

JERSEY PARISHES, ICONOGRAPHY AND ISLAND SENSES OF PLACE

[Received August 26th 2022: accepted January 5th 2023 – DOI: 10.21463/shima.185]

Peter Hargreaves

<peter@booksbikesislands.com>

ABSTRACT: The Channel Islands are an unusual archipelago. While they are dependencies of the British Crown, they are not part of the United Kingdom and the main islands – Jersey and Guernsey – enjoy a considerable amount of autonomy, as do Guernsey’s subsidiary territories, Sark and Alderney. Jersey’s internal organisation, through a patchwork of administrative territories known as parishes, is unusual for its longevity and does not accord with modern expectations of hierarchical space. It has been argued that for territories to be perceived as places, they need to be maintained and signalled. Iconography is one such form of signalling. Parish iconography in Jersey is addressed predominantly to insiders, encouraging involvement in parish and community. Travelling through the island, iconography, and particularly its manifestation in signage, informs residents as to which parish they are at any time. The varying adoption of iconography reflects parish individualism but has been diffused: once adopted in one parish, it tends to be adopted in others. There are also locations that can – particularly in the context of Jersey – be described as *not-quite* places, locales whose identities are (at best) emergent. These lack their own iconography and fit poorly into Jersey’s geography of parishes. The efforts put into parish iconography exemplify Jersey islanders’ efforts to establish and maintain identity by cultural assertion and resistance to homogenisation/modernisation. Not just a record of the past, but maintained and renewed, if anything, parish iconography has increased, as Jersey’s parish system has been perceived as threatened.

KEYWORDS: Jersey, senses of space, iconography, parish inevitability, not-quite places

Introduction

Locations inhabited or otherwise, become places – in a social sense – when they are endowed with meaning. This meaning may be residual or conjectural, resulting from associations that are ‘read into’ landscapes by imaginative interpretation or else can comprise a combination of natural, built, cultivated and/or social phenomena imagined as a particular place. Sense of place is the meaning associated with a particular location and can arise from individuals and social groups forming associations with places in ways that are integral to their self-identity (Tuan, 1977; Storey, 2012).

This article is concerned with Jersey, an island that, as this article will outline, can be considered as a densely cultured space. In particular, the article examines the Island’s twelve parishes. It first focuses on the sense of place in islands, then on territorial place. It is argued that the territorial (parish) sense of place in Jersey significantly contributes to Jersey islanders’ sense of place. There has been historical continuity in the parishes with parish centres created around churches, which, while centres for their communities, fit less well

into the central place model of spatial organisation. The article pays particular attention to iconography (the study of meaning behind recurrent images), specifically the iconography of place, which in Jersey, with what might be described as “parish inevitability,” largely concerns parish iconography, representing the persistence of traditional cultural forms in a period of dramatic socio-economic change. Recently, a more hierarchical settlement structure has emerged on the Island, one more in line with central place theory, but one still constrained by parish continuity. *Not-quite* and/or *emergent* places that fit poorly into the Island’s hierarchy of settlements and parish geography are also identified.

NB. The discussions in this article result from the author’s residence in Jersey since 1979, initially working in its finance industry and then, on retirement, returning to academic study, in particular the analysis of landscapes, settlement, territorial and political patterns, which are largely taken for granted by locals but whose exceptionalism is striking. All photographs featured in this article, with the exception of Figure 26, were taken by the author.

Island senses of place

It is possible to characterise island senses of place and identity as existing on three different but overlapping scales. The first concerns essential “islandness” (Conkling, 2007). Bounded by water, islands, including uninhabited islands, can each be said to have a distinct sense of place (Dawson, 2020). On a more macro scale, archipelagos can also be said to have distinct identities, for instance, the Maltese and Aeolian islands, both settled from Sicily in the Neolithic period, developed culturally in quite different ways (Dawson, 2010). Jersey itself is the largest island in the Channel Islands, an archipelago that shares historical aspects and has some degree of common culture and identity. There are however differences between individual islands, as they comprise two Bailiwicks (Fleury, 2011), Jersey and Guernsey, jurisdictions each led by a bailiff, as head of the judiciary, but with Guernsey’s Bailiwick including five other inhabited islands, with two of them, Alderney and Sark, having their own parliaments and laws, and Sark a binary existence as a jurisdiction spanning two populated islands (Johnson, 2014). Third, and probably least studied, are territories within islands. Examples include Haiti and the Dominican Republic on the island of Hispaniola (Redon, 2011) and the Argentinian and Chilean sectors of Tierra del Fuego. At a more micro-level, the Jersey parishes are another example of the issue of territory and place *within* islands.

The Channel Islands exemplify how the disposition of the sea and islands in particular locations and circumstances gives character to archipelagos (Figure 1) and also, in this specific instance, allows internal micro-divisions to extend to a larger, offshore area. Figure 1 illustrates the proximity of the Channel Islands to Normandy and the grouping of islands within the Bailiwick of Guernsey (centre left of the image), from left to right Guernsey, Herm (with Jethou just below it) and Sark (NB, at this scale the gap between Sark and Brecqhou does not show up). Alderney, to the north, is also included in the Bailiwick of Guernsey. The image was taken on a rising tide, indicating the size of the foreshore in the other Bailiwick, comprising Jersey and its offshore reefs, the Écréhous to its north-east and the Minquiers to the south. The size of Jersey’s foreshore emphasises the difference between it and the more northerly Channel Islands, the result both of a tidal range of up to 11 metres (which puts it in the largest ten in the world), and generally shallower seas than further

Hargreaves: Jersey parishes, iconography and senses of place

north. A comparison of the land above High Water Springs (HWS)¹ and the foreshore, between HWS and Chart Datum, the lowest tide level, in Jersey and its offshore reefs, emphasises their uniqueness. At Low Water (LW) Jersey can increase in size by a quarter. At HW the Minquiers are restricted to an islet and some rocks just above the sea level. At LW they are a seventh the size of LW Jersey, with the full extent of the Minquiers Plateau, below the sea, bigger still. Despite being uninhabited with huts only occupied, if at all, during calm weather, given Jersey's "parish inevitability", the Minquiers are part of Grouville parish and the Écréhous are part of St Martin. Clearly this extends the notion of parish space and place considerably.



Figure 1 Satellite image of the Channel Islands (Wikipedia, 2022).

¹ The term 'high water springs' refers to the tidal highwater level – specifically the average throughout a year of the heights of two high tides when the range of the tide is greatest.

Nodal and territorial places

Locations at different scales, villages, towns and cities, can all be nodal places. Within a town or city, neighbourhoods and streets can be places, so can squares (Creswell, 2015), for instance in Jersey, St Helier's Royal Square. Rather than being nodal, sense of place in Jersey is markedly territorial, focused on its twelve parishes (see Figure 2). Parishes are unusual as places, as they are not particular locations, but administrative and ecclesiastical territories. The parishes have continued for a thousand years. Their functions have changed, but they have survived within generally unchanged boundaries, their sense of place maintained by features in the landscape, parish iconography. Such survival reflects Jersey's frontier location, at the closest 22 km from the French coast, and 137 km south of the English coast. The Island has been generally protected both by English arms and the local militia, contributing to retention of its own laws, customs, and parliament, the States, in which the parishes are represented.

