Understanding Clifford's Tower

An English Heritage & Historyworks Learning Event Supported by York City Council for Holocaust Memorial Day 2015

Report published by Historyworks giving summary of talks on Sunday 25th January

The learning events that marked Holocaust Memorial Day and brought together the communities in York to "Understand Clifford's Tower" and "Understand the 1190 Massacre" were organized with support from English Heritage by Helen Weinstein, Director of Historyworks and involved over 150 participants for tours and talks on both afternoons on Sunday 25th and Tuesday 27th January 2015.

To find the history summaries and illustrative materials for the York Castle Project which Helen Weinstein and the team at Historyworks have provided to share knowledge to support those wanting more information about the York Castle Area, please find many pages of chronological summaries about the site and descriptions of the interpretations offered by the stakeholders here:

http://historyworks.tv/projects/

Professor Helen Weinstein, Organizer of Learning Events about the York Castle Area to mark HMD

The afternoon of presentations was opened by Helen Weinstein, public historian and Director of Historyworks. Helen began by welcoming the large number of people that had returned from a walking tour of the castle area with an introduction to what the proceeding talks would offer. The event had been created as a result of a growing interest from the citizens of York and the wider Jewish communities outside of the city in Clifford's Tower and its cultural and historical significance.Helen then spoke about some of the misconceptions about Jewish life in York, in

particular the belief that a Cherem had been placed on York following the 1190 massacre, forbidding people of Jewish faith to live within the city, particularly not to overnight or eat within the precincts of the City Walls. There is no evidence of any rabbinical ruling of this kind. Indeed, despite the horror of the 1190 massacre, the reality of the aftermath of the York tragedy, Helen noted, was that Jews were living and thriving in York within 50 years of the massacre, with support from the King who fined the main perpetrators of the York siege of Clifford's Tower in 1190 and invited the Jewish community to return, to support his administration. The longer history of the experience of Jewish people in York has been researched and developed into a walking trail and a series of podcasts and web-app led by Helen Weinstein, as founding Director of The Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past: http://www.york.ac.uk/ipup/

The York Jewish History Walking Trail script and web app map and audio files have all been subsequently rewritten and recorded and can all be downloaded for free via Historyworks here:

http://historyworks.tv/products/apps/york_jewish_history_trail/

Helen outlined the structure of the afternoon, informing people that the first part of the programme would include John Oxley, City Archaeologist, and Jeremy Ashbee, Head Historic Properties Curator at English Heritage. They would focus on York Castle and its changing role both locally and nationally. The second part of the event would be led by Helen Graham, Research Fellow at the University of Leeds, and would include a range of speakers discussing the York Castle area and the issues around current developments, notably the car park, as well as the prospects for future development. Helen then introduced the first of the speakers, John Oxley.

John Oxley, City Archaeologist, City of York Council, "York Castle & York in the late Eleventh Century – Setting the Scene for Royal Power, the Development of Church & State in York, & the Settlement of the Jewish Community in this Context"

John, fresh from leading a tour of the Castle area, began a talk that aimed to provide a foundation for the rest of the afternoon's speakers, giving context by outlining and defining of the history of York Castle and York in the late eleventh century.

He started by stating that when castles are constructed, they are built to have a significant role and meaning, both locally and nationally. This was definitely the case in York, a settlement which has its origin in 71AD with the arrival of the 9th Legion.

York went through a series of key transitional periods over the next thousand years that John identified as stimulating the rapid expansion of the city and its significance as a global trading centre with increasing connections to royalty across Europe. The first of these periods was the Roman-era settlement, Eboracum, which saw the settlement transform from a largely agricultural community and agrarian landscape into a trading centre. The next transformational episode occurred when the Vikings arrived in the 9th century. John drew our attention to the @AlcuinsLibrary Twitter account that is tweeting a day-by-day review of the

impact that the Vikings had on the city, then known as Eoforwic. The Vikings' trade routes resulted in a further expansion of the city.

The next transformation came with the Norman occupation following on the invasion at Hastings in 1066 when the Normans reached York in 1068. John illustrated the global trading routes that the city was involved in during the Viking and Norman periods through the use of images of archaeological finds from as far afield as China. Between the 9th and 11th centuries, York had developed into a large timber city with expansive and well-planned streets that spanned from Micklegate to Hungate and beyond. As well as being well connected commercially, the city was also part of an increasing inter-connection of royal families throughout Europe.

After providing historical context, John contextualised the construction of the castles in the city. When the Normans reached York in 1068 they were fighting to contain a revolt in the north of the country. This prompted the construction of a double motte and bailey castle which John felt was most probably the castle complex that modern day visitors and residents of York would be familiar with – the site on which Clifford's Tower is built. Two huge ditches were cut out of the land to define the baileys around the motte, a design that aimed to optimise the defensive structure.

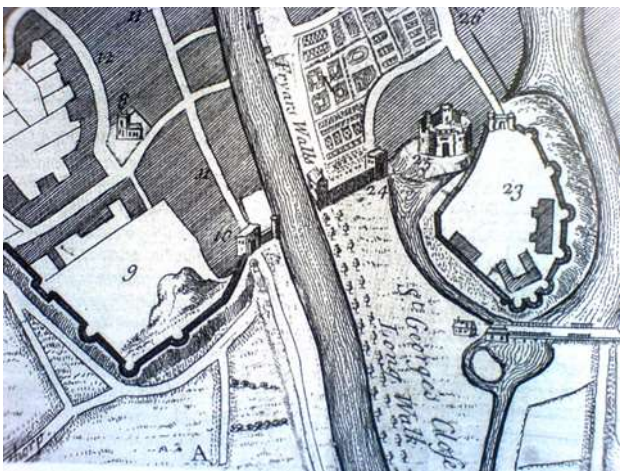
Following that, a dam was built across the mouth of the Foss which flooded the area around the castle thus creating the immense water defences.

A revolt took place in late 1068 and after a successful victory in January 1069, William of Normandy ordered the construction of a second castle. As John had previously mentioned, the detailed chronology isn't known and the two castles may well have been built in the opposite order.

The construction of two castles signifies York's importance, as there is only one other city in the country that has two royal castles, and that is London. These denote that York and London were the two most important cities in the country. This is also representative of the consolidation of Norman power in the north, which included the extension and granting of lands to various ecclesiastical institutions. This includes the emergence of St Marys Abbey, the reconstruction of the Saxon Minster, a Domus Regis or King's House, and the two castles.

The best preserved of the two structures is the old bailey at Baille Hill and John urged those in attendance to go and walk around the Bishop Hill area and the city walls if they wanted to see an 11th century castle. This is because the ramparts that come from the motte at Baille Hill are an 11th century rampart, built in either 1068 or 1069.

John then returned his focus to York Castle, reminding us that it is the site of Clifford's Tower that is the focus for Holocaust Memorial Day and that he would end his talk by discussing the structure. The Castle, he said, has the distinct double baille - an inner bailey, a central motte, and an outer bailey.



The Castle has gone through a range of modifications from its construction to the present day although it has never been

expanded. It reached its largest size in the late 11th century. In the subsequent centuries the outer bailey was given to Franciscan Friars who incorporated it into their friary on the north side of the castle. The timber structure of the Castle was then consolidated in stone in the beginning of the 13th century.

The context for the events of the 1190 massacre of the Jewish community in York are not signified by the stone features that we see today. They are closer to the earth rampart that rises towards the tower. Everything in the landscape that was present in March 1190 has disappeared except for the rampart. John then stated that if there are any remains of that castle then it is below the ground, and severely truncated by later activities.

These activities include the construction of the prison in the 1820s and the construction of the proposed offices of the City Council in 1939 (delayed and abandoned due to the Second World War). Due to these developments, any remains of that event are most likely to be in the ditches that were cut for the motte as they are linked to the Foss. Submerged and enclosed in deposits, any surviving evidence would be in these ten-metre deep ditches below ground.

John reminded those attending that this assumption is based on a belief that the events took place at this castle and not at the second castle on the opposite side of the river. He stated that recent scholarship has shown that the dominant belief is not as definite as it had previously seemed.

John, reflecting on the Castle and its place in the city-scape today, said it is an isolated monument that is completely outside its medieval context. We have no idea how Clifford's Tower and the motte relates to that extensive 11th century castle, he said, and that is one of the challenges that the city council, English Heritage, and York Museums Trust face in the coming years. He finished by leaving us considering how we should tell the story of York Castle, and how we can situate it within its historical contexts, no longer viewing it as the de-contextualised Clifford's Tower.

Jeremy Ashbee, Head Historic Properties Curator at English Heritage, "Clifford's Tower & the Castle of York: An Archaeological Introduction"

Jeremy started his presentation by highlighting his experience as a medieval historian, with a specific interest in medieval castles. He drew parallels between his previous role as Curator at the Tower of London and his work over the years with English Heritage at Clifford's Tower, noting that there were many similarities between the two sites.

They both shared a relationship with Jewish communities as places of protection, and they both shared similar roles as multi-functional buildings for the crown. As John had already mentioned in the first presentation, York and London were the only two cities to have two castles, signifying their importance to the government. The coercive functions of government that were carried out in London were also carried out in York.

An artistic representation of the timber castle by Terry Ball was shown to illustrate what the timber structure of 1190 would have looked like. Jeremy asked us to note the shape of the castle in the 11th and 12th centuries, pointing out that it is fundamentally the same as today's structure. Jeremy then

showed a plan from the 1680s that displayed that many physical features were much the same as its earlier incarnations. What is notable about that plan, Jeremy stated, is that many of its features, such as the outer bailey, are proximal to the growing city and domiciles.

The buildings that surround the tower in 1680 no longer survive but documentation shows that these included buildings such as a Royal Hall, Chambers, and a Mint. Despite their associations with royalty, these buildings were used for judicial and municipal practices by government institutions. Jeremy offered some examples, stating that if someone had fallen foul of the law they may well be taken to the Royal Hall, or if someone was working in the Chambers they would likely be a member of the Treasury.

Moving on to the structural history of the castle, Jeremy informed those in attendance that the tower's stone structure was constructed at least 50 years after the massacre in 1190. Jeremy then outlined his belief that the massacre did take place on the site where Clifford's Tower currently is, outlining the evidence that informs his opinion. Although no archaeological evidence has so far been found to incontrovertibly prove the conflagration took place on the site of Clifford's Tower, one piece of administrative correspondence that refers to the year after the massacre shows that the maintenance bill for building works on this site increases from the usual £15 per year to a vastly increased sum of £179 and then the maintenance bill returns to a low-level the following year. This was money to be spent on the repair of the motte, and one can infer that this was due to damage from the fire in 1190, which evidence is the most convincing yet to locate the massacre at Clifford's.

There is also a contemporary account that was given by William of Newburgh, although he wasn't in York on the date that the massacre was committed, that states that during the siege some members of the Jewish community were able to pull stones from the interior wall and throw them at the attackers. Jeremy drew attention to the discordant feature of this account, notably that a stone structure must have been present which is either accurate and implies an earlier stone tower or that William of Newburgh has given incorrect information, not unlikely considering his absence at the attack on the jewish community in their homes and then subsequently in the tower.

