

CHAPTER 9

The Persistence of Place

On the one hand we're trying to bring out the history, which most people are not aware of at all, but at the same time we see this area as a place where the jobs and economy of the future can find a home. It's not reliant on one big project or developer; it's going to be the work of many hands (Ogden 2018)

In this book we have analysed the archaeological record for Sheffield Castle, the contexts in which it was uncovered during investigations reaching back almost a century, and the varying ways in which it has been interpreted, disseminated and displayed. As we have seen, until this current volume much of this archaeological evidence has languished largely untapped, whether for research into the history of the city, the presentation of its heritage to the public, or informing its future regeneration. In this chapter we show how the presence of a castle in Sheffield – even in its absence – has had a profound impact on its development, despite the city, as we noted in the Preface, not being renowned for its medieval heritage. We will demonstrate that from the moment the castle was ordered to be demolished in the mid-17th century its political and mnemonic capital were exploited, and this persisted in the face of the growing industrialisation of Sheffield into the 19th century and beyond. As soon as the remains of the castle were uncovered in the 1920s, a debate commenced about what was to be done with them, an issue and an opportunity that remain today. During multiple regeneration plans for the site since the 1920s, there have been missed opportunities and misunderstandings about both the castle remains and also the potential for the site's medieval heritage to make a positive contribution to the vitality of this part of the city centre, and to the identity and image of Sheffield more generally. The castle and its attendant seigneurial landscape have shaped Sheffield's history, and can be harnessed to play a positive role long into its future, and the chapter concludes with a discussion of how this can be achieved in the early 21st century in the context of a City Council-led regeneration partnership.

Reduced to fragments – embedding the castle in the community

Throughout this book we have emphasised the continued importance of the castle for Sheffield long after its demolition, and in this section we show that the seeds for this were sown in the very processes by which the

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castle was torn down. Many castles were damaged during the English Civil War,³⁰ and some were destroyed in the years after fighting had ended. Many, however, retained some habitable buildings – as was the case at, for example, Belvoir (Leics) (Johnson 2000, 196; Rakoczy 2007, 87–90), Kenilworth (Warks), and Alnwick (Northumb) – some were converted to other uses – such as prisons, as occurred at Lancaster (Lancs) (Cox 1896) and Flint (Clwyd) (Rakoczy 2007, 390) – or at least partly preserved as ‘romantic’ follies in the grounds of country houses – as was the case for Beeston Castle (Ches) (Mowl 2000, 6) and Cartington Castle (Northumb) (Pettifer 1995, 179). Many that were eventually to disappear or become entirely uninhabitable only did so in the 18th or 19th centuries. The reasons that have been offered for why castles were slighted (razed, or dismantled) during and after the Civil War include a move to prevent their military reuse (e.g. Porter 1994; Hutton and Reeves 1998; Newman *et al.* 2001), or a political act by the ‘middling sorts’ seeking to destroy symbols of lordly oppression (Johnson 2002, 173–5). Sheffield was unusual in being a large castle in the heart of an urban settlement that was almost entirely demolished.

Analysis of the slighting of castles during the Civil War has been dominated by historians (e.g. Thompson 1987), although a few recent archaeological studies have sought to redress the balance. In these accounts the Parliamentary forces are increasingly being depicted as encountering complex local circumstances, and they have also begun to reveal that detailed analysis of specific case studies incorporating archaeological evidence presents a new perspective on Civil War destruction, and nuances the national picture as traditionally presented through historical sources (Rakoczy 2007, 30–4; Askew 2017; Nevell 2020). Historical narratives have tended to focus on slighting as acts derived from principally military and fiscal concerns, with less consideration of local, small-scale decisions, actions and motivations (Rakoczy 2007, 35). However, these archaeological studies have tended to focus on the short-term acts of slighting, and where longer-term implications have been addressed these have been restricted to the survival and reuse of parts of castles (e.g. Rakoczy 2008). Moreover, despite being approached from an archaeological perspective most remain dominated by the historical records. Sheffield Castle offers a unique opportunity to integrate and contrast demolition accounts, town records, contemporary letters and estate rentals with the archaeological evidence, to discover the specific circumstances of demolition, and to explore the longer-term consequences of a demolished castle which continues to be directly relevant to the fate of the urban landscape in which it was located. What will become clear is that the castle remained embedded in the society and political culture of Sheffield even as it was disappearing stone by stone, while the influence of its Royalist owner, the 22nd Earl of Arundel, Henry Howard, remained largely undimmed in the town even as the major symbols of his authority were taken apart. This is especially striking given the high profile of the Earl in supporting the king; prior to inheriting the earldom he had fought on the king’s side at the Battle of Edgehill on 23rd October 1642 and later joined his court at Oxford (Howarth 1985, 213). This Royalist support was probably decisive in prompting the order to demolish the castle after Henry Howard had inherited it from his father, Thomas Howard, 21st Earl of Arundel, in October 1646 (Askew 2017, 192). It should also be noted that Yorkshire was one of the main regions, along with Wales, in which slightings were ordered in the period up to and including 1647, probably because of their extensive support for the king (Thompson 1987, 179–85; Rakoczy 2007, 48–9). However, Sheffield is among a small number of castles in Yorkshire, along with Helmsley and Knaresborough (both North Yorks), on which there was additional Parliamentary attention in 1648 (Rakoczy 2007, 51).

As we saw in Chapter 1, there were Parliamentary orders to disgarrison and slight the castle in April 1646 and July 1647, but the main stages by which Sheffield Castle was demolished occurred between 16th October 1648 and the end of January 1649. In a declaration issued by William Blythe and John Crooke in February 1649 it was reported that the Earl of Arundel had offered to carry out the demolition at his own expense, ‘to save the Country from that burthen’ – a situation paralleled in the slighting of Montgomery Castle (Powys) by Lord Herbert (Askew 2017, 192–4). The Earl’s servants, especially John Griffith, John Staniforth and Robert Rawson, not the Parliamentary representatives, were responsible for its demolition, and although it was overseen by Major Andrew Carter for Parliament he only occasionally visited to monitor progress. The demolition accounts reveal that £208 8s. 8d. was spent on demolishing the castle, while £225 6s. 7d. was gained through the sale of materials (Askew 2017, 193). These are small sums compared, for example, to the £777 4s. 6d. for demolishing Pontefract Castle and the £1779 17s. 4d. received for the sale of its lead, timber, iron and glass (Roberts 2002,

³⁰ While recognising the ‘English Civil War’ is a misnomer, as in reality it involved multiple phases of combat across the British Isles, it is used here in recognition of the fact that it is the term most commonly applied to this period of history.

442). Much of the difference is down to the fact that lead sales – which accounted for over £1,540 of the income at Pontefract – are not included in the Sheffield accounts, but it might also reflect ‘the extent of the demolition’ (Askew 2017, 186, 201). What small profit there was, however, went to the Earl, and this contrasted with the situation at Pontefract, where the urban populace benefitted more widely from the sale of parts of the castle, which was intended to fund rebuilding of the parish church, although the plans did not come to fruition (Martin 1956, 27; Askew 2017, 197; Roberts 2002, 422). The Earl also ensured that some materials, including ‘the beste sheetes of leade etc.’, were transferred to the ‘Mannr’ (Wilson MSS, 295/145, fol. 31; Askew 2017, 196), thereby maximising the benefits of his offer to carry out the demolition himself, and providing further evidence for continuing investment in his other Sheffield home (see Chapter 8).

The demolition accounts also reveal much about the technicalities of tearing down such a substantial edifice. For example, in November 1649 Edward Maiknie, together with Richard Claiton and his son, was paid 3s. 6d., for ‘cutting the timb[er] from the walle at Castle for the fallinge of an oute[r] walle’, which suggests that the walls had been undermined, leaving behind timbers as props which could then be removed to bring down sections of wall (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol. 12; Askew 2017, 194; see also Rakoczy 2007, 64–6 for a discussion of how undermining may have been carried out). Maiknie and Clayton were clearly more successful than Major General Crawford had been during the war; on 5th August 1644, using a combination of ‘threates, promises and money’, he got together some ‘colliers’ – perhaps including some from the Park – ‘to myne the Castle, which they found not to feaseble, it being builded on a rock’ (Anon. 1644, 3). However, on the whole the accounts suggest that the castle buildings were dismantled more carefully and removed from the site to be reused elsewhere in the town. This is also consistent with our findings from the archaeological record; while some architectural stone and rubble was recorded in the upper levels of the moat fills, this appears insufficient to suggest that the moat was infilled with castle demolition debris. The stone was clearly too valuable, and an entry in the demolition accounts for 10th September 1649 records a payment from Joseph Capper ‘for certaine stone taken by him forth of the castle ditches’ (Hunter 1819, 114; Askew 2017, 206). Nor is there any clear evidence for burning on any of the stone recovered, or any of the stonework surviving in the chambers beneath the former Castle Market, suggesting that the destruction of parts of the castle by burning was not a method employed at Sheffield (for documented examples of the use of fire to effect demolition at other castles, see Rakoczy 2007, 69–73).

The records of Sheffield’s Town Trust provide further insights into the process by which the castle was fragmented and dispersed. The only building in this area drawn on Gosling’s 1736 map is the ‘almshouses’ which lay just below the castle (Figure 1.6). These almshouses, for four poor widows according to Goodwin (1764, 157), had their origin in the suppression of the chantry ‘Chappel of Our Blessed Lady of the Bridge’, the latter certainly referring to Lady’s Bridge, constructed in the late 12th century and rebuilt in the late 15th (Hunter 1819, 194; Gatty 1869, 337; Wigfull 1914, 59; Figure 9.1). By c.1572 the former chapel was being used by the Earls of Shrewsbury as a wool warehouse (David Hey (1991, 42) tells us that the 4th Earl, George Talbot, saved it from demolition after dissolution by converting it to this use), and was first referred to as an almshouse in 1589 (Leader 1897, 60; Wigfull 1914, 57). In 1656 the Town Trustees paid several men, including ‘Shawres, Heathcote, Firth and Atkinson’, to carry out a range of work there. They were paid ‘for preparing a way to tumble stones for the Almshouse’, and for ‘tumbling and carrying stones’. Supplies purchased included ‘six baskettes for carrying earth’ and – critically – ‘a rope to drawe stones out of the Dungeon’, and Leader (1897, 165) is surely correct to read this as the ‘dungeon of the now destroyed castle’. So here we have an account of the removal of stonework from the castle site, and its transportation down a prepared path to the almshouses below. In 1657 or 1658 further payments were made to ‘Showres, Ronckesley and others for getting stones, building, and worke done by them at the Almshouse’. Leader (1897, 167) argued that, while the Town Trust paid for the labour and supplies, the Earl of Arundel donated the material (i.e. the fragments of the castle).

The documentary evidence records individual architectural elements being cut out of the walls and sold off. For example, in January 1648 a small stone window was sold to Edward Wood for 4s. and buttresses were sold for £1 each to three other individuals (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol. 4.). The demolition was carried out by local craftsmen who can have had little or no experience of dismantling such major structures. They seem to have been rewarded for their work by being given parts of the castle fabric or by being allowed to make a small payment for whole rooms or sections of wall and were then responsible for hiring other workers to remove the materials (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol. 8; Askew 2017, 199). The entries in the demolition accounts which record payments to workers to carry out specific acts of dismantling are typically for individual walls next to particular buildings, such as ‘a wall next the dungan’ and the ‘crosse walles’ (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol. 8; Hunter 1819,



Figure 9.1: *The medieval Lady's Bridge over the River Don.* This survives beneath the modern road bridge, photographed in 2012. Copyright David Dixon; reproduced under a CC BY-SA 2.0 licence; [geograph.org.uk/p/2889725](https://www.geograph.org.uk/p/2889725).

114–15; Askew 2017, 208. Walls would have required labour to remove, but profit would be limited because unlike covered buildings they would not have yielded highly saleable items such as slates. Other payments made in January 1648 were £9 1s. 6d. 'for dimollishinge the Round of either sid[e] [of] the gatehouse' (probably the towers which flanked the gatehouse; see Chapter 3), £8 10s. 0d. for 'dimollishinge al the walle after the watersid[e]', and £7 0s. 0d. for 'dimollishinge the halle' – all to the Shore brothers – and £1 11s. 0d. to Michael Wright to demolish 'the end of the Chappell & one pillar' (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol. 8; Hunter 1819, 114; Askew 2017, 208). In such cases, the payments to workmen were necessary inducements to take these parts of the castle away. Rather than being a centralised activity organised by the Earl's representatives, the demolition process seems to have required workmen to bring their own tools, given the limited records of equipment, such as paniers, pickaxes, crowbars and mattocks being purchased by the Earl's servants and officials to facilitate the demolition (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol. 11; Hunter 1819, 114; Askew 2017, 199–200). The demolition of the castle was, then, a collective activity that involved members of the gentry and artisan classes of Sheffield – though the reference of multiple payments to, for example, the Shore brothers show that some were more heavily involved. As Rachel Askew (2017, 201) concluded, 'a significant proportion of Sheffield's middling sort profited from the castle's demise'; as we will see later in this chapter, this was not the only time this class benefitted from the repurposing of the castle and its landscape.

The demolition accounts list a wide range of items sold to the local community from the castle in January 1648. These include 18 hundredweight of 'ould Ironne' for £10; all the wood, including joists, roofs, partitions, floors and furniture for £64 4s. 2d.; stone for £20 8s.; and slates from the hall and the bakehouse for £1 10s. and £1 13s. 4d., respectively (Wilson MSS, 295/57). Numerous Sheffield residents acquired fixtures and fittings from the castle, even 'ould' or 'bad' items. Therefore, even though it had largely disappeared as a monument, it lived on as fragments dispersed throughout the city, in domestic households and public buildings for years, if not decades. For example, in 1648 a frame, piece of plank and two table planks from the hall (16s.) and a table from the sentry house (8s.) were purchased by Edward Wood, Leonard Wood acquired '2 dresser tables in the ould kichen' (10s.), the 'square room at the hall end' was sold for £1 10s., John Crooke purchased 'the Territ' for £5 10s., William Saunder 'the little kichen' (£3) and Nicholas Hicke 'et socios' paid £36 'for all the mater-ialls of the Ould Kichenn, savinge lead', while '2 bad dores 2 peices of wood & one dore' were purchased for 10s. 'for the schoole' (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fols 3–4; Askew 2017, 198). Some items seem, however, to have been acquired for purposes other than structural, to judge from their state; presumably Thomas Skargel intended to burn '4 loads of broken timb[er] from the s[ta]b[l]e', for which he paid £4 (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol. 7). Stone, especially ashlar, must have been greatly prized within the town but it would have been difficult to remove and transport, and this probably accounts for the comparatively low levels of sales of stonework recorded in the demolition accounts (Askew 2017, 198–9).

The Earl's representatives sometimes paid workmen to remove items ready for sale. For example, the sum of £55 9s. 5d. was paid out for the removal and smelting of lead, including £1 9s. 4d. in March 1649 to workmen to remove lead pipes in the castle and a total of £4 14s. 9d. was 'paid at sev[er]all times to workmen for takinge up the lead pipes in the Parke & the Orchards' (Wilson MSS, 295/42, fol. 143; Askew 2017, 196). In contrast, we have records for only a little over £77 in sales of lead, which is a paltry figure in comparison to the £1,540 raised by sale of lead at Pontefract Castle (Yorks) (Roberts 2002, 442; above). The reason for this is partly that the Sheffield lead was largely smelted into pigs by John Pearson and sold at Bawtry (South Yorks), for which we have no records, but partly because some was retained by the Earl for use at the hunting lodge in Sheffield park (Wilson MSS, 295/42, fol. 143; Wilson MSS, 295/145, fol. 31). Timber was also taken to the hunting lodge: 'to the Mannor one load of bords' (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol. 6). Other local residences that benefitted from acquisition of materials from the castle include Carbrook Hall (c.4km to the north-east), for which Colonel Bright purchased '2 flores and 10 great Joysts' (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol. 5), while fellow Parliamentarian Captain Blithe purchased plaster and boards for his house in Sheffield, which is now known as the Bishops' House, and where some of the surviving plasterwork may be that which he acquired (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol. 5; Figure 9.2). Plasterwork is fragile and it must have been regarded as particularly desirable to have taken the trouble to transport (Askew 2017, 197). It is noteworthy that local tradition holds that tapestries which until recently adorned the walls of the dining room at Norton Hall, Sheffield, came from the castle (Christian 1968, 24). This is among the many such traditions which associate 'antique' objects with the castle (see below for Mary, Queen of Scots' bed), but is more plausible given that Norton Hall was the home of Edward Gill, colonel in the Parliamentarian Army, brother-in-law of Colonel Bright, and governor of the castle between 1645 and 1646 (Hunter 1819, 112, 250). Sheffield's emerging gentry were acquiring parts of the castle and incorporating them into the fabric of their own homes. On the one hand, the antiquity of these material remains, their association with power and lineage, helped to legitimise their newly won positions of authority. On the other, the very fact that these were *pieces* of the castle served to emphasise the fragmentation of the old order, and the triumph of the new.

