, fell to Glyndŵr's forces in 1405, but was soon recovered. The castle was strengthened following the attack, including a new tower built in the outer ward in 1407-8, probably the one that survives in the northwest corner.
- 3.2.10 The castle passed between various magnates of the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions during the Wars of the Roses, 1455-71, subsequently held by Jasper Tudor and briefly, Anne Boleyn. Building work during this period appears largely confined to repairs and little from the late medieval period can be

recognised in the surviving remains. There is mention of the exchequer in the outer gatehouse in the 1470s, but nothing now remains of this gatehouse.

Mid-16th to early 18th century

- 3.2.11 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. However, the 1543 Act established Haverfordwest Castle as the main seat of the courts of the Great Sessions for Pembrokeshire, prolonging its administrative life a little longer.
- 3.2.12 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 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.
- 3.2.13 The castle had lost any vestiges of a resident household by c.1600, and the offices of constable and gatekeeper were abolished soon afterwards. 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.
- 3.2.14 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. Only minor masonry work at the castle is specifically recorded during this time, suggesting the fabric was in reasonable condition and not 'decayed'. Oliver Cromwell ordered the castle's demolition in 1648. Only hand-tools appear to have been used as much fabric remains, 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. The castle thereafter appears to have remained an empty shell until the later 18th century.

18th to 20th century

- 3.2.15 The Pembrokeshire authorities purchased the castle site in 1779 and established a new County Gaol in the inner ward. 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.
- 3.2.16 Conditions soon proved unsatisfactory, and in 1820 an entirely new, and much larger gaol was built in the castle outer ward, which still survives. Some penal use of the inner ward continued: a treadmill was erected in the

southeast corner in 1820-1, while the medieval North Tower is said to have been used for executions until 1821. After the Gaol Acts of 1823 and 1865 stipulated the segregation of male and female prisoners, the Debtor's Block was used as a Female Wing and a Matron's House was built nearby in the late 1860s. There were normally between 20 and 40 prisoners, but the figure could rise to 70 or 80.

3.2.17 Britain's gaols were nationalised in 1877, and Haverfordwest gaol was closed the following year. The inner ward buildings were subsequently occupied by Pembrokeshire Constabulary, but the outer ward gaol remained disused. The Police remained until 1963, when the castle was acquired by Pembrokeshire County Council.

3.2.18 The 1820 gaol building in the outer ward was converted to a museum, after 1972 becoming the county record office, but now stands empty. The gaol buildings in the inner ward were demolished 1964-7. The Governor's House was converted into the town museum, while still occupies the building.

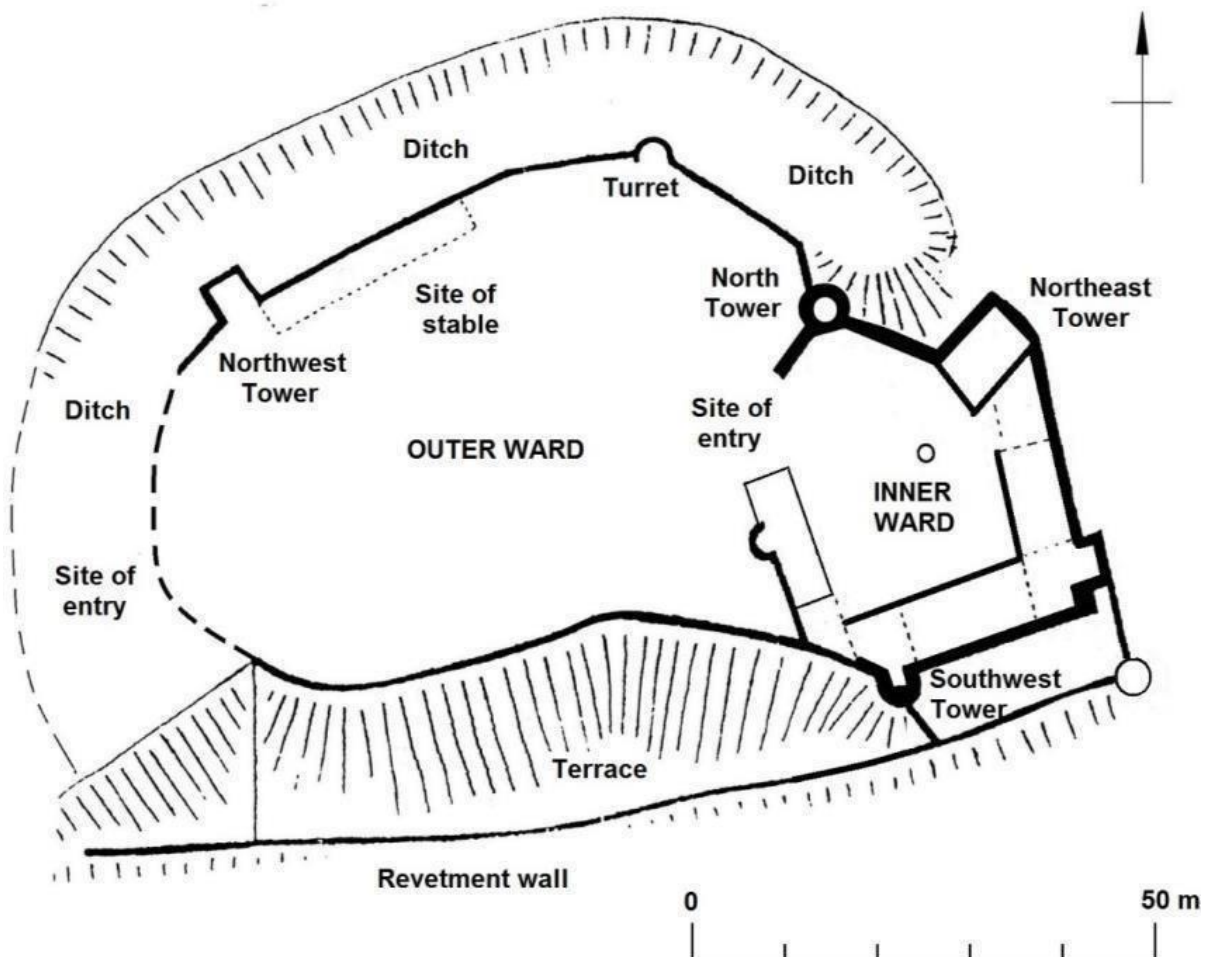


Figure 4: Sketch plan of the medieval remains at Haverfordwest Castle (adapted from Ray 1969).

4 HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE HERITAGE VALUES

4.1 Evidential Values

Physical evidence

- The site contains impressive upstanding medieval masonry remains, largely of 13th and 14th century date. These are concentrated on the Inner Ward, but also include the northern curtain of the Outer Ward. The visible remains are of a high architectural quality and combine significant defensive capabilities with a developing desire for comfort and display associated with some of the most powerful notables in 13th and 14th century society, potentially including the Queen of England.
- There are distinct elements within these remains, including two towers, one of which was known as the Brehinock Tower the other North Tower retains some internal features, the original keep, a high status east and south range with a projecting chapel turret, and an unusual Queens Arbour area to the exterior. Internal remains of these features were lost to 17th, 18th and 19th century development, as was the entire west range and main entrance gateway into the inner ward. 19th and 20th century developments have included repair works to the visible remains, including window infill, repointing and some rebuilding, such as the crude squaring off of the northern wall of the Inner Ward, all of which has adversely impacted upon the significance.
- The north curtain wall to the Outer Ward also includes surviving medieval features of significance. The removal of upper sections of the wall, and the modern stair access to the centre, have adversely impacted upon these remains.
- The broad phasing of the visible remains is understood, but finer detail remains to be studied. The Keep is perhaps the earliest surviving element to the castle, of 12th century date, but this then developed and was absorbed into the later high status eastern range of the castle, itself similar to the southern range but with some subtle differences. The adaptations of these structures into the late 18th century gaol add extra complexity to the upstanding remains.
- Haverfordwest was a significant centre of power in medieval Pembrokeshire, and yet the castle remains one of the few surviving examples of medieval life within the town. A section of potential town wall lies attached to the north side of the building survives as a low stone arch of uncertain function, but redevelopment at the main west entrance to the Outer Ward has lost this direct link to the town. The site does however have significant potential to improve this link, by allowing better access within and around these physical remains, and enhancing understanding of the site.
- The site includes two visible elements relating to the later use of the castle as a gaol and police station. The division between the Inner and Outer Wards is formed by the former Governor's House (now museum), the only visible remnant of the original late 18th century gaol, but a fine surviving example,

architecturally tied into the medieval castle remains. The impressive former 19th century gaol building dominates the Outer Ward. Whilst it clearly retains much of the fabric of this impressive early 19th century gaol building, elements of the original building are obscured by mid-20th century redevelopment, and the interior now largely appears as a 1960s structure beyond the front entrance. Tantalising evidence of the wheel house remains, with possible evidence relating to the treadwheel in the surviving masonry.

Artefactual evidence

- A variety of investigations have been carried out within and around the castle. Within the Inner Ward are secondary recollections of antiquarian investigations, indicating buried medieval cellars. More recent evaluation trenches to the rear of the Governor's House have shown a complex of remains lying just below the turf, and more varied detailed geophysical surveys undertaken as part of the current research have demonstrated that there has been multiple alterations to the area, but a potential wealth of buried archaeological material from multiple periods may still survive.
- The Outer Ward has not been as well investigated, but extensive landscaping as part of the 19th century gaol construction, along with the loss of the main gateway tower and entrance to the castle through post-medieval developments, has diminished its significance. There are however particular areas of note, buried remains along the northern edge including a possible stable block, a potential inner ditch between the inner and outer wards, and the ditch around the northern side of the castle (identified in previous watching briefs). The castle ditch was largely infilled between the 17th and the 19th centuries, sealing earlier deposits. These deposits, where undisturbed, represent a resource of the greatest significance, potentially as a stratified sequence containing a wealth of structural, environmental and artefactual evidence.
- Post medieval development to the east and south is likely to have impacted upon the potential survival of artefactual evidence in these areas.

Documentary evidence

- A recent assessment (Ludlow et al 2021) has demonstrated that significant historical documentation exists, and enough important documents survive allowing for informed interpretation of the development of the castle. The full list of sources is reproduced in that assessment.
- As a dominant feature of the Haverfordwest skyline the castle has often attracted pictorial records from the 18th century onward, including images by Buck, Cook, Colt Hoare and others, along with later photographs and postcards of the castle and Governor's House. Demolition and restoration works of the 1960s are also well recorded in photographs, images currently held by the RCAHMS.
- Detailed maps and plans of the site also exist, in particular for the subsequent use as a gaol and police station, and later reconstructions by the country

architect Gilbert Ray in the 1960s, adding to the evidential resource for the site.

4.2 Historical Values

- A relatively well-preserved castle site such as this has a wealth of historical value. The site was not just a dominant feature in the town, but also the power centre for the entire county, and was controlled by many of the most significant lords and ladies of the medieval period, including links to royal families. The site has the potential to illustrate much about the life of notable medieval figures, and the impact this would have on lives of the people of Pembrokeshire.
- Particular events and people of note are important to the development of the castle, for example:
 - The keep may have been in response to Welsh resurgence of the 1190s, and associated with Robert FitzRichard and William Marshall I.
 - The north tower may have been constructed in response to Welsh raids of the 1220, or attacks of 1257, or the grant of murage in 1264.
 - The south and east ranges, including the southwest tower (Brehinock) were high status area, and includes the Queens Arbour. The construction of these areas likely have links to the de Bohun lords of Haverfordwest, the de Valence earls of Pembroke, and even Eleanor of Castile, queen to Edward I.
 - The castle survived attacks by Owain Glyndwr.
 - It was owned by prominent later figures such as Jasper Tudor, and Anne Boleyn.
- Alongside this, the site was also a functional place throughout the medieval period, and is the most visible part of what was an important medieval town, and therefore has the potential to illuminate much about the day-to-day life of medieval Haverfordwest.
- The castle demonstrates the re-purposing of such sites in the 18th/19th century, as a site of internments and law and order. The subsequent gaol also has a number of important historical associations relating to the town and county, charting changing attitudes to law and order during this period, housing prisoners from the last invasion of British soil in 1797, as well as being the site of the last execution in Haverfordwest in 1821.

4.3 Aesthetic Values

- The visible remains of the castle still dominate the Haverfordwest skyline, and is visible from many locations throughout the town and surrounding landscape. This was clearly appreciated by the various castle builders, and the architectural detail of the east and south fronts of the Inner Ward in particular are of the highest quality.

- As can be seen in the evidential value, the prominent location and the appearance of the castle made it the focus of many of the main pieces of artwork that depict the town from the 18th century onwards, and it remains an important visual symbol of the town that can be appreciated both from a distance, and in the fact the interior of the castle is still accessible. The site also offers some of the best views across the town, although some of the original viewpoints above ground floor level are no longer accessible.
- The subsequent gaol buildings sit in prominent locations in the Outer Ward, and are similarly dominant features of the Haverfordwest skyline from the north and south. The Governor's House is the only remaining visible element of the original 18th century gaol, and retains its original architectural design features, such as the castellated frontage, which ties it in to its surroundings. This value is concentrated largely on its western frontage, which is the more publically-facing elevation. The eastern frontage was functional, facing the enclosed gaol. The 19th century gaol dominates the outer ward with imposing walls and southern entrance, although it now contains a number of later 20th century additions and alterations.
- This visibility makes the site as a whole the most obvious aspect of Haverfordwest's history, both medieval and later, and is therefore a very important part of the visual history of the town. The accessibility of the site also allows the opportunity for the long history of the site to be accessed and experienced.

4.4 Communal Value

- The castle was an integral part of town (and county) life throughout the medieval period, and is likely to have long been a dominant element of Haverfordwest for those who have lived in or passed through the town. This may have diminished as it lost its administrative functions in the later post-medieval period, and the site became closed off with the establishment of the gaol from the late 18th century, but it remained a significant site, both visibly and functionally, until recent years.
- As a gaol site however it will have retained communal value for the symbolic value that a prominent historic and regional gaol would have, and any perceived links with the establishment of law and order, incarceration, and changing attitudes to criminality.
- The site is an accessible public space, housing the town museum, and is an important view point with which to take in Haverfordwest. The museum, detailing the history of the castle and town, has great communal value, especially as it is itself an important historic asset associated with this site and the town. The museum allows people to connect to the historic past on the site, but the closure of the county record office and difficulties in obvious access to the site from the busiest areas of Haverfordwest means the use and appreciation of both the museum and the site as a whole has probably diminished in recent years. However, the potential and capacity for the site to increase its communal value remains.



Figure 5: The Buck print of 1740, showing Haverfordwest Castle dominating the town.



Figure 6: Undated photograph of Haverfordwest Castle from the southeast.
(Haverfordwest Town Museum).

5. APPENDIX 1 – INDIVIDUAL COMPONENTS

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5 INTRODUCTION

5.1 The Statement of Significance describes the significance of the site of Haverfordwest Castle as a whole, which includes a number of distinct elements relating to the medieval castle, its subsequent re-use as gaol and police station, modern alterations and surrounding features. This Statement of Significance is provided above, see Section 4. As part of the study of the site an attempt has been made to provide a more detailed level of understanding to help facilitate plans to revitalise the site.

5.2 To this end, in the following section, the site has been broken down into its recognisable components, based around three main characteristic themes from the history and development of the site, which includes the life of the site as a castle (Section 6), the use of the site as a gaol and subsequent police station from the 18th to the early 20th century (Section 7), and subsequent 20th century alterations (Section 8). An additional element will also examine the related features that surround the castle (Section 9). The values of each component identified within these broad themes will be described.

5.3 The various guidance documents mentioned in Section 1 on producing heritage impact assessments do not lay out a standardised system of quantification for these values. Nevertheless this following assessment seeks to form some quantification for these values to assist in understanding their comparative merits. Quantification used in similar Heritage Impact Assessment (for example Darnton B3 2018) have been adopted, these classifications are as follows:

High - Elements that contribute strongly to the significance of a place, forming a key piece of its history and cultural value which may be of national or international importance. In material terms, these aspects will best contribute towards the heritage values.

Medium - Elements that will have some cultural importance (perhaps on a regional scale) and will make a moderate contribution to the significance of a place. In material terms they will play an important role in conveying the heritage values.

Low - Elements that will make a slight (yet still noteworthy) contribution to the significance of a place, but perhaps only on a local scale. In material terms it will still add something to the heritage values (such as helping to maintain plan form and historic character), although this contribution may have been compromised by loss or uniformed intervention.

Neutral - Elements that have no discernible value that neither adds to nor detracts from the significance of the place.

Detrimental - Elements of the place that detracts from its values and therefore its significance.

6 THE MEDIEVAL CASTLE

6.1 Component parts

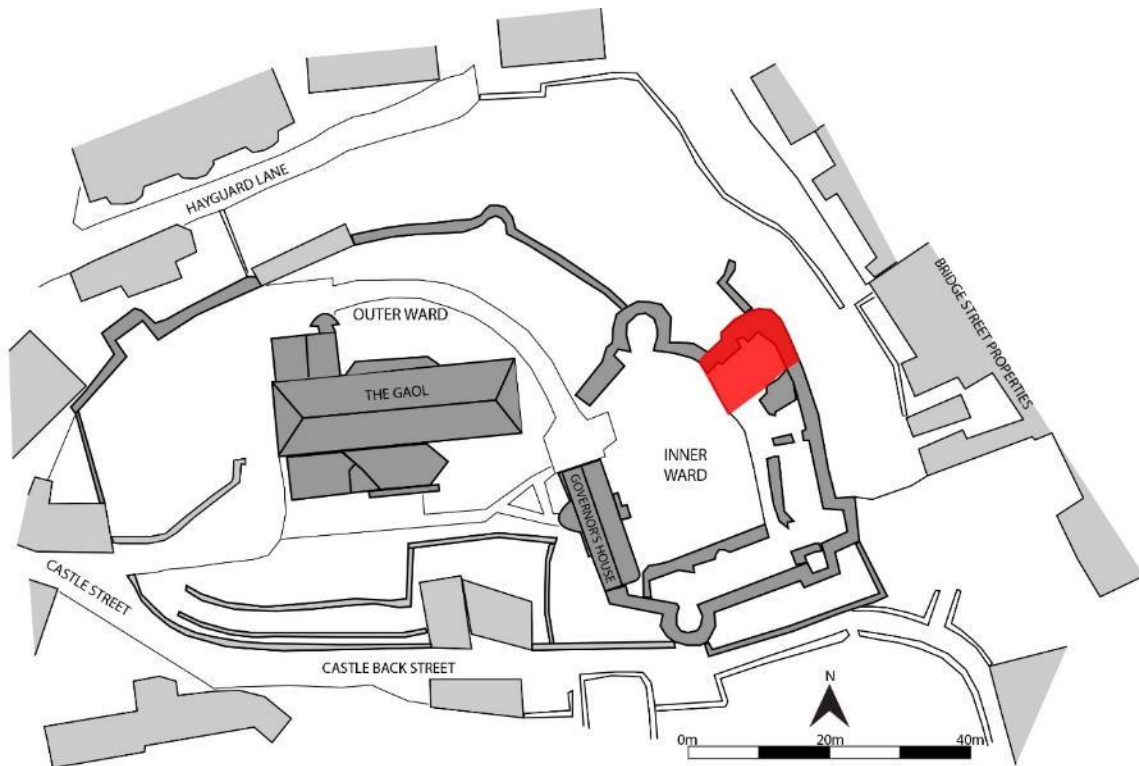
- 6.1.1 The medieval castle was part of one inter-connected site, but this can be sub-divided into two main units, the Inner Ward, which currently contains the most visible standing elements of the castle, and the Outer Ward, which is currently dominated by the later gaol building.
- 6.1.2 The Inner 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.
- 6.1.3 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).
- 6.1.4 The inner ward contains buildings from a wide range of periods, from c.1200 until the late 18th century. Most are sadly incomplete, but the surviving remains of all are of great importance to castle studies and of national significance.
- 6.1.5 Based on the various studies of the castle, detailed largely in Ludlow *et al.* (2021), the components of the Inner Ward, although all clearly interconnected, can be broadly sub-divided into a number of individual features, these are:
- **The keep**
 - **North Tower**
 - **Southwest tower**
 - **East range (inc curtain wall)**
 - **South range (inc curtain wall & chapel)**
 - **North curtain wall**
 - **West range (buried remains)**
 - **Central area, including the well (buried remains)**
 - **Queens Arbour**
- 6.1.6 The large, sub-oval 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. 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).
- 6.1.7 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 18th and 19th 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 17th century onwards (Crane 2008b, 2), and by development within its west and northwest limbs during the 19th century, 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. 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.

6.1.8 Based on the various studies of the castle the components of the Outer Ward can be broadly sub-divided into a number of individual features, these are:

- **North curtain wall, including turret and tower**
- **Buried remains (including stables and gatehouse)**

6.2 Main Keep – Figure 7 (below)



- 6.2.1 The sub-rectangular Northeast Tower, was probably built during the early part of the castle's history, as a great tower or 'keep' a decade or so either side of the year 1200. The keep was potentially constructed under Robert FitzRichard as a response to Welsh resurgences of the 1190s.
- 6.2.2 It 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. 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.
- 6.2.3 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 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 19th century plans. The west wall is not fully visible at ground level, but geophysical surveys indicated buried remains and possible rubble spread in this area, along with some potential internal walling at depths of around 0.5m.
- 6.2.4 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, 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.

Evidential value - High

- 6.2.5 The structure still stands close to its original height to the north and east, but standing remains of the south and west walls have gone. The standing remains contain evidence of its construction, allowing comparisons with similar castles (for example, Pembroke, Goodrich, Oxford, Dover and Newport), along with evidence for the internal layout, with floor lines, window openings and fireplaces visible, although the window openings are not particularly diagnostic, and may be in part later adaptations/insertions.
- 6.2.6 Demolition works in the 1960s revealed surviving internal walling below ground, and the outlines of the external west and south walls are still visible at surface level. Geophysical surveys also suggest buried remains in this area, therefore the vaulted basement may survive relatively well, and contain further important medieval remains.
- 6.2.7 There are few documentary sources related to the keep, but the external face is a recognisable element on many of the historic prints, paintings, drawings and photographs of the castle. Photographs of demolition works in the 1960s, held by the RCAHMW, are another invaluable source of information.

Historical value - High

- 6.2.8 This represents the oldest visible and recognisable part of the castle, and would have represented the original heart of the castle and accommodation for the early lords, such as Robert FitzRichard, the potential builder, and William Marshal I who was lauded as 'the best knight that ever lived' by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and went on to become the regent for the infant Henry III.
- 6.2.9 The keep may have drawn inspiration from Pembroke Castle in its design, and in turn provided inspiration for elements of Newport Castle, Pembrokeshire.
- 6.2.10 The keep may represent the response of the Anglo-Norman lords to the Welsh resurgences of the 1190s. This may also be the part of the castle described by Giraldus Cambrensis in the late 12th century, housing a noteworthy prisoner. From the later 13th century onward it may have become more of a functional element of the castle with the establishment of more refined accommodation for the lords and ladies in the east and south ranges.
- 6.2.11 The original grandeur, and much of the understanding of this part of the castle, may have been diminished with the loss of the internal walling, but the outline survives, along with a visible understanding of the layout in terms of floors and windows.

Aesthetic value - High

- 6.2.12 To the trained eye the keep is an important individual element within the castle complex, but much of its easily recognisable form has been lost through the subsequent gaol adaptations, diminishing its individual aesthetic value, although as outlined in its evidential and historical value, enough visual elements remain that this part of the site could easily be made more

understandable. The outer walls survive as part of the very visible element of the castle as a whole, which are of the highest value.

- 6.2.13 The keep is visible on many of the historic pictures, prints, drawings and photographs of the castle, the impressive eastern face of the castle being an important visual element of both castle and town.

Communal value - High

- 6.2.14 The value of this individual component is unlikely to be disentangled from the rest of the castle.

