ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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A PHILOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE MONEYMEN'S NAMES ON COINS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

The thesis examines spellings of moneyer's 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 spellings.

The moneyer's 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 constraints 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 moneyer's names, and charts showing chronological order of coin-types are included as Appendices.

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

NOTE

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MICHAEL DOLLEY

TOPONYMIC SURNAMES 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), 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 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 Knowesley 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 Old Irish 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 Old Irish or Gaelic origin may have been superseded by thinly disguised borrowings from England, the name Manning (1757-) goes back much more plausibly to OE Mannin than to Olfr mac Manannain, even allowing for Mfr Mac Manon and Mac Manon.

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 toponymics, 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 - Alcock (1654 + Alcock ?), Almond (1707- × OE Alhælumund or perhaps Aluhmund), Banister (1422), Beckett (1712), Broad (1602), Bryden (1766 × Mfr Ò Brudil ?), Corbett (1511), Cramp (1662), Craige (1829 × G Krancia ?), Fine(a) (1634), Frowde (1766), Graves (1755), Grey (1721), Haynes (1807), Hogarth (1794), Kemp (1721), Lawrence (1511), Purvis (1733), Siddons (?), Stowell (1511), Tooms (1815), and Wonne (1634) - it is arguable, to say the least, that 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. Ewalt, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names, 4th edn, Oxford, 1966; D. H. Reaney, A Dictionary of British Surnames, 2nd edn, London and Boston, Mass., 1979; A. H. Smith, English Place-Name Elements, 2 vols, Cambridge 1950). Nor does Kneen appear to have known E. Ewalt, The Place-Names of Lancashire, Manchester, 1922 (reprinted last Aylesbury, 1972), let alone his epoch-making Scandinavians and Celts, Lund, 1918, while the Manx scholar's use of C. W. Bardeley, 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 Bank, the Leeds-born son of a Swedish woollen merchant from Gothenburg. There are a few cases, moreover, where still it is not possible to localize what appears to be toponyms of impeccable English formation. Instances include de Bryd (1418), Midgwick (1735), Normanship (1569), Trotter (1530), and Whitidton (1663). For the purposes of the present study, if for different reasons, there likewise may be discounted Jordan (1645), de Mann (1246), and Mylonen (1448), the latter being an innusaurian formation under English influence, as Kneen recognized, and owing nothing to any of the Miln(tow)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, and as such only rightly, as non-toponyms. The former goes back to Miln mac Ambalchob and so to ON Ólfrí, 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), Balliol (1797), Brest (1816), Caverly (1826) - though formally Miln mac Gearlbhail is another metathetic alternative which it is a little surprising that Kneen failed himself to propose, Champaign (1660), Chartres (1686), Courtney (1821), Darcy (1503), Lassell (1575), Lyons (1793), Mamrading (1723), Massé (1405), Montgomery (1668), Mortimer (1817), La Mothe (1759), Nantes (1804), Nugent (1822), Ottevill (1659), Passavill (1797), Percy (1399), Pickard (1627), de la Pryme (1789), Roach (1802), Sacheverell (1699), Saurin (1788), Scavilli (1705), Sinclair (1795), Sommerville (1755), St. John (1814), Tobin (1772), Travers (1657), Turney (1828), Vance (1860), Vaux (1856), etc. (1511), Vesty (1511), Vignoles (1828), and Wavell (1804). Only La Mothe is known for certain to have arrived on Man directly from France (A. W. Moore, Max Worthies, Douglas, 1901, reprint (ibid., 1971, p. 151), while de la Pryme could be of first or second generation (7Huguenot) 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. Lassell and Percy) with a distinctive 'North Country' flavour undoubtedly did. Others (e.g. Tobin and Balliol) 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 - Balliol (1797), Lassell (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 a 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 'ew, if any, were borne by refugees from Revolutionary France, but, as will appear in due course, there is evidence from the toponymy 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-Celtic and non-Lannister stock. The 'French' element in this dilution barks 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 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), Buchanan (1764), Chisholm (1757), Clegern (1827), Clendenning (1812), Clugston (1812), Colquhoun (1789), Coulyre (1667), Crawford (1795), Cunningham (1583), Dinwood (1785), de Dunbar (1375), Durie (1764), Forbes (1733), Calloway (1668), Glasgow (1751), Coljordon (1708), Hadden (1793), Hamilton (1727), Irvine etc. (1668), Isdale (1810), kelso (1804), Kelvin (1606), Leslie (1813), Lidderdale (1756), Livingstone (1747), Lockie (1771), Maxwell (1776), Mitto (1796), Ochterlony (1757), Paisley (1766), Pentland (1812), Ramsey (1808, even if English places with the same name cannot quite be precluded), R(b)jnd (?1822), Ross (?1712), Roxborough (1782), Rutherford (1820), Sutherland (1711), de Twynholm (1290), and de Wigtown (1291). In the case of the last two Kneen was surely right in disregarding the 'Twyham and Wigtown of the MSS, which seem superficially English, as due to scribal error. As Kneen suggested, too, Tullogh (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, Coulyre, 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 otherwise. A suggestion is that this speech persists well into the eighteenth century, and probably mirrors an ingrazed dislike of Scots that is well-attested in the historical record. Scots peddlars 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 manorial 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 Cochran had had to resort to formal naturalization of 'foreigners' in a bid to break a chauvinistic stranglehold of the Manx working class 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 proteges 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 ascendency rather than the Gaelic majority. Glin (1731-), if in fact a toponym, may not be Irish, while de Connaught (1305) and de Aghy (1318) reflect the names of Anglo-Norman whose holders' Manx may still find place names like Drumgold (1763) probably does look to the Englishness of Louth, and the same general area within the Pale could well be indicated by Cappecke (1661) which goes back to a minor toponym of the same genre as Scots Tulloch. Already suggested in this note is the possibility that the odd toponym in origin French (e.g. Nugent and Toin) or Scots (e.g. Boyd and Irving) may have reached Man by way or Ireland, but, as with the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, very different Gaelic practice in naming means that any thorough study of Ireland's contribution to Manx names 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 etymological 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 Coidelic 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 Hallwell (1536) in Lancashire which historically is far more likely than Holywell in Flintshire to have furnished the Stanley of a well-documented Constable for the key fortress of Peck. Only Penrice (1813) seems incontrovertibly Welsh.