The events of the massacre are unclear, Jeremy said, but we have much more information about the structural history of the castle following 1190. The building that was built on the motte was a timber structure, likely to have been constructed on more than one occasion during the 50 years after the massacre because evidence suggests that high winds in the city destroyed the exposed aspects of the timber tower in the 1220s so it had to be subsequently rebuilt a second time.

In the 1240s, King Henry III ordered a stone tower to be built on the site. The tower that Henry III orders is remarkable in its design as it is a quadrolobate structure, much like a four-leaf clover. Jeremy informed the attendees that this was an unusual design for English castles during that period, as it had no English precedents and very little military function. However, the building is reminiscent of a French 12th century tower in the town of Étampes. The key external dimensions of Clifford's Tower and the French tower are accurate to within a foot. The reason for this may be aligned with a view that architectural historians have been debating in recent years which argues that Henry III may have been motivated by a cultural inferiority complex to the French!

Jeremy then explained the internal features of the tower, identifying the aspects that we have definite evidence of. This included the knowledge that it was a two-story tower and the presence of

various sized fireplaces and windows, especially the construction of a chapel above the entry.

There is also evidence to inform us about its internal functions such as a well, and latrine-chambers on both ground and wall-walk level. Sadly though, the interior is completely gutted and trying to make sense of what is there is limited due to various complications. One option for finding out more information would be to excavate beneath the floor but that is neither practical nor inexpensive. The other way of putting the interior conjecturally back is to use pictures and to use documentary sources.

Jeremy then spoke about what the latter exercise can tell us. The brief that Henry III gave to his mason was to create a tower that was aesthetically pleasing as well as functional, and this can be seen in some surviving decorative arcading in the Chapel. The inclusion of a small domestic chapel also implies that there would be someone of importance residing nearby.

Documentary evidence also shows that the tower was part-completed in 1272, and then most likely completed in 1298. It would seem, Jeremy said, that Edward I had abandoned the idea that he would live in the tower personally and so it then became the geo-location of the first of many crown institutions carrying out importance tasks such as the Treasury of the Receipt. Later 14th century documents show us that the tower had become increasingly dilapidated. In 1338 the Countess of Buchan and her children were imprisoned there and the king asked if the incarceration could be done without too much disruption to his property, suggesting that the tower was being used as Edward III's equivalent of a junk-room.

Other documentary sources suggest that houses existed within the tower and that one of the rooms was particularly large with 17ft-long beams. There are multiple references to internal walls and partitions, references to a kitchen, and roofs between the "wings" or lobes.

Shell Keep Structures

In relation to that evidence, Jeremy suggested that it is plausible that the tower had a tent-like roof, but he also feels that it could have conformed to a 'shell-keep' structure. A 'shell-keep' would have had a light-well or hole in the middle of light-weight timber structures running within each of the lobes. This was a very British type of building for the period and it is also the most apt structure for a stone tower on top of a large mound, as it provides less stress on the make-up of the soil beneath it.

Jeremy ended his presentation with some pictures of the lost wall of 1824 and some intriguing insights into what might exist within the mound. He spoke briefly about his belief that an original stone structure and entrance may still be there, hidden under the soil, as photographs from an excavation in 1935 showing the mound being reconstructed to make a new stairway show evidence of this.

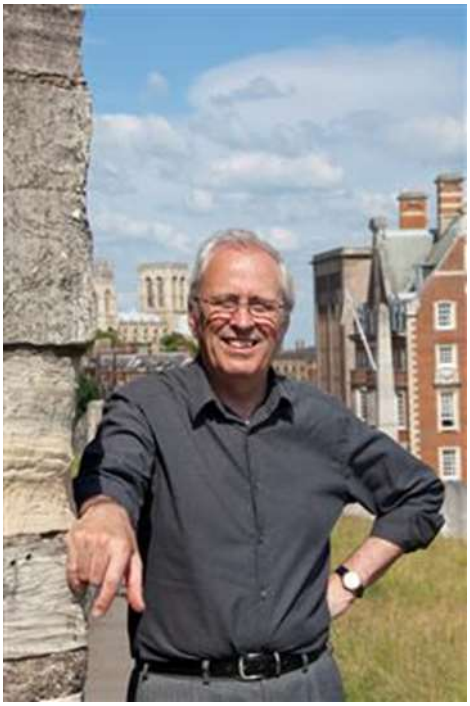
The Castle Area: A Gathering of Ideas

Helen Graham, Research Fellow at the University of Leeds and member of York Alternative History, opened the second half of the event with a brief introduction to the AHRC-funded Connected Communities Co-Design Development project, How should decisions about Heritage be made.

Helen stated that the focus of the project also coincided with the subject of the afternoon's presentations. This focus centred on discussions about the dynamics of decision-making in relation to history and heritage, and that the project seeks to examine who exactly is involved in heritage decision-making in the city, and to explore how more meaningful engagement and participatory methods can be developed to involve more people in those processes of decision-making.

One aspect of the project is based in York and many of the active collaborators were present at the event. Helen drew attention to Lianne and Richard Brigham, York Past and Present Facebook group, Paul Furness, author of York: A walk on the wild side, Graham Bell, Director of the North of England Civic Trust, and Peter Brown, Director of York Civic Trust, and one of the fourteen people that designed the project in 2013. Helen then introduced the first speaker of this second session, Peter Brown.

Peter Brown, Director, York Civic Trust: "Understanding the site, AD 200 to the present day: A look at how the Castle Area and Eye of Yorkshire have Developed."



Peter introduced his presentation with an assertion that his talk would both align with and refute what had previously been discussed in the opening session. The talk would provide a history of the site through the support of artistic depictions of the area, providing a pictorial guide to the various developments around the castle area.

He thanked Peter Addyman for the use of the images that supported his presentation, citing the book where the illustrations are published in the Historic Towns Atlas. Peter displayed an interesting map of the Castle area in c.1100.

The image showed a consolidation of the castle complex and the development of residential properties nearby on Castlegate, which was further identified in the following slides, particularly John Speed's *Map of York* from 1610. Peter felt that some of the historical recreations that have been carried out by English Heritage hadn't always aligned with the evidence found in artistic representations of the tower. One artist that Peter referenced as a relatively reliable source was Francis Place, whose contemporary work in the 17th century depicted some of the structural features of the castle area that had been mentioned by Jeremy.

The York Art Gallery also holds a wealth of artworks that provide us with representations of the castle area and tower, namely the Evelyn Collection. These works sometimes depict the roof of the tower, which are in direct contrast with the belief that it may have had a shell-keep. Instead, it shows a central flat roof with has a space around it to accommodate a canon. You can view many of the York Art Gallery pictures which have been curated together on flickr by Historyworks here:

https://www.flickr.com/photos/historyworks/sets/72157649049500342/

Peter introduced another Francis Place picture that is drawn from Clifford's Tower with a line of sight down into the prison area and the new female prison building that was constructed between 1700 and 1705, most likely by Robert Hook. Peter provided some further insights into the history of the prison and the hierarchical grades of prisoner that were incarcerated there: the grade one debtor who had adjoining rooms for servants and open access to an exercise yard; the grade two debtor who had regulated access to a yard at the back; and the third grade debtor who only had access to a small yard between the two prison wings directly adjacent to Eye of York opposite Clifford's Tower.

In Place's picture you can also see some of the developments further afield, such as the promenade along the river and St. George's Field being used for bleaching clothing.

Peter's next slide was an illustration by Edmond Barkey from 1718 that showed the south east view of York, the back of the Debtor's Prison, and the castle entrance. It wasn't until approximately 1730 that this entrance was removed.

The next image was a rare and unique panoramic view of the city by Samuel Buck (1722), which centred in on the detail of York Castle from the Baille Hill area.

Peter noted that this was the only one he had ever seen. Interestingly, the picture shows that the Tower had by this date been separated from the castle complex by a large wall. William Lindley's depiction of York Castle in 1745 informs us that the area we now know as the Eye of York was a

place for assembly and polite society as a number of well-dressed individuals are depicted in the picture to be occupying the space.

The next notable structural change captured by an artist was a helical path that circled up the motte towards the entrance to the tower. A return to this method of accessing the tower would offer some fantastic views of the city, Peter said, adding that it would also be an interesting method of stopping people sliding down the mound, an activity often undertaken by youngsters late at night!

The next stage of the tower's history was its increasing dilapidation, which proved to be an ideal subject for artists who began to romanticise its ruinous state. Therefore there are a number of paintings, many by the Nicholson family, that display the tower in green and leafy environs and not the reality of a dilapidated building with residential properties skirting its outer bailey.

By 1858 the tower was once again within the prison compound as an image by Nathaniel Whittock shows. A huge wall had been constructed to encompass the complex and it remained there until 1930s when it was demolished. Peter provided an interesting and well-received piece of historical information about the effect of the wall on nearby residents: Little Tower Street would become so hot due to the reflection of heat from the walls that local residents referred to the street as West Indies Way.

Peter concluded his pictorial tour through the history of the tower by returning to the advantages and attraction of the tower as a site that enables visitors to access wonderful views of the city. To emphasise this he showed us John Piper's 1951 painting *View from Clifford's Tower*, a winner of the Evelyn Award and wonderful depiction of the route from the base of the tower past Fairfax House and St Mary's Church with a view of the Minster.

Peter ended by asking the audience to think about the inappropriateness of the car park at the foot of the tower, and an appeal for discussions about the future of the site to be more inclusive because of the potential harmful impact of development that is purely developer-led with little or no consideration for the wider community's connection and feelings about how a site should be used and represented.

Graham Bell, Director of North of England Civic Trust, "Space: The Final Frontier – Why Are We So Bad at Recognising the Importance of Public Places?"

Graham's presentation centred on Clifford's Tower and collective discussions about the site as a way of thinking about

the broader issues and complexities of public space, reflecting on how we value heritage sites.

He began by commending the large attendance, stating that it was heartening to see such a high level of interest in not only the history of Clifford's Tower, but larger debates about public input in the decision-making processes that surround heritage.

Graham used an anecdote about Guy de Maupassant to illustrate the general dislike amongst York's citizens and visitors for the car park beneath Clifford's Tower. He mentioned that de Maupassant's dislike for the Eiffel Tower had led him to eat his dinner in the tower each day as it was the only place in Paris that he could go without it intruding into his field of vision.

He then gestured to a slide that had the acronym SLOAP written on it, asking the attendees if they were familiar with what the five letters stood for. Many people within the room were aware that it represented the phrase **Space Left Over After Planning**, or in the case of York's presentation of the York Castle Area, Graham pointed out meant **Space Left Over After Parking**!

This led Graham into exploring complex issues regarding the area's modern day use as well as its historical context. He referred back to a point that Peter had made about the area's international significance, adding that York has been trying to achieve UNESCO World Heritage status due to the wealth of archaeology, both above and below ground. However, there is a website that suggests that the car park beneath the tower is one of the worst car parks in the world because it seems so incongruous with the surrounding area.

Graham noted that this may be extreme but it does display the level of feeling that people have about the way York has treated its heritage in this case. A slide was shown that displayed the area as a car park in 1957. Graham questioned whether we behave any differently now regarding the practical impositions that we place on historical sites. He then offered a wider global context and case studies, citing various adaptations and manipulations of historic buildings for the needs of modern-day living.

