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
Site name: RICHMOND CASTLE

Created by: ENGLISH HERITAGE LEARNING TEAM

Please provide an explanation of how your site meets each of the following points and include the most appropriate visual images of your site. Refer to your images to justify your explanation of how the site meets the criteria.

<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>
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</thead>
</table>
| a) The reasons for the location of the site within its surroundings | - Richmond Castle holds a strategic position on a cliff overlooking the river Swale. This hilltop position, with steep rocky faces below the castle’s southern walls, gave an excellent viewpoint of the surrounding area. It also made the castle more difficult to attack.  
- Positioned close to the river Swale, the castle controlled the river crossing, and therefore access to the castle and settlement. Swaledale was an important route across Cumbria. Up the dale, to the west, were lead mines. To the east, in the lowlands, were rich agricultural lands. Richmond was located at their meeting point, a natural place to control movement and commerce.  
- The castle forms part of a group of defensive and administrative structures established soon after the Norman Conquest in 1066. Tickhill, Pontefract, Skipsea and Richmond castles all marked the areas of Norman-dominated Yorkshire. Richmond Castle, with its huge estate stretching over eight counties, was also probably intended to reinforce England’s border with Scotland and exercise control over an area far from royal power in southern England.  
- In 1071, William I gave lands he had taken from the Anglo-Saxon Earl Edwin of Mercia to his ally, and cousin, Alan Rufus (d.1093). The estate was known as an ‘honour’, a group of different properties that were all part of one estate. Richmond was at the centre of Alan’s estate. | - Google Maps: Richmond Castle  
- Historic England Photo Library, DP028122: https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP028122  
- For a map of the landholdings in Yorkshire in 1086, see John Goodall, Richmond Castle, English Heritage Guidebooks (2016), p.3: https://www.englishheritageshop.org.uk/books-media/guidebook-richmond-castle-easby-abbey |
### b) When and why people first created the site

**First castle**
- The record in Domesday Book for Richmond (at the time known as ‘Hindrelag’) suggests that Alan Rufus probably built the first castle here, as a place from which to manage his new estate. Although the Normans had conquered England in 1066, many people objected to William I’s rule and rebellions happened all over the country, including in the North in 1068 and 1069–70.
- Many Norman nobles built castles for the same reason – castles were fortified homes for Norman lords, mainly for administration. In sensitive areas they were built for defence as well. They were also symbols of the power and wealth of the new Norman aristocracy.
- The castle was probably built between 1071 and 1089. Like many Norman castles, it 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.

**Open Domesday**
- [Open Domesday by Anna-Powell Smith](https://opendomesday.org/place/NZ1701/richmond/)

### c) The ways in which the site has changed over time

**Early medieval castle**
- The keep was probably built c.1150–60 by order of Conan IV, Duke of Brittany (d.1171.) The original 11th-century entranceway to the castle was sealed off and formed part of the base of the keep. A new entranceway was built a little to the east. A barbican to the north of the keep is also likely to have been built at this time, with a gatehouse and drawbridge over deep ditches protecting the castle entranceway.
- During the 1170s and 1180s, Henry II (r.1154–89) spent money on improving the castle, and probably updated Scolland’s Hall. At some point during the 12th century, more buildings were added to the range in the south-eastern corner of the castle, including a kitchen, buttery and pantry, accessed through new doorways in the western wall of Scolland’s Hall.
- More works were carried out in 1250. The Close Rolls for Henry III (r.1216–72) report: ‘Concerning oaks given: Marmaduke Dayrel, keeper of the king’s forest of

**Phased site plan**
- [Goodall, Richmond Castle, inside back cover]
- [Engraving of the keep and east curtain wall, showing the blocked-up 11th-century castle entrance and the postern gate, by J Newton, 1786, (Goodall, p.4):](https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/EHC01/047/0032)
- [Records of royal spending and administration are detailed in the](https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/EHC01/047/0032)
Galtrees, was commanded to allow Peter of Savoy to have 50 oaks in the same forest for timber, with all his escheats, for the work on his castle of Richmond, of the king’s gift.’

