

FRAN COLMAN

A PHILOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE MONEYSERS' NAMES ON COINS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR *

The thesis examines spellings of moneysers' names on coins of Edward the Confessor (1042-66). The value of coins as evidence of Old English spelling lies in the fact that they can be dated. Some uncertainty surrounds the status of the moneyer and the places of die-manufacture; spellings do not always correspond with dialectal features which might be expected at a particular mint.

Arguments for the accepted chronology of the types of issue of the coins establish a basis for examination of the spelling.

The moneysers' names are discussed in the context of what is known of Germanic name-formation.

Etymologies of the name-elements are given as foundations for the phonology derived from the spellings. Derivation from Primitive Germanic allows treatment of the Scandinavian and continental Germanic names which occur on these coins as well as of the English names. Non-Germanic names are excluded from detailed phonological consideration.

In the chapter on epigraphy probable methods of die-manufacture are considered in the attempt to distinguish errors from genuine spellings.

The phonological discussion compares the evidence of the coin-spellings with the conclusions of works on Old English grammar and onomastics. The evidence suggests that some developments of phonology and spelling previously considered to be Anglo-Norman were English developments before the Conquest; and that name-forms may show changes not typical of common words.

A catalogue of moneysers' names, and charts showing chronological order of coin-types are included as Appendices.

There is a list of moneysers' names on coins of Edward the Confessor, and an index to the name-elements.

NOTE

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TOPONYMIC SURNAMENES AND THE PATTERN OF PRE-1830 ENGLISH IMMIGRATION INTO THE ISLE OF MAN

In 1937 a Douglas sugar-boiler, the largely self-taught John Joseph Kneen (1873-1938), had published at London by the Oxford University Press a very substantial work of instinctive scholarship entitled The Personal Names of the Isle of Man. Recently there has been put out under the auspices of the Manx Gaelic Society a photographic reprint (Scolar Press, Ilkley, n.d.). Kneen's volume was based on notes made over many years when he was working through a wide selection of such Manx archives as were then available on the Island - this was before the Manx Museum became the repository of the Derby papers from Knowsley and of the Atholl papers from Blair Atholl - and the book will always have its value as representing the first systematic attempt to build on A. W. Moore's pioneering Manx Names (2nd edn, London, 1906), and more particularly to recognize the ultimately OIr origins of so many of the surnames considered today to be characteristically Manx. Nor would it be unfair to suggest that this was the particular area of Kneen's interest, not to say especial competence, so that some forty years on there is still awaited the successor who will unravel finally which of these 'Gaelic' surnames look to Scotland, and which to Ireland. It is possible, too, that in his enthusiasm for the older languages of the Anglo-Celtic Isles, Kneen may have preferred on occasion the more doubtful etymology. Granted that under English influence a number of names of Goidelic origin may have been superseded by thinly disguised borrowings from England, the name Manning (1757-) goes back much more plausibly to OE Manning than to OIr mac Man(ann)ain, even allowing for MÍr Mac Mannon and Mac Manion.

The note that follows concerns itself with rather more than five hundred surnames recorded in Kneen's volume and deemed by him - quite rightly - to be of an essentially non-Gaelic kind. These are the so-called toponyms, surnames which more or less coincide with the names of the ancestral towns and villages of the bearers, and the virtual absence of surnames of this class from the Gaelic scene may serve to remind us that early Celtic societies, where not purely nomadic, were typically pastoral, while their Germanic counterparts, at least in north-western Europe, tended to be settled and agricultural. In a score of cases - Alcough (1654 = Alcock ?), Almond (1707- = OE Æthelmund or perhaps Ealhmund), Banestor (1422-), Beckett (1712-), Broad (1602-), Bryden (1766- = MÍr Ó Bruidín ?), Corbett (1511-), Cramp (1662-), Crance (1829 = G Krantz ?), Fine(s) (1634-), Frowde (1766-), Graves (1755-), Grey (1721-), Haynes (1807), Hogarth (1794-), Kemp (1721-), Lawrence (1511-), Purvis (1773), Siddons (?), Stowell (1511-), Tooms (1815-), and Wonne (1634-) - it is arguable, to say the least, that no toponymic in fact is involved, but we do well to remember that Kneen was making his notes and writing them up before the appearance of the standard modern works of reference for England (e.g. E. Ekwall, the Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names, 4th edn, Oxford, 1960; P. H. Reaney, A Dictionary of British Surnames, 2nd edn, London and Boston, Mass., 1976; A. H. Smith, English Place-Name Elements, 2 vols, Cambridge 1956). Nor does Kneen appear to have known E. Ekwall, The Place-Names of Lancashire, Manchester, 1922 (reprinted East Ardsley, 1972), let alone his epoch-making Scandinavians and Celts, Lund, 1918, while the Manx scholar's use of C. W. Bardsley, A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames, London, 1901, may fairly be termed eclectic if not capricious. Even Kneen, too, could not escape every pit-fall for the unwary - a non-toponymic surname in fact is Busk, the lady of the now-

vanished memorial stone dated 1776, being the first wife (née Parish) of (Sir) Wadsworth Busk, the Leeds-born son of a Swedish woollen merchant from Gothenburg. There are a few cases, moreover, where still it is not possible finally to localize what appear to be toponymics of impeccably English formation. Instances include de Haysnap (1417), Madgwick (1733), Normansham (1659), Tatlock/Tetlow (1510/1536), and Whitsditton (1683). For the purposes of the present study, if for different reasons, there likewise may be discounted Jordan (1644-), de Mann (1246), and Mylneton (1448), the latter being an insular formation under English influence, as Kneen recognized, and owing nothing to any of the Mil(n)to(w)ns in north-western England. Equally one should be wary of coincidence. Cowley and Mason, for example, are well-attested as English village names, but were recognized by Kneen, almost certainly rightly, as non-toponyms. The former goes back to Mí mac Amhlaoibh and so to ON Óláfr, while the second is better considered an English occupative.

The next substantial group that falls to be excluded from this survey is one composed of rather more than thirty names which relate to places in France. They include Agnew (1787-), Baliol (1797), Breast (1787), Candy (1816), Caveryl (1826 - though formally Mí mac Cearbhaill is another metathetic alternative which it is a little surprising that Kneen failed himself to propose), Champany (1660), Chartres (1768), Courtney (1821), Darcy (1503-), Lassel (1575-), Lyons (1793), Manwaring (1723), Mas(s)ey (1405-), Montgomery (1668-), Mortimer (1817-), la Mothe (1759-), Nantes (1804-), Nugent (1822), Ottewell (1659-), Passavill (1797), Percy (1399-), Pickard (1627), de la Pryme (1789), Roach (1802-), Sacheverell (1699), Saurin (1788), S(e)avil(le) (1705-), Sinclair (1795-), Sommerville (1755), St. John (1814), Tobin (1727-), Travers (1657-), Turney (1828), Vance (1680), Vause *etc.* (1511-), Vessy (1511-), Vignoles (1828), and Weawell (1804). Only la Mothe is known for certain to have arrived on Man directly from France (A. W. Moore, Manx Worthies, Douglas, 1901, reprint *ibid.*, 1971, p.151), while de la Pryme could be of first or second generation (?Huguenot) introduction. Many of the names are so anglicized, on the other hand, that they may be supposed to have come into England - and/or the Scots Lowlands - already in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As such by no means all may be supposed to have reached Man direct - though some (e.g. Lassel and Percy) with a distinctive 'North Country' flavour undoubtedly did. Others (e.g. Tobin and Baliol) are likely to have arrived on the Island by way of Ireland and of Scotland respectively, and to be stressed is the lateness of the introduction of these names - Baliol (1797), Lassel (1575-), Percy (1798) and Tobin (1727-). Montgomery (1668-), too, is more likely to have reached Man from Ireland or Scotland rather than from Wales, for all that it is the name of a Welsh shire. In the same way, care must be taken not to misinterpret the fact that more than half of the surnames of French derivation do not seem to make their first appearance on Man until well on in the eighteenth century. Not only does the degree of anglicization of so many of them argue that few, if any, were borne by refugees from Revolutionary France, but, as will appear in due course, there is evidence from the toponyms of Scots origin that it was only with the second half of the eighteenth century that there can begin to be detected any massive dilution of the native Manx population by incomers of non-Gaelic and non-Lancastrian stock. The 'French' element in this dilution harks back, then, to the Norman Conquest and to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and it is doubtful, indeed, if the Stanley and Atholl Lords of Mann would have permitted relative newcomers from the Continent to take up residence on the Island.

