

CHAPTER I

Sheffield and Its Castle

Throughout the six centuries which preceded the Parliamentary Civil War, few of the baronial castles of England could boast a more intimate connection with outstanding men and national events than could the castle of Sheffield, and it is doubtful if since that time any has suffered such complete destruction or become more entirely forgotten than has the noble pile of buildings which once occupied the high ground at the junction of the River Sheaf with the River Don and towered above the little town of Sheffield (Armstrong 1930, 7)

In medieval Sheffield, as in most towns in the Middle Ages, the castle, along with the parish church, were the principal focal points. Sheffield Castle was a major regional centre in the north of England, and one of the largest aristocratic castles in Yorkshire, its elite occupants playing important parts in local, national and international affairs. The use of two castles as the symbol for Sheffield on the Gough Map of c.1360 may be a reflection of its significance (Lilley and Lloyd 2009, 7). While no contemporary depictions of the medieval castle survive, as David Hey (2010, 16) suggests, it is likely to have been on much the same scale as the castles Edward I built in north Wales, such as Conwy and Harlech. This much is evident from a description of the castle in John Harrison's 1637 'Exact and Perfect Survey and View of the Manor of Sheffield', which he produced for the Earls of Arundel and Surrey (later the Dukes of Norfolk) after they had acquired it:

ye scite of ye Mannor or Mansion house called Sheffeld Castle being fairely built with stone & very spacious containeth divers buildings & Lodgings about an Inward Court yard & all offices thereto belonging having a Great Ditch about ye same ye Great River of Doun lying on ye north parte thereof & ye Lesser River called ye Little Sheath on ye East parte thereof haveing on ye South an outward Court Yard or fould builded round with diverse houses of office as an armory a Granary, Barnes Stables & divers Lodgeings all containeing by measure 4 acres 00 roods 30 2/5 perches (Harrison 1637, fol. 44; Ronksley 1908, 47).

In this chapter we introduce the castle and the lords of the manor who built and rebuilt it, using it as a base from which to manage their estates and orchestrate their affairs, and leaving an indelible impression on Sheffield in its street names, civic landscape and buildings. The Civil War of the mid-17th century saw orders to

How to cite this book chapter:

Moreland, J. and Hadley, D. (with A. Tuck and M. Rajic). 2020. *Sheffield Castle: archaeology, archives, regeneration, 1927–2018*, pp. 1–27. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/SheffieldCastle.a>. CC BY-NC 4.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0>

demolish the castle but, as we will reveal, more of it survived into at least the 19th century than has hitherto been recognised. We also introduce previous archaeological investigations of the castle, positioning our work in the context of castle studies more broadly. Construction work on the site in the early and mid-20th century exposed the remains of Sheffield Castle for archaeologists to record, but few of their findings have ever been published. Over the last 20 years there has been a growing recognition that the insights from these excavations would be extremely valuable to enhancing our knowledge of Sheffield Castle if they were fully studied, and that they also hold great significance for influencing the future regeneration of the castle site. This chapter sets the scene for the fulfilment of the first of these aspirations, and we are confident that this book will inform the latter.

Elusive antecedents

It has recently been argued that scholars should consider the possibility that some Norman castles in England were consciously constructed on the sites of prehistoric and Roman monuments, an ‘appropriation of places which held significance for local populations’, and an enhanced source of power and mechanism of control (Jamieson 2019, 340, 362; also Swallow 2016). On the basis of the available evidence, that case cannot, however, be made for Sheffield Castle. Leslie Armstrong (1930, 24) recorded the recovery of a Bronze Age scraper and a flint flake, and a few fragments of ‘much worn’ Roman pottery, during his excavations of the castle site, but there is nothing here, or in subsequent excavations, to suggest sustained prehistoric activity on the site. Certainly, there is nothing to support John Daniel Leader’s (1897, ix) belief in the probability that ‘at the junction of the Sheaf and the Don ... a small Roman castrum was placed’. His brother Robert rightly dismissed that argument as based ‘on the flimsiest of conjecture’.

There has also been much speculation that the castle was built on the site of an Anglo-Saxon hall, as Domesday Book records that Earl Waltheof had an *aula*, or hall, in Hallam before the Norman Conquest (Faull and Stinson 1986, fol. 320a). While the text does not specify precisely where this was located, it has been widely identified as Sheffield, which was part of the estate (or *inland*) of Hallam (Hey 2010, 12). Some antiquarians went further and assumed that Sheffield Castle would be located in the same place as Waltheof’s *aula*, and that this was at the junction of the rivers Don and Sheaf (e.g. Holland 1824, 15–16; Leader 1897, ix, xx; Leader 1904a, 3–5; Drury 1929a, 177–8; Armstrong 1929b; 1930, 23; Himsworth n.d. (b), 5). This debate about the Anglo-Saxon origins of Sheffield, the location of any remains of this date, and their relationship to the castle is one of the major themes of this book (see, especially, Chapter 3).

Sheffield Castle and its elite occupants

After the execution of Waltheof, following his involvement in a revolt of the earls against William I (the Conqueror), his lands passed to his wife, Judith, and by 1086 her tenant was the Norman lord Roger de Busli, who had a castle at Tickhill (c.25km north-east of Sheffield) and held numerous manors across Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Devonshire (Faull and Stinson 1986, fol. 230c; Hunter 1819, 24). By the early 12th century the manor of Hallamshire had come to William de Lovetot, from a family which had been tenants of de Busli in Nottinghamshire, and it seems that de Lovetot held the manor from Maud, the daughter of Waltheof and Judith (Hey 2010, 15; Hunter 1819, 22–9). It has generally been assumed that Sheffield Castle was built for William (Hunter 1819, 26), although it is first documented only in 1183–4 in a Pipe Roll of Henry II, when Ralph Murdac, Sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, was recompensed for expenditure on fortifying it (National Archives E372/30). William de Lovetot held manors across large areas of Yorkshire, Huntingdonshire and Nottinghamshire, and also founded the important priory at Worksop (Notts) (Stacye 1874, 158–60; Hunter 1819, 25). The lack of a de Lovetot male heir in the late 12th century saw the castle pass by marriage, of William de Lovetot’s great-granddaughter Maud (Matilda), to Gerard de Furnival (c.1175–1219) and it descended through this prominent family for over a century. De Furnival died on Crusade in Palestine, as did his son Thomas de Furnival (d. 1238) (Hunter 1819, 32–3; Hey 2010, 16). In 1270, the latter’s son, also called Thomas (c.1231–91), received a licence ‘that at his manor of Sheffield, co.

York, he may build a stone castle and fortify and crenellate it' (Lyte 1913, 447). This has been widely regarded as representing the point at which the castle was rebuilt in stone (Drury 1929b, 180; McCoy and Stenton 2009, 12; Hey 2010, 16).

The male line of de Furnivals came to an end with the death of William de Furnival on 12th April 1383, and the lordship of Hallamshire, and with it Sheffield Castle, passed to Sir Thomas Nevill, who had married William's daughter, Joan (Hunter 1819, 40). In 1386 he received confirmation of a grant previously made in 1296 under Edward I which allowed the holding of a market in Sheffield every Tuesday, and of a fair over the three days around the Feast of the Holy Trinity (Hunter 1819, 41; Hey 2010, 16). Thomas and Joan had no sons, and (sometime before 12th March 1407) Maud their daughter and heir married John Talbot (1384–1453), and from this point onwards Sheffield Castle was in the hands of noble families of wide renown and influence; it was at the centre of regional and national affairs (Hey 2010, 27). Talbot, 'his name terrible to the French', was one of the great English commanders of the Hundred Years War (1337–1453), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1414 to 1419, Knight of the Garter (1424), and ennobled as Earl of Shrewsbury in 1442 (Hunter 1819, 45). He was Shakespeare's 'valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Created, for his rare success in arms' and 'the Frenchmen's only scourge' (*1 Henry VI*, Act IV, sc. vii, ll. 2294–6, 2311), and in 1592 the Elizabethan pamphleteer Thomas Nashe declared 'How would it have joyed brave Talbot, the terror of the French, to think that after he had lyen two hundred yeare in his toomb, he should triumph again on the stage' (cited in Hunter 1819, 46; see also Gatty 1873, 20–1; Drury 1929b, 183).

John, 2nd Earl of Shrewsbury (c.1417–60), who was born in Sheffield Castle, served with his father in Ireland and in France, and was made Lord Treasurer of England in 1456. During the Wars of the Roses he fought on the Lancastrian side and was killed at the Battle of Northampton on 10th July 1460. His son John, the 3rd Earl (1448–73), was less politically prominent ('more devoted to literature and the muses, than to politics and arms'; Hunter 1819, 47), but served as Commissioner of Oyer and Terminer in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland and the city of York (Hunter 1819, 46–8). George, the 4th Earl (c.1468–1538), a Knight of the Garter and member of the Privy Council, was frequently involved in court ceremonies, and in 1502 was appointed Lord Steward of the royal household. He was involved in court diplomacy; in 1511 he helped to conclude a treaty between Henry VIII and Ferdinand of Aragon, and in June 1520 he was present at the 'summit' between Henry VIII and Francis I of France at the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold' (Pas-de-Calais). His loyalty to the Tudor dynasty was a major factor in the failure of the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536), a revolt against the king's break with Rome, which was prevented from moving any further south than Doncaster (South Yorks) as a result of the influence of the Earl in this area (Bernard 2012, 2).

