Chapter 9

The Post-Medieval Period

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9.1 Introduction

The post-medieval period on Jersey and more widely over the Channel Islands has received very little explicitly archaeological attention, and such as there is has been dominated by military architecture but see MoLA reports held by the HER and (Rodwell 1996a, c, 1997, 1998, 1999a, 2005, 2007; McCormack 2015). However, a small amount of work at churches and secular settlement, and some of the ceramics have been researched, notably the early modern material. Of all the periods, the post-medieval has the greatest potential for growth, including identifying the material aspects of the development of Jersey as it is experienced today.

The political context for the first part of this period is English control but with increasing local power structures that provided the basis for the governmental system that is on operation today. The allegiance to Britain was materially manifested in the development of defensive fortifications in the early modern period but then expanding greatly in the 18th and 19th centuries. The 20th century continuity of this aspect of Jersey heritage is discussed elsewhere.

Trading links were of two kinds, regional and mainly with the nearby ports of France as well as southern England, but also international as part of the developing global trading patterns. As shipping technology developed, the need for frequent stopover points was reduced, and the role of the Channel Island ports declined; likewise, as shipbuilding became industrialised, local production dwindled. The maritime dimension became a way in which Jersey products entered the international market and mass-produced goods from elsewhere (often but not always Britain and its colonies) entered the island. Occasionally, Jersey was involved in long-distance exploitation and trade, as with the Newfoundland fisheries, but generally the links to the wider world were mediated through British networks. The proximity of France, and the movement and intermarriage of families created a unique culture which requires greater archaeological investigation.

9.2 Defensive sites

Several substantial castles have been the main focus of archaeological attention in the Channel Isles, particularly Mont Orgueil, on Jersey and Castle Cornet, St. Peter Port on Guernsey (Barton 2003). The Mont Orgueil structural development has been the focus of research, though other possible defensive sites on Jersey have also been briefly noted.

9.2.1 Mont Orgueil

Mont Orgueil continues from the medieval period as a significant strategic centre during the early modern period. Careful architectural examination has revealed the phases of construction building off the medieval structures (Aldsworth 2008).

During the 16th century a new cross wall was bult in the Lower Ward, together with new gate and additional batteries at strategic locations. The most notable change was the construction of the Tudor keep and the Somerset Tower, followed then by the massive addition of the Grand Battery which incorporated or involved the demolition of the medieval curtain wall. In the Middle Ward, a domestic building, previously called St George's Chapel, was constructed on two storeys in the 17th century (Aldsworth 2008, 60). Early 17th-century work was mainly repairs and modifications, but more defences were added during the Civil War. Thereafter many parts of the castle remained unoccupied, though the prison and some cottages continued in use. The 17th-century Middle Ward building was converted to a barracks in 1778 as part of the wider provision round the coast, and d'Auvergne reinstated parts of the castle as he occupied the castle at the turn of the 19th century as part of the responses to the threat of French invasion, but thereafter the castle fell into disrepair.

9.2.2 Elizabeth Castle

This site commenced its military role as a gun battery in the late 16th century, and from the 1590s was developed into a castle with an Upper Ward that Sir Walter Raleigh named after Elizabeth whilst he was governor of Jersey in the first few years of the 17th century (Rybot 1986). The castle replaced Mont Orgueil as Jersey's major fortification from this time onwards, and became the Governor's residence from 1600. It was then extended with a Lower Ward that was further modified in the 1660s, after Charles Fort had been constructed to protect the causewayed approach. In the early decades of the 18th century there were extensive changes including new barracks for men and officers, but the weakness of the castle in protecting St Helier was exposed when the French invaded in 1781 and captured the town as the soldiers were cut off by the tide. This led to an additional fortification being constructed at Mont de la Ville to prevent this happening again, and also the construction of the coastal towers discussed below to give advance warning of potential invasion. Because Elizabeth Castle continued in military use until 1923, there is need for detailed archaeological study of standing remains and excavation to tease out detailed phasing but also understand the social conditions through time.

