OCR HISTORY AROUND US
Site Proposal Form Example from English Heritage

The Criteria

The study of the selected site must focus on the relationship between the site, other historical sources and the aspects listed in a) to n) below. It is therefore essential that centres choose a site that allows learners to use its physical features, together with other historical sources, as appropriate, to understand all of the following:

a) The reasons for the location of the site within its surroundings
b) When and why people first created the site
c) The ways in which the site has changed over time
d) How the site has been used throughout its history
e) The diversity of activities and people associated with the site
f) The reasons for changes to the site and to the way it was used
g) Significant times in the site’s past: peak activity, major developments, turning points
h) The significance of specific features in the physical remains at the site
i) The importance of the whole site either locally or nationally, as appropriate
j) The typicality of the site based on a comparison with other similar sites
k) What the site reveals about everyday life, attitudes and values in particular periods of history
l) How the physical remains may prompt questions about the past and how historians frame these as valid historical enquiries
m) How the physical remains can inform artistic reconstructions and other interpretations of the site
n) The challenges and benefits of studying the historic environment
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Specifics about the site in relation to criterion</th>
<th>Sources that can be used with this criterion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| a) The reasons for the location of the site within its surroundings | – The river Ouse and river Foss formed an important junction from prehistory onwards, helping York develop into an important trading centre by the late 8th century.  
– Two major Roman roads linked York with other settlements in England, making the city an important strategic location. Ermine Street ran from London to Lincoln and York. Dere Street ran northwards from York, crossing the Stanegate at Corbridge near Hadrian’s Wall, and continuing up to what is now Scotland.  
– The Ouse and the Foss provided ideal natural defences for a castle. York Castle, which is no longer visible in its Norman or complete medieval form, controlled the river crossings and therefore access to the castle and settlement.  
– Clifford’s Tower occupies a strategic position on a man-made mound (motte) that formed part of the first castle at York built by William the Conqueror (r.1066–87). This positioning gave good visibility over the surrounding landscape, especially in the event of an attack. William established castles across England in strategic locations to enforce his rule.  
– Clifford’s Tower was built in the 1250s by Henry III (r.1216–72). Henry feared war with Scotland and reinforced the defences in northern English towns in response to the threat of invasion. He ordered the enhancement of York Castle’s fortifications, including the development of Clifford’s Tower. | Google Maps: Clifford’s Tower  
Historic England List Entry for York Castle: [historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1011799](http://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1011799)  
J Clark, *Clifford’s Tower*, English Heritage Guidebooks (2010) |
The tower is the only surviving part of the medieval stone castle built in the 13th century and has been incorporated into more modern planning schemes as the city of York developed, acting as a folly in a mansion house garden in the 18th century and as part of a prison and judicial complex during the 19th and 20th centuries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b) When and why people first created the site</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The first castle</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>– The king, and many of his nobles, built castles for the same reason – they were fortified homes for Norman lords, mainly for administration. In sensitive areas, they were built for defence as well. Castles were also symbols of the power and wealth of the Norman aristocracy. William the Conqueror needed a castle in York to control the area and symbolise his power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– The record in the Domesday Book for York shows that William I was the tenant-in-chief and the lord of York and the surrounding area. Although the Normans had conquered England in 1066, many people objected to William’s rule and rebellions happened all over the country, including in the North in 1068 and 1069–70.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– William the Conqueror travelled to York in 1068 to quash a rebellion against Norman rule led by the Earl of Northumbria, Gospatrick. During the expedition, William built the first castle at York in an effort to establish his authority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Gospatrick and Edgar Ætheling attacked York in January 1069, prompting William to return to put down the rising and establish a second castle across from the first (on Baile Hill), using the river Ouse as a natural defence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Another large rebellion began across much of the north and west of England in summer 1069. A rising amongst York’s population attracted an invasion by King Sven of Denmark and Malcolm of Scotland. This led to the destruction of both of William’s castles in the city. King William returned to York a third time to put down the rebellion and re-establish his control. He ordered both of his castles to be rebuilt, putting William Percy, a Norman nobleman, in charge of the administration of the area. To ensure compliance with Norman rule, William laid waste to the areas around York, punishing the population by destroying and plundering the land. This is now referred to as ‘the Harrying of the North’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


English Heritage YouTube Channel, *A Brief History of the Normans / Animated History* (2016): www.youtube.com/watch?v=xCCTJKsLZxE

A Powell-Smith, *York Entry: Open Domesday*: opendomesday.org/place/SE6052/york

Norman York Castle, reconstruction by Terry Ball, in Historic England Archive: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/002
### Medieval castle

- Little is known about York Castle in the 60 years following 1072. Minor works were recorded during the reigns of King Stephen (r. 1135–54) and Henry II (r. 1154–89). Money was spent on the gaol and the predecessor to Clifford’s Tower in response to a rebellion orchestrated by Henry’s wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, through her sons and with the support of Louis, King of France, in 1173.

- In 1190, superstition about the Jewish community led to riots and anti-Semitic attacks across the country. In March, a group of about 150 Jews sheltered inside the walls of York Castle from an angry mob. On 16 March, many of those inside the tower decided to kill themselves rather than renounce their faith or be killed by the mob outside the castle. The wooden tower on top of the motte (where Clifford’s Tower stands today) was set on fire and completely destroyed.

- During King John’s reign (1199–1216) small amounts were spent on maintaining and improving the castle regularly. A programme of works following John’s visit to York in 1200 suggests that at least part of the castle was being rebuilt in stone, including repairs to the castle bridge linking the motte to the bailey. Four years later, the sheriff was ordered to gather stone and lime to strengthen the castle. This seems to have included the south gatehouse, drawbridge pit and parts of the curtain wall. The gaol required constant repairs during John’s reign.

- A house was built for Henry III in front of the gaol between 1237 and 1238. Although some buildings at York Castle were made of stone, some were still made of timber.

- The stone tower that we see today was first built during Henry III’s reign (r. 1216–72). He visited York in 1244 and summoned a master carpenter and master mason to survey the castle. He also directed the sheriff to organise materials and other craftsmen to strengthen the castle’s defences. He feared war with Scotland, which would make northern cities like York vulnerable to attack. Work would continue at York Castle for almost 20 years. This included the development of a new stone tower, first mentioned as the ‘tower of York’ in 1251. The design of the tower reflects architectural fashions in France during the 13th century. The plan of the four-lobed tower is very unusual and is a close copy of the plan of royal French castles, like Étampes, south-west of Paris. It is

### Phased site plan of Clifford’s Tower


### The Massacre of the Jews at Clifford’s Tower (article)


### Speaking with Shadows Podcast, Episode 3: The Medieval Massacre of the Jews of York

www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/inspire-me/speaking-with-shadows/episode-3

### Medieval York Castle, reconstruction by Terry Ball, in Historic England Archive:

historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/001


www.youtube.com/watch?v=RXXDTtkj3Ew
unlike any other building in England before or since.

