

A SURVEY OF THE RESIDENT IMMIGRANTS IN HAMPSHIRE AND SOUTHAMPTON, 1330–1550

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses documentary evidence of the resident immigrant population of Hampshire and Southampton between 1330 and 1550, with a particular focus on the population in the mid-fifteenth century alien subsidy records. It demonstrates that there was a wide spread of resident immigrants throughout the county, not just in the major urban centres of Winchester and Southampton, and that the story of Hampshire's immigrants goes well beyond the much-discussed Italian community in Southampton. It also reveals that the immigrant population comprised individuals and families from a range of social statuses, from migrant labourers and servants, to skilled craftsmen, and to wealthy merchants with large, sometimes immigrant, households. This paper is based on research undertaken during the England's Immigrants 1330–1550 project at the University of York, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

IMMIGRATION AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ALIEN SUBSIDIES

Since the publication of Prof. Sylvia Thrupp's seminal work on immigrants in England in 1440, there has been no further attempt to produce a comprehensive and extensive national survey of the immigrant population in late medieval England (Thrupp 1957). However, the AHRC funded research project 'England's Immigrants 1330–1550', led by the University of York, has been seeking to rectify this gap in our knowledge (www.englishimmigrants.com). While some specifically urban areas have been subject to scrutiny, especially London and Southampton, the rural immigrant population of England has gone largely ignored by histori-

ans (Bolton, 1971; Bolton 1998; Bradley 1992; Bradley 2012; Ruddock 1946a; Ruddock 1951). Yet there is a great wealth of sources that reveal much about the wider nature of England's alien population. The county of Hampshire is a particularly rich case study, not least because it contains the busy port of Southampton and the major city of Winchester, but also because its rural areas were remarkably well populated by non-English born residents. Indeed, it can now be shown that over the period 1330 to 1550, there were at least 3,000 resident immigrants in Hampshire, and not just confined to the busy centres of Winchester and Southampton.

The major source for studying the alien population are the documents produced for the assessment of the various alien subsidies, collected between 1440 and 1487 (TNA, E 179/various). The alien subsidies were a series of taxes levied upon England's first-generation immigrant population during the mid to late fifteenth century, and were an innovation in taxation procedures (Thrupp, 1957). They came as a result of a growth in tensions between the native population and foreigners living or trading in England during the 1430s, after a series of military and diplomatic setbacks in the war with France. Parliament had been presented with a series of anti-alien petitions, and in 1436, the author of the treatise *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* had advocated the imposition of massive restrictions on the freedoms of aliens within the realm (Warner 1926). These concerns came to a head in the Parliament of 1439–40, when actions were finally taken against what were seen by many as an often unwelcome and potentially dangerous group within English society.

Two measures were taken against the activities of foreigners in England. Firstly, new

laws were introduced that prevented trade between foreign merchants on English soil, banned the shipment of coinage out of the realm – all trading profits had to be spent on English goods – and set up a system whereby all foreign merchants were required to register with English ‘hosts’ who would help to enforce the new laws (Ruddock 1946b; Bradley 2012). Alongside this, another act of that same Parliament also addressed the widely-held belief that aliens resident in England possessed greater wealth than native-born people but were not being taxed proportionately. This imposed a poll tax to be paid by all non-native born people in England over twelve years of age, payable at two different rates – individuals classed as ‘householders’ (generally artisans, tradesmen and other relatively settled people) were to pay 16d. each per year, while those classed as ‘non-householders’ (mainly servants, labourers or migrant workers) were to pay 6d. per year. Exemptions were relatively few. Welshmen were specifically exempt, as was anyone who had purchased letters of denization, alien women married to English or Welsh husbands, and members of religious orders (though not regular clergy). Alien wives of alien husbands were not explicitly exempt, but while they are often found recorded with their husbands in the returns, they were not charged. In most cases, the taxes were collected in pairs of payments, in the Exchequer’s fiscal terms of Easter and Michaelmas. Assessment lists were drawn up first, and the tax was then collected at a later date, often inadvertently allowing for an identified alien to make themselves absent.

The original grant ran for three years, and in 1442 Parliament extended this for a further two years. The subsidy was subsequently renewed over the next four decades, and while in principle remained the same, there were subtle changes to each grant. In particular, exemptions were broadened to include the Irish and Channel Islanders. New exemptions and categories were added in 1449; specific alien merchants (mainly various groups of Italians, along with Hansers and Prussians) were to pay 6s. 8d. per head, while clerks of alien merchants were to pay 20d. (both of which charges rose in 1453), with all merchants who had been in the country for more than six

weeks being liable to pay. Exemptions included anyone born under the king’s allegiance in Normandy, Gascony and Guinne, and Spanish, Breton and German merchants. Collection of the alien subsidy was suspended in 1471, but when it was reintroduced in 1483, the charges were greatly increased. Alien householders and non-householders were now to pay 6s. 8d. and 2s. respectively, and more new categories were added; holders of brewing houses were to pay 20s. each, while householders who were merchants or factors from certain regions were to pay 40s., and non-householders in the same categories were to pay 20s.