Some forty of the surnames listed by Kneen can be associated with places in Scotland, and inevitably traditional patterns of Gaelic name-giving have ensured that the great majority of these relate to the Lowlands. The tally includes Affleck (1768-), Arbuckle (1739), de Argyle (1314), Blair (1778-), Boyd (1584-), Buchan (1828), Buchanan (1764-), Chisholm (1757), Cleghorn (1827), Clendenning (1812), Clugston (1812-), Colquhoun (1789), Coultry (1667), Crawford (1795-), Cunningham (1583-), Dinwoody (1785-), de Dunbar (1375), Durie (1764-), Forbes (1733-), Galloway (1668), Glasgow (1751), Go(u)rdon (1708-), Hadden (1793), Hamilton (1727-), Irvine *etc.* (1696), Isdale (1810-), Kelso (1804), Kelvin (1809), Leslie (1813), Lidderdale (1756-), Livingston (1747-), Lockie (1671-), Maxwell (1776-), Minto (1796-), Ouchterlony (1757), Paisley (1766-), Pentland (1812), Ramsey (1808-, even if English places with the same name cannot quite be precluded), R(h)ind? (1822), Ross (1712-), Roxborough (1782-), Rutherford (1820), Sutherland (1771), de Twynholm (1290), and de Wigtown (1291). In the case of the last two Kneen was surely right in disregarding the Twynham and Wigton of the MSS, which seem superficially English, as due to scribal error. As Kneen suggested, too, Tulloch (1769) must be a minor toponym of a class, rare in Scotland but common enough in England, which of its very nature does not allow of precise localization.

What does surprise is the paucity of Scottish toponyms first recorded on Man before the middle of the eighteenth century. De Argyle and de Dunbar reflect, of course, the comings and goings of the fourteenth-century great, and de Twynholm and de Wigtown the Scots 'purchase' of 1266. With Boyd, Coultry, Galloway, Irving and Lockie, on the other hand, we appear to be dealing with less transient incomers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though later instances of one or two of the names (e.g. Boyd and Irving) could suggest Ultonian intermediaries. A similar sparsity persists well into the eighteenth century, and probably mirrors an ingrained dislike of Scots that is well-attested in the historical record. Scots pedlars were the subject of repeated inquisition, and the events of '15 and particularly of '45 gave some excuse for such xenophobia when English government agents were only too prone to see Jacobites under every stone. The 1736 replacement of the English Stanley earls of Derby by the Scots Murray dukes of Atholl was unexpectedly slow to leave its mark - at least where the archives accessible to Kneen were concerned - and it is only with the vigorous prosecution of his manerial claims by the fourth duke of Atholl (1755-1830) on attaining his majority in 1776 that the trickle of toponymic surnames certainly Scots becomes anything like a flood. By then Revestment (1765) already had opened up the Island where only a decade earlier Lieutenant Governor Cochrane had had to resort to formal naturalization of 'forreigners' in a bid to break a chauvinistic stranglehold on the Island's commerce which was being exercised by a coterie of Manx entrepreneurs, many of whom themselves were of relatively recent introduction to the Island. It would be wrong to assume, therefore, that more than a proportion of the Scots who from the 1750s onwards figure so prominently in the Manx records were ducal protégés or factors of the class to be typified in the following century by the undoubtedly able if heartily disliked James McCrone (1767-1840). Since, too, Atholl's connections were with the Highlands, it is not to be wondered that few of his 'clansmen' - as his imported agents were termed by the native Manxmen - bore surnames of the toponymic type, which seem usually to be of Lowlands formation.

Fewer than a dozen of the toponyms recorded in the pages of Kneen appear to relate to the historic nation and island lying to the west, and with which Man had enjoyed such close links down the centuries before the 'purchase' of 1266. The name Ireland (1505-) not only is vague but could well have arrived on Man by way of

England, though later examples could point to contact with the Anglo-Irish ascendancy rather than the Gaelic majority. Glin (1731-), if in fact a toponym, may not be Irish, while de Connaught (1305) and de Athy (1318) reflect the names of Anglo-Irish honours whose holders' Manx interludes were quite ephemeral. Drumgold (1763) probably does look to the Englishry of Louth, and the same general area within the Pale could well be indicated by Cappocke (1661) which goes back to a minor toponym of the same genre as Scots Tullogh. Already suggested in this note is the possibility that the odd toponym in origin French (e.g. Nugent and Tobin) or Scots (e.g. Boyd and Irving) may have reached Man by way of Ireland, but, as with the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, very different Gaelic practice in name-giving means that any proper study of Ireland's contribution to the post-Viking population of Man will have to be based on consideration of the non-toponyms, something that cannot possibly be attempted in a note of this description. However, there is one Irish toponymic surname that remains to be discussed, and Kneen's intuitive onomatological skills were never seen to better advantage than in his exposition of how Waterford (1422) becomes Wattleworth (1575-) and ultimately Woodforth (1683-). Moving from the Goidelic to the Brythonic worlds, the toponymic tally for Wales is unexpectedly exiguous. Curwen (1578-) is an arrival by way of Cumberland. Stackpole (1733) can be explained with reference to Lancashire, or if ultimately Welsh was almost certainly borne by an Anglo-Irishman. The case of Montgomery has already been discussed, and Kneen overlooked a Halliwell (1536) in Lancashire which historically is far more likely than Holywell in Flintshire to have furnished the Stanleys with a reliable Constable for the key fortress of Peel. Only Penrice (1813) seems incontestably Welsh.

There falls now to be considered a sizeable group of toponymic surnames which are of English origin but relate to quite minor features of the landscape. One consequence of this is that almost by definition they cannot be localized with any precision. Indeed, many may be assumed to recur not just in more than one English county but more than once in a particular shire. Some seventy surnames are involved including Alder (1757), Ashe (1808), Asheld (1822), Backhouse (1829), Baye (1514), Birkend (1541), Blackmore (1603-), Blackstock (1752), Blakeway (1818), Botham (1766), Bridge (1764) - names with earlier spellings Braig (1514) and Bredg (1580) may be non-toponymic - Briggs (1771), Broadbent (1809), Brockbank (1766-), Brooks (1698), Bush (1748), Bydcrosse (1408), Chambers (1817), Chattfield (1767), Clives (1825), Clowes (1727), Cort (1727-), Cragg (1510-, if a toponymic), Crance (1829), Crathplace (1659), Cross (1495-), Crosstead (1683), Dale (1692-), Dedwith (1815), Dolloway (1767), Dyall (1733, unless Fr d'Aieul?), Fell (1731), Fenn (1792), Ferlong (1826), Field (1778-), Fielding (1816), Green (1601-), Greenwood (s.d.), Grisbrook (1804), Groves (1815), Hall (1602-), Hayes (1659), Heslop (1812), Hill (1655-), Holt (1510-), Lake (1496-), Lynch (1789, but possibly the AI non-toponym?), Lyst (1515), Mead (1727), Michelburn (1686), Mills (1659), Nash (1719-), Noakes (1830), Peake (1699), Perry (1786-), Pike (1693), Place (1700, but perhaps Fr de Placy), Ri(e)gg(s) (1770-), She(a)rd (1811-), Shortridge (1793-), Spinney (1771), Steitch (1712-), Stubbs (1723-), Style (1712), Vale (1817), Wall(s) (1490-), Wild (1657-), Windfield (1805), Wood(s) (1510-), Woollam (1771), and Yates (1758). It cannot fail to be observed that only a dozen of these names first figure in the archives available to Kneen in a context earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century, and this paucity of names of a characteristically English kind cannot be attributed just to the relative poverty of the record. Even though reversed after a decade, the Cromwellian intrusion undoubtedly weakened the strict Stanley controls

on immigration to - and emigration from - the Island, while one of the practical consequences of Revestment in 1765 was a further loosening of restraints on free passage to and from the mainland. What concerns us here, however, is that in the century or so before Revestment it is possible to find plausible candidates for more than half these minor and often very colourless toponymics in one or other of the four counties of the English littoral between the Dee and the Solway Firth together with the West Riding of Yorkshire. Geographical proximity, of course, will explain much, but a possible political dimension in the Stanley heyday may be thought to be hinted at by the circumstance that after Revestment it becomes increasingly difficult to recognize a marked Lancastrian bias in the English toponymics making their first appearance in the Manx records to which Kneen had access.