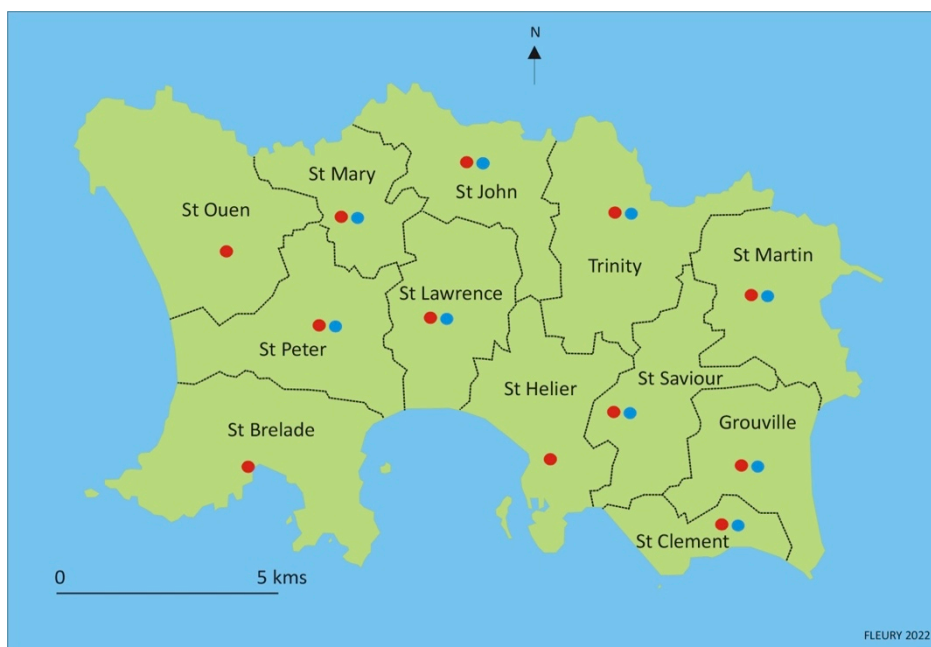


Figure 2 - Jersey's twelve parishes showing the parish boundaries. The red dots represent the location of the churches, ten of them at the centre of their "inward facing" parishes, together with the churches at St Brelade and St Helier on the coast. When established the church at St Helier was on the coast, but is no longer as a result of subsequent landfill. The present HWS is shown. The blue dots show where parish centres, including at least a parish hall, were developed around the church. For reasons explained in the text, the "idealised parish centres" did not develop in St Brelade, St Ouen or St Helier.

Not all spatial nodes are places, although some may be, or may become places. Generally, towns and villages, as nodal places, are likely to fit better into modern settlement patterns and spatial models than territorial places. Inevitably, having persisted so long, there are mismatches between Jersey's parishes and the modern spatial pattern, based on the central place model of retail centres, radial communications and a hierarchy of settlements (Berry,

1967). Such mismatches mean that the continuance of the parish representation in the States and the parish system of elected unpaid officers remain live political questions.

Territory as Place

Sack (1986) considers territoriality as classification by area rather than category or group, with functions moulded into territory in the exercise of power, which is signalled and enforced in particular on their boundaries. He conceives territories as unusual in only becoming places if established and maintained. He notes that in the United States land has become a “virtual maze of nested and overlapping hierarchies of political, quasi-political and private territories” (1986: 15). In Jersey there has been a long-established “parish inevitability” of functions. Territoriality is an efficient means for providing differential access to resources. It can increase efficiency to a point where there is a mismatch of the area or scale in which a process is covered or a service provided to the point that spillovers occur. Sack notes that the “static nature of boundaries [means] they need to be continually readjusted to minimise mismatches between responsibility and effects (1992: 187).

Jersey parish boundaries have probably been unchanged since the 11th century. A report written by Jurat Henry Perrée in 1981 discusses parish boundaries, focusing on where they are difficult to follow. The report did not suggest adjustments but identified details of where the boundaries had always been. He comments that in 1958 a meeting between parish officers from St Martin and Grouville agreed that numbers 5-8 Old Road Gorey were in St Martin. It seems transactions took place on this basis. However, the report states: “Deeds placing Nos 6 and 7 Old Road in St Martin must be set aside, as proof placing 5-8 Old Road in Grouville is overwhelming” (Perée, 1981: 31-321).

Sack (1986) argues the more hierarchical is territorial organisation, the more it results in distant and impersonal relationships and, conversely, the less hierarchical, the more likely that the circumstance of territory as place will apply. Jersey’s parishes have fitted poorly into the ecclesiastical hierarchy for a long time. In the Middle Ages, for instance, there were overlapping royal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions between England and France and Jersey Islanders could go to the Bishop’s Court in Coutances in Normandy for matters of ecclesiastical law. During the frequent wars between England and France, Islanders couldn’t go to Coutances, increasing the significance of the court of the Jersey Dean, the senior rector.² There was then a period when, under Huguenot influence, the parish churches were Presbyterian and, after a long drawn-out sequence, finally Jersey’s churches switched from the Diocese of Coutances to Winchester. Loose adherence to the Anglican hierarchy continues. In 2014, Jersey’s Dean and the Bishop of Winchester fell out. The Bishop attempted to discipline the Dean over alleged mishandling of a complaint but, with Jersey having its own canon and general law, there was disagreement over their respective powers. The falling out was so strong that church members in Jersey and Guernsey felt unwilling to stay within the Bishop’s jurisdiction. Responsibility for the churches was therefore transferred first to the Diocese of Canterbury and, from 2020 on, to the Diocese of Salisbury. All this reflects continuing discordance between island communities and structures and those of the superior authority in a ‘home’ jurisdiction.

² Each Jersey parish has a rector, a churchman with full authority – as opposed to a vicar who is a deputy with restricted powers.

The non-hierarchical quality of the parishes is also clear in civil administration. On matters reserved to the parishes, each is master of its own domain. St Helier, known as 'town', has the same status as the other parishes, a continuing source of dispute. It was proposed that it should have a town council more than a hundred years ago. In 2019 a "shadow town council" was elected, and there are plans that this should be formalised by the States (*Bailiwick Express*, 2022). That they have not been, suggests its proponents fear that seeking a different or elevated position for St Helier will be opposed in the States by members representing the other parishes. Meeting Sack's criteria for territories recognised as places, the continuity and essentially non-hierarchical quality of the parishes contributes to them being both places and communities where relations remain essentially personal.

The Parishes

Travelling through the Island, a long-time Jersey resident is likely to know in which parish they are in at any time. In the late 1990s, folk-rock band Sgt Pipon³ sang, "Elvis Presley lives in St Ouen under the name of Ecobichon." The group's 'Anthem for the people of Jersey' refers to each of the parishes and is a reworking of their earlier song 'Proud to be a bean'⁴. Members of Pipon re-formed as Parish 13 in 2015, clearly a significant name in Jersey, but whose significance would not be appreciated elsewhere. The parish sense of place remains important, even dominant, in Island culture to the extent that parish consciousness contributes to Island sense of place, culture and identity. Le Patourel (1937: 99) wrote that in the Channel Islands "for reasons which aren't yet clear.... the ecclesiastical parish developed early into an important unit of secular authority." Involvement of the parish in the community is long established. I asked Simon Langlois, who maintains a register of Jersey community groups, whether he thought that parish and community were the same. His response was "of course they are". This is reflected in an analysis of Community Facebook pages, run in six out of the twelve parishes. They are separate from pages maintained by the parish municipalities and considerably more active, with daily posts. Each is a private page restricted to its members. Comparing members to the 2021 population of the respective parishes (Government of Jersey, 2022a) the most active are St Ouen and St Brelade, their membership equivalent respectively to 61% and 35% of the parish population. Significantly, all of these Facebook pages explicitly link parish and community.

Constables for each of the twelve parishes sit in the States, run parish administration and head the parishes' honorary structure, comprising elected unpaid officers. The office of constable dates at least to the 15th century. In the 16th century the Royal Court comprised twelve *jurats* (judges of fact) and the Bailiff, who represents Islanders, historically in contrast to the Governor (now Lieutenant Governor), representing the Crown and the British military. The Bailiff still chairs the States, which the Royal Court brought into existence to seek the views of the parishes through the twelve constables and twelve rectors. The latter, the church incumbents of parish benefices, remained in the States until 1948. Items for debate in the States had to be lodged for at least fourteen days, so "the Constables could consult their constituents, if they judge it necessary" (Preamble to the Jersey Law

³ The name derives from title of the Beatles' 1967 album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, adjusted for the Jersey surname, Pipon.

⁴ 'Bean' is a modern nickname for Jerseymen. It derives from a dish called bean crock, a slowly cooked stew of beans and pork. The song 'Proud to be a bean' is on their 1998 album *Sergeant Pipon's Lonely Hearts Club Band*. 'Elvis' is on their 2001 album *The Rise and Falle of Hedley Stardust & the Spider Crabs from La Mare* and 'Anthem' is on their 2007 album *Never mind the Le Brocas yers le Seche Pistols*.

Code, 1771). There is now a formal Comité des Connétables, giving substance to the view that the way to bring about change in Jersey is to get the constables onside.