From the mid-17th century, fragments of the castle, its stones, architectural elements, fixtures and fittings, were clearly distributed throughout many properties across Sheffield. That this has scarcely been traced is the result of three main factors. First, extensive rebuilding in the city during the 18th and 19th centuries saw many earlier wooden buildings demolished and replaced with brick or stone structures (Hey 2010, 71–3). For example, a 16th-century timber-framed house for the Earl's bailiff, William Dickenson, on the corner of High Street and Change Alley is recorded in a photograph of 1886 but was demolished when the High Street was widened shortly afterwards (Hey 2010, 41; see also Skill n.d.). The rapid industrialisation of the town centre during the 18th century is evident from the maps produced by the Fairbank family, and this doubtless also contributed to the destruction of earlier buildings. Second, limited modern excavation within the city centre has restricted opportunities to document fragments of the castle incorporated in its buildings, although recording of brick-built industrial buildings has often revealed large sandstone foundations which may be from the castle, as we saw in Chapter 7. Third, the Blitz and the extensive damage done to the city centre during World War II



Figure 9.2: *The 17th-century Bishops' House in Sheffield's Meersbrook Park. This is where Parliamentary Captain Blithe took plasterwork from Sheffield Castle. © Martin Speck and licensed for reuse under creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/; geograph.org.uk/p/1208861. The surviving plasterwork at the Bishops' House may be from the castle. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (s09441).*

accounts for the destruction of many buildings in the immediate vicinity of the castle, with the effects compounded by urban planning in the mid-20th century unaccompanied by archaeological investigation.

It is striking that while the Earl's castle in Sheffield was being demolished he nevertheless maintained a major residence at the nearby hunting lodge, which was evidently being improved through the acquisition of new materials from the castle remains. As Askew (2017, 203) has pointed out, while the demolition accounts support the argument that the slighting of the castle was partially a product of 'Sheffield's middling sort rising up against the elite' and, as we have seen, they certainly profited from it, it is not a complete explanation. Even though the Earl was a Royalist, local Parliamentarians clearly engaged with him and his servants in the process of demolition and redistribution, which, as we have seen, he had offered to carry out 'att his owne charge'. A major concern for the Earl was to protect the castle from theft; indeed, following the theft of lead in November 1649 the Shore brothers, Humphrey, John and Robert, were paid 10s. 'for waitinge by the Castle 8 weekes & lyinge there'; in addition a further 5s. was paid to '3 men' (presumably the Shores again) and Thomas Rawson was paid for 'lyinge forth one night to waite an opportunity to search for lead' (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fols 12–13; see also Wilson MSS 295/223, Book 15, fol. 28). The thieves, possibly local men, were quickly apprehended and bound over to the next Quarter Sessions, and the incident reveals that retribution was swift to those who sought to undermine the process of selling off the lord's chattels (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol. 13). The demolition

Figure 9.3 (page 295): *The Shrewsbury Hospital, built in the former orchards of the castle in the late 17th century. Sketch by Edward Blore from the early 19th century. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (s07452).*

accounts reveal that the Earl continued to exert considerable authority over the people of Sheffield, who were generally Parliamentary in their leanings, as his tenants were employed in the erasure of the castle from the townscape, in particular filling in of the ditch (Askew 2017, 194, 200). The written accounts suggest that both the Earl and many of the inhabitants of the town, the middling sort and the lesser gentry alike, benefitted from the demise of the castle. It could be argued, therefore, that the demolition, by removing a physical manifestation of the recent turbulent past, helped smooth over the social divisions and loyalties within the town while at the same time leaving the Earl with his hunting lodge in the park on the hills to the east (though, as we saw in Chapter 8, there too his authority was to be challenged and, ultimately, diminished).

Despite the orders to disgarrison and slight the castle in April 1646 and July 1647, there is evidence to suggest that the Earl of Arundel was in a position to retain parts of the castle as habitable. When Major Andrew Carter came from York in 1649 to inspect the 'rema[i]ning part of Shiffeld Castle now standing', he reported in a letter that it was still 'in part teanable' (Wilson MS 295/24, fol. 2). Accounts from 1649 show that the Earl ordered repairs to be made at the castle, including payments for carpentry, plumbing, glazing, stone masonry and the purchase of new supplies of lime (Wilson MSS, 295/223, Book 15, fols 33–4). In the same letter by Major Carter it emerges that some castle buildings in the south range were to be retained, and four new 8ft (2.44m) square windows were to be inserted 'three foot and a half from the ground', and three 6ft (1.83m) by 8ft (2.44m) windows inserted in the second storey. Windows were also to be inserted in the 'ould tower wher the stables ar', and he proposed that 'all the battlements' should 'bee not above one Foot and a halfe' (Wilson MS 295/24, fol. 2; Hunter 1819, 113–14). The implication, of course, is that parts of the castle still stood to at least the second storey, and some of the towers remained, as did at least some of the battlements (see also Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 20).

It is significant that the works proposed by Carter were to be undertaken with a view not to the erasure of the castle but 'to mak the said bilding unswersable for warr and to be employed for an Hospetall' (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fol 2; Hunter 1819, 113–14; also Askew 2017, 192–3). The need for a hospital in Sheffield had been recognised in the will of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, who left provision after his death in 1616 to found an institution catering for 20 'poore personnes' (DD/4P/46/6; Hunter 1819, 76; Figure 9.3). However, a dispute over the will and then the Civil War meant a delay of nearly 50 years to his wishes being carried out, and in the end the hospital was completed in 1673 across the Sheaf on the site of the castle orchards (Hey 2010, 42–3).

The remaining buildings on the castle site are notably said to all be facing 'towards the Towne' (Wilson MSS, 295/24, fol. 2; see also Chapter 6). The windows may have been intended to weaken any defensive capabilities of the castle (Askew 2017, 193) but the specific request that they faced towards the town is striking in the context of a castle that had, as we saw in Chapters 5 and 8, been oriented towards the deer park for the previous 400 years.



That there were symbolic resonances in this reorientation of the castle at the time when it was being dismantled buttress by buttress, wall by wall is unlikely to have been lost on the inhabitants of the town. And we should not lose sight of the fact that the moment of the town's 'capture' of the castle also marks the beginning of the major changes in the park, which we discussed in Chapter 8. In this context, it is also notable that the bulk of the 17th-century Blackware, Blackware-type, Coarse Blackware and Coarse Blackware-type sherds recovered from the site was retrieved from foundation shafts located in the moat at the south-west corner of the site (152 out of 191 sherds for which a provenance is recorded), mainly in F21, F22, G22 and G23. A similar pattern emerges from the Early Brown Glazed Coarseware of the 17th and 18th centuries, and this would correspond with the continued use of this part of the site through the 17th century (see also Chapter 6 for clay tobacco pipes from this period).

It seems that the death of Henry Howard in April 1652 was critical to the fate of what remained of the castle. His heir was his eldest son, Thomas, who spent much of his adult life in an asylum in Italy, although this did not prevent the newly restored King Charles II from reviving the Dukedom of Norfolk for him in 1660. With Thomas abroad and incapable of undertaking his duties, and his grandmother Alethea Talbot, through whom Sheffield had come to the Howards (see Chapter 1, Section: Sheffield Castle and its elite occupants), still alive but residing in the Netherlands, there was no English interest in the fate of the castle. It seems that any plans to convert the remnants of the castle into a hospital or a habitable dwelling place for the lord of the manor were abandoned, although the Earl continued to own the site of the castle. In some respects, then, the demise of the castle was settled with a whimper. Only the hunting lodge was retained as a habitable residence, and it was here that the principal documentation of the estate was taken by the Earl's officials from the castle prior to it being dismantled (Martin 1956; Askew 2017, 197; also above Chapter 8).

New uses for Castle Hill

Following the demolition of the castle we can trace the developments on Castle Hill through maps and written sources, particularly rate books, which recorded the rates being levied to pay for poor relief, highways, street lighting, sewers and so on. In 1736, when Ralph Gosling produced his plan of Sheffield, much of Castle Hill appears extensively built up, although there is little information provided about the types of buildings that occupied the site by then, or about who owned them (Figure 1.6). On 18th-century maps, Castle Hill is, in fact, dominated by a bowling green (e.g. Gosling 1736; Fairbank 1769; 1771; Figure 3.24), traces of which were recently identified during excavation as we saw in Chapter 7 (see also Chapter 3, Section: Courtyard buildings, for the possibility that it had also been encountered in the 1920s). The Fairbank map of 1769 records John Waite and John Nelson as the main property-holders on Castle Hill. But, while the house and land (marked 'gardens') to the east of the bowling green, and another property to the south, were 'in John Waite's own possession', much of the northern and western part of the Hill, including an enclosed complex of buildings with outhouses, courtyards and access to a pump, was 'in the tenure of John Nelson'. The bowling green too was 'occupied by John Nelson'.

The early modern period saw the emergence of sports and leisure facilities that were intended as meeting places for gentlemen and citizens, alike, in informal settings but where, as Angela Schattner (2014, 212) has recently argued, 'issues of belonging to a specific status group were still in force' while bowls was being played. The Castle Hill bowling green is the earliest representation of a purpose-built sports facility to appear on maps of the city (Hornby 2015, 53). It was one of at least four in Sheffield in the 18th century. Leader (1901, 46) argues that the evident popularity of bowls owed much, for some, to the opportunity it provided for 'betting and heavy drinking'. He seems to have been thinking specifically of 'cutlers and grinders', suggesting that, as in the rest of the country, the sport was becoming increasingly popular across social classes (Hornby 2015, 86). Therefore, the two people seen playing bowls on the Castle green in Oughtibridge's 1737 depiction need not have been gentlemen. Elsewhere in the country, bowling greens were associated with inns and dining clubs, providing an opportunity for social activities and were financially lucrative (Schattner 2014, 211–2; Hornby 2015, 86). In 1639 20 gentlemen from Lewes (Sussex) wrote this petition to the Justices of the Peace, 'Wee ... conceive John Standinge of Lewes to be a very fitt man to keepe the bowlinge greene and sell drinke in the hosue wheer he dwelleth' (Hornby 2015, 59) – did John Nelson do the same in Sheffield?

Interestingly, the green at Lewes comprises the bailey of the former castle (Hornby 2015, 59–61), pointing to an association between bowling greens and castles, perhaps especially former castles (see also Cattell 2016 for Halton Castle (Cheshire); Russell 2017 on Carisbrooke Castle (Isle of Wight); Whittle 1989 on Raglan Castle (Monmouths); Hynd and Ewart 1983 on Aberdour (Fife)). It may be that the flat area of the former courtyard was perfectly suited to the needs of the sport, but one wonders if there was something more calcu-

lating in bringing an increasingly popular sport, one which in 1541 had been outlawed for anyone worth less than £100 per year (Hornby 2015, 49), into the heart of the former seat of power? Was this another step in the democratisation of this space which began in tumult of the middle of the previous century, a subversion of the ideology and structures of power that had underpinned the castle for half a millennium? That the locale, nevertheless, retained an association with power, politics and justice can be detected in the fact that by at least the late 18th century public outdoor meetings were held on Castle Hill. Robert Leader (1875, 12–13) tells that one such, in April 1794, ‘had passed strong resolutions and spoken fierce words against the Government’, resulting in the issue of warrants and the flight of Mr Joseph Gales, editor of the *Sheffield Register*, first to Germany, and then to America, to pursue the cause he had espoused – ‘peace, liberty and justice’ (also Kay and Kay 2017).

The open space of the bowling green was in contrast to the activities that were developing around Castle Hill over the course of the 18th century. For example, the 1774 Sheffield Trade Directory lists among traders on Waingate a silversmith, wheelwright, coach maker, gunsmith, baker and confectioner, while a file maker, raff or timber merchant, and a pen and pocketknife cutler were trading on Castle Fold, the road that later became known as Exchange Street (Sketchley 1774; SA/RB1; SA/RB2; Clark 2019, 34). Over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries the Dukes of Norfolk, who still owned the site – as part of a 12,000 acre (4,856ha) estate in and around Sheffield – leased it out for a variety of industrial and commercial uses (Simmons 1997, 405). A Fairbank plan of 1771 depicts the houses and yards along Waingate and Castle Fould, encircling what was probably still the bowling green (Figure 9.4; also Figure 3.24). The list of those leasing these properties from the Duke include Sam and Joseph Wainwright and Samuel Shore. Documentary sources reveal that one of the buildings on the site in the first decade of the 18th century was a steel works founded by Shore, who was probably a descendant of the Shore brothers who had helped to dismantle and guard the castle some 50 years earlier. It is not surprising that an available centrally located block of land such as the castle site would be targeted by industrialists, in a town in which around 60% of men recorded in the parish registers of the mid-17th century are described as cutlers (Hey 2005, 91, 93). Shore built a cementation factory shortly afterwards to the west of Castle Hill at what is now known as Furnace Hill, and which at that time was on the northern edge of the town (Gardner and Frudd 2015, 13–14). The rate book of 1755/6 lists, however, just a handful of properties on Castle Hill, including three houses described as ‘new’, a tan yard, garden, Manor farm and Turners farm, suggesting some agricultural or horticultural activity on the site (SA/RB1; SA/RB2). The range of buildings remains similar in later rate books, but the names of individuals holding properties there expands, albeit that we do not know what type these were (SA/RB 6, 21, 22, 24, 25; Clark 2019, 103–5).

The large open space on the 1771 Fairbank map might still be the bowling green, but it is now labelled ‘Situation of the Castle demolished in the Civil War’ – clearly the memory of the castle, and its fate, persisted and marked the place (Figure 1.8). However, by the time of the 1797 map it had been built on. The changes made to the town centre to improve access to the market places following an Act of 1784 (see Chapter 1) saw the bowling green and many of the houses on Castle Hill swept away and replaced with the Killing Shambles and, eventually, a range of industrial premises as the Duke sought to maximise the return from his Sheffield properties (Simmons 1997). However, in a Trade Directory of 1787, the only resident listed on Castle Hill was Samuel Broadbent, factor and agent to the Lombard Street Fire Office (perhaps the Phoenix Fire Office, in Lombard Street, London; Gales and Martin 1787, 5, 52). The 1787 and 1797 directories list a range of occupations in the area of the former castle: John Eyre, dealer in flour, Castle Green; Edward Foster, hackney keeper, Castle Green; William Gray, victualler, Castle Fold; John Greaves, dealer in hay, Castle Fold; Francis Hallam, butcher, Castle Fold; Charles Law, victualler, Castle Fold; Matthew Hall (plasterer), William Heffor (victualler) and Benjamin Taylor (smith and farrier) (Robinson 1797, 50). However, the only reference to metal workers or metal production is to Joseph Hawksley, file manufacturer on Castle Fold (Gales and Martin 1787, 7, 62).