The Stanley connection emerges even more clearly perhaps when the foregoing list of minor toponymics is subjected to a closer scrutiny. For the period before the Dissolution of Rushen Abbey (1540), the names with only the odd exception are monothematic, and not one would disturb in a Lancastrian context. Inasmuch as the English estates of the Stanleys fell for the most part in Lancashire, Stanley retainers seem clearly indicated, as is most probably the case with the bearers of names of this class which make their first appearance in the Insular archives between the Dissolution and the surrender of Castle Rushen to Colonel Duckenfield (1651). Between that event and Revestment (1765) some thirty of these minor toponyms are of first occurrence, and again there are few that would be discordant in the context of north-western England. A minor peak in the 1750s most plausibly reflects the commercial boom, with Man an 'excise-haven', that was one, but only one, of the considerations that induced emergent Whitehall to buy out the Atholl regalities, but still until the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century the toponyms noted by Kneen in the burgeoning archive exhibit a distinctively 'North Country' flavour. After c. 1810, on the other hand, there is not only a sharp increase in the number of hitherto unrecorded names of this class, but the proportion of those which might look to north-western England falls sharply away. If not a 'debtors' haven', at least after 1814, Man, and more particularly Douglas, had begun to offer attractions to the economically minded genteel, so that there can be little doubt that Kneen was right to take 1830, by a felicitous coincidence the year of the fourth Duke of Atholl's death, as the 'cut-off' date for a survey that was for him primarily linguistic rather than socio-economic. The steampacket and the railways were opening up Man to a new public drawn from a much wider spectrum, geographical as well as social, and a proportion of the visitors became 'permanent residents' of an entirely new description.

At the end of the day the student of Kneen's material still is left with rather more than three hundred English toponymic surnames, the great majority of them dithe-matic, where it is possible for a reasoned guess to be hazarded as to the county of origin. One or two may be spurious and so fall to be excluded - Cavendish (1821-) is in fact, as was shown by Kneen, an English equivalence of the surname Corjeag (= mac Quartag from ON Svarteygr) through confusion with curjeig, while Keeten (1822) if from AI Keating in its Ultonian form need not derive ultimately from an English place-name - while in a few instances there may be an element of ambiguity when the same place-name is found in more than one county, but the suggestion of this note is that the overall pattern is so clear-cut that the general picture is unlikely seriously to mislead. In accordance with this line of argument, therefore, the major toponyms are grouped under three zones. Zone A takes in the four counties of the English littoral which look over to Man, namely Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Cheshire. Zone B comprises the six English counties which at one point or another

march with the foregoing, namely Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Shropshire. Zone C takes in the remaining thirty of the English traditional counties - it goes without saying that the pre-1974 boundaries are those that have been employed. Again it should be emphasized that if a name has been found to occur in Zone A any homonym occurring in Zones B or C is disregarded, and in the same way if a toponymic not in Zone A is once located in Zone B any homonym in Zone C will not be taken into account. Occasionally the result may appear bizarre - Bradford is a case in point - but in fact instances of such ambiguity are rare enough. The West Riding of Yorkshire is perhaps the principal sufferer, but the injustice could be thought to be minimized by the circumstance that the area so obviously forms part of the Lancastrian hinterland over so much of the period under discussion. In the same way five chronological bands are distinguished, the first running down to the inception of the Stanley lordship (1405), and the others corresponding to those propounded in the preceding paragraph. The order of the entries is that of the modern form of the place-name followed by the standard EPNS abbreviation of the name of the county, and the entry is rounded off by the earliest spelling of the surname as given by Kneen and the date of the first occurrence.

Before 1405

Zone A BEAUMONT Cu, de Bello Monte (1308).

Zone B HUDDLESTON YW, de Hodelstone (1297-).

Zone C HUNTERCOMBE O, de Huntercombe (1292): IVINGHOE Bk, Yvenhowe (1404-): MONTACUTE So, de Montacute (1305-): WARWICK Wa, Warwick (1398).

Fewer than a third of these names can be said really to have taken root on the Island. The Earl of Warwick was no more than a state prisoner, Huntercombe an ephemeral Custos, and the Montacutes (the name is of course a Latinization of a name ultimately French by way of Somerset) short-lived dynasts.

1405 - 1540

Zone A ALTCAR La, Alcar (1510): ASHTON La, Ashton (1448-): AUGHTON La, Aghton (1510-): BAILFY La, Baily (1515-): BIRCH La, Byrch (1510-): BLACKBURN La, Blackburn (1526-): BRADLEY La, Bradley (1532-): BRADSHAW La, Bradshagh (1514-): BRECK La, Brech (1510): BRIGG La, Braig (1514) - a postulated lost village in Rossendale: BURSCOUGH La, Burscogh (1510): CALDECOTE Chs, Calcots (1504-): CARR La, Carre (1510-): CATTERALL La, Catterall (1510): CLEATOR Cu, Cletter (1510-): CLEGG La, Cleg (1405): COATES La, Cote (1428-): COLTON La, Colton (1428): COPELAND Cu, Cowpeland (1510-): CROSBY La, Crosby (1510-): DAVENPORT Ch, Danport (1505-): DUTTON La, Dutton (1490): FAZAKERLEY La, ffasakerley (1518): FRIZINGTON Cu, Fryssington (1511): HACKING La, Haking (1417): HALE La, Hale (1522-): HALLIWELL La, Haleywell (1536): HALSALL La, Halsall (1505-): HESKETH La, Hesketh (1505): HOLCROFT La, Holcroft (1417): INCE La, Ince (1514): KENT (R.) La, Kent (1510): LATHAM La, Latham (1510): LEWTHWAITE La (lost village in Furness), Lethwartie (1448-): L'ATHERLAND La, Lytherland (1405-): MARSDEN La, Marsden (1510-): MARTON La, Matton (1511): OUGHTRINGTON Ch, Ughtynton (1510):

POOLEY (BRIDGE) We, Pulley (1510): PRESCOT La, Prescott (1505-): PRESTON La, Preston (1510-): RADCLIFFE La, Ratclif (1496): RUSHTON Ch, Rushton (1505-): SALE Ch, Sale (1490-): SAMLESBURY La, Sammesbury (1510-): SHAKERLEY La, Shakerley (1510): SKILLICORN La, Skylycorne (1510-): STALY(BRIDGE) Ch, Staley (1430-): STANDISH La, Standysh (1510): TYLDESLEY La, Tildesley (1405-): WALTON La, Walton (1422-): WORTHINGTON La, Worthington (1510).

Zone B AISKEW YN, Aystogh (1510-): BYRAM YW, Byron (1428-): COTTINGHAM YE, Cotyngin (1510-): HOG HILL St, Hogell (1510): KEIGHLEY YW, Kighley (1517-): SHERBURN YW, Shirburne (1522): STANLEY Db, Stanley (1405-): WHITMORE St, Whitmore (1405).

Zone C BIRMINGHAM Wa, Birmyngeham (1515): COBHAM K, Cobham (1446-): GLOUCESTER Gl, Gloucester (1446): WINDSOR Brk, Windsor (1522-).