– As part of this rebuilding work, some of the old castle buildings were demolished and replaced, including a chapel and the gaol. The castle was largely finished to Henry III’s requirements by 1262.

– Edward I (r.1272–1307) established his Exchequer at York Castle in 1298. He modified Clifford’s Tower by installing new doors, locks and ‘other things that are lacking for the safeguarding of our treasury which we shall place there’.

Later medieval castle
– The medieval castle’s location between the rivers Ouse and Foss has meant that it has been vulnerable to flooding. A large section of curtain wall collapsed in 1315 following flooding, which had softened the motte. Repairs were made to the castle following this incident, including repairs to the well inside Clifford’s Tower. Further repairs were made during the 1320s. This included new lead for the roofs of houses inside the tower, the mending of a wooden fence around the tower and repairing the walls between the tower and the castle.

– Reports on the condition of Clifford’s Tower in 1358 and 1360 record that it was still showing serious signs of subsidence. The tower walls were cracked from top to bottom in two places and the east lobe of the tower was almost falling over. Buildings inside the castle were also in bad repair. Lead from roofs had been removed or was damaged, timber had decayed and ironwork had been removed from doors and gates. The rest of the castle was also in a poor condition and was unlikely to have been able to resist attack.

– Edward III (r.1327–77) spent over £800 on a complete renovation of York Castle between 1360 and 1365. Iron stays were installed to support a bretesse (covered timber gallery) and a glazier fitted 32 square feet of glass above the chapel entrance in 1362. Wall tiles were bought for chimneys in the kitchen and the chapel screen and two great stones were bought for mantelpieces in 1364. Lead sheeting was bought to re-roof the turret beside the chapel as well as being used for the kitchen gutters and

Chateau d’Étampes Site Plans: www.carneycastle.com/etampes/index.htm

Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1313–1318 (London, 1893), 262–3: archive.org/stream/cu31924091068993#page/n273/mode/1up

Inquisition at York Castle in 1360 describing the dire condition of York Castle and Clifford’s Tower, in Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, Vol. 3 (London, 1937), 130–132. [Available at: babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=inu.300095331645&view=1up&seq=5]

Reconstruction drawing of the chapel at Clifford’s Tower in the early 14th century, in Clifford’s Tower Teachers’ Kit (KS1–3): www.english-heritage.org.uk/siteassets/home/visit/places-to-visit/cliffords-tower/school-visits/accordion/cliffords_tower_teachers_kit ks1-ks3.pdf
‘evesplates’. At this time, the banks of the river Foss were strengthened with rammed earth and straw in an attempt to prevent further flooding.

– Minor repairs to the great hall are recorded in the 15th century. Richard III (r.1483–85) intended to completely rebuild York Castle from 1484, but work halted following his death at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. In 1487, the mayor of York told Henry VII (r.1485–1509), the new king, that the city was decayed because of the ‘takyng downe of yowe castell there by King Richard and as yet not re-edified.’

**Tudor**

– Clifford’s Tower (sometimes referred to as the ‘arx’ or ‘citadel’) was rarely used during the 15th and 16th centuries. In 1540, John Leland, an antiquary, described York Castle as a ‘desolate ruin’. In the 1590s, its gaoler, Robert Redhead, was accused of dismantling the building and selling off its materials.

**Stuart**

– The tower was repaired and enhanced during the English Civil War by the Royalist army under Charles I (r.1625–49). Queen Henrietta Maria, his wife, raised funds in Holland to support the king’s cause. This included providing cannon and materials for Clifford’s Tower in 1643. New floors were laid, new storerooms were built and a deeper moat was dug. A new drawbridge and palisades were also built, along with a new square inner tower. This provided a platform on top of the tower where cannon could be mounted.

– A survey of Clifford’s Tower in 1683 recommended that it be de-garrisoned and perhaps demolished. This proved unnecessary as the tower was reduced to a shell by fire in 1684. The fire was caused by a gun salute fired from the roof to celebrate St George’s Day.

**18th century**

– Clifford’s Tower was bought by Samuel Waud, a local gentleman, in 1727. He built a mansion on the east side of the motte and the tower acted as a folly in his garden.

– Clifford’s Tower neighboured a growing prison and judicial complex during the 18th

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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Correspondence between aldermen of York and Lord Burghley in the 1590s referenced in Sources section of Clifford’s Tower Teachers’ Kit (KS1–3): <a href="http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/siteassets/home/visit/places-to-visit/cliffords-tower/school-visits/accordion/cliffords_tower_teachers_kit_ks1%E2%80%93ks3.pdf">www.english-heritage.org.uk/siteassets/home/visit/places-to-visit/cliffords-tower/school-visits/accordion/cliffords_tower_teachers_kit_ks1–ks3.pdf</a></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A cutaway reconstruction showing the structure of Clifford’s Tower as it appears in plans from the 1680s © Historic England (illustration by Peter Urmston): <a href="http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/cliffords-tower-york/history-and-stories/history">www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/cliffords-tower-york/history-and-stories/history</a></td>
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</table>
The County Gaol (now known as the Debtor’s Prison) was built close by between 1701 and 1715. The new Assize Courts were built between 1733 and 1777, and the Female Prison was built between 1780 and 1783. Clifford’s Tower was neglected and allowed to decay during this period, acting merely as a monument within a growing prison.

19th century

– The prison was enlarged in 1824 and a new governor’s house, with prison blocks leading from it, was built between 1826 and 1835. It was necessary to cut into the base of the motte underneath Clifford’s Tower to create a road between the gatehouse and the new prison.

– Iron rods were inserted into the tower to try to bind it together.

20th century

– A report by the Prison Commission in 1901 indicates that the forebuilding and east lobe of Clifford’s Tower were sinking into the motte as it collapsed below them. It also records that the forebuilding was moving away from the rest of the tower.

– Sir Basil Mott, an engineer, was appointed to supervise the underpinning of the tower in 1902. Concrete and five large flying buttresses were inserted into the motte to secure the tower above.

– Extensive repairs were recommended by the Office of Works in 1914 but these only began in 1919 once the First World War had ended. The tower’s masonry was reinforced with metal rods and major tears in the walls were filled in with sandstone and grout.

