A photograph of Pembroke Castle, a large stone fortress with multiple towers and battlements, situated on a hillside. In the foreground, there are stone walls, a road with a blue car, and a body of water reflecting the scene. The sky is clear and blue.

**PEMBROKE TOWN WALLS PROJECT**  
**ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION**  
**AND**  
**CONDITION SURVEY**

**PREPARED BY**

**Pembroke Design Limited  
Architects and Surveyors**

**In association with**

**Cambria Archaeology**

**on behalf of**

**Pembrokeshire County Council**

**PEMBROKE TOWN WALLS**

**AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT,  
MARCH-APRIL 2001  
(Project Record No. 42678)**

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## **PEMBROKE TOWN WALLS : AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT**

### **PART 1 - UNDERSTANDING THE WALL**

#### **1.0 SUMMARY**

Pembroke Castle and walled town together form one of the most visually impressive medieval defended sites in Wales, matched only by the Edwardian castle-boroughs of North Wales but, unlike the latter, Pembroke's town walls cannot be closely dated. Comparative studies however suggest that, in their final form at least, they were constructed soon after the completion of the stone castle, in the late 13th-early 14th century, but that they were the product of a long and complex developmental history. They saw action during the civil war of 1642-8, but fell out of use soon after and were plundered for stone by the townsfolk.

Sections of the wall, including two of its three gates and two of its six towers, have gone. However, there is elsewhere a good survival of fabric, particularly towards the east of the town. Even though much of the masonry may not be medieval - sections of the wall, at least, have been rebuilt many times, both as a revetment to the gardens beyond and due to their incorporation into later buildings - the circuit still defines the medieval town and its topography. Of equal importance to this definition are the stone 'burgage plot' or property boundaries that run up to the wall from the axial Main Street.

#### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

In October 2000 Cambria Archaeology were invited by Pembroke Design Limited (Architects) to provide the archaeological element of a fee bid in response to a request, from Pembrokeshire County Council, for a study of Pembroke town walls. The study forms part of the preparation of a Stage 1 HLF bid for the conservation and promotion of the walls. The Pembroke Design/Cambria Archaeology team were awarded the contract in January 2001.

The objectives of the archaeological element of the study are -

- To provide a desk-based appraisal of the historic development and significance of the Pembroke town walls using the archive and technical data available. This took in an assessment of relevant information from documentary sources including the Regional Sites and Monuments Record, the National Library of Wales, the County Records Office and the National Monuments Record

(RCHMW), an assessment of relevant aerial photographs in the Regional Sites and Monuments Record and the National Monuments Record (RCHMW), and a search of the relevant secondary and published sources

- To provide archaeological information to accompany an initial, non-invasive photographic condition survey of the walls prepared by Pembroke Design Limited. This was examined and, where possible, a supporting archaeological and historical interpretation of the development of the walls was provided involving an on-site examination of sections of the walls.
- To provide general archaeological advice during the preparation of the Heritage Lottery bid, including attendance at relevant meetings, the provision of archaeological advice on the future management of the walls, comments on drafts of the final report and specific advice on the preparation of a heritage interpretation and education programme on the development of the medieval town and its walls.

### **3.0 GENERAL DESCRIPTION**

The walled town of Pembroke has a deceptively simple morphology. It lies on a low, narrow east-west limestone ridge, steeper and rockier along its southern side, which forms a peninsula terminating at its west end as a rocky promontory now surmounted by the medieval castle. The ridge is fairly regular in plan and relief, but there is a pronounced 'waist' halfway along, which corresponds with a dip in its profile. It was formerly surrounded by water on three sides, a tidal inlet of Milford Haven dividing at the castle to run along the northern side of the ridge as Pembroke River, and along its southern side as Monkton Pill. Pembroke River is still wet, now controlled by a tidal barrage across the river to the west of the castle. Monkton Pill has been mostly reclaimed and is now a low area of marshy ground known as 'The Common'.

These physical constraints have given rise to a linear plan-form, settlement being established along a single street - Main Street - which leads eastwards from the castle before dividing, at the east end of the town, into routes to Carmarthen and Tenby. Cross streets are limited to Northgate Street, which connects Main Street with a bridge over Pembroke River, and Westgate Hill, which is more-or-less a continuation of Main Street leading to a bridge over Monkton Pill at the west end of the town. Superficially, the settlement is thus unifocal, being based on the castle gatehouse, but is more developmentally complex as will be seen below. Either side of the street lie properties whose backyards are mostly long and narrow, following the line of the 220-30 'burgage plots' into which the town was divided by the 14th century (Beresford 1988, 68, 569 et al.). Pembroke is notable for the remarkable survival of both the burgage divisions, which approximately conform to the 14th century number, and the actual boundaries themselves which are represented by limestone rubble walls in various states of completeness, many of which may contain medieval fabric. However, there has been significant, piecemeal boundary loss, particularly in the southeast corner of the medieval town, and south of Main Street where a car park has been cut through 11 properties. The prevention of further loss and erosion must be a priority.

The line of the town wall and its entrances, of which there were three, was dictated by the topography. The wall ran eastwards from Northgate Tower, which forms the northeast corner of the castle outer ward, towards Northgate Street and bridge where stood, until the mid 19th century, the medieval North Gate. This line is more-or-less followed by a later wall. From the North Gate, the town wall appears to have lain at the foot of the churchyard wall of St Mary's, continuing eastwards along the shore of Pembroke river where it incorporates the remains of a shallow, square turret.

Further east, the present boundary more-or-less formed the shoreline until the creation of the Mill Pond Walk in the 1960s, and may therefore follow the line of the wall. Towards the 'waist' in the peninsula, the standing boundary intermittently variously contains medieval masonry, and later additions include a 19th century boat-house. The wall line today becomes vague in the area of St Michael's church where the ridge may have been subject to post-medieval quarrying. Immediately east of St Michael's is a very well-preserved section which retains medieval openings, and a semicircular flanking tower. However, there is a breach in the wall between this tower and the northwest corner of the circuit, which is formed by the very-well preserved - and remarkable - Barnard's Tower. The line turns to the south at this tower, possibly incorporating the remains of a further tower before becoming lost within the property boundaries fronting Main Street. The second of the three gates, the East Gate, straddled the line of Main Street but there are now no above-ground remains. Beyond the East Gate, the wall has more-or-less disappeared but followed the line of a lane, Gooses Lane, running southwest towards another tower, the Southeast Tower, the stump of which can still be seen. From the tower, the wall ran westwards along the northern shore of the former Monkton Pill. The wall itself here has been variously lost and/or rebuilt, but features two fairly well-preserved towers, the 'Gazebo Tower' which is surmounted by a gazebo, and the 'Gun Tower'. A limekiln further west has been constructed in imitation of a further tower. West of this limekiln, the wall is vestigial indeed, although much of the present standing masonry perpetuates the line, and the sense, of the medieval town wall. The ridge becomes steeper and rockier towards the castle, and has been successively terraced with retaining walls during the 19th and 20th centuries, but the medieval wall-line appears to have run along the north side of The Parade to the West Gate where it has been almost entirely rebuilt. However, at the foot of Westgate Hill lies a detached section of medieval town wall containing the eastern jamb and respond of the medieval West Gate. A short stretch of wall formerly connected the gate with the Westgate Tower of the castle outer ward.

The internal ground level is everywhere higher than external ground level, the wall forming a revetment and its towers being entered from their upper levels. At its east end, the line was probably fronted by a dry defensive ditch although this cannot now be traced. Construction material throughout, in work from all periods, is the local Carboniferous limestone rubble, normally of medium-large size. Where survival has been good, and particularly at the west end of the northern line, the wall is very similar to that at Tenby, parts of which at least may be contemporary.

Individual sections of the wall, which in many cases correspond with individual properties, can have very different characteristics suggesting that they are of post-medieval date. However, the medieval wall may have been built (or was at least maintained) in such sections, as the responsibility of individual property-holders, rather than as a continuous circuit. This is certainly suggested by the phrasing of a contemporary document in which a 'parcel' of the town wall was ordered to be repaired by the owner of the tenement within which it lay (PRO, Min. Acc. 1208, No. 12, reproduced in Owen 1918, 175). Sections of the northern line, on the other hand, are clearly post-medieval replacements, immediately behind the medieval wall-line and continuing the revetment of the garden deposits.

Only the five surviving towers, the remains of the West Gate, the two stretches of wall either side of Barnard's Tower with the Semicircular Tower, and the remains of the Southeast Tower, are a Scheduled Ancient Monument (SAM Pe 15). Most of the northern line is a Grade II listed building, as is the southern line east of New Way, and intermittent stretches to the west. The walls also lie within the Pembroke Conservation Area.

A non-vehicular lane, New Way, running between Main Street and The Common at the narrowest point of the ridge, was established from a burgage plot in the 18th century while another, later lane, Morgan's Way, leads through the town wall line north of Main Street. A third access has been created out of a former blind alley called Long Entry, further west, and a number of new openings have been created in the later 20th century, particularly along the southwest line, for car parking and rear access to properties. There are several smaller openings from many periods, including doorways. Nevertheless the integrity of the defensive line, and the plots themselves, has thus been remarkably preserved and its need for continued protection cannot be overstressed.

**Fig. 1 - Pembroke town wall showing scheduled and listed areas**





#### 4.0 A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

The town walls of Pembroke have not hitherto been subject to the detailed analysis that has been undertaken at, for example, Tenby town walls, by W. Gwyn Thomas in 1994 (Thomas 1994) and by Peter Holden Architects in the mid 1990s (archive deposited with National Monuments Record, RCAHMW, Crown Buildings, Plas Crûg, Aberystwyth; SM 90 SE). However, there is a good overall 20th century published description, by David Cathcart King and Mark Cheshire, in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (King and Cheshire 1982, 77-84). There is a brief note on Pembroke town development in Aston and Bond (1976), 82-3, and a longer analysis in Hindle (1979), 76-80. A short paper by N. D. Ludlow (1991, 25-30) has modified Cathcart King's overall chronology for the construction of the wall, but does not provide a detailed description or analysis. The same author has discussed the area of the north side of the town wall adjacent to Pembroke Castle in an archaeological assessment client report by Dyfed Archaeological Trust (Ludlow 1993), arising from which an archaeological evaluation, including the wall-line behind Nos. 4-7 Castle Terrace, was carried out by Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust in 1994 (Lawler 1995a, 1995b) which will be published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 147, for 1998 (Lawler 2001). Keith Lilley of the School of Geography at Birmingham University repeated (or otherwise) some of the views expressed by these authors in a morphological study of Pembroke's development published in 1995 (Lilley 1995, 61-71).

The standing town wall was subject to a brief description by Tony Parkinson of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments (Wales) in 1979-80 (National Monuments Record, SM 90 SE) and the southern line was examined by Heather James of the Dyfed Archaeological Trust in 1979 (information in Sites and Monuments Record or Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire, DRF file PRN 13282). To the present author's knowledge, the only other archaeological work undertaken on the town wall was a watching brief undertaken by Dyfed Archaeological Trust during sewer-laying to the rear of the Town Hall, in March 1986 (information in Sites and Monuments Record or Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire, SRF file PRN 3282), a site visit undertaken by the author in June 1993 after a section of wall behind No. 81 Main Street collapsed (information in Sites and Monuments Record or Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire, DRF file PRN 3282) and a small recording brief undertaken by Pete Crane of Cambria Archaeology in 1998 (drawings and photos in Sites and Monuments Record or Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire, PRN 3282), from which no significant new findings arose.

In fact, the lack of archaeological investigation to which the medieval town of Pembroke has generally been subject was flagged up by the Urban Research Unit of the University of Wales in 1975 (Soulsby and Jones 1975, 29). The situation remains more-or-less unchanged, the only additional formal archaeological projects being a small-scale watching brief, undertaken by the author for Dyfed Archaeological Trust in 1990, behind 4 Westgate Hill (information in Sites and Monuments Record or Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire, PRN 12969, DRF File 3), and another entirely negative watching brief, also undertaken by the author for Dyfed Archaeological Trust, on watermains excavation in Main Street in 1993 (information in Sites and Monuments Record or Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire, PRN 12969, DRF File 3).

The absence of detailed, large-scale archaeological investigation may then be stressed. The most reliable primary source documentation for the nature of the walls through time are contemporary maps and pictures. In the case of Pembroke, there are also several contemporary written descriptions.

#### 4.1 Maps

There are a number of map sources for the town of Pembroke, but little of value before the 19th century. However, two maps are of invaluable use to the study of the town walls -

- John Speed's map of Pembroke of 1611
- The large-scale, Ordnance Survey 1:500 maps of 1861

Speed's map was reproduced in his 'Theatre of Great Britain' published in 1611. Of the 73 views of towns contained in the volume, he claimed - interestingly - that only those of Pembroke and St Davids were actually his own work, the remainder being derived from other sources (Carter 1976, 9), which presupposes that his was the earliest map of the town. It was copied by a French agent in c.1650 (British Library, Additional MS 11564; reproduced in RCAHM(W) 1917, Fig. 234).

The large-scale Ordnance Survey maps belong to their 1:2500 (1' to the mile) mapping of British towns. They are not only among the earliest maps of any real value, but are extremely detailed in their depiction of Pembroke's town walls in 1861. Unfortunately, with the exception of one sheet (Sheet XL 9.8, depicting the west end of the town nearest the castle) they do not show individual properties within the walls, only the public buildings, but they do show the junctions of the burgage plot boundaries with the town wall, and also

their street frontages. The Ordnance Survey 1:2500 first edition of 1885 (based on the 1861 survey), though of smaller scale, contains a wealth of detail.

A curious feature of the 19th century Ordnance Survey maps is their depiction of a building halfway along New Way which is labelled 'Town Wall'. The wall demonstrably ran south of this building - which appears to have gone - and it may be that a vaulted medieval building was present here. Many Pembrokeshire buildings from this period have a misleadingly 'military' aspect, including an adjacent building that survives to the rear of the former York Tavern (No. 69 Main Street).

#### **4.2 Pictures**

A number of antiquarian prints and sketches were made of Pembroke before the mid 19th century, but these generally concentrate on the castle, particularly those from the late 18th and early 19th century 'Romantic' movement. However, Pembroke was fortunate enough to have been depicted in a sketch of 1678, and various features of the town defences appear on other, slightly later prints. Nonetheless, the views are exclusively taken from the north - the author has been unable to locate any views taken from the south or east.

Among the most useful pictures are -

- Francis Place's view of Pembroke Castle, taken from the north, of 1678 (reproduction in the private collection of Pembroke Castle Trust).
- Two views of Pembroke by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, from the north, of 1740 and 1748. The latter shows a considerable extent of the northern defences
- Pembroke Castle from the northwest, by James Mason after Richard Wilson, from the 1770s, showing the North Gate.
- Pembroke Castle from the northeast, by Paul Sandby, 1778, also showing the North Gate.
- J. C. Bucklers view of the North Gate in 1815
- A series of drawings of Pembroke, from the north, by Charles Norris, from the early 19th century

#### **4.3 Documentary sources**

It will be seen that there is no contemporary source documentation for the construction of the town walls. However, a series of manorial accounts from the 15th-early 16th century, held at the Public Record Office, identify various elements of the defences and mention some building work. They are reproduced in Owen 1918, *A Calendar of Pembrokeshire Records*.