- A royal survey made in about 1280 records a garden ‘pertaining to the castle’, which may refer to the Cockpit garden.

- In 1294, Edward I (r. 1272–1307) made repairs to the castle. He also added vaults to the ground floor of the keep, with an opening in the massive central column for access to the tower’s well. A small spiral staircase was added for access to the upper floor. In around 1300, a second floor was added to Robin Hood Tower to create a lodging chamber (its fireplace and narrow window can be seen today) and a walkway was added to allow people to bypass the tower while moving along the curtain wall walk. New buildings were added along the east curtain wall, including another, larger, chapel and a great chamber room. The window in the south-eastern corner of Scoland’s Hall was significantly enlarged.

- John of Brittany probably built the walls that enclose the centre of Richmond town (and therefore the castle) in the early 14th century.

**Later medieval**

- By 1341, when John le Dreux, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond died childless, a report for the Crown describes: ‘… and there is at the same Richmond a castle with nothing of value within the walls, nor in the ditch of the same castle, but many repairs are required for the walls and buildings of the said castle.’

- An illustration dating to about 1400 shows the Cockpit garden filled with fruit trees.
Tudor
- From the late 15th century, the castle was rarely used. By 1538, a report for the king describes a long list of repairs needed. In 1540, the castle is described as ‘in mere ruine’ by the antiquarian John Leyland.

19th century
- Beginning in 1854, the keep was completely restored, including the unblocking of the original entranceway, the floor and roof reinstated and the vaulting repaired.
- In 1855, a barrack block was built along the west curtain wall for militiamen and staff of the North York Militia (then known as the North York Rifle Regiment). The medieval keep was adapted and used as a guardroom, armoury and clothing store. Another block was built adjacent to the keep, which included prisoners’ cells, a store and a sentry box. Other new buildings in the castle grounds included a quartermaster’s store, offices and a tailor’s shop.
- During the 19th century, the ground floor of the keep, the vaults of which had by then partially collapsed, was restored.
- Excavation of the Cockpit garden has revealed evidence of 19th-century gardens, including the remains of ornamental flowerbeds, paths and a glasshouse.

- An extract of Lord Scrope’s 1538 survey for Henry VIII can be found on p.26–7 in Goodall, Richmond Castle, and on this website: https://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol13/no1/pp207-223, in the entry for 25 March.
- Photograph of the cell block adjacent to the keep, in the Historic England Archive: https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP184276
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>20th century</th>
<th>d) How the site has been used throughout its history</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In 1910, the care of the buildings came under the Office of Works, who carried out repairs and restoration.</td>
<td>Alan Rufus, who probably established the first castle, used the site to assert his authority in the area. The castle was used as a place from which to manage his estate, the Honour of Richmond, and protect the area from raids. Like most Norman castles, it was built with a settlement attached and both were protected by a walled enclosure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By 1913, the barrack block was abandoned.</td>
<td>Conan IV, Duke of Brittany continued to use the castle as an administrative base for the estate and as a symbol of his high status. His building of the huge keep at the castle was a demonstration of his wealth and power, and probably also to celebrate his becoming a duke – a more significant honour than being an earl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>In 1916, the barrack block was reopened for accommodation for members of the Northern Non-Combatant Corps.</td>
<td>Throughout the second half of the 12th century, and much of the 13th century, the castle, and with it the power to control and exploit the Honour of Richmond, passed back and forth between Conan’s descendants and the Crown.</td>
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<tr>
<td>In 1931, the barrack block was demolished.</td>
<td>In 1215, King John (r. 1199–1216) used the castle to imprison the castle’s constable and its garrison, in punishment for rebelling against his rule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During the Second World War, temporary latrine and wash blocks were built at the castle for use by the military.</td>
<td>Since 1984, the castle has been in the care of English Heritage.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- The castle was used to hold hostages during the 1294–99 war with France.