There falls now to be considered a sizeable group of toponymic surnames which are of English origin but relate to quite minor feoffe or tenants for this larger case. The 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 (1575), Ashe (1808), Ashfeld (1822), Backhouse (1829), Baye (1514), Birkend (1541), Blackmore (1603-), Blackstock (1752), Blakeway (1818), Bond (1522), Birch (1764) - names with orier spellings Braig (1514) and Breidg (1580) may be non-toponymic - Briggs (1772), Broadhead (1809), Brookbank (1766), Brooks (1698), Bush (1748), Bydaczere (1408), Chambers (1817), Chafftield (1767), Clives (1825), Clowes (1727), Cor (1727), Cragg (1510), Crabane (1829), Cratchpole (1659), Cross (1495), Crossed (1683), Dale (1692-), Dedw (1815), Dolloway (1767), Dalil (1733), unless Fr d'Aylet? (1771), Pell (1731), Penn (1792), Perlong (1826), Field (1778-), Fielding (1816), Green (1601), Greenwood (s.), Grined (1804), Grover (1815), Hall (1652), Hayes (1651), Heaslop (1812), Hill (1655-), Holt (1510-), Lake (1496-), Lynch (1789, but possibly the Ait non-toponym?), Lyst (1515), Mead (1727), Michelburn (1866), Mills (1659), Nash (1719-), Nokes (1830), Peake (1699), Perry (1786-), Pike (1693), Place (1700, but perhaps Fr de Placy), R(e(g)g(s)) (1770-), Sheard (1811), Shortridge (1793-), Spilney (1771), Stetch (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 at least eleven of these toponyms are well known and/or important to the history of the families to which they are related. The list available to Kneen in a context earlier than the middle of the eighteenth 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 the current study or so before Revestment it became increasingly difficult to recognize a marked Lancastrian bias for the English toponymics making their first appearance in the Manx records to which Kneen acceded.