After the end of the final alien subsidy, granted in 1487, no further specific alien taxation was levied. Instead, aliens were assessed alongside their native neighbours, paying on the same terms as they had always done for traditional fifteenths and tenths. With the grant in 1512 of the graduated poll tax, alien residents, although assessed on the same terms as natives, were to pay at double the rates. The 1514 subsidy grant added a poll tax on all aliens over fifteen years of age who did not otherwise meet the taxation threshold, which became the norm for all future subsidies granted throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods. In 1523 and 1543, Parliament set the taxation thresholds relatively low, making those returns another valuable source of information on England’s alien population, and they are particularly fruitful for Hampshire and Southampton.

THE SOURCES

Various documents survive for the alien subsidies. The most useful of these are the inquisitions and assessments that record the names and other details of alien residents, but where those are lacking, the various accounting documents at least provide general numbers of alien residents, if not their names. Yet the survival rates of these documents vary county by county, leaving gaps in our knowledge, a factor not fully accounted for in Thrupp’s figures. While her article was certainly pioneering in its research, the ‘England’s Immigrants’ project research has found that Thrupp’s estimation that England was home to around 16,000 for-

eigners assessed to pay the tax in 1440 was an under-estimation (Thrupp 1957). Provisional analysis carried out by Dr. Jonathan Mackman suggests that an upward revision of this figure of at least 8% is needed. Thrupp's research was hampered by the limitations of the E 179 records and the catalogues available at the time, but recent work on the E 179 database has brought to light a number of further assessment and accounting documents, allowing a more detailed picture to be drawn up (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/e179/). Some of the figures quoted by Thrupp can be confirmed, but many need serious revision, mainly because of the problem of incomplete documents or mis-identification of returns, and many have been significantly increased.

Other gaps in the data can also be plugged by using the enrolled accounts for the subsidy, a source Thrupp seemingly did not use, presumably because they contain only basic numbers, not the biographical data on which much her research was based (TNA, E 359/ various). Although some gaps still remain, it can be shown that at least 17,000 people were assessed to pay the 1440 subsidy, of which just over half actually did pay, and it is possible that future research may increase these figures still further, perhaps to as many as 17,500. That would see an 8–10% increase on the figures first identified by Thrupp and used by an entire generation of historians since.

Fortunately, considering the issues of general document survival, the alien taxation records that survive for the whole county of Hampshire are fairly extensive, covering the period 1440 to 1470, although unfortunately no records survive for the 1483 subsidy. As shown in Table 1, records survive for the first and second collection of the 1440 alien subsidy, the first, third and fourth collections of the 1449 subsidy, and eleven of the 20 years of the 1453 tax, all of which have been studied previously by Derek Keene in his seminal work on medieval Winchester, and by Alwyn Ruddock in her work on Southampton (Keene 1985; Ruddock 1951). It was believed that no records survived for Hampshire for the 1442 subsidy, but as a result of work on the taxation records held at The National Archives, a further record for Hampshire has recently come to light,

detailing the third and fourth collections of the 1442 subsidy (TNA, E 179/364/18). This newly discovered material sheds further light on Hampshire's resident alien population in significant detail, just before Southampton achieved separate county status. The records for Hampshire divide after the 1442 subsidy, when Southampton was awarded county status in 1447. This split in administration coincided with the introduction of higher tax rates for alien merchants and their clerks, a group that was prevalent in Southampton.

In total, nineteen assessment records for the alien subsidies survive for Hampshire; thirteen for the county, and a further six for Southampton after 1447. These records contain names of the aliens, where they lived, their origin and their occupation. A further seven particulars of account survive for the county, summarising the number of aliens but without their names (shown in italics in Table 1). Two particulars of account cover Hampshire, and five cover Southampton. The Southampton particulars of account are unusual, in that they do provide the names of the alien merchants and clerks resident in the town, giving much more detail than can usually be expected from such documents. Three account rolls (also shown in italics in Table 1) provide figures for a further seven collection periods for Hampshire, and four collection periods for Southampton. There are two surviving records for the 1523 subsidy that provide evidence of resident aliens, but these mainly cover Winchester and Southampton, and are not as representative of the whole county as the alien subsidy documents.