Graham drew our attention to the tensions between the necessity to provide parking for the city centre and the need to meet holistic requirements also. As a means of illustrating the wider point about whether developers are thinking ahead when it comes to building in, on, and around places of historical significance, Graham used an example, with some well appreciated pictures, of a group of builders constructing a road block with such single-mindedness that they hadn't realised that they'd blocked their own vehicles in.

Scheduled monuments, listed buildings, and heritage sites are intrinsically important, Graham stated, but so is the value to society at any given point in time. The car park is not just subservient to the citizens and visitors of York who need a practical solution to parking, it is tied to modern opinions and feelings towards the site's aesthetic and historical appeal.

Graham felt that a lot had been spoken today about what lies below the surface, and the layers of archaeology, yet it was sad that the contribution of our society is the top two inches of tarmac that forms the car park.

Graham then spoke about How should decisions about Heritage be made and the process of enquiry that it involved. He stated that it was not about asking questions related to the temporal and event-based history of Clifford's Tower, but it aimed to look at meaning and what this site signifies to people now and what it might mean to people in the future.

Graham spoke about his role, in which he aimed to facilitate these discussions. He found that there was no uniform answer to that question because various places and buildings have multiple meanings to people, from the children and young people rolling down the mound unaware of the history, to the poignant stories that this event and others are commemorating.

These discussions were not an exercise in nostalgic longing for a notional past that is somehow better, but they were a forward looking approach that considered both the past and the present to inform a model for development.

Graham stated that although Clifford's Tower is an incredible physical structure, we shouldn't forget that it has a relationship to the city, both historic and modern. It still needs to connect to the needs of our current society and the values of our residents and visitors. We need to address the stories that we tell about the site, which is a site of interest to an international audience.

Graham posed the question, "What can we do about that? Is it purely down to highways policy, city planning, or cultural heritage?" He offered his thoughts on this, stating that it was about all of these aspects working to address all of the layers of significance. One aspect that arose repeatedly in the consultations, Graham said, was the unifying nature of the archaeology which the participants felt represented the continuum and confluence of past and present. This was seen as a way of reconnecting an area that the public felt was fragmented both physically and contextually from its historical background.

Graham spoke about the aspects that had arisen from those discussions, identifying the word *relationships* as a word that was repeatedly used. He said that it is about the relationships with the past, with the people now, and the rest of the city. He concluded by defining York as a city that can stand and punch above its weight within an international context if we collaborate to address the issues discussed.

Derek Gauld, Regeneration Manager, City of York Council, "Recent planning history and future opportunities for the Southern Gateway Area"

Derek informed the audience that his presentation would look back at the key development objectives, proposals and decisions in the Castle and Piccadilly area since the 1960s, offering thoughts on the aspirations and opportunities for the future.

He began by stating that there is a unique opportunity for York to develop and transform the site and the Piccadilly area. Regeneration would enhance the area including the Eye of York, the River Foss, and the confluence with the River Ouse, from its current underwhelming and non-descript state to an area fitting a world heritage site.

The City Council, as a significant land owner in the area, has plans for development portfolios and the time is now right, Derek said, to make clear and positive steps towards improving the appearance and usability of the area in a way that benefits everybody.

Derek spoke about the car park's detrimental effects on the appreciation and understanding of surrounding heritage sites including Clifford's Tower, the Grade 1 listed Law Court, and the Eye of

York. He also spoke about the current disconnect between the riverside and the Castle area, highlighting the potential of the River Foss and the relationships between the built heritage and the natural environment.

Derek then referred to the informative talks that had preceded him and their focus on the historical context of Clifford's Tower before providing an intriguing outline of the area's planning history. Using archival images, Derek charted the transformation of the area from prison to potential council headquarters, a plan that was started and then stopped due to the Second World War, which explained its current state as a car park with accompanying leisure and retail access.

Some of the more recent proposals have included an application made in 2000, which the City of York Council recommended for approval but the Secretary of State rejected. It was rejected due to its roof structure being too uniform and the scheme was seen to be creating an internalised environment around the Foss that cut it off from the historic environment around it.

Preparation of a new planning brief in 2006 prompted discussions with land owners, developers and architects, together with English Heritage, to develop a high quality retail scheme on both sides of the Foss. This plan was progressed in 2011 and 2012 but had not reached full support from City of York Council Officers before the economic recession effectively halted the wider regeneration plans and ambitions for the area.

Derek then spoke about the recent collaborative discussions that have been facilitated between the City Council, English Heritage, York Civic Trust, and York Museums Trust. These contributors are now looking to produce viable ideas about what can be developed to benefit the heritage of the area in a more connected way with quality civic and public spaces, and a Framework document to guide discussions is being produced.

There is a general consensus that the streetscape can be massively improved, Derek informed us, and that existing underused areas like Ryedale House and Castle Mills car park could offer options to relocate parking away from Clifford's Tower, as well as new opportunities for development. The top end of Piccadilly should encourage more active retail uses together with improvements to the public realm, such as more civilised spaces for people to walk, shop, and rest.

Derek mentioned that the income that comes from the Castle Car Park, which is over 1 million pounds, needs to be taken into account, as must other issues such as flooding around the Foss Basin and the implications of relocating current services like the car park.

He concluded his talk by reinforcing his earlier comment that there are fantastic opportunities to improve the area through a greater unity that reflects the area's geographical and historical

relationship. The intention of development around Clifford's Tower and the wider area is to use the existing heritage and environmental assets as the reference point for positive change and enhancement. There is a wonderful opportunity, Derek said, for us to work together to provide a genuinely world class context and gateway for the city.

Helen Graham, Research Fellow, University of Leeds, "How should decisions about Heritage be made?"

see "York: Living with History – An Inquiry into how History and Heritage affects the lives of people in York" at http://livingwithhistory.wordpress.com/

& report How should decisions about Heritage be made

Helen started her presentation with a reflection on the event and the contributions from the preceding speakers. One of the most exciting aspects of the day, Helen stated, was that there had been a building of shared understanding about many aspects of the area. The learning event had covered many of the different types of histories linked to the York Castle area as well as more recent challenges around development and some of those dynamics that shape the present and the future.

Helen's own presentation would focus on exploring how communities might initiate and shape future plans within their cities through the York strand of the "How should decisions about heritage be made" project called "York: Living with History". Helen discussed some of the most common ways that participatory practices and engagement can be questioned or dismissed during the decision -making. She noted that although these findings have been gathered from within the city of York, however, they are also common in other cities across the UK and in the literature about participatory approaches.

One of the first ways of dismissing participative decision making is through the assumption that the issues are too complex and the public are not informed enough to deal with them. The next is that these practices are never inclusive enough therefore participative forums only facilitate the loudest voices. Another issue that is common is that expertise is often ignored. The last example that Helen gave was that these participative models are often perceived to be fine for small scale projects but not for larger decisions that affect large numbers of people.

Helen then pointed out that these resistances come from those holding positions of power although there are other kinds of frustrations from people who aren't in decision-making positions such as members of the public. In this project these opinions have been gathered through the running of public stalls, live enquiries, and drop-in sessions at the library.

Helen explained that those they had encountered in these public settings were frustrated with traditional consultation models, identifying concerns about whether their contribution is enacted in any meaningful way. Helen once again noted that this isn't just a concern for York's citizens but that similar feelings are found amongst citizens across the UK. It seems to be indicative of a growing sense that the connection between the public and democratic processes is being lost.

This increasing perception of distance is becoming apparent through the language that people use to describe decision makers. Those figures are often evoked and described as 'they', identified as anonymous and not contactable. Helen stated that this places all the power in the abstract *other*'s hands and with it, all the responsibility.

Helen and those involved in the “York: Living with History” project are interested in the question of how that responsibility can be shared in the city, rather than only just delegating that to the people we elect to work on our behalf.

Helen then spoke about the ways that they are addressing those aforementioned critiques of participatory models. One way to do this is through formats such as this event which allowed for an exploration of many complex, ambiguous, and contrasting histories that were delivered in a range of ways by a range of speakers with various specialisms.

One of the other ways to do this is to open up complex issues and learning to public discussion. In doing so, points of agreement and shared understanding as well as points of difficulty and disagreement can be identified.

Helen suggested that one of the key aspects of participatory decision making is to not bind all decisions into one core concern, as there are often many different decisions and discussions taking place. For example, the debates about Clifford's Tower and the subject of what to do about the car park have many aspects to them, from the larger political aspects of the revenue that it brings in and the need for public parking to the less political questions about how we interpret a historical site.

Another area the wider “How should decisions about heritage be made?” project is looking at is the transfer of fun interactions and debates about heritage into formal decision-making processes. Helen said that she felt that at the moment the participation within formal decision making processes is a "cold" process and “Why can't models that are more enjoyable such as this event lead into decision making about the future? There are lots of potential models for doing that.”

Helen concluded her presentation by covering some of the key questions that came out of the work that they've done within York. These questions aren’t necessarily about what should happen but are about looking at ***how*** future decisions about any given area or topic can be made. This requires

thinking through who needs to be involved, what kinds of expertise, what kind of decision makers, and which users and potential users should be involved. In the case of Clifford's Tower that would take into account the youngsters that slide down the mound as well as the car park patrons. Good decisions involve the whole range of people that are engaged with the site and the full spectrum of its uses and meanings for those people.

Councillor Sonja Crisp, Cabinet Member for Leisure, Culture and Tourism, City of York Council, was invited to speak about what HMD means to her personally and professionally.

Sonja began her presentation by providing context for Holocaust Memorial Day, noting that it has been held annually in the UK since 2001 and in York as an official civic event since 2008.

She stated that York marks this day by coming together to remember, to reflect, and to consider what we need to do to ensure everyone has a safer and better future.

It is about remembering the victims and those whose lives have been changed beyond recognition by the Holocaust. It is also about subsequent genocides in Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, and Darfur, and other atrocities that are still unfolding today.

At the heart of this event is the opportunity for us to think about and honour those who have died and those who have survived. It gives us a chance to look to our own lives and communities today.

Sonja then shared a story with those in attendance. She spoke about an 18 year old man that had been living in Nazi occupied Skagen, Denmark. He was a fisherman during the war, and as an occupied nation, the fishing vessels were limited to the distance and time that they could be out on the sea.

Rumours were rife about forced labour camps and increasingly of the death camps, and he and his family, fearful that there would be mounting pressure on their Government from the Nazis to give up Danish Jews, some of whom were friends and neighbours, were anxious about his outspokenness.

He became increasingly agitated by this and also by the growing feelings of frustration and helplessness at not being able to do something about what he saw as a growing menace.

Sonja described how on one day in 1943, the weather worsened whilst he and two crew members were out at sea. The other crew members told him that they were not planning on setting off back to port or weighing anchor to ride out the weather but instead wanted to attempt to escape to England in the seinetter, a relatively small wooden 3 man fishing boat.

He had no prior warning of the plan, the other crew members were unsure if being younger he would be tempted to say goodbye to his family, which could have jeopardized their plans.

They explained to him that this was their chance to help fight the growing tide of fascism in some way. They felt that reaching England and volunteering their services was the only way to do that without putting loved ones at risk.

They reasoned that the occupying German forces would assume they had put down their anchor to ride out the bad weather and then when they failed to return at all, the authorities would hopefully assume the boat had sunk.