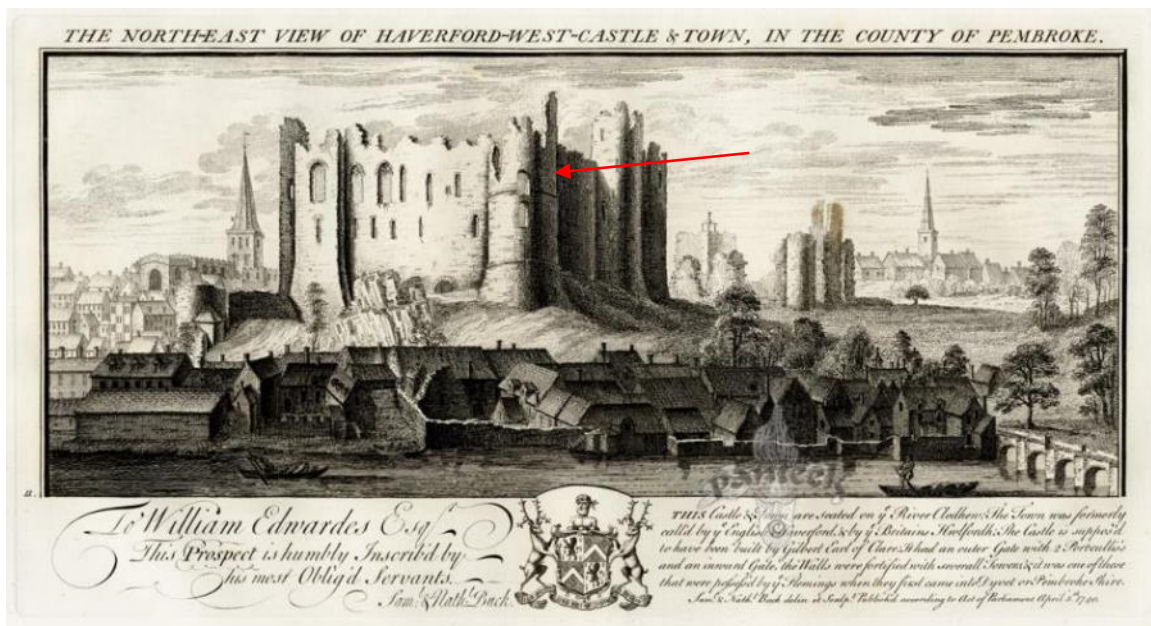


Figure 8: The Buck print of 1740, showing the more clearly identifiable keep projecting from the northeast corner of the inner ward.



Figure 9: Photo of circa 1900 showing the keep as a more solid projecting bastion, with a upper line in keeping with the surrounding walling. (Haverfordwest Town Museum).

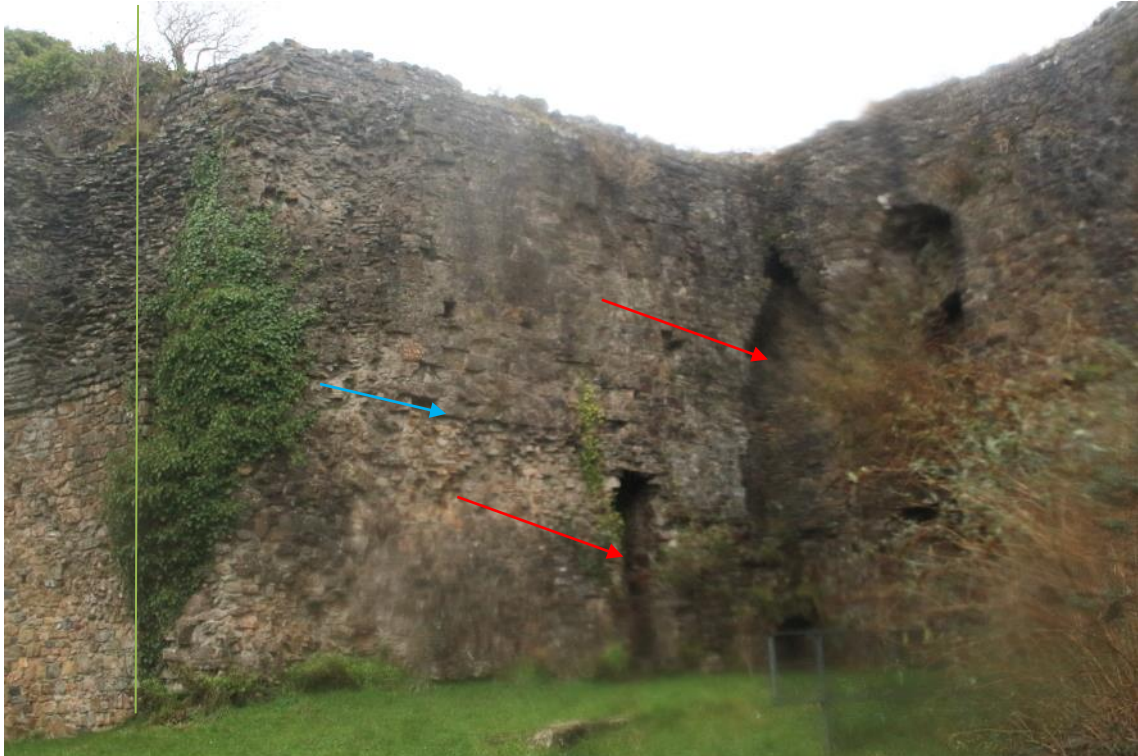


Figure 10: The internal face of the north wall of the keep, to the right of the green line, with the fireplaces highlighted in red, and the 1st floor level in blue.

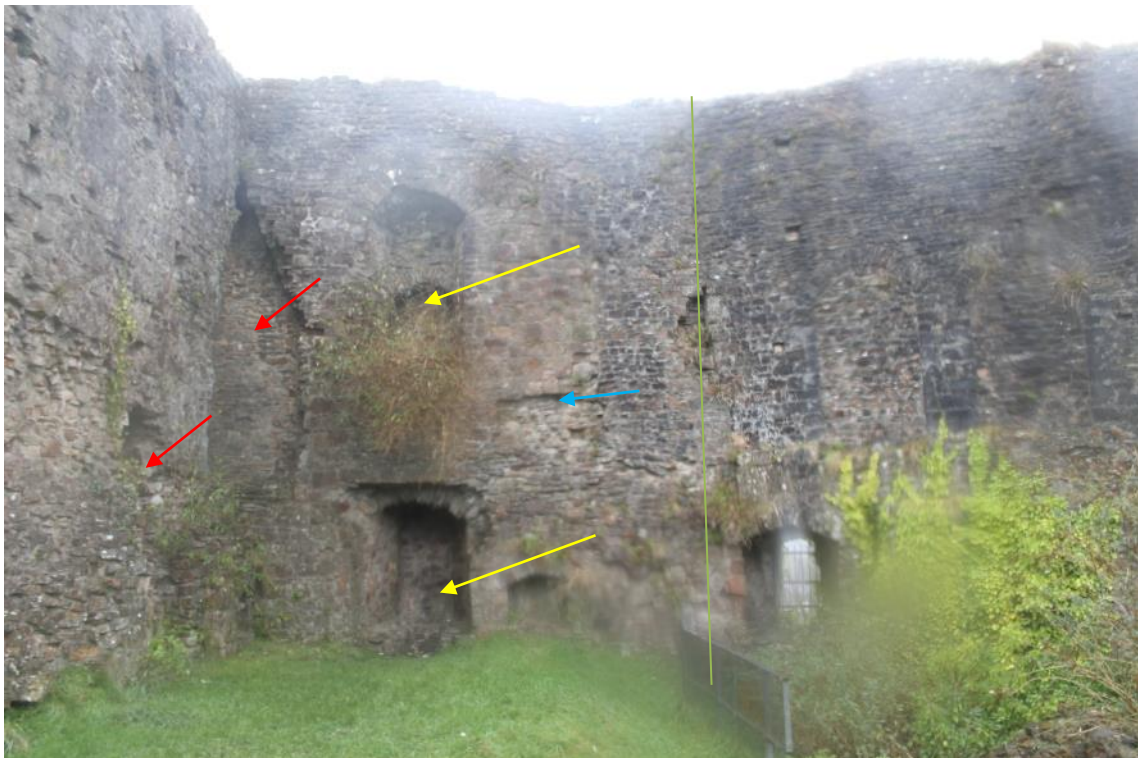
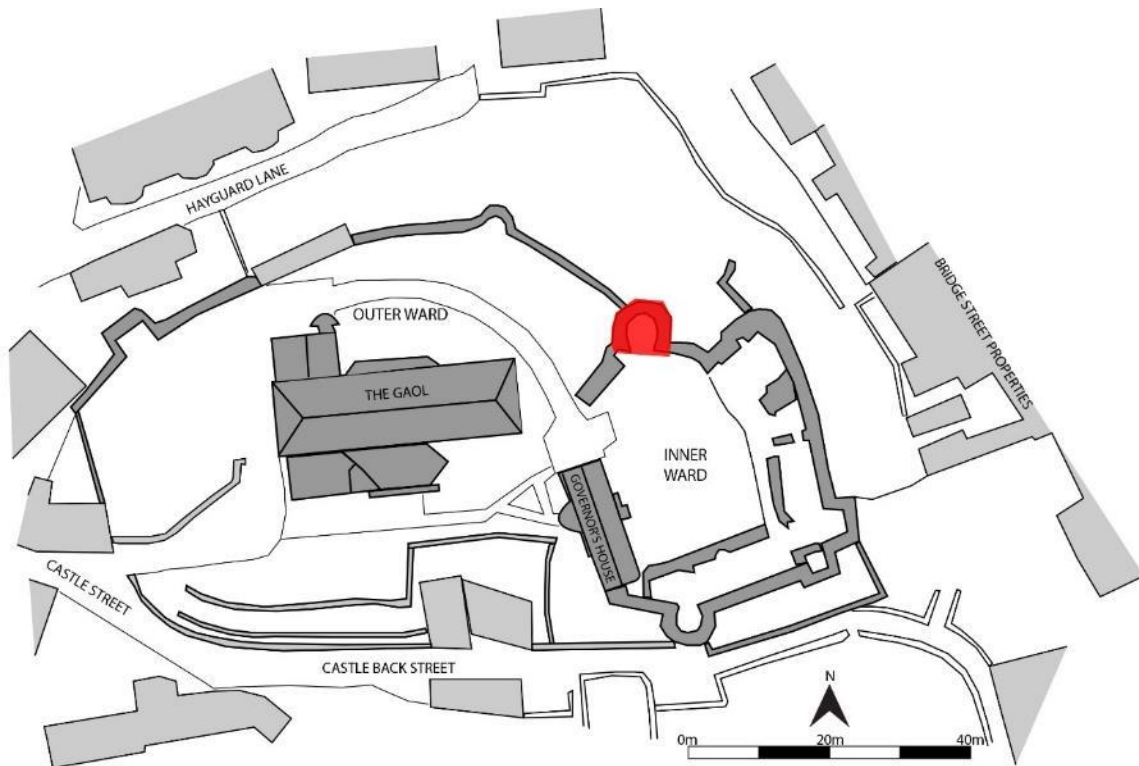


Figure 11: The internal face of the east wall of the keep to the left of the green line, with fireplaces highlighted in red, 1st floor level in blue, and blocked windows in yellow.

6.3 North Tower – Figure 12 (below)



- 6.3.1 The cylindrical North Tower 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.
- 6.3.2 The 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 currently 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-13th 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 13th 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.
- 6.3.3 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).
- 6.3.4 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).

Evidential Value - High

- 6.3.5 This represents one of the more complete components of the castle on the site, standing near to its full height, with remains of its interior still intact at first floor level, although currently inaccessible.

- 6.3.6 Externally it appears relatively featureless and stylistically it is representative of a broad date range, although changes in the stonework are apparent and the tapering upper storey gives it a silhouette redolent of an 'entasis' (or bulging outline). Dateable features, and evidence of its original use are scarce despite what survives, but inferences can be drawn to known owners and historic events to give an idea of date and function.

Historical Value - High

- 6.3.7 The construction of this part of the castle is likely ascribed to either the Younger Marshal earls (1220-45), or Humphrey de Bohun II (1248-65). This building work may have been driven as a response to Welsh raids in 1220 (when defensive work was also carried out on Narberth, Wiston and Pembroke castles), or to a major Welsh attack on West Wales in 1257. It may also be linked to a grant of murage in 1264 which likely saw the establishment of the masonry town walls of Haverfordwest.
- 6.3.8 It is likely this component of the castle was not part of the accommodation ranges, to which much of the remaining structure of the castle relates to, and more to do with the defensive practicalities of the castle function, and therefore represents a distinct element of the Inner Ward.
- 6.3.9 In later years, when the castle was used as a gaol, it is this part of the castle that was reputedly the site of the last execution in Haverfordwest. William Robin was hanged in April 1821 for the murder of William Davies.

Aesthetic Value - High

- 6.3.10 The visible remains of the tower has a wide range of possible parallels with other medieval castles throughout Wales and the borders, including Caldicot, Cilgerran, Chepstow and possibly also Kidwelly.
- 6.3.11 As a part of the castle with internal spaces surviving it has value as something that can be more easily experienced (if access were provided) and is a visually understandable part of the castle with its own particular functions as outlined in the evidential and historical values.
- 6.3.12 The tower is a distinctive piece of the castle in the various prints, paintings, drawings and photographs of the site.

Communal Value - High

- 6.3.13 As with most of the standing remains described the communal value is shared with the rest of the visible castle. Its somewhat grisly use during the gaol period provides a potential additional element to the commemorative and symbolic use of the site.

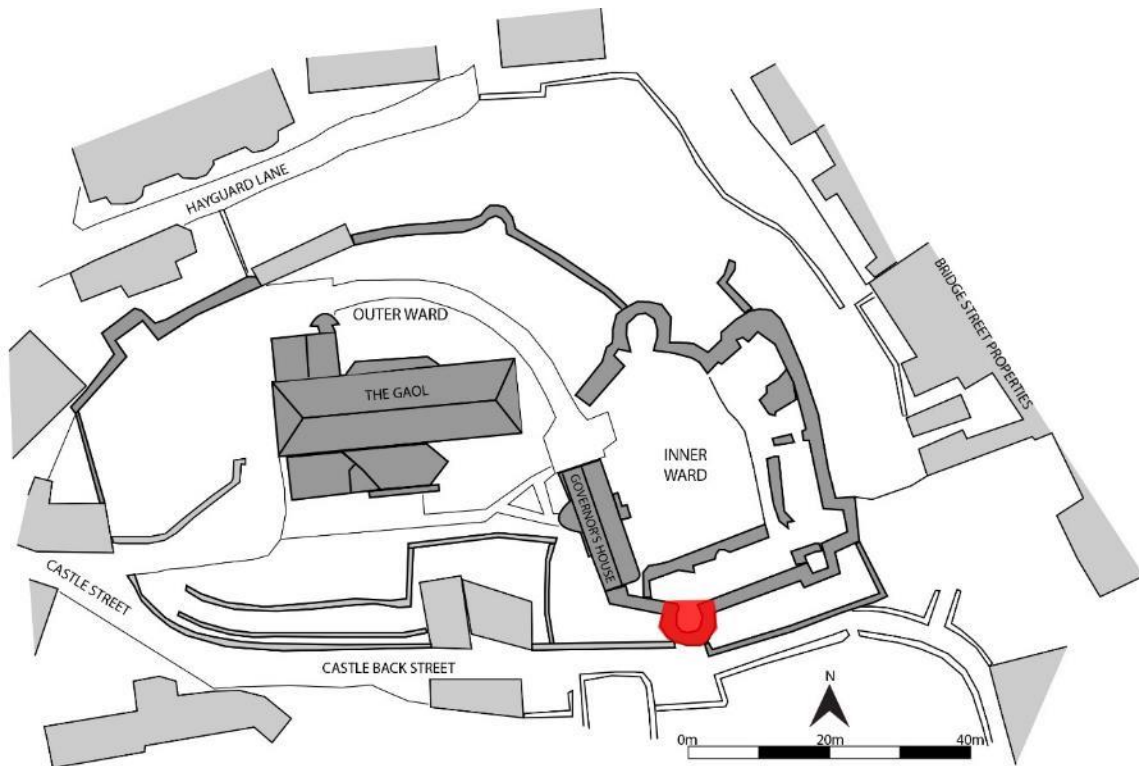


Figure 13: The external face of the North tower.



Figure 14: The internal face of the North tower, between the green lines. The original entrance to the first floor level is shown in red.

6.4 Southwest Tower – Figure 15 (below)



- 6.4.1 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 levels 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.
- 6.4.2 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).
- 6.4.3 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 Queens Arbour. 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.

Evidential Value - High

- 6.4.4 As outlined in the description above the tower has many surviving standing elements, with a number of interesting architectural details and decorative items, and as an integral part of the South Range is of a high quality and status. Internal floor levels may have gone, but evidence of their layout survives in the stonework, and a basement level survives, albeit currently made safe with covering grating.
- 6.4.5 The external face was part of a show front for the castle, overlooking the town, and is therefore also of high status and quality. This south face is also recorded in many historical paintings, prints, drawings and photographs of the town and castle. Individual documents relating to this specific component of the castle are however rare, although it is individually described as the 'Brehinock' tower in an important 16th century survey of the castle.

Historical Value - High

- 6.4.6 The use of the tower is still open to debate. It forms part of a block with the western end of the South Range, believed to be part of a services block, and is also thought to have housed a latrine, with the basement potentially functioning as a latrine pit, although evidence of this is indecisive. The entire South Range however appears to be a high-status block, which includes this tower, and the tower houses the access to the Queens Arbour, a private garden terrace for the lords and ladies of the castle. The 16th century survey suggests the basement of the tower was used as a gaol at that time, but that may not have been its original function as high status prisoners (as would befit a high-status range) would not be housed in a basement.
- 6.4.7 The reference to the tower being specifically named 'Brehinock' adds value. It has been suggested that this may relate to it being the King's Tower (from Brenhinog), but it is felt more likely to refer to a link between the de Bohun lords of Haverfordwest (who may have constructed the tower) and their extensive holdings in Brecon (Brecknock).

Aesthetic Value - High

- 6.4.8 As described above the tower is a visible and readily identifiable part of the castle, both internally and externally, containing many interesting architectural details. The covered access to the basement, and the passageway down through the tower to the external Queens Arbour also add an additional visual element, allowing views into and passage through part of the original castle.
- 6.4.9 The windows within the ground floor of the tower also provides significant viewpoints out of the castle, looking out over Haverfordwest to the south.
- 6.4.10 The tower forms a recognisable part of the dominant castle in the many historic paintings, prints, drawings and photographs of the area.

Communal Value - High

- 6.4.11 Again, communal value is intrinsically linked to the castle as a whole, but the tower also forms a very visible part of the castle for people passing by in the Castle Lake area to the south.



Figure 16: Painting of Haverfordwest castle from the south, southwest tower in red. Undated, but late 18th – early 19th century.

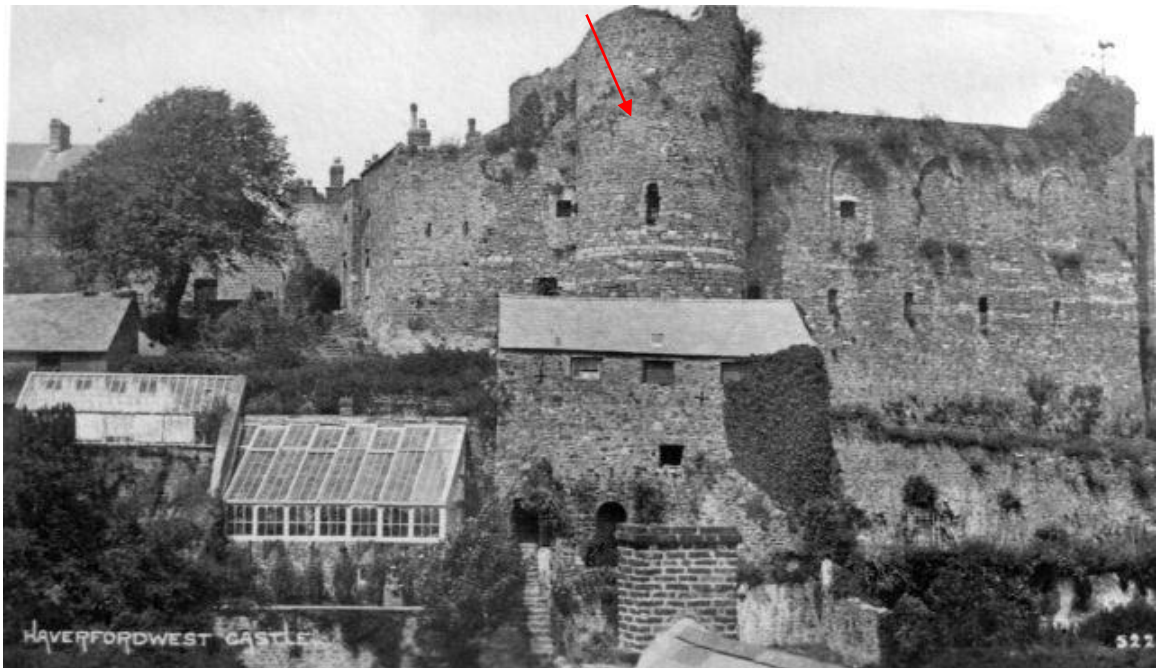


Figure 17: Undated photo, showing southwest tower in red. (Haverfordwest Town Museum).

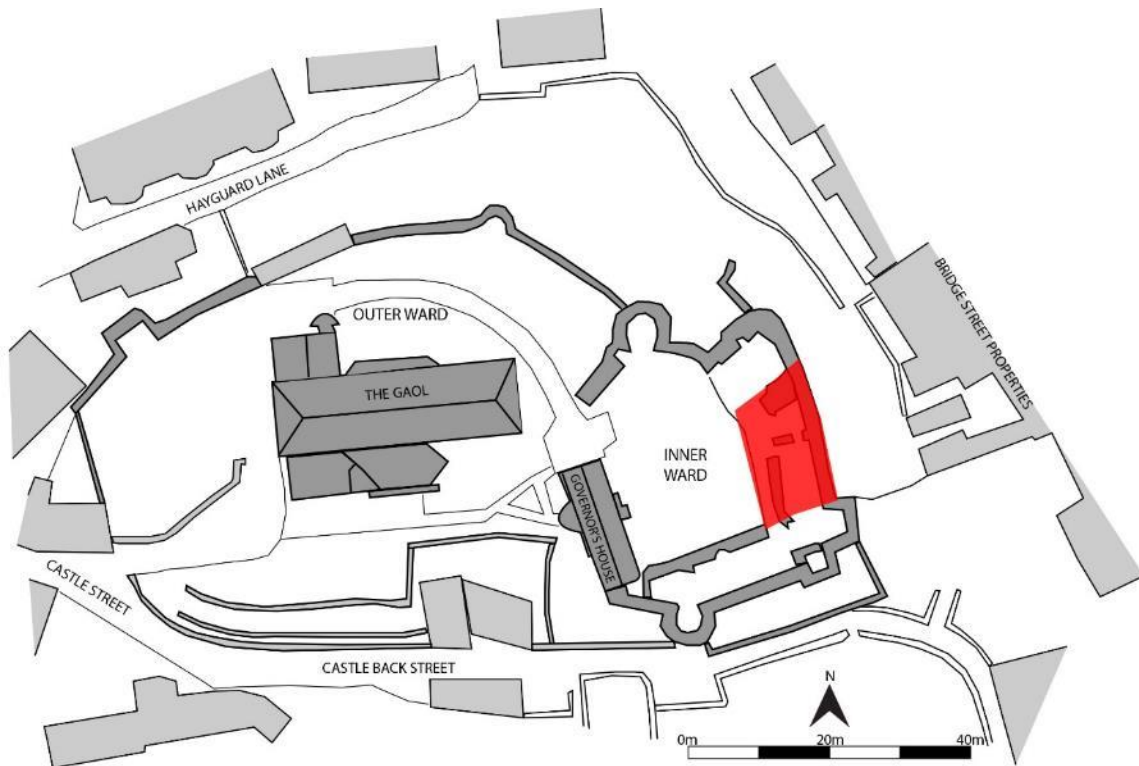


Figure 18: Exterior of the Inner Ward from the south, with the Southwest tower in red.



Figure 19: Interior of the Southwest tower, looking south. Features of note include the spiral stair in red, windows in blue, basement shaft in green and the stair to garden/queens arbour in yellow.

6.5 East Range (Chamber Block) – Figure 20 (below)



- 6.5.1 The east curtain was entirely rebuilt in the late 13th or early 14th century, as part of a new east range which articulates, as an L-shape, with the south range, adjoining the Keep/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 19th century plans), 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.
- 6.5.2 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.
- 6.5.3 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.

- 6.5.4 A length of masonry wall runs north-south parallel to, and 2 metres west of, the west wall of the range. 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. 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.

Evidential Value - High

- 6.5.5 The curtain wall of this range remains to its full height, with windows surviving, although blocked, and high-quality architectural features, including some remnants of a painting scheme on the embrasures of the southernmost room. The windows and internal low walling allows the layout of the range to be discerned, along with evidence of an unusual outer passageway. The latrine chamber is accessible, although currently vegetation filled, and although demolished for the gaol construction it is likely the lower levels were infilled, and important remains lie buried.
- 6.5.6 The range, and the main function of its rooms, are described in a 16th century survey. Photographs of the gaol demolition work in the 1960s shows that little has changed on this exposed elevation.
- 6.5.7 It is described as an 'outstanding resource for architectural and cultural historians' (Ludlow et al 2021).