In 1854 deputies were first admitted to the States, three for St Helier, one each for the other 11 parishes. Parish officers comprise the constable, rector, *centeniers* (honorary police officers), two *procureurs du bien publique* (essentially, parish trustees), almoners (who originally took the church collection), *vingteniers* (junior honorary police elected by the parish who formerly had non-police responsibilities), constable's officers (junior honorary police elected by the *vingtaines*, parish sub-divisions), *inspecteurs des chemins*, (road inspectors) - two for each *vingtaine*, and *surveillants* (church wardens) (States of Jersey, 2001). Parish assemblies continue. The rector is president of the Ecclesiastical Assembly and the constable is head of the Civil Assembly. Statutory law on parish assemblies is prescribed in the *Loi sur les Assemblées Paroissiales* (1804) but they are almost certainly older than that.

In his substantial work on 19th century Jersey, John Kelleher (1994: 517) described the parishes, "as the fundamental communal unit of Island life." The parishes and constables continue as power holders. They remain some of the world's smallest driving licence authorities and maintain electoral registers despite an increasing divergence between the parishes and the districts electing deputies. Parishes and constables remain keen to retain these responsibilities, ensuring involvement with local residents and maintaining and encouraging the coincidence of parish and community. Parish functions combined the ecclesiastical, military, policing and responsibility for the roads and parish poor in ways, which, if not unique, are distinctive, certainly in their continuity. Parish representation in the States, variously through constables, rectors and deputies gives direct access to power. The relative importance of the different functions has changed over time, only the military function having ceased altogether.

Parish Centres

The parishes are distinguished by their regularity and the similarity of their churches. Myres (1978: 165) thought that this "would be difficult to parallel in any contiguous group of... parishes in... medieval England". All this is indicative of planning, probably undertaken in the 11th century by a reforming Bishop of Coutances, in Normandy (Everard and Holt, 2004). Recent archaeology confirms the building or rebuilding of the churches in the 10th to 12th centuries (Waterhouse, 2018b). All twelve parishes have coastlines, but only two churches, St Brelade and St Helier, were on the coast. Jersey doesn't have natural harbours. Its pattern of small fields and dispersed rural settlements was already established between the 1st and 2nd millennia BCE (Waterhouse, 2018a) Farming was predominantly on the loess-covered plateau. There was always reliance on the sea for *vraic* (seaweed used for fertiliser) and low water fishing and communal exploitation of marginal land (Hargreaves and Kelleher, 2020) but agriculture was at the heart of Island life, so the other ten churches are all located inland at something like the centre of their inland facing parishes. McCormack (1986: 52) notes that it was "the Norman abbeys who first built churches in the countryside on a scale only usual before in towns or monastic establishments".

The parish churches had multiple functions. Property transfers were heard there, completed in the *ouïse de paroisse* (the parish's hearing). In 1553 militia from each parish were required to practice with bows or handguns each Sunday at the butts (targets), resulting in roads being called Rue des Buttes, close to the churches in St John, St Mary and St Martin. Militia

guns and ammunition were stored in the church. The powder magazine at St Saviour later became the sexton's tool shed (Bois, 1976). In 1806, on the recommendation of the then Lt Governor, General Don, drill sheds were built close to each parish church, so drill could continue whatever the weather permitted (Dorgan, 2020). As well as providing for the militia, elections were held there. Grouville's drill shed was built at what is now appropriately the site of the miniature rifle range behind the parish hall (Willing, 2001). Drill sheds at St Saviour and St Lawrence were built on what is now part of the church graveyards. Adjoining St Saviour's drill shed was St Saviour's Hotel, with parish assemblies held there or in the church vestry (Bois, 1976).

The corporation sole⁵ applying to many English parish churches was an invention of post-Reformation English Law. The corporation is a single person, the incumbent. On his death or resignation it is dissolved and reconstituted on appointment of a replacement (Jones, 2012). Outside English Common Law, with Jersey's distinct ecclesiastical history and the parish inevitability of functions, the corporation sole was unnecessary. Instead, the parishes acquired the parish churches, churchyards and rectories. Rectories were close to the parish churches. Churches and rectories were supported by tithes, the sale of church pews and income from land which rectors farmed themselves. The large rambling Victorian rectory at St Saviour was sold by the parish. On part of the garden a new modern rectory was built closer to the church (Bois, 1976). Notices of parish assemblies are still displayed on the wall surrounding parish churchyards in a locked notice box (*boite grillée*), for which the constable and rector hold the key (Figure 3). Since 1960 public notices were required to be given in an English language newspaper, which means, in practice, *the Jersey Evening Post*, and since 2016 are also given online.



Figure 3 - Trinity Church. Beside the entrance to the churchyard, to the left is the *boite grillée*, dated to 1850, to the right, the sealed box, dated 1848, for offerings for the poor.

⁵ A legally recognised corporate entity comprising a single official.

Between 1840 and 1848 central arsenals were built with States funding at five rural locations. They were spaced so that none of the militia was more than two miles from an arsenal (Gibb, 1999). Two only of the five rural arsenals, those at St Lawrence and St Mary, were located close to their parish church. The other three rural arsenals were all on the edge of parishes, Grouville Arsenal, for instance served the parishes of Grouville, St Saviour and St Clement. Nonetheless, with typical Jersey sense of place, they are known as Grouville Arsenal, St Peter's Arsenal and St Martin's Arsenal, as if, really, there should have been an arsenal in each of the parishes. The drill sheds were still used for elections, but became run down and largely redundant following the building of central arsenals. Under the *Acte des États Autorisant la Suppression des Apprentis Militaires, et la Construction de Salles Paroissiales* (1877), demolition of the drill sheds was allowed where they could be replaced by parish halls (Bois, 1976). The States contributed funds to the building of each parish hall. Their importance reflects the concentration of functions in the constable and civil parish. They contain offices for the constable and parish secretary. Elections, parish assemblies and parish hall enquiries are all held there. There were always elements of parish individuality, including in the construction of parish halls (see Figure 4).



Figure 4 - Plaque on the Salle Publique de St Martin, dated 1887. Only here is there a public rather than parish hall, a difference illustrating parochial exceptionalism. Additional funds were contributed to what otherwise would have been the parish hall on condition it was also used as a Sunday school and was called a public hall (Blampied, 1999). (Note the early use of the parish crest.)

In 1899 primary education became compulsory. The idealised parish centre for the surrounding dispersed farms thereafter comprised a church, churchyard, rectory, pub, parish hall, and primary school. After the Great War, war memorials were added. The parish centres became places in themselves, contributing to the sense of the parishes as territorial places. The idealised parish centres do not include shops which are at the heart of the central place model. Instead in Jersey, until at least the 1970s, the pattern was of small shops and post offices spread apparently at random throughout the country parishes (Hambly 2001). This pattern continues with the distribution of unmanned "hedge stalls" selling

flowers, fruit and vegetables (Hedge veg Jersey, 2020). Whilst the parish centres were central places for the surrounding community, they fitted poorly into the central place model of hierarchical settlements, retailing and services and radial communications. For an equivalent view see, for instance, Williams (2002) and Hammerow (2018).

Parish centres are described as idealised, as only at five of them, St Martin, St John, St Peter, St Mary and St Lawrence, are all seven elements found together. In St Mary and St Lawrence, the parish centres also included central arsenals. St Mary's Arsenal was subsequently demolished and replaced with residential housing. The five ideal parish centres surround parish churches on the plateau of loess farmland. The churches at St Saviour, St Clement and Grouville, are located on more restricted sites on, or close to, the plateau edge, which helps explain their less concentrated parish centres. The rather grand Salle Paroissiale was built in St Saviour in 1890 opposite the church. The École Élémentaire Victoria St Saviour was built in 1897, 600m from the church. At Grouville the parish school was opened in 1899, across the road from the parish church. In 1939 the school moved to larger, more modern, premises closer to much of the population, on a former orchard 600m from the church, whilst the old parish school became the parish hall (see Figure 5). Nine parish centres were identified where, at least, the church and parish hall are in close proximity. In St Ouen and St Brelade no parish centre developed around the parish church.



Figure 5 - Grouville Parish Hall (2020) decorated with bunting to mark the 75th Anniversary of Liberation from German occupation.