Agreeing to this, they set off across the North Sea, eventually arriving in England safe, hungry and tired. After briefly being kept in an internment camp in Whitehaven until the authorities were sure they were who they claimed to be, and speaking no English, they were then appointed to positions either fishing to feed the nation at war or working on the convoys of supply vessels to and from Canada.

Sonja then spoke about how the man felt that he was at last able to do his bit to fight the rising threat of fascism in Europe. In his homeland his ability to speak out was repressed for fear of reprisals against his loved ones but in the UK he could actively work to support the resistance against fascism. His family thought that he was dead for a number of years until he was finally repatriated to Denmark in January 1946. However, he felt disenfranchised by then and so having made a new life in England he returned here and became a naturalized British citizen.

Sonja described this story as not one of exceptional personal suffering but an example of how we can speak out in different ways by doing whatever we can to oppose the unacceptable. Sonja then told the room how she knew of this story, having being told this information first hand by the man himself. The gentleman, named Tage Larsen, was Sonja's father. Having pieced together his story from conversations and his naturalisation papers, she has passed his message on to her children, and they to their children.

She talked about how he always inspired and instilled in her the belief that not only should we do our best to speak out when we see injustice unfolding but also that it is vital that we pass that message on. This was the root of York's official commemoration of the holocaust. Her very first motion as a Councillor was for the city to have an official Holocaust Memorial Day event, and it was passed unanimously with some minor adjustments to make it more encompassing of all past current and ongoing genocides.

Sonja concluded her presentation by reflecting on how the Holocaust Memorial Day events had started as a brief service at Clifford's Tower and a two hour civic event in the first year, and now it has developed into a two week series of events marking the Holocaust, educating children in our schools and keeping the memory alive.

She gave a final thank you to her father and her children for continuing to share those lessons down the generations, and to those in attendance for letting her tell her story and for being a part of the story of Holocaust Memorial Day in York 2015.

Helen Weinstein concluded the learning day by thanking all the speakers and the packed room of 150 participants for their interest and attention.

To find the history summaries and illustrative materials for the York Castle Project which Helen Weinstein and the team at Historyworks have provided to share knowledge to support those wanting more information about the York Castle Area, please find many pages of chronological summaries about the site and descriptions of the interpretations offered by the stakeholders including English Heritage, York Museums Trust, Historyworks Trail Apps, York City Council here: http://historyworks.tv/projects/

Understanding the 1190 Massacre

An English Heritage & Historyworks Learning Event Supported by York City Council for Holocaust Memorial Day 2015

Report published by Historyworks giving summary of talks on Tuesday 27th January

On the 27th January, 2015, a group of 150 attendees and the day's speakers assembled to learn about Clifford's Tower and understand the 1190 massacre of the Jewish Community in York. The day's workshop was organized with the support of English Heritage and dedicated to understanding Clifford Tower's history of death and burial, justice and protest, thus placing the 1190 massacre of the Jewish community in the contexts of wider histories.

Professor Helen Weinstein, Director of Historyworks and Fellow of Clare Hall, University of Cambridge, welcomed those present and opened the workshop with a recognition that the event fell, significantly, on 27th January Holocaust Memorial Day which marks the 70th Anniversary of the Liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Helen stressed the importance of the HMD learning event as one that aimed to bring together people from various communities to commemorate the difficult history of the site, but also to consider what is known and what is not known about the 1190 Massacre of the Jewish community in York. This theme was indicated as an important aspect for the remainder of the workshop speakers to address.

Helen drew the group's attention to Clifford's Tower, which, on the day of the Massacre would have been a timber structure. She highlighted that the first speaker of the tour, an expert in the archaeology of the site, would consider this structure in terms of the wider context of burial activities and the justice system in York over the centuries before and after 1190. Helen pointed out that the theme of the administrative infrastructure of York would pervade later presentations and recognised that the Tower will have been controlled by the Crown during the 12th Century. The research that followed would strongly connect evidence which shows that the Jewish community, at the time, would have been under the protection of the Crown, and therefore sought security in what would have been seen a strong defence structure. These wider contextual influences surrounding the massacre were again highlighted as a key theme of the workshop.

Helen advocated the importance of remembering and learning together at the event, and she then introduced John Oxley, City Archaeologist for the City of York Council.

Archaeological Tour by John Oxley

John Oxley, City Archaeologist for the City of York Council, addressed the group and explained that the tour would take them through several significant historic periods in order to consider how the activities of burial and justice have been continuous within the area.

John asked the group to imagine that they were standing—not on the tarmac of a 21st century car park—but on a prehistoric field (around 70AD) in a rural, agrarian landscape with two significant rivers in sight: the Ouse directly south and the smaller Foss above to the north. He explained that the landscape would have been defined by a high ridge (formed from material deposits dumped by an ice-age glacier) and the rivers' two valleys cutting through this ridge. By 71AD the Romans had arrived, and established a town on the South West space of the divide between the rivers. To give an indication of the depth of the surface level, John told the group that the York Castle Museum would fit between the present ground level and the Roman; 9.5 meters below. Notably, John stated, the Romans began to live, die and bury their dead here on this site.

John stated that after the Romans left this area it returned to its previous state as fields, and whilst archaeologists are not certain what activities may have occurred here, he noted an intriguing find of an artefact at the site, which was a 'hanging ball' made of bronze, with intricate inlaid designs, which has been associated with ecclesiastical function. Essentially, archaeologists speculate whether the site was an active dwelling space for Angevin settlers. However, as John explained, by 11BC the Vikings had taken over and formed Jorvik, a busy trading city. The physical appearance of this city changed again in the aftermath of the conquest of William the Conqueror around 1068, when two castles were built; one between the site of the two rivers and

another on Baile Hill. Here, John pointed out that little of York Castle remains visible, but the evidence shows that this structure had two baileys and a motte. He also highlighted the importance of this castle emerging within an existing Roman, Scandinavian, and then Norman context.

By 1086, the Domesday Book indicates that there was a population of around 10-15,000 in the area. This town was diverse in ethnicity, with varieties of trading activities. Essentially, between 1070 and 1110, the town under the first Norman Kings underwent massive physical transformations, comparable to that of London; hence identifying York as a veritable seat of power in the North. Locations of prestige were formed within the town: such as two royal Palaces, a newly refashioned Minster, and land dedicated to St Mary's Abbey. John proclaimed that, had you lived in York at the time, you would have been astonished by the scale of change transforming the fabric of the town.

John then navigated the group to the north side of Clifford's Tower and returned to the theme of burial. He underlined that in 1190 the Tower was constructed from earth and timber, and would have been situated between the outer and inner bailey of York Castle. He stated that excavations undertaken in the nineteenth century, when a new prison was built nearby the earth mound of Clifford's Tower had unearthed Roman human remains.

Furthermore, in 1835 a drain was cut when building the Prison Governors House, revealing stone sarcophagi. And later still, in 1956, when a gas main was being laid, archaeologists discovered more Roman burials, including stone and lead sarcophagi. John went on to explain that the excavations next to the female prison uncovered two layers of human burials; the deeper covered Anglo-Scandinavian burials from the 9th or 10th century, but above these deposits is a section where nineteenth century human remains were discovered, which were deduced to be of prisoners who had either died or were executed - some of these skeletons showed traces of medical dissection, which was common practice in the Victorian period.

John added that along with Roman, Anglo-Scandinavian and Victorian burials, there was also discovered near the site a Prehistoric burial within a stone lined coffin and a skeleton in a crouched position. Thus, he concluded, the site has been utilised for burial purposes over a long stretch of time, from prehistory through to the Victorian period. Unfortunately, all this evidence is invisible on the surface. On a final point, John stressed the importance of being able to tell the complex story of the entire site and the long history of York Castle area, and to communicate it to current and next generations.

On this note, he introduced the next expert to speak, historian Jerey Ashbee, Head Historic Properties Curator at English Heritage.

Archaeological Tour by Jeremy Ashbee

Jeremy Ashbee, Head Historic Properties Curator at English Heritage, invited the group to consider Clifford's Tower itself. He drew attention to the fact that nothing visible today dates from 1190, when the events of the Jewish Massacre took place.

The current stone-structure is the result of developments made by King Henry III, nephew of Richard the Lionheart, in 1245. He explained that the form of the structure is rather unique; it is of 'quatrefoil' form (or four-leafed clover) with four 'lobes' on each side. Jeremy confirmed that Clifford's Tower was a timber and earth structure in 1190, with the large mound being formed by the earth. This earth was previously dug up to create the two defensive ditches—one to be filled with water from the redirected river Foss—a fortification design orchestrated by William the Conqueror. Unfortunately, the foundations of this structure have been compromised by the over-flooding of the motte by the River Foss, thus causing one side of the mound to sink to one side. This structural slant, as a fault-line in the stone structure, is still visible today.

As Jeremy continued, it became clear that the mound of the tower holds further secrets and had undergone several amendments, both aesthetic and supportive. In the early nineteenth century, when the new prison was built, the mound was deemed to be too large. Hence, it was trimmed back and a stone wall built around it, which subsequently was covered over by more earth. In the early twentieth century a notable engineer, Mr Basil Mott (named somewhat appropriately as Ashbee pointed out) was called in to help support the failing structure of Clifford's Tower. Basil Mott ambitiously dug down into the mound of the tower and erected five flying buttresses which were then also covered by earth.

The locations of these successful interventions can be seen from above during long periods of dry weather. Jeremy continued to explain that further interventions were made during 1935 when the stone wall of the mound was uncovered and then again recovered with turf in order to create the

popular impression of a medieval castle. And it was soon after the 1935 interventions in the mound that the fifty-five steps were inserted allowing public access into the tower, replacing the previous spiral pathway. At this point Jeremy invited those in the group that were able-bodied to make the

ascent into Clifford's Tower itself, and directed all others to re-join the workshop in the warmth of the Hilton Hotel for the afternoon talks.

Inside Clifford's Tower, Jeremy stated that in creating the quatrefoil design, Henry III may have intended to utilise the building as a palace, as evidence refers to the existence of a chapel. However, this did not come to fruition, perhaps due to the length of time that it would take to build.

The inside of the tower may have been comprised of an open-aired centre, surrounded by smaller two-storey buildings. Jeremy pointed out that this is open to speculation, as there are no surviving images of the inside of Clifford's Tower from the medieval period. After the 13th century the tower was utilised instead as a centre of Royal administration, as a Royal Mint and storage facility for coins. It was also used to imprison those that the monarchs wished to keep secure. Lastly, Jeremy concluded that a fire in 1683 destroyed the roof of the tower and put it out of functional action.

Thus concluded the tour of the Castle area and Clifford's Tower. The group was then directed by Helen Weinstein to York's Hilton Hotel which is adjacent to the tower, and booked by Historyworks and English Heritage as the venue to have tea and further talks for the public for marking HMD.