– The prison closed in 1929 and the original profile of the motte was restored as part of a scheme to demolish all buildings in the area built after 1824.

– English Heritage has cared for Clifford’s Tower since 1983.

A photographic copy of an engraving by Francis Place of Clifford’s Tower before it was blown up in 1684 (c.1600–84), in Historic England Archive: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/FL01194/01/013

An extract from Charles Musgrave’s report on the state of York Castle and Clifford’s Tower in 1682 from An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 2, the Defences, originally published by Her Majesty’s Stationery Office (London, 1972). [Available at: www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol2/pp176-179#fnn1]

A drawing of Clifford’s Tower and Samuel Waud’s House by an unknown artist, c.1730: www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/collections/search/item/?id=20000790&search_query=bGltaXQ9Q29tYmQ0w0lNUUkJTVEPUZpbmUrQXJ0

Drawing of the Castle Yard at York Castle by Francis Bedford, 1846: www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/collections/search/item/?id=20000793&search_query=bGltaXQ9Q29tYmcm2VhcmN0X3RleHQ9Y2xpZmZvcml6NjIUMlMj
21st century
– In 2021, a project to stabilise the tower and install new walkways and platforms inside it was completed by English Heritage.

Hand coloured sketch elevations of the exterior north and east faces of Clifford’s Tower showing damage to the stonework (1913), in Historic England Archive: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/MP/CLI0033

d) How the site has been used throughout its history
– Like many Norman castles, York Castle was built with a settlement attached. The castle and settlement were designed together as a walled enclosure, with a protective wall around both so the castle could protect the settlement from attackers, but also from thieves and wild animals.

– William I’s victory at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 was not universally popular in England. He spent the first years of his reign establishing his authority in his new kingdom by putting down rebellions and building castles. He built, and then rebuilt, the first castle at York to establish, regain and maintain his control in the north of England following successive risings. York Castle was used as a symbol of Norman power and the new king’s authority over the lands he had conquered.

– The timber predecessor to Clifford’s Tower was used as a place of sanctuary for around 150 members of York’s Jewish community who sheltered there from an angry mob in March 1190. Most of those sheltering inside the castle’s tower took their own lives rather than renounce their faith or be killed by the mob outside its walls.

– Henry III (r.1216–72) built Clifford’s Tower as part of a programme to strengthen the defences at York Castle in response to the threat of war with Scotland.

Norman York Castle, reconstruction by Terry Ball, in Historic England Archive: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/002

English Heritage YouTube Channel, A Brief History of the Normans / Animated History (2016): www.youtube.com/watch?v=xCCTJKsLZxE

– York Castle became a key centre of power in the north during the reigns of Edward I (r.1272–1307) and Edward II (r.1307–27), acting as the Crown’s principal northern base. This was due to ongoing conflict with Scotland.

– Edward I established his Exchequer at York in 1298 and Clifford’s Tower was used to store money to pay for the ongoing war with Scotland and receive taxes. Between 1298 and 1392, the royal treasury and courts were transferred from London to York a number of times. A house used by Parliament inside York Castle was repaired in 1304.

– Although it’s unclear when a mint was established at York Castle, we know that it was rebuilt in 1353 and 1423. While some of the buildings involved in the minting of coin were elsewhere in the castle, Clifford’s Tower may have been where coins were assayed (checked for their metal content). The tower was a secure setting for this work and the fireplaces inside seem to have been designed as hearths for the assaying process.

– The first-floor apartments at Clifford’s Tower were intended to act as secure accommodation for successive medieval kings and queens but were rarely used for this purpose. During the Middle Ages, York Castle was principally used as a fortification and a centre of government, law and order.

– Clifford’s Tower was used to house prisoners from its earliest history. Some of the most notable include Robert Aske, leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace, in 1537, and George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends (Quakers), in 1665. Prisoners were held in towers in the curtain wall of the inner bailey of York Castle between the 14th and 18th centuries.

– The prominent position of Clifford’s Tower has made it an ideal backdrop for a number of high-profile executions. It’s been suggested that the tower’s name may have come from the execution of Roger de Clifford, a baron who rebelled against Edward II. He was hanged from the tower’s walls. Later, Robert Aske, a leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace against Henry VIII in 1536, was hanged in chains from Clifford’s Tower for all to see.
– The tower was brought back into military use by Charles I’s Royalist army in 1642. In 1644, the northern Royalist army, led by the Earl of Newcastle, retreated from Durham to York on 16 April. They were closely followed by Scottish armies who had joined forces with the Parliamentarians. By 23 April, York was under siege, with the Parliamentarians attempting to storm the Royalist-held castle.

– Parliament continued to garrison Clifford’s Tower from 1646 but it was mainly used as an armoury. In 1650 and 1652, 3,000 muskets were transported from the tower.

– Records from 1662 show that after the English Civil War, 40 men were stationed at Clifford’s Tower, which was being used as a magazine (a storage area used to house weapons and ammunition).

– During the later years of the 17th century, the cannon on the roof of the tower was used to fire celebratory salutes on special occasions. A gun salute fired from the tower on St George’s Day in 1684 caused a fire that reduced Clifford’s Tower to a shell. After this, the tower continued to be used for storage, including cannon, but it was never used as a military fortification again.

– In 1727, a local gentleman, Samuel Waud, bought Clifford’s Tower and built a mansion on the east side of the motte. Clifford’s Tower played the role of a folly within the house’s garden.

– York Castle remained important to local politics and the castle yard (known as the ‘Eye of the Riding’) was used to hold Yorkshire’s county elections until 1831.

– In 1802, York’s place of execution was moved from York Tyburn, on the Knavesmire, to the New Drop, outside the original castle walls, then to the back of the Assize Courts. Executions were moved inside the prison walls at the end of the Female Prison in 1868 until executions finally stopped in York in 1896.