The 1797/8 rate book names more traders and landholders on Castle Hill, including Widow Broadbent, who sublet 13 dwellings, and J. Bettany and J. Birks, who both had four properties (Clark 2019, 39–40, appendix 2). The early 19th-century rate books name a Castle Street, and comparison with trade directories suggests that this is, in fact, Castle Hill; by c.1807 the company Weldon and Furniss was manufacturing saws and edge tools on Castle Hill, and by 1810 had also built a furnace there (Barraclough 1984, 103). The firm would go on to become Furniss, Cutler and Stacey, listed in a directory of 1833 as owners of Castle Hill Works, marked on the 1853 OS map as occupying the centre of the former castle site (Clark 2019, 41). The 1817 trade directory names a pen and pocketknife manufacturer, James March and Company, and a carpenter and builder, John Senior, operating on Castle Hill, along with Weldon and Furniss and the aforementioned blacksmith Benjamin Taylor (Brownell 1817, 40–66). By the 1820s Castle Hill also had a wheelwright’s shop, three milliners and dressmakers, a draper, timber merchant, furniture brokers, and the company of Steers



Figure 9.4: Plan of Sundry Tenements and Yard belonging to the Duke of Norfolk betwixt the Wain Gate, Castle Fold and Castle Hill in Sheffield. Drawn by William Fairbank, 1771. Reproduced with permission from His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, DL and Sheffield City Council.



Figure 9.5: *The River Sheaf and the Shrewsbury Hospital on the left of the bridge.* Unknown artist, 1825. This appears to show what is labelled the Hospital Bridge on the 1771 Fairbank map (see Figure 1.8). On the right is the corner of the crenellated slaughterhouses, behind which are various factories that then occupied Castle Hill. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

and Wilkinson, which manufactured scissors, nail nippers and table knives (Baines 1822, 325–95; Gell 1825; Blackwell 1828, 89).

Following the late 18th-century construction of the Killing Shambles, the number of butchers and related trades on Castle Hill increased significantly, with around 90 recorded in the 1814/15 rate book (SA/RB148). Clearly the 19th century saw an intensification of activity on Castle Hill, and the Ordnance Survey 6in map of 1853 gives a clear impression of a tightly packed, promiscuous (and almost certainly noxious) mixture of public houses/hotels (including the Bull & Mouth, the Anvil Inn, the Rose and Crown and the Royal Hotel (formerly the Reindeer Inn)), industry (steel works such as the Phoenix Works and Castle Hill Works) and slaughterhouses, as well as Castle Folds Court and Browns Court at the south-east of the site.

Developers and industrialists were not simply attracted to newly available space in the town, but the resonances of this place were also important to the buildings of the 18th and 19th centuries. This can be seen in the names assigned to many of the buildings, and in particular in the architecture of the factories and slaughterhouses. A painting of c.1825 depicts three men at the junction of the Rivers Sheaf and Don, with the Shrewsbury Hospital behind them and chimneys rising from the site of the castle. Just to their left, however, is a building constructed to look like a castle tower, complete with castellations and arrowslits. Its location

suggests this must have been part of the slaughterhouses (Anon. c.1825; Figure 9.5), what Butcher (1972a, 21) described as the Duke of Norfolk's "Gothickised" slaughterhouses'. Photographs from the late 19th and early 20th centuries confirm the use of turreted walls and towers on the buildings constructed on and adjacent to Castle Hill ('The royal visit' 1875, 5). For example, the late 18th-century tilt hammer forge known as Huntsman's Tilt and later the Wicker Tilt was built on the opposite banks of the Don to the slaughterhouses in a mock medieval style (Figures 9.6, 9.7). The Tower Grinding Wheel constructed in the mid-19th century on Blonk Street was adorned with battlements and turrets (Earl 1844; Figure 9.8). Similarly, the scheme of development that took place c.1900 to construct the Royal Exchange Buildings, comprising shops and flats, a veterinary surgery and dogs' home, as well as the adjacent Castle House, which belonged to the veterinary surgeon, also incorporated castellations (Harman and Minnis 2004, 154); it is reputedly the place where mushy peas were invented, as Batchelors had a factory here from 1931. The 2018 excavations recovered a piece of neo-Gothic window tracery that derives from the sort of architectural forms we can see in photographs and artistic representations of Castle Hill in the 19th century (Ryder 2019; Figure 9.9). With many of the buildings on the site of

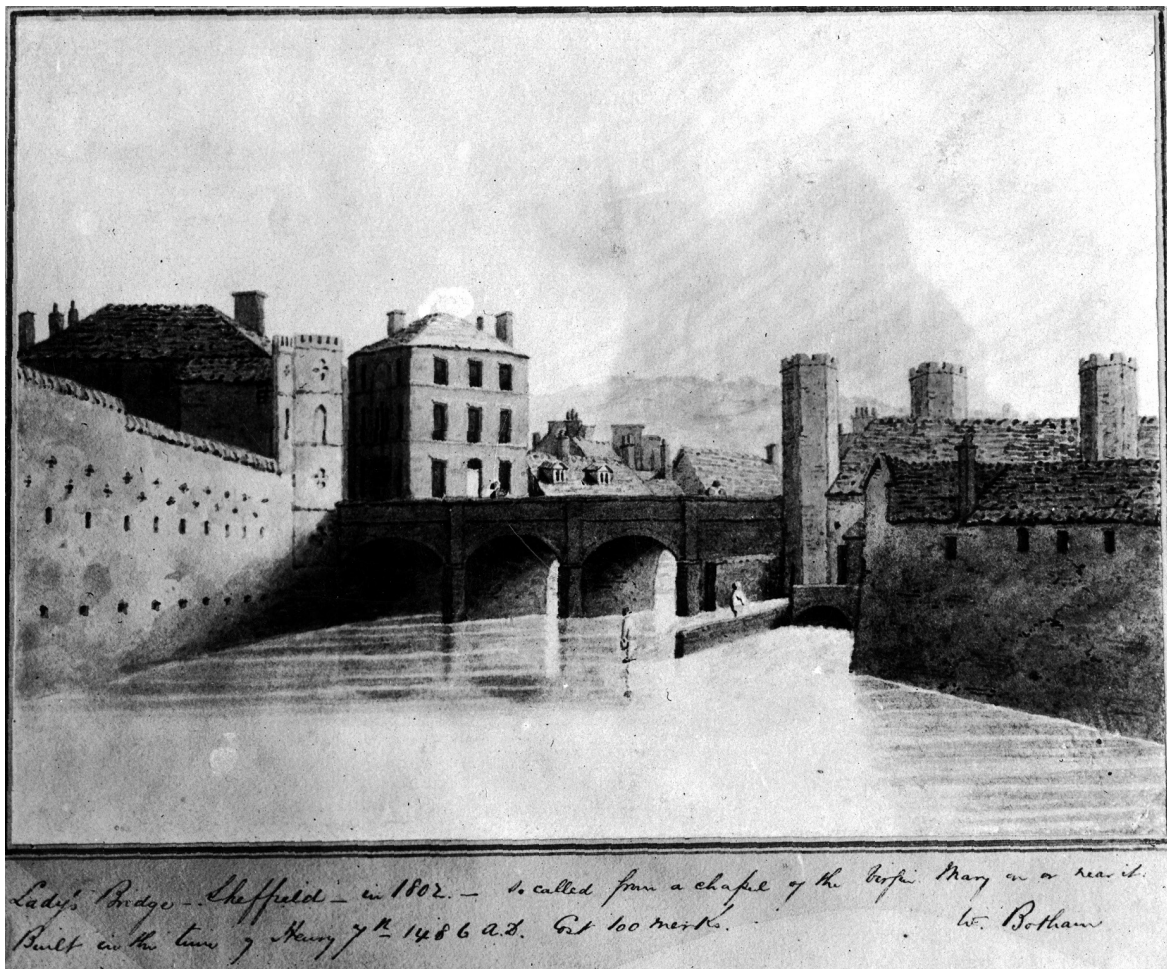


Figure 9.6: *Lady's Bridge in 1802.* The Wicker Tilt is on the right and slaughterhouses on the left. Note the crenellations and turrets. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (s07499).

Figure 9.8 (page 301): *The Wicker Tilt and the Tower Grinding Wheel.* Photograph from 1896 with the Wicker Tilt on the left in the foreground and the Tower Grinding Wheel to the rear beyond the Blonk Street bridge. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (s12220).



Figure 9.7: *The Wicker Tilt*. Photograph taken in the late 19th century showing the Wicker Tilt (demolished in 1901) in the foreground, Lady's Bridge on the right and the corner of the slaughterhouses to the rear adjacent to the bridge. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (s07493).





Figure 9.9: A fragment of window tracery of Gothic Revival type. This probably dates to the 19th century, and was recovered during excavations in 2018. Wessex Archaeology.

the castle, and its immediate vicinity, referencing the castle in their architectural design, a strong sense of the heritage of the site persisted in the centuries following the Civil War slighting and into an industrial era. And its diminished physical presence was deemed important enough to mark on maps – the 1888 Goad Fire Insurance Plan recorded ‘Part of the Old Castle’ among the warehouses of R&J Smith Bros. Iron Merchants. In the late 19th century, workmen in the factories on Castle Hill commented that the ground sounded hollow beneath their feet and thought that this revealed the presence of dungeons or undercrofts from the castle (Leader 1875, 218). The castle was clearly on their minds, and they were surrounded by structures inspired by it. In this con-

text, it is particularly mystifying why, at the beginning of the 20th century, some antiquarians had entered into such debate over the location of the castle (see Chapter 2, Section: Sheffield Castle: where the two rivers meet). It was clear in memory, in place names and in architecture. It infused the place.

Lamenting the loss of the past

Some 200 years ago, Joseph Hunter reflected on the demise of the castle and what it said about Sheffield's priorities at the time he was writing, lamenting that the ruins had not been

left to time, the slow destroyer; and that we still might have been allowed to trace out the foundations at least of that suite of apartments where the royal captive [Mary, Queen of Scots] pined away the years of her long seclusion; or the hall where the honoured chieftain of former days held his wassel, or the chapel in which he prayed: and that Sheffield, like its neighbour Pontefract, might still have had its ruined towers to attract, delay, and delight the curious traveller. But *an active and industrious manufacturing population makes few sacrifices to taste*, and does not long endure the near neighbourhood of plots of ground not occupied by what immediately concerned itself (Hunter 1819, 116, emphasis added).

Hunter was not alone in this awareness that the disappearance of the castle from the urban landscape had a negative impact on perceptions of Sheffield. A poem written in 1882 by Francis Buchanan (b.1825), a poet originally from Perth (Scotland) who later moved to Sheffield, was a wistful reflection on the lost castle:

I cannot hail thee, tho' thou liv'st in story,
Thy turrets and thy towers are all gone.
Little is left to indicate thy glory
But old tradition, and this little song.
Spectre of time! Where are thy relics resting?
Where are thy battlements and lordly hall?
Nor vestage here, nor stone with noble crest in,
Nor remnant of a buttress or a wall.
No effigy supreme, however broken.
No tottering gable in the sunlight glow,
No grey remembrance that would be a token
To take us back to ages long ago.

For others, however, the castle was now a valuable marketing commodity. This emerges from a poem published in 1868 in White's Directory of the Borough of Sheffield, Doncaster and Chesterfield, where the ancient glories of the castle have been replaced by 'forests of chimneys [which] make murky the air / With smoke and with smuts that pervade everywhere'. But 'compensation' is nevertheless to be found in the presence of the latest fashionable building nearby:

For hard by the site of the Castle that's gone,
There's a TEA MART as good as the sun hath shone on ...
Haste then thither and cheer, ye! – ye brave sons of toil,
Ye matrons and maids! – all who fret and who moil,
And quiet your spirits, and gladden your lot,
With 'the cup that can cheer and inebriates not!'

The powerful appeal of the castle in the late 19th century was reinforced when the Prince and Princess of Wales visited Sheffield in August 1875 to open Firth Park (a public park about 4km from Sheffield city centre, gifted to the city by the industrialist Mark Firth). Their host, the 15th Duke of Norfolk, Henry Fitzalan-Howard, while willing to accept the profits from his Sheffield properties, seems to have been unwilling to let some of them be seen by royalty. A newspaper report on the visit describes the Don at Lady's Bridge as a 'stream of ink', a

result of industrial production and waste from the slaughterhouses which poured 'from the openings of the walls of these Shambles ... poisoning the river and rendering the atmosphere in this vicinity at times almost pestilential' ('The royal visit', 1875, 6); the drains from which some of this waste discharged into the Don were excavated by Wessex Archaeology in 2018 (see Chapter 7). Substantial efforts were made to hide such offensive sights from royal eyes and simultaneously enhance the links of the area, and the city more generally, with the medieval past; this was an interesting approach in an industrialising city, on a royal visit hosted by one of its leading industrialists. The royal procession from the railway station through the town saw triumphal arches constructed at several locations, including Lady's Bridge. Here the Duke commissioned an arch in the form of the turrets and outworks of a castle constructed from wood and canvas, while 'a 30 foot high wall of painted canvas representing an "old baronial castle"' was erected at the bottom of Waingate to hide 'the unsightly walls' of the slaughterhouses – some of which, as we have seen, had themselves been built to resemble a castle (Zasada 1996, 27; Figure 9.10). The Lady's Bridge triumphal arch was even to be distressed to appear old, with the *Tel-egraph* announcing that it



will appear as the bulwark of a castle, or as though the walls from some old fortifications had been transplanted to this spot. It will represent the defences of a castle of the middle ages ... Extending along the upper portions of the arch will be battlements so painted as to appear worn by time and bearing upon their walls the defacing effects as it were of exposure to the elements.

Fountains were constructed on either side of the bridge, with cascades of water pouring down from 30ft (9.14m) above the level of the Don, to distract visitors from the murky water of the river.

The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* reported that the decorations were 'characteristic of the architecture of the feudal times when the staple trades of Sheffield were in their infancy, and when the foreign refugees who brought the industries to this locality were protected and cared for by the resident lords' ('The royal visit' 1875, 5). This was a very conscious appropriation of the past, and a recasting of the role of the lords of the manor as a patrician of the community. This was occurring at the very time when the Duke's place in that community was being further questioned as Sheffield Corporation, empowered by the Public Health Act of 1875, began the process of acquiring the centuries-old market rights from him (Zasada 1996, 27; Chapter 1, Section: The castle 'made untenable').

While the castle had long since disappeared from Sheffield's skyline, it continued to fascinate and in 1875 proved to be a valuable tool in both propaganda and regeneration, albeit of the most temporary type during the royal visit. This need for a sanitised version of the medieval past that was represented by the wooden and canvas facade extended beyond the castle, to the hunting lodge, which was simultaneously undergoing renovation that prioritised tearing down of traces of the industrial present (see below, Section: The deer park and hunting lodge: from mining to medieval revival).

Saving the castle remains

While Armstrong's and Himsworth's archaeological endeavours at the end of the 1920s settled any remaining doubt about the location of Sheffield Castle, they did raise another question – 'once you have found a castle, what do you do with it?' (paraphrased from an article in the *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star*, 13th October 1927). Leslie Armstrong and the Hunter Archaeological Society played a vital part in preserving the remains of the courtyard buildings and gatehouse, and used local newspapers to highlight the importance of doing so (Himsworth 1927–42, 4). It was not, in fact, obvious to all that the remains should be preserved, and we know much was lost in the process of construction – 'there has been more destroyed or covered up with concrete that will ever be seen by the public' (Himsworth 1927–42, 4). One local newspaper noted the possibility that all the remains 'should be broken up and carted away' ('A matter of preservation', 1927, 6; see also 'Survey of Sheffield Castle remains', 1927). The *Telegraph* 'emphatically' rejected this proposal, but others, it seems, did not. Joseph Himsworth had canvassed local opinion about what should happen to the castle remains and was dismayed to find that:

everywhere the reply was, 'we must clear the site quickly as possible and build a market cheaply. Conditions of trade are so bad we can spend neither time nor money and can brook no delay' (Himsworth 1927–42, 5).

However, local pressure, galvanised by Armstrong's advocacy, led to a suspension of 'the threatened demolition for a few days to see if a feasible scheme is forthcoming for [their] preservation' ('Castle site', 1927; 'Sheffield Castle', 1927). Two suggestions were considered at a special meeting of the Hunter Archaeological Society on 14th October:

The first is to preserve the relic in situ, and this could be accomplished by building piers at each end of the site, with girders over, and thus form a sort of alcove in the basement of the new Co-operative premises ... The second is to number all the stones and remove them for re-erection in one of the public parks of the city ('Castle site', 1927).