There are plenty of other sources for resident immigrants, but are much more sporadic than the alien subsidies, in particular letters of denization (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1330–1509*; Page 1893; Brewer *et al.* 1862–1910). These were issued from the 1380s onwards, and occurred by grant of letters patent, whereby potential denizens paid a fee and swore an oath of allegiance to the crown (Lambert & Ormrod 2015). In return, they were to be treated and considered as any English subject, born within the realm. Denizens were expected to pay taxes, tallages, customs and subsidies in the same way as other lieges would do, and were thus, in principle, exempted from paying the

Table 1 Document survival for Hampshire and Southampton – Alien Subsidies and 1523 subsidy

<i>Year</i>	<i>Subsidy & Collection</i>	<i>Hampshire</i>	<i>Hampshire additional</i>	<i>Southampton</i>	<i>Southampton additional</i>
1440	1440, 1 & 2	E 179/176/585	E 179/173/98–100, 102	N/A	N/A
1441	1440, 3 & 4	<i>E 359/28, rot. 3d</i>	–	N/A	N/A
1442	1440, 5 & 6	<i>E 359/28, rot. 6</i>	–	N/A	N/A
1443	1442, 1 & 2	<i>E 359/28, rot. 6</i>	–	N/A	N/A
1444	1442, 3 & 4	E 179/364/18	–	N/A	N/A
1449	1449, 1	E 179/207/32 part 2	E 179/173/117; E 179/270/1	E 179/173/116	E 179/173/118
1450	1449, 2	<i>E 359/28, rot. 14d</i>	–	–	–
1451	1449, 3	E 179/173/115	–	–	–
1452	1449, 4	E 179/173/138	E 179/173/129	<i>E 179/173/114</i>	
1453–5	1453, 1–6	E 179/173/141	E 179/173/127	–	–
1456	1453, 7 & 8	<i>E 179/173/130</i>	–	<i>E 179/173/136</i>	
1457	1453, 9 & 10	<i>E 179/173/120</i>	E 179/173/128	<i>E 179/173/139</i>	E 179/235/68
1458	1453, 11 & 12	<i>E 359/30, rot. 90</i>	–	<i>E 359/30, rot. 39</i>	–
1459	1453, 13 & 14	<i>E 359/30, rot. 38</i>	–	<i>E 359/30, rot. 48</i>	–
1460	1453, 15 & 16	E 179/95/113	–	E 179/173/137	E 179/173/142
1461–3	1453, 17–22	E 179/173/123	–	E 179/173/133	–
1464	1453, 23 & 24	E 179/173/122	–	<i>E 179/173/135</i>	–
1465	1453, 25 & 26	<i>E 179/173/146</i>	E 179/173/126	–	–
1466	1453, 27 & 28	–	–	E 179/173/134	–
1467	1453, 29 & 30	E 179/173/125	–	E 179/173/131	–
1468	1453, 31 & 32	E 179/173/124	–	E 179/173/132	–
1469	1453, 33 & 34	E 179/173/121	–	E 179/235/54	–
1470	1453, 35 & 36	–	–	<i>E 359/32, rot. 77</i>	–
1471	1453, 37	<i>E 359/32, rot. 136</i>	–	<i>E 359/32, rot. 96</i>	–
1483	1483, 1	–	–	–	–
1487	1487, 1	–	–	–	–
1524	1523, 1	E 179/173/172	–	–	–
1525	1523, 2	E 179/173/176	–	–	–

alien subsidies. Letters of protection were also granted to aliens within the realm, again by letters patent, from the 1290s onwards. In most cases such letters were issued to protect people, usually for a restricted period of time, from being maliciously sued in the king's courts in their absence, but sometimes the beneficiaries

were aliens coming into, and residing in, the realm. For such aliens, letters of protection fell well short of the formal process of denization and did not involve exemption from payment of the alien subsidies and other contributions to which aliens were liable. Finally, at certain times, leaves to remain within the realm were

granted to specific groups of aliens or oaths of fealty to the crown taken. This was the case for the Irish in 1394 and the Welsh in 1413 and, following the breakdown of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, for people coming from the Low Countries in 1436. Alien residents of Hampshire mainly feature in the records of the oath of fealty taken in 1436 during the Burgundian crisis, and a substantial number of alien residents in Hampshire have also been recorded in the Westminster Denizen Roll of 1544 (WAM 12261). Winchester's *Black Book* also inadvertently records alien residents, some of whom have already been noted by Derek Keene (1985, 380–4; Bird 1925).