- In the early 14th century, John of Brittany is likely to have built the walls that enclose the centre of Richmond town, as Edward I (r.1272–1307) had granted John the right to collect murage for Richmond, which was a fee received from people passing through the town’s boundary. The tolls were then used to maintain the walls.

- From the mid 14th century until the mid 19th century, the castle was little used. It continued to pass between its owner’s descendants and the Crown until 1675, when the castle and dukedom were gifted to Charles Lennox, son of King Charles II, whose descendants still own the castle today.

- The Cockpit garden to the east of the castle enclosure, outside the curtain wall, was probably used for cockfighting, a popular sport from the 16th to the 18th centuries.

- In the 18th century, the castle was visited as a tourist attraction.

- In 1854, the Duke of Richmond leased the castle to the North York Militia (then known as the North York Rifle Regiment) and it became a headquarters and stores.

- In 1908, the castle became the headquarters for the Northumbrian Division of the Territorial Force, a part-time volunteer section of the British Army.

- In 1916, the castle became the depot of the Northern Non-Combatant Corps, used for accommodation, training and the imprisonment of conscientious objectors.

- Once the First World War (1914–18) ended, the barrack block was used by the Borough Council of Richmond as social housing. The castle ‘cottages’ were lived in from 1920 until the last tenant was removed in 1928.

- Photograph of the barrack block in 1931, in the Historic England Archive: https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/AL0875/005/01
- During the Second World War (1939–45), the castle was reoccupied by the military. The keep was used as an air raid shelter and a watch station, keeping an eye out for enemy activity in the area. The cell block was used for imprisoning soldiers suspected of misdemeanours or crimes in service.

- Use of the site following the end of the Second World War is not sufficiently documented. English Heritage took the castle into its care in 1984.

- Noble families from French, English and Scottish dynasties are closely associated with the castle, as well as the English Crown. The Dukes of Brittany held enormous estates and enjoyed huge wealth and significance. However, the Anglo-French hereditary links were problematic during times of war between the two kingdoms.

- Child heirs played a key role in the castle’s history, with the betrothal at five years old of Constance, heiress of Richmond, to Prince Geoffrey in 1166, and the murder of their eight-year-old son, Arthur, in 1203, after which King John claimed Richmond Castle and the estate as his own.

- Alongside the noble families and courtiers were the people who managed and served the medieval castle. Vassals (knights who pledged allegiance to the castle’s owner in return for land from the estate) supplied warriors for the castle’s protection, and fulfilled key managerial roles such as constable or steward. Many servants were needed to keep the cogs of large noble households and their guests turning efficiently – especially 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.

- Religious figures were central to the rituals of the medieval castle. Chaplains were needed to take daily services, and they were assisted by clerks. Records show successive lords of the estate giving funds to the local religious houses (abbeys, priories, etc.) in return for chaplains and choirs to take part in religious activities at the castle.

- During the 18th century, the abandoned castle was visited by tourists looking for examples of picturesque beauty.

- The first military personnel to occupy the castle in the 19th century were members of the North York Militia (at the time known as the North York Rifle Regiment). Records show a unit close to the castle entrance being used as a tailor’s shop, so it is possible that trades from the town were operating close to the castle boundaries.

- From 1908, the castle became home to the Northumbria Division of the Territorial Force, commanded by General Baden-Powell, later the founder of the Scout movement. Baden-Powell lived in the barracks in the castle courtyard.

- When the castle became the depot of the Northern Non-Combatant Corps in 1916, the barracks were lived in by conscientious objectors who had been granted conditional exemption from military service. Here the members of the Non-Combatant Corps did work that supported the war effort without the need to bear arms. They wore uniforms and were subject to army discipline. Some conscientious objectors refused to take part in the work of the Non-Combatant Corps and were imprisoned in the cell block at the castle, where conditions were cold, damp and cramped and punishments included a diet of bread and water only.