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 mono- or bilingual, 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 local archives between the Dissolution and the sixteenth century. The Castles of Castle (1572) and of Cockfield (1651). Between that event and Revestment (1765) some thirty of these minor toponymics 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 royalties, but still until the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century the toponymics noted by Kneen but not truly archive exhibited a distinctive character of their own. 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 'victors' haven', at least after 1814, Man, and more particularly Douglas, had begun to offer attractions to the economically minded gentry, 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 topographic rather than socio-economic. The steampacket and the railways were opening up Man to a new public drawn from a much wider spectrum, geographically 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 diacritical, 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 fail to be escaped - Cavendish (1821-) is in fact, as was shown by Kneen, an English equivalent of an Irish name (+ mac Quirtam from ON Sverregrj) through confusion with curieig, while Keeten (1822) if from At Keating in its Uíonáin 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 be misleading. In accordance with this line of argument, therefore, the English toponymics 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 EPS 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
HIDDLESTON 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 Montacute (the name is of course a Latinization of a name ultimately French by way of Somerset) short-lived dynasts.

1405 - 1540

Zone A
A: TACAR La, Alcar (1510): ASHTON La, Ashton (1448-): AUHTON La, Ashton (1510-): BAILLY La, Billy (1515-): BIRCH La, Burch (1510-): BLACKBURN La, Blackburn (1526-): BRADLEY La, Bradley (1532-): BRADSHAW La, Bradshaw (1514-): BRECK La, Brech (1510): BRIG La, Brigg (1514) - a postulated lost village in Rosendale: BURSCOUGH La, Burscogh (1510): CALDECOTE Chs, Calcote (1504-): CARR La, Carre (1510-): CATTERALL La, Catterall (1510): CLEATOR Cu, Cleter (1510-): CLEG La, Clog (1405): COATES La, Cote (1428-): COLTON La, Colton (1428): COPELAND Cu, Cowpeland (1510-): CROSSLEY La, Crosby (1510-): DAVENPORT CH, Danport (1505-): DUTTON La, Dutton (1490): FAZAKERLEY La, Fasakerley (1518): FRIZINGTON Cu, Frysington (1511): HACKING La, Haking (1417): HALE La, Hale (1522-): HALLIWELL La, Haleywell (1536): HALSALL La, Halsall (1505-): HeKESHTH La, Hekeith (1505): HOLCROFT La, Holcroft (1417): INCE La, Ince (1514): KENT (R.) La, Kent (1510): LATHAM La, Latham (1510): LEWISWAITE La, (lost village in Furness), Lethwaitte (1448-): LITHERLAND La, Litherland (1405-): MARSDEN La, Marsden (1510-): MARTON La, Matton (1511): OUGHTRINGSTON Ch, Ughtynton (1510):

Zone B
A: SKYWYN Av, Aystroph (1510-): BYRAM YW, Byron (1428-): COTTINGHAM YE, Cotynghin (1510-): HOOG HILL St, Hogeill (1510): NIEGHLY YW, Nickley (1517-): SHERBURN YW, Shirburne (1522): STANLEY Db, Stanley (1405-): WHITMORE St, Whitemore (1405).