St Aubin's Fort was established in the 1540s on a reef surrounded by water only at high tide. It was provided with bulwarks in the 17th century and had its keep remodelled and was expanded in the 18th century; it protected the then-important harbour at St. Aubin, only eclipsed fully by St. Helier when that port had greater investment in port facilities because of the ability of accept larger vessels.

9.2.3 Coastal defences

The role of heavily defended sites diminished form the 18th century onwards as they style of warfare changed and the main defensive objective was to prevent invasion. As a result, Jersey was a location that saw the early development of the coastal tower systems that later were applied widely around the British and Irish coasts. The 1781 invasion revealed the need for advance warning, so towers were built over the following couple of years according to Davies though Grimsley notes that some were only completed from 1779 to a distinctive design and circular plan apart from the rectangular Seymour Tower (Grimsley 1988; Davies 1991). Other towers were constructed on Guernsey, to a slightly different design.

Ongoing conflict with Napoleon meant that Martello towers were added in the early 19th century until there was a total of 31 towers spread along the east, west and south coasts with only one, at Grève de Lecq, on the north coast. Some towers had some changes in design, though further detailed study could reveal more.

9.3 Ecclesiastical sites

The post-medieval ecclesiastical landscape comprises two main components, but not those of the medieval period. The parish churches continued each supporting the population in a defined surrounding area, and though the monastic establishments were closed (though it would be a significant research project to investigate to what extent, given parallel evidence from Ireland for recusant continuity if the local patron families remained Catholic, the sites had an 'afterlife' for one or more generations). Catholicism was in effect only widely suppressed under Edward VI when the Reformation came in some force to the wider population (Platt 2009, 40-41). However, many of the Jersey gentry were already Calvinist Protestants, due to their links with France, and others returned from exile in Geneva. Calvinist services were being held in St. Helier's Town Church by 1565 (McCormack 1986, 125).

9.3.1 Parish churches

The Channel Islands church study by McCormack (1986, 125-26) only notes in any detail the early modern phase of architectural development (summarised in a chapter tellingly revealing a loss of interest in the later changes by its title 'The Afterglow, 1550-1650), but phased church plans show that most buildings received only relatively minor structural changes in plan. However, there were significant internal rearrangements which have not been set out in detail and would repay exploration. The extent of iconoclasm is uncertain, but little medieval survives and wall paintings were whitewashed over, but whether this came about immediately after the Reformation (as often has been assumed rather than proven) or is the result of various remodellings over time needs further consideration. In England ongoing research suggests varied responses to religious change both in scale and chronology of change.

As many of the manorial chapels were now closed, and this would have made the parish churches an even more important arena for local elite competition and display, probably

through pew placement as there seem to be relatively few internal wall monuments. Jersey hosted many French refugee Calvinists, which no doubt solidified that faith and also brought economic and cultural benefits to at least the urban context. The Anglican liturgy was imposed from the 1620s (McCormack 1986, 220).

St. John's is the only church with extensive early 17th century, initiated by part of the spire crashing into the building in 1610.The nave and the upper part of the spire were both completely rebuilt in local ashlar the following decade (McCormack 1986, 220). A more wide-ranging material assessment utilising what survives and documentary sources could explore the changing religious spaces and their theological, liturgical and socio-economic implications which are likely to be quite varied across the island. Another interesting aspect is the re-establishment of Roman Catholic churches in the late 19th century and the impact of Jesuit academics e.g. Highlands school, Maison St Louis weather station, etc.