Historical Value - High

- 6.5.8 This was a range of high-quality accommodation, described in the 16th century survey as containing a great chamber, with lesser chamber and offices. The great chamber is likely to have been at 1st floor level, but the outline is clearly visible at ground level. This range would have provided private accommodation for the lord, lady and immediate household. It incorporated the original keep to the north, so was probably always the highest status zone within the castle.
- 6.5.9 It was rebuilt in its current form in the late 13th or early 14th century, and may even have been built for the Queen of England.

Aesthetic Value - High

- 6.5.10 Architecturally this range was of the highest quality, with the surviving curtain wall elements built as one of the 'show front' of the castle, with its façade dominating views of Haverfordwest from the east, and facing the main eastern approach to the castle.
- 6.5.11 Internally it is a dominant elevation of the castle, the external view has appeared on many historic paintings, prints, drawings and photographs of the town and castle.
- 6.5.12 As stated in Ludlow et al (2021), the aesthetic value cannot be overstated.

Communal Value - High

- 6.5.13 As this elevation, both internally and externally, provides one the main visible elements of the castle, and with remains, architectural details and historical documents that allow for interpretation of the structure, it has added communal value in explaining the life and function of the castle.



Figure 21: Buck print of Haverfordwest from 1740, showing exterior of east range between the squared chapel turret on the left, and the rounded keep on the right.



Figure 22: East Range, exterior view. The square chapel turret is on left, and the slightly rounded keep on right, with north tower projecting.

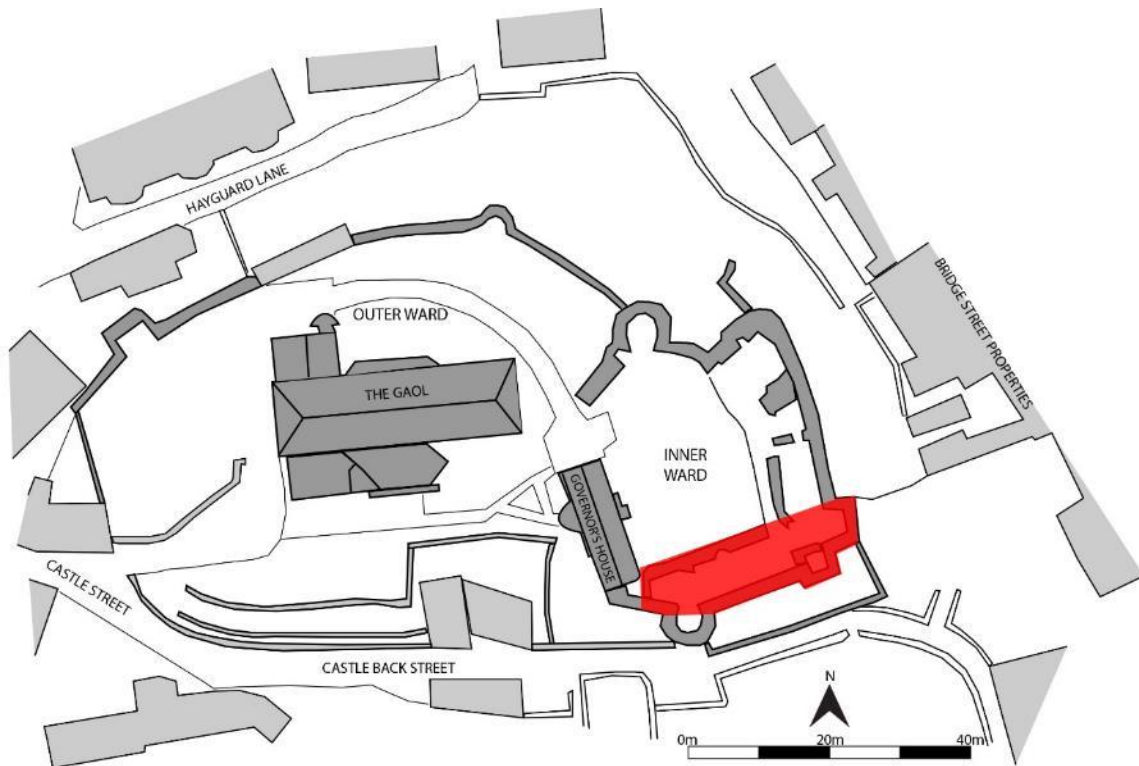


Figure 23: The East Range, interior view. The large 4 bay room with great chamber above is marked in red, a smaller room with a chamber above is in blue, with the latrine chamber (with offices above) just to the left of the small trees visible on the left. Window openings are marked in green.



Figure 24: The East Range, interior view showing the 4-bay southern room (with Great Chamber above). The location of a possible spiral staircase is marked in red, the possible entrance in blue, windows in green and an external passage (represented by a low revetment wall to the grassed central area) in yellow.

6.6 South Range (Hall & Chapel) – Figure 25 (below)



- 6.6.1 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.
- 6.6.2 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.
- 6.6.3 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 room 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 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 (Queens Arbour). 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.

- 6.6.4 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.
- 6.6.5 The eastern area formed a discrete functional space which can be identified, from architectural and documentary evidence, as the castle chapel. Its 'chancel' occupied the projecting turret at the east end, 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 (Ludlow 2021) and is mentioned in no other sources. The south wall of the 'nave', which stood on the west side of the chancel, 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 along the south face (labelled 'Turret' on old maps and plans; also see Phillips 1922, 450, 453).
- 6.6.6 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).
- 6.6.7 The south range also formed the core of the 1779-80 gaol, housing the cells. 19th-century plans showed the cell-block as being of similar width to the medieval range, 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 19th-century plan of the gaol.

Evidential Value - High

- 6.6.8 Very similar to the East Range, this range includes standing remains of high quality, with important architectural detailing, and photographic evidence from the demolition works in the 1960s indicates infill and potentially well-preserved buried remains, all of excellent evidential value.
- 6.6.9 In addition, this range also includes remains of the former chapel, with large windows at 1st floor level.
- 6.6.10 This range also formed the core of the 18th century gaol. Much of the structure has been removed however, leaving only the outline and roof scar, but there is potential for buried remains to survive. Evidence of the Wheelhouse at the east end is better preserved in surviving masonry.
- 6.6.11 The layout of the range is recorded on the 16th century survey, as mentioned, photographs survive charting the 1960s demolition, and also of the gaol block prior to demolition, and the exterior features in many historic paintings, prints, drawings and photographs.
- 6.6.12 As with the East Range, this range is an 'outstanding resource for architectural and cultural historians' (Ludlow *et al* 2021).

Historical Value - High

- 6.6.13 Although this range may not have been the main accommodation block for the lords and ladies of the castle it was still of the highest quality, with important features such as the chapel and access to the Queens Arbour. The hall within this range may have been ceremonial, and restricted for use by the lords and ladies of the castle, with parallels at Pembroke Castle.
- 6.6.14 The undercroft, with its fireplace and large south-facing windows, was described in the 16th century survey as the 'coining house'. No mint is known of in Haverfordwest, but the name may be more indicative of general administrative functions. Its use as retainers' accommodation is also suggested, and no doubt shifted function throughout the medieval period.
- 6.6.15 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. The chapel would have been a very important element of the castle, as seen in its dominant location, with large windows and extensive views. It was also used into the gaol period. The ground floor also has traces of the treadwheel that was installed by Sir William Cubitt in 1820.
- 6.6.16 The range has important historical connections during the gaol period, most notably housing the French soldiers from the invasion of Fishguard in 1797, the last invasion of Britain.

Aesthetic Value - High

6.6.17 As stated, this range was of the highest architectural quality, potentially built for the Queen of England. It formed one of the 'show fronts' of the castle, with dominant views across the town to the south. The inclusion of the chapel at the east end was also a very important aesthetic element, positioned and designed to be one of the most visible elements of the castle, and also offering some of the best views from the castle.

6.6.18 As mentioned (Ludlow et al 2021), the aesthetic value of this range cannot be overstated.

Communal Value - High

6.6.19 Alongside the general communal value of the castle this range is a very visible part of the castle from the town, and will be one of the main images associated with the castle, and the history of Haverfordwest. The direct associations with the Queens Arbour gives it an obvious link to the highest echelons of medieval society, but the historic associations with the 18th century gaol and wheelhouse add an extra dimension to the value.



Figure 26: Undated photograph, showing the projecting chapel in the central square turret, with the South Range to the left. At this point the upper windows were blocked. (Haverfordwest Town Museum).



Figure 27: An external view of the South Range at present, with the Southwest Tower projecting.



Figure 28: The South Range viewed from the east. The central 4-bay room is marked in red (hall at 1st floor) with the fireplace set in a curve in the wall in yellow, the west room in blue, the east room in green.

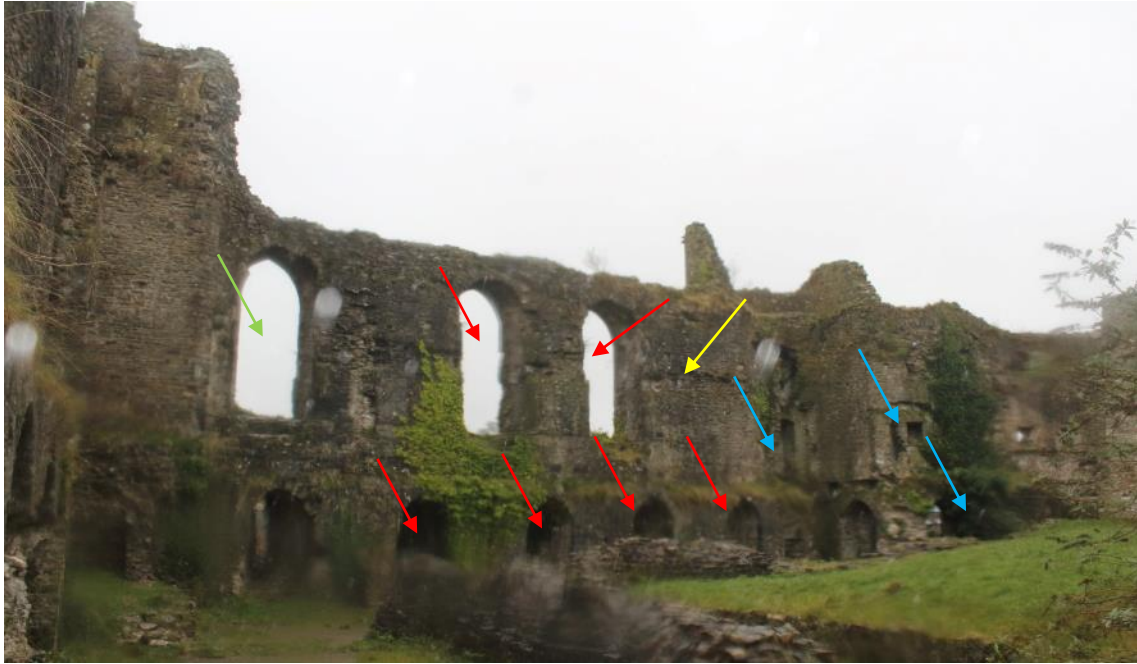


Figure 29: The internal face of the South Range. The windows of the central chamber and hall are marked in red, the windows of the western rooms in blue, the 1st floor window of the Chapel nave is in green. The 18th century gaol roof scar is visible as a horizontal line, marked in yellow.

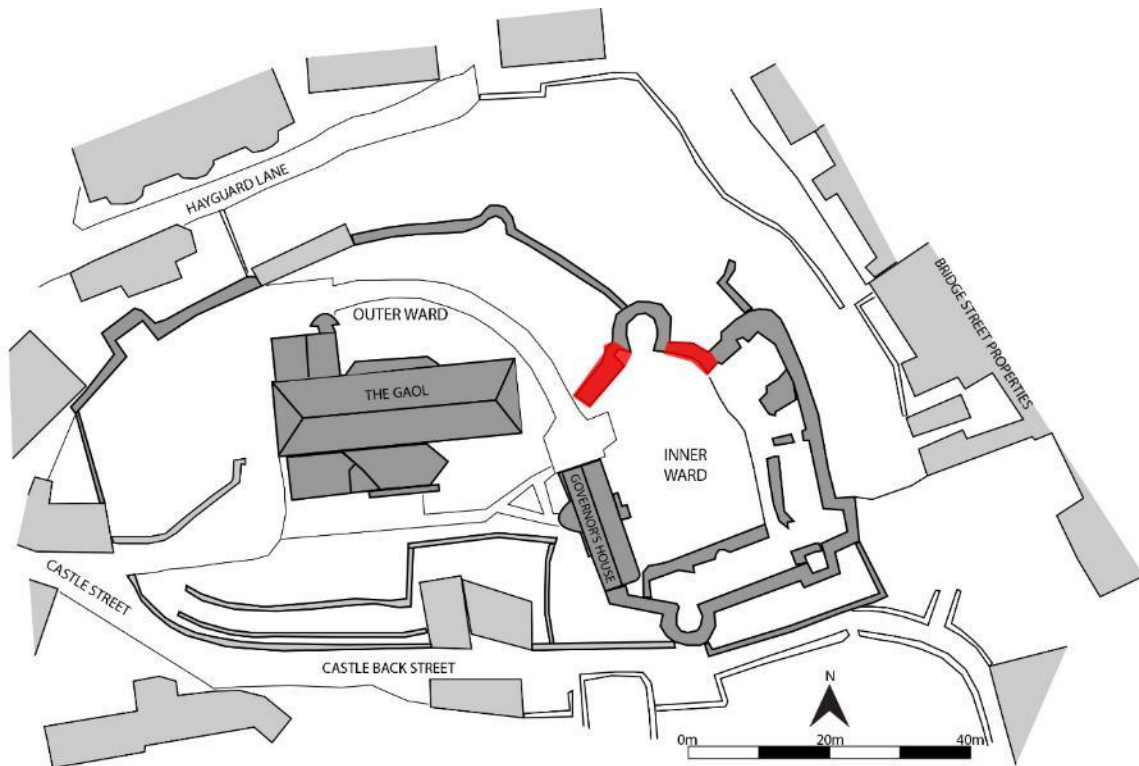


Figure 30: A view of the chapel from the west, unfortunately taken in poor weather conditions. Ground floor open windows are marked in blue, the left one being within an enclosed room, blocked windows are marked in purple. Chapel chancel east window is marked in yellow, the chancel south window in brown, nave south window in green. The Chapel spiral stair is marked in red.



Figure 31: A curved recess at ground level in the south wall of the chapel, presumably associated with the 19th century treadwheel.

6.7 North Curtain Walling (Inner Ward) – Figure 32 (below)



- 6.7.1 The curtain walling adjoining the North Tower 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.
- 6.7.2 The curtain walls survive to a consistent height throughout the circuit, averaging 14 metres, but in the main have lost their parapets, and they vary in thickness.
- 6.7.3 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 was built against it (Freeman 1999, 45; Hancock 2020, 25); 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 19th-century plans, 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.
- 6.7.4 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. 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.

- 6.7.5 A further length of walling connects the North Tower with the Keep/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 (Ludlow 2021) 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.

Evidential Value - High

- 6.7.6 Standing remains of the walling exists, which may be close to its original height although the upper parapet appears to have gone to the west of the north tower, but survives the east. Medieval phasing is visible to the east, but some evidential value of the original medieval structure has been lost through gaol-era alterations and subsequent 20th century restoration. Internal features are difficult to understand, and blocked openings appear to be gaol-era additions.
- 6.7.7 It is likely buried remains exist around the footings of the walling.
- 6.7.8 The documentary and pictorial evidence of this section of walling is less than the remainder of the inner ward.

Historical Value - High

- 6.7.9 This work is associated with building works of the Younger Marshall Earls or the Bohuns, possibly in response to Welsh attacks of 1220 and 1257, and presents a more functional, defensive aspect of the castle.
- 6.7.10 During the gaol phase this area of the castle walling was adapted to form part of the debtors wing, later the female wing, and was clearly incorporated into the gaol with buildings against both faces, and access cut through the wall.

Aesthetic Value - High

- 6.7.11 This section of walling includes some intriguing features, but little obvious original detail survives. This walling does help separate the Inner and Outer Wards, enclosing the Inner Ward to give a better understanding of the layout of the castle, as well as providing one of the first easily recognisable elements of the castle as it is approached from its main entrances to the west.

Communal Value - High

- 6.7.12 The communal value is hard to distinguish from the castle as a whole, although it does have an important role in providing an enclosed space in the Inner Ward area.

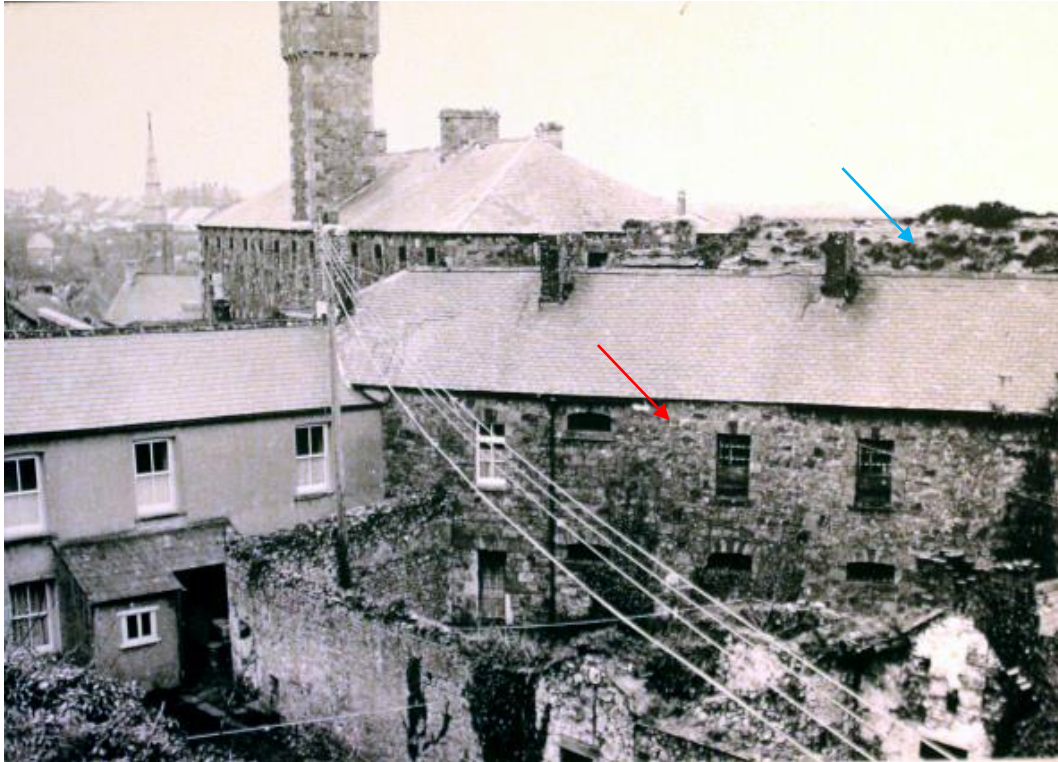


Figure 33: View northeast, showing the female wing of the gaol marked in red, which was built against north curtain wall, the upper courses of which are marked in blue. (Haverfordwest Town Museum).



Figure 34: The external face of the north curtain wall. The blocked gaol-era door is marked in red, with the 1st floor access above.



Figure 35: View east of the north curtain wall. The stonework on the end face dates to post-gaol restoration, the curtain wall east of the north tower is visible behind, showing the two phases of stonework.

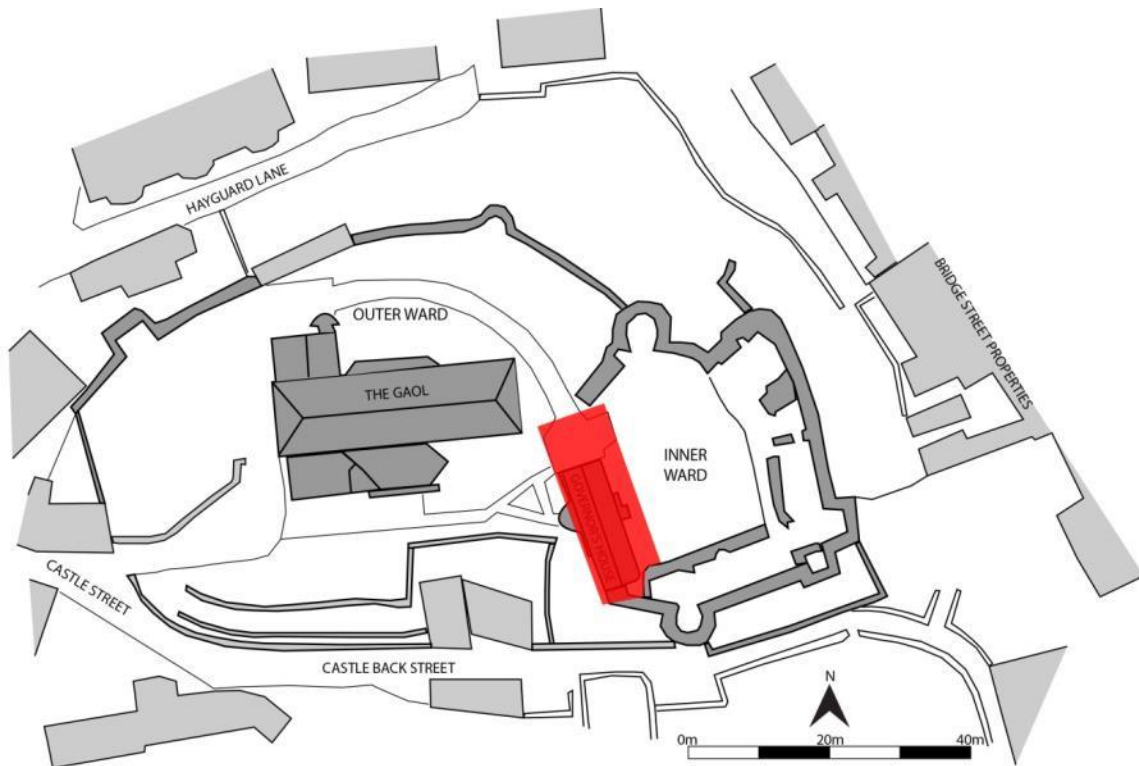


Figure 36: The internal face of the north curtain wall, with the gaol building to the left. The 1st floor opening is visible, with the internal recess visible on the right. The opening on the right is part of the North Tower.



Figure 37: North curtain wall, internal recess, looking up at the open through-passage.

6.8 West Range (Buried Remains) – Figure 38 (below)



- 6.8.1 The entire western curtain of the Inner Ward has gone, possibly as a result of the 1648 slighting. The entry probably corresponded with the present gap between the 18th century Governor's House (now Museum) and the northwest curtain. 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. The inner ward 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.
- 6.8.2 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).
- 6.8.3 A fragment of walling uncovered in during evaluation trenching (Crane 2008) was suggested to be medieval in nature, and does not appear in gaol or police station plans. This walling appears to be on a roughly north – south alignment, and it is possible this mirrors the internal passage along the East Range, suggesting a possible medieval West Range, now lying underneath the museum building. Fragmentary masonry nearby in the same evaluation trench is also thought to be medieval in date.
- 6.8.4 The now-ruined west wall of the suggested services block (west end of the South Range) appears to have been very thick (3 metres at its widest). 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. 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 will doubtless have made two halls unnecessary.

Evidential Value – Medium

- 6.8.5 The presence and layout of this range is largely conjectural, the evidential value is therefore less than the features mentioned previously. There are no standing remains of the medieval west range, and visible earthwork remains appear either to have been levelled or infilled. The construction of the Governor's House and general gaol developments are likely to have compromised the survival of below-ground evidence of this range, but evaluation trenching has shown that medieval walling does survive in this area, and the scale of masonry visible elsewhere in the inner ward suggests that even with the development of the Governor's House below-ground medieval masonry remains are still likely.
- 6.8.6 There is also a lack of documentary and pictorial evidence for this range. It does not appear in the 16th century survey, and demolition works did not uncover buried remains in this area.

Historical Value - High

- 6.8.7 If, as suspected, this range contains evidence of the inner gateway and a possible kitchen range, this will be important information to add to the understanding of the layout and function of the Inner Ward, and the castle as a whole. These remains may relate more to the everyday life of the castle, as opposed to more specialised high-status ranges to the east and south.