THE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRATION

Hampshire was home to a minimum of 1,900 named resident aliens between 1337 and 1544, although the vast majority of these were to be found there between 1436 and 1470, as shown in Table 2. A further minimum of 1,300 unidentified but accounted immigrants were also living in the county. It must be noted that neither of these figures take into account individuals counted multiple times during the period. Southampton alone was home to at least 460 identified immigrants – just under one third of these residents. As is the case in many other counties across England, the largest number of aliens was assessed in the returns for the first and second collections of the 1440 subsidy, at over 1,000 individuals, and therefore this year provides our best general overview of how large the immigrant population may have been. As noted by Thrupp, Hampshire had one of the four largest quotas of resident immigrants, next to Kent, Gloucestershire and Yorkshire, all at just over 1,000 residents each (Thrupp 1957, 266). The assumption would be that in the case of Hampshire this was as a result of the large port of Southampton, well known for its large Italian mercantile presence, but surprisingly the aliens in Southampton were only a group of 145 individuals (see Table 3). Winchester (the city and the soke) was not far behind, with 118 resident aliens. However, in total these two major urban areas were home to only 263 aliens – just under 25% of Hamp-

shire's recorded immigrant population. The other 75% were settling in the smaller towns and more rural areas of the county, and were spread far and wide. Some developing urban areas did have a share of some of the population, including Portsmouth, Basingstoke and Andover, but most were spread throughout Hampshire's hundreds, in the small villages and hamlets. Unfortunately, by a quirk of the administration of the assessments in 1440, a large proportion of the names were assessed in unidentified places, which included the Isle of Wight (East and West Medina hundreds), and the hundreds of Crondall, Fawley, Hambledon, Fareham, East Meon and Bishop's Sutton.

The most populated hundred in 1440 was King's Somborne, with sixty-eight aliens (nineteen of which were householders, and forty-nine were non-householders). The vast majority were servants, although a few weavers and bakers were identified. As well as the village of King's Somborne, resident aliens were to be found in Romsey, Stockbridge, Longstock, Upper Somborne and Leckford. Alton and Finchdean hundreds also had a fair share of resident aliens; twenty-five in Alton and twenty-four in Finchdean. As well as in Alton itself, immigrants were spread throughout the hundred, in places like West Worldham, Chawton, Ludshott and Kingsley, and in the hundred of Finchdean immigrants were to be found in Petersfield, Lovedean, Idsworth, Hinton, Catherington and Buriton. Yet alongside these relatively heavily populated areas, other hundreds had only a smattering of resident aliens. Wherwell and Pastrow hundreds were home to only two each, Overton and Barton Stacey three each, four in King-sclere, and seven each in Bermondspit and Odiham. However, when viewed as a whole, this does show that, in 1440, Hampshire was widely populated with resident immigrants across the entire county.

It is highly probable that Hampshire's growing economy, spurred on by trade through Southampton, had a great influence on the residence of some of its immigrants. Romsey was a centre for the cloth trade, and of the eight resident immigrants identified as living there in 1440, two were identified as weavers. Other cloth towns in Hampshire also drew in immi-

Table 2 Resident Aliens Assessed for the Alien Subsidies in Hampshire & Southampton, 1440-1471

<i>Year</i>	<i>Tax Assessment</i>	<i>Hampshire</i>	<i>Southampton</i>	<i>Total</i>
1440	1440, 1 & 2	1127	(145)	1127
1441	1440, 3 & 4	426	(-)	426
1442	1440, 5 & 6	409	(-)	409
1443	1442, 1 & 2	383	(-)	383
1444	1442, 3 & 4	274	(64)	274
1449	1449, 1	15	54	69
1450	1449, 2	39	-	39
1451	1449, 3	29	-	29
1452	1449, 4	18	14	32
1453-5	1453, 1-6	9	-	9
1456	1453, 7 & 8	9	22	31
1457	1453, 9 & 10	10	19	29
1458	1453, 11 & 12	13	20	33
1459	1453, 13 & 14	13	25	38
1460	1453, 15 & 16	9	21	30
1461-3	1453, 17-22	8	29	37
1464	1453, 23 & 24	7	15	22
1465	1453, 25 & 26	8	-	8
1466	1453, 27 & 28	-	20	20
1467	1453, 29 & 30	10	13	23
1468	1453, 31 & 32	7	25	32
1469	1453, 33 & 34	9	22	31
1470	1453, 35 & 36	-	20	20
1471	1453, 37	8	20	28

grants, including Andover (19 individuals in 1440), Alton (13 individuals in 1440), Alresford (11 individuals in 1440) and Basingstoke (four individuals in 1440). These growing small towns could have attracted cloth-workers, but also the wealth of the towns and townspeople resulted in the employment of alien servants by Englishmen. In Alton, for example, six aliens were employed by townsmen; William Halstede of Alton employed two alien servants.