There are, then, 41 town or village names, together with one river name which admittedly could be deemed special pleading, for which the student does not have to go beyond Lancashire to find a candidate. In the same way, there are 10 further names which can be matched in the remaining three English counties that look across the sea to Man. From the six counties immediately to the east and south of these the tally of town or village names is no more than eight, while the whole of the rest of England supplies no more than four - or two if we except, as we probably should, the unhappy Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, who was incarcerated on the Island as a state prisoner. That some two-thirds (65.6 per cent) of the toponyms should occur in the county where were situated the principal seats and estates of the Lords of Man cannot well be coincidence, and it may be accepted not only that the Stanleys looked first to their tenantry when making appointments to the insular administration, but also that already in the late Middle Ages there had been substantial Lancastrian immigration into Man. A study of the distribution of these incomers parish by parish argues strongly that they were planted as a deliberate act of policy to secure the Stanley hold of the key castles of Rushen (Castletown) and Peel and of the burgeoning town of Douglas, the one port able to offer a reasonably secure anchorage to the cog as opposed to the galley, and in the same way the relations between these newcomers and the Norse-veneered Gaelic population may hold the key to the elucidation of the mystery still enshrouding the seventeenth-century interlude of 'Illiam Dhone'. In this note, however, we are concerned with the linguistic rather than the historical implications of pre-nineteenth-century English settlement on Man.

1541 - 1650

Zone A BANKS La, Banckes (1603-): BARROW La, Barrowe (1575-): BILLINGE La, Billinge (1611): BOOTLE La, Bootle (1611-): BRISCOE Cu, Briscoe (1607-): BROUGHTON La, Broughton (1644-): CLITHEROE La, Clid(e)roe (1575): DEAN La, Deane - unlikely as an Englishing of Manx mac Joghene - (1575): GRIMSHAW La, Grymeshawe (1607): HARTLEY We, Hartley (1607-): HIGHAM La, Higham (1611-): HINDLEY La, Hindley (1575-): LANGTREE La, Langtre (1611): LECKE La, Leake (1607-): MILBURN We, Milburne (1650): RIGBY La, Rigby (1561): ROCHDALE La, Ratchdayll (1575): SANKEY La, Sankey (1607-): SCARISBRICK La, Scarisbreck (1580-): SEDDON La, Seddon - lost village - (1580-): SHAW La, Shawe (1575-):

STOCKPORT Ch, Stopforth (1561-): TARBOCK La, Tarbocke (1570): WHINNERAY Cu, Whinrowe (1611): WORSLEY La, Worsley (1575).

Zone B AUDLEY St, Oadley (1645-): BRIGHOUSE YW, Brighouse (1649): HANLEY St, Hanley (1648-): HUNTON YN, Hunton (1625-): SNEYD St, Snaide (1650): STAFFORD St, Stafford (1634-): STOCKLEIGH St, Stockley (1575): THWAITE YN, Twate (1580).

Zone C BASTON Li, Vastyn and so in these early cases via Manx and M^{ir} Beastun (1643-): SIBTHORPE Nt, Sibthrop (1643): WHETSTONE Le, Whitstans (1575-).

Of the 36 toponymic surnames, then, there are 20 (55.5 per cent) that can be associated just with Lancashire, and another 5 with the remaining three counties of the north-western English littoral. The six counties contiguous to them throw up another eight names, and in the case of only three need we look further afield. As late as the middle of the seventeenth century, it follows, the Stanleys still were looking to their own English tenantry when seeking non-Gaelic 'colonists' to garrison their Manx lordship.

1651 - 1764

Zone A AINSDALE La, Ansdell (1662): ASPINWALL La, Aspinall (1687-): ATHERTON La, Atherton (1703): BADDILEY Ch, Badeley (1659): BARTON La, Barton (1742): BICKERSTAFFE La, Bickerstaff (1741): BIRKETT La, Birkett (1651-): BRADFORD La, Bradford (1713-): BRAITHWAITE Cu, Brathwart (1726-): BRANTHWAITE Cu, Brandthwaite (1764): BRINDLE La, Brindle (1692): BULKELEY Ch, Bulkeley (1761-): COPLEY La, Copley (1689): CORNEY Cu, Cornah (1722): COTTON Ch, Cotton (1725-): CRANFORD La, Cranford (1762): CREWE Ch, Crewe (1673-): DALTON La, Dolton (1683-): DENTON La, Denton (1748-): DERBY La, Darby (1727): DOUGLAS (R.) La, Douglas (1660): ETCHELLS La, EtcHELLS (1659): FLEETWOOD La, Fleetwood - not the post-1836 town but a lost village - (1713): GREENHALGH La, Greenhalgh (1652): HAMPTON Ch, Hanton (1669): HELSBY Ch, Helsbie (1659): HEYWOOD La, Heywood (1682-): HOLDEN La, Houlding (1663-): HOLLAND La, Halland (1659-): HOLLINGWORTH Ch, Hallingworth (1659): HOLME(S) La, Holms (1713-): HORTON Ch, Horton (1726-): HOUGHTON La, Haughton (1675): HULME La, Hume (1752-): HYDE Ch, Hide (1746-): KENDAL We, Kendal (1718): KNIPE We, Knipe (1702): LAMPLUGH Cu, Lamplugh (1723): LIVESEY La, Livesley (1725): MIDDLETON La, Middleton (1663): NEWTON La, Newton (1723-): OLDHAM La, Oldham (1715-): POOLE (GREEN) Ch, Poole (1703-): POSTLETHWAITE Cu, Postlethwaite (1759-): POYNTON Ch, Pointon (1757-): PRENTON La, Prenton (1659): RAVENSCROFT Ch, Ranscroft (1665-): REDDISH La, Reddich (1716-): RIMINGTON La, Rimington (1720-): ROSTHERNE Ch, Rosethorn (1757): SALESBURY La, Salsbury (1679): SANDFORD We, Sandford (1759): SCHOLEFIELD La, Scoffield (1758-): SEATON Cu, Seton (1743): SENHOUSE Cu, Senhouse (1746): SHARPLES La, Sharples (1652): SINGLETON La, Singleton (1701-): SKELTON Cu, Skelton (1689-): STAKE POOL La, Stacpole (1733): SUTTON La, Sutton (1729-): THORNTON La, Thornton (1748-): THORP La, Thorpe (1661-): TOPPINGS La, Topping (1733): TURTON La, Turton

(1749): TWEMLOW Ch, Twamley (1762): WARBURTON Ch, Warbutten (1683-): WHALLEY La, Walley (1668-): WHITEFIELD La, Whitefield (1715): WINSTANLEY La, Winstanley (1733): WITTON La, Witton (1729-): WOLFENDEN La, Wolfenden (1693-).

Zone B BATTERSBY YN, Battersby (1687-): BONEHILL St, Bunel (1730): BROOKFIELD Db, Bruckfield (1669-): CALVERLEY YW, Calverley (1659): COULTHURST YW, Colthurst (1797): ELLESMERE Sa, Elsmore (1706): FENWICK YW, Fenwick (1737): GUNSTONE St, Gunston (1660-): HARLEY YW, Harley (1663-): HAWTHORNE Du, Hathorne (1660-): HEADLEY YW, Hedeley (1659): HENSHAW Nb, Henshaw (1715): INGLESBY YN, Inglesby (1693-): LEYBURN YN, Laburn (1757-): LIVERSEGE YW, Liversedge (1718): PICKERING YN, Pickerin (1683-): PICKERSGILL YW, Pickersgill (1726-): RENSHAW Db, Rensha (1683): REY GILL YN, Reygill (1735): RICHMOND YN, Richmond (1749-): ROTHWELL YW, Rothwell (1655-): RUDYARD St, Riddyard (1738): STONE St, Stone (1751): UNDERWOOD Db, Underwood (1762-): URE HEAD YN, Orrehead (1659): WALKINGTON YE, Walkington (1700-): WANSFORD YE, Wandesford (1758).

Zone C BARKBY Le, Berkby (1748): BERKELEY Gl, Berkley (1750): BONYTHON Co, Bonythan (1746): BRAMWELL So, Bramwell (1731-): BRIDGWATER So, Bridgewater (1752): BRUTON So, Breueton (1720-): CALTHORP Nf, Calthorp (1682): CHUDLEIGH D, Chudleigh (1727): CLINTON Nth, Clinton (1756-): HALSTEAD Le, Halstead (1667): SEAWELL Nth, Suell (1661-): SLAUGHTER Gl, Slaughter (1659): WITHAM Li, Witham (1728-).