Helen Weinstein, Director of Historyworks & Clare Hall, University of Cambridge

Welcome & "Understanding the 1190 Massacre"

Helen Weinstein welcomed the afternoon's audience and the expert speakers, and explained that the remainder of the workshop was to stay focused on the events of 1190, and to understand together the Massacre of the Jews in York. Furthermore, the following presentations were dedicated to considering what do we know and what we do not know about the event. Helen added that the day, 27th January 2015, was a very special day in the calendar, as its significance was the date of the 70th anniversary of liberation of Auschwitz- Birkenhau by British forces, marked in the 21st century by Holocaust Memorial Day. (To find out more about the educational work of the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust go to http://hmd.org.uk/

Helen explained how important Holocaust Memorial Day has been to the loose-knit Jewish community in York to come together over the week to commemorate HMD and walk the Jewish History Trail together ending up each year at Clifford's Tower. Also, there were reasons for celebration of the renewal of Jewish services within the walls with a new synagogue starting to regularly meet in Friargate from Spring 2014 onwards. This was a remarkable achievement, and a testament to the growing Jewish community in York across the city and university, because it had been a long gap since 1975 which was the date when the previous synagogue in York, regularly meeting above the joiner's shop on Aldwark.

Helen also warmly welcomed those of the Jewish community who had come from Leeds, Halifax, Middlesborough, Harrogate and London for the learning afternoons.

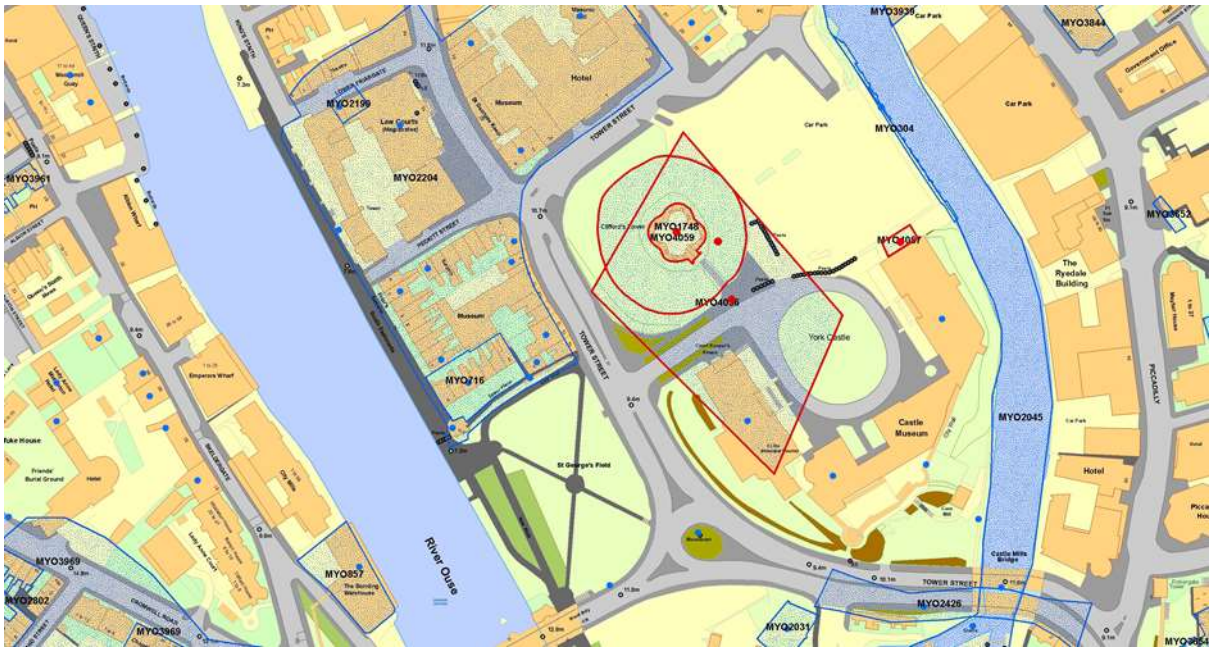
Helen added that the aims of the next two presentations were to provide an overview of the contextual learning that had occurred outside for those who had not gone up into the tower. Thus, in a somewhat more pedagogical manner, some of the archaeological and historical knowledge that had been put forward earlier by the two experts would be further explained at this point. Helen then introduced John Oxely and his talk, which focussed on the wider context of burial, and those who may have died and been buried on the site of York Castle, the area surrounding Clifford's Tower.

John Oxley, City Archaeologist at the City of York Council, "Between the Foss & the Ouse: Burials on the York Castle Site"

John Oxley stressed that he wished to give a feeling for the context in which York Castle sits, and for this learning event to mark HMD, would ruminate

over the history of burials within the historic York Castle area.

After this summary, John moved onto to subject of burial. He stated that Clifford's Tower and the adjacent area sits on an ancient burial site where Prehistoric remains were discovered in 1902 (and consequently showed the group an example image of a similar burial dated to the Neolithic).



John also gave more details of the potential extent of the Roman cemetery, most of which were of inhumations, i.e. ritual burials. Burials found in 1956 were contained within very substantial sarcophagi, John then illustrated this statement with an image of a decorative inscription of sarcophagus that reads "to the spirits of the departed and to the memory of Julia Victoriana, who lived for 29 years 2 months 15 days".

He continued; two other Roman sarcophagi and other burials had also been discovered, and the motte itself had yielded many human remains. John drew from this that the Roman cemetery was an extensive feature of the site. He emphasised that, in the context of marking Holocaust Memorial Day, it was important to recognise the long history of diversity in York witnessed by the immigrant settlement exemplified not only by the coming of European Jews in York between the 11th and 13th centuries, but earlier by the diversity of the Roman population, drawn from not only Europe, but from across the whole Roman Empire. Here John underlined this by describing the discovery of the remains of the "Ivory Bangle Lady", a noblewoman born in North Africa, and buried here in York, during the Roman period. For more information and pictures, do see the free history trail "Walking with the Romans" here: http://historyworks.tv/products/apps/walking_with_romans/

John moved on to account for the later burials associated with the Anglo-Scandinavian period. He explained, as before, that a series of inhumations from between 9th-10th centuries were discovered 1.5 meters underneath a slither of land next to the female prison. This area was an early burial area on the site preceding the construction of William the Conqueror's castle buildings. However, even more interestingly, there had been further recent burials on this site relating to the prison. One meter above this earth level, a 19th century cemetery was found, wherein prisoners who had died, been executed, and then taken for dissection had been reinterred. John stated that these skeletons have not yet been excavated, but left in situ, and they could offer very interesting archaeological insight into prison practices and medical interests in 19th century York and beyond.

Finally, John concluded, that the York Castle site proffers a highly interesting history of burial throughout many periods—with lots of stories to tell—despite the scale of York Castle itself having disappeared from the townscape. Once again, John emphasised that a challenge lay in telling the story of the York Castle, in all its contexts, even if these stories remain below ground.

After a brief intermission, Helen Weinstein drew attention to a number of relevant publications available about the York Castle Area and the History of the Jews, & suggested those interested to find out more to go to the online bibliography here:

http://historyworks.tv/projects/2014/11/02/york-castle-project/#the-york-castle-massacre-of-1190

Jeremy Ashbee, Head Historic Properties Curator at English Heritage, "The Royal Castle & The Jewish Communities"

Jeremy Ashbee, Head Historic Properties Curator at English Heritage, explained his aim to quickly bridge the gap between the archaeology and the historical state of knowledge pertaining to the events of the 1190 Massacre of the Jewish Community in York.

He emphasized that focusing on the historical contexts proffers insight into how Royal castles are built for their functions, what they existed to do, and importantly, how the presence of a Jewish community fitted in with this picture. Jeremy stated that some find the connection of the Jewish community going to York Castle for protection a little surprising, but in actuality it *was* a common arrangement to have royal protection offered by a monarch, and fitted in very neatly with the range of activities that a castle carried out. The function of Clifford's Tower and the Castle varied, but there were common threads that ran between them.

The current stone structure of the tower was orchestrated by Henry III, and would have been of high architectural merit. Jeremy informed the group that during Henry's reign, there would have been evidence of the site's importance such as large windows, a chapel, and other signs of fine forms of living. Moreover, the historic record tells us that later on the tower shifted to a lower grade in status but was still of great importance to the Royal state. Its function was adapted for imprisonment of those whom the Kings and Queens of England needed to keep secure. York Castle was also utilised for the storage and production of coins; and was referred to as the York Royal Mint for the North of England. As Jeremy explained, the Exchequer and Royal bureaucracy was situated at times within Clifford's Tower, with a sustained presence of laws courts, and later both the debtors' and females' prison in the early 18th century. And so it was that the site incorporated a succession of law enforcing culture from the 12th century onwards.

Jeremy then addressed how the Jewish community fits within this administrative function. He answered that the link was established during the immigration of the Jews from Europe in the aftermath of William's conquest. The King directly sponsored their community and as a result, they were often referred to as the 'Kings Jews', which, Jeremy stated, depicts an accurate representation of this relationship. The Jewish community were of great financial and administrative benefit to the Crown as they carried out much of the tasks of financial activities, such as money collecting and lending; or during times of difficultly, a source of fund raising via oppressive royal taxation. The Jewish community were set up in cities where the Crown needed their expertise and so that their activities could be protected and overseen by royal officers. This brought Jeremy to the matter of the guarantee of their safety or protected custody. Essentially, Jeremy explained, this is a social phenomenon within the context of 1190.

Referring to famous archival sources by William of Malmesbury that detail the difficult events for the Jewish community, including London riots and the attacks on their houses, Jeremy indicated that the Jews had, at the time, a good relationship with the Crown and that Jewish families settled in York expected the Keeper of Clifford's Tower would provide for their safety and for this reason too all the Jewish families were residing within the neighbourhood adjacent to the stronghold and could expect further protection of his watchmen. The second source, by a local author called Roger of Howden, details that after one of the families was attacked and murdered in their home the Jews of York shut themselves in Clifford's Tower in order to protect themselves from the mob, with the agreement of the Sherriff and the Keeper of the tower. It appears that both parties would have expected the royal castle to have been an appropriate place of protection for the Jewish community.

Jeremy pointed out that, in the context of tensions with the Jewish community and their neighbours in England, the events of 1190 are comparatively early, and that an examination of documentation from the 13th century reveals a bit more about the relationship between the Jewish community and the Royal Officials. This in turn can shed further light on the kind of crisis that prompted the Jewish community to make such a move to the site of the timber stronghold for protection in York.

Jeremy explained that the historic records from the Tower of London provide evidence for recurrent flashpoints which prompted the Jewish community in London to head to the stronghold for their own safety. He described violence against the Jewish community at the Coronation of Henry II and how Jews were consequently received at the Tower of London as a precaution at that time. To further illustrate the commonality of this he gave an example of a Christian who could not settle his debts because his Jewish money-lender had taken protection at the Tower of London, immediately after the death of Henry III in 1272. Jeremy underlined that similar movements of Jews to take royal protection at times of crisis often coincided with important occasions in the ritual calendar —at Christian feast or festivals, wars, royal deaths or coronations—all of which essentially become times of danger for the Jewish community when they would be received systematically by the Royal authorities, into the Tower of London to receive customary protection directly from the Crown.

Wrapping up, Jeremy stated that the tragedy at Clifford's Tower had wider contexts. He associated it with part of the general range of outward facing activities that required Royal castles to protect the Jewish Community, for the safety of the realm and to uphold the dignity of the King.