Figure 9.10 (page 304): *Wooden and canvas castle at Lady's Bridge.* This was made for the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Sheffield in August 1875. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (w00347).

While one correspondent to the *Sheffield Mail* argued the merits of the latter scheme – ‘it would make the relics more accessible to members of the public’ (‘Transferring relics’, 1927) – *The Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* disagreed, saying that ‘no one with any feeling for history would care for that unless the alternative were the total disappearance of the relics’, and summoned the epitaph of Shakespeare in support of the argument – ‘Blest be the man that spares these stones’. On 15th October 1927, J. R. Wigfull (1927a; 1927b), Honorary Secretary of the Committee of the Hunter Archaeological Society, wrote to Mr John E. Forster, Secretary of the Brightside and Carbrook Co-op, and to the Mayor of Sheffield, informing them of the following resolution:

This Committee is strongly of opinion that the remains of Sheffield Castle discovered upon the site of the Societies new premises in Exchange Street, should be preserved in situ, and desires to submit a plan showing a definite proposal for carrying out such a scheme without detriment to your building. The Hunter Archaeological Society will guarantee the cost up to sum of £100 (Figure 9.11; also ‘Sheffield Castle relic’, 1927).

This ‘definite proposal’ (or a copy of it), drawn by Armstrong, survives in the Museums Sheffield archive (see Figure 9.12) and shows (in plan and elevation) the gatehouse remains in a sub-basement, accessed by a staircase which opened out onto viewing areas adjacent to the western tower and the gatehouse forestructure. The

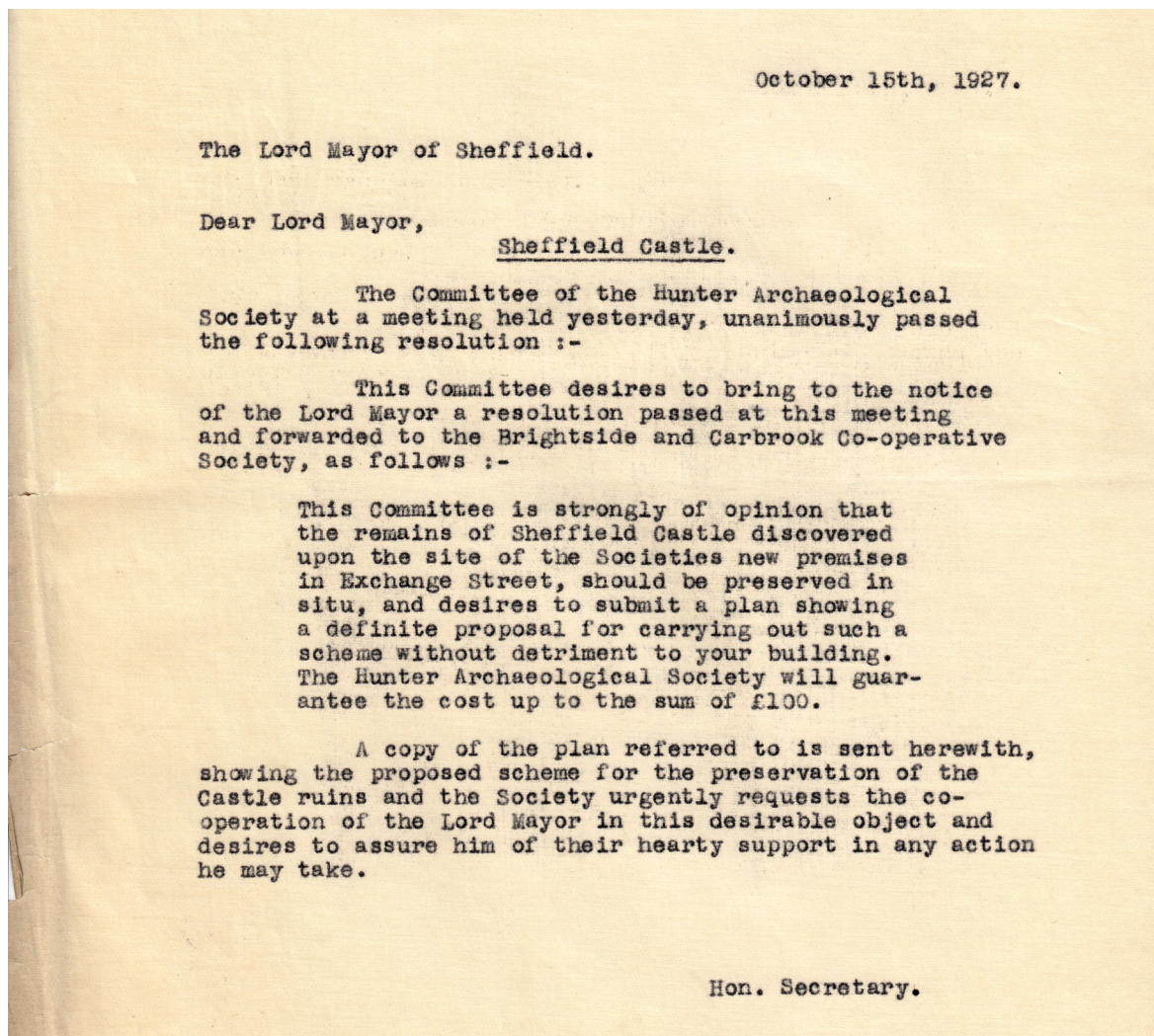


Figure 9.11: Letter written to the Lord Mayor of Sheffield by the Hunter Archaeological Society on 15th October 1927. This advocated for the preservation of the remains of the castle which had been uncovered just days before. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

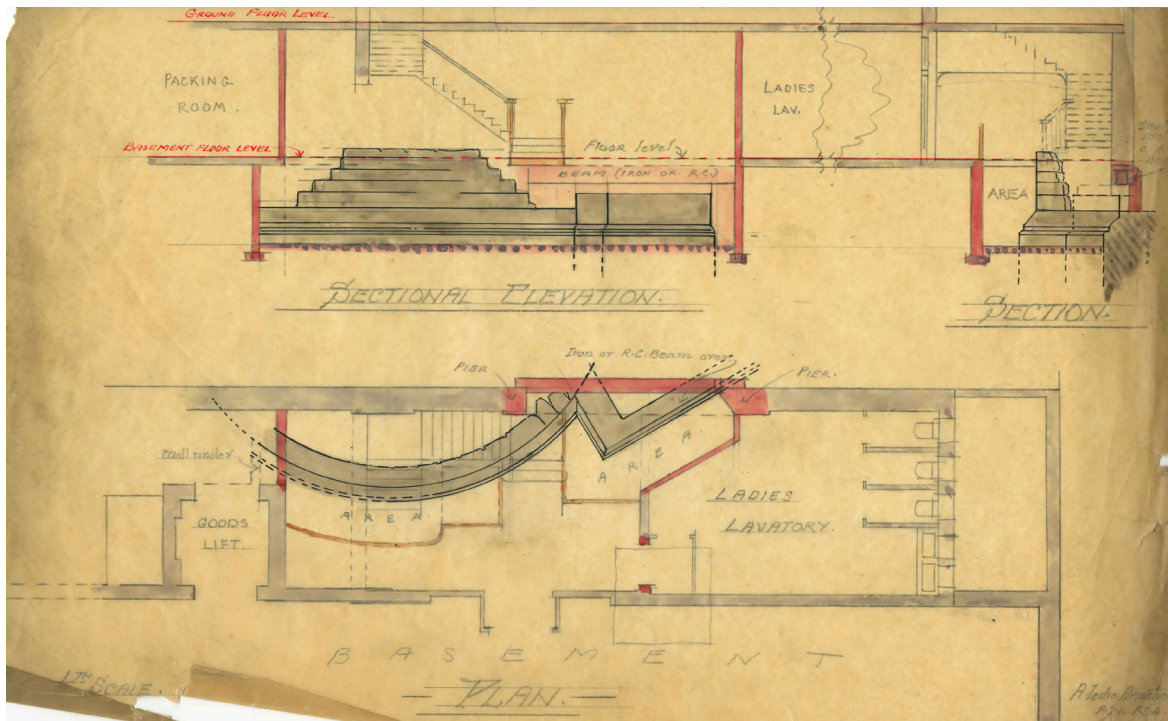


Figure 9.12: Leslie Armstrong's proposal for how to display the gatehouse remains beneath the Co-op building.

There were to be viewing areas and it appears that some of the masonry would have projected through the sub-basement of the building. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

elevation suggests that some of the masonry of the tower would have projected through the sub-basement floor to be visible as one came down the stairs from the ground floor. If carried out, Armstrong's proposal (while placing the remains at a level below the ladies' lavatory and the packing room), would have made the gatehouse more accessible to the public than anything considered to date. However, this was not to be. In a letter of 10th December 1927, William Johnson, the Co-op's architect (1927a), told Armstrong that he regretted that 'owing to the relative position of the Bastion and the staircase walls and passenger and good lifts ... it will not be possible to leave this portion of the Bastion wall permanently exposed to view'. Essentially rejecting his (and the Hunter Society's) proposal to facilitate public access, Johnson went on to tell Armstrong that 'the remains are to be preserved beneath our basement floor level and their exact position indicated by means of lines on the floor'. In his publication, Armstrong noted that 'only such portions were pulled down as actually interfered with the plan of the Stores' (Armstrong 1930, 16), and on his Plan 2 (Figure 3.13) he marked the position of the (comparatively small) section of the excavated remains 'preserved in the basement of the new building' – most of the western tower was 'preserved but buried'; some of it was demolished. As we saw in Chapters 2 and 3, a chamber around the courtyard building was also created beneath Castle Hill Market, and this became the repository for architectural fragments that had been collected during this and subsequent development work (Anon. 1930b, 3; Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 63–5; Himsworth 1935, 8–9; Latham and Atkinson 1994).

The souvenir brochure issued by the Co-op in 1929 portrays their 'palatial' New City Stores as a 'worthy successor' to the castle. But they are also more than that – 'a new Palace', we are told, 'more beautiful than the old castle, has been reared to make new history for Sheffield' (Bingham 1929, 5). Here the Co-op, having rendered the actual castle remains largely inaccessible, appropriated the heritage and tradition of 'the most historic [site] in Sheffield', as well as the actual place itself, for the needs of 20th-century merchandising. And that process of association and appropriation continued. Thus c.1948 G. A. Hampshire, the Brightside and Carbrook Co-op's advertising manager, redesigned the Society's logo to incorporate a 'one tower heraldic symbol' harking back to the 'bastion' towers discovered in the late 1920s (Denton 1946). And when the Co-op moved to their new premises in 1964 they not only called it 'Castle House'; they also commissioned noted Sheffield artist Kenneth Steel (1964) to paint an imaginative reconstruction of Sheffield Castle to hang at its core, in their boardroom, from which they would have been able to see the site of the original (Figure 9.13).



Figure 9.13: *Sheffield Castle as imagined in the early 1960s.* This painting by Kenneth Steel was commissioned by the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society for the boardroom of their new city-centre building, Castle House. Courtesy of the Co-operative Group.

The rediscovery of the castle generated considerable interest in the medieval and Tudor history of Sheffield. As we saw in Chapter 2, one of the local experts to whom Armstrong turned in analysing finds from the castle excavations was Joseph Baggaley, curator of Sheffield City Museum. Baggaley's involvement with material from Sheffield Castle seems to have sparked his interest in its history, as he went to great lengths to authenticate, and then purchase for the city, a bedstead said to have been that of Mary, Queen of Scots during her imprisonment in the castle. He contacted several organisations to try to establish provenance and raise the necessary funds, including the London art dealers the King's Galleries, which were offering it for sale (Baggaley 1929a and 1929b; Fredericke 1929), the auctioneers and valuers Hadsley & Co., which assured him that 'there is no question at all, but that the bedstead came from "Sheffield Castle"' (Taylor 1929), the Librarian of the British Museum (Baggaley 1929c; Sharp 1929), the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum (Baggaley 1929d), Sir George Sitwell (1929) in Florence (Bradbury 1929), Birmingham Public Libraries (Anon. 1929a), and the Sheffield Cutlers' Company (Evans 1929). His efforts ultimately came to naught, perhaps because the Victoria and Albert Museum was not able to offer a grant to help meet the purchase price, and he could not be absolutely sure of the bed's authenticity (Baggaley 1929e; Figure 9.14).

It is worth noting that this bedstead was already associated with Mary in 1848 when George Shaw saw it at Brougham Hall, near Penrith (Cumbria), and that, to judge from notes and sketches made (by Baggaley?) on a visit to see the bed, on 14th March 1929, it did bear the Talbot crest (Shaw 1848, 371–2; Gatty 1869, 146, n. 2;



Figure 9.14: A bedstead in which Mary, Queen of Scots may have slept while imprisoned at Sheffield Castle. It is unclear where this was photographed, but it was included among the collection of photographs contained in the Armstrong archive and may have been taken by either Himsworth or Senior. This is the bedstead advertised for sale in *The Connoisseur* at the King's Galleries, King's Road, Chelsea, London on 28th October 1928, and which Joseph Baggaley was interested in purchasing for the City Museum. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

Anon. 1929a, b). Gatty (1869, 146) tells us that the bed was presented to Lord Brougham by James Watt, the famous inventor and engineer. Shaw (1848, 372) describes the bed as

a magnificent, ponderous, old bedstead of carved oak, covered thick and thicker with all the heraldries of all the Talbots. It came originally from Sheffield Castle, through various possessors, until purchased by Mr. Watt of Aston Hall, Birmingham, and presented by him to his lordship. How many a tale of romance does this frowning old bed seem cognizant of, perhaps occupied by Mary, Queen of Scots during her long confinement under the Earl of Shrewsbury; her eyes fixed upon the heraldic pomp of her lordly keeper, but her heart far away in her own land of blue mountains, or in gay and regretted France (Anon. 1928; Moreland and Gorman 2019, 11).

In an article published in the *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* early in 1929, Charles Drury (1929c) was convinced of its authenticity based on a detailed analysis of the heraldic devices depicted on it.

It might be argued that the discovery of the castle remains and the debates about if or how they should be preserved mark the high point in Sheffield of late 19th- to early 20th-century medievalism – an interest in, and a desire to appropriate, the medieval past. We see this in the medieval triumphal arches that spanned the city streets not only during the royal visit of 1875 but also during Queen Victoria's visit in 1897 (Anon. 1897). We see it in the, at times, fevered debate about the location of the *aula* of Waltheof, in the use of medieval pen names, in the quest to acquire authentic relics, in the appropriation of the castle to the commercial needs of the city (whether a modest tea shop or a 'palatial' store), and in the portrayal of scenes from medieval history on the streets of the city.³¹ As we saw in Chapter 3, this interest stemmed from, and further fed, questions of civic and national identity. But in the decades to come new economic, political and military realities, not least the continued expansion and industrialisation of the city as well as the impact of war, meant that Sheffield's medieval past no longer served the needs of its present, and its physical remains were further destroyed in the construction of Steel City.

The deer park and hunting lodge: from mining to medieval revival

To place the Castlegate regeneration debate in context, we need to examine the fate of the other main parts of the seigneurial landscape: the hunting lodge and deer park. Both were absorbed into an increasingly industrial landscape during the 18th and 19th centuries, but the medieval heritage of the lodge, in particular, came to be of interest in the late 19th century. More recently, the opportunities offered by the medieval heritage of the lodge and the open spaces afforded within the relict landscape of the park have provided a focal point for an ambitious programme of social welfare and employment creation led by a social enterprise, that is, a business whose profits are reinvested to create positive social change (Social Enterprise UK 2019). As we will see, the history of the lodge and park have rendered them contested spaces into the 21st century.