The tally of 'new' English toponymic surnames, i.e. of those recorded by Kneen for the first time in the century or so immediately preceding Revestment, stands at 111. As always there is a margin of error for which allowance must be made - Douglas and Hume, for instance, might perhaps be from Scotland - but the essential pattern is too clear-cut to be significantly disturbed. There are 45 surnames (40.9 per cent of the total) which coincide with town, village or river names from Lancashire, and another 26 where to find a match one does not have to go beyond the remaining three counties of the English littoral that look across to Man. Another 27 toponymic surnames can be located in the six counties which march with the foregoing four, while the whole of the rest of England supplies no more than 13. Over the period as a whole there is a tendency for the proportion of Lancashire-oriented toponymic surnames to fall, but despite this there remains a pronounced 'North Country' bias. The names of Colonel Duckenfield (= Dukinfield Ch) and of Lieutenant Hathorne are sufficient reminder that the Cromwellian garrison also looked to northern England for men and supplies, while the aftermath of the Great Rebellion is known to have brought to the Island old comrades-in-arms of the 'Great Earl' recruited in the north and with claims on Stanley gratitude. Such considerations apart, the first part of the eighteenth century saw a general increase in social mobility where England as a whole was concerned, and it was a trend from which not even Man could hope indefinitely to remain immune.

1765-1830

Zone A AIRA, Cu, Aeree (1799): ALDERSCEUGH Cu, Eldershaw (1801): APPLEBY We, Appleby (1793-): APPLETON La, Appleton (1814-): ARDEN Ch,

Arderne (1771-): AYNESLACK La, Aislake (1797): BARLOW La, Barlow (1815): BARRASS We, Barrass (1792): BEETHAM We, Betham (1784): BIRCHALL La, Birchall (1829): BOOTH La, Booth (1829): BORWICK La, Borwick (1770): BROADLEY La, Broadley (1788): BUCKLEY La, Buckley (1825): BURLAND Ch, Burland (1798-): BURROW La, Burrow (1810): CARRINGTON Ch, Carrington (1822-): CATON La, Ca(i)ton (1810-): CLIFTON La, Clifton (1828): DUCKWORTH La, Duckworth (1812): DUGDALE La, Dugdale - lost village - (1800): EATON Ch, Eaton (1814): FAWCET We, Fawcet (1821): FENTON Cu, Fenton (1821-): FOTHERGILL Cu, Fothergill (1814-): HARGRAVE Ch, Hargreaves (1772-): HASLAM La, Heslam (1850 - recte 1830?): ISHERWOOD La, Isherwood - lost village in Furness - (1812): KEARSLEY La, Chursley (1829): KERSHAW La, Kershaw (1806-): LAWTON Ch, Lawton (1812): LITTLETON Ch, Littleton (1798): LONGRIDGE La, Longridge (1795): MARTINDALE We, Martindale (1821): MEMEDHURST We, Memedhurst - lost village on R. Mint - (1806): MOSSLEY La, Mosley (1820): MUNCASTER Cu, Muncaster (1802-): OVERTON La, Overton (1830): PLASKET Cu, Plasket (1789): RAISBECK Cu, Risback (1797): ROSCOE La, Roscow (1822-): ROUTLEDGE Cu, Rutledge (1783): SHUTTLEWORTH La, Shuttleworth (1792-): SLADE La, Slade (1814): TATHAM La, Tatham (1796-): THORLEY La, Thorley (1767): WETHERAL Cu, Weatherall (1816): WHARTON Ch, Warten (1808-): WHITLEY Ch, Whiteley (1817-): WITHINGTON La, Withington (1813).

Zone B ALDFIELD YW, Oldfield (1785): ARMITSTEAD YN, Arm(it)stead (1807-): BAINBRIDGE YW, Beanbridge (1779): BERRINGTON Sa, Berrington (1809): BRADBURY Du, Bradbury (1816): BROOMHEAD YW, Broomhead (1790): CALDWELL Du, Caldwell (1774-): CHARLTON Nb, Charleton (1782-): COLWELL Nb, Colwell (1805-): CRAWLEY Nb, Crawley (1797-): CRESSWELL Db, Creswell (1773): CROXDALE Du, Croxtell (1786): DIMSDALE St, Dimsdale (1806): DRIFFIELD YE, Driffield (1786): DUFFIELD Db, Duffield (1788): FARLEY Db, Varley (1830): GREETHAM Du, Greetam (1822): HESELDEN Du, Haseldine (1787-): HOOK YW, Hooke (1821): LINTON Nb, Linton (1800): LOCKWOOD YW, Lockwood (1810): MOOR HEAD YW, Moorehead (1790): ORMESBY YN, Ormsby (1814): PADLEY Db, Padley (1805-): POGMOOR YW, Pogmore (1789): RIPLINGHAM YE, Ripplingham (1815): ROWLAND Db, Rowland (1780): RULE St, Rule (1793): SHELLEY YW, Shelley (1810): SMEATON YN, Smeeton (1795): SNAPE YW, Snape (1816): STAINFORTH YW, Stanford (1796-): TICKHILL YW, Tuckell (1820-): TWEEDDALE Nb, Tweddell (1801).

Zone C ANNESLEY Nt, Annesley (1796): AXWORTHY D, Essery (1821-): BARNES Sr, Barnes - formally but more probably a northern local toponym - (1769-): BARNET Hrt, Barnett (1821): BEEDON Brk, Beeden (1796-): BLAKENEY Gl, Blakeney (1778): BRAY Brk, Bray (1822): BRISTOL Gl, Bristow (1793-): BUCKINGHAM Bk, Buckingham (1775): BUSHBY Le, Bushby (1815): CLAWFORD De, Clawford (1830): DIGBY Li, Digby (1822): EPSOM Sr, Epsom (1829): FULLERTON Ha, Fullerton (1792): GRENDON He, Grandin (1788): HANBY Li, Hanby (1821): HASTINGS Sx, Hastings

(1804-): HILLSLEY Gl, Hildesley (1772): HORN Ru, Horn - if not a minor toponym - (1787-): INGHAM Li, Ingham (1812): KINGSCOMBE Do, Kingcombe (1823): SHERWOOD Nt, Sherwood (1822-): TATTERSHALL Li, Tatersall (1812): THONGSLEIGH D, Thonsley (1777): UPHAM Ha, Upham (1797): WELDON Nth, Weldon (1779-): WYMONDHAM Nf, Wyndham (1812).

Of 111 toponymic surnames 26 (just over 23 per cent) could go back to Lancashire, and another 24 are from the remaining three English counties facing Man across the Irish Sea. There are 34 names which can be matched in the six contiguous counties extending from Northumberland to Shropshire, with another 27 where on the face of it one has to look to the remaining thirty counties of England. That after 1651 there should be a substantial increase in the number of toponymic surnames furnished to Kneen by the sources at his disposal was only to be expected, and proliferation of the archive is at least as important a factor as any increase in the actual number of English immigrants to the Island. A better index, perhaps, of the parallel decline in the proportion of such names that can be associated with Lancashire, and also of the increase of those which seem to look to England south of a line from Wenlock Edge to the Humber, may be thought to be afforded by the following table where the absolute numbers are expressed as a series of percentages:-

| | <u>Total Names</u> | <u>Zone A</u> | <u>Zone B</u> | <u>Zone C</u> | <u>Lancs</u> |
|-------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| Before 1405 | 6 | 16.6 | 16.6 | 66.6 | -- |
| 1405 - 1540 | 63 | 81.3 | 12.5 | 6.25 | 65.6 |
| 1541 - 1650 | 36 | 69.4 | 22.2 | 8.3 | 55.5 |
| 1651 - 1764 | 111 | 63.9 | 24.3 | 11.7 | 40.9 |
| 1765 - 1830 | 111 | 45.0 | 30.6 | 24.3 | 23.4 |

Whereas in the period before 1540 Lancashire accounts for approaching two-thirds of the authentic toponymic surnames from England that are found on Man, after Revestment (1765) the number of 'new' toponyms potentially from the same county falls to somewhere about a fifth - it is necessary to stress the 'new' because so many of the older names persist in fact throughout the whole period. After Revestment, for example, Kneen was able to record as still in use as Insular surnames some 18 Lancastrian toponyms attested in the Manx archive before 1540, along with seven more first appearing between 1541 and 1650, and another 12 that first emerge between 1651 and 1764. Expressed as percentages of the Lancastrian names first recorded in each phase these figures are of considerable significance:-

| | |
|-------------|------|
| 1405 - 1540 | 42.9 |
| 1541 - 1650 | 28.6 |
| 1651 - 1764 | 26.6 |

Normally one would have expected that it would have been the earliest tier of names that would have been the least represented, so that it is the unlooked for persistence of the pre-1540 names with Lancastrian connotations that calls for explanation.

