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THE PLACE-NAMES OF LANCASHIRE
THE

PLACE-NAMES OF LANCASHIRE

By

EILERT EKWALL, Ph.D.

Professor of English in the University of Lund

1922

Manchester At the University Press
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**PREFACE**

This book has been some twelve years in making. By the time Professor Wyld's book on Lancashire place-names appeared it had made good progress; in fact, the material collected was on the whole fuller than his. My first thought, when I found I had been forestalled, was to drop the subject altogether. On further reflection it seemed to me, however, that certain aspects of the large subject might repay further study, and finally I decided to go on with my original plan, which included a full study of Lancashire place-names. The publication of Mr. Sephton's book two years later again caused some hesitation, but did not discourage me from going on.

The book would probably have been published long ago had it not been for the war, which temporarily prevented the carrying out of a long-cherished project of going to Lancashire in order to form a personal acquaintance with the topography of the district. It was not until the summer of 1920 that this plan could at last be executed. I then spent over two months in various parts of the county, and in 1921 I had the opportunity of spending a few more weeks there. The time at my disposal did not permit an equally full study of the whole district. Naturally I gave rather more time to the north than to the industrialized south.

It remains to acknowledge gratefully assistance received from various quarters. I have to thank the Manchester University Press Committee and the Council of the Chetham Society for undertaking the publication. I thank Professor W. J. Sedgefield for his good offices in the negotiations for the publication. I understand that I owe special thanks to Professor James Tait for using his weighty influence both on the Press Committee and in the Chetham Society. I have also had the privilege of discussing various questions with Professor Tait, who has read a proof and offered numerous valuable suggestions. It need hardly be said that the criticism and advice of a scholar like Professor Tait, whose knowledge of Lancashire and its history is unrivalled, has been an inestimable advantage.

I thank Mr. W. G. Collingwood for important information and many instructive talks, from which I have learnt far more than he would perhaps admit. Dr. William Farrer, from whose publications I have derived perhaps the greater part of the material, has given valuable advice and otherwise shown interest in the work.

Special thanks are due to the numerous helpers, mostly unknown, who with unfailing courtesy have answered questions concerning local pronunciation and topography. The greatest debt of gratitude in this respect I owe to Mr. Sam Dixon, of Edgend, Nelson.

My wife has given inestimable help in collecting the material, in preparing the manuscript for the press, and in reading the proofs.

EILERT EKWALL

LUND, March 1922
§1. SOURCES OF EARLY AND DIALECT FORMS

AP: *Placitorum ... abbreviatio*, Ric. I.—Ed. II. Record Com. 1811.
BF: *The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill, reformed from the earliest MSS.* I. Rolls Ser. 1920. [Contains among other things the important Great Inquest of 1212, printed in translation in Li i, pp. 1-114.]
Cal. Sc.: *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*. Edinburgh, 1881 ff.
CC: *The Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey*. Chetham Soc. New Ser. xxxviii, etc. [The chartulary was compiled in 1267-8.]
Ch: *Early Lancashire charters*. See LPR.
CR: "*Calendar of Rolls of the Chancery of the County Palatine.*" *Deputy Keeper's Reports* xxxii. app. i, 331-65; xxxiii. app. i, 1-42.
CS: *The Publications of the Chetham Society*. Manchester, 1844, etc. (New Ser. 1882, etc. = CSNS).
CW: *Index to the Wills at Chester*, 1545-1620. Record Soc. ii.
DB: *Domesday Book*. London, 1783-1816. [Compiled in 1086.]

1 References to volume and page of works quoted are, as a rule, given only in the case of sources wanting a full or reliable index.

A simplified mode of dating has been adopted where a document is stated to belong to such and such a year of the reign of a king or queen. Instead of 1203-4 (= 6 John), and the like, the later year (1204, etc.) is used, unless there is (to my knowledge) definite proof that the document belongs to the earlier year. This has no doubt led to some inconsistency, which it is hoped will do no practical harm.
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Burghley 1590. See i.
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### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>a.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. F.</td>
<td>Anglo-French</td>
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<td>Am.</td>
<td>Amounderness hundred</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. N.</td>
<td>Anglo-Norman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bl.</td>
<td>Blackburn hundred</td>
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<td>Bret.</td>
<td>Breton</td>
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<td>Brit.</td>
<td>British</td>
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<td>Corn.</td>
<td>Cornish</td>
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<td>Dan.</td>
<td>Danish</td>
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<td>De.</td>
<td>West Derby hundred</td>
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<td>Derby.</td>
<td>Derbyshire</td>
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<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>East(ern) or English</td>
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<td>E. Fris.</td>
<td>East Frisian</td>
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<td>el.</td>
<td>element</td>
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<tr>
<td>G.</td>
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<td>Gaelic</td>
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<td>Gaul.</td>
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<td>Germ.</td>
<td>Germanic</td>
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<td>h.</td>
<td>hamlet</td>
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<td>Icel.</td>
<td>Icelandic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ir.</td>
<td>Irish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Le.</td>
<td>Leyland hundred</td>
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<td>L. G.</td>
<td>Low German</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lo.</td>
<td>Lonsdale hundred</td>
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<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>mile(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Bret.</td>
<td>Middle Breton</td>
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<td>M. Du.</td>
<td>Middle Dutch</td>
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<td>Middle English</td>
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<td>M. H. G.</td>
<td>Middle High German</td>
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<td>Mn. E.</td>
<td>Modern English</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. W.</td>
<td>Middle Welsh</td>
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<td>N.</td>
<td>North(ern)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NLo.</td>
<td>Lonsdale North of the Sands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norw.</td>
<td>Norwegian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. Bret.</td>
<td>Old Breton</td>
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<td>O. Corn.</td>
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<td>O. Dan.</td>
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<td>O. H. G.</td>
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<tr>
<td>O. Ir.</td>
<td>Old Irish</td>
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<tr>
<td>O. N.</td>
<td>Old Norse (= Old West Scandina-vian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. Sax.</td>
<td>Old Saxon</td>
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<tr>
<td>O. Swed.</td>
<td>Old Swedish</td>
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<tr>
<td>O. W.</td>
<td>Old Welsh</td>
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<tr>
<td>par.</td>
<td>parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p(ers). n.</td>
<td>personal name</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl. n.</td>
<td>place-name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prim. Celt.</td>
<td>Primitive Celtic</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>South(ern)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa.</td>
<td>Salford hundred</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sc.</td>
<td>Scottish, Scotland</td>
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<tr>
<td>SLo.</td>
<td>Lonsdale South of the Sands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swed.</td>
<td>Swedish</td>
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<tr>
<td>trib.</td>
<td>tributary</td>
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<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>West(ern)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. R.</td>
<td>The West Riding</td>
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</table>

A † at the end of an article indicates that the name is also dealt with in the Addenda page 263.

### PHONETIC SYMBOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>Northern a, as in man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[æ]</td>
<td>as in father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>Northern e, as in ale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>as in there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>&quot; see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>&quot; hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>&quot; law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>Northern o, as in no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>as in pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>&quot; do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>&quot; better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʌ]</td>
<td>&quot; out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ai]</td>
<td>&quot; die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[au]</td>
<td>&quot; now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ou]</td>
<td>a Northern diphthong, as in knoll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>front k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>front g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dz]</td>
<td>as in jet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td>&quot; chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>&quot; yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>&quot; sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>&quot; zeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>&quot; she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʒ]</td>
<td>&quot; pleasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>the voiceless velar fricative, as in G.ach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʒ]</td>
<td>the voiced velar fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>as in thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ð]</td>
<td>&quot; this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǝ</td>
<td>M.E. open ǝ, as in hēp (O.E. hēap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ो</td>
<td>M.E. close ो, as in kēpe (O.E. cēpan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǝ</td>
<td>M.E. open ǝ, as in lōde (O.E. lād)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ो</td>
<td>M.E. close ो, as in dō (O.E. yön)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The county of Lancaster developed out of the post-Conquest honour of Roger of Poitou, which comprised, besides other districts, practically the whole of the present Lancashire. The Lancashire portion consisted of at least two distinct parts: (1) the land between the Ribble and the Mersey, which in Domesday is placed under Cheshire, which belonged (with Cheshire) to the Midland diocese of Lichfield, and probably at one time formed part of Mercia; and (2) the districts north of the Ribble, which in Domesday are dealt with under Yorkshire and ecclesiastically belonged to York. But the districts north of the Ribble do not seem originally to have formed a political unit. At least we may safely distinguish the district between the Ribble and the Kent (Amounderness and Lonsdale proper), which seem to have been parts of Yorkshire, and Lonsdale North of the Sands, which belongs geographically to the Lake district and was very likely once connected with Cumberland politically. The latter district in the early Middle Ages (at least in 1291) belonged to the deanery of Copeland (Cumberland), while the former was divided between Kirkby Lonsdale and Amounderness deaneries.

If Lancashire thus consists of parts historically unconnected, there is also much variety in the topography of the different parts. We have reason to expect the place-nomenclature of such a district to show much variety. This is also the case. The Lancashire place-names consequently offer many interesting and difficult problems.

Previous Treatment of Lancashire Place-Names

Three monographs on Lancashire place-names have been published. Henry Harrison’s “Place-Names of the Liverpool District, 1898,” deals only with the names of South-West Lancashire.

H. C. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, “The Place-Names of Lancashire, 1911.” The chief author is Professor Wyld. This work aims at dealing etymologically with names found in early sources, and including (in Part II.) all those given in the one-inch Ordnance Survey Maps. This is a valuable contribution to English place-name study, but it is, in my opinion, open to a good deal of criticism. A few remarks on the book may be offered here.¹

The book is by no means complete. Many interesting names, and names of important places, are missing (at least in the first, etymological part). Here belong, for instance, the majority of names of rivers and hills. Of others may be mentioned at random Bacup, Barrow-in-Furness, Birkland Barrow, Cadley, Church, Eccles, Levenshulme, Roose, Sharples, Stennerley, Wycooler. On the

¹ Professor Wyld’s book was reviewed at some length by the present writer in Anglia-Belblatt xxiii. p. 177ff.; reference may here be made to the detailed criticism in the review. Critical remarks similar to those given there will be found in the reviews by Dr. Bradley in EHR xxvi. (1911), and by Björkman in Englische Studien xlv. p. 249ff.
other hand, some non-Lancashire names are included because they happen to be mentioned in Lancashire documents, as Angerby, Cromblebottom, Egger (river Ehen), Firbank, Winsterthwaite, and others.

The early sources have not been exhaustively excerpted. In numerous cases earlier examples than those given are to be found. Not rarely the forms adduced do not refer to the names under discussion. Examples will be found under Alderbarrow, Audley, Ayre (Eyre, 1271-2, is eyre "circuit"), Birchall (Birchenhalgh, 1295, is in Eccles, not in Manchester), Birtle, Blackstone Edge, Bowerham, Cockden, Goodber, Greeta, Pex Hill, Worsley, and others.

A good many names are not explained. Of etymologies suggested quite a number can not, in my opinion, be regarded as convincing. Sometimes sufficient regard has not been paid to the testimony of early forms. Sometimes the early material is insufficient. Further, Professor Wyld has deliberately omitted to make sure that the etymologies suggested suit the topographical conditions of the places they designate. "The book," he says, "is not concerned with the question whether the names fit the places to which they are attached, nor whether they ever did so" (Preface, p. viii). This has resulted in such explanations as "the marsh of Alta" for Altmarsh (on the river Alt), or "Kok's ham" for Cockerham (on the Cocker), or "the middle valley" for Mythop, though the place stands on a slight elevation in flat, marshy country. Professor Wyld has also overlooked the fact that the different parts of Lancashire show much variety as regards dialectal development. The etymologies of Scandinavian names, as pointed out by Björkman, are open to a good deal of criticism.

John Sephton's "Handbook of Lancashire Place-Names" appeared in 1913. Mr. Sephton evidently possessed intimate familiarity with Lancashire topography. He corrects several of the mistakes in Wyld's book. But his book has certain shortcomings. It gives very few early forms, in the case of some names none at all. While some etymologies testify to sound judgment, others show plainly that their author was not a trained etymologist. He derives the first element of Cuerdale from Germanic war, war, etc.; that of Grassendale from a personal name Geør, Ger; that of Bartle from a personal name Berchta; that of Edenfield from Gaelic eadanam, to mention some few obvious cases. Yet with its shortcomings Sephton's book is undoubtedly a valuable contribution.

The three monographs, in my opinion, by no means exhaust the difficult and interesting subject. A very great deal still remains to be done in the field of Lancashire place-names. On the other hand, it is evident that it is not necessary to deal with all names equally fully. Names that have already been on the whole satisfactorily explained may be dealt with briefly. I am, of course, not alluding here only to the three monographs mentioned, but also to the important contributions of other scholars, as Mr. Collingwood, who in "Thorstein of the Mere" (1895), and "The Report of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club," Vol. xi.
(1896), gives the correct explanation of many Scandinavian names in Furness,
and whose later publications contain many suggestions of great value; or Dr.
Harald Lindkvist, who in his important work on Scandinavian names in
England gives the final etymology of numerous Lancashire place-names of
Scandinavian origin; or Dr. Bradley, who in his various publications on place-
names (esp. his review of Wyld) has dealt with several Lancashire names.

Concerning the relation between the present study and its predecessors an
additional remark may be made. I have not as a rule considered it necessary
to subject to criticism etymologies suggested by previous workers but not
adopted by me. Nor have I deemed it obligatory always to point out that an
etymology given has already been suggested before. In the case of etymologies
practically self-evident in the light of the early material this would be meaning-
less. It is different with etymologies that do not immediately suggest them-
selves. In the case of such I often point out where I have first seen it suggested,
even if I had already found it independently. And, of course, I acknowledge
my indebtedness when I have actually adopted an etymology from a previous
investigator. I may be allowed to point out here that I had devoted a good deal
of time to the study of Lancashire place-names before the books of Wyld,
Sephton, and Lindkvist appeared.

**On the Plan and Scope of the Present Study**

The book aims at including (1) all names of parishes and townships; (2) of other
names such as are now or were till recently in use and have been found in early
sources, provided they offer sufficient interest; (3) of names now lost only such
as seem to be particularly interesting. Names not found in early sources are
generally omitted.

Practical considerations have rendered it impossible to give the whole of
the material. It has been necessary to make a selection. Of names falling under
heading (2) the leading principle has been to deal first of all with such as need
explanation and such as denote fairly important places. Names etymologically
more or less transparent are sometimes included because they are needed as
illustration of the types of names used in the district. Of course, names found in
medieval sources have been preferred to those found only from the 16th century
or later, but frequently names recorded comparatively late have been con-
sidered sufficiently important to be included. In many cases the late appearance
of names in the sources is due simply to the fact that the early material is scanty.
This is particularly the case with the Cartmel and part of the Furness districts.

The study is based on an examination of practically the whole of the early
material accessible in print. Of course, it is quite possible that I have overlooked
some sources. Of the early forms collected only a selection is included in the
material. I have as far as possible avoided giving examples already adduced
by previous investigators; this book and its predecessors will, therefore, to
INTRODUCTION

some extent supplement each other. Of course, when a different etymology is suggested, it has often been necessary to abandon this principle. And in several cases few early forms are on record. I have, of course, given preference to early forms found in original sources, but often the only ones available are those in the transcripts found in monastic chartularies or similar sources. Forms from late sources, e.g., from parish registers, have been adopted chiefly to illustrate dialectal sound-changes.

The aim is to offer not only a phonetically acceptable explanation of each name, but to determine as nearly as possible the exact etymology. The chief means at our disposal, besides a careful examination of the early material and a comparative study of the place-names of other districts, are the following two. The situation of a place often gives a clue to the etymology of its name. A study of the special features of the place-nomenclature of a district often gives valuable results. Thus the frequency of Scandinavian names varies from district to district; for a name found in a district where Scandinavian names are rare English origin is most probable, while Scandinavian origin is plausible in districts where undoubtedly Scandinavian names abound. To take an example, Rainford and Rainhill have probably an English first element, for in the neighbourhood Scandinavian names are extremely scarce. The nature of a first element may often be practically settled by an examination of the relative frequency with which different kinds of first elements (personal names, descriptive common nouns, etc.) are combined with a certain element. For instance, *ðun* has mostly a descriptive common noun, often a tree-name, as first element. It is, therefore, improbable that the common name Ashton should have as first theme the rare O.E. personal name *æsc*. Some English words are found to be practically always combined with English, some Scandinavian words practically always with Scandinavian first elements, while others frequently appear in hybrids.

Particularly helpful is, in my opinion, the light thrown on the etymology of place-names by a study of the topography of places. For this reason information concerning the situation of places will be given very frequently, and to

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1 In some works on place-names lately published forms not found in original sources are marked by an obelus or some such sign. I have considered the advisability of making a similar distinction between forms found in original sources and forms that are not. However, it is difficult to carry through such a distinction, as it is not always easy to determine if early documents are genuine or not. Besides, I think this distinction is of considerable practical importance only in the case of forms from O.E. charters, and hardly any Lancashire charters from O.E. time are extant. Obviously, forms found in transcripts (especially late ones) of original documents must be used with some caution, but on the whole I have the impression that scribes (for instance, those of monastic chartularies) at least attempted to render their originals faithfully.

Some of the most important sources of early forms of Lancashire place-names are monastic chartularies or similar collections, which mostly contain transcripts of documents, e.g., the early Lancashire Charters published by Dr. Farrer (Ch) and those referred to as CC, FC, LC. The forms quoted from these, unless the contrary is stated, are taken from transcripts, not from original documents.
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an extent unparalleled in earlier works on English place-names. In many cases the exact etymology cannot be established without such information. To take one example: the common element *den* (in Clayden, Denton) may be O.E. *denv* "valley," or *denn* "swine-pasture" (or in Denton, also O.E. *Dena* "of Danes"). If a place with such a name is found to be situated in a valley, we may be fairly sure that *den* is *denv* "valley." In other cases a topographical examination will contribute to a more exact knowledge of the meaning of place-name elements, as O.E. *æg, halh, hæfod, hop, hōh, twisla*. In the case of names given without reference to the situation of places (as Abram, Aldingham) information concerning topography is in itself unnecessary, but even in such cases a hint as to the situation may be useful.

For the purpose of finding out the situation of places I have made diligent use of maps, especially the Ordnance Survey six-inch and one-inch maps, and the valuable special maps found in the Victoria History of Lancaster. I have derived much help from the topographical descriptions found in the last-mentioned work. I have also had an opportunity of studying Lancashire topography on the spot during my visits to Lancashire in the summers of 1920 and 1921. I made it my object, in those visits, to acquire a general familiarity with the topography of the various parts of the county and to examine the situation of places whose names offer particular difficulties. At least in some cases such observations on the spot have, in my opinion, rendered a final etymology possible.

It should be added, however, that in the case of Lancashire place-names, which—with very few exceptions—are not recorded in O.E. forms, a final etymology can frequently not be attained. It is often necessary to give two or more alternative explanations, and in some cases no definite suggestion can be made.

The purpose of the present study is not exclusively etymological. It aims at giving a fairly accurate idea of the distribution of name-types and names of various provenance, and thereby at throwing light on the early history of the county, the distribution of the population, the survival of a Celtic element, the Scandinavian immigration, etc. Questions of this kind are discussed chiefly in the Summary.

In the material names are given in a geographical arrangement. This has the disadvantage that it will be necessary to consult the Index to find a name required. On the other hand, the arrangement chosen, which agrees on the whole with that usual in works on Scandinavian place-names, seems to me to have obvious advantages. It is, in my opinion, unsatisfactory to deal with the Lancashire place-names, which show so much variety from an etymological point of view, in an alphabetical order. To judge of many etymologies, it is of importance to be able to find out the general characteristics of the place-nomenclature of the neighbourhood. With the arrangement adopted the material forms a convenient basis for the discussions and conclusions in the
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Summary. Information on topography can be given much more briefly and yet much more satisfactorily. The space saved under this head makes up for the extra space involved by the Index.

Under each hundred the names of rivers, hills, and lakes are given first. The division into parishes, as being in most cases convenient and practical, is, on the whole, followed, though not rigidly. Under each township names of minor places are usually arranged alphabetically. Salford and Blackburn hundreds, which have a practically English place-nomenclature, are placed first. Then follow West Derby, Leyland, Amounderness, and Lonsdale hundreds. The general idea has been to proceed from South to North; yet in the case of Blackburn hundred, where the oldest settlements seem to be in the Northern part, a somewhat different plan is followed.

A numeral is placed before the name of each township, an exception being made only in the case of one-township parishes. This numeral, which is really added for practical purposes, to show where one township ends and another begins, at the same time indicates that the place is a township, and consequently in the majority of cases an old manor and vill. If names denote villages or hamlets a statement to the effect (v., h.) is added. Where no indication as to the status of a place is given it may generally be taken for granted that the name designates an estate or a farm.

In this place I feel it a duty to acknowledge gratefully the inestimable help I have derived from that storehouse of information on Lancashire topography and history, the Victoria History of the County of Lancaster, not only in the arrangement of the material, but in many other directions. It is a pleasure to testify to the wealth of its material, the accuracy of its information, and the intimate familiarity with Lancashire history and topography evidenced by its authors.

In the course of my visits to Lancashire I have made it my object also to collect local pronunciations of place-names. I want to point out here that the material collected is somewhat uneven. Some of the forms given represent the educated local rather than the "broad" Lancashire pronunciation. The forms do not claim to render nice shades of pronunciation. To get exactly correct forms it would be necessary to study the various Lancashire dialects carefully. Sometimes the forms will be found to differ from those recorded by Ellis. One important reason for this is, I believe, that the pronunciation of names has changed in the last few decades.

The forms given lay no claim to being the only ones used. They are those

1 Lancashire, from early mediæval times, has been divided into six hundreds: Salford, Blackburn, West Derby, Leyland, Amounderness, Lonsdale. At the time of the Conquest a slightly different division was recognized.

The division at present recognized is, on the whole, followed in this book. The only deviation of any importance is the following: Under Amounderness I deal also with the parts belonging to it at the time of the Conquest, but later joined to Blackburn and Lonsdale respectively. The reason is that these parts belong geographically to Amounderness, this being originally the district between the Ribble and the Cocker.
I have heard myself from inhabitants of the places or persons living in the neighbourhood, during my rambles or journeys through the county. In this field much remains to be done. After all, I do not think the testimony of the modern pronunciation is, on the whole, of very great value for etymological purposes. At any rate, my own experience has brought me to the conviction that place-names are influenced to a greater extent than other words by spelling-pronunciation. Seventeenth- or eighteenth-century spellings and forms from dialect-literature of the last century are really more valuable as evidence of the genuine local pronunciation than the modern spoken forms. At the same time I readily admit that sometimes the modern forms are of value for etymological purposes, and they have considerable intrinsic interest.

**Elements Found in Lancashire Place-Names**

This section deals chiefly with the elements found as the second part of place-names. Those occurring as the first part are, as a rule, easily found by the help of the Index at the end of the book. It is meant as a supplement to the Index, giving information as to the frequency and distribution of the various elements. Absolute completeness is aimed at only as regards the more important elements, such as -ham, -ten, -worth, etc.

This section has been considered the best place for a discussion of the etymology and meaning of commonly occurring elements, and in the material references are frequently given to it.

In the case of more important elements a brief survey is given of the various kinds of first elements combined with them (personal names, descriptive common nouns, adjectives, etc.). It has also been considered important to point out if and to what extent elements occur in hybrid formations. It will be seen that hybrid formations in the case of most elements are by no means very common.

O.N. á “river, stream” : Greeta SLo, Brathay, perhaps Eea, Cunsey, Rauthey NLo.  
O.E. ðe “oak” : Shorrock Bl, Broad., Graveoak, Laffog, Mossock De, Harrock Le;  
Aighton Bl (Am), Aughton De, Akefrith SLo, Ogden Sa, Oglet De, etc.  
O.E. ȝæor, O.N. ȝacr “cultivated field.” The first el. is Scandinavian in Roe-, Stirz-, Tarnaer, perh. Barn-, Stanacre, Am. It is mostly English, being a common noun (Cliviger Bl, Linaacre, Shurlaeres, Waddicar De, Woodacre Am); or an adj. (Whitaker Bl, Renacres De).  
O.E. æérn “house” : Hordern Sa, Hardhorn Am.  
O.N. afnam : see Avenham Am.  
O.E. alor “alder” : Cobhouse, Lightollers Sa, WycoUer Bl; Ollerton Le, perhaps Allerton De.  
O.E. angel or O.N. ongull “hook” : see Ovangle SLo.  
O.E. “anger “pasture” or O.N. angr “bay” : Angram Bl, Angerton NLo.  
O.E. ȝeoc, O.N. ȝak “back” : see Bacup Bl, Backbarrow Lo.  
O.E. balg adj. (prob. in balgandun 704–9 BCS 123), M.E. balgh (bal; ber; Gaw.) “rounded; smooth” : Balladen Sa, Ballam Am. Cf. the lost name Balshaw (Spotland Sa) : de Balghschaeg 1296 Lacy C, de Balschagh 1311 LL. The same name formerly occurred in Ainsworth Sa (Balsahahe c 1200 CC) and Ditton De (de Balsagh 1246 LAR).  
M.E. banke < O.N. balke (< “banki), O.Dan. banke, “bank, ridge.” In Lanc. place-names banke mostly means “hill” : Roughbank, Windy Bank Sa, Pickup Bank, Yate Bank Bl, Dove Bank, Haws Bank, Speel Bank, Tottlebank (2) NLo. Another meaning is “sea-abore” or “bank of a river” : Halebank De, Kent’s Bank NLo, Bank Hall (various). The first el. of names in -bank is mostly English.  
O.E. hearo “grove” : Bare SLo, Barrow Bl, De, Longbarrow De.  
O.N. bekkir “brook” : Eller Beck De, Artlebeck, Cant Beck, Escow- Harterbeck SLo,
Grize-, Hole-, Roosebeck, etc., NLo. The first el. is mostly Scandinavian; it is a pers. n. in Artlebeck.

O.E. *bent "bent": Chequerbent Sa, Chowbent De.

O.E. *berht, O.N. *berht "hill." The greater part of the names seem to have a Scand. first el. and to be of Scand. origin: Firber Bl, Aigburth, Mossborough De, Birkladn Barrow, Cingle-, Scaleber SLo, Ella-, Hart-, How-, Latter-, Leg-, Quernbarrow NLo; cf. also Crossberg, Strutelberg (O.N. stritir "peak of a cap"), Southsteinberg (for South-) 1202 LF (Lo). Here perhaps belongs Habergham Bl.

O.E. beretun, berewie "barton" (see Barton Sa p. 38): Barton Sa, De, Am, perh. Pemberton De; Bowrick SLo.

M.E. biggin "dwelling-place; cottage." (from big "to build; to dwell") < O.N. byggia: Newbigging Am, NLo.

Early MnE. borwen, burian "cairn," see Burwains Bl.

O.N. bot "piece," see Laithbutts SLo.

O.N. böt "bottom" etc., see Botton SLo.

O.Dan. bop, O.N. büd "booth," Eng. dial. booth "a cow-house, a herdsman's hut" (Yks., Lanc.). Names in -booth are found chiefly in the hilly districts of Bl.: Goldshaw Booth, Haw-, Oozebooth, Higher, Lower Booths, etc., Bl; Dunnishbooth, Booths Hall Sa. The first el. is often English. The O.N. form büd is found only in Bl: Bouth (2), Rulbuth NLo.

O.E. *bopl, bold, bót "dwelling, house, palace": Bold De; Newbold Sa, Parbold Le; Bootle De, Fordbottle NLo. Bolton contains *bopl. Very likely O.E. *boplán had a special technical meaning; we may perhaps compare O.Swed. bolbyr "the village proper" in contradistinction to umargfur "outlying land" (Hellquist, Ortnamn på by, p. 19). On the different forms of the O.E. word (bopl, bold, bót) see Anglia-Beiblat, 28, p. 82 ff.

O.E. *bopm, botm "bottom," M.E. bothem, also "valley, dell," etc.: Oaken-, Rams-, Shilling-, Shipperbottom Sa.

O.N. brekka, Norw. dial. brekka f., brekk m. "slope, hill": Breck, Scarisbrick, Walton Breck, Warbreck De, Limbrick Le, Esprick, Larbrick, Mowbrick, Norbreck, Swarbrick, Warbreck Am, Brantbeck, Eden-, Inglebreck, Norbrick SLo, Sunbrick NLo. The first el. apparently is or may be Scandinavian in all cases. In Brownbrinks Bl a form without assimilation (O.N. brekk < *brinks) appears.

O.E. bróc "brook": Corn-, Cingle-, Ellenbrook, Gilda Brook, Gore Brook Sa, Glaze-, Holbrook, Tarbock De, Sid Brook, Warth Brook Le, Swill Brook Am, Lucy Brook, Rowton Brook, Tarnbrook SLo.

O.E. bróðu "brow," later "projecting edge of a cliff; a slope": Chantry Brow Sa, More Brow Le.

O.E. bróge, see Bruche De.

O.E. brycg "bridge": Bamber Bridge Bl, Tawdbridge De, Walmer Bridge Le, Dowbridge Am, Cowan Bridge SLo, Haybridge, Newby Bridge NLo.

O.E. burh "fortified place; town," etc. The exact meaning is often doubtful. It is sometimes "fort," as in Burrow SLo (2), Arbury De, cf. Tilberthwaite NLo; sometimes "borough," as in Floodborough NLo (first el. Scand.), Littleborough Sa, Newburgh De. A meaning "manor" is probable sometimes when the first el. is a pers. n., as Didsbury Sa, Duxbury Le, Bilsborrow Am. Other examples are: Pendlebury Sa, Sales-, Samlesbury Bl, Bury Sa, De, Burgh Le; Broughton Sa, Burscough De. On Burton see under Broughton Sa, p. 32.

O.E. *burh, M.E. borow "burrow": Badsberry Am, Musbury Sa; cf. Swineburyheuid c 1200 CC 342 (Forton).

O.E. burna "stream, brook": Burn Am, Black-, Chat-, Hyndburn Bl, Golborne De, Perburn Le, Cowburn Am, Hind-, Roeburn, Ludder Burn NLo.

O.E. byhht "bend": Sidebeck Bl.


1 The suggestion made in this article that the regular Northumbrian form was one with a long vowel is corroborated by the pronunciation [bu'ol, blind bu'ol] for Birthel, Blindbothel, Cumb.
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word is always combined with elements that are or may be Scandinavian. The first el. is mostly a common noun or a personal or national name. These names as a rule denote fairly important places.

O.E. byрг “cow-house”: Byrom De.

O.E. ceaster, ceaster “a city or walled town,” originally one that had been a Roman station: Man., Ribchester, Lancaster.

O.N. kelda “spring, well”: Calkeld, Kellet SLo, Trinkeld NLo.

O.N. kriarr “brushwood,” Norw. kjarr, kjarr “wet ground, esp. where brushwood grows; brushwood,” M.E. kerr. The meaning in Lanc. names seems to be “fen or bog, especially overgrown with bushes.” The first el. is often English, as in Dunscar Bl, Bescar, Hopeccarr De. Other examples: Hall Carr Bl, Altcar, Harker, Hoscar De, Riscar, Sower Carr Am, Holker NLo.

O.E. ciric “church”: Church Bl, Newchurch Bl, De.

O.N. kirkia “church”: Ormskirk De, Bradkirk Am. Cf. Kirkby, etc. To some extent kirk- may have supplanted O.E. ciric, as in Kirkham, Bradkirk Am. Kirk is, in my opinion, always a Scand. form; cf. Scandinavians, p. 48. That kirk is Scandinavian in names found S. of the Ribble is obvious, for here palatalization of O.E. e is very well evidenced (Childwall, Chorley, Church, Church, etc.). No certain examples either of palatalization or non-palatalization of O.E. e—before the are found N. of the Ribble, except in Bl N. of the Ribble (Chipping, Ribchester). But, in my opinion, palatalization of O.E. e must have taken place in all dialects before the, e.e, etc. and medially at least before ; this is proved by the fact that in the earliest M.E. Northern text words such as chide, chicken, child, cheap, cheek, wrecche, always have ch.

Examples such as Keswick, Wildwick are due to Scand. influence. Cf. Anglia-Beiblatt 30, 224, and Gevenich, Die englische Palatalisierung von k>ç im Lichte der englischen Ortsnamen (Halle 1918).

O.N. kleif “hill-side”: see Claife NLo.

O.E. clif “a cliff, especially on the sea shore,” M.E. clif, Mod. Engl. cliff also “a steep slope, a declivity, a hill.” The latter appears to be the usual meaning in Lanc. names; the sense “rock” seems certain in Radcliffe Sa. Other examples: Horncliffe, Rockcliffe, Stani-, Tonaccliffe Sa, Brierscliffe, Cuncliffe, Finiscliffe Bl, Ald., An., Oxcliffe SLo, Baycliff NLo. The first el. is French in Castercliff Bl, Scaitcliffe Sa, Bl. Rawcliffe Am has a Scand. first el.; the second may very well be O.N. klif (Swed. klif) “steep hill.”

O.E. clóh “a ravine or valley with steep sides, usually forming the bed of a stream”: Cowclog Sa, Deadwin Clough, Love Clough, Meer Clough, Sow Clough B1, Hawksclough De; cf. Cloughba, Swaintley Hill SLo.

M.E. clós (<O.F. clôs) “enclosure”: Filly Close, West Close Bl.

M.E. knot “a hill” from O.E. cnotta “knot” or O.N. knøtt “hill” (in place-names); cf. Scandinavians, p. 40; Knott End Bl, Blow Knott or Blawith Knott NLo (a hill).

O.E. opp “top, summit,” prob. also “hill”: Opp Am, Coppull Le, Pickup Bl (2), Cross Copp SLo.

O.E. cot n., cote f. “a small house, cottage”; M.E. cot, cote, also “a small erection for shelter, as for sheep.” Perhaps O.E. cot, like cot-if, also meant “a manor”; cf. Prescot. Examples: Ancoats Sa, Alkin,-Coldcoats, Huncoat Bl, Cottam Am. In NLo-cote usually means “a sheep-cote”; the source is here very likely O.N. kot “a hut,” common in Icel. names. The first el., except in Idlecote and possibly Hawcoat, seems to be a place-name: Billing-., Ireleth-, Roe., Waltoncote.

M.E. crag “rock” (Ir.-Gael. creg or Brit. crag1): Craggs Bl, Ellet Crag, Crag House SLo, Buckcrag, Groff Crag, Whelphead Crag NLo.

O.E. cranoc “crane”: Cranshaw De, Cronkshaw Bl.

O.E. croft “a piece of enclosed ground used for tillage or pasture; a small piece of arable land adjacent to: Age-, Massey-, Sowercroft Sa, Barcroft Bl, Croft, Flit-, Hol-, Martins-, Wolsforth De, Brimmicroft Le. The names denote comparatively small places.

O.Ir. cross (>O.N. kross, late O.E. cros) “cross”: Norcross Am, Askelscros SLo; cf. Crosby, etc. Engl. cross was probably adopted chiefly from Scand. kross.†

O.E. cumb “a deep hollow or valley”: Cowm, Holcombe Sa, pers. Compton Am.

O.E. dæl, O.N. dál “valley.” It is impossible to decide with certainty to what extent dæl in Lanc. names is English or Scandinavian. There is no reason to doubt that dæl was in

1 Cf. Förster, Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen (1921) p. 126f.
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living use in early O.E. time in dialects, and that names such as Rossendale, Rochdale, Dalton, Dallam may be English. On the other hand, names in -dale often have a Scand.
first el., as Skelmers-, Birk-, Kirkdale De, Ulvesdale Le, Blesdale Am, Grizedale Am, NLo,
Ewe Dale NLo; many names in -dale are no doubt Scandinavian. The first el. of names in
-dale is frequently a river-name, as Wyresdale Am, Lons-, Roeburndale SLo, perhaps Dunner-
dale NLo. Other names in -dale are: Ains-, Drummers-, Grassendale De, Oxendale Bl,
Chippingdale Bl (Am), Deepdale Am, Little-, Mallow-, Silverdale SLo, Lindal, Lin-, Yewdale
NLo.

O. E. demu "a vale, especially the deep, narrow, and wooded vale of a rivulet." This is
obviously the meaning of -den in Lanc. names. The el. is very common in Sa and Bl, but
rare in other hundreds: Cokerdene Le, Huntingdon and Ragden Bl (Am), Duxendale Am,
perh. Dudden NLo. The first el. of names in -den is as a rule of English origin; possible
exceptions are those of Ragden, Naden, Ravden. It is mostly a common noun, as in Buck-
burn-, Clay-, Dear-, Har森-, Mos-, Og-, Sladen Sa, Asp-, Baxen-, Cock-, Hen-, Mars-, Mus-
Stan-, Swin-, Trawden. It is a pers. n. in e.g. Bors-, Pigs-, Walsden Sa, Bottin, Hollanden,
Ogden Bi; an adj. in e.g. Balla-, Sudden Sa, Haeling-, Hol-, Warmden Bl; a river-name
perhaps in Spoden Sa, Cokerdene Le. Other examples: Al-, Chees-, Droylys-, Egbur-, Goo-
Pol-, Roo-, Todmor-, Walk-, Woolden Sa, Crib-, Knuz-, Sah-, Thurs-, Walver-, Wolfenden Bl,
Worden Le.

O. E. dé “ditch”: Ditchfield, Ditton De, Reddish Sa.

Eng. dial. dub “pool”: Arnside Dub SLo, St. Ellen Dub NLo.

O. E. düm “a hill,” later also “open expanse of elevated land”: Quarlon Sa, Billington,
Hameldon (3) Bl, Smithdown De, Downham Bl.

O. E. sa “river”: Mersey; Ewood Sa, Bl; perh. Eea NLo.

O. E. ecg “edge,” M.E., Mn. E. edge “the crest of a sharply pointed ridge; ridge, water-
shed; brink or verge,” also “a steep hill or hill-side” (EDD). In Lanc. place-names the
usual meaning seems to be “hill” or “ridge”: Blackstone Edge, Horseedge Sa, Revidge
Bl, etc. The meaning of -edge in Burnage, Burnedge Sa, Brownedge Bl, is not quite clear.
In Agecroft Sa, Edgeworth Sa, Egton Lo, the pers. n. Eoga is also a possible source.

O. E. edisc “pasture”: Standish Le.

O. E. efes “edge of a wood,” later also “brow of a hill”: Kaves Le, Am, Wicheves Sa,
Habergam Kaves, Oakeneaves Bl.

O. E. ēg, O.N. ey “island”: Barrow, Foulshead, Foulney, Roe, Walney NLo, all very
likely Scandinavian. O. E. ēg must also, like Mn. dial. ea, have meant “a well-watered
piece of land; a meadow or piece of ground near a river partly surrounded by water”
(e.g., in Cerotææ ei Bede, now Chertsey). This may be the meaning of the second el. of
Cockney, Hardy Sa, Livesey Bl, Finney Le, Corner (Row) Am, Bardsea NLo; cf. also
Edenfield Sa. As a field-name Eea (Ees) is common in Lanc.

O.N. sik “oak”: Aigburth De.

O.N. eng “meadow”: Mickering De.

M. E. ergh, argh “a shieling: a (hill) pasture; a hut on a pasture” from O.N. erg<M.Ir.
airge “a herd of cattle, dairy,” Ir. airígh “a shieling,” Gael. airídh “a shieling, hill pasture,”
etc. Cf. Scandinavians, p. 74ff. In Lancashire the el. is found chiefly N. of the Ribble.
It occurs alone in Arkholme SLo, perh. Little Arrow NLo. In compounds the first part is as
a rule undoubtedly a Scand. or Ir. pers. n. (as in Anglezark Sa, Goosnargh, Grimsargh, Kella-
mergh, ? Dandy Birks Am, Scamblor SLo), or a common noun that at least may be Scandi-
navian (Dockor, Salter, Winder (2) SLo, Stewnor, Winder NLo). Other examples or possible
examples are: Sholver Sa, Aynesarh, Bretargh De, Barker, Medlar Am, Orter SLo,
Bethecar, Biggar, Houker Hall, Roisawter, Torver NLo. Some names in -ergh found in
early sources are now lost; cf. Scandinavians, p. 74ff.

O. E. erp “ploughed land”: Hengarthe De.

O.N. eyrr “gravel bank”: see Salt Ayre SLo.

O. E. faeling “fallow land” (cf. babban falinge 849 BCS 455): Falinge Sa, Falling De,
perh. Haresfinch De. Here belongs Ealing (Staffs.): Olda Falinge a 1200 (Duignan).

O. E. fer “passage”: Hollinfare Sa. Some examples quoted by Jellinghaus, Anglia XX,
p. 281 (as O.E. Lagesfar, Walkfare), may belong here.

O.E., O.N. fall: Woodfall De, Threlfall Am, Sinkfall NLo. The meaning in the last two
is probably “place where trees have been felled; forest-clearing,” a sense found in Norw.
dialects and in English names such as Horsfal, Mickiefal, Monkfal, which denoted inclosures
from woodlands in the 13th cent. in Balderston Bl (VHL vi. 313). In Woodfall the meaning is not so clear.

O.E. færm “fern” : Redfern Sa.

O.E. feld “field.” The meaning seems to be either “a plain,” as probably in Fallowfield (Heaton) Sa., Makerfield De, Cantefield SLo; or “common field” as perhaps in Eden, Hundersfield Sa.; or “one of the parts of the common field,” as probably in Inch., Scholefield Sa., Hen., Port., Saxi., Schole-, Shelfield Bl, Ditch., Scholefield De, but it is impossible to distinguish neatly between the different meanings. Other examples : Bel., Fallow-, Stans-, Whitefield Sa, Teithfield SLo. O.E. geðeal “plain” : Fylde Am.

O.N. fell, hall “fell, mountain” : Beacon Fell Am, Little Fell, Winfold Fell SLo, Cartmel Fell, Furness Fell, Hampfell, Whinfell NLo.

O.N. flot “level piece of land,” M.E. flat “a piece of level ground.” In Yks. dialects flat means particularly “one of the divisions of a common field, a shot or furlong.” This is no doubt the original meaning in Quarry Flat, Tarn Flat, Thwait Flat NLo.

O.E. ford “ford” : Bam., Brad., Sal., Streft., Trafford Sa, Barrow-, Horrocka-, Sharneyford, Heysandforth Bl, Bed-, Or-, Rainford De, Middleforth, Rufford Le, Cat-, Hollowforth Am, Carn-, Scoftorth SLo. The form -forth is late. The reason why it supplanted -ford in some cases is not clear. Its late appearance tells against Scand. influence. There is a tendency for final [p] and [d] to become [t] ; cf. p. 21f. Perhaps [forp] replaced [fort] as a reaction against the change [p]>[t].

O.E. furlang “furlong,” i.e., “a division of an unenclosed field” : Bam., Peasfurlong De.

O.E. fyrfath, getygrype “frith,” i.e., “wood, wooded country” : Akreith SLo, Frith NLo, Fibrer Bl.

O.E. get, getat “gate” : Wingate Sa, Haggate, Yate Bank Bl, Lydiate De, Water Yeat NLo.

O.N. garðr “yard, fence,” M.E. garth “a piece of enclosed ground used as a yard, garden, or paddock ; a fence or hedge” : Eggergarth De, Lingart Am, Fleagarth SLo, Grassguards, Loppergarth NLo, Gartside Sa, Gascow NLo. Occasionally Engl. yard has replaced the Scand. word as in Grassyard SLo. Sideyard SLo may contain the Engl. word.

O.N. gata “road” : Ridgat De, Galtgate SLo, Soutergate NLo.

O.N. geil “ravine, narrow valley” : High Gale SLo, Haasty Gill NLo.

O.N. gil “ravine, narrow valley” : Damas Gill, Hol-, Low-, Ra-, Thrush-, Todgill SLo, Beacons Gill, Dane Ghyll NLo. The first el. is often Scandinavian.

O.E. greæt “grave” : Orgrave NLo.

O.E. greæt, græt “grove, brushwood, thicket” : Greaves Am, Ramsgrave Bl, Tingrave Le, Sidgreaves Am.


O.E., O.N. grund. Dial. ground means, among other things, “a farm, especially an out-lying one.” Names such as Dixongrund, Rogergound are common in High Furness. They are all late. The distribution of the el. rather suggests Scand. origin. In Iceland grund is quite common in place-names. It means “flat, grass-grown ground, esp. on streams and lakes.”

O.E. hæs. See Malkins Wood Sa, Heysham Lo.

O.E. haga “enclosure ; homestead,” O.N. høgt “enclosure” : Haigh De, Haw Booth Bl, Hawcoat Lo ; Turnagh Sa, Crookhoy, Locka, Stodday, Smeer Hall SLo.

O.E. halh “corner, nook,” Mn. dial. haugh “low-lying, level ground by the side of a river.” The latter meaning is that of the el. in Lanc. names, the places in question being situated on rivers or streams or at the edge of mosses (Halsall, Maghull De, Midghall Le) ; cf., however, Wolfhole Crag SLo. The first el. of names in -halh is English or pre-Scand. ; possible exceptions are Dunkenhalgh Bl, Killineough Am. It is usually a pers. n. (as Kersal, Ordsall, Redvales Sa, Whackersall Bl, Halsall, Kinknall De, Earnshaw, Wigmall Le, Hothersall Am, Ellee SLo) or an adj. (as Broadhalgh, Siddal, Woodhill Sa, Langho, Ridhalgh, Syddles, White Hough, Whithalgh Bl, Chismall Le, Fernyhough, Rowall Am). It is a common noun in Ringstonhalgh Bl, Knowley, Midghall Le, Lunnall De, Midghalgh Am. Further instances: Bullough, Crumpsall, Lomax, Monsall Sa, Cuerdale, Ponhalgh, Reedley Hallow Bl, Wolfall De, Comberhalgh, perh. Catterall, Rossall Am, Haugh, Haulgh Sa, Hale De, Haughton, Houghton, Westhoughton Sa, Haighton Am, Halton SLo.

O.E. hall “court ; residence.” In place-names the usual meaning is no doubt “manorhouse, residence” : Chingle Hall, New Chingle Hall Am, Wolfhall Bl (Am), Challen Hall,
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Robert Hall, West Hall SL, etc., perh. Prestall Sa. In Mn. dial. hall also means "farmhouse, cottage"; this seems to be the meaning in New Hall Sa, perh. Hollowhead Bl.

O.E., O.N. hals "neck," dial. haura "a col": Hawes Water SL, Wrynosy NLO.

O.E. hám "village; dwelling, manor" and hamm "a meadow," etc., are always difficult to distinguish in place-names. In Lanc. names hám is, on the whole, the more probable source. At least in S. Lanc., O.E. a before a nasal often appears as o (cf. Ramsbottom Bl), and we expect isolated spellings -ham, if the source is frequently O.E. hamm. No such spellings are on record, except perh. in Dallam De. We may assume that names in -ham which denote more important places mostly go back to O.E. hám. There is some doubt as regards names of minor places, as Newham (now Newhall) Sa, Highham Bl, Hecham Am. The usual meaning of O.E. hám in place-names seems to be "village" or "manor"; neither seems plausible in these names. But the meaning may be "homestead." On the other hand, O.E. hamm seems usually to have meant "flat, low-lying pasture-land." This sense is impossible in Highham, and if hamm had no other senses the second el. of this name must be O.E. hám. But the original meaning of hamm seems to have been "enclosure," and that may have been preserved in some parts of England. There seems no reason to derive -ham in any Lanc. name from O.N. heimr. Names in -ham have as first el. sometimes a pers. n. (or the like), as Abrahm De, Padiham Bl, Bispham Le, Am, Whittingham Am, Tatham SL, Aldingham NL; sometimes a place—or river—name, as Cheetham, Irlam Sa, Cockerm SL; sometimes a common noun, as Thornham Sa, Kirkham Am, Heysham SL. There are, further: Alt., Habergham Bl, Penwortham Le, Gressingham SL; see also Rochdale Sa.

O.N. haugr "hill; mound" is sometimes difficult to distinguish from O.E. hó, as haugr in early sources seems occasionally to appear as -ho (cf. e.g. Hackinsall Am). This may point to confusion between the two elements. But O.N. au often becomes M.E. o (Björkman, Loanwords, p. 68f.) and -ho may be a substitution for or development of normal -hou. Names in -hau denote hills (mountains) and hillocks or mounds. They are most common in BL and N. of the Ribble. Examples: Harcles Hill, Tittleshaw Sa, Blacko, Clitheroe, Cadshaw, ? Gannow, Gerna, Noyya, ? Worsaw Bl, Becconsall Le, Hawes, Hackinsall, Revoe, Sharoe Am, ? Kidlow, Melishaw, Threpall SL, Haume, Hawes Bank, Fiddler Hall, Groffs, Houkler Hall, Knapperthaw, Pichall, Satterworth, Sella, Sow How, Tarn Howes, Tock How, Whitestock Hall NL.

O.E. héofod "head" sometimes means "upper end" (Shireshead Lo (Am), Field-, Waterhead NL), sometimes "headland" (Lindeth SL, Humphrey Head, Kirkhead NL), usually "hill or eminence" (cf. EDD head 13). The first el. is usually English, but Scand. in e.g. Gambleside BL, Grizehead SL; French in Castlehead NL. Other examples: Hades, Hartshead Sa; Henheads, Hollin-, Hollow-, Oakhead, Read Bl; Burton-, Elton-, Fearn-, Lamber-, Mickle-, Sylne-, Westhead De; Hazel-, Ingolhead Am; Birkett, Conishead, Roanhead NL. In Rampside NL the meaning may be literally "head."

O.E. hege "hedge, fence": Cockey, Harpurhey Sa, Blacky, Carry (Bridge), Newhall Hey Bl, Heapey Le. The meanings in place-names are probably "enclosed tract meant for a hunting-ground" and "enclosure" generally.

O.N. helkm. See Helks SL.

M.E. helm "shed." See Helmshore Bl, Elmridge Bl (Am). Engl. dial. hile "cluster," etc. See Moor Isles BL.

O.N. hlæða "barn": Lathom De, Laithbutts, Laithwaite SL, perh. Leagram Bl (Am). O.N. hlæw "hill; mound." The meaning in Lanc. place-names varies from "mountain" (as Horelaw, Pike Law BL, Brownlow De) to "hillock, slight eminence" (as in Low BL, Lowton De, Bar-, Greenlow Sa, Spellow De), or even "mound" (as perh. in Wharles Am, Dragley NL). Other examples are: Croichlow, Tetlow, Wickenlow Sa, Catlow Bl (2), Gidlow De, Crempsey Am, Stretells SL. An interesting hybrid is Osmotherley NL.

O.E. hlinc. See Lench Bl.

O.E. hlip "slope; hill," O.N. hlit "slope." The former is found with certainty in Lytham Am, the latter in Litherland De (2), Lythe SL (2). As second part the el. is sometimes combined with a Scand. word (Bleanley, Kellet SL, Stennerley NL) and may then be identified with Scand. hlit. Adgarley NL has an Engl. first el., while that of Ireleth NL may be Scand. or English.

O.E. hlóse, apparently "pig-sty" (Liebermann, Gesetze, Gloss.; B-T, Suppl.); cf. dial. lewce "pigsty" (EDD). The el. occurs in Loose Kent, Loosebear Dev., Looseley Bucks, etc. in Lanc. in Lostock Sa, Le, and perhaps in Luzzley Sa. The word, as shown by Mn.E.
forms, had O.E. ða, and is probably connected with O.E. hlōp "troop," clæst, O.N. hlada "barn," etc.

O.E. hlōt "lot, allotment": Oglet De, Haylot SLo (which see).

O.E. hōth "heel; projecting ridge of land," Mn. E. ho, hough "a crag, cliff, precipice; a height ending abruptly": Down-, Upholland De, Houghton De, Houghton, ? Howick, Hutton Le, Hutton SLo (2); Nuttall, ? Wayoh Sa, Trunnah Am, Cloughia SLo: cf. Billington Bl. The meaning is sometimes "steep, abrupt ridge," sometimes "a slight ridge" or the like. In Hough End Sa the meaning is "ravine.