The industrialisation of the hunting lodge

By the early 18th century the hunting lodge had ceased to be a residence for the Dukes of Norfolk, with parliamentary consent for demolition acquired in 1708 (see Chapter 8, Section: Absentee lords and new priorities). Excavation of the rooms behind the south tower of the gateway revealed that they were filled with rubble sealed

³¹ A series of street names in the western part of the city centre, including Furnival Street, Howard Street, Earl Street, Matilda Street etc., might also be taken as part of this phenomenon. However, they were part of a planned street system created by the 10th Duke of Norfolk between 1771 and 1778 and are more about personal, dynastic memory than civic identity. The names stretch from the Duke himself (who was also Earl of Surrey), through the Furnivals, to the de Lovetots (via Matilda; see Chapter 1) (Walton 2011, 18–19; Harvey 2001).

Figure 9.15 (page 311): *Etching by unknown artist of the Turret House from the early 19th century.* The buildings attached to its north and south sides were removed during restoration in the 1870s. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

by 18th-century deposits, suggesting that the upper parts of these rooms were demolished at this time (Hadley and Harlan 2011, 6). Yet, parts of the hunting lodge clearly remained standing and some of the original structures were reused by the site's 18th-century occupants. The 'Turret House' was converted into a farmhouse, with a series of associated barns constructed between the house and Manor Lane to the south, and a kitchen and other outbuildings to the north (Hadfield 1875) (Figure 9.15). There was also a farm building constructed in the outer courtyard, revealed during excavations in 1972 (Hadley and Harlan 2011, 12–13). By 1738, the potter John Fox (1682–1738) had leased the 'late gallery of the Manor' from the Dukes. An item found in one of the rooms behind the south tower was the base of a 'Dutch Oven' – which would have been set in front of a fire and used to reheat food – inscribed with the initials of Fox and his wife Elizabeth and the date 1715, suggesting that the pottery was set up a couple of decades before it is first documented (Hadley and Harlan 2011, 6; Figure 9.16). The foundations of a large, circular, multi-flued kiln were excavated in the hexagonal tower at the north end of the long gallery in 1971 (Beswick 2002; Burgess *et al.* 2011). They comprised stone, brick and floor tile from the ruined buildings of the hunting lodge, and were set into the original floor of the tower, and in places the kiln foundations overlay fallen plasterwork from the partial demolition of this building (Hadley and Harlan 2011, 7). The close confines of the room would have been ideal for allowing control of both the draught through it and the temperature to ensure successful firing. The kiln probably had either a clay dome-shaped roof with vent holes, or a chimney, to let the heat escape. The pottery it produced was mottled ware, characterised by its distinctive honey-coloured glaze with dark mottling resulting from the inclusion of manganese or iron oxide in the glaze, and it is one of the most distinctive of local 18th-century vernacular tablewares. It was produced widely from the early part of that century, and the pottery kiln at the hunting lodge is one of the earliest documented such production sites (Beswick 1978; Hadley and Harlan 2011; Cumberpatch 2014b). Clinker – a form of slag produced by the burning of coal – was found over parts of the foundation, indicating that the kiln was fuelled by coal, which is likely to have been locally sourced; as we saw, coal sources are known to have been exploited within the medieval park (Jones 2009, 13; above Chapter 8). Moreover, coal was also

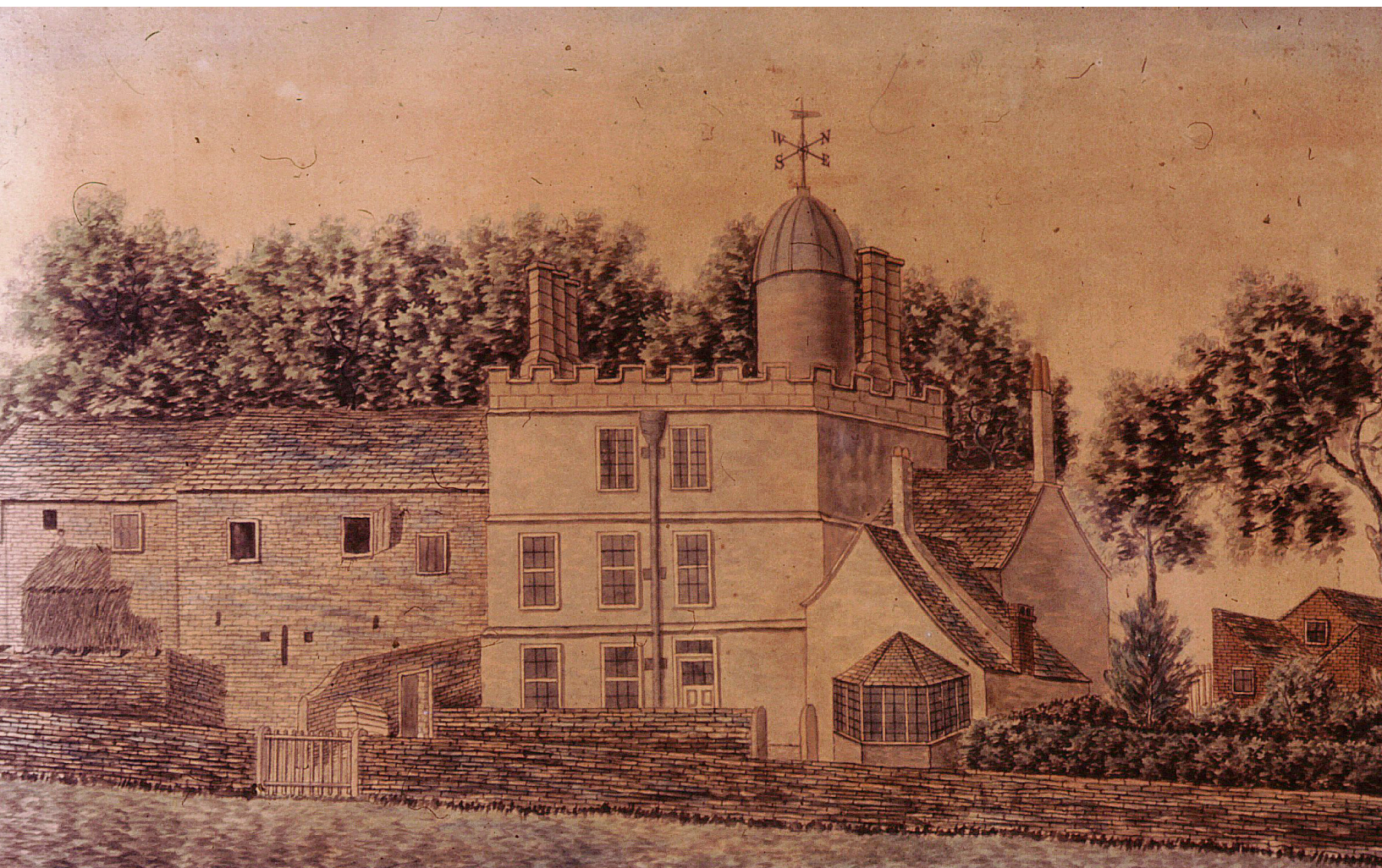




Figure 9.16: *Early 18th-century Dutch oven.* The remains of a pottery kiln owned by John Fox were excavated in 1971 in the tower at the north end of the long gallery. A Dutch oven, bearing the initials of John and Elizabeth Fox and the date 1715 was found in the remains of one of the storage rooms behind the entrance way into the inner courtyard. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

extracted within the lodge itself, as excavations in the inner court in 2010 identified pits dug into coal deposits (Burgess *et al.* 2011, 59).

Excavations in the long gallery conducted in 1971 and 2010 recovered large numbers of kiln saggars, suggesting that it had been used for associated activities, including perhaps drying the ceramics prior to firing, and storing the fired pots at other stages of manufacture and decoration. In order to adapt the long gallery for use as workshops, parts of the open ground-floor loggia were infilled with stone and brick, and a workshop was added to its eastern side, containing a small brick open-hearth furnace (Burgess *et al.* 2011, 60; Figure 9.17). Splashes of glaze on the stonework nearby suggest that the furnace was used for the manufacture of glazes.

Cottages were subsequently constructed amid the ruins to provide housing for workers in the expanding mining industry in the park (McCoy 2009; Burgess *et al.* 2011; Figure 9.18). The nature of these working-class houses, and the activities that took place within them, can be recovered from late 18th- and 19th-century artistic representations, the photographic record from the mid-19th century onwards, architectural analysis and archaeological evidence (Mephams and Powell 2010; Burgess *et al.* 2011; Crewe and Askew 2011; Crewe and Hadley 2013). A few cottages were free-standing in the inner courtyard, but most were built in to the Tudor long gallery, the service range on the south side of the inner courtyard, or above the gatehouse, while the inner courtyard was divided in to gardens and allotments (Figures 9.19; Hadfield 1875, 110; Crewe 2012, 333–4). A Methodist chapel and school were founded c.1810 (Graham 1914, 42–4), initially occupying one of the cottages but by 1818 were in a building constructed above the remains of the gatehouse, while a pub, the Norfolk Arms, was opened in the service range in 1819 (Hudson 1874, 37). Joseph Hunter (1819, 191) lamented the incursion of the ‘poorest of the poor’, what he called ‘a new species of inhabitant’, and the consequent proliferation of buildings that had so altered the layout of the site that it was ‘impossible to recover the exact arrangement of [the Lodge’s] various apartments’ or to determine ‘the particular appropriation of some which remain entire’; photographs, drawings and paintings of the 19th century confirm the extent to which the former lodge had been appropriated. The three brick cottages built against the south end of the long gallery west wall were of two storeys, one with two rooms on each floor, the other two comprising just a single room at each level, although there is also evidence for an attic room. Fireplaces had been constructed in the cottages, the largest of which had a brick cellar. Further north in the long gallery brick walls had been constructed between the bays of the ground-floor loggia, making use of the Tudor timber framing. There is little indication from architectural analysis of staircases in the smaller cottages, and the upper floors were therefore probably accessed via ladders (Burgess *et al.* 2011, 61–2).



Figure 9.17: Workshop added to the east side of the long gallery in the 18th century for use in pottery manufacture. Wessex Archaeology.



Figure 9.18: *The south range of service rooms in the hunting lodge.* Photographed from the inner courtyard in the late 19th century, when it was being occupied by the mining community. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.



Excavated assemblages and census returns reveal the range of activities that were undertaken at the former hunting lodge in the 19th century, when the community typically comprised around 20 households. For example, the occupations listed in the census returns for 1861 are mainly miner, coke burner, colliery engine tender, labourer, blacksmith, white metal smith, table knife cutler, shoe maker and blade joiner (Crewe and Hadley 2013, 90), and metalworking debris and evidence for bone working was recovered from the cottages during excavation (e.g. Crewe and Askew 2012, 23, 33). It was a community infamous for engaging in such vices as 'Sabbath-breaking, swearing, drunkenness and cock-fighting' (Staniforth 1858, 48) and castigated as 'a godless and cursing rabble' (Tyerman 1856, 11). The occupants of the lodge became a focal point for competing social dynamics, with the Methodist preachers and publicans vying for influence over the occupants; this is ironic given that their landlord was the most prominent Roman Catholic member of the English aristocracy.

Restoration of the lodge: return to the days of the Earls of Shrewsbury

The 19th century witnessed increased antiquarian interest in the historic buildings of the hunting lodge, but this was often to its detriment. For example, in the 1830s local cutlery magnate and 'admirer' of Mary, Queen of Scots Samuel Roberts took stone from the hunting lodge to build 'Queen Mary's Bower' in the grounds of his house. This was known as the Queen's Tower, built in the park in Tudor Gothic style in 1837. From the lodge he took part of a wall and a mullioned window said to have been associated with Mary, Queen of Scots, doubtless to enhance the prestige and historical associations of his home (Thomas 1844, 43; Pawson and Brailsford 1971, 23; Lea 1945; Clark and Jack 2002, 6–7; ICOSSE 2005, 70; Figure 9.20). By the 1870s the 15th Duke of Norfolk, Henry Fitzalan-Howard, appears to have had a change of mind over how to use the site of the hunting lodge, and the process of removing the labourers who occupied the site commenced. In 1872 the tenants of the Turret House were removed after the Duke appointed the architect Charles Hadfield to oversee the restoration of the building, including the removal of later structures and restoration of the plaster ceilings (Hadfield 1875, 111; Clark and Jack 2002, 7; ICOSSE 2005, 72–3). Hadfield commented on the difficulty of the task, complaining that the cottages, 'squalid and rickety ... like parasites', had obscured much of the original fabric, thereby making it almost impossible to distinguish from later developments on the site, although John Leader (1874, 50) asserted that 'only where absolutely necessary has new material been introduced' (see also Hadfield 1875, 111; Crewe 2012, 335). The work involved restoring the timber partitions within the Turret House, those on the ground floor being replaced with brick to bear the weight of the upper floors. Other work included bricking up an additional entrance to the tower, although parts of the door jamb were left *in situ* (Hadfield 1875, 111–12). Many of the fireplaces had survived, merely being concealed by later development, but the plaster ceilings, damaged by rainwater and lime wash and attached to rotten beams, were carefully restored to what was perceived to be their original condition (Hadfield 1875, 112; Figure 9.21).

While this restoration is clearly another aspect of the medievalism discussed earlier, the immediate context seems to have been the impending visit of the British Archaeological Association in 1874, for which the Duke was invited to act as President. The members of that organisation were brought on a visit to the site, led by local historian John Leader; here they must have been faced with the peculiar juxtaposition of one of the oldest and most high-status buildings in Sheffield just yards from a pithead and the ramshackled houses, chapel and public house of the mining community (Burgess *et al.* 2011, 5). This was not lost on Leader. In his published report, which presumably reflects the tenor of his guided tour and the everyday racism of the time, he decried that

Figure 9.19 (page 314): *Cottages amidst the ruins of the hunting lodge in the late 19th century.* In the range of buildings above the former entranceway into the inner courtyard was a Methodist chapel (in the white building). The pithead is visible on the left-hand side of the photograph, beyond the long gallery. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

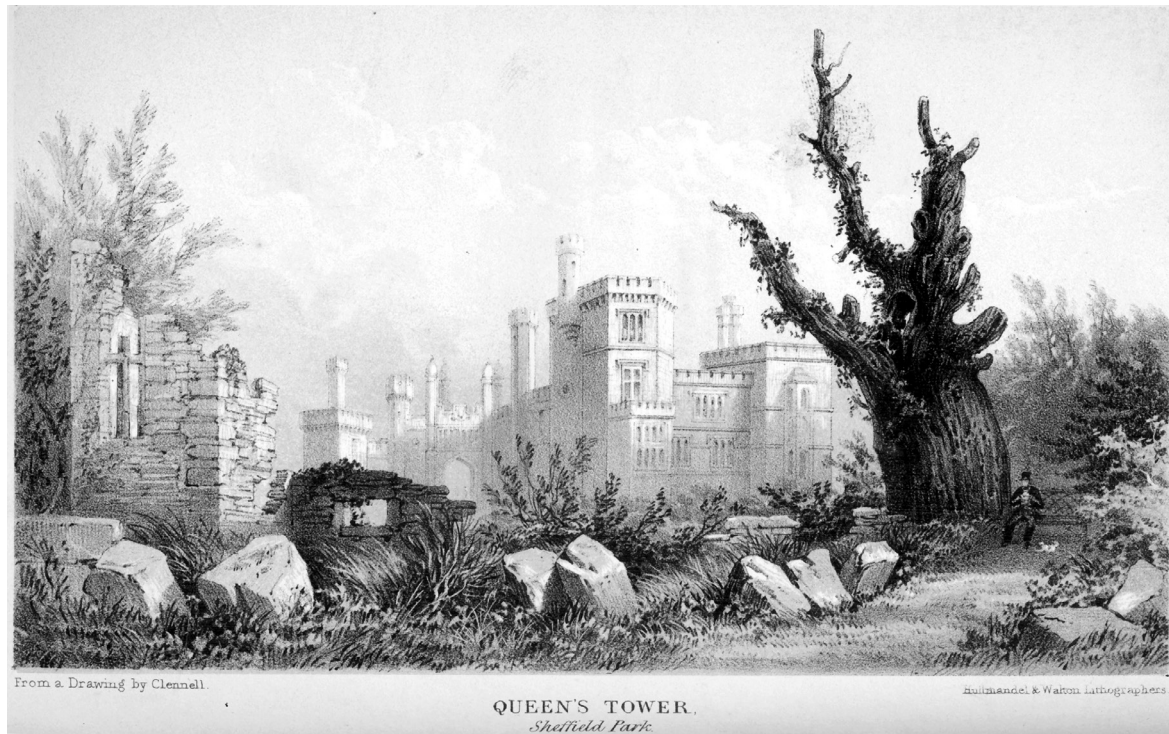


Figure 9.20: *Queen's Tower.* The home of Samuel Roberts, built in the 1830s. A window said to have been associated with Mary, Queen of Scots was brought here from the hunting lodge. This drawing shows the juxtaposition of the house and the ruins in the garden, a proximity through which 'ancestry' was constructed. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (y01107).