George Talbot is best known in Sheffield for the construction of the Shrewsbury Chapel in the parish church of St Peter (now the cathedral of St Peter and St Paul; Figure 1.1) and, at roughly the same time, for the significant embellishment of the hunting lodge in the deer park to the east of the castle, now known as Sheffield Manor Lodge (see Chapter 8). It was there that, in 1530, he 'entertained' Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York and former Lord Chancellor. This followed Wolsey's arrest for treason at Cawood Castle in north Yorkshire and was while he was on his way south towards London; Wolsey took ill at the lodge and died just two days after his departure (Hunter 1819, 49–54; Gatty 1873, 24–6). The 4th Earl was buried in the Shrewsbury Chapel in March 1539, after a magnificent funeral ceremony attended by 'Many ho[nourable] men & tall yomen', all dressed in black gowns and hoods, with thousands of bystanders looking on (Harley MS 2076, fol. 4v; LPL, MS 698, fol. 5). A monument to him was completed several decades later after the death of his second wife, Elizabeth Walden (Figure 1.2).

George Talbot's only surviving son by his first wife, Lady Anne Hastings, Francis, the 5th Earl (1500–60), born in Sheffield Castle, also moved in the highest social and political circles. He was one of the 13 mourners at the funeral of Henry VIII and was chief mourner at that of his son Edward VI. He was 'favoured' at the court of Queen Mary and used his influence there to secure restoration to the Sheffield Church Burgesses of rents from lands sequestered under the Chantries Act of 1547 (Tolley 1999, 9–10). He was a privy councillor and Knight of the Garter, and in 1549 was described by the Imperial ambassador as 'one of the most powerful men in the kingdom' (Bernard 2004, 1–2). The splendour of his funeral, and of the great dinner afterwards in Sheffield Castle on 21st October 1560, which was attended by the 'nobles and gentry of the surrounding district', including Sir Thomas Cockayne (Ashbourne, Derbs), Sir George Vernon (Haddon Hall, Derbs, known as 'King of the Peak'), and Sir Thomas Gargrave (Speaker of the House of Commons and





Figure 1.2: *Funerary monument of George Talbot, 4th Earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1538), and his wives Lady Anne Hastings (d.1520) and Elizabeth Walden (d.1567) in Sheffield Cathedral. Lady Anne is depicted to the right of the Earl and closest to the camera. Both the Earl and his first wife were buried in the parish church, but his second wife was buried in her ancestral church at Erith in Kent, where there is also a monument to her. Courtesy of Aidan McRae Thomson.*

Vice-President of the Council of the North), is a measure of his power and influence (Hunter 1819, 46–56; Drury 1929b, 183–5).

In the late 16th century Sheffield Castle was at the centre of one of the great political intrigues of the era. George, the 6th Earl (1528–90), was a privy councillor and Knight of the Garter. In 1565 he was made lieutenant-general for the counties of York, Nottingham and Derby, and was later Earl Marshal of England. He was one of the richest men in the country, his enormous wealth deriving from his interests in farming, coal, iron, steel, lead and shipping, and he has been described as ‘the nearest thing in that [the Elizabethan] age to the modern tycoon’ (Collinson 1987, 21; see also Hunter 1819, 74; Hey 2005, 92). This wealth, along with the location of his homes and estates, made him the obvious choice once Queen Elizabeth had decided that her cousin Mary, Queen of Scots needed to be placed in the custody of someone with the resources to maintain a captive queen

Figure 1.1 (page 4): *The Shrewsbury Chapel in Sheffield Cathedral. This was commissioned by the 4th Earl, George Talbot, in what was then the parish church of St Peter. Reproduced from Wikimedia Commons under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 licence.*



Figure 1.3: *Portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots.* After Nicholas Hilliard, oil on panel, inscribed 1578. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

(Drury 1929b, 186; also Hunter 1819, 64; Gatty 1873, 27; Figure 1.3). George was married first to Lady Gertrude Manners, daughter of the Earl of Rutland, and second to Elizabeth, Lady St Loe, better known to posterity as Bess of Hardwick (Figure 1.4). While castles are often gendered as masculine spaces (Gilchrist 1999, 109–45; Dempsey *et al.* 2019), Sheffield Castle is a rarity in being as strongly associated with two prominent



Figure 1.4: *Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, popularly known as Bess of Hardwick.* Painted by an unknown artist in the 17th century, in a portrait based on a painting of c.1590. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

and powerful women – the doomed Scottish queen and the Earl's second wife – in both popular and scholarly works as it is with the elite men who passed through its gates.

The burial of George Talbot on 13th January 1591 was just as impressive as that of his grandfather. After his death on 18th November 1590, which occurred at the hunting lodge in the deer park, his servants organised



Figure 1.5: *The execution of Mary, Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay Castle (Northants) on 8th February 1587.* Drawn by Robert Beale (1541–1601), the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, George Talbot, is seated to the left of the platform (numbered 1). Source: Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain.

his funeral in collaboration with the College of Arms, discussing with Garter Principal King of Arms William Dethick whether to have the procession to the church on horseback from the lodge (as was usual for funerals of comital rank) or from the castle, which ‘would be more convenient in respect of the lodging and dynner’ (LPL, MS 3199, fol. 203). The latter was selected and thousands turned out for the funeral, which ‘was then sumptuously done that was ever to any afore in these countrys’, according to one eyewitness, the gentleman Arthur Mower of Woodseats in Derbyshire, ‘and the assembly to see the same was marvellous both of nobility gentry and country folks and poor folks without number’. Bonfires were lit, and trees were cut down in the deer park to warm the 600 beggars who attended, although three onlookers were killed by falling trees (BL, Additional MS 6671, fols 345–6; College of Arms RR 20/D intra 247–8; Hunter 1819, 73; Leader 1897, 60). No less a minister than John Piers, Archbishop of York, preached the sermon (LPL, MS 3200, fol. 100; Figure 1.5).

The 7th Earl, Gilbert Talbot (1552–1616), son of George Talbot by his first marriage to Gertrude Manners, was one of the most significant iron masters in the country, and Sheffield was the most important centre of cutlery production in England at this time (LPL, MS 705, fol. 144; LPL, MS 710, fol. 70; LPL, MS 3205, fol. 95). His deputy, Sir John Bentley, recorded the impact of this industrial activity in Sheffield, commenting on its smoke-filled streets in a letter to the Earl in October 1608 (LPL, MS 3203, fol. 540). Both the lordship of Hallamshire and the castle remained in Talbot hands until 1617, and the death of the 8th Earl, Edward Talbot, who had been born in Sheffield and was the youngest son from the marriage of George Talbot and Gertrude Manners (Hunter 1819, 41, 98). Since Edward died without a surviving child, the lordship eventually passed through the marriage of Alethea Talbot, daughter of Gilbert, to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and later 1st Earl of Norfolk, whose descendants became the Dukes of Norfolk (Hunter 1819, 24–96; Gatty 1869, 22–128; Drury 1929b, 179–92; Hey 2010, 27–34). The dukes retained possession of the site of the castle even after its demolition and on into the late 19th century (see Chapter 9).

The manorial records of Sheffield provide some details of the form of the castle in which these lords and ladies periodically resided and from which they administered their estates. For example, Account Rolls of the 1440s reveal that it contained a Great Hall and Great Gate, with a stone and cinder path running between them, while the Hall led into the *camera abstracta*, or withdrawing-room, of the Earl. Also recorded are a chapel, kitchen, bakehouse, *hospitium* (a guest-house where lower-status visitors and workmen stayed), prison and three towers comprising a ‘Great Tower’, another ‘next to the bakehouse’, and a third adjacent to the chapel (Thomas 1920–24, 68, 70–2). Structures referred to as being ‘outside the castle’ included an Exchequer Chamber, where matters relating to wages, fines and other payments would have been dealt with, a grange, cowhouse and stables, adjacent to which was another tower (Thomas 1920–24, 68–72).