9.3.2 Monastic sites

Little emphasis has been placed on the post-Dissolution biography of monastic sites on Jersey, though at Les Écréhous demonstrates the pattern often seen in England could be repeated here. What had originally been the chapel 2 nave was converted into a secular hall with a central hearth though the space was divided with a partition only slightly east of the hearth (Rodwell 1996, 144-45), though this was then rearranged with the division towards the west and the hearth moved west. It seems to have been abandoned by the end of the 15th century and was deliberately demolished, possibly using gunpowder. Chapel 3 to the east possibly at first gained an upper floor as a chamber, though this did not last and in the 16th century some form of occupation, with a long-lasting hearth and numerous fish bones suggests at least repeated temporary occupation until the vault collapsed in the 16th or 17th century (Rodwell 1996b, 145).

9*.3.3 Other places of worship*

Only a few medieval structures survived the Reformation, often by being given a new use within the manorial complex. Handois Manor, St. Lawrence was incorporated into a barn (Finlaison 2017, 162-65) and more may yet be identified. Two Jersey chapels with detailed study that were discussed for the late medieval period also have post-medieval phases.

The La Hougue Bie chapel was transformed in the post-medieval period as Dean Mabon's addition of the chapel *c.* 1520, inspired by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was no longer acceptable after the Reformation. It was abandoned for a while though a painted date of 1638 with initials ELM and ERG or EPG requires explanation (Rodwell 1999b, 178-79), but in the 1790s Philippe d'Auvergne converted the site into domestic folly with the addition of the Prince's Tower. The original western cell was made into a private chapel but the eastern one became an entrance hall and library (Rodwell 1999, 13). These changes were all removed in the early 20th century in an attempt to reveal more of the medieval structure (Rodwell 1999, 18).

The Fishermen's Chapel, St. Brelade, was a casualty of the Dissolution and presumably was out of use soon after 1547, and took a secular role and by the middle of the 16th century

was used as an armoury to complement a gun battery constructed facing the sea beyond the east end of the church. Early 19th-century illustrations show it converted to a barn with double doors inserted into the west end (Rodwell 1990a, 2-7). A few changes to the interior suggest changes related to its agricultural use. Despite restorations first in 1877 and then 1883, it was still only used as a meeting room and more restoration commenced in 1908 with further interest and recording of wall paintings in the following decade. An earthquake caused damage in 1926 which led to major interventions including underpinning (its extent archaeologically identified) and new stained glass added to the windows. Further conservation, which included the archaeological recording, took place in the early 1980s (Rodwell 1990, 12-15).

Other chapels appeared during the post-medieval period, particularly a strong Methodist tradition that is now, on Jersey as elsewhere, losing its architectural presence in the rural and urban landscape as congregations shrink and combine. The religious landscape of Jersey was transformed by the building of new Anglican churches in response to the expansion of St. Helier, and the arrival of nonconformists and the acceptance of Roman Catholics enabling them to erect places of worship and other institutional buildings. Whilst the Anglican parish churches remained the centre of worship for many, and also linked to official services linked to the state, there was now greater diversity than at any time in Jersey's history, a diversity requiring recording and research before it is diminished.

9.3.4 Grave markers and burials

Early modern internal memorials are not a feature of Jersey churches, and even the sue of floor ledgers is limited, though no systematic survey has been published. The post-medieval external grave markers of the Channel Islands offer great potential but as yet limited research has been undertaken beyond transcription of the texts. A distinctive form of markers with initials and dates on small rectangular slabs are a notable regional form from the late 18th and early 19th century. Later memorials reveal considerable French influence in both aspects of the designs and also in the use of language.

The use of initials, dates and in many cases some symbols such as hearts and shields, on a wide range of buildings across Jersey, mainly from the 16th century onwards, indicates a strong desire to record particular people at a particular date, and indeed place them in linear time and so into history (Mytum 2007). These are not necessarily family events such as marriages, nor when buildings were first constructed, but they are often built as a door lintel or a stone set into a prominent section of walling, though many have been moved. The unusually high frequency of datestones on Jersey has yet to be explained, and the rich data set hosted by the Société Jersiaise (https://members.societe-jersiaise.org/alexgle/stonejsy.html) would repay further analysis.