O.E. hōlh, hol "hollow, hole," O.N. hol "hole." Where the first el. is the name of an animal the meaning is "burrow": Foxholes Sa, Brockhall Bl, Brockholes Am. Otherwise the meaning seems to be "a hollow, depression in the ground" or "valley." The first el. is frequently a pers. n. Examples: Edi-, Tockholes, Clover Hill Bl, Greenhalgh (2), Ingol, Lickow Am. The first el. is fairly often Scand. (Coccas, Kilgrimol, Staynall Am, &c., others).

O.N. holmr, holmi "islet," etc., M.E., Mn. E. holme "islet: piece of flat, low-lying ground by a river." Both these senses are evidenced in Lanc. names, the former (at least originally) in Dunnerholme NLo, the latter e.g. in Holme Bl, Holmes Le, Am, Thorneyholme Bl. A third meaning is "a piece of dry land in a fen or marsh"; originally such names may have referred to islands. Examples are: Ballam, Eastham, Hayholme, Skitham Am, Trailholme, Sugham SLo, Wraysholme NLo; cf. Calfholme, etc., under Bolton SLo. A meaning "piece of land partly surrounded by streams" may be that of Levensholme Sa and others. The first el. is often Scand., but frequently English (as Wolstenholme Sa, Ritherham Am, etc.). Sometimes -holm has been replaced by -ham. Further examples: Brandlestone, Gawskesholme, Oldham Sa, Hunter-, Mart-, Rams-, Ravensholme Bl, Denham Le, Dolphinholme, Linholm Am, Gambleholme, Gilberton, Maure-, Torrisholme, Watholme SLo, Peaseholmes, Roughholme, Watham (2) NLo.

O.Dan. hŭm (cf. O.Swed. hulmber) occurs in some names in S. Salford (Hulme, Davyhulme, Kirkmanshulme, Levenshulme) and once in De (Hulme). See further the Summary.

O.E. hop, Mn. E. hope (1) "a piece of enclosed land, e.g. in the midst of fens," etc.; (2) "a small enclosed valley, esp. a smaller opening branching out from the main dale, and running up to the mountain ranges; the upland part of a mountain valley; a blind valley." (NED). The first meaning is seen in Mythop Am (though it is perhaps rather "dry, firm land in a fen"); the latter in Hope Sa, Brinsop, Hopwood Sa, Bacup, Cowpe, Dunnyshope Bl, Brinsop, Ritherholme De, &c. Tytup NLo.

O.N. hōfu "head" and hōfu are used in the sense "a promontory," also (in place-names) "a projecting hill or ridge." This el. is found twice in Am (Holtheth, Freessall) and fairly often in SLo: Escowbeck, Hawks-, Ramshead, Slet. The meaning is "hill or ridge.

O.N. hōgg "felling of trees," etc. See Hagg NLo.

O.N. hreys, hryesr (pl.) "cairn": Roseacre Am, Raishwaitc, Toppin Rays NLo.

O.E. hryg "ridge": Foulridge Bl, Elm-, Longridge Bl (Am); O.N. hryggr: Bail-, Eak-, Hazelrigg SLo, Bandrake, Haverigg, Borden-, Mansriggs NLo.

O.E. hulu. See Hoole Le.

O.E., O.N. huus "house": Newsham De, Am, Wesham Am, Aynesome NLo; Headhouses Sa, Cow-, Hey-, Wy moundhouses Bl; Dwerryhouse Le, Colt-, Salthouse, Head House NLo.

O.E. hypp "landing-place": Huyton De, ? Sa.

O.E. hyll "hill" is a common el. S. of the Ribble, rare N. of that river (Duddel Bl (Am), Bazil, Hillam SLo, Mouessi, Windhill NLo). The meaning varies from "mountain," as in Pendle, Brown Hill, Cow Hill Bl, Great Hill Le, etc., to "hillock," as in Pesc Hill (200 ft.) De, Bazil (50 ft.) SLo, etc. The first el. is usually English (or pre-Scand.), but it is French, e.g., in Clerk Hill, Priarhills Bl. Other instances: Asul, Birtle, Blindsill, Buersill, Smithills, Stakehill, Warcockhill, Warde, Whittle, Wuerdle Sa, Braddyll, Conley, Coo Hill, Cowhill, Eccleshill, Hinde, Ightenhill, Royle, Salt hill Bl, Orrill (2), Rainhill, Windle De, Brindle, Coppull, Withnell, Whittle (2) Le.

O.N. hyr "a pool, deep place in a river": Lickle, Troutal NLo.

O.E. hyst, Mn. E. hurst "eminence, hillock, knoll or bank, esp. one of a sandy nature; a grove of trees; a copse; a wood; a wooded eminence." The original meaning was perhaps "brushwood": cf. the cognate Welsh prye "brushwood" (Jones, 128). The exact meaning of the el. cannot be determined in each case. A meaning "hillock" is plausible in names such as Copster, Smethurst, Bromyhurst Sa, Copthurst Bl, Le, Grindstonerush Bl, Hay
Hurst, Stonyhurst Bl (Am), while "cope" seems preferable in Hazel-, Nuthurst Sa, Icornhurst Bl, Blindhurst Bl, Blindhurst Am. The el. is rare N. of the Ribble except in the Blackburn part: Croghlinhurst, Aulthurstside NLo. The first el. is, as a rule, English. It is mostly a descriptive common noun, as Wilders Sa, Brookle-, Studlehurst Bl, Ashhurst De, Liekhurst Bl (Am), or an adj., as Bromy-, Collyhurst, Smethurst Sa, Fairhurst Le. Other examples : Gristle-, Sillinghurst Sa, Dowerhurst Bl, Crookhurst De, Gathurst Le.

-ing. This ending has been much discussed. The chief sources in Lanes. names are the following:

1. O.E. plur. -inges, mostly in derivatives from pers. ns.: Melling De, SLo, Staining Am, possibly Billing De, Bryning Am; further Arkwing-, Dumpling-, Pilkine-, Tottington Sa, Billington, Padiham, Pleasington, perh. Habergham Bl, Penning-, Warrington De, Adling-, perh. Worthington Le, Whittingham Am, Wenning-, Whittington SLo, Aldingham NLo. All these denote (or used to denote) rather important places.

2. O.E. sing. -ing. The words in -ing were either old river- or hill-names: (Rivington, Shilling in -bottom Sa, perh. Billing De, Bl, Billings Lo, Wenning Lo), or originally common nouns: Falinge Sa, Falling De, Stubbins Sa, Hacking Sa, Bl, Falkworthings Le, Chipping Bl (Am), Newbigging Am, NLo, -ridding (see infra); Gressingham SLo, Pennington NLo.

3. O.E. n of various origin, as the adj. ending -en (Haslingden Bl, Withington Sa), the gen. pl. ending -na (Wrightington), -n in nouns: Hollingworth Sa, Hastingley, perh. Acrington Bl, Farington Le.

4. There remain : Pilling Am, Sillinghurst Sa, Shevington Le.

k- ; see c.

O.E. lanc "stream": Medlock Sa, Hatlex SLo.

O.E. lād "water-course": Mn. dial. lode also "road": Layton Am.

O.E., O.N. land. The first el. is Scand. in Down-, Upurthland De, Thur-, Thursland SLo, Big-, Rusland NLo; French in Muchland NLo; English in Hillam, Mar., Spotland Sa, Down-, Upholland De, Leyland Le, Yeland SLo, New-, Woodland, prob. Templand NLo, Sunderland Sa, Bl, SLo. Bowland Bl (Am) is dubious. The meaning may be "ground or soil," "estate," "a piece of land in a common field," etc. The exact meaning can rarely be determined.

O.F. lande "lawn," i.e., "glade; pasture": New, Old Laund Bl.

O.E. laexo "lane": Markland De; cf. Asland Le.

O.N. lātir "lair": Latterbarrow, Hulter Le.

O.E. lēah "meadow, field," Mn.E. lea "a tract of open ground, either meadow, pasture, or arable land." The original meaning may have been "glade, clearing"; cf. O.H.G. lōh, M.H.G. lōh "low brushwood, clearing overgrown with small shrubs," Lat. lucus. The meaning of the el. in place-names seems to have varied. A meaning "wood" is probably sometimes to be assumed (cf. esp. Nomina Geographica Neerlandica, I. 155ff.). Waltonelana is called "nemus" in CC 629, and names such as Buckley, Hartley go well with a meaning "wood." The common occurrence of names in -ley in the old Forest of Pendle rather points to a meaning "glade; forest clearing"; very likely the frequent occurrence of names in -ley in a district suggests an old forest district. Names such as Ryley point to a meaning "(clearing used as) arable land"; such as Calverley, Studley to a meaning "pasture ground." The fact that names in -ley frequently have as first el. an adj. denoting form or extent (as broad, long) is worthy of notice. Names in -ley are common S. of the Ribble and in Blackburn N. of the Ribble, rare elsewhere. The first el. is usually English; exceptions are Gamesey Sa, ? Gauley De, Thorpen Lees Am, Dolphinlrees SLo with a Scand., Constable Lee Bl, Mawdesley Le with a Fr. first part. The first el. is (1) the name of a cereal, as Royley Sa, Bar-, Ry-, Wheatley Bl, Wheatley Bl (Am), or of a tree or plant, as Ashley Sa, Reed-, ? Thieveley Bl, Birch-, Risley De, Apple Le, Ashley Am, or of an animal, as Buck-, Hart-, Shepley Sa, Antley Bl, Hind-, Swinley De, Studley Bl (Am), or some other common noun, as Mossley, Wardley Sa, Acor-, Burn-, Hasting-, Mear-, Towneley Bl, Cow-, Fazakerley, Morleys, Sherd-, Stonebridge De, Bir-, Tunley Le, Greystoneley Bl (Am), Cleveley Lo (Am), Staveley NLo; (2) a pers.

1 Some scholars think -ing in such names as Tottington is only partly patronymic (O.E. Totinga-täm, etc.), while in other cases it is rather possessive (O.E. Werburginguiic, etc.), being a sort of adjectival suffix. (Cf. e.g. Mawer, PLN. of Northumberland, p. xxiv ff. with references). I am not convinced that this theory is correct.
Elements


M.E. leche, lache, Mn.E. lech “a stream flowing through boggy land; a muddy ditch or hole; a bog”: Brindle Heath Sa., Fulledge Bl, Blacklache Le.

O.N. leir “clay”: Labbrick Am.

O.E. loc, loca “enolusure”: Parlick Am, Locka SLo.


O.N. lundr “grove”: Lunt De, Lund, Kirkland Am, Kirkland Barrow SLo.

O.E. (ge)mære “boundary”: Morsey, ? Marland Sa; Mearley, Meer Clough Bl, High Mere Beck NLo.

O.E. möd (mæd) “meadow”: Brightmet, Medlock Sa.


O.E. mere “lake”: Windermere NLo; ? Marland Sa, Martin De, Mere Brow (Side) Le, Marton Am, Martin NLo.

O.E. mere “marsh”: Alt Marsh De, ? Admarsh Am.

O.E. mør “moor.” The meanings in Lanc. names are “hill, high moorland,” as in Shore Moor, Siddal Moor, etc., Sa, Deerplay Moor Bl, Gunnoll’s Moors Le, Quernmore SLo, Parkinson NLo, and “marsh,” as in Black-, Wolmoor De, Barbers Moor Le, Swarthmoor Lo. Further examples: Beal Moor, Kaskenmoor, Theale Moor Sa, Rakes Moor NLo.

O.E. mos, O.N. mosi “bog, swamp, morass”: Chat Moss Sa, Wirples Moss De, Rathmoss NLo.

O.E. (ge)møtt “meeting”: Emmott Bl, Emmette Lo.


O.N. mynni “mouth of a river”: Stalmine Am.

O.N. myr, M.E. mire “a piece of wet, swampy ground, a boggy place”: Walmer Le, Myerscough Bl, ?. Am, Goldmire NLo.

O.N. nabbr, nabbi “a projecting peak”: Whalley Nab Bl, Gascoy Nab Lo.

O.E. ness, O.N. nes “cape, headland.” M.E. nes may be an unstressed or dialectal variant of nesses or Scand. nes (NED): Widnes De (prob. O.E. -ness), Amounderness, Crossens Am, Furness NLo (O.N. -nes).

O.N. oddi “point, cape”: Greenodd NLo.

O.F., M.E. pare “park,” also “an enclosed piece of ground for pasture or tillage; a field; a parrock or paddock.” The meaning “a pasture ground” is obvious in such cases as Hill Park, Sott Park NLo. O.E. parroc “paddock” seems to be found in Parrocks Am.

O.E. pich “a sharp instrument; M.E. píc “a pointed summit; a pointed hill” (acc. to NED, possibly from Norw. pik “a pointed mountain,” but more probably native): Rivington Pike, Whittle Pikes Sa., Clough Pike Lo, etc.; Pickup Bl. An adj. piked is the first el. of Pike Law Bl, Pitchall Lo.

O.E. pleca “play”: Deerplay Bl.

O.E. pól, pull “pool,” in Mod. dial. also “a slow-moving rivulet, esp. in careless land; a small creek” (Scot.). In Lanc. names the sense “a rivulet” is certain in Otterpool, Otter’s Pool De, Skippool Am, Wrampool SLo, Otterpool, Rusland Pool, Steers Pool NLo, probably in Poulton De, Am, SLo, Poolstock De; “a tidal creek”: Liverpool. The meaning “pool” is found in Blackpool Am, perhaps Kitepool Sa; the first el. is sometimes Scand., as in Skip-, Wrampool, Steers Pool. In the last it is a pers. name.

O.E. port (<Lat. portus): Alport Sa, Portfield Bl.

O.N. ramn “house”: pers. Cowran, Cowpren NLo.

O.E. raw “row,” later also “a row of houses, a street”: Milnrow Sa, Corner Row Am. Perhaps the meaning is really “hamlet”; cf. street in this sense in Kentish dialects.
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O.E. rod, Mn. dial. royd "clearing in a wood." The el. is common in Sa and Bl names, some of which (as Aken-, Bromryd-Whit 607fL) are stated to denote "assarts," i.e., clearings. The first el. is, as a rule, English; an exception is Ormerod Bl. It is an adj. in Black-, Brim-, Brothe-, Copt-, Hey-, Oakenrod Sa, Hey-, Langryd Bl; a common noun in Standroyd, Linered Bl; a pers. n. in Ellenrod Sa, Huntroyde, Monkroyd, Ormerod Bl. Cf. Rhodes Sa.

O.E., O.N. rūm "room." Rūm is a common place-name el. in Denmark and Sweden; it seems to have meant "a forest-clearing" (Lindroth, De nordiska ortnamnen på -rum). Such a meaning or use of O.E. rūm has not been pointed out, but in Scotland rūm from c 1500 has been used in the sense "an estate, a farm." In Lancashire there are some names in -rūm, chiefly found in early sources: Bretteroum (first el. O.N. Bretar, or O.E. Brettas "Britons"), Hawkeroum (first el. O.E. hafof or O.N. haukr "hawk" or O.N. Haukr pers. n.) c 1320 LI (in Bolton-le-Sands), Wytherton (Am) c 1260 CO 156 (called "culture"); first el. app. O.E. wīd or O.N. vīðr "willow"). This el. seems also to be found in Dertten SLo, Dendron NLo. In all probability -rūm is Scand., and means "a clearing."

O.N. runn "a brake or thicket": perhaps in Bowerham SLo, Ronhead Lo. For other examples see Scandinavian, p. 93f.

O.E. ryding "clearing" (bryding in Aelfr. Gl.): Armtridge Le, Abbott's Reading, Row Ridding NLo. Names in -riding are common in early Lanc. documents. The word ryding, like M.E. ridden "to clear land" and rod "clearing," is of doubt native English.

O.N. sætr "shieling": Satterhow, Satterthwaite Lo; cf. -set infra.

O.E. sand, O.N. sandr: Cockersand Lo.

O.E. scaga "shaw," i.e., "a thicket, a small wood, copse, or grove." The first el. is, as a rule, English; an exception is Kershaw Sa. It is very often the name of an animal, as in Hawk-, Honshaw Sa, Craw-, Cronk-, Dunnoekshaw Bl, Cranshaw De, Buck-, Cranshaw Le, Cat-, Dunken-, Marshaw SLo; often some other common noun, as in Bir-, Cold-, Prickshaw Sa, Nuthaw Bl, Forsaw De, Nutshaw Le; or an adj., as in Birten-, Brad-, Cowl-, Hather-, Open-, Small-, Wheatshaw Sa, Fulshaw Bl, Lightshaw De, Blashaw Le; more rarely a pers. n., as in Auden-, Bernshaw Sa, Beard-, Goodshaw Bl, Oxclease De. Other instances: Brun-, Grim- (2), Walshaw, Lameshay Bl, Bicker-, Hardshaw De.

O.N. skali, M.E. scale "a temporary hut or shelter, a wooden shed": Scholes De, Scales Am (2), NLo, Scale Hall SLo, Scholesfield, Scowerca Sa, Scholesfield, Feniscowles Bl, Brinscall Le, Davyscales Bl (Am), Landskill, Loudscales Am, Summear Bl, Baskett, Cockenshell, Elliacause, North Scale, Sandscle NLo. The el. is often found in hybrds.

O.N. skard "notch, cleft, mountain pass": Scarth Hill De.

O.N. sker "skerry," etc.; Norw. skir, also "rock, rocky hill": Billinge Scar Bl, Stonestar, Seasow Scar NLo. Cf. Skerton Lo.

O.E. scīr: Lancashire, Wilshire. The word -shire is often added to names of hundreds, as Salfordshire.

O.N. skög "wood":? Myerscough Bl, Bur-, Bn-, Tarlscough De, Blainscough, Roscoe, Sar sco Sa, Humble-, Myerscough, Liscoe Am, Gascow, Greensco NLo. The first el. is, or may be, Scand., except in Burscough, where it seems to be a place-name.

M.E. set, sat (in place-names) apparently "a shieling, a pasture": Cadishead, Summersaet Sa, Barnside, Belsettenab Bl, Stephen's Head, Swainshead, Yarlside SLo, Arnside, Hawskhead, Roshead, Whelphead, Yarlside NLo, perh. Ayside NLo. Original -set has often been changed to -side or -shide owing to the tendency of final -d to pass into -t, which caused -set and -side to fall together in pronunciation. According to Ellis V. 606, names such as Solside, Ormside (no origin originally -set are pronounced [selit, ortmei].

Names in -set usually denote places in a high situation or on hill slopes, sometimes even hills. An exception is Cadishead (see infra). The el. -set, -sat is clearly identical with dial. seat "a dwelling; a pasturage; usually a farmhouse on the lower slope of the mountain, with a right of pasture above, and the rest of the farm around" (Cumb., Wml.; see EDD). The seats are no doubt old shielings, and this is, as a rule, also the case with the Lane (and Cumb., Wml.) places with names in -set, -sat. The distribution of the word renders a Scand. origin probable. It is difficult to believe that (except in isolated cases, as Cadishead) it can go back to O.E. set "a fold": the interchange of the forms -set and -sat could hardly be explained if O.E. set were the source. The el. has been derived from O.N. sætr "shieling."

This word has exactly the sense wanted. It explains the interchange of -set and -sat, as æ could be shortened to e and a. The only difficulty about the derivation is the absence of the r of sætr. But O.N. sætr is an old ø-stem, and ø-stems often exhibit an interchange of forms.
with and without r. A form *set may very well once have been common by the side of sot. I believe there are still such forms in Norw. place-names. Here may belong isolated names found in NG paseim (e.g., Hafuusaste ii. 180); but especially important is the name Sommersset, which is common in the North of Norway and apparently means "a shieling or deserted homestead used only in the summer" (NG xvi). I do not believe that set, set, -set, -sat can go back to O.N. sátt; set.

This word does not mean "a shieling, a temporary dwelling." It means "permanent residence," and is particularly used in the compound Herresate, which (like Swed. herresate) means "mansion." Cf. also Scandinavians, p. 32f.

O.E. sél "dwellings." See Seattle NLo.

O.E. séa "a streamlet;" Gersuch De.


O.N. slakki "valley," M.E. Mn.E. slack "a small shallow dell or valley; a hollow or dip in the ground," etc. (common in Lanc., W.Yks., Cumb., Scotl.): Slack Sa, NLo, Aynealack, Hay Slacks Bl, Ashley, Nettleslack NLo. O.N. slakki seems to go back to *slankan-, cognate with Dan. slank "a hollow" (Norsen, Umg. Lautl., p. 172, Torp, Nynorsk Et. Ordbog s.v. slakke).

O.E. slet "a valley, dell, or dingle; a forest glade": Slade, Bagalde Sa.

O.N. slátta "a plain, a level field;" Engl. dial. slett "a flat meadow, a level moor": Bracelet NLo, Decreelite SLo.

O.E. sned "a piece." See Halshead Do.

M.E. snape "pasture?": Snape De, Boysnope Sa, Blacksnape Bl, Snubsnape Le, Bul, Fair, Kid, Winsnape Am. M.E. snape (snappe, snape pat in be snape listie Alex.) is rendered in Straightman-Bradley by f. "winter-pasture;" in NED the word is not explained. A meaning "pasture" is rendered probable by names with the name of an animal as first el. (Boysnope, etc.; cf. also Colthsnape De OC 586). Snape has been derived from Icel. snap, pl. snáð (so rather than snáð f.) "a "nip," scanty grass for sheep to nibble at in snow-covered fields" (Vigfusson), or "poor, insufficient grazing" (orkelson, Supplement til Isl. Ordb. III.). Though snap is never found in old Scand. dialects or in Norv. or Icel. place-names, I think this derivation is very probably correct. The meaning of snappe would then be "inferior pasture" or "winter-pasture." Another possible source (suggested by Goodall) is Dan. snape "projecting point, part (of a wood)," etc., Swed. dial. snappe "point; cape," etc. The first alternative seems distinctly preferable.

O.E. stall (stell) "place": Tunstall SLo; "pool": Rawtenstall Bl, perh. Stalmine Am. A further example of O.E. stell "a pool" is (pisaria de) Depesdale, mentioned together with Hawkeshead FC I. 438, 440 (1208).

O.E. stán "stone": Blackstone Edge, Haresenden Sa, Baxenden, Hastingley, Simonstone, Wolfstoness Bl, Garston, Whiston De.

O.N. stár "place," stóð "landing-place," O.E. stæp "bank, shore." An el. stath is found in Bickerstaffe, Crockett, Toxteth De, Humberby SLo, which probably or certainly have a pers. n. as first el., Bristath (in Bristath Bryning, now Bryning Am), Todderstaffe Am. Bristath has as second el. O.N. stór "place." This el. is impossible in the others, as in Scand. place-names it occurs only in such compounds as Kvernstaðr "place of a mill," Bólstaðr "dwellings-place," etc. O.E. stæp is improbable, because the first el. is in no case with certainty English. We have to choose between O.N. -står, pl. (acc. -stór) common in Icel. place-names, also in combination with pers. names, and O.N. stóð. It is difficult to decide which of these is more probable. The situation allows of no definite conclusion. On the whole, the early forms point rather to a monosyllabic than to a dissyllabic second el. (Stokestedeste DB is too corrupt to carry much weight), but apocope of the final vowel may have taken place early, and, moreover, in early texts a final -e was often denoted by an abbreviation-mark, which may have been forgotten or lost in copying.

O.E. stede, styhe "place," esp. "site of a building": Stidd Bl (Am), High Halstead Bl, Tunstede Bl, De, Abbodye SLo, Kirkstead NLo, in all of which the meaning "site" (in the last two "deserted site") is obvious; cf. Burscough De. Rogersted in Hsaton Sa (Rogersted 1419 VHL v. 11) stands by itself. Either -stea and the later meaning "estate, farm" (1338ff., NED) or the name goes back to *Rogerhusstedeste; cf. Rogerishustude (Caton) CC 873, Gatiave-hustude (Tarnare) CC 248.

O.N. stigg, O.E. stig "path": Ravensty, Thorfinnys NLo; cf. Swaintley SLo. O.E. stigu "stig" is a possible, though less probable, source.

O.E. stoc "place:" (cf. names such as Stoke, Basingstoke): Lostock Sa (2), Le, Poolstock De. See on the word B-T, who, however, mark the vowel as long.
INTRODUCTION

A. The first el. is English (or pre-Scand.). It is (1) usually a common noun, as the name of a tree or plant (Ash-, Roy-, Win-, Withington Sa, Aigh-, Rishton Bl, Aller-Apple-, Ash-, Augh-, Thornton De, ?Faring-, Ollerent Le, Ash- (2), Plum- (2), Thistle-, Thorn-, Weeton Am, Ash-, Augh-, Leighton SLo, Plumpton NLo; Barton Sa, De, Am, perh. Pemberton De); some other topographical feature or a place-name (Clay-, Clif-, Den-, Foxden-, Gor-, Haugh-, Hough-, Westhough-, Hul-, ? Huy-, Mos-, Pendle, Riving-, Taunton; Edenfield, perh. Wharton Sa, Clay- (2), Clif-, Hap-, Mit-, More-, Pendle, Twiston Bl; Dal-, Den-, Dit-, Hough-, Huy-, Low-, Mar-, Poulton De; Clay-, Hogh-, Hut-, Wheelton Le; Brough-, Clif-, Comp-, Haigh-, Lay-, Mar-, PouI-, Ribbleton Am; Forton Lo (Am), Dal-, Hal-, Hut- (3), Over-, PouIton SLo, Brough- (3), Dal-, Gleaston, Martin, Troughton NLo); the name of some building (Redleston De, Le, Am; Bolton Sa, SLo, NLo; Burton De, Broughton Sa); or some other word (Swinton Sa, Singleton Am, Warton Am, SLo, Pennington NLo). (2)
A personal name (Balders-, Chorl-, Elton Sa, Balders-, Osbaldes-, Wit-, Worston Bl, Ether-, Els-, Ethers-, Harle-, Rix-, Woods-, Woolton De, Ander-, Euhton Le; Dutton Bl (Am), Als-, Els-, Hambleton Am, Hilderston SLo), or a derivative in -ing (Alkring-, Pilking-, Lottington Sa, Billing-, Pleasington Bl, Penning-, Warrington De, Adlington Le, Ad-), Nenning-, Whittington SLo; perh. Dumplington, Monton Sa, Cronston De, Worthington Le), or some other noun designating persons (Choriton Sa, Walton Bl, De, Le, NLo (2): Wrightington Le, Preston Am). (3) An adjective or adverb: Hea- (3), Middle-, Newton Sa, Al-, Middle-, Nether-, New-, Sut-, Upton De; Longton Le; Middle-, Newton (2) Am, Hea-, Newton (2) SLo, Hea-, Newton (2) NLo.

B. The first el. is Scandinavian. It is: (1) A common noun (Sefton De, Cronston Le, Scorton Am, Sker-, Wrayton SLo, perh. Stainton NLo); (2) a pers. name (Flx-, Tur-, Umston Sa, Tarleton Le, ? Ulverston NLo), or some other noun designating a person (? Bretherton Le, Carleton Am, Coniston NLo); (3) uncertain in Cloughton Am, SLo.

More or less doubtful cases: Chadder-, Chatter-, Crompton Sa, Acrington Bl, Everton De, Shevington Le, Dur-, Freekleton Am, Caton, Farleton SLo, Age-, Col-, Crivel-, Egton NLo.

The exact meaning of tūn cannot be determined in each case.

The form -town is met with in some late names: Churchtown Am, NLo, Old Town SLo, Newton NLo.

O.E. twisla "fork of a river": Entwisle Sa, Bastwell, Birtwisle, Ex-, Oswaldtwistle, Twiston Bl. The fact that -twisle is usually combined with pers. names points to the exact meaning being "torque of land at the junction of two streams." Cf. also Twiss De.

O.E., O.N. porn "thornbush": Rishton Thorns, Worsthorne Bl, Hubberthorn SLo, Daughtarn NLo. Bel-, Gaulkthorn Bl have not been found in early sources. Both are near hills (c 900ft.). Cf. Bellthorn-moor 1771 Whitaker, Hist. Manch. I. 121. It is a remarkable fact that thorn often occurs in names of hills. Cf. Crowthorn (S. of Harcles Hill Sa), Shap Thorn (a prominent hill near Shap in Wml.).

O.N. porn "a group of homesteads, a village," perh. also "a farm, croft" (cf. Swed. torp "a croft"); O.Dan. thorp "a smaller village due to colonization from a larger one." The el. is rare in Lanc.: Thorpe Sa, Gawthorpe Bl (old estates), Thorp Le (an old v. or h.), Thorp De (lost); cf. Orocanethorp (cultura; SLo) CC 840.

O.N. pveit? "a meadow; a piece of land," Norw. teit "a piece of meadow in a wood, a cleared meadow, a clearing," etc., Engl. dial. thwait "a forest clearing; a piece of land fenced off or enclosed; a low meadow; a fell; a single house; a small hamlet," etc. The history and etymology of the word are fully discussed by Lindkvist, p. 96ff. The exact meaning in Lanc. names is by no means clear. According to Ellwood, Lakeland and Iceland, p. 56, the word thwaite is applied to meadows on the margin of Coniston lake. Mr. Collingwood points out to me that in Lanc. names thwaite always refers to a piece of land sloping down towards a stream or a marsh; this observation is certainly quite true. In Iceland, according to Ellwood, a pveit is the brink of dry meadow-land that gradually inclines towards bogland. It seems very probable that in many Lanc. names thwaite meant originally "a low meadow," but meanings such as "clearing" or "enclosure" are also possible. The word may have had different applications in different periods.

The Lanc. thwaite are mostly in rather remote, sometimes in hilly districts, but they are not as a rule in a high situation; few are found at a higher altitude than some 300 or 400ft. above sea-level, and many, as Allithwaite, Havercrwaite, Outerthwaite, are situated quite low. So are many Cumb. thwaites.

Some names in -thwaite have as first part the name of a cereal, as Bean-, Big-, Havercrwaite Lo; this shows that the places were of old cultivated. The three Rosthwaites must have been used as horse-pastures; Scarthwaite SLo may be a similar case. Other names in -thwaite have as first el. a (descriptive) common noun, as Hawthornthwaite SLo, Haw-, Icken-, Kirk-, Rais-, Satter-, Scri-, Sea-, Walthwaite NLo; or an adj., as Fair-, Langthwaite SLo, ? Es-, Hoa-, Honey-, Outerthwaite NLo; or a place-name, as Nib-, Subber-, Tilher-thwaite NLo; or a pers. n., as Gunner-, Ourthwaite SLo, Ali-, Finsthwaite NLo. Other examples: Laithwaite De, Gubberford Am, Laithwaite Lo (Am), Burble-, Gaw-, Gray-, Hea-, Lone-, Scathwaite NLo. The first el. as a rule is, or may be, a Scand. word. One certain exception is Beanthwaite.

† O.E. *pweit or O.N. *préit: Inglewhite Am. The same el. seems to occur in Little White (Littlwhite 1385) in Durh., Trewthitt (Tyrewyt 1229, Tirwhite 1327, etc.) in Nhb. (see Mawer).
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It is apparently a word cognate with *thuait*, derived from O.E. *puitan* "to cut" or a corresponding O.N. verb, meaning perch. "a detached piece" or the like.


O.N. *veiðr* "fishing, hunting; place for fishing or hunting": Ingle De, Waitholme SLo, Waitham NLo.

O.N. *vik* "bay," etc.: Blowick, Wyke De, Lowick Lo.

O.N. *vēdr* "forest": Blawith NLo.

O.N. *völdr* "level meadow, grazing ground, open field": Thingwall De, Waithwaite Lo.

O.N. (*yrā*, O.Swed. *vrā* "corner," Engl. dial. *wray* "corner") (Wml.). Norw., Swed. *vrā* occurs in names of places with a remote or sepulchred situation, as surrounded by hills or merely isolated from other homesteads. The same description applies to Lanc. places with names in *vā*: Wray, -ton, Capernwray, Whiteray SLo, Wray, Birkwray, Holbiggerah NLo, are in more or less remote valleys. In the case of Wrea Am a meaning "outlying place" seems plausible.

O.E. *wēl* "a well, a deep pool, a gulf, deep water of a stream or of the sea," dial. *weel* (Sc., Yks., Lanc., etc.) "a whirlpool, an eddy; a deep, still part of a river": Sale Wheel Bl; cf. Freckleton Am. Whitaker, Hist. of Manchester (1771) I. p. 122, mentions Bolton-weel near Strangeways, Scarweel above Broughton-Ford (Manchester).

O.E. *welle*, *welle* (wella, etc.) "well, spring; stream." In place-names both meanings are evidenced. River-names: Irwell, ? Milkwall Sa. Names of places: Halliwel Sa, Wiswell, Winewall Bl, Aspin-, Childwall, Thatto De, Colloway SLo, Hawkswell NLo. In the last the first part seems to be a Scand. pers. n.

O.E. *gewæs* : Strangeways Sa.

O.E. *weeter* "water," i.e., "stream": Blackwater, Colne, Pendle Water Bl; or "lake": Hawes Water SLo, Elterwater, Thurston Water, etc., NLo.

M.E. *whin* "saliunc, ruscus," Mn.E. *whin* "furze," etc.: Winfold Fell SLo, Whinfell NLo (second el. O.N. *fell* "fell"), perhaps Windhill NLo. The etymology of *whin* is not quite certain. It is considered by Torp, Nyvensk Et. Ord. (s.v. *kvain*) to be related to Norw. *kvein* "thin grasses," Swed. *kven*, Dan. *kveen*, used of various species of agrostis, etc., and of tall, stiff grasses, all cognate with Swed. dial. *kven* "low-lying meadow," and belonging to a base *kvein* "marsh, bog." Whatever the ultimate etymology may be, it seems probable to me that *whin* is a Scand. word, in ablaut relation to *kvein*, etc.; cf. early Dan. *hvinsegas*, *hvinestraa*, *hvine* "fescue prior" (Kalkar), Dan. dial. *huene*, *huveknog* (Feilberg), Icel. *hvingras* "agrostis." A third grade with short i may have existed, but i may have been shortened in compounds such as *hvingras*. A change of meaning from "tall, stiff grass," etc., to "rush" (a M.E. sense) and "furze" seems plausible. The late appearance of the word in English rather suggests Scand. origin.

O.E. *win* "dwelling-place, residence; village, town," etc., prob. also "farm, cattle-farm" (e.g., *cealf-, *gatavic*); cf. dial. *wick* "a dairy-farm." The el. is fairly common in Sa, where it is usually combined with a pers. n. : Ard-, Bes-, Chad-, Gothers-, Whittleswick, Prestwich. The only example in De, Winwick, and Elswick Am also have a pers. n. as first part. The meaning here seems to be "dwelling-place, manor," in Prestwich perhaps "village." In Killerton NLo the first el. is a Scand. pers. n. On Borwick SLo see p. 8. Fish-, Salwick Am, perhaps Howick Le have a common noun, Urswick NLo prob. the name of a lake, as first el. These latter names denote old villages.


O.E. *widg*, M.E. *wipin* (prob. formed with the O.E. adjectival suffix -iin) "willow." Dial. *within* (Lanc., Ches., Der.) also means "willow hollow; a piece of wet land where willows grow": Win-, Withington Sa, Weeton Am.

O.E. *worp* n., *wyrp* f. "enclosure; homestead, farm." The first el. is (1) a common noun: Ash-, Butter-, ? Edge-, Farn-, Holling-, Shores-, Shuttleworth Sa, Shuttle-, Townworth Bl, Cle-, Farn-, Shuttleworth De, Stanworth Le, Dilworth Bl (Am), Appletreesworth NLo; (2) a pers. n.: Ains-, Chad-, Pils-, Un-, ? Whithworth Sa, Beardwood, Snod-, Tottleworth Bl, Roddlesworth Le; (3) an adj.: Long-, Rumworth Sa, Southworth De; (4) a place-name: Wardleworth Sa; (5) more or less doubtful in Blatchin-, Fails-, Hawsworth Sa, Duckworth Bl, Lentworth SLo. In no case does the first el. seem to be a Scand. word. The
el. is most common in Salford (esp. Rochdale) and in Blackburn par. (Dean) Yaresworthebroc 1227 LF Iv., Noggarth (Barrowford: Nyesworth bancs 1551 LP), and Shads, Wilworth, near Blackburn, may be added. The De -worths are in the part adjoining Salford, and the Le ones close to the E. border, not far from Blackburn town.

Few names in -worth denote old townships or villages. Most of the places in question are comparatively insignificant or in a somewhat remote situation (Roddlesworth, Snodworth, Lenton, etc.). Hennewurthe (Pemberton) De is said to be a toft LF 1202.

O.E. wyrp ("wurp") and wyrp ("wurpi") correspond to O.Sax. wurp, app. "soil" (Heland 2478), M.L.G. wurt, Wort "homestead," L.G. word, wurt "open place in a village," etc. See Torp-Fick p. 395, also Forstemann, Namenbuch and Die deutschen Ortenamen, p. 40. The original meaning of the words is very likely "enclosure, fence" (Torp). In Engl. place-names the usual meaning is very likely "homestead," but "close, enclosure" seems very important in some cases, e.g., in the curious name Shutesworth.

The second el. of Baldworthings Le may be O.E. wordign, a name apparently of much the same meaning as wæorp, or wyrting "a cultivated field" (B-T). The original meaning of the latter may be "enclosure." It seems to be a derivative of an O.E. *wyrdan "to enclose"; cf. O.E. wyrdeland "novale," i.e., "land ploughed for the first time, cultivated field," and the apparently synonymous O.E. wyrden.

O.E. wuðu "wood" : Brand-, Chest-, Har-, Hey-, Hopwood Sa, Har-, Hureatwood Bl, Burton-, Gars-, Hale-, Simonswood De, Holmes Wood Le, Fylwood Am, Cawood SLo, Brantwood, Sea Wood NLo. The first el. seems to be English or pre-Scand. in all cases exc. Holmes Wood.

Notes on the Phonology of Lancashire Place-Names

Only some changes especially characteristic of the Lanc. dialects and frequently exemplified in the material are considered.

VOWELS

O.E. a before l frequently becomes o S. of the Ribble, especially in O.E. a lor "alder" : Lightowlers Sa, Ollerton Le,; Colne, Hollowwode Bl. The same change is found in Ches. (Ollerton), Yks. W.R. (Owlerston), Derby (Ollersett) and elsewhere in the West-Midlands.

O.E. å becomes ë S. of the Ribble : Coldcoats, Fenniscowles, Low, Oakenhead Bl, Roby De, etc., also in Bl N. of the Ribble : Davyscoles, but in the rest of the county å remains : Loudscales, Scales, Wrea Am.

O.E. æ, ì-mutation of a before l + a consonant as a rule appears as a S. of the Ribble, as in West-Midland generally : Falinge Sa, Falling De, Winewall Bl, Aspinwall, Childwall De, etc. N. of the Ribble examples are few. Some examples of a occur in Am, as Redwalle (Carlton) CC 148, Sewallesite (Preston) CC 217. But e is found in Colloway Lo; cf. Keldibrekewelle (Stalmine) CC 106, Quitervellebroc (Clauthgow) CC 261, Walleker (Forton) CC 341.

O.E. o in an open syllable sometimes becomes oi, as it does in W.Yks. : Boysnape Sa, Monk-, Langroyd Bl.

O.E. ȝ frequently appears as ȝ (uy) in early sources, especially S. of the Ribble. Sometimes u (uy) is preserved in the modern form : Bruche, Huyton De, Hulton Sa.

O.E. ðn, ð sometimes appear as aw : Trawd Bl; cf. fawerhokes "four oaks" (Am) CC 298. O.N. ou (aw) often becomes ou (aw) as in Rawcliffe Am, Hawes Lo; cf. -hall-<haw (O.N. haupr) under l.

CONSONANTS

O.E. d often becomes t in a final position : Breightmet, Facit Sa, Lunt De. On confusion between -head, -side and -set, see under set p. 16. On -forth for -ford, see p. 11.

O.E. ç after ò often appears as i, y instead of w, as in Haigh Sa, Crookhey, Stoddal Sa, earlier Bradshaigh for Bradshaw and the like. Shawforth Sa is pronounced locally (Je-fep). Note Aighton Bl, Haighton Am.

O.E., O.N. k [x] occasionally becomes k : Alkington, Anglezark, Lomax Sa, Pex Hill De, Arkhome Lo. It often disappears finally after ȝ : Medlar Am, Orter, Torver, Winder Lo (-ergh "a shieling"), Scalelo Lo (bergh "a hill").

Initial h- has disappeared in Unsworth Sa, Audley, Elmridge Bl, perh. Inchfield Sa. Loss of h- in early sources, as in Apton for Hatton is partly due to A.N. influence. The same
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Explanation probably applies to inorganic $h$, as Himne for Ince DB. Inorganic $h$ is very common before the second el. of compounds, as Fryshkes “five oaks” CC 716, Dodithak “dodded oak” CC 516; -ergh often for -ergh. This is hardly due to A.N. influence.

O.E., O.N. k (c) sometimes appears as $t$ before i, n: Birtle, Birtenshaw, Whittleswick Sa, Artlebeck Lo. The opposite change seems evidenced in Alknoates Bl.

O.E. cw and hw seem to have fallen together, qw being often written for O.E. hw and wh for O.E. cw. Whiston is often Quistan, Quick De often Whiske in early sources. Whittleswick Sa seems to have originally begun in Cu-. (Cw-). This confusion is due to the change [kw] > [hw] > [w] common in Lnc. dial.; cf. Wright, E.D.Gr. § 241.

$t$ is frequently lost after au, ou, u, as in Audenshaw Sa, Gooden Sa, Audley Bl, Lickow, Mowbrick, Tooderstaffe Am; cf. further Marsden, Twiston Bl; also Knowesly De, Scottcliffe Sa, Bl (dissimilation). But early au for al (as Salford for Salford) is due to A.N. influence. An inorganic $l$ has often been added after au, ou, etc., as in Nuttall Sa, Beconsall Le, Hackinsall, Prestall Am, Walney Lo. In Lonsdale N. of the Sands -hall has often replaced earlier -law (O.N. lagra). An intrusive $l$ is found also in Fallowfild, Quarlton Sa.

$n$ in weak forms of nouns and adjectives as the first part of compounds as a rule disappears except before a vowel and $h$, as in Chadwick, Tetlow Sa, Elton Sa, De, Entwisle Bl, Bedford De; Bradley, Newton De, etc., Heaton Sa, etc. But $n$ remains e.g. in Cockney Sa, Kinknall De, Wignall Le. It is doubtful if $n$ ever remains before a consonant (other than $h$). There are a very few isolated instances in the earliest sources (Woolton De). Possible cases of preservation of $n$ are Blatchinworth, Monton Sa, Cronton De.

$ng$ [ŋ] often appears as $n$ before $d$, $t$ in early forms. Cf. e.g. Tottington Sa, Whittington SLo. Later $ng$ is usually reintroduced and original $n$ is the same position often becomes $ng$. The genuine modern pronunciation is probably as a rule [n]. Loss of $ng$ is found in Padiham.

$p$ > $t$ in Lingart Am, Kellet, Sellet SLo (cf. also infra). It has disappeared in Adgarley, Blanseley, Stonerley NLo.

$\delta$ has been lost in Bolton, Winton, Weeton, Elston, Elswick, etc.

$w$, of course, often disappears. This is usually the case in the genuine pronunciation of -luwite [pow].

Anglo-Norman Spellings

Only some of the more important and frequently exemplified deviations from normal spelling due to A.N. influence are here pointed out. I refer to Skeat, Notes on English Etymology, p. 471ff., Stolze, Lautelehre der ae Ortsnamen in Domesday Book, and especially to Zachrisson, Anglo-Norman Influence and Notes on Early English Personal Names (Studier i modern språkvetenskap vi., Uppsala 1917).

VOWELS

$au$ replaces $a$ before $n$. Cf. Bamford Sa, Sankey De, Cantsfield Lo.
$e$ is occasionally written for $ai$, $ei$, as in Gherystane, Sueneat DB (Garstang, Swainshead).
A prosthetic vowel is sometimes added before $s + a$ cons.: Esmedune DB (Smithdown).

CONSONANTS

c often stands for O.E. $c$, M.E. ch [tʃ], as in Oldenwelle, Recedham, Mamecentre DB (Childwall, Rochdale, Manchester). Before $t$, $c$ sometimes replaces O.E. $h$, as in Lichhurst for Lighthurst.
$ch$ is a common symbol for [k] before $e$, $i$, as in Blacheburn, Cherchebi, Chellet, Schelmersdale DB (for Blackburn, etc.),
$d$ is substituted for $th$ [ð], as in Bodeltone (for Bothelton > Bolton), Liderlant (Litherland) DB.

$n$ replaces $m$ in the end of words: Lidun, Tiernun DB (Lytham, Thurnham),
$e$ (as) is a common spelling for oeh, eh: Eston for Ashton, Shutlesworth for Shuttlesworth, etc.
t frequently replaces th [ð] especially in the beginning of words. Tarbeck, Tarleton, Tarlscough, Torriholme, Turton, Trinkeld still have $t$. But to some extent (at least in Trinkeld) an English or a Scand. sound-change may account for $t$.

$w$ for wh, as in White (Whittle), Wadella (Whalley) is probably a Norman spelling, as wh is long kept apart from $w$ in Northern dialects.
LANCASHIRE PLACE-NAMES

Lancashire: (honor de) Lancastre 1140 Ch, (honor de) Lancastro 1158 Ch (orig.), Lancasta 1162, 1165 LPR, (Comitatus de) Lancastra 1169 LPR, etc., (Comitatus) Lancastriae 1199 LPR, etc., (Comitatus) Lancastra 1202 LPR; Lancastreshire 14 cent. Higden, -shire 1387 Trevisa, Lancastershire 14 cent. Eulogium Historiarum (Lancastshire in a 15 cent. MS), Loncastyr schyr 1441 RSB, Lancasher 1464 Paston L II. 152, Lancastreshir(e) c 1540 Leland, Lancashire, Lonkashire 1586 Camden.

The earliest quotations really refer to the honour of Lancaster. The full status of a county appears to have been attained by Lancashire in 1194 (Farrer LPR 3, VHL II. 187-191). Lancaster is the county town.

The Lyme.—The honour of Lancaster included parts of other counties, as Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham. To distinguish the Lancashire part of the honour from the rest it became usual to describe it as the honour “infra comitatum” or “infra Limam,” the other parts being referred to as “extra comitatum” or “extra Limam”; these terms are translated into English as “within, without (or beyond) the Lyme.” Examples are frequently met with in records, e.g., The Book of Fees, pp. 206, 210, Rotuli Litterarum Patentium I. 165, etc.1


The same element occurs outside Lancashire, viz. in Ches., Staffs., Shrops., and perhaps Derby.2†


In Liber Luciani da lede Castrie (RS 64), p. 65 (c. 1195), the forest of Lyme is said to form the boundary of Cheshire: “Cestrie provincia, Lime memoris limite lateraliter clusa.” By a charter of 1259 found in Annales Cestrenses (RS 14), p. 76, Edward earl of Chester “licenciavit homines Cestriensis appropriandi se de Bosco qui vocatur Lima.” Earl Ranulf III., in a charter of 1215-16 (Chart. Chester Abbey, p. 105), exempts his barons from doing service extra Lymam.


2 I have to thank Professor Tait for pointing out to me some of the examples given here.

In the Cartulary of Chester Abbey is mentioned, in connection with Weston (upon Trent) and Shardlow, a *boscus de Lima* (p. 169), *boscus de Lyne* 1228-40 (p. 179). Prof. Tait takes this Lyme wood to have been in Derby near the Trent, which forms a county boundary.

The *Lyme* is a difficult name. As the word is often used to denote a county boundary and places with names in *Lyme* are mostly on or near county boundaries, it is tempting to ascribe to the word a meaning “boundary.” This has also been suggested by Sephton and others. Prof. Tait, Mediaeval Manchester, p. 180, apparently shares this view. But it is difficult to find an etymology for such a word. We should have to assume that a word *lyme* “boundary” was in living use in early M.E. times. As shown by names such as Lyme Handley, Audlem, Burslem, which are in DB, *Lyne* must date from O.E. time. We can, therefore, not derive it from a Romance shortened form of Lat. *limes*. O.E. loan direct from Lat. *limes* is hardly to be thought of. A native Engl. word of the required form and meaning is unknown and has no parallels in cognate languages. In Celtic languages I can find no word that may be the source. A Brit. form of Lat. *limes* would hardly have lost the suffix (or really second component).

In my opinion *Lyme* was originally the name of a forest. This is suggested also by Taylor, Introduction to Liber Luciani, p. 29, who thinks Lyme Forest was a continuation of Macclesfield Forest to the S.W. In Ormerod’s Cheshire III. 538, on the other hand, it is stated that the forest of Macclesfield was anciently denominated forest of Lyme, “from its position on the boundary of the Palatinate.” But unless we assume that there were two forests of Lyme near each other the forest must have extended all the way along the Cheshire border from N.E. Shropshire into S.E. Lancashire, and have embraced Macclesfield forest. The forest of Lyme, if this is correct, must have been very extensive, and this may seem to tell against the theory. But the forest district would be chiefly on the western slope of the Pennine hills, which may be supposed to have been to a great extent forest and waste in early days. More serious is, perhaps, the objection that we should not expect to find this large forest of Lyme mentioned only in local charters and records. I suppose the name Lyme ceased at an early date to be applied, at least in official parlance, to the whole district, though it lingered on as the name of parts of it. A considerable (perhaps the chief) part from early mediaeval times came to be called the Macclesfield Forest.

1 The form *Lyne*, which appears also in Ashton-under-Lyne, seems to be due to association with *lina*, mark; limit, boundary. The latter sense is found at least from 1595 (NED).
2 If the Derbyshire examples are trustworthy, we must assume that there was a forest of Lyme also in Derby, for the forest of Lyme under discussion here cannot have embraced the part of Derby where Shardlow is.
3 The forest of Lyme mentioned in the charter of 1259 may have been a part of the old forest, or the name Lyme may have continued to be locally used of the whole district.
THE LYME

25

The phrase under Lyme (in Newcastle-under-Lyme, etc.) rather corroborates the theory that Lyme is the name of a forest. The prep. under (Lat. sub, subitus) is very frequently combined with names of forests, as in Ascot-under-Wychwood (Oxf.), Heaton-under-Horwich or under the Forest (see p. 44), Newton Underwood Nhb. It seems to mean "near."

The names Lyme, Audlem, Burslem contain the old name of the forest. Places in or on the outskirt of the forest were called Lyme. Audlem and Burslem were very likely at first called Lyme, and the elements Alde-, Burgweardes were added for distinction.

We come to the phrases infra, extra Limam. These can hardly always mean simply "within, beyond the forest of Lyme." In Ranulf's charter extra Lymam apparently means "outside the county boundary." I think we have here a case of transferred meaning, which is fairly easily explained in the case of Cheshire. Lyme Forest is stated c 1195 to be the (eastern) boundary of Cheshire. Extra Lymam would mean originally "beyond Lyme Forest." This would be tantamount to "beyond (outside) the eastern border." By extension the phrase might easily come to mean "outside the boundary of the Palatinate." There were circumstances which gave the eastern boundary of Cheshire a special significance. The earls of Chester had large possessions outside Cheshire. Ranulf I. (d. 1129) was the greatest landowner in Lindsey. Ranulf II. (d. 1153) had possessions in Lindsey, Notts., Leicester, Warwick, and Stafford (DNB). His son, Hugh, succeeded to his father's possessions. The forest of Lyme thus actually separated the Palatinate from the (chief of the) possessions of the earls outside it. I suppose the phrase extra Limam was at first used in reference to the possessions of the earls of Chester beyond Lyme Forest, not in reference to England generally.

It is more difficult to account for the use of the phrases extra (infra) Limam in the case of the honour of Lancaster, because Lyme Forest formed only a small part of the Lancashire boundary. Still, Lyme Forest would, in a way, separate the Lancashire part of the honour from those in Derbyshire, etc. But it seems to me more plausible to assume that the phrases were applied to the honour of Lancaster on the analogy of the Cheshire usage. The fact that the forest of Lyme actually formed part of the Lancashire boundary would have facilitated this transference.