Zone C
BIRMINGHAM Wa, Birmyengham (1515): COBHAM K, Cobham (1446-): GLOUCESTER CI, 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 temporalities 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 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-venered Caelic population may hold the key to the elucidation of the mystery still enshrining 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, Barrow (1575-): BILLINGE La, Billing (1611): BOOTLE La, Bootle (1611): BRISCE Cu, Briscoe (1607-): BROUGHTON La, Broughton (1644-): CLITHEROE La, Clíderoe (1515): DEAN La, Deane - unlikely as an Englishing of Manx mac Joghene - (1575): GRIMSHAW La, Grymeshaw (1607): HARTLEY We, Hartley (1510-): HIGHAM La, Higham (1611): HINDLEY La, Hindley (1515-): LANGTREE La, Langtire (1611): LECKE La, Leake (1607-): MILBURN We, Milburne (1650): RIGBY La, Rigby (1561): LADDALE La, Latchdaly (1575): SANKEY La, Sankey (1667-): SCARISBRICK La, Scarisbreek (1580-): SEDDON La, Seddon - lost village (1580-): SHAW La, Shawe (1575-):
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STOCKPORT Ch, Stophord (1561) - TARBOCK La, Tarboke (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, Henton (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 Mir Beaston (1643) - SIBTHORPE N, Sibthorp (1643) - WHETSTONE La, Whitsmans (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 Stannleys still were looking to their own English tenantry when seeking non-Gaelic 'colonists' to garrison their Manx lordship.

1651-1764

ZONE A AINSDALE La, Ansdel (1662) - ASPINWALL La, Aspinall (1687) - ATHERTON La, Atherton (1703) - BADDILEY Ch, Badeley (1659) - BARTON La, Barton (1742) - BICKERSTAFFE La, Bickerstaff (1741) - BIKERTT La, Birkett (1653) - BRADFORD La, Bradford (1715) - BRANHTHWEITE Cu, Brathwart (1726) - BRANHTHWEITE Cu, Branthwaite (1764) - BRINDLE La, Brindle (1693) - BULKLEY Ch, Bulkeley (1761) - COLEY La, Copley (1669) - CORNEY Cu, Cornah (1722) - COTTON Cu, Cotton (1725) - CRANFORD La, Cranford (1762) - CREWE Ch, Crewe (1673) - DALTON La, Dalton (1683) - DENTON La, Denton (1748) - DERRY La, Darby (1727) - DOUGLAS (R.) La, Douglas (1669) - ETCHELLS La, Etchells (1659) - FLEETWOOD La, Pletwood - not the post-1836 town but a lost village - (1713) - GREENHALGH La, Greenhalgh (1652) - HAMPTON Ch, Hanton (1669) - HELSBY Ch, Helsby (1659) - HEYWOOD La, Heywood (1682) - HOLDEN La, Houlding (1663) - HOLLAND La, Halland (1659) - HOLLINGWORTH Ch, Hallingworth (1659) - HOLME(S) La, Holme (1713) - HORTON Ch, Horton (1726) - HOUGHTON La, Haughton (1675) - HULME La, Hume (1753) - HYDE Ch, Hyde (1710) - KENDAL We, Kendal (1718) - KNIFE We, Knife (1702) - LAMPLUGH Cu, Lamplough (1674) - LIVESAY La, Livesey (1725) - MIDDLETON La, Middleton (1665) - NEWTON La, Newton (1723) - OLDHAM La, Oldham (1715) - POOLE (GREEN) Ch, Poole (1703) - POSTLETHWAITE Cu, Postlethwaite (1759) - Poynton Ch, Poinston (1737) - PRENTON La, Preston (1659) - RAVENSCROFT Ch, Ravenscroft (1645) - REDDESO La, Reddish (1716) - RIMATE La, Rimmington (1720) - ROSTHERNE Ch, Roseburn (1757) - ROWTON La, Rowton (1765) - SANDFORD We, Sandford (1759) - SCHOLEFIELD La, Schofield (1758) - SEATON Cu, Seton (1743) - SENHOUSE Cu, Senhouse (1746) - SHARPLES La, Sharples (1652) - SINGLETON La, Singleton (1701) - SKELTON Cu, Skelton (1669) - STAKE POOL La, Stapole (1733) - STATION La, Sutton (1729) - THORNTON La, Thornton (1748) - THORP La, Thorpe (1661) - TOPPINGS La, Topping (1733) - TURTON La, Turton (1749) - TWEMLOW Ch, Twemley (1762) - WARBURTON Ch, Warbuton (1663) - WHALLEY La, Walley (1658) - WHITEFIELD La, Whitefield (1715) - WISTANLEY La, Witseney (1733) - WITTON La, Witton (1729) - WOLFENDEN La, Wolfenden (1693).