– The prison buildings were improved and enlarged in 1824 to improve living conditions for prisoners following the implementation of stricter regulations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e) The diversity of activities and people associated with the site</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A medieval castle</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Activities:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>– As a medieval castle, the site’s main activities would have been the day-to-day running of the castle and managing the wider area around York. It was a key military fortification relied on during periods of war with Scotland during the Middle Ages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– The Clifford’s Tower site was the setting of one of the worst anti-Semitic events in English history: the massacre of Jews in York in 1190.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– York Castle was used as a royal residence and fortress during the Middle Ages, housing the king during periods of conflict, as well as important members of the nobility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– There is evidence to suggest that Clifford’s Tower was used as a place to assay coin, acting as part of the mint operating at York Castle during the 15th century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>People:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– William, King of the Scots (r. 1165–1214), invaded England in 1174 as part of a rebellion against Henry II by his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine. William was captured by Henry at the Battle of Alnwick that year. To secure his release, William swore fealty to Henry (made an oath as a subordinate to the English king, promising his service and help) at York Castle in 1175.</td>
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Historic England: [History of Clifford’s Tower](https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/cliffords-tower-york/history-and-stories/history)

The Massacre of the Jews at Clifford’s Tower: [Massacre of the Jews](https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/cliffords-tower-york/history-and-stories/massacre-of-the-jews)


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In 1900, the castle transitioned from a civilian prison to a military prison. Clifford’s Tower was returned to the city of York in 1902 on the understanding that it would be repaired as a historic monument. The tower was taken into state guardianship in 1915.

After the closure of the prison in 1929, Clifford’s Tower was once again accessible to the public and acted as a tourist attraction.

Clifford’s Tower has been in the care of English Heritage since 1983. It remains open to the public as a scheduled monument.
– Henry III built Clifford’s Tower in the 13th century as part of a large programme of rebuilding work at York Castle in response to the threat of war with Scotland.

– Edward I and Edward II maintained the site as a fortress and the Crown’s principal northern base during the ongoing conflict with the Scots.

– Alice, Countess of Buchan, and her children stayed at Clifford’s Tower in 1338. The countess was a member of a powerful Scottish family but had married Henry de Beaumont, a key ally of Edward III (r.1327–77) during the wars against Scotland. A condition of her stay at Clifford’s Tower was ‘that the king’s things in the tower be safely kept for his use’.

– Bartholomew Seman, a London goldsmith and master of the king’s mint, was sent to York in 1423 to ‘coin there the gold and silver of the said country that was not of the right weight, and to remain there during the king’s pleasure’.

– Religious figures were central to the rituals of medieval castles. Chaplains were needed to take daily services and they were assisted by clerks. The chapel at Clifford’s Tower was used by important visitors staying in the residential apartments inside the tower.

– Most people living at York Castle during the Middle Ages were soldiers and people supporting the running of the castle, such as cooks, servants, blacksmiths and chaplains. Many servants were needed to keep large castles going – especially for tough, menial duties such as preparing food and washing clothes. These people had a very different standard of living to their masters. People from the town may also have carried out duties in the castle.

**A local landmark, prison, and fortification**

**Activities:**
– Clifford’s Tower was used as a place of imprisonment and execution during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, but suffered damage as a result of the stealing of its building materials in the 1590s and ongoing neglect following the end of the English Civil War.
A siege broke out in 1644 during the English Civil War when a retreating Royalist army took refuge inside Clifford’s Tower from a combined Scottish and Parliamentarian force. The Royalists surrendered York to Parliament on 16 July that year.

**People:**

– Robert Aske, a lawyer and rebel leader during the Pilgrimage of Grace, was imprisoned at York and was hung in chains from the walls of Clifford’s Tower in 1537.

– Robert Redhead, the gaoler at Clifford’s Tower, was seen dismantling the building and selling off its materials in the 1590s. Local people, including the mayor and aldermen of the city, protested about the destruction of such a prominent landmark to Elizabeth I’s Lord Treasurer, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, in 1596.

– Charles I brought the tower back into military use during the English Civil War as a Royalist garrison. His wife, Henrietta Maria, secured funds and weaponry to reinforce and arm the tower.

– George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends (Quakers) was imprisoned at Clifford’s Tower for two nights in 1665 on his way to Scarborough Castle.

– The notorious highwayman, Dick Turpin, was held at York after being captured under an alias, ‘Palmer’. Turpin sent a letter from York Castle and his handwriting betrayed his identity. He was executed in York on 7 April 1739.

**A monument within a prison**

**Activities:**

– Clifford’s Tower’s role as a storage building following the English Civil War can be attributed to its decaying state. Its positioning within a growing prison complex was a consequence of the changing uses of the York Castle site.

– There’s little evidence to suggest that Clifford’s Tower was used as a gaol beyond the 18th century, but prisoners continued to be housed on the York Castle site in new buildings, including the Debtors’ Prison and Female Prison. Prisoners’ cases were tried

Correspondence between aldermen of York and Lord Burghley (1590s), referenced in Sources section of Clifford’s Tower Teachers’ Kit (KS1–3): [www.english-heritage.org.uk/siteassets/home/visit/places-to-visit/cliffords-tower/school-visits/accordion/cliffords_tower_teachers_kit_ks1-ks3.pdf](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/siteassets/home/visit/places-to-visit/cliffords-tower/school-visits/accordion/cliffords_tower_teachers_kit_ks1-ks3.pdf)

A photographic copy of an engraving by Francis Place of Clifford’s Tower before it was blown up in 1684 (c.1600–84), in Historic England Archive: [historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/FL01194/01/013](http://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/FL01194/01/013)

An extract from Charles Musgrave’s report on the state of York Castle and Clifford’s Tower in 1682 from An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 2, the Defences, originally published by Her Majesty’s Stationery Office (London, 1972). [Available at: www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol2/pp176-179#fnn1](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol2/pp176-179#fnn1)

Engraving of Clifford’s Tower and Samuel Waud’s House by an unknown artist, c.1730: [www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/collection](http://www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/collection)
in the Assize Courts.

– The site’s role as a prison ended in 1929 after which the prison buildings were sold to the City of York. Clifford’s Tower became a popular tourist attraction for people wanting to enjoy views over York from the wall-walk.

People:
– Samuel Waud built a mansion to the east of the motte, using Clifford’s Tower as a folly within his home’s grounds.
– Engineer Sir Basil Mott was appointed to stabilise Clifford’s Tower in 1902 after it had been found to be in a very poor state of repair. The east lobe and forebuilding had been sinking into the motte and the forebuilding had broken away from the rest of the tower.
– German prisoners of war were held on the York Castle site from 1914.
– English Heritage took over the care of Clifford’s Tower in 1983 and it continues to be managed as a scheduled monument.

[A subscription is needed to view this source.]