Seventeenth-century accounts provide further insights into the appearance of the castle. For example, an inventory of the goods inside, produced by George Lawson and dated 20th December 1628, mentions a dining chamber and adjoining chamber, three further chambers said to be located over the kitchen, bakehouse and day chamber respectively, a hall, ‘Mr Cookes chamber’, a gallery and the ‘next chamber’, and a turret used as a bedchamber (Wilson MS 295/24 fol. 6). Records of estate disbursements detail some of the repairs undertaken on the castle, which also provide further insights into the range of buildings it comprised. For example, in 1633 a payment was made to George Adram ‘for seelinge blacke Chamb[er] at Castle’ (Wilson MS 295/223, Book 3 fol. 5), while a bill was paid for the replacement and repair of windows, including 669 feet of glass for ‘the newe building’ (Wilson MS 295/42, fol. 155). As we will see in more detail in Chapter 9, accounts relating to the demolition of the castle at the end of the Civil War record the sale of some of its fabric and in doing so mention a variety of rooms and buildings including the hall, old kitchen, little kitchen, sentry house, stable, old bakehouse, Nicholas Spadman’s chamber, the Middleton chamber, the square and round towers, gatehouse, dungeon, and chapel (Wilson MSS 295/57; Askew 2017, 205–10). The castle is described as being surrounded by a deep water-filled moat in both a 1644 pamphlet on the siege of Sheffield Castle (Anon. 1644, 2) and an account of the Civil War and the virtues of Parliament called the *Magnalia Dei Anglicana. Or, England’s Parliamentary Chronicle*, published in four parts between 1644 and 1646, by John Vicars (1646, 7), a puritan writer and schoolmaster. Sheffield Castle was clearly a substantial and complex set of buildings by the mid-17th century – as John Harrison described in his 1637 survey (Ronksley 1908, 47; Edwards 1930; see Chapter 3). Until the excavations undertaken in the 1920s, it was this written record that informed antiquarian knowledge of the castle, although, as we shall now see, traces of its fabric had survived above ground into the early 20th century, albeit largely overlooked by recent reviews of the available evidence.

The castle ‘made untenable’

Between 1642 and 1644, during the first phase of the English Civil War, Sheffield Castle was occupied consecutively by Parliamentarian and Royalist forces, before surrendering to Parliament in August 1644 (Hunter 1819, 103–12; Gatty 1873, 83–91; Winder 1910, 57–8; Hey 2010, 53–4; Askew 2017, 190–1). On 30th April 1646 the House of Commons passed a resolution that

the several Castles of *Tickhill, Sheffield, Knaesborough, Cawood, Sandall, Boulton, Midlam, Hemesley, Mulgrave, and Crake*, in the County of *Yorke*, being inland Castles, be made untenable; and no Garisons kept or maintained in them (Parliament. House of Commons 1646, 528).

They followed this up on 13th July 1647 with a second resolution that ‘that all the new Works about *Sheffield Castle* be dismantled and slighted; and the Castle disgarisoned’ (Parliament. House of Commons 1647, 243; also Hunter 1819, 113; Askew 2017, 192). It seems, however, that little actual ‘slighting’ took place until a letter dated 16th October 1648 from the County Committee of York ordered the castle’s demolition (Askew 2017, 192). The sale of the castle fabric, including its slates, lead, timbers, furniture, and plasterwork followed and by the mid-1650s parts of the castle site had been turned over to cultivation (Hunter 1819, 113–16; Askew 2017, 202; see Chapter 9 for further discussion).

The ‘destruction’ of Sheffield Castle is well-documented in a set of demolition accounts which commence in January 1649 (Wilson MSS 295/57; Hunter 1819, 114–15). Only two other castles – Pontefract (West Yorks) and Montgomery (Powys) – have similar accounts, and only those from Pontefract have been extensively studied (Thompson 1987, 188–93; Roberts 2002, 421–2, 442–6; Rakoczy 2007, 219–57). The Sheffield accounts lay out in great detail not only the cost of destruction (a total of £208 8s. 8d.) but also the buildings demolished and the people involved. As such, they provide a fascinating, and rare, insight into the ‘reduction’ of one of Yorkshire’s largest castles at the hands of its inhabitants, from the scaffolding employed ‘to keepe up the Castle the walls beeing let doune’ to the ditches filled in by the Earl of Norfolk’s tenants (Wilson MSS, 295/57, fols 9, 12).

The repeated demands that Sheffield Castle be ‘slighted’, and its absence from the present cityscape, has contributed to the assumption that it was largely if not entirely erased at this time (Gatty 1873, 92; Winder 1910, 57; Bostwick 1985, 2; Belford 1998, 12; Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 19–20; but see Chapter 9). Certainly, some areas were quickly ‘repurposed’ by the townspeople; for example, Robert Shertcliffe rented a ‘garden Spott in the Castle ditch’ in 1655/6; later another was leased by Widow Butler (Wilson MSS 295/38, Book 4, fol. 6; Askew 2017, 202). Contemporary illustrations and maps suggest that by the mid-18th century the castle site had largely been levelled, and put to new uses (Armstrong 1930, 8, 14, 22). There are no signs of a castle in Ralph Gosling’s 1736 *Plan of Sheffield* (Figure 1.6), Thomas Oughtibridge’s 1737 *North Perspective View of the Town of Sheffield* (Figure 8.26) or Nathaniel Buck’s 1745 *East Prospect of Sheffield*. In all of them a bowling green occupies part of the castle’s inner court, with buildings and ‘rectangular plots or enclosures’ reminiscent of gardens or yards arranged over the rest of the site (Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 21). Notes, field sketches and plans made by the Fairbank family of surveyors and engineers, between the late 1760s and 1780s, also record the bowling green and surrounding buildings owned by the Duke of Norfolk, but sublet to various tenants (Belford 1998, 13 and fig. 7; Fairbank 1769; Hall 1932; Chapter 9). Although beyond the bounds of the castle proper, a notable indication of the changing character of the area is that its former nursery grounds, situated just across the River Don, were opened up as a ‘public recreation ground’ in 1781 (Leader 1901, 200; Banham 2011, 140–1).

Late 18th-century maps record steep slopes down to the Don and Sheaf on the north and east sides of the site, respectively, creating what on the north side was labelled ‘the precipice’ on a 1769 Fairbank plan of Castle Hill (see Figure 3.24; Belford 1998, 14; McCoy and Stenton 2009, 24). It is likely that this reflects a natural topography enhanced by ‘made ground’ and castle defences (see Chapter 5; Himsworth 1927–42), with the effect perhaps exaggerated by the ruination of the castle walls. Following an Act of Parliament in 1784 to regulate and improve Sheffield’s marketplaces, the precipice was cut back and slaughterhouses were built along the south bank of the Don and the west bank of the Sheaf (Leader 1901, 163; Walton 1949, 143; Belford 1998, 15); the

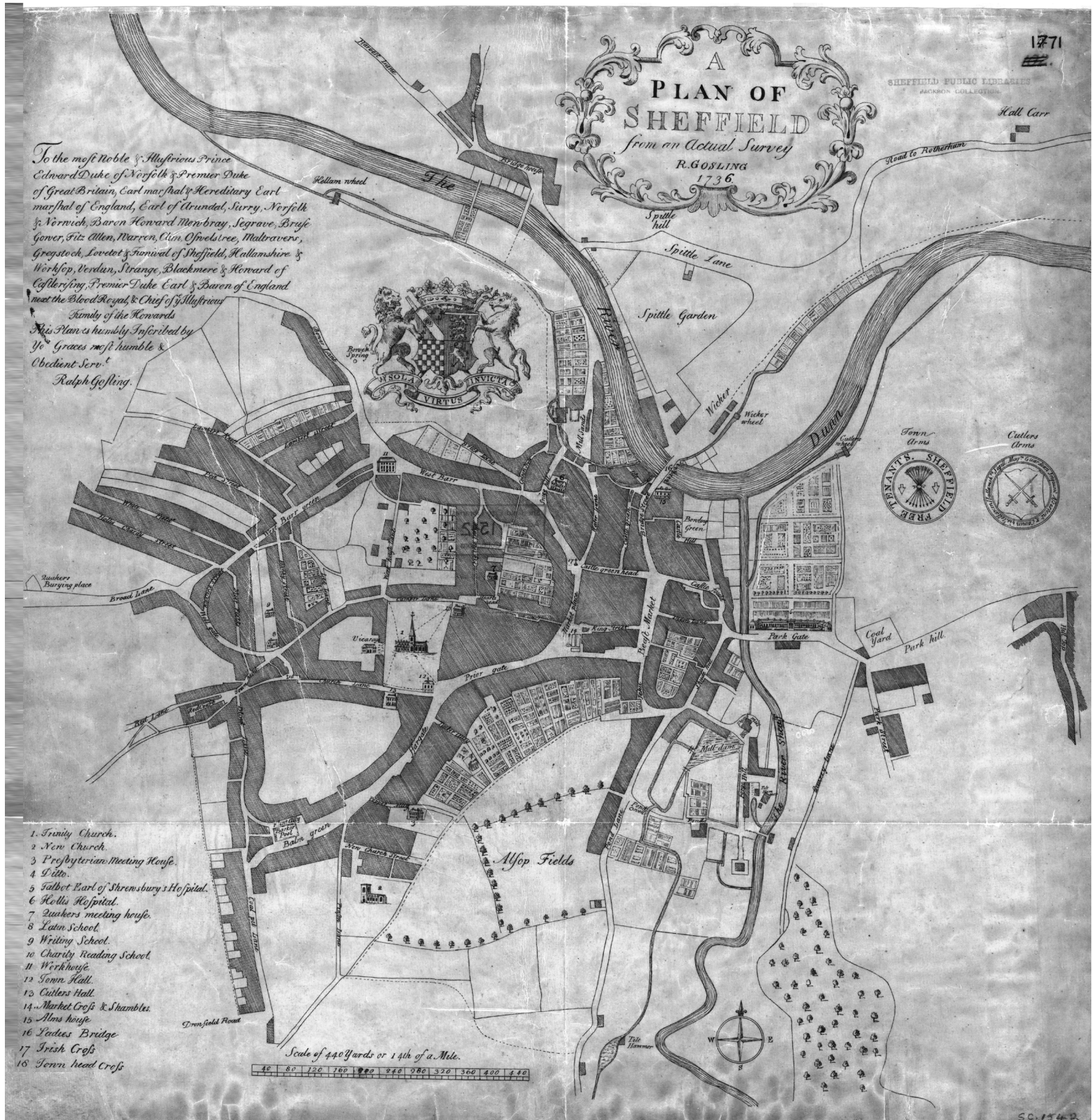


Figure 1.6: A Plan of Sheffield from an Actual Survey. Mapped by Ralph Gosling, 1736. Reproduced with permission from Sheffield City Council.