The solution of the difficulty would appear to be one that is socio-political. The fifteenth-century Manx economy was for practical purposes coinless, and we may suppose that the earliest Stanley followers almost invariably were rewarded with grants of land, and so became an integral part of an essentially rural Manx society. Available for this purpose were the fiefs formally Scots before the 1330s and also those of the attained Englishry, and the recent suggestion that some 'breast law' thought to be Viking in origin may represent an early version of English feudal custom would accord well with the hypothesis that the Stanley lordship was accompanied by a substantial settlement of English tenants. This is by no means to assert that the bearer of a particular toponymic surname figuring in the Manx archive after Revestment was in each and every case a direct descendant of a name-sake figuring in the Insular records already in the fifteenth century, but the case for a very substantial measure of continuity - especially as regards the countryside - does seem unanswerable. Without dispossession of Manx tenants later arrivals on Man could not be rewarded with rural tenancies to anything like the same extent, and the Act of Settlement (1704) virtually ended any Stanley dreams of extensive evictions when and as the customary leases came up for renegotiation. Thus, and this is particularly true of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the sojourn on the Island of newly arrived 'forreigners' became progressively more urban-oriented, so that it is the bilingual smallholders planted by the Stanleys who we would expect to affect the speech of the Manx monoglots when the latter abandoned the Goidelic tongue for English in the course of the nineteenth century.

At this point it seems appropriate to quote at some length Edmund Goodwin's characterization of Manx English in the days before broadcasting. It appears as the second paragraph on p. x of his 'Introduction to the Phonetics' in A. W. Moore (with S. Morrison and E. Goodwin), A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect, London, 1924, and runs:-

An examination of Dr Wright's English Dialect Dictionary plainly shows that the Anglo-Manx dialect has very close affinity with the dialect of South-West Lancashire. The inhabitants of the Isle of Man must have learnt their English from natives of that district, and they have retained many Lancashire peculiarities of word-form and word-usage. But it must not be forgotten that the old Manx-Gaelic language has had a strong influence on modifying the pronunciation of the English spoken in the Isle of Man. The Gaelic influence is still more apparent in the word order of the sentences and the form of the idioms. It is an influence similar in many points to that which Irish-Gaelic has had on the English spoken in Ireland. But it is in the matter of voice inflexion that the old Celtic Manx language has left its deepest and most permanent impression. This characteristic intonation, which so far shows little sign of disappearing, enables Manx people who chance to meet accidentally in any part of the globe to recognize at once their fellow islanders.

The emphasis laid by Goodwin on south-west Lancashire accords well, of course, with the phenomenon that toponymic surnames which seem to look to Cheshire occur strongly throughout the whole period c. 1405 - c. 1830, whereas those apparently derived from Cumberland do not begin really to figure before the seventeenth century. Carlisle, incidentally, could not be included in the foregoing listings since Kneen (or his compositor) omitted a critical date. The source cited, however, precludes one earlier than 1730, so that it may serve to counter-balance the dubious Rutledge (1783) which Reaney (op. cit., s.n.) rejects as a toponymic. Westmorland, too, can be said only to make its mark with the eighteenth century, and for this slight shift of emphasis

there seems a valid historical explanation in the primacy of Whitehaven (Cu) as the port for Man in the eighteenth century. Liverpool only regained its old ascendancy with the introduction of regular steam-packet sailings in the 1820s.

What must be stressed in conclusion is the limited scope of the material here examined. This paper has resisted the temptation to incorporate evidence which was not available to Kneen. For example, an almost incredible omission from his pages is Mawdesley, the name of a Lancastrian village not all that far removed from Knowsley and Lathom, and the surname of one of the eighteenth-century Stanley lieutenant-governors. Since, however, Kneen assuredly had no particular axe to grind, it has seemed better to accept the material he gathered for what it is, a random sample, and this is perhaps the place to pay tribute to the late William Cubbon, second director of the Manx Museum, who was so largely responsible for much of Kneen's research ever finding its way onto the printed page. To the best of the writer's knowledge the approach by way of the toponymic surname is something novel where Manx studies are concerned, and it is satisfying for a mere historian with no formal training in place-name studies to find so clear a convergence of historical and linguistic argument. It is indeed Lancashire and, to a lesser extent Cheshire, which on the evidence of one group of personal names dominated English immigration into Man in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, neat enough corroboration of the character of Manx English as established by linguists of today. The early settlement clearly was large enough to establish English as a spoken and a written language on the Island, and at the same time the new minority anglophone community had sufficient homogeneity in those critical first centuries for there to emerge the dialectal unity which would enable Manx English to acquire and retain its internal individuality - and this despite the post-1830 influx of Englishry drawn for the most part not just from north-western England but from the industrial Midlands. It only remains for the writer to express his obligations to five of his friends, Mr Bernard Caine of Onchan, Mr Michael Barry of the Queen's University of Belfast who suggested a home for this paper, Dr Margaret Gelling of Birmingham, the doyenne of Manx place-name studies, Mrs Mary Higham of Clitheroe and Mr Basil Megaw of the School of Scottish Studies at Edinburgh. This is not to say that all would endorse every word, but each and every one has been generous with encouragement and with suggestions for the paper's improvement.

APPENDIX A

Many minor infelicities in Kneen's classic work have been emended silently. To have done otherwise would have been ungracious to the memory of a very great pioneer. For example, two critical dates in the Liber Assedationis ('Setting Book') listings of early sixteenth-century tenancies have been brought back from 1511 and 1515 to 1510 and 1514 respectively. There are, moreover, nearly one hundred cases where a particular toponym was identified no more precisely than as an 'Eng. p.n.' or as 'somewhere in England'. The list is as follows:-

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 'Ansdell' = AINSDALE La | BRADBURY Du |
| 'Ayscough' = AISKEW YN | BRAITHWAITE Cu |
| BAINBRIDGE YW | BRAMWELL So |
| 'Berkby' = BARKBY Le | BRANDTHWAITE Cu |
| 'Betham' = BEETHAM We | BRIDGWATER So |
| BLAKENEY Gl | BROADBENT - minor toponym |
| BLAKEWAY - minor toponym | BROADLEY La |
| BOOTH La | BROCKBANK - minor toponym |

BROOKFIELD Db
 BROOMHEAD YW
 BUCKLEY La
 BULKELEY Ch
 'Bunel' = BONEHILL St
 BUSHBY Le
 CALTHORP Nf
 CARRINGTON Ch
 CHATTFIELD - minor toponym
 'Chursley' = KEARSLEY La
 CLAWFORD D
 CO(U)LTHURST YW
 COPLEY La
 CRANFORD La
 CRATHPLACE - minor toponym
 CRESSWELL Db
 CROSSTEAD - minor toponym
 DEAN La
 DEDWITH - minor toponym
 DIGBY Li
 DIMSDALE St
 DRIFFIELD YE
 DUGDALE La
 'Eldershaw' = ALDERSCEUGH Cu
 'Elsmore' = ELLESMERE Sa
 GRISBROOK - minor toponym
 HANBY Li
 'Haseldine' = HASLEDEN Du
 HENSHAW Nb
 'Hildesleigh' = HILLSLEY G1
 HOLCROFT La
 (de) HUNTERCOMBE O
 INGHAM Li
 ISDALE Scotland
 ISHERWOOD La
 KEETEN - non-toponymic
 KERSHAW La
 KING(S)COMBE Do
 'Laburn' = LEYBURN YN
 LITTLETON Ch