In addition, later written sources can convey much useful information on the post-medieval history, and nature of the wall. In particular, there are two indispensable eyewitness accounts from the Elizabethan period-

- The earliest surviving topographical description of the town, written by the 16th century soldier-antiquary John Leland, who visited Pembroke in about 1538 (Smith 1906, 115-6)
- George Owen's description of Pembroke in c.1600 (Owen 1897, 557-8)
- Contemporary accounts of the siege of Pembroke during the Civil Wars of 1642-8 and accompanying correspondence, which have largely been summarised by Arthur Leach (Leach 1937, 191-207).

There follows, during the late 17th and 18th centuries, something of a hiatus in the written evidence. Daniel Defoe, in his tour of 1724-6 describes Pembroke but does not mention the walls (Cole and Browning 1962, 57). Later accounts, from the early 19th century, are of varying degrees of usefulness, and include -

- Richard Colt Hoare, writing in 1802 (Thompson 1983, 221)
- Edward Donovan, writing in 1804, who mentioned the walls in passing (Donovan 1805, 298-339)
- A very brief account by Richard Fenton, writing in 1811 (Fenton 1811, 362-3)
- Samuel Lewis, writing in 1833 (Lewis 1833).

## **5.0 WHEN WAS THE TOWN WALL BUILT? - AND WHY?**

As Maurice Beresford succinctly put it, 'the defensive works of a medieval town - walls, ditches and gates - fostered the pacific activities that formed the centre of town life. Townsmen placed a high value on good order....' (Beresford 1988, 179). Two opposing views on the function of town walls have arisen, on the one hand suggesting that they were 'pseudo-defences' - expressions of civic pride and not intended for serious defence, the other maintaining that they were indeed serious and were often built as a direct response to military threat (Smith 1985, 376-7). The truth is probably that they were both. Their symbolic meaning is demonstrated by the fact that so many borough corporations - including Pembroke's - featured walls and gates within their armorial devices. It must be recognized, furthermore, that as defensive walls, they were often slight and only rarely - as at the North Wales castle-boroughs of Caernarfon and Conwy, for example - were they particularly strong. Nevertheless, the vulnerable sections of Pembroke's circuit to the west and southwest, which incorporated five towers, do appear to have been serious defensive works, as do the gatehouses.

Because it was the centre of a 'county palatine', that is, a private holding independent of royal jurisdiction, Pembroke's town walls were not subject to the issue of a 'murage' grant ie. a licence from the crown to raise money for their construction. This situation can be contrasted with that at Tenby which, though it also lay within the county palatine, was issued with a murage grant during a period when it was under royal control. Nor does there appear to be any other documentary record of the primary construction of Pembroke's wall. This means that we do not know for sure exactly when they were built. It is useful, therefore, to examine what we do know of Pembroke's medieval history in order to place the walls within the context of the time, and to attempt to provide a date - and a reason - for their construction. They may in fact be the last in a succession of three medieval defensive lines. This section is largely based on Ludlow, 1991 and 1993.

### **5.1 The foundation of the town (1100-1135 AD)**

The medieval settlement at Pembroke was a product of the Anglo-Norman invasions of Wales of the late 11th century. The castle was established by the Norman adventurer Roger de Montgomery in 1093, who invaded West Wales following the death of its native ruler, Rhys ap Tewdwr. Roger was succeeded by his son Arnulf who used the castle as a base to subdue much of what is now Pembrokeshire, but his hold over the area may not have become fully established before his possessions were seized by the Norman king Henry I in 1100.

It was under Henry that Anglo-Norman control became formalised. In fact, a system of crown administration, largely based on English shire models, was imposed. This was made possible by the displacement of the native population and its replacement with colonists from the West of England and, to a lesser extent, Flanders. A crown official, in the form of a sheriff, was put in control of Pembroke Castle, and economic control was enforced by the creation of market towns at Pembroke, Tenby, Haverfordwest and Wiston.

Like the walls, the exact date of the foundation of the town of Pembroke is itself not known, but its charter was issued by King Henry ie. between 1100 and 1135. The issue of a charter was, in this case, probably an incentive to settlers rather than a grant to an existing town. However, the earliest reference to a gild merchant in any plantation charter is in Pembroke's (Beresford 1988, 219) while a mint was operational at Pembroke, possibly within the castle, by 1130 (Boon 1986, Welsh Hoards 1979-1981 (Cardiff)). The liberties granted to the settlers, of 'burgesses', rendered the town semi-autonomous from the castle and the earls, and were augmented by King Richard III in the town's Charter of Incorporation of 1483. In 1138 the leading baron Gilbert de Clare was created Earl of Pembroke, and from then on the fledgling county of Pembroke was administered as a county 'palatine', subject only to the legislation of the earls who maintained their own chancery and county court at the castle. Its palatine status lasted until 1536 when, in the 'Act of Union', King Henry VIII brought Pembroke and the other Welsh lordships into state control.

### **5.2 The first town defence? (1135-c.1230 AD)**

The morphology of Pembroke (Fig. 1) has been regarded as simple, its linear plan-form of properties laid out either side of a single main street being dictated by its topography, and King and Cheshire (1982) argued for a simple, single-phase interpretation of the town wall. However, the development may not be as simple as that and it had already been suggested by Aston and Bond that the growth of the town was of at least two stages (Aston and Bond 1976, 83; Hindle 1979).

It has been argued by the present author that in its initial stages, the town in fact occupied what is now the outer ward of the castle, as at Brecon, Ludlow and Oswestry (Ludlow 1991, 27). If the line of Main Street is projected westwards into the castle, it fetches up at the gatehouse into the inner ward, suggesting that it was originally the main gatehouse to a castle that originally comprised just a single enclosure. The Benedictine priory at Monkton was founded in 1098 (possibly on the site of an earlier, 'Celtic' monastery) and provided a route node on the opposite shore of Monkton Pill. A bridge or ford on the line of the present Monkton Bridge may therefore be envisaged at an early date,

and indeed a well-trodden path runs up the cliff from the bridge towards the castle inner gatehouse. Finally, the pronounced dog-leg formerly lying between the bottom of Westgate Hill and the bridge confirms that the establishment of the road post-dated the crossing, and was dictated by the line of the defences of the castle outer ward.

In the town charter (reproduced in Walker 1989, 137-8) it is commanded that 'all ships with merchandise which enter the port of Milford (ie. the Haven) and wish to buy an sell on land shall come to the bridge of Pembroke and buy or sell there'. This demonstrates the economic monopoly that was imposed upon the region from Pembroke, and also suggests that the northern bridge over the Pembroke River, Mill Bridge, was already present, and therefore Northgate Street, but it has been argued by Ludlow (1993) that the quay was not constructed until 19th century, prior to which ships moored in the vicinity of the bridge and were loaded and unloaded from lighters. Archaeological evaluation in 1994 suggested that a slight inlet or embayment in the bank of the river formerly lay at the foot of Northgate Street, which perhaps afforded a deeper pool or harbour in the vicinity of the bridge (Lawler 2001). A tidal corn-mill was established on Mill Bridge in 1199, giving the bridge its name and remaining there, in one form or another, until demolished in 1968 (Ludlow 1993, 6). A second tide-mill had been established on Monkton Bridge by the 14th century.

In his map of 1611 John Speed depicts a marketplace at the junction of Main and Northgate Streets (Fig. 5), near St Mary's Church, which, according to Hindle, was first mentioned in c.1260 (Hindle 1979, 78 - the note is unreferenced and so far, the source has not been discovered by this author), but may be assumed to have earlier origins. However it appears, from its position beyond Northgate Street, to be a secondary feature, while it also lies beyond a rock-cut ditch, revealed through recent evaluation excavation by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust (Fig. 2), running northwest-southeast between the castle and Northgate Street, which may represent a defence around the early settlement (Lawler 2001). However, only a small section was uncovered and the excavator felt that the ditch might instead be either a post-medieval quarry, or even belong to a 17th century defensive line (see below).

Lilley interpreted a description of the castle in c.1100 as a slender structure of stakes and turf, which was written by Giraldus Cambrensis nearly 100 years later (Thorpe 1978, 136, 226), as referring to a town defence rather than a castle (Lilley 1995, 68). Though the reasoning behind his argument fails to fully convince, the putative defence must have been established fairly early in the 12th century as it apparently pre-dated St Mary's Church. Perhaps it was contemporary with the issue of

the borough charter between 1100 and 1135, as a further incentive to civil settlement.

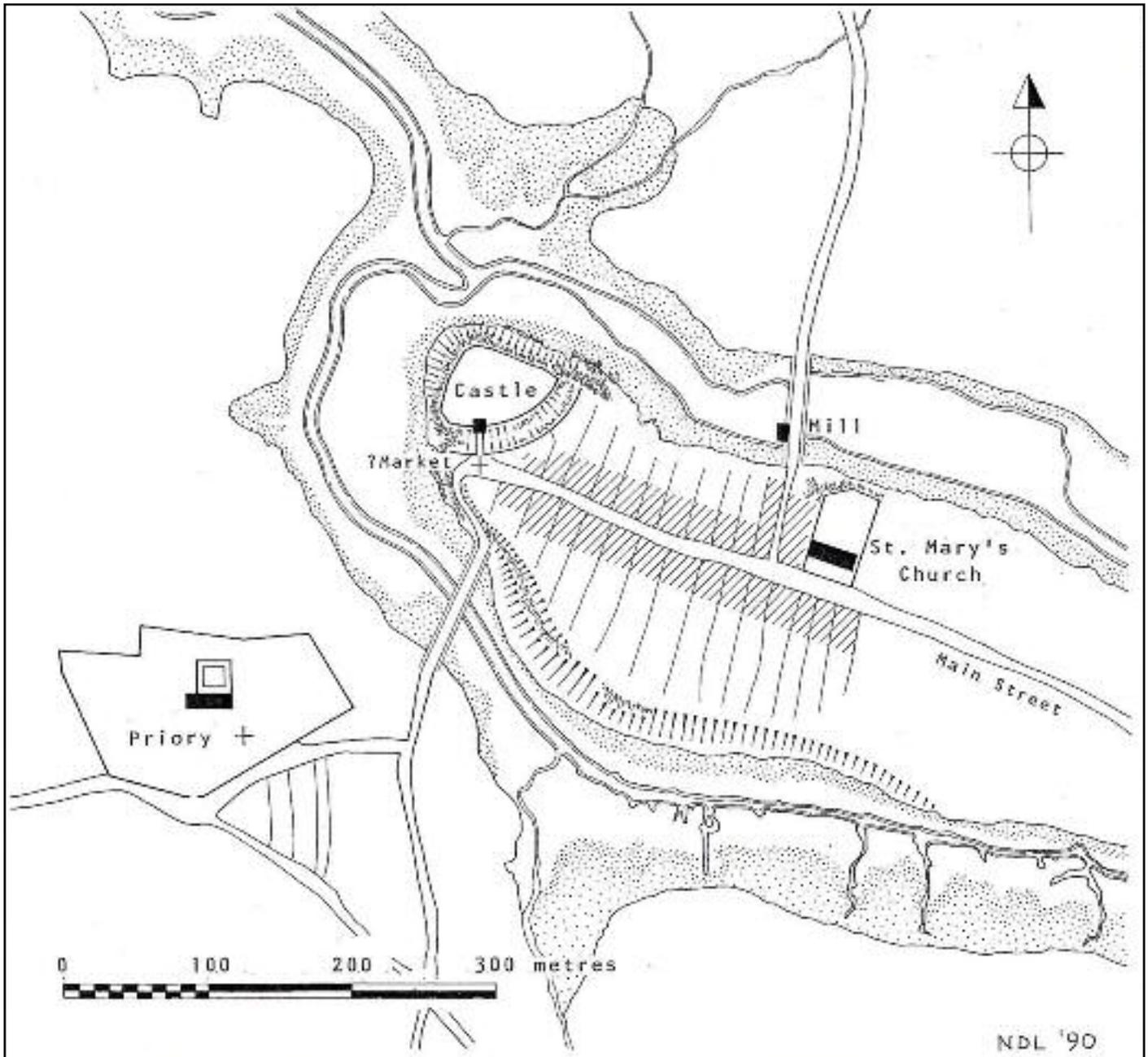
### **Fig. 2 - suggested layout of Pembroke in c.1200.**

### **5.3 The second town defence? (c.1230-c.1290?)**

The influential baron William Marshal was confirmed as Earl of Pembroke in 1199 and, five years later, arrived at Pembroke for the first time, at the head of an army to suppress the recent Welsh risings (Ludlow 1991, 27; Rowlands 1996, 151-4). It was Marshal who, during the period 1204-1219, rebuilt the inner ward of the castle, which had probably been defended in timber, with the present masonry defences.

It may have been under Marshal or his sons (1219-45) that the outer ward, and therefore Westgate Hill, was laid out, but the evidence suggests that the masonry wall around the outer ward dates from the period of William de Valence, who held Pembroke from 1247 until 1296 and who may have begun the work as the result of a royal directive from his half-brother, King Henry III, in 1257 (cited in Rothwell 1975, 111). Possibly interrupted by his rebellion in 1264-5, it appears to have been substantially complete by the 1280s allowing work to begin on the domestic buildings. Although the possibility that part of the town wall was removed to allow the construction of these castle defences cannot be ruled out, it is far more likely, given that it abuts onto the outer ward towers, that Pembroke's town wall was not commenced until the latter was completed.

There is, moreover, strong morphological evidence that a line halfway along the peninsula, at its 'waist', had been adopted by an earlier town defence, possibly established under the Marshal earls (Fig. 3). As the narrowest point, it forms a natural defensive line, more logical in many ways than the present east end. The dip in the profile, which is very pronounced in Main Street, is a natural place to dig a ditch and indeed, may partly be the result of such a ditch. But the most compelling evidence is provided by St Michael's Parish Church, which appears to have been built to serve a parish established beyond the defended area of the initial town. The boundary between the parishes of St Michael and St Mary runs across the waist of the peninsula, along the proposed line of the ditch, while Main Street becomes very broad opposite St Michael's to accommodate the market formerly held here, which was depicted with its own market cross by Speed in c.1610 (Fig. 5). Further evidence for these two phases of town development lies in the fact that burgage plots are noticeably wider in St Michael's parish, averaging 8m as opposed to 6m in St Mary's. It appears, therefore, that St Michael's was deliberately 'planted' as an



**Fig. 2 - Suggested Layout of Pembroke in c.1200.**

extra-mural, market suburb, sometime before the 1260s when St Michael's church was, according to Hindle, first mentioned in the sources (Hindle 1979, 78. The note is unreferenced and so far, the source has not been discovered by this author, but St Michael's Church was definitely in existence by 1291 when it was assessed at £10 - Green 1913, 233). The establishment of such secondary market suburbs was by no means unknown in the medieval period and is paralleled locally at Carmarthen (Lammas Street), and at Haverfordwest (St Mary's) where it was also enclosed within the later town wall. In both of these examples, the suburbs do not appear to have been developed until the 13th century, arguing for a similar date for Pembroke St Michael (the much earlier date of c.1154, proposed by Lilley 1995, 69, is not a likely option).