slaughterhouses (the ‘Killing Shambles’) appear for the first time on Fairbank’s 1797 map of the city (Figure 1.7; see also Figure 3.5). Further south, the presumed location of the castle’s inner courtyard, great hall and chapel (and the later bowling green) were now occupied by tool and cutlery workshops, Thomas Clegg’s cementation furnace, and the Reindeer Inn, on the corner of Waingate and Castle Folds (which would become Exchange Street), where the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society would later build its city-centre store (Armstrong 1930, 8; Belford 1998, 14).

However, parts of the castle remained visible throughout the 18th century. A William Fairbank sketch of 1768 records a wall on the north-eastern side of the outcrop and a 1771 field notebook records a section of wall marked ‘ruins of the castle’, while a map of 1782 records two properties on the south-west of the site joined by a ‘Castle Wall’ (McCoy and Stenton 2009, 23–4; Belford 1998, 14). In addition, a report on the ‘Natural History of Sheffield’ in 1764 by the Reverend Edward Goodwin of Attercliffe (Sheffield) informs us that ‘of the castle there are now *very few* vestiges remaining’ – implying that there were some (Goodwin 1764, 157, *emphasis added*). We discuss the new archaeological evidence for the persistence of medieval structures into the 18th century in Chapter 7 (Figure 1.8).

Two hundred years ago, Joseph Hunter (1819, 115), author of *Hallamshire: The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield* and widely regarded as Sheffield’s preeminent antiquarian (also Hunter 1828–31), lamented that ‘the once proud castle of Sheffield was but a heap of shapeless ruins, every year doing something to complete the destruction which the axe of violence had begun’. He was saddened that it had not survived for his contemporaries to appreciate, acknowledging that the reasons lay in competing demands for the space (Hunter 1819, 116). Nonetheless some traces of the castle, perhaps ever fewer and more reduced, persisted, as he acknowledges in his references to its ‘shapeless ruins’, the ‘stone foundation work ... on Castle-hill’, and the fact that ‘a few vaults are all which now remain’ (Hunter 1819, 17, 115–16; also Holland 1824, 15–16). Moreover, there is some evidence that traces of the castle remained visible into the early 20th century. For example, on Tuesday, 24th November 1908, the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* described photographs of ‘the only remaining portion of the wall of the old Castle of Sheffield’ and published one of a slaughterhouse door that ‘tradition speaks of as the door of the Chapel in the castle’ (‘Sheffield Castle’, 1908). In 1910 local historian Thomas Winder wrote that ‘part of one of the angle-towers still remains by the White Cottage which can be seen from Castle-folds bridge situate [*sic*] where the moat left the river Sheaf’ (Winder 1910, 58); this cottage is perhaps visible in a photograph taken in the early 20th century (Anon. 1900–19; Figure 5.25). Three photographs from 1918 depict sections of stone walls on the east side of the castle site, opposite the weir on the Sheaf. Accompanying notes in the Museums Sheffield archives claim these as remnants of the castle (Figures 1.9, 5.25; Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 28–9; though note that Leslie Armstrong (1930, 21) believed these walls had been rebuilt using material from the demolished castle; see also Chapter 5, Section: The morphology of the town plan). While traces of the castle did, then, remain, the trajectory of 19th-century development saw the site built on and obscured (Figure 1.10). In 1873 the Reverend Alfred Gatty (1873, 92) described the ‘gradual reduction’ of Sheffield Castle:

the dilapidated outer walls stood grimly for a while on Castle Hill – ghost of magnificence which had now passed away – and very soon the site was cleared of all encumbering traces of the old mansion, whilst buildings of a more practical kind were erected in its stead.

In 1898 the Lord Mayor of Sheffield wrote to the Duke of Norfolk expressing the view that the market rights should belong to the city of Sheffield, not to a private individual. The Duke, reluctantly, agreed to sell and in 1899 Sheffield Corporation purchased the markets and rights for £526,000 (Zasada 1996, 28; Short and Godfrey 2007, 55–6; Hey 2010, 223; Simmons 1997; see Chapter 9 for a longer-term perspective on this purchase). These acquisitions may also have been driven by the Corporation’s desire to improve the infrastructure and hygiene of the area, although regeneration did not begin for many years. A plan from 1922 reveals their intentions for the site, and in 1928 the Shambles were demolished, and replaced in 1930 with a major road (‘The New Road’ – later called Castlegate), linking Lady’s Bridge and Blonk Street, to the east (Armstrong 1930, 9; Belford 1998, 18–19; Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 34; 2014b, fig. 16; Figure 1.11). In 1927 the Brightside and Carbrook Co-op began the construction of the first phase of their new premises on a site at the corner of Exchange Street and Waingate, which they had purchased in 1914 (Figure 1.12). The following year



Figure 1.7: A Plan of the Town of Sheffield. Drawn by William Fairbank, 1797. Reproduced with permission from Sheffield City Council.



Figure 1.9: *Looking south-west up a narrow curving lane to the east of Castle Hill. A photograph taken in 1918 and presented to Sheffield City Museum by C. E. Lees. See also Figure 5.25 for another image of this wall. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.*



REFERENCE

- EXISTING WIDTH OF WAINGATE, EXCHANGE ST & BLONK ST (AS WIDENED) COLOURED **BROWN**
- ORIGINAL BOUNDARY OF MARKETS COMMITTEES LAND EDGED **BLUE**
- ORIGINAL BOUNDARY OF IMPROVEMENT COMMITTEES LAND EDGED **GREEN**
- PORTION OF MARKETS COMMITTEES LAND SOLD TO BRIGHTSIDE AND CARBROOK CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY STRIPED **BLUE**
- LAND SOLD EDGED **RED**
- LAND WHICH WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR MARKETS COMMITTEE AT THE COMPLETION OF IMPROVEMENT COLOURED **YELLOW**
- PROPERTIES NOT YET ARRANGED FOR COLOURED **GREY**
- NEW ROAD BLONK STREET TO WAINGATE COLOURED **PINK**