LIVERSEDGE YW
 LIVES(L)EY La
 LOCKWOOD YW
 LONGRIDGE La
 MADGWICK - unidentified
 MARTINDALE We
 'Memedhurst' We - on R. Mint?
 MOOR(E)HEAD YW
 NORMANSHAM - unidentified
 'Oldfield' = ALDFIELD YW
 ORM(E)SBY YW
 PADLEY Db
 POYNTON Ch
 'Pugmore' = POGMOOR YW
 'Raceback' = RAISBECK Cu
 'Ratchdayll' = ROCHDALE La
 RAVENSCROFT Ch
 'Rippingham' = RIPLINGHAM YE
 'Roscow' = ROSCOE La
 RUTHERFORD Scotland
 SEDDON La
 SENHOUSE Cu
 SEWELL Nth
 'Smeeton' = SMEATON YN
 STACKPOLE La
 'Stockford' = STOCKPORT Ch
 'Stopforth'
 'Stockleigh' = STOCKLEY Du
 'Thonsley' = THONGSLEIGH D
 THOR(N)LEY La
 'Twamley' = TWEMLOW Ch
 'Wandesford' = WANSFORD YE
 WELDON Db
 'Whinrowe' = WHINNERAY Cu
 WHITSDITTON = unidentified
 WINDFIELD - minor toponym
 WOOLLAM - minor toponym
 WORSLEY La
 'Wyndham' = WYMONDHAM Nf

APPENDIX B

In the case of rather more than fifty of Kneen's proposed English toponymic surnames it may be thought that alternative identifications or interpretations are to be preferred. The suggested emendations are as follows:-

APPLETON Ch
 ARBUCKLE - Scotland
 'Blackmore' - minor toponym
 BRADFORD La
 BRADLEY La

BRAY Brk
 'Brech' = BRECK La
 BRIGHOUSE YW
 'Charleton' = CHARLTON Nb
 COLTON La

'Colwell' = COLWELL Nb
 'Cornah' = CORNEY Cu
 COTTON Ch
 CRAWLEY Nb
 'Danport' = DAVENPORT Ch
 DOUGLAS La (R.)
 DUFFIELD Db
 ETCHELLS La
 FENWICK YW
 HADDEN - Scotland
 'Haking' = HACKING La
 'Haleywell' = HALLIWELL La
 HALSTEAD Le
 HAMPTON Ch
 HARLEY YW
 HARTLEY We
 HA(W)THORNE Du
 'Heslam' = HASLAM La
 HIGHAM La
 HOLLAND La
 HOLLINGWORTH La
 HORN Ru
 HORTON Ch

HUNTON YN (under 'Hampton')
 INCE La
 KENT La (R.)
 KNIPE We
 LAWTON Ch
 PICKERSGILL YW
 PLASKET Cu
 REDDISH La
 REN(I)SHAW Db
 RULE St
 'Salisbury' = SALESBURY La
 SANDFORD We
 SHELLEY YW
 SINGLETON La
 SLADE La
 'Snaide' = SNEYD St
 SOMMERVILLE - France
 'Stanford' = STAINFORTH YW
 STONE St
 'Ughtynton' = OUGHTRINGTON Ch
 'Weawell' - France
 WITTON La
 WOLFENDEN La

* * *

EDITORIAL NOTE

Sadly, Professor Dolley died before the final text of his paper could be discussed with him. Certain problems could not be resolved, therefore, and the main purpose of this note is to explain the editorial procedure which has been adopted. I should like to express my gratitude first to Dr Margaret Gelling who kindly read the paper and offered valuable comments which I have incorporated in the remarks that follow, and second to Mr Michael V. Barry for acting on Professor Dolley's behalf in enabling the paper to be published in NOMINA and for his helpful suggestions in preparing this note.

The guiding policy has been to change the text as little as possible, even though some of the surname identities proposed are open to question. The only exceptions to this rule involve i) the deletion of a few mistakes and dubious inferences, which if allowed to remain would do disservice to Professor Dolley's argument, and ii) the re-identification of a small number of surnames for which more suitable origins could be established with complete confidence.

Professor Dolley intended to single out names in which he sensed a 'North Country ring', but some of those which he thought, for one reason or another, were likely to be northern in origin show no linguistic features of a peculiarly northern character. Examples include the unexplained Haysnap, Madgwick, Normansham, Tatlock/Tetlow, and Whitsditton. The surname Tatlock is indeed recorded in La from the fifteenth century onwards but its source, locative or otherwise, is unknown; see Richard McKinley, The Surnames of Lancashire (London, 1981), p. 372. It is possible that Normansham is a corruption of Northemonson, a fourteenth-century La surname

cited by McKinley, p.325, but this can be no more than speculation. Since none of these names, as far as present knowledge goes, is of certain northern origin (as distinct from currency), it was decided that the assertion that more than one of them has a 'North Country ring' had better be omitted from the text rather than risk giving an impression of tendentiousness.

In the author's list of 72 minor toponyms a large proportion had been marked with an obelisk in order to indicate a probable northern provenance. The obelisks have been removed, for it is not clear why the majority of the names distinguished in this way should be considered to have any regional bias: Alder, Ashe, Backhouse, Brockbank, Brooks, Chambers, Chattfield, Clives, Clowes, Cort, Cross, Dale, Field, Fielding, Green, Greenwood, Hill, Holt, Peake, Perry, Pike, Sheard, Shortridge, Stubbs, Style and Yates. This is not to imply that none of these were borne by northerners (Backhouse and Holt, for example, are well-attested Lancashire surnames, cf. McKinley pp.188-90, 210), and therefore Professor Dolley's general proposition may be allowed to stand, that 'it is possible to find plausible candidates for more than half these minor . . . toponymics in one or other of the four counties of the English littoral between the Dee and the Solway Firth together with the West Riding of Yorkshire'. One name in the original list of minor toponymics, Torrance (1812), has been excluded altogether since Kneen's opinion that it was a Latin translation of Brook (Manx Personal Names, p.240) is untenable. It should be noted that Professor Dolley's main argument does not rely on the identification or provenance of surnames alluding to minor topographical features.

The only other significant alterations to the text concern the categorisation of place-names in the three zones, A, B, and C. Tittorn (1751) was associated by Kneen (p.240) with Titton Wo. Professor Dolley changed the allocation to 'Titton' (recte Tetton) Ch, which enabled him to allot the name to Zone A instead of Zone C. However, none of the spellings recorded for Tetton (PN Ch II, 260) deviate from medial -e- to -i-, and what with the unexplained intrusive -r- in the surname it seemed unwise either to leave Tittorn in Zone A or transfer it to Zone C. There being no certainty that the name was toponymical in origin, the best solution was to delete it altogether. A second instance is Layfield (1827), which Professor Dolley derived from Layfield Nt. This is actually a post-enclosure farm name in Clayworth Nt and its earliest record is as a late seventeenth-century field name. Clearly this surname belongs among the minor toponymics and has therefore been omitted from the list for Zone C, 1765-1830. The remaining instances involve re-allocation to a different zone. Thonsley (1777), attributed to Thongsleigh D, had by an oversight been placed in Zone B instead of Zone C. Darby (1727) was identified as Derby Db (Zone B), but this surname, recorded in La since the fourteenth century, probably refers to (West) Derby La (McKinley p.33); the name has been transferred to Zone A. The total number of names for each zone in the relevant period has been adjusted accordingly, as have the percentages that are derived from them.

It is sincerely hoped that these few alterations would have met with Professor Dolley's approval. More changes might have been made, partly to take account of McKinley's Surnames of Lancashire, which was not available when the paper was being written, but to have gone further might have trespassed unduly on the author's rights in the matter and would also have created problems in analytical method and in presentation of the argument. It has been thought preferable in the circumstances to offer a short commentary on various aspects of the paper so that readers unfamiliar with the complexities of interpreting toponymic (or locative) surnames may better appreciate the difficulties which Professor Dolley encountered.