Hampshire's coastal hundreds were also home to relatively large numbers of resident immigrants. The ports of Southampton and Portsmouth would have been an initial landing point for immigrants, and while many stayed in the ports, others dispersed to nearby towns and villages along the coast. The hundreds of Christchurch, Portsdown, Bosmere and Titchfield were particularly well populated with resident immigrants, with at least 116 indi-

Table 3 Alien residents in Hampshire in 1440

<i>Hundred/City/Town/Village</i>	<i>Number of Alien Residents</i>
Southampton	145
Christchurch & Ringwood	86
Overton	3
Basingstoke	22
New Forest	16
Bermondspit	7
Finchdean	24
Micheldever	12
Odiham	7
Redbridge	13
Holdshot & Chuteley	9
Alton	25
Barton Stacey	3
Wherwell	2
King's Somborne	68
Soke of Winchester	
St John's Street	23
Hyde Street	2
Chesil Street	1
Kingsgate	11
Andover (hundred)	13
Andover	19
Alresford (Fawley hundred)	11
Meonstoke	10
Winchester	81
Kingsclere	4
Pastrow	2
Mainsbridge	16
Fordingbridge	10
Bishop's Waltham	17
Portsdown, Bosmere, Thorngate & Titchfield	153
Buddlesgate	11
Various unidentified villages	30
Portsmouth & Kingston	45
Unknown	219

viduals positively identified as living in one of the four hundreds. Smaller alien populations lived in the other coastal hundreds of the New Forest, Redbridge and Bishop's Waltham, numbering 48 identified individuals. While many were identified as servants, others were probably involved in the fishing or maritime industries, as most lived in coastal towns and villages, such as Barton-on-Sea, Bedhampton and Portchester.

By 1444 the recorded alien population of Hampshire appears to have dropped dramatically, to 274 individuals – only a quarter of the 1440 population (see Tables 4 & 5). One reason for this is that the surviving inquisitions only cover thirteen of the county's hundreds, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Southampton and the soke and city of Winchester. The hundreds discussed above that were home to fewer than ten aliens each in 1440 are not included, so it is possible that those areas simply returned that they had no aliens, even if in reality they did. It is rather unlikely that nearly 750 people left Hampshire in a mass exodus in the space of just four years, but probably more the case that local authorities chose no longer to identify their non-native neighbours. It was, after all, quite a lot of trouble to go to for very little return – calling together a jury of twelve local men to declare that there was one alien living in the entire hundred in order to pay a few pence to the Crown was probably considered inconvenient and pointless, so perhaps only the higher population areas felt it necessary to continue making returns?

However, we are considerably lucky that the 1444 bundle of documents was identified, as it not only fills a large gap between 1440 and 1449, but it also continues the provision of substantial detail on the more populated areas of Hampshire (TNA E 179/364/18). Of the thirteen hundreds included in the returns, the most populated was, as in 1440, King's Somborne, closely followed by Portsdown and Bosmere, Titchfield and Alton. Only one hundred, Mainsbridge, returned just one alien in the assessment. One of the most significant differences in comparison to the 1440 return is in the much higher proportion of resident aliens to be found in urban areas. Together, Southampton and Winchester (including the

Table 4 Alien residents in Hampshire in 1444

<i>Hundred/City/Town/Village</i>	<i>Number of alien residents</i>
Isle of Wight	59
Winchester (City)	41
Portsmouth	12
King's Somborne	11
Christchurch	7
Ringwood	6
Redbridge	3
New Forest	2
Thorngate	3
Mainsbridge	1
Titchfield	9
Alton	8
Portsdown & Bosmere	18
Meonstoke	4
Finchdean	8
Winchester (Soke)	18
Southampton	64

soke) were home to 123 immigrants – 45% of the total immigrant population returned in 1444. This does not suggest that more aliens were in the urban rather than rural areas of Hampshire, but rather that the urban assessors were probably more thorough in their work. The Isle of Wight was assessed as a whole island and liberty, rather than in its hundred divisions, and also had a significantly high proportion of Hampshire's alien residents, at 22% of the total. As a result of the lack of complete information in 1440, this group is impossible to assess properly against previous figures. Unfortunately, the 1444 documents do not provide as much detail on the individuals as in the earlier documents, and place names are limited to only hundreds or towns. However, the documents do demonstrate that there was still a relatively wide spread of resident immigrants in Hampshire in 1444, and this

Table 5 Decline in Hampshire's resident aliens from 1440 to 1444

<i>Hundred/City/Town/Village</i>	<i>1440 Residents</i>	<i>1444 Residents</i>	<i>% decrease</i>
Winchester (City & Soke)	118	59	50
Southampton	145	64	56
Portsmouth	45	12	73
King's Somborne	68	11	84
Christchurch & Ringwood	86	13	85
Redbridge	13	3	77
New Forest	16	2	88
Thorngate, Titchfield, Portsdown & Bosmere	153	30	80
Alton	25	8	68
Meonstoke	10	4	60
Finchdean	24	8	67
Mainsbridge	16	1	94

previously unidentified document is incredibly valuable in the additional information it does provide.