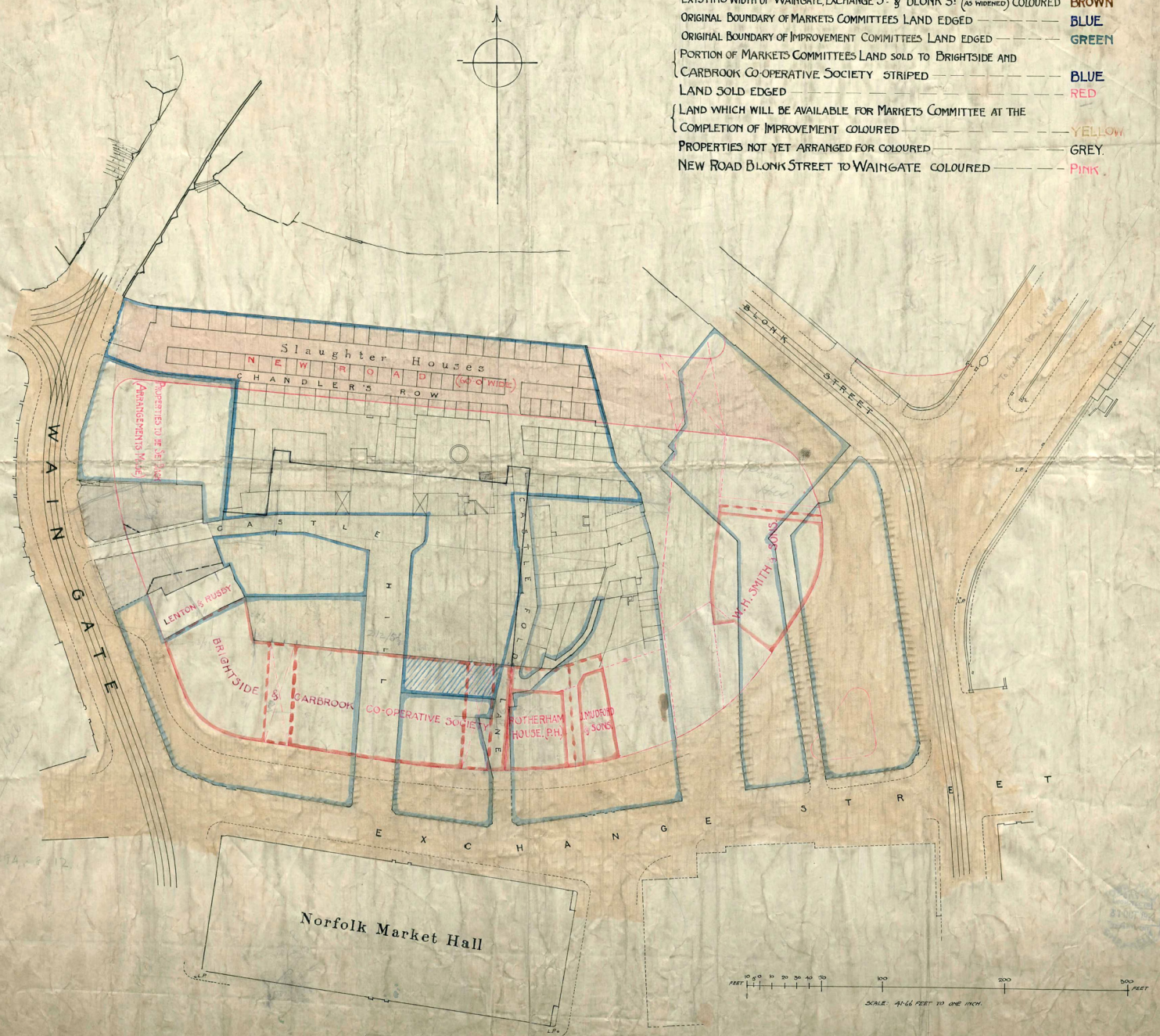


Figure 1.11: Sheffield Corporation plan of Castlegate, November 1922. This summary of the Corporation's proposals shows the land sold to the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society for the construction of their new store (to the south), the line of the proposed new road (later known as Castlegate) from Blonk Street to Waingate (to the north), and 'the land which will be available for the Markets Committee' on which they built Castle Hill Market in 1928 (in the middle). Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

the Corporation began the redevelopment of the area immediately north of these new Co-op Stores with the construction of Castle Hill Market (Belford 1998, 19; McCoy and Stenton 2009, 25–6; Figure 1.13). In the early 1930s Waingate was widened, and the buildings along the street front redeveloped (Belford 1998, 20). From that time the location of Sheffield Castle was home to the city's markets, until 2013, when they were rehoused at the bottom of the Moor, on the western side of the city centre, and the market buildings were demolished; the site of Sheffield Castle has lain derelict ever since.



Figure 1.12: *The Brightside and Carbbrook Co-op on the corner of Waingate and Exchange Street. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (s11203).*

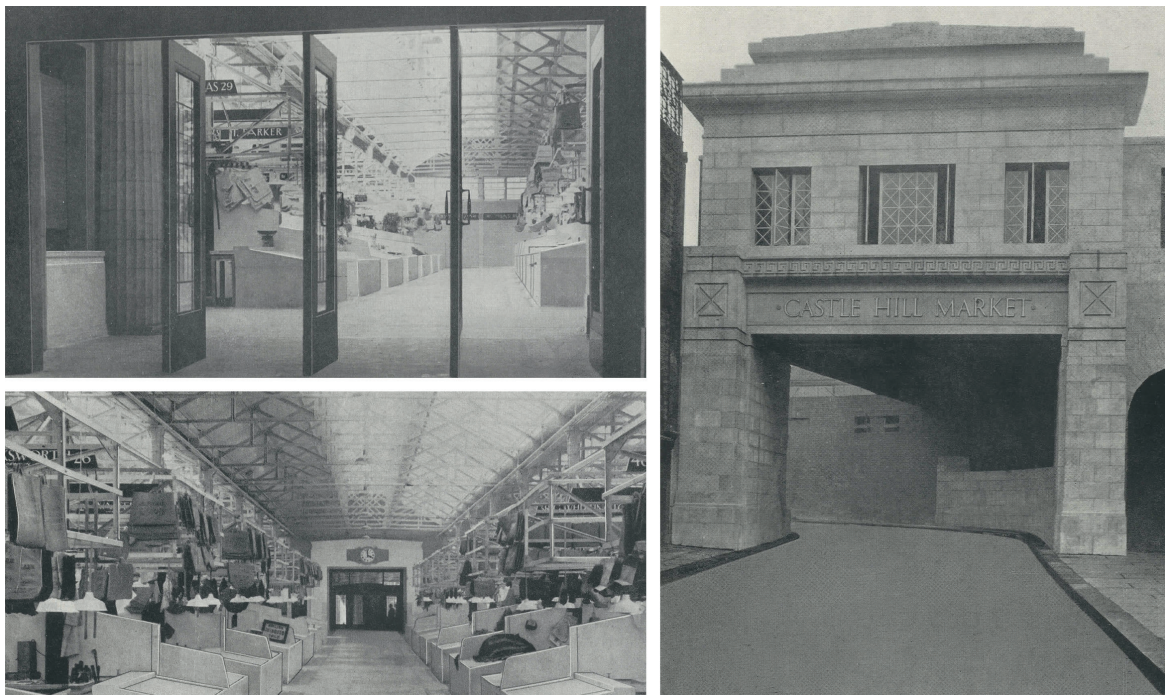


Figure 1.13: *The new Castle Hill Market opened in 1930 on the site of Sheffield Castle. The entrance lobby from Castle Hill (top left), central part of the market hall (bottom left), and main entrance into the market from Waingate (right). The souvenir booklet produced for the opening of the new market notes that the area along the external walls was mainly given over to butchers, maintaining a link with the former presence of the slaughterhouses on the site, which were demolished to make way for the new market hall. The booklet also states that 'by the addition of fruit, vegetables and flowers ... it is anticipated that it will be even more attractive to the housewife' and reports that the remains of the castle 'have been excavated and enclosed in a basement under the Market Hall, with an access from the rear of the Market'. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.*

Sheffield Castle rediscovered: 1927–2001

Excavations at Sheffield Castle over the last 90 or so years have been piecemeal, mainly carried out in response to various phases of construction on the site. Very little about them has been published, even though the remains uncovered were substantial and their importance for our understanding of the Middle Ages, for the heritage of Sheffield and for the regeneration of this part of the city has been recognised since the 1920s. These excavations are introduced here to set the scene for detailed discussions in the ensuing chapters.

The plans for the construction of the Brightside and Carbrook Co-op store on the site at the corner of Exchange Street and Waingate, which commenced in 1927 (above), ‘included a basement over the whole area’ (Armstrong 1930, 9); and the foundation plan (c.1927) for the building shows the wall foundations as well as 40 ‘stanchion pits’ each between 6ft (1.83m) and 9ft (2.74m) square (Johnson 1927a; 1927b; Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 30; also 2014b, fig. 17a; Figure 1.14). It was expected that there might be a significant impact on the remains of Sheffield Castle from the excavations required to deliver both this plan, and the building of the adjacent Castle Hill Market, which necessitated the creation of concrete bases for lines of steel stanchions as well as a grid of concrete piles, some sunk to a depth of 25ft (7.62m) (Anon. 1930a; Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 33; 2014b, figs 18a and 18b). Consequently, the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Hunter Archaeological Society appointed A. Leslie Armstrong to monitor the works and record the remains of the castle as they were exposed, including parts of a monumental gatehouse structure, sections of walls, and the moat. Armstrong’s account of the castle excavations appeared first in the *Antiquaries Journal* in 1928 and then at greater length in the *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* in 1930. Surviving unpublished, and hitherto unstudied, material by Armstrong in the Museums Sheffield archive includes a site notebook, handwritten draft manuscripts of his work on the castle, sketches (some literally on the back of an envelope; Armstrong n.d. (a)), and various lecture notes.