As Professor Dolley acknowledges, there is a degree of ambiguity with regard to the origins of many surnames in his material. By the fifteenth century, surnames were rarely recorded with their distinctive particles - the preposition and/or the definite article - so that names of different origins could in many cases become indistinguishable from each other. Among examples not noted in the essay one might mention Baily (1515), which could be occupational, Horn (1787), which could be a nickname or an occupational metonym, and Suell (1661), which could be from the ME personal name Sewall rather than a place-name (of which Seawell Nth is only one of several possibilities). Further uncertainties arise with names like Banks (1603), Carre (1510), Hale (1522), Twate (1580), Whitstans (1575), Underwood (1762), Hooke (1821), Moorehead (1790), and Slade (1814), all of which might be from minor topographical features rather than from the places specified in the text. In addition it may be observed that there are several other Ardens besides the one in Cheshire, other Berringtons than the Shropshire one, a Bray in Devon and Wicklow, Ireland, as well as in Berkshire, and so on; but alternatives of this kind do not affect the placing of the surnames in the appropriate zone.

Instances where a different opinion as to the source of the name would alter the membership of the zonal lists are obviously more troublesome. The forms of some place-names do not accord with the spellings of the surnames whose sources they are alleged to be: e.g. Braig (1514) from Brigg, Lethwartie (1448) from Lewthwaite, Matton (1511) from Marton, Aislake (1797) from Ayneslack, Varley (1830) from Farley Db. In the case of Aislake the change in form is not improbable, though I have not been able to find proof of it. Far more radical and unpredictable alterations sometimes occur in surname pronunciation in post-medieval times, and for this reason one cannot entirely discount the possibility that Matton is a form of Marton even though the sound change is irregular; but one should also question how far the accuracy of the surname spellings cited by Kneen can be taken on trust. As for the initial voicing of Farley to Varley, it is a somewhat unlikely occurrence outside the southern counties of England, and it would have been safer to have suggested Varley D as a source.

In other cases the cause of doubt is not a discrepancy between linguistic forms but simply the uncertainty of geographical location. Cornah (1722) may well be from the Cu place-name, as suggested, but the Isle of Man's own Cornaa should surely be considered too. There are many English Haddons to account for the Hadden ascribed to Scotland in Appendix B. Dugdale (1800) is identified (on what evidence is unfortunately not stated) as a La place-name; McKinley (p.104) derives the La surname from Dugdale St. Skillicorn (1511) was the name of a landowning family in La from the fifteenth century onwards when it occurs as de Skillicorne, but no place of this name seems to be on record and as McKinley points out (p.372) 'it would be unsafe to rely on the presence of the preposition in elucidating the surname's origin, which remains uncertain'. Likewise Seddon (1580), present in La from the fourteenth century and common there in the seventeenth century, is a surname whose source, though locative in appearance, is unknown (McKinley pp.135-6). The assumption that these last three surnames are from La place-names must be in doubt, though they have not been removed from the lists for Zone A. One of the trickiest identifications is that of Windsor (1522), which Professor Dolley attributes to the well-known Brk place-name. There are, however, many other possible sources for the surname, including (minor) place-names in Db, YW, and Cu. Admittedly the first documentary record of these minor place-names is very much later than that of the surname, which occurs in La from the early thirteenth century onwards (McKinley p.110). Names of minor settlements are responsible for the highest proportion of locative surnames in La (McKinley

pp. 137-9); even so, a Brk origin for this very early surname is on balance more likely than any other. The failure to assign the surname to the place-name nearest the Isle of Man is nevertheless inconsistent with the author's general practice. Of course, what none of these criticisms do is to undermine the thesis that it was primarily Lancashire men who were colonising Man in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The final point is that perhaps only about forty per cent of English place-names are unique to one place, and thus the best way of reducing bias in calculating trends in migration using locative surnames is to use only surnames referring to uniquely named places. This is not to rule out the potential value of analysing all the locative surnames on the assumption that the most likely of several place-name candidates is the one nearest the place of immigration, but the conditions under which this method is sufficiently reliable need to be well understood and allowed for. (See the present writer's 'Surnames from English place-names as evidence for mobility in the Middle Ages', *Local Historian* 13 (1978), 80-6, and 'Patterns of migration in the late Middle Ages: the evidence of English place-name surnames', *Economic History Review* 2nd ser. 32 (1979), 167-82.) One must therefore ask how far Professor Dolley was justified in assuming that the place on the English mainland nearest to Man was likely to have been the true origin of the Manx surname. It can be argued that the assumption was a risky one considering that much of the material occurs more than a hundred years after the establishment of hereditary naming amongst the majority of people living in the North of England (cf. McKinley p.45). On the other hand it must be granted that the drift of population movement was away from the north-western counties rather than into them, with the result that the surname stock in the North West remained remarkably stable and local even into the nineteenth century (McKinley pp.77-110, 441-53). The fact that such a high percentage of Manx immigrants from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries bore surnames putatively identical with place-names in the north-western counties (and Lancashire especially) would be difficult to explain in other than Professor Dolley's terms, that is to say that the majority of such families came to Man directly from those counties.

Taking this point about method together with the probability that a (small) proportion of the surnames has been doubtfully interpreted, one may conclude that the selection and analysis of the data could have been more rigorously conducted to the benefit of the argument. Nevertheless it is fair to say that such emendations as might have been made in the interest of greater statistical accuracy would have made little if any difference to the general conclusions. That Lancashire should have provided the dominant group of immigrants into Man in the period when the Stanleys were lords of the island is an entirely unsurprising proposition and one that, for all the qualifications that may be entered, has been convincingly demonstrated.

P. McC.

THE EARLY PERSONAL NAMES OF KING'S LYNN:
AN ESSAY IN SOCIO-CULTURAL HISTORY

Part II - BY-NAMES

In NOMINA VI, 51-71, a study of the baptismal names recorded in certain documents concerning the King's (or rather, Bishop's) Lynn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries argued that the relative incidences there of the various types of name reflected the young town's mercantile, social and cultural history. Baptismal names reveal, however, only half the story; by-names too have their tales to tell, from their own multiple as well as complementary points of view.

Fortunately, the same partly-unpublished materials drawn upon for the previous article offer also a splendid range of by-names. All these materials have been collected by Mrs Dorothy Owen for her forthcoming volume in the British Academy's series of Records of Social and Economic History,¹ and most generously communicated to me in advance of publication; I should like again to thank her for her unflinching readiness to help with whatever problems have arisen in the course of my work upon them.

This further study devoted to by-names will concentrate on those of people flourishing before c. 1300. Because these items will require treating individually, rather than in terms of stocks and vocabularies, additional details must now be given of the major sources used. The list of burgesses' names found in the 1166 Pipe Roll, and previously exploited for its baptismal names, also offers by-names of all types.² The main chronological emphasis of this present study will, however, fall later than did that of the work on baptismal names, the richest stocks of which dated from the twelfth century. Now a principal source will be the first section, extant in a late-thirteenth-century hand, of the Trinity Gild Roll (King's Lynn Borough Archives GD 44), where no baptismal name is without a qualifier of some kind. The Gild was founded c. 1205, and cross-checks with other records show men listed in this section of its Roll as having flourished at dates ranging from the 1190s up to c. 1300; the marshalling of their names in the Roll, although partly chronological, is by no means strictly so.³ A still richer source of early by-names is the unpublished bede-roll of the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene at Gaywood (Norfolk Record Office: Bradfer-Lawrence MS IX b); its opening section was likewise compiled c. 1300. Here are brought together - seemingly with scant regard for chronological, or other, order - names dating from every period since the Hospital's foundation (allegedly, c. 1135); if attempting to date this material from purely onomastic evidence were less perilously circular, predominantly thirteenth-century origins might be suggested for it, on the grounds that few of the baptismal names involved, mostly belonging to people apparently of modest condition, are of the Insular types which Part I of this study has shown to have remained in frequent use here until late in the twelfth century. In contrast with the wide chronological spread of these Rolls, the unpublished Newland Survey (King's Lynn Borough Records BC 1), dealing with the town's northern sector, is datable to the 1270s, probably to 1279; but this is, unfortunately, extant only in a fifteenth-century copy whose orthographical detail is suspect.⁴ Apart from the intrinsic value of its entries, the Survey also affords cross-references that assist with the dating of entries in other documents.

Even so, many of the forms to be cited, although safely placed 'ante c. 1300', cannot at present be dated precisely; but, except for those taken from the 1166 Pipe