ZONE B BATTERSBY YN, Battersby (1667) - BONEHILL St, Bunei (1730) - BROOKFIELD Db, Brickfield (1669) - CALVERLEY YW, Calverley (1659) - COULTHURST YW, Colthurst (1797) - ELSMERE Sa, Eismore (1706) - FENWICK YW, Fenwick (1731) - GUNSTONE St, Gunston (1662) - HARLEY LW, Harley (1663) - HAWTHORNE Df, Hawthorne (1660) - HEADLEY YW, Hedeley (1659) - HENSHAW Nb, Henshaw (1715) - INGSLEY YW, Inglesby (1693) - LEBURN YN, Laburn (1577) - LIVERSEDGE YW, Liversedge (1718) - PICKERING YN, Pickering (1683) - PICKERSGILL YW, Pickersgill (1726) - RENSHAW Db, Rensha (1685) - REY GILL YN, Reyell (1735) - RICHMOND YN, Richmond (1749) - ROTHWELL YW, Rothwell (1655) - RUDYARD St, Riddyard (1738) - STONE St, Stone (1751) - UNDERWOOD Db, Underwood (1762) - URE HEAD YN, Orefhead (1659) - WALKINGTON YE, Walkington (1700) - WANSFORD YE, Wandesford (1758).

ZONE C BARKBY Le, Barkby (1748) - BERKELEY Gl, Berkley (1750) - BONTYHN Co, Bonnyton (1746) - BRAMWELL So, Bramwell (1731) - BRIDGATER So, Bridgater (1752) - BRUTON Sa, Bruton (1720) - CALTHORPF Nf, Calthorp (1682) - CHUDLEIGH D, Chudleigh (1727) - CLINTON Nh, Clinton (1756) - HALSTEAD Le, Halstead (1667) - SEALWELL Nh, Seuell (1661) - SLAUGHTER Gl, Slaughter (1659) - WITHAM Li, Watham (1747).

The tally of 'new' English toponymic surnames, i.e. of those recorded by Kean 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 Humes, 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 litteral that look across to Man. Another 27 toponymic surnames can be located in the six counties which match 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 Hatheron are sufficient reminder that the Cromptonian 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 AIBA, Cu, Airc (1799) - ALDERSCUEUGH Cu, Eldershaw (1801) - APPLEBY We, Appleby (1793) - APPLETON La, Appleton (1814) - ARDEN Ch,
Of 11 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Names</th>
<th>Zone A</th>
<th>Zone B</th>
<th>Zone C</th>
<th>Lancs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1405</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1405 - 1540</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1541 - 1650</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1651 - 1764</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1765 - 1830</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1405 - 1540</th>
<th>1541 - 1650</th>
<th>1651 - 1764</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 attainted English, 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 Beurrenstown was in each and every case a 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 'foreigners' 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 monoglot 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. C. Moodie and E. Goodwin), A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect, London, 1924, and runs:

An examination of the Dr Wright's English Dialect Dictionary plainly shows that the Anglo-Manx dialect has very close affinity with the dialect of the 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 must it 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, and its influence is so strong in some patients to which Irish-Gaelic has had on the English spoken in Ireland, that it is in the matter of voice inflexion that the old Celtic Manx language has left its deepest and most permanent impression. This characteristic inflexion, 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 lists since Koen (or his copyist) omitted it on a critical date. The source cited, however, precludes any earlier than 1730, so that it may serve to counter-balance the琉璃 (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 ascendency 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 Koen. For example, an almost incredible omission from his pages is Mawddley, the name of a Lancastrian village now all but removed from Knowley and Lathom, and the surname of one of the eighteenth-century Stanley lieutenant-governors. Since, however, Koen 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 Koen'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 English 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 Celling of Birmingham, the doyen 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 Koen'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 Assidestiones ('Setting Book') listings of early sixteenth-century tenancies have been brought back from 1511 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:

- 'Ansde' = AINSDALE La
- 'Ayscroft' = AYSGARTH YN
- 'Birkby' = BARKBY Le
- 'Bathem' = BEETHAM We
- 'Blakewy' = BLAKEWY GI
- 'Blaikway' = minor toponym
- 'Booth' = BOOTH La
- 'Brodbury' = BRADBURY Du
- 'Braithwaite' = BRAITHWAITE Cu
- 'Bramwell' = BRAMWELL So
- 'Brandthwaite' = BRANDTHWAITE Cu
- 'Bridgewater' = BRIDGWATER So
- 'Broadrent' = minor toponym
- 'Brodley' = BRODLEY La
- 'Brockbank' = minor toponym
BROOKFIELD Db
BROOMHEAD YW
BUCKLEY La
BULKELEY Ch
'Bunel' * BONEHILL St
BUSHBY Le
CALTHORP Ni
CARRINGTON Ch
CHATFIELD - minor toponym
'Chursley' * KEARSLEY La
CLAYWORTH D
COQUHURST YW
COPE La
CRANFORD La
CRATHPLACE - minor toponym
CRESWELL Db
CROSSHEAD - minor toponym
DEAN La
DEDWITH - minor toponym
DIGBY Li
DIMSDALE St
DRIFFIELD YE
DUGDALE La
'Elderwoman' * ALDERSCHEUGH Cu
'Elsemore' * ELLESMERE Sa
GRISBROOK - minor toponym
HANBY Li
'Hasedine' * HASLEDEN Du
HENSHAW Nb
'Hilesleigh' * HILLSLEY Gl
HOLCROFT La
(de) HUNTERCOMBE O
INGHAM Li
ISDALE Scotland
ISHERWOOD La
KEETEN - non-toponymic
KERSHAW La
KING(S)COMBE Do
'Lamburn' * LEYBURN YN
LITTLETON Ch

LIVERSEDGE YW
LIVESLEY La
LOCKWOOD YW
LONERIDGE La
MAGWICK - unidentified
MARTINDALE YW
'Memhurst' YW on R. Mint?
MOOREHEAD YW
NORMANSHEM - unidentified
'Oldfield' * ALDFIELD YW
ORKESBY YW
PADLEY Db
POYNTON Ch
'Pugmore' * POGMOOR YW
'Racebeck' * RAISBECK Cu
'Ratchdyll' * ROCHDALE La
RAVENScroft Ch
'Rippingham' * RIPLINGHAM YW
'Roscow' * ROSCOE La
RUTHERFORD Scotland
SEDDON La
SENHOUSE Cu
SEWELL Nth
'Smeaton' * SMATON LN
STACKPOLE La
'Stockford' * STOCKPORT YW
'Stopforth'
'Stockleigh' * STOCKLEY Du
'Thorne' * THONGSLEY D
'Thorndale' * THORNTHWAITE La
'Twameley' * TWEMLOW Ch
'Wandesford' * WANSFORD YE
WELDON Db
'Whinrowe' * WHINNERAY Cu
WHITSDONN - unidentified
WINDFIELD - minor toponym
WOOLAM La
WORSLEY La
'Wyndham' * WYMONDHAM Ni

