Introduction

Amanda Richardson and Mark Allen

The papers delivered in this volume reflect a career that has been remarkable in its eclecticism. Building on his undergraduate and doctoral work on migration from 1400–1600 to and from Southampton, where he was born, Tom James moved into the new world of 'quantitative history' in his doctorate, at the University of St Andrews under the supervision of Ann Kettle. A post in the early 1970s with the exceptional scholar Colin Platt as a Social Science Research Council Research Fellow in Southampton University provided a basis for expanding Tom's historical horizons from 1066 to 1900 (published as *Southampton Sources*, 1983). The opportunity to work on Clarendon Palace arose through his connection with Platt – the nearest post-Conquest medieval archaeologist and historian in the region when questions were raised about the site's poor state in the Silver Jubilee year, 1977, notably in a letter from Tim Tatton Brown in *The Times*. Clarendon required a basic history of medieval palaces to provide some context, and over 40 years later Tom is still endeavouring to save the site and ensure its future, ably supported by academics as well as enthusiastic volunteers. As editor of several journals and newsletters including Hampshire Field Club, Southampton Records Series and *Hampshire Papers*, Tom encouraged others to publish their work on a then unfashionable area of study – royal, episcopal and noble residences, their landscapes and structures, as is so forcefully represented in some of the papers to follow.

The chapters in this volume cover around one and a half millennia, from the fifth to the nineteenth centuries, and are written by archaeologists, architectural historians, historians and heritage practitioners, some Tom James's long-standing colleagues, others his past students – and many of them both. Tom became a Professor of Regional Studies and is now Professor Emeritus in Archaeology and History, so it is fitting that the main focus of this work is the archaeology and history of the south of England, specifically Wessex (broadly Dorset, Hampshire and Wiltshire). Some chapters, however, centre on London, Oxfordshire and Suffolk and one transports us across the Channel to Lancastrian-occupied Normandy during the Hundred Years' War, a topic Tom taught for many years, and where Hampshire men played active roles. The thread that connects these disparate outputs is their capacity to inspire future generations of archaeologists, architectural historians and historians.

A number of different structures for this volume were attempted, but because Tom's interests have been so varied any sort of thematic arrangement ended up looking forced. It is therefore presented as a series of essays arranged broadly chronologically, stretching from the early medieval period to the nineteenth century. Yet even this has not been straightforward, as many authors cross into the modern period whilst exploring issues from earlier times. It is hoped, though, that a broad chronology has been maintained, and that it remains possible to discern Tom's main research avenues – the archaeology and history of Clarendon Palace and Park in Wiltshire; medieval buildings analysis, medieval palaces, and the history and archaeology of towns and urban life, especially Southampton and Winchester, as well as other of his academic interests; the socio-cultural impact of the Black Death, and of war and migration. This introduction addresses some of these themes.

Urban life, particularly the history and archaeology of Southampton and Winchester, has been prominent in Tom's academic output since his first works, and this is reflected in several of our papers. David Hinton commences the volume with his chapter on early medieval defences in southern England by referring to the recent excavations of a cemetery at St Mary's Stadium and how they have revised assumptions regarding the chronology of Hamwic's foundation. He cites the emerging power of Mercia as a factor behind West Saxon consolidation in the mid Saxon period (*c*.650–850) – for example East and West Wansdyke (Wiltshire and Somerset) were perhaps created to delineate West Saxon territory in the face of the Mercian threat. As well as the possible purpose of such linear earthworks, Hinton discusses the continuity of use of hillforts, Roman towns and fortifications, and the construction of the burhs, enclosures and precincts of the later mid-Saxon era, including those at Wareham and Wimborne (Dorset), and Winchester. Several theories are dissected, and Hinton concludes that despite claims for earlier defensive strategies and structures, a coherent 'military system' of defences only becomes apparent in the ninth century. Even then, whether defensive features like burhs were cohesively planned remains debatable.

Barbara Yorke then revisits links between the origins of Wessex and of Hamwic, a Saxon trading settlement on the west bank of the River Itchen which thrived in the eighth century, beginning with the St Mary's stadium excavations, which have pushed the settlement's possible origins back as far as the mid-to late-sixth century. Yorke concludes that although Hamwic undoubtedly resulted from rapid early eighth-century expansion, the earlier cemetery provides a context out of which the settlement developed. In particular she cites the strengthening of royal authority and a drive for emulation in the face of the rise Mercia from the late seventh century, concluding that Hamwic's foundation, almost certainly a result of the overlordship of King Ine of Wessex (d.725), may have been inspired by that of Lundenwic under Wulfhere of Mercia (d.675).