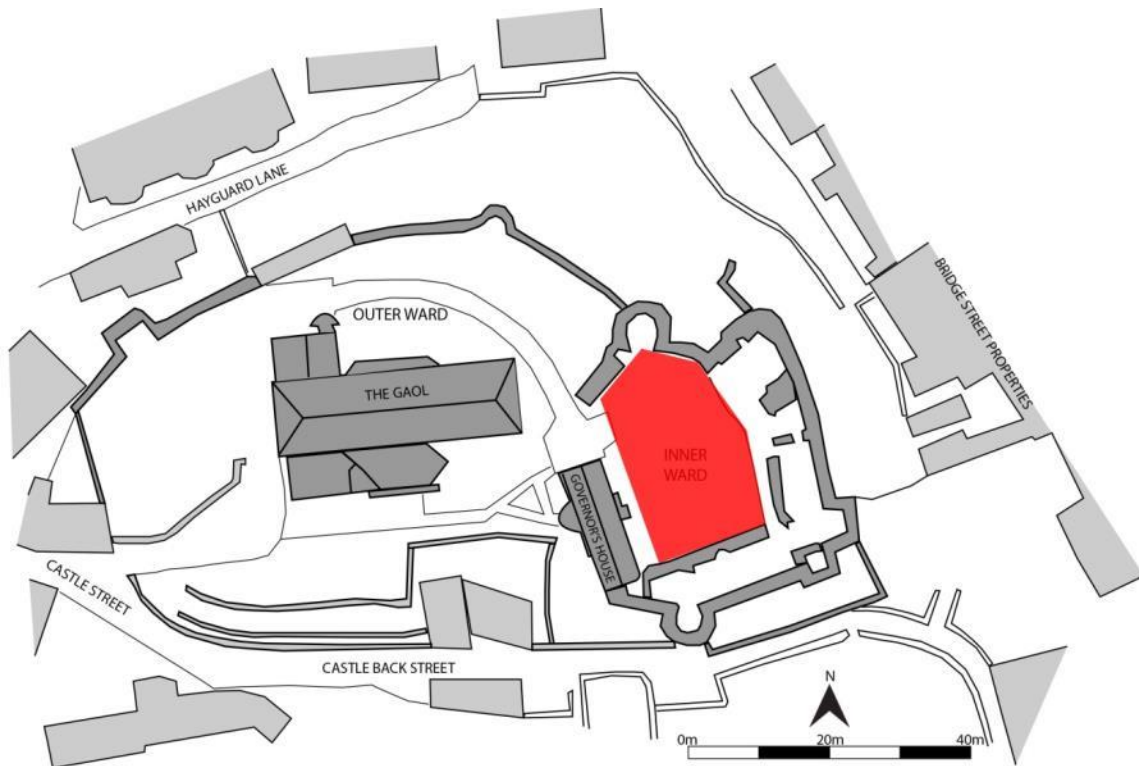
Aesthetic Value - Low

- 6.8.8 As a aspect of the castle based on conjectural evidence, with no visible remains, there is little aesthetic value to this particular element.

Communal Value - Medium

- 6.8.9 The communal value is tied in to the castle as a whole, although as an individual element the lack of identifiable or known remains likely diminishes this value in comparison to the other components.

6.9 Central Area (Buried Remains, inc. well) – Figure 39 (below)



- 6.9.1 The interior of the inner ward is now a grassy space, and the only visible feature is the castle well. The well is 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) as well, when it saw the addition of an overlying well-house and laundry, shown on plans of the 1870s-80s and 1922 (Phillips 1922, 450).
- 6.9.2 A number of investigations, although not all of a systematic nature, have been undertaken within the interior. Most recently, geophysical surveys (Poucher 2020) suggest a series of linear marks in the southern part of the grassed area, which may be an indication of below-ground cellars, part of a medieval structure across this area. As a possibility there are reasons for and against this idea. Traditionally the interior area of the ward would be left open, although a brief description from 1577 of a 'greene of lxx [70] foote square having a Well in it' (Owen 1903, 41) may still allow for further medieval buildings in this area, however this same description of the Inner Ward makes no mention of buildings in front of the South Range. Newspaper accounts document early excavations in this area, in 1871 and again in 1914, that appear to reveal a deep cellar, occupying a triangular area between masonry walls, the apex of which lay 'just in front of the inner wall of the old prison' (Pembrokeshire County Guardian 10/7/1914). The exact location of these excavations is unclear as no official accounts have been located, it is however variously described as the open area to the rear of the prison governors house (the current museum building), and in the 'quadrangle' immediately to the rear of the building. An area south of the well, and between museum, East Range and South Range would appear most likely. A large cut feature revealed in the archaeological evaluation (Crane 2008 - Trench 2) was suggested as the result of these excavations, which would coincide with a general area of reduced resistivity seen in the geophysical surveys. GPR also suggests a linear nature to some features surrounding this

area, suggesting a surrounding built structure, which could add weight to the possibility of cellars in this area.

- 6.9.3 Evaluation trenching revealed bedrock towards the centre of this area, at a surprisingly shallow depth of 0.3m. Some truncation of medieval features is likely here, but the evaluation trenching and geophysical survey indicate bedrock deposits soon dropped away in all directions. It appears that the present level surface within the courtyard has been largely achieved through infill, at least towards the periphery of the present courtyard, therefore below-ground evidence for further medieval internal buildings, some of which were possibly of masonry, can be expected. However, it is clear from survey results that a significant degree of gaol-era remains are also likely, confusing the picture.

Evidential Value - High

- 6.9.4 The only visible remains comprise the well, but it is clear that medieval archaeological remains survive below-ground, and the site has been described as 'of the highest archaeological potential' (Ludlow et al 2021).
- 6.9.5 Documentary records include reference to a 'greene' in the 16th century survey, but also include the numerous reports of archaeological investigations, including both secondary accounts of late 19th and early 20th century investigations, and more recent archaeological evaluations and geophysical surveys, making this the most archaeologically investigated area.

Historical Value - High

- 6.9.6 The precise layout and function of this area during the medieval period is not clearly understood, but given the potential for surviving below-ground archaeology to reveal important information about this, it retains a value in its ability to illustrate this aspect of the castle.

Aesthetic Value - High

- 6.9.7 This area was, at least in part, deliberately designed to be an open area in the centre of the Inner Ward area, which is an aspect it has retained since the demolition of the gaol buildings. It is an important place from which to view the standing remains of the castle, and understand the layout and workings of the site.

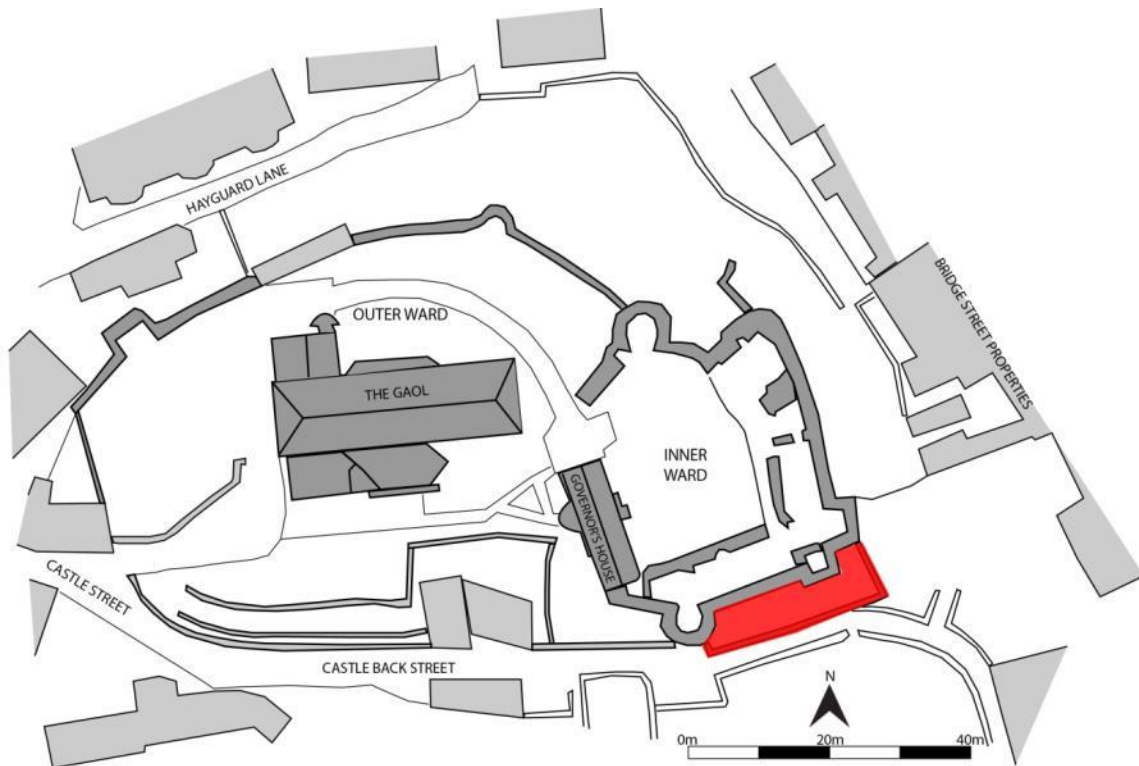
Communal Value - High

- 6.9.8 The communal value of this area is closely tied in to the aesthetic value, in that it is an open space that allows people to gather in and understand the medieval castle that surrounds them at this point.



Figure 40: View across the turf-covered central area of the Inner Ward, with the East Range on the left, and the South Range on the right.

6.10 Queens Arbour – Figure 41 (below)



- 6.10.1 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 and appear to have been variously restored, but the platform survives as a well-defined feature.
- 6.10.2 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. The garden was said to have remained a parcel of the castle curtilage in 1577, and although the constableness 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.
- 6.10.3 This garden, given its name, has been assumed to be associated with Queen Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I, who acquired Haverfordwest Castle in 1288-9. Eleanor spent money on works at the castle, although the precise nature of what was built in her name is uncertain. The name 'Queens Arbour' 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 Haverfordwest, 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. Ludlow 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.

Evidential Value – Medium/High

- 6.10.4 The garden terrace survives as a recognisable feature, although the surrounding walling may have been extensively restored and the corner turret appears to be missing. The internal arrangements of the terrace are not known, and the site has not been investigated archaeologically, but there remains a potential for below-ground archaeological remains to exist. The form of the terrace is an unusual feature, and as outlined above this can be compared with other known examples at similar medieval castles.
- 6.10.5 The site is mentioned in some documentary sources, although not in detail. It appears on some early paintings, prints and drawings of the castle, although generally it appears stylised and accurate representations appear rare.

Historical Value - High

- 6.10.6 This terrace may have built for the Queen for England, and appears to be a private space for use by the lords and ladies of the castle. As a garden terrace it helps to illustrate a different aspect to the privileged life of the castle owners, rather than that of the enclosed buildings within the Inner Ward.

Aesthetic Value - High

- 6.10.7 This area holds value as one of the few elements of the castle visible from the exterior. As it is accessed via a narrow staircase through the medieval castle wall it also still retains something of a more secluded private element, despite its open aspect to the south.
- 6.10.8 The terrace offers extensive views south and east over Haverfordwest, no doubt an important aspect of its original design.
- 6.10.9 The establishment of paths, high masonry walling and street furniture alongside the garden has diminished this aesthetic value however by making it a less of an exclusive area.

Communal Value - High

- 6.10.10 Although a relatively small area it offers a different, potentially more genteel, understanding to life within a medieval castle, with important historical connections.

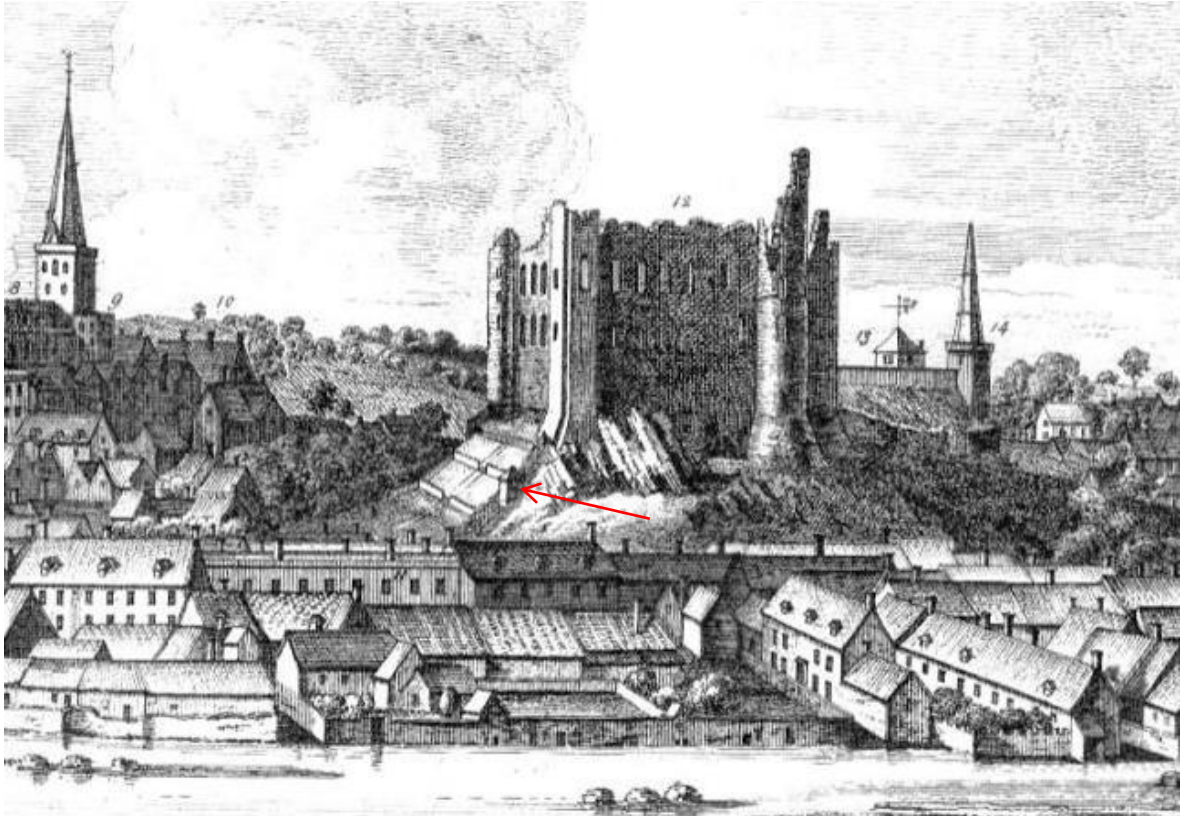


Figure 42: Detail from the Buck print of 1748, showing stylised garden terraces including the Queens Arbour, with the corner turret marked in red.

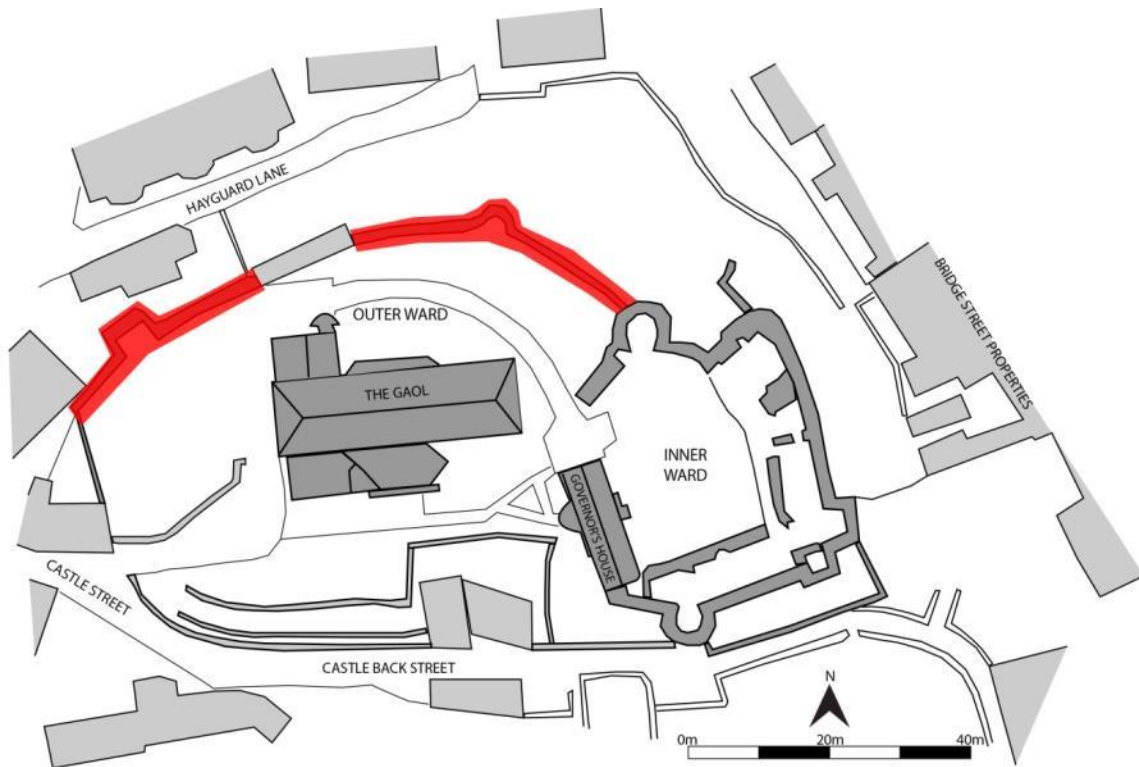


Figure 43: View east across the Queens Arbour garden terrace from the entrance stair.



Figure 44: View of the Queens Arbour garden terrace from the Castle Back Street to the west. The terrace walling is marked in red.

6.11 Outer Ward North Curtain Wall (inc turret & tower) – Figure 45 (below)



6.11.1 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 arrow-loops were apparently visible low down on its outer face in the 1920s, though buried internally (Phillips 1922, 453). Excavation in 1981 revealed that the north curtain wall was 2 metres thick at its base (Freeman 1999, 51); it was set only 1.5 metres into the subsoil, but this represents a fairly deep footing for a medieval castle wall in west Wales. A stairway access into the Outer Ward currently forms part of this line of curtain walling, but this would appear to be a modern insertion along the line of the wall, possibly as late as the 1980s. The curtain apparently connected with the inner ward at its North Tower, and with its southwest corner west of the Southwest Tower, although visible remains of the west and south arms of the curtain wall have since disappeared.

6.11.2 A rectangular tower along the curtain wall, on the northwest side of the Outer Ward, some 7 metres square, was fully exposed when a building butting its external face was demolished in 2008 (Crane 2008b). 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 14th 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 19th century but this may be a secondary loss; the Buck print of 1740 shows the remains of a square tower in this location, 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 20th century (Phillips 1922, 453). A building shown just to the east in c.1870 was associated with the gaol governor's 'Garden'.

- 6.11.3 A rounded 'turret', around 3 metres in diameter, also lies along the curtain wall at the northern apex of the Outer Ward; it too is now open-backed, although a stub of walling projects into the ward 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. Early photographs suggest the height of the turret, and presumably the surrounding curtain wall, was reduced during the 20th century, removing some former openings visible in the upper part of the turret. There is no clear indication of any location for the third turret mentioned in the survey.

Evidential Value - High

- 6.11.4 The only visible medieval survival within the Outer Ward at Haverfordwest. There has likely been a significant degree of rebuild in some areas but medieval masonry does survive, and archaeological investigations have demonstrated relatively deep foundations and the potential for buried features, such as arrow loops, to survive. There is also the potential for buried floor levels within the projecting tower and turret.
- 6.11.5 Pictorial evidence is relatively scarce, confined largely to the Buck print and some earlier 20th century photographs, but documentary evidence for some of the outer ward features is known.

Historical Value - High

- 6.11.6 Activity and layout of the Outer Ward is not as well understood, therefore any visible remains are of historical value in helping to understand this area of the castle.

Aesthetic Value – Medium/High

- 6.11.7 These standing remains add an extra dimension to the castle, allowing an understanding of the outer ward which is otherwise lost as this area is dominated by 19th and 20th century developments.
- 6.11.8 The structures are best viewed from the north, where their height can be best appreciated, although development obscures the square tower, and a modern masonry staircase block has been inserted to provide access. From internally their aesthetic value is diminished as they are only visible as low perimeter walling, with the tower infilled as part of the car park.

Communal Value - High

- 6.11.9 The communal value is tied in to that of the castle as a whole.

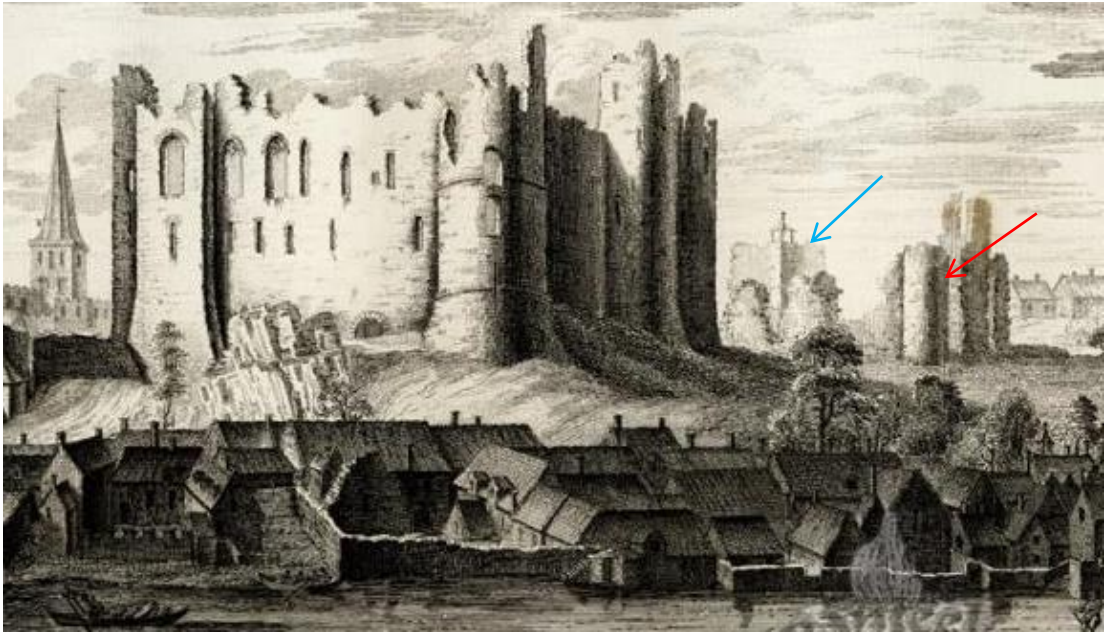


Figure 46: Extract from the Buck print of 1740, showing remains of the curtain wall and turret in red, and square tower in blue.



Figure 47: Exterior of the square tower, revealed during demolition works in 2008.



Figure 48: The curtain wall, and square tower, viewed from the east.



Figure 49: Photograph from 1935 (Haverfordwest Town Museum) showing the northern curtain wall and rounded turret in red, with openings visible in the upper levels.

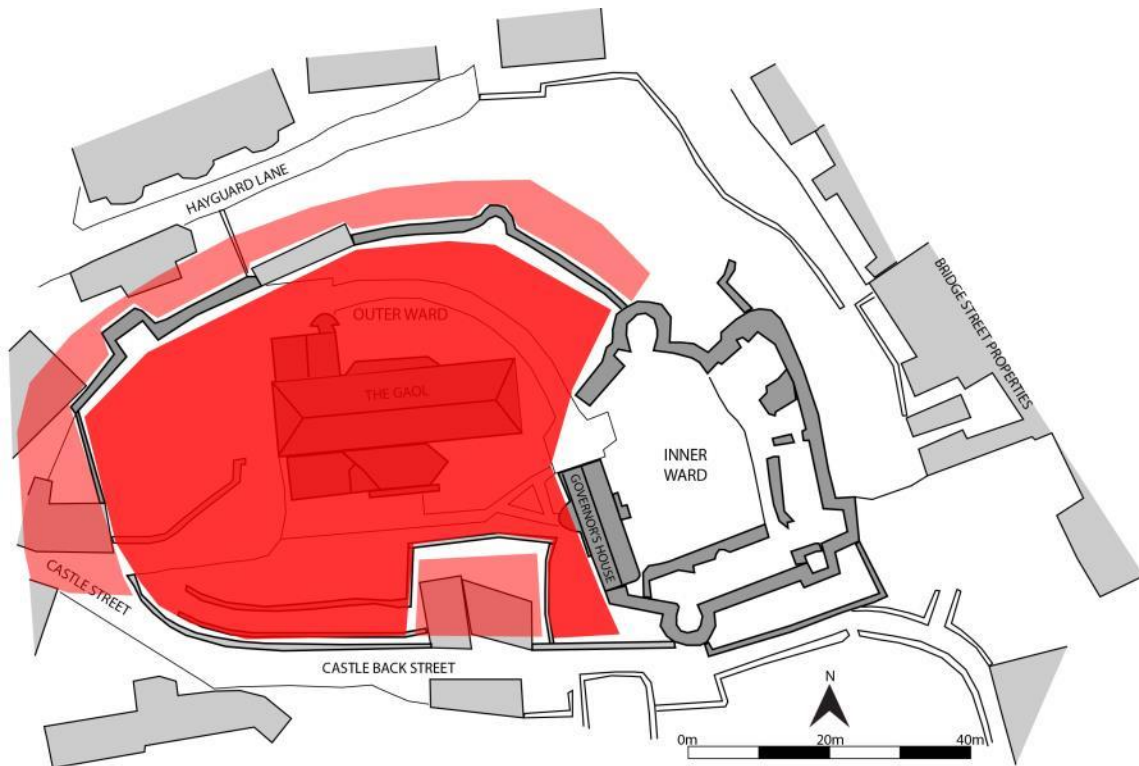


Figure 50: The exterior of the curtain walling and round turret, viewed from the northeast.