- The most famous of these prisoners were the Richmond Sixteen, sixteen men who, in May 1916, were transported from Richmond Castle to a British military camp in France, where they were considered to be on active service. The punishment for refusing to follow orders while on active service was the death
penalty. When the Sixteen still refused, they were court-martialled and sentenced to be shot. Within minutes this sentence was changed to 10 years' hard labour, perhaps to prevent the Sixteen becoming martyrs for their cause.

- From 1920–28, the barrack block at the castle was used for social housing.

- When the military took over the castle once again during the Second World War, soldiers kept watch over the local area from the top of the keep. Soldiers were imprisoned in the cell block in punishment for misdemeanours. One soldier records that he was put in the cell block for 'not swinging his arms on Armistice Day 1939'.

- There is little evidence of what activity took place in the castle after the end of the Second World War. From 1984, English Heritage took over care of the castle and it has been managed as a heritage property and tourist attraction since this time.

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f) The reasons for changes to the site and to the way it was used

- Once the Normans had conquered England in 1066, they headed northwards to reassert control of the North from those rebelling against Norman rule, sometimes by dispossessing the Anglo-Saxon lords of their lands. When Norman armies took control of lands, King William usually gave them to loyal knights, who would protect the lands in the name of the king. In 1071, William gave Alan Rufus the lands taken from Earl Edwin of Mercia. (By the 14th century, the estate would become known as the Honour of Richmond.) A castle was established at Richmond during the late 11th century, from which the estate could be managed.

- In the 12th century, a keep was built, almost certainly by order of Conan IV. This 30-metre-high tower would have been an astonishing sight to visitors in the medieval era. By adding a keep, Conan created a clear symbol of his power and wealth, and the strength of his castle.

- In the same century, perhaps around the same time as the keep was built, Scolland's Hall was redeveloped, creating a direct link between the hall and cooking areas (buttery, pantry, kitchen). This brought the castle in line with fashions that

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- Photograph of the remains of the range adjacent to Scolland’s Hall, in the Historic England Archive: [https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP184285](https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP184285)
were moving towards integrated facilities.

- In the late 13th century and the early 14th century, Edward I made repairs and extensions to the castle. It is possible that some of these repairs were the consequence of a fire, as some of the earlier masonry in the solar (private bedroom) of Scolland’s Hall shows signs of exposure to extreme heat. Some alterations increased the grandeur of the castle – for example, the window in the south-eastern corner of Scolland’s Hall was significantly enlarged to bring more light to the high end of the hall, where the lord, lady and most important guests dined. A greater number of larger rooms were created, reflecting a grander lifestyle of the nobility by c. 1300. The great chamber room in the new range to the north of Scolland’s Hall was designed for entertaining privileged guests. The towers along the east curtain wall were extended upwards with comfortable apartments.

- When Edward I gave the castle back to John of Brittany in 1306, he granted John murage, enabling him to collect tolls from people entering the town boundary in order to build and maintain a wall that enclosed the castle and settlement surrounding it.

- During the late 14th century and the 15th century, little money was spent on keeping the castle in working order. From the 16th century, the castle was probably not used very often, though services may have still been held in the Chapel of St Nicholas. In a broad, Europe-wide trend, castles ceased to be the emblems of the aristocratic home as nobles moved towards ‘palaces’, urban homes and eventually country houses. One reason for this is that the dynamics that made castles ideal, i.e. feudal tenure, no longer existed. Due to its lack of use, the castle fell into serious neglect.

- When the Duke of Richmond agreed to lease the castle as a headquarters for the North York Militia, some existing buildings were repaired, while new buildings were created. These were made to accommodate soldiers, staff and military stores.

- In 1913, the barrack block had to be abandoned due to the poor condition of the
building: that same year, the War Office decided not to renew its lease on the castle, due to end in 1914. However, as soon as 1916, the War Office took the castle back for its use as a depot for the Northern Non-Combatant Corps and the barrack block was reopened for accommodation use.