By the time of the first collection of the 1449 subsidy, Southampton had achieved county status. As far as the collection of the alien subsidies was concerned, this simply meant that Hampshire and Southampton were assessed separately, sending in their own returns via their own sheriffs. At the same time, there were other very apparent and significant changes. The first was the loss of detail in the returns for Hampshire. Assessments were no longer made by hundred, but rather for the county as a whole, as commonly occurred at this period across England. Secondly, new classes of assessment were introduced. For the rest of the country, these new classes invariably made little difference, as few people were ever assessed in those categories, but in Southampton they are significant and useful. Merchants and merchants' clerks were to pay higher rates than ordinary householders and non-householders, and this group made up half of Southampton's immigrant population between 1449 and 1469. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the immigrant merchants

in Southampton is that their names were recorded on the particulars of account. This gives the impression that the assessors were very keen to ensure these wealthy immigrants were on record and did pay, much more so than other resident aliens in the port.

The later collections of the alien subsidy saw a dramatic fall in the numbers of people assessed. Taken together, after 1449 Hampshire and Southampton's resident aliens did not number over seventy individuals in total, and there were more aliens to be found in Southampton than the rest of Hampshire. This dramatic decline in numbers is not unique to this southern county, and others followed a similar pattern. Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, for example, saw similar dramatic falls in the number of aliens returned on the assessments. In 1440, the two counties recorded 501 alien residents, but by 1458 only ten were recorded. The general impression gleaned from the records for the whole of England is that there was widespread complacency with regards to the alien subsidy. As previously mentioned, it is highly unlikely that these low figures after 1449 reflect the reality of the number of aliens present in England's population.

WHO WERE THE IMMIGRANTS?

Examining the data in more detail, it can be seen that the vast majority of Hampshire and Southampton's resident aliens were male, numbering 1,801 (94%) – only 103 women (6%) were recorded. One woman, Joyce Johnson from Holland, swore the 1436 oath of fealty, and the rest were all assessed in the alien subsidies and 1523 subsidies (*Calendar of Patent Rolls 1429–36*, 588). Of these women, seventy were servants and assessed as non-householders. Three of these female servants have been identified as servants of other resident aliens. For example, one only identified as Joan, was recorded as the servant of Peter English in Winchester in 1440 (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 7). He was also recorded in the 1444 assessment for Winchester, but no longer with his female servant (TNA E 179/364/18, m. 5). Only three women were recorded as householders, two of whom lived in Southampton. Joan Powle was from the Low Countries and lived in Southampton in 1440, as did Katherine Cappister, also from the Low Countries (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 2). Alicia Brown, the third female householder, lived in either Portsmouth or Kingston in 1440 (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 9v). However, even though all three were assessed and recorded, only Joan paid the tax, and Katherine and Alicia were recorded as having moved. One woman, another Joan, is recorded in 1440 with her son in Alton, although again by the time of the collection she was noted as having moved, while her son, Roger Taillour, did pay the subsidy (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 5v). Another significant group of women were the alien wives of alien men. As was the general practise, these women were not charged the tax, but were, at least in 1440, recorded in the assessments with their husbands. Seven wives were recorded, five of whom were married to householders. One non-householding couple was Joan and Richard (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 5). They lived in Lovedean, and Richard was recorded as the servant of Henry Hore junior, but this couple were recorded as having moved by the time the collectors arrived. Finally, just one woman was recorded as a widow, although it is not clear whether she had been married to an alien or an Englishman. Maud Deryke was

recorded in 1524 living in St Michael and St Johns wards (TNA E 179/173/175, rot. 1). This is a rather limited amount of information on Hampshire's female aliens, but throughout the country the visibility of women in the records can be rather hit and miss. In Northumberland, for example, there was a much higher proportion of women than is seen in Hampshire. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that Hampshire and Southampton had an unusually low number of female immigrants, just that fewer are visible in the records available. One of the pitfalls of the documents is that alien women married to Englishmen are not recorded at all, so there is a potentially significant group missing in its entirety.

Another difficulty with the records is, as already indicated, the variance in the details that are provided on the individuals. In the case of Southampton, the information that was gathered in the alien subsidy assessments began with a fair amount of detail – name, place, occupation and sometimes nationality – yet by the end of the period only the name was recorded. A few more details were recorded for the Southampton merchants and clerks, but even then it was limited. The details given up in other records also varies wildly, sometimes with great detail on the origins of the alien, other times with little more than a name. This therefore causes great difficulty when trying to assess some of the most important information to a project on immigration – where the immigrants were coming from. Only 175 individuals have their origin positively identified in the records, which is a disappointingly low number. Unsurprisingly, the vast majority are the Italian merchants in Southampton, numbering 128 individuals. A further thirty-one are identified as Dutch or Flemish, and fifteen are identified as French, Norman, Breton or Picard. Tentative suggestions can be made for the identification of the origins of other individuals, based on their surnames, but this must be treated with extreme caution. Ninety-seven aliens in Hampshire had surnames that suggested their origin – Dutchman, Frenchman, Irishman, Norman and Guernsey. Frenchman and Norman were the most dominant surnames, and from their relatively significant number it is highly likely that they were indeed French