Figure 51: The inserted modern staircase in the curtain walling.

6.12 Outer Ward Buried Remains – Figure 52 (below)



- 6.12.1 There are no further visible medieval structures within the Outer Ward beyond the northern boundary. Masonry revetment walling defines the southern edge of the area above Castle Back Street, and although this may lie on the line of medieval walling, the visible structures appear to be later revetments, potentially late post-medieval in date.
- 6.12.2 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 15th century (Day and Ludlow 2016, 109). Historical references do however outline some of the features of this Outer Ward. A new stable built in 1387-8 (Owen 1911, 162) was probably the same as the one described adjoining the northwest tower in 1577 (therefore lying against the inner face of the northern curtain wall), 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).
- 6.12.3 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, and had gone by the later 19th century at the latest, thereby not appearing on plans of the site. 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. 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.

- 6.12.4 The southern part of the Outer Ward has experienced a fairly complex tenurial and developmental history. It is possible that the cottages on the north side of Castle Back were established on the site of a '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.
- 6.12.5 It is possible that the outer ward was originally a smaller enclosure, and was enlarged towards the northwest in c.1300; if so, it is highly probable that evidence for the original ditch will survive below-ground. The subsequent outer ditch, which ran along the outer face of the curtain wall to the north and west, is frequently mentioned in the medieval accounts, is obscured both by infill from the 17th century onwards (Crane 2008b, 2), and by development within its west and northwest limbs during the 19th century, 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. 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.

Evidential Value – Medium/High

- 6.12.6 There are no standing remains relating to the structures of the Outer Ward, and documentary sources only provide a partial picture of the layout and function of this area.
- 6.12.7 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, but typically many Outer Ward structures would be located on the peripheries. Some of the main structures may now lie outside the bounds of the current castle enclosure, with the potential for the gatehouse to underlie the domestic properties on the north side of Castle Street just beyond the entrance, and a former turret to underlie the buildings on the north side of Castle Back Street, ground levels in these locations suggest preservation of medieval features may be poor.
- 6.12.8 Infill of the castle ditches, both the potential inner ditch, and the subsequent outer ditch, is likely to have sealed earlier deposits which represent a resource of the greatest significance, potentially as a stratified sequence containing a wealth of structural, environmental and artefactual evidence.

Historical Value – High

- 6.12.9 Any surviving evidence would be very important in allowing an understanding of the layout and functioning of an important castle site, beyond the more

private spaces of the Inner Ward. This area of the castle may have been more directly associated with the functioning of the surrounding medieval town.

Aesthetic Value – Low/Medium

6.12.10 The subsequent development of this area as the 19th century gaol has largely obscured its medieval aesthetic value. The appearance of this area is difficult to immediately relate to the medieval castle, given the dominance of the 18th and 19th century structures, the open aspect to the south, and the lack of visible medieval evidence and references beyond the Inner Ward and northern curtain wall.

6.12.11 The area does offer some important views over the town and countryside to the north and south, which would no doubt have been a feature of the original medieval castle, but to the north these views are largely related to the visible remains of the north curtain wall and towers, whilst to the south there are no medieval remains with which to relate these views to.

Communal Value - Medium

6.12.12 The communal value is tied in to that of the castle as a whole, but it has been diminished given the lack of visible remains.



Figure 53: View west from the southern part of the Outer Ward, looking toward the current entry, with an open aspect to the left, and the imposing walling of former gaol/record office building on the right.



Figure 54: View southwest from the southern part of the Outer Ward, looking out over Haverfordwest with the tower of the medieval St Mary's church in the centre.



Figure 55: View northeast from the northern part of the Outer Ward, looking out over Haverfordwest with the medieval North Tower of the Inner Ward on the right.

7 THE POST-MEDIEVAL GAOL

7.1 Component parts

- 7.1.1 With the establishment of the county of Pembrokeshire in the mid-16th century the castle ceased to be the centre of an independent lordship and the use of the site began to change. It retained a function as a court-house and gaol for a little while, but these were moved to purpose built properties elsewhere in the town in the early 17th century, by which point the castle had probably also lost any vestiges of a resident household. It was garrisoned again during the Civil Wars of 1642-48, and despite not playing an active role demolition was subsequently ordered by Oliver Cromwell, likely leaving the castle an empty shell.
- 7.1.2 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 site was used during the period between its slighting in the 17th century and the establishment of the new County Gaol.
- 7.1.3 In 1779 a new County Gaol was established in the Inner Ward, likely resulting in the removal of much medieval fabric. The cells were initially focused on South Range, which was partially rebuilt, with a Governors House established over the site of the West Range to enclose the area. A Debtors Block was added to the north in 1816. The interior, and area around the northwest entrance into the Inner Ward, included a number of ancillary buildings, and enclosed yards.
- 7.1.4 In 1820 a new, much larger, gaol was built in the Outer Ward, with enclosing walls to the south, and ancillary buildings to the north. The Debtors Block was converted into a Female wing in the mid-19th century with the addition of a nearby Matron's House in the late 1860s.
- 7.1.5 Following the nationalisation of gaols in 1877 Haverfordwest closed in 1878, with the Inner Ward buildings occupied by the Pembrokeshire Constabulary. The Outer Ward gaol remained unused. The police remained at the site until 1963, when it was bought by Pembrokeshire County Council. The buildings of the Inner Ward were demolished in 1964-7, leaving only the Governor's House standing. The gaol in the Outer Ward was converted into a museum, and then the County Records Office, but now stands disused once more.
- 7.1.6 Based on the various studies of this period of use, again detailed largely in Ludlow *et al.* (2021), the components can be broadly sub-divided into a number of individual features, these are:
- **Inner Ward South Range**
 - **Inner Ward Debtor's/Female Wing**
 - **Inner Ward Matron's/Sergeant's House**
 - **Inner Ward Laundry**
 - **Inner Ward Yards & Passageway**
 - **Governor's House**
 - **Outer Ward Gaol**
 - **Ancillary Buildings**

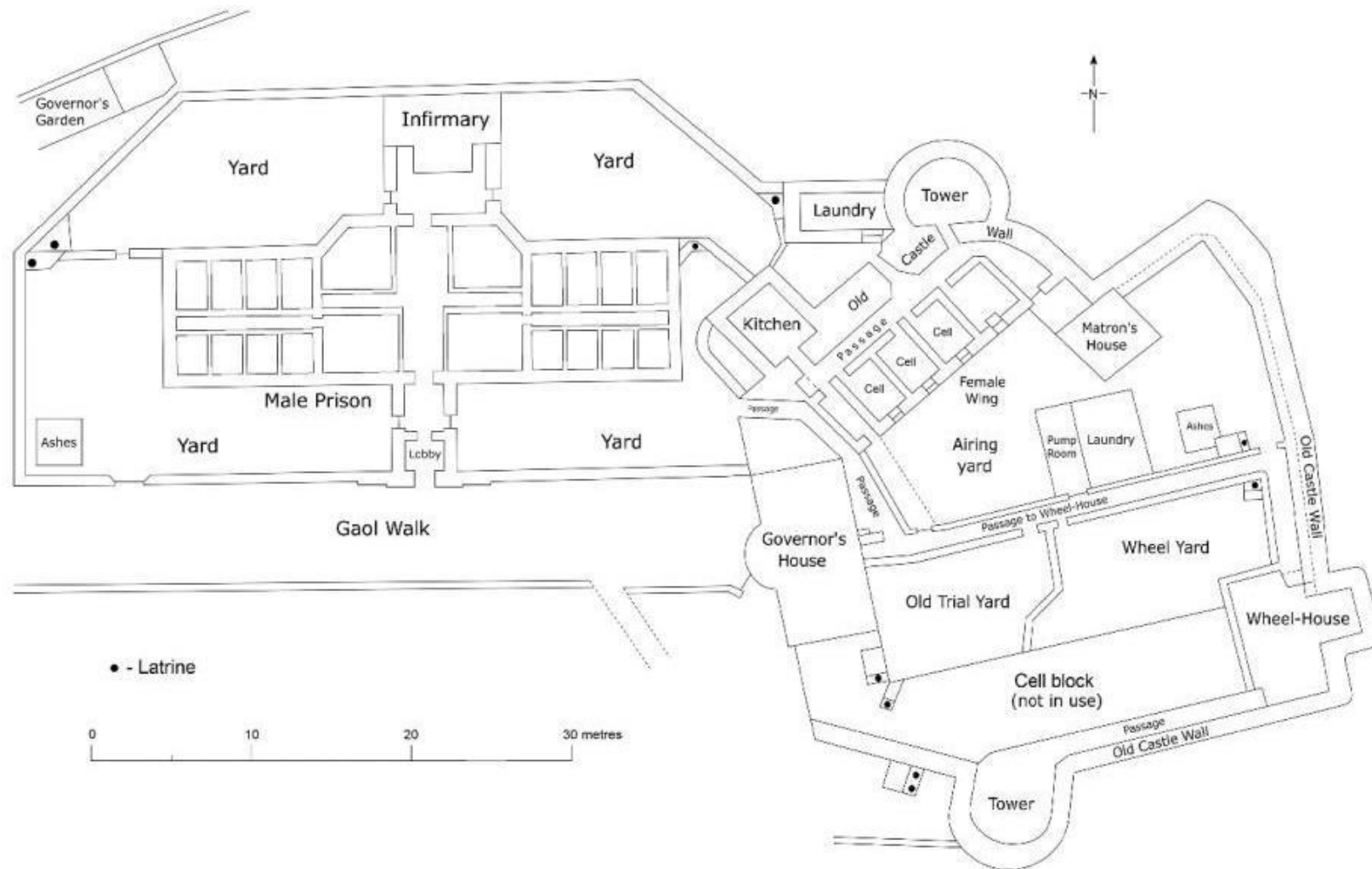
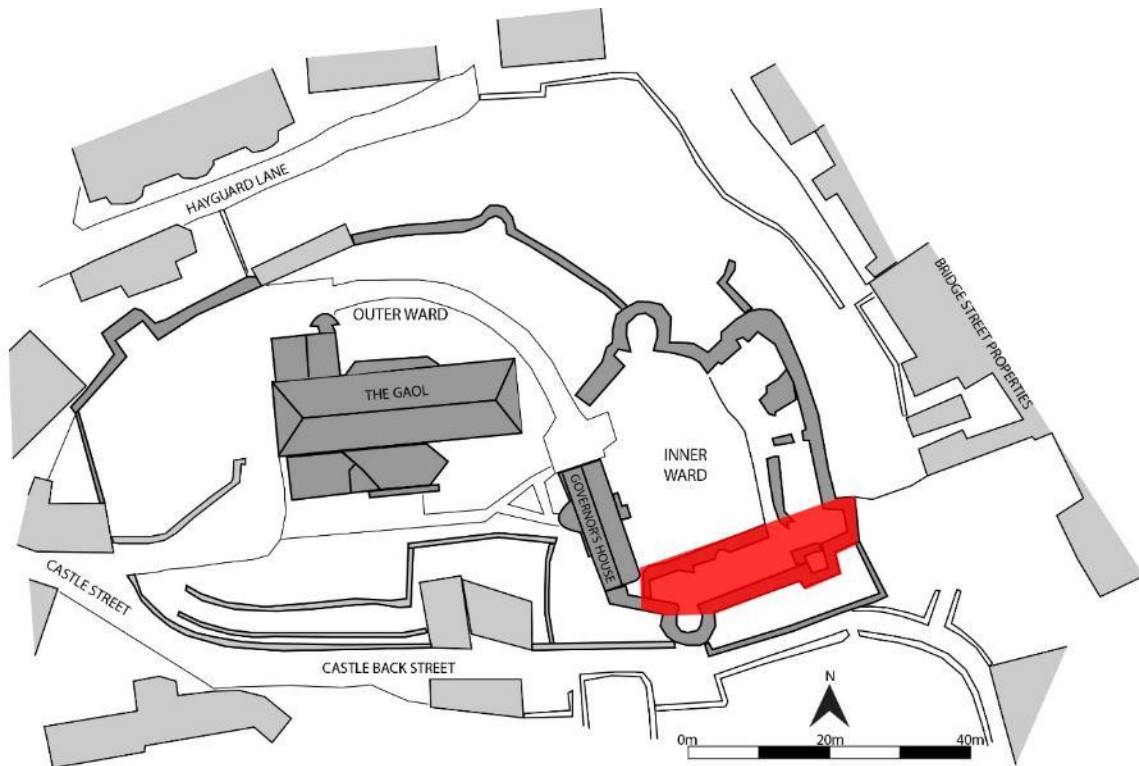


Figure 56: Schematic plan of Haverfordwest Gaol in c.1870
(adapted from plans held in Pembrokeshire Record Office, PCC/SE/77/39).

7.2 Inner Ward South Range (and Wheel House) – Figure 57 (below)



7.2.1 The establishment of a County Gaol in 1779 led to the re-use of the South Range. The inner (north) wall of the South Range appears to have been rebuilt to accommodate the cells, albeit along the medieval wall line as the footprint of the cell-block corresponded with that of its medieval predecessor (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 inner 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, 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. The cells were entered from a passage along the south side of the block. The chapel was labelled 'wheel-house' in c.1870, 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.

Evidential Value – Low/Medium

- 7.2.2 Very little physical remains of this range survive. The walls were demolished down to seemingly medieval levels, with only a scar marking the roofline. Buried remains are possible, significant infill is likely in this area, but buried levels may be more medieval in date.
- 7.2.3 Tantalising evidence of the wheel house remains, with possible evidence relating to the treadwheel in the surviving masonry. Ground levels are also

higher in this area towards the eastern end of the range, and a better survival of buried remains may be possible.

7.2.4 Detailed plans and some photographic evidence do survive.

Historical Value – High

7.2.5 Although few individual 18th and 19th century inmates are recorded, this range did famously house the French soldiers captured after the failed invasion at Fishguard in the 1790s, historically significant as the last foreign invasion of British soil.

7.2.6 The association with the treadmill also adds an extra dimension to the historical value.

Aesthetic Value – Low

7.2.7 The gaol building was not constructed for its aesthetic value, and very little obvious trace of this building now remains.

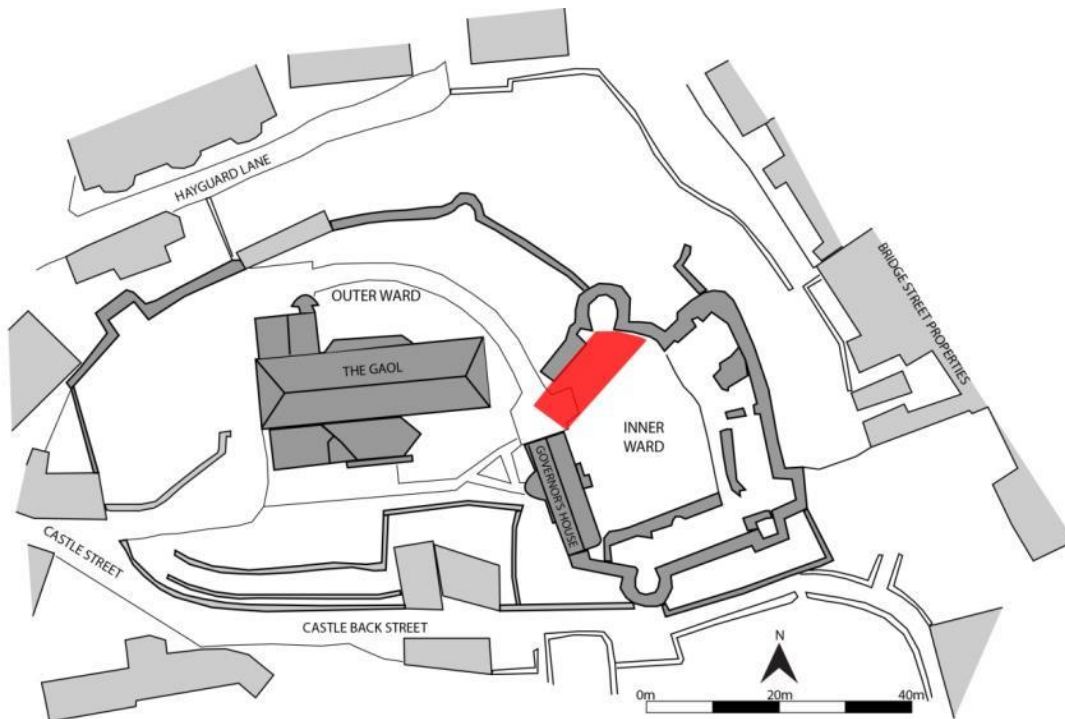
Communal Value – Medium/High

7.2.8 As with the rest of the gaol complex this area will have additional communal value for the symbolic value that a prominent historic and regional gaol would have, and any perceived links with the establishment of law and order, incarceration, and changing attitudes to criminality.



Figure 58: 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).

7.3 Inner Ward Debtors Block/Female Wing – Figure 59 (below)



- 7.3.1 A Debtor's Block was added to the gaol complex in 1816, built against the northern curtain wall of the Inner Ward. Later plans and photographs show a roofed building, measuring roughly 17 metres by 6 metres, which housed the Women's Wing which had been established, after 1823, in the Debtor's Block (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. 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, 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 described above). 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 block remained as prison cells during the later use of the site as the police station.
- 7.3.2 The outer wall of this building is visible on the geophysical surveys, which suggested intact structural remains buried at a depth of around 0.45m. Internal divisions are marked on a plan from the 1920s, and two internal wall divisions are suggested on the survey results at a similar depth to the outer wall. Substantial ferrous items also appear to be buried in this area.

Evidential Value - High

- 7.3.3 There are some remains of this building visible in the standing curtain walling, although they are difficult to interpret without further knowledge of the site. Geophysical surveys suggest substantial buried remains relating to this structure are likely to survive.

- 7.3.4 The building is well recorded on historic plans, and some photographs also survive.

Historical Value - Medium

- 7.3.5 The names of some individuals incarcerated in this building are known, and the building has associations with important historical events in the prison system, such as the separation of male and female prisoners.

Aesthetic Value - Low

- 7.3.6 As with the south range, the building was not designed for its aesthetic appearance, and no visible traces remain.

Communal Value – Medium/High

- 7.3.7 The communal value is shared with the rest of the gaol complex.

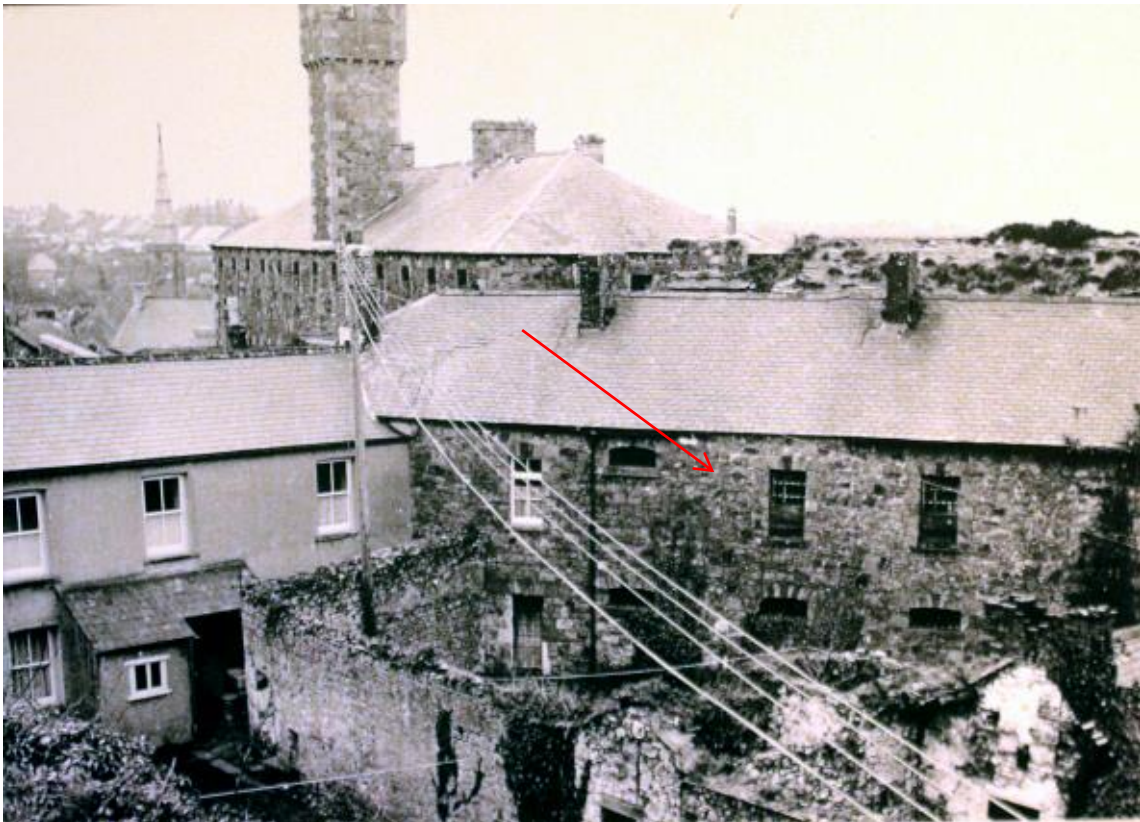
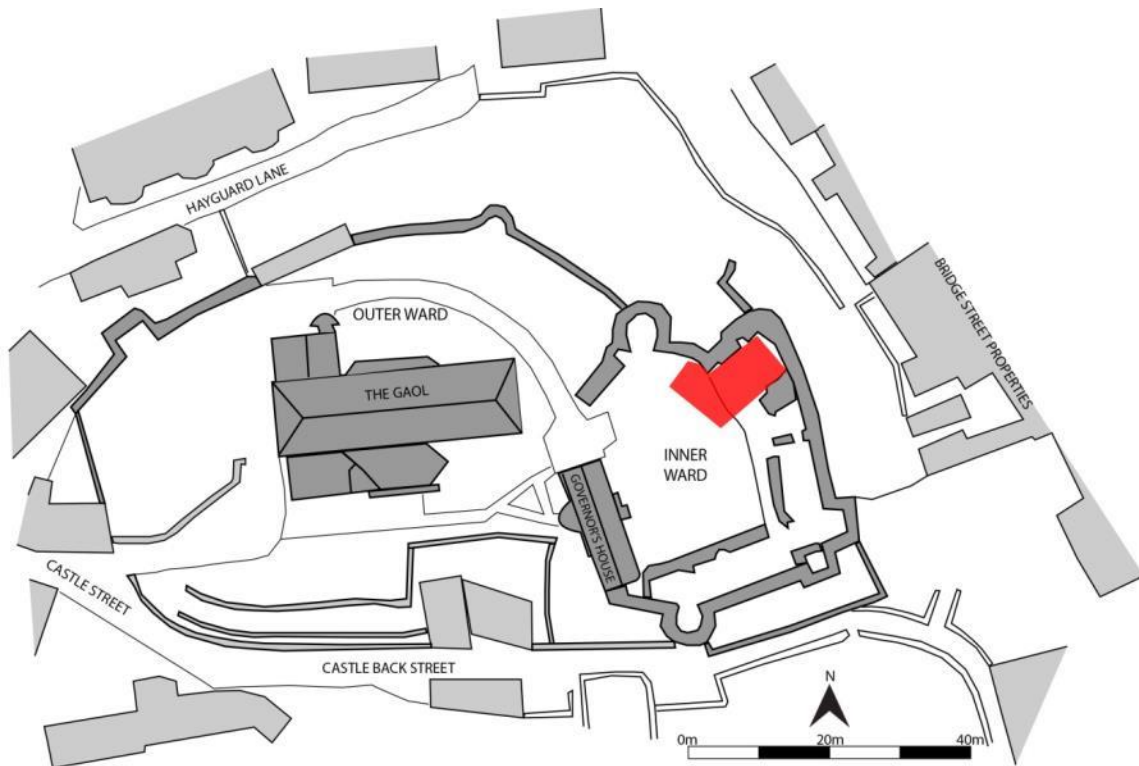


Figure 60: The Female Wing highlighted in red, built against the medieval walling that rises above the roofline, with the lower Governor's House on the left, and the 1820 gaol to the rear. (Haverfordwest Town Museum).