Hand-coloured sketch elevations of the exterior north and east faces of Clifford’s Tower showing damage to the stonework (1913), in Historic England Archive: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/MP/CLI0033

An aerial reconstruction of Clifford's Tower and the surrounding Prison and Assize Court buildings: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/010
<table>
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<tr>
<th>f) The reasons for changes to the site and to the way it was used</th>
<th>Establishing Norman rule</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>– William the Conqueror established a castle at York as part of his campaign to assert his authority over the north of England. He had to rebuild York Castle three times following successive rebellions against his rule in 1068 and 1069–70.</td>
<td>– The rebellion Eleanor of Aquitaine orchestrated against her husband, Henry II, provoked building work at York Castle in 1173. The work was focused on the gaol and the tower that preceded Clifford’s Tower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebellion and conflict</td>
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<tr>
<td>– The timber tower at York Castle was destroyed by fire during the massacre of the Jews in York in 1190.</td>
<td>– In the 1250s, Henry III ordered the construction of a new stone tower at York Castle as part of a grand rebuilding programme. He was concerned that war with Scotland would leave his northern lands vulnerable to attack. The unusual shape of the tower, built on top of William I’s motte, was a visible symbol of the king’s wealth and power, as well as the strength of his fortress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– York Castle acted as a centre of royal power in the north of England during the Middle Ages under Edward I and Edward II during their conflicts with Scotland. Edward I established his Exchequer at Clifford’s Tower in 1298. Modifications had to be made to the tower to accommodate the king’s treasury.</td>
<td>– The royal courts, Exchequer and treasury were moved to York a number of times between 1298 and 1392. Houses in the castle where Parliament sat were repaired in 1304 and chests were obtained for the storage of important documents and other items relating to the Exchequer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– The Exchequer left York in 1322 only to return in 1327 for ‘so long as the king shall stay there for the expedition of the Scotch war in the north’. Houses within the castle were repaired to receive it and at the same time a gate tower was refurbished to receive the Exchequer of the Queen Mother, Isabella. Provision was also made to improve the service areas of the castle because the royal household was spending more</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Phased site plan of Clifford’s Tower:**

**1066 and the Norman Conquest (webpage):**

**Norman York Castle, reconstruction by Terry Ball, in Historic England Archive:**
[historiccengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/002](http://historiccengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/002)

**History of Clifford’s Tower (article):**
time there.

– In 1333, a new building was constructed for the receipt and Exchequer of Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III, the castle already housing the king’s receipt and Exchequer.

**Flood damage and repairs**

– Flooding has been a consistent problem throughout Clifford’s Tower’s history. It has caused damage to the tower’s structure, which has required frequent maintenance and rebuilding.

– By 1360, subsidence had caused large cracks in the tower walls and the east lobe was collapsing. This damage, and decay within the rest of the castle, meant that it was unlikely that it could have resisted an attack. A complete renovation was undertaken between 1360 and 1365.

– In the 1360s, the banks of the river Foss were reinforced with straw and rammed earth to try to prevent further flooding problems.

**A little used local landmark**

– During the 15th and 16th centuries, the castle was little used and little was spent to maintain it. Although Richard III had intended to completely rebuild York Castle, he died in 1485 before the works could begin in earnest.

– During the 16th century, the castle was only used for some public events like executions, most notably the execution of the rebel leader, Robert Aske.

– In the 1590s, the gaoler, Robert Redhead, took advantage of inactivity at Clifford’s Tower and began dismantling it and selling off its materials. He was stopped by York’s mayor and the city’s aldermen.

**Response to the English Civil War**

– The English Civil War provoked military activity at Clifford’s Tower for the first time in more than 100 years. In 1643, Charles I asked the lieutenant-general of the Royalist forces in the north to prepare the city against attack, including mounting guns on the city.
gates.

– Clifford’s Tower was only repaired on the arrival of Charles’s wife, Henrietta Maria, who had been in Holland gathering arms and funds to support the king’s cause. She had been forced to land at Bridlington near York to avoid Parlamentarian forces.

– After York was surrendered to Parliament in 1644, Clifford’s Tower was used first as an armoury. In 1662, following the Restoration (1660), it was being used as a magazine.

Accidental fire

– Clifford’s Tower was reduced to a shell following a fire caused by a gun salute fired from a cannon at the top of the tower on St George’s Day in 1684. After this, the tower was sometimes used to fire celebratory salutes during the later 17th century but little else.

A mansion turned prison

– The tower was uninhabitable following the fire in 1684 and it became a folly within a mansion garden in 1727. It was then subsumed into the growing prison complex developed at York Castle during the 18th and 19th centuries.

– To build a new road between the gatehouse and the prison in 1826, part of the base of the motte was cut away and a high retaining wall was built around it.

Remembering the past and preserving the tower remains

– Years of neglect meant that Clifford’s Tower was allowed to decay. A Prison Commission report in 1901, describing the perilous state of the tower, prompted action to stabilise the motte, supervised by the engineer Sir Basil Mott.

– The tower was taken into state guardianship in 1915. After the First World War, the Office of Works began to repair Clifford’s Tower. Work started in 1919 to reinforce the masonry with metal rods inserted into the lobe walls, supported by concrete beams faced with stone. Rods in each lobe were hooked together to link the walls together, strengthening the structure. Major tears in the stonework were rebuilt with sandstone, while smaller cracks were filled in with grout.

A photographic copy of an engraving by Francis Place of Clifford’s Tower before it was blown up in 1684 (c.1600–84), in Historic England Archive: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/FL01194/01/013

An extract from Charles Musgrave’s report on the state of York Castle and Clifford’s Tower in 1682 from An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 2, the Defences, originally published by Her Majesty’s Stationery Office (London, 1972). [Available at: www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol2/pp176-179#fnn1]

Plan of York Castle by Jacob Richards, 1685: www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol2/plate-62

Engraving of Clifford’s Tower and Samuel Waud’s House by an unknown artist, c.1730: www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/collections/search/item/?id=20000790&search_query=bGltaXQ9M1TlYmc2VhcmN0RX3RieHQ9Y2xpZmZvcmQlNUMlMjdzK3Rvd2VykzdjTVcb3BcmF0b3I1INUQ9JTNFJTNEmkJzdjTVCdmdFsdWUINU
After the closure of the prison in 1929 and the demolition of prison buildings built after 1824, the motte was reinstated to its original profile.

Work to remove the route up to the motte from the south-west and the creation of a new set of steps directly up to the forebuilding was completed in 1936.

A plaque was installed at the base of the motte in 1978 to commemorate the victims of the Jewish Massacre in 1190.

English Heritage took over the care of Clifford’s Tower in 1983 and has run it as a scheduled historic monument and tourist attraction ever since. In 1991 English Heritage planted daffodils in the motte to commemorate the victims of the Jewish Massacre in 1190. They continue to bloom each year, symbolising the Star of David.

g) Significant times in the site’s past: peak activity, major developments, turning points

**The Norman Conquest**
– The establishment of two castles in York in 1068–9 was part of William I’s campaign to conquer and subdue the north of England following his victory at the Battle of Hastings.