- From 1920, the Borough Council of Richmond used the barrack block for social housing to alleviate a shortage of accommodation in the town.
- In 1931, on the basis that the barracks were an obstruction to appreciating the medieval past of the castle, the block was demolished.
- During the Second World War, the keep was used as an air raid shelter and watch station. The height of the keep offered an excellent vantage point of the surrounding landscape.
- When English Heritage took the castle into its care in 1984, the buildings were preserved. Restoration work included repointing, consolidation of rubble/collapse, creation of paths and drains, and erection of fences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>g) Significant times in the site’s past: peak activity, major developments, turning points</th>
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<tr>
<td>- The establishment of the castle and settlement between 1071 and 1089 signalled the beginning of Richmond’s important status as the centre of the Honour of Richmond estate.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- During the 12th century, the castle was the English seat of the enormous power and wealth of the combined Earldom of Richmond and Dukedom of Brittany. In particular, Conan IV gave substantial sums of money to the religious houses within the Honour, including nearby Easby Abbey, as well as across England.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The castle was closely connected with the royal power struggles in England in the 12th and 13th centuries. In 1166, Conan betrothed his daughter Constance (then just five years old) to King Henry II’s fourth son, Geoffrey. In return, Henry received control of Brittany. Constance and Geoffrey had a son, Arthur, in 1187, who was nephew to the king. When Arthur was four years old, he was named as</td>
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- William the Conqueror granting Alan Rufus the Honour of Richmond, © British Library Board, Cotton Faustina BVI f.72v: https://www.bl.uk/subjects/manuscripts-and-archives (Goodall, *Richmond Castle*, p.18)
heir to the throne, over his uncle, John. In 1203, Arthur was murdered in suspicious circumstances and King John claimed Richmond Castle and the estate as his own.

- John’s rule was unpopular with many and Roald, the constable of Richmond Castle, rebelled twice against his king. Initially, Roald refused to pay tax; then in 1215, along with much of northern England, he supported the revolt against John. As punishment, Roald lost his position as constable and he and his castle garrison were imprisoned at the castle for many months.

- By the late 13th century, Richmond Castle was back in the hands of the Dukes of Brittany. In 1294, when England went to war with France, King Edward I of England seized the castle and used it to hold hostages during the war. When Edward later went to war with Scotland, John of Brittany, a younger son of the duke, supported the king and as a reward the castle and estate were returned to his family. John later built the walls that enclose Richmond town and castle, probably replacing a timber and earth ditch and palisade.

- In 1675, Charles II (r.1660−85) gave Richmond castle, the estate and dukedom to his illegitimate son, Charles Lennox. His descendants still own the castle today, though it is cared for by English Heritage.

- In 1854, the Duke of Richmond agreed to lease the castle to the North York Militia. From this point on, the castle was used intermittently for military activity throughout the remainder of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. During this time, its most significant role was as the depot for the Non-Combatant Corps, where it held prisoner extreme conscientious objectors, in particular the men who would become nationally known as the ‘Richmond Sixteen’ for their continued resistance in the face of the death penalty.

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<th>h) The significance of specific features in the physical remains at the site</th>
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<tr>
<td>- At the ground level of the keep is the original 11th-century gateway to the castle, and part of the first curtain wall. It is unusual for a gateway of this very early date to survive largely intact. On the first floor, three windows feature in the north wall. Before the 1850s, when the alcoves were filled in, it was possible to walk up to</td>
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</table>

- Photograph of members of the North York Militia lined up in front of the keep c.1880−1900, in the Historic England Archive: [https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/OP16358](https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/OP16358)

- A reconstruction illustration of the interior of St Nicholas’s Chapel in the 11th century is available in the
these windows and look out on the barbican and town below. On the exterior
dalls the windows are decorated with columns, capitals and arches. They may have
originally been designed for the lord to appear to his people assembled in the area
below the keep. On the second floor, the window sills are steeply stepped to allow
more light into the room, and are set high up the walls: these were for light, not
views. The doorways in the room are significant for the evidence that they display
of their importance: doors without arches signified that they led to dead-ends such
as storage or withdrawing rooms; doorways with faintly projecting arches indicated
the main thoroughfare throughout the building.