7.4 Inner Ward Matron's/Sergeant's House – Figure 61 (below)



- 7.4.1 The internal walls of the Northeast Tower and East Range had gone when the gaol was established. 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), a hip-roofed building that was retained as the Police Sergeant's residence after 1878.
- 7.4.2 As a Sergeant's House it expanded to the northeast to infill the area between the Matron's House and medieval outer wall of the Keep. This was subsequently used to store armaments in the early 20th century. This building was built against and potentially over, the southwest wall of the medieval Keep/Northeast Tower, which may account for the lack of obvious surface remains of the tower wall in this area. The location of a chimney also suggests it may have re-used a medieval chimney in the northwest wall of the Keep/Northeast Tower. The geophysical surveys identified linear features at a depth of approximately 0.55m which appears to align with this building, and may represent an internal wall, along with spreads of material that would appear to correspond to the layout of the House, suggesting spreads of rubble or associated archaeological deposits, and potential obscured flooring and structural remains.

Evidential Value - Medium

- 7.4.3 There are no above ground remains of this structure, although the geophysical surveys highlight a good potential for below-ground remains to survive, particularly as this area of the Inner Ward is raised slightly.
- 7.4.4 The building is shown on plans of the gaol and police station, and historic photographs, therefore its layout is understood.

Historical Value – Low/Medium

- 7.4.5 There are no direct historical associations with this building, although further research may reveal gaol matrons and police sergeants who occupied the building.

Aesthetic Value – Low

- 7.4.6 As with many of the functional buildings within the gaol complex of the Inner Ward the aesthetic value is low and no visible remains survive.

Communal Value – Medium/High

- 7.4.7 The communal value is shared with the rest of the gaol complex.

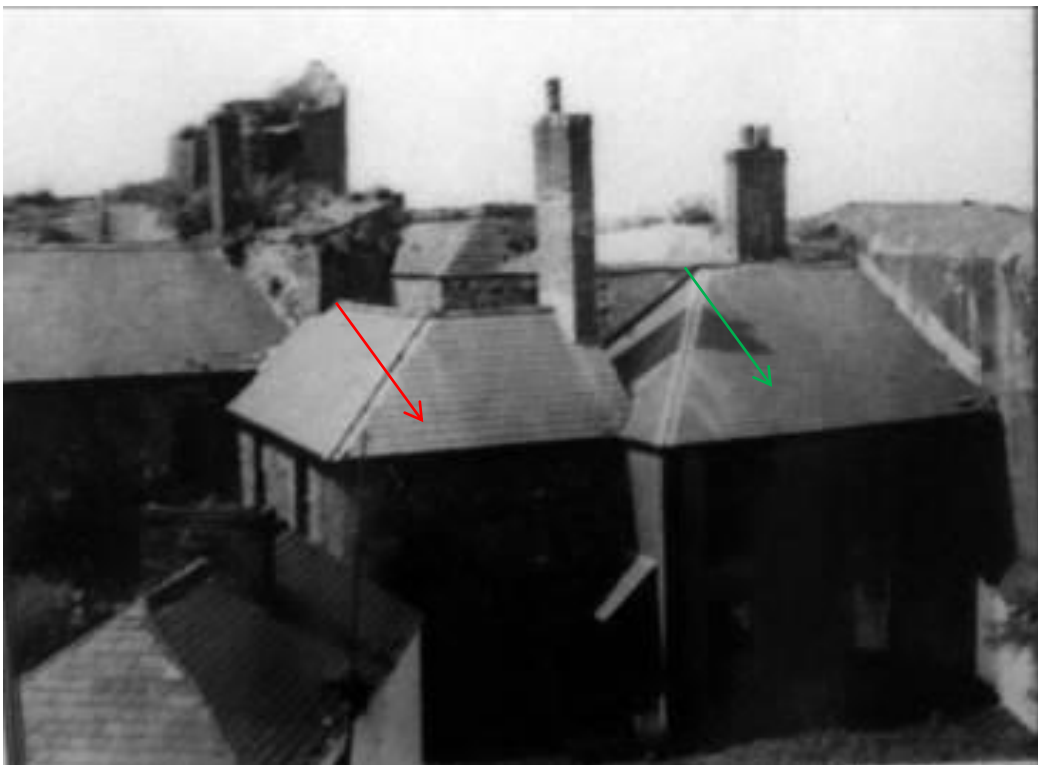
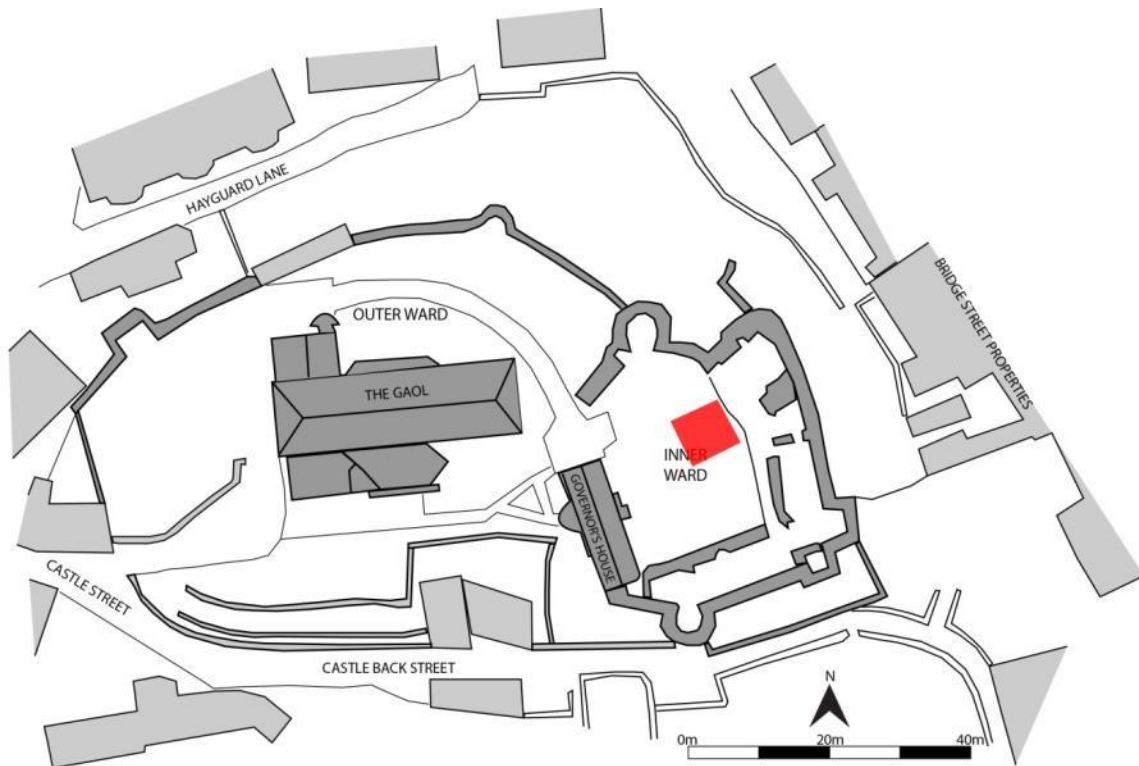


Figure 62: An undated image (but subsequent to the establishment of the early 20th century police headquarters) showing the original Matron's House in red, and the later extension to the northeast in green. (Haverfordwest Town Museum).

7.5 Inner Ward Laundry – Figure 63 (below)



- 7.5.1 The medieval well was incorporated into a building, divided into two areas, labelled on historic plans as 'Well-House and Laundry'. The Laundry sat on the east side, with a Pump Room on the west, which enclosed the actual well (alternatively labelled as the Well House on other plans). The Pump Room/Well House was depicted on all geophysical survey results, with linear structures identified to the east, west and north of the well, with possible buried walls of the Pump Room/Well House at the north and south ends at depths of around 0.7m to 0.8m. The adjoining Laundry is less well-defined on the survey results, although some walling, pipework and drains are suggested. GPR indicated general activity at a depth of approximately 0.25m.
- 7.5.2 Adjoining the Pump Room/Well House to the northwest the surveys identified a rectangular feature, fed by services (identified through the evaluation excavation as at least one, possibly two, lead water pipes), which given the location suggested a water tank, possibly only 0.25m below the current ground level. Further services, and potential small structural features were also suggested surrounding the feature. A further service trench is suggested running north from the water tank, potentially feeding the prison block to the north. Some service pipes also appear to correspond to pathways shown on Gaol and Police Station plans, and it is possible the surveys are identifying path surfaces instead of services. GPR results identified two straight-sided features to the north, both at around 0.45m to 0.5m below the ground surface. The regular nature would suggest structural features, but they also appear to respect the prison building wall and may therefore be contemporary features.

Evidential Value - High

- 7.5.3 The medieval well remains the only visible element of these structures, but geophysical survey results strongly suggest extensive associated buried remains relating to the gaol laundry and pump room. The buildings are

marked on historic plans of the site, but they do not appear clearly on historic photographs.

Historical Value - Medium

- 7.5.4 There are no direct associations with specific people, but the complex of buildings is likely to illustrate an important aspect of the functioning of 18th and 19th century gaols.

Aesthetic Value – Low/Medium

- 7.5.5 There is unlikely to be a significant aesthetic quality to the original structure, and there are no visible remains associated, other than the medieval well.

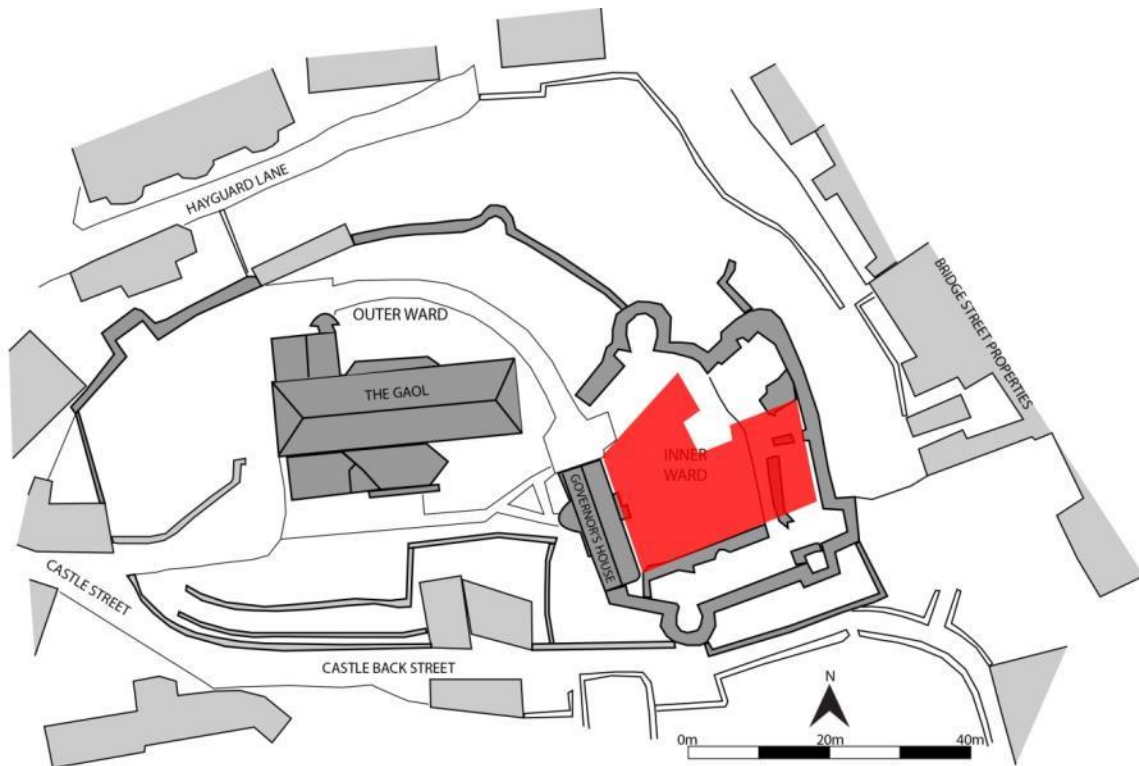
Communal Value – Medium/High

- 7.5.6 The communal value is shared with the rest of the gaol complex.



Figure 64: View of the Female Wing of the gaol, with the whitewashed passageway wall in the foreground, incorporating the hipped roof of the laundry shown in red. The laundry roof is also visible in the foreground of Figure 61. (Haverfordwest Town Museum).

7.6 Inner Ward Gaol Yards and Passageway – Figure 65 (below)



- 7.6.1 The Inner Ward area, between the South Range, the Debtor's Block/Female Wing and the Governors House comprised open yards, subdivided by a central passageway running between the Governor's House and the former East Range. North of the passageway was an 'Airing Yard' for the female wing, along with the Laundry structures mentioned above which adjoined the central passage.
- 7.6.2 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. Both were presumably also 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.
- 7.6.3 The central passageway that subdivides the area is visible on old photographs as a high boundary wall, with a central passageway (or possibly just a wall along the northern edge of the passageway), extending from the rear of the Governor's House/museum to the east curtain wall, across the line of the demolished medieval East Range. Remains of this passageway and its boundary walls have been picked up on geophysical surveys, at potential depths of between 0.5m to 0.7m, up to 1.2m deep in places.
- 7.6.4 To the south of the central passageway the surveys produced some intriguing results which have been discussed in the medieval section above as possible structural remains, but it is difficult to ascribe particular functions to this period of activity as this was a largely an open area comprising the Old Trial Yard to the west and Wheel Yard to the east, separated by a curving central wall. This wall does not appear clearly on the survey results, but a spike in

the magnetometry results does appear to coincide with the southern end of the wall. The archaeological evaluation identified a mortared stone-lined drain running along the northern face of the visible masonry walling along the southern edge of this area.

- 7.6.5 Within the former East Range the plans of the Gaol and Police Station indicate a north – south boundary wall between the current north – south medieval masonry wall and the outer curtain wall, with two small buildings adjoining.

Evidential Value – Medium/High

- 7.6.6 There are no standing remains to indicate any of these sub-divisions, and therefore the layout of the Inner Ward gaol is largely lost. Geophysical surveys and evaluation trenches clearly show however that there is likely to be a significant below-ground archaeological resource in this area relating to the gaol complex, including remains of the central passageway and boundary walls.
- 7.6.7 The layout is clearly marked on historic plans, and appears on some historic photographs.

Historical Value – Medium

- 7.6.8 There are no associations with specific people, but the yards and passageway are of value in explaining the layout and function of 18th and 19th century gaols, and their responses to developments in how gaols were conceived and run during this period.

Aesthetic Value – Low

- 7.6.9 These areas are of little aesthetic value. They would have been open areas, but surrounded by high walling preventing any views in and out of the yards. There are currently no above ground remains and visual elements to these features.

Communal Value – Medium/High

- 7.6.10 The communal value is shared with the rest of the gaol complex.

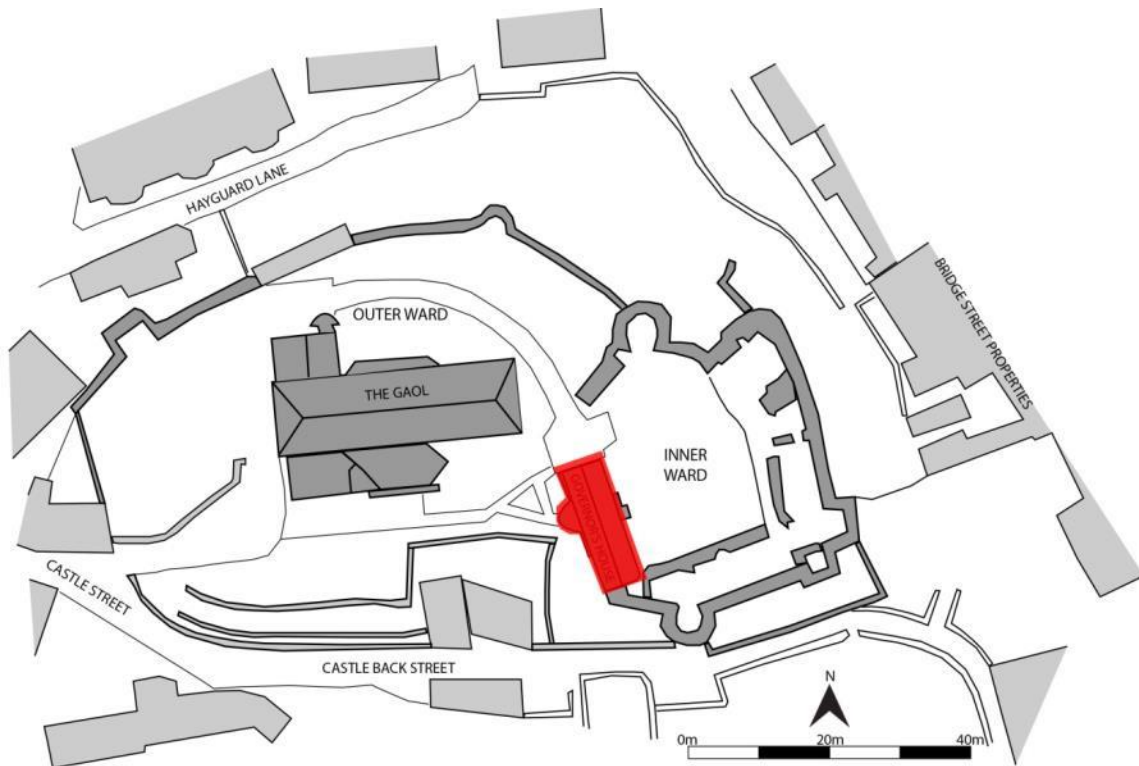


Figure 66: Undated photograph showing the whitewashed north wall of the passage on the right, with the Governor's House to the rear. (Haverfordwest Town Museum)



Figure 67: Interpretation layer from the various geophysical surveys, depicting features (in blue and green) likely to relate to the 18th and 19th century gaol and police station. The numbers relate to descriptions in the survey report (Poucher 2020).

7.7 Governor's House – Figure 68 (below)



- 7.7.1 The Governor's House was built in 1779 as part of the establishment of the County Gaol in the Inner Ward in 1777. The main residence comprises a rectangular two-storey, three bay structure, with a projecting rounded central tower to the west. It was built in a castellated Gothic style, but adjoined part of the South Range, and formerly had further buildings attached to the north to fully enclose the Inner Ward area.
- 7.7.2 It appears to have been built on the line of the western edge of the Inner Ward, potentially overlying a former West Range (see above), but the main residence appear to be a late 18th century construction, with the rounded tower part of its 18th century design, incorporating solid oak doors to the front and rear, of which the rear doors survive. At the southern end high walling has been added, possibly originally as part of the 1780 cell block, but later incorporated into the governor's residence. There is some suggestion the lower courses of the western side of this southern addition may have been built on earlier foundations.
- 7.7.3 The basic layout of the late 18th century building is likely retained in the three bay layout, with a room on either side of the central hall, but the structure has clearly had some alterations during its lifetime, with the addition of an extra southern room at a slightly lower level, late 19th or 20th century windows, and the removal of adjoining structures. Detailed plans of 1924 survive, showing the layout during its use as a part of the police station. The building currently houses the town museum.

Evidential Value - High

- 7.7.4 A standing building, retaining some interesting 18th and 19th century features, including fireplaces, doors and staircases. The rear of the building is rendered, but stonework is visible along the remaining faces and architectural detail

survives. The building is the only surviving standing remains of the original late 18th century gaol.

- 7.7.5 Detailed plans of the historic layout of the building are retained within the museum itself, along with a number of historic documents, photographs and postcards.

Historical Value - High

- 7.7.6 The building is clearly closely tied in to the running and organisation of the gaol and subsequent police station, and was a high status building within the complex. Details of the architects and residents of the building have not been researched, but the names of some of the residents are known from archival sources.
- 7.7.7 The accessibility and preservation of the building, along with the artefacts and information contained within, help illustrate the past use of the site and connect visitors to the history of the area.

Aesthetic Value - High

- 7.7.8 The building is a very visible historic asset within the castle setting, and retains its original architectural design features, such as the castellated frontage, which ties it in to its surroundings. It is an important visual representation of the later use of the castle site. This value is concentrated largely on its western frontage, which is the more publically-facing elevation. The eastern frontage was functional, facing the enclosed gaol, and appears as a part-whitewashed frontage on historic photos, now covered in modern plain render with little architectural detailing.

Communal Value - High

- 7.7.9 The building, particularly in its current use as a museum detailing the history of the castle and town, has great communal value, especially as it is itself an important historic asset within that setting. The museum allows people to connect to the historic past on the site, but this value has been in decline with visiting numbers reducing, particularly after the closure of the record office has led to a decrease in people accessing the site as a whole.



Figure 69: Postcard image from 1910 showing the west face of the Governor's House and the attached gaol walling.



Figure 70: Undated photo of the west face of the Governor's House. (Haverfordwest Town Museum).

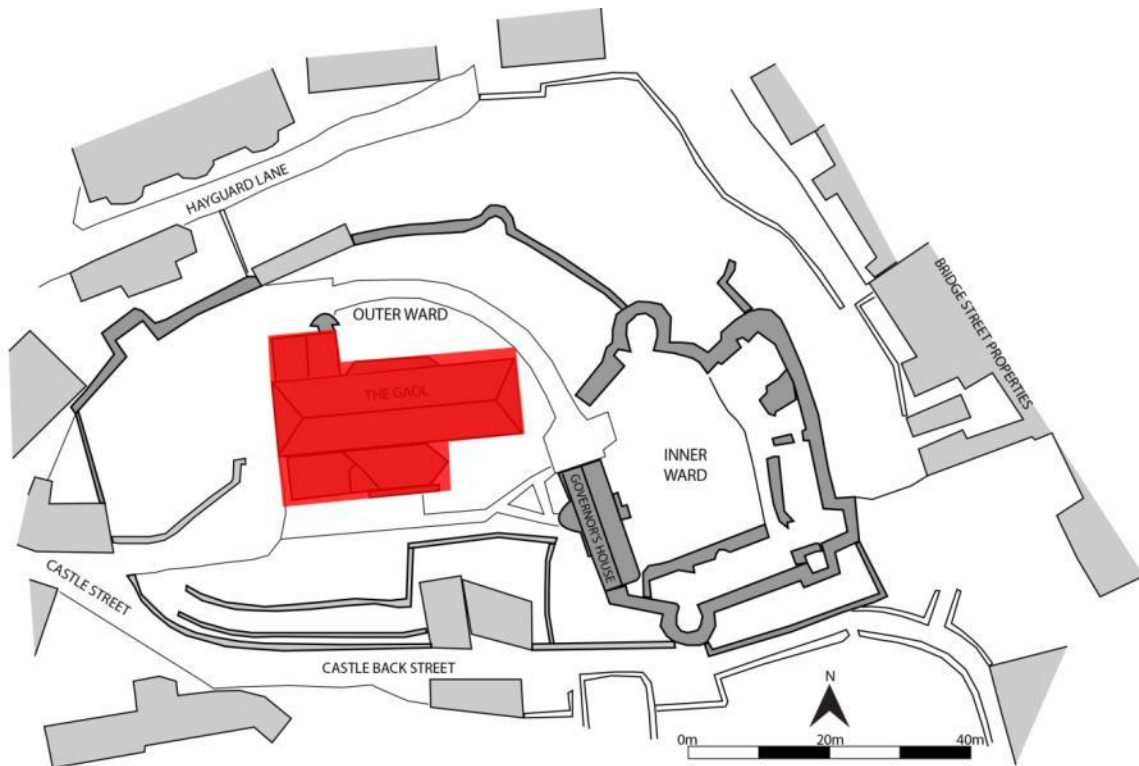


Figure 71: Current view of the west face of the Governor's House.



Figure 72: The rendered rear face of the Governor's House.

7.8 Outer Ward Gaol – Figure 73 (below)



- 7.8.1 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, the number of airing yards in Lewis's description suggests that it encompassed both the inner and outer wards, while the treadwheel appears to have remained within the inner ward until at least c.1870.
- 7.8.2 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. 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.

- 7.8.3 In 1963 the building was redesigned by Gilbert Ray, the County Architect, and along with the ornamental window grilles, triangular blocks were added to either side of the main gateway on the south side, with an additional rubble wall to the west added in 1974, incorporating an unusual, millstone-like concrete roundel with incised radiating lines between the wall and the main block. On the north side a large extension was added in 1963 to the northwest corner, and modern windows were inserted at ground floor level within the original central gable. Internally the building appears to have been stripped out, with some original rooms left at ground floor level but with all fixtures and fittings removed, subdivided with concrete blocks and used as document storage, with modern offices inserted to the rear. At 1st floor level the appearance is entirely mid to late 20th century, with modern materials, a mezzanine floor and lowered ceilings. Some original gaol-era doors have been preserved in the front entrance however. The building was subsequently used as the county museum and record office, now both museum and record office have relocated elsewhere.