St Ouen's church was established or rebuilt in the 10-11th centuries, like the other inland churches at the centre of farmland. That a parish centre didn't grow up around its church is partly explained by the proximity of St Ouen's Manor, the sizeable seat of the prominent Carteret family, but may also have been as the surrounding farmland was reduced by wind-blown sand from the foreshore on St Ouen's Bay.

In St Brelade, the church was built in the 11th or early 12th century (McCormack, 1986) in isolation on the harbour at St Brelade's Bay, where ships were beached, with farming up-hill from there to both west and north, whilst much of the centre of the parish was marginally farmed sandy waste. St Aubin within the parish developed, nearly three kilometres away, as Jersey's chief port, but was never as big as St Helier. Development started with the building of the pier at St Aubin's Fort finished in 1700 and from 1754 with construction of the harbour (Jamieson, 1986). St Aubin therefore became the most populous settlement in the parish, where the parish hall was located in the late 19th century. In St Helier, again, there is no parish centre. Whilst it has individual elements of the idealised parish centre, the elements are not grouped, as they are in the other parishes. With its urban cemeteries, shops, parks and gardens, Victorian churches and the sweep of Almorah Crescent, St Helier has similarities to Victorian townscapes found in England, its sense of place different from the parish sense of place found elsewhere in Jersey.

Iconography and cultural resistance

Iconography, a practice originated in art history, studies the meaning behind recurrent images. It has been adopted in the historical geography of landscape (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988) and in the archaeology of islands (Grimma, 2001). Morgan (1990: 264) found that "Cycladic wall-painting, whilst clearly owing much to Minoan tradition, developed its own characteristics, each island contributing to what in its totality amounted to an island iconography". Monnet (2011) noted how those with power create places out of space, creating identity. Symbols or symbolic places have concrete reality, differentiating them from other signs, including words and paintings, by a "materiality that conveys the immaterial". Features in the landscape may be called the iconography of place, in Jersey with its parish inevitability, parish iconography. The places he writes about are overwhelmingly monumental. Parish iconography is not monumental, reflecting the essentially communal nature of Jersey's parishes. Figure 6 applies Monnet's model to Jersey's circumstances.

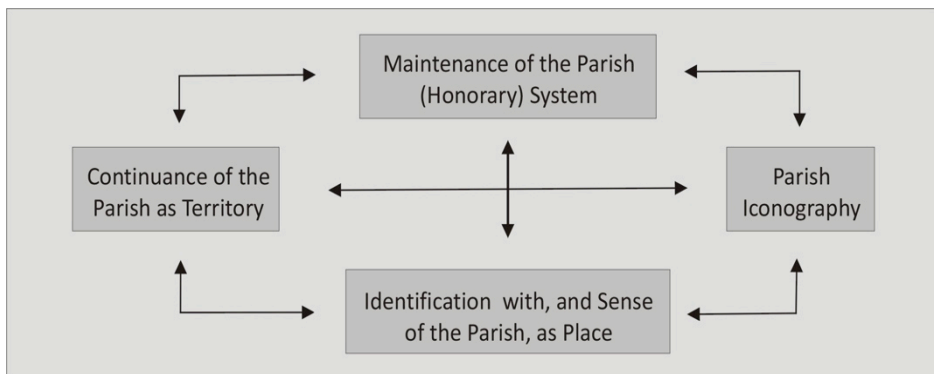


Figure 6 - How the parish system creates and maintains parish iconography contributing to parish identity and sense of place. Continuation of the parish system has clearly been facilitated by the constables and deputies representing the parishes continuing to sit in the States.

Cunliffe (2021: 1) wrote that remote places “like peninsulas and islands” exercise a “fascination” for those that encounter them that is partly attributable to a tendency he describes whereby to “distinguish themselves from outsiders, their communities spend effort in defining and protecting their cultural identity”. Whilst prehistoric Malta maintained exchanges overseas, for instance, its distinctive temple culture has been interpreted as cultural resistance, the creation of separateness. Robb (2021: 192) asserting that:

*Neolithic Maltese identity appears to have endured for at least a millennium. Individual temple sites were used through much of this span, **their place value perhaps growing with age.** (Author’s emphasis).*

Long continuity contributing to cultural resistance and place value is similarly demonstrated by Jersey’s parishes, the sense of place maintained and renewed by parish iconography.

The idealised parish centres described above in themselves constitute iconography for parish and community. Other parish iconography is described below under the following headings:

- Power and Recognition
- Parish Identity
- Boundaries
- Flags and Ephemera

They are described in turn, but in practice overlap.

Power and Recognition

Inscriptions record and recognise the constables responsible for road improvements and infrastructure (see Figures 7a & 7b). You are reminded of the power structure and ubiquity of the honorary system and implicitly encouraged to be involved. The *Loi sur la Voirie* (1914) set out the composition of Roads Committees, comprising the constable, rector and three elected members, five in St Helier. However, there were Roads Committees before 1914. See Figure 8 for an inscribed wellhead (dated 1838) celebrating the work of St Ouen’s Road Committee and see Figure 9 for an example of recognition of a post 1914 Roads Committee. Inclusion of the rector may seem odd. However, when the law was introduced both constables and rectors were members of the States, so their inclusion on Roads Committees made it more likely that decisions by the States would be reflected in actions taken by the parishes. It also reflects the way parishes combine ecclesiastical and civil administration. To this day Roads Committees remain the most powerful of parish committees. There are also plaques recognising the constable and procureurs receiving gifts of land for the parish and others, the civil and ecclesiastical parish officers responsible for the construction of new cemeteries.



Figures 7a & 7b - Engraved stones celebrating the constable in office when road improvements were made, on the left (7a) in St Brelade, on the right (7b) from St Martin. In neither case is the parish name given, you were expected to know. Presumably, you were also expected to know that St Brelade's Constable JR was Jacques Renon, who was constable in 1833-8, in succession to his father, also called Jacques Renon, who was constable in 1800-9 and 1814-17.



Figure 8 - An inscription recording a well and road improvements attributed to the Roads Committee. Two of its members were Le Feuvers, whose descendants still live at this location. You are not told this is in St Ouen. You were expected to know.



Figure 9 - A plaque dated 1937 recognising the Roads Committee, including the rector, in improving Rue des Landes. A smaller stone beneath it records the contractor, Charles Copp. This plaque tells you, you are in St Martin and includes the parish crest.

Parish Identity

Parish sense of place and identity is emphasised by iconography covering roads and road signs. Six distinctive green cast iron finger posts were set up in Trinity, following a parish assembly in 1904. Four of them point the direction to Trinity Church (see Figures 10a & 10b). Parish iconography is particularly associated with crests, one for each of the twelve parishes, which supposedly date from 1923, following the visit of King George V to Jersey and which since have become almost ubiquitous. However, it is clear some parish crests were in use before then (see Figure 4). The *Loi sur la Voirie* divided Jersey's roads between *grandes routes*, for which the States assumed responsibility, and the parish roads, for which the parishes remain responsible. Putting this in perspective, there are 269 kilometres of States and 560 kilometres of parish roads. So, within Jersey's 120 sq km there are 13 road authorities. While locals understand this, visitors will tell you that they have the impression Jersey's roads don't quite join up. The Department of Infrastructure has responsibility for speed limits on all roads in Jersey. However, speed limit signs can still exhibit parish iconography (see Figure 11).



Figures 10a & 10b - Two of the six cast-iron finger posts in Trinity. Four of them, including that on the right, point towards Trinity Church. That on the left is in the middle of Trinity, but enigmatically one of the fingers points to Trinity. The green on white design of Trinity's road name signs, in the photo on the right for Route de Ebenezek, clearly matches the green parish crest and green fingerposts. When the photos were taken three of the posts had been renovated, with three still to be worked on, including that on the left. There are other modern direction signs for motorists, suggesting renovation of Trinity's fingerposts is primarily as parish iconography.