As Lyme Forest formed an important boundary, a natural consequence is that the places with names containing the el. Lyme are all on or near a county boundary. It is to be noticed, however, that Newcastle-under-Lyme, Whitmore, and Burslem are at some distance at least from the present boundary between Ches. and Staffs.

Lyme is probably a pre-English name of the forest. It may be an old forest name, or the forest may have been named from some place. Possibly it belongs to the Celt. stem *lemo, *limo "elm" (O.Ir. lem, Gaul. limonum, Welsh llwynf, etc.). It may be simply the word for "elm" used in the sense "elm-wood" (cf. Jones, p. 221), or a derivative of that word. If the meaning is "elm-wood,"

1 The name of the stream (Lyme) on which Newcastle-under-Lyme stands is probably a back-formation. Yet it might be an old stream-name, identical with Lyme in Do., and might have given name to the forest.
this need, of course, not mean that the forest consisted only of elm; it may imply that elms were common in it.

Lyme in Do. (at Lym 938 CD 372) is probably derived from the river-name Lyme (Lm 774 BCS 224).

**SALFORD HUNDRED**


Salford hundred, the S.E. part of the county, is marked off by natural boundaries on almost all sides. The S. boundary is formed by the Mersey and the Tame. From Yorkshire in the E. and Blackburn hundr. in the N. it is separated by high moorlands. In the S.W. the large Chat Moss formerly cut Salford off from West Derby hundred. On the N.W. high moorlands, belonging to Salford, separate the main body of the hundred from Leyland. But N. of Chat Moss Salford and West Derby hundreds pass into each other without a well-defined natural boundary.

The surface is mainly low and level in the S.W., but rises gradually to the E. and N., where considerable altitudes are reached. Deep river valleys intersect the rising ground.

**Names of Rivers**

**Mersey:** Marse 1002 Thorpe 544, Mersham DB, Mersam 1094 LC, 1130 LPR, 1140 Ch; Merse 1142 Ch, 1224, 1251, 1270 ChR, etc., Merese 1228 CIR, Mersee 13 cent. Wh C 560, 1293 AP, 1322 LI, Meresse 1298 LI, Merseie 14 cent. Higden, Mersea 1387 Trevisa, Mersey, Marsey c 1540 Leland, Marsee 1577 Saxton, Mersey 1577 Harr.

The name is a compound with O.E. ēa "river" as second el. The first el. offers difficulties. We expect the name of such an important river (or at least its first el.) to be of pre-English origin. But the name has a Germanic appearance. It is most plausible, as the form of 1002 shows an ð in the first syllable, to connect the first el. with O.E. (ge)mære "boundary." O.E. Mærse instead of Mærese might be compared with such examples as bocre (< bocere), deoflic (< deofollic) Luick, Hist. Gr. § 345. As regards a formation Mœres-ēa, it is true there are examples of apparently analogous kind. Johnston points out Meresbrook (Sheffield) and Meresbroc DB (Shrops.), and Middendorff mentions from O.E. charters mæres crundel, mæres sled. Anyhow, it would be remarkable if such an old name as Mersey must be should have its first el. in the genitive form. Possibly we may assume a side-form or derivative of O.E. (ge)mære with an s-suffix, the word being an old s-stem. This would also account for O.E. Mærse instead of Mærese. If so, we may perhaps compare such names as The Mearse (farm, Worc.); Mersham (Kent): Mersaham¹ 858 BCS 496 (orig.), 863 BCS 507 (orig.); Maresfield (Sussex): Mersfelde 1316, Marsefeld 1322 (Roberts).

¹ Mere- might be the gen. pl. of a word meaning "borderer."
Tame (a trib. of the Mersey): *Thame WhC 149, Tame 1322 LI (p. 65), the Tame 1577 Harr. Tame (Thame) is a common river-name; cf., e.g., Tame (Warw., Staffs.): O.E. Tame, Tamer (Liebermann, Die Heiligen Englands); Thame (Oxf., Bucks.): Tame 971 Chr.B.; Thame (Yks.): Tame Guisb. C. It is a Celtic name, identical with Taff, Wales (two different): Tam, Taf LL.

Gore (or Rush or Chariton) Brook (a trib. of the Mersey): *Gorbrooke, Gorbrook (Gordeneheued) c 1250 Ch (17 cent. transcript), Gorbrookes 1322 LI. Gore is O.E. gor “dung, dirt.”

Cringlebrook (falls into Gore Brook): *Kryngelbroke 1322 LI. Cringlebrook is (or was) also the name of a place: *Cringlebrooke 1593 Didsbury R. The name means “the winding brook.” The brook makes innumerable twists and turns, too small to be shown even in the one-inch map. The first el. may be compared with cringle-crangle adj. “winding in and out, twisted” (1606 etc.), cringle vb. “to curve, twist, wind,” especially of a brook (Lakel.; EDD). We may assume an O.E. adj. *cringol or *cryngel (<*krungila-) “twisting” from cringan “to die,” lit. “to contract spasmodically, to twist”; cf. cringe, which preserves the original meaning.

Irwell (the most important trib. of the Mersey; runs diagonally from N.E. to S.W. practically through the whole hundred; it is 30 miles long): *Urwil a 1190, c 1200 CC, Urvill a 1250 CC, Irwel 1246 LAR, 13 cent. WhC 42, Irrewelle 1277 LAR, *Irvel c 1540 Leland. It would seem most natural to identify the first el. of this name, whose second el. is O.E. wella, wella “stream,” with that of Ireby, Irton, etc., i.e., with Ire pers. n. (probably Scand.) or the gen. of O.N. Irav or O.E. Iras “Irishmen.” But the CC forms tell against this, and such an etymology is in itself improbable. I believe Ir- is a pre-English name of the river. If so, we may compare O.E. Yr 959 BCS 1052, an old form of Aire (Yks.), no doubt a Celtic name. The etymology of the name is too difficult to be entered into here.

The simple name Ire is possibly found in *Irinford 13 cent. WhC 796, *Ireford ib. 785, *Iriford, *Yreford 1329 ib. 260f. (Chadwick, Rochdale). The ford was on the Roch, the most important tributary of the Irwell, which may originally have been called Ire.

Gilda Brook (a trib. of the Irwell): cf. le Guldenaleford, Gildenhaleford 13 cent. WhC 878, 880, de Gyldenale 1324 LF. Gilda is a place-name containing as its second el. O.E. halth “haugh.” The first may be the O.E. adj. gylden, possibly in the sense “covered with golden flowers” (e.g., marigolds). Cf. gyldeburne 843 BCS 442 (orig.) and Giltbrook (Notts.). Or possibly it may be a lost O.E. pers. n. Gylda, a derivative of Gold- in Goldwine, etc.

Cornbrook (joins the Irwell near Manchester): *Le Cornebrooke 1322 LI (p. 66), Corne Brooke c 1540 Leland. Identical with Cornbrook, Worc. (corn broc c 957 BCS 1007; cf. corna wudu, corna lyp ib.). Corna is the gen. pl. of O.E. *corn, a form with metathesis of cron, cran “a crane”; cf. cornoc=cranoc B-T (Suppl.). Cornbrook is also the name of a ward in Stretford.

Medlock (joins the Irwell in Manchester): Medeloke, Medelake 1322 LI, Medlok c 1540 Leland, the Medlocke 1577 Harr. Probably O.E. mēd “meadow” and lacu “stream.” If so, the change to -lock must be due to association with lock sb.
The Shooter (a trib. of the Medlock): (aqua de) Schiter 1334 VHL IV. 252; cf. Shiter-flat M 552. Identical with Sciter (or Scitere) river-name, in O.E. sciteres strēam, sciteres flōd, sciteres clif (Middendorff), apparently a derivative of O.E. scite "dirt" or seitan vb.

Irk (joins the Irwell near Manchester): Irke, Irke, Hirk 1322 LI, Hirke, Hirk c 1540 Leland, the Yrke 1577 Harr. The name is possibly a derivative of the first cl. of Irwell.

Roch (joins the Irwell near Bury): Rached. 13 cent. WhC 757, Rache 13 cent. WhC 619, 796, Rach late 12 cent. Ind II., 13 cent. WhC 773, etc., ye Rache 1577 Harr. Rached. (if not for Rachedale) is probably a back-formation from Rachedham, an early name of Rochdale, the most important place on the Roch. Later on arose a new back-formation Rache from Rachedale. See Rochdale p. 54. The change a Æ is late. The name is sometimes written Roach (e.g. by Waugh) and pronounced [ro'tʃ].

Naden (a trib. of the Roch): Nauden c 1300 WhC 602, 740 etc., Naubenbrok 13 cent. ib. 739. See Naden p. 60.


Beal (joins the Roch at Rochdale): Bele 1200-20 CC, Béle c 1300 WhC 611, the Beyle 1577 Harr. Cf. Belfield, Beal Moor pp. 52, 56. The name is perhaps to be identified with the O.E. river-name (in) bæle, (ondlang) bæles (Worc.) 851 BCS 462. This is possibly a Celtic name, but the etymology is doubtful.

Names of Hills

Very few hill-names, apart from those which have given names to places, are found in early sources. Most hills are named from adjacent places.

Blackstone Edge (on the Yks. border): The backe stony hilles 1577 Harr., Blakeston edge hill 1577 Saxton. Edge means "ridge or summit of a hill or range of hills; a steep hill or hillside." Blackstone is said to refer to a boundary stone between Yks. and Lanc.

Harcles Hill (a prominent hill W. of the Irwell and Ramsbottom): Arkhillishou a 1236, Arkell-, Arkeleshow c 1236 Whit. I. 324f. O.N. Arnkell pers. n. and haugr "hill."

Rivington Pike (1,156 ft.): Rovynq 1325 LI, Rivenpike c 1540 Leland, Rivenpike hill 1577 Saxton, Rauenpike 1577 Harr. Johnston gives Roinpik a 1290, Rivenpike a 1552. Cf. Rivington p. 48. I imagine the name is a derivative of O.E. hrōf "rough, rugged," O.E. *hrōfing "rugged one," i.e., rugged hill. This base would account fairly well for the variation in the vowel (e, o, ë). Association with the adj. rough may account for some forms of Rivington. The name seems to suit the hill. As regards the suffix cf. Kluge, Stammbildungslehre, §100. Leland gives the alternative name Fairelokke.

Scout Moor (1,534 ft., N.E. of Ramsbottom): Scoute 1610 Bury R (a place). Dial. scout (< O.N. skútta "projecting cliff") means "a high rock or hill; a projecting ridge, a precipice."
ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE PAR.

This parish is in the south-east corner of the county, and is separated by the Tame from Cheshire and Yorkshire. The ground is fairly flat in the W., the altitude varying from c. 275 to c. 350 ft., but rises in the E., where an elevation of over 1,000 ft. is reached. The par. contains only one township.

**Ashton-under-Lyne**: Haistune, Haystune c. 1160 Ch, Esten 1212 LI, Asheton 1276 LAR, Aston 1278 LF, Asshton under Lyrne 1305 LF, Assheton under Lyne 1355 LF, Asshton under Lyne 1319 LF, Asshton 1327, 1332 LS, etc. "Ashtree town." As regards the addition under Lyne see p. 23. Ashton town stands on the Tame.

**Alt** (N. of Ashton): de Alt c 1200 Ch, de Halt 1222-6 LI, de Alte (Halch) 1246 LAR, de Alche (Hache) 1276 LAR, Alte 1322 LI, Alt Hey 1422 CS 74. Alt is on a spur of hill reaching 600 ft.; near it are Alt Hill and Alt Edge. Under the circumstances the name may be derived from Celt. *alto-" hill," etc.; cf. Welsh alt "hill-side, hill, cliff, woodland," O.Ir. alt "shore, cliff." Alt is common in Welsh place-names.

**Audenshaw**: Aldenshaede, Aldenesave c. 1200 Ch, Aldenshagh c 1250 ib. (LPR 332), de Aldewynestath 1246 LAR, Aldewynshagh 1422 HS II. O.E. Aldwine p.n. and scaga "shaw." The early forms in Alden are found in a 17th cent. transcript and are no doubt to be disregarded. Other MSS. have the variants Aldwynshawe, -shay (LPR 329, 332).

**Bardsley**: Bard(es)ley, de Berdesley 1422 CS 74. The first el. is apparently a pers. name, perhaps O.E. Beard; cf. Beardshaw, Beardwood, Bardsea infra.

**Hartshead** (in the N.E.): Hertesheved 1200 LPR, Hertesheved 1203 ib. The name no doubt means "hart hill" (O.E. heorot "hart" and hēafod "hill"). Hartshead is a district comprising a steep hill or ridge reaching c. 1,000 ft.

**Heyrod** (N.E. of Ashton, on the slope of a hill): de Heyerode 1246 LAR, del Heghrode 1422 CS 74, the Herode 1603 CW 6. "High clearing" (O.E. rod p. 16).

**Lees or Hey**: del Heye 1332 LS; the Leese 1604 CW 4. Hey seems to be O.E. hege "enclosure," while Lees appears to be the plr. of O.E. lēah "lea."

**Luzzley**: de Luseley, -legh 1246 LAR, Loseley 13 cent. VHL IV. 341, Lusley 1422 CS 74. In spite of the early u- forms, I think the first el. is O.E. hlūse "a pig-sty," the u being due to the early northern change of ð to a sound written u.

**Mossley**: de Moseleigh 1319 LF, Mossley 1422 CS 74. "Moss lea."

**Shepley**: de Shepelegh 1332 LS, Shepley 1422 CS 74. "Sheep lea."

**Stalybridge** (now in Cheshire). Named from Stayley, an old hamlet: de Stavelegh 1389 Bardley, Stayley 1422 CS 74. O.E. *staef-leah; staef "staff" may also have meant "a boundary mark."

**Sunderland** (or Cinderland): Sunderland 1422 CS 74, Synderlands 1564 DL. The name represents O.E. sundorland, literally "separate land." The exact meaning in this case is not clear. Cf. the same name in Bl. and Lo.

**Taunton or Tongton**: de Tongton 1246 LAR, de Tounton 1276 LAR, Taunton 1422 CS 74, Tongton 1585 DL. Taunton stands S. of the junction of Taunton brook with the Medlock; a long narrow tongue of land is formed by the streams. The first el. of the name is no doubt O.E. tang "fork of a river"; cf. p. 18.
MANCHESTER HUNDRED

The district round Manchester city. Most of the thirty townships are now wholly or partly urban or suburban. The surface is low and level in the S., especially the S.W., but rises somewhat in the E. and N.

1. Haughton (E. of Manchester, in a bend of the Tame; v.): Halghton 1307 LF, 1322 LI, Halcton 1322 LI. The village stands fairly high over the Tame and some small "haughs" or flat pieces of ground in the bends of the river. First el. O.E. halh "haugh," on which see p. 11.

2. Denton (E. of Manchester, W. of Haughton): Denton 1255, 1278 LAR, 1282 LF, etc. First el. O.E. denu "valley." A small brook rises close to the church and runs in a slight valley S.W. Denton Hall is close to the brook.

3. Reddish (S.E. of Manchester, on the Tame): Reddiche 1212 RB, 1262 LF, 1284 LAR, Redich 1212 LI, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., Reddick 1262 LF, Redyche 1322 LI, Redyche 1325 LCR; Radich 1226 LI, Reddic 1227 LI, Radiche 1324 LI, Radyse 1550 LF; de Redisshe 1404 CR, Reddish 1577 Harr. The name probably means "reed ditch" (O.E. hrēod-dic), and refers to the old Nico Ditch (no doubt a corruption of Mykeldiche 1190-1212 LPR 329), which forms the N. boundary of the township. Some early forms apparently point rather to a first el. O.E. rēad "red," but this etymology seems less probable. The change [tʃ] > [ʃ] is late.


4. Heaton Norris (S. of Manchester, on the Mersey): Hetton 1196 LF, Hetton 1212 LI, 1276 LAR, Heton Norays 1282 IPM, Heton Norreys 1322 LI, 1332 LS. "The high town." Heaton occupies a piece of land which rises to over 200 ft. above sea-level and slopes steeply S. and W. The manor was held from the 12th cent. onwards by the Norreys family.

5. Burnage (N.W. of Heaton Norris, v.): Bronadge, Bronage, Bronnegge (var. Brownegg) 1322 LI (copy). Etymology doubtful. The ground of the township slopes slightly from S. to N.; but it seems improbable that this slope could have been called an edge. If the second el. of the name is edge (O.E. ecg), the first might be O.E. burna "brook" and the name might be due to the position of the place near Cringle Brook. As regards the form -adge, we may compare ageg "edge" in Layamon (NED). If, as one of the forms seems to suggest, the first el. is the adj. brown, the second is perhaps the word hedge. Cf. Burnedge p. 52.

6. Withington (S. of Manchester): Wyhtinton 1212, 1243 LI, 1332 LS, etc., de Witheton 1219, 1222 LAR, Withinton 1255 LAR, 1325 LF, etc., Wythington 1248 LAR, Whytinton 1303 FA. Other variants occur. The first el. is dial. withen "willow."

Fallowfield: Fallufeld 1317 M, Falofeld 1417 CR, Falowfelde 1530 DL. The name no doubt means literally "fallow field," fallow being here perhaps used in the sense "uncultivated" (cf. NED). Falfield, in Gloucester, seems to have the same origin. A somewhat different explanation of the name is given by Gray, English Field Systems, 1915.

Healdhouses: Yheldhouse 1317 M 574, la Zeldehouses 1417 CR. "Guild houses"; first el. O.E. gild "guild."
Hough End Hall: *del Hogh* 1323 LF, (manor of) *Hoghe, Howghe* 1543 AD VI, Hugghall 1577 Saxton, *the Hough, the Hough End* 1587 CW 40, *howges end, ye Hoousend* 1588 Didsbury R; now [hu'z end] (Prof. Tait) or [(h)ufend (h)ə'l]. The place stands on Chorlton Brook, which runs in a ravine called Houghend Clough (*Wythinton Howe* 1322 LI). Hough is O.E. *hōh*, here used in the sense "a ravine"; cf. *heugh* "a glen; a deep cleft in the rocks; a grassy ravine without water" (Sc., Nh., Wml., etc., EDD).

7. Levensholme (S.E. of Manchester, between Nico Ditch and Black Brook): *de Lewyneshulm* 1246 LAR, *Levensholme* 1322 LI, Lenson 1587 Didsbury R; now [levenzu')]; "Leofwine’s holm." *Lēofwine* is a common O.E. pers. n.

8. Rusholme (S. of Manchester): *Russum WhC 59, 1235 LF, Ryssham* 1316 M, *Rysum* 1417 Cr., *Rysshulme, Rysholme* 1551 LF; now [rujmen]. The name seems to be O.E. *ryscum* dat. pl. of *risc, rysc* "rush." Through the township runs Gore Brook, also called Rushbrook.

Birch: *de Birches* 1246 LAR, *de(t) Byrches* 1277, 1284 LAR, *Byrches* 1322 LI. "The birches" (O.E. *biroce* "birch").

Platt: *Plat* 1292 PW, *del Plat* 1300 OR, 1312 AP. The name may be identical with *plat*1 "a piece of ground," or perhaps more probably with dial. *plat*, "a foot-bridge"; cf. Platt p. 102. A bridge over Gore Brook is called Platt Bridge.

Slade (formerly Milkwall Slade): *Milkewalslade* 1322 LI, *Slade* 1600 RS XII. 248. Milkwall is presumably the name of a stream, literally " milk well" (O.E. *wælla* "stream"). *Slade* "valley, glade," etc., is O.E. *slæd*.


Chorlton: *de Cholreton* 1243 LI, 1258 LAR, 1314 LF, *Chollerton* 1322 LI, 1336 LF, 1561 DL, *Chorleton* 1551 LF, Colerton 1555 LF; here probably belong *de Cheluerton* 1259 LAR, *de Cheluerton* 1260 LAR. It seems the editor of VHL is right in taking forms such as *Chollerton* to refer to Chorlton-cum-Hardy, such as *Cherleton, Chorleton* to Chorlton-upon-Medlock; yet the two names seem to have been confused even in early times. Thus in PR 1260 (LAR p. 297 ff.) Richard *de Cheluerton* (i.e., Chorlton c. Hardy) is called *de Cherleton*, pp. 297, 299. Chorlton (cum-Hardy) apparently has as first el. an O.E. pers. name in *Cœl*, if the forms *Cheluerton, Cheluerton* are trustworthy, probably O.E. *Cœlferp,-frip*.

Hardy (near the Mersey): *Hardey* 1555 LF, 1588 Didsbury R. The second el. of the name is probably O.E. *ēg* "island, river-meadow," etc. (p. 10). Cf. *Eeas*, the land by the riverside in the township. The first el. is doubtful. It might, of course, be the adj. *hard*.

Barlow (old manor): *Barlowe* 1254 AP, 1322 LI, 1336 LF, *de Berlawe, Barlowe* 1260 LAR. O.E. *bere* "barley" and *hλw* "hill." The surface of the township

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1 First evidenced in NED from 1511, etc. Cf. *Adamesplat* 1200-38 CC 551.
is generally level and low, but in the S.E., where Barlow is, it rises to over 100 ft. above sea-level.


12. **Chorlton-upon-Medlock** (S. of the Medlock, in Manchester): *Chorleton* 1177 LPR, 1196, 1202 LF, *Chorleton* 1212 LI, *Chorlton* 1226 LI, 1278 LF, *Chorleton* 1327, 1332 LS, etc. This Chorlton obviously goes back to O.E. ceorla tūn, and is identical with the common name Chorlton. Chorlton occurs also in Ches. and Staffs. It is not apparent why villages were called ceorla-tūn “the tun of the ceorls,” but similar names are found elsewhere, e.g., in Sweden (*Karlaby*, etc.; cf. Hellquist, *De svenska ortnamnen på -by*, esp. p. 76 ff.).

13. **Stretford** (between the Mersey and the Irwell): *Stretford* 1212 LI, 1325 LF, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., *Stratford* 1292 PW. The village stands near the ford (sometimes called Crosford) by which the Roman road from Chester to Manchester passes the Mersey. *Stret-* is O.E. *strēt* “street, Roman road.”

**Trafford** (old manor): *de Trafford* c 1200 Ch (orig.), 1212 LI, etc., *Trafford* 1226 LI, 1284 ChR, 1325 LF, etc., *de Trafford* 1212 RB. Trafford is a doublet of Stretford, the form being due to Norman influence. Zachrisson, A.N. Inf. p. 67ff., gives some similar instances of loss of *ś*; also *a* for *e* and the assimilation of *tf* to *ff* may be due to the same cause. That Trafford comes from earlier Stratford is obvious. Henry de Trafford, often mentioned in sources from about 1200 (as LI, RB), is called *H. de Stratford* in *Stafford* 1206 LPR, *H. de Trafford* ib. 1207; cf. Hugo de Straforde in *Stratford* 1212 RB. The manor of Trafford was carved out of Stretford township. As the manor-house was situated at a considerable distance from the village, its Normanized name came at an early period to be dissociated from that of the village, and therefore remained.

14. **Salford** (town; before the Conquest a royal manor and the head of Salford hundred): *Salford* DB, 1177 LPR, 1226 LI, 1332 LS, etc.; *Sawford* 1169, 1201 LPR, etc. Occasional forms are: *Sainford* 1226 LI, *de Salford* 1233, 1255 LAR, *Shelford* 1260 LPR, *Salford* 1257 LI. “Willow ford,” O.E. *salh* “willow” and *ford*. Old Salford village was on the Irwell. The name Salford in Beds. and Yks. has the same origin.

**Ordsall** (old manor): *Ordeshala* 1177 LPR, *Ordeschal* 1201f. LPR, *Ordeshale*, *Wurdeshal* 1226 LI, *Hordessale* 1303 FA, *Hordeshale* 1330 LI, *Urdesale* 1381 CR 353. The first el. is apparently an O.E. pers. name *Ord*, a pet form of names such as *Ord ric*, etc., apparently found also in Ordsall, Notts. (*Ordeshale* DB), and perhaps as *Orde* in DB (Wyld). The second el. is O.E. *halh* “haugh.” Ordsall is in a bend of the Irwell.

15. **Broughton** (on the Irwell): *Burton* 1177, 1201 ff. LPR, *Borton* 1257 LI, *Burghton* 1203, 1323, 1330 LI, 1352 LF, *Burghton* 1341 IN. O.E. Burhtūn, the source of the numerous English Burtouns. The origin of this name is probably not always the same. In some cases it may be due to the situation of a place near an old disused *burh*, or to a *burh* still in use. In other cases it may represent an O.E. *burhtūn*, i.e., “a tun with a palisade round it” (Maitland, Domesday Book, p. 183). A great man’s house had a palisade, apparently called *burh*. 
In the present case the reason why the name was given the place is not obvious. The form Broughton is due to a late change.

**Kersal**: Kereshalam 1142 Ch, Kershala c 1175 ib., Kereshal 1199 ChR, Kersall, Kersale c 1200 Ch, Kershal 1200 LPR, Kereshole 1212 LI, Kersale, de Kershale 1246 LAR. The second el. is O.E. halh “haugh”; Kersal is in a bend of the Irwell. The first el. is not so certain. The early forms point most probably to a dissyllabic word; the forms Kershala, Kersall, Kersale are mostly found in late transcripts. If so, it may be identified with O.E. Cær pers. n., found in Cæresig, now Kersey, Suff. But O.E. cersæ “cress” is not impossible; cf. Kearsley in Deane, p. 43. A cell of St. Leonard’s belonging to the priory of Lenton was established here in 1142, hence the name of Kersal Cell, a house occupying the site of the cell.

**Tetlow**: Tettelagh 1302 LI, Tettleoue 1312 LI, de Tettlewe 1323 LI, de Tetteloue 1346 FA. The elements of the name are O.E. Tetta pers. n. and O.E. hlæw “hill.” O.E. Tetta is found in Tedburn, Dev.: (on) tettan burnan 739 BCS 1331.

**Choo** (a lost place, considered to have been in Broughton): Le Choo 1322 LI, The Choe 1341, (the) Choo 1343, 1473 M. Cf. Chew in Billington, p. 71.

16. **Huime** (bounded practically by the Medlock, Irwell, and Cornbrook): Ouerholm and Noranholm 1226 LI (Norholm 1227 ib.), Overholm and Netherholm 1324 LI, de Hulm 1246 LAR, Hulm 1310 LF, Hulme 1440 LF, etc., Holme 1577 Saxton; now [hu:m, hju:m]. O.Dan. hulm “island,” etc. (cf. p. 13). The situation of the township sufficiently explains the name. Nor(an)holm 1226, 1227 appears to be a corruption for Netherholm.

17. **Cheetham** (on the W. bank of the Irk, N. of Manchester): Chetam 1212 BF, Chetham 1226 LI, 1332 LS, etc.; de Cheetham 1254 IM, Cheteham 1312 LF. The first el. is, in my opinion, identical with Welsh coed, O.Corn. cuit, Bret. koat “wood” from Brit. *kæt < Prim. Celt. *kaito. The same word is found, e.g., in Chute, Wilts (Cet 1178, Cet 1222; cf. Ekblom) and in Chetwode, Bucks. (Cetwuda 949 BCS 883, Cetewde DB). The correctness of this etymology is corroborated by the fact that the southern part of Cheetham is called Cheetwood: Cheetewode 1489 PatR, 1522 DL, Chetewood 1597 DL. The second el. is probably O.E. hæm.

**Strangeways**: Strangwas 1322 LI, de Stranways 1323 LI, de Strangways 1326 LCR, de Strangwas 1326 AP, 1356 CR 331, Strangeways 1546 LF, Strangwayshe 1551 LF, Strang wasyes 1577 Harr. Wyld aptly suggests a compound of O.E. strang “strong,” changed by popular etymology to [streindz], and O.E. (ge)wæsc “washing up or overflow of water.” Strangeways is in a tongue of land between the Irk and the Irwell. The abnormal change of the vowel and final consonant of the second el. may be due to Norman influence; but perhaps only the spelling is Norman, the pronunciation -s being due to the spelling. As regards the vowel, cf. [aif, waif] for ash, wash in Lanc. dialects.

18. **Manchester** (town): Mamucio (Iter II.), Mancunio (Iter X.) Ant. It.; Mameceaster 923 Chr. (A), Manigeceaster 923 Chr. (G), Mamecestre DB, 1183, 1197 LPR, 1212 LI, 1227 Chr., etc., Mamecestre 1184, 1185, 1194 ff. LPR, Manchester 1385, 1441 LF, Manestre 1310 LI, 1384 LF, Manchester 1330 LI, Manchester 1480 LF, etc.

The name contains O.E. ceaster “city,” etc., and the Brit. name of the
place. Of the forms that have the best MS authority, Mamucio and Mancunio, the former is obviously the better, and Mamucium is adopted by Parthay and Pinder in the map of their edition 1848. This form really has better MS authority, as it is in the two oldest texts we have (B and L, both 8th cent.), while Mancunio is not in L (L second hand has Mancunio). The English form (O.E. Mameceaster, later Mamecheste, etc.) proves decisively that Mancunium must be wrong, while Mamucium may be a correct form.\(^1\) I think it very probable that Mamucium is the original form. It may be a derivative with the suffix -uk- found in O.W. morcanhuc LL 119, etc. (from Morcant pers. n.). The base might be the stem Mam- found in Gaul. Mamus pers. n., Mamacas, Mamacus pl. names (Holder). This Brit. form at the time of its adoption would be disyllabic and end in \(k\), which was lost before O.E. c. An exact parallel is offered by O.E. Dorceceastre Chr. (now Dorchester, Oxf.), in Bede dorcicceastræ 4, 23, dorcie 3, 7.

Alport: Aldeport 1282 IPM (Aldeparc in a late transcript LL), 1322 LI, Overalport, Netheraldport 1458 RS XXX., Alparke parke c1540 Leland. Alport is near the site of the old Roman fort, at some distance from which mediaeval Manchester grew up. The name means “the old port,” port being O.E. port “town,” esp. perhaps “walled town” or “market town” (Lat. portus; NED) cf. Whitaker, History of Manchester I. 204, II. 408, Tait, Medieval Manchester, p. 3.

\(^1\) The Brit. name of Manchester is dealt with by Dr. Bradley in EHR XV., p. 496ff., and, with full discussion of the MS forms, by Professor Tait in Roman Fort at Manchester (1909), p. 9ff. Both reject Mancunio. Dr. Bradley does not consider it certain that Mamucio is correct either. “The probability,” he says, “would seem to be that both forms are more or less altered from a common archetype.” As “the nc of Mancunio must represent an original \(m\), analogy would point to the uc of Mamucio being a corruption of the same letter.” This would give Mammium, which might be a derivative of Celt. mamma “mother.” An argument in favour of this is that at the time when the Brit. name was adopted Brit. intervocalic \(m\) would probably have been represented by \(v\).

Dr. Bradley’s arguments are certainly well worth serious consideration, and Professor Tait, on account of them, thinks Mamucium “lies under some suspicion.” To my mind the chief reason for suspecting the form is the preservation of Brit. \(m\). If it can be proved that Eng. \(m\) may well represent Brit. intervocalic \(m\), the claims of Mamucium to be correct gain considerably in strength. Now Brit. intervocalic \(m\) did not become \(v\) until fairly late. In O.W. and O.Bret. it was a loose \(m\) or nasalised \(v\), and in Breton the preceding vowel is still nasalised (Pedersen L., p. 161ff.). Jones (p. 163) thinks the change to \(v\) took place “towards the end of the O.W. period.” The O.W. period is generally held to have come to an end c1100. That in Welsh a loose \(m\) or nasalised \(v\) was spoken comparatively late is proved by such spellings as O.W. anaf (Pedersen Lc.) or Tam for Taf, etc., in LL. For this nasalised \(v\) Eng. \(m\) or \(v\) could be substituted. An example of late substitution of \(m\) is Cameleac, which certainly looks like an attempt at rendering a spoken Welsh form, in Chr. 918 for O.W. Cimeleiauc LL (later Cyfelliog). It is also an important fact that the name of the river Tame, which joins the Mersey a few miles S.E. of Manchester, preserves the \(m\).

Under these circumstances I do not think there is sufficient reason for rejecting or suspecting Mamucio, even though Mammio yields a very satisfactory etymology. A corruption of Mamucio to Mancunio seems well within the bounds of probability. In my opinion it would really be a remarkable coincidence if the short name Mammio should have been corrupted in both places where it occurred.

I even feel some doubt if Mammium accounts well for the O.E. and early M.E. disyllabic form Mame.- Brit. Mammion must have become monosyllabic at a very early date. It is even possible that Mammion would have had its vowel umlauted to \(e\). The Brit. umlaut must have taken place very early, as it is found in all the Brit. languages (Pedersen I. 372ff.).
Possibly O.E. port also meant “fort” (cf. Portfield in Whalley). A meaning “old fort” would, perhaps, be still more suitable.

Ancoats (h.) : Einecote 1212 LI, de Hanekotes 1243 LI, de Ancoates 1240-59 Ch, Ancotes, Ancotes 1322 LI. Ancoats is in the extreme S.E. of the township. This renders the meaning “lonely huts” (O.E. ána and cot) probable; cf. especially Onecote, Staffs. (Anecote 1199, 1204 Duignan); Onehouse, Suff. (Anhus DB). The form Einecote seems to show Scand. influence.

Ashley : Asseleie 1320 M, 1322 LI. “Ash lea.”

Clayden : Claudene, -fielde 1322 LI. O.E. clâg “clay,” and denu “valley.”

Collyhurst : Colkyhurst 1322 LI, 1556 LF, 1586 Camden. There were coalmines here (VHL IV. 229). The first el. is, perhaps, coly “dirtied with coal dust or soot; grimy; coalblack” (16 cent. NED); M.E. colwen “to make dirty” seems to be a derivative of colíg, which must consequently be fairly old. On hurst see p. 13. The meaning “hill” seems probable here.

Garrett [Hall] : Garret hall 1577 Saxton, Garret Halle 1577 Harr. M.E. garret “a watch-tower” (14 cent.) from O.F. garite (NED). The position of the house “was originally one of defence at the junction of two streams” (VHL IV. 240).

19. Ardwick (S.E. of Manchester and the Medlock) : Atheriswyke 1282 IPM, Atheriswike, Arewyke, Ardwicke, Ardwyke 1322 LI, de Ardwyke 1324 LCR, Ardwicke 1422 HS II. The name is difficult to judge of, as the evidence is conflicting. If we may trust the earliest forms, the name has been considerably worn down. The first el. would seem to be a pers. name in O.E. Æðel- or Ead-, most probably Æðelred or Eadred, which became M.E. Ather, later Ather(iswyke) and Ard(wik). As regards the latter development we may compare Arreton, Ha. : Adrintone DB, Atherton 1316 FA, Æreton 1234-56 AD I. (B 115). Cf. further Atherton infra. The second el. is O.E. wic “homestead,” etc.

20. Gorton (between Cornbrook and Nico Ditch) : Gorton 1282 IPM, 1322 LI, de Gorton 1332 LS, Goreton 1499 DL. Gore Brook flows through the township. The first el. of Gorton, like that of Gore Brook, is no doubt O.E. gor “mud.” Cf. Horton, in Worc. (: horh “mud,” Duignan). The following name suggests that the township was partly marshy.


21. Openshaw (N. of Cornbrook, E. of Manchester) : Opinschawe, -sawe 1282 IPM, Oponschagh, Openshagh 1322 LI. The name means “open wood,” open being used in the sense “unenclosed.” Cf. the interesting account of a law-suit in 1505-6 LP I. 25ff. Opynsha Mor is called a “common pasture.” See also Tait, Mediæval Manchester, p. 24.

22. Beswick (on the S. bank of the Medlock) : Bexwic 1200-23 CC, de Bexwycche, Bexwyke 1322 LI, de Bexwik 1359 LF. The first el. looks like a pers. name. Searle infers O.E. Beac from Beaces hlâwe 955 BCS 917 (late transcr.). This may be the name wanted.


24. Droylsden (S. of the Medlock, E. of Manchester) : de Drilisden c 1250 Ch (17 cent. copy), Drîlesden c 1290 M, 1502 LF, Drîlesden 1506 DL, Drylesden
1547 LF. The original form of the name is not sufficiently clear; apparently it was early M.E. *Drilesden. Wyld suggests as the first el. a pers. name Drygel. Phonetically this suits the case, and possibly in *Drigelinge DB (Yks.) we have a derivative of such a name. A derivative Drygel of O.E. *drīge “dry,” e.g., a brook name, might also be thought of. This might refer to Lumb Clough, W. of Droylsden.

Clayton (old manor): Clayton c 1250 LI, Clayton 1439, 1441 LF. O.E. clǣg “clay” and tun. A common E. place-name, denoting a township or homestead on clayey ground.


Monsall: Monshalg 1546 LF. “Monks’ haugh”? Kirkmansholme (a detached part originally perhaps belonging to Gorton): Kyrdmannesholm 1292 VHL IV. 271, Curmesholme, Kirmansholme 1322 LI, Kirmansholme 1588, Kirmanhome 1590 DL. Again the early material is unsatisfactory. I believe the modern spelling preserves the original form. Kyrdmannes- 1292 may well be miswritten for Kirkmannes-; Curmesholme is probably influenced by early forms of Crumpall. Kirkman is a northern word for “ecclesiastic”; as a surname le Kirkemon is found 1332 LS (under Harwood). As the place belonged to the ecclesiastics of Manchester, the name is to the point. On holm, hulm, see p. 13.

26. Failsworth (E. of Newton, between Moston Brook and the Medlock): Faylesworthe 1212 RB, Failesworthe 1212 LI, Felesworde 1226 LI, Failes worthe c 1200 CC, Failsworth, Thaylesworth 1246 LAR, Fayles worde 1451, 1461 CC. The first el. looks like a pers. name, and Wyld suggests O.E. *Fegel or *Fiegel, related to O.E. fægen, “joyful,” etc. No such name is otherwise known; yet there are some apparent O.G. names containing a stem Fag. I am not sure the first el. is a pers. name. As will be shown infra, Shuttleworth appears to have as first member a common noun derived from the verb shut (O.E. scytels). Similarly Failsworth might contain a derivative of O.E. fægen “to join, unite, fix” (cf. O.H.G. fuogan, M.H.G. fügen “to join together”). O.E. fegels is not recorded, but the suffix -isla is very common (cf. Kluge, Stammbildungslehre § 98). The meaning of fegels might be something like that of scytels, i.e., “a bar serving as a lock” or the like. On worth “enclosure,” etc., see p. 20.

Wrigley Head (old hamlet): Wrigleyhede, Wriggleheded 1322 LI. The el. Wrig- may belong to the stem in O.E. wrygian “to strive,” Engl. wriggle, etc., but its meaning is obscure.

27. Moston (N. of Moston Brook, a tributary of the Irk; v.): Moston 1195 LF, 1235 LAR, de Moston 1272 CC, 1284 LAR, de Muston 1246 LAR, 1257 LAR. “Moss tun.” In the township are White Moss and Theale^1 Moor (: Theylemore Waste 1529 DL). First el. O.E. mos “moor, moss.” The form Muston, if belonging here, is remarkable.

Nuthurst: Nuthurst 1322 LI, 1552 LF. Hurst presumably means “a copse.”

28. Harpurhey (small township N. of the junction of the Irk and Moston Brook): Harpourhey 1320 M, Harperhey 1509 DL. Harpurhey may derive its name from

\(^1\) Theale may be O.E. pel “plank,” the name referring to a path across the moor formed by planks.
the 80 acres demised for life to William Harpoure before 1322 (M 384). The second el. is O.E. *hæge* "hay, enclosure."

**Gotherswick** (old h.; the name is now lost): *Gothereswicke* 1322 LI, *Goderswicke* 1473 M, *Groderswyk* 1502 DL. This seems to be "Godhere's wic." Godhere is a common O.E. pers. name. Godric is perhaps also possible. The change of *d* to *ð* before *er* is a common phenomenon (Wright, E.D.Gr. § 297). The second el. is O.E. *wic* "homestead," etc.

29. **Crumpsall** (S. and W. of the Irk, N. of Manchester): *de Cormeshal* 1235 LAR, Curmisale 1282 IPM, Curmesalle, Curmeshale, Curmesale 1322 LI, Curmeshale 1444 LF, Cormesall 1500 LF, Cromshall 1548 LF. The second el. of the name is O.E. *halh* "haugh." The first el. would seem to be a pers. name. It may be an original nickname from O.E. *crum* (cf. *crumb*) "crooked," corresponding to O.N. *Krumr* pers. n., which is very likely from a lost adjective meaning "crooked." O.E. *crum* "crooked" seems to be evidenced in Cromhall, Glo. (: *Cromhal*, Crommel DB). This place is in a bend of a stream.


**FLIXTON PAR.**

This small parish is situated S.W. of Manchester on the Mersey, being bounded on the W. by the Irwell. It seems formerly to have belonged to Eccles parish. The surface is low and level.

1. **Flixton** (v.): Flixton 1177, 1201 f. LPR, 1212 LI, 1253 LF, etc., *flixtone* 1332 LS, *Flyxton* 1262 LAR, 1341 IN, etc., *flitton* 1327 LS, *Fluxton* 1506 DL. The isolated spellings with *u* are probably to be disregarded. The name is identical with Flixton, Suff. (*Flixtune* DB), derived by Skeat from O.Dan. *Flik* (*Flic, Flicic* 13 cent., Nielsen) and *tūn*, and Flixton, Yks. (*Flixtona* 1180-1200 YCh 1221, *Flitxton* 1254 IPM). The same first el. is seen in Flixborough, Linc. (*Flixburche* HR, *Fluxburgh* 1316 FA).

2. **Urmston** (v.): Wermeston 1194 LPR, Urmeston 1212 LI, 1278, 1284 LAR, 1341 IN, etc., Wurmeston 1219 LAR, *de Urmston* 1246 LAR, Ormeston 1284 LAR, *Vermston* 1327, 1332 LS. The first el. is O.Dan. *Urm* (Einhard c 800; cf. Noreen, Asl. Gr. § 227, 1, a.), found also in *Urmruth* (see Nielsen under *Urm*). The form *Urm*, which occurs also in O.E. charters as the name of a Danish earl (BCS 665, 677, etc., A.D. 929-958), is distinctly East Scandinavian; the West Scandinavian form is regularly *Ormr*. Wermeston, Wurmeston seem to show influence from the native word *wyrm*.

**Hillam Farm**: *Hylland* 1548 VHL V. 55. O.E. *hyl-lænd* "hill land"; the modern -m is due to assimilation to *F-* in (Hillam) Farm. The land rises slightly in the E.

**ECCLES PAR.**

The parish takes its name from the church of St. Mary in Barton-upon-Irwell, round which stands the town of Eccles: *Eccles* c 1200 CC, a 1185, 1235, etc. WhC 36 ff., 1357 LF, etc., *Ecclis* c 1250 CC, *de Eccles* 1246 LAR, *de*
SALFORD HUNDRED

Hekkeles 1257 LAR, de Eckles 1276 LAR, de Eckelles 1278 LAR, ecils 1590
Borghini; now [eklz]. The name goes back to a Brit. Eccles “church” (cf. O.W.
eccluys, Welsh eglywys, O.Corn. eglos, O.Ir. ecis, etc.) from Lat. ecclesia (cf. Pedersen I. p. 198). This Celtic word is found in several Lanc. names: Eccleshill (Bl.), Eccleston (Leyl., Am., De.). Identical with Eccles in Lanc. are Eccles in Kent and Norf. Names in Eccles- are e.g. Ecclesfield (Yks.), Eccleshall (Staffs.), Eccleshill (Yks.), Eccleswall (Herf.), Eccleston (Ches.), Exhall (Warw.: Eccles-
hole 710 BCS 127). There have been different opinions as regards the names mentioned. Derivation from a Brit. form of Lat. ecclesia is abley defended by
Moorman, West Riding Place Names, p. vii. f.

The S. part of the township is low, and partly mossy. The N. half is occupied
by a long, broad ridge running from N.W. to S.E. along the Irwell and coming to
an end near Salford. The townships of Clifton, Pendlebury, Pendleton, and
(most of) Worsley are in this part, Barton-upon-Irwell being in the S. part.
1. Barton-upon-Irwell (bounded on the W. by the Glazebrook, on the S. by
Flixton par., the Irwell and Mersey; v.): Barton 1196 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246
LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Barton on Irrewelle 1277 LAR. Barton is a common
place-name, which goes back to O.E. berætun, beretun “barton,” i.e., literally,
“a corn farm,” “a settlement connected with barns for the collection of corn
and other produce,” later “a detached portion of a manor,” or “demesne
farm” (NED). See on this word and the synonymous berevic, e.g., Maitland,
in the XIth Cent., p. 365 f. Barton-upon-Irwell may have been a barton of
the royal manor of Salford.

The S.E. part (S. of the Irwell) is called Davyhulme.
Davyhulme (v.): Hulme 1276 LAR, 1322 LI, de Hulm 1339 LF, Dewhulm 1313 VHL
IV. 372, Delehulme 1434 CR, Deffhulme 1528 LF, Develhom 1577 Harr., Devaholme
1577 Saxton, deaffle hulme 1600 RS XII, Deviholme 1599 DL; now [deviu’m].
Davyhulme stands S. of Bent Lanes Brook, a trib. of the Irwell. On hulm
“holm” see p. 13. The first el. is doubtful. I suspect it is simply the adj.
deaf in one of its senses. Possibly it means “lonely”; cf. deavely adj. “lonely,
solitary” (deavulic habitation 1611), found in the dialects of Yks., Chs., etc.
(EDD), corresponding to O.N. dauðigr “lonely.” Or deaf, like O.H.G. doeb,
M.L.G. dōf (Fürstenmann 736) may have meant “wet.” Later the el. was
associated with the personal name Davy. The original name is still preserved
in Hulme Bridge Farm.
Bromyhurst (on the Irwell): Bromhirst, Bromyhurst 1276 LAR, de Bromhurst
1246 LAR, Bromyhurst, -heth 1322 LI. O.E. brōm “broom” or brōmig adj.
and hurst “hurst” (cf. p. 13). Hurst cannot well in this case mean “a hill.”
Cockney (in Bromyhurst): Kokeney 1253 LF. The material is too scanty.
O.E. Cocca in Coccaan burh (Searle) and O.E. ög “island,” etc., may be the
elements.
Dumplington: Dumplinton 1229, 1253 LF, de Dumplinton, de Damplynton
13 cent. WhC 47, 145. I would compare this name with Dimple (p. 47), Dimples
(p. 163), and with the name Kerlingdimpl, Kerlingedimpel 1200-10 FC II. 229 ff.
(Forton). This dimpel cannot be separated from M.E. dimple “a hollow in the
chin,” also “a dip in the surface of land,” and from O.H.G. dumphilo “a pool.”
There must have been an O.E. *dympel or *dympla "a pool" or "a hollow." Kerlingdimpil may well mean "ducking pool" (kerling is O.N. for "old woman"). From dympel the first el. of Dumplington may be a derivative: O.E. Dymplingas "dwellers by the pool." Cf. Lakenheath, Suff., containing O.E. Lacingsas "stream-dwellers" (Skeat), also Winterburninga gemore 951 BCS 892, etc. Dumplington lies on a plain not far from the Irwell. There is no marked hollow near the place, but the existence of a pool in the neighbourhood is proved by the name Wilderspool, designating a place c ¼ m. from Dumplington.

Lostock [Hall]: Lostoke 1322 LI. The same name is found in Bolton (Sa.), and as a river-name in Leyland. Lostock Garam is a parish in Ches.: Lostoc c 1200 CC. I take the name to be a compound of O.E. hlöse "pig-sty" (cf. p. 12) and stoc "place." Cf. O.E. hlosstede 966 BCS 1186, "place of a pig-sty."


The S.W. part was formerly called Chat Moss: Catemosse 1277 LAB, Chatmos 1322 LI, Chatmosse 1577 Saxton. Probably the first el. is O.E. Ceattia pers. n.

Cadishead (old manor, v.): Cadwalesate 1212 LI, Cadwalsete 1212 RB, 1271 CC, Cadewallessete 1226 LI, Cadewallisete 1232 WhC 253, Cadewalleheved, Cadewelleghe 1322 LI, Cadyswalbede 1538 LR. Cadishead stands near the confluence of the Glazebrook and the Irwell. The first el. of the name may be the O.E. pers. name C(e)dwalla; this is Wyld's opinion. Yet we rather expect O.E. Ceadwalla to have become Chadvalle in S. Lanc. It is, therefore, possible that it is itself a compound of O.E. Cada and wal" "well" or "stream." The lower part of Glazebrook may have been called Cadewalle, or this name may have denoted a well. The second el. may be the word set, sat, "pasture," discussed p. 16. But perhaps O.E. set "stall, fold" or "pasture" (B-T.) is a more probable source. The meaning "fold" or "pasture" would be suitable. The place was formerly in a lonely position in the far end of Chat Moss.

Ilam (v. on the Irwell): Urwilham, Urwelham, Urwelham c 1190 CC, Irwelham, Yrewelham 1259 LAB, Irrewelham 1277 LAB, Irewelham 1292 PW, Irwilham 1451 CC. First el. the river-name Irwell; second probably O.E. hâm.

Woolden, Great and Little (on the bank of the Glazebrook): Valueden 1299 VHL IV. 372, Woldene 1538 LR. The first el. seems to be more probably wulfa g. pl. of O.E. wulf "wolf" than Wulfa pers. name. The second is O.E. denu "valley." The valley of the Glazebrook is fairly deep where Gt. Woolden is.

In the N.E. part (N. of the Irwell), near Barton and Eccles, are:


Mawynston 1292 PW, Mawinton 1451 CC. Wyld derives the first el. from the pers. name Mawa (Mauwa), found in DB. This name is not well evidenced; Redin even suspects a mis-spelling for Manna. However, Mawo is well authenticated on the Continent, and O.E. Mawa may well be a corresponding name. We may derive Monton from O.E. Mavinga tun, or possibly Mavan tun.

Newhall (near Winton): Newham 13 cent. WhC 879, de Newham 1276 LAR, Newehume 1322 LI, Newham 1614 CW 42. The second el. is O.E. hamm "meadow," etc., or possibly O.E. hām. It is difficult to explain why -ham was supplanted by -hall.


Worsley v. stands at the foot of the ridge mentioned; the situation of the place throws no light on the etymology. This is a very difficult name. It seems to have as its second member O.E. lēah. The first might be compared with that of Worksworth, Derbys. (Werchesuoorde DB), Worksop, Notts. (Werchessope DB), Worsborough, Yks. (Wiroesburg DB), which seems to be a pers. n., perhaps contained in weorces mere 972 BCS 1282, but the second syllable of the early forms is not easy to account for. As the name Eccles is British, and Pendlebury, Pendleton contain a British word, it is plausible to assume a Celtic origin also for Worsley, all the more as there are two similar names, Dinckley and Winckley in Bl, which it is extremely difficult to explain as English names. All three have a middle el. -ket-, -kith-, -ked-, which may be identified with Brit. cēt "wood" (cf. Cheetham). They might be compared with Lichfield, from O.E. Liccifeldth, Liccidfeld (Bede), whose first el. has been identified with Brit. Lētocētum. It may seem a remarkable coincidence for three Brit. names in cēt to have been combined with E. lēah, but very likely the original meaning of this word was "glade, an open place in a forest." But if the suggestion made be correct, the first el. of the Brit. name must remain doubtful. Holder s.v. cēto- and Stokes p. 76 mention Bret. Worcoet, but this name is not given by Loth. Even if it occurs, it is not easy to identify the supposed Brit. name in Worsley with it.


Ellenbrook (chapel on Ellenbrook, the W. boundary of Worsley): Elynbrooke
(chapel) 1544, *Ellynbrouughe* 1552 LP, Ellingborowe 1558 DL, Ellyngbrugh 1577 Saxton. The original name was, perhaps, *Ellernbrook*, the first el. being O.E. *elren* adj. from *alr* "alder"; the *r* may have been lost through dissimilation. The form -*burgh* is no doubt due to association with *burgh*, *borough*.