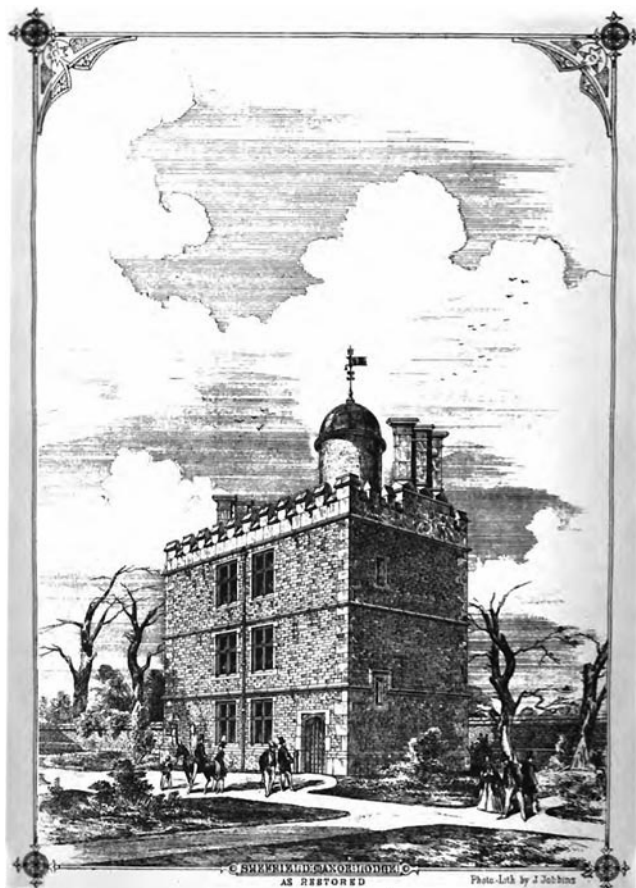


Figure 9.21: *The Turret House.* As it was to appear following refurbishment by the Duke of Norfolk's architect Charles Hadfield. Source: Hadfield 1875.



Figure 9.22: *Cottages built into the ruins of the long gallery.* Within a few years the brick cottages on the left were demolished and the Tudor timber framing to the right was removed. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (s05244).

anything more squalid, more wretched, or more dangerous than the dwellings that have been formed out of its remains it would be difficult to conceive. Its smells excel those of Cologne in strength and variety, while the association of ancient luxury with modern filth is quite Egyptian in its character and thoroughly Irish in its details (Leader 1874, 42).

It is pretty clear from this what the learned attitude in Sheffield was to the current occupation of the lodge at the end of the 19th century.

Over the coming years the rest of the tenants were removed and any structure not deemed to be associated with the Shrewsbury occupation was demolished; the Norfolk Arms closed in 1902, and by 1907 a fence had been erected around the site to restrict access (Clark and Jack 2002, 7; ICOSSE 2005, 74–5; Figure 9.22). The ‘restoration’ of the site was doubtless hastened by the closure of Manor Colliery in 1896 (ICOSSE 2005, 75). Again, however, a visit by the British Archaeological Association in 1903 may have been the prompt to this repair and ‘restoration’ of some of the buildings at the hunting lodge. This emerges from Robert Leader’s (1904, 48) report, in the proceedings of the British Archaeological Association, on the visit to the lodge, updating members on what had transpired since their visit:

It will be gratifying to the members of the Association who recently visited the ruins of the Manor House, to learn that their condition having been brought to the notice of the Duke of Norfolk by his agent, Mr. Henry Coverdale, his Grace has decided on the removal of the modern additions, and the conservation of so much of the ancient buildings as can be preserved. This work is now being carried

out under Mr. Coverdale's instructions by the writer, his Grace's local architect and surveyor. The whole of the modern additions are being removed, and where there are gaps in the stone walls they are being built up in brickwork, so that there may be no fear of their being mistaken for old work. In two or three cases, the removal of modern chimney-breasts have disclosed the existence of ancient fireplaces in situ, and in one case an ancient doorway and a small window were found behind a chimney-breast.

Paradoxically, the desire to restore the lodge to its original state seems to have resulted in much medieval and Tudor fabric being torn down; whether this was through ignorance of the antiquity of the features is unclear. However, the dismantling of the timber framing of the long gallery can hardly have been accidental; lack of resources or skills to maintain it may have been a factor. Since the ground-floor loggia had been filled in with brick walls to create workers' cottages, perhaps this confused the 'restorers' into tearing it down. Many of the remaining oak timbers around the east gate, south front and long gallery, were also removed during this period (Beswick 2002, 1.4.4.3). It is a profound irony that, while professing their interest in preserving them, the combined influence of archaeologists, architects and the custodians of the medieval heritage of Sheffield in the guise of the Norfolk estate succeeded in destroying some of the most important historic remains in the city. But we should also note that the Duke's 'restorers' did not work in isolation. Across the country, the desire to return medieval, and later, buildings (especially churches) to their original form resulted in what the great antiquarian and architectural historian, the Reverend J. Charles Cox (1897, 239) called 'the shocking and irreparable destruction of much that is ancient, brimful of interest, and fragrant with the memories of the past'.

Changing priorities for the former deer park

Not only did the lodge become home to a working-class community, but as we saw in Chapter 8 the former parkland around it was increasingly devoted to agricultural and industrial activities. A 1795 map of Sheffield parish by William Fairbank junior reveals that the park that had been subdivided into numerous smaller closes (May 2008, 11; Fairbank 1795), and the late 17th and 18th centuries saw several new farmsteads constructed. For example, Ash House Farm, on the south-west side of the park, is of 18th-century date but associated with two barns dendrochronologically dated to the late 17th century, which were contemporary with a cellar located beneath the farmhouse, suggesting that it also had late 17th-century origins (Lee 2007). Manor Oaks Farm, located c.1.5km north of the lodge, comprises buildings dating to the late 17th and 18th centuries; it was constructed in the area described by Harrison as the Warren and is recorded on a 1794 map as Warren House (Douglas and Jessop 2007). As already noted, the Turret House at the lodge was converted into a farmhouse in the 18th century, with outbuildings built up against either side of it, while excavation in 1972 revealed a substantial farm building, perhaps a barn, in the outer courtyard, dated by associated finds to the 18th century (Hadley and Harlan 2011, 12–13).

Coal mines recorded in the 18th century were the Sheffield Park Colliery, from a which a wagon-way of oak and beech was laid running 1¾ miles (2.82km) into the town, and Manor Colliery, where the renowned mining engineer John Curr was employed from 1778 (Medlicott 1983; Figure 9.23). Curr highlighted the financial perils faced by the mining operation there: transport costs had increased, geology meant that the coal was now more expensive to mine and the quality of coal had also decreased, and, as a result, he forecast that in just two years the mine would be operating at an annual loss of £250. With such heavy losses, the lease was surrendered back to the Earl on 25th March 1781, and over the next 24 years there was investment in new mines and equipment to return mining to profitability; such was their success, many of the innovations adopted by Curr were later employed at other coalfields (Medlicott 1983, 52–3). The opening of an iron furnace in 1784–5 by Booth and Company further increased coal production, from just over 16,000 tons in 1783–4 to over 20,500 tons in 1784–5 from Sheffield Park Colliery alone. However, the overall trend during this period was for a decline in revenue as wages and materials increased, a series of wars disrupted trade and coal decreased in popularity (Medlicott 1983, 55–7).

Following their lease to the Sheffield Colliery Company in 1805, the mines of the former deer park continued in operation for the next century, contributing to the Duke of Norfolk's estate's 'virtual monopoly of coal supplies to the town before 1819' (Simmons 1997, 409). Shafts were sunk across the park, and around 1840 the commencement of Manor Castle Colliery led to a 142m shaft being opened to the rear of the lodge near Wolsey's Tower, probably initially for ventilation rather than coal extraction (Bayliss and Hague 1997; Clark and

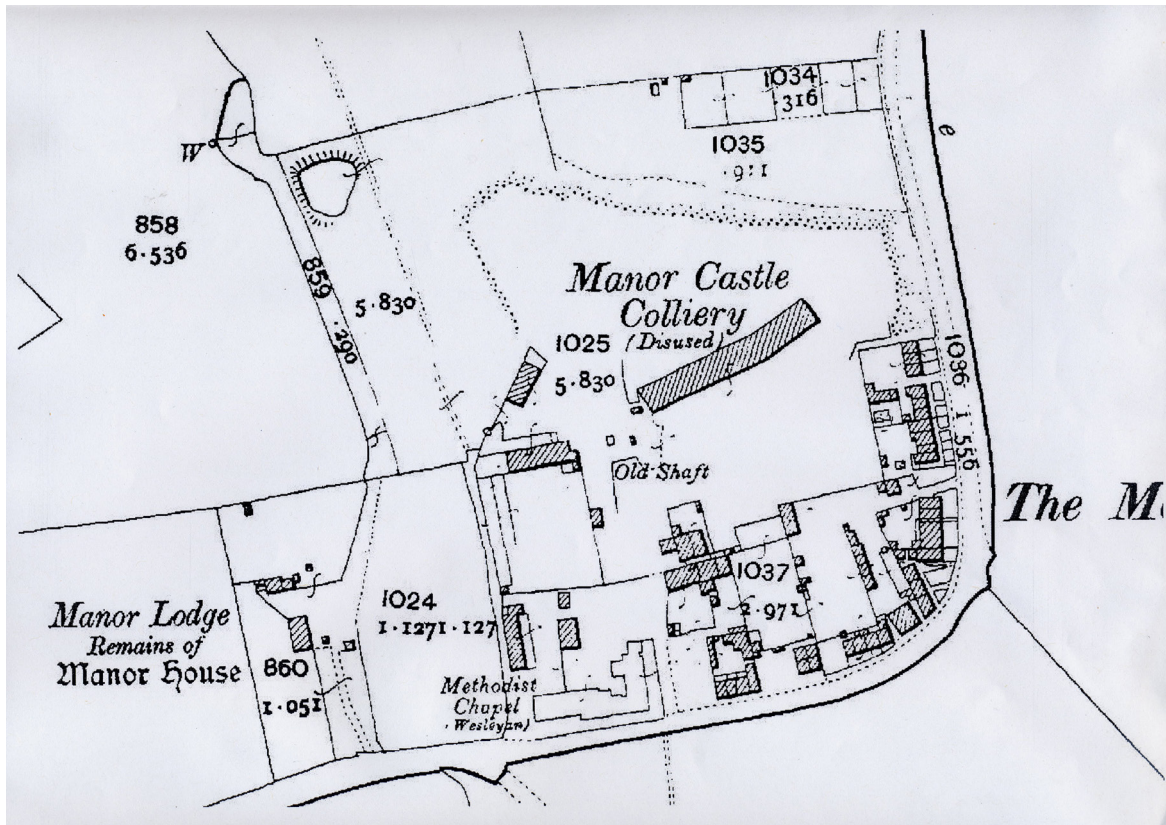


Figure 9.23: The site of the hunting lodge on the 1903 OS map. The disused Manor Castle Colliery is depicted behind. Source: University of Sheffield map collection.

Jack 2002, 6; ICOSSE 2005, 69). The colliery continued in operation for just over 50 years, closing in 1896, at which point the last of the workforce that lived at the remains of the lodge transferred their labour to Nunnery Colliery at the north end of the former park (Clark and Jack 2002, 7).

Some indication of the transformation of the park into an industrial landscape emerges from the 1820 poem by John Holland, which we introduced in the last chapter. This celebrates the park as it may once have appeared – or as he would have liked it to have been – but juxtaposes the ancient splendour with the current industrial usage. Aside from writing that ‘poverty resides where wealth has been,’ Holland (1820, 7) also captures the mixed usage of the park at the start of the 19th century:

The woodland, waving o’er the landscape’s pride;
 The mansions scatter’d o’er its sloping side;
 The cornfields, yellow with autumnal wealth;
 The meadows, verdant with the hues of health;
 The lifeless walls which intersect the fields;
 The quick-thorn hedge, which now its fragrance yields;
 Yon neighbouring town, capp’d with its cloud of smoke;
 The ceaseless sound with which the calm is broke (Holland 1820, 4)

The poem mentions mines, a furnace near the Don, a foundry used to make cannon and coke ovens situated on the western edges of the park (Holland 1820, 10, 16, 31). Holland (1820, 17) also recalled that hops had once been grown in the park, a practice that had ceased since his boyhood but which had been memorialised in cottages known as the Hop-houses. Throughout the 19th century, the park continued to be exploited for its natural resources; a geological map of 1855 depicts small sandstone quarries for extracting building material

while in the latter half of the 19th century there may also have been a brick-pit at Nunnery Colliery to extract mudstone and other rocks to make bricks (Spode 2001). However, alongside this economic value of the park there was an incompatible desire to return it, at least partially, to its ancient glory.

In 1826, following extensive flood damage, the 17th-century Shrewsbury Hospital was relocated within the park, on what is now known as Norfolk Road. An Act of Parliament was required for the construction of what was to be called, true to the terms of the Earl's will of 1616, the Hospital of Earl Gilbert of Shrewsbury (Roach 2003, 1, 8; Figure 9.24). The hospital typically housed between 35 and 40 individuals, and also provided for out-pensioners, who increased in number from four in 1836 to 80 by 1880 (Roach 2003, 9–10; Figure 9.25). It was to be mainly residents of Sheffield who benefitted from the charitable offerings of the Duke, especially his former employees or those who had leased land from him. The application forms of the later 19th century make clear what sorts of individuals would benefit. Alongside requests for information about the applicant's place of birth and residence, and any connections with the Norfolk estate, it stated:

The constitutions of the Hospital require that persons admitted to the Benefits of the Charity should have been in better circumstances; therefore ordinary workpeople or servants, and labourers, are not eligible.

As John Roach (2003, 15) has observed, 'this was not a charity designed to benefit the labouring poor' but rather what he terms 'the decayed middle class,' many of whom had petitioned the Duke following misfortunes that were largely of their own making, such as Isaac Andrew, a grocer who had his lost money in failed railway investments (Roach 2003, 16). The petition of Mary Foster is illuminating: she was the widow of a powder flask maker. On her petition there was a note querying whether her husband had been a manufacturer or a workman; he had been 'master in a small business' and this was sufficient to see her admitted (Roach 2003, 18). Had he simply been a labourer she would, presumably, have been left to her own devices. This is a striking response to social need given that the hospital was located only 1.5km down the hill from the mining community who occupied the ruins of the former hunting lodge. It is also notable that the applications were supported by the leading industrialists of Sheffield, such as Mark Firth and Samuel Roberts, and its clergymen, including the Reverend Alfred Gatty, as well as the owners of various manufacturing companies, 'anxious to support a member of their own group' (Roach 2003, 19). This is yet another example of the demise of the castle advantaging the 'middling sorts,' much in the way such types had benefitted from the 17th-century acts of demolition.

A few years after the hospital was built, in July 1832, there was a widespread outbreak of cholera in Sheffield and over 400 died. Bernard Howard, the 12th Duke of Norfolk, donated a plot of land opposite the hos-





Figure 9.25: *Pensioners at the Shrewsbury Hospital in the late 19th century.* With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (u05879).

pital in which to bury the dead. By the end of 1835 a monument to the cholera dead had been constructed (Figure 9.26). Over the following years the lands in its vicinity were transformed into pleasure grounds, and by 1848, with support from the 13th Duke, Henry Howard, Norfolk Park had been created out of former industrial land (English Heritage 2003; Hey 2010, 230). It was one of Sheffield's earliest public parks, and nearby Norfolk Road attracted many of the wealthiest occupants of Sheffield. This was where Samuel Roberts had his Queen's Tower built and where a house called The Farm was built for the Duke when he was resident in the town. The juxtaposition of elite residences and the hospital was almost medieval in its links between wealth and charitable provision, only a short distance away, further down the hill, were some of the worst working-class slums in Sheffield (Hey 2010, 230). This was yet another example of the competing demands on the former parkland, and the divergent experiences of the local community of its landscape.