Figure 11 - Sign indicating a 20mph maximum speed limit on Rue à Don, Grouville. The speed limit is set by the Department of Infrastructure. It becomes parish iconography because of the Grouville crest, providing a reminder you are within the parish and suggesting parish responsibility for control of speeding

Hargreaves: Jersey parishes, iconography and senses of place

Following the 1914 Law, parish involvement in the *grandes routes* continued. Under the *Naming of Streets and Numbering of Premises (Jersey) Law 1960*, parishes are responsible for the names of States' roads along with parish ones, whilst constables are responsible for house numbers. This last date is significant, as until the 1960s there were only road name signs in St Helier and the suburban parts of St Saviour. Elsewhere locals navigated by church, farm and pub. The lack of road name signs, together with roads turning around fields, made it difficult for visitors to find their way around. The installation of road name signs more widely followed the arrival of cars from the UK on the roll-on-roll-off ferries.

Road name signs were adopted by the parishes in two successive processes, which partly overlap. First, standard road name signs were installed, white with black lettering, as they are in England. Second, parishes installed road name signs in their own colours and style (Parish Freedom of Information, 2020). Some parish road signs were distinctive in their colours and only later included the parish crest (see Figures 12a & 12b). The majority of road name signs now include parish crests. In Grouville, St John, St Mary and St Ouen, the road signs also show the parish name. In St Brelade, St Clement and St Saviour some of them show the parish name, some don't (see Figures 13a & 13b). In St Helier, St Lawrence, St Martin, St Peter and Trinity they include the parish crest, but not the parish name. You are obviously expected to know.



Figures 12a & 12b - To the left, the road sign for La Vallée de St Pierre bears St Lawrence iconography, green lettering and a green edge on a white ground, apparently adopted because St Lawrence FC played in green shirts. In the photo to the right the road sign is in more developed iconography in the same green and white colours, but with the St Lawrence parish crest in black, but no parish name. On the left is also a Welcome to the Parish/Twinning Notice for St Lawrence.



Figures 13a & 13b - Name signs on two adjoining roads in St Brelade. Both include the parish crest, but only that on the left also includes the parish name (bottom left).

While there has been a creeping Anglicisation of road names, the installation of road signs saw some reversion to earlier Jersey-French names, adjusting the sense of place. In Grouville what was known as Blood Hill reverted to Rue des Alleurs, and Robin Hill to Le Petit

Hargreaves: Jersey parishes, iconography and senses of place

Catillon. As road signs have been put up in smaller and more obscure locations, the elaboration and ceremony involved has increased (see Figure 14).



Figure 14 - The name sign on a very short road in Grouville, in both English and Jèrriais (Jersey Norman-French), extends along approximately 10% of the road's length. It was named by the deputy bailiff during a *visite royale*, a ritual inspection by the Royal Court of parish books and roads, which takes place once every six years.

Boundaries

Parish boundaries were important, practically representing the spatial limits of authority of the honorary police and parish responsibility for the roads. However just because a feature has a functional purpose does not mean it cannot also be iconography. This is clear from the boundary markers described below, whose elaboration is clearly as much, sometimes even more, for signal and display as for any practical purpose. There are two farms known as La Frontière, one on the boundary between St Peter and St Brelade, the other between Trinity and St Saviour (Stevens, Arthur and Stevens, 1986). Some fields on parish boundaries have names showing in which parish they fall (see Figure 15).

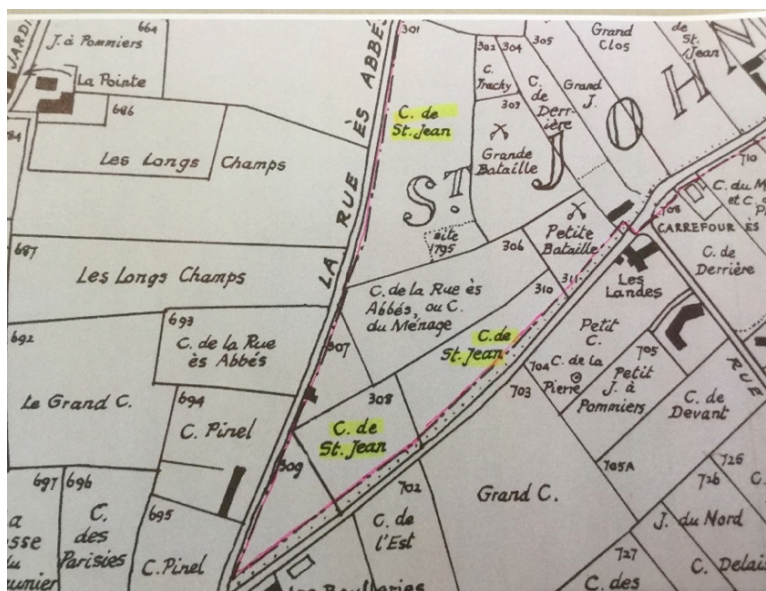


Figure 15 - The parish boundary, where a triangle of St John extends into St Mary. Three fields are highlighted on the St John side of the boundary, all known as Clos de St Jean. Adapted from Stevens and Stevens (1986).

Hargreaves: Jersey parishes, iconography and senses of place

Stones are recorded in 1645 across dunes and marsh marking the boundary between St Peter and St Lawrence (Aubin, 1997). There is a requirement dating to 1799 for the placing of parish boundary stones where roads cross from one parish into another (Bois, undated). A quite small granite cube is marked 1806, soon after the law was introduced. It is inscribed SL on one side and SM on the other and marks the boundary where Vert Rue in St Lawrence becomes Rue ès Boeufs in St Mary. Note the way the names change from one parish into the next, in itself, a manifestation of parish iconography. Figures 16 to 19 are of increasingly more recent parish boundary markers.



Figure 16 - Boundary stone dated 1835 over a drain, leading to a brook which the parish boundary then follows. The names of the two constables are given, LT Anthoine of St Saviour and PF Labey of Grouville, presumably an antecedent of Grouville's present constable, Mark Labey.



Figures 17a & 17b - Left, a particularly fine boundary stone dated 1881 giving the names of the constables. Carved fingers point the directions to the two parishes. Right, the line across the road where the work of one parish has ended and the other starts, showing how road names can change across a parish boundary. Here La Rue des Houguettes in St John becomes Rue des Haies in Trinity. The road name signs are in the colours and styles of the two parishes.



Figure 18 - A book-style stone marking the boundary between Trinity and St Saviour dated 1888. It records the two constables then in office. As with other forms of parish iconography, particular forms of boundary marker came into and out of fashion.



Figure 19 - A recent marker showing that St Helier's urban area is divided between St Helier and St Saviour. Dated 2000, it is at the rear of the Coop Grand Marché supermarket. The names of the constables are inscribed below the parish crests but are difficult to read.

Hargreaves: Jersey parishes, iconography and senses of place

However there remain boundaries without obvious markers (see Figures 20a, 20b & 20c, photos taken on Mont de Gorey leading from Gorey Village). The boundary between Grouville and St Martin is difficult to follow here. Part of Mont de Gorey is in one parish, part in the other, but neither has put up a road name sign. If there was a parish boundary stone, as required under the 1799 law, it has disappeared.



Figures 20a, 20b & 20c - Photos taken of Mont de Gorey, part in St Martin and part in Grouville. A stone stairway leads to Gouray Church, built in 1832-3 to serve English speakers in the oyster trade and shipbuilding who were relatively distant from the two parish churches where services were in French. Note the archaic spelling. Here, as indicated by the parish crest (without the parish name) on the footpath sign, you are (just) in St Martin. However, given the great similarity to the Grouville crest shown in Figures 11 and 14, this is likely to be a distinction appreciated only by insiders. The stone pillar, with a pyramidal top, dated 1856 was placed at the summit of Mont de Gorey. On one side it is inscribed St Martin, so you know where you are there, whilst on the other side a finger points downhill to Grouville. That it doesn't point to Gorey village, which is at the bottom of Mont de Gorey, fits in with Gorey village being not-quite a place.

Seven of the twelve parishes have installed signs where roads enter the parish, combining "Welcome to the Parish" with twinning notices (see Figures 12a & 21a). All the twinning partners are with communities in adjacent parts of Normandy, except for St Helier, which is also twinned with Funchal, recognising the sizeable immigration from Madeira, and with Bad Wurzburg, in Baden Wurtemberg, to which those born in the UK were forcibly deported during the German occupation. The pattern, sometimes with the exception of St Helier, is repeated in other parish iconography. The parishes act individually but what one does tends to be followed by the others (this was confirmed, for instance, by Parish Freedom of Information, 2020).