**Hazelhurst**: de Haselhirst 1325 LCR, de Haselhurste 1332 LS. "Hazel copse." The place is on the slope of a hill.

**Little Houghton**: Haloughton 1253 LF, Halighton, parva Halighton 1310 WhC 924, Hawgton 1557 LF. The place was in Swinton; the name has now disappeared. First el. O.E. *halh* "haugh."


**Stanistretre**: Stanystrete (vill) 1246 LAR, (terra de) le Stanystrete 13 cent. WhC 887. "The paved road." There are traces of a Roman road in Worsley.

**Swinton** (the E. part of Worsley, on the ridge mentioned p. 38): Swinton 1258 LAR, Swyntwnt 1276, 1278 LAR, 1293 WhC, etc., Swinton 1278 LAR. Swinton is a common place-name. It no doubt means "farm where pigs are fed."

**Walkden**: de Walkaden 1325 LCR, de Walkedene 1408 Bardsley, Walkedene 1514 LF. The first el. is perhaps identical with that of Walkley, Yks. (Walkley 1270, etc., Goodall). It may be a pers. name, as suggested for Walkley by Goodall, who compares Walkingham, Wallington in Yks. Searle has one possible example of *Walaca* in *wealacan dic* 854 BCS 475. It seems improbable that the name contains a word derived from O.E. *walcan* "to full."

**Wardley** (near Swinton): de Wordeley c 1300 WhC 44, Wordelegh 1292 PW, Wordeleywall 1310 WhC, Wardley 1577 Saxton. This seems to be O.E. *worhp* "enclosure," etc., and *leah*, with change of *d* > *d* before *l* as in Headley (Wore.): in *hawdleage* 849 BCS 455, Hedleye 1275 (Duignan).

3. **Pendleton** (N.W. of Salford, of which it is now a suburb): Penelton 1200, 1201 LPR, Pendelton 1201, 1202 LPR, Pennelton 1212 L, Penilton 1243 L, 1246 LAR, Penkilton 13 cent. WhO 52, Penkilton 1332 LS, Pelton Hey 1590 DL. The first el. of the name must be a name *Penhyl*, identical with Pendle, Bl. The township is at the end of and partly on the ridge of land mentioned p. 38, the highest point in Pendleton being 230ft. I suppose this ridge was once called *Penhyl*. I take *pen* to be identical with Welsh *pen* "head, end, top," O.Bret. *pen* "head," etc., found in names such as Penmynydd "top of the mountain," Penrhw (: *rhw* "hill"), Pendinas (a hill near Aberystwyth; *dinas* "town"). Very likely the old British name was a combination of *penn* with some other word. Anyhow, the Anglian invaders took over the name as *Penn* and added the O.E. *hyl* just as in the case of Pendle Bl. Possibly there are traces of the name *Penn* too; see under Pendlebury.

(Little) **Bolton** (old manor): Bothelton 1212 L, c 1210 CC, Boulton 1201 LPR, Bolton 1341 IN. O.E. *bōfli* "dwelling," etc., and *tūn*. Bolton is a very common place-name in the N. of England; there are several in Lancashire. Cf. p. 8.

**Brindlem Heath**: Le Brendlache, Brendelache 1324 LI. The second el. is *leța* (earlier *lech, lach*) "a stream flowing through boggy land; a muddy ditch or
hole; a bog” (NED), cf. dial. lache “a swamp, a quagnire,” etc. (EDD). *Brend-* is very likely M.E. *brend* “burnt,” here “of a tawny or brownish colour.”

**Hope** (formerly in Swinton): *le Hope* (close), *hayas del Hope* 13 cent. WhC 917f., *Hope* (manor) 1324 LI. O.E. *hop* (see p. 13), here most probably in the sense “a valley.”

**Weaste.** The name is a form of *waste*, which in dialects means “uncultivated land, common.”

4. **Pendlebury** (N. of Pendleton, town): a. *Penelbiri, Pennelberia* 1202 LPR, *Penlebire* 1206 ib., *Penlibere* 1207 ib., *Pennilbure* 1212 LI, de *Pennelbiry* (Pennelbiry, Pennel-, Pennilbiry) 1246 LAR, de *Penhillbury* (Pennytes-, Pennylbiry) 1284 LAR, *Penhillbury* 13 cent. WhC 52, 1332 LS, *Penlbury* 1311, 1423 LF, *Pennilbiry* 1313 LF, b. *Penesbire* 1206 LPR, *Penlebire* 1208 LPR, 1226 LI, *Pennesbyry* 1212 RB, *Pennesbury* 1278 LAR. Pendlebury stands on the N.E. slope of the ridge mentioned; nearly 300ft. elevation is reached in the township. Type a. has obviously as first el. the *Penhyll* suggested under Pendleton as the old name of the ridge. Type b. is most probably only a phonetic variant of type a. But as it is found early, and only in early sources, it is just possible it contains the uncompounded name *Penn*, on which see under Pendleton. The second el. is O.E. *burh*; perhaps there was once a fort on the ridge.

**Agecroft** [Hall]: *Achecroft* 1394 TI, *Agecroft* c 1540 Leland, *Edgecroft* 1577 Harr., *Agecroft* 16 cent. DL. Agecroft Hall stands on the slope of the ridge not far from the Irwell. The material is unsatisfactory. The first el. of the name is perhaps edge “brink” or *Ecga* pers. n. For the form *Age-* cf. Burnage p. 30.

**Shoresworth** (old manor, situated on the Irwell S. of Pendleton; the name is now lost): *Snoreswurda* (!) 1177 LPR, *Schoresworde* 1226 LI, *Schoresworth* 1241 LF, de *Soriswurth* 1243 LI, de *Schorwurth* 1242, 1244 LAR, de *Schereswurth* 1246 LAR, de *Schoresworth, -worth* 1278 LAR. The first el. is no doubt the word *shore*, here used in the sense “bank” (of a river), a sense first evidenced in Lanc. texts (Allit. Poems, etc.). *Chadesworth* 1212 RB, 1212 LI is usually identified with Shoresworth. If that is correct, it is perhaps an earlier name with O.E. *Ceadd(a)* as first el. On *worth* see p. 20.

5. **Clifton** (N. of Pendlebury and Worsley, v.): *Clifton* 1184 LPR, 1212 LI, 1332 LS; *Clyfton* 1185 LPR, 1307 LF. Clifton stands on the slope of the ridge mentioned p. 38; *cliff* (O.E. *clif*) in this case means “a declivity, a slope.”

**DEANE PAR.**

This parish takes its name from Deane in Rumworth, where the church is: *Capella de Saynte mariden* 13 cent. WhC 60, *capellam de Saynte Maridene* 1329 WhC 256, *Dene* 1292 PW. The church is dedicated to St. Mary. It stands on the edge of a narrow valley, Deane Church Clough, near the town of Bolton; hence the name (O.E. *denu* “valley”). The parish is situated W. of the Irwell and W. and S. of Bolton-le-Moors. The ground varies considerably. In the S. part is a ridge reaching c 500ft. The northernmost part is on the slope of a moorland district, whose highest point (Winter Hill in Bolton par.) rises to 1,498ft. In the middle is a fairly broad valley occupied by Lostock township in Bolton par.
1. **Kearsley** (S.E. of Bolton, on the Irwell; v.): Cherselawe 1187 LPR, Cherselawwa 1188 LPR, Kersleie c 1220 CC, Kersley 1501 LF. I suppose the name means “cress lea” (O.E. eorse, cerse “cress” and leah). The early forms in -lawa, -lawa, if they belong here, are probably corrupt.

2. **Farnworth** (S. of Bolton, on the Irwell; town): Fernewurde 1185 LPR, Ferneworthc c 1220 CC, Farinworth 1253 LF, Farneworth 1278 LAR, 1326 LF, etc. O.E. fearn “fern” and worp “enclosure,” etc.

**Blindsill**: de Blyndeshull 1278 LAR. Possibly the first el. is a pers. name derived from blind adj. Cf. Blindbothel, Cumb.

**Prestall** (near the Irwell; the name is preserved in Presto Lane): de Presthall 1278 LAR, de Prestal 1324 LCR, Prestall 1514 LF. Probably “the priest’s hall or farm.”

3. **Over, Middle**, and **Little Hulton** (three townships S. of Bolton): Hiltone 1200 ft. LPR, 1246 LAR, etc., Hylton 1212 RB, Hylton 1219, 1256 LF, Hulton 1212 LI, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., Hilton, Over-, Netherhilton 1521 LF, Medyl Hilton 1552 LF. O.E. hyl “hill” and tun. The district of Hulton is on the slope of a ridge; in Over Hulton an elevation of c 500 ft. is reached.

**Wharton** or **Warton Hall** (in Li. Hilton). An early form is Wauerton (VHL V. 30). Better material is wanted. Cf. Wavertree (De).

**Wicheves**, later **Peel Hall** (in Li. Hulton): del Wifherse 1323 LI, Wicheves VHL V. 30, Le Wiche Eves 1546 LF. The first el. is a name the Wichen, denoting a piece of land in Hulton, and found also in Wichard, Witcheske c 1210 LF I. p. 216; cf. Wichshaw, Wich Brook 13 cent. VHL V. 30. As eaves often means “edge of a wood,” it is probable that Wich denoted a wood (cf. also Wichshaw) and that the name is O.E. wice “witchelm,” or rather the plural of that. Wicheves is, then, “the edge of the elm-wood.” Peel is, of course, peel “a palisade, a palisaded enclosure; a small castle.”

4. **Westhoughton** (S.W. of Bolton; v.): Halcton c 1210, etc. CC, 1258 LAR, Halcoughton 1246 LAR, Halcton 1258 LAR, Haighton 1332 LS, Westhalcton c 1240 CC, Westhalcton 1303 FA, Westhalcton 1237 LS, etc., Westhowtun 1864 Staton. O.E. halh “haugh” and tun. The village stands near Pennington Brook. Westhoughton is W. of Little Houghton.

**Borsden** or **Borsdane** (on Borsden Brook):Ballesdenbroc c 1215 CC, le Balesden 1451 CC, Bausdane 1537 CC. Cf. Ballesleie, Balisleige 13 cent. CC (Westhoughton), Ballesley 1560 DL. The first el. is probably O.E. bål pers. n. in bälles woege 946 BCS 814, and found also in Balsham, Cambs. (Bellesham 974, Balsham 1286 FA; cf. Skeat).

**Brinsop** (in the N.W.): Brunsop c 1250 CC, lee Brinsope 1451 CC, Brynssop 1577 Saxton. The same name is found in Bold De. (Brunsop 14 cent., de Brinsope 1372 VHL III. 408), and Herel. ( : Brunseshop 1291 TE, etc.). Though it is remarkable that hop should be combined so often with the same name, I suppose the first el. is the O.E. pers. n. Brýne, found also e.g. in Brinsley, Notts. Hope is O.E. hop, here used in the sense “a small valley opening out from the main dale.” The place stands in a small valley on the upper Borsden Brook.

**Snydale** (N.E. of Westhoughton): ? Sinehal 1212 BF, de Snythehill (Smithull) 1273 LAR, Snythall 1486 RS XXX. The early forms are too conflicting to allow of a definite etymology. Snydale Hall stands close to Snydale Hill,
which reaches 475 ft.; so the second el. is probably O.E. hyll "hill." The first el. may be O.E. snêle "snipe"; cf. Snydale, Yks. (Snitehala DB).

**Warcokhill** (N. of Westhoughton): _le Werkokhill_ c 1280 CC, _le Werkochul c 1250 CC._ Warcock- is M.E. wer-cok ? "pheasant" (Stratmann-Bradley). The same name is found in Rochdale (Wercokhill 1324 LI); cf. Warockelowe (Darwen) VHL VI. 272. On wercock, see Anglia-Beiblatt XXIX. 197. M.E. wercock is related to O.E. wôrhana (glossed phasianus)—Du. woerhaan "caper-cailzie."

**Wingates** (h. N. of Westhoughton): _Windyates_ 1272 CC, _lee Wyndzates_ 1451 ib. Cf. to _wind geate_ 961 BCS 1066. I suppose the name means something like "swing-gate."

5. **Rumworth** (S.W. of Bolton): _Rumworth_ 1205, 1288 LF, _-worth_ 1278 LAR, 1305 FA, 1327 LS, _Rumwhorsh_ 1243 LI, _Romworth_ 1332 LS, _Romsworth_ 1341 IN. The township occupies the N. slope of the ridge on the S. slope of which is Hulton. The first el. of the name is doubtless O.E. rûm adj.; the sense may be "roomy, spacious" or "open, unencumbered, cleared." On _worth_ "enclosure," etc., see p. 20.

6. **Heaton** or **Heaton-under-Horwich** (W. of Bolton): _Heton_ 1227, 1256 LF, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc.; _Heton under the Forest_ 1322 LI, _Heton under Horewich_ 1332 LF, _Heton subbus Horewycz_ 1346 FA. "The high tun" (O.E. Héatun). Heaton lies on the slope of a hill; an elevation of 1,000 ft. is reached in the township. The addition "under-Horwich" means "in or near the forest of H."; cf. **Horwich.**

7. **Horwich** (in the N.W. corner of the parish; town): (forest of) Horewycz, -c 1254 IM, _Horewicke_ (forest) 1282 IPM, _Horewich_ 1322 LI, 1332 LF, -eley 1322 LI, _Horewycz_ 1331 Ind, _Horywege_ 1539 DL, _Horridge_ 1641 Blackrod R.; now [oridz], Hargreaves, p. 110. Horwich was the forest of the lords of Manchester (VHL V. 7). The name probably goes back to O.E. (_æt_) hær _wican_ "the grey witchelms" (O.E. hær "grey" and _wice_ "witchelm"); cf. _Harewycz_ 1277 VHL V. 6. Or possibly the second el. is a derivative of _wice_ meaning "elm-wood"; cf. Wicheves p. 43.

**Ridley** (Wood): _Rideleegbroc_ 1218-40 CC, _Ridlegesich_ 1227 LF IV., _Rydeley_ 1322 LI. Searle gives a pers. name _Rida_ (in _Ridan fald_), which may be the first el.; or it may be _rydd_ p. pple of _ryddan_ "to clear" (cf. _ridding_ p. 16). Note, however, the name High Rid Farm in Horwich, which seems to point to an unrecorded noun _rid_ with some topographical meaning.

**Wilders Moor** (moorland in the N.), **Wilderswood** (near Horwich): _Wildershirst_ 1322 LI. _Wilder_ is O.E. _wilder_ "wild beast, deer."

8. **Halliwell** (N.W. of and partly a suburb of Bolton): _Haliwalle_ c 1200, etc. CC, _Haliwell_ 1246 LAR, _Haliwall_ 1292 PW, _Haliwelle_ 1332 LS. Halliwell stands near a brook, called _Haliwellebroc_ c 1200 CC. The name means "the holy well." A holy well in Halliwell is in the old Ordnance map (Prof. Tait).

**Smithills** (the N. part; Smithills Moor reaches 1,475 ft.): _Smythei_, _Smythell_ (Snetell) 1322 LI, _Smythehill_ 1505 LF, _Smetehill_, _Smetehylls_ 1506 DL. The first el. is apparently O.E. smēh “smooth.”

**Egburden**: _Egbetene_, _Egburdene_ 1322 LI, _Egburden_ 1517 DL. First el. perhaps O.E. _Ecgbeorht_ or _Ecgburh_ pers. n.
BOLTON-LE-MOORS PAR.

This parish occupies the N.W. part of the hundred. The N. part to a great extent consists of moorland. In the S. part, in the valleys of the Croal and the Tonge, the surface is lower. There are two detached parts, Blackrod and Lostock, separated from the body of the parish by parts of Deane par.

1. **Lostock** (W. of Bolton town, in the valley of the Croal): *Lostok* 1205, 1288 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Lostoc* 1212 LI, c 1220 CC, etc., *Lostoke* 1451 CC. Cf. the same name p. 39.


2. **Blackrod** (W. of Lostock and Bolton; v. and church): *Blakerode* 1201 ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1278 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Blacrode* 1226 LI, *Blakerod* 1278 LAR, *Blakrode* 1414 LF. “Black clearing”; on O.E. *rod* “clearing,” see p. 16. The vil. is on a hill of over 500ft. On the slope of the hill is Chaucrury Brow (h.); *Brow* is *brow* “a slope, an acclivity.” Blackrod ch. was originally a chapel (or chantry).

**Arley** (on the Douglas): *Erelegh* 1283 VHL V. 302, de *Erlegh* 1332 LS, *Erley* 1394 TI. The name is apparently identical with Arley, Warw. (Arlei DB), Earley, Berks. (: *Arlei* DB, *Erle* 1316 FA). Skeat suggests for Earley (Berks.) a first el. *Earn-*; but it is improbable that *n* should have been lost so early in all these names. Also the common occurrence of the combination of *Ere-* with *-ley* is noteworthy. *Ere-* may be a derivative (with a suffix -*ini*) of O.E. *erian* “to plough”; cf. M.E. *yere* time “time of ploughing,” O.E. *eteland* “pasture land” (: *ettan*), *ciepestow* “market-place” (: *ciepan*).

**Huyton or Highton**. It is not quite clear if the Huyton family in Blackrod is a local one or a branch of that of Huyton in De. The name is exemplified in VHL V. 301 from 1497. Huyton stands on the Douglas, which suits derivation of the name from O.E. *hýp-tún* (*hýp* “landing-place”).


4. **Tonge-with-Haugh** (between Bolton and Bradshaw Brook).

**Tonge** (v.): *Tange* 1212 LI, *Tawnge* 1212 RB, *Tonge* 1226 LI, 1323 LI, *Tong*, *Tongy* 1285 LAR, de *Thonge* 1332 LS. It is not always easy to keep the forms of Tonge in Bolton and Tonge in Prestwich apart. Tonge is in a tongue of land between the Bradshaw and Tonge brooks. The name is the word *twang* “fork of a river,” discussed p. 18.


5. **Little Lever, Darcy Lever** (townships S.E. of Bolton, E. of the Croal and the Irwell). **Great Lever** is a detached township of Middleton par. situated W. of the Croal. The three obviously once formed a whole. It is difficult to distinguish the early forms of the names, which are therefore dealt with together here: *Parva Lebre* 1212 BF, *Little Lethre* 1221 LI (I. 130), *Leoure* 1277 LF, *Lever*, *Leure* 1246 LAR, *Little Lever* 1331 LF, *Parva Lever* 1341 IN; *Magna Leure*

1 Great Lever was in Bolton par. as late as 1627; cf. Deane R, p. 16.
1285 LAR, *Great Leure* 1326 LF, *Levermore, Leurerlesse* 1577 Harr., *Darcy Lever* 1590 Bolton R. The name may be the plur. of O.E. *lafer* (leber) i.e. glossed "scirpea, gladiolus," Mn.E. levers, lavers "Iris Pseudacorus." The supposition is necessary that O.E. *læfer* had a long vowel (*læfer, læfer*); Mn.E. levers bears out this assumption. This derivation would suit the situation of the townships; no doubt flags and other water-plants grew on the banks of the Irwell and Croal. Or Lever may be an old river-name; in that case perhaps originally that of the Croal. Cf. O.E. *læfer* (lafre) name of a river in Wilts. 949 BCS 879, and Learmouth, Nhb. (*Levermuth* 1346 FA), *Leber Alsace* (Fürstemann). The river-name may be British or a derivative of O.E. *lafer* "flag."

**Burden** (in Gr. Lever, on the Croal): *de Buronden* (*Burden*) 1285 LAR, *Burndeyn* 1547 DL. O.E. *burna* "brook" and *denu* "valley."

**Hacking or Hacken** (in Li. Lever, in a bend of the Croal): *de la Hackyng* 1278 LF, *Hackinge* 1591 Bolton R. Possibly the estate was named from a branch of the family resident at Hacking in Billington (Bl.). The etymology will be discussed p. 71.


**Oakenbottom** (on Bradshaw Brook): *de Akenbothun* 1246 LAR, *Okynbotha* in *Breightmet* 1486 RS XXX. Second el. O.E. *bōpm* "bottom, valley."

7. **Harwood** (N.E. of Bolton, E. of Bradshaw Brook): *Harewode* 1212 Li, 1241, 1292 Li, 1332 LS, etc., *Harwode* 1227 LF, *Harwode* 1327 LS. The same name is found in Bl. and in Devon; cf. *Harwood*, Yks. (*Harawuda* 10 cent., *Harewode* DB; cf. Moorman), Horwood, Bucks. The most probable meaning is "grey (or old) wood," O.E. *hār* "grey; old" and *wudu*. But in some cases the first el. may be O.E. *hara* "hare."

8. **Bradshaw** (N.E. of Bolton, N. of Harwood; v.): *de Bradeshawe, -shagh[e] 1246 LAR, *Bradesagh* 1312, 1324 LF, *de Bradesagh* 1332 LS, Bradsha (stream) 1577 Harr. "Broad (i.e., extensive) wood"; O.E. *brād* "broad" is used with such words as *sē, rīce*, etc.

9. **Quarnton** (N.E. of Bolton, N. of Bradshaw, h.): *de Querendon* 1246 LAR, *Querdon* 1304 ChR, *Quordone* 1309 LF, *de Quernedon, de Querndoun* 1332 LS, *Quarnton, Quarton* 1587 Bolton R. Quarnton is on the slope of a considerable hill. The name was obviously originally a hill-name; second el. O.E. *dūn* "hill." The first is O.E. *cweorn*. The name may mean "windmill (or water-mill) hill"; *cweorn*, to judge by such names as *cwynburna, cweornwella* (Middendorff), must at least have been used of water-mills. Septon suggests the meaning "a hill producing mill-stones." O.E. *cweorn* is not evidenced in the sense "mill-stone," but O.N. *kvern* is. The same name is found in Leic. (Quordon : *Querndon* 1402 FA, etc.), Bucks. (Quarrndon : *Querndon* 1286 FA), Derby (Quarndon : *Querndon* 1275, Walker). Cf. also Whernside, Yks. (: *Quernside* c 1200 AP), and see Quermmore, Lo. The second alternative is, to some extent, supported by the name *Whernstonesald* (Rivington, Sa.) VHL V. 291, which means "millstone cliff." Mines of mill-stones are mentioned in Horwich (Sa.) 1322 Li (II. p. 59).†
Wickenlow (in the N.): *de Quicken(s)lawe* 1246 LAR, *de Quykenlowe* 1284 LAR, *Quykenlawe* 1324 LI. The first el. is probably M.E. *quicken* (a 1387) "the mountain ash; the service tree; the juniper." The word is still used in Lanc. in the sense "mountain ash." Second el. O.E. *hlāw* "hill." Wickenlow Hill reaches 800 ft.

10. **Edgeworth** (N. of Bolton between Bradshaw and Quarleton brooks, v.): *Edgeworth* 1212 LI, *Egewrthe* 1212 RB, *Eggeworth* 1276 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, *Edgworth* 1505 LF. Edgeworth is at the foot of Edgeworth Moor, where an elevation of 1,250 ft. is reached. The first el. of the name may be O.E. *æcg* "edge," here used in the sense "ridge of a hill; a steep hill or hillside" (cf. EDD). In the neighbouring Entwisle township are Edge, Edgefold, Edgefoot. Another possibility is O.E. *Ecgan worp.* On worp see p. 20.


Wayoh Fold (h. on a spur of hill near Edgeworth brook): *Wao* 1546, 1551 LF, *Weoh* 1650 Bolton R. The second el. may be O.E. *hōh* "spur of hill," the first being possibly O.E. *weg* "way."

Wheatshaw Croft: *de Wetesagh* 1246 LAR (71), (R.) *Of-the-wetschawe* 1285 LAR. "Wet shaw."


Birtenshaw or Birkenshaw (h.): *de Byrkeneshawe (Byrkenhaw)* 1277 LAR, *de Byrcheneshaghe (Birchensagh)* 1278 ib., *de Birchynesagh* 1292 LF. O.E. *bircen* "of birch" and *scaga* "shaw." As regards t for k cf. p. 22.

Dimple (on a small brook; h.): Cf. p. 38.

Egerton or Walmsley (v.): *Walmesley becke* 1577 Harr. According to VHL V. 278f. probably named from previous owners.


14. **Sharples** (a long, narrow strip stretching W. of Tonge Brook from Bolton to the Leyland boundary): *Sharples* 1212 LI, *Scharples* 1246 LAR, *Sharpes, de Sharples* 1259 LAR, *de Scharplis c* 1250 CC, *de Scarples* 1254 LII, *de Scharplis* 1361 LI, *de Sharples* 1332 LS. The ground slopes from some 1,275 ft. in the N. or Higher End to some 350 in the S. Sharples Hall is in the S. part, near Barley Brook. There is no village Sharples. The name seems to be connected with *sharp* adj., perhaps in the sense "rough, rugged" (used of a road by Alfred, cf. *sharp places* Wiclif), or possibly "steep," a sense assumed by Middendorff
for compounds such as (on) scearpennesse 956 BCS 964 (Sharpness, Glo.), etc. Sharpenhoe, Beds. (Sharpenho 1236 FA), may contain this word. Sharples is either an old compound (e.g., with O.E. læs "meadow," or læas, pl. of læah), or a derivative of O.E. scearp, analogous to hwītl "cloak" (: hwīl), stiepel "steeple" (: stēap), þyrel "hole" (: þurh). O.E. *scerpel, *scearpol "peak" or "rough place" might have existed.

Hordern (upper Sharples): Great, Little Hordern 1322 LI. O.E. hordern "storehouse." The same name is Hardhorn, Am. (q.v.) and Hordron, Yks. (Horderon 1323, etc.).

Ravden (or Raveden) Clough (divides Halliwel from Sharples): Rapden (stream), Rapden Hey 1429 VHL V. 262, Rapden Hey 1560 ib. The name exhibits an interesting change of p to b > v; cf. Pavenham, Beds. (earlier Pabenham, Skeat). The etymology is obscure. It may be the first el. is O.N. hræpa "small shrubs on fells," Norw. rape the same, especially "dwarf birch." But Rape- may also be the name of the brook; perhaps it may be derived from O.N. hræpa "to rush along," from which M.E. rape "to rush" seems to have been borrowed. Rape adj. (c 1400, etc.) seems to be a new formation from rapelý adv. (< O.N. hræpaliga). Another Scand. name in the district is Folescalis 1246 LAR, whose second el. is O.N. skáli "hut." First el. perhaps O.N. foli "foal."

15. Rivington (on the N. and W. slopes of Rivington Moor, on the border of Leyland hundred; v.): Rowinton, Rawinton, Revington 1202 LF, Ruhwinton 1212 LI, Riviiton 1226 LI, Rovington 1227 LF (IV.), de Rovin[g]ton, Rowington, Ruynton, Rowinton, de Rowinton 1246 LAR, Rowynton 1278 LAR, Rovinton 1323 LI, Rovington 1324 LI, 1448 LF, Revinton 1325 LCR, Rowynton 1327 LS, Roynton 1332 LS, Revington 1338 HS XLI. 225, Riven or Riventon c 1540 Leland. The village stands at the foot of Rivington Moor. The first el. is the old name of that hill. See p. 28. The old form Roynton still occurs in Roynton Cottage.

Gamelesley: de Gamelesleigh 1332 LS. Gamel pers. n. is probably O.N. Gammil.

16. Anglezark (in the N.W. corner of Bolton par., N. of Rivington): Andeliesarewe 1202 LF, Anlaesargh 1224 Lf, Anlawesaregh, Anlawesarewe (de Anneleshegh) 1246 LAR, Anласзарге 1285 LAR, Anlesargh 1341 IN. "Anlaf's ergh (argh) or shieling "; see p. 10. O.E. Anlaf is derived from O.N. Oldfr, etc. (< *Anluaþar). The greater part of the township is occupied by Anglezark Moor, which reaches 1,000ft. There is no village.

Bullough: de Bolhal 1307 LI, de Bolhalgh 1325 LCR, de Bulhalgh 1332 LS, Bulloghes More 1551 DL. Parson's Bullough is on the Yarrow. The first el. is probably O.E. Bula pers. n.; the second is O.E. halh "haugh."

RADCILFFE PAR.

E. of Bolton, on the N. bank of the Irwell.

Radcliffe (town): Radcliffe DB, 1200ff. LPR, 1202 LF, etc., Radclive 1194 LPR, Radclive 1226 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, Radclyve 1246 LAR, Radclifte 1500 LF, Radcliff 1577 Harr.; Redclific 1200 Ch (orig.). "The red cliff." The place is said to take its name from a cliff of red sandstone on the side of the Irwell (VHL V. 56).
PRESTWICH-WITH-OLDHAM PAR.

This parish consists of two distinct parts. Prestwich proper is a district N. of Manchester, separated from Eccles by the Irwell. The greater part of the E. portion (the district round Oldham) is partly independent, and is called Oldham chapelry.

(a) PRESTWICH PROPER

The surface is undulating. Altitudes of c 350ft. are reached.

1. Pilkington (in the W., on the Irwell and the Roch): Pulkinton 1202 f. LPR, 1202 LF, Pilkenton 1204 LPR, 1277 LAR, etc., Pilketon 1206 LPR, Pilkinton c 1200 Ch, Pilkinton 1212 LI, 1226 LI, 1277 LAR, de Pilkington 1246 LAR, Pynkelton 1277 LAR, Pylkinton ib., de Pilkington 1299 AP, Pilkynton 1312 LF, 1332 LS, Pilkynton 1311 IPM, Pilketon c 1540 Leland. Pilkington Hall stands S. of the Irwell, on level ground. The first el. of the name may be a patronymic in -ing, formed from an O.E. Pilca or Pilo, a derivative of Pil- in Pilheard, etc. (cf. Pilsworth, p. 54), and perhaps found in Pilton (Nhp.): Pilketon 1346, Pilketon 1248 FA. The early form Pulkinton, which apparently points to O.E. Pyl-, may have been misread for Pilkinton; moreover, between p and l an i may have become rounded occasionally. Cf. Fulking 1229 CIR for Filkins, Oxf., a derivative of O.E. Filica (Alexander).

Prestolee (on the Irwell): PrestaUe alias Prestall Lee 1618 DL. Named after Prestall in Farnworth on the other side of the Irwell (p. 43).


Undsworth (the E. part; v.): Hundesworth 1291 ChR, 1292 PW, Undesworth 1322 LI, 1522 DL. Cf. Hunsley, Yks. (: Hundesleic 1109-28 YCh 966), Hunsworth, Yks. (: Hundesworth 1285, etc., Goodall), Houndsfield, Worc. (: Hundesfelde DB). The first el. can hardly be anything else than O.E. hudn “hound,” most probably used as a pers. n. O.E. Hundo is not unequivocally evidenced; a possible example is Hundes hlæu (Searle). The loss of H- is regular in Lanc. dialects.

Whitefield: Whitefield 1292 PW. No doubt “the white field.”

2. Prestwich (N. of Manchester, on the Irwell; v.): Prestwich 1194 LPR, 1226 LI, 1327 LS, Prestwich 1212 LI, Prestwick 1212 RB, de Prestwich, -wyche, -wic 1246 LAR, Prestewyke 1277, 1278 LAR, Prestewyke 1313 LF, -wic h 1332 LS, Prestiche c 1500 DL, Prest(wood)ge 1598 Middleton R. O.E. próostwic “priest’s dwelling, rectory,” or “village where there was a priest.” Cf. Prestwick Nhb. and Ayrshire.


3. Great Heaton, or Over Heaton, or H. Reddish, Little Heaton, or H.-in-Fallowfield (townships N. of Manchester, on the Irk). Formerly one township, sometimes called Heaton-upon-Fallowfield: Heiton c 1200 CC, 1212 LI, 1292 PW, 1292 LF, etc., Hetone 1212 RB; Little Heton 1235 LF, Heiton 1226 LI, Haton 1246 LAR, Heiton near Faufeld 1327 LI, Heaton super Faufeld 1404 TI, Heaton hill 1577 Harr., Yetton 1872 Staton. O.E. hætun “the high town.” Heaton is mostly on fairly high ground. Heaton House stands in a commanding situation.
Fallowfield (said to be the old name of the district occupied by the Heatons VHL V. 80): de ffgifelde 1325 LCR, (Heaton supra) Faghfeld 1523 DL. The first el. is fav adj. (O.E. fæg) “coloured, variegated,” used especially of fields. Cf. c 1440 Gaw. and Galaron: Ferly fayr wes the feld, flekerit and fav (NED) The Heaton district is not really a plain; perhaps Fallowfield was originally a part of the district, e.g., the land S.W. of Heaton House.


5. Tonge (N. of Alkington, in a tongue of land between the Irk and Wince Brook, now a suburb of Middleton): de Thoong 1246 LAR, Tong in Prestwhich 1506 DL. See Tonge, p. 45.

(b) OLDHAM CHAPELRY

This part is hilly, especially in the E., where elevations of over 1,200ft. are reached.

6. Chadderton: Chaderton c 1200 WhC 48, 1224, 1270, 1276 LAR, 1303 FA, 1332 LS, etc., Kaderton c 1250 CC, de Chatherton 1282 IPM, Chaterton 1224 Pat R, 1292 PW, Chadreden 1311 LI, Chaderton, Chatherton 1322f. LI, Chadreton 1327 LS. It might seem most plausible to derive the first el. from a pers. name connected with O.E. Ceadda. But the name Hanging Chadder in Thornham cannot be so explained, and it is reasonable to identify the first el. of Chadderton with that name. Chadder may be a Brit. name identical with Welsh cader “a hill fort” (—Ir. cahir), from earlier *ceter (cognate with L. catarva). This etymology perhaps accounts for the variation between t and d in early forms. The same el. may enter into Catterton, Yks. (Cadretune DB, Cadartuna c 1140-8 YCh 539). Chadderton township is hilly; elevations of 500ft. are reached at Chadderton Heights and elsewhere.

Coldshaw: Canleschagh c 1200 WhC 48, Colesha 1577 VHL V. 121. Etymology doubtful. The first el. looks like O.E. cāwol “cole.” If so, it refers to wild cole.


Ogden: de Okeden 1332 LS. O.E. ão-denu “oak valley.”


7. Oldham (with Oldham town): de Aldholm 1222-6 LI, de Aldhulm 1227 LAR. Aldholm (vill) 1246 LAR, Oldhelm 1276 LAR, Oldum 1327 LS, 1347 LF, Oldon 1332 LS, 1537 LF, etc., Owdam 1546 LF, Oldhun 1577 Saxton, Owdham Waugh “The old holm” rather than “holm of Alda.” On holm, hulm, see p. 13. The early loss of l before m is due to dissimilation. Oldham is in the old district of Kaskenmoor (see infra); it was no doubt originally a “holm” or piece of dry land in mossland.
Kaskenmoor (comprised practically the present Oldham and Crompton townships): Kaskinemor 1210f. LPR, Kaskenemore 1212 LI, Caskenemore 1212 R.B, Haskesmores 1222-26 LI. Kasken- I take to be an adj. derived from O.E. cassuc, cassoc "hassock-grass, rushes, sedge or coarse grass" (B-T), practically identical in meaning with O.E. hassuc, found in hassucmor, hassukses more (Middendorff). But it may also be the pers. n. Caschin DB, Kaskin (gen. -i) 1180-1200 YCh 1576, 1579.

Oldham was anciently divided into Werneth, Glodwick, and Sholver.

Werneth (S.W. part; the old manor is in the S.W. of Oldham town): de Wornyth c 1200 WhC, Vernet 1222-6 LI, Wernit' TN, Wyrnith 1323 LI, Wernyth 1352 LF. This is no doubt a Brit. name, identical with Gaul. Vernetum (> Vernet, Vernois, etc., cf. Holder, who gives 91 examples), O.Bret. (Pen)uwart (Loth 173), derived from *verno- "alder" (O.Bret. uern "aulnes, marais"). The same name is no doubt Werneth, Ches. (Warnet DB). For final -th, cf. Penketh, Culcheth.

Copster Hill: the Coppedhyst 1422 HS LXXIV., Copthirst 1507 TI. First el. copped adj. "peaked." Hurst no doubt means "hil." There is a small hill close to the place.

Hathershaw: Hasellenshagh 1427, Hastinshaw 1558 VHL V. 95, Hathersay (Hardshawe) More 1554 DL, Hasteshawe 1633 DL. "Hazel copse." The sound development is remarkable.

Horsedge: Overhorssage 1559 DL, Horsedge 1600 RS XII. Really an earlier name of Oldham Edge, a ridge (800ft.) stretching into Oldham town. "Horse ridge"; edge is used in the sense "a sharp ridge," etc. The ridge may have been used as a pasture for horses.

Glodwick (the S.E. part): Glothic 1190-8 HS LXVII. 211, Glotic 1212 LI, de Glothicke 1246 LAR, Glodyke, Glothik 1323 LI, Glotheyk 1307, 1347 LF, Glothyk 1347 LR; Glodeygth 1474 VHL V. 93, Glodethe, Glodthyk 1540 DL, Glodight 1587 DL, Glodith, Glodighte 1591 DL, Glodwicke 1633 DL; now [glodik]. Glodwick is in a fairly high situation; at Glodwick Lows an elevation of 725ft. is reached. There are old quarries in the district. The place is near a Roman road.

The variation in the early forms is very curious, and is perhaps best explained if we may assume that the name is not English. There is a Welsh place-name which at least looks rather like Glodwick, viz., Glodaeth (Carnarvon): Glodeyth 1353 Rec.C. This name, I suppose, consists of Welsh clawdd "ditch; fence, hedge" (early Bret. cloed, cloid, cloz, Ir. clad) with lenition after certain prepositions, and aeth "furze." Glod- would exactly correspond to Engl. Gloth-; as regards Glod- we may compare the material adduced under Haydock, De. Welsh aeth goes back to earlier (*akto-). This would hardly have given E. -ight or -ic, but there may have been a derivative with i-mutation; cf. the examples given under Ightenhill, Bl. The most difficult task is to explain the interchange of -ic (-ik) and (later) -ight, etc., in the forms of Glodwick. Glodight may be fairly easily derived from a Brit. name similar to Welsh Glodaeth, but Glodik, Glotic are hard to account for. Sound-substitution may have taken place. Perhaps two forms, due to different substitution, have come down from early
times. In favour of Brit. origin it may be pointed out that Werneth near Glodwick seems to have a Brit. name.

However, the forms in -ght, etc., are late, and may perhaps be disregarded. If so, I am inclined to believe that the name is a hybrid, O.E. *díc “ditch” having been added to a Brit. name identical with Welsh *clawdd “ditch,” etc. The name might refer to a fosse by the Roman road. The O.E. base *Glöð-díc might explain the interchange of d and th in the early forms.

Sholver (the N. part): Solker 1202 LF, Sholley, Sholleregh, Shollerere, Chalver (de Shollerere, Sholuer, Shollers, Shalwer, Sholver, Choller) 1246 LAR, Sholver 1278 LF, Sholgher 1291 ChR, de Sulher 13 cent. WhC 164, Scholmer, Sholler 1323 LI, de Sholghre 1332 LS. The second el. of the name is clearly ergh (aragh) “a shieling” (O.N. erg < O.Ir. arigh, p. 10). The first el. is difficult. It may be O.E. scēolth adj. “oblique,” possibly used as a pers. name. As O.E. Sceolth is not evidenced, whereas O.N. Skialgr is common, it is reasonable to suppose that Sholver is a refashioning of a Scand. name. The development of the guttural is remarkable; apparently ʒ > w > v. The place stands c 850 ft. above sea-level on a hill-slope.

Beal Moor: Bellemor, Belemore 1323 LI. First el. Beal, the river-name.
Polden or Paulden: ? de Paldene 1305 Lacy C, 1324 LI. First el. probably O.E. pāl “pole.”

8. Crompton (N. of Oldham, on the Beal): Crompton 1246 LAR, Crompton 1246 LAR, 1292 LF, 1327 LS, etc., Crompton c 1210 CC, 1332 LS. I suppose Crompton was named from the sharp bend formed by the Beal at the N. end of the township. It is true High Crompton h. is c I.m. S. of the bend, but the original vil. may have been further N. We may, then, compare Croome, Worc. (: Cramban, Cromman 969, Crumbe DB) according to Duignan named from a bend of the Severn; an O.E. *crumbe “bend” (derived from crumb “crooked”) may be assumed for both names. Or the Beal may have had the name Crumbe in part of its course, owing to the bend alluded to.

Birshaw: Burshou, Burshagh 1323 LI, Birchouer 1430 LI I. 65. Perhaps “birch shaw,” but the early forms are not conclusive.


Cowlishaw: Colleshaue, Cowleshaue 1558 DL. First el. perhaps as in Collyhurst p. 35.

Gartside or Garside (on the slope of a hill): Gartside 13 cent. WhC 163 ff., de Garteside 1285 LAR, de Garthside 1332 LS, de Garthside Whit. II. 448. Garth “enclosure,” etc. (O.N. garðr) and O.E. side in the sense “hill-side” seem to be the elements of the name.


Thorpe (h.): Thorp 1260 LF. O.Scand. porp “homestead; village.”
MIDDLETON PAR.

This parish consists of several distinct parts. The chief part, with the church, is due W. of Oldham. A little to the N. are Ashworth and Birtle-with-Bamford. Further W., beyond Radcliffe, is Ainsworth, and still further off is Great Lever (see p. 45).

1. **Ainsworth** (c 6m. N.W. of Middleton church, midway between Bury and Bolton, v.): *Hainesworth* c 1200 CC 733, *de Aynesworth* 1285 LAR, *de Haynesworth* 1284 LAR, *Aynesworth* 1292 PW, *de Aynesworth* 1332 LS. The first el. seems to be a pet form of names such as *Ægenbeald*, -here, -wulf. On *worth* see p. 20. Ainsworth stands on high ground, over 500ft. above sea-level.

2. **Cocke Moor** (the E. part): *Cockesye Chapel* (Moor) 1545 DL, *Cockley* chap. 1577 Saxton, *Cockly iuxta Bury* 1586 Camden, *Cokhey* 1613 Bury R. Cocke Moor must be an old name of the district, as the chapel, which is in the centre of the township, is said to be here. Probably O.E. *coco* “cock, wild bird” (or possibly *Cocca* pers. n.) and *hege* “enclosure,” etc.


4. **Thornham** (N.E. of Middleton): *Thornham*, *Tornham* 1246 LAR. O.E. *forn* “thornbush” and *hám* (or *hamm* “enclosure”). Sometimes called *Thornton*; see VHL. V. 173.

5. **Hanging Chadder**: *Hingrandchadir* 1347 LF (II. 97), *de Hengandechadre* 1324 LCR, 1332 LS. Hanging means “steep,” cf. Hanging Heaton, Yks. (: *Hingande Heton* 1266, etc., Goodall), *Hengandehill* Percy C 154, *de Hengendebank* 13 cent. WhC 42. On *Chadder* see p. 50. The place is at an altitude of 700ft. Chadderton and Hanging Chadder, though in different parishes, are not far apart. Hanging Chadder is now in Royton, a township adjoining Chadderton.


8. **Gooden**: *de Gulden*, -e 1282 LF, *de Gulden* 1324 LCR. The first el. is, in my opinion, *gool* “a small stream, a ditch; a sluice” (1552, etc., NED), probably identical with *gole* a 1400 Morte Arthure 3725. This word is found in dialects meaning “whirlpool, ditch,” etc., and a side-form *gull* means “fissure, chasm; a watercourse,” etc. (EDD). The word is usually derived from O.F. *goule, gole* “throat.” In my opinion it is native and belongs to Swed. *göl* “pond,” Norw. (dialect.) *gyl* “chasm, ravine,” M.H.G. *gülle* “pool” (*gulja-), M.L.G. *gole* “marsh” (cf. Nureen, Svenska etymologier p. 35 f.), L.G., E. *Fris. göle, göl* “hole, pool,”
M.Du. *gulle* "palus, volutabrum, vorago, guges" (Doornkaat Koolman). Also the Continental words mentioned have been derived from a Romance source (Lat. *gula*), but this seems very improbable in view of their senses and the fact that they occur in place-names (cf. *Gulia* river-name, etc., Förstemann). Gool seems to occur as a place-name in Goole, Yks. (Gowlie 1553, Goodall) and Goole, Line.

**Siddal** (apparently on Whittle Brook): *Sydall* 1548 LF, *Sidal* 1611 CW 111. O.E. *sid* "wide" and *halh" haugh."


Birtle (h.): *de Birkele* 1246 LAR, *de Birkil* 1324 LCR, *Birkely* 1347 LF (II. 97), Birtle 1609 Middleton R. "Birch hill"; first el. O.E. *beirc* "birch. The absence of palatalization may be due to influence from O.E. *beorc* "birch." Birtle stands on a hill of 925 ft.

Bamford: *Bausford* 1282 LF, *de Bamford* 1322 LN, *de Bausford* 1324 LCR. First el. no doubt O.E. *beam* "tree, beam"; cf. O.E. *beamford* 882 BCS 550. There may have been a beam to assist wayfarers in crossing the ford or to mark its place; cf. *stapelford, wuduford* (Middendorff). Bamford Hall is near the Roch.


Kershaw Bridge (on Cheesden Brook): *de Kirkeshagh* 1324 LCR, 1332 LS. "Church shaw."


Smethurst: *de Smethehurste* 1324 LCR. "Smooth hurst," i.e., no doubt, "hill."


**ROCHDALE PAR.**

Recedham DB, Rachetham a 1193 Whit. II. 412, Rachitham 12 cent. Ind II, Rachadham a 1193, etc., WhC, 1292 PW, Recedham 1195-1211 Ind II, Rachadom 1296 Lacy C, Rachecom 13 cent. WhC; Rachedal' 1190-8 HS LXVII. 210, Rachadale 1242 LI, 1322 LI, etc., Rachadal 1246 LAR, 1341 IN, Recedale 1276 AP, Rochdale 1246 LAR, 1292 PW, Rachdall 1598 Middleton R; [ratfde, ratfitt] Ellis V. 322, Rachda 1865 Staton.

The name is used of the parish, lordship, and town of Rochdale. Its etymology is closely bound up with that of the river-name Roch. Rochdale is no doubt
"the valley of the Roch"; the river flows through the parish, and on it stands Rochdale town. If the early form of the river-name was Rached, Rachedham may be explained as "the hām on the Rached." In this case Rached would probably have to be explained as a Celtic name. I am inclined to believe, however, that Rachedham is an altogether English name. Rached- (DB Reced-) corresponds exactly to O.E. reced, a side-form of reced "house, hall, palace" (< *re-kid-). The word is used in O.E. only in poetry, but must, of course, once have been an everyday word. *Racedhām I explain as "the village by (or with) the hall." When O.E. reced went out of use Rached- was supposed to be the name of the river on which the place stands, and the river-name Rached arose. The valley of the Roch now began to be called Rached-dale (whence Rachedale), Rachedham being used for the village and church. Finally Rachedale supplanted Rachedham altogether, and a new back-formation Rache "the Roch" took the place of Rached.

Rochdale parish forms the N.E. part of Salford hundred. Except in the valley of the Roch the surface is hilly, especially in the N. and E., where there are large moorland districts. There are numerous rivers and streams, in the deep valleys of which villages and homesteads are situated.

1. CASTLETON (the S.W. part, on the Roch; v.; Rochdale town is here): Castleton 1246 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., Castleton 1311 LI; Villa Castelli de Rachedham 13 cent. WhC 599. Said to be named from a castle on the Roch near the church; Castleton vil. stands a good way further south. The name means literally "castle town." E. castle (< O.F. castel) is evidenced from c 1075. It does not seem probable that the first el. is O.E. castel "village" (< Lat. castellum). The name Castleton is also found in Derbyshire.

Balderstone (S. of Rochdale, on a small tributary of the Roch): de Baldreston 1323 LCR, Balderston 1556 LF. First el. O.E. Baldhere pers. n.


Buerstall: Berdasill 1292 PW, de Berdeshille 1296 Lacy C, de Berdeshill 1305 ib., 1361 LF, de Birdishill (Birdeshille) 1324 LCR, de Birdeshull 1332 LS, Burdisell More 1543 LF, Netherbuersell 1554 LF. Here perhaps belong: de Burdeshull 1218 LAR, de Brideshill 1228 ib. Buersill stands at the foot of a hill (600ft.). The variation in the early forms renders the name difficult to explain. Perhaps the first el. is O.E. Brid, pers. n.; cf. Birtwisle in Bl.

Hartley: de Hertelegh 1323 LCR, de Hertilegh 1324 ib. First el. O.E. hearot "hart."

Marland (old manor): Merlande c 1200 Ind I, Merland 13 cent. WhC 590, de Merland 1323 LI. This is probably O.E. Mereland from mere "mere"; there is a small lake near Marland. Cf. Mereside Farm N. of Marland. But the name may also contain O.E. gemær “boundary.” Marland is on the border of Bury.

Newbold: de Newból c 1200 WhC 596, Newbold c 1300 WhC 161, de Neubold 1322 LI, de Neubald 1324 LCR. On O.E. bold “dwelling,” etc., see p. 8.


2. BUTTERWORTH (E. of Rochdale, adjoining Yorkshire): Butlerworth 1235 LFR.
SALFORD HUNDRED

Butter-, Butervorth 1246 LAR, Butterworth 1278, 1285 LAR, 1332 LS, Boterworth 1310 LF, Botervorth 1439, 1441 LF. “Butter worth” (O.E. butere and worp “homestead,” etc.), i.e., “the dairy farm.” Butterworth is also found in W. Yorks.; cf. Butterwick, Chiswick (< O.E. cēsefic), etc.

Belfield : de Belesfeld 1310 LF, 1311 WhC 629, 1324 LCR. The place is near the Beal; the name means “the field by the Beal.”

Clegg : Clegg c 1200 Whit. II. 413, de Clegg 1285 LAR, de Clege (Kleig) 1246 LAR, de Clegg 1369 LF, Clegge 1577 Harr., 1577 Saxton. Clegg Hall stands at the foot of Owl Hill (575ft.); Clegg Moor reaches 1,400ft. The word cleg is found also in Waterfallclegges 1246 LAR. Cf. Cleggcliffe, Yks. ( : Clegelyve 1275 Goodall). There is an O.N. word kleggi “haystack,” which may have meant also “a hill, hillock,” and be the source of the name. Cleggswood (Cleggiswood 1549 LAR III. 58) is near Clegg. Cleggswood Hill reaches 650ft.

Haugh (on the Beal) : de le Halcht Whit. II. 448, the Halghhe 1549 LAR III. 55. O.E. halgh “haugh.”

Hollingworth : Holneyworth 1278 LF, Hollinworth 1582 DL. O.E. holeg “holly” and worp “enclosure,” etc.

Milnrow (on the Beal; v.): Milnerowe 1554 DL, Mylneraw 1577 Saxton. “Mill row”; row (raw) means “a row of houses, a street.” An earlier name is Milnhouse 13 cent. WhC, Milnehus 1292 PW.

Ogden : de Akeden 1246 LAR, de Aggeden ib., de Okedene 1324 LCR. Probably “Oak valley.”


Scholefield, or Schofield : de Scholfele 1212 LI, de Scolfele 1374 LF, Scoifeld 1582 DL. O.N. skáli “hut” and field.

Turnagh or Turner : de Turnagh 1274 WhC 606, de Turnagh, de Tornagh 13 cent. WhC 158, 665, de Turnaghhe 1299 LF, de Turnagh 1332 LS. The second el. is O.E. haga “enclosure.” The first el. is found in a number of Lanc. names, e.g., Turnebuttes (Stainall, Am.) CC 123, Turnebuthsike (Hutton, Le.) ib. 394, Turnecraft (Wrightington, Le.) ib. 503, Turneholm (Caton, Lo.) ib. 868. All these cannot well contain O.E. pyrne “thorn bush” with t instead of ih. The only known Engl. word that it seems possible to think of is turn sb. in the sense “bend, curve of a road,” etc. But this does not seem quite satisfactory. If Turn- goes back to Trun- it may be the adj. *trun “round” suggested under Trunnah, Am. Turnagh is no doubt identical with Turnough on the 6-inch map; this stands near Turnough Hill (650ft.).