By the turn of the 20th century, much of the industrial activity in the park had declined, but the demands placed on it now rendered its open spaces highly valuable for desperately needed social housing. Following World War I there was increased concern over housing conditions in the city, leading to the proposal for a new housing development within the former park: the Manor Estate (ICOSSE 2005, 75). The initiative was inspired by government activity, an enquiry in 1916 having identified that urban unrest was associated with poor-quality housing, and Prime Minister David Lloyd George proclaimed that after the Armistice there would be 'habitations fit for the heroes who have won the war' (Ravetz 2001, 77). The 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act obligated local authorities to assess the state of their housing stock and provided subsidies to enable them

Figure 9.24 (page 320): *The Shrewsbury Hospital.* Opened in 1827 on Norfolk Road in the former deer park. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (s07444).



Figure 9.26: *The cholera monument and The Farm in Norfolk Park.* The plaque erected at the cholera monument (left) reads: ‘This monument was erected to the memory of 402 persons who died from Asiatic Cholera during the epidemic of 1832 & were buried in these grounds. The total number of persons attacked by the disease was 1347 – and among those who died was The Master Cutler for the year Mr John Blake. The foundation stone was laid by James Montgomery, the poet 11th Dec 1834. The Monument was completed and the top stone placed in position 11th April 1835’. © Chris Downer; reproduced under a CC BY-SA 2.0 licence – geograph.org.uk/p/1903709. On the right is The Farm, the home of the Duke of Norfolk, when resident in Sheffield, built on Granville Road in the former deer park. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (s05291).

to build new homes (Malpass 2000). Sheffield City Corporation was encouraged to improve the poorest quality housing in the city, which included the areas around Lady’s Bridge and the Wicker in the immediate vicinity of the former castle, and in the park (Hey 1998). And this locale inspired not just the name of the estate but many of the street names as well – Queen Mary Road, Wulfric Road, and (as we saw in Chapter 3) Walthoef Road (see Harvey 2001). Initially proposed as a development of 3,754 houses, schools and two shopping centres, the Manor Estate was extended after World War II, when the area surrounding the lodge was purchased by the Sheffield City Corporation from the Duke of Norfolk in order to build further houses (ICOSSE 2005, 75–6; Figure 9.27).

The new homes were taken up enthusiastically, and the space and views afforded by building in the former deer park were greatly desired. However, no sooner had communities moved in than they were faced with problems arising from insufficient employment opportunities or school places for families. Unemployment hit this estate hard in the 1980s, and by then it was the most impoverished district in Sheffield and one of the most disadvantaged in the UK (McCaffrey 2007).

Archaeology and social enterprise in Sheffield Park

A renewed desire to restore the hunting lodge, explore its archaeological remains and open it to the public began after 1955, when Sheffield City Council obtained the site from the Duke of Norfolk’s estate on a 999-year lease. A stone mason was commissioned to conserve and consolidate the ruins; from 1965 he lived on site in a house constructed especially for his convenience (Beswick 2002, 1.1). Over five years from 1966 houses surrounding the site were acquired and demolished to try to provide the lodge with something of its original rural setting (Beswick 2002, 1.1; Clark and Jack 2002, 7; ICOSSE 2005, 77). This is the period when the archaeological investigations discussed in Chapter 8 were instigated by the City Museum, and when local interest in the site’s heritage began to be revived, although little was to come of this at the time (Anon. n.d. (b)). A critical development was the foundation in 1997 of the Manor and Castle Development Trust, a community initiative



Figure 9.27: *The Manor social housing estate.* Photographed from the air (top left). Resumption of house building after World War II in 1946 (bottom left). Council house awaiting demolition in the 1980s (right). With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (w00513; s12635; u04953).

to promote regeneration of the Manor, which has successfully managed projects funded by the City Council, private organisations, the European Union and the Heritage Lottery Fund. In its own words, it has fostered a variety of initiatives ‘to improve the lives of people who live and work in our area’, by raising aspirations, creation of employment opportunities and training, improvements to services and to the physical environment (Manor and Castle Development Trust 2019).

One of the key initiatives to emerge from the work of the Manor and Castle Development Trust was the creation of Green Estate, set up in response to one of the seven strategic initiatives of the Trust, focussing on environment and heritage, and was a collaboration with Sheffield City Council and the Sheffield Wildlife Trust (France 2006, 6). Initially supported by government funding (the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) scheme), the aims were to address issues deriving from poor-quality open space and social exclusion and ‘to re-build social capital in a way that would create a lasting legacy after grant funding’ (Green Estate 2019). In 2004, Green Estate was reconstituted as a social enterprise, focussing on urban space regeneration. Aside from improving the quality of the open spaces of the former deer park through an initiative called Pictorial Meadows in collaboration with Prof. Nigel Dunnett of the University of Sheffield’s Department of Landscape Architecture, Green Estate set out to transform the hunting lodge ruins as a visitor attraction and as a basis for providing training and education. In this, their aims coincided with those of a community heritage group, the Friends of Sheffield Manor Lodge, which had also been striving to promote the history of the site, and secure funding to preserve and promote it since 1996. Both the Friends (in 1997) and Green Estate (2003) tried, and failed, to secure funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), with the unsuccessful applications foundering on the scale of the task and the perception that it was too ambitious for the nature of the organisations involved. However, thanks to the SRB funding a range of investigations were able to be carried out on the condition of the historic remains (e.g. Clark and Jack 2002) and an ecology survey (Rotherham *et al.* 2001). With all of the necessary preparatory work conducted, a successful HLF application was submitted in 2006, which secured £1.5m of funding to develop the site as an educational and community resource and to develop it as a visitor attraction.

A visitor centre was built, opening in 2007, and a programme of renovation and landscaping commenced, with archaeological work conducted by ARCUS and the University of Sheffield providing the required recording prior to development and also presenting new information for the visitor centre (also Chapter 8). The creation of two Virtual Reality models based on our recording of the buildings at the lodge presented views of its appearance in both the Tudor period and the 19th century and featured in the early years of the visitor



Figure 9.28: *Virtual Reality model of the hunting lodge.* Created by Marcus Abbott of ARCUS. University of Sheffield.

centre's attractions (Figure 9.28). Since 2007 Green Estate has delivered an education programme – relating the stories that emerge from the Tudor history of the place to elements of the government's national curriculum for English schools – developed commercial services (e.g. corporate and weddings venue hire), and coordinated the contribution of a large team of volunteers. Mary, Queen of Scots, Bess of Hardwick and George Talbot feature heavily in their offering to the public, capitalising on the insatiable interest in them. Even the toilet in the Wolsey Tower, where the visiting cardinal experienced a bout of dysentery, is now a major tourist attraction!

There have, then, been considerable successes on the Manor Estate in which its heritage and the educational and social capital derived from it have been core (Torr 2016). Today the estate continues to have its problems but its physical infrastructure has been transformed over the last 20 years, with new houses and shops built, and the open spaces overhauled. A recent study of the achievements of this investment and of the contribution of 'community-driven initiatives in enhancing community welfare, identity and esteem' emphasised that, while the benefits were substantial, at the same time there had not been a notable impact on the key welfare metrics, such as household income and percentage of households claiming council benefits, and so injections of public and private finance to achieve sustainable improvements for communities (Bruce and Clarson 2017, 89–90). Partnership working is required to reflect all of the community's interests,

to harness local support, energy and commitment in contributing to partnership objectives and to provide access to the reservoir of knowledge, experience and insight into the roots of local disadvantage which forms the basis for effective design and deployment of regeneration initiatives (Bruce and Clarson 2017, 90).

This study emphasised the impact that austerity has had, on an international scale, on regeneration initiatives since the global financial crisis of 2008, noting that this has made community-based initiatives ever more vital

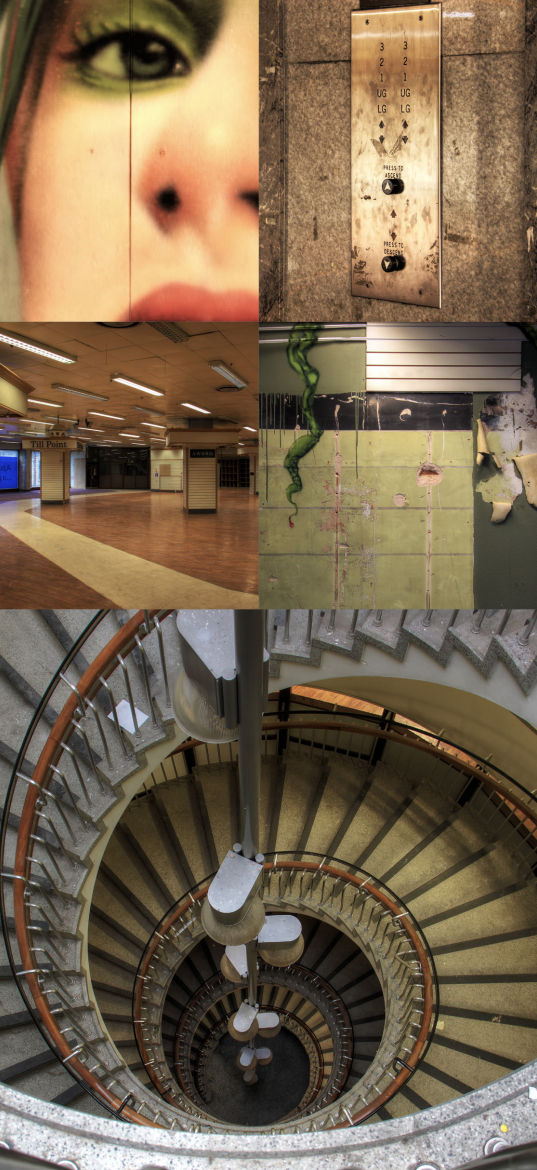
in addressing deprivation in the future and in stimulating recovery, given that central and local governments' ability to support economic and social improvement is increasingly compromised by budgetary stringency. And so society looks to the third sector, via a cocktail of social enterprise, community businesses and charitable organizations, or hybrids of these variants, to plug the gap where market and state have failed [or been unwilling] to address manifest need. At the same time, of course, financial stringency impacts also on these types of organization ... and on their ability to offer adequate provision (Bruce and Clarson 2017, 90).

This account resonates closely with developments in that other nodal point in Sheffield's medieval seigneurial landscape. The need for local initiatives has characterised the efforts to regenerate the Castlegate district of Sheffield, home to the castle, and this is the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

Back to the future: Castlegate

If the regeneration of the former deer park has been something of a success and has shown how heritage can play a key role in this, the same has not yet been true for the site of the castle. As we saw in Chapter 1, ever since the City Council began to plan for the redevelopment or relocation of Castle Market in the 1990s there have been attempts to develop strategies for the regeneration of the Castlegate area. Funding has been difficult to come by, and the remains of the castle have repeatedly been cited as both an aid and an impediment to future development. While there were multiple reviews of the archaeological archives between 1998 and 2014, often with a view to supporting regeneration initiatives, the resources and wherewithal to analyse and publish the evidence from the earlier excavations could not be found until the present volume. This book has not been undertaken in an academic vacuum but rather has emerged in the context of a growing local effort to formulate regeneration possibilities and to make them manifest, with heritage and the castle remains at their heart.

The book has its origins in 2013, when the Castle Markets were closed (prior to demolition in 2015) and the University of Sheffield set up the Castlegate Steering Group to coordinate its research on the Castlegate area, and to liaise with Sheffield City Council providing access to research expertise in animal and plant sciences, archaeology, architecture, history, landscape design, civil and structural engineering, and town and regional planning. The aim was to deliver on the University's wider civic engagement mission, in which practice-led research, embedded within strategic partnerships, would contribute to addressing key regional problems and challenges, the impact of which was exacerbated by years of austerity and reduced local authority funding. Central to this team were Prof. John Moreland, then Head of the Department of Archaeology and Chair of the Steering Group, Prof. Vanessa Toulmin, the Director of City and Cultural Engagement at the University, Prof. Richard Jones, then Pro-Vice Chancellor for Research and Innovation, and Simon Ogden, then Head of City Regeneration at Sheffield City Council. A series of events followed to showcase ways in which Castlegate could be regenerated. These included the Sheffield Bazaar in September 2014 in Castle House – the city-centre home of the Brightside and Carbrook Co-op from 1962 – which saw art commissions including projection, digital media, poetry, films and illustration, co-curated by Vanessa Toulmin and Felicity Hoy of social enterprise Common People and co-funded by the Arts Council for England (Castlegate News 2014). The focus was on demonstrating how empty city-centre buildings could be utilised for cultural events, and on raising awareness about the castle and the potential of Castlegate, and the Bazaar was visited by c.11,000 people over eight days (University of Sheffield 2015, 11; Figure 9.29). The Castlegate Festival followed in June 2015, showcasing how artists and academics could collaborate to shape the city, through a pop-up collective, the Castlegate Open Community of Artists. This was funded by an Arts & Humanities Research Council Connected Communities grant and Yorkshire Artspace, one of the first studio groups of artists to be founded outside London in 1977. Part of the ensuing discussion focussed on the castle ruins, with members of the public calling for them to be



SHOWS OF SHEFFIELD

Shows of Sheffield is an exhibition curated by Professor Vanessa Toulmin and Felicity Hoy from Common People CIC in celebration of twenty years of the National Fairground Archive at the University of Sheffield Library. The Old Post Office at Castle House will be styled as Victorian shop shows all inspired by the themes of the fairground. Seven popup shops will be constructed from pallets by Mesters Events and housed by different local artists creating innovative retail based installations to engage and excite the visitor.

Alison J Carr: Posing Performers

Knowing how to pose properly is a key skill for any performer—the ability to make a display of oneself is essential. Eugene Sandow found many ways to self-promote, innovating exercise equipment and selling how-to instructions so that admirers could get their own perfect physique. Come see all kinds of Pose Plastiques and discover what making a spectacle of yourself is all about.

Pete Thornett: Big Top Photo Booth

Roll up, roll up ladies and gentlemen. Get your photograph taken inside the Big Top Photo Booth. Action shots of you performing never before seen acts of daring and courage. Choose from a range of 19th century circus character costumes then enter the ring. Different scenery for each character, all images downloadable after the event.

Neil Davis: A Monstrous Yarn

Step right up and meet the creatures! Inspired by the tradition of weird and wonderful carvings seen on fairground rides A Monstrous Yarn presents a fusion of amigurumi and circus styles. If you thought that gallopers were all about the horses, prepare for a rather more varied experience inspired by rides throughout history. See the display and come away with your very own circus oddity.

A Smith & A Savage: Victorian Taxidermy

A Smith & A Savage are Specialists in Taxidermy, Antiques, Natural History & Fine Curiosities specializing in items from the Victorian era. During the festival they will create a Victorian taxidermy museum shop with information on the history of each of the beautiful pieces displayed. All Taxidermy and Natural History Curios displayed are antique specimens and are items that take us back to a different period of time, when the world was a very different place.

Sarah Jane Palmer: Amoret's Antiques

At Amoret's Antiques nothing is quite what it seems. Filled with bizarre circus props, Victorian wallpaper, and old dusty photos, you can't help but get the feeling you are being watched. This welcoming yet strange little shop contains ghostly shadows, dusty chandeliers, animated pictures, silhouette film animation, old clocks and bespoke hand-printed Victorian wallpaper that on closer inspection reveals something rather unexpected.

HeppoArt: Mythical Creatures & Magical Creations

Skilled metalworker Jason Heppenstall builds beautiful sculptures from recycle/ scrap materials. Beasts of fantasy and imagination; featuring creatures born out of the wonderful and unusual. Here he is tasked with interpreting the notorious Feejee Mermaid for the viewing public. See the mythical creature brought back to life! Visit the little shop of wonders and prepare to be amazed and terrified!