Jeremy explained further that on the occasion of 1190, the provision of royal protection went horribly wrong with the temporary and unusual absence of royal, clerical and civic authority. In illustrating the examples from the Tower of London Jeremy hoped to have explained that a) the relationship of the crown offering protective shelter had been effective and indeed common in England later in the century; and b) that it also identifies why it was Clifford's Tower, a royal stronghold of York, wherein the Jewish Community went for protection in 1190.

This was followed by a short intermission, during which Helen Weinstein highlighted the rest of the day's events for marking HMD (and recommended further publications and reading material for the groups). Helen then introduced Dr Kate Giles, from the Department of Archaeology, and Deputy Director of the Humanities Research Centre at the University of York, who would be chairing the question session about 1190 after the subsequent speakers from the History Department and the University's internationally renowned Centre for Medieval Studies.

Sethina Watson, from the Department of History, and the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York, "What we Know (and don't know) about events of 1190"

Sethina began her presentation by explaining that crucial documentary evidence resides in the 'pipe rolls' at The National Archives, kept as administrative documentation by the Exchequer of the Crown in medieval times showing payments made to the crown and debts owed to the crown, and

importantly revealing how different aspects of the judicial system in medieval England worked through the recording of judicial fines:

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/pipe-rolls.htm

These pipe rolls comprise the earliest record of Royal government, and within the 1190 rolls, entries can be found detailing numerous fines directly levied for damages in the aftermath of the 1190 events in York "because of the Jews" (this term relates to a typical Exchequer formula "pro Judeis").

These fines were charged to almost 60 people of York amounting to a total of over £300; a substantial amount for the time. This large fine tells us something huge had happened in York, and importantly demonstrates that the Crown held a wide group of significant people to be responsible for the death and destruction on Crown property.

Sethina explained how the York massacre horrified contemporaries, not just locally and nationally, but across the European continent, recalled in a series of Jewish elegies. On the continent Jewish writers captured the memory of the English atrocities alongside the recollection of attacks on Jews in France and the Rhineland. For example, Ephraim of Bonn wrote about the terrible events in England. He described the date of the York atrocity as auspicious in the Jewish ritual calendar, the night before the Jewish 'Shabbat ha-Gaddol' (the Great Sabbath). Ephraim puts the number who were killed, as slaughtered or burnt alive, at 150, a figure that equates plausibly with the number of Jews that were living in York. However, his description suggests that the massacre occurred within a synagogue, which Sethina stated, is not consistent with any other evidence. Importantly, Ephraim also wrote that a continental Rabbi was present in York at the time of the massacre, and this Rabbi Yom Tov from Joigny had recent experience of a massacre of Jews burnt alive at Blois in 1171, (to learn more about the continental pogroms, Editor suggests reading Simon Schama *The Story of the Jews. Finding the Words 1000 BCE-1492 BCE* (Bodley Head, 2013)

Many of our key sources were written by English chroniclers, but we must remember that none of these chroniclers were actual eye-witnesses. And all of their accounts are incorporated into wider histories. There accounts of the

massacre can draw on other texts, most importantly William of Newburgh's use of a Roman Jewish historian's account of the tragedy of the Jews at Masada. This can mean that some of our details might not reflect the events in York.

(NOTE FROM HELEN WEINSTEIN, EDITOR OF REPORT: Some may have been written as apologies to deflect blame from the Yorkshire neighbours within the Christian community. Further, it is problematic that Masada is used as a source to mirror the circumstances at York, because the tragedy at Masada is a great distance away from York temporally and geographically, in the Judean Desert overlooking the Dead Sea, in what is now southern Israel. The Siege at Masada when the Jewish community was besieged by troops of the Roman Empire known as the First Jewish-Roman War, allegedly ended with the mass suicide of the families hiding in the fortification there,(generally dated to AD 72), but we cannot be sure because Rabbinical Judaism prohibits suicide, "self-Killing" expressly forbidden by the Torah. Therefore it is likely as described by the author Flavius Josephus in 75 AD that the community systematically killed one another led by the elders and thus ended their families and their own lives rather than be killed by the Roman military. This is the account that is mirrored by many of the chroniclers describing how it was that the Jewish community died in the siege in York. Jewish scholars do not know if this is a source that those besieged in 1190 drew on to decide what to do. The chronicler, William Newburgh does admit to reading Josephus, and numerous copies circulated in Latin which he could have studied closeby at Rievaulx or at the Minster Library. Therefore, in drawing on Josephus, it is likely this text was used by the chroniclers to suggest that the Jewish community slaughtered themselves led by their elders as at Masada rather than claim the responsibility for the death of 150 Jews in York being at the hands of their Christian neighbours, i.e. from direct violence inflicted on them or due to fire and suffocation when the small space of the timber tower where the Jewish families were sheltering was set on fire by the York mob. Without forensic evidence, and there are at present no finds from the Jewbury cemetery from this era or on site at Clifford's Tower, mass suicide is likely a narrative device and therefore we do not know for sure how 150 Jews in York died.)

However, that said, the chronicles are very useful sources to draw on, and one of the key accounts was written by Roger of Howden, who was a cleric, justice minister for the crown and an ardent historian at the time of the events. The most important account, by William of Newburgh, makes use of Roger's short work and expands it to give a richer account of the preceding events,. Newburgh was one of the most important historians of his age, born locally in Bridlington in 1136, he had connections in York, having become an Augustinian canon locally at Newburgh. It was thus just 20 miles north of York that Newburgh wrote his seminal chronicle, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* , telling the history of England between the Norman Conquest and the end of Richard the Lionheart's reign. As Sethina explained, William was also working with two very important texts; firstly, the 75AD account of the Roman-Jewish war and of the events at Masada authored by Flavius Josephus (39AD to 100AD), and secondly the account by the local chronicler, Roger of Howden. Drawing from Nicholas Vincent's recent work, Sethina illustrated that the details in Newburgh's account, such as the presence of siege engines and the speech by the Rabbi, suggesting that the Jewish community under siege commit suicide, are inspired by this earlier text that describes the tragic end to the siege at Masada. He also drew from the Bible, in particular, Matthew 27. As Sethina pointed out, the events took place the weekend before Easter, when Christians will have commemorated the story of the betrayal of Christ. So, whilst Roger of Howden found the royal officials culpable for not protecting the Jews who had taken shelter, Sethina highlighted that William of Newburgh stressed the actions of the York participants in the Christian mob as the protagonists, attacking the Jewish community in the tower. This explanation identifying who was culpable for the death and

destruction at Clifford's Tower is underlined by the sources showing the fines by the crown in 1190 which were levied on 59 named individuals.

Sethina then moved on to consider other contexts that have an impact on the understanding of the 1190 Massacre. She indicated that this will have been a time of danger in England for Jewish communities; Jerusalem had fallen to Muslim forces, and consequently the Crown was taxing heavily to raise money for a new Crusade, and the Jewish community (as lenders and debtors of these additional tax levies) were placed at the centre of the financial exaction to fund a Crusade against non Christians. Moreover, there would have been stirring public talks preaching about the enemies of Christ that would have contributed to an unstable and dangerous time and fuelled anti-Jewish feeling.

As Sethina explained, tensions came to a head at King Richard (the Lionheart's) Coronation in Westminster on September 3rd 1189. Richard had issued a royal proclamation, forbidding women and Jews to attend the Coronation. However, a contingent of Jewish leaders arrived to pay their respects and a fracas ensued; this spilled out into the streets of London and sparked off an eruption of violence against the Jewish residents nearby. . Afterwards, Richard forbade any violence against Jews, and decreed in an Injunction that the Jewish community were under Crown protection. But within three months, in December 1189, King Richard left for France taking many of his officials with him and violence reignited. (Note from Helen Weinstein, Editor of Report: The violence against Jewish communities was able to reignite in January 1190 spreading across English towns, culminating in the tragedy at York. Crucially the recent research by Hugh Doherty has revealed that John Marshal, the sheriff of Yorkshire, was amongst these officials, and not therefore in York in March 1190 as previously understood by historians, which power vacuum had tragic consequences for the protection of the Jewish community, because with the sheriff abroad in France there was a significant absence of royal authority across England, particularly felt in York).

Sethina described that violent attacks against Jewish communities occurred in King's Lynn in January, Norwich in February, then spread in the east of England to the York relatives in the Jewish community in Lincoln, with attacks also in Colchester and Thetford, Stamford and Bury St Edmunds, indicating a building of tension in the country. And then in March (and here Sethina turned back to William of Newburgh's account) , a group of conspirators, under the local leadership of Richard Malebisse, used a fire in the city as a cover to break into the house of a very wealthy Jewish creditor, Benedict, who had been previously assaulted in the Coronation events in London, and died soon after. They killed his family, and stole his goods.

Another leader, Josceus gathered the community to seek refuge under Royal protection. William of Newburgh tells how Royal agents let the Jewish families into the castle. However, when the Constable went out and returned, frightened Jewish leaders refused to open the gates. The Constable complained to the Governor of Yorkshire, and with this break-down in trust, the crown agents decided to take the castle by force—thus riling up the mob outside. Realising his mistake, the Governor, rescinded his order for an attack, but the mob ignored him. It is at this point in William's

text, as the day waned, when siege engines were brought to the walls. Sethina stressed again the links between Newburgh's text about events in York mirroring those describing the tragedy of the Jews massacred at Masada.

The account turns to the fateful night when the Jews died, on the eve of Shabbat ha-Gaddol. Newburgh describes how the sermon was preached by a renowned continental Rabbi who was in York at that time, Rabbi Yom Tov of Joigny. He urged them in a speech, imagined by Newburgh, to slit their own throats rather than be killed or forcibly baptised by the mob, "to prefer a glorious death to an infamous life". To do this, heads of families must first kill their wives and children before killing one another. They then set light to the timber buildings. Exactly what was said or done cannot be known. Sethina paused a moment to consider the difficulty of the content, then stressed that William did want us, his readers, to identify with the terrible position that the Jewish community were put in.

In the aftermath of the fire on the night of 16th March 1190, according to Newburgh, there were a few survivors. Many of the mob, horrified by what had happened, were moved to pity and made an agreement whereby the survivors might live. But Richard Malebisse, one of the original attackers, had the survivors killed on their exiting the tower and he and his band of armed men went together to the Minster Church to destroy evidence of any debts to the Jewish money-lenders. For Newburgh, the whole tragedy was driven by envy and debt. Sethina stressed that this was, and was immediately recognised as, a horrific deed against the Jewish community of York. The events ricocheted into the wider population; reprimand was fast and judicial authorities made many arrests. On May 3rd 1190 there was an extraordinary judicial event which included the arrest and questioning of Royal agents, clerics of the Minster, citizens of York, and Knights of the County. But the ring-leaders of the atrocity, notably Malebisse, had fled to Scotland. The King's indignation at the crime had to be satisfied by the levying of hefty fines.

Sethina concluded that the waves of anti-Jewish violence in England stopped abruptly, after the end of the Lent/Easter season but perhaps also in part because the scale of massacre in York horrified onlookers. The crown, of course, responded swiftly and sharply. Recognising this as a defining event of their age, chroniclers wrestled with the problem of how to make sense of its violence as well as how tell the story of the perpetrators and the victims in York. However, it is important to remember that 1190 is not the end of the story for the Jewish community in York. Jews returned quickly, certainly by 1205, induced by the demand for credit and a royal government offering protection. They grew in numbers to be a flourishing community in the 1220s and 1230s. The return of the Jews to York is often overlooked, but it is well documented within the pipe roll evidence. This was before the years of crippling taxation of the Jewish credit business by the crown in the 1250s and 1260s when the community dwindled to only a handful of families still residing in English towns, including York, leading up to the expulsion of all Jews from England by King Edward I's Edict promulgated in 1290.