**The Jewish Massacre**
– The Jewish Massacre in York in 1190 is considered the worst anti-Semitic attack on the Jewish community in England during the Middle Ages. Following this horrendous event, Jews were expelled from England by Edward I in 1290 and were only readmitted in 1656 under Oliver Cromwell.

**War with Scotland**
– The building of Clifford’s Tower and the development of York Castle as the Crown’s


principal centre of power in the north was in response to the threat of war with Scotland under Henry III during the 13th century and the ongoing conflict with Scotland under Edward I and Edward II during the 14th century.

**Flooding and subsidence**
- Environmental conditions, including flooding, have meant that Clifford’s Tower has required extensive repairs due to subsidence. The first complete renovation of the tower took place between 1360 and 1365 after reports highlighted how it had cracked in two places and a quarter of the tower (the east lobe) was falling over.

**Public executions**
- Due to its prominent position, the tower was used as the setting for high-profile executions such as that of Robert Aske, a leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace, in 1537. Aske’s visibly harsh punishment, being hung from the walls of the tower, served as a deterrent to other rebels.

**English Civil War fortress**
- Clifford’s Tower was brought back into military use by the Royalist army during the English Civil War. The castle was besieged in 1644 by Parliament and, following Parliament’s victory at the Battle of Marston Moor on 2 July, the Royalists surrendered the city of York.

**St George’s Day fire**
- The tower was reduced to a shell after a fire caused by a cannon salute celebrating St George’s Day in 1684. After this, the tower was no longer use for military purposes.

**A growing prison complex**
- During the 18th and 19th centuries, the development of a modern prison on the site of York Castle meant that Clifford’s Tower became enclosed within a growing prison complex and inaccessible to the public.

- Stricter regulations about living conditions meant that the prison was enlarged in 1824. To build a new road connecting the gatehouse and the new prison it was necessary to cut into the base of the motte underneath Clifford’s Tower.

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Inquisition at York Castle in 1360 describing the dire condition of York Castle and Clifford’s Tower, in *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, Vol. 3* (London, 1937), 130–132. [Available at: babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=inu.3000095331645&view=1up&seq=5]

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An aerial reconstruction of Clifford’s Tower and the surrounding Prison and Assize Court buildings: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/010
### State guardianship

– After Clifford’s Tower was placed into state guardianship in 1915, and the First World War ended in 1918, extensive repairs were undertaken to preserve the tower. Metal rods were inserted to strengthen the walls and major tears in the stonework were filled in.

– Following the closure of the prison in 1929, and the demolition of many prison buildings built after 1824, the original profile of the motte was restored and the tower was once again accessible to the public as a historic monument.

– Clifford’s Tower has been managed as a scheduled monument by English Heritage since the 1980s, welcoming visitors from across the world ever since.

### h) The significance of specific features in the physical remains at the site

– The motte is artificial and was probably built to support William I’s first keep in 1068. Over time, the motte’s shape and size has changed – the present motte is possibly taller than it would have been originally.

– The only remaining fireplaces in the north and west lobes have flues which taper to a very small size. The heights of these openings are disproportionate to their widths. Narrow flues are sometimes used in metalworking furnaces where a fast ‘draw’ is required. This is in keeping with the potential assaying and minting work happening at Clifford’s Tower in the 14th and 15th centuries.

– Surviving features in the chapel give an idea of how richly decorated it was during the Middle Ages. Sections of detailed masonry work, including pointed arches, survive, as does an aumbry (a cupboard for holy vessels) on the north-west wall.

– The wall-walk was used by the tower’s guards to survey potential threats and protect the building. Although today the wall-walk is about 60cm lower than it was originally, some paving slabs remain projecting from the wall to illustrate the original floor level.

– The east lobe of the tower housed part of the tower’s service area. This is where the well is located that supplied water to the tower’s inhabitants.
The east lobe of Clifford’s Tower has been badly distorted by subsidence. The motte was originally surrounded by a moat fed by the river Foss. Flooding, reported as early as 1316, contributed to the tower’s ongoing structural problems.

Large sockets in the stonework of the east lobe are level with the window embrasures and originally had corbels (a type of bracket) holding supporting vertical timber posts, which in turn supported the main beams of the first floor. Subsidence in the tower, first mentioned during the 14th century, resulted in the walls moving outwards, making the beams too short. Instead of removing these beams, additional sockets were added with further beams to support the first floor. This has meant that there are more sockets in the east lobe than any other lobe of the tower.

A large crack runs the full height of the south lobe, which was first recorded in 1358 when it passed through a window at first-floor level. The window was repaired in 1360. It was filled in with masonry, leaving only a small opening.

Above the entrance to the tower (the forebuilding) there are two shields dating from the tower’s role in the English Civil War. The upper one shows Charles I’s coat of arms and the one below bears the arms of Henry Clifford, 5th Earl of Cumberland, who had been lord-lieutenant of the northern parts and governor of York until his death in 1643.

The north-eastern side of the forebuilding dates from the 13th century. A vertical scar in the wall next to its entrance marks the remains of one or two stone walls that flanked the original stairs up to the tower. The later sections of the forebuilding (dating from the 17th century) can be distinguished by their use of mauve-tinted sandstone and reused limestone.

View looking along the tower’s wall-walk, in Historic England Archive: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP072264

Inquisition at York Castle in 1360 describing the dire condition of York Castle and Clifford’s Tower, in Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, Vol. 3 (London, 1937), 130–132. [Available at: babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=inu.3000095331645&view=1up&seq=5]

Exterior view of the top of the tower’s south-east corner turret, showing blocked up window, in Historic England Archive: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP072241

Reconstruction drawing of the shields above the entrance of the forebuilding (coats of arms of Charles I and Henry Clifford), in Historic England Archive: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/011