- St Nicholas’s Chapel is a rare example of the inside of an 11th-century castle
chapel. Around three of the walls runs a stone bench with stone arches in the wall
above. These arches would have been supported by stone or marble columns;
each arch indicates a seat on the bench. There is a 19th-century description of the
columns (or pilasters) still existing, and of paintings of figures on either side of the
seats. The chapel has an arched eastern central window with two round windows
on either side. The altar stone, where Mass was celebrated, would have sat inside
the central window sill. The arched window has a groove inside the frame, which
held a panel of stained glass. There are small niches on either side of the window
arch that may have held candles. There are traces of red and white paint inside the
window arch.

- The Scolland’s Hall range is a rare survival of grand castle buildings that date to
the reign of William the Conqueror. The hall was where the castle owners
entertained guests and where the entire castle household would eat their meals.
The hall stood on a raised floor above an undercroft – the sockets for the floor
timbers can still be seen in the wall of the hall. The remains of steps in the grass
show the position of the original entrance to the hall; a stone staircase led up to the
first floor, where the archway of the entrance can be seen in the wall today. There
is a Corinthian capital carved into the left column beneath the arch, demonstrating
the Roman-inspired decoration of the building. Many of the windows are original to
the 11th century. Small decorative arches, possibly from the late 11th century,
survive, below the roofline.

Historic England Archive:
https://historicengland.org.uk/images
-books/photos/item/IC085/001

- A fragment of painted window glass
  discovered at the castle depicting the
  Virgin mourning Christ, which may be
  from the windows in St Nicholas’s
  Chapel, can be seen at the castle
  museum

- A digital reconstruction illustration,
in the Historic England Archive,
  showing the undercroft of Scolland’s
  Hall:
  https://historicengland.org.uk/images
  -books/photos/item/IC085/016

- Photograph of the arches in St
  Nicholas’s Chapel, in the Historic
  England Archive:
  https://historicengland.org.uk/images
  -books/photos/item/DP184315

- Photograph of Scolland’s Hall,
in the Historic England Archive, showing
  the floor sockets:
  https://historicengland.org.uk/images
  -books/photos/item/DP184326
| - In the remains of the second floor of the chapel (within the range of buildings added to the east wall of the castle in c.1300, not St Nicholas’s Chapel) is a piscina and next to it a narrow internal window. This window, often called a ‘squint’, allowed guests to observe services in the chapel from the privacy of the great chamber.  
- In dry weather, crop marks showing the position of the foundations of the barrack block built in 1855 are visible on the lawn along the west curtain wall, when viewed from the top of the keep.  
- Graffiti from the group of conscientious objectors known as the Richmond Sixteen exists preserved in the cell block at the castle. This graffiti reveals the emotional and physical experiences of conscientious objectors imprisoned during the First World War.  
- Photograph, in the Historic England Archive, of the castle green, with square crop marks just visible on the right-hand side: [https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP184283](https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP184283)  

**It is not possible to view the graffiti at Richmond Castle.** See an online gallery of the graffiti on our website: [https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/richmond-castle/richmond-graffiti/cell-block-graffiti/](https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/richmond-castle/richmond-graffiti/cell-block-graffiti/)  
- Historic England listing: [https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1010627](https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1010627)  