3. Hundersfield (N. of Castleton and Butterworth; Honresfeld is a small place E. of Littleborough) : Hunnordesfeld 1202 LF, Hunewurthefeld 1235 LF, Honeworthesfeld, Hunwurthefeld, de Hunneswurthefeld, Humfridesfeld 1246 LAR, de Hundredesfeld 13 cent. WhC 732, Hunnesfeld 1311 LI, Hunresfeld 1332 LS, Honeresfeld 1361 LF, Hunresfeld 1369 Ind II, Hundersfeld 1509 LF. “The (town-)field of Hunworth.” Hunworth is a lost place-name compounded of O.E. Huna pers. n. and worp “enclosure,” etc. The form Humfridesfeld 1246 is apparently due to association with the O.E. pers. n. Hunfrith. This old township was divided into four townships:

(a) Wardleworth (the S.W. part, N. of Rochdale): Wordelword c 1200 WhC, de Werleworth 1246 LAR, Wordeword 13 cent. WhC. Wardleworth is situated
near Wuerdle. The name seems to mean "the 'worth' by or belonging to Wuerdle."

**Buckley:** *de Bukele* 1246 LAR, 1323 LCR, *de Bukkeleigh* 1332 LS. O.E. *bucca* "buck" (less probably *Bucca* pers. n.) and *lēah*.

**Foxholes:** *del foxholes* 1325 LCR. "Foxes' burrows."

(b) **Wuerdle and Wardle** (N. of Wardleworth).

**Wuerdle** (N.E. of Rochdale): *de Werddull* c 1180 WhC 728, *Wordehull, parua Wordehull, Werdel* 13 cent. WhC 156, 625, *Wordehull 1292 PW, de Wordehull 1285 LAR, de Wordhille 1296 Lacy C, de Wordhull 1299 LF, 1332 LS, de Word(e)-hill (Wirdehill, Werthill) 1324f. LCR; now [\(\text{wu'dl}\)]. Wuerdle stands near Birch Hill (793ft.). Perhaps the first el. of the name is O.E. *werođ* "troop, host," M.E. *woerd, werd, word, wîrd*. Close to Wuerdle is Wardle, which obviously means "lookout hill." Wuerdle may have been the hill where the host was stationed or assembled.

**Wardle** (N. of Rochdale; v.): *de Wardhul a 1193 Whit. II. 412, Wardhul 1190-8 HS LXVII. 210, *de Wardhill 1218, 1221 LAR, de Warthull 1246 LAR, parua Wardhull 13 cent. WhC 783, Wardhull 1329 ib. 262; now [\(\text{wu'dl}\)]. The name means "ward-hill, lookout hill," and referred originally to Brown Wardle Hill1 (1,300ft.) to the N.W. (: Brown Wardle 1580 DL).

**Dearnley:** *de Dernyleg* 1324 LCR, *Derneylley* 1581 DL. "The hidden, solitary lea." O.E. *derne*, M.E. *dern* "hidden," etc.

**Hades:** *hades* 1600 RS XII; now [\(\text{e'dz}\)]. No doubt O.E. *hǣafdu* "heads," i.e., "hills." Hades is on the slope of Middle Hill (1,300ft.), while Higher and Lower Hades are on Hades Hill (1,400ft.).

**Hamer:** *Hamer* 1572, 1597 CW 80, *Haimer* 1631 RS XII. The name is identical with O.N. *hamarr* "steep rock, cliff," O.H.G. *hamar* in place-names (Förstemann). There is no reason to doubt that O.E. *hamor* had also the sense "a rock, cliff." Hamer stands N.E. of Rochdale, near a hill. Cf. Hamer Hill in Whitworth (1,425ft.).

**Howarth or Haworth** (Great and Little): *de Haword, de Howord* c 1200 Whit. II. 412f., *de Haworth 1246 LAR, Haword 13 cent. WhC 156f., de Houworth, de Ha(u)worth 1324 f. LCR*. I am inclined to believe that here belong: *Haword-word?* c 1200 WhC 125, *Hawerdeword, -word* 13 cent. ib. 155. In that case the name must have been considerably shortened by haplography. The first el. would seem to be a pers. n., e.g., O.E. *Hæahord* 996 CD 695, or the O.N. pers. n. *Hallvorðr* (*Haworth c 1023 Searle*). If we have to start from the early forms *Hā-, Howord*, the first el. may be O.E. *hōh*, and *aw* may be due to the change *ou > au* p. 21. On *worth* see p. 20.

(c) **Blatchinworth** and **Calderbrook**2 (E. of Wuerdle and Wardle).

**Blatchinworth:** *Blackenworthe* 1276 LAR. The material hardly allows of a definite etymology. The first el. would seem to be O.E. *Blæcca* pers. n.; cf. Blatchington, Suss. (: *Bechingetone* DB, etc.), Bletchley, Bucks. (*Blechele*

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1 Wardle vil. is at some distance from Brown Wardle, but in Yates's map 1786 the present Wardle is called Little Wardle, while Wardle is considerably further N., near Brown Wardle. The latter place is High Wardle O.M. 1846-51.

2 Of Calderbrook, name of a vil. on the Roch, no early forms have been found. A place S.W. of it, not far from the Roch, is called Caldermoor.
1316 FA), etc. But preservation of the -n of the ending -an in n-stems is rare in Lancashire, and Bleachinga worp seems improbable. Perhaps Blatchen- represents some O.E. common noun derived from blæc “black,” or an O.E. *blæcen “bleaching” derived from blæcan vb. Cf. Blachinefeld 1342 SC.


Littleborough (v.; on the Roch): Littlebrough 1577 Harr., Lyttlebrough 1577 Saxton. Second el. apparently O.E. burh, but its meaning is obscure. A chapel was built here in the 15th century.†

Shore: del (dil) Shore 1324 LCR, 1332 LS, 1374 LF. Shore stands N.W. of Littleborough on the slope of the steep spur of hill called East Hill at c 700ft. elevation. The name is clearly identical with dial. shore “a steep rock” Sc. (EDD), which is related to O.E. soorían “to project” (of stones from a cliff). The same meaning is no doubt to be attributed to other Shores, as Shore Head (960ft.) E. of Whitworth (le Shore WhC 688), Shore near Cornholme (Yks.). Cf. Schor WhC 777 in the boundary of Whalley par., Sheremore 1580 DL.


Stansfield (near Calderbrook): de Stanesfield 1246 LAR, de Stanisfeld 1311 LI. Possibly “stone field,” though the regular genitive -s is against such an etymology.

Windy Bank: de Wyndibonk c 1300 WhC 692, del Wyndybonk, del Wyndibonk 1324f. LCR. The place stands near Littleborough on the slope of a hill (750ft.). Bank means “hill.”

(d) Todmorden and Walsden (the N. part, now in Yks.).

Todmorden (town): Tottemerdon, de Totmardene 1246 LAR, Todmarden c 1300 WhC 625, Todmerdem 1298 (Goodall), Todmerden 1546 Lf. The town stands in the valley of the Calder on the old boundary between Yks. and Lanc. W. of Todmorden is Todmorden Moor (1,302ft.). The etymology of the name is difficult. The first el. appears to be O.E. Totta pers. n. (cf. Tottington). The second may be O.E. mór with weakening of the vowel; if so, the name means “the valley by Tottan mór.” Or the second el. is O.E. gemære “boundary.” This would give the meaning “Totta’s boundary valley.”

Walsden (v. S. of Todmorden, in a valley): Walseden 1235 LF. The first el. is apparently a pers. name; Wyld suggests O.E. *Walsa or Wæls, and compares the place-names Walsingham and Waesleagh 1065 CD. This is perhaps correct. Yet the first el. may be Wales, gen. of Walh; cf. Walshall, Staffs., Walsham, Suss.

Bernshaw Tower (on a hill): Besynghawe 1556 Lf. First el. Besing pers. n. as in Besingby, Yks. ; Besing’ de Hudeswell’ is mentioned YFF 67 (1202).

Inchfield: *Inchfeld* 1521 DL, *Inchfeld* 1551 LF. Inchfield Moor reaches nearly 1,500ft. Very likely the first el. was originally *Hinge* (O.E. *heng*); cf. Hinchliffe, Yks.: *Hyncheleff* 1379 (Goodall) < O.E. *hengecliff*; and *Hengeland* (Tatham, Lo.) CC 935. The [dż] would become [tʃ] before f. If this is right, the name means "sloping field."

Scaitcliffe: *Scatecliff* 1575, *Scatcliff* 1596 DL. "Slate cliff." Slate often appears as *sclate*, *sklate* in early sources (< O.F. *esclate*) and *l* was lost owing to dissimilation. Cf. p. 90.

4. Spotland (the W. part; on both sides of the river Spodden): *Spotlond* c 1180 WhC 728, *Spotland* 1285 LAR, 1341 IN, etc., *Spotland* 1311 LI, *Spotlond* 1327, 1332 LS, 1369, 1391 LF. The name is only used of the district, but probably to begin with denoted some special place.

Spotland township is hilly, the highest land being in the east and west. The S. part on the Roch is comparatively level. The name must be compared with the river name Spodden, earlier *Spotbrok*. The most probable explanation is perhaps that *Spot-* represents the old name of the river; such a river-name might belong to *spout* sb., vb. See Torp-Fick, p. 513. *Spottesdala* (W. Yks.) c 1320 FC II, may contain the same river name. It is also possible, however, that *Spot-* is identical with *spot* sb. "a small space or extent of ground"; cf. O.E. *splott*, O.N. *spotti* "piece, particle," Norw. *spott* "piece of land." If so, we may compare Spot, the name of a vil. in Haddingtonshire. Perhaps a place in Spotland was originally called Spot, and the other names were derived from it.

Bagslate Moor (in the S.W.): *Bagslade* 13 cent. WhC 667. The second el. is O.E. *sled* "valley." The first may be O.E. *Bacga* pers. n.

Brandwood (the N.W. part): *Brendewood* c 1200 WhC 154, *Brendewode* 1324 LI. "The burnt wood" (M.E. *brend* "burnt").


Chadwick (the S. part, W. of Rochdale): *Chaddewyk* c 1180 WhC 728, *Chadewyk* 1246 LAR, *Chadewyk* 13 cent. WhC 796, *Litelchadewyk* 1277 WhC 788. O.E. *Ceadda* pers. n. and *wic* "dwelling," etc. The church of Rochdale was dedicated to St. Chad; the name of the saint may enter into Chadwick.

Cheesden (in the S.W.): *Chesden Water* 1543 DL, *Chesden* 1546 LF, *Cheseden* 1549 LP III; *Cheisdenlomme* ib. is now Chesden Lumb. On the probable first el. of Cheesden see Chesham, p. 61.


Cowclough (in Whitworth): *Colleclough* 13 cent. WhC 643. The place stands near a brook. Perhaps the first el. is a name of that brook. Cf. Cole (river Worc.): (on) *Colle* 972 BCS 1282; also *aqua de Colle* (*Cole*) 1247, 1257 FC (Wml.). O.E. *col* "coal," and *Cola* pers. n. may also be thought of.

Cowm (in the deep valley of Cowm Brook): *magnam Cumbam, parauum Cumbe* 13 cent. WhC 643, 675, *le Miklcolmubetbrok, Litelcumbe* c 1300 ib. 698, 691. All these examples refer to brooks. The source is O.E. *cumb* "valley."
**SALFORD HUNDRED**


**Ellenrode** (N.W. of Rochdale): *de Ailwarderod* 1329 WhC 261, *Elwodroude* 1549 LP III. 59. "The clearing of *Ægelweard* or *Ægelweard* (Ailward)." The *n-* was introduced at a late period, perhaps owing to some popular etymology.

**Facit** (N. of Whitworth, E. of Spodden Brook): *ffafgeside* 13 cent. WhC 654, 664; now *f'sit*. O.E. *fæg* (M.E. *faw*, etc.) "coloured, variegated" (cf. *Fallowfield*, p. 50) and *side* "side". "the bright (? 'flowery') slope." The name is identical with Fawcett, Wml. (: *Faxide* 1247, *Fawside* 1374; differently explained by Sedgefield). There is also a Fawside in Kincardineshire.


**Healey** (district E. of Spodden Brook): *Hayleg* 1260 LF, *villa de Helay*, *Heleye*, *Heleyden* 13 cent. WhC, *de Heshleg* 1332 LS. Healey is on the slope of a hill of 1,042ft. I suppose the name means "the high lea"; *Hayleg* 1260 seems to be miswritten.

**Masseycroft** (S. of Whitworth): *Maxicroft, Maxicroftschore* 13 cent. WhC 661, 688 (stated to be in Whitworth). The name probably means "manured croft," the first el. being derived from O.E. *me(o)x* "dung." As regards a, cf. Scottish *sax* f. *six* (O.E. *sex*).

**Naden** (in the W.): *de Naueden[e]* 1323f. LCR, *de Neuedene* 1325 ib. Higher and Lower Naden are situated above Naden Brook at an elevation of c 800ft. on the slope of Knoll Hill (1,375ft.). The name was no doubt at first used of the valley and the brook, and was given in reference to the high hill near it. Cf. Norw. *Naava*, the name of a river (from *Naf*, gen. *Nafar*), derived from *naf* "projecting peak" (Rygh, Elvenavne). Very likely O.E. *nafa* "nave" was used in a topographical sense too (cf. Middendorff) and may be the first el. of Naden.


**Rockcliffe**: *de Rocclif* 1296 Lacy C, *Rockeyf* 1324 LI. Probably "roe cliff" (O.E. *rä* "roe" and *clif*).

**Tonacliffe** (Healey): *de Tunval(e)clif* 1246 LAR, 1412 FC 367, *Tunewalclif, Tunvalcliffe* 13 cent. WhC 654, 658. The name means "the town brook (or well) cliff." The *tün* referred to may be Healey, close to which the place is.
**BURY PAR.**


**Trough (Gate):** *le Trogh, Troghbrok* WhC 697f. O.E. *trog* "trough, here in the sense "valley."  

**Whitworth** (on Spodden Brook, N. of Healey): *Whitword* 13 cent. WhC 637, 643, 1322 L1, *Whitworth* 13 cent. WhC 668, *de Wytwurth(e)* 1246 LAR. "The white worp" or "the worp of Hwīta"; Hwīta is a common O.E. pers. n.


**BURY PAR.**

This parish may be described as the district of the Upper Irwell valley; yet also part of the lower Roch valley belongs to it. The northernmost parts are in Blackburn hundred, but are dealt with here as they belong geographically and ecclesiastically to Salford.

In the S. the surface is level, especially in the tongue of land between the Roch and the Irwell. The ground rises to the north, the highest elevations being on the E. and W. borders, where large moorland districts are found. The villages and homesteads are chiefly in the valleys of the Irwell and its tributaries.


**Chesham** (N.E. of Bury, on Gipsy Brook): *Chesum* 1429 LF, Cheasom, Cheesam 1610 CW 80. The early forms are not old enough to tell us whether this is an old dative in *-um* or a compound with O.E. *hamm* (or possibly *hām*). Anyhow, the element *Ches-* is obviously identical with that of Cheesden (p. 59) and probably a lost O.E. sb. identical with M.H.G *quis* "gravel" perhaps preserved in O.E. *Cisburne* 816 BCS 556 (Worc.), and Chishill (Kent), and found in the derivatives O.E. *ceosol* "gravel" and *cisen* adj. in Chismall, Le. (p. 129). If Chesham is an old dat. pl., the vowel e is most easily explained (O.E. *ceosum*). Cf. Swed. *Kisa*, the gen. pl. of a related word.

**Haslam** (Haslam Brow, S.E. of Bury): *de Haselum* 1235, 1256 LF, *de Haslum (Haseolumn)* 1246 LAR. O.E. *haslum* "(at) the hazels."


2. **Heap** (E. of Bury, on the Roch): *de Hep* 1226 (Bardsley), Hepe 1278 VHL V. 136, *the Heipp brige* 1551 CCR. There is no longer any village or estate of the name. The original Heap may have been at Heap Bridge, a place on the Roch. I suppose Heap is O.E. *hpēp* "heap, pile," in the sense "a hill." If so, the hill E. of Heap Bridge may be supposed to have given name to the place. O.E.
heap “a hill.” I take to be the origin of Shap, Wml. (Hep 1231, 1293 Sedgefield); cf. Studier tillegnade Esaiaas Tegnér den 13 jan. 1918, p. 437 ff. Cf. also Hapton (Bl.).

Heywood (town): Hewude, de Hoghwode 1246 LAR, del Hewod 1323 LCR, de Hayewode (Hewode) 1324f. LCR, del Hewode 1330 LF, Yewwood 1865 Staton. Here perhaps belong de Haywood 1246 LAR, de Hawod 1285 LAR. The first el., as suggested by Wyld, may be O.E. hege “enclosure.” But some forms point rather to O.E. hēa-wuđu “high wood.”

Lomax (now lost name of the district S. of the Roch, where Charlestown and Heady Hill are): de Lumhalghs 1324 LCR, Loumals 1546 LF, lomax 1592 Bury R. Second el. the plur. of O.E. hæl “haugh,” which suits the situation of the place. The first el. may be identical with Lumb infra, or the pers. n. apparently found in Lumley, Durh. (Mawer).

Whittle: de Quitul 1292 VHL V. 138, Whittle 1612 Middleton R. “White hill.”

Elton (W. of Bury and the Irwell): Elleton 1246 LAR, de Holon (Helton) ib., de Elton 1277, 1278 LAR. O.E. Ellen tun; cf. Eltonhead, p. 108. Ella was a common O.E. name.

Brandlesome (between the Irwell and Kirklees Brook): de Brandolfholm 1285 LAR, Brandilsholme More 1515 CCR, Brandlesome 1556 LF, Brandlesham 1577 Harr. “Brandulf’s holme.” Brandulf pers. n. occurs in D.B.; it is probably a Scand. name (O.N. Brøndulf), as Brand is hardly with certainty evidenced as an O.E. name-element. Holm is O.N. holmr “island,” etc.

Summerseat (near the Irwell): Sumersett 1556 CCR, Somerseat 1618 CW 158. The name seems to have as second el. set, sat, “a shieling” (cf. p. 16), or O.E. set, “fold.” The first el. is O.E. sumor or O.N. sumarr, “summer.” Sommersæt is a common place-name in N. Norway (NG XVII. 56).


Walmersley-with-Shuttleworth (E. of the Irwell, N. of Bury).

Walmersley (the S. part; v.): Walmersley 1262 LAR, de Walmeresleigh 1318 LI, de Walm’esleigh 1332 LS, Womersley 1552 LF, Wamessley Hamell 1555 LF. I suppose the first el. is O.E. Waldmær, a name possibly evidenced in O.E. (cf. Waldmær scora 824 BCS 381), or Wallmhær. A compound of O.E. waella “well; brook,” and mere “mere” is also possible.

Cobhouse (N.E. of Walmersley): de Cobalres 1359 LF. Second el. clearly the plur. of O.E. alr “alder.” Cob- may be a pers. name (O.E. Cobba) or cob sb. in one of its senses.

Lumb or Lumn Mill (near Walmersley): ? lumcar 1591 Bury R. The name is identical with Lumb (Tottington), Lumb, Yks. (Lom 1307, 1308, Lum 1370, Goodall); cf. the Coulomme 1549 LP III. 53, Lomme, Cracklomme 1564 CCR, Lomax supra. Bardsley correctly identifies the name with dial. lüm, “a woody valley, a deep pool.” Cf. lümb “a well for the collection of water in a mine; a deep pool in the bed of a river” (18 cent.) NED; lüm “a deep pool in the bed of a river” NCy, Lakel., Yks., etc. (DEDD). The etymology of the word is obscure. Lumb is situated close to two small tarns and Pigsley Brook.

Pigsden, Pigsley (on Pigsley Brook). Cf. Pedeksdene Kuerden MS, Pigkisdene 1380 VHL V. 142, Petekesdene ib. 174, Pedkesdene 1287 ib. 177. The first el. appears
to be a pers. n. identical with that found in Pickwell (Dev.): Pedicheswelle DB, perhaps a diminutive in -uc of O.E. Piuda (cf. Redin).

Shipperbottom: de Schyppewelle-, Schyppewallebothem 1285 LAR, de Shipvallebothum 1323 LI, Shippalbothum 1489 PatR. O.E. scëpwella “stream (or well) where sheep are washed,” and O.E. *bofn, M.E. bothem “valley, dell.” Ship goes back to the rare O.E. form scëp for scëp, scëap “sheep.” The place is in a small valley.

Shuttleworth (the N. part, v.): Suttelesworth 1227 LF, Shytlesworth 1241 LF, Shyslesworth, de Shytlesworth 1246 LAR, Shuttlelesworth 1296 Lacy C, Schuttles-wurthe 1305 ib., Shotlesworth 1311 LI, Shuttlelesworth 1324 LI. The same name occurs in Bedford (De), Hapton (Bl), and in Yks.; the latter appears as Schultes-wrtha, Sutleswrtha 1209. The first el. of the name is derived by Wyld and Goodall from an O.E. Scyttel or Scytel,1 pers. n. But it would be a curious coincidence for this rare name to appear at least four times combined with O.E. worp. In my opinion the first el. is O.E. scyt(t)el’s “bar, bolt.” If O.E. worp meant “enclosure,” this seems to give a good sense; perhaps the name means “barred enclosure.” But scyttels may have had some special sense not preserved in the sources. It may have been used e.g. of a gate of some sort. In dialects shuttle (< O.E. scytel, a side-form of scyttels) means “a horizontal bar of a gate or hurdle”; also “a flood-gate.” Norw. skutil, Swed. skyttel denote a pole that may be pulled backwards and forwards across an opening in a fence. Swed. skyttlegap means an opening in a fence that may be shut by means of loose poles (skyttel).

5. Tottington (Higher End and Lower End, townships): Totinton 1212 LI, 1235 Chr, Totington 1233 LF, 1278 LAR, 1327 LS, etc., Todington 1242 LI, Totingdon 1251 Chr, Tottyngton 1274 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Tottyngton 1285 LAR, Totynton 1330 LF. O.E. Totinga tun. Totingas is a patronymic formed from the O.E. pers. n. Tota.

Affeside: Affetside 1504, Affetsid 1509, Affaythyside 1523, Afferseyd common 1531, Avesyde 1556 CCR, Affetsyside 1542 DL, Offyside 1771 Whitaker, Manchester, Aviside Waugh. Affeside stands on a hill (896 ft.) over which runs a Roman road (Watling-street). The forms are too late to allow of an etymology.

Croichlow Fold (S.W. of Holcombe Brook, near a hill): de Cruchelowe 1324 LCR, Crychelow 1525, Crychelaw 1529, Croichelay 1563 CCR. The first el. looks like the Brit. word found in Welsh crug “a hill”; cf. Creech, Som. (S. of the Quantock Hills; Crucant apud nos Crycbeorh 680 BCS 62, Crice DB), Creech Do. (Cric, Criz DB), Penkridge, Staffs. (Pennocrucium Ant. It., Pancriz DB).

Hawkshaw (h.): Howkesjagh 1509, Hawkesey 1527, Hawkeshey 1530 CCR. O.E. hafoc “hawk,” and scaca “shaw.”

Holcombe, Holcombe Brook (h.): Holecumbam a 1236 Whit. I. 324, Holcumbevet c 1236 ib. 325, de Holcumbe 1296 Lacy C, de Holecombe 1305 ib. O.E. hol(h) “hollow” and cumb “valley.” The name refers to the deep valley of Holcombe Brook.

Nuttall (h.): de Notcho 1256 LF, de Notehogh 1318 LI, 1332 LI, de Notehugh

1 From Scyt(t)el the first el. of Shillington, Nhb., Yks., Shillington, Beds., may be derived, and Scytlesester, an early form of Chesters, Nhb., may contain the name Scytel itself (Mawer).
1323 LCR, the Nutto 1545 CCR. O.E. hnutu “nut” and hōh “spur of land,” etc. Nuttall stands at a slight spur of hill near the Irwell.


Tittleshaw (near Holcombe Brook): Tyteleshou a 1236, Tuttesloue c 1236 Whit. I. 324f., Tetilsey More 1523, Tetlesaw 1544 CCR. O.E. *Tytel pers. n., a side-form of Tytīla (found in Bede), and O.N. haugr “hill.” The place is close to a hill. In the earliest instances the name denotes a hill.

In Tottington Higher End are:

Alden (valley, brook, the boundary against Musbury): Aldenehevet a 1234 Whit. I. 324, Alvedene 1296 Lacy C, Aldene 1305 ib., 1324 LI. The first el. may be O.E. Aelfa pers. n., or perhaps more likely the gen. pl. of O.E. ælf “fairy, elf.” The second is O.E. denu “valley.”


Buckden (h.): de Bukedene 1324 LCR. O.E. bucca “buck” and denu.

Chatterton: Chatterton 1523, Chatterton Hey 1547 CCR, Chatterton 16 cent. WhC 1226. The place stands E. of the Irwell on a steep projecting ridge. The name is apparently identical in origin with Chadderton, p. 50.


Edenfield (v.): Aytounfeld 1324 LI, de Aytounfeld 1443, Aytenfeld 1509 CCR, Atomfeld 1519 LP I. 86, Aytenfelde 1577 Harr., etenfelde 1591, edenfeld 1615 Bury R.; now [i'dnfi'ld]. Edenfield stands near the Irwell on fairly high ground. Eden Wood is to the S. of it. Eden- is probably O.E. Eō-tūn, ëg in this case meaning “river-meadow” or the like. The place so called may have been on the Irwell. Cf. Hundersfield.

Horncliffe (E. of the Irwell): de Horneclif 1323 LCR, de Hornclive c 1360 CR 344, Horne-, Hornecliff 1540 CCR. First el. probably horn “a pointed or tapering projection” or the like. Horncliffe stands at a steep spur of Dearden Moor.

Lamb (on the Irwell): Lumbank 1528, the Lumebonke, Lumbankeheid 1547 CCR, Lumme Carre medow 1563 ib. Cf. the same name p. 62.

New Hall: Newhalle (vaccary) 1324 LI, Newhall 1577 Harr. Hall may mean “farm-house, cottage” (cf. EDD).

Shillingbottom: Shillingbothim 1296 Lacy C, -botham 1305 ib. The first el. may be the O.E. pers. n. Scilling; but more likely it is the name of a brook derived from ssill adj. (O.E. scyl) “sonorous, resonant, shrill.” Second el. M.E. bothem “valley.”

Stubbins (h.): Stubbsys Halle 1559 CCR; cf. Stubbyng 1563 ib. M.E. stubbing, “the action of clearing land of stubs, etc.” (1445, etc., NED). Here the meaning is concrete: “cleared land.”

warren” (Duignan). The township chiefly consists of hills (Musbury Heights). It was formerly a park.

Musden, Musden Head: Musdene 1296 Lacy C, Musdene 1305 ib., 1324 li. “Mouse valley.” Musden Head is “the head of the Musden (or Musbury Brook) valley.”

Ogden (valley in the N.; Ogden Brook): Uggedene 1296 Lacy C, Ugden 1305 ib., Uggedon 1324 li., (aqua de) Uggeden WhC 333, Ugden 1509, Ogdenfott, Ogdenfott 1531 CCR; Typpet of Ogden (Ugden) 1577, Typpet of Ugden Hill 1580 DL. The first el. is no doubt a pers. n.; cf. Uggelow (hill) WhC 334, Uggecoluteawe (Whitworth) 13 cent. WhC 654, also Ugley (Ess.): Oggele 1303, Oggele 1428 FA. We may assume an O.E. *Uega, corresponding to O.N. Uggi. The meaning of Typpet (now Trippet) is obscure.

7. Cowpe, Lench, Newhall Hey, Hall Carr (E. of the Irwell; in Blackburn hundred). The district occupies the N. slope of a high hill.

Cowpe: Cuhope, Cuhopheued c 1200 WhC 154, Couhop 1324 li. Cowpe stands on a stream (called Couhopebrook WhC 334) in a valley, which is a typical “hope,” i.e., “a smaller opening branching out from the main dale, and running up to the mountain ranges.” The name means “cow valley” (O.E. cu and hop).

Lench: the Lenche 1526, Overlynche 1507, Overlinche 1527, Overlenche 1532 CCR. Lench in dialects means “a shelf of rock,” etc. (Derbysh.); linch 1, “rising ground”; 2, “a ledge; a hamlet on the side of a hill” (the second sense found in Lanc. dial.). Lench, lynch are obviously connected with O.E. hlinc “ridge, slope, hill”; there must have been an O.E. hlenç with much the same meaning.

Newhall Hey: Newhalley 1464 Whit. I. 359, Newhall(h)ey 1507, 1514 CCR. Cf. New Hall, p. 64.

Hall Carr (near Newhall Hey): Hallecarre 1507 CCR. Carr is O.N. kíarr, “marsh, bog.”

BLACKBURN HUNDRED

Blacheburn hund’ DB, (de) Blakeburne Wapentachie 1188 LPR, Blakeburnesire 1243 LI, Blakeburneschyre 1246 LAR, Blakeburneshire 1258 IPM, Blackburnshir 1332 LS.

A district N. of Salford hundred and mostly S. of the Ribble, with a small portion N. of that river. This latter part, till some time after the Conquest, belonged to Amounderness hundred, and Alston-with-Hothersall township, though in Ribchester par., does so still. This part is best dealt with in connection with Amounderness.

Names of Rivers

Ribble (falls into the Irish Sea): Rippel c 710 Eddi,¹ Röbel c 930 YCh (? genuine), 1002 Thorpe, 1229, 1251 ChR, etc., Ripam DB, Ribem 1094 LC 794, Ribam 1130 LPR, Ribble c 1130 Sim. Durh., Riblam 1140 Ch, Riblam 1142 Ch, Ribbil(l) 1189-94 Ch, c 1230 CC, 1252 LI, Rybel 1246 LAR, Ribel 1251, 1270 ChR, Rebel 1400 FC 201, the Rybell 1577 Harr. Cf. Ribchester p. 144. The Ribble is an

¹ MSS from 11 and 12 cent.
important river, its name is probably British. Etymology obscure. If, as some think, Ptolemy's Belisama should be identified with the Ribble, the name may contain the first part (Bel-) of this word.

Darwen (joins the Ribble near Preston): Derewente 1227 LF, Darwent c 1540 Leland. Cf. Over and Lower Darwen, p. 75. The name is identical with Derwent in Derby, Cumb., Yks., Nhb. It appears as Deruentione Ant. It., Not. D., Rav. (Holder), Deruentionis (g.sg.) Bede (Deorwentan, etc., in the O.E. translation), Dereuentionem Bede, etc. The name is a derivative of Celt. *derwā "oak."


Calder (falls into the Ribble near Whalley): Caldre a 1193 Whit. II. 388, 1246 LAR, WhC 333, Est Caldre WhC 334, Calder c 1200 Whit. II. 189, Kelder 1296 Lacy C, the Calder, the Chaler 1577 Harr. This river is sometimes called the two-forked Calder. It has two head-streams, which join at Burnley. The Northern one of these is generally called Pendle Water, the name Calder being applied to the Southern one. There is another Calder in Blackburn, which rises near the other Calder, but flows S. and E. to the Aire in Yks.: Kelder 1202, Keldre 1296, Calder 1308 (Goodall). This is a common river name. Cf. Calder in Am. infra, Cumb., Scotland. Caldour near Kelso is said to appear as Caledofre in an early doc. (McClure, p. 144). The name is British, and its second el. is generally assumed to be Celtic *dubron (Welsh dufr, etc.) "water." It may be identical with the Welsh river names Cletwr, Clettwr; cf. Kaletur Maur', Kaletur Bochan, etc., 1241 AP (in Shr. or Heref.) "the great and little Caelur," the first el. of which seems to be Welsh caled "hard, severe," here perhaps "rapid" or the like.

Bushburn (falls into the Calder): Busceburne(c) 13 cent. WhC 953f., Buseburne ib. 1027. First el. obscure.


Wanless Water: Wandles Wayter 1540 CCR. Earlier forms are needed.

Brun (falls into the Calder at Burnley). See under Burnley.

Names of Hills

In Blackburn par. are:

Billinge (807ft., in Witton): Billinge hill 1429 VHL VI. 340; cf. Billingehurst 13 cent. ib. 266, Billinge Hill 1594 DL, subter Billinge 1622 Blackburn R. The etymology of the name is complicated by the fact that a neighbouring hill is called Billington Moor (p. 71), earlier Billingahoth. This latter apparently means "the hill of the Billings." It would seem most natural to explain Billinge in a similar way, that is, to derive it from an O.E. Billingahyll, "the hill of the
Billings,” the later Billinge being elliptical. Another possibility is that Billinge is an old hill-name, derived from O.E. bil “sword.” Billinge is a conspicuous ridge. The early material does not allow of a definite choice between these alternatives. From Billinge, the name of the hill, is derived Billinge Scar (the name of a place on the hill): Billins Carr 1615, Billindge Carr 1624, Billinges 1652 Blackburn R. Scar means “a cliff, the ridge of a hill,” etc.

**Mellor Moor.**—See p. 73.

Revidge (in Over Darwen) apparently has as second el. the word edge (O.E. eage). The first may be O.E. hrēof “rough.”

Whalley Nab (606ft., the eastern point of Billington Hill): Nab (silva) 1579 Whalley R, The Nabb in Billington 1604 CW 176. An earlier name of this is no doubt Belsetenab 13 cent. WhC 133, (montis) Belsetenabbe 14 cent. ib. 1013. Belsete is apparently a place-name whose second el. is set “shieling” (cf. p. 16); the first el. is very likely a pers. n., e.g., Beli in Belesby, Linc., etc. (Björkman, Namenkunde). Nab is M.E. nabb from O.N. nabbr or nabbi, “a projecting peak.”

In Whalley par. are:


**Boulsworth** (1,700ft., S.E. of Colne): Bulswyre WhC 333, Bulsware 1618, Bulswarre 1620 Colne R. The elements of the name are M.E. bule “bull” and O.E. svira or O.N. svir “neck.” The name might mean “the bull’s neck,” not an inapt description of the long massive ridge. But svira may here be used in one of the senses “a level spot, or steep pass between mountains, a declivity near the summit of a hill, a hill road” (EDD). There is a small place Boulsworth near Thursden Clough.


**Castercliff** (near Nelson): Castell Clif 1515, the Castycliff 1533 CCR. There are remains of an ancient earthwork on the hill. First el. M.E. castel (< O.F.).

**Combe Hill** (on the Yks. border): Cawmhill 1643 Colne R. First el. O.E. camb “comb.” Dial. comb also means “a crest, ridge of a hill.”

**Cribden** or **Cridden** (N.E. of Haslingden, 1,250ft.): (Lawnd of) Kyrdn 1543, (Le Launde of) Cryden 1559, Cryddene 1563 CCR. The second el. of the name is apparently O.E. denu “valley”; so the hill seems to have been named from a place in the vicinity (cf. Cribden Side, Cribden End), which in its turn took its name from a valley. If Cridden is the correct form, as the early forms seem to suggest, the first el. might be O.E. Crīoda pers. n.

**Crow Hill** (Trawden): Crowehull WhC 334. Presumably “hill of the crows.”

**Great Hill** (Trawden): Grethill 1527 CCR. Probably literally “great hill.”

**Hameldon.**—There are three hills of this name: Black Hameldon (1,573ft., on the Yks. border), Hameldon (S. of Etwistle), Great Hameldon (1,343ft., W. of Burnley). The last is Hameldon a 1194 Kirkstall C. Hameldon, like Hambledon Hill (623ft., on the border of Dorset and Wilts.), has for its first el. the common Germ. adj. *hamala~ “maimed,” etc.: O.N. hamall, O.H.G. hamal etc.; cf.
O.E. hamelian, “to mutilate, etc.” (Torp-Fick p. 73). It is impossible to determine the exact meaning of the word in Hameldon. It was certainly not “rounded,” as the Hameldons are not characterised by a rounded shape. More likely it was “treeless, bare,” or perhaps “level,” a natural development from “maimed.” Great Hameldon, seen, e.g., from the Calder valley, and the other Hameldons make the impression of fairly level ridges.

**Horelaw** (1,153ft., S. of Burnley): Horelaw 1598 Burnley R. “Grey hill.” A small place Wholaw on the slope of the hill was clearly named from it. Cf. *le Horelouw* 1306 WhC 1013 (near Wiswell).

**Noyna** (980ft., N. of Colne): Noynow Cragg 1589 DL, Noynowe 1602, Noynoe 1612, Noonow 1614 ff., Nonowe 1627, etc., Colne R. Clearly O.E. nōn “noon,” and O.E. höh or O.N. haugr “hill,” a name analogous to Mittaghorn (Switzerland), Middagsfjallet, Nonsberget (North Sweden), Middagsböda (Norway), and meaning literally “noon hill,” “a hill situated S. of a certain place so that the sun is seen above it at noon.” Cf. on names of this kind Lidén NoB IV. 89, 124. Noon is [noin] in Lanc. dialects. Noyna Hill is almost due S. of Earby and Thornton in Yks.

**Pendle Hill** (1,831ft.): Pennul 1258 IPM, Pennehille 1296 Lucy C, Penhul 1305 Lucy C, Penhull WhC 334, Penhill 1311, 1324 I.I. The name is mostly used of the forest (*foressta de Penhull, etc.*). Cf. Pendleton, p. 77. The elements are *Pen-* from Brit. *pen* (Welsh *pen* “head; top,” etc.; cf. Pendlebury, Pendleton, Salf.) and O.E. *hyl.*

**Pike Law** (1,189ft., E. of Pendle): Pikedlawe 1329, Pikedelawe 1333 Kirkstall C. M.E. *piked* “pointed” (from *pike* “point; pointed hill”) and *hlaw*. The same name occurs in Blackburn (*le Pikedlowe WhC 334*), and Thieveley Pike (S. of Burnley) was formerly called *Pykelaw 1528 CCR.*

**Stank Top** (1,060ft., E. of Pendle): Stanghend 1524, Stang Toppe 1546 CCR. *Stank* is O.N. *stong* “a pole.”

**Wolfstones** (Trawden; 1,455ft.): *le Woluestones WhC 333.* “The wolf-stones,” really the name of a county boundary mark. It is doubtful if *Wolf* is “wolf” the animal, or the O.E. pers. n. *Wulfa.*

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**BLACKBURN PAR.**

This parish forms the W. part of the hundred, being separated from Whalley parish by the Calder, the Hyndburn, and the moors S. of the source of the latter river. It consists of a district on the S. bank of the Ribble and a broad area on both sides of the upper Darwen. The surface varies considerably. In the S. Darwen Moor reaches 1,320ft. From there the ground slopes towards the Ribble, but there are several minor hills, as Mellor Moor, Billington Moor, etc.


**Bamber Bridge** (v. on the Lostock): *Bymbrig* (in an early deed) VHL VI. 290.
Seems to be the "bridge of Bym"; cf. Bimme pers. n. 1246 LAR, Bynmecroft (Eccleshill) 13 cent. WhC.

Brownedge (h.; on an eminence): Brownage, Browneyge 1551 DL. Apparently "brown hill."

Lemon House: cf. de Lemoneshull 1341 IN. First el. the pers. n. Lagheman 1246 LAR, Laghmon 1347 OR, from O.N. Lagmadr, literally "law man, judge."

2. Cuerdale (on the Ribble, E. of Preston): Kiuerdale c 1190 Ch, 1246 LAR, de Keuirdale 1279 CIR, Keuerdale 1293 LI, 1296, 1305 Lacy C, Keuresdale 1311 LI, Keu'dale 1332 LS, Kyuerdale 1356 LF. Cuerdale occupies a slight ridge of ground between the Darwen and the Ribble. Cuerdale Hall is in a haugh close to the Ribble. The first el. of the name may be identical with that of Cuerley, p. 106. If so, the second el. is probably O.E. halh "haugh," which suits the situation of the place extremely well—indeed, much better than dale.


The old chapel of Samlesbury stands on the S. bank of the Ribble, with Samlesbury Lower Hall some way off on the river. I take this to be the site of the original Samlesbury. The etymology is much complicated by the variety of the early spellings. The forms with S- are in the majority, but there are a good many with Sh-, and it is not easy to see why S- should have been replaced by Sh-, whereas S- for Sh- is easily explained by Norman influence. If the original form had Sh-, I would compare the following names: Shamele (hundred Kent) 1275 HR; Shalmsford (Kent): Shameleford 1285 FA, Sahameleford 1275 HR; perhaps Shamblehurst (Hants): Samelhert, Samelherst' 1176 PR, Schameleshurste 1316 FA. All these may contain O.E. sceamel "bench, stool," or some derivative of it; cf. to pam scamel 909 BCS 629. The meaning of this word in topographical use is not clear, but very likely it may have been something like "ledge, shelf"; cf. G. sandeschemel "sand shelf" (Middendorff). In this case the word might refer to a ledge on the bank of the Ribble. In reality, Samlesbury Lower Hall stands on a slight ledge (c 50ft. above sea-level), which stretches as far as the church.

If the spellings in Sh- are to be disregarded the etymology is much more difficult. The first el. is hardly the pers. n. Samuel. If it is a pers. n., as the early forms rather suggest, it may be a derivative of the stem Sam- found in German names. This stem is not found in English names, but the related stem Söm occurs in O.E. Scemel and perhaps in the first el. of Semington, Semley, Wilts. Burh in this name, as in Salebury, may mean "fortified house, fort" or "manor"; cf. p. 8.

Myerscough (h.). Cf. Myerscough, Am.
Ramsholme Wood (on the Ribble): Rammesholme 1333 WhC 100. First el. apparently O.E. *ram* "ram" or *Ram* pers. n. Second O.N. *holm*, "island," etc.
Smalley: Smaleleia 1172 Whit. II. 359, de Smalley 1332 LI. "The small lea."
5. Osbaldeston (on the Ribble, S. of Ribchester, h.): Osbaldeston 1246 LAR, 1292 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Osbaldeston 1258 IPM, 1311 I.I, Osbaldeston 1337 LF, Osbaston 1577 Saxton; now [ɔ:ˈbɪstn, əzbaldestn]. "The tuin of Osbald."
Oxendale Hall (near a brook): Oxefelmeklow c 1200 Whit. II. 400. Oxen- is a contraction of Oxedene, "ox valley."
Studlehurst: de Stodelhirst 1246 LAR, de Stodelhurst 1337 LF. Studle- is apparently a compound with O.E. *stōd* "stud" as first el., the second being O.E. *hyl*. Higher and Lower Studlehurst stand on a slope.
Madgell Bank (on a slight hill): Maggeldeia meduciif c 1200 Whit. II. 400. A difficult name. The most plausible suggestion I can make is that the elements are O.E. *Mēgga* pers. n. (cf. O.E. *Mēcga*, and O.H.G. *Magio, Macco*, etc.) and O.E. *hēde* "slope."
Showley [Hall]: Scholefele VHL VI. 263, de Schollaye 1339 WhC 292, Sholey 1497 LF. Showley Hall stands on sloping ground. The first el. of the name is probably O.E. *socle* "oblique, wry."
7. Salesbury (on the Ribble, E. of Ribchester): Salesbyre, Salebury 1246 LAR, Salebiry 1258 IPM, 1266, 1272 LAR, etc., Salebyri 1276 LAR, Salbury 1278 LAR, Salesbyre 1285 LF, Salebiri 1284 LF, Salesbury 1305 Lacy C; now [seˈlɛbri]. Salesbury Hall stands close to Sale Wheel (Salewelle 1296, 1305 Lacy C, Salewele 1311 LI; now [selˈwiː], a wide deep pool in the Ribble, in which are strong undercurrents, and which is said to be very dangerous. The elements of the name Sale Wheel are O.E. *sath* "sallow, willow" (or a derivative of it) and O.E. *weol* "a whirlpool; a deep still part of a river." The first el. of Salesbury is evidently identical with that of Sale Wheel. Perhaps both names really contain a place-name Sale, an earlier name of Salesbury.
Cadshaw (Higher and Lower): Kaddehou, Cadeshoubroc, Cadeshouclou, Cadeshouclou c 1200 Whit. II. 400, Cadshawe 1617 Blackburn R. Sometimes written Cadger and pronounced [kædʒə]. The places are on the brow of a hill, near a brook. The elements of the name are the O.E. pers. n. Cada and O.N. *haugr* "hill" (or possibly O.E. *hōh*), later associated with *shaw*.
Loveley Hall: Loveley c 1450 HS LXIV. 280, Luffeley 1473 VHL VI. 256, Loveley 1663 CCR. The name probably means "the lea of Lufa"; cf. Love Clough, p. 92.
8. Dinckley (between Dinckley Brook and the Ribble): de Dunkythele, de

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1 The same element is found in the name of another pool in the Ribble: Sandwelle 1296, Sandwelle 1305 Lacy C, Samewell 1311 LI.
Dinkedelay, de Dinkidele 1246 LAR, de Dinkidelesch 1257 LI, Dunkedelay 1258 IPM, Dinkedelay 1327 LS, Dynkedelay 1332 ib., Dynkedlay 1341 IN, Dynkedelay 1369 LF, Dynkedeleghbrok 13 cent. WhC 1019, Dynkeley 1311 IPM. Like Worsley (p. 40), Dinckley consists of O.E. tēah and a curious first el. containing a theme -ked- or the like, which is difficult to explain. I submit that it may be an old Brit. name, e.g., *Din-kēt, corresponding to a Welsh Din-coed “fort of the wood” (or Din-goed “wood of the fort”). Cf. M.Bret. Kaergoet (Kerguot) “village of the wood” (Loth 194, 199). Dinckley may have been the site of a Roman or British fort. There are traces of a Roman road and several Roman altars are said to have been found here (VHL VI. 336). Another possibility is that the first el. may be the O.W. pers. n. Dincai LL (O.Bret. Dincat), found in Dingestow, Monm. (merthir dincat, landinegas LL).

9. Billington (on the Ribble and the Calder): de Billingduna 1196 YCh 1524, Billington 1203 LPR, Billindon 1204 LPR, de Billingdon 1208-25, de Billington 1208-20 DD, Billingdon 1242 LI; Billinton 1208 LF, 1246 LAR, 1259 LAR, Bilinton 1241 LF, Billington, Billington 1246 LAR, Bylington 1309 LF, Bylyngton 1313 LF, Bylyngton 1325, 1336 LF, 1332 LS, Billington 1493 LF. The S.E. boundary is formed by a long ridge called Billington Moor, earlier Billingahoth c 1130 Sim. Durh. This name tells us that the first el. is O.E. Billinga gen. pl. “of the Billings.” Billings is most probably a derivative of O.E. Bill(a) or of bill “sword” (Björkman, NoB 7, 166). The earlier form of the name seems to have been Billingdon, really the name of Billington Moor, later supplanting by Billington.

Braddyll: de Brad(e)hull, de Bradul 1246 LAR, de Bradhill 1293 LI, Bradhul 14 cent. WhC 950. “Broad hill.”

Brockhall (near the Ribble): de Brochol 1227 LF, Brockhole 1289 LF, Brokholehirstsike 1294 WhC 1065. “Brock hole,” O.E. broc “badger” and hol “burrow.”

Chew, Chew Mill: le Cho 13 cent. WhC 233, 955, 987, (manerium de) le Cho 1305 WhC 972, Cho, Choo 1325 LF, Chobank WhC 960. The same name is found in Salford and in W. Yks. I suppose it goes back to O.E. céo (sian, chyun pl.) “gill of a fish,” which may have been used also, like O.N. gil, of “a narrow ravine, a valley.” Chew Mill is on Bushbourn Brook, which runs in a marked ravine near Chew Mill.

Hacking (at the confluence of the Calder and the Ribble): de Haking 1258 LI, de le Hacing 1292 LI, del Hackying 1311 LI, del Hacking 1313 LI, (molendum) del Hakkyng, le Hakkyng 14 cent. WhC 950. The same name is found in Salf. (p. 46). Over Hacking is in Aughton near the Hodder; it may be meant in some of the references adduced. Hacking, as shown by the definite article, is clearly not a patronymic. The name may be compared with O.E. hæcwyr “a weir with a grate to catch fish” (= dial. salmon-heck); hæc is hæc “hatch.” Perhaps we should rather expect a form Haching, but a form Hacking is also possible; cf. N. dial. heck, hack for hatch. Besides, Hacking may be a derivative of O.E. hæca, apparently “a bolt,” not from the cognate hæc. I suppose haking is an old word for a “fish-weir,” perhaps identical with haking, “a kind of net, or apparatus with net attached, used for taking sea-fish” (1602 NED: Carew, Cornwall). Over Hacking was very likely named after a family that came
from Hacking. Members of the Hacking family in Billington held land in Aighton (VHL VI. 328).

**Langho**: Langale 13 cent. WhC 1019, 1027, Langalesik 13 cent. ib. 1019. The second el. of the name is O.E. halh, presumably meaning "haugh."

**Snodworth**: Snodisworth 1243 LI, Snoddesworthe 1296 Lacy C, Snoddesworth 1322 LI. The first el. is the O.E. pers. n. Snod (cf. snod adj. "smooth, sleek"), found in Snoddesbyri 972, now Upton Snodsbury, Worc. (Duignan).

**Townworth**: hyghe Tunneworthe, Tunneworthe (hays, Rydynge) c 1550 WhC 1176. Cf. O.E. at Tunneworde 957 BCS 994 and Tunworth, Hants. This may be "worp belonging to the tun (i.e., village),” perhaps "village fold."

10. **Great Harwood** (on the Calder, town): majori Harewuda a 1123 Whit. II. 388, Harewode 1243 LI, Harewude 1246 LAR, Magna Harwood 1303 FA, Magna Harwode 1327 LS, Harewode Magna 1332 LS. The first el. may be O.E. hær “grey,” or hara “hare.”

**Merkedholme** (old manor): Merkedholme 1324 Whit. II. 390, Merkethholme 1499 DL, Martholme 1577 Saxton. “The market holm.” Martholme occupies a piece of low level land, bounded on three sides by the Calder and the Hyndburn. Hernwesholm 1200 LPR may be the same place.

11. **Wilpshire** (N. of Blackburn): de Wlyspsyre (Wlyspire, Wlipsyre, Wlipschyre) 1246 LAR, Wilpschyre 1258 IPM, de Wypysire 1272 LAR, Wylippeschyre 1284 LAR, Wilpschyre 1311 IPM, Wipsh' 1332 LS, Whypshire 1341 IN, Wylpsyre 1396 LF, Lipshire et Wilphshire 1589 TI, Lipshyre 1615 Blackburn R. This township occupies the hill called Wilpshire Moor (770ft.) and the adjoining lower land. Wilpshire proper is in a fairly deep valley.

This name offers particular difficulties. The second el. is O.E. scir, but this term must here be used in an uncommon sense. There is no reason to believe that Wilpshire was ever the head of a hundred or the like. There are three W. Yks. names in -shire, which denote comparatively small districts, viz., Borgscire, Hallamshire and Sowbryshire (now Sowerby); cf. Goodall, p. 156. But apparently these names denote larger districts than Wilpshire. So do the Nhb. and Durh. names in -shire dealt with by Mawer, p. xiv f. But an analogous name is apparently Pinnock (v.) Glo.: Pignocscire DB, Pinnocscir 1211-13 BF, Pynnukshire 1316 FA. Possibly O.E. scir could be used of an estate managed by a steward or the like. Another plausible meaning here is “boundary” (cf. andlang scire 956 BCS 982). The usual form of the first el. seems to have been Wliph. The only Engl. word which it seems possible to adduce as its source is O.E. wip, wisp, “liaping.” This might have been used as a nickname. The Brit. word for "wet," found in Welsh as gwlyb (O.Corn. gulip, Ir. flúch) would be suitable from a formal point of view and it is used in Welsh place-names, but it does not seem to suit the locality.

**Dewhurst** : de le Dewhurst c 1300 WhC, del Dewhirst 1332 LS. Perhaps dewy has the sense “wet.” M.E. dewes Langland P.Pl. (B) XV. 289 apparently means “damp places.”