An extract from Charles Musgrave’s report on the state of York Castle and Clifford’s Tower in 1682 from An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 2, the Defences, originally published by Her
<table>
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<th>i) The importance of the whole site either locally or nationally, as appropriate</th>
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<tr>
<td>– Clifford’s Tower is the only surviving part of the medieval York Castle. Its unusual four-leaf clover plan is unique in England and seems to have been copied from French royal castles, like Étampes, south-west of Paris.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– The tower originally sat within a large medieval castle, which played an important role in local and national government during the Middle Ages. A number of English kings built, repaired and repurposed Clifford’s Tower according to their needs. Edward I and Edward II used York Castle as their principal base in the north, setting up their courts and Exchequer within Clifford’s Tower. The castle was also home to a mint during the 14th and 15th centuries.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– The Eye of Yorkshire (the central area around which Clifford’s Tower, the York Castle Museum and York Crown Court sit today) was once the centre of York Castle. It has been the centre of local politics for centuries, acting as the venue for Yorkshire’s county elections until 1831. The Eye of the Ridings, as it was previously known, is where William Wilberforce, the famous abolitionist, stood for election to Parliament in 1807.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Castles generally provide an emotive and evocative link to the past and can provide a valuable educational resource, most significantly with respect to medieval society, but also warfare and defence. All examples retaining significant remains of medieval date are considered to be of national importance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of Clifford’s Tower (article): <a href="http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/cliffords-tower-york/history-and-stories/history/significance">www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/cliffords-tower-york/history-and-stories/history/significance</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chateau d’Étampes Site Plans: <a href="http://www.carneycastle.com/Etampes/index.htm">www.carneycastle.com/Etampes/index.htm</a></td>
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<td>Historic England List Entry for York Castle: <a href="http://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1011799">historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1011799</a></td>
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<td>An aerial reconstruction of Clifford’s Tower and the surrounding Prison and Assize Court buildings: <a href="http://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/010">historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/010</a></td>
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<th>j) The typicality of the site based on a comparison with other similar sites.</th>
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<tr>
<td>– The predecessor of Clifford’s Tower was typical of Norman castle construction – a timber building on top of an artificial mound, with a bailey, known as a motte and bailey castle.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– There are many other examples of curved castle keeps in English castle design. These Norman York Castle, reconstruction by Terry Ball, in Historic England Archive: <a href="http://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/002">historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/002</a></td>
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were developed from the 11th century and were often re-buildings of earlier timber towers built around the time of the Norman Conquest. Restormel Castle, built in Cornwall in the 13th century, is an example of a circular keep built on an earlier Norman mound surrounded by a deep ditch, just as Clifford’s Tower was built on a mound and was surrounded by a moat.

– The layout of York Castle during the Middle Ages, with its stone curtain walls, central tower on top of a motte, drawbridge and moat, was a development of the Norman motte and bailey castles originally made from timber. York Castle was typical of medieval castle design. Similar examples include Berkhamsted Castle in Hertfordshire and Launceston Castle in Cornwall.

– Clifford’s Tower’s unusual plan is atypical of English castle design. The stone tower built in the 13th century mirrors French royal castle plans of the period (such as Étampes, Ambléry and Aisne) but is unique in England. It has been suggested that the design for Clifford’s Tower must have originated in France due to its similarity to these examples. There are no other known examples of a four-lobed, four-leaf clover-shaped tower in England.

– The inclusion of a chapel inside the tower is reminiscent of the pre-Conquest architecture of Anglo-Saxon England. This may reflect an Old English influence on the design of York Castle.

– The wall-walk is a common feature in medieval castles. Other examples include Framlingham Castle in Suffolk and Lincoln Castle.

– The medieval interior of Clifford’s Tower is both typical of medieval castles and atypical. The presence of a chapel, apartments for the lord and lady (in this case the king and queen), and service areas is usual for medieval castle keeps, as are other residential features at Clifford’s Tower like latrines and fireplaces. The presence of fireplaces designed for metalworking is less usual and reflects the tower’s possible use in the assaying and minting of coin in the 14th century.

– York Castle’s curtain wall connected with the city walls. The entrance to the city over

Medieval York Castle, reconstruction by Terry Ball, in Historic England Archive:
historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC121/001

Phased site plan of Clifford’s Tower:

Chateau d’Étampes Site Plans:
www.carneycastle.com/etampes/index.htm

Reconstruction drawing of the chapel at Clifford’s Tower in the early 14th century, in the Clifford’s Tower Teachers’ Kit (KS1–3): www.english-heritage.org.uk/siteassets/home/visit/places-to-visit/cliffords-tower/school-visits/accordion/cliffords_tower_teachers_kit_ks1-ks3.pdf

Detail view of a fireplace in Clifford’s Tower, in Historic England Archive:
historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP072262
the river crossing was overseen by the castle. This is similar to other settlements like Castle Acre in Norfolk.

– Other typical medieval castle features at York Castle include the division of the site into outer and inner wards, which acted as zones of activity and movement in the castle. These separated the lower-status outer ward from the high-status inner ward where the most important people lived and where the king stayed while visiting.

A 16th-century map of York by John Speed:
cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-ATLAS-00002-00061-00001/66

k) What the site reveals about everyday life, attitudes and values in particular periods of history

– William the Conqueror’s attitude towards establishing his control in England can be understood through his building of the first Norman castles in York in the 1060s and the Harrying of the North. William built castles across England to impose his authority and maintain control of his new kingdom, installing his supporters in key strategic positions like York. He suppressed rebellions by force, plundering and laying waste to large areas; a severe punishment to all who had rebelled against the new Norman king. Villages and farmland were destroyed and many people were killed during an action that became known as the ‘Harrying of the North’. Others starved after their livestock was killed and their crops burned. The land was also salted to ensure that no crops could grow. Around 75 per cent of the local population perished.

– The attack on the Jewish community in York in 1190 was a consequence of growing anti-Semitic attitudes in medieval England. These grew both in response to anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim propaganda spread during the Third Crusade (1189–92) and in response to rumours that Richard I had ordered the death of all Jews on his return to the Holy Land in 1190. At this time, Jewish people were regarded by Christians as ‘infidels’ because they did not follow the Christian faith. Jewish people were expelled from England by Edward I in 1290 and were only permitted to return under Oliver Cromwell in 1656.

– Clifford’s Tower reveals how attitudes towards crime and punishment have changed over the past 800 years. While in the Middle Ages and the Tudor period, executions took place publicly as a deterrent to others, during the 18th and 19th centuries these punishments took place in increasing privacy within the growing prison’s walls. During

1066 and the Norman Conquest (webpage):
www.english-heritage.org.uk/learn/1066-and-the-norman-conquest

The Massacre of the Jews at Clifford’s Tower (article):

Speaking with Shadows Podcast, Episode 3: The Medieval Massacre of the Jews of York:
www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/inspire-me/speaking-with-shadows/episode-3

Reconstruction drawing of the chapel at Clifford’s Tower in the early 14th century, in the Clifford’s Tower
the 19th century, stricter regulations about the living conditions for prisoners provoked the modernisation of prisons like those at York.