TO FIND OUT MORE, DO USE THE BIBLIOGRAPHY PROVIDED BY HISTORYWORKS AT THE WEBSITE AT http://historyworks.tv/projects/

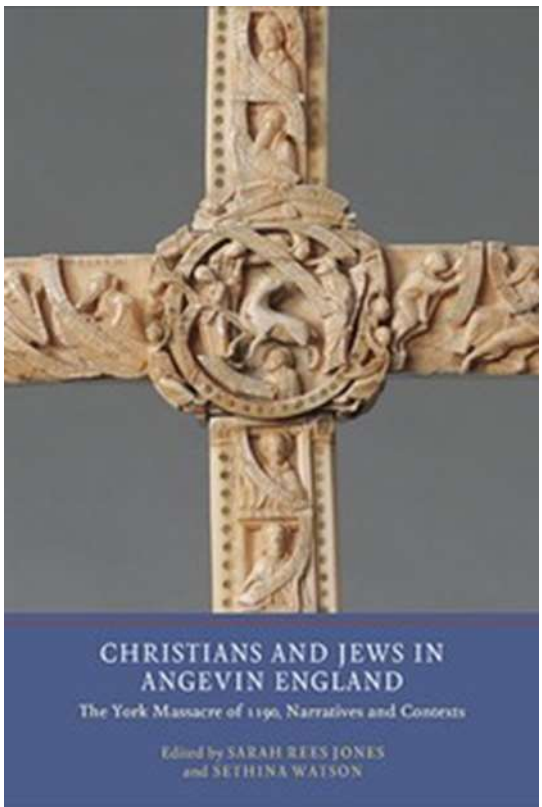
TO LEARN ABOUT THE MYTH OF A CHEREM AND TO SEE A MAP SHOWING WHERE JEWS HAVE LIVED AND WORKED IN YORK BEFORE 1190 AND AFTER 1190, WITH EXPLANATIONS ABOUT BURIAL PLACES AND SITES OF WORKSHOP FROM MEDIEVAL TIMES TO MODERN TIMES, PLEASE GO TO:

http://historyworks.tv/products/apps/york_jewish_history_trail/

Sarah Rees Jones, from the Department of History, and Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York, "The People of 1190, and afterwards: Jews and Christians in Medieval York"

Sarah Rees Jones started her presentation by praising Barry Dobson's work (which had been brought together into one book of essays in 2010 called *The Jewish Communities of Medieval England*) and recommended his seminal article on the 1190 Massacre published in the Borthwick Papers in 1974. She added that the Jewbury excavation report by Peter Addyman was also of great archaeological importance because it demonstrated that the Jewish community had returned in numbers to York after the tragedy of 1190 and indeed had flourished in the 1220s/30s. Sarah reviewed the different scholarly sources, and referenced her own article on "Neighbours and Victims in 12th Century York" which can be found in printed form in the collection of essays about 1190 which she and Sethina had compiled into a book with many insightful and useful pieces, recently published in 2013 by Boydell and Brewer, called *Christians and Jews in Angevin England. The York Massacre of 1190 – Narratives and Contexts*. The collection gathers leading international scholars to consider the massacre as central to English and Jewish history in the decades around 1200. Its chapters shed new light on the contexts that shaped the violence of 1189-90 as well as the inter-dependent lives of Christians and Jews.

In considering how narratives can shape remembrance, Sarah Rees Jones referred to recent Heritage and Arts events that focussed on the association between the Holocaust and York, such as the 1998 Anne Frank exhibition, which projected an image of Anne Frank onto Clifford's Tower.



Sarah explained that her own background is as a medieval historian, and in relation to 1190 her interest is in the history of York as a city and as a community in the 12th century. But documentary sources are scarce because there are no civic archives surviving before the 1260s. Archaeological work is also patchy for this period because digs have focussed on the period before the Norman Conquest or after 1300. Therefore, when she began her research there was little understanding of how the Norman royal authority that was imposed on York in 1068 had had a longer term consequence for the events of 1190.

William of Newburgh had blamed those who attacked the Jews of York as a 'mob' of disaffected Knights

outside the city. However, this focus on unruly knights should be treated with caution because the monarchs had spent decades building relationships with the citizens of York in an effort to erode the influence of the Yorkshire landowning knights, and it was the case that many of the citizens of York were named and fined for being responsible for the death and destruction in 1190. The tension between the crown and York citizens, and the crown and Yorkshire nobles, was unresolved, and it was these decades of unstable relationships that provide tensions to explain why the Jews came to be the focus of resentment against the crown.

In the late 11th century, after the Norman Conquest, there was huge change in the physical infrastructure of York, demonstrating the ambition of William I, William II and Henry I to turn York into a true capital of the North. York was very important to the maintenance of royal authority strategically being the only city in the north under royal control and a pivotal geo-location between England and Scotland. Under William the Conqueror, two castles were erected in the City (as described earlier by John Oxley and Jeremy Ashbee) and under these first Norman Kings there was also the King's Fishpool created adjacent by flooding the River Foss, and new defences were added to the Roman Garrison area around York Minster, and monumental stone gateways constructed at Micklegate and Bootham Bars showing the strengthening of existing defences.

Sarah emphasised that the Castle area survives as part of wider established infrastructure of authority and administration. Following on the building of the two castles on either side of the Ouse in 1068 to 69, William fiercely supressed local resistance in York, destroying houses and replacing with his French officials and a great deal of land was transferred to French knights displacing many landowners within the city of York. During the 'harrying of the north' the year later in 1079 to 70 this confiscation of lands was extended from inside the York walls to outside. Furthermore the whole of the countryside within 15 miles of the city was turned into Royal forest around 1100, and hunting was a very visceral display of Kingship, exerting military and territorial domination. The King therefore emerged as the largest new landowner in Yorkshire which demonstrated a huge economic aswell as political takeover. It was in the aftermath of the occupation that York also saw a new Norman town centre built on top of the Anglo-Scandinavian centre which became established and monumentalised by Royal and ecclesiastical authority in the building of new institutions.

The Norman Kings also constructed a "Domus Regis", a royal household in York, which was one of the largest in England. This royal citadel known as an 'arx' covered a massive area on the West bank of the Ouse (just East of Micklegate where York Council's West Offices are now situated between Tanner Row and Station Rise). The impact of the Domus Regis is not commonly discussed by historians and no trace remains visible above ground.

This royal residence was close to the original Roman river crossing, and the royal larderers attempted to control local markets and fairs, which meant that the supply of the royal residence was another method of the crown exerting power over the economic infrastructure both within the city but also over the surrounding countryside. Crucially, this set of buildings was the power base for the crown in York and was where the court sat, and it could be argued that this large institutional base was more important as a place of royal governance than the York Castle area, because it was from here that the administration of justice and fines, of marketing and servicing royal authority was based. In addition, the Norman cololnization materialized in the restructuring of religious institution. Most significantly, the Minster was re built and other religious houses were founded on large plots of land within the walls, particularly the Benedictine Monastery of St Mary's and the adjacent Hospital, both endowed by the French Kings and their followers, situated where the Yorkshire Museum and Gardens are now located.

However, between the time of the early Norman Kings dominating York with French institutions and their officials and the time of the Jews settling In York there was a period of violent instability. And so it was that when the Jews began to be settled in York in the 1170s it was a very different situation from half a century earlier. There had been a protracted period of local warfare in the late 1130s onwards when chroniclers reported disastrous periods of private wars between local leaders.

When Henry II came to the throne in 1154 he had to destroy the power of the Earl of York by military force and to take back the royal castle and royal residence for the crown, but he did not take over other local institutions or substantially invest in royal buildings as had happened with the early Norman Kings. Instead, he exerted a new form of subjugation by vastly increasing the crown's financial demands on York and Yorkshire, imposing a bureaucratic court system and civil service in order for his men (Sheriffs and Royal agents) to keep control of the localities when he was not there. New restrictions and legal demands were imposed on the community. The substantial increase in financial demands by the Crown is demonstrated by the annual rent from York to the King of £100 being augmented by the 1160s and 1170s by numerous additional taxes and enforced 'benevolences' imposed, which meant that the crown gained a large income several times the £100 annual rent, whilst subjugating the leading families surrounding York. The grip of Royal government really began to exert itself on people in a new way, and this is evident through the financial records.

The uncomfortability for the Jewish community was their arriving in York as the King's subjects in the aftermath of a major rebellion against Henry II between 1173 and 1174. Known as the "Young King's Revolt" because it was led by Henry II's sons, it involved major rebels from the north, including York citizens. Henry II clamped down upon the rebellion with violence and large fines were levied on Yorkshire 'uprisers'. It got very tense in 1175, when Henry personally presided over punitive court sessions, raising over £1,600 in fines and humiliating York's leading citizens in a ceremony in York Minster making them swear not to get involved in politics again.

Sarah stressed that Henry II clamped down very hard on the community at all levels and explained that the Jewish community—speaking French and appearing Norman—would have found it really difficult settling as they did in York the mid 1170's, at this very time of intense Royal punishment. Leading local nobles and citizens would have had their financial indebtedness managed by the Jews, who were collecting taxes and fines as the debt and credit agents for the royal administration. We don't know a lot about this early Jewish community, except that they had key family ties with the community in Lincoln, and were sufficiently settled by 1177 to be granted land for a Jewish cemetery, located as with all Jewish cemeteries in England at this time, just outside the city walls to be within the King's fee but on land that was not already developed. In York, this site has been partially excavated, known as 'Jewbury'.

What we do know about the Jewish community, is that those who were fined for being involved as members of the 59 of 'the mob' held responsible for the death and destruction in 1190 were many of the same named individuals and family members paying fines in the 1170s onwards, who had resisted royal authority in the past and would do so in the future. Resentment about the subjugation of York under a royal sheriff and the payments collected by the Jewish money-lenders were a significant context for the tense events of 1190. Because it is evidence from the pipe rolls that shows that very large numbers of local people owed money and went before royal courts in the 1170s and 1180s about crown fines with their responsibility for meeting these demands for money ranging from small sums of shillings to sums as high as £66. These took families years and years to pay off. In addition to the fines in themselves, the crown was also regulating local trade and especially money-lenders, who were replaced by the wealthy Jewish financiers, protected by the

crown and speaking French, who would have been seen locally as part of the royal financial machinery imposed on York and the surrounding countryside.

The citizens of York who were fined are named in 1190 pipe rolls and again in 1194 pipe rolls as responsible for the events, whether it was because they were leading families, or directly associated with violence. We will never know the latter. However, Sarah described how there are many connections that can be made by looking at land records, which show that those named were living in very close proximity to both the Jewish victims and the Crown officials, mostly residing closeby the York Castle area, in Coney Street and Walmgate. Further, by following the names of the families and their involvement in royal rebellions before and after 1190, it seems that the crown had important circumstantial reasoning for claiming these York citizens as responsible, if not culpable by their own hands, for not stopping the leaders of the mob on the night of violence on the 16th March.