'Colwell' * COLWELL Nb
'Cornish' * CORNEY Cu
COTTON Ch
CRAWLEY Nb
'Damport' * DAVENPORT Ch
DOUGLAS La (R.)
DUFFIELD Db
ETCHELLS La
FENWICK YW
HADDEN - Scotland
'Haking' * HACKING La
'Halleywell' * HALLIWELL La
HALSTEAD Le
HAMPTON Ch
HARLEY YW
HARTLEY We
'Hawthorne' Du
'Haslam' * HASLAM La
HIGHAM La
HOLLAND La
HOLLINGWORTH La
HORN Ru
HORTON Ch

HUNTON YN (under 'Hampton')
INCE La
KENT (R.)
KNIFE We
LAWTON Ch
PICKERSGILL YW
PLASKET Cu
REDHILL La
RENSHAW Db
RULE St
'Salibury' * SALISBURY La
SANDFORD We
SHELEY YW
SINGLETON La
SLADE La
'Snade' * SNEYD St
SOMMERVILLE - France
'Stanhope' * STAINFORTH YW
STONE St
'Ughton' * OUGHTINGTON Ch
'Weavell' - 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 Golby 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, Magwick, Normansham, Tatlock/Tetlow, and Whitesidton. 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 Northmonson, a fourteenth-century La surname.

APPENDIX B

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

APPLETON Ch
ARKERLE - Scotland
'Breck' * BREEK Ch
'Breckhouse'
'Bracken' * BRADFORD La
'Charlton' * CHARLTON Nb
'Colton' - BRADLEY La

'Hunter' YN (under 'Hampton')
INCE La
KENT (R.)
KNIFE We
LAWTON Ch
PICKERSGILL YW
PLASKETCu
REDHILL La
RENSHAW Db
RULE St
'Salibury' * SALISBURY La
SANDFORD We
SHELEY YW
SINGLETON La
SLADE La
'Snade' * SNEYD St
SOMMERVILLE - France
'Stanhope' * STAINFORTH YW
STONE St
'Ughton' * OUGHTINGTON Ch
'Weavell' - France
WITTON La
WOLFENDEN La

... * * *

ED...
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 toponymy 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, Ash, Backhouse, Brockbank, Brooks, Chambers, Chattfield, Clives, Cowes, 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 (1813), has been excluded altogether since Kneen's opinion that it was a Latin translation of Brook (Mens 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 toponographical 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 with 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 (FN Ch II, 260) deviate from medial "g" to "t", and what with the unexplained intrusive "r" in the surname it seemed wise either to leave Tittorn in Zone A or transfer it to Zone C. There being no certainty that the name was toponymic in origin, the best course was to delete it altogether. A second instance is Layfield (1827), which Professor Dolley deleted 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. Thongley (1777), attributed to Thongleigh D, had by an oversight been placed in Zone B instead of Zone C. Darby (1727) was identified as Derby D, but the 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 cited in the text 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 Sewall Nth is only one of several possibilities). Further uncertainties arise with names like Banks (1603), Carré (1511), Halle (1522), Twate (1580), Whittams (1575), Underwood (1762), Hooke (1821), Moorhead (1790), and Slade (1814), all of which might be from minor topographical features rather than from the places specified in the root. 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 place 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, Matto (1511) from Marton, Aislake (1797) from Aynesley, Varley (1830) from Farley Ds. 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 Matto 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 Varley to Varley, it is a somewhat unexpected occurrence outside the eastern 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 Cornus 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. 194) derives the La surname from Dugdale St. Skillincorn (1511) was the name of a landowning family in La from the fifteenth century onwards when it occurs as de Skillincorne, 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 surname's place-names must be derived from a place-name is in doubt, though they have not been removed from the lists for Zone A. One of the trickiest identifications is that of Windraw (1522), which Professor Dolley attributes to the well-known Erk 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, while later than that of La from the early thirteenth century onwards (McKinley p. 119). Names of minor settlement responsibilities are the highest proportion of locative surnames in La (McKinley
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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 under the conditions 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.