Four papers discuss Clarendon at various points in time, from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century. Mary South looks afresh at the circular pavement which occupied Henry III's chapel at the palace, in a lively discussion of its symbolism and its possible personal relevance for the king. Its design, influenced by an upsurge in interest in mathematics, science and astronomy in the late 1100s and early 1200s, is compared with contemporary rose windows, labyrinths, cosmological understandings of the four elements, Isidore's roti and the natural curves and spirals of Fibonacci. South argues that the pavement was intended to invoke feelings of peaceful spirituality. She also questions the accepted date of construction of 1244, preferring the late 1230s when Henry was feeling the need to marry and produce an heir – hence the incorporation of foliate designs which may represent the phases in a plant's lifecycle. Despite years of research, notably by Elizabeth Eames, this is therefore the first analysis of not how, but *why*, the pavement was made.

A 'tendency for seclusion' features in Jeremy Ashbee's paper on Edward I's water-gate at the Tower of London, more familiarly known as Traitor's Gate, built 1275–81. Ashbee surveys the building's form, function and interior details, suggesting a range of possible architectural models. Several conclusions emerge. Far from a structure conceived primarily according to military concerns, the building expressed royal identity, power and confidence in terms of pageantry, its external outward-facing façade made deliberately ornamental. Ashbee also notes the complexity of the layout of Edward I's apartments and of access routes into them, comparing contemporary structures including Leeds Castle in Kent, Winchester Castle in Hampshire, and Conwy Castle in Wales, all of which display a similar trend towards seclusion. He therefore concludes that separation was a fundamental element of royal residences as early as the thirteenth century.

The seclusion noted by Ashbee is also detected by John Hare (and, later on, by Edward Roberts) as he notes a marked shift in emphasis from communal to private spaces in the Bishop of Winchester's residences over time. Hare's work, among a few examples of buildings analysis in the volume, is another of Tom's interests, following on from Tom's seminal work, *The Palaces of Medieval England* (1990). Hare's chapter represents the first attempt to analyse the Episcopal residences of the bishopric of Winchester as a group. He sheds light on the bishops' significance, lordship and patronage by analysing the function and design of their buildings and how they changed over time between 1300 and 1500. As Hare points out, bishops' palaces are second only to royal residences in their extant documentation and structural remains. However, they differ in that the peculiarities of Episcopal life were inscribed in them; for example, in their large chapels and the absence of accommodation for wives and children. Wider links are also made – the decline of the Episcopal residence at Downton (Wiltshire) in the fourteenth century is compared with the parallel neglect of nearby Clarendon Palace, which accelerated

after Edward III's reign, while the extravagant spending of later archbishops of Canterbury is also contrasted. Hare suggests that the comparatively less lavish expenditure by the bishops of Winchester on their residences by the fifteenth century perhaps resulted from distractions caused by their collegial foundations at Oxford.

Paula Arthur also uses the extensive records of the Bishops of Winchester, alongside other sources, to determine the impact of the Black Death of 1348–49 on the medieval fair of St Giles, held annually for up to sixteen days in Winchester, and at its height among the largest in Europe. She examines the fair's effects on the city's functioning, since the bishop and his bailiffs assumed total control of both commerce and municipal operations throughout its duration. Arthur concludes that the fair's decline was relatively steady from the mid-twelfth century, and that in the years immediately before the Black Death it had already assumed the characteristics of a regional, rather than an international, market. For this the numerous wars of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were partly responsible, as was Winchester's declining status as a royal centre from the end of the reign of Henry III. Nevertheless, the sources show that the fair's takings reached record lows in 1348–49, when more stalls than ever before were unoccupied. The Black Death thus accelerated an already downward trend, and the fair's decline became irreversible from the early 1400s.

Winchester's post-Black Death commercial decline echoes that of many towns, with many industries, such as pottery manufacture, moving to rural locations. Phil Marter examines the plague's impact on countrywide ceramic production using data from his PhD, which formed the basis of English Heritage's National Database of Medieval Pottery Production Centres in England. While production of ceramics declined following the plague's onset, pottery manufacture was also transformed from a seasonal occupation to a fully-fledged industry by the fifteenth century. Marter examines the circumstances of this change, interrogating the evidence for the industry's post-plague decline from the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries against developments in other craft industries. The data identify a drop of around 30 per cent in pottery production sites countrywide, with the central Southern region and the South-East particularly hard-hit, especially Berkshire, Hampshire, West Sussex and Wiltshire, which show a decline of around 50 per cent. Although this pattern may have resulted from increased opportunities for alternative work as much as from mortality, the value of using the supply and demand of such ubiquitous household items as ceramic vessels to track the Black Death's cataclysmic impact is clear.