Figures 21a & 21b - Left, Grouville Welcome to the parish/twinning notice set up in 2009 across the road from the inscribed stone dated 2006, naming the constables and marking the parish boundary with St Martin. (The stone was installed exactly 150 years after the stone shown in Figure 20. Their similarity in style is striking and presumably intentional.)

Figure 22 shows an exception. It combines “St Aubin Welcomes you” and a twinning notice for St Brelade and Granville. It is not on the parish boundary, like other welcome to/twinning notices, but where St Aubin begins within the Parish of St Brelade and has rather a split personality between port and parish. St Aubin, which isn’t even represented by a separate *vingtaine* within St Brelade, was Jersey’s principal port in the 17th and 18th centuries, its establishment post-dating creation of the parishes. However, existing parish boundaries remained unchanged. This is significant, as it suggests that the mismatch between the settlement pattern and parishes is not new but a long-established feature of Jersey’s geography.



Figure 22 - Welcome to St Aubin/twinning notice for the Parish of St Brelade.

Hargreaves: Jersey parishes, iconography and senses of place

Between 1994 and 2003 'green lanes' were introduced in ten of the twelve parishes (Parish Freedom of Information 2020). In green lanes the maximum speed is 15mph and pedestrians, cyclists and horse riders should have priority over vehicles. However, as green lanes were adopted separately by separate parishes, frequently they do not join up, indicative of the Island's unconnected road system. Parish assemblies in Trinity and St Saviour both rejected green lanes. Therefore on maps of the Island's roads their boundaries can be identified by where green lanes start and end. Figures 23a & 23b illustrate that green lane signs often mark parish boundaries. Here, Rue du Feugerel becomes a green lane in St John, when the road crosses the parish boundary from Trinity.



Figures 23a & 23b - Rue du Feugerel, to the left in St John, to the right in Trinity with the green lane sign and 15 mph limit marking the parish boundary.

Flags and Ephemera

Monnet (2011) makes clear the link between symbols, sense of place and identity. Jersey is not part of the United Kingdom and a Jerseyman will object to it being described as if it is. It has been described as "not quite British" (Le Feuvre, 1993). Identification with parish, with Jersey and with the British Isles therefore doesn't fall into the simple nested pattern of attachment shown by residents identifying in turn with the city of Toronto, the province of Ontario and Canada (Shamai, 1991). During the Covid-19 lock down in 2020, bunting and flags were raised to celebrate the 75th Anniversary of Liberation from German occupation. Generally, bunting combined the Union Jack with the Jersey flag (see Figure 5). Often it included pennants showing the silhouette of a child welcoming a British soldier and the legend "75 Liberation." In St Lawrence it comprised the Union Jack, the Jersey flag and a flag for the parish based on its crest. St Martin and St Saviour went further, their bunting limited to the Jersey flag and parish flags derived from the parish crests (see Figures 24a & 24b), indicating that the question of identity and symbols in Jersey is complex and unresolved.



Figure 24a & 24b - Parish bunting flown on the 75th Anniversary of Liberation comprising the Jersey flag and parish flags, left in St Martin's churchyard, to right outside St Saviour's parish hall looking across to its churchyard.

Despite its efforts to recruit honorary police, in 2015 St Saviour was fined £5,000 for having recruited insufficient officers. Other parishes have since run campaigns to ensure they are sufficiently manned. See Figure 25, a banner put up on Gorey Common. The banner clearly has the practical purpose of recruiting honorary police and avoiding a fine being imposed on the parish. However, it is also significant as parish iconography, reminding those reading it that they are in Grouville, and of the honorary system.



Figure 25 - Banner put up seeking recruits for Grouville's honorary police.

Parish and Island Iconography

There is relatively little iconography of place for Jersey as a whole. There is some for the States, but this form has now been abandoned in favour of the Government of Jersey, for which there isn't the same commitment generally, nor place value established over time. There is iconography for all twelve parishes in the Departure Hall at Jersey Airport, a large clock with the twelve parish crests instead of hours and above the entrance to the States Chamber stained glass shows the twelve parish crests surrounding the Jersey coat of arms (Figure 26).



Figure 26 - Stained glass above the entrance to the States Chamber (Comité des Connétables).

In the stained glass image, iconography for the parishes taken together becomes iconography for the Island. Whilst not to be overplayed, this backs up the view that parish sense of place in Jersey contributes to Island sense of place. Iconography is significant in the maintenance of parishes as territorial places. It reminds residents of where they are within the Island and encourages involvement in parish and community. Iconography is not just a record of the past but is maintained and renewed. Banners and flags provide ephemeral iconography, flown and put up for specific purposes and on special occasions, but providing underlying text.

External consultants and civil servants trained elsewhere make recommendations affecting Jersey, which local critics feel fail to appreciate Jersey's separate legal, cultural and political

qualities, including the parish system. The 2022 Island Plan, for instance, was criticised for being rushed through for political reasons. It referred to place-making, setting “out policies to improve the quality of design, ensure wellbeing in... healthy and sustainable communities and improve... participation in shaping and caring for the places where they live” (Government of Jersey, 2022b), apparently without considering how this fits into the existing sense of the parishes as places significant for many Islanders.

The link between deputies elected to the States and parishes has been weakened. In 2018, parishes elected all deputies and constables, whilst eight senators were elected on an island wide mandate. In 2022 78% of members, deputies elected by districts covering specific parishes and constables, were elected by the parishes, with the remaining 22% of members being deputies elected by electoral districts covering either two or three parishes. This is a significant change away from members being elected either on an Island wide basis or by separate parishes and was disliked by much of the electorate, with several of those backing the change failing to be re-elected in the 2022 election (Jersey Data Aggregator). The continued presence of the constables in the States remains under threat (see for instance, Beaugeard, 2022).

Shamai (1991) suggests there is a continuum from non-recognition of places through recognition and attachment to identification and involvement. This certainly applies in Jersey. There have been immigrants and people who live in the country parishes, but commute to work and never acquire the parish sense of place or community. They think of the parishes, if they think of them at all, as where they happen to live rather than in community terms. These changes have been accelerated with the training of teachers in the UK and the wholesale adoption of the UK education system, a system unlikely to recognise Jersey’s unusual political system, territorial organisation or sense of place.

Iconography has changed over time but has continued to be installed and renewed. If anything, it has increased as parishes are perceived to have come under threat from apathy, rushed Island plans and electoral reform. Examples are that parish crests have begun to appear on vehicle licence plates and on the wooden bollards marking cycle lanes. Once you know what you are looking at, parish iconography is everywhere. Churches, parish centres, place names, boundary stones, pillars, finger posts and road signs are all interesting in themselves as landscape documents but also maintain a sense of identity and place which remains both in the ideal and, to a lesser extent reality, rural. Overwhelmingly, as a form of cultural resistance, parish iconography is aimed at insiders, consistent with the sense of place being theirs.

Central places and villages

Prior to the mid-late 20th century Jersey’s landscape was a markedly rural one, with dispersed settlements and small fields (De Gruchy, 1957 and Stevens, 2021). This continued, as shown on the Richmond Map of 1795, and in any pictures taken well into the 20th century. An Ordnance Survey map dated 1959 shows there were still no parish villages, just the dispersed settlement pattern and parish centres surrounding the medieval churches. It is this quality of the parishes as non-nodal territorial places that makes them unusual. Certainly, they may not be unique. In Brittany and the south-west of England there were, and are, landscapes of dispersed rural settlement. The Jersey difference, which has some echoes in Guernsey, is in the persistence of the parishes maintaining a territorial sense of place and identity, represented in the States and therefore linked to the Island’s power

structure, connected with, and contributing to, the Island's identity and sense of place. Traditionally in Jersey there were no villages, in the form of archetypical, rural, nucleated settlements. When shops and residential properties appeared around their parish centres, what are now known as St Peter's Village and St John's Village developed from approximately the 1960s and St Mary's Village and St Martin's Village more recently. The same thing happened in Trinity, although its centre is not known as Trinity Village. St Ouen's Village developed around the parish hall, in a parish where there was no parish centre, with the church, parish hall and school all in separate locations. All this shows how territorial places, which fitted poorly into modern settlement and spatial patterns, adapted to and became part of them.