Armstrong was aided in his work on the castle by Joseph B. Himsworth, cutler and silversmith by trade, who was also active in the Hunter Archaeological Society. The diary he kept during the excavations on the castle site survives, along with his many photographs, and the texts for lectures he gave locally in the 1930s and 1940s,

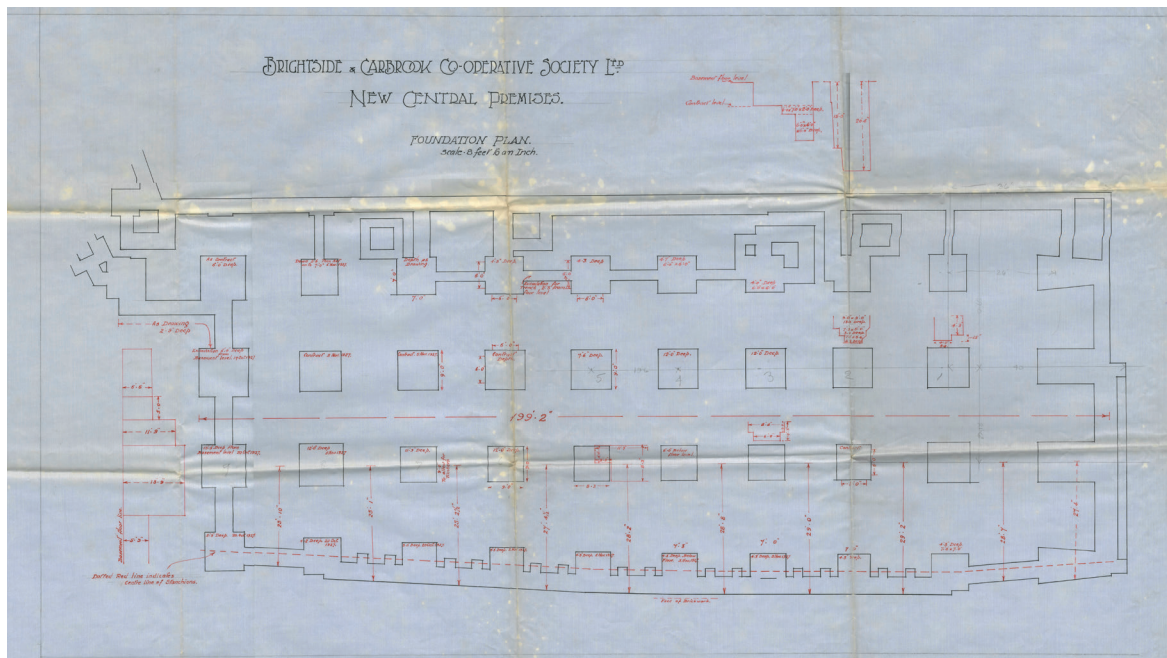


Figure 1.14: Foundation plan for the new Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society Building on Exchange Street. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

Figure 1.15 (page 19): Castle Market photographed in 2012. It was closed the following year and demolished in 2015. Copyright Stephen Richards; reproduced under a CC BY-SA 2.0 licence; geograph.org.uk/photo/3921121.

as well as various letters he exchanged with Armstrong and others at the time of the excavations. As we will see in Chapter 2, the relationship between Armstrong and Himsworth, and their determination to record and preserve the remains as they were uncovered during construction work between 1927 and 1930, provided the crucial first steps in the rediscovery of Sheffield Castle. They set an agenda for interpretation that has cast a long shadow over subsequent work, and also initiated a debate about the significance of the castle for the modern development of the city of Sheffield, which continues to this day (see Chapter 9).

Work on the construction of a new market hall – Castle Market – commenced in 1958, and over the following decade or so a number of new buildings were constructed on the site of the castle (Figure 1.15). In places these developments re-exposed areas of the castle seen in the 1920s and 1930s, although they also uncovered parts not previously encountered. Leslie Butcher, from the City Architect's Department, recorded the remains of the castle from 1958, while John Bartlett, Deputy Director of the City Museum, recorded and conserved the finds, although his involvement was short-lived (see Chapter 4). Butcher produced detailed plans, sections and isometric drawings of excavated features, and an extensive photographic record also survives. His recording was meticulous, and he frequently drew multiple sections of individual holes and foundation shafts dug during construction (Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 4).

The only publication to emerge from this work was a brief note in the annual round-up of excavations across Britain and Ireland in the journal *Medieval Archaeology* in 1959 (Hurst 1959, 308). Yet, various handwritten notes detailing the remains of the castle that he recorded and a typed manuscript of c.8,000 words reveal that Butcher intended to publish his work more fully, although he died before these plans came to fruition. His archive was subsequently donated to Sheffield City Museum by his son Nicholas, but has not hitherto been



studied in detail (its contents were catalogued in Dennison 2014). As we will see, Butcher (1972a, 6–16) was able to refine some of the insights presented by Armstrong in his 1930 publication, particularly concerning the course and profile of the moat, the topography of Castle Hill, and the form of the gatehouse structures, and he also recorded sections of the curtain wall not noted by Armstrong, as well examining cartographic evidence for the place of the castle in the townscape.

There were many subsequent developments on the site of the castle during the 1960s and 1970s, but little recording seems to have taken place (Davies and Symonds 2002, 22; Davies and Willmott 2002, 7; Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 39). One exception was in 1972, when the paved surface that had been constructed in the 1930s to cover the sloping ground along Castlegate began to collapse, and the Council decided to replace it with a vertical concrete retaining wall. A section of stone wall of the castle was visible through the paved slope but collapsed during construction of the retaining wall (Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 62). However, Pauline Beswick, then Keeper of Antiquities at Sheffield City Museum, was able to record another section of stone wall (Beswick 1972d; Figure 1.16), and in 1990 she also produced a photographic record of the state of the gatehouse



Figure 1.16: *Collapse of the retaining wall above Castlegate in 1972. A section of castle wall is visible above the right-hand end of the bus stop (top) and another at the lower part of the slope (below). Recording of these exposed parts of the castle was undertaken by Pauline Beswick of Sheffield City Museum. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.*



Figure 1.17: *Remains of the castle's courtyard buildings.* These were uncovered in excavations undertaken by ARCUS in 2001. University of Sheffield.

structure during repairs to the chamber in which it was housed (Beswick 1990). In 1994, the Sheffield Markets Department contracted South Yorkshire Archaeology Field and Research Unit to survey the remains of buildings from the castle's courtyard preserved in another chamber beneath the market buildings; this preceded work to improve presentation of them to the public (Latham and Atkinson 1994; Figure 3.21).

The first modern excavation on the site of Sheffield Castle was undertaken in 1998 by ARCUS, in preparation for the proposed redevelopment of the markets, and in line with the requirements of PPG16 (see Preface). Two trenches were opened on either side of the culverted River Sheaf, uncovering a medieval tanning pit, although the excavations mainly revealed that medieval levels in this part of the city centre had been extensively disturbed by early post-medieval development (Belford 1999; also Chapter 6). In the following year, work commenced in the area of the lower loading bay of Castle Market, which permitted investigation of the castle's eastern defences. The cut of the moat and a sequence of stratified fill deposits dating to between the late 11th and 17th centuries were recorded (Davies 2000). In 2001, two further trial trenches were dug in the area of the former upper loading bay, on the higher ground overlooking the River Don, which allowed further investigation of features first uncovered in the late 1920s and revealed additional structures (Davies and Symonds 2002; Figure 1.17; also Chapter 7). The artefact assessment reports produced by ARCUS following their three campaigns of excavation provided the first detailed sequence of activity on the site from stratified deposits, although this work did not produce tightly dated sequences, and the influence of the dating horizons of the published work of Leslie Armstrong is notable in the ARCUS phasing (e.g. Davies and Symonds 2002, 9).

ARCUS produced well-illustrated 'grey literature' reports for these evaluation trenches, with stratigraphic sequences, site plans, sections and photographs (Belford 1999; Davies 2000; Davies and Symonds 2002). The work was never published, although the results were summarised a few years later by Neil Guy (2005) in the *Castle Studies Group Bulletin*. Significantly, these ARCUS reports had a major impact on the City Council's plans for the regeneration of the site, and indeed for the whole of Sheffield city centre (see EDAW 2005).

The excavation archives and the city

The potential for the archaeological record and the archives held by Museums Sheffield (which incorporates the former City Museum) to reveal important information about the castle has long been recognised, as has the potential of the castle for the city's heritage and regeneration. For example, in the late 1980s, when Sheffield City Council began to produce plans for the redevelopment of the city centre, Clive Hart (1989a, 8) of the City Museum prepared a report advocating the value of a study of the early history of Sheffield, including the castle: 'it is a common fallacy that the location of most archaeological sites and features is already known ... Sheffield's early history and archaeology is largely unknown because of insufficient study. It is critical that resources be deployed before the city loses more of its individual heritage'.

In 1998, ARCUS was commissioned by the Council to undertake a desk-based assessment of the Castle Markets area, prior to possible redevelopment. The report, written by Paul Belford (1998), reviewed the history of development of the site to assess the likely character of the archaeological remains and to suggest mitigation strategies to protect them. This was mainly based on historical sources and Armstrong's published account of the archaeological remains. Belford (1998, 22–4) deemed it likely that many parts of the castle survived beyond the areas disturbed by 20th-century building works, and also highlighted the potential for good organic preservation in the waterlogged areas of the moat. The subsequent ARCUS excavations confirmed both propositions (see above, and Chapter 7; Figure 1.18).

A more comprehensive review of the archaeological archives from the castle was undertaken by Glyn Davies and Hugh Willmott of ARCUS in 2002, funded by English Heritage. Their report included a summary of both the physical and paper archive held in Sheffield City Museum, and they highlighted the importance of Sheffield having one of the few castles in a large urban centre 'subject to well-recorded archaeological study, instead of large-scale unrecorded clearance' (Davies and Willmott 2002, 26). However, they also observed that the jumbled nature of the paper archive and lack of a finds catalogue were major impediments to future work. While recognising the importance of the archive, they highlighted the problem that PPG16 only required archaeological evaluation of remains that would be disturbed during development (Davies and Willmott 2002, 12). Therefore, the comprehensive study of the archives of earlier excavations fell outside of its remit, despite the historical significance of the site (Davies and Willmott 2002, 26). While also identifying the considerable public interest in the then recent ARCUS excavations, no funding was forthcoming to facilitate further work on the archive.