Anne Curry's paper focuses on a topic familiar to Tom's final year undergraduates over many years, and one that features in much of his research: The Hundred Years' War. She discusses the complexities of the English occupation of Normandy of 1417–50, relating it to recent 'peace keeping' endeavours in Afghanistan and Iraq. Curry

begins by highlighting issues in common between the fifteenth and the early twenty-first centuries, especially that men trained to fight all too often struggle with a peacekeeping role. She concludes that in the early fifteenth century there were strenuous efforts to ensure that English soldiers behaved courteously towards civilians, although results did not always match expectations. A key issue is whether the people of Normandy (and indeed the English nobility) saw English rule as 'occupation' given the comparable governmental and legal traditions, similar social structures, and a shared language of sorts, at least at the upper level. Curry highlights the prevalence of Anglo-Norman intermarriage, business partnerships and friendships and suggests that the enthusiastic welcome of Charles VII in 1450 was a standard civilian reaction to the arrival of thousands of armed troops, rather than evidence of a deep-seated enthusiasm for a return to French rule.

With Edward Roberts's contribution we return to Wessex. His work represents the first ever regional study, centring on Hampshire, of the architecture and plan-form of late-medieval inns. He tackles the thorny issue of distinguishing inns which evolved from private houses from those that were purpose-built, questioning longstanding assumptions such as the presence of first-floor galleries as evidence for the latter. A multiplicity of rooms can be a pointer, qualified by privacy indicators such as the number of locks and keys listed in inventories. In this way Roberts identifies the Angel at Andover and the George at Alton as 'undoubtedly' purpose-built, while the White Horse at Romsey and the George at Odiham are likely contenders due to their lockable rooms and patterns of access. Throughout the paper Roberts qualifies the 1961 typology of W.A. Pantin, whose hypothesis of two plan-form types (Courtyard or Gatehouse), he argues, has been misinterpreted by successive scholars. He ends with a call for other county-wide studies which might similarly extend Pantin's conclusions.

Cheryl Butler's piece, which weaves together academic and public history, discusses the HLF-funded 'People Project', inspired by Tom James's career-long aim to raise the profile of Southampton's history and heritage. Like Anne Curry, she evaluates the relationship between immigrant and indigenous communities as part of her paper. The project involved producing a searchable database of all surviving references to Southampton residents between 1485 and 1603. Highlights include the traceability through time of various families – one of which was implicated in one of the earliest recorded incidences of witchcraft before the mass trials of James I's reign – and the visibility of women, of whom at least 4,400 appear in the database. Indeed, the vitality of Southampton's records means that those on society's margins, including the disabled and the poor, are traceable. Butler sets out the challenges posed to endeavours such as the People Project, especially the frustrating gaps in the record. Yet she presents an inspiring example of a historical study which is relevant to both amateur and academic history, and which demonstrates the role played by individuals in the prominence of sixteenth-

century towns on the national as well as the international stage.

In the second paper on Clarendon, Amanda Richardson considers issues of gender and space in the late-medieval and early-modern deer park, using two documents towards the beginning and end of the 1500s. The first, the Framlingham Park Game Roll (1515–19) relates to Framlingham Great Park in Suffolk and the second, George Penruddock's Ranger's Book (1572–5), to Clarendon Park in Wiltshire.[1] She considers licit and illicit hunting, gendered, spatial and temporal boundaries, and the involvement of royal women in hunting in the two parks. It is demonstrated that women, parks and the forms of hunting that took place within them were firmly linked in the sixteenth-century mindset. However, there is little solid evidence in either source to substantiate recent theories equating parks (and, by extension, their increasing internal compartments in the 1600s) with female space. Nevertheless men, whether poachers or gentlemen hunters, were often found in the more peripheral areas of the parks in question, raising questions concerning masculinity in flux during the late medieval/ early modern transition.