The nature of any standing barrier along this possible line of defence cannot be guessed - it may be that if the outer ward, as possibly laid out under the Marshal earls, was defended in timber, then the early town defences were also in this material, at least at the east end where they probably surmounted a bank derived from the ditch upcast. However, the possibility must be addressed that this early perimeter may have been walled in stone before the construction of the entire circuit in the late 13th-early 14th century.

**Fig. 3 - suggested layout of Pembroke in c.1250.**

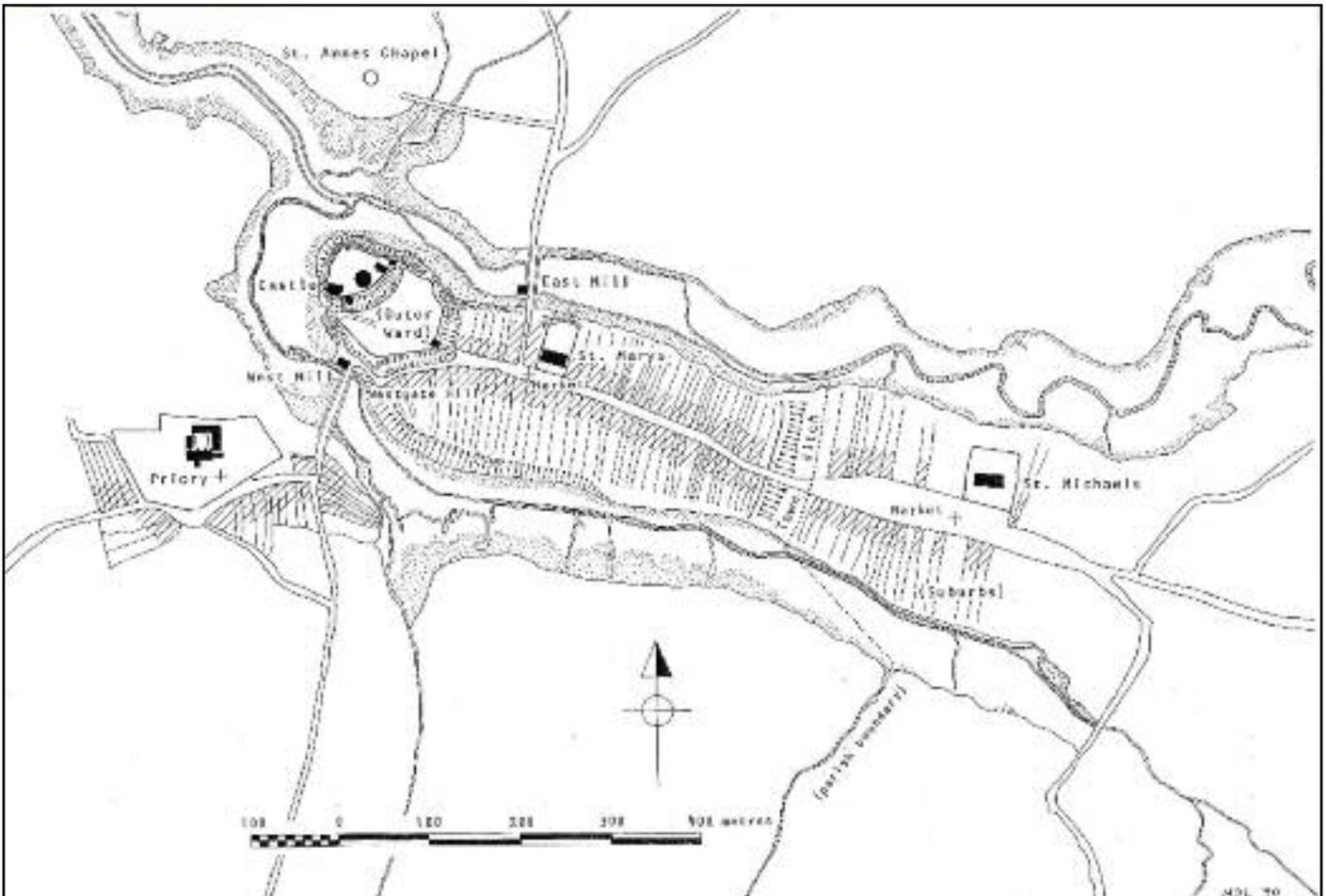


Fig. 3 - Suggested Layout of Pembroke in c.1250.

#### 5.4 The construction of the present walls (c.1290-1324?)

It has been pointed out by Smith (1985) that murage grants in Wales peaked in the years 1283-6 - the period of the construction of the North Wales town walls - and again in 1315-1320 (Smith 1985, 376). The latter peak may be connected with uncertainly following the rebellion of Llywelyn Brên, but this was a very localised disturbance, concentrated in Glamorgan. It may be that this second wave of wall-building may have been prompted more by civic pride than other factors.

Pembroke's town wall encloses both St Mary's and the suburb of St Michael's (Fig. 4). It is suggested here that the present masonry defences are all of one phase, on the basis that the section nearest the castle - which, if more than one phase was represented, would necessarily be earliest - cannot plausibly have been commenced before the c.1280, when the castle outer ward was completed (see above). William de Valence, who held Pembroke at this time, was notable for his patronage of both Pembroke and Tenby - he made Pembroke his main seat of power, and residence, and founded hospitals at Tenby, and possibly Pembroke (King 1978, 9-10). Such interest in his local holdings may suggest

that the walls were at least commenced under de Valence, coinciding with Edward I's work in North Wales.

However, comparison with similar work elsewhere indicates that the work was at least completed under his son Aymer de Valence (1296-1324), possibly coinciding with the second peak indicated by Smith. The former North Gate was depicted in a print of 1815 (see below) as a twin drum-tower structure, with corbelled parapets of a character resembling typical of military work of c.1300 in Pembrokeshire (Upton Castle, Benton Castle et al.), and of the 14th-16th centuries at many Pembrokeshire church towers. A 16th century description of the former East Gate (see below), moreover, suggests that it was a structure very similar to the castle barbican, which was probably itself constructed under Aymer de Valence in imitation of the barbican at Goodrich Castle, from c.1300, and ultimately derived from the Lion Tower at the Tower of London, from c.1280 (Ludlow 1991, 30). The West Gate at Tenby (the famous 'Five Arches' gate) is very similar, and probably contemporary (Thomas 1994, 20).

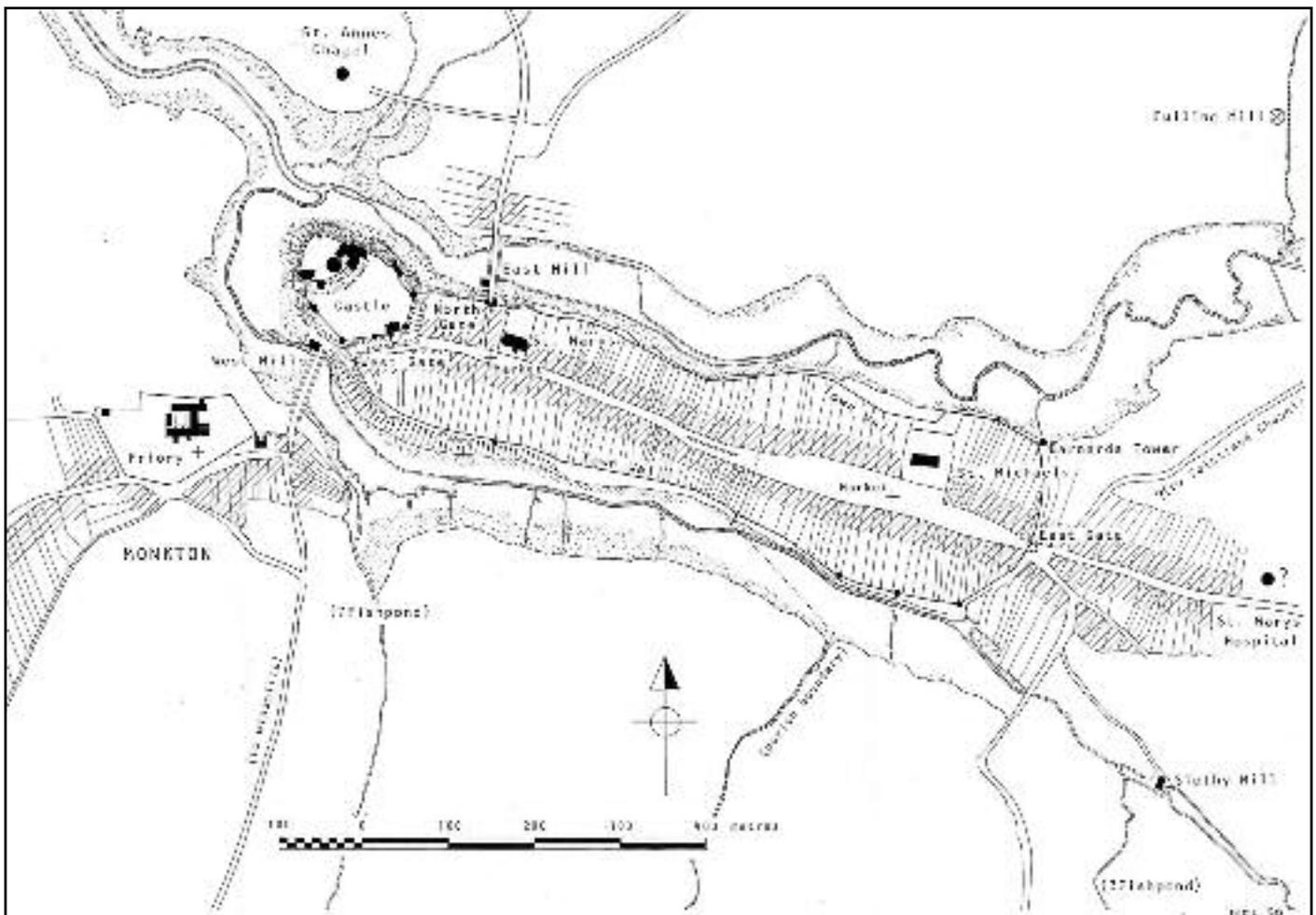
Indeed, the town wall at Tenby is similar in a number of respects, as has already been noted, so when was this latter wall built? Ron Walker has suggested that it probably belongs, on morphological grounds, to William de Valence's tenure (1247-96), a date possibly supported by a murage grant of 1328, issued during a period when the county palatine of Pembroke, to which Tenby belonged, was under crown control, and which he felt to represent the addition of some of the towers to an existing wall (Walker 1969-70, 8-9). However, in a recent paper Tenby's leading antiquarian, W. G. Thomas, argued that while the wall may be this late, or even later, that certain of its features suggested an earlier date, in the 1230s, for at least its primary phase (Thomas 1994, 5-8.). However, he acknowledged that Tenby did not receive its first charter until the 1280s, and it must be stressed that there is no firm evidence that the 1328 grant does not represent the main, primary phase of wall construction - which, if the above dating of Pembroke's wall is correct, would make Tenby's slightly later, as might be expected.

### 5.5 The 15th century (re)builds (1479-82)

However, it must again be stressed that there is no firm documentary evidence for the construction of Pembroke town wall. Indeed, the fact that the constable of the castle, Degarey Seys, was commissioned to 'survey, repair and fortify the castle and town of Pembroke' in 1377 (Cal. Patent Rolls, Edward III Vol. 16 (1916), 495), may be taken as suggesting that the town was still unfortified. It is more likely, however, that the walls were already at least partly in place but, like the castle, had been neglected - or were left unfinished - during the later 14th century, which was a period of absentee lords of Pembroke, and needed extensive repair or completion.

Nevertheless, the first documentary mention of a wall was not until the late 15th century, and then in a reference to building, rather than repair. In 1479-80, 24s 4d was spent on 'making a stone wall on the south side of the town of Pembroke' (PRO Ministers' Account 1208/9, reproduced in Owen 1918, 189). However, it cannot be proposed that main construction of the wall is this late - the 'east gate', the 'west gate', the 'north gate near the mill' and 'two posterns of the walls of the town of Pembroke' are specifically mentioned in an account of

**Fig. 4 - suggested layout of Pembroke in c.1320.**



**Fig. 4 - Suggested Layout of Pembroke in c.1320.**

1480-81 (PRO Ministers' Account 1208/11, reproduced in Owen 1918, 146), and described as established features. The sum may then refer to one of three things -

- the completion of the circuit along the south side, possibly left unfinished in the early 14th century. The construction of the wall may have been undertaken over a very long period of time, particularly once the immediate initiative had waned, a period which coincided with the absentee landlordism of the mid-late 14th century. This factor would be of particular importance if, as was noted in Section 3.0, the wall was constructed under the auspices of individual burgesses responsible for their own individual sections.
- a heightening of the wall here. The wall at Tenby was heightened, and strengthened with an additional thickness of masonry, during the tenure of Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, after a grant of 1457 (Walker 1969-70, 4, 9). No such grant survives for Pembroke, his main seat of power, and his Pembroke holdings were seized in 1461, and not restored until 1485, the castle being in the hands of the Herbert earls in 1479-80. The work at Tenby may nevertheless provide a context for the expenditure at Pembroke. The crenellations on Pembroke's northern wall line west of the Semicircular Tower have, moreover, been blocked, as if in anticipation of a similar heightening scheme.
- a rebuild - and then only partial - possibly following damage. In 1480-81 the rents of 1½ burgages near the East Gate were described as 'decayed... because the said burgages were destroyed... because situated too near the walls of the town of Pembroke in the time of rebellion and were not as yet rebuilt' (PRO Ministers' Account 1208/11, reproduced in Owen 1918, 146), ie. the houses were demolished as a safety precaution, to prevent them from being used to get over the walls. The 'rebellion' refers to the seizure of the castle and lordship, from the Lancastrian Jasper Tudor, by the Yorkist William Herbert following Edward IV's defeat of Henry VI in 1462.

William Herbert exchanged the Earldom of Pembroke with Edward IV's son, the future Edward V, in 1482 (King 1978, 13), and in that year the bailiff of Pembroke requested an allowance 'for the making of a parcel of the town wall of Pembroke, that my lord prince should repair by reason of a tenement lying in (his) hands called Palle's Lands' (PRO Ministers' Account 635, No. 10537, reproduced in Owen 1918, 175). This tenement has not been identified by the author, but there is a possibility that it was located along the south side of

the wall, continuing the work of 1479-80. However, this rebuild was evidently from ground level, the labourers being paid a total of 3s for 'the riding (sic) and cleansing of the fundament and grounding of the wall'. There follows an account for 96 loads of lime, 5 loads of gravel, and the carriage of stone. This is the only costed account to survive from any medieval work on the wall.