Lastly, Sarah spoke about the chosen cover of her and Sethina's book *Christians and Jews in Angevin England. The York Massacre of 1190 – Narratives and Contexts)* which shows an image of an Alabaster cross decorated with a set of images exploring the triumph of Christianity over Judaism, with Synogogia spearing the Lamb of God, a detail from the Cloisters Cross. She concluded that it symbolically sums up the issues of that time; more so perhaps than an image of Clifford's Tower.

Alison Bodley, Senior Curator of History and Archaeology at York Castle Museum, "Prisoners & Justice: the Presentation and Interpretation of the Prison Complex at York Castle"

During the English Civil War in the mid-17th century, King Charles I (fearing hostilities in London), travelled to York, bringing with him his court. For the six months following his move York was capital of the Kingdom. The defences were invested in during 1643 including a storage room in Clifford's Tower for munitions, and the space was utilised to host a garrison for soldiers. However, in the later 17th century the site became underused and there was reference to an explosion on site in April 1684 when a gun salute on St George's Day allegedly was responsible for a fire that destroyed part of the roof. It seems that once the Tower was roofless, that it was used as a store house still, but instead of ammunition, was used as a shelter for cattle, able to access via the spiral pathway into the tower.

Alison then gave details about the longevity of justice in this area with the construction of a prison and judicial complex in the 1700s; the first prison was the Debtors' prison, constructed between 1701 and 1705, which sits in the precinct of the old York Castle.

She stated the way this building functioned is indicated, importantly, by the stairs in the main building, the Debtors Prison, that faces across the forecourt to Clifford's Tower. The authorities could use stairs but the criminals could not; the building physically separates them. Criminals would only use stairs to visit the gaolers' chambers to be assessed and then be led to their cells in the lower parts of the building. With regards to the image below, it is possible to discern, as Alison showed the audience, that this impressive civic architecture was visited by tourists as early as the 18th century.

The Assize Courts were built between 1773 and 1777 and then the Female Prison between 1780 and 1803. Alison explained that there was also a third Military prison on site until 1929 that directly surrounded the Clifford's Tower mound and when it was demolished, including a huge array of outhouses, it created the space where the car park now sits. The area next to the Female prison where buried human remains had been found, was very interesting, as John Oxley had demonstrated, because this apparently was where the 'Last Drop' or place of execution was also situated.

In 1929 the Female prison was sold to the York Corporation and then in 1938 the Castle Museum was opened. The Debtors' prison became Government offices until the 1950s, when it was taken over as an extended space for the museum. Alison continued to explain how there was now a museum in what was the Debtors' and Female prison. She described about Dr Kirk, the original benefactor of the Castle Museum collection, a very eccentric medic from Pickering. Stories suggest that when patients could not immediately pay their bills, he would ask instead to be paid in heirlooms or other objects that had taken his notice whilst visiting a patient. In this way he gathered a very large collection which filled Pickering Memorial Hall; he eventually passed this collection to the Corporation, and requested an innovative style of display, influenced by Norwegian 'open air' museum movement. At the time museums were interested in typological displays but when the Castle Museum opened, it functioned more as a 'living history' museum, but indoors. As Alison explained, it was probably one of the first museums in the country to do this—all thanks to Dr Kirk.

Going back to the history of the prisons, Alison stated that the top level of the Debtors' prison was for middle to upper-class debtors who were resident at the prison (apparently they could leave as they wished but had to return for board and lodgings). The ground floor was dedicated to criminals who were waiting to be tried, also those who were convicted (and perhaps waiting for transportation), those who were condemned and waiting to be executed, and also for lower class debtors.

Living at the prison was in many ways unhelpful to the condition of the debtors, as they were at the mercy of the officials running it - who may at times have had fraudulent practices to levy charges from prisoners including paying for food and accommodation - causing a continued spiral of debt.

Alison continued on to the subject of criminal convictions: as well as deportation, initially to America and then to Australia, the prison also executed criminals for a whole range of felonies, until 1841**,** when only murderers could be hung**.** Executions took place publicly at the Knavesmire, but after 1868 they were carried out next to the Female prison (commonly known as the 'Last Drop'). Reference to the execution area has survived in current pub names such as the Three-Legged-Mare

(referring to the hangman's structure), the Last Drop, and the Hangman's Noose. Throughout the history of the prison 200 hundred people were executed and the last execution took place in 1896.

Configured image of Dick Turpin based on evidence © Yorkshire Museums Trust.

Alison mentioned that more information on the inmates can be found at the Castle, and also those who visited the prison, such as Elizabeth Fry, commented on the poor living conditions during the 19th century, a period which witnessed many advances in social reform.

Alison turned to the interpretation of the prison's history in the museum. Previous to 2009, the prison was used for other displays, but it has since been opened up and made a key part of the visiting experience. In 2013 the museum applied to the Heritage Lottery Fund in a bid to refurbish the site, reconfigure office space, and to create a commemorative 2014-2018 World War One exhibition. This renovation gave staff the opportunity to further research the history of the prison building. Alison stated that they discovered many alterations that had occurred to the buildings over time. Future work will involve improving introduction to the castle and prison complex, for example, by putting up a timeline telling the long history of the castle area site. To see the present interpretation you can see photographs here:

https://www.flickr.com/photos/historyworks/sets/72157648874827449/

Alison concluded that, as a social history museum within the York Museums Trust, the Castle Museum wishes to accredit further the work of Dr Kirk and the specially designated collection (which comprises of 200,000 objects). The challenge was to simultaneously interpret the female prison, the whole Castle area, and its layers of history, including that of the Jewish Community. She stated she looked forward to working with partners in York, especially the City of York Council and English Heritage, in order to better understand these histories and the more recent histories of Jews in York.

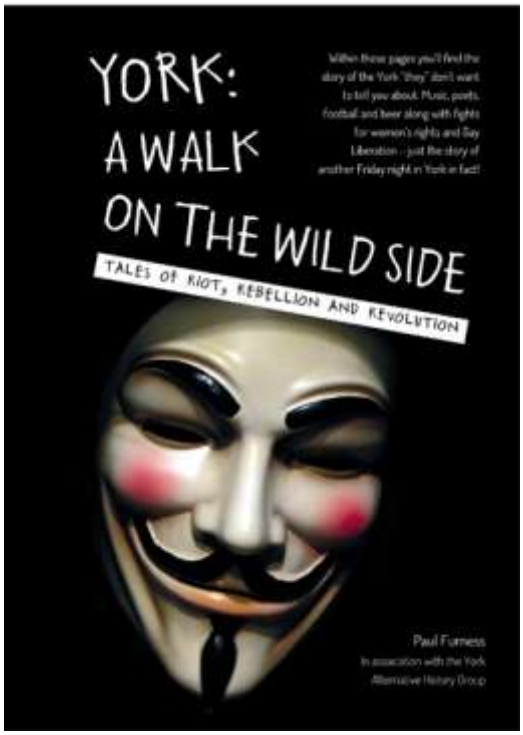
Paul Furness, York Alternative History Group & author of *York: A Walk on the Wild Side*, "When the Ludding Times Were Over?" Luddites, Chartists, and the History of Protest & Oppression at York Castle over the Centuries."

Paul Furness of York Alternative History, offered a provocative and useful set of closing remarks about the York Castle Area as a site of protest and oppression throughout the centuries.

He also recounted that there were a huge variety of relevant important people whose histories

had not been remembered sufficiently in the memory-making of York, and they deserved our attention. For example, Paul gave details regarding the event in 1596, when a group of Gypsies were executed in York because they could not prove that they were born in England. Again, he stated, this is not a history that is widely known, but it should be, so that we understand the history of ethnically diverse communities.

Paul highlighted that many of those in Debtors' Prison were not just debtors but political prisoners, for example, those affiliated with the Chartists movement in the 19th Century. In January 1813, a number of Luddites, men who had been protesting the introduction of labour-replacing machinery, were imprisoned, tried, and executed at York Castle. The trials took place between 2nd and 16th January, and the first executions took place on Friday 8th January. The men that were executed on that day were George Mellor, William Thorpe and Thomas Smith. These were the first of seventeen men to be hanged in the castle complex. The bodies of these men were taken to the County Hospital for dissection and the body parts dispersed. Further executions were carried out in two lots, with fourteen men hanged on Saturday 16th January. Unlike Mellor, Thorpe, and Smith, the bodies of these men were given to the families to be carried on carts in a procession back to their homesteads in the Pennines. Seven other men had their death penalties commuted to transportation to Australia.



Paul provided another radical but more recent connection to York, with a link to the poet Jack Mapanje from Malawi. After being released from prison in 1987 on account of his work as an activist, he moved to York and got to know its history. He became particularly interested in the events of 1190 and in 1998 he published a poem called "Another Guide to Cliffords Tower". At this point Paul concluded that this highlights the exclusion of different histories and considered this question: what's York afraid of?

Here Helen Weinstein concluded the workshop. She added that it was important for the heritage professionals and communities to keep in communication in order to find a way forward together in working out how the Castle area's hidden histories might be told and how the alternative voices might be heard. She hoped these conversations and potential opportunities to work together would continue. She then thanked the audience and the speakers.

The learning events that marked Holocaust Memorial Day and brought together the communities in York to "Understand Clifford's Tower" and "Understand the 1190 Massacre" were organized with support from English Heritage by Helen Weinstein, Director of Historyworks and involved over 150 participants for tours and talks on both afternoons on Sunday 25th and Tuesday 27th January 2015.

Thanks to English Heritage staffers go in particular to Jeremy Ashbee and Clea Warner and all the curatorial and custodian team at Clifford's Tower. Special thanks goes also to John Oxley, the City Archaeologist at York City Council who helped to shape and organize the learning days. Lastly,

thanks is due to the team who came together to support the event for Historyworks including Ross Casswell, Henri Ward, Sam Johnson, Katrina Foxton, Rick Taylor, Caroline Biggs and Judy Frost.

Please do circulate the reports from the learning days on websites and on social media, as they are designed for sharing and to widen the learning beyond the 300 in attendance at these HMD events.

To see the new website launched recently for English Heritage launched on the 1st April (the date of transformation with partner organization Historic England), please go to:

http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/cliffords-tower-york/history/

To find the descriptions and illustrative materials showing the interpretation in the York Castle Area which Helen Weinstein and the team at Historyworks have provided to share knowledge, please find these on the Historyworks website under York Castle project online here:

http://historyworks.tv/projects/

Also there are further photographs of York Castle area online at flickr here:

https://www.flickr.com/photos/historyworks/sets/72157649049500342/

https://www.flickr.com/photos/historyworks/sets/72157650702280165/

QUERIES AND FURTHER INFORMATION FOR THE PUBLIC AND HERITAGE PRACTITIONERS:

If you have any questions about this report, or want to be given further learning materials and bibliographies, please be directly in touch with Helen, (see contact information below), and you can also use the Jewish History Trail for York which is freely available at Historyworks here:

http://historyworks.tv/products/apps/york_jewish_history_trail/

PLEASE CONTACT HELEN WITH ANY FURTHER QUESTIONS:

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