Sue Parkinson takes us back to Winchester in a study of the reception of the Elizabethan Religious Settlement (1559), for which, reportedly, neither the city's 'common' residents nor the 'better' sort were enthusiastic. She discusses the ways in which this 'stubbornness' manifested itself, focusing on recusancy, Catholic services, and the sympathetic lenience of prominent lay officials. Winchester appears to have been a significant centre for Catholicism at all social levels, with wives and widows particularly prominent in the records and in 1591 several young women were condemned to death for attending confession and Mass. But many men were similarly resistant to change. Most Winchester aldermen were less than enthusiastic in promoting conformity, while churchwardens allowed midsummer bonfires until 1569, routinely missed bishops' visitations and were slow to acquire new Bibles and exchange chalices for communion cups. Parkinson notes that this is only half the story, since her discussion concerns the laity and not the clergy. However, it is clear that Winchester's bishops found little active support in their endeavours to eradicate the old religion from the city.

The manifestation of religious ideas in a post-medieval city is evident also in John Steane's paper on the gardens at Wadham and Merton Colleges, Oxford, laid out *c*.1650 and sometime between 1643 and 1675 respectively. That is, Wadham's warden from 1648–59, who probably contributed to its garden's creation, was John Wilkins, later Bishop of Chichester and member of an intellectual circle which saw the Garden of Eden as a model for the ideal state. Steane outlines the garden's walks, its planning (roughly as at Merton's – four quadrants within a square),

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[1] BL Add Ch 17745; Add Ch 16554; WSA 549/8. Papers of the Penruddocke Family of Compton Chamberlayne (1570–5), ff.7–23d.

its 'plum-pudding shaped' prospect mount, perhaps meant to invoke the mount of Olives, and water features, paths, pleached avenues and arbours. His discussion is aided by data from resistivity surveys funded by the colleges, which located several features of the gardens' layout. However, Steane also presents a wider discussion of ideas which coalesced in later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century garden planning such as the superiority of square plans, the eschewing of knot designs and the addition of serpentine paths and summer houses. For Merton College he discusses in particular the loss in 1996 of an avenue of limes – the only remnant of the formal garden's plan – which had survived since the eighteenth century, the felling of which yielded informative evidence of former management techniques.

The next two papers in the volume return to a focus on Clarendon. A biographical approach to place and material culture is employed by Chris Gerrard, who discusses the value and meaning bestowed on one object – a coronation medallion of William and Mary (1689) found at the site of the medieval palace. Gerrard uses wills and inventories, the palace site itself in the late seventeenth century and national narratives associated with it, to carry out a lively 'whodunnit'. He concludes that the medallion's most likely depositor was Henry Hyde, brother of Anne Hyde, first wife of James II. Henry was loyal to James, refusing to swear allegiance to William and Mary. He was also familiar with medieval history and is known to have visited Clarendon, so that the combination of artefact and place may have symbolised his loss of influence in royal circles after the overthrow of James II. Gerrard argues that the afterlife of medieval monuments should be seen as more than a narrative of decay, destructive tourism and vandalism, arguing that significant relationships between objects and people remain to be unpicked even in well-documented eras.

Henry Hyde – and possibly his penchant for depositing meaningful offerings – makes another appearance in James Ayres's chapter on Clarendon House (a mansion built *c*.1720 on the Clarendon Estate,), as the likely builder of a late-seventeenth-century lodge at its core in which horse bones seem deliberately to have been deposited. In the early 2000s the House was saved from seemingly terminal decline by its new owners, who wished it to become their family home, inviting Tom James, with Ayres, to produce a historical report. This work forms the basis of the paper, in which Ayres traces the building's evolution from the late-1680s Hyde lodge to the early nineteenth century, also comparing prominent contemporary buildings. Since these include the Duke of Beaufort's Swangrove on the Badminton estate and Sir Benjamin Bathurst's Cirencester Park (Gloucestershire), the great Conservatory at Chatsworth (Derbyshire) and even John Nash's 1825–30 work on Buckingham Palace, Ayres ably demonstrates the worth of rescuing from obscurity this Baroque masterpiece.

Cheryl Butler's People Project identified around 2,394 French speaking immigrants in sixteenth-century Southampton, and aspects of the lives of some of their successors are discussed in a further paper by Andrew Spicer. The French-Walloon community, established in the city in 1567, was granted use of the chapel of the medieval hospital of God's House, an association reinforced by the influx of Huguenot immigrants following Louis XIV's purges and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). Spicer's focus, however, is the increased interest in the Huguenot diaspora in the nineteenth century, when the survival of French-speaking congregations came under threat. The relationship between God's House chapel and the French church is explored through the writings of various historians, related artistic and literary representations, and rich descriptions of the chapel's architectural detail. Spicer concludes that the history of the relationship between the French church and God's House was not dwelled upon, so that the bicentenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had a negligible impact on the congregation. However, this reflected the agency of the church and its ministers, who were more focused on the religious needs of French-speaking residents and visitors than on memorialising the past.