Sixty years later, in 1543-4, 14s 8d was allowed for 'divers repairs made to the East Gate of Pembroke' (PRO Ministers' Account 5578, reproduced in Owen 1918, 190).

## 6.0 THE WALLS THROUGH TIME

This section will review the source evidence for the changing nature of the town walls during the post-medieval period.

### 6.1 The 16th century

John Leland, who visited Pembroke in about 1538, described the town thus -

*'Pembroke... stands upon an arm of Milford, the which... almost peninsulatith the town... (which) is well walled, and has three gates by east, west and north, of which the East Gate is the fairest, having before it a compassed tower, not roofed, in the entering whereof is a portcullis of solid iron.'*

(Smith 1906, 115-6)

The East Gate, as described, appears to have possessed the barbican discussed above. Something similar appears to be shown on Speed's plan of 1611 which, although unclear, appears to be a semicircular structure with several arches (Fig. 5). The Speed plan is an invaluable source and shows the entire circuit as it stood in the early 17th century. The constriction at the 'waist' of the peninsula is emphasised, and indeed the way it is depicted is suggestive of the two-phase development of the defences outlined above. The northern line also runs inland towards the northwest corner of St Michael's churchyard, before heading north to the shoreline, along what is now a very pronounced scarp. Five flanking towers are shown, including the surviving Barnard's Tower, the two surviving towers on the southern line, and the tower which remains, in a fragmentary condition, at the southeast corner.

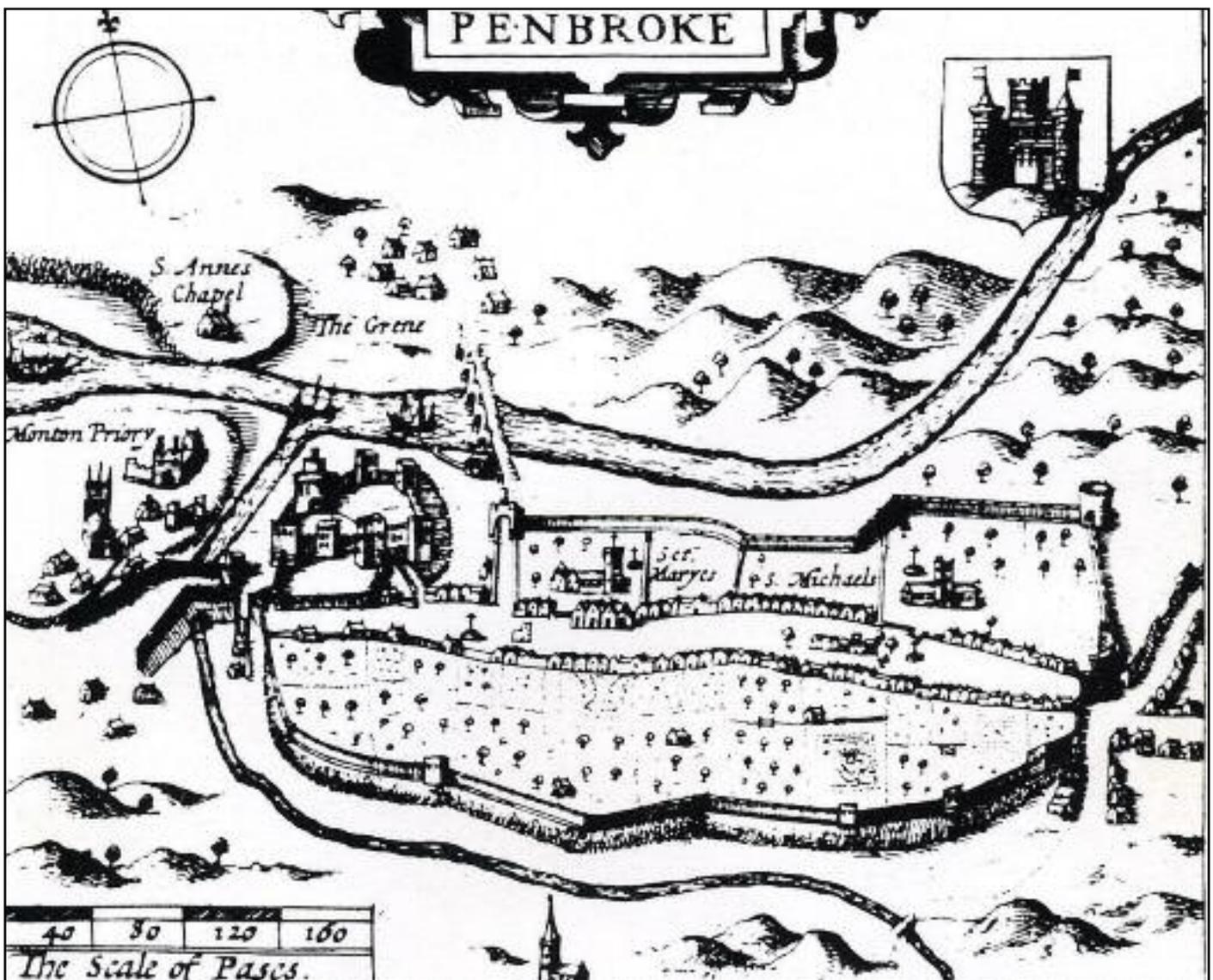
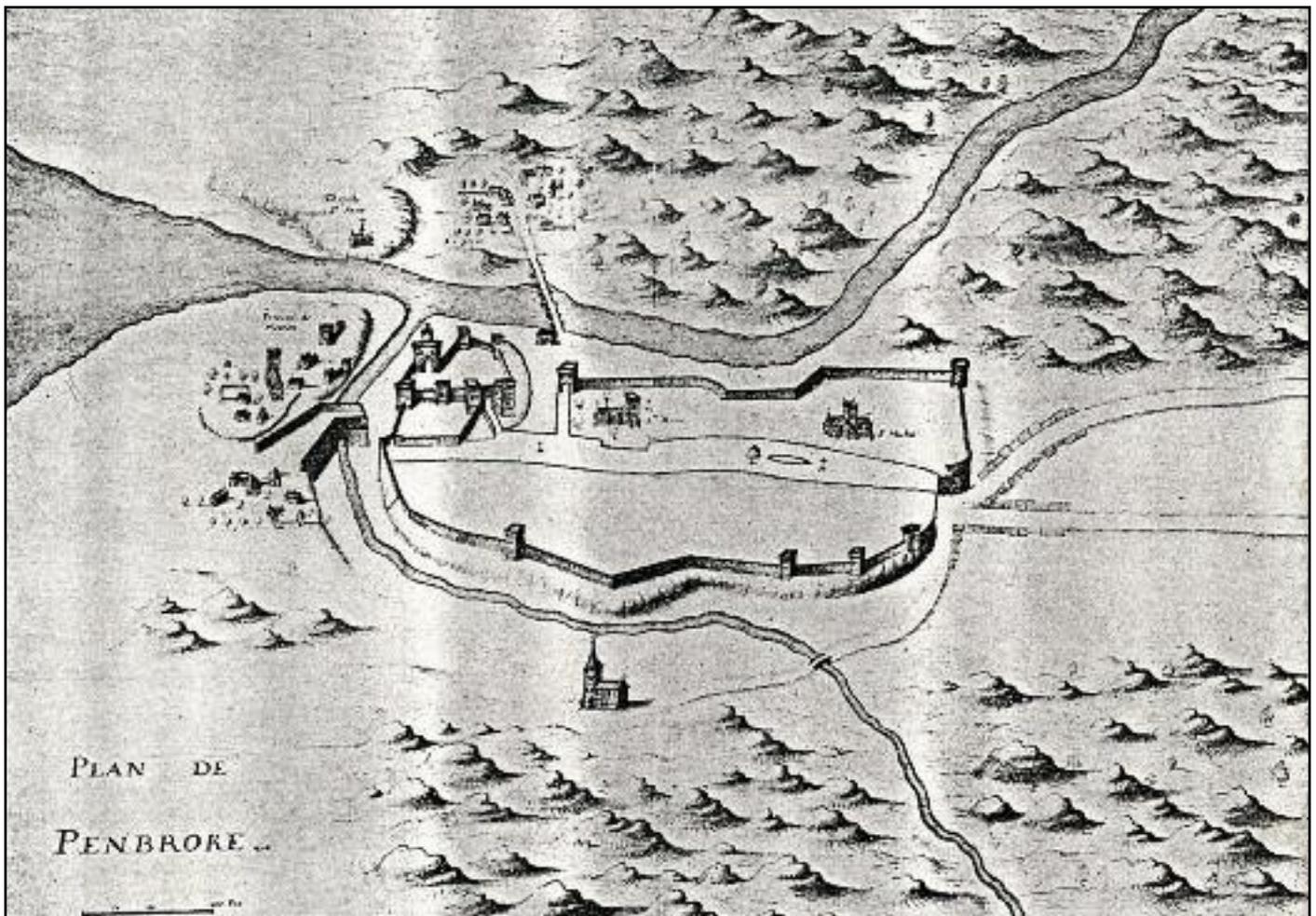


Fig. 5 - Speed's map of Pembroke in 1611

The surviving Semicircular Tower west of Barnard's Tower is not shown, the fifth tower being represented by a structure on the southern line just east of St Mary's Church, for which there is no physical evidence but which lies in an area that has been much altered by more recent development; the numerical discrepancy is accounted for in Owen's description of c.1600, reproduced below, which mentions six towers. Local tradition has it that the missing tower was associated with a postern at the foot of an alley now represented by Long Entry car park, but neither map nor documentary evidence can confirm this. As well as the East Gate, the North Gate is shown in a simplified form. The West Gate is also shown, but appears to be fronted by an additional gatehouse at the northern end of Monkton Bridge. This is not replicated in the French plan of c.1650 (Fig. 6) suggesting that it may have been removed during the 17th century, or was never present - there is no further evidence for this kind of structure, but a 'certain house... on the west bridge of the town of Pembroke' is mentioned in an account of 1480-81 (PRO Ministers' Account 1208/11, reproduced in Owen 1918, 146).

**Fig. 5 - Speed's map of Pembroke in 1611**

**Fig. 6 - French map of Pembroke in c.1650  
(British Library, Additional MS 11564 (reproduced in  
Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical  
Monuments (Wales), 1917 Inventory:  
Pembrokeshire, Fig. 234)**



**Fig. 6 - French map of Pembroke in c.1650  
(British Library, Additional MS 11564 (reproduced in Royal  
Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments (Wales),  
1917 Inventory: Pembrokeshire, Fig. 234)**

**This is how George Owen, writing in c.1600,  
described Pembroke -**

*'The town of Pembroke standeth upon a long back or ridge of rock, being all one street in length without any cross streets, and being walled about with a strong wall of lime and stone and compassed on each side with a branch of Milford... (crossed by) two bridges, the town having three gates only and the town walls being strongly defended with six flanker towers... and in some of the same towers are fair springs of clear sweet running water for the necessary relief of people... not to be cut off...'* (Owen 1897, 557-8)

Overall, the town has changed but little and there are, with the exception of New Way on the south side of Main Street, still no cross streets. However, at least two aspects of this description may be conventionalised. The wall was probably never particularly 'strong', while for 'springs' Owen may mean wells, which may indeed have been present in some of the towers.

An extra mural suburb had developed beyond the East Gate by the close of the medieval period, along the Tenby and Carmarthen roads (the present A4139 and A4075). Well Hill, leading south from the East Gate, had also been established but did not extend beyond Grove Bridge over Monkton Pill, and South Road had yet to be established. However, the town declined steadily after the abolition of the palatinate and the suburb, described by Leland as having been 'almost as great as the town', was in ruin in 1538 (Smith 1906, 115-6). Nevertheless, some settlement along the three roads was depicted by Speed.

In the Lay Subsidy of 1543, Tenby paid two-and-a-half times as much tax as Pembroke, and in 1588 Pembroke had only 89 householders (Hindle 1979, 78). In c.1600 George Owen described the town as 'very ruinous and much decay'd' while 10 years later Speed said there were 'more houses without inhabitants than I saw in any one city throughout my journey' (Soulsby 1983, 216 et al.). These conditions may imply that the maintenance of the town wall was no longer feasible, given that the castle itself was no longer garrisoned (Lawler 2001). Though the need for defence against pirates - and French invasion - occupied the minds of Pembrokeshire folk during this period, defences were normally either constructed as part of a state system - for instance, the forts that were constructed in Milford Haven by Henry VIII - or by private enterprise, as represented by the numerous small 'pele-towers' added to farmsteads and other holdings across Pembrokeshire from c.1400 into the 17th century (eg. the towers at Caldey and Monkton priories, Angle Rectory, West Tarr and Carswell farms). Municipal defence works appear, in general, to have been largely neglected during the 16th century.

## **6.2 The 17th century**

Speed does not show a wall between the North Gate and the castle, and recent evaluation excavation by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust revealed only rather equivocal evidence for its having been built (Lawler 2001). However, it was felt that the wall had been present, but may have been removed as a result of development of the adjacent waterfront. The wall had been rebuilt by 1678 when it was shown in a water-colour by Francis Place, the work possibly being undertaken as part of a defence strategy during the First Civil War of 1642-5. It has been suggested that the adjacent rock-cut ditch, mentioned above, may have been excavated as an additional, outlying defence for the castle (ibid). However, the ditch would be strangely short, being confined by the wall to the north, and the pre-existing buildings on Main Street to the south, one of which (now no. 4 Castle Terrace) has a substantial, late medieval vaulted cellar that more-or-less occupies the line of the ditch.

The Mayor of Pembroke, John Poyer, later referred to his part in the repair of the town wall in 1642. Other Pembrokeshire towns had repaired their walls at the same time, the surviving accounts for Tenby showing that there, the repairs were extensive (Lawler 2001). So the work at Pembroke need not have been confined to the North Gate area, but may have been more wide-ranging. Indeed, an account of a raid by a storming party in 1648 mentions that the attackers 'failed to get over the walls from their short ladders' (Leach 1937, 198), suggesting that areas of the wall, at least, may have been higher than their present remains would suggest.