**Hollowhead** : Hallhaede 1200-8, Hallehede a 1300 DD. O.E. hall “hall” and hēafod “hill.”

12. **Rishton** (E. of Blackburn, town): Riston 1200-8 DD, 1258 IPM, Ruston 1243 LI, Ryston 1246 LAR, Ruyston 1277 LAR, Risshton 1322 LI, Russhton
1332 LS, Ryssheton 1371 LF. O.E. risc “rush” and tūn. The town stands near the Hyndburn.

Cowhill: Kuhill 1200-8 DD, de Cuhill 1210-20 DD, 1246 LAR, de Couhill (-hull) 1332 LS. Literally “cow hill.” The place is on a hill.

Cunliffe: de Kunteclive (Cumbeclive) 1246 LAR, de Cunteclive CC 674, de Cundeclyve 1258, 1274 LI, de Cundeclyue 1276 LAR, de Condeclyve 1288 LF, de Cundeclyf 13 cent. WhC 1027, de Cundeclyf 1277 DD, 1388 Moore MSS. The early forms seem to point to a first el. Cunde-, which may be the O.E. pers. n. Cunda (one ex. Searle), very likely a Brit. name (Forssner). Another possibility is that the original form was Cunte-, which may be identified with cunte “cunnus.” “Cunnus diaboli” was a monkish name for a hollow in a rock through which people in Yorkshire used to crawl to be healed of sickness. Cf. Nyrop, Dania I. 16. There may have been at Cunliffe a rock of this character. Second el. O.E. clif “cliff,” etc. The place is on a slope.

Dunscore: Dundgecarre 12 cent. Whit. II. 388, c 1360 DD, Dundgecar 1622 Blackburn R. O.E. dynge “dung, manure, litter,” and O.N. kiarr “swamp,” etc.


Tottleworth: Tottleworth 1200-8 DD, de Totleworth 1258 LI, de Tatilwyrd a 1288 DD. The first el. is no doubt an O.E. pers. n. *Totta; cf. Tottel and Tyttla in Sear.

13. Little Harwood (N.E. of Blackburn): Lītle Harwedud 1246 LAR, Parwa Har(e)wode 1327, 1332 LS, Parwa Harwood 1341 IN, Little Harwood 1493 LF. See Great Harwood. Li. Harwood is separated from Gt. Harwood by Rishton township. Yet we must assume the two to have belonged together and to have been named from the same wood.

Ediholes: Ediholes 1200-8 DD, Edyasholes (for Edyaf-) 1292 PW, de Edicles 1284 LF, de Edyesholes 1310 VHL VI. 249, de Ediholes 1323 LCR. First el. O.E. Eадegeofu pers. n. (fem.); second O.E. hol “hollow,” etc. The place stands near a valley.


14. Ramsgreave (N. of Blackburn): Romesgreve 1296 Lacy C, 1311, 1323 LI, Romesgreave 1311 IPM, Romysgreve (wood) 1324 LI. Ramsgreave formerly consisted to a great extent of forest. The second el. of the name is O.E. grōf “grove.” The first is no doubt O.E. ram “ram” (possibly used as a pers. n.). All the early forms show o for O.E. a (o) before the nasal.

15. Mellor (N.W. of Blackburn, v.): Malver c 1130 Whit. II. 330, de Meluer 1200-8 DD, Meluer 1246 LAR, 13 cent. WhC etc., (de) Melurith 1246 LAR, de Meluir 1276 LAR, de Melyr 1285 ib., de Melure 1274 LI, Melure 1311 LI, 1312 LF, 1327 LS, Melure 1322 LI, Melaire 1332 LS, Mellow 1428, 1508 LF. The village stands on the slope of Mellor Moor, a hill of 733ft. above sea-level, and with remains of a speculative fort of the Roman period. In Scandinavians, p. 116, I identify the name with W. Moelfre, a name of common occurrence meaning “bare hill.” Moel- (Welsh moel “bald, bare”) goes back


Shorrock Green: de Shorrok 13 cent. WhC 111, 1324 LCR, 1332 LS, Old Shorock 1411 VHL VI. 262; Shorrocke greene 1614 Blackburn R. The most plausible etymology seems to be O.E. Scorran to “the oak of Scorra.” Cf. (to) Scorrastane (Glo.) 896 BCS 574.


Audley (or Audley) Hall: de Haledeley 1511 Li, de Haldelegh (Aldelegh) 1324 LCR, Haudley 1577 Saxton. O.E. hald “inclined; sloping,” and leah. The place is on sloping ground S.E. of Blackburn.

Bastwell (N. of Blackburn): de Baddestwyssel 13 cent. WhC 101, de Battistwyssel 1329 lb. 263, de Battistwyssel 1384 DD. The first el. is probably O.E. Bædd or Bæd pers. n., found in Bæddeswellan 972 BCS 1282 (orig.) and in names such as Badsey, Worc. (Badseia 709, etc., Duignan), Baddesley, Warw. (Bedeslei DB, Duignan), etc. The second is O.E. twīsla “fork of a river.”

Beardwood (N.W. of Blackburn): de Berde worthe 1258 Li, Berd[e]worthe, Berdworthgrene 1296 Lacy C, Berdeswurthgrave, Burdeswurthe 1305 lb., Berdworth 1311 IPM, Berdworth, -greve 1324 Li, Berdwood 1609 Blackburn R. The second el. was originally warþ (p. 20), but has been replaced by wood. The first may be Bearda, an O.E. pers. n. perhaps found in Bardney, Linc. (Bardenai DB), or rather a cognate name *Beard. Beardwood is on the N. slope of Revidge Hill.

Oozebooth (N. of Blackburn, on Revidge Hill): de Hulusbothis 1258 IPM, Ulvesboth 1296 Lacy C, 1324 Li, Ulvesbothes 1311 IPM. Clearly “the booth(s) of Ulfr”; Ulfr is a well-known O.N. pers. n. There are Higher and Lower Oozebooth, hence the plural.

17. Witton (W. of and partly in Blackburn): de Witton 1246 LAR, Witton 1311 Li, 1327 LS, Wyton 1332 LS. Probably Witton tuin. O.E. Witta is a common pers. n.

Coo Hill: Cooheyll 1591 DL. Cf. Cowhill, p. 73.


Feniscowles (partly in Livesey): de Feinycholes 1276 LAR; cf. Fennyshales, Feniscoles 1307-9 VHL VII. 288, now [feniskoˈlɛz]. The elements of the name are fenny adj. “dirty,” and scoles “huts” (O.N. skāli). Cf. de Fennycotes

1 Coo- represents a dial. form of cow with O.E. ā preserved as [uː]. This pronunciation is now rare in Lanc. dialects, except the northern ones. I have heard brow (of a hill) pronounced as [ˈbruː] in Ribchester.
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1284 LAR (Briercliffe). Feniscowles is on the Darwen, near its confluence with the Roddlesworth. The name may refer to muddy ground on the banks of the river.

19. Livesey (S.W. of Blackburn, bounded on the W. by Roddlesworth river, on the N. by the Darwen): Liveseye 1227 LF, Liveshey 1243 LI, Livesay, Lyvesay, (de Liveshay, -he) 1246 LAR, de Livesay 1257 LI, de Lyvesay 1258 LI, Lyvesay 1258 IPM, Lyveseye 1296 LF, Lyvesay 1353, 1356 LF, Levesay 1311 IPM, Levesay 1332 LS, Leytesye 1539 LF. The second el. of the name is no doubt O.E. ðeg “island,” etc. Livesay Hall is in a low situation near the Darwen. The first el. is presumably a pers. n., possibly O.E. Leof, as suggested by Wyld, the early i being due to a W. Midl. development of O.E. ðo. But the early forms point rather to a base with short i, possibly related to O.E. līsian “to stand out prominently, to tower.”

Ewode (h. on the Darwen): de Eywode (Euot) 1246 LAR, del Ewode 1332 LS, 1341 IN. No doubt O.E. ear-wudu “wood on the river.” Cf. the same name p. 91.

Feniscliffe or Finiscliffe (on the Darwen): Faniscliffe 1522 VHL VI. 288, 1615 Blackburn R, farmiscliffe 1600 RS XII. The material does not allow of a definite etymology. The place stands fairly high above a level piece of land along the Darwen.

Whithalgh: de Quithalgh 1246 LAR, de Whythagh, de Whythalgh 1324 LCR. “White haugh.” The place is at the confluence of a brook with the Roddlesworth.

20. Tockholes (W. of Darwen town, bounded on the W. by Roddlesworth river): de Tochol 1200 CC, Tocholes 1246 LAR, 1497 LF, Thocol, de Thochol 1246 LAR, Tockhol 1259 LAR, de Thocholes 1269 LI, Tockholes 1311 LI. The township is on the slopes of moorlands. It does not appear what hol exactly means in this case, presumably hollow or valley. It is doubtful to what place in the township the name was first applied. The first el. is apparently O.E. Tocca pers. n., found in Tocan sceaga 765 BCS 181 (orig.), and Tockenham, Wilts. (: Tochea’s DB), cf. Tockington, Glo. (: Tochintune DB).


21. Lower Darwen, Over Darwen (townships on the Darwen, S. of Blackburn; Darwen town is in Over Darwen): de Derevent 1208 LF, Derevent 1246 LAR, Netherderwent 1311 IPM, 1335 LF, Netherderwend 1332 LS, 1339 LF; in superiori Derwent 13 cent. WhC 124, de Superior Derwent 1246 LAR, Overderwent 1276 ib., Ouerderwent 1311 IPM, Ouerderwent 1322 LF, Ouerderwund 1332 LS; Darrun 1868 Station. The places were named after the river Darwen.


Hoddesden (E. of Darwen, on Hoddesden Brook): Hoddesdene 1296, 1305 Lacys C, 1323 LI, Hoddesden 1311 IPM, 1324 LI, Hodelesdon 1324 AP, Hoddesden 1507 CCR; Hoddisdenebrk WhC 102. The l is intrusive, the first el. being O.E. Hod pers. n. (Searle), found in Hodsdon, Herts.: Hodsdone DB.

Sough: Swouge 1623, Swough 1625 Blackburn R. M.E. sough, “a boggy or swampy place, a small pool; a drain, a trench.”

church hill,” named from a spur of the moorland range, which reaches 860ft. at New Sett End (VII. VI. 278). Eccles- I take to be the Brit. word *ecles, church (see Eccles, p. 37). Of the church there are no traces.

Grimshaw : de Grineshare 1265 LI, de Grymeschawe 1284 LAR. As there is a Grimshaw also in Cliviger, it is somewhat difficult to believe that the first el. is the O.N. pers. n. Grimr. Perhaps it is O.E. grima “spectre.” If so, Grimshaw means “the haunted grove.”

23. Yate and Pickup Bank (E. of Darwen). The township consists of hilly country.

Yate Bank : Yatebank 1588 CW 221. Yate may be O.E. geat “gate.” On bank “hill,” see p. 7. In Yate Bank an elevation of over 1,000ft. is reached.

Pickup Bank : de Pycoppe 1296 Lacy C, Pickope Bank 1595 CW 97. The name consists of the words pike “a sharp point” (cf. Pike Law, p. 68) and O.E. copp “summit.” Pickup Bank Height or Greet Hill reaches over 1,100ft.

WHALLEY PAR.

This large parish, the eastern part of the hundred, consists of 45 townships south of the Ribble, and one (Bowland-with-Leagram) north of it. It consists to a great extent of fell country, especially in the south and east; the highest point, Pendle Hill, is in the northern part. Old villages and homesteads are mostly in the valleys of the larger rivers, the Ribble and the Calder, with their tributaries. In mediæval times there were three large forest districts in Whalley: the forests of Pendle, Trawden and Rossendale. In these were several vaccaries or dairy-farms, some of which have later developed into villages and townships.

The parish is divided into chapellies. This division is on the whole followed for practical reasons.

WHALLEY CHAPELRY


The second el. is O.E. læah “lea”; the old name of the church was Alba Ecclesia subitus Legh Whit. I. 66. The first cannot be O.N. hwâll “hill”; the name is undoubtedly older than the Scandinavian time. The earliest quotations point to a monosyllabic first el. O.E. hwaél or the like. We seem to have the same first el. in Whaley, Derby ( : Walley 1255 IPM, Whalleye 1323, etc., Walker), and Whalton, Nhb. ( : Walton 1203, etc., Whalton 1205, etc., Mawer). Whale, Wml., on the other hand, may be O.N. hwâll, as here á does not become ð. Perhaps we may assume an O.E. word *hwoel “hill,” related to O.N. hval, but with different gradation. If so, Whalley must have been named after Whalley Nab, the most prominent feature in the neighbourhood of Whalley village. This etymology also seems to suit the situation of Whalley, Derb., which is situated at a spur of hill, and Whalton, Nhb., near which are two small hills.

Clerk Hill (on a spur of Pendle) : Clerkhill 1517 CS XLIV. 55, Clarkehill 1600
RS XII, 1604 CW 47. On this name Whit. II. 14 may be compared. The old name was \textit{Snelleshowe} 1296 Lacy C, -\textit{how} 1311 IPM, -\textit{how} 1305 Lacy C, 13 cent. WhC 277; \textit{Snelsoe} 1618 DL. The name means “the hill of \textit{Snell}” (how < O.N. haugr; Snell very likely O.N. Snialr).

\textbf{Moreton} (on the Calder): \textit{de Morton} 1246 LAR, \textit{Morton} 1270, 1276 LAR, 1292 PW. O.E. mór “moor” and tun.

\textbf{Portfield}: \textit{Portefield} 1553 WhC 1176. The place is on the N.E. side of a Roman encampment. First el. O.E. \textit{port}, perhaps in the sense “fort.” Cf. p. 34.

2. Little \textbf{Mitton, Henthorn, and Coldcoats} (W. and N. of Whalley).

\textbf{Little Mitton} (on the Ribble): \textit{Little Mitton} 1242 LI, 1278 LAR, 1322 LI, etc., \textit{Little Mitton} 1283 LF, \textit{parua Mitton} 1296 WhC 205, \textit{Mitton} 1332 LS, \textit{Parva Mitton} 1341 IN, etc. O.E. gemýpu “junction of streams” and tun. In Yks., opposite to Little Mitton, is Great Mitton, situated N. of the junction of the Hodder and the Ribble. This is no doubt the gemýpu that gave name to the two Mittons.

\textbf{Henthorn}: \textit{Hennethyrn} 1258 IPM, -\textit{thyrne, -therne} 1276f. LAR, \textit{Hennethrn} 1311 IPM, \textit{Henthorn} 1332 LS, \textit{Henthorn} 1327 LS, 1360 LF, etc. O.E. henn, here used in the sense “female of wild birds,” and O.E. \textit{pyrne} “thornbush,” also as it seems “clump of thornbushes,” later exchanged for thorn.

\textbf{Coldcoats} (a detached portion, E. of Standen in Pendleton): \textit{Kaldecotes} 1243 LI, \textit{de Caldekotes} 1246 LAR, \textit{Caldecote} 1322 LI; \textit{Coldecotes} 1296 Lacy C, 1332 LS, etc. There are in England numerous places called Coldcoats, Caldecot, Caldecote, Caldecott. Taylor (Words and Places) may be right in his conjecture that this name has the same meaning as Cold Harbour, so that it meant “a place of shelter from the weather for wayfarers.” Coldcoats stands fairly high up on the hillside.


\textbf{Wymondhouses} (h.): \textit{de Wymotchouses} 1285 LAR, \textit{Wymondshouses} 1296 Lacy C, \textit{de Wymundhous} 1303 FA, \textit{de Wymondhous} 1324 LCR. The first el. is O.E. \textit{Wigmund} pers. n.

\textbf{Standen}: \textit{Standen} 1258 LI, etc., \textit{Standene} 1296, 1305 Lacy C, 1311 IPM. O.E. stān “stone” and denu “valley.” The place is on Pendleton Brook, called \textit{agua de Standene} c 1200 Whit. II. 100.

4. \textbf{Wiswell} (N.E. of Whalley, v.): \textit{Wisewell} 1207 LF, \textit{Wisewalle} 1243 LI, \textit{de Wysewell} (\textit{Visewal}) 1246 LAR, \textit{Wisewall} 1262 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., \textit{Wysewall} 1278 LAR, 1296 WhC 205, etc., \textit{Wysewell} 1272 LAR, \textit{Wysewalle} 1322 LI. There are several small streams in the district; there is also a well called Old Molly’s Well. The el. \textit{well} may in this case mean “well” or “brook.” The first el. may be O.E. \textit{wise} “sprout, stalk.” Or if \textit{well} means “well,” the first el. might be a substantivized adj. \textit{wise} “the wise one,” “the wise woman.” Of course, there may have been an O.E. pers. n. \textit{Wisa}; cf. O.H.G. \textit{Wiso}.

\textbf{Barrow}: cf. \textit{Barwecloough}, \textit{Barwecloghsik} 1324 LI. O.E. \textit{bearo} “grove.”
5. Clitheroe (on the Ribble, town, castle; head of the honour of Clitheroe): 
*Cliderhous* 1102 Ch, 1176 LPR, 1212, 1242 LI, 1246 LAR, 1255 LF, 1332 LS, etc.; 

The second el. is apparently O.N. *haugr* “hill.” The first el. in the earliest sources is regularly *Clider-, Clither-*. We have to start from an O.E. form with *i*; if the O.E. form had had *y*, we should expect to find occasional spellings with *u*. A definite etymology of this el. cannot be given. Possibly we may compare dial. *clitter* “a pile of loose stones or granite débris” (Dev., EDD). Such an etymology would suit the case perfectly. The crag on which the castle stands consists of loose limestone, which crumbles off to a great extent. The same el. is possibly found in Clither Beck, Yks.: (quarry of) *Clitherbec* 1272 IPM. The word *clitter* perhaps belongs to a root of onomatopoeic origin meaning “noise” or the like. If so, it is probably cognate with O.E. *clidrenn* “a clatter, noise,” which agrees nearly in form with the first el. of Clitheroe.

**Horrocksford**: *Hurroesford* c 1330 VHL VI. 366, *horrockforth* 1600 RS. XII. 235. Horrocksford is close to the Ribble; there is now a bridge at the place. First el. apparently dial. *horrock* “a piled-up heap of loose stones or rubbish.”

**Saltith** (at a hill of 355 ft.): *Saltithile* 1296 Lacy C, *Saltithill* 1324 LI. The meaning of *Salt-* is not apparent.

**Syddles** (or Siddows): *Sydales* 14 cent. WhC 1107, 1127, *Sydalith* ib. 1128. The place is near the Ribble. The name means “the broad haughs” (O.E. *sìd* adj. and *halh*).


7. **Worston** (on the N.W. slope of Pendle Hill, b.): *Wortheston* 1242 LI, *Wrhiston* 1258 LI, *Wurtheston* 1285 LAR, *Worstone*, *Worchestone* 1296, *Wurchestone* 1305 Lacy C, *Worston* 1311 IPM, 1320 LF, 1332 LS, etc. The hamlet stands on a brook not far from a small but steep and prominent ridge, Worsaw Hill: *Worsaw* 1529, *Worsaw* 1538 CCR. Worsaw seems to contain the same first el. as Worston and O.E. *hôn* or O.N. *haugr* “hill.” The first el. may be O.E. *worf* “homestead,” etc., but the regular genitive *-s* is remarkable. No O.E. pers. n. that may be the first el. is recorded, but an O.E. *W(e)orf* or the like is very probably the base of Worthing. Cf. O.H.G. *Werdo*, etc. (Fürstemann). Worsthorn has the same first el. as Worston.

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1. The forms *Mordinges*, *Ordinges* DB are probably corrupt for *Wordinges* and point to an O.E. patronymic.
Angram Green: Angrome 1508 CCR; de Angrum 1324 LCR, 1332 LS. Angram is apparently identical with Angram, Yks., a name found several times (Goodall, p. 59). One of the names appears as Angrum 1185-95 YCh 996. This seems to be the plural of O.E. *anger = G. anger “pasture,” etc.

8. Chatburn (N. of Clitheroe, on the Ribble, v.): Chatteburn 1242 LI, 1251 ChR, 1258 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., -burne 1292 PW, Chatburn 1341 IN. The village stands on a stream that falls into the Ribble; clearly this stream was called Chatburn, the second member being O.E. burna “burn.” The first el. is no doubt the O.E. pers. n. Ceatta.

DOWNHAM CHAPELRY

9. Downham (N. of Pendle Hill; v.): Dunum 1188, 1189 LPR, Dunum 1194 ib., Dunhum 1243 LI, de Dunham 1246 LAR, Dunnum 1251 ChR, 1276 LAR, Downom 1332 LS, etc., Dunnum 1262 LAR. O.E. dünum dat. pl. of dün “hill, mountain.” The village stands on the slope of a ridge of high land. Near it are the hill formerly called Greenhow and Worsaw Hill.

Gerna (S. of Downham Church): Grenehou c 1300 WhC 320, (pastura de) Grenhou (in Downham) 1305 Lacy C. Gerna stands at the foot of a small round green hill. The name means “the green hill” (O.N. haugr “hill”).


10. Twiston (N.E. of Downham, on the Yks. border): Twisleton 1102 Ch, Twisleton c 1140 ib., Twysilton 1242, 1243 LI, etc., Tuysilton 1258 IPM, Twyselton 1332 LS, etc., Twiselton 1327 LS, 1346 FA, Twyston 1270 LAR, Twiston 1504 LF. First el. O.E. twisle “fork of a river.” The township stands between Ings Beck and another small brook, a tributary of it; cf. Twisleton-brok WhC 333.

PADIHAM CHAPELRY (N.W. of Burnley)

Heyhouses and Higham (extra-parochial) belonged to Pendle Forest.

11. Read (E. of Whalley, between Calder and Sabden Brook): Revet 1202 LPR, Reved 1246 LAR, etc., Revid 1258 LI, de Revid 1292 LI, Reued 13 cent. WhC 1067 ff. 1311 IPM, etc., Revid 1332 LS. The village stands on the slope and near the end of a ridge which attains 860ft. above sea-level. The name is probably an old compound with O.E. hæafod, here in the sense “a hill, ridge,” as second el. The first el. may be O.E. ræge “female of the roe”; cf. Roeburn infra. This hypothesis receives some support from a form Rieheved quoted by Whit. II. 35 from a deed of 1418. Cf. the name øt Rægeheafde in the O.E. translation of Bede. The early loss of h and contraction of the vowels offers no difficulties; cf., e.g., Newsham in De.


Huntryde: Huntrode 1412 VHL VI. 500, Hunteroadc 1598 Padiham R. O.E. hunta “hunter” or *Hunta pers. n. and rod “clearing.”

13. Padiham (town, on the Calder): Padiham 1251 ChR, 1258 LI, 1332 LS, etc.,
BLACKBURN HUNDRED

Paddingham 1292 PW, 1296, 1305 Lacy C, Padyham 1305 Lacy C, 1311 LI, Padyngeham 1311 LI. O.E. Padinga hám. O.E. Pada is a known name.


14. Hapton (S.W. of Burnley, S. of the Calder; v.): Apton 1243 LI, Hapton 1246 LAR, 1311 IPM, 1332 LS, etc. I take the name to go back to O.E. hæaptun from hæp “heap”; cf. Heap, p. 61. I suppose the name refers to the hill of 575 ft. close to Hapton Hall and the site of Hapton Castle, or to Great Hill (1,303 ft.) on the slope of which stood Hapton Tower.

Birtwisle (old h., now lost; cf. Birtwell Close in S.E. Huncoat, O.M. 1846-51): Bridestwisle 1209 LF, Briddistuysil 1258 IPM, Bridhistuysil 1292 LI, Briddestwysel 1296 WhC 206, Brydestwysel (de Breretwysel) 1311 LI, Brittwyseil 1395 LF. The first el. of the name is O.E. Bridd pers. n. rather than bridd “bird”; the second is O.E. twysla “junction of streams.”

Shuttleworth (h., old manor): de Schutlesworth, de Suttelesworth 1246 LAR, de Shotelisworth 1277 LAR, Shuttleworth 1329 LI, de Shuttleworth 1332 LS, Shotelworth 1482 LF. Cf. the same name p. 63.

15. Dunockshaw (S. of Hapton; a booth in Rossendale): de Dunockscaeh 1296 Lacy C, de Dunokschaw 1323 LCR, de Dunnokshagh 1332 LS, Donochshay 1336 CS 103. The same name occurs in Slo. This renders it unlikely that Dunnock- is an unrecorded O.E. pers. n. Dunnoc. It is probably dunnock “hedge-sparrow” (1400, etc., NED). The hedge-sparrow, locally in Lanc. dunock, is “a resident common throughout the county all the year round” (VHL I. 192).


Sabden (town; in the valley of Sabden Brook): Sapeden c 1140 Ch, 1377 CCR, de Sapeeden (Sapedon) 1377 CCR, Shapedenhey, -banke 1463-4 Whit. I. 358, Sabdenbank 1504 CCR. Sapley (Hunts.) is derived by Skeat from O.E. sæppe “spruce fir” and lēah. “Spruce valley” would give a good meaning.

17. Higham with West Close Booth (N. of Padiham, part of Pendle Forest): Higham (v., on the slope of a ridge): Hegham 1296 Lacy C, 1324 LI (vaccary), 1325 LCR, Highhamboth, Hehamcloose 1464 Whit. I. 358. O.E. hēah “high” and hamm “enclosure; pasture,” etc., or possibly hām “homestead.”


Hunterholme (on the Calder): Huntersholme 1507, Hunterholme 1511 CCR. Hunter is presumably a family name.

NEWCHURCH IN PENDLE CHAPELRY

This chapelry corresponds to a large part of the old forest of Pendle E. of Pendle Hill. The modern townships are all old booths or vaccaries. The chapelry was named from Newchurch in Goldshaw Booth.

18. Goldshaw Booth (on the S.E. slope of Pendle Hill): Goldianebothis 1324 LI,
Goldiaeae, the other Goldiaeae 1325 LCR, Nethir-, Overgoldshagh 1464 Whit. I. 359, Over-, Nethergouldeshay 1502 Whit. I. 297. The name is remarkable. The original form seems to have been Goldiaeae Bothis), Goldiaeae being an O.E. woman’s name Goldgeofu (cf. Golgifu in Sear; for the vowel a in the second member cf. Editholes p. 73). Later Goldiaeae was apprehended as a place-name (cf. Wheatley Booth, etc.) and came to be used alone. Goldiaeae became Goldsheh by association with shaw, after ðj had become [dz], as in O.E. midgern < midgern; of course, in this case the change took place later. The O.E. pers. n. Goldgifu seems to be found in acra Goldgive, Goldgivewik Reg. Prioratus beate Maria Wigornensis (Camden Soc.). Another, to me less probable, explanation is that the vaccary was originally called Goldgeofu “the gold-giver,” i.e., “the fat pasture” or the like.

The Craggs: læl Craggez 1464 Whit. I. 359, Craks 1518, le Cragges 1532 CCR. Craq is a Celtic loanword (p. 9).


Barley (the W. part; v.): Bærleigh 1324 LI, Barelegh 1325 LCR, Barleboth 1462 Whit. I. 298, Barleybothe 1507, 1513 CCR. Evidently “barley lea” (O.E. bere “barley”).

Wheatley Booth (the N. and E. part): Whitley in Habothe 1502 Whit. II. 297, le Whaytelie 1516, Witley Bothe 1524, Witley 1526 CCR. “Wheat lea.” Wheatley seems to have been originally a large district, to judge by the names Wheatley Carr infra and Wheatley Lane in Old Laund Booth. Of some interest is the name of a ford (situation unknown), which apparently contains the name Wheatley: Whateleyford 1464 Whit. I. 359, Watlynfore 1526, Watlyngforthe 1529, Whitleyford al. Watlyngford 1539 CCR. If the form Watlyng- is old, it would seem to be the gen. of O.E. Whætλæingas “inhabitants of Wheatley.”

Firber: Firber 1546, Firthbarre 1557 CCR. O.E. fyhrp “frith” and beorh “hill.”

Haw (or Hay) Booth: Hagh 1325 LCR, Haghebothe 1324 LI, Hawbothe 1507, Hayboth, the Haybothe 1513, Hayghboth 1515 CCR. First el. O.E. haga “enclosure,” etc.


Dimpenley Clough: Dympanleigh 1564 CCR. Etymology obscure.

Thorneholme (h. on Pendle Water): Thorneholme 1535, 1537 CCR. “The thorny water-meadow.”


Brownbrinks (on a steep slope): Bronbreek 1523, Brownebrinke Hey 1545,
Browne Brynke Hey 1552 CCR. "Brown slope." Brink < O.N. brekka (< *brinka) or a corresponding O.Dan. word.

Fence (v.): del Fence 1425, the Fence 1515 CCR. No doubt simply fence "enclosure."

BURNLEY CHAPELRY

A large district on both sides of the upper Calder. New Laund Booth, Filly Close and Reedley Halloows (extra-par.) are parts of the old Pendle Forest.

23. Reedley Halloows, Filly Close and New Laund Booth (N.W. of Burnley, on the Calder):

Reedley Halloows: Redeleg Halowes 1464 Whit. I. 359, Rydelehalghs 1464 ib. I. 298, Redealowes 1513, Redyhalus 1564 CCR. The "haughs" or "watermeadows of Reedley," named from Reedley (O.E. hrœod-lēah) S. of the Calder. The ground is low and level on both sides of the river.

Filly Close (N. of the Calder): Filicollos (vaccary) 1324 LI, ffyliclos 1325 LCR, Ficlicos 1333 OR. Filly is O.N. fylja; close is an O.F. word.

Moor Isles (or Moorhiles): Mawre Hilles 1517 CS XLIV. 53, Mawre Hyles 1541 CCR, Mawer Hyles 1554 DL, Moorhiles 1608 Burnley R. "Ant-hills," the first el. being O.N. maurr "ant," the second hile1 "cluster," also in pisamor hile "ant-hill" (in Lanc. dial.).


24. Ightenhill Park (N.W. of Burnley): Ightenhill 1242, 1311 LI, etc., Hyghtenhill 1251 ChR, Hucnhill 1258 IPM, Ictenhille, Ichtenhille 1296 Lacy C, Hightonhill 1296 Whc 206, Itinhill, Histenhill, Histenhelle 1336 Whit. I. 309, (park of) Ightenelle 1345 OR; now [aitn(h)]il. The place was named from the hill on which the old manor-house stood (530ft.), now apparently called Park Hill. I identify Ighten- with Welsh eithin "furze" (=O.Bret. ethin "ruci," O.Ir. aitenn "furze," Gael. aitionn "juniper") from *ektin (< *ak-tin). Brit. ektin would no doubt become O.E. or M.E. Ihten, just as heht > high.

Very likely the Brit. name of the hill was something like O.W. ros er eithin "the gorse moor" LL 221, and the name was adopted by the Anglians as Ehtin, to which hyl was added. The same word (with loss of final -n) perhaps is the first el. of Lghtfield, Sal. (Istefelt DB) and Ightam Ke. (Eghetam 1516 FA). Ightham is on Oldberry Hill, the highest point of Ightham Common.

25. Habergham Eaves (S.W. of Burnley): Habringham 1242 LI, 1305 Lacy C, etc., de Habrigham 1258 LI, Habring(e)ham 1296 Lacy C, Habrincham 1296 Whc 206, Habrincham 1324 LI, 1358 Whit. II. 179, de Habercham 1269 LI, de Habryngham, de Abricham 1407 f. CR, Habrygham 1425 CCR, Haberjambe 1527 LF I. 144 (pers. n.), Haberjam 1551 LF; Abryngham Eves 1510, Haberiam Eives 1561 CCR, Haberchamewys 1539 DL. I suppose Habergham was named from the most prominent physical feature of the township, viz., Horelaw, a hill of 1,153ft., on the slope of which the old hall stands. I conjecture that this was called O.E. Hǣbeorh; cf. O.E. hǣhbeorh "mountain." Habercham

1 Cf del Hyles 1332, del Mourehyles 1366 LS (Bickerstaffe), "the highway between le hyles and Howkeshagh" 1509 CCR (Tottington), Nele Hyles 1549 ib. (Trawden). Possibly hile goes back to an O.E. *hylgul "hill," corresponding to G. hāgel.
1269 may be simply Hēabœorh-hām. Shortening of ēa to ea (whence a) would easily take place in such a form. The usual early form I take to represent O.E. Hēabœorginga hām, “the hām of the dwellers by Hēabœorh.” This latter would seem to have been the common form, but association with Hēabœorh was always possible, so long as this name was in use. However, a derivative of O.E. Hēabburh pers. n. or even Hēaburh “high fort” is also possible: O.E. Hēaburginga hām. The addition Eaves seems to mean “edge of a hill”; cf. Oakenheaves (Okynheveys 1509, Okeneves 1524 CCR), the name of a place c 900 ft. above sea-level on the slope of Horelaw.†

Clifton (h.; on the slope of Park Hill): ? de Clifton 1377, Clifton 1495 CCR. “Cliff tun.”

Cronkshaw: del Cronsschagh 1305 Lacy C, de Cronkeschaw 1324 LCR, de Crownkeschawe WhC 1143, Cronkshay 1507 CCR. O.E. cranuc (cronuc) “crane” and shaw.

Gannow: Ganhow 1526 CCR. Etymology obscure.

Gawthorpe Hall: de Gouthorp’ 1256 (copy of 1439) DD, de Goukethorp 1324 LI (p. 191), Gawthorp 1472 Lindkvist, p. 141. O.N. Gaukr pers. n. and porp.

Pickup: Picoppe, Picop 1425 CCR; cf. p. 76.

26. Burnley (town): Brunalai 1124 YCh 1486, Brunleya 1155-8 (1230) ChR, Brunley 1154 YCh (1475), 1251 ChR, 1296 Lacy C, etc., Brunley 1258 IPM, Brunley 1292 PW, 1341 IN, Brunleye 1294 ChR, Brunlay 1324 LI, 1332 LS, Brunleye 1311 IPM, Burnley al. Brunley 1533 DL, Burnleye 1577 Harr. Burnley stands on the Brun, which joins the Calder N. of Burnley town. There are two (or even three) alternative explanations, between which it is not easy to choose. The name Brun may be O.E. burna “stream” (cf. Brunne, earlier form of Bourne, Linc.). The early forms seem to favour this explanation. Or the stream may have had a name derived from the adj. brūn “brown.” The vowel would easily be shortened in the name Burnley, and Brun may be a back-formation. In favour of this may be added Brownside, the name of a place on the Brun: Brunnes Wode, Brownesyd 1542 CCR. Lastly, Burnley may mean “the brown lea,” the river-name being a back-formation. Brom- is probably due to association with O.E. brōm, but assimilation to the initial B- (cf. O.E. plūme < Lat. prunus) may have contributed to the change.

Brunshaw: Brunschagh 1296 Lacy C, Brownshagh 1311 LI. W. of the Brun. This may be the “brown shaw” or the “shaw on the Brun.”

Fulledge: Fullach 1510, Fulege 1523, Fulhege 1525 CCR. The place is on the Calder. The name means “foul (i.e., dirty) leach” (cf. p. 15). An identical name is Fulelache 1211-32 Kirkstall C (Bowland, Yks.).

Heysandforth (on the Burn): Feasandford 1496 LF, Fezandforthe 1596 Burnley R, Fezandforth 1608 CW 88; Hayseandforth 1500 DL, Hezandforth 1549 CCR. Apparently “pleasent ford.” The change from F- to H- may be due to dissimulation.


Saxfield (on the S. slope of Marsden Height): Saxifeldyke 1324 AP, Saxsefeld 1428, Saxsefield 1507, Saxsfeld 1510 CCR, Saxsefeld 1549 DL. First el. possibly O.E. Seaxa or O.N. Saxi pers. n.
Towneley Park (S. of Burnley): Tunleia c 1200 Whit. II. 189, Tunley 1243 LI, Townley 1296 Lacy C, Thunleye 1303 FA, Townley 1322 LI, Tounlay 1346 FA. Probably “the lea belonging to the town,” i.e., Burnley.


Barcroft (near the Calder): de Bercroft 1296, de Bercroftes 1305 Lacy C. O.E. bery “burley” and craft.

Dineley (W. of the Calder): de Dynleye 1296 Lacy C, de Dynlay 1305 ib., de Dynleye 1323 LF, de Dynelay 1311 LI, 1340, 1342 LF. Lands called Styppdyne in Cliviger are mentioned 1551 VHL VI. 486. Does this contain O.E. ðýne in ofdýne “slope”? The place is on a steep slope. Dineley Knoll reaches c 1,757ft.

Grimshaw: de Grymeschagh 1311 LI; cf. p. 76.


Holme (v.): de Holme 1305 Lacy C, del Holm 1311 LI, le Holme 1380 Whit. II. 203, Holme 1577 Harr. O.N. holmr. The vil. is on a piece of low level land along the Calder.

Meer Clough (h.): del Meercloagh 1311 LI. “Boundary clough” (O.E. gemâre “boundary”). The clough must have been an old boundary.

Ormerod: de Ormerode 1305 Lacy C, 1311 LI. O.N. Ormr or Ormarr pers. n. and O.E. rod “clearing.”

Thieveley (W. of the Calder on a steep slope): Thauely 1301 VHL VI. 485, Theveley 1620 CW 207. First el. M.E. theve “brushwood” or the like, found in O.E. þefanþorn, etc.; cf. Thevethornes LI II. 196 (meadow Bl.). Or else dial. theave (late M.E. theyve) “a young ewe” (NED, EDD).


Worsthorne (v.): Worthesthorn, Wrdestorn 1202 LF, de Worthesthorne 1246 LAR, Wrinthishorm 1258 IPM, de Worthesthorne 1285 LAR, Worstorn 1296 WhC 206, Worthestorn 1332 LS, Worsthorne 1496 LF; now [wærsthorn]. The second el. is O.E. þorn “thornbush”; the first is the same as that of Worston, p. 78.

Hurstwood (h.): de Hurstwode 1235 LAR, Hirstwode 1370 LF, Hirstewod 1397 LF. O.E. hyrst and wudu “wood.” Hurstwood stands at the foot of a hill; so hurst may here mean “hill, hillock.”


High Halstead: de Halstedes 1292 Whit. II. 230, de Hallestedes 1330 LF, del
**Hallestodes** 1332 LS, **Heigh Halsted** 1544 CCR. The place stands on a slope, some 750ft. above sea-level. O.E. hall-stede “place (site) of a hall.” Hall may have the same meaning as in New Hall p. 64.

**Rowley** (on the Brun): de Roulay 1324 LI, Rowley 1600 RS XII. Now [ro’li]. Possibly O.E. rāwe “row, street,” and leah. Or the first el. may be O.E. rūh “rough.” If so, the modern pronunciation is due to the spelling.

29. **Briercliffe with Extwistle** (N.E. of Burnley).

**Briercliffe**: Brereclive a 1193 Whit. II. 221, de Brereclive 1528 LI, Brereclive, -cliff 1285 LAR, Brereclive 1296 Lacy C, Brereclive 1311 IPM, etc., Brerclif 1332 LS. O.E. brēr “briar” and clif. The township consists of two ridges, on the northern one of which is Briercliffe.

**Burwains**: Burwens 1541, Burwens 1559 CCR; now [bɔ’winz, bɔ’winz]. “The borran or cairn.” Borran is common in place-names in N.W. England. Cf. burganes lapidum c 1200 YCh 1700, Cringelborthan, Cringelborhanes, -broghan 13 cent. LC 177 ff. (Bolton-le-Sands; Cringel- is O.N. kringle “circle”), Borgan FC II. 152, Borganes 137, Grisburghanes 13 cent. CWNS XX. 67 (Wml.). The word is apparently cognate with O.E. byrgan “to bury.” Cf. NED s.v. borwen, burian.

**Cockden**: Cockden 1559 CCR. Probably O.E. cocc “cock” and denu.

**Haggate** (v.): Hackgate 1640 Burnley R; now [hag get]. Cf. the Hackgait 1539 CCR (Goldshaw). O.F. hæc-gent; hæc being O.E. hæcc “wicket” etc. (> mod. hatch, hack, heck). Haggate in the sense “a wicket” is given in NED, in the sense “gate at the junction of manors or parishes” in EDD.

**Higher Ridihalgh**: de Redihalgh 1324 LCR, Redehalgh 1509, Heigh Redehalgh 1534 CCR. “The reedy haugh, or water-meadow.” The place is near Thursden Brook.

**Thursden**: Thirsedeneheved 1324 AP, Thirsden 1515 CCR. O.E. pyrs “giant” and denu “valley.” The place is on Thursden Brook.

**Walshaw** (on Walshaw Clough): de Wolleshagh 1311 LI, de Walleshagh 1332 LS, de Walschagh 1335 WhC 995. O.E. wælla “brook,” and scaga “shaw.”

**Extwistle** (the S. part): Extwysle w 1193 Whit. II. 226, Extwisil 1243 LI, Extwysel 1303 FA, Extwesil 1322 LI, Extwissel 1332 LS, 1346 FA, etc. Extwistle was probably named from the junction (O.E. twisla) of the Swinden and the Don. The first el. is perhaps O.E. ezen pl. of ox “ox.” Ex- is not uncommon for Ox- in early forms of names, but is no doubt frequently a corrupt spelling. Exx. Excum (Oxcombe, Linc.) HR I. 302, Excroft (Oxcroft, Camb.) 1346 FA, Exe-sledale (usually Ox-)- Percy G 136. Early spellings do not favour derivation from a pers. n. O.E. Ecci (Searle), even if they do not render it impossible.

1 The form **Borganes (Burwens, etc.)** does not seem to be plural. I am inclined to believe that M.E. borganes, burhanges is a derivative with a suffix -anos from the old subst. burgo (prob. preserved in Engl. burrow; cf. p. 8) which seems to be the base of O.E. byrgan “to bury.” This suffix is found in Goth. Maiosmos “tomb” (cf. O.E. hlāw, hlām “mound”), arhwasana “arrow,” O.H.G. alansa “awl,” segansa “scythe,” O.E. afeos “pasturage,” byforem “charm” (cf. Kluge, Stammbildunglehre, § 86). If this is right, we must assume a Prim. Engl. *bur3zen, *bor3zen, whose a was preserved before the group of consonants, and in which -sn became -ns by metathesis. Cf. O.H.G. alansa, etc., and O.E. -els (in byrgels, etc.) <-tel. With borganes instead of borganes we may compare M.E. biricles < O.E. byrges.

Kempesbirines c 1200 CC (Winstanley) “the warrior’s tomb,” apparently has as second el. O.E. byrngeas “burial,” here concrete “burial-place.”
The N.E. part of the hundred.

30. Marsden (E. of the Calder, on both sides of Walverden Brook, now partly absorbed in Nelson and Brierfield towns): Merkesden 1195 ff. LPR, Merkelesden (de Marchesden, Marchedene) 1246 LAR, Merclesden, de Merchisden 1258 LI, Merclesden 1327, 1332 LS, Marklesden 1363 OR. There are two parts: Great and Little Marsden: in Majori Merkedenna 1180-93 YCh 1514, Merclesden major, Little Merkeslstone 1242 LI, Gret Merclesden, Little Merlesden 1251 ChR, Marklesden, parva Merclesden 1296 WhC 206, Merclesdene, Parva Merclesden 1296 Lacy C, Great Mersden 1458 LF, Little Mersden 1496 LF. Now [ma’zdn]. The first theme of the name is probably O.E. merces “mark; mark to shoot at, marked spot.” Whether mercles here means “a monument,” “a boundary mark,” or “a place for practising marksmanship,” or something else, cannot, so far as I can see, be determined. O.E. merces had palatal c, and early forms like Marchesdene perhaps show the palatal. But the form merces would arise by metathesis, where c remained a stop; cf. M.E. rekles, rekles, recheles “incense” < O.E. rēcels. The second el. is O.E. denu “valley.” The valley of Walverden Brook is very deep; this was clearly called Mercelsdenu.

Catlow (on the slope of a hill c 940ft. high): de Catlow 1311 LI, de Catlove 1332 LS, Catlow 1478 CCR; now [katla]. O.E. catt ”cat,” here no doubt “wild cat,” and hlāw “hill.”

Clover Hill (on Walverden Water): Claverhulle 1516, Clauerholle 1527 CCR. “Clover hollow.”

Grindestonehurst: Grendilstonehirst 1425, Gryndillstonehurst 1496 CCR. Grindlestone is a common north country (also Lanc.) word for “grindstone.” The name means “hill where grindstones were got.”

Hendon (on Hendon Brook): de Henden 1425 CCR. O.E. henn “hen” and denu.


Scholfeild: de Scolfeild 1324 LCR, 1425 CCR, Heigh Scolle Feild 1540 ib.; now [sko-fild]. First el. O.N. skali “hut.”

Shelfield: Sholfolt 1510, Shelefeild 1550 CCR. The place is on the slope of a pointed hill called Shelfield. The name may have as first el. O.E. scelf, scylf “peak”; the second seems to be O.E. feld. But as the forms are late the second el. may be O.E. hvilt; cf. Shelfield, Warw. (< Schelshull 1322).

Swindden (at Swinden Clough): Swyndene 1562 CCR. “Swine valley.”

Walverden (on Walverden Water): Walfredum 1296 Lacy C, Walfreden 1311 IPM, Woolfarden 1478, Walferden 1522 CCR. The regular f in early forms indicates that the first el. is a compound, perhaps O.E. wælla “stream” and fyrb “frith.”

1 Named from an inn, The Lord Nelson Inn. Brierfield must have been one of the Marsden town-fields.
Whackersall (on Colne Water): de Wakereshal, de Wakershal 1246 LAR, de Wakerishale 1324 LCR, Wakersale 1356 CR 332. O.E. Waecer pers. n. and halh “haugh.”

31. Barrowford Booth (N. of Nelson, v.): del Barouforde 1296 Lacy C, Barouford (vaccary) 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, Over-, Netheborahouforde 1464 Whit. I. 359. Barrowford vil. is on Pendle Water. The name has as its first el. O.E. bearo “grove.” There are two old villages, Higherford and Lowerford, whose names seem to refer to two different fords.


Fulshaw: Fulshagh 1324 LI. O.E. fül “foul, rotten” and scaga “shaw.”

Rishton Thorns: Russheton thrones 1507, Ryssheton Thornes 1510 CCR. Rishton is possibly a family name.

32. Colne (on Colne Water; town): Calna 1124, 1154 YCh (1475, 1486), 1155-8 (1230) ChR, Kaun 1242 LI, de Calne 1246 LAR, 1253 LAR, de Caln 1255 LAR; Caune 1251 ChR, 1305 Lacy C, Kaunne 1296 Lacy C; Colne 1296, 1305 Lacy C, 1311 IPM, 1332 LS, etc.; now [ko:n]. The old form was obviously Calne; Caune is a Norman spelling, and Colne is due to a change at > ol. The name is probably an old river name. Cf. aqua de Colne 1464 Whit. I. 359, Colne Eey 1538 CCR. Colne (Calne 1170-85 YCh 1692) is the name of a river in S.W. Yks. Calne (Wilsa.), which appears as Calne 955, etc. (Ekblom), stands on a stream. The etymology of the river-name must be left open; it is no doubt British.

Alkinecoats: Altenecote 1201 LPR, 1242 LI, -s 1204 LPR, Altanecotes 1203 LPR, de Altanecotes 1303 FA; Alcancotes 1296 WhC 206, de Alcancotes 1296 Lacy C, de Alkencotes (-kotes) 1311 LI, Altenecotes (surname) 1332 LS. The place stands on a ridge; cf. Alkencotegge 1528 CCR. The form with t is the earlier. No definite etymology of the name can be given. Alt- recalls Welsh allt “a hill-side” (cf. Alt p. 29) and may very well be derived from that Brit. word. But the rest of the first el. is obscure. A diminutive of allt (alltan “little cliff”) is thinkable. On coats see p. 9.

Ayneslack or Hainslack (on the Yks. border, near a stream): Haynslak, -e 1425 CCR. Second el. slack “valley” (from O.N. slakki). The first is possibly O.Scand. hegn “hedge; enclosure.”

Carry Bridge: le Carrehey 1443 CCR, 1464 Whit. I. 358, Carrehey 1527 CCR; Carybridge 1604 Colne R. Carry is from Carr-hey, i.e., O.N. kiarr “swamp” and O.E. hege (or possibly O.E. haga, O.N. hagi) “enclosure.”

Emmott: de Emot 1296 Lacy C, 1324 LCR, 1332 LS, de Emote 1311 LI, Emot 1341 IN. O.E. Bi(ge)mōtū “junction of streams”; cf. at £a motum 926 Chr (D). Wycoiller Brook and Laneshaw River join near Emmott Hall.

Heyroyd: Heyroide 1524, Heyrode 1527 CCR. “High clearing”; cf. rod p. 16. The place is in a high situation.

Langroyd: le Langrode 1475, Longrod 1540 CCR. “The long clearing.”

Stanroyd: Stanrede 1465, Stanrode 1539 CCR, Staynrode 1540, Stanerode 1542 DL. “Stone clearing.”
33. **Foulridge** (N. of Colne, on the Yks. border; v.): *de Folric* 1219, 1221 f. LAR, *de Folrigge* 1246 LAR, *Folrig* 1296 WhC 206, *Folrigg* 1311 IPM, *Folrigg*, *Folrigge* 1322 LI, 1346 FA, *foltrige* 1332 LS, *Foltrig* 1542 DL, *Folrig* 1551 LF; now [fo-lrid ž]. I suppose the first el. of the name is O.E. *fola* "foal." The ridge that gave name to the place may be Pasture Hill (786 ft.) W. of Foulridge village. The name may mean "the ridge where foals grazed" (cf. Pasture Hill) or "the foal's back" owing to some likeness to one.

**Acornley**: Akerlandeleye 1259 VHL VI. 546, Acornley 1608 CW 1. M.E. acre-land "ploughed or arable land" (NED) and lea.

**Barnside** (a detached part): Bernesete 1258 IPM, 1296 WhC 206. The first el. is probably a pers. n., O.E. *Beorn* or O.N. *Bjorn, Biarne*, the second being set "a shieling" (p. 16). The place is in a high situation. Near it is **Knarrs**; cf. Bernesetknarrres WhC 333. Knar "a rugged rock or stone" is found e.g. in Gaw. 2166.

**Monkroyd**: *de Monkerode* 1332 LS, Monkruide 1542 DL. "The monks' clearing." The place belonged to the priory of Pontefract (Whit. II. 253).


**Beardshaw** (W. of Trawden vil.): Berdeshaw (vaccary) 1324 LI, Berdeshagh 1325 LCR, Over-, Netherberdshaw (vacc.) 1422-23 CCR, Berdshaughboth 1464 Whit. I. 359, Berdshabothe 1507 CCR. First el. perhaps the pers. n. found in Beardwood Bl.

**Beaver**: Beaver 1640, Bever 1644 Colne R. The place is on a knoll in a high situation. Though it is surprising to find a French name in such a remote spot, I suppose Beaver is identical with Belvoir, Linc., and means "fine view."

**Lodge Holme**: Logeholme 1557; Lorgemosse 1530 CCR. Cf. Lanc. dial. lodge "a reservoir of water stored for mill purposes."

**Winewall** (on Trawden Water): Wynewelle 1296 Lacy C, Wynwell (vaccary) 1324 LI, Wynwelle 1325 LCR, Wynewall 1507 CCR. The first el. seems to be O.E. *Wina* pers. n., the second being wella (*weola*) "stream." Winewall may be an old name of Trawden Water. The present pronunciation [wa:nwol] seems to be due to the spelling.