Awareness that the extent of the remains established by ARCUS, but also by Armstrong and Butcher, had implications for existing, and future, usage of the site found expression in the 2005 masterplan for the area commissioned from international architecture firm EDAW by Sheffield City Council: *Castlegate – A New Vision*. This 'vision document' considered how 'the original historic core of the City can redevelop to become one of the most interesting, diverse and vibrant parts of Sheffield' (EDAW 2005, 3; Minutes 2008, 1). In response to these developments, the Remains of the Sheffield Castle Working Group was set up in 2008 by Councillors Sylvia Dunkley and Arthur Dunworth 'to bring together all interested parties concerning the future of the remains of the Sheffield Castle and to formulate a policy for the Council and its partners to agree' (Minutes 2008). An inaugural meeting held on 18th September heard, from a council representative, that 'the [ARCUS] dig had revealed significant remains of the Castle, which, if duplicated elsewhere, could prove a significant site and a major landmark for the City. This discovery had brought an end to plans to extend the market and that would now be relocated elsewhere' (Minutes 2008, 1). The regeneration of Castlegate was to be heritage-led; and this had wider implications, in the form of the relocated markets, for the whole city.

The Working Group inspired two reports intended to generate momentum for the development of the site and the uncovering and dissemination of its heritage. First, at the request of a city councillor, Clive Waddington of local archaeological unit Archaeological Research Services Ltd prepared a vision statement for how

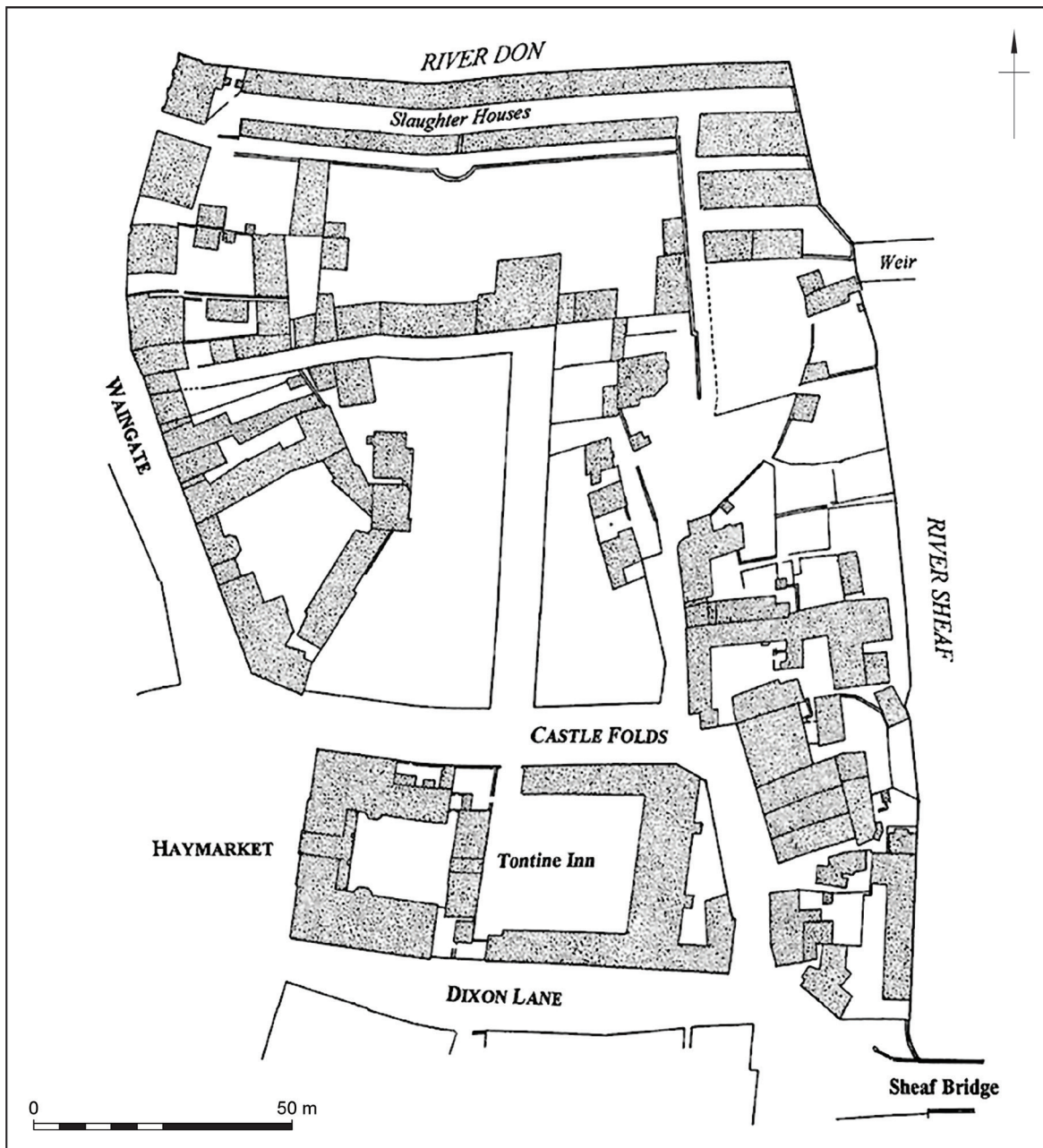


Figure 1.18: *The site of Sheffield Castle in the 18th century.* Based on Fairbank maps, this was produced by Paul Belford of ARCUS in 1998 during his review of the development of the site. Redrawn by Wessex Archaeology.

heritage-led regeneration might be achieved. Waddington (2009, 6) argued that '[r]ather than providing an impediment to development the Castle remains give Sheffield an enviable historic asset around which high grade new development could be designed and constructed'. Second, the University of Sheffield funded ARCUS to undertake another review of the castle archive, and to produce a predictive model of the layout of Sheffield Castle to inform future development. The ensuing report by Michael McCoy and Mark Stenton (2009) contained a chronological outline of the development of the castle, integrating the known archaeological evidence with published written sources. They suggested where buildings mentioned in these written sources may have been located within the inner courtyard (Figure 1.19), and a 3D model of the gatehouse was created by Marcus Abbott (Figure 1.20).

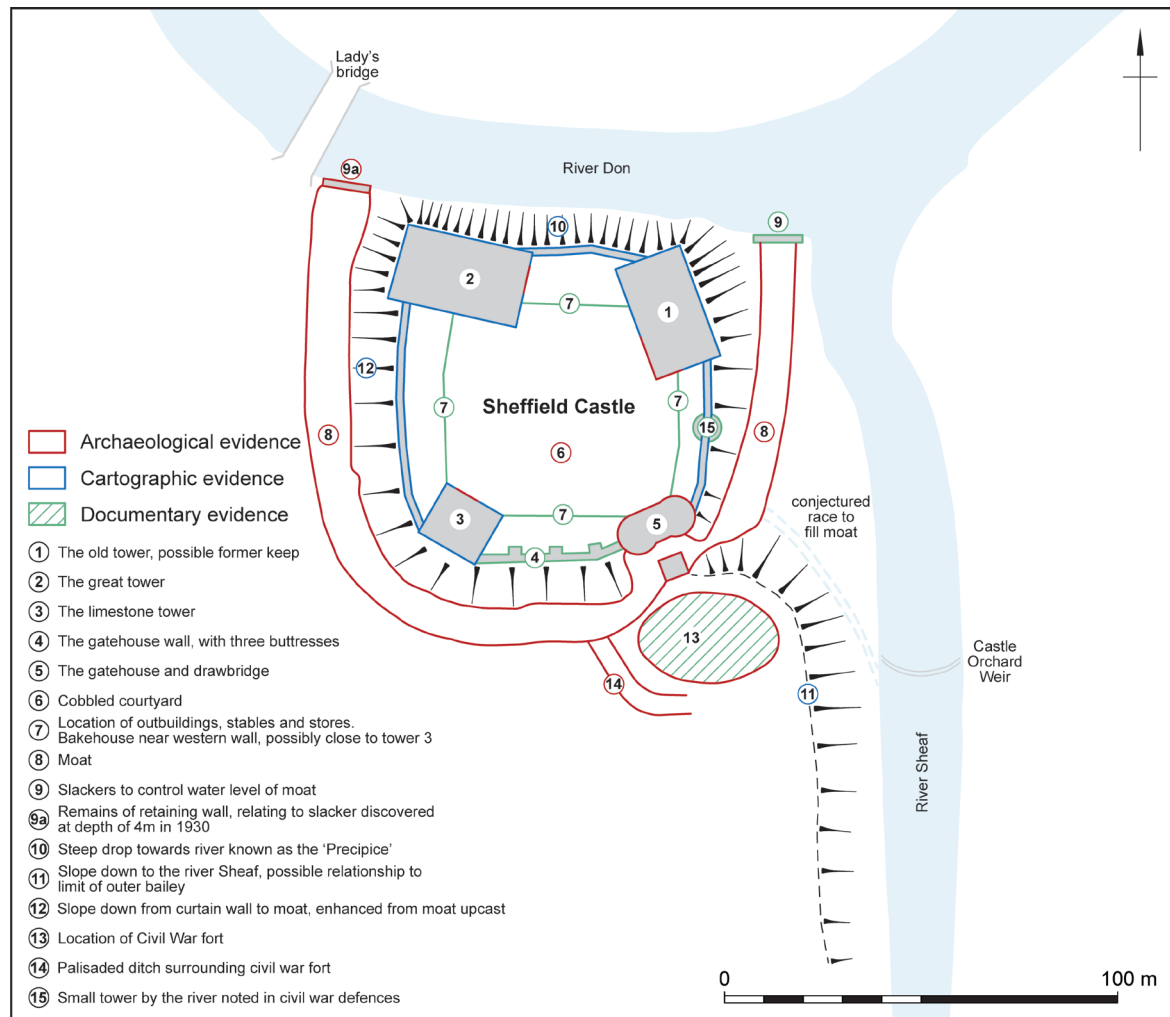


Figure 1.19: *Conjectural plan of Sheffield Castle.* Produced by Michael McCoy and Mark Stenton of ARCUS in 2009, suggesting where buildings and other features mentioned in the written sources might be located. Redrawn by Wessex Archaeology.