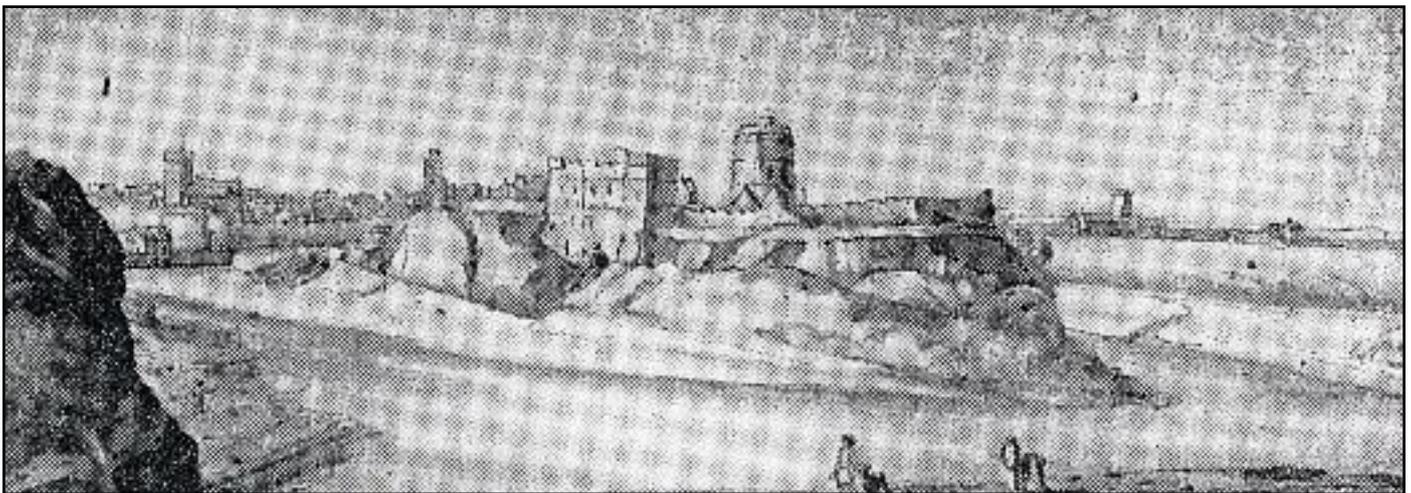
The threat posed to the town was real enough during Poyer's rebellion in the Second Civil War of 1648-9. Cromwell planted two guns on Golden Hill, north of the Pembroke River, to command its bridge and mill which, he declared, he could take away within 24 hours (Leach 1937, 200). Leach thought that the evidence that he did so was equivocal (ibid.), but Edward Laws suggested that he had (Laws 1888, 344) and in 1802 he was blamed for a 'chasm' in the tower of St Mary's Church, (Thompson 1983, 221). At least one breach appears to have been made somewhere along the circuit for we are told that in June 1648 Cromwell's troops stormed through the wall and chased the defenders almost up to the castle gate, killing nearly 100 in a running fight - an attack that was not followed up. We do not know where the breach was made, but it has been suggested that it was towards the east end of the town (John et al. 1999, 26). By July, the guns had 'battered down many houses and killed at least 30 people in the town' (Leach 1937, 203).

Contemporary correspondence suggests that the Westgate and Northgate Towers of the castle were, along with the gatehouse and other towers, destroyed on the orders of Oliver Cromwell at the conclusion of the siege of 1648 (King 1978, 19-20), a charge of gunpowder being set in their basements, blowing out their external faces and presumably the adjoining sections of town wall, and possibly also taking out the bulk of the West Gate. Other parts of the town wall may have been affected - Cromwell also gave orders for the demolition of the 'workes of the towne' (Leach 1937, 207) but the extent to which this was carried out is unknown. However, the East Gate is said to have been demolished in 1648 (cited by eg. Parkinson 1979-80).

**Fig. 7 - Place's view of Pembroke in 1678  
(reproduction in the private collection of Pembroke  
Castle Trust)**

### 6.3 The 18th century

Pembroke appears to have enjoyed an upturn in its prosperity during the later part of the 17th century and the early 18th century, for Daniel Defoe, who visited Pembroke in 1724-6, described it as *'the largest and richest and ... most flourishing town of all S. Wales',* and *'the most agreeable town on all the sea coast'* (Cole and Browning 1962, 57).



**Fig. 7 - Place's view of Pembroke in 1678  
(reproduction in the private collection of Pembroke Castle Trust)**

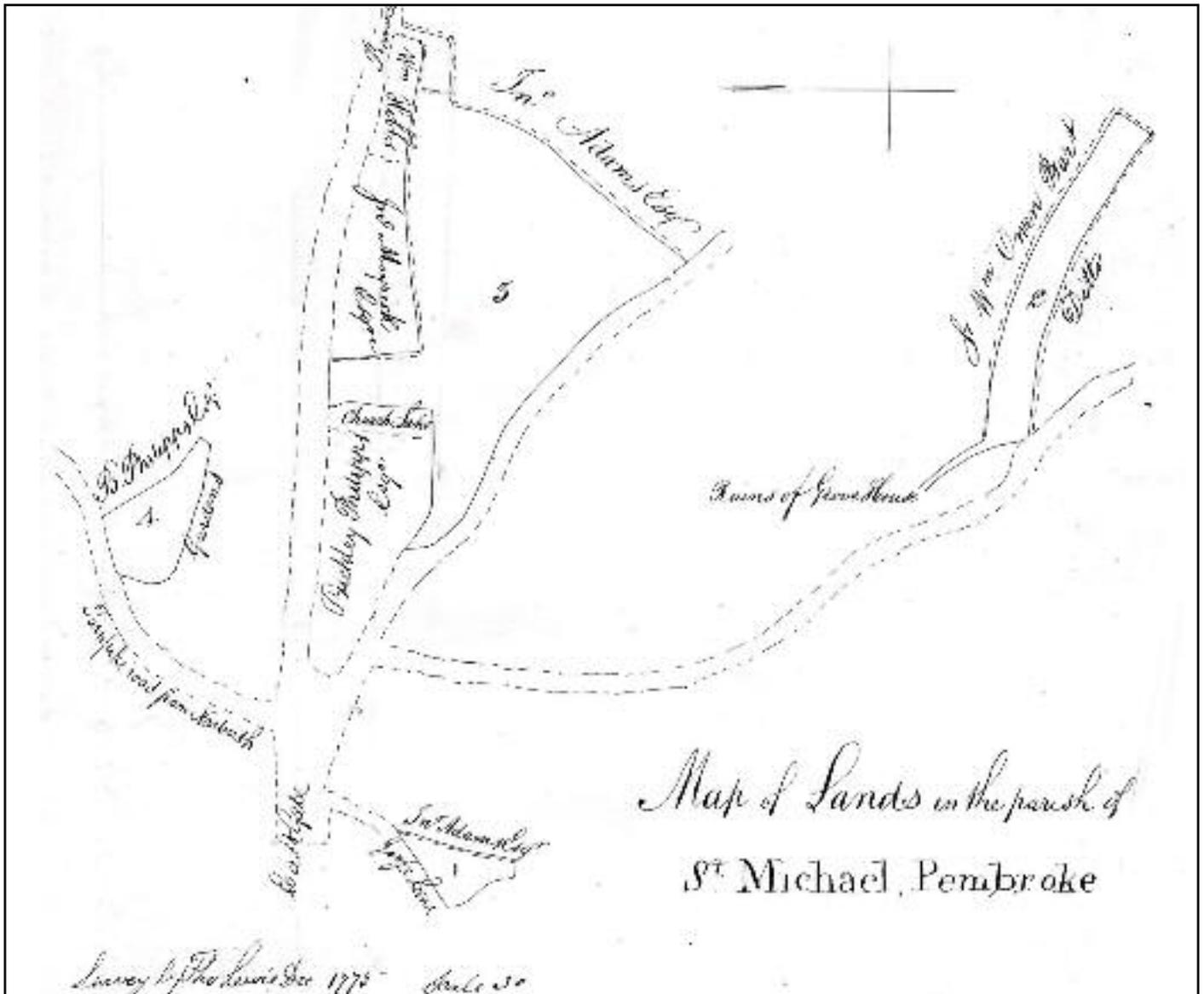
*There were 'a good many English merchants, and some of them men of good business... (and) near 200 sail of ships belong'd to the town...'* Unfortunately, Defoe has little to say about the town walls and an important potential source is thus not forthcoming.

The settled conditions that prevailed in Wales after the Civil War rendered town defences obsolete. The landward ditch fronting the east line of the walls must have been either infilled, or had silted, before 1775 when it already lay partly beneath Goose's Lane (NLW, Map Book Vol. 88). A new breach was constructed in the southern line of the wall, for a new lane, New Way, which was cut through a burgage plot in 1724 (Hindle 1979, 79) and was - and still is - the only cross street proper to be cut through the circuit since the medieval period.

The 18th century was therefore a period when the castle, and the town walls, became a quarry for pilfering building materials by the townsfolk. The easiest materials would be plundered first - dressings, window and door surrounds etc. - the more solid work being left until last. The relatively slender nature which can be envisaged for most of the town wall rendered it highly suitable for robbing, but the interval towers - with the

exception of the western tower shown by Speed on the southern line, which has gone completely - proved more enduring and were largely left alone. Barnard's Tower, the massive structure at the northeast corner, was hardly touched. This alone would suggest that the removal of the East Gate and its barbican - which, possibly demolished in 1648 (see above), appears to have gone by 1775 (Fig. 8), and certainly had by 1805 (Thompson 1983, 221) - was deliberate, either as a post-Civil War 'slight' or in order to improve vehicular access into the town. The development of Nos. 127-138 Main Street, and Nos. 137-143 on the opposite side, which variously incorporate or replace the town wall here, swiftly followed and the properties were certainly in place by the 1861 Ordnance Survey. The West Gate had largely gone by 1787, as it is not shown on the 'Lovedon' map of that date (Fig. 9), and it may have been a victim of collateral damage when the nearby castle towers were slighted in 1648.

**Fig. 8 - Plan of East Gate area in 1775  
(National Library of Wales, Map Book Vol. 88 'The  
Estates of Sir Rd. Phillips, Bart., 1774-5', 91 'Map of  
lands in the parish of St Michael, Pembroke, 1775')**



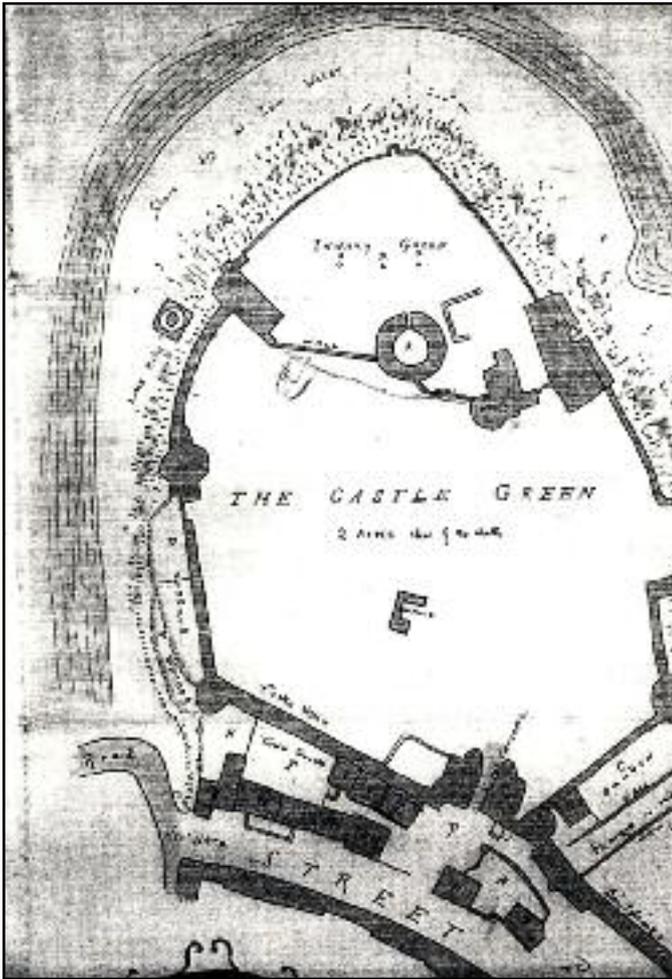
**Fig. 8 - Plan of East Gate area in 1775**  
(National Library of Wales, Map Book Vol. 88 'The Estates of  
Sir Rd. Phillips, Bart., 1774-5', 91 'Map of lands in the parish  
of St Michael, Pembroke, 1775')

**Fig. 9 - Plan of Pembroke Castle in 1787**  
(National Library of Wales, Map Book Vol. 39, 'The  
Estates of Edward Lovedon Lovedon Esq., by T.  
Lewis, 1787', 93-4 'Pembroke Castle')

However, individual sections of the wall, which in many cases correspond with individual properties, can have very different characteristics suggesting that in many cases they are of post-medieval date (but nb. see Section 3.0 above). Along the northern line, some of these sections are clearly post-medieval replacements of the medieval wall. Where this has occurred, it appears that the new sections were built immediately behind the medieval line - which presumably had become unstable - in order to continue revetment of the garden deposits behind (and possibly in a continuing

sense of the psychological and visual significance of the barrier - the burgage plot boundaries can be similarly very high).

During the 18th and early 19th centuries Pembroke was heavily involved in the lime trade, as were a number of coastal settlements in the county. Quarries were opened up fairly indiscriminately around the perimeter of the peninsula on which the town stands, radically altering the topography behind Castle Terrace, for example, and possibly northwest of St Michael's Church where the line of the wall behind Nos. 6-14 East Back is now difficult to trace - it may or may not have occupied the top of the scarp slope which leads from the northwest corner of the churchyard, but which may have been somewhat altered by quarrying.



**Fig. 9 - Plan of Pembroke Castle in 1787  
(National Library of Wales, Map Book Vol.  
39, 'The Estates of Edward Lovedon  
Lovedon Esq., by T. Lewis, 1787', 93-4  
'Pembroke Castle')**

Limestone masonry from the wall itself may, in fact, have been used to charge the lime-kilns, of which there were several in and around the town. One of these was constructed over the southern wall line and mimics the southern towers in form, demonstrating that the wall here had already been reduced to ground level.

The construction of New Way is interesting in that it suggests that, by 1724 at least, there was a dry area of Monkton Pill at its foot. Silting and natural reclamation may have been the predominant factors, and indeed by 1861 only a small tidal pool was left east of Monkton Bridge. However, this southern kiln must have been accessible by water, and indeed may have been the cause of the construction of New Way. In fact Monkton Pill was not entirely filled in until after the second world war (Carradice 1993, 89).