and Norman in origin. There were forty-five Frenchmen and thirty-four Normans, heavily suggesting that a large proportion of Hampshire's aliens consisted of French immigrants. In Southampton, the resident immigrants were not just Italians, even though they have dominated past research (Ruddock 1946a; Ruddock 1951; Bradley 2012). In each of the assessments where details are given, it is usually a rough fifty-fifty split between Italian individuals and those of other origins. An exception was in 1449, when forty-one non-Italians were recorded alongside just thirteen Italians, while in other years, such as in 1470, it was an equal split of eleven each. So there is much more to Southampton's story of medieval immigration than the purely Italian population.

A similar problem occurs when trying to identify the occupations of individuals. Occupations are only sporadically identified, and the most common occupation is servant, with just under half of the aliens with an occupation recorded being identified as such. Forty-seven were recorded as being servants of other aliens, while the larger portion were servants to native Englishmen and institutions. As noted by Derek Keene, one alien servant was recorded in Winchester as the servant of John Uvedale, a member of the prominent gentry family (1985, vol. 1, 383; TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 7). However, there was a wide variety of occupations carried out by Hampshire's immigrants. Labourers and agricultural workers, including a husbandman and a millward, are the next largest occupation group after the merchants and their associates. Plenty of craft roles feature in the identified occupations. The shoe and textile industries are represented by a handful of cordwainers and a souter, nine weavers, a hosier, a dyer, a haberdasher and a skinner, and the victualling trades by a beerman, a butcher and three bakers. There are also three carpenters and a tinker. The tinker was John Londe, living in Mainsbridge hundred (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 8). Perhaps one of the most surprising findings is that only one mariner has been identified in Hampshire. He was Gabriel Corbet, a Venetian who was granted denization in 1431, and became immersed into civic life in Southampton, which Ruddock has summarised (1951, 160, 170–1; *Calendar of Patent*

Rolls 1429–36, 117). While it is remarkable that there is only one mariner, it is highly likely that this is because of both the nature of the records, that others simply were not recorded or their records have been lost over time, and the mobile nature of the occupation.

Only a few religious men are recorded as alien residents in Hampshire between 1330 and 1550. A vicar and a parson, both of whom were Irish, were recorded Hampshire in the fourteenth century. Hugh Roches was granted a licence to remain as vicar of Empshott in 1394, and Henry Proude was likewise granted a similar licence in 1394, when he was parson of Chawton (*Calendar of Patent Rolls 1391–6*, 462, 456). Three alien chaplains were identified as living in Hampshire in the fifteenth century. One, Godfrey de Orsmale, swore the oath of fealty in 1436, while the Scottish Alexander Pennyry was granted a licence to remain in England in 1480 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls 1429–36*, 575; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1476–85*, 218). John Burgh was identified as a chaplain living in Kingsclere in 1440, where he was assessed to pay, and did pay, the lower tax rate as a non-householder (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 7v). Winchester's religious institutions also employed aliens as servants. Lewis Sale and John Frenchman were servants at Winchester College in 1440, and John Gawtre was servant to the provost of St Elizabeth's College, all three living on Kingsgate Street (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 6v). One particularly interesting identification is that of a Winchester scholar, assessed to pay the alien subsidy in 1440. He was Richard Alaparin, living on Kingsgate Street in the soke of Winchester, staying with Thomas Turgys (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 6v). The record shows that he had moved by the time of the collection, and he does not appear in any further records. Disappointingly, we are also not told of his origin. Overall, while the detail is somewhat limited, where information is forthcoming we are offered a broad impression that immigrants in Hampshire were filling a variety of roles, from the wealthiest of merchants to servants and migrant labourers. There were clearly opportunities that attracted individuals to the county and encouraging them to become residents of the county.

The impression is also given that many

immigrants chose to make Hampshire their permanent home. While it is doubtless that many merchants came and went in Southampton, some did choose to stay for extended periods in the port, as discussed at great length by Ruddock (1951). For example, Benedetto Spinola was assessed in Southampton throughout the 1460s, and was one of the more permanent members of the Spinola family in the port (Ruddock 1951, 109, 125, 175, 183, 216; TNA E 179/173/131–5, 137). Similarly, Edward Cattaneo was present in Southampton between 1440 and 1466 (Ruddock only identified him between 1449 and 1463), heading up that branch of the Cattaneo family's trade interests in England (Ruddock 1951, 107, 110, 124, 128, 216; TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 2d, /173/116, 132–4, 136–7, 139). Yet it is not only the highly visible Italians who can be traced through the records, and remarkably even servants can be traced from one record to the next. One servant, Peter Wyott, appeared four times – in 1440, 1444, 1449 and 1460 (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 2d, /364/18, m. 11, /173/137, m. 1, /173/133, m. 1). Unfortunately it is not known whom he served, but his longevity in Southampton is remarkable for someone of his social status, and shows that at least for him there was stable employment in the port. Servants in other parts of the county can also be traced through the records. John Basset's servant Robert Frenchman was assessed in 1440 and 1444 in King's Somborne hundred, as was John Webbe's servant William (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 6, /364/18, m. 7). Webbe's servant is a typical example of how a servant can be traced through the records. In the first instance in 1440 he is identified as 'William, servant of John Webbe', while in the second instance in 1444 he is identified as 'William Webbe, servant', who was probably identified by his master's surname (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 9, /364/18, m. 9). There are numerous other examples that follow this pattern, and they suggest that at least some alien servants in Hampshire enjoyed stable employment.