9.4 Urban sites

The towns of St. Helier for Jersey, St. Peter Port for Jersey and St. Anne for Alderney all were transformed in the post-medieval period in the extent, infrastructure and architecture. Excavation and standing building recording in all three towns has been limited, and late

assemblages have received little attention in the published literature. An example of the potential for analytical study of a number of buildings which reveal the shift to Georgian style and then subsequent changes and improvements through the 19th centuries is the study of houses in Dumaresq and Pitt Streets, St. Helier (Aubin *et al.* 2005). Whilst numerous changes over time in some of the properties might reduce their conservation value as an example of a particular period, the reveal more complex biographies which reflect social and economic change and so have substantial archaeological value.

The evidence from St Helier for the post-medieval period can be mainly indicated from historic maps, though these are few. With intensity of occupation and the structuring of the settlement of St. Helier, plot boundaries become fixed, presumably in the 16th or 17th centuries. The 1737 map reveals the extent of the town, stretching in either direction from the Market Square still largely along a single street. Inland, so me gardens and small paddocks indicate a landscape that would be lost as the town expanded. By 1787 the town had expanded slightly, mainly to the west, but it demonstrates how it was only in the 19th century that the urban spread gained momentum. By 1810 the spread inland began, with a considerable infilling and expansion by the 1830s, a process that then continued to the present.

Jersey, as all communities in the post-medieval period, would have had many crafts and a range of retail outlets to serve regional clients, all of which can be considered as more than architectural structures. These businesses would support the indigenous population but, as with the Isle of Man and some coastal locations in England, from the late 18th century they would also cater to an affluent leisured class and increasing numbers of professionals including retired military and naval officers who created a greater demand for material goods for consumption and affected the range of social and entertainment venues required. The end of the Napoleonic wars and establishment of regular paddle steamer links with south coast of England led to wave of new residents, mainly from England, with desire for houses in fashionable architectural styles hence the expansion and character of St Helier.

9.5 Rural sites

The stone-built rural farm complexes some of which were manorial in status around 34, continued in use throughout the post-medieval period and many are still occupied today. One has been research in detail, that of Hamptonne, St. Lawrence. Rodwell has revealed the complex development that can be identified if an intensive study of the standing remains is undertaken; more extensive excavations could locate assemblages which could augment the architectural dimension (Rodwell 1990b, 1991, 1992, 1993, 2022). The data from the Richmond map could no doubt be subject to research using GIS and could be combined with architectural, datestone and other material evidence to consider a range of settlement archaeology questions. The HER holds all the data.

The houses from the period 1450-1550 as dated by Rodwell (nd MS, 61) have been discussed with the later medieval phases as they are transitional into the early modern period. What is notable that there is some extensions as domestic life became more spatially segregated and more extra rooms were required for specific functions. The St. Ouen’s

Manor new range was in line with the existing building, and an unusually grand addition of four bays and two floors. The concepts of public and private were being redefined as is seen more widely in England, and deserves further attention. This development is further refined in Georgian buildings and the introduction of the entrance hall, and the shift from asymmetrical frontages to the symmetrical arrangement with graded window sizes by storey, though many rural houses retained more of their old fabric and the new build expansion discussed for the urban context was only partially reflected in the countryside.

Workers' housing has received limited attention, the exception being the various structures investigated on Les Écréhous. These include on La Maître Île a line of 8 fishermen's huts constructed in the 19th century from local granite bonded with clay (Rodwell 1996, 155-88). The investigation of the huts represents the most extensive and well-reported post-medieval excavation on Jersey to date, but see also Rodwell's work. The huts have doors to the south, but they were not built at the same time and have slightly different lengths. Most have fireplaces to the west but some are to the east and one to the south. Differences in the floor surfaces suggest there were probably timber divisions, though hut 8 did not survive so is only known from illustrations. The other residences on La Maître Île are still standing and were not excavated, though have been described. Other huts were constructed on La Marmotière and perhaps six may be 18th-century (Rodwell 1996, 173-75), with most of the remaining structures being added after 1880. With 20 huts in total, the island became extremely crowded and most are still standing and many still being maintained.