**Fig. 10 - Buck brothers' view of Pembroke from the north in 1748**

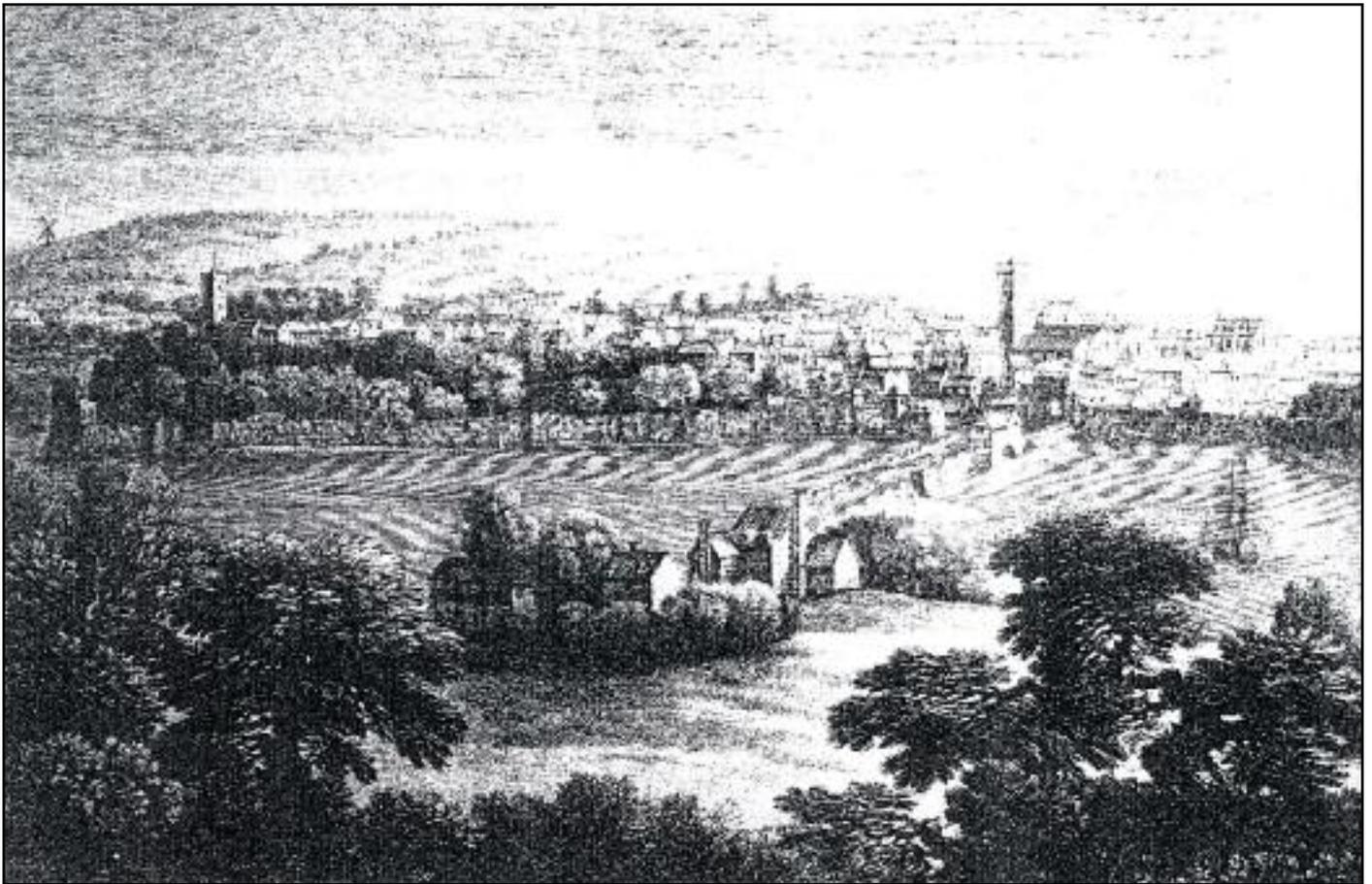
**Fig. 11 - Richard Wilson's view of Pembroke from the north in c.1770**

#### 6.4 The 19th century

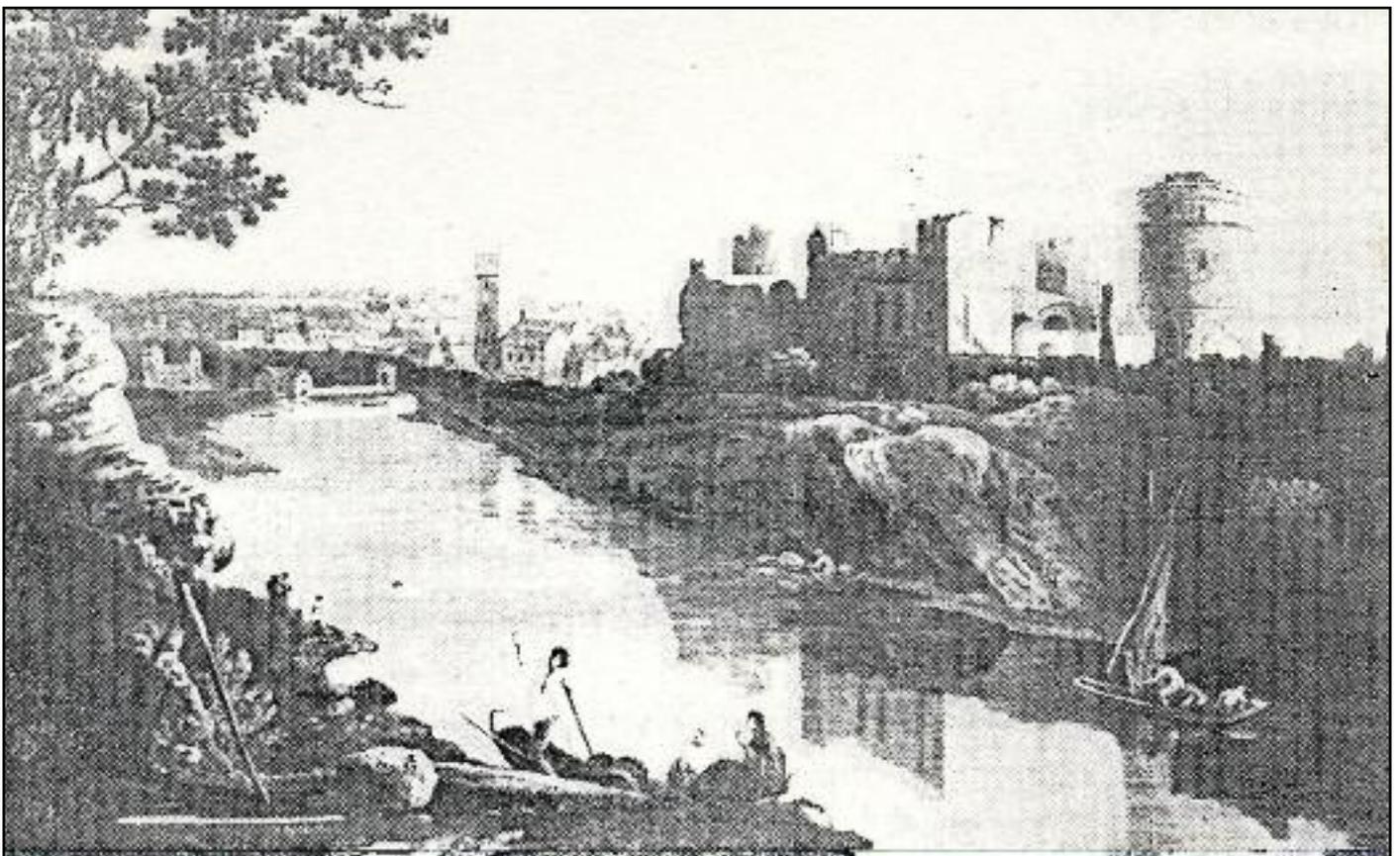
Richard Colt Hoare described the walls in 1802 - *'There are evident traces of three of the gates which formed a communication through the walls to the interior of the town. The North Gate... remains entire; the West and East Gates are down; on the southern side there stands a tower and a road into the town close to it... From the north to the east the line of the walls run parallel with the river or rather a large mill pool, at which latter angle a very perfect round tower still remains, called Barnard's Tower. On the southern side also the lines of the walls, which at intervals were fortified with round towers, may be easily followed. The ground on this side was low and marshy...'* (Thompson 1983, 221).

Richard Fenton, writing in 1811, adds that there was 'a postern on the south side' (Fenton 1811, 362), evidently the only survivor from the 2+ posterns mentioned in 1480-81, and - unless Fenton was erroneously describing one of the later openings - this has been lost today. The North Gate was still standing in 1815 when it was painted by Buckler, but was demolished in c.1820 (Parkinson, 1979-80).

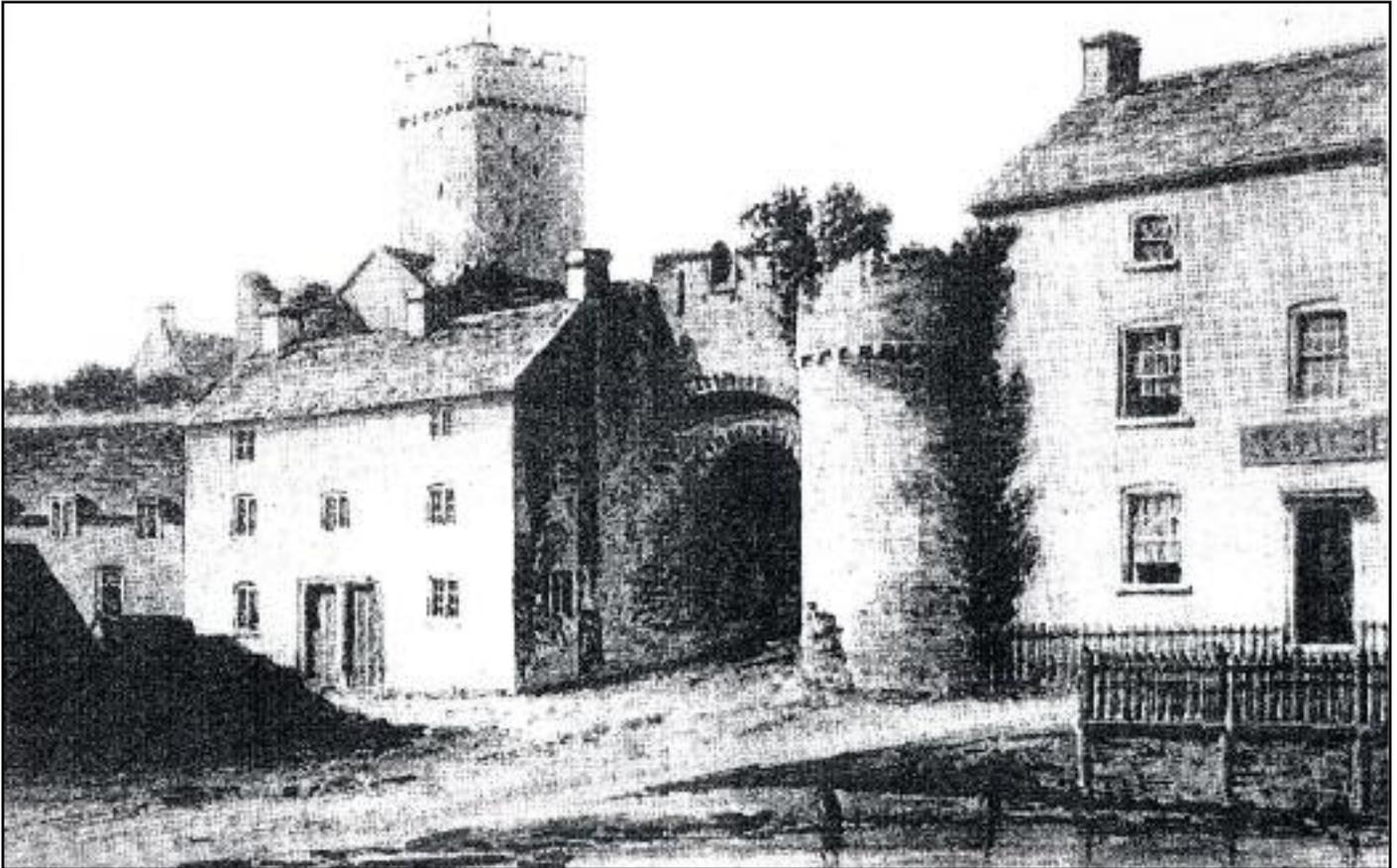
**Fig. 12 - J. C. Buckler's view of the North Gate in 1815**



**Fig. 10 - Buck brothers' view of Pembroke from the north in 1748**



**Fig. 11 - Richard Wilson's view of Pembroke from the north in c.1770**



**Fig. 12 - J. C. Buckler's view of the North Gate in 1815**

Samuel Lewis, in 1833, called the town wall - *'a lofty embattled wall, defended by numerous bastions, and entered by three principal gates and a postern' (Lewis 1833). The gardens on 'both sides' of Main Street sloped 'down from the houses to the water's edge: the embattled walls with which the ancient town was surrounded are still tolerably perfect on the north side....'*

This latter comment is particularly interesting as Lewis appears to be suggesting that either the southern wall was largely gone - which cannot be true, as substantial remains survive today - or that it was almost entirely concealed behind an agglomeration of buildings, a very much reduced number of which still survive today. Monkton Pill was by now, although marshy, almost entirely dry allowing commercial development to build up against the exterior of the southern wall line. The Parade is shown on the tithe map of 1839, and 10 properties are depicted on the slope between it and what became Common Road. This block is shown in 1885, but had become more empty by 1908, and is now practically empty. This suggests that the line north of The Parade is definitely the medieval wall line. Common Road was established between 1839 and 1861, allowing access to the buildings against the eastern half of the southern wall line.

Pembroke's economy appears to have remained steady and in 1805 there were *'a sprinkling of good houses'* towards the east end of Main Street, while the middle and west end were occupied by *'petty shopkeepers, who make some small shew of business, more especially on market day'* (Donovan 1805, 335), reflecting the architectural profile of the town still seen today. Donovan noted the presence of tailors, shoemakers, saddlers, carpenters, blacksmiths and others, stating that *'the place is not destitute of internal business in this respect, as some have represented'* (ibid.).

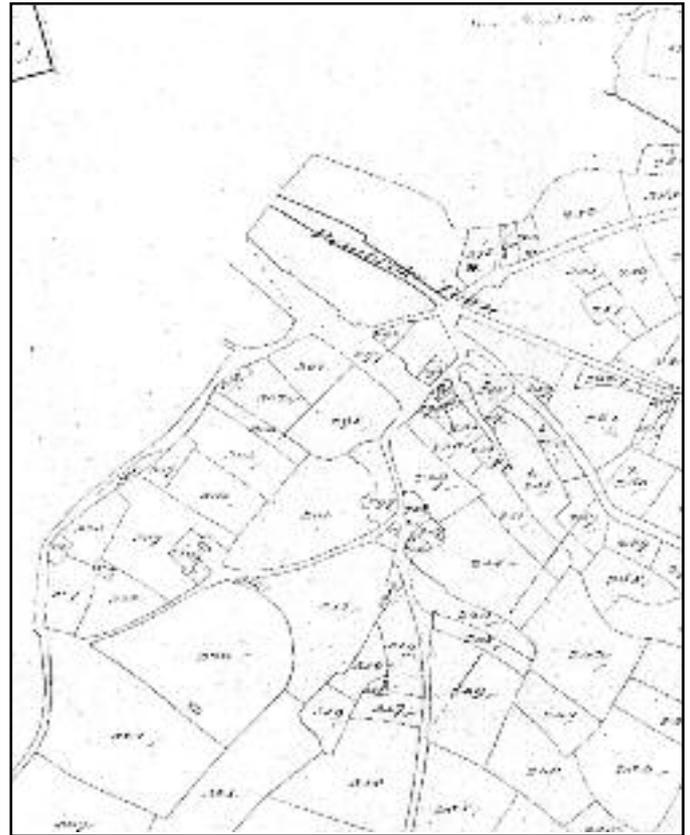
Although Lewis recorded that in 1833 *'there are no particular manufactures carried on, the inhabitants consisting of persons of small independent fortune, shopkeepers, publicans, and a few whose business it is at the dock; but it serves in a great measure as a depot for the neighbouring districts'* (Lewis 1833), it is apparent that the development against the southern wall line was largely semi-industrial in nature. The 1861 and 1885 maps show that the earlier limekilns had become disused, but in their place were, along the south line, a gasworks, a slaughterhouse, a tannery, another tannery, and a number of other unlabelled buildings within which may have been located some of the saddlers, shoemakers, coopers, ironmongers, stonemasons, and timber yard listed in Slater's 'Directory' of 1850 (Slater & Co. 1850, 82-4). An iron foundry was situated towards the west end of this wall line (Carradice 1993, 89).