– The remains at Clifford’s Tower show the development of a military fortress, both during the Middle Ages and then again during the 17th century. The first-floor rooms inside the tower were designed to provide secure accommodation for the king and queen at the centre of a fortification. These apartments reflect a need for security, as well as an increasing desire for privacy among the nobility. They indicate the social convention that members of different levels in the castle hierarchy should live separately and in conditions that reflected their status.

– The positioning of Clifford’s Tower on a high artificial mound inside a powerful fortress ensured that it could be seen from a distance. Medieval kings spent heavily on the development of York Castle to create a strong defensive fortification and a symbol of the Crown’s strength and authority.

– The existence of a chapel inside Clifford’s Tower reflects the importance of the Church in daily life during the Middle Ages. The ‘squint’ windows in the chapel allowed important guests or the royal family to view services from the privacy of their own rooms. This is evidence both of the social separateness of royalty and the castle household, and that the wider castle household were expected to attend services.

– The deterioration of Clifford’s Tower from the 17th century to the 19th century is reflective of how the city of York changed over time. Although York’s early history is as a strategic fortified city, it later became a cultural centre in the north and an important local judicial centre.

1) How the physical remains may prompt questions about the past and how historians frame these as valid historical enquiries

– There are two key ways in which physical remains can prompt questions. Firstly, the reason for the tower’s construction and, secondly, the way it has changed, been adapted or replaced/built over. There has been significant architectural change at Clifford’s Tower due to conflicts under different monarchs, environmental conditions and, ultimately, the tower’s accidental destruction and subsequent neglect.

The Massacre of the Jews at Clifford’s Tower:


Artistic depictions of Clifford’s Tower by a variety of artists, c.17th–19th century:
www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/collections/search/?limit=16&search_text=clifford%27s%20tower&Gs%5Boperator%5D=%3E%3D&Gs%5Bvalue%5D&Ge%5Boperator%5D=%3C%3D&Ge%5Bvalue%5D&FN
| – William I’s violent suppression of rebellions around York in the 1060s, and his founding of castles in important strategic locations, poses questions about the nature of kingship for a victorious conqueror during this period. Plundering and laying waste to areas as a punishment for rebellion was a key aspect of William’s campaign to establish and maintain Norman rule in England following his victory over Harold Godwinson at the Battle of Hastings in 1066. It was a reign of terror rather than diplomacy. |
| – The destruction of York Castle’s original timber tower (no longer visible) during the massacre of the Jews in York in 1190 poses questions about the growth of anti-Semitic attitudes during the Middle Ages and the reasons for this. Ongoing crusades in the Holy Land (an area roughly between the Jordan river and the Mediterranean sea) and the propaganda spread as a result of these conflicts provide important context for the growth of anti-Semitism in England during this period. |
| – Ongoing environmental conditions and the problems these caused to the building’s structure pose questions about why Clifford’s Tower and York Castle were continually built and rebuilt following damage caused by flooding and subsidence. |
| – The implementation of specific features, such as fireplaces designed to aid in the assaying and minting process, poses questions about how the tower functioned as a centre of local government during the Middle Ages. |
| – Large-scale development and rebuilding at York Castle during the 14th century poses questions about how current events impacted on royal building projects. Both Edward I and Edward II spent significant amounts of time and money at York Castle during their reigns, even relocating their courts and treasuries there, due to ongoing conflict with Scotland on England’s northern border. |
| – Changes to Clifford’s Tower pose questions about why features were altered in a specific way. The design changes reveal the changing nature of how castles were used; for example, the creation of a square tower in the centre of Clifford’s Tower during the English Civil War to create a gun platform on the roof. |
| – The destruction of the interior of Clifford’s Tower following a fire in 1684 dramatically |

Speaking with Shadows Podcast, Episode 3: The Medieval Massacre of the Jews of York:
www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/inspire-me/speaking-with-shadows/episode-3

Inquisition at York Castle in 1360 describing the dire condition of York Castle and Clifford’s Tower, in, Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, Vol. 3 (London, 1937), 130–132. [Available at: babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=inu.3000095331645&view=1up&seq=3]

Detail view of a fireplace in Clifford’s Tower, in Historic England Archive: historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP072262

An extract from Charles Musgrave’s report on the state of York Castle and Clifford’s Tower in 1682 from An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 2, the Defences, originally published by Her Majesty’s Stationery Office (London, 1972). [Available at: www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol2/pp176-179#fnn1]
altered the tower’s use and future. From this point onwards, it ceased to be a military structure and fell into further disrepair until its status as an important historic monument led to extensive repair work in the 20th century.

**Example enquiry questions**

- What is it? What changes has it seen? What was it used for? What stories does it tell us about the past? What do we still need to know?
- Where was it built? Where was it changed? Where did the people come from who used it?
- Who built it? Who changed it? Who used it? Who was the last person to live here?
- When did people first live here? When was it built? When was it changed? When was it used? When did it stop being used?
- Why was it built? Why was it changed? Why was it used? Why was this location chosen? Why should we protect it?
- How was it built? How was it changed? How was it used? How much did it cost to build/change? How much can it tell us about the past?

| m) How the physical remains can inform artistic reconstructions and other interpretations of the site | Phased site plan of Clifford’s Tower: www.english-heritage.org.uk/siteassets/home/visit/places-to-visit/cliffords-tower/history-and-stories/cliffords-tower-phased-plan.pdf |
| Sketches, engravings and paintings, along with written descriptions and recorded expenditures of the castle in different time periods, can be used to piece together what the site might have looked like in the past. A variety of examples can be found in the York Museums Trust’s collections. | Artistic depictions of Clifford’s Tower by a variety of artists, c.17th–19th century: www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/collections/search/?limit=16&search_text=clifford%27s%20tower&Gs%5Boperator%5D=%3E%3D&Gs%5Bvalue%5D&Ge%5Boperator%5D=%3C%3D&Ge%5Bv |
n) The challenges and benefits of studying the historic environment

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges</th>
<th>Benefits</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>– Written sources are often not specific about what they refer to.</td>
<td>– Important source of primary information.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– Physical evidence can be difficult to interpret and identify. Physical evidence is layered and complex.</td>
<td>– Gives a sense of place, wellbeing and cultural identity.</td>
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<td>– Different interpretations of the same site and evidence.</td>
<td>– Allows visitors to connect people from the past to the place where they lived and worked.</td>
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<td>– Stimulating way to engage with history in the place where it happened.</td>
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<td>– Allows comparisons and parallels to be drawn both between historical periods and between the past and the present.</td>
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