**Wycoller** (on the Yks. border, E. of Colne; v.): (causey of) Wycoluer WhC 333, Wycoleure 1324 LI, Wyccoliure 1325 LCR, Overwicoller, *Netherwycoller* 1464 Whit. I. 359, Wykoeller Deyne 1561 CCR, Wicoler 1577 Harr.; now [waikola]. The vil. stands at the foot of Combe Hill on Wycoller Brook. An old road from Colne to Keighley passes the vil. (cf. Cawsay Clough 1561 CCR). The name seems to be a compound of O.E. *wic* and *alr* "alder." O.E. *wic* very likely means "a dairy-farm" or the like. The early forms of the second el. are remarkable, but we may compare Lightholevers 1246 for Lightollers (p. 58). Perhaps *v* was introduced between *l* and *r* in the same way as *th* in M.E. *alther-" from O.E. *ealra*. The labial character of *l*, which has caused *al* to become [ol], may explain the fact that the intrusive consonant came to be *v*. 
ALTHAM CHAPELRY

S. of the Calder, W. of Burnley.

35. Altham (h.): Eluetham c 1150 Whit. II. 265, de Eluetham 1200-8 DD, de Eluetham 1243 LI, 1257, 1278 LF, etc., Halwetham, Eluetham 1246 LAR, Aluetham 1308 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Altham 1383 LF, Aluethambrok, -lode 1337 WhC 1045. The h. stands near the Calder. Two alternative explanations of the name seem possible. The first cl. may be the O.E. pers. n. Alfwiet (> M.E. Alviet, etc.), the second being O.E. ðæm or hamm; this is Wyld’s suggestion. Or the first cl. may be O.E. ðæuf, a side-form of elfet, ðæuf “swan” (cf. p. 21); if so, the second cl. is no doubt O.E. ðamm. O.E. ylfeðamm actually occurs in a charter (973-4 BCS 1307). I am inclined to prefer the second alternative.

Hindle: Hindlel 1210-30 (copy of 1596) DD, de Hindehull 1332 LS. First cl. O.E. hínd “female of the hart.”

Hoghton is a place-name found WhC 305 (campo de Hoghton); cf. de Hoghton 1332 LS (under Altham). This would seem to be an old name in -tūn. Cf. the same name in Leyland.


Dunkenhalgh (old manor): Dunkansale 1208-20 DD, de Dunkaneshalghc 1285 LAR, Dunkinhalghc 1577 Saxton. The first cl. is the Goidelic pers. n. Duncan (O.Ir. Donnchadh, Gael. Donnchadh; O.E. Dunecan 1093 Chr.); the second is O.E. hāl “haugh.” The place stands on the Hindburn.

Hay Slacks: Haislackes 1210-30 DD. Second cl. O.N. stakk “valley.”

Henfield or Enfield (h.): Hyndefeld 1376 DD, Henfeld 1523 CCR. First member O.E. hīnd “female of the deer.” But the occurrence of the cl. hīnd in Hindburn, Hindle, and Henfield is curious. Possibly Hindle, Henfield are elliptic for Hindburnhill, -feld.

Ringstonhalgh: de Ryngestoneshalghc 1352, Ryngstonhalghc 1422 DD. The meaning of the first cl. is not obvious; perhaps “stone circle.” Cf. Ringstones 1641 RW 141 (Ringstones, Tatham).

Sparth: Sparth 1455, 1574 DD, the Sparthe 1542, the Sparthc 1663 CCR. Sparth is also the name of a field in Irlam (VHL IV. 364). A similar form is le Sporthe (Heaton Norris, Sa) 1282 IPM, denoting a piece of land. If the older form was Sporth, we may derive the name from O.N. sporðr “tail.” Cf. Bartle, Am. infra. But there seems to have been a side-form with a of O.N. sporðr, the base of Norw. dial. spor, spæl “tail,” also “a strip, a narrow piece.” Cf. the Norw. place-names Spålen NG IV. 1, 159 and Sperl NG XII. 2.

ACCRINGTON CHAPELRY

37. Old and New Accrington (the district round Accrington town): [Haya de] Akarinton a 1194 Kirkstall C, Ackerynton(a) 1258 ib., Akerinton, Akerinton, Akerynton 1265 LAR, Acrinton 1292 PW, Ackryngton 1311 IPM, Acryngton (vaccaries) 1324 LI. This name may mean “acorn tūn” (O.E. acern “acorn”
and tún). New Accrington (the S. part) was long regarded as in the forest (VHL VI. 424). Oak mast was formerly of great importance as food for swine, and a homestead may well have been named from such produce; cf. Swinton, a common name. O.E. Æcerntūn might become M.E. Acerenton, Akerinton and the like, just as Fearndūn became Farindon, Farendone, now Faringdon (Berks.). There is no O.E. pers. n. from which the first el. can be with any probability derived. But if the Frisian names Akkrum, Akkerina, Dutch Akkerghem, etc., are correctly derived in Nomina Geographica Neerlandica I. 168f. from a pers. n. Akker, a corresponding O.E. name may perhaps be assumed from which Accrington might be derived.

Antley : Amteleiasic a 1194 Kirkstall C, de Antley 1296 Lacy C, Antilay 1324 LI. Literally “ant lea”; O.E. Æmette “ant” and lēah.

Baxenden (v.): Bastanedenecloch a 1194 Kirkstall C, Bakestandene, Bakestoneden, de Bakestonedan 1305 Lacy C, Baestunden 1324 LI, Baxtonden 1464 Whit. I. 360. The first el. is bakestone “a flat stone or slate on which cakes are baked in the oven” (1531 ff. Lanc., etc., NED). This word is common in place-names, probably denoting places where bakestones were to be found. Cf. Bacstanebec GC 885, Bakesta(i)nforde Guisb. C. Baxenden is on a brook.


Dunnsyhope (near a brook): Dunshope, Dunseope 1241 LF, Dunschopfal 1305 Lacy C, Dunsopkar 1324 LI. “The hope (or valley) of Dunn”; Dunn is an O.E. pers. n. The form Dunny Shop in O.M. 1846-51 is remarkable.


Warmden Clough : Warineden (for Warme-) a 1194 Kirkstall C. “Warm valley.”

CHURCH CHAPELRY

N. and W. of Accrington.

38. Church (E. of Hyndburn brook; town): Chirche 1202 LF, 1258 LI, 1332 LS, etc., Chiereche 1204 LPR, Chyrche 1202 LF, 1284, 1285 LAR, Churchkyrk 1536 LP II. 105. O.E. cirice “church.” The first record of a church (or rather chapel) dates from 1296 (VHL VI. 403), but the name shows that a church must have been here from ancient times.

Ponthalgh : Pouthale, Poutehale c 1288, Pouthalgh 1482 DD, Povthalgh c 1450 HS LXIV., Pontawghe 1536 LP II. 106, Puttaughe 1556 DD, Powtalgh 1574 DL. Ponthalgh is in a tongue of land between the Hyndburn and a tributary of it; the place was clearly in a haugh. The older form of the name was Pouthalgh, Pont- being due to misreading. The first el. is perhaps pout the name of a fish. If an O.E. pers. n. Pûta existed, however, it is a more probable first element.

39. Oswaldtwistle (S.W. of Church): de Oswaldthuisel 1208-25 DD, de Oswalde-
HASLINGDEN CHAPELRY

In the S., on the Salford border.


Helmshore: Hellshour 1510 CCR; cf. Helme croft, Helmecroft (Haslingden) 1546 CCR. The place stands on a fairly steep ridge between the Irwell and a tributary of it. Helm is no doubt helm "a shed" (perhaps < O.N. hialmr); cf. Helme c 1215 WhC 1067, de Helme 1324 LCR, referring to a place in Read. The second el. is no doubt shore "a steep cliff," etc., cf. p. 58.

Holden, Broad Holden (E. of Haslingden Grane): de Holdene 1305 Lacy C, 1325 LCR, de Holden 1332 LS; Brodeholden 1520 LFF. "The hollow valley." The places were named from the valley just referred to.

42. Henheads (N. of Haslingden, on a hill-side): Henhades 1464 Whit. I. 359, Henneheedes 1507 CCR. "Hen hills"; cf. Henthorn p. 77, and Hades p. 57. Near Henheads was formerly Overhaddes 1507 CCR.

43. Higher Booths (township consisting of some booths in the old Forest of Rossendale; N.E. of Haslingden).
Crawshaw Booth: Craweshagh (vaccary) 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, Crawshaboth 1507 CCR. "Crow shaw," O.E. crāowe "crow" and scaga.

Gambleside: Gameleshevid (vaccary) 1324 LI, Gameleshevyd 1325 LCR, Gamelsaedd 1507 CCR. Gamel pers. n. (probably O.N. Gamall) and hēafod "hill." The place is in a high situation.

Goodshaw Booth: Godeshagh, Godischaw 1324 LI, Godeshagh 1325 LCR, Godshaugh 1507, Gudsheybothe 1527 CCR. If the spelling Godischaw be at all trustworthy, the first el. may be O.E. Gōdgēp, M.E. Godith pers. n. (fem.). Or it may be O.E. Gōda.

Love Clough (in the valley of a small stream): Lughecloagh, Lufclough 1324 LI, Lufclough 1325 LCR, Luffecloch 1464 Whit. I. 360. The spelling Lughecloagh is no doubt due to dittography. The first el. is probably O.E. Lufa or Lufu pers. n.

44. Lower Booths (chiefly on the N. bank of the Irwell; part of Rossendale Forest).

Rawtenstall (town; on Limy Water): Routonstall (vaccary) 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, Runstall, Rounstall, Rotenstall 1507 CCR. Cf. Rawtonstall in W. Yks.: Routonstall 1274, Rotonestall 1276, Routrunstall 1298 (Goodall). The name means "the roaring pool" (or "stream"). The first el. is the pres. part. of M.E. routen "to roar, bellow" from O.N. rauta. Second el. O.E. stall "pool in a river," perhaps also used of a stream (cf. p. 159).

Constable Lee: Constableleagh 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, Cunstableleagh 1324 LI. "The lea belonging to the constable."

Oakenhead: Okenheved 1305 Lacy C, Okenhevedwod 1464 Whit. I. 359, Okenheild wod(de) 1507 CCR. "The hill clad with oaks."

NEWCHURCH-IN-ROSSendale CHAPELRY

45. Newchurch-in-Rossendale (N.E. of Rawtenstall; the greater part of the old Forest of Rossendale, for the most part desolate hill country).

The Forest of Rossendale: Rosendal 1242 LI, Rossendale 1292 PW, 13 cent. WhC 154, Rosendale, Roscynsdale, Roscindale 1296 Lacy C, (de) Roscyndale 1324 LI, Roscyndale 1311 LI, de Roscundale 1308 OR 160, Rosendale 1577 Harr. A clough with a stream (Whitwell Brook) runs from N. to S. past Newchurch through the middle of the district. This is very likely the valley that gave name to the forest. The first el. of the name is difficult, partly on account of the variation in the spellings. But I take it that c, sc, ss cannot point to any other early form than Rossen-. Possibly this might be connected with Welsh rhos "moor." A (diminutive) Rhossan is found in Welsh as the name of Ross in Heref. (Rhossan ar Wy); cf. Owen's Pembrokeshire II. 407, where other examples of Rossan in place-names are given. The word is once exemplified as the name of a brook. Such a form might have given E. Rossen-; but of course the connection is doubtful.

Newchurch: Newchurch Rossindall 1590 Burghley.

Bacup (town): ffulebachothe 1200 WhC 154, Bacop (vaccary) 1324 LI, -e 1325 LCR, Bacopboth 1464 Whit. I. 360, Bacobbothe 1507 CCR; now [be-kep]. Bacup stands on the upper Irwell, which here runs from N. to S., turning west just
below Bacup. The second el. is O.E. hop, here used in the sense "a smaller opening branching out from the main dale." The first el. is perhaps O.E. bæc "back," used in the sense "a ridge" or "hill" (cf. back "a hill" in the Ches. dial.); cf. Backbarrow in Lo.

**Deadwin Clough**: Dedewhenclogh (vaccary) 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, Dedewhenclogh 1464 Whit. I. 360, Dedonclogh 1507 CCR. "The clough of the dead woman" (O.E. dæd adj. and cwene "woman"). A dead woman may have been found in the clough.

**Deerplay, Deerplay Moor**: Derplaghe 1296, 1305 Lacy C, Derpelawe 1324 LI. "The place where deer play." O.E. déor-plega.†

**Lumb** (on Whitewell Water): Le Lome 1534 CCR. Cf. the same name p. 62.


**Sow Clough** (at a valley of the same name): Soclogh 1463 Whit. I. 353, Sooelogh 1528 CCR. Literally "sow clough"; So- represents a Northern development of O.E. sugu.

**Tunstead**: Tunstede (vaccary) 1324 LI, Tunsted 1325 LCR, 1507 CCR. O.E. tūnstede "village," very likely also, as in this case, "deserted site of a tūn."

**Wolfenden**: Wolfhamdene (vaccary) 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, Wolfendenboth 1507 CCR. "The valley of the wulfhamm" apparently. O.E. hamm originally meant "enclosure," and O.E. wulfhagg might mean the same thing as O.E. wulfhaga, i.e., "enclosure to protect the flocks from wolves" (Crawf. Ch. p. 53). Or it might mean "enclosure to trap wolves in." But hamm is found with the name of an animal as defining el. without such a sense, as in O.E. heafoces hamm (BCS 1169), ylfethamm (ib. 1307).

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**WEST DERBY HUNDRED**

Derbei hvndret DB, Derbi 1169 LPR, de Derebi Wapentachio 1188 LPR, Derebiscire 1197 LPR, Derbisire 1212 LI, Derebyschyre 1246 LAR, Derbischyre 1252 IPM, Westderby wapentake 1265 IPM, Derbishir 1327 LS, Westderbishire 1338 LF.

West Derby hundred forms the S.W. part of the county. It is bounded on the W. and S. by the sea and the Mersey. The N. boundary is (or was) partly formed by Martin Mere and the Douglas. The surface is on the whole flat or slightly undulating. The highest point, Billinge Hill with Brownlow,† reaches nearly 600ft. above sea-level.

Before the Conquest the three hundreds of West Derby, Newton, and Warrington corresponded to the present West Derby, and West Derby proper comprised only the western half. Soon after the Conquest the present hundred of West Derby was formed.

Warrington (*Walintwne hvnd* DB) is considered to have comprised the present Warrington, Leigh, and Prescott parishes, and Culcheth township in Winwick. Newton hundred (*Neweton hd* DB) corresponds roughly to Winwick and Wigan parishes.

Newton hundred is often called Makerfield, and this name is frequently

† Ye Browne Low 1616 Upholland R.
added to the names Ashton, Ince, and Newton. Early forms: Macrefeld 1121 Ch, Machesfelda 1123 Ch, Machesfeld Wapentachio 1169 LPR; Makefeld 1060, 1213 LPR, Makefeud 1246 LAR; Makefeld 1206 LPR; Makeresfeld 1204, 1205, 1215 LPR, Makeresfeld 1213 LPR, Makeresfeld 1243 LI, 1261 LAR, etc., Macrefeld 1280, 1291 Chr, Makrefeld 1338 LF.

We have to start from the early forms Maker- and Makeresfeld. Such as Makefeld, Makesfeld have probably lost an abbreviation-mark for er after the k. The interchange of forms with and without the genitive s would seem to point to a pers. n. as the first el., but if so I can only suggest that it is the name Macharius (found in Liber Vitae and DB), which does not seem convincing. A place-name as first el. often has the gen. form. Examples are Nympsheld, Glo. (first el. identical with Nymett, Dev.), Andredes leage Chr. A. 477, Andredes cester Chr. A. 491 (first el. Andred, the old name of the Weald). I believe Maker is a Brit. place-name, identical with Welsh magwyr "wall, ruin" (O.W. macyrou pl. LL 143), O.Bret. macoer "wall" (Loth 148) from Lat. macerîes, macëria "wall." The O.Brit. form must have been *maçon. This is a common name in British countries.

Macon (Brittany) Loth 148, 219.

Maker (par., vil. Cornw.): Makere 1346 FA, Magre 1428 FA.

Magor (Monm.): Magor 13 cent. LL.

Fagwyrr (Wales). F- for M- is due to lenition.

Makerton (Cornw.; in Maker): Macretone DB, Makerton 1284 FA.

I suppose Macër was the British name of some place in Makerfield and was adopted by the Anglian invaders. From it was formed the name Makerfield. The original Makerfield may have been Ashton, near which there are traces of a Roman road, and where a fort may once have been. Two fields in Ashton were called the two Makerfields in the 16th cent. (VHL IV. 131). Or it may have been Newton, where there are two ancient barrows, one of which at least is called Castle Hill (ib. IV. 132). The surface of Newton is flat, especially in the N. part, where Newton vil. and Castle Hill stand.

The old division into three hundreds is not kept up here, as it would make it necessary to separate parts that belong together geographically. But the two old hundreds of Warrington and Newton are dealt with first, the original W. Derby hundred coming last.

Names of Rivers

Glazebrook (a trib. of the Mersey): Glazebroc c 1230 CC, Glazebrok 1246 LAR, Glasbrooke c 1540 Leland, the Gles or Glesbrooke water 1577 Harr. Cf. Glazebrook p. 95. The name may be compared with Glaisdale, Yks. (Glasedale, rivum de Glasedale 1223 Guisb. C.), also with Glasenbach, Glasbach in Germany (: Glasa 933, etc., Glasipach in Förstemann). Glas- is probably an old river-name. Förstemann suggests an adj. glasa- "bright." Another possible source (for the Engl. names) is Celt. glasto- "green, blue" (Welsh glas, e.g., in glaspull LL 78, a river-name; Ir. glas).

Sankey (falls into the Mersey near Warrington): Sanki 1202 LF, Sanky 1228 CIR, 1251 Chr, Sonky 1228 WhC 372. See Great Sankey p. 105. This is no doubt a Celtic name. As regards the ending such Welsh river-names as Tywi
WARRINGTON PAR.

(Tobias Ptol.), Honddu (: hodni LL 242), Troggi (Tarooci LL 236), Trothi (: trodi LL 123, etc.) may be compared. Etymology obscure.

Goyt (a trib. of the Sankey): M.E. goite “water-course, stream.”

Otter's Pool (Liverpool): Hot’pol 1228 CIR, Oterpol 1228 WhC 371, Oteirpul 13 cent. WhC 568. Clearly “otter-pool.” Near this was a brook called Hoskellesbroc, Haskelesbroc 1228 CIR, Oskelesbrok 1228 WhC 371. The name contains the pers. n. O.N. Askell. There is another Otterpool in N. Meols: Oterpol c 1250 Farrer, History of N. Meols p. 11, Oteirpol 1311 L.I.

Alt (falls into the sea): alt c 1190’CC, alte c 1200 CC, Alth(e), Alta a 1220 CC, Alth c 1260 CC, Alte 13 cent. WhC 490. The name is no doubt Celtic. It cannot be derived from Welsh alt “cliff,” as the river flows through flat country. Gael. alt means “a stream”; a similar sense might have developed in the Brit. language of Lancashire. But it is also possible that Alt is quite distinct from allt. There is in Wales a river called Aled, an affluent of the Elwy, whose name appears in early sources as Alet (e.g., Ughalet “above Alet,” 1335 Seebohm, Tribal Custom in Wales, Appendix p. 61). Brit. Alet might have become Alt just as Cunétio became Kent.

Eller Beck (a trib. of the Douglas) gave name to a place: de Ellerbek 1246 LAR, 1366 L.S. First el. M.E. eller “alder” (very likely < O.N. elri “alders”). The brook is called rivulus de Egacras 1189-96 Ch, obviously from a place Egacras ib. (“edge-acres”); an earlier name is apparently Blithe, found in Blythe Hall (see p. 129).

Tawd (Lathom): taude 1577 Saxton, the Tawe 1577 Harr. See Tawdbridge, Lathom p. 123.

WARRINGTON PAR.

This parish embraces the low-lying districts N. of the Mersey, between Glasebrook and Sankey Brook, and Burtonwood W. of the latter.

1. Rixton with Glasebrook (E. of Warrington).

Rixton: Rixton 1201ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1332 LS, etc.; de Ristone 1246 LAR, Richeston 1260, 1262 LAR, de Ryckston 1259 LAR, Rigston 1577 Harr. The first el. is probably a pers. n., O.E. *Ric, as suggested by Septon, or Ricsige.

Glasebrook: de Glasbroc 1227 LF, Glasebrok 1246 LAR, etc., Glasbrok 1258 LAR, Glasebroc 1261 LAR, 1341 IN, Glasebroke 1332 LF. The place was named from the Glasebrook, which forms the E. boundary.

Hollins Green or Hollinfare (h.): Holling greene 1577 Harr., Hollyn greene 1577 Saxton; Le Fery del Holyns 1352 VHL III. 339, [the] holynfeyr 1504 RS XII., cap. de Helingfare 1550 LR, Hollynfayre 1556 LF, Hollen Ferry 1565 DL. First el. O.E. holegn “holy.” The el. fare apparently means “ferry” or “ford”; it seems to be O.E. far “passage,” etc., here in a concrete sense. The place is on the Mersey.

2. Woolston with Martincroft (E. of Warrington).

Woolston: Oscitonam 1094, Ocsitonam 1122, Ulfitonam 1142, Oxsitonam 1155, Wlfitonc 1180 Ch., Wolveston, Wulfeston 1246 LAR, Wiston 1257 ChR, Wolston 1327, 1332 LS, 1389 LF, etc. If the earliest forms can be disregarded, the etymology seems to be O.E. Wulfes tun from Wulf pers. n. Some early forms perhaps point rather to Wulfsiges tun.
Martinescroft: de Martinescroft(e) 1332 LS. The pers. n. Martin is found in O.E. (Searle).

3. Poulton with Fearnhead (E. of Warrington).
Poulton (v.): Pultonam 1094, 1122 Ch, Pultonam 1142, 1155 Ch, Polton 1246 LF, Pulton 1268 LAR, 1417 LF. First cl. O.E. pöl, pull “pool.” Poulton vil. stands near Padgate stream; the meaning of pöl may be “a stream.”

4. Warrington (town): Walintyne DB, Werinoton 1228 CIR, Werington 1246, 1285 LAR, 1246 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Werinton 1259, 1278 LAR, Queryntong 1258 LAR, Weryngton 1296, 1321 LF, 1322 LI, etc.; Warrington 1332 LI, Warington c. 1540 Leland. The first cl. is a patronymic, probably identical with the first cl. of Warwick (: Wærincwicium 1001 CD 705, at Wærincwicium Chr. 914C), i.e., a derivative of the stem Wær- (Wêr-), common in O.E. pers. names.
Arpley (in a bend of the Mersey): Arpley 1416 TI, 1465 Warr. First cl. O.E. eorp “dark,” possibly used as a pers. n. There is hardly any reason to adduce O.N. Erpr, Jarpr pers. n.


Orford (h.): Orford 1332 LI, de Orford 1332 LF, Overforthe 1465 Warr., 1529 DL. Probably “the upper ford.” The hamlet stands N. of Warrington not far from two streams. The Roman road from Wigan to Warrington crossed the Orford Bridge at Longford Bridge (Codrington, Roman Roads, p. 89).

5. Burtonwood (N.W. of Warrington; v.): Burtonswod 1228 Ch, Bourtonwode 1251 ChR, Burtonwode 1298 LI, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, Burtonwood 1341 IN. Burtonwood was put into the forest of Lancaster by Henry I. Its old name was Burton: 1200 LPR; cf. hay of Burton, Burtunbrok 1251 ChR. The name is O.E. Burhtūn. on which see p. 32.

Bewsey Hall: Beause 1330 LI, Beause 1416 TI, Bewsey 1503 RS XII., 1516 DL. Fr. beaus sé “beautiful seat.”


Dallam, D. Moss: Dalum 1328 VHL III. 325, 1416 TI, de Dalhom 1332 LS. The place is on Sankey Brook. The name may consist of O.E. dæl “valley” and hamm “a meadow,” etc.

WINWICK PAR.

This large parish, situated N. of Warrington, is bounded on the E. by Glaze-brook, on the W. by Sankey Brook. The surface varies considerably. In the S. the ground is low, in the N. an altitude of 350ft. is reached.
1. Culcheth (in the E., on the Glazebrook): Culchet 1201f. LPR, de Kulcheth 1246 LAR, Culchit 1246, 1258 LAR, Kulitch 1243 LI, de Külchith 1246 LAR, Culchith 1284 LAR, 1311 LF, etc., Culchith 1322 LI, 1346 FA, etc., Kulchith 1332 LS, Culchyth 1387 LF, Kilcheth 1577 Saxton. Exceptional are: de Culchef 1246 LAR, Kylchit, de Kylchylid 1276 ib., Kelchit 1269 ib., Culchit(?)k 1278 ib., Kyllechyrth, Kilchith 1285 ib., de Kilchif 1303 LF, Keelsawe 1556 LF, Culcheth 1583 DL, Kilshay 1590 Burghley. See also Wyld and VHL IV. 156. The name is a compound of the Brit. words corresponding to Welsh og “back; corner, nook; retreat” (common in Welsh place-names), and coed “wood.” The same elements are found in Kilquite, Cornw. (: Kylgoyd 1303 FA), Colquite, Cornw. (: Kilcoit 1308 IPM), Cilcoit, Monm. (: cilcoit LL 221), Blaencigod, Pembr. (: Blanculcoyt 1325 IPM) and probably Culaith, Cumb. The name may mean “back wood” or “retreat in a wood.”

As regards the palatalization of the medial c, Lichfield (from O.E. Liccedfeld < Brit. Leitocéton) may be compared. The variation between -t, -th is found also in Penketh p. 106, and Tulaket Am. The church is called Newchurch: Newchurch 1577 Saxton.

Flitcroft: Fluttecroft 1212 LI, Fluttecroft 1292 PW. The first el. is doubtful.


Kinknall: de Knynenale 1311, 1314 LF, -hale 1332 LS. The first el. seems to be O.E. *Cyneca from Cyne and names in Cyne-, like Wineca from Wine. The second is O.E. holh “haugh, water-meadow.” The place is not on a stream, though not far from one.

Peasfurlong: de Pesefurlanig 1246 LAR, Pesforlong 1554 LF. The name means “the furlong where pease were grown.”

Risley: de Ryselegh 1284 LAR, de Risselley 1285 ib., de Riselegh 1328 LI, 1332 LS. O.E. hris “twigs, brushwood” or perhaps hrisen adj. and O.E. leah.


Twiss, Twiss Green: de Twisse (Twysse) 1258 LAR, del Twysse 1276 LAR, del Twys 1314 LF, Twistgrene 1565 DL. Twis is a word not found in O.E. or M.E. literary sources, meaning “the place where two streams meet.” It occurs in Cokersand Chartulary in a context where it is obviously a common noun: a quadam Twis 561; cf. toto inter Twis et fontem Sanctæ Mariae 559 (Allerton). The word is related to O.E. getwis “germanus,” getwisa “twin,” twisla “fork of a river”; it may go back to an O.E. adj. *twis. Twiss is N.W. of Culcheth church in a tongue of land between two streams.

2. Southworth with Croft (E. of Winwick).

Southworth: Sutheworthe 1212 LI, Suthworth 1326 LF, Sotheworthe 1327, 1332 LS,

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1 The latter meaning is suggested by Förster, Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen (1921), p. 213. Förster suggests that the vowel of the first syllable, which seems to go back to O.E. y, represents a Brit. [y*], an intermediate sound between Prim. Celt. û and Brit. i. I am not sure this is correct, as the change û > i must have taken place very early. I am more inclined to believe that O.E. y in this case is a substitution for a sound developed from Brit. i, due to shortening of . This would have given Welsh y [y], but the O.W. sound, as suggested by the spelling t, y, was very likely not greatly different from the Mod. Welsh y in words like dyn, which is pronounced rather like a [y]. Shortening of t seems to account for spellings such as Blanculcoyt supra and Cilcudyn LL 320 (Kiligden, Monm.).
1422, 1432 LF; *Seftewurd 1185 LPR. O.E. sūp “south” and worp “enclosure,” etc. Croft: Croft 1212 LI, 1284 LAR, 1341 IN, Crofte 1321 LF, 1327, 1332 LS. O.E. croft “small field,” etc.


Houghton (v.): Houton 1263 LAR, Hoghton 1327 LS, 1341 IN. O.E. hōh “spur of land” and tun. Houghton Green vil. stands on a slight ridge.

Middleton [Hall]: Middleton 1212 LI, 1332 LS, 1341 IN, Middleton 1327 LS. “The middle town.”


Arbury: Herdbiri c 1215 CC, Herbury 1243 LI, Erthbury 1246 LF, Erthbury 1246 CC, Erbury 1332 LS, 1346 FA, Eresbury 1322 LI. O.E. eorpburh “earth-fortification.” There do not now seem to be any traces of such a fortification. Arbury in Herts. and Camb., both names of Roman camps, are very likely to be explained in the same way. Burrow-on-the-Hill (Leic.) is Erdborough 1316 FA.

4. Winwick with Hulme (N. of Warrington).

Winwick (v.): Winequic 1170 ff. LPR, Wynewik 1192 WhC 39, Wynequic 1212 LI, Quinequike c 1210 CC, Wynquike 1332 LS; Winewich 1204 LPR, Whinevic 1205, 1206 LPR, Wynewyke 1212 RB, Wynewic 1212 LI, de Winewik, Wennewyk 1246 LAR, Wowneyke, -wyke 1518 LP I. 71, wynnik 1590 Burchley. This name is no doubt correctly explained by Wyld as a compound of O.E. Wineca pers. n. and O.E. wic. The loss of k seems due to the change kw > hw found often in northern dialects. Cf. Wynewich 1192 supra.

Hulme (h.): Hulm 1246, 1276 LAR, 1332 LS, 1341 IN, etc. O.Dan. hulm “island,” etc. See p. 13. Hulme stands on slightly rising ground near Sankey Brook and a tributary of it. The land along the Sankey is low and stated to be liable to floods.


6. Kenyon (v.): Kenien 1212 LI, de Kenien 1269 LAR, Kenian 1243 LI, 1303 ib., de Kenian 1246 LAR, Kenyan 1258, 1284 LAR, 1311 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Kynian 1276 LAR, Keynian 1310 LF. The surface is level. There is no stream of any importance. On the border of Croft (to the S.) is a place called Kenylow (Kenylow Bridge in O.M. 1846-51); Kenylaw (Lache) is exemplified in VHL IV. 169 from 1287, 1292. Keny- may very well be a worn-down form of Kenion.

The name Kenyon looks un-English. I suspect a Brit. origin for it. It is to be noticed that Kenyon adjoins Culcheth. The ending -an reminds one of that of Cardigan from Welsh Ceredigiawn (O.W. Cereticiaun) or of the pers. n. Maban in Maban(es)hou CC 1048, Mabandall (Halton) c 1225 FC II. 160, from Welsh Mabon. But a definite etymology is difficult to attain. One possibility is that the name contains the common Welsh pers. name Einion, which must in an earlier period have had the form Eniôn. A combination of a noun ending in -k with Eniôn might have been misunderstood; cf. O.N. Kodran < Ir. Mac Odráin “the son of Odrán.” A Brit. *Cruc Eniôn “Einion’s mound” (Welsh crug
"mound") might have been taken to mean Cruc Ceniôn, and Ceniôn to be the name of the mound, Cruc Ceniôn being translated as Ceniôn hlâw > Kenlow. This is, of course, very uncertain.


**Byron** (old manor): de Burum c 1265 CC, Buyrom 1306 HS XL., Byrum 1328 LF, Byram 1577 Saxton. O.E. byrum "(at) the byres."

8. **Golborne** (v.; N. of Newton): Goldeburn 1187 LPR, 1278 LAR, 1302 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Goldeburne 1203 LPR, 1212 LI, Goldeburne 1271 LAR, 1328 LF, etc., Goldburn 1390 LF; Golburn 1259 LAR, Golborne 1468 LF; corrupt are Goseburn 1202 LPR, Gold(e)burc 1201, 1206, 1207 LPR, Golburc 1205 LPR.

G. village stands on Millingford Brook, which must have formerly been called Golborne; Leland (c 1540) calls it Golforden. We may compare Goldeborne Bl. (VHL VI. 324) and (in) goldburnan 969 BCS 1240 (Midds.). It is improbable that the first el. is gold, the name of the metal. Gold (O.E. golde) is the name of some yellow plants, e.g., Calendula officinalis. It is hardly too bold to assume that it was in early times used also of the marsh marigold (Caltha palustris). The etymology is probably O.E. golde "marsh marigold" and burna "burn."

**Lightshaw**: Lightshagh 1322 LI, Lyghtshagh 1396 LF. "The light shaw," light meaning either "thin, not thick" or "light in colour."

9. **Haydock** (N. of Newton, v.): Hedoc 1169 LPR, Hedocv 1170f. LPR, de Hedoc ? 12 cent. HS XXXII. 184, Haidoc 1212 LI, Haydock 1286 LF, 1332 LS, etc., de Hadoc 1292 HS XL. 158, Haydock 1322 LI, Heydock 1508 LF. There are no prominent physical features suggesting a definite etymology. The surface of the township is flat or undulating.

The second el. of the name cannot be O.E. æc; forms in -oc are too early. Harrison suggests as first el. O.E. hege, as second el. O.E. docce "dock" (a plant) or O.N. dôkk "hollow." But O.E. docce ought probably to have appeared as -docke in the earliest forms. Scand. elements are extremely rare in this district. We have found some probably British names in Winwick par., and as -ock recalls the common Celtic suffix -âko (O.W. -awc, Welsh -og), Haydock may be suspected to be one too. The name may represent a derivative of Welsh haidd "barley," analogous to Welsh Clynnog (< M.W. Kellynnwauc, from celyn "holly"; cf. Jones p. 54) and particularly Ceirchiog, the name of a parish in Anglesey (: Welsh ceirch "oats"). A Welsh derivative of haidd would have had the form Heiddio from earlier Heiddiwc. This name is perhaps evidenced in Heythock moore, Pembr. (Owen’s Pembroke shire I. 1) and in Llanhaiithog, Heref. (: Lennheydok 1326 IPM); cf. Bannister. It is true we should expect the Brit. word to have given E. Haythock. But substitution of O.E. ð for Brit. ð is possible. In early O.E. there was no sound ð; Prim. Germ. ð at an early date became ð, and between vowels probably remained as [p] for some time after the immigration of the Anglo-Saxons. Bülbring § 474 thinks the change took place about 700. An analogous case is O.E. Temede (now Teme), the name of a river, corresponding to Welsh Tefaidd or Tefedd (Owen’s Pembroke shire I. 202), in which ðð[ð] is no doubt due to earlier s (cf. O.E. Temese "the Thames").
Cf. also Meend, Glouc., earlier Munedy (Welsh mynydd "hill"), Longmynd, Shr., and the like (see McClure p. 157f.), and Cuerden, Leyl.

Cayley (old estate): de Cayleh 1323 LI. First el. perhaps O.E. Cǣga pers. n. as in Cainhoe, Beds. But O.E. ecg"key" in some unrecorded earlier sense is also possible.


Brynn (old manor): de Brunne 1276 LAR, del Bryne 1432 LF, the Bryn 1491 LP I. 4, Bryne 1503 DL, Bryn Park 1577 Harr. It is possible Brynn is identical with Welsh bryn "hill," O.Bret. Bren "colline." Brynn Hill is the name of a place near Brynn. Welsh bryn is common in place-names. Bryn in Shropsh. (Bren 1272 IPM) is no doubt the same word.

I do not think Bryn is from O.E. byrna, a doubtful side-form of burna. The Dan. word brand "well" is now held to be a late form of brunn, due to a change w>y>o. Cf. Kock, Svensk Ljudhistoria II. § 809f. The same explanation no doubt holds good for Norw. (dial.) bryn and for brin "rivulet" in the Shetland and Orkney dialects. But Brynn might be a late form of O.E. brunna (burna); cf. Brindle in Leyl.

Garswood (old estate): Grateswode 1367 VHL IV. 142, Gartiswode 1479 LF, Garteswode 1508 DL. The early forms do not throw sufficient light on the name. Cf. Gardemos (Astley) c 1210 CC.

**LEIGH PAR.**

S.E. of Wigan.

Leigh: de Leche c 1265 CC, Leeche 1276 CC, Legh', Legh, Leth, -e, Leech', Leythe, Leech, de Leche 1276 IM, Legh 1292 LF, Leegh 1341 LN, Leth 1451 CC. The name, according to VHL III. 414, was formerly also used of the district formed by Westleigh and Pennington, sometimes also Bedford, i.e., the W. part of the parish. The old village, now the town, of Leigh stands partly in Westleigh, partly in Pennington. It seems not improbable that the names Astley, Tyldesley, Shakerley really contain as second el. the place-name Leigh: Astley = East Leigh, etc. Leigh is O.E. leah "open land, meadow," etc. The country is on the whole flat, but rises slightly in the N.E.


2. Pennington (now in the town of Leigh): Pinington 1246 LF, de Pynnington, de Pynington 1246 LAR, Pinninton c 1240 CC, 1299 LF, Pyningtonn 1299 LF, Pynungton 1322 LI, 1332 LS, etc., Pynyngton 1327 LS, 1340 LF, Penyngton 1372 LF. The name is etymologically distinct from Pennington in Lo., which always has e in the first syllable. Its first el. is apparently a patronymic O.E. Pinningas. It is true an O.E. Pin or Pinna is not well evidenced; cf., however, Pinnan rodel 1043 CD 767 and Pin Ellis B (Searle).

Etherston Hall: Etherston 1338 VHL III. 430, Ether(e)ston 1415 TI. The first el. is apparently a pers. n., e.g., O.E. Eadric or Eadric, or Ædelric, -rēd (cf. Elswick Am.). The second el. is O.E. tun or possibly stān "stone."
3. Bedford (E. of Leigh town and Pennington): Bedeford 1201 LPR, 1258 LAR, c 1260 CC, 1332 LS, etc., Bedford 1258 f. LAR, 1322 LI, etc. “The ford of Bede” (O.E. Bēda). The ford was probably over Pennington Brook.

Eckersley (apparently a lost name; cf. Eckersley Fold in Tyldesley): de Ecksleia 1259 LAR, Eckerselegh 1371 VHL III. 434. The first el. seems to be a pers. n., perhaps O.E. Ecghere or Ecghered with change of g to k before h. Second el. O.E. ëah.

Graveoak: Graveoke manor 1563 DL. Perhaps literally “the oak by the grave.”

Hopkar (on Pennington Brook): Hopkar 1329 VHL III. 433. O.E. hop “a piece of dry land in a fen” or the like (cf. p. 13) and O.N. kiarr “swamp.”

Shuttleworth: de Shuttlesworth 1332 LS. See p. 63.

4. Astley (v.; E. of Leigh): Astelegh(e) c 1210 CC, Astelegh 1246 LAR, Esteleg, Hasteleg, Astel 1258 LAR, Esteleg(h)e 1268 CC, Astelegh 1309 LF, etc., Astelege 1311 IPM, Astelegh(e) 1332 LS, Astley 1479 LF, etc. Either “East Leigh” or “east lea.”

Blackmoor: Blakemor c 1210 CC, de Blakemor 1298 LI. “Black moor” is the meaning in the earliest example.

Morleys [Hall]: Morleghe c 1210 CC, de Morleghe, de Morleghes 1332 LS, Morley c 1540 Leland, Morley al. Morlas 1546 LF, Morelees 1577 Saxton. First el. O.E. mōr “moor.” The place is a little to the S. of Blackmoor.

5. Tyldesley with Shakerley (N.E. of Leigh).

Tyldesley (town): Tildesleaia c 1210 CC, Tyldele 1212 LI, de Tyldesleig 1246 LAR, Tyldelege c 1280 CC, Tildesleigh 1332 LS, etc., Tyldesleigh 1322 LI, etc. The first el. seems to be a pers. n., perhaps found also in Tilberthwaite, Lo. But an O.E. Tild(e) is unknown and difficult to explain. On the other hand Til- is a common name-el., as in Tilfrīp, Tūlēd, Tilweald. Possibly an early contraction of Tūlred or Tilweald to Tild- may be assumed. Or Tild(e) may be a hypochoristic form of one of these names.

Shakerley (h.): Shakerlee, Shakerlegebroc c 1210 CC, Schakeslegh 1246 LAR, de Schakerlegh 1284 LAR, Shakerelige c 1280 CC, de Shakerleg (Shakreslegh) 1332 LS, Shakerslegh 1384 LF. With this name are to be compared: Sakersedalehefd 1189-96 Ch (Ormskirk), Shackerley, Le. Perhaps the first el. is O.E. scēacere “robber” (= O.H.G. scáthār), possibly used as a pers. n.; cf. semita latrum (near Ramsbottom) 13 cent. Whit. II. 324. But the common occurrence of the el. is remarkable and renders some other etymology desirable. In NED shakers (pl.) is evidenced in the sense “quaking-grass, Briza media” from 1597. The word is found in Ches. dial. If this is an old word, it may be the first el. of Shakerley.

Chaddock Hall: de Chaydok 1246 LAR, de Chaidoke 1323 LI, de Chaidok 1332 LS. Nothing in the situation of the place throws any light on this remarkable name. The early forms have ai (Chadoc temp. Henry III., quoted VHL III. 442, is found in a late transcript); the first el. can thus not be the pers. n. Chad. I suspect Chaddock, like the similar Haydock, is a Celtic name. But the etymology is too doubtful to be discussed here.

Cleworth: de Cleworth(e) 1332 LS, Clivorth 1600 RS XII. The place stands on a slight hill. The name very likely contains the elements O.E. clif “height”
and worp "enclosure," etc. Cf. Clewer, Berks., identified by Skeat with O.E. *clifwara* "cliff men" in *clifwara gemære* (Kent).

6. **Atherston** (N. of Leigh, town): Aderton 1212, 1243 Li, de Haderton 1246 LAR, de Aserton, de Aderton 1265 Li, Atherston 1322 Li, 1332 LS, etc., de Atherston 1298 LF, Atherston 1540 LF, etc., de Atherston 1293 Li. The first el. is probably O.E. *Æðelhere* or *Æðelræd* (>Æbere, Ædered). But *Eadhere* (suggested by Sephton) or *Eadræd* is also possible. Atherstone, Warw. (Aderstone DB, Edridestone 1246), Atherstone-on-Stour, Warw. (Edricestone DB, Atherstone 1248), Arerton Ha. (Atherston 1316 FA) may be compared. The forms Adser-, Aserton, Asleton may be Norman spellings.

**Chowbent** (now in Atherston town): Chololebynt, Shollebent c 1350 VHL III. 437, Cholbent 1496 ib.; but Cholle 1385 ib.; Chowebent c 1550 DL. Cholle is also used as a family name (e.g., de Cholle 1322 Li). Perhaps it is identical with (de) Cholle (apparently a lost place near Liverpool) 1323 Li, 1325 LCR, 1330 LF, i.e., Cœol(a) pers. n. and halth. The second el. -bent seems to be correctly explained by Wyld as "bent-land." Cf. Chequerbent, N. of Leigh.

**Wigan Par.**

This parish, the district round Wigan town, is separated by the Douglas from Leyland hundred.

1. **Abram** (S.E. of Wigan; v.): Abburgham a 1199 CC, 1246, 1303 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Edburgham 1212 Li, de Abburgham 1246, 1263 LAR, Abraham 1372 LF, etc., Abram 1461 CC. The "hām of Eadburh" (Harrison). Eadburh is a common fem. O.E. name.


**Bickershaw** : Bickersah, Bikesah c 1200, Bikersahge c 1240 CC, Bykersha[gh] 1395 LF. The first el. is presumably identical with that of Bickerstaffe, De. See further Bickerstaffe, which is better evidenced in early records. Bickershaw is apparently not on a brook.

**Occleshaw** : Aculousahe, Aculousahe a 1199 CC, de Aculleschowe, Acolivesag 1246 LAR, de Okelshagh 1303 LF. “The shaw of Ācwulf.” Ācwulf is a common O.E. pers. n.

2. **Hindley** (E. of Wigan, v.): Hindele 1212 Li, c 1230 CC, 1246 LAR, Hindelye 1259 LAR, Hynedley 1285 LAR, 1322 LS, Hindelegh 1301 LF, Hynedlegh 1303, 1335 LF, etc., Hindley 1479 LF. The first el. is O.E. hīnd “doe.”

**Platt Bridge**: platte 1212-42 CC, Plat Bridge 1599 Wigan R. Cf. Platt Sa. p. 31. The addition Bridge shows that this is probably dial. plat “a foot-bridge” (1652ff.), derived in NED from O.F. *plat.*


4. **Haigh** (on high land, N.E. of Wigan, v.): Hage 1194 LPR, Hache c 1210 CC, Haghe 1298 LF, 1312 Li, etc.; Haghe 1303 FA, 1332 LS; Hawe 1330 Li, c 1540 Leland, Hay 1539 CC, haigh 1581 Wigan R, Thaigh al. Le Haigh 1628 DL. O.E.
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haga “enclosure”; also “homestead, messuage.” As regards the sound development, cf. p. 21.

5. Ince-in-Makerfield (S.E. of Wigan, of which it is a suburb): Ines 1202 LPR, 1212 LI, 1284 LAR, 1327 LS, etc., Hynis a 1199, c 1210 CC, Huines 1204 LPR, Ynes 1206 LPR, 1261 LAR, Hines, de Inys 1246 LAR, Ynes, Yins 1261 LAR, Inies, Ines 1262 LAR, Hyns 1276 LAR, del Henes 1285 LAR, Ins in Makerfield 1332 LS, Ins 1341 IN.

This is a British name, identical with Welsh ynys, O.Bret. inis, O.Ir. inis, etc., “island.” The Celtic word is often used to denote a “holm,” “a water-meadow” and the like. Cf. on Ir. inis Joyce I. 441, on Welsh ynys Bannister p. 5. Ince is found as a place-name also in W. Derby (: Ince Blundell) and in Ches. The latter appears as Inise in DB. Ince (Ches.) with Elton forms an “island” in the low country along the Mersey. Ince-in-Makerfield township to no small extent consists of mossland (VHL IV. 101). No doubt the name originally referred to some higher dry land among mosslands.

6. Wigan (town): Wigan 1199 Ch, 1477, 1501 LF, Wigan c 1215 CC, 1237, 1246, 1278, 1284 LAR, 1317 LF, 1332 LS, 1387 Trevisa V. 329, etc.; Wigan 1420 LF ; de Wigan (for Wigain ?) 1209 LPR, Wigan 1245 Chr, de Wygyn, de Wygain 1246 LAR, Wygyn 1258 Chr. Wigan stands near the river Douglas. It is held to be identical with Coccium of the Roman time.

It is difficult to believe that this can be a Germanic name. A Brit. origin seems plausible. The usual early form is Wigan. The side-form Wigayn (Wygain, etc.) may be due to the influence of the pers. n. Wigan which often appears as Wigayn, etc. This pers. n. is apparently of Breton origin (O.Bret. Vuicon, Guegan, M.Bret. Guegan, Loth 174, 208); the form Wigayn is to be explained in the same way as M.E. Aleygn by the side of Alan. If the place-name Wigan is of Brit. origin, at least two1 alternative explanations seem possible. It may be identical with Gaul. Vicanum (now le Vigan), derived by Holder from the pers. n. Vicanus. Or it may be analogous to Wigan in Anglesey. This seems to be an ellipsis of an earlier name of the type Tref Wigan or Bod Wigan “the village (homestead) of one Wigan.” A place-name Bodwygan (not identical with Wigan) actually occurs in early sources relating to Anglesey (The Extent of Anglesey 1294, in Seebohm, Tribal Custom in Wales, App. A. p. 12). The Welsh pers. n. Wigan may represent O.W. Vuicant (cf. Welsh Morgan < O.W. Morcant). If Wigan in Lanc. is due to similar ellipsis it may contain a name corresponding to O.W. Guicon, O.Bret. Vuicon. As regards the ending -an we may compare the name Maban (DB) < O.W. Mabon. The medial g is due to Brit. lenition.2

Gidlow: de Guiddelawe 1246 LAR, de Gedeowe, de Gydelawe 1285 LAR. First el. apparently O.E. Gydda pers. n. in gyddan dene 943 BCS 789 (Berks.), perhaps found also in Gidcot, Gidleigh (Devon). Second el. O.E. hlæw “hill.”

Poolstock: Pustoke 1520, Pullstoke 1528 DL. First el. O.E. pull “pool”; second O.E. stoc “place.” The place is close to Poolstock Brook.

1 Dr. Bradley, EHR 26, p. 822, suggests a derivative of Welsh gwig (< Lat. vicus). This is, of course, possible.

2 The different treatment of Brit. k in Eccles, Makerfield), where lenition also must have taken place, may be due to a difference between Brit. g (< k) and O.E. g, which caused substitution sometimes of O.E. g, sometimes of O.E. k (c). In Pedersen’s opinion (I. 119ff.), k by lenition first became a pure tenuis, whence later usually g.
Scholes: del Scoles 1332 LS, 1342 LF, Scooles 1555 LF. O.N. skāli “hut.”
Swinley: de Swyneley 1283 CC, de Swynleigh 1332 LS, 1384 LF. O.E. swin “swine” and læah.

Whelley: Whelley 1553 LF, 1603 Wigan R. First el. perhaps as in Wheelton (p. 132), i.e., O.E. hwēol “wheel.”
7. Pemberton (S.W. of Wigan): Penberton 1201 LPR, 1242 LAR, Pemberton 1202 LF, Pemberton 1212 LI, 1241, 1292 LF, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Pembirton c 1225 CC, 1292 LF, etc., Pemberton 1284 LAR, Pemburton 1396 LF.
   I believe this is a compound of pen “hill” (a Brit. word on which see p. 41) and O.E. beretūn “barton.” Pemberton seems to have been one of the beretuns of Newton (VHL IV. 79). The place stands at the foot of the hill (310 ft.) which has given name to Orrell; this may have had an earlier name Pen. Derivation from O.E. pen “a fold” is possible, but seems improbable.

Hawkley: Hawkley or Hawcliffe 1512 VHL IV. 81, Hawkley 1520 DL, Hawley 1586 Wigan R, Hawcliffe 1600 RS XII. Earlier forms are needed. First el. no doubt O.E. hafoc “hawk.”


Markland: de Marclane, de Markelan 1278 LAR, Marclan 1323 LI, de Marclan 1383 LF. The second el. is O.E. lanu “road.” The first seems to be O.E. meare “boundary,” etc.; the name is perhaps equivalent in meaning to dial. markway “a track to enable the holders of the divisions of a common field to have access to them” (EDD).

Norley: de Nortlegh 1293 LI, de Northlegh 1306 AP, 1320, 1321 LF. “The north lea.”

Tunstead: Tunstede 1202 LF. Cf. the same name p. 93.
8. Winstanley (S.W. of Wigan): Winstanesle, Winstaneslega 1206, 1207 LPR, Winstanesle 1212 LI, c 1200 CC, Winstaneslee c 1200 CC, Winstanisele 1212 LI, de Wynstaneslegh 1246 LAR; Wistanlee c 1200 CC 657, Winstanleh 1332 LS. “The lea of Wynsteanes.” Wynstanes is a common O.E. pers. n.; Winstan DB is very likely the same name.

Blackley Hurst: Blakelee, -brok c 1200 CC. The place is situated at a hill.
9. Billinge (N.E. of St. Helens; v.): Billinge 1202 LPR, Bullynge 1202 CC, 1204 LPR, 1212 LI, 1278 LAR, etc., Billing 1206 LPR, 1246 LAR, Bullynth 1292 VHL IV. 83, Bullynge 1311 LF, Bullyngge 1332 LF, Billinge 1366 LF, Billinge 1580, 1585 Wigan R. According to Wyld the name is pronounced [bilindz].

In Billinge township is the top of Billinge Hill (over 550 ft.), and it would be reasonable to suppose that it was named from the hill. Cf. Billinge Hill in Bl (p. 66). Only the usual form Bullynge seems to point to O.E. -y-, and perhaps we have to start from an O.E. Bulingas, a patronymic formed from O.E. Bulla or Bolla pers. n. But between b and l O.E. i might well have become y; cf. Pilkington, p. 49. I am inclined to believe that the name is an original hill-name.

Birchley: Biricherelee 1202 LF, Bircheleie(e)brok a 1212 CC, Bircheley 1422 LF. O.E. birce “birch” and læah.

Crookhurst: Crocherste a 1212 CC, Crochurst 1256 LF, de Crochurste 1246 LAR, de Crokhirst 1262 LF. The first el. is doubtful. It may be M.E. crok “bend,”
or the pers. n. Crœc (probably Scand.). But cf. O.E. crochyrst (pl.) 947 BCS 834, crochyrst 963 BCS 1125 (Berks.).