To these had been added, by 1908, a slaughterhouse, a smithy, and another smithy against St Mary's churchyard wall on the northern line. Leisure activities are also represented - a boathouse was constructed against the northern wall line during the late 19th century and survives in a ruinous condition.

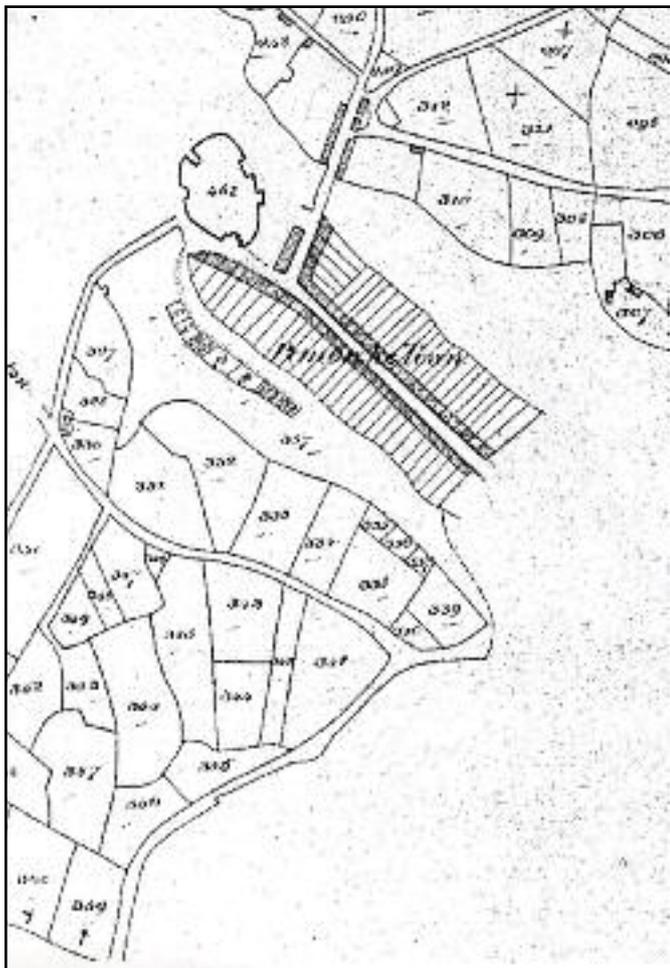
Many of these buildings have undergone piecemeal demolition, but much of the surviving masonry on the southern line is derived from various rebuilds of the wall associated with them. In addition, residential development occurred against portions of the town wall line. Nos. 136-137 Main Street (formerly 'Kennel Yard') had been built over the eastern wall line between the East Gate and Barnard's Tower, by 1861 (OS 1:500), while Lewis Terrace on Goose's Lane, and Rock Terrace at its foot, were built between 1885 and 1908 (OS 1:2500).

**Fig. 13 - Extract from Pembroke St Mary tithe map, 1839**

**Fig. 14 - Extract from Pembroke St Michael tithe map, 1839**



**Fig. 14 - Extract from Pembroke St Michael tithe map, 1839**



**Fig. 13 - Extract from Pembroke St Mary tithe map, 1839**

**Fig. 15 - Extracts from Ordnance Survey 1:500, First Edition, Pembrokeshire Sheets XL 9.8;XL 9.9, XL 9.10, XL 9.13, XL 9.14, XL 9.15, 1861**

**Fig. 16 - Extract from Ordnance Survey 1:2500, First Edition, Pembrokeshire Sheet XL 9, 1885**

**Fig. 17 - Extract from Ordnance Survey 1:2500, Second Edition, Pembrokeshire Sheet XL 9, 1908**



Fig. 15 - Extracts from Ordnance Survey 1:2500, First Edition, Pembrokeshire Sheets XL 9.8;XL 9.9, XL 9.10, XL 9.13, XL 9.14, XL 9.15, 1861



Fig. 16 - Extract from Ordnance Survey 1:2500, First Edition, Pembrookshire Sheet XL 9, 1885



Fig. 17 - Extract from Ordnance Survey 1:2500, Second Edition, Pembrokeshire Sheet XL 9, 1908

## **6.5 The wall today**

The towers and sections of the wall, but far from the entire circuit, were scheduled in 1924, and revised in 1991 to take in the remains of the Southeast Tower (Fig. 1). The southern line east of New Way largely listed in 1976, the northern line being added to the list in 1981 while the wall along South Quay was added in 1998; all are Grade II listed. The medieval town was declared an Outstanding Conservation Area in 1977.

Piecemeal construction and demolition has continued to characterise the wall's fortunes, and in fact accelerated during the later 20th century. Some of this has been positive, include several attempts at systematic consolidation under the various local authorities, for example conservation of the south wall line in the late 1970s including limited repair and repointing by students from the then Pembrokeshire Technical College during Spring 1979, after volunteers had cleared ivy growth (information in Sites and Monuments Record or Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire, PRN 12969, DRF file 3). In addition, there was an ongoing programme during the 1980s, at Barnard's Tower, including ivy clearance, repair of the collapsed gate arch and general conservation work (all subject to Scheduled Monument Consent). Ad hoc programmes of clearance and consolidation have also been undertaken by the private owners, for example behind East Back clinic. Some construction work, however, has been more negative in its effect, particularly the rash of sheet-metal garages which are only now slowly being cleared way from the southern line.

Nevertheless, it is the destructive work which still continues to be the biggest threat to the fabric of the medieval town and its walls. In particular, attention is drawn to the piecemeal loss of burgage plot boundaries and the insertion of new breaks in the town wall line which has continued throughout the 20th century. With the exception of New Way and a possible alley near the castle, all significant breaches in the wall line - of which there are now many, including Morgan's Way north of Main Street - date from after 1908, and mainly from the 1970s onwards. Much of this work has been associated with vehicular access and parking, a process which began with Long Entry car park which was created by the demolition of cottages either side of an alley in 1950 (Pembroke Civic Trust 1985). More damaging has been the car park behind 15-37 Main Street, established over 12 burgage plot boundaries. Smaller, but examples of this process have been repeated throughout the town.

Nevertheless, hand-in-hand with this destruction has been an appreciation of the historic fabric and setting of the town and walls. The Mill Pond Walk was laid out during the 1960s enabling the northern line of the defences to be seen in its setting, and at the same time enabling a public appreciation of Barnard's Tower from

a new path, Blackhorse Walk. Unfortunately this path, too, utilises a breach in the wall and in fact only aggravates the visual interruption of the town wall line.

The town walls and burgage plots themselves have been the subject of a number of successive local authority policy statements since 1984. These statements are discussed in the next section, 'Overall Recommendations'.



## **7.0 OVERALL RECOMMENDATIONS**

This section will suggest general recommendations for managing the surviving remains of the town wall whilst preserving its historic character. Detailed recommendations can be found under the individual sections in Part 2 of this report.

### **7.1 Managing the resource**

The need to preserve the integrity of the wall-line, and burgage plot boundaries, cannot be overstressed.

Substantial sections of the burgage plot boundaries have been lost in the recent past, for instance the car park noted above which was established, in 1983-4, behind 15-37 Main Street removing 12 boundaries. Nevertheless, in 1993 an application was made - and resurrected in 1994 - for extensive car parking behind 6-38 Main Street (north side), which would have removed a further 12 boundaries (information in Sites and Monuments Record or Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire, DRF file PRN 3282). Any such future applications must be presumed against.

There have been several previous policy statements with a view to protecting the resource, which is both a Scheduled Ancient Monument (in part) and a listed building. In 1974 the LPA adopted a conservation policy for Pembroke based on recommendations outlined in the 1972 'Pembroke Conservation Study' which was undertaken by the pre-1974 County Council. In 1977, The then South Pembrokeshire District Council produced, as part of the Pembroke and Pembroke Dock District Plan, 'The South Wall: A Consultation Document'. This recognised the archaeological and historical significance of the wall and recommended a programme of listing, which was undertaken in 1981 (but not the further scheduling which was also recommended). The '*erection of further buildings against the wall line*' was presumed against and particular reference may be given to Section 3.5 'Points of Access', in which new breaches were also presumed against. From the document emerged a low-impact consolidation programme, following on from the proposals in SPDC and MM Campbell, 1979 'Scheme for the Enhancement of the South Wall and Pembroke Town'.

A new policy in 1983, also largely confined to the south walls, proposed that '*no new vehicular accesses*' should be permitted, but allowed further breaks in the wall '*to permit reasonable pedestrian access to each property*'. It also proposed that no new structures be erected south of the wall. Consideration was given to the importance of other stretches of the wall. The burgage plot boundaries were excluded from the policy.

However, the Planning Development Committee of the South Pembrokeshire District Council met on 30 September 1992 to discuss a town walls policy and to summarise findings from previous meetings with consultancy groups including the Pembroke 2000 Committee. As a result, a policy statement was produced - 'Pembroke Town Walls: a Policy Statement' (and Report on Consultations). Section 8 of the statement, 'Proposed Policy', contained two important declarations, namely '*it is the policy of the District Council that there shall be a presumption in favour of the retention, restoration and repair of the town wall or walls and associated towers, and of the surviving stone burgage plot boundary walls in Pembroke - with priority accorded to the peripheral walls and towers*', and '**to presume against the creation of new vehicular or pedestrian accesses through the wall, or the enlargement of existing vehicular or pedestrian accesses through the wall or associated boundary walls**'. In addition, '*there shall be a presumption against the use of concrete lintels, brick or breeze block in any external surface or feature of the walls or towers*'. Previous policy was extended to include burgage plot boundaries, and consideration was given towards the need to take sections of wall into public ownership. From this policy statement emerged the 1992 'Development Strategy or the Repair and Reconstruction of the Town Wall, Associated Towers and Burgage Plot Walls in Pembroke'. This strategy must be implemented and followed.

### **7.2 Immediate concerns**

Twelve sections of the wall, mainly along the northern line, are in generally poor condition and can be flagged up as requiring immediate attention -

- Section 46, No. 101 Main Street - poor
- Section 47, Nos. 103 - 105 Main Street - poor-fair
- Section 48, Nos. 107 - 109 Main Street - poor-fair
- Section 51, - Nos. 111 - 115 Main Street - poor-fair
- Section 53, the Southeast Tower, No. 125 Main Street - poor; fragmentary and overgrown
- Section 70, No. 11 East Back/St Michael's Church - poor and ruinous in part
- Section 71, Nos. 8-10 East Back - poor; ruinous
- Section 72, former boathouse behind Nos. 6-7 East Back - poor-fair

- Section 77, Nos. 70 - 72 Main Street - poor-fair
- Section 78, Nos. 62 - 68 Main Street - poor; partly collapsed
- Section 80, Nos. 56 and 58 Main Street - poor-fair
- Section 90, No. 14 Main Street - poor-fair

It may be pointed out here that a section of wall behind No. 81 Main Street collapsed in June 1993, apparently falling onto some parked cars.

In addition, 25 surviving sections of the wall, mainly along the southern line, are currently unlisted. It must be stressed that, even through some of these sections may be post-medieval, they still retain the character of the medieval wall and define the medieval town, and it is recommended that protection be extended to include them. Cadw may also wish, in the future, to extend the scheduled areas. See Part 2 for status of individual sections; see also Part 1, Section 3.0 for introduction to statutory protection, listing and scheduling etc. (The walls also lie within the Pembroke Conservation Area.) -

- Sections 8 - 10, Nos. 1-5 Westgate Hill
- Section 14, The Parade, behind the Lion Hotel, Main Street
- Section 17, The Parade, behind Nos. 11-13 Main Street
- Section 19, The Parade, behind Nos. 25 - 27 Main Street - in part
- Sections 23 - 36, Nos. 83 Main Street-New Way
- Section 38, Nos. 87 - 89 Main Street - in part
- Section 39, the building behind No. 91 Main Street
- Section 56, No. 1 Goose's Lane
- Section 57, No. 139 Main Street
- Section 64, No. 120 Main Street
- Section 66, No. 116 Main Street
- Section 94, St Mary's churchyard wall

### **7.3 Conservation philosophy**

Any future consolidation work must conform to a conservation-led, sympathetic design philosophy. A model for the way forward is provided by the good-quality recent work (undertaken during 2001) on Section 96 along the South Quay, next to the castle.

Some of the previous attempts are of poor quality and have been subject to past criticism. According to Cadw, in 1980, '*past attempts to achieve work programmes to repair scheduled sections have not been very successful. Local Authority work on NW tower (Barnard's Tower) is of very bad quality*' (information in Sites and Monuments Record or Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire, SAM file Pe 15).

A number of overall recommendations can be made -

- The use of sympathetic materials. Advice can be found in English Heritage, Practical Building Conservation Vol. 1 *Stone Masonry* and Vol. 3 *Mortars, Plasters and Renders*. In scheduled and listed areas Cadw will presumably suggest materials and mortar mixes.
- The retention of textures. This can be achieved in a variety of ways - leaving joints slightly '*hungry*', retaining the unevenness of wall tops, retaining current differences in height, retaining uneven, rather than crisp faces and profiles etc.
- Retention of the individual character of the existing sections, both for aesthetic purposes and in order that the wall's history can be clearly '*read*'. This includes a presumption against any attempts to give the wall a '*military*' look, as at York for example. Pembroke's wall was an *ad hoc* construction and would never have been particularly military in appearance; its upkeep was always partly the responsibility of the owners of the adjoining burgages, so it would always have been uneven and '*inconsistent*' rather than a clean, homogenous whole.
- The retention of post-medieval *masonry* buildings against wall where they survive. These buildings are part of the wall's history of changing use, and form a 'manuscript' from which the commercial history of the town can be read. New uses could probably be found for those buildings which are in better condition, but the overall design philosophy should be followed in any conservation work. The timber garages along the central sections of the southern line, which are 20th century, are excluded from this recommendation.