Other individuals can be traced easily through the records, particularly householders with distinctive names. Derek Keene identified a corveser, William Kneppell, as an alien who

was recorded as a long-term resident of Winchester between 1436 and 1453 (1985, 383). He was assessed to pay 6d. in the 1436 income tax, and was then assessed as an alien householder in 1440, paying 16d., and the document recorded that he did indeed pay (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 7). He was assessed again in 1444, 1449 and 1453 (TNA E 179/364/18, m. 5, /270/32 part 2, m. 1, /173/138). In 1440 the records reveal that he had five alien servants, but by 1449 he had just one, and likewise in 1453. It is possible that his servant Cornelius in 1453 was the same servant by that name in 1440, although he was not assessed by name in the two subsidies in the intervening years. However, this does suggest that Kneppell had a moderately sized household, and represents an alien craftsman settling in as a resident of Winchester, even though, as Keene noted, he did not seem to take any role in civic life. Another individual who can be traced through some of the records is Henry Romayn. He was assessed as a householder resident of St John's Street in the Soke of Winchester in 1440, and he also appears again in 1444 (TNA E 179/176/585, rot. 6, /364/18, m. 9). He had two alien servants in 1440 – Paul and Makario – but they do not feature again in the records. There are many other examples of individuals who appear more than once through the records, building a strong case for the argument that immigrants of all social levels chose to remain in one place, and were not just fleeting, mobile immigrants.

Records unique to Winchester and Southampton also record long-term alien residents in Hampshire. *The Black Book of Winchester* records the names of various aliens living in Winchester who can be identified in other records, from the mid-fourteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century (Bird 1925). The earliest to be recorded is Nicholas Appulman, named in the will of John Oxenford in 1349 (Bird 1925, 116). He was French, and had received letters of protection in 1337 to work as a dyer in the city (*Calendar of Patent Rolls 1334–8*, 500). Anthony Lowell (or Lovell) was assessed as an alien in the second collection of the 1523 subsidy, and two years later was granted the freedom of the city of Winchester, where he continued to be present in the records until 1539 (TNA

E 179/173/176, rot. 2d; Bird 1925, 142, 145, 147, 156, 161–2). He was clearly a significant member of the civic community, as he took on the roles of viewer of the city's lands and viewer of the repairs to the city (Bird 1925, 153, 159).

One of the long-term immigrant residents noted in the *Black Book* also features in the Westminster Denizen Roll of 1544 (WAM 12261). This roll was compiled following the reaction to the threat of invasion by France, when all aliens were required to take up letters of denization or face being expelled from the country. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of individuals recorded on this roll were living on the south coast, as they were perceived as the biggest potential threat to the nation's safety. Over 2,500 individuals were recorded, at least forty-five of whom are known to have been living in Hampshire. The importance of this roll is the amount of detail it provides on the individuals at the end of our period. For example, Robert Gosling, who was granted a tenement in St Mores parish in Winchester in 1532, and was regularly presented at the city's Guildhall, obtained letters of denization in 1544 (Bird 1925, 151, 172, 174, 178, 180,

183; WAM 12261, m. 31). The entry in the roll reveals that he was a baker from Normandy, and had lived in England for twenty-six years. The roll also reveals the long-term residents of Southampton, many of whom are recorded in the Tudor Revels database (www.tudorrevels.co.uk/records). For example, a Norman priest, Ector le Mare, was aged 60 in 1544, and had been a resident of the port for forty years (WAM 12261, m. 15).

There is an enormous wealth of information to explore regarding the resident immigrant population of medieval Hampshire and Southampton. This survey demonstrates that there is much more to Hampshire's immigration story than just the Italian residents of Southampton. Immigrants from across Europe found reasons to come to Hampshire and its major port, whether for mercantile trade, craft trade, or as servants in various households, not only to other aliens but also to English merchants and craftsmen, and the gentry. While this was a period of resentment and aggression towards aliens, many still chose to take up residency and integrated themselves into Hampshire's communities – both rural and urban.

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