| i) The importance of the whole site either locally or nationally, as appropriate | - Enclosure castles (a castle built within a walled enclosure, rather than a castle with a motte or solely comprising a tower) are rare nationally, with only 126 recorded examples. Richmond Castle is an excellent example of an early enclosure castle, important not only for the excellent condition of the 12th-century keep, and other later medieval remains, but also for the exceptionally good survival of its late-11th-century features.  
- Richmond is one of a very small number of stone castles built in the first 20 years after the Norman Conquest to retain almost all its 11th-century masonry, and Scolland’s Hall is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, great halls in the country.  
- Castles generally provide an emotive and evocative link to the past and can provide a valuable educational resource, most significantly with respect to medieval |
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<th>j) The typicality of the site based on a comparison with other similar sites</th>
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- Richmond Castle was laid out along with the neighbouring town, as was typical of many castles connected with settlements in the early medieval period. The castle’s curtain wall connects with the town walls and the entrance to the town over the river crossing was overseen by the castle.

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

- The keep at the castle is fairly typical in its design of the Norman and Romanesque periods: square/rectangular in shape and with very thick walls. Keeps were usually tall – the height offering a good vantage point. They often had a crenellated roof that accentuated the building’s profile from afar and offered useful protection in case of attack, as well as two or more floors to provide the lord or king with living space and a place to receive visitors and conduct business, a basement floor for storage, and a well. The keep at Richmond, however, has no physical evidence of residential use, i.e. no kitchen quarters, fireplaces or toilets. The design of the keep at Richmond can be compared with other great towers at Bamburgh and Carlisle castles. The unusual columns with capitals on either side of the 11th-century gateway were built at the same time as Westminster Hall and

- The detention block (built in the mid 19th century) held conscientious objectors during the First World War. Some of these prisoners recorded their personal and political beliefs in the form of graffiti. The graffiti has national importance as it includes the personal experiences of members of the Richmond Sixteen, a group of conscientious objectors who were transported to France and threatened with the death penalty for refusing active service. The case was intended to make an example of what other conscientious objectors could expect if they did not cooperate with the Military Service Act of 1916.

Read more about the Richmond Sixteen on our website: [https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/richmond-castle/richmond-graffiti/](https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/richmond-castle/richmond-graffiti/)

- Reconstruction of Richmond Castle and some surrounding settlement buildings in c.1400, in the Historic England Archive: [https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC085/015](https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IC085/015)
Durham Cathedral, where similar columns exist in the design around the entrances.

- The passage inside the east curtain wall that gave access to Robin Hood Tower is a typical feature of Romanesque architecture. It can be compared with wall passages at other 11th-century castles such as Ludlow in Shropshire.

- A similar chapel interior to St Nicholas’s Chapel can be seen at Hastings Castle in Sussex.

- The arrangement of Scolland’s Hall on a raised floor above an undercroft is a common characteristic of Norman and Anglo-Norman architecture.

- The presence of a chapel (St Nicholas’s) within a tower is reminiscent of the pre-Conquest architecture of Anglo-Saxon England; this may reflect an Old English influence on the design of the castle.

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

- The remains at the site show the latest iteration of an extensive array of private accommodation. Expansion of private apartments for the noble family during the medieval period signified the increasing desire for luxury and privacy among the nobility, and indicates the social convention that members of different levels in the castle hierarchy should live separately and in conditions that reflect their status.

- The number of rooms and elaborate decoration in places indicate a broad social acceptance within the court of nobles spending very large sums of money from the treasury on their own residences. This could be interpreted as a status of power and importance that befitted a ruler of vast estates.

- The existence of multiple gateways to the castle, and their variation in scale, suggests the busy daily comings and goings in and out of the castle, and that different people and services would have used different entrances, perhaps according to their status and the perceived value of their role in the daily castle routines. Important guests would enter the castle through the grand entrance near the keep, whereas less high-ranking visitors would probably have used the postern gate in the west curtain wall. The postern also had easy access to the only nearby

- Photograph of a decorated roof support in Scolland’s Hall chamber, in the Historic England Archive: [https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP184334](https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP184334)

- Photograph of the south-west corner of Richmond Castle, showing the postern gate with the river Swale beyond, in the Historic England Archive: [https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP184287](https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP184287)
bridge crossing the river Swale, making it an ideal route of supplies for daily life in the castle, such as flour, wine and spices.