The potential for understanding workers' lives, in this case fishing families, is clear from this study which combined documentary and oral history sources to show the rich stories that can be recovered through interdisciplinary study that the best post-medieval archaeology can produce. Fishing was one significant source of employment, and this should include consideration not only of local fishing, but also the role of Jersey in the Newfoundland cod fisheries, the production of preserved fish for the South American and Mediterranean markets. Another interesting aspect linked to this trade is Jersey's involvement in the mahogany trade such as the Jersey-run slave timber plantations in Belize and how the hardwood appears in many houses of this period as fine staircases, doors, etc.

The density of housing on the Les Écréhous islands reflects a wider pattern across Jersey where the previously dispersed settlement patten was augments by some clusters, often around parish churches, for example St. John's (Lake and Edwards 2008, 34). The rapid growth of Jersey's population from the Napoleonic wars onwards meant that more nucleated settlement was inevitable, but improved road network and then the St Aubin and Gorey railway lines communicating with St. Helier enabled efficient transport of agricultural products including the growing industry of potato production.

The process of enclosure appears to have accelerated during the 17th century as cider orchards were planted, especially in eastern Jersey (Lake and Edwards 2008, 44); by 1795 about 80% of the countryside was enclosed. Jersey displays several distinctive aspects of agriculture, of which cider production was just one. Another notable industry which developed was that of wool production and the transformation of the fleece into yarn which then was knitted into jumpers and jerseys but also stockings, at least until the mid-18th

century. This created significant wealth across all classes and involved both genders. The importance of Jersey sheep has been noted (Ryder 1989), but further faunal analysis should be now possible, and should be applied to the development of the Jersey cattle breed, especially from 1789 when cattle imports were prohibited, and the associated dairying activities and infrastructure for export. Industrial archaeology is not a major component of post-medieval research, but agricultural processing linked to textiles and cider apples, should be considered. Also, the significance of stone quarries across the landscape and their link to building construction, etc.

Mills, warehouses, and shipbuilding would have created significant complexes and Lake and Edwards (2008) note the changes in port facilities. The archaeological implications of these are limited because of so many subsequent transformations, though traces may survive, but these would have improved accessibility to assist exports, but also enabled the easy import of a wide range of mass-produced goods which will have threatened some local craft production and specialisms across Jersey.

9.6 Ceramics – sources, typology, and use

Research on post-medieval ceramics in Britain and western Europe has a long research tradition. Thus far, Channel Islands ceramics have only been approached from a production and dating perspective, noting form, fabric and decoration to identify origins and chronology. These remain important, but social and symbolic implications, linked to class, identity, gender and dining traditions are all still to be explored. Finlaison's note regarding early 18th-century material from St. Helier being a mix of Martincamp slipwares and Staffordshire products suggests that there is much unpublished that could be usefully reviewed and synthesised (Finlaison 1996, 243).

On Les Écréhous, small amounts of ceramic indicate activity from the 16th and 17th centuries, with slightly more Normandy Stoneware at the turn of the 18th century and more mixed material during the 18th century and first half of the 19th century. Clay pipes were mainly English, but with some Dutch and one French product (Finlaison 1996, 247-50). There is also a rare identifiable stamped pipe produced for the Jersey tobacconist Antoine. The assemblages are small, presumably because most refuse was dumped in the sea.

The Gorey Castle material discussed by Barton was largely late medieval or later and came from either England or France, though a small amount of maiolica was also recovered that had been produced in Italy and the Netherlands (Barton 1977). Most of the English material was from the southwest of England, and French material from Normandy, though at that time many of the fabrics could not be attributed to a region. A wide range of forms was identified for the 16th and 17th centuries, showing the distinct shift from the medieval assemblages dominated by cooking pits, jars and jugs. Tankards, cups, plates, chamber pots, skillets, chafing dishes and even chimney pots reveal the diversity of products. Much of the English tableware is slipware, but there are glazed and sgraffito French earthenwares in rather greater quantities. In the 18th century there is a significant group of French stoneware of various fabrics; there is no mention of Staffordshire products.