A detailed review of the paper archives was conducted in 2013 and 2014 by Ed Dennison and Shaun Richardson of Ed Dennison Archaeological Services Ltd, who also provided a catalogue of the physical archive (Dennison 2014). This was commissioned by the City Council to provide 'sufficient information about areas of archaeological potential on and within the Castle Markets site, so that they might be able to secure an appropriate and cost-effective archaeological evaluation of the complex' (Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 3). This review was intended to inform proposed archaeological work that would be required for redevelopment of the castle site following the demolition of the 1950s and 1960s market buildings and to support a bid to the Heritage Lottery Fund (Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 1; Sheffield City Council 2014), although, as we saw in the Preface, this bid was unsuccessful. The reports presented a detailed strategy for a future archaeological analysis of the castle site prior to development, including a specification of work required on the archive (Dennison 2014). They also provided an overview of the history of the castle and a summary of the previous excavations on the site, largely based on the earlier reviews by ARCUS, and suggested that detailed analysis of the unpublished material by Armstrong and Himsworth should be undertaken to see if 'any information that contrasts with Armstrong's published account emerged' (Dennison 2014, 11). For the first time the importance of the Leslie Butcher archive was identified (Richardson and Dennison 2014a, 57). Richardson and Dennison



Figure 1.20: *A 3D model of the gatehouse.* Created by Marcus Abbott of ARCUS in 2009. University of Sheffield.

presented the first detailed assessment of the paper archives, intended ‘to identify the potential for subsequent analysis of all or some of the material, not only in terms of its research value but also for its public interest and capacity to engage and involve non-professionals in the wider Castle project’ (Dennison 2014, 1). The present volume finally enables these ambitions, expressed many times over the course of three decades, to come to fruition. Our research on the archives facilitated new archaeological work on the site of the castle (see Preface), which was carried out by Wessex Archaeology in 2018. The results of these investigations are incorporated into this book (especially Chapter 7), enabling us to bring our understanding of the castle, and the narrative of the manner in which urban excavation is conducted and its position in regeneration debates, up to the present day.

Sheffield Castle in scholarly context

In this book we have set about bringing to publication several campaigns of excavation on the site of the castle, and, as well as contextualising these within regeneration debates in the city, we position our analysis within the context of wider studies of castles. There have been many studies of the origins, form and architectural development of castles (Brown 1954; Platt 1982; Cathcart King 1983; 1988; Fradley 2015; Kenyon 1990; Liddiard 2002; 2016a; Shapland 2019), their social, ideological and political meanings (e.g. Austin 2007; Pounds 1990; Coulson 1979; 2003; Gilchrist 1999, 109–45; Johnson 2002; Swallow 2016), and the impact of castles on the medieval economy (e.g. Austin 1984) and landscape (Creighton 2002; Liddiard 2005; Creighton and Higham 2004). A great deal has also been written in the last 30 years or so about the apparent transition in castle architecture from an emphasis on military defensibility to domestic comfort and ‘a retreat from the more warlike characteristics of a previous age’, which derives from a shift in interpretative emphasis (Liddiard 2016b, 2–3). The notion that the later medieval centuries represented a ‘decline’ of the ideals of medieval castles has taken hold in castle studies, but has been a controversial proposition and widely opposed by some scholars who have preferred to focus instead on the continuous evolution of castles across the medieval period (Faulkner 1963; Coulson 2000; Liddiard 2016b, 5). At the same time as we situate our research within this broader scholarly

context, our approach differs considerably from the tenor of this recent work, with its principal contribution being a study of the embeddedness of Sheffield Castle in urban life, especially its significance for the city in the centuries following its demolition. Our study is also unique in focussing on a castle that has almost entirely disappeared from the settlement in which it was located, in contrast to the focus of most castle studies on surviving fabric, architectural details and earthworks (e.g. see the range of papers in the two volumes compiled by Liddiard in 2002 and 2016; also Johnson 2017a).

Our book also contributes a new dimension to the discussion of castles as cultural phenomena. Much previous work has explored the imagined castles of medieval literature, the influence that medieval mythology had on castle architecture (e.g. Thompson 1997; Wheatley 2004; 2010; Swallow 2019), and the evidence from the landscape setting of castles that suggests that literary imagining 'of a castle magnificent in its setting was very much a medieval reality' (Liddiard 2016b, 16; Taylor 2000; see Chapter 8). In contrast, our analysis of Sheffield Castle presents a detailed examination of the way that even a castle that had disappeared from an urban landscape held a powerful pull on the imagination and on a sense of civic identity, and was subject to multiple reimaginings.

There have been a few recent studies integrating archaeological and historical evidence for the destruction, or slighting, of medieval castles during the English Civil War (e.g. Rakoczy 2007; Nevell 2020), but no study has previously examined the longer-term consequences of these acts of monumental destruction. Sheffield provides a rare opportunity to do that, with one of the most complete sets of demolition accounts, a rich, but largely untapped, archaeological record, and a long-running campaign of attempted regeneration of the castle site, to which the physical traces of the castle have been a perceived barrier but which we argue are, in fact, the potential key to unlocking the future. There have been other studies that have looked at the post-medieval fate of castles, as they were transformed into aristocratic country houses, repurposed as prisons (e.g. Munby *et al.* 2010), or became romantic follies in the designed landscapes of the 18th century and later (Johnson 2002; 2017b), but here we present a unique perspective on the afterlife of a medieval castle in an industrial and post-industrial urban landscape.

Our approach has been to write the biography of a historic place, interweaving three principal narratives: 1) the story of Sheffield Castle (its building phases, the people who lived and worked there etc.); 2) the story of the people who rediscovered the castle, inventing new histories for the place in the process; and 3) the story of the castle in its contemporary world from the place it occupied in medieval Sheffield to its role in the city today. These narratives are interspersed throughout the book with accounts of different historical actors (Waltheof, Leslie Armstrong, the de Lovetots, Joseph Himsworth, the de Furnivals, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Leslie Butcher, Mary, Queen of Scots, the Dukes of Norfolk, estate officials such as Geoffrey Botery the park keeper, and the labourers and craftworkers of the town, such as Henry Roworth and the Shore brothers) coming to the fore at different times, both in the past because of the historical sources we have but also across the last hundred years as the needs and agendas of successive eras have unfolded.

Conclusion

During their visit to Sheffield in 1903, members of the British Archaeological Association were presented with a bleak view of the heritage of the city by local historian Robert Eadon Leader (1904a, 12–13):

in Sheffield itself, there are but few objects of archaeological interest ... One stone, with chevron moulding, is the only proof of a Norman church. One mention alone is there of an early castle ... The old Hall in the Ponds is, in its decadence, the only remnant of the appurtenances of a castle whose materials were effectually utilised to rebuild a town of wood in stone ... Beyond these ... what have we got?

Traces of the city's medieval past had, admittedly, largely been obscured by industrialisation and urban expansion, and the situation has been compounded since Leader's day by the impact of the Luftwaffe during the Sheffield Blitz in December 1940, and the efforts of urban planners from the 1960s. Yet, as we shall see in this book, much more of the castle has survived than Leader's pessimistic assessment suggests, and, in the century or more since, much has been learned from excavation about the remains of the castle and its associated park and hunting lodge. While we began this chapter with an outline of the elites of Sheffield Castle, that is

arguably the least interesting or important aspect of its history, and what unfolds in the book is an archaeological record that has more to say about the servants, craftworkers and ordinary men and women of Sheffield whose labour created, maintained and ultimately dismantled the castle, and an account of the efforts of community heritage enthusiasts, amateur and professional archaeologists, university researchers, museum staff and the City Council, who have saved, recorded and sought to promote the castle. Finally, this book demonstrates the extent to which the hidden heritage of Sheffield's castle has had a continued, profound impact on the development, opportunities and aspirations of the city, showing that even as it lies beneath an empty plot of land it is returning, once again, to its role at the heart of the urban landscape in the 21st century.

Bibliography

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