- The presence of multiple chapels at the castle indicates the importance of religious services to daily life at the castle. The ‘squint’ window in the chapel adjacent to the great chamber that allowed important guests or the leading family to view services from the privacy of their own room is evidence both of the social separateness of nobility and the castle household, and that the wider castle household were expected to attend services.

- The graffiti by prisoners in the cell block reveals some of the physical and psychological experiences of conscientious objectors during the First World War. Some of the graffiti reveals the men’s religious devotion or/and their political beliefs and allegiances that motivated their resistance to take any part in the war effort. The existence of the Northern Non-Combatant Corps and the design of the cell block to hold in isolation conscientious objectors who refused to carry out non-combat duties are indicative of the social attitudes towards conscientious objectors at the time. Later graffiti illustrates the experiences of soldiers imprisoned for misconduct, and reveals some preoccupations of the era, such as illustrations of Hitler, U-boat attacks and warplane ‘dogfights’.

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

- Two of the key ways in which physical remains can prompt questions is firstly the reason for its construction and secondly the way it has changed, been adapted or replaced/built over. Good examples of architectural remains that have undergone significant change at Richmond Castle are the keep, the private rooms around Scolland’s Hall, the cooking facilities for the great hall, and the construction of both the cell blocks and the married soldiers’ quarters (barracks).

  The changes to the keep pose questions about why features were altered in a specific way and reveal the changing nature of how castles were used as reflected in the design changes; for example, the blocking in of a castle’s original, elaborate gateway by the keep, followed by the insertion of vaulting and a spiral staircase from the ground- to first-floor spaces.

  The changes in the private quarters by Scolland’s Hall raise questions of

- Photograph of the vaulting in the keep, in the Historic England Archive: https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/DP184295

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It is not possible to view the graffiti at Richmond Castle. See an online gallery of the graffiti on our website: https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/richmond-castle/richmond-graffiti/cell-block-graffiti/
changes in fashion and preferences, as well as the general decay of earlier buildings here.

The way in which hot food was brought to Scolland’s Hall also changed over time; originally dishes were carried up the grand ceremonial staircase and through the wide arch, but soon three doorways were punched through the west wall, giving direct access to new cooking buildings constructed there. Later, two of these doors were blocked up, perhaps as dining in the hall became less important, being replaced by private dining.

The construction of the cell block and barracks was the biggest change in Richmond castle for around 400 years, completely changing the character of the site from a romantic ruin to an operational military base, with families and soldiers living within its walls.

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

- Remaining structures can give a good idea of shapes, and sometimes relative sizes and architectural characters, of the buildings.
- The use of other comparative sites is highly beneficial in understanding the missing architecture and décor from the site.
- Identifying features and formations in the stone can indicate where certain structures would have been located (e.g. fireplaces, latrines/garderobes, slots for the portcullis, corbels for floor/ceiling beams).

- Watercolour painting of Richmond Castle, in the Historic England Archive: [https://historicengland.org.uk/images/books/photos/item/DP028170](https://historicengland.org.uk/images/books/photos/item/DP028170)
- Reproductions of the artworks by
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. The castle was sketched by Francis Place in the 1670s and painted by Paul Sandby and William Taverner in the 18th century. Francis Place and Paul Sandby and William Taverner can be seen in Goodall, *Richmond Castle*, pages 26 and 27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n) The challenges and benefits of studying the historic environment</th>
<th>Benefits</th>
<th>Challenges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Important source of primary information.</td>
<td>- Written sources are often not specific about what they refer to.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Gives a sense of place, well-being and cultural identity.</td>
<td>- Physical evidence can be difficult to interpret and identify. Physical evidence is layered and complex.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Allows visitors to connect people from the past to the place where they lived and worked.</td>
<td>- Different interpretations of the same site and evidence.</td>
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<td>- Stimulating way to engage with history in the place where it happened.</td>
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