Alan Richardson: Victorian Tattoos

Alan Richardson's exhibition will bring together two aspects of Victorian culture, the birth of electric tattooing and the vogue for cabinets filled with items both curious and macabre. The first electric tattoo machine was patented in 1891, sparking an interest in tattooing that spread from the circus side-shows right up to royalty. Then, a tattoo was a symbol of wealth and status and here Alan will proudly display jars containing pigskin tattooed with designs sourced from his own collection of tattoo reference. Each piece will be for sale and completely unique.



SHEFFIELD BAZAAR

CASTLE HOUSE



MORE THAN JUST A DEPARTMENT STORE

OPEN 18-28 SEPTEMBER
FOR
FESTIVAL OF THE MIND

BROUGHT TO YOU BY:



Figure 9.29: The Sheffield Bazaar. Held in Castle House, the former home of the Brightside and Carbrook Co-op in September 2014. University of Sheffield.

used to inform future developments on the site (University of Sheffield 2015, 13–15; Figure 9.30). Meanwhile, the creation by the City Council Regeneration department of the Castlegate Partnership Steering Group in 2013 saw academics from both Sheffield and Hallam Universities come together with the City Council, community groups the Friends of Sheffield Castle and the Friends of the Old Town Hall, hoteliers, retailers and the city's Culture Consortium to plan coordinated action to transform the Castlegate area.

Between 2014 and 2017 students from the University of Sheffield's School of Architecture focussed on Castlegate, working with local organisations and residents to develop 70 research and design projects for this area of the city centre; this was directed by Carolyn Butterworth. The first stage of this residency was the production of a large model, in collaboration with local residents and organisations, to present a co-designed future vision of Castlegate that was informed by its rich social and cultural heritage. One of the projects also saw a team of students work with the City Council, effectively acting as a 'client' for the project, to develop ideas for creative engagement of local people in the regeneration of the Castle site (University of Sheffield 2015, 21–9). This was part of an annual programme by the School of Architecture called Live Projects, which 'provide valuable tools, ideas and built designs to community clients that would otherwise be unable to obtain them. These projects are public and accountable and make a clear difference to the clients and communities they work with' (<http://live-works.org>).

Through this project, all stages of the history and built environment of Castlegate were explored from the medieval castle through to the mid-20th-century market halls. With respect to any future plans to uncover historic remains on the site, the students asked questions about how buildings can help to preserve the character



Figure 9.30: *The 2015 Castlegate Festival.* This showcased how academics and creative organisations could work together to inspire regeneration of the area. Images from the festival booklet, with Post-it notes to record the feedback received from members of the public. University of Sheffield.

of both an area and its community, what decisions have to be taken about what is preserved, conserved and restored, and, critically, about how to ‘embrace heritage without stifling progress’ (University of Sheffield 2015, 49). In 2016 John Moreland secured AHRC funding for a Cultural Engagement Fellow (Rachel Askew), working in collaboration with Llama Digital, a local web and mobile app company, to produce a free walking app of medieval and early modern Sheffield. The aim was to disseminate our enhanced understanding of its archaeology and history, and to facilitate engagement with Castlegate’s deep heritage, an understanding and engagement that is vital to informed decisions about regeneration (AHRC 2016, 33; <https://situate.io/sheffieldlives>).

Over the same period of time, students from the University’s Department of Landscape Architecture, led by Nigel Dunnett, were working with Sheffield City Council on design ideas for Castlegate. The students were ‘encouraged to respond to the unique history of the site and community whilst also meeting the challenges that the city faces today including climate change, loss of habitat and an increased likelihood of flooding’, and to use vegetation and landform ‘to create dynamic, robust and ecologically rich landscapes’ (University of Sheffield

2015, 97). Influenced by the medieval heritage of the site, some of the design ideas included planting poplar trees along the highest parts of the site to emphasise the former stronghold, within which further elements of planting would demarcate a 'system of intimate strongholds', and the use of concrete and timber hard landscaping in the park walls will create 'a structure that not only pays homage to its ancestral palisade heritage, but will visually form the park's iconic structural element of defence' (Muller 2015). Some of the design ideas developed during this project informed the City Council's highly successful and internationally acclaimed 'Grey to Green' strategy for transformation of the public realm in Castlegate, which emphasises the conversion of redundant roads into attractive new linear public spaces underpinned by sustainable urban drainage systems (SUDS; Sheffield City Council 2016), and making the riverside areas more attractive to pedestrians, cyclists, workers and developers (University of Sheffield 2016, 97; Figure 9.31).

In 2016, the School of Architecture's Live Projects programme turned again to Castlegate, and this time worked with the community heritage group the Friends of Sheffield Castle, which had been set up in 2013 'to protect and promote the archaeological site of Sheffield Castle for the benefit of the people of Sheffield and surrounding areas and for future generations', on a project called Revealing the Castle. As part of the project, John Moreland was seconded from the University of Sheffield to the Friends, who acted as a 'client' for the Live Project, with Moreland providing the critical link between detailed archaeological knowledge of the castle remains, the community-driven heritage agenda, and the regeneration dialogue being driven by the Castlegate Partnership Steering Group, on which he represents the University. The brief given to the Masters students was 'to use creativity and research to formalise an alternative vision for the Sheffield Castle site and the surrounding area', and to devise a proposal that would 'not only conserve the physical and historical fabric but to also "build purposefully" for the benefit of local communities and the wider city landscape'. It was further requested that 'the vision should not be bland or corporate but show creativity and celebrate the qualities of Sheffield' (University of Sheffield 2016).

In collaboration with the Friends of Sheffield Castle and other local organisations, the students developed a vision for the castle site which addressed key practical considerations concerning the topography of the site

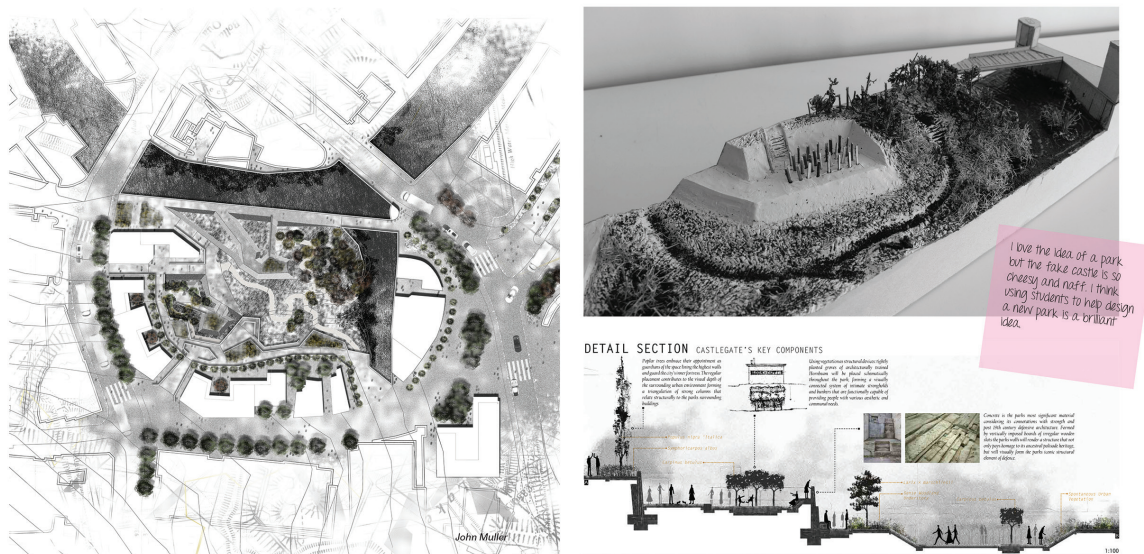


Figure 9.31: Design ideas for Castlegate. A student in the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of Sheffield, John Muller, explored 'how the site's rich history as a defensive stronghold and a landscape that was once shaped by the rivers Don and Sheaf can be used to generate new spatial forms, articulated through sculpted landform and the careful selection and positioning of trees'. This was included in the *Revealing the Castle, Live Project 2016* booklet. University of Sheffield.

Figure 9.32 (page 329): Incremental development in Castlegate – excavation, meanwhile use, regeneration. Post-graduate students in the School of Architecture at the University of Sheffield developed a series of regeneration scenarios during the Live Project of 2016. They drew on the heritage of Castlegate and the possibilities and interest that they envisaged that would emerge from ongoing excavations on the site. University of Sheffield.

of the former castle, transport routes, flooding risk, current building use, and the presence of listed buildings. In order to build resilience in the area to support a community-led development, the students proposed the formation of the Castlegate Collective, comprising a wide array of stakeholders, including the Council, local businesses, community groups, academics and creative organisations. The role of the 'creative classes' in the development of under-used urban areas is now well-established in the UK, influenced by work in the United States, where the importance of 'human creative capital' to regenerate cities had been identified (e.g. Florida 2014). However, the students and local stakeholders were critical of the way in which this model of development too often results in gentrification and the marginalisation of existing communities. The proposal for a community-led collective to steer the development of Castlegate was a direct response to this concern and was intended to embed local agency and ownership at the heart of Castlegate's future. The Revealing the Castle vision builds on existing creative community assets to propose ideas for both temporary and permanent development, integrated throughout the site with generous public spaces (Figures 9.32, 9.33).

In the imagined Castlegate of the future, a new creative quarter would emerge out of the existing networks of local creative individuals and organisations, building a critical mass in the process. Here the influence of this sort of initiative on a global scale was referenced, highlighting examples such as the emergence of Tianzi Lane in Shanghai (China) as a hub for artists who moved into abandoned workshops. Through these sorts of initiatives, Revealing the Castle envisaged Castlegate becoming a destination for visitors as well as the heart of Sheffield's creative community. This was not wishful thinking, because there were already moves towards such a transformation, with the opening of new artists' studios in 2013 in the empty Exchange Place building on Exchange Street. Thanks to funding from Arts Council England, this 1920s Art Deco building was taken on and transformed by Yorkshire Artspace, and now offers workspace to over 60 artists and makers (Yorkshire Artspace 2019).

But the history and memory of the castle, and the longer-term heritage of the site, underpinned all. Influenced by the work of Richard Hodges at Butrint (Albania), which is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the potential for the archaeology to lead the regeneration initiatives was stressed. The archaeological remains of Butrint have been central to what Hodges (2017, 5) calls placemaking – 'the practice of either creating or lend-





Figure 9.33: *Heritage-led regeneration.* The Revealing the Castle project envisaged that archaeological investigation of the castle site would generate excitement in the area and lead to an influx of creative organisations leading to funding bids for regeneration. University of Sheffield.

ing a place ... an identity that, with strategic management of conservation and presentation, attracts visitors whose support helps sustain it'. And as Hodges went on to note, the very practice of archaeology, the 'theatre of excavation with the drama of discovery', provides a further dimension to this placemaking. The Revealing the Castle team recognised the importance of archaeological investigations to generate a buzz around Castlegate and a series of hypothetical scenarios for capitalising on this were generated, including events such as festivals and markets, outdoor cinema screenings, sculpture and other art installations, including the re-creation of the medieval towers of the castle in the manner of sculptor Edoardo Tresoldi (Figure 9.34). And in some ways this latter captures the ethos of the project. Tresoldi's monumental sculptures, often of iconic buildings, are made of wire mesh, providing them with both a presence and a sense of impermanence, or absence; he is known as 'the artist of absent matter' (Tresoldi 2019). This dialogue between presence and absence mirrors the desire for a Castlegate regeneration informed by, but not dominated by or subservient to, the heritage of the site. The other key aspect of the Revealing the Castle project, again a product of a dialogue between archaeology and architecture, was the adoption of an 'incremental strategy' to development in which excavation on one part of the site would be carried out in tandem with meanwhile use, such as pop-up festivals and events, and long-term developments on others (University of Sheffield 2016, 35). The castle was not to be seen as an impediment to development but as a resource (including the excavation process itself) which would inform, and add to, regeneration options. Heritage would add to the cultural, as well as the economic, value to development. As a recent Historic England (2018, 3) report concluded, 'heritage generates demand and a property price premium'.



Figure 9.34: *Imagined arts festivals.* Inspired by the art installations of Edoardo Tresoldi, the students envisaged that the gatehouse towers of the castle would be built in wood and then set on fire as part of an arts festival to raise the profile of the site. University of Sheffield.

This was, of course, an imagined future, but through the role of John Moreland, Carolyn Butterworth, and the Friends of Sheffield Castle on the Castlegate Partnership these ideas were presented to the City Council's regeneration department. Following the award of local government kickstart funding for development of Castlegate, they have informed the Council's plans. Indeed, they have featured in presentations given by Simon Ogden (2018), former Head of City Regeneration and now the programme leader of Castlegate Kickstart, under the strapline 'Castlegate Kickstart: back to the future!' Placemaking through heritage is at the heart of these new aspirations, with the Revealing the Castle project's findings incorporated into the concept design plans. The excavations that this kickstart funding enabled took place over nine weeks in the summer of 2018, and encouraged by the Project Board public access to the excavations was at their heart. As we saw in Chapter 7, students from the University's Archaeology department, many of them from Sheffield, were part of the core excavation team, while members of the public participated in the excavations and helped with post-excavation processing. Wessex Archaeology held four open days, which attracted 480 visitors, gave 20 talks to over 1,000 members of the public, maintained a blog which had 15,600 hits, received nearly 18,000 emails enquiring about the castle over the course of the project, and had students from Sheffield Hallam University creating street art on the hoardings surrounding the site inspired by the castle's history. The contrast with what happened in the 1920s and in the 1950s could hardly have been greater. In 2018, the people of Sheffield were involved from the offset in the investigation and interpretation of a site which for decades had dominated, even in its absence, antiquarian debate and the form of local architecture. And one of their most significant discoveries was that the heritage of the site transcends the castle. Sheffield's deep history is here and, with the castle remains buried under at least four metres of deposit accumulated from subsequent occupation and use of the site, the question of how to present that history, and which stories to tell, became much more complex than simply displaying the ruins of the castle in a park.

Conclusion

From the moment that the Parliamentary order was given to slight Sheffield Castle in 1646, it was subject to reconstruction, both physical and symbolic. As the stones, walls, buttresses, windows, walls and internal fixtures and fittings of the castle were taken away by members of the local community, the building moved quickly into the realms of the imagination, becoming a resource for expressions of status, particularly among the middling sorts of Sheffield's community. Castle Hill was partly transformed into a public space in the form of the bowling green but was soon given over to new types of dwelling place and work. Over the coming centuries, Castle Hill became increasingly industrial in its outlook, sound and smell, mirroring wider developments in the community as the Steel City began to take shape and Sheffield's global reputation for steel and cutlery manufacture emerged. Its role in the politics of the realm diminished as it no longer possessed a major symbol of political authority, although, as we have seen, the Dukes of Norfolk continued to be major landowners, a fact that continues to the present day. Meanwhile, the parkland to the east of the castle was transformed into an industrial landscape, albeit that new pockets of elite residence, social display and charitable benefaction emerged in the area of Norfolk Park. Demands for working-class housing eventually, however, caught up with this open space close to the heart of the city and in the early 20th century council housing began to transform the landscape of the park. It was an exciting time for the former medieval park, couched with promises of a bright future for those who moved there, only to be let down by the political choices and rhetoric of the 1980s. The desperate need to improve the situation on the Manor Estate was recognised by the mid-1990s and since then, tentatively and with plenty of setbacks along the way, this has been achieved and the heritage of the place has been a central driver. Castle Hill, in contrast, was at the vibrant heart of the city from the 1930s with the opening of Castle Hill Market and remained so until 2013, despite the competition presented by the Meadowhall shopping centre on the edges of the city, which has unquestionably had a negative impact on the vitality of the city centre and its retail offer. The future is an uncertain one for Castlegate, but through the work of partnership between the University, the Friends of Sheffield Castle, the City Council and local businesses a vision of what the future could comprise and the stages by which regeneration can be achieved has been mapped out. At the heart of this is Sheffield Castle, a place that no longer exists but which retains a powerful hold on the city.

Bibliography

The full bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/SheffieldCastle.k>.