- The use of 'soft' landscaping around the wall, including the retention of shrubs and trees. A presumption against repeating the design philosophy of the new opening at Blackhorse Walk, near Barnard's Tower, with its hard landscaping, unsuitable treatment of surfaces and massive earthwork bank. Any new surfacing in the area of the wall must be sensitive and textured, avoiding the use of tarmac or paved areas.
- Active participation from local groups should be encouraged. These may range from the Pembrokeshire Historic Buildings Trust and Pembroke Civic Society, through to schools and colleges. The local community, in addition to the owners of individual sections of the wall, must be made to feel that the wall is 'theirs'; perhaps schools and colleges may be kept informed of the progress of consolidation and promotion, if not actively take part in it.
- The Pembroke Town Walls Trust might consider, possibly in partnership with other bodies, purchasing the Gazebo Tower. The gazebo is in need of immediate conservation, while such a purchase would prevent any unsuitable development of the tower. It may provide an appropriate site for future interpretation and promotion of the wall.
- The key to the town wall is the castle, where it begins and ends and under whose shadow it was constructed. Station 1 of any interpretative walk must therefore be at the castle. Pembroke Castle Trust could be approached to display leaflets etc. at the castle shop. There is an existing town trail, and accompanying signage. Any new circular walk and leaflets can adapt this trail, emphasising the wall.
- Pembroke Castle Trust may also be approached with the suggestion that an interpretative panel, with reconstruction, be mounted on top of the castle gatehouse, looking down the spine of the town.
- It is suggested that there be a number of further stations along the perimeter of the wall and its environs, each with a themed, interpretative display panel linked to the leaflet.  
  
The siting of these panels is crucial. They fall into two groups - panels concerning the general history and aspect of the walls panels linked with a specific event or site along the wall.
- Panels of the first group may be situated at some distance from the wall to exploit vantage points. Suitable vantage points include -

#### **7.4 Archaeological implications**

The archaeological implications posed to the wall, and recommendations for mitigatory measures, can be found under the individual sections in Part 2 of this report.

All future archaeological recording must follow the standards laid out in English Heritage, 1991 *Management of Archaeological Projects*, and the individual advice notes prepared by the Institute of Field Archaeologists. All recording of the fabric must conform to specifications outlined in RCHME, 1990, *Recording Historic Buildings: A Descriptive Specification*.

#### **7.5 Promoting the resource**

This section suggests some general outlines for future interpretation and promotion of the wall.

- The riverside Mill Pond Walk, with the exception of Blackhorse Walk, is in general sympathetic to the wall and offers a model for any future establishment of a circular walk around the wall.

The North Quay area. This area is currently undergoing redevelopment, and the interpretative facilities could form part of this development. The site offers one of the best views of the wall and its association with the castle (and the bridge and mill) including the recently restored section along the South Quay. The structure of the historic town, with its burgage plots, is also understandable from this viewpoint.

The former mill site on the bridge. This is already a gathering point, and offers a view of the entire northern line of the wall. The presence of swans gathering here is also a draw. The area is at present flat and uninteresting, with nothing to suggest a mill was formerly present. Any interpretative panel might be accompanied by a structure, possibly an installation rather than just street furniture, to add visual interest to this area.

A problem with both of the above sites may be posed by the unsuitability of Northgate Street and the bridge for pedestrian traffic; further study needs to be undertaken. In addition, the visitor needs to be drawn down Northgate Street from Main Street and so a linking, guide panel might be placed at the junction of the two streets - also indicating the lavatories on South Quay).

The end of Paradise Row on the north shore. Another fine view of the entire northern line. The Commons. The lawned area offers among the most aesthetically pleasing views of the historic town with its burgage plots, defined by the wall and the Gun and Gazebo Towers.

The Commons Car Parks. These will be among the first viewpoints encountered by the visitor and so panels here are crucial.

Monkton Priory. A panel situated at or near the priory churchyard offers similar views to those from the North Quay.

It is recommended that, in general, panels be kept away from the wall in order not to detract from its historic character. However low, lectern panels, mounted just above ground level, would not be inappropriate in the South Quay car park/lavatory site, and on the restricted northern line, alongside Mill Pond Walk.

- Panels of the second group must be situated in order not to detract from the historic character of the wall. It is therefore suggested that they be located at missing sections of the wall, to interpret those sections. Suggested locations include -

The three missing gateways - the North Gate, East Gate and West Gate. Each could include a reconstruction. The section along Goose's Lane, probably breached during the Civil War allowing access to the besieging troops. There is scope here for an exciting reconstruction.

The section at Long Entry car park, probably the site of a postern and possibly the postern used by the Civil War defenders for a courageous counter-attack. Again, scope here for an exciting reconstruction.

- Each of the panels might feature a pictorial reconstruction of the late medieval town from the various vantage points in which they will be situated. One way of achieving this would be selective photography of a model of the medieval town. Another solution would be selective images of a high-quality computer graphic.
- Active participation from local groups, schools and colleges should be encouraged, as above in Section 7.4. It is suggested that a local college, with the necessary facilities, may be approached to produce the high-quality computer graphic as a team project, under archaeological supervision. Perhaps local schools may also contribute to the leaflet design.
- Missing sections of wall - particularly the central sections of the south line where there are a number of breaches for access, and in the area of the gateways - might be defined by differing treatment of surfaces, for example setting paving in the tarmac surfaces.
- At present, there is little visually to draw the visitor along Mill Pond Walk from the Northgate/bridge area, from which Barnard's Tower is not visible. The interest currently generated by the swans could be matched by the erection of a sympathetic installation on Mill Pond Walk at the point where the wall line 'bulges' out, just west of St Michaels Church. A small, timber dovecote would require little maintenance, is in keeping with the wall and context and would provide movement visible from the bridge. A further option might be the installation of (bronze?) statues, possibly representing masons/similar activities, at various points along Mill Pond Walk and the northern wall line, to convey a sense of it being 'peopled'.
- The entire circuit of the standing wall could be floodlit. This would draw attention to the wall, make it an attractive after-dark feature (with reflections in the Mill Pond), and would also present security advantages (there have been recent cases of cruelty towards the swan population, etc.).
- Purchase of the Gazebo Tower would offer scope for more permanent interpretation, possibly interactive. Barnard's Tower is effectively ruled out due to wildlife conservation concerns, housing a colony of Daubenton's bats.

## **PART 2 - THE RESOURCE AND ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This section is largely based upon the detailed description of the town wall published in King and Cheshire (1982), the map evidence - in particular the Ordnance Survey 1:500 maps of 1861 - augmented by the observations of the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust in 1994 (Lawler 2001) and those of the author. It accompanies, and is a commentary upon, the photographic survey undertaken by Pembroke Design in March-April 2001.

The wall will be described in clockwise order, beginning at the Northgate Tower, at the northeast corner of the castle, but the description is mainly limited to its exterior face. As noted by King and Cheshire, the internal ground level is everywhere higher than external ground level, the wall forming a revetment and its towers being entered from their upper levels. The difference in level has been enhanced, to varying degrees, by post-medieval build up behind the walls. The three gates are specifically mentioned in a number of contemporary sources, in which six towers are also suggested, at least by c.1600. In addition, two posterns are mentioned in an account of 1480-81 (PRO Ministers' Account 1208/11, reproduced in Owen 1918, 146), of which one was apparently still visible in 1833 (Lewis 1833). At its east end, the line was probably fronted by a dry defensive ditch although this cannot now be traced. Construction material throughout, in work from all periods, is the local Carboniferous limestone rubble, normally of medium-large size. As Tony Parkinson, formerly of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments (Wales) noted - 'it is difficult to be certain how much of the fabric is medieval since most of the extant walls now define the ends of modern gardens. The same roughly squared limestone rubble is used throughout, and only where there is a clear batter to the base is it probable that original walling survives' (A. J. Parkinson 1979-80). Whilst his observations are in general true, it will be seen below that not all medieval work is battered.

This description takes in the entire circuit of conjoining walling as it survives today, regardless of date. For convenience, it has been divided into 96 sections. These sections are based on divisions within the wall as it now appears, often marked by distinct differences in construction which in many cases correspond with individual properties suggesting that they are of post-medieval date. However, it has been noted in Part 1 that the medieval wall may have been built (or at least maintained) in such sections, under the individual property-holders.

Sections of the northern line, on the other hand, are clearly post-medieval replacements of the medieval wall. Where this has occurred, it appears that the new sections were built immediately behind the medieval line, at least partly to continue revetment of the garden deposits behind. Except where noted, all sections of the town wall are depicted in their present form on the Ordnance Survey maps of 1885 and 1908.

The PRN numbers are the primary record numbers assigned to the various elements of the wall in the Sites and Monuments Record or Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire. The wall has the overall record number PRN 3282; in addition, the three gates and six towers have the individual PRNs 13195-13205 (13200 unassigned). 'SRF files' refer to the site record form files, 'DRF files' refer to the detailed record form files. The National Monuments Record Extended National Database record number is Endex PRN 94101.

The five surviving towers, the remains of the West Gate and two sections of wall either side of Barnard's Tower are a Scheduled Ancient Monument (SAM Pe 15 (Pem); revised 1991). Most of the rest of the north and south lines were Grade II listed in 1981 (revised 1998), with a gap in the middle of the south line. Some lengths are listed in their own right, others as part of the curtilage of a listed house or property. Most of the east line, which has largely gone, is undesignated. The retaining wall south of The Parade, parallel with the southern line of the town wall, is also Grade II listed. The walls lie within the Pembroke Conservation Area.

Each section of wall has been assessed alongside its condition, status and archaeological management implications and recommendations. Medieval sections, and post-medieval sections where important, are marked \*.

## **PART 2 - THE RESOURCE AND ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS**

### **Introduction**

- Section 1 -** Between the West Gate and the castle
- Section 2 -** The West Gate (PRN 13206)
- Section 3 -** No. 11 Westgate Hill
- Section 4 -** No. 11 Westgate Hill
- Section 5 -** No. 11 Westgate Hill
- Section 6 -** Nos. 9 - 10 Westgate Hill
- Section 7 -** Nos. 6 - 8 Westgate Hill
- Section 8 -** Nos. 4 - 5 Westgate Hill
- Section 9 -** Nos. 2 - 3 Westgate Hill
- Section 10 -** No. 1 Westgate Hill
- Section 11 -** Long Entry Car Park, Main Street (site of PRN 13205?)
- Section 12 -** The Parade, the cottages behind the Lion Hotel, Main Street
- Section 13 -** The Parade, the electricity substation behind the Lion Hotel, Main Street
- Section 14 -** The Parade, behind the Lion Hotel, Main Street
- Section 15 -** The Parade, behind No. 9 Main Street
- Section 16 -** The Parade, behind Nos. 11 and 11a Main Street
- Section 17 -** The Parade, behind Nos. 11-13 Main Street
- Section 18 -** The Parade, behind Nos. 13 - 23 Main Street
- Section 19 -** The Parade, behind Nos. 25 - 27 Main Street
- Section 20 -** 'The Snake' (behind Nos. 29 - 33 Main Street)
- Section 21 -** The former Tanyard, Common Road (behind Nos. 35 - 37 Main Street)
- Section 22 -** The former Tannery, Common Road (behind No. 39 Main Street)
- Section 23 -** Common Road, behind No. 41 Main Street
- Section 24 -** Common Road, behind No. 43 Main Street
- Section 25 -** Common Road, behind Nos. 45 - 49 Main Street
- Section 26 -** Common Road, garages behind No. 51 Main Street
- Section 27 -** 'Waves and Wheels', Common Road (behind No. 53 Main Street)
- Section 28 -** Common Road, behind Nos. 55 - 59 Main Street
- Section 29 -** Old Coach House, Common Road / No. 61 Main Street
- Section 30 -** Common Road, behind No. 61 Main Street
- Section 31 -** Common Road, behind Nos. 63 - 71 Main Street
- Section 32 -** Common Road, behind Nos. 73 - 75 Main Street
- Section 33 -** New Way
- Section 34 -** No. 3 New Way ('Old Chapel House')
- Section 35 -** No. 81 Main Street
- Section 36 -** The building behind No. 83 Main Street
- Section 37 -** No. 5 Common Road
- Section 38 -** Nos. 87 - 89 Main Street
- Section 39 -** The building behind No. 91 Main Street
- Section 40 -** Behind Tabernacle Congregational Church, Main Street
- Section 41 -** Wall to west of lime kiln
- Section 42 -** The lime kiln between Nos. 91 and 93 Main Street (PRN 13204)
- Section 43 -** Between No. 93 Main Street and the lime kiln
- Section 44 -** Nos. 93 - 99 Main Street
- Section 45 -** The Gun Tower, No. 99 Main Street (PRN 13202)
- Section 46 -** No. 101 Main Street
- Section 47 -** Nos. 103 - 105 Main Street
- Section 48 -** Nos. 107 - 109 Main Street
- Section 49 -** No. 111 Main Street
- Section 50 -** The Gazebo Tower, No. 111 Main Street (PRN 13202)
- Section 51 -** Nos. 111 - 115 Main Street
- Section 52 -** Rock Terrace
- Section 53 -** The Southeast Tower, No. 125 Main Street (PRN 13201)

- Section 54 -** Lewis Terrace, Goose's Lane
- Section 55 -** Goose's Lane
- Section 56 -** No. 1 Goose's Lane
- Section 57 -** No. 139 Main Street
- Section 58 -** No. 141 Main Street
- Section 59 -** The former East Gate (PRN 13199)
- Section 60 -** Nos. 128 - 134 Main Street
- Section 61 -** The former staircase/possible tower, No. 126 Main Street (PRN 13198)
- Section 62 -** No. 124 Main Street
- Section 63 -** Barnard's Tower, No. 122 Main Street (PRN 13197)
- Section 64 -** No. 120 Main Street
- Section 65 -** Blackhorse Walk (No. 18 Main Street)
- Section 66 -** No. 116 Main Street
- Section 67 -** Nos. 112 - 114 Main Street
- Section 68 -** The Semicircular Tower, No. 110 Main Street (PRN 13196)
- Section 69 -** St Michael's Church - No. 108 Main Street
- Section 70 -** No. 11 East Back - St Michael's Church
- Section 71 -** Nos. 8-10 East Back
- Section 72 -** Former boathouse behind Nos. 6-7 East Back
- Section 73 -** East Back Clinic
- Section 74 -** No. 5 East Back (including old Police Station)
- Section 75 -** No. 84 Main Street - No. 4 East Back
- Section 76 -** Nos. 74 - 86 Main Street
- Section 77 -** Nos. 70 - 72 Main Street
- Section 78 -** Nos. 62 - 68 Main Street
- Section 79 -** No. 60 Main Street
- Section 80 -** Nos. 56 and 58 Main Street
- Section 81 -** Morgan's Way (No. 54 Main Street)
- Section 82 -** Nos. 38 - 52 Main Street
- Section 83 -** Nos. 34 - 36 Main Street
- Section 84 -** Nos. 28 - 32 Main Street
- Section 85 -** No. 26 Main Street
- Section 86 -** No. 24 Main Street
- Section 87 -** Nos. 20 - 22 Main Street
- Section 88 -** No. 18 Main Street
- Section 89 -** No. 16 Main Street
- Section 90 -** No. 14 Main Street
- Section 91 -** No. 12 Main Street (Somerfield)
- Section 92 -** No. 10 Main Street (Somerfield)
- Section 93 -** North of St Mary's churchyard
- Section 94 -** St Mary's churchyard wall
- Section 95 -** The former North Gate (PRN 13195)
- Section 96 -** Nos. 1-8 Castle Terrace