Tom is also the driving force behind the Winchester Project. This builds on Derek Keene's *Survey of Medieval Winchester* by using a variety of textual and visual sources to produce a plot by plot history of the post-medieval city. It has so far produced over half a dozen PhDs, mostly under Tom's supervision. The final paper in this volume on Winchester, by Mark Allen, derives from one of these projects.[2] It analyses the work of census enumerators between 1841 and 1901. The enumerators' books (CEBs) are frequently used by professional historians and genealogists, but few have considered how those who wrote them have influenced our understanding of the population, and our perceptions are largely based on contemporary views of their shortcomings. Allen expands the work he did with Tom James in 2006 in *The 1871 Census for Winchester*. He shows how, at least in the case of Winchester, most enumerators across the century were

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[2] Other doctoral theses on the Winchester Project include Mark Allen, "A Railway Revolution? A census-based analysis of economic, social and topographical effects of the coming of the railways upon the city of Winchester, *c*.1830–*c*.1890," unpublished PhD thesis, King Alfred's College/University of Southampton, 1999; Justine Cooper, "Aspects of the development of Winchester's High Street 1550–2000, with special reference to the period after 1750," unpublished PhD thesis, King Alfred's College/University of Southampton, 2001; Peter Crossley, "Winchester Corporation 19th century leases: a review of financial aspects as a source of city building history," unpublished PhD thesis, King Alfred's College/University of Southampton, 2003; Christine Grover, "The suburban development of Winchester from *c*.1850 to 1912," unpublished PhD thesis, University of Winchester, 2008; Michael May, "Winchester houses and people *c*.1650–1710: A study based on probate inventory evidence," unpublished PhD thesis, King Alfred's College/University of Southampton, 1998; Karen Parker, "A comparison of Winchester and Southampton house inventories and furnishings from probate inventories 1447–1575," unpublished PhD thesis, University of Winchester, 2009; Craig Pinhorne, "An urban study of central Winchester applying GIS methodology to 20th century directory and complementary sources," unpublished PhD thesis, King Alfred's College/University of Southampton, 2001; Alex Turner, "Socio-economic aspects of non-local stone building in Winchester, 1500–1800," unpublished MPhil thesis, King Alfred's College/University of Southampton, 1993.

diligent men (no women were employed) who constituted part of a local network of often voluntary officials acting as, for example, Poor Law Guardians, rate collectors, school inspectors, surgeons, teachers or members of the Corporation. Their preoccupations sometimes shine through, for example during the 'moral panic' over the evils of drink and vice, which was manifested across the country in the 1850s. Despite plenty of evidence of confusion among enumerators in how to fill in around a dozen answers to straightforward questions, the evidence of the original CEBs, which are not normally made available to researchers, shows interventions in the originals to be rarer as the century wore on, and they tended towards clarification of material to be coded for publication, rather than correcting obvious discrepancies discovered by the registrars and superintendents who checked them.

The essays in this volume are framed by two appreciations of Tom James that reveal more than just an inspiring researcher and teacher. Chris Given-Wilson assesses Tom's life and career in a way that only a close friend can, affording us a glimpse the personality behind the distinguished academic celebrated throughout this volume. Also, Elizabeth Stuart highlights another side to Tom's academic life - as an administrator and manager willing to take on roles that may not have helped his personal profile, but certainly aided the development of the institution he served for over thirty years; King Alfred's College, later the University of Winchester.

The tributes to a warm and generous colleague, supervisor and friend that appear in the following pages testify to the vitality of many and varied forms of the study of the past.[3] They also demonstrate how the history – and indeed material culture – of any period can resonate with us in the modern world. This is the very essence of Tom James's *modus operandi* and this publication is delivered to him with great respect and profound gratitude.

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[3] As well as the theses on the Winchester Project already mentioned, Tom has been involved, either as Director of Studies or second supervisor, in a further 15 theses by Paula Arthur, Richard Brown, Elizabeth Eastlake, Richard Haddlesey, Phil Marter, Rebecca Oakes, Simon Philips, Jonathan Pitt, Amanda Richardson, Mary South, Andrew Spicer, Myrtle Ternstrom, Anne Thick, Cindy Wood and Roger Young. He also acted as an external advisor for the thesis of Louise Fairbrother. The full details of these works are given in the bibliography to this introduction.

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