The 2022 Island Plan sets out a "new" settlement hierarchy which "better recognises and responds to the scale and character of different places" (Government of Jersey, 2022b). The plan shows that part of St Helier remains rural, whilst the "primary centre", urban St Helier, spreads into St Clement and St Saviour. Significantly the parish boundaries remained unchanged with part of the primary centre in other parishes. So-called local centres are shown within St Saviour and St Clement and on St Aubin's Bay in St Lawrence and St Peter. This description is confusing as these areas are, in practice, suburbs of urban St Helier.

To this day there are no Grouville, St Clement, or St Saviour Villages. The restricted sites around their churches meant there was limited space for shops and new housing, so their parish centres retain their non-village feel. Nor did the parish centre in St Lawrence become St Lawrence Village. It was not restricted by topography in the way the parish centres at Grouville, St Clement, and St Saviour were. However, a separate location, Carrefour Selous, in the north of the parish, developed into, and is recognised in the settlement hierarchy, as a local centre, so the parish centre at St Lawrence did not become the clear parish central place, as happened elsewhere.

Central place theory has been criticised for being an essentially static description of the settlement pattern at a particular juncture. When considered over time it becomes more interesting. Vionis and Papantoniou (2019) adopted this approach, focusing on another island, Cyprus. In Jersey three stages can be identified in the changing pattern over the *longue durée*. First, the twelve parishes were created around churches, which were established or re-established probably in the 11th century, ten of them inland at the centre of inward facing parishes. Second, parish centres, including at least a parish hall, grew up around nine of the inland parish churches. For reasons explained, this didn't happen at St Ouen. Third, some of the parish centres became parish village central places. Having two or more shops, as well as new housing, was taken for the purposes of this article as the test of "parish village" central place status. On this basis, St Peter's, St John's and St Martin's Villages made the transition from being parish centres to parish villages, whilst St Ouen's Village, where there was no parish centre, and Carrefour Selous in the north of St Lawrence are also recognised as local centres in the settlement hierarchy and rank as parish central places.

Non places and *not quite places*

In 1992 Marc Augé contended that amenities such as airports, hospitals and hypermarkets exist as *non-lieux* – a term translated in the English language version of his book (2009) as "non-places." He identified that access to and movement through these is controlled and that users do not identify with them in the same way that they identify with residential

and/or historical areas. If places are recognised as meaningful, what he identifies as “non-places” are meaningless, in a social sense, however much they fit into modern spatial organisation. While critics, such as Merriman (2004), have critiqued Augé’s characterisations as partial accounts that overstate their novelty and fail to “acknowledge the heterogeneity and materiality of the social networks bound up with the production of non-places/places” (2004: 147), Augé’s characterisation of these places as distinctly different from traditional locales is credible and relevant. In Jersey there are locations, which, if not Augé’s “non-places”, may be characterised as *not-quite* and/or *emergent* places. As the latter epithet implies they may become places (in the commonly understood social sense of that term). Whether they do depends on some combination of how long they have been established, the extent to which they have their own story or are part of Jersey’s, whether they have their own iconography and how well they fit into Jersey’s geography of parishes.

St Aubin has been mentioned already as an early example of the mismatch between an emerging settlement hierarchy and the parishes. Within the parish of St Brelade, it was the Island’s principal port in the 17th and 18th centuries. The parish hall for St Brelade is there. St Aubin has its own iconography and is a place in its own right. At Les Quennevais, also within St Brelade, there are shops and a housing estate, developed from the 1950s on former wasteland. Signposts direct you not to Les Quennevais but to Red Houses. Uncertainty over what it should be called reinforces the view of it as *not-quite* a place. It includes Communicare, a social and church centre, a secondary school, an evangelical church and a sports centre and track, structures parallel to those comprising the parish centres, but without the time and obvious links to parish and island that give parish centres meaning, making them places. That Les Quennevais has come into existence recently means it is still developing its sense of place. It may have become a parish centre for St Brelade, but one with a different feel to the idealised parish centres described above.

The 2022 Island Plan designated Les Quennevais as Jersey’s secondary urban centre “expected to help meet the Island’s development needs over the plan period”. While this may seem uncontroversial, many islanders do not consider Les Quennevais as a town. As noted above, active Community Facebook pages are run for six out of twelve parishes. Significantly there is no Facebook page for Les Quennevais, whilst that for the parish of St Brelade, in which it falls, is one of the most active. Backing up the view that St Aubin is a place in its own right, even though within St Brelade, there is a Community Facebook page for ‘St Aubin’s Village’. It has been asserted that cosmopolitanism has made places seem the same wherever they are (Sack, 1992). Arguably this applies to Les Quennevais and still more to the car showrooms and aero-businesses fringing the road between it and the non-place of Jersey Airport.

Another example of *not quite a place* is the residential housing estate built on former farmland hidden away on the edge of the Trinity and called Victoria Village. At Sion, on the main road between St Helier and St John, residents found it difficult to press for speed restrictions, as it sits on a three-way parish boundary between St Helier, St John and Trinity. On the periphery of their concerns, before progress could be made, the three constables had to be persuaded to work together. Maufant, built partly on the site of former glasshouses, is a housing estate, with limited facilities, part in St Saviour and part in St Martin. Uncertainties about where the parish boundary is in Gorey Village have been mentioned already. Gorey Village was developed to provide housing for fishermen and shipbuilders in the 19th century, It and Victoria Village are described as villages, but neither matches the image of a village in England, France or Germany. Lacking iconography of their own and sitting on or astride parish boundaries, Victoria Village, Gorey Village, Maufant and Sion can

all be considered *not-quite places*, arguably neither fitting well into Jersey's settlement hierarchy nor into its geography of parishes.

Conclusion

The unusual quality of the parishes as territorial places with significant political and administrative powers, retaining much of their landscape of dispersed settlement and small fields, is taken for granted by locals, but not appreciated by others, including many now living in Jersey.⁶ Conscious of their sea edge boundaries, island communities have an unusually focused sense of place and identity. In Jersey a key element is parish and community consciousness, contributing to the Island sense of place, a sense which in Jersey remains politically and culturally disputed. Jersey's parishes are unusual as administrative areas and unusual in their longevity, reflecting Jersey's position as an island jurisdiction influenced by, but not for a very long time part of, larger mainland jurisdictions. The parishes are unusual because they do not accord with modern expectations of hierarchical space although, over time, they have adapted to it with some, but not all, parish centres becoming village-like and recognised as villages, fitting into both a modern settlement hierarchy and Jersey's geography of parishes. The continuing mismatch between territorial and hierarchical space is seen in the identification of not-quite places lacking their own iconography and straddling unchanged parish boundaries.

The parishes have been described as Jersey's "institutional lynchpin", retaining power in the 19th century in a society which was however "intellectually and culturally weak... small, previously isolated [and] ill-prepared for a cultural onslaught" (Kelleher, 1994: 524) from the presence of British Forces and St Helier growing in the 19th century with half-pay officers⁷ and former colonial civil servants. Jersey has undoubtedly prospered in recent years, but this has brought substantial challenges and exposure to cosmopolitan and international influences, so that further changes to governance, the parish system and the composition of the States are likely. Arguably the likelihood of such further change should be found less surprising than that much of Jersey's "parish inevitability" continues, a pattern, which clearly is of core interest to Island Studies.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to the *Shima* editorial team for their assistance in producing the final version of this article; to Christian Fleury for assistance with maps and diagrams and also to the following: Ewan Anderson, Anne Davenport, Helen Dawson, Peter Dyson, Geoffrey Fisher, Christopher Harris, Simon Langlois, Emily Le Feuvre, Nicky Mansell, Sarah Mansell, Stephen Rylance, Kate Sibcy and Philip Steinberg.

⁶ Similarly, crossing Oman, the Bedu will point out what are places to them, in what will seem to others almost featureless desert.

⁷ Half-pay officers were those on furlough from the British Army and Royal Navy during peacetime. This ensured the officers were supported and were ready to be recalled to active service.