9.7 Conclusions

Investigations of the post-medieval archaeology of Jersey, as with the other Channel Islands, has largely concentrated on architecture with only ceramics being explicitly explored in an archaeological manner. Nevertheless, an archaeological lens can be applied to many aspects of the work already undertaken by others and can be considered within archaeological research questions and agendas. More than any other period, post-medieval archaeology relies on many differ sources and methods, with excavation being only one of many, and is differentiated from social or cultural history, historical geography and architectural history more by its questions and the ways in which material evidence is interrogated. The potential for Jersey's post-medieval archaeology, particularly in examining the development of the distinctive features seen in the contemporary island (non-financial) economy and local culture, is one that has been to date largely not fulfilled, with some notable exceptions which are extensively noted in the text above.

9.8 Research Themes

The assessment makes clear that this is an area of considerable potential as it is currently under-represented in the research and yet it is rich in available resources, with standing buildings, monuments and material culture. However, the accessibility and abundance of post-medieval archaeology can, paradoxically, sometimes lead to its neglect as resources are targeted elsewhere. So an important piece of work would be to develop understanding of the period amongst both heritage professionals and the public. Post-medieval archaeology has high potential for public engagement and citizen science style projects.

The conventional datasets gathered together in the HER are invaluable here as is the increase in historic mapping. The 1940s APs would also be interesting to assess here alongside the documentary sources to demonstrate landscape change and identify sites of interest.

The assessment draws attention again to the traditional categorisations in use when describing or characterising the archaeology. It is possible that the continuity of conventional categories from the medieval to the post-medieval period does not really acknowledge the potential strengths of the period. Whilst churches continue to play a central part in the lives of many, for example, the motors of change are arguably elsewhere.

Rather than focusing on the development of ecclesiastical architecture in this period, the prospect of a nuanced study of how the Dissolution and Reformation were implemented would provide a fascinating study of mixing European and English positions. Whether the Calvinist French brought with them commemorative material culture, such as the oven tiles studied elsewhere, would be one example, but the treatment of church interiors would also merit study in this context.

One area where continuity (and discontinuity) might be interesting would be in the development of manorial complexes as enclosure redefines the agricultural landscape. Without a clear view of the medieval agrarian systems it is difficult to estimate the impact of post-medieval enclosure, but it would be a fascinating case study on an island with little industrial development. The nature and extent of post-medieval enclosure would also be an important research question in light of the island's position between England and France, which had very different trajectories over the period.

The importance of Jersey as an island between two nation states is explicitly mentioned above with the possibility of tracing movement and intermarriage through documentary sources and relating that to domestic assemblages of material culture.

The development of urban society is clearly a priority for the island and the period as the consumer revolution transformed both urban commerce and the leisure industry. The development of shops and leisure facilities from the nineteenth century is a key topic. The reach of commercialism with the development of global trade would merit further investigation too.

1) The assessment draws attention to the very limited extent of research in the post-medieval period. Given its extensive and accessible resource this should be a priority for future development.

2) There is clearly a lot of material to draw together about the development of modern Jersey - both as an agricultural economy and as a consumer/leisure economy. It would be helpful to draw together the existing resources in terms of documentary sources, maps, standing buildings, museum collections of material culture as well as artefacts recovered in excavation.

3) The changing rural landscape in terms of manorial to tenanted farms and the impact of enclosure on smaller farmers, as well as the role of emigre communities would be an interesting area to explore.

4) The growth of urban areas as consumer and leisure resorts would be important to discussions about Jersey's modern identity.

5) Building recording paired with greater understanding of material life on the island would be particularly interesting over the long eighteenth century as relationships between England and France changed dramatically.

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