Evidential Value – Medium/High

- 7.8.4 It is Grade II listed 'for its special historic interest as fabric of a substantial late Georgian prison building with fine gatehouse front'. Whilst it clearly retains much of the fabric of this impressive early 19th century gaol building, elements of the original building are obscured by mid-20th century redevelopment, and the interior now largely appears as a 1960s structure beyond the front entrance.
- 7.8.5 The main gaol building was one part of a wider gaol complex, which has largely been removed (see below), but the potential for further evidence of associated structures and activities to survive below-ground remains.
- 7.8.6 Some documentary evidence of the building survives, including plans of the layout and a surgeon's diary, along with historic photographs of the site that record some now removed elements.

Historical Value – High

- 7.8.7 The scale and prominence of the exterior of the building is a clear link to the past use of the site as a 19th century gaol, and is a rare accessible survival of such a structure, although the internal evidential value is much reduced. Some features from the building have been preserved and illustrated in the museum housed in the neighbouring Governor's House.

Aesthetic Value – Medium/High

- 7.8.8 The structure is located in a very visible part of the site, and Haverfordwest as a whole, particularly in views from the north. The building dominates the Outer Ward, and obscures views of the medieval elements of the site from the west. Originally the site would also have been surrounded by high walling as an additional security measure, but the scale of building, particularly with the now-removed central watchtower, indicates it was intended to be a visually dominant structure in the town, and in many ways a continuation of the show of strength encapsulated by the medieval castle.

- 7.8.9 The aesthetic value has in some ways been diminished by the 20th century additions, which can confuse the understanding of the original function of the building, and there appears to be little association between the external and internal appearances.

Communal Value - Medium

- 7.8.10 The building is a clear visible link to the history of the site, which is of communal value. This value may have changed through time, particularly when the building became the county museum and record office which would have offered further connections to the past, but also an incentive to visit the site which has now been lost with the closure of the building.



Figure 74: View from the roof of the Governor's House of the south face of the gaol building, also showing now-removed features such as the flanking walling to either side of the entrance, and the tall watchtower projecting from the roof. (Haverfordwest Town Museum).



Figure 75: The current southern face of the building, showing the 1960s additions between the entrance and the main building, and the flanking walling to the west.



Figure 76: The east and north elevations of the building, showing the modern extension on the northwest corner.

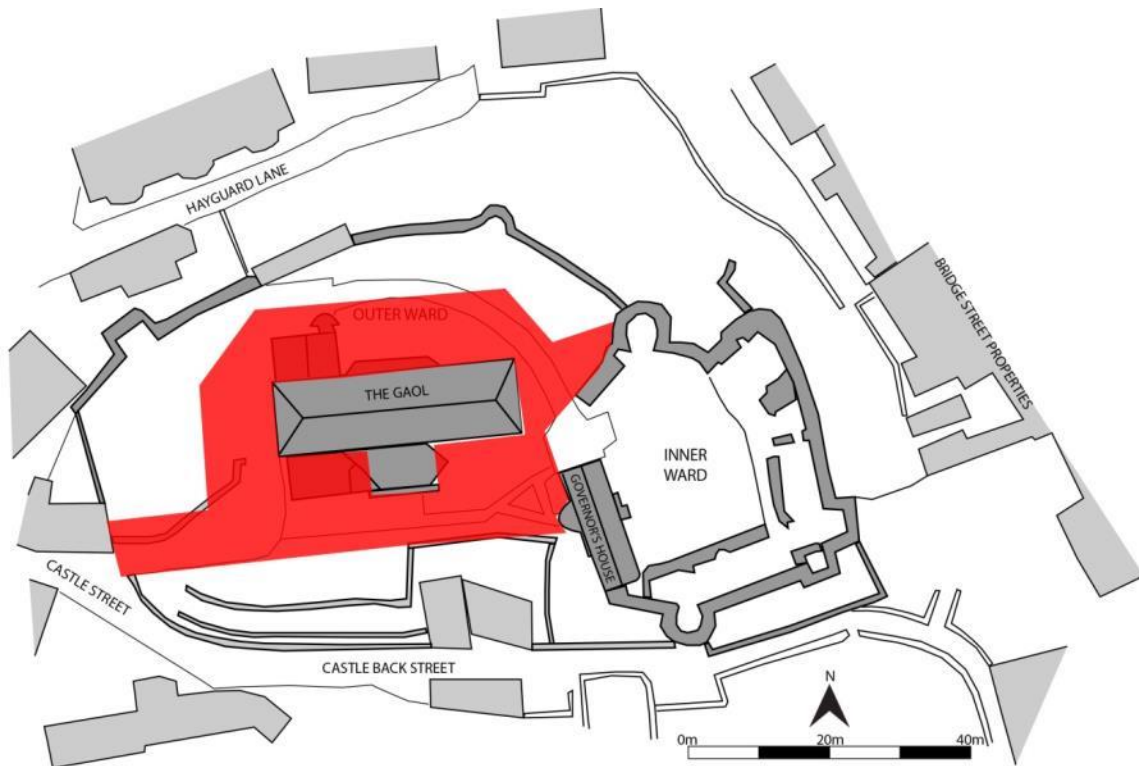


Figure 77: The inner entrance to the building, retaining the original openings and gaol-era door.



Figure 78: The interior at 1st floor level, showing the modern mezzanine flooring and lowered ceiling.

7.9 Ancillary Buildings – Figure 79 (below)



- 7.9.1 The current gaol building was only one element of a wider gaol complex, much of which was removed in the 1960s redevelopment of the site. The projecting entrance gateway of the gaol building was flanked on either side by tall walls which enclosed exercise yards, shown on late 19th-century plans. The eastern yard extended up to the inner ward and its entry, with a detached office building in its south-eastern 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. Built against the northwest side of the Inner Ward were kitchens and laundries, with direct access into the Debtor's Block/Female Wing within the Inner Ward opened through the castle wall. South of the block, a narrow yard (or wide lane) – the 'Gaol Walk' – 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.
- 7.9.2 The layout was largely retained when the site became part of the police station by the early 20th century. Plans of the site from 1924 show a series of offices occupying the space between the main block and the flanking walls lining the Gaol Walk. Photographs of this era also show the Gaol Walk as a wide open approach to the former Governor's House.
- 7.9.3 In 1963 these buildings and boundary walls were cleared, with new additions added to the redevelopment of the main block (see above), a car park installed to the west, and new tracks and footpaths established around the main gaol building and up to the former Governor's House. The stairway access through the northern curtain wall was also probably added during this period of redevelopment.

Evidential Value – Medium

- 7.9.3 The standing remains of these buildings were cleared in the 1960s, with some areas subject to further landscaping with the installation of car park areas and trackways. There is however the potential for below-ground remains to exist, particularly to the north of the main block, and around the northern curtain wall of the Inner Ward.
- 7.9.4 The layout is recorded on various historic plans of the site, both from the 19th gaol-era, and the subsequent early-20th century police station era. The original walled frontage to the gaol, bounding the 'Gaol Walk', is captured on several photographs of the site, but no clear images of the remaining ancillary buildings have been located.

Historical Value – Medium

- 7.9.5 These structures would have formed an integral part to the running of a 19th century gaol, but generally as ancillary structures less is known about them. They are unlikely to be linked to specific people, as the main accommodation and offices would have been contained within the main block.

Aesthetic Value – Low

- 7.9.6 The aesthetic value is likely to be mixed as elements of the ancillary structures would have been specifically designed to be imposing, and with some architectural merit, such as the entrance walling, and potentially the infirmary buildings to the north as these would have been prominent visible structures. Other structures are likely to have been more utilitarian and functional in style. However, this value is diminished as these structures no longer survive above ground.

Communal Value – Low

- 7.9.7 These structure are likely to have a low individual communal value, but are part of the communal value of the gaol complex as a whole.

8 20th CENTURY ALTERATIONS

- 8.1 As mentioned in the descriptions above, subsequent to the police headquarters moving to a new location in the mid-20th century the site was acquired by the County Council and redeveloped in the 1960s. Disused and dilapidated buildings were removed, extensive landscaping was undertaken, upstanding masonry was repaired and consolidated, and remaining structures were renovated. This work was undertaken across the site, in some cases significantly altering the current appearance, and establishing the site as it is visible today.
- 8.2 As discussed in sections 5.8 and 5.9 extensive work was carried out in the Outer Ward under the designs of Gilbert Ray, County Architect, to re-purpose the main 19th century gaol block as a county museum and record office. Ancillary buildings and enclosure walling was removed, including structures formerly attached to the main gaol block and the former Governor's House. New additions were added to main gaol building, notably around the entranceway to the south, and on the northwest corner. Extensive works were carried out to the interior of the gaol to provide storage space, office space, and publically accessible areas. The now open areas around the gaol were landscaped to provide level lawned areas to the north and south, likely including infill around the periphery (and potential reduction of the northern curtain wall), and a tarmac car park was installed to the west. Infill of the towers along the northern curtain wall were also likely part of this landscaping and car park establishments, and the stairway access through the northern curtain wall of the Outer Ward may also have been established during these works.
- 8.3 Within the Inner Ward all elements of the 18th and 19th century gaol were demolished, with the exception of the former Governor's House. Extensive photographic records of this work survive, retained by the RCAHMS, which along with subsequent archaeological investigations indicate that despite extensive intrusive works, significant areas of infill and preservation of previous archaeological remains may survive. The archaeological investigations also revealed cabling trenching for floodlighting, other service trenching and brick walling, from the subsequent use of this area, but it has long been maintained as an open lawned area, with the exposed footings of medieval walling indicating the East and South Ranges. Repairs to the medieval masonry are also likely during this period, most noticeable along the northern curtain wall of the Inner Ward. A significant area of concrete revetment along the exposed exterior bedrock at the foot of the eastern curtain wall has the appearance of large-scale municipal works of this period.
- 8.4 Ascribing values to this period of activity is difficult as it essentially represents modern activity which survives largely intact to the present day, and therefore is not necessarily considered to be an historic asset. In an assessment of historic assets therefore the quantification of such values is likely to be more subjective, and therefore no quantification is given, only elements of the values identified.

Evidential Value

- 8.5 As modern activity survives and is clearly visible throughout the site evidential value would be high, particularly given the extensive photographic records of the works carried out in the Inner Ward area.

Historical Value

- 8.6 As modern activity this does not particularly illustrate historical activity in and of itself, although the clearance of the gaol buildings in the Inner Ward has revealed the medieval fabric of the castle, helped preserved substantial upstanding elements of the historic site, and facilitated the preservation and presentation of the history of the site and area in establishing museums and record offices.

Aesthetic Value

- 8.7 The aesthetic value of such modern activity is highly subjective. As mentioned above, the clearance of gaol buildings in the Inner Ward has removed all visible traces of the historic gaol, but in doing so has allowed the medieval fabric of the castle to be made visible. In contrast in the Outer Ward the mid to late 20th century architectural features and internal design survives, but this has removed many elements of the historic gaol layout, and obscures elements of the remaining structure, as well as obscuring elements of the medieval castle. Anecdotally the 20th century additions appear to divide opinion as to their aesthetic appreciation.

Communal Value

- 8.8 These works were clearly designed with the intention to improve the communal value of the site, opening it up to public consumption and social interaction, providing tangible links to the past use of the site, and providing new areas of income and employment. This has clearly diminished as the main former gaol building/Record Office has become disused, and general new visitor numbers to the site have dropped.

9 CASTLE EXTERIOR

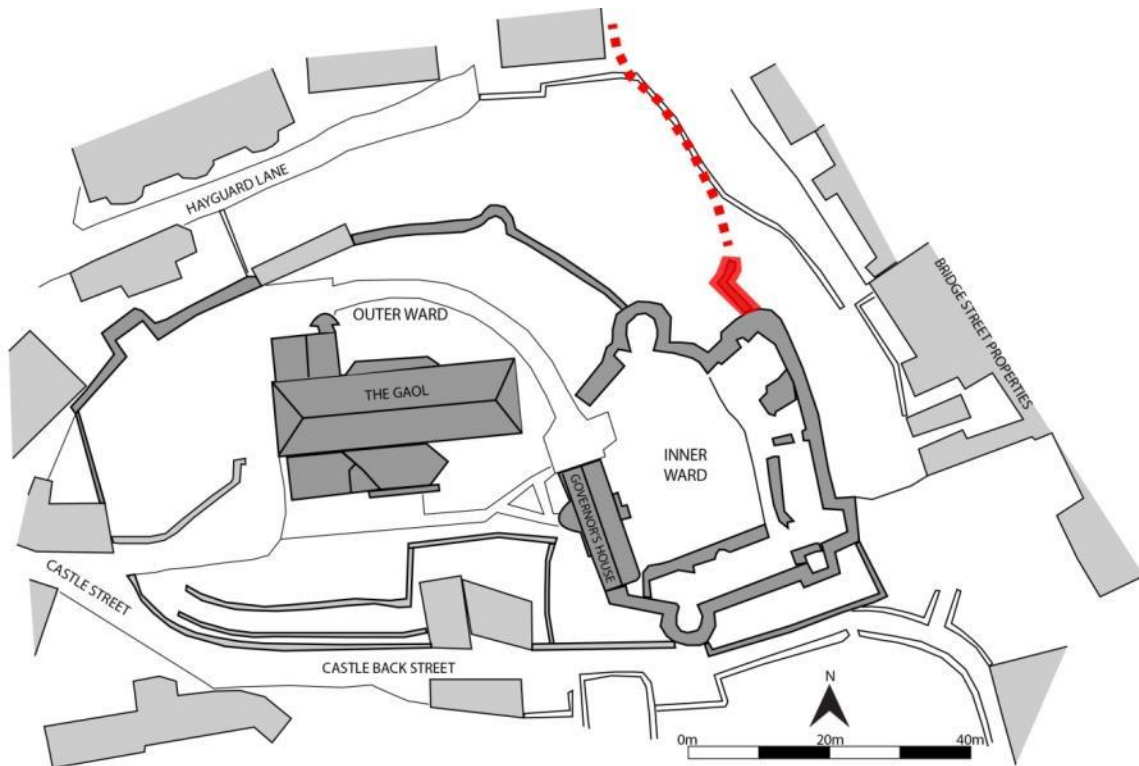
9.1 Component Parts

9.1.1 The current Scheduled Area of Haverfordwest Castle focusses on the main visible masonry and earthwork remains of the medieval castle site, which includes the Inner and Outer Wards, along with an area of infilled ditch around the northern side of the castle. However, since its establishment the castle has both expanded, and as it has fallen out of use later development has expanded into the former castle site. Alongside this, the castle has developed as an integral element to the medieval and later town of Haverfordwest, and therefore elements related to castle extend beyond the boundaries of its visible remains.

9.1.2 Elements of the former castle entrance, including the western curtain wall and gatehouse have been discussed above (section 4.12), and no visible remains survive, therefore they are not discussed further. Other elements, such as the castle ditch, are also discussed in section 4.12, but these are discussed below as they survive as a distinct visible element to the north of the castle (albeit largely infilled). These, and other visible elements surrounding the castle have been identified as:

- **Town Wall to the north**
- **Defensive Ditch and Hayguard Lane**
- **Castle Back and the Southern Boundary**
- **Eastern Slopes**

9.2 Town Wall to the north – Figure 80 (below)



- 9.2.1 The original medieval town of Haverfordwest, Castleton, developed to the north and west of the castle. This area was likely defended by earthen ramparts from an early period, probably before 1200. A murage grant was issued in 1264, at which point these defences were likely rebuilt in stone. The area defended by this stone wall remained relatively small, surrounding Castleton, with subsequent suburban expansion along High Street to the south and Bridge Street to the east defended by gateways, but never seemingly enclosed by walling.
- 9.2.2 As late as 1937, the line of the mid-13th 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, 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, 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.
- 9.2.3 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. It appears in none of the published descriptions of the castle and town seen by Ludlow (Ludlow et al 2021), but can be identified on the OS 1:500 map of Haverfordwest, of 1889, on which it is labelled 'Arch'. The remains of a return at its northwest end correspond with the 90° turn shown on the map, which depicts the walling as continuing north-eastwards. 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. The arch is likely too low (and perhaps too wide) to represent an entry, and appears at least partly backed by bedrock, 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. Two phases of work within the arch are possible, suggesting it was modified at some point.

Evidential Value - Medium

- 9.2.4 A 5m section of potential town wall is visible, although partly buried and often obscured by vegetation. A recent archaeological evaluation alongside these standing remains suggests adjoining elements of the wall have largely been removed to a point lower than current ground levels. Defensive town walling should however be substantial enough to have survived as buried remains in the less developed areas closer to the castle in this area.
- 9.2.5 Scant references to the town wall survive, standing remains are few, and the circuit of the wall is conjectural in areas. This however increases the importance of the section of walling containing the arch, as one of the few remaining visible segments of the potential town wall.

Historical Value - Medium

- 9.2.6 The town wall is associated with notable events in the early history and development of the town of Haverfordwest, and provides a physical link between the town and castle. This value has gradually been diminished during the later post-medieval and modern development of Haverfordwest, obscuring and removing visible traces of it.

Aesthetic Value - Medium

- 9.2.7 The aesthetic value of the town wall has largely been lost as the line of the wall became subsumed in urban development and largely removed, but the small section adjacent to the castle retains aesthetic value as visible medieval masonry outside the limits of the castle. Currently the feature is only visible from its immediate surroundings however, and is largely hidden from public view by being in a predominantly unvisited location.

Communal Value - Low

- 9.2.8 Along with the other values communal value has been lost as the town wall became subsumed and removed through urban development, with this visible segment adjacent to the castle in a largely unvisited location.

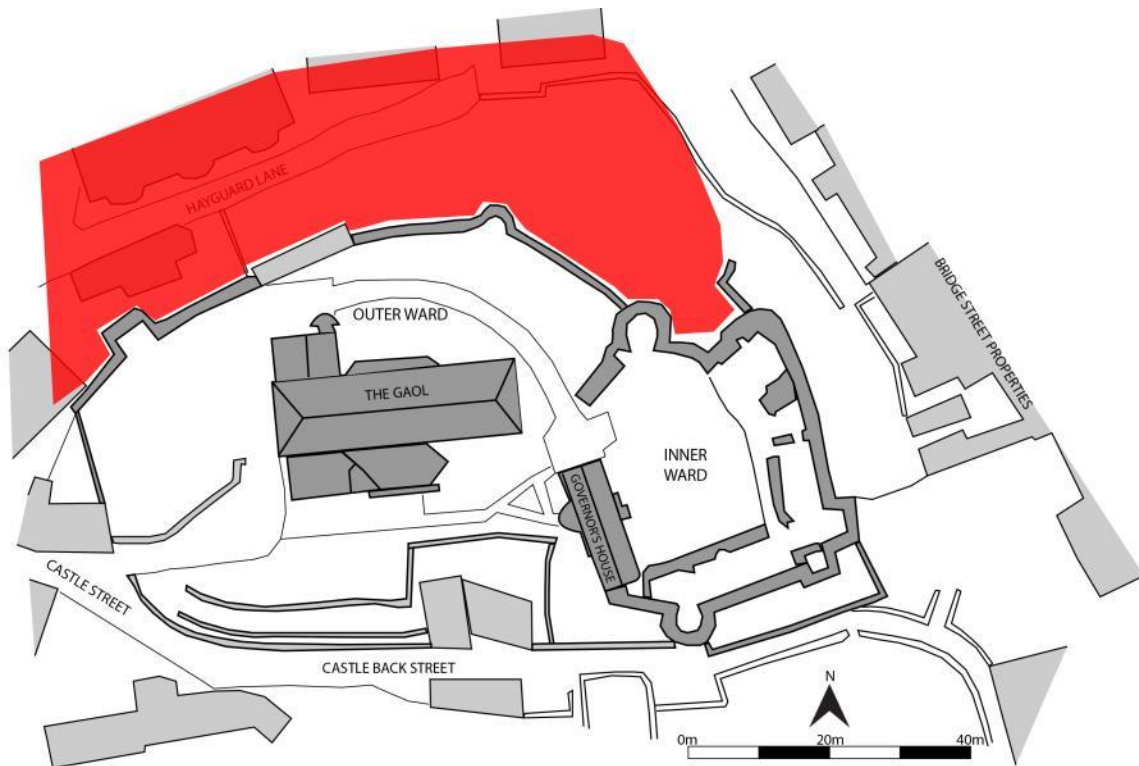


Figure 81: The segment of potential town wall, containing the low arch, adjacent to the castle.



Figure 82: The segment of wall in red, adjacent to the outer face of the Northeast Tower/Keep in blue.

9.3 Defensive Ditch & Hayguard Lane – Figure 83 (below)



- 9.3.1 The northern side of the castle was defended by a deep ditch along the outer face of the curtain wall. This is discussed in part in Section 4.12, but it has been both frequently mentioned in historic accounts and observed in archaeological excavations (Crane 2008b). Where identified it was 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), potentially a secondary extension of a smaller outer ward. 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.
- 9.3.2 Beyond the ditch to the north and west the medieval settlement of Castleton developed, likely contemporary to the development of the castle from the 12th century onwards.
- 9.3.3 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 burgrave 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 14th to 16th 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).
- 9.3.4 Early origins for a routeway here were confirmed by excavations by DAT in 2003, 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 12th-early 13th century. Hayguard Lane has been suggested, with some plausibility, to have 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.

- 9.3.5 Immediately to the north the excavations uncovered 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), now underlying modern residential development. The early trackway, hearths and other features were overlaid by a deep deposit dated to the late 13th century. This was thought to represent a counterscarp bank/upcast from the castle ditch (Crane 2004, 5-6, 9; Crane and Courtney 2004, 61-3, 66), which would potentially have made the castle ditch very wide (over 20m metres), and 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.
- 9.3.6 The Castleton was progressively abandoned from the late 13th 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 14th and 15th 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.
- 9.3.7 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-17th 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.
- 9.3.8 Repopulation of the Castleton was however gradual, and may not have been complete until the mid-19th century. In the early 17th 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).
- 9.3.9 The Buck prints of the 1740s depict the area immediately north of the castle as green space, 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, 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).

- 9.3.10 Further development had occurred in the Holloway backyards, and within the castle north ditch, by the later 19th century. 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 partly overgrown with trees.
- 9.3.11 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 around the northern side of the castle.

Evidential Value – High

- 9.3.12 The castle ditch was largely infilled between the 17th and the 19th centuries, sealing earlier deposits. These deposits, where undisturbed, represent an resource of the greatest significance, potentially as a stratified sequence containing a wealth of structural, environmental and artefactual evidence. 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).
- 9.3.13 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. There is also the potential for elements of the medieval town wall to survive below ground in this area.
- 9.3.14 References and descriptions of the medieval ditch survive in documents from the medieval period onwards, although pictorial evidence of this area is scarce.

Historical Value – High

- 9.3.15 The potential for well-preserved deposits within the ditch fills has the potential to illustrate a great deal about the more daily life of the town as a whole, as the earliest elements of medieval Haverfordwest would have come up to the edge of the castle ditch. The layout and understanding of life in the medieval town surrounding the castle has suffered from a lack of archaeological investigations, with the Hayguard Lane excavations of the 1970s and early 2000s being some of the most significant exceptions.

Aesthetic Value – Low/Medium

- 9.3.16 This area has become something of a little used back lane, particularly as it is no longer a through route, and therefore is unlikely to be regularly viewed and understood in terms of its historical context.