REFERENCES

- Aubin, C.N. (1997). The perquages of Jersey, the sanctuary path of legend. *Société Jersiaise Annual Bulletin*, 103-160.
- Augé, M. (1992). *Non-lieux: Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*. Paris: Seuil. (Translated into English and published in 2009 as *Non-places; an introduction to super-modernity*. Verso Books.)
- Bailiwick Express News Team (2022, 28 April). St Helier town ‘council’ a step nearer. *Bailiwick Express*. <https://www.bailiwickexpress.com/jsy/news/st-helier-council-moves-step-closer/#.YzFJaj3MLX4>
- Beaugeard, M. (2022, August 9). Questions, questions, questions: These may not be high on a list of priorities, but they are important. *Jersey Evening Post*, 14.
- Berry, B. (1967). *Geography of market centres and retail distribution*. Prentice-Hall.
- Blampied, H. (1999). St Martin’s Public Hall. In Blackstone, C. & Le Quesne, K. (Eds.) *St Martin, Jersey; the Story of an Island Parish* (pp. 151-153). Phillimore.
- Bois, F. de L. (undated) Text of a film on Parish Boundary Stones (c. 1970).
- Bois, F, de L. (1976) *The Parish Church of St Saviour, Jersey*. Phillimore.
- Comité des Connétables (n.d.). <https://comite.je/comite-des-connetables/>
- Conkling, P. (2007). On islanders and islandness. *The Geographical Review* 97(2), 191-201.
- Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (Eds.) (1988). *The iconography of landscape: Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*. Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography.
- Cresswell, T. (2015). *Place: an introduction* (2nd ed.). Wiley Blackwell.
- Cunliffe, B. (2021). *Bretons & Britons; the fight for identity*. Oxford University Press.
- Dawson, H. (2010). One, none and a thousand: Settlements and identities in the prehistoric Mediterranean. *Shima* 4(1), 83-98.
- Dawson, H. (2020). Island archaeology. In Smith, C. (Ed.) *Encyclopaedia of global archaeology*, (pp. 6025-6032). Springer.
- de Gruchy, G.F.B. (1957). *Medieval land tenures in Jersey*. Bigwoods Press
- Dorgan, D. (2020). *Jersey militia 1337-1831*. David Dorgan.
- Everard, J. and Holt, J. (2004). *Jersey 1204: the forging of an island community*. Thames & Hudson.

Hargreaves: Jersey parishes, iconography and senses of place

Fleury, C. (2011). Jersey and Guernsey: Two distinct approaches to cross-border fishery management. *Shima* 5(1), 135-164.

Gibb, M. (1999). St Martin's Arsenal. In Blackstone, C. & Le Quesne, K. (Eds.). *St Martin, Jersey; the story of an island parish* (pp. 47-58). Philimore.

Government of Jersey. (2022a). *Statistics Jersey Census 2021: Bulletin 1: Population characteristics*.

<https://www.gov.je/SiteCollectionDocuments/Government%20and%20administration/R%20CensusBulletin1%2020220413%20SJ.pdf>

Government of Jersey (2022b). *Bridging Island plan*.

<https://www.gov.je/PlanningBuilding/LawsRegs/IslandPlan/Pages/BridgingIslandPlan.aspx>

Grimma, R. (2001). *An iconography of insularity: A cosmological interpretation of some images and spaces in the late Neolithic temples of Malta*. University College London Institute of Archaeology.

Hambly, B. (2001). Shops, garages, forges. In, Anthony, R. (Ed.) *Grouville, the history of a country parish* (pp. 203-212). Parish of Grouville.

Hamerow H. (2018). Early medieval 'places' and 'spaces': breaking down boundaries in British archaeology. https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:58d8b66c-bcd1-437a-a1fb-ac60790b860e/download_file?safe_filename=Hamerow_2018_Early_medieval_places.pdf&file_format=application%2Fpdf&type_of_work=Book+section

Hargreaves, P.W. & Kelleher, J. (2020). Communes and common land in Jersey. *Jersey and Guernsey Law Review* 24(2), 167-195.

Hedge Veg Jersey (2020). <https://hedgeveg.je/>

Jamieson, A.G. (1986). Harbours, lighthouses, charts and lifeboats of the Channel Islands. In Jamieson, A.G. (Ed.) *A people of the sea: the maritime history of the Channel Islands* (pp. 405-417). A. G. Methuen.

Jersey Data Aggregator (n.d.) <https://flow.je/>

Jersey Law Code (1771) <https://www.jerseylaw.je/laws/translated/Pages/15.120.aspx>

Johnson, H. (2014). Sark and Brecqhou: Space, politics and power. *Shima* 8(1), 9-33.

Jones, P. (2012). *Ecclesiastical Corporations*.

<https://ecclesiasticallaw.wordpress.com/2012/08/28/ecclesiastical-corporation/>

Kelleher, J. (1994). *The triumph of the country: The rural community in 19th century Jersey*. (2nd. ed.). John Kelleher.

Le Feuvre, D. (1993). *Jersey, not quite British: The rural history of a singular people*. Sunflower Books

Hargreaves: Jersey parishes, iconography and senses of place

- Le Patourel, J. (1937). *The Medieval administration of the Channel Islands 1199-1399*, Oxford University Press/ H. Milford. (Reprinted by The Guernsey Bar, 2004).
- McCormack, J. (1986). *Channel Island churches: A study of Medieval churches and chapels*. Phillimore.
- Merriman, P. (2004). Driving places: Marc Augé, non-places, and the geographies of England's M1 motorway. *Theory, Culture & Society* 21(3-4), 145-167.
- Monnet, J. (2011). The symbolism of place: A geography of relationships between space, power and identity. *Cybergeo; European Journal of Geography* 562.
- Morgan, L. (1990). *Island iconography: Thera, Milos and Kea*. The Thera Foundation.
- Myres, J. N-L. (1978). The origin of the Jersey parishes: some suggestions. *Société Jersiaise Annual Bulletin* 22(2), 163-175.
- Parish Freedom of Information. (2020, 3 June). <https://comite.je/wp-content/uploads/sites/13/2021/11/Parish-roads-signposts-and-green-lanes-April-2020.pdf>
- Perrée, J. H. (1981). Report on the revision of parish and vigntaine boundaries. Jersey Archive reference D/W/G2/15.
- Redon, M. (2011). One island, two landscapes; how does otherness manifest itself on other sides of the border? *Shima* 5(2), 68-85.
- Robb, J. (2021). Island identities: Ritual, travel and the creation of difference in Neolithic Malta. *European Journal of Archaeology* 4(2), 175-210.
- Sack, R.D. (1986). *Human territoriality: Its theory and history*. Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography.
- Sack, R.D. (1992). *Place, modernity and the consumer's world*. John Hopkins University Press.
- Shamai, S. (1991). Sense of place: an empirical measurement. *Geoforum* 22(3), 347-358.
- States of Jersey. (2001). *Parish Assembly Working Group Report*.
- Stevens, C., Arthur, J. and Stevens, J. (1986). *Jersey place names Volume I*. Société Jersiaise.
- Stevens, C. and Stevens, C. (1986). *Jersey place names Volume II: The maps*. Société Jersiaise.
- Stevens, P. (2021). Settlement and agriculture of Medieval Jersey. *Société Jersiaise Annual Bulletin* 31(3), 91-120.
- Storey, D. (2012). *Territories: the claiming of place* (2nd ed.) Routledge.
- Tuan, Y.F. (1977). *Space and place*. University of Minnesota Press.

Hargreaves: Jersey parishes, iconography and senses of place

Vionis, A. and Papantoniou, S. (2019). Central place theory reloaded and revised: Political economy and landscape dynamics in the *Longue Durée*. *Land* 8(2), 36.

Waterhouse R. (2018a). Later prehistoric field systems & settlement patterns. *Recent archaeological research in the Channel Islands and nearby France - Société Jersiaise conference notes*, 55-56.

Waterhouse, R. (2018b). Romanesque churches of the 10th to 12th Centuries in Jersey. *Recent archaeological research in the Channel Islands and nearby France - Société Jersiaise conference notes*, 58-59.

Williams, H. (2002). *Cemeteries as central places: Place and identity in Migration Period eastern England*. In Hardh, B. and Larsson, L. (Eds.) *Central places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods: Papers from the 52nd Sachsensymposium, Lund, August 2001* (pp. 341-62). *Uppåkrastudier* 6 - Almqvist and Wiksell International.

Willing, B. (2001). The militia. In Anthony, R. (Ed.) *Grouville: the history of a country parish* (pp. 286-295). Parish of Grouville.