Communal Value – Low

9.3.17 As a little used back lane this area is unlikely to figure greatly in peoples collective experience and memory.

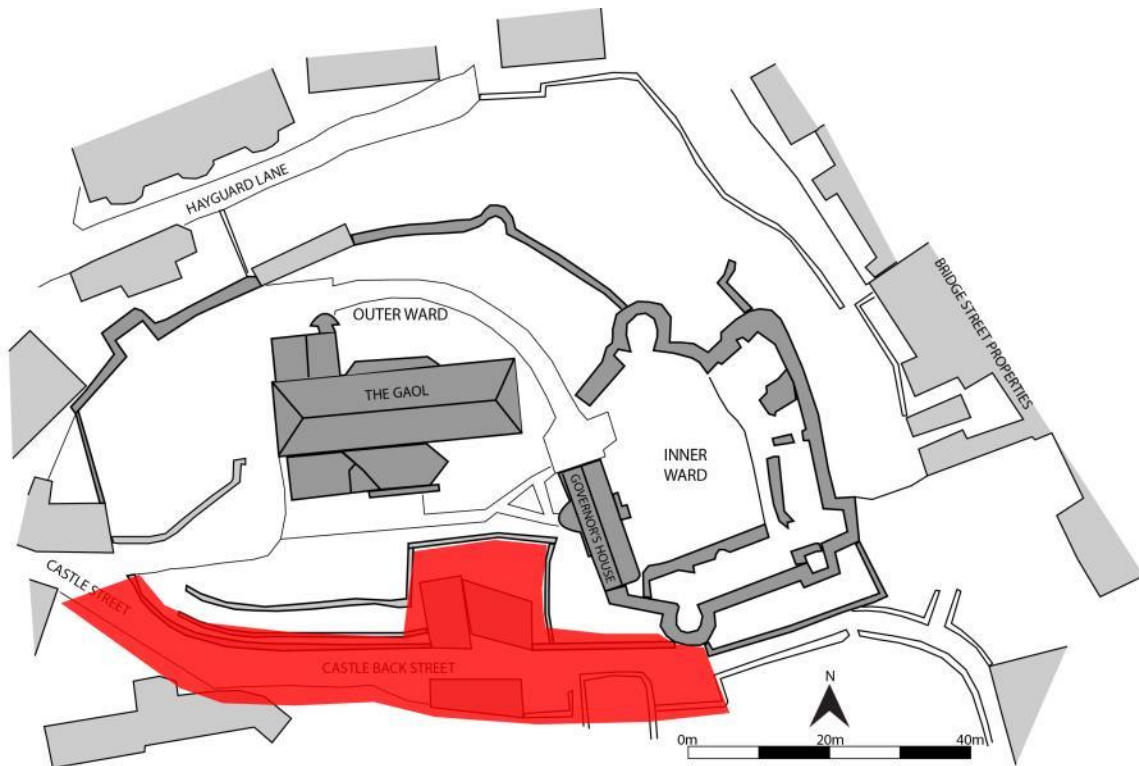


Figure 84: View southeast across the open area to the north of the Outer Ward curtain walling.



Figure 85: As above, with the end of Hayguard Lane on the left and views across Haverfordwest in the background.

9.4 Castle Back and the Southern Boundary – Figure 86 (below)



- 9.4.1 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.
- 9.4.2 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', with a series of retaining walls in the slope above; at least part of these wall lines probably represents the line of the medieval south curtain although it is not known whether any original fabric has been retained.
- 9.4.3 Set into a deep recess midway along the Castle Back wall, however, is a pair of cottages of early 19th-century date (RCAHMW - Coflein database NPRN 21722; shown in the 1880s). 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). 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. It is possible however 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.
- 9.4.4 Grazing rights ('Herbage') on the slope beneath the south curtain wall appear to have been granted to the burgesses of Haverfordwest by the later 14th 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).

- 9.4.5 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. 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.
- 9.4.6 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 15th century (Ludlow 2014, 194-5). While it may instead have been a response to the fashion for concentric defence in the later 13th century, such a date is perhaps too early. Gilbert Ray's plan and the model in the museum, suggest that it was a western extension of the Queen's Arbour, but its release to the town for herbage in the 14th 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).

Evidential Value - Medium

- 9.4.7 There is unlikely to be same the potential wealth of buried archaeological remains as there is to the north of the Outer Ward as this area lacks a buried ditch and has seen more extensive development, but some remains may be preserved in terraced levels, and some medieval fabric may also be preserved in standing walls, although they largely appear to be post-medieval and modern structures at present.
- 9.4.8 Documentary sources exist, although as stated the history of this area is complex and difficult to entangle. Pictorial remains of this area appear relatively sparse.

Historical Value – Low/Medium

- 9.4.9 Documentary sources indicate this area was utilised as grazing ground during the medieval period, potentially associated with revetment works for the castle, but no associations with specific notable people or groups appear associated with this area.

Aesthetic Value – Low/Medium

9.4.10 This route currently forms one of the main access routes into the castle, leading both from the car park to the south, and the commercial centre of Haverfordwest to the southeast, which therefore has value in the visual associations of people accessing the castle site. However, only the eastern end of Castle Back has clear visual associations with the castle, from the western end which actually allows access to the castle site, views are dominated by 19th century buildings on Castle Back and the 18th/19th century gaol-era structures within the castle, and therefore its relationship to the setting of the castle is unclear.

9.4.11 The route does not appear in earlier pictorial depictions of the castle.

Communal Value – Medium

9.4.12 As one of the main routes into the castle site the Castle Back area has some communal value, allowing access to the public.



Figure 87: View of the eastern end of Castle Back, the tarmac road, which is dominated by the structural remains of the Inner Ward of the castle above.

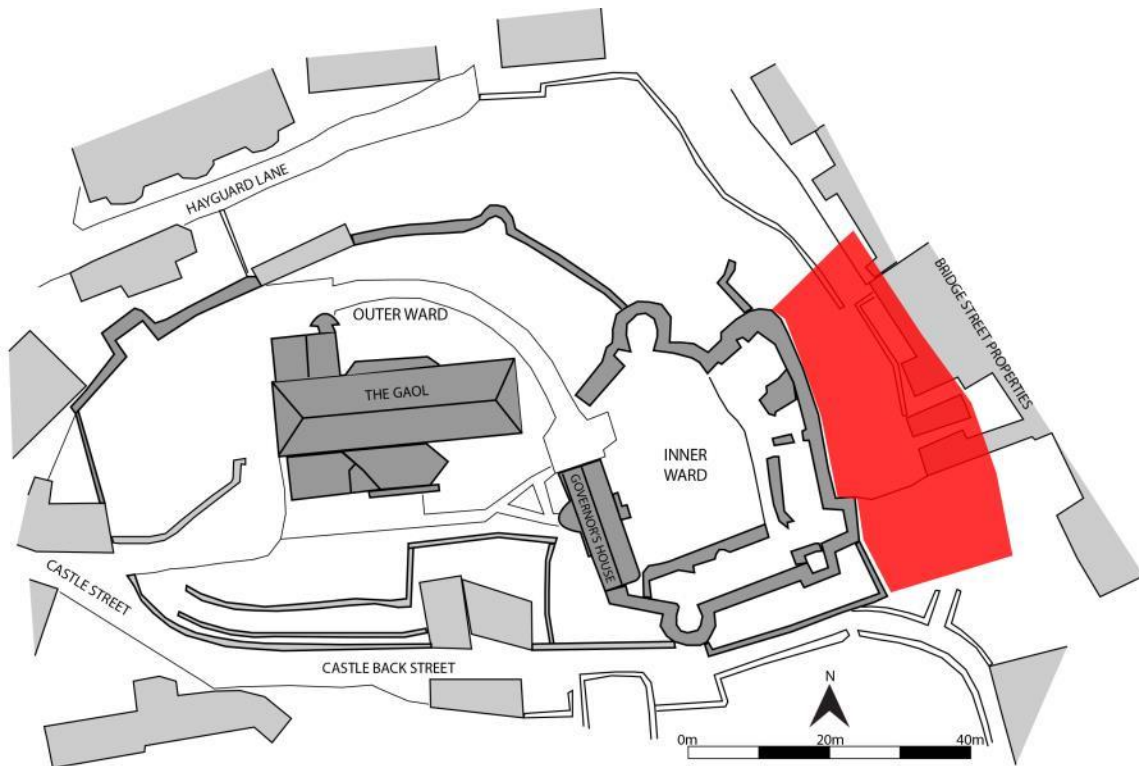


Figure 88: View east along Castle Back, showing the 19th century buildings built into the south side of the castle ground, with the wall of the Inner Ward visible to the rear. West of this point views of the medieval castle become obscured.



Figure 89: View west along the western end of Castle Back. The boundary walls appear largely late post-medieval and modern in date, but may contain some medieval fabric at lower levels.

9.5 Eastern slopes – Figure 90 (below)



- 9.5.1 During the medieval period the eastern wall of the castle stood above a natural rock terrace, looking out over the river to the east. Initial settlement in Haverfordwest developed in Castleton to the north and west of the castle, but certainly by the mid-13th century at the latest Bridge Street was being developed, as a Friary has established itself along the riverside.
- 9.5.2 There is no current indication of medieval activity on the slopes to the east of the castle, but there are few documentary references to activity east of the castle during the medieval period. The Buck prints of the 1740s show Bridge Street was fully developed, but the area behind them was not developed, and the castle walls sat atop an exposed rock face.
- 9.5.3 By the later 19th century Ordnance Survey mapping indicates backyards and ancillary buildings began to encroach uphill towards the castle, and the current rock face has the appearance of having been quarried, possibly during this period as 'the rock here has been much cut away in places to make room for modern buildings' (Phillips 1922, 449 n. 2). The maps of 1889 and 1907 indicate structures built against the rock face, and evidence of rooflines are visible in the exposed rock face.
- 9.5.4 The area is currently overgrown, but terracing and later post-medieval masonry and brick walling is evident. The trees and scrub that currently predominate have likely developed during the later 20th century as the area became abandoned. Large sections of concrete revetment are evident on the lower sections of the castle wall and rock face, likely dating from the refurbishment works of the 1960s.

Evidential Value - Medium

- 9.5.5 Recent geotechnical investigations and clearance work in this area demonstrates the survival of later post-medieval archaeological remains,

including yard surfaces and walling, but medieval archaeological remains are unlikely.

- 9.5.6 There are few documentary or pictorial sources for this area, as it largely lay behind Bridge Street developments.

Historical Value – Neutral

- 9.5.7 There are no known associations with this area.

Aesthetic Value – Low

- 9.5.8 The area was a feature of some early depictions of the castle from the 18th century, largely to emphasise the prominent situation of the castle. Currently however the area is largely inaccessible and not visible behind Bridge Street development and scrub growth.

Communal Value – Neutral

- 9.5.9 As a currently inaccessible area it has limited communal value.

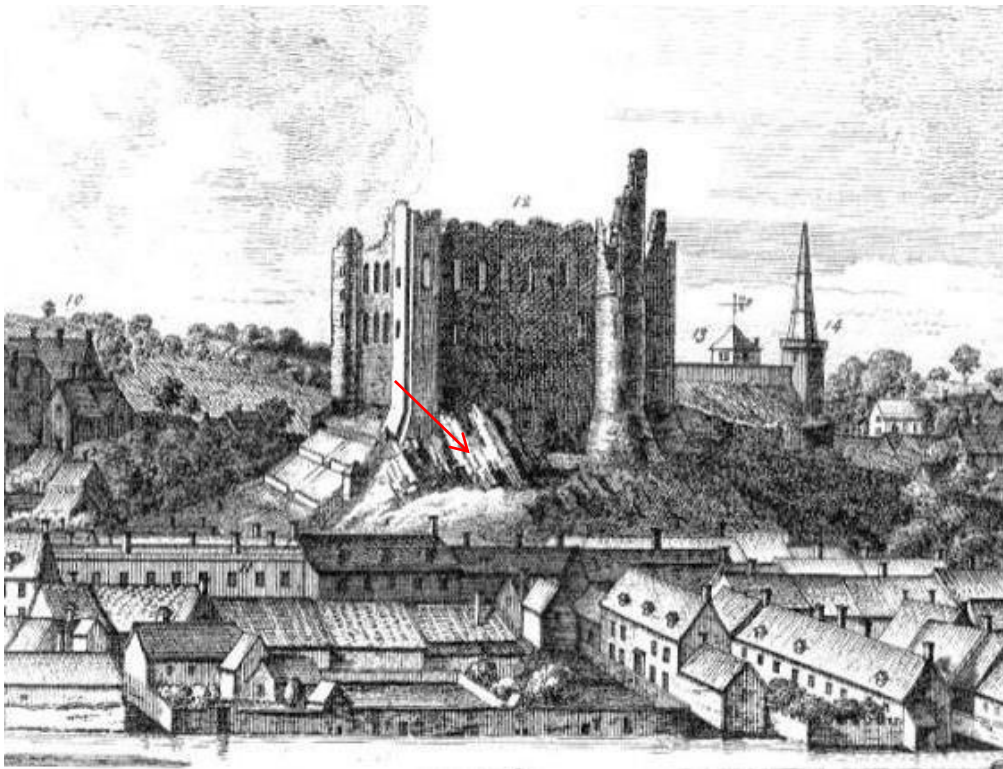


Figure 91: The Buck print of 1748, showing exposed bedrock in red, with undeveloped land between the castle and Bridge Street.

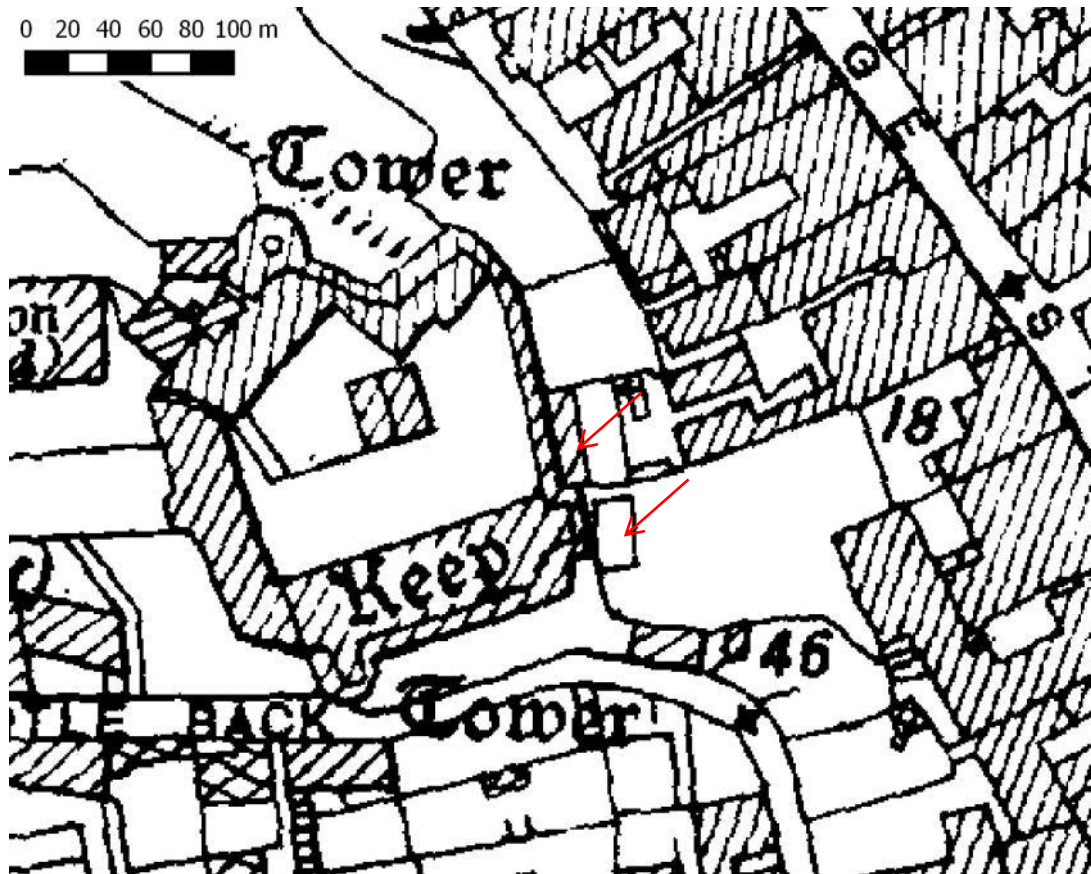


Figure 92: Extract from the Ordnance Survey map of 1907, showing structures in red, built against the rock face below the castle walls.



Figure 93: North face photo showing the quarried rock face with roof line visible in red, accommodating the northernmost of the two structures visible on the previous figure. 20th century concrete revetment visible to the rear in yellow.



Figure 94: South facing show showing some exposed later post-medieval masonry on the slopes to the east of the castle.

10 CONCLUSIONS

- 10.1 Haverfordwest Castle is a Scheduled Monument (PE366) with upstanding remains of the castle also designated a Grade I listed building (Ref.12031), with later internal buildings of the former County Gaol (Ref.12033) and Governor's House (Ref.12032) Grade II listed. A heritage impact assessment is required as part of an iterative process in creating detailed design proposals to seek Scheduled Monument Consent for the development. The primary aim of the current stage of work is to establish the objectives and explain the significance of the site. This will then feed in to the developers' justification for the work, and allows them to finalise plans for the proposed work.
- 10.2 A Statement of Significance has been produced for the site as a whole (see Section 4). However, although one inter-related monument, in order to provide a more detailed level of understanding to help facilitate plans to revitalise the site, the site has also been assessed as a series of recognisable components, based around the main characteristic historic themes for the site. The summarised results of this assessment have been presented in the table below (Table 1). The components have been assessed according to the heritage values as laid out in Cadw's Conservation Principles (Cadw 2011), these include Evidential Value (Ev), Historical Value (Hi), Aesthetic Value (Ae) and Communal Value (Co). These values have been quantified on a scale that runs from High (H), Medium (M), Low (L), Neutral (N) to Detrimental (D).

Table 1: Summary of quantified heritage values

Component	Ev	Hi	Ae	Co	Summary
Haverfordwest Castle as a whole	H	H	H	H	<p>Strong evidential value contained within impressive standing masonry of 12th to 14th century date, with some fine architectural detail, constructed for the highest levels of medieval society. A significant buried potential is proven through archaeological investigations, and a wealth of documentary sources exist.</p> <p>As well as being the home and base of some of the most notable figure of Medieval Pembrokeshire, and indeed Britain, the site has also played a central role in the development of Haverfordwest and Pembrokeshire and is of the highest historical value.</p> <p>Its architectural design, prominent setting and the visual impact it has maintained on the town gives it a high aesthetic value.</p> <p>The high communal value is increased by this visibility, and its accessibility providing a highly tangible link to the history of the town, further increased by the presence of the town museum incorporated into the site.</p>
Medieval Castle – Inner Ward Keep	H	H	H	H	<p>Impressive standing remains of the outer walls survive. Although inner walling has gone, significant buried deposits are likely. This is one of the earliest visible elements of the castle, and would have housed some of its earliest lords and ladies (including William Marshal) as well as being the heart of the</p>

					castle. The keep is an important visual part of the castle, a distinct element on historic images, with high communal value in line with the rest of the castle.
Medieval Castle – Inner Ward North Tower	H	H	H	H	One of the most complete elements of the castle, with intact internal features, representing the functional defensive side of castle life. It may be associated with Welsh uprisings of the 13 th century, and is reputedly the site of Haverfordwest's last execution. A very visible and recognisable part of the castle adds to its aesthetic value, and it shares the important communal value of the castle, with added elements of its use during the gaol era.
Medieval Castle – Inner Ward Southwest Tower	H	H	H	H	A prominent open-backed tower that contains many visible architectural features, and was part of a high status range along the south side of the Inner Ward. The use of the tower is still open to debate, but this adds to its historical value as it may have included functional services, but also provided access to the high status Queens Arbour, and may have housed prisoners. The value is increased by the fact it is individually named as 'Brehinock' Tower. One of the more visually dominant aspects of the castle from the exterior, adding to its aesthetic and communal values.
Medieval Castle – Inner Ward East Range (Chamber Block)	H	H	H	H	A 13 th /14 th century range of high status accommodation, including the main chamber, potentially built for a Queen and of the highest architectural quality. The curtain 'show' wall still stands, dominating views from the east. The inner walls have gone, but the outline remains, buried evidence is likely, and historical documents correspond to the visible remains.
Medieval Castle – Inner Ward South Range (Hall & Chapel)	H	H	H	H	As with the East Range, this is a suite of high quality buildings, built of the highest architectural style and potentially occupied by the upper echelons of medieval society. The curtain wall 'show' front survives, and the outline of internal rooms are visible with buried remains likely. The inclusion of the castle chapel, occupying a prominent location at the east end, adds additional value.
Medieval Castle – Inner Ward North Curtain Walling	H	H	H	H	Surviving standing walling, potentially to its original height, albeit modified and restored in the 19 th and 20 th centuries. The wall includes some unusual features, and more functionally defensive than other standing remains. It is of added value for providing an sense of enclosure to the Inner Ward.
Medieval Castle – Inner Ward West	M	H	L	M	The presence of this range is largely conjectural, and the lack of visible remains and documentary evidence reduces its

Range (buried remains)					evidential, aesthetic and communal values. Buried remains are still likely however, and this range could contain important information about the Inner Ward that the other ranges do not provide (kitchens, gateway etc), to complete the understanding of how this area of the castle operated.
Medieval Castle – Inner Ward Central Area (buried remains inc. well)	H	H	H	H	A largely open area, traditionally so and therefore an important space in which to gather and understand the surrounding castle. Significant buried archaeological remains are also likely.
Medieval Castle – Queens Arbour	M/H	H	H	H	A garden terrace, potentially built for a Queen, and an unusual and high status feature. It offers a different aspect to castle life, and includes some fine views across the town. Restoration of the external walling and a lack of visual sources has decreased the evidential value.
Medieval Castle – Outer Ward North Curtain Wall (inc, turret & tower)	H	H	M/H	H	The only visible medieval remains in the outer ward, and despite later restoration, reduction and infill, it also includes evidence of a square tower and rounded turret, and the promise of important buried archaeology. It provides a crucial understanding of the medieval outer ward, impressive when viewed from the north, but aesthetic value reduced due to the treatment of the south side of the wall.
Medieval Castle – Outer Ward Buried Remains	M/H	H	L/M	M	There are no standing remains, but buried remains of high value, evidentially and historically, are likely around the periphery (including large stables, other buildings and possible early castle ditch), although the later entrance gatehouse may largely have been lost to housing now outside the site boundary. The lack of visible remains impacts the aesthetic value, but the area offers some clear views across Haverfordwest that would likely have been important for the castle.
Gaol – Inner Ward South Range	L/M	H	L	M/H	The original late 18 th century gaol, famous for imprisoning the French soldiers after the failed invasion of Fishguard, and containing the former wheelhouse. Evidential and aesthetic value is reduced however through the removal of much of the visible evidence in the 1960s.
Gaol – Inner Ward Debtor's / Female Wing	H	M	L	M/H	19 th century gaol wing representing important developments in the prison system. The removal of the stranding structure has impacted the aesthetic value, but surveys demonstrate buried remains survive, and associated features built into the adjoining curtain wall.

Gaol – Inner Ward Matron's / Sergeant's House	M	L/M	L	M/H	A 19 th century structure forming an intrinsic part of the operation of the gaol. The standing remains have been removed, but buried remains are likely, and it shares a communal value with the rest of the gaol.
Gaol – Inner Ward Laundry	H	M	L/M	M/H	Buildings housing some of the intrinsic functions of the 19 th century gaol, of which only the medieval well is now visible, but extensive associated buried remains have been identified.
Gaol – Inner Ward Yards and Passageway	M/H	M	L	M/H	Airing yards and a passageway to separate male and female prisoners, both important representations of 19 th century gaol developments. No visible remains, other than the open spaces, now exist, but surveys indicate buried evidence is likely.
Gaol – Governor's House	H	H	H	H	A standing Grade II listed former gaol governor's house. The only visible remains of the original late 18 th century gaol, and a fine structure with surviving architectural detailing and layout. The building also houses the town museum, an important evidential, historical and communal asset.
Gaol – Outer Ward Gaol	M/H	H	M/H	M	A standing Grade II listed former gaol building. An impressive structure, and striking visual representation of the 19 th century gaol, retaining important external detail and accessibility. The evidential and aesthetic value have been impacted by 1960s renovation of the interior and external additions, and communal value affected by its current state of closure.
Gaol – Outer Ward Ancillary Buildings	M	M	L	L	A series of former gaol structures, including boundary walling, yards, infirmary, kitchen and offices. All important to the functioning and understanding of the gaol, but removed in the 1960s with no visible trace left, although the potential for buried remains is likely.
Castle Exterior – Town Wall to the north	M	M	M	L	The 13 th century town walls, now largely lost but a visible segment on the external side of the keep may survive, of added importance due to its current rarity. Further buried remains of this important feature are likely to the north of the castle. Communal value is affected by current remoteness of the feature in a largely un-accessed area.
Castle Exterior – Defensive Ditch and Hayguard Lane	H	H	L/M	L	An infilled castle ditch around the north side of the castle, with remnants of the medieval settlement of Castleton beyond. The potential for buried remains in this undeveloped area is high, evidence of the highest value in understanding life in medieval Haverfordwest. Now located in a little used back lane, aesthetic and communal value is

					reduced.
Castle Exterior – Castle Back and the Southern Boundary	M	L/M	L/M	M	The southern side of the castle, with a confused and ill-defined history, but with the potential to include medieval curtain walling, revetments, grazing land and walkways, adding to its evidential value, but lacking the links to increase its historical value.
Castle Exterior – Eastern Slopes	M	N	L	N	The castle sat above rock outcrops and open ground to the east, which provided a dramatic setting for the castle above, but archaeological evidence is likely linked to post-medieval encroachment into this area. The current lack of accessibility impedes any communal value.