Falling (apparently now lost) : Falinge a 1212 CC. O.E. fælging “fallow land.” Cf. Falinge p. 60, and see p. 10.

Gautley : Galley Wood 1551 DL. Is the first el. O.N. gpltr “hog” or Gauti pers. n. ?

10. Orrell (S.W. of Wigan) : Horhill 1202 LPR, Horhull 1204, 1205 LPR, Orhull 1206 LPR, Horhul, Horul 1212 LI, Oral a 1220 CC, Orul 1272 LAR, Orhul 1292 LF, Orell 1332 LS. An altitude of over 300 ft. is reached at Orrell Mount; this is no doubt the hill after which the township was named. The first el. might be O.E. ḍæg “margin, bank.” The Douglas forms the northern boundary of the township, and the higher country is some way distant from the river. More likely the first el. is O.E. ḍæg “ore,” though it is true there seems to be no evidence of any other mining than coal-mining having been carried on in Orrell. Lamberhead Green (v.) : Londmerhede 1519 LF. O.E. landgemære “boundary” and hēafoð “hill.” The place is on the boundary between Orrell and Pemberton. It stands on a hill.

11. Upholland (W. of Wigan, v.) : Holand DB, Hollande 1202 LF, Holand 1224 LF, 1332 LS, 1341 IN, Upholland 1226 LI, 1298 LI. Upholland is so called to distinguish it from Downholland. The name is to be compared with Downholland (which see), with Hoyland in Yks. ( : Holand, Holand DB), Holland in Linc. We have to choose between O.E. hol-land “hollow land” and hō-land from hōh “heel; spur of hill,” etc. As regards Upholland derivation from hōh is extremely probable, as the village stands on the slope of a ridge. The early forms with almost exclusive -l- also point to Hōland; later shortening of the vowel has taken place. The spelling oi in early forms points to Hō-; oi is probably a Norman spelling for ọ (cf. Menger, The Anglo-Norman Dialect p. 74f.). In early northern texts as the Cursor Mundi (MS C) oi is used to denote ọ.

Pimbo : Pemboue, Pimboe 1598 DL. The place is on the N.W. slope of Billinge Hill. Earlier material is necessary.

12. Dalton (W. of Wigan, on the Douglas) : Dalton DB, Dalaton 1212 LI, 1276 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Dalton a 1225 CC. The place was no doubt named after the valley of the Douglas : O.E. dael or possibly O.N. dæl “valley” and tun. Ashhurst Beacon, A. Hall : de Aschehyrst 1285 LAR, de Asshurst 1323 LI, de Asshehurst 1332 LS, de Ashehurst 1321, 1341 LF, Ashhurst 1577 Saxton. O.E. æsc-hyrst “ash-hill.” Ashhurst Beacon is on a hill reaching c 570ft.


Hawksclough : Havekesnestesdloch c 1200 CC, Havekenestiscloch c 1240 CC. “Hawksnest clough.”

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This large parish stretches from the Mersey N.W. far into the hundred. The ground varies; there is chiefly level country along the Mersey and in the N., but higher land (about 250ft.) in the middle.

1. Great Sankey (W. of Warrington ; v.) : de Sonchi c 1180 Ch, Sanki 1212 LI, Sonky 1243 LI, 1278 LAR, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, etc., de Saunky 1246 LAR, Sonkey
1258 LAR, Sankey 1285 ChR, Great Sonky 1325ff. LF, 1332 LI. Gt. Sankey is bounded on the S. by the Mersey and on the E. by Sankey Brook, which separates it from Little Sankey (in Warrington). The place was no doubt named from the brook. See p. 94.

2. Penketh (W. of Great Sankey, on the Mersey; v.): Penket 1243 LI, 1285 LAR, ChR, etc., Penketh 1259 LAR, 1285 ib., 1290 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Penkith 1259 LAR. This is, in my opinion, a British name, a compound of the Celtic words found in Welsh as ♦pen “end,” etc., and coed “wood” (Brit. *keto-*< *kaito-). This is also suggested by McClure p. 86. The name is common in Wales, and is found in Cornwall and Brittany: Pencoed, Montg., Glam.; Penquite, Cornw. (: Penkuek, Penquit 1326 OR I. 294f.); Penhoat, Brittany (: Penhuet 1282, Penquoet 1325, etc., Loth 224). Cf. also Pencoyd, Heref. (: Pencoyt 1291, 1330 Bannister). The name no doubt means in most cases "the end (edge) of the wood."

3. Cuerdale (on the Mersey, N.E. of Widnes): Kyuerelay, de Kyuerdeleeg, Cuerdeley 1246 LAR, Kyuerdelegh 1275 LI I. 240, Kyuerdeley 1282 LI, Kynderlele 1301 OR, Kyuerdelegh 1324 LI, 1331 Ind, Kyuerdeley 1327 LS, Kyuerdeley 1332 LS, Keerdeley 1344 LF. This curious name must be compared with Cuerdale Bl. The following suggestion may be made. Early forms seem to point to an O.E. base *cyfrede or the like, apparently an adj. This might be compared with Core in Chipping par. (earlier Couere, Coue) and words mentioned under this name, e.g., O.H.G. *chubesi “hut,” O.N. kofr “chest,” O.N. kaf “rounded summit,” etc. If the original meaning of the stem was something like "round, convex object, mound" (cf. Torp-Fick, p. 47), the adj. would mean "rounded, convex" or the like. The ground rises somewhat in the township, an altitude of c. 65ft. being attained.


Farnworth (church, formerly chapel): farnweor 1324 WhC 815, farnword 1337 WhC 817, Farnworth 1518 LF. O.E. *fearn “fern” and warp “enclosure,” etc.

Denton: Denton 1272 WhC 821, 1292 PW, de Denton 1246 LAR, 1332 LS. O.E. *denn “valley” and ārūn. The place stands near a brook.

Upton: Upton 1251 ChR, 13 cent. WhC 812, Uptone 1292 PW, de Hupton 1246 LAR, de Uptone 1276 LAR. O.E. *āpp-tūn “the upper ārūn.” Upton is in the northern higher part of the township.

5. Ditton (N.W. of Widnes, on Ditton Brook; v.): Ditton 1194 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Dyton 1298 LI; Dutton 1202 LPR, 1327 LS, 1341 IN; de Ditton (Ditghon) 1246 LAR. No doubt O.E. dictūn; the 1246 forms last quoted to some extent corroborate this. The occasional form Dutton may be due to confusion with Dutton, N.W. Chs. The ditch which gave name to the township seems to be found as the first el. also of the next name.

Ditchfield (c 1 m. N. of Ditton): del Dichfeld 1322 LI, de Dycheled 1332 LS, 1341 IN.
Slynehead (now apparently lost, but cf. Slynehead Farm in the N.E. corner of Gt. Sankey): de Slynehead 1323 LI, de Slyneheued 1326 LCR. Cf. Slyne in Lo. Slyne is apparently an O.E. *slinu or the like, meaning “slope” or “hill.”


Barrow (Hall): del Barwe 1284 LAR, de Barwe 1332 LS, del Barowe 1332 LF. O.E. bearo (g. bearves) “grove.” The place stands in level country.

Cranshaw (Hall): Croncisschagh 1337 WhC 817, Craynsey 1587 CW xi. The first el. is O.E. cranuc, cronuc “crane,” later replaced by crane.

Holbrook: de Holebrok 1332 LS, de Holbrok 1335 LF. Whittle Brook was formerly called Holbrook (the Holebrok 1339 HS XLI. 226) “the hollow brook.”


Quick (sometimes called a vill; now lost): Quiske 1202 LF, Lawyke 1212 RB, Lawyke 1212 LI, de la Quicke, la Quike a 1220 CC, de Quikes 1276 LAR. Cf. Quick, Yks.: Quyke 1297, Quiske 1232 (Goodall). I propose as the source quick “a quickset hedge” (1456 NED). Cf. Cwichege 772 BCS 207.

7. Croniton (N. of Widnes, v.): Growynoton 1242 LI, Crohinton 1243 ib., Crounington 1246 LAR, Croynton 1322 LI, 1327, 1332 LS, Croenton 13 cent. WhC 811 ff., Crouvleton 1333 LF, Crounton 1346 FA; Crawynoton 1292 PW, Crawnton 1341 IN. Wyld derives the first el. from O.E. crāwe “crow,” whereas Sephton suggests an O.E. pers. n. derived from crāwe. The early forms do not favour these etymologies; we expect more early forms with aw. The rare Crawynton and the like may be due to the change ow>aw; cf. p. 21. The form Growinton (12 cent.) quoted under Halsnead infra should probably be read Growinton, e having been miswritten or misread for o. An O.E. base *Crowinga- or *Crōinga-tūn seems most plausible. No O.E. pers. n. from which a patronymic Cro(w)ingas may be derived is known, but we may perhaps compare Fris. Kroyenga, Krooyenga (Winkler).

Pex Hill (a hill of 200ft.): Peghteshull 13 cent. WhC 812. Peght- is O.E. Pe(o)ht “Pict” or a hypocoristic form of names such as Peothelm, Peothwine, etc.

8. Rainhill (S. of St. Helens; v.): Reynhull, -hill 1246 LAR, Raynhull 1285 LAR, 1346 FA, 1354 LF, Raynhull 1258 LAR, 1322 LI, Reynhull 1301 LF, Raynhull 1332 LS, Raynhill 1400 LF. The township occupies the S. slope of a hill, which was no doubt originally called Rainhill. Lindkvist p. 74 suggests as first el. O.N. rein “strip of land forming the boundary of a field or estate,” and points out that the hill forms the boundary against Eccleston. But it is doubtful if rein could be used of such a boundary; the fields of Eccleston and Rainhill hardly met on the hill. And we do not expect a Scand. word as the first el. It seems plausible that Rainhill and Rainford have the same first el. The early forms of the latter point to a dissyllabic first theme (Raine-); in Rainhill the unstressed vowel would be dropped early before the h-, which was often silent. This el. is very likely a hypocoristic form (Regna) of O.E. names in Regn-, Regen-; Regenheat, -here, -pryp are certain O.E. names. A possible example of the O.E. Regna is found in Rainham, Nrf. (Reinham DB, Reynham 1302 FA); cf. Rainton, Yks. (Rainington, Reinenton DB), Rainton, Durh. (Reinun-, Re(n)ingtun c 1125 Mawer), Rennington, Nhb. (Reiningtun 1104-8 Mawer).
Ritherope (N.E. of Rainhill, near a brook): *Rydrone* Brook 1557 DL. O.E. *hrýðer* “ox, cow” and *hop*, here perhaps in the sense “a valley.”

9. Whiston (S.W. of St. Helens; v.): *Quistan* 1190 CC 603f., 1252 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., *de Quistan* 1246 LAR, *Wytsstan, de Wytsston* 1252 IPM, *Whiston* 1272 LAR, 1376 LF, *Quystan, Wyystane* 1278 LAR, *Wyystan* 1284 LAR, *Quistan* 1292 PW, *Whiston* 1341 IN. The name means “white stone”; there must have been a conspicuous white stone at the place. Whiston in Worc. has the same etymology; the white stone is in this case mentioned in early records.


Rudgate: *Rudgate* 1277, *Le Ruidgate* 1304 Ind, *de (la) Ruydegate* 1284 LAR, *Ruddegate* 1337 WhC 817. This name means “the cleared road”; *rīd* vb. (M.E. *rīdden, ridden*) means “to clear (a way),” etc. *Gate* is O.N. *ga* “road.” According to Bartholomew, Rudgate is the name of a portion of Ermine Street between Tadcaster and Aldborough. *Ruddegate* in the example from WhC 817 designates a road.


Glest: *Glest* a 1220 CC 606, 1333 Moore MSS (1075), *de Glest* 1276 LAR, *Gleast* 1602 DL. Glest is in the N.W. part of the township. There seem to be no physical features that help to explain the name. It may possibly be a derivative of the base *gloss* discussed under Gleaston Lo.


Thatto Heath (partly in Sutton): *Thetwall* 12 cent. VHL III. 358, *de Thotenvell* 1246 LAR. Thatto Brook is mentioned in the deed quoted in VHL. So Thatto may have been originally the name of a brook. The elements of the name seem to be O.E. *pēote* “waterpipe, channel, torrent, cataract” and *wælla* “stream.”

Wolscroft, -head (now lost; sometimes called a vill.): *Wolfscroft, de Wulcroftheuved* 1276 LAR. “The croft of *Wulf*”; O.E. *Wulf* is a pers. n.


Burtonhead: *Burton(e)heued* a 1230 CC 597, *de Burtonheued* 1246 LAR, *Burtonheued* 1284 LAR, *Burtonheved* 1292 PW. Burton must be the name of the old manor which gave name to Burtonwood, the township adjoining Sutton on the E. Yet Burtonhead is in the W. part of Sutton. *Head* in this and the following names means “hill.”

Eltonhead: *Eltonheued* a 1230 CC, *de Eltonheued* 1284 LAR, 1332 LS, *Eltonheved*
1292 PW, de Eltonheved 1337 LF. The first el. must be Elton, the name of a lost place, representing an O.E. *Ellan tun.

**Micklehead**: Myckleheade 1600 RS XII. 239. "The great hill." O.E. *mycel "great."

**Sherdley**: de Sherdelegh 1323 LI, de Sherdelegh 1332 LS, de Schardeley 1337 WhC 816, de Sherdeley 1386 LF. The first el. appears to be O.E. *sceard "a gap in an enclosure."

**Woodfall Hall**: Wudefal a 1230 CC, de Wodefal 1321 LF, de Wodefall 1332 LS. The name may mean literally "wood-fall," i.e., "place where trees have fallen down" (O.E. *fell, fall, "falling"), or "wood-felling," i.e., "place where wood may be felled." But in EDD *fall is given in the sense "a valley, hanger" (W. Yks.); cf. also p. 10.

13. **Parr** (E. of St. Helens): Par 1246 LAR, c 1265 CC, 1341 IN, etc., de Parre 1298 LI, Parr 1327, Paar 1332 LS. If O.E. *pearra "fence; paddock" (= O.H.G. *pfarrih, pferrih) is a Germanic word and a derivative of a shorter word, found in O.H.G. *pharra "parish," originally "district" or the like, then Parr may be derived from an O.E. *pear of a similar meaning; cf. also M.E. *parren "to enclose; fold" (1300, etc.), dial. par "an enclosure for beasts" (1819, etc.), according to NED possibly going back to M.E. *parre, O.E. *parre. Parham, Suff. is supposed by Skeat to contain *parr "enclosure." But the history of O.E. *pear, etc., is not sufficiently clear. I find that Harrison suggests a meaning "stock-enclosure" (Surnames 1912).

**Laffog or Leafog** (old estate): Lachok 1246 LAR, de Laghok 1271 LAR, de Laghok(e) 1323 LI, de Laghok 1332 LS, Laghougue 16 cent. LR 386. This name is explained in VHL III. 115 as "law-oak," referring to "the celebrated oak in Allerton, where the sheriff's tourn may have been held." Presumably it is for the pers. n. Laghok borne by land-holders in Woolton that this etymology is meant, but there may have been a "law-oak" also in Parr. The etymology is somewhat suspicious, because -ok is found as early as 1246; yet it may be correct. It is perhaps not without importance that Broad Oak (Brode oke 1589 Walton R) is the name of another estate in Parr. If Parr comes from an O.E. *parer "enclosure," this may have meant a place fenced in for the holding of a thing (cf. Hoops Reallex. I. 470), and the "law-oak" would have been a holy oak on the place.


**Cowley**: de Collay 1319 SC, 1332 LS. As there are collieries at the place the name seems to have as first el. O.E. *col "coal."

**Hardshaw**: Hauretescaugh 1339 VHL III. 373, de Hardeschawe 1391 Moore MSS, Hardshaghe 1585 DL. The early forms are not sufficiently clear to make an etymology possible. The first el. is perhaps a pers. n., e.g., O.E. *Hēahrēd. **Haresfinch** (Harrfinc O.M. 1846-51): Herethfellige 1201, Herfellinge 1201-1220, de Hertfulling 1251 CC, de Horfalling, de Herefalling 1246 LAR, Arstynche (sur-
name) 1539 CC; a pers. n. Harflynch is mentioned VHL III. 373. The second el. is apparently either O.E. feolcing “fallow land” (cf. p. 10) or felling vbl. noun of fell. The first el. is seemingly O.E. heorp “hearth.” The meaning of the compound is not obvious. It is interesting to find that the second el. seems to have had palatalized g. The loss of l is remarkable.

St. Helens (town) was formerly the seat of a chapel dedicated to St. Helen: Scot Elyus (!) chap. 1577 Saxton.

Windleshaw : Wyndell Shaae Park 1548, Wyndleshay 1551 DL. First el. the name Windle.

15. Rainford (N. of St. Helens, v.) : Raineford a 1198 Ch, Reineford 1202 LF, Raynfeford 1256, 1315 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Raynesford 1246 LAR, 1354 LF, etc., Reynford 1321 LF; Reinesford 1246 LAR, Raynesford 1262 LF, Raynfeford 1503 LF. Rainford vill. is on Sankey Brook. The name seems to mean “the ford of Regina”; cf. Rainhill p. 107. Lindkvist p. 133 suggests as first el. O.N. reyn “rowan-trees.” This is not convincing, as Scand. names are extremely rare in the district.

Forshaw (lost) : de Fourocshagh 1315 LF, defoureuokshaghe 1332 LS, Fouroshawe 1446 LF (surname). The name means “four-oak-wood.”

Mossborough : Mossebarrowe 1516 DL, Mosbarrow 1577 Saxton, Mosburowe 1600 RS XII. The place stands on a piece higher ground in mossland. Second el. apparently O.E. beorh “barrow, hill.”

CHILDWALL PAR.

A district S.E. of Liverpool, bounded on the S. by the Mersey.

1. Hale (W. of Widnes, v.) : Halas 1094 Ch, Hales 1094 LC 793, 1227 ChR, Hale 1201 LPR, 1276 LAR, 1332 LS, etc. O.E. halh (dat. hale) “a haugh, river-meadow,” or rather the plural of the word (O.E. halas). The village stands in a bend of the Mersey on low ground.

2. Halewood (N. of Hale, v.) : Halewode c 1200 CC, Halewood 1509 LF. Obviously “the wood belonging to Hale.” Halewood was originally part of Hale.

Halebank : Halebok 1426, -bank 1509 LF. Halebank is on the Mersey.

The Hutt : the Hutt 1499 Moore MSS, the Huttte 1546 ib., Hutte (man.) 1526 DL. I suppose the Hutt was originally a hunting-lodge in Halewood, and that the name is the word hutt. The only difficulty is that Engl. hût is not evidenced in the NED until 1650 and that the Fr. hutte, from which it is usually derived, is not found much earlier. Perhaps the source of hût is rather Du. hut.

3. Speke (S.E. of Liverpool, on the Mersey; v.) : Spec DB, 1212 LI, Speke 1252 1PM, 1313, 1418 LF, Spek 1276 LAR, Speck 1278 LAR, Specke 1320 LF, Speek 1332 LS, c 1360 CR 333. The vill. of Speke stands about a mile from the Mersey on slightly rising ground, while Speke Hall is on the bank of the river. There is nothing in the situation that suggests in what direction the etymology should be sought. I suppose the name must belong to the stem spek, spak dealt with by Torp-Fick p. 506, and found e.g. in M.L.G. spâk “dry,” spaken pl. “dry twigs,” O.H.G. spah(ho) “dry brushwood,” M.H.G. spach “dry,” Norw. dial. spæk “chip of wood.” In O.E. we find spec, pl. gen. spaca (or rather spæc, spæca) apparently “a twig,” which perhaps forms the first el. of Spetchley,
The Great Grestan found Vluentune, and 1200 Woliceton Gerstun. However, a minor and Allerton Alretune the Little Aikeberhe. The same Allerton is 1259f. (orig.)

Gerstan 1094, 1142, 1155 Ch, 1212, 1226 Li, 1246 LAR, 1265 IPM, 1332 LS, 1367 LF, etc.; Gerstan 1122, Gerestanam 1142 Ch, Gerstan 1212 RB; Grestan c 1155 Ch, 1215 LPR, de Grestan 1325 LCR (104); Gerstun 1297 Li, Gerston 1202 LPR, 1324 Li. The early forms tell us that the second el. is not O.E. tun, but O.E. stân. O.E. gers “grass” is then not a plausible first el. I believe Garston is simply a compound of O.E. gréat “big” and stân. As regards the loss of t before s we may compare Whiston, in the earliest quotations usually Quistan, Whistan. Great in northern dialects often appears as gert (14 cent. NED). The earlier metathesis in the place-name is easily accounted for by the fact that early shortening of the vowel must have taken place. The forms with Gere- are not common; the -e- may be intrusive. But so long as a Grestan or Gertstan has not been found this etymology remains doubtful. Gerstan 1122 may be miswritten for Gertstan. Gretestan (hundr., Glo.) DB contains O.E. gréat and stân.

Aigburth (h.): Aikeberhe c 1200 CC, Aikebergh, Eikeberhe c 1250 CC, Aykebergh, Aikebergh 13 cent. WhC 559f. O.N. Eikuberg from eiki “oaks” and berg “hill.”

Grassendale (on the Mersey): paroum Gressyndale 13 cent. WhC 585f. Apparently M.E. gresseing “pasturing, pasture-land” and O.E. dæl or O.N. dalr “valley.” Cf. Grossingham Lo. However, if the form Gresselond Dale given VHL III. 125 is trustworthy, the first el. is perhaps rather gres-land “grass-land,” gres being a Scand. word for grass.

Allerton (a suburb of Liverpool): Alretune DB, Alreton c 1200 CC, 1241 LF, Alerton 1322 Li, Allerton 1327, 1332 LS, 1418, 1441 LF. O.E. alr “alder” and tun. The form de Alerton 1276 LAR, if belonging here, would seem to show the same intrusive v as early forms of Wycooller p. 88.

Much and Little Woolton (townships S.E. of Liverpool): Vuuentune, Vuetone DB, Wlueton 1187 HS LIV. 184 (orig.), 1258 LAR, Wlivoton 1188 HS LIV. 187 (orig.), Wuloton 1246 LAR, Wolfeton 1322 LI, Wulventon 1323 LI, Wulleton 1403 CR; Woluoton Magna cum parua 1327 LS; Wluoton Magna 1332 LS, Magna Woluoton 1341 IN; minor Woluoton, inferiori Woluoton, parua Woluoton c 1200 WhC 801-9, Woluoton parua 1332 LS. The etymology seems to be Wulfan tun, though the preservation of the n of the first el. in some early forms is remarkable (cf. p. 22).

Brettargh Holt (the N. part): Bretharve, Bretharwe, Bretarwe 13 cent. WhC 806f., Bretharweche 1292 PW. Second el. ergh “shieling” (see p. 10); the first is apparently the gen. of O.N. Bretar or O.E. Brettas “Britons.”
In DB is mentioned a manor Wibaldeslei in Woolton. This is, of course, O.E. Wibaldes læah. Wibald is a common name.

7. Childwall (E. of Liverpool): Cildewelle DB, Kydewelle, Childewell 1094 Ch, Cheldewell 12 cent. LC 13, Childewell c 1190 Ch, 1302 LI, Childewalle 1212 LI, 1332 LS, 1376 LF, Childewall 1243 LI, Childewall 1268 LAR, Childwall 1423 LF; Chaldewall 1238 LF; now [t]jilwol or “childow” VHL III. 108. Childwall stands on Childwall Brook. The second el. of the name is O.E. ðæs “well; brook.” The first el. is to be compared with that of Chilton, Som. (Cildatun 1052 CD 796, Cildetone DB), Childwick, Herts (Childewik 1303 FA), Hanley Child, Worc. (Childrehanle 1275 Duignan), etc. Skeat looks upon the first el. of Chilton and Childwick as O.E. cild “of children.” Childwall probably contains the same el. Wyld prefers to derive it from the O.E. *cild, cild (in Bapchild), “a sudden burst of water from a hill.” This is not convincing. O.E. celde “a spring” corresponds to O.N. kelda, and no doubt goes back to a base *kaldion. But that could not have given a Lancashire childer. Chilwell, Notts. (Chilewell and the like in early sources) probably has for its first el. a pers. n. (O.E. Cilla, Cille).

8. Thingwall (E. of Liverpool): Tingwella 1177 LPR, Tingwelle 1212 RB, Thingwalle 1212 LI, Thingwell 1226 LI, 1298 LI, Thingwall 1262 LAR, 1322 LI, Tingewall 1297 LI. O.N. pingvælla “place where the thing met.” The name bears interesting witness to a Scand. settlement, which must have had its thing-place in Thingwall. The meeting-place was obviously the round, gently sloping hill on which Thingwall Hall now stands, and which must have been an ideal place for a thing. The interchange of -well and -wall is most probably due to influence from names in -well (O.E. vælla), which show a good deal of similar variation. Very likely -well is simply due to scribes who supposed the name contained the word well and used the form considered to be correct. But -well may partly be due to the O.N. dat. form -vellō, or pl. form -vellir.

9. Wavertree (in E. Liverpool): Wauertre DB, Wauertree 1177 LPR, Wavertree 1196, 1199 LPR, 1246 LAR, 1251 ChR, etc., Wavertree 1201 LPR, Wavertre 1226 LI, Wartre 1577 Saxton. The second el. of the name is, of course, O.E. tréō “tree,” a word common in place-names. The first el. is difficult. Skeat (in Harrison) connects it with the verb to waver and thinks the name means “waving tree, aspen.” This is possible, but not convincing. O.E. Wærferd pers. n. (suggested by Wyld) does not account for the form; in the Lanc. dial. O.E. á would appear as ē. I think the name must be compared with the numerous names in Waver found in different counties, e.g., Waverley, Surr. (Wauerl’ 1159 PR), Waverton, Warw. (Wavertone 13 cent.), Warton, Shrops., Wharton p. 43. Waver alone occurs as a place-name; cf. Woore, Ches. (Waure DB), Church Over, Warw. (Wara DB, Wære 13 cent.), Brownsover, Warw. (Gaupe DB, Waure, etc., 13 cent.). We must assume an O.E. word *wæfer or the like of a meaning which rendered it particularly liable to be used in place-names and as a place-name. Such a word is found in Low German, viz., waver “schwankender wiesengrund,” common in place-names (see Förstemann). What the exact meaning was in English cannot be settled without special investigation; perhaps we may compare dial. waver “a common pond” (EDD).
HUXTON PAR.

A district E. of Liverpool.

1. Tarbock (N.W. of Widnes, bounded on the W. by Ditton Brook): Torboc DB, 1256 LAR, Torbok 1257 ChR, 1285 LAR, 1283 Ind, 1311 IPM, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, 1354 LF, etc., Torboke, Torbroke 1311 LI; Thorboc 1243 LI, de Thorboc, de Thorbok, de Turbok 1246 LAR, de Thorebok 1252 LC 35, de Thorbock 1256 LAR. In CC 607 (1180-1200) is mentioned antiquum Torboc (assartum); cf. Ol(d)torboke 1451, 1461 CC.

The etymology of this name is probably much simpler than it looks. No Celtic source should be sought for it. Connection with tor "hill" (cf. NED) is out of the question; the highest point in the township does not reach much over 50 ft. I believe the second el. is O.E. brōc "brook." Tarbock Hall stands on Ochr Brook, a tributary of Ditton Brook; Harrison 1577 calls this the Tarbocke water. The loss of the r is due to dissimilation. The first el. might be the Scand. pers. n. Thor or Thori. However, I am more inclined to believe that it is O.E. porn "thorn." An n would easily be lost in such a name as Thornb(r)ok. It is possible the original form is preserved in the pers. n. (Henrico) de Thornebrooke 1232-56 CC 556 (witness to a Garston deed). A Henry de Torbok is occasionally met with in documents in CC. The change of Th- to T- is, of course, due to Norman influence; such influence may have contributed also to the other changes in the name.


Huyton: Hitune DB, Hutona 1189-96 Ch, Hutton 1243 LI, Hutton 1268 LAR, Huyton 1311 IPM, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, 1353 LF, etc., Hyton 1423 LF, de Huyton 1341 IN; now [hain]. Huyton vill. is less than half a mile S. of the upper Alt. I suppose the name is simply O.E. hybp-tūn from hybp "landing-place." In the same way I would explain Hyton, Cumb. (: Hitun DB, Hyton 1270, Sedgefield). Hyton is on Annside Beck. The Alt near Huyton is an insignificant stream. It should be remembered, however, that in the olden days boats were small, and that rivers and streams were often deeper than they are now. It may be objected against this etymology that the vowel ought to have been shortened. But so long as the word hybp remained in use the name Huyton would be associated with it, and this circumstance would tend to preserve the vowel long; or, as it may be put, Huyton would be replaced by Hyton. Cf. Layton p. 156, Myton-super-Swale, Yks. (close to the confluence of the Swale and the Ouse): Myttona 1147-61 YCh 793, Mittona 1170-84 ib. 795; also Myton in Hull [main].

Roby (the S.W. part): Rabil DB, Rabi 1185 LPR, Raby 1238 LF, 1246 LAR, 1311 IPM, 1327 LS, Roby 1304 ChR, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, etc. A Scand. name. Lindkvist p. 188f. derives the first el. from Scand rā "landmark, boundary line," which is no doubt correct. Roby is on the Childwall border. The name is common in Scandinavia (cf. Hellquist, Ortnamen på -by), and is found in Ches., Cumb., Durh. (Raby).

Wolfall Hall (in Huyton; on the Alt): de la Wulfhal 1242 LF, de Wolfalle 1285 LAR. O.E. Wulf pers. n. (or possibly wulf "wolf") and O.E. halh "haugh, water-meadow."

3. Knowsley (W. of St. Helens; v.): Chenulueslei DB, Cnusleu 1189-96 Ch,
KNUSELEA c 1200 Ind. KNUSELEY 1199 L.F. KNUSE LIE 1199-1220 CC, KNOSLE 1243 L.I., KNOWWESLEY, KNUSELEIG, de CNOUSLE de KNOLLESLE 1246 LAR., KNUSELEIGH 1322 L.I., 1332 LS, 1376 LF, etc., KNOSLEYE 1311 IPM. Other variants occur. Harrison explains this aptly as Cenulfes lēah, the first el. being O.E. Cēnwulf or Cynem- wulf. Apparently analogous is Kneeton, Notts. (Chenivetone DB, KNYVETON 1284 FA), containing O.E. Cynegifu (or Cēgifu).

Bury (in Knowsley Park): Biriri a 1220 CC. O.E. burh, probably in the sense "fortified place."


4. Croxteth Park: Croxestad 1257 L.I., Croxthath 1297 L.I., Croxtath 1323 L.I., Crokstat, Crokstath 1372ff. Gaunt R, Crostaffe c 1340 Leland. Croxteth Hall is close to the Alt. Croxteth belongs to the forest of Derby; hence the addition Park. The first el. of the name is Croc pers. n. (from O.N. Krókr or O.Dan. Krök). The second may be O.N. stôð (O.Dan. stath) "landing place," or the plur. of O.N. stadar (O.Dan. stath) "place." The name Krökstadar is found in Iceland. The situation of the place rather tells in favour of the first alternative.

WALTON PAR.

This large parish consists of two separate parts, a larger one N.E. of the Mersey estuary, S., E., and N. of Liverpool, and a smaller one on the sea, N. of Sefton. The latter, as the names of the townships (Ravensmeols, etc.) imply, belongs closely to North Meols, and is better dealt with in connection with that parish. The surface of the S. part is mostly level, except in the S.


This name is apparently identical with Derby in Derbyshire: Deora by 942 Chr. A.; Deoraby 917 Chr. C, Deoroby 959-75 Grueber (coin), 1049 Chr. D. The latter place was originally called Northwortic, the name Derby being given by Danes. The two names Derby must be explained in connection with each other. As regards Derby in Derbyshire, its first el. is usually derived from the word "deer." (Walker, Johnston, Björkman in Nordisk Tidsskrift 1911). Bugge, Vikingerne II. 242, compares the first el. with that of Deorstrate, the name of a road in Northumbria, and that of Derwent river. Especially the latter suggestion is not convincing.

Other possibilities that have suggested themselves to me are the following two. The first el. may be O.N. Ðýr í pers. name. Or it may be O.N. dyrr adj. "splendid" (O.N. Dýrabyr-"the splendid town"). In favour of the latter suggestion we may point to Whitby "the white village" and O.N. Miklagardr "the large town," the old Scand. name of Constantinople. I should be inclined to believe the second alternative to be correct if the O.N. form Dýrabyrj, stated by Bugge, Vikingerne II. 242, to be the O.N. name of Derby, really exists. Deoraby would then be an anglicized form. But in spite of diligent search I have not been able to trace such a form. I therefore come to the conclusion that
after all the old derivation of the first el. from O.Scand. *diür* “deer” is correct, and I am strengthened in this belief by the fact that Swed. names in -by very often have the name of an animal as first el. (Hellquist, Ortnamn på -by p. 16ff.). It is really quite plausible that the Northmen may have given Derby its name because there was a deer-park in the place. As regards West Derby there is the difficulty that the O.N. form, which we expect in this part of England, is generally *djýr*; yet *diür* occurs, though rarely, in Norway. O.N. *Dýrabýr*, however, may have been anglicized to *Deoraby*. It is also possible that (West) Derby is really a Danish name or even that West Derby was simply named after the more famous Derby in Derbyshire.

**Acknowledgment**

**Acker Mill, Acker Hall** : del Accres 1323 LI, 1324 LCR, 1332 LS. O.E. *acras* “acres.”

**Breck** (Breck House, etc.) : del Brek 1323 LI, del Breck 1325 LCR. O.N. *brekka* “hill.”

2. **Toxteth Park** (S. of Liverpool) : Stochestede DB, Tokestath 1212 LI, (haya de) Toxtathe 1221 CLR, Toxstath 1297, 1323 LI, Toxstath 1316 WhC 528, Tokstaffe c 1540 Leland. The township stands on the Mersey. Its name may mean “the landing-place (or the homestead) of Tóki,” from Tóki, a chiefly E. Scand. pers. n., and O.N. *stóð* “landing-place” or *stáðr* from *stádr*, cf. Croxteth p. 114. Toxteth was included in the forest of Derby; hence the name Toxteth Park.

**Smithdown** (old manor) : Esmedone DB, Smededon 1185, 1204 LPR, Smethedon 1202 LPR, 1316 WhC 528, Smethdon 1324 LI. “Smooth or flat down,” O.E. *sméde* “smooth” and *dún* “down.” The ground in Toxteth township rises to c 190 ft. (VHL III. 40).

**Dingle** : de Dingyl 1246 LAR. Cf. dingle “a deep dell or hollow” 1240, etc. (NED). The Dingle lies round a former creek.

3. **Everton** (N.E. of and a suburb of Liverpool) : Evretonam 1094 Ch, Everton 1201ff. LPR, 1251 ChR, etc., Everton 1206ff. LPR, 1332 LS, Ouerton 1226 LI, Earton 1577 Saxton. Sephton derives the first el. from O.E. *ofer* “over,” supplanted by O.N. *efri* “upper.” As Everton lies on a hill in a commanding situation, derivation of the first el. from O.N. *efri* is tempting. Yet I hesitate to accept it because most names in -ton have an English first el., and as Everton is found also in Beds., Notts., Hants. Skeat derives *Ever-* from O.E. *eofor* “boar.” This may be right, but it is not apparent why such a name was given. I am inclined to prefer derivation of *Ever-* from a pers. n., in view of the absence of forms in *E Ever-*, from O.E. *Eofor*?, corresponding to O.H.G. *Ebaro*.

4. **Walton** or **Walton-on-the-Hill** (N.E. of Liverpool, v.) : Waletone DB, Waleton 1094 Ch, 1177ff. LPR, 1221 LI, 1246 LAR, 1252 IPM, etc., Walton 1332 LS, etc., Waliton c 1140 Ch. O.E. Wala-tún “the town of the Welshmen.” The village is on a slight hill.

**Spellow** : de Spellowe 1306 LFR, de Spellawe 1323 LI. I take the first el. to be O.E. *spell* “speech, discourse, announcement,” *spell-blæw* meaning a hill from which announcements were made, or on which moots were held. Cf. *spelstow*,

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1 Forssner, p. 63, considers it uncertain whether *Eofor-* existed as an O.E. name-element. But even if, what seems very improbable, *Eoforhwaet* and *Eoforwulf* in LV should be of L.G. origin, *Eofor* and *Eofora* may well have been used. The name Everingham, in Yks. (Burringham, DB) most probably has a patronymic derived from *Eofor(a) as first el.
rendered by B-T “place where announcements are made?” The place is on fairly high ground.


**Walton Breck**: (cf. *Brecksyle* 1616 Walton R) and **Warbeck** have as second el. O.N. *brekka* “hill,” etc.


7. **Fazakerley** (N. of Walton): *Phasakyrlæ* c 1250 HS XXXV. 143, *de fassacrelege* 1325 LCR, *Fazakerley* 1509 LF. Cf. *de fassacre* 1325 LCR. Fazakerley was originally one of the Walton townfields (VHL III. 28). The first el. of the name seems to be O.E. *fæs* “border, fringe,” though it is true the O.E. word is only used of the hem of a garment.

**Stonebridgley** (Cf. Stone Bridge in the E. of the township): *de Stonbrugelege* 1279 Moore MSS, *de Stonbriglege* 1323 LI, *de Stonboge* 1324 Moore MSS.


**Aynesaragh** is a name often occurring in Moore MSS: *Aynesaragh* 1394, *de Aynesaragh* 1360, 1380. It is apparently identical with *Avanesseragh* 1501 (VHL III. 54), stated to be in Kirkdale. The second el. is *ergh* “a shieling, a pasture” (cf. p. 10). The first appears to be a pers. n., possibly identical or connected with that in Ainsdale.

**Ingoe Lane**: *de Ingewaith* 1332 LS. In VHL III. 54 the pers. n. *de Ingewaith* is mentioned. The first el. of the name is apparently O.N. *Ingi* (or O.E. *Inga*, cf. Ingol Am.). The second can hardly be O.N. *þveit*. It may be O.N. *veidr* “hunting, place for hunting”; cf. p. 20.


1577 Harr. This list will give a fairly adequate idea of the relative frequency of the different forms in early records. Full material will be found in Harrison and Wyld; especially the forms in Lever- are fully enumerated by Wyld and those in Lither- by Harrison.

Liverpool was no doubt the original name of the Pool, a tidal creek, now filled up, into which two streams fell. Of the two types of the name, Liverpol and Litherpol, the former must be made the starting-point for the etymology. The form Lither- is comparatively rare and chiefly found in late records. Occasional Lither- in early records is probably due to influence from Litherland.

It has been suggested that Liver- may be liver "waterflag" or "bulrush," but against this it has been pointed out that the Pool was a saltwater pool, where no flags would grow (Harrison p. 28). Besides, it is extremely doubtful if an O.E. lifer "waterflag" existed; O.E. ēalifer means "liverwort." Livers "the yellow flag" in mod. dial. probably goes back to O.E. lāfer, lēfer.—Wyld suggests as first el. O.E. Lēofhere pers. n. But the usual early form is Liverpol, etc., not Leverpol. It is true O.E. ēō sometimes seems to have become i in Lanc. place-names; cf. Rivington p. 48. But the development has no doubt been from ēō to u [y] (a well-known West Midland change) and to i. We should expect u, o by the side of i, e, if the base had O.E. ēō. Besides, it is curious that of the scores of examples of the name Liverpool not one shows the genitive s to be expected if the first el. was Lēofhere.

I am inclined to believe that Liver- is to be compared with O.E. lifrig (in lifrig blod), M.E. livered "coagulated, clotted," as in pe liuered se Rob. Gl., pe liuerd se C.M. "the Red Sea," liver-sea a 1600 "an imaginary sea in which the water is "livered" or "thick" (NED), G. Lebermeer, the same. In Norway there is a stream-name Levra, going back to Lifra, and probably meaning "stream with thick water" (Rygh, N.E. 145). Liverpol may mean "the pool with the thick water." Or Liver may have been the name of one of the streams that fell into the pool; this name would then have been identical with Norw. Levra.

**SEFTON PAR.**

The parish is situated N. of Walton par. between the Alt and the estuary of the Mersey.

1. Aintree (v.; on the Alt): Aynstre a 1220 CC, 1257f. LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Aintree 1226 LI, de Eyntre 1246 LAR. Lindkvist's suggestion (p. 43) that this is Scand. ein-tré "tree standing alone" seems very plausible.

2. Orrell and Ford (the two portions are separated by Litherland).

Orrell (on the border of Walton): Orchul 1299 Moore MSS, Orell 1347, 1385 ib., Orrell 1547 LF. Orrell stands at the foot of Orrell Hill. The name is apparently identical with Orrell in Wigan. I suppose it means "ore hill," but there does not seem to be any information as regards ore-mining in Orrell. O.E. ēora "bank, margin" would give a fairly good meaning; Orrell is situated on a brook.

Ford (E. of a brook): la Forde 1323 LI, the Forde 1408 Moore MSS, Forde 1547 LF. O.E. ford "ford."

3. Litherland or Down-Litherland (on the Mersey; v.): Liderlant DB, 1114-16 Ch (orig.), Litherlant 1202 LF, Litherland 1212 LI, Litherlond 1332 LS; Dun-
lytherlond 1298 LI, Douanelithlond 1392 LF. O.N. Hlīðarland from hlīð (gen. hlīðar) “slope” and land. The same name is found in Norway (Lindkvist p. 12). Litherland vill. stands at the foot of a small hill, and the ground slopes away gently towards the estuary of the Mersey.

4. Netherton (originally a hamlet of Sefton): Netherton 1576 Moore MSS. The place was perhaps called “the nether town” in contradistinction to Sefton Town, which is c 70ft. above sea-level.

5. Sefton (on the Al): Sextone DB, Sefftun a 1222 CC, Ceftton 1236 CIR, Sefton 1298 LI, 1332 LS, 1375 LF, etc., Sefton 1322 LI. The most probable etymology is O.N. *Seft-tūn, a compound of sef “sedge” and tūn; cf. Rushton Sa. Sextone in DB is a hamlet. The church stands near the Alt. The country along the Alt is low and level, and the meadows were formerly covered with water in winter. Rushes and other waterplants are common in the Alt and the ditches and meadows near Sefton. O.N. sef is in the name of a lake in Martin NLo and in mod. dialects as seave.


7. Thornton (N.E. of Gt. Crosby; v.): Torentun DB, Thornton 1212 LI, a 1250 CC, Thornton 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, 1340 LF, etc., Thornton 1246 LAR, 1232 LI, etc. O.E. por “thorn” and tūn.

8. Great and Little Crosby (townships on the Mersey estuary; old villages. Gt. Crosby is now a town): Crosseby DB, Crossebeyam 1094 Ch, Crossebi 1177, 1200ff. LPR, Crosseby 1212, 1226 LI, etc.; magnam Crossby c 1190 Ch, Crosseby Magna 1332 LS, Great Crossby 1246 LAR, etc.; Little Crosseby 1243 LI, 1322 LI, etc., Crosseby parua 1332 LS. “The cross village”; O.N. Krossābýr. There are six crosses in Little Crosby (VHL III. 85).

9. Ince Blundell (N. of Crosby; v.): Hinne DB, Ines 1212 LI, 1375 LF, etc., Hynis 1243 LI, Ynes 13 cent. WhC 490, Inis 1301 LF, Ins Blundell 1332 LS, Ines Blundell 1357, 1397 LF. See Ince-in-Makerfield p. 103. Ince Blundell to a great extent consists of flat, fen country. Alt Marsh (Altemersh 13 cent. WhC 498) was here. Ince Blundell Hall and village are on slightly higher ground. No doubt this portion would in earlier times have been aptly described as an “island” in the fen country. The manor passed into the possession of the Blundell family c 1200.

Alt Grange (in the N.): grangia de Alte 14 cent. WhC 489; cf. grangiarus de Alte 13 cent. WhC 504. A grange belonging to Whalley Abbey near the Alt.

Scholes (now lost): Scoles 13 cent. WhC 490. O.N. skāli “hut.”

**ALTCAR PAR.**

This small parish contains only Altcar township. It is situated N. of Sefton par. on the N. bank of the Alt. The surface is very low; there is much old mossland.

Altcar, Great and Little (villages): Acrer DB, Altekar 1251 LF, Alker 1577 Saxton. “The carr or marshland beside the Alt”; carr < O.N. kiær. The DB form Acrer is probably corrupt. Lindkvist’s suggestion that the form represents an earlier name, Scand. Akṛar “fields” is not convincing.
HALSALL PAR.

A large inland parish, N.E. of Liverpool.

1. Melling (in the S. part; E. of the Alt; v.): Melling DE, Mellinges 1194 LPR, 1256 LF, Meling, Molling 1202 LPR, Melling 1226 L1, 1246 LAR, 1298 LI, etc., Melling 1332 LS, 1360 LF, etc. Evidently an O.E. patronymic Mellingas. Exactly the same name is found in Lonsdale as the name of a par.; very likely the two Mellings were founded by members of the same family. Mellingas may be a derivative of O.E. Moll (Searle), apparently found also in place-names, as Molland, Dev. (Mollanda DB), Mullacote, Dev. (Mollecote DB, Mollecote 1303 FA), Mollington, Ches. (Molintone DB). Or Melling may be an i-mutated side-form of Malling, Suss. (at Mallingum 838 BCS 421, Mellinges DB, etc.) and Malling, Kent (Meallings, east meallings gemære 942-6 BCS 779), which are probably to be derived from a pers. n. with a stem Moll- or the like.

Cunscough: Cunig(g)escofh a 1190 CC, Conigscogh 1190 CC. "The king's wood," O.N. konungr (earlier no doubt also kumungr) and O.N. skógr "wood."


Thorpe (now lost): Thorpe a 1190 CC. O.N. porp "village, hamlet."

Waddicar (h.): de Wadacre 1246 LAR. Possibly the first el. is O.E. wād "wod"; the vowel might have been shortened in this position. Cf. however Woodacre, Am., which seems to be from O.E. wēod-acer, but appears as Wadacre 1246 LAR. The second el. is O.E. acer "acre."

2. Maghull (N. of Melling; on the right bank of the Alt; v.): Magele DB, Magele a 1190 CC, 1322 LI, Mahale a 1220 CC, de Mahale c 1200 HS XXXII. 185, 1283 LI, de Mahale, de Mahal 1255 LI; Maghal 1219 LAR, 1246 ib., 1312 LI, Mahale 1243 LI, de Maghale, de Magehal 1246 LAR, Maghall 1278 LAR, etc., Maggehal 1328 LI, Magghale 1332 LS, de Magele 1323 LF, Male 1501 CC, 1514 LF. Now [mageul, magal], but the old pronunciation [me*l] is not forgotten.

The second el. of the name is obviously O.E. halh "haugh." This word here refers to the very gently sloping fields ḫ of the old mossland along the Alt. The first el. is not easy to explain. It appears to have had the form Magh-[ma3] in the earliest M.E.; later [3] became [x] perhaps owing to assimilation with the h of the second el., and disappeared. Many names in -halh have a pers. n. as first el., and it is reasonable to suppose that also that of Maghull is one. But there is no (O.E. or O.N.) pers. n. that fits the name. O.E. mago "son," only used in poetry, might be thought of (cf. Childwall), but there are to my knowledge no other place-names in which the word is used. But O.E. *Mago corresponding to O.H.G. Mago may well have existed. Another possibility is that the first el. of Maghull, like that of Mayfield, Suss. (Magefeud 1260, Magfeud 1274, Magefeld 1316, 1343; Roberts), is the Celtic *magos "plain" (Brit. *mag, whence Welsh ma "place," Ir. magh "plain, field," etc.). This derivation seems unexceptionable from the point of view of form and meaning.
Brit. *mag. i.e., [maʒ], would not have lost its final consonant at the time when Lancashire was conquered by the Angians; cf. Douglas *infra*. Maghull occupies a plateau rising slightly over the low-lying land E. and W. This plateau is mostly level and would be aptly described as a plain. If the etymology suggested is correct, we must assume that the Brit. name of it was, or contained, the word *mag* "plain."


**Barton** (originally a separate manor; v.): *Bartune* DB, *Barton* c 1225 CC, 1246 LAR, etc., *de Barton* 1332 LS; *Burton* 1266 LAR. O.E. *beretūn* "barton"; cf. p. 38.

**Harker** (cf. Harker’s Bridge in Halsall, near the Downholland boundary): *Harekar* c 1225 CC. Second el. *carr, O.N. *karr*; first el. perhaps O.E. *hara* "hare" or *hār* "grey" or the corresponding O.N. word. Cf. Norw. Harekjær NG VIII, supposed to have as first el. the word for "hare."


5. **Halsall** (midway between Ormskirk and Southport; v.): *Heleshale, Herleshala* DB, *Haleshale* 12 cent. HS XXXII, *Halsale* 1212, 1243 LI, a 1220 CC, 1284 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *de Haleshal* 1246 LAR, *Haleshal* 1280 LF, *Halsall* 1346 FA. The early forms point to a first el. with short *l*, and the DB forms to O.E. *ō (or ea), i.e., O.E. *Hales-. We may compare Halesworth, Suff. ( : *Healeswurda, Halesuordba* DB), for which Skeat suggests O.E. *Hål* or *Hal* pers. n. as first el. Possibly O.E. *hale* "hero" was used as a pers. n. The second el. is O.E. *hālō* "haugh," here referring to the flat fields on the outskirts of the Old Halsall Moss.


**Shirwalacres, S. Mere** (gave name to a family): *Sir Walacres M(er)e* 1235-49 HS XXXII. 186, *Shirwallacres* 1476 SC, *de Shirwalacres* 1323 LI, 1335 LF. Obviously Shirwall means "the clear well," O.E. *scīr* and *wéllo* "well." "The acres by Shirwall, or the clear well." Perhaps Shirwall is preserved in the name Shirdley Hill.
AUGHTON PAR.

S.W. of Ormskirk.

Aughton (township, v.): Achetun DB, Actun a 1190 CC, Actun a 1250 CC, Acton 1235 LF, Achton 1252 IPM, Aghton 1282, etc., LF, 1332 LS, etc., Aughton 1499 LF, etc. O.E. æc-tūn, i.e., æc “oak” and tun.

Uplitherland (old manor): Litherland DB, Liderlanda 1177 LPR, Litherland (vill.) 1212 Li, Lytherland 1322 LF, Lythyrland 1384 LF; Vplitherland a 1194 Ch, Uplitherland 1207 ChR, Uplitherland 1292 PW. Up- was added for distinction from Downlitherland. O.N. Halidarland “land on the slope.” There is a hilly ridge in the W. part of the township; Litherland is situated on its N.W. slope.

Mickering Farm: Mykeringe 1581 DL. Looks like O.N. mykjar-eng “manured meadow”; O.N. mykr “manure” and eng “meadow.”

Moor Hall: Morehall 1429 Tl. Cf. le Mor a 1250 CC, de la More 1282 LF. Named from a moor, not from a family.

ORMSKIRK PAR.

A large inland par., W. of the river Douglas. To the N. was formerly Martin Mere.

1. Ormskirk (town): Ormeschirche a 1196 Ch, 1286 ChR, (Orm de) Ormeskierk 1203 LPR, Ormiskyrke 1286 Ind, Ormeschurcche c 1300 SC, Ormeschurch 1317 LC 443. “Orm’s church” (O.N. Ormr pers. n. and O.N. kirkia “church”). There is in early sources some vacillation between the native form church and the Scand. kirk. Ormskirk seems to have been a rectory manor (VHL III. 262).

2. Bickerstaffe (S.E. of Ormskirk): Bikerstad a 1190 CC, Bikerstath 1226 LI, 1246 LAR, 1268-1320 CC, de Bikerstat 1246 LAR, Bykerstat 1285 LAR, Bykerstath 1299 LI, 1331 LF, etc., Bykirstath 1322 LI, Bykarstath 1332 LS; Bikerstaff 1267 LAR; Bekerstat 1261 LAB, Bijkirstach 1280 HS XL 157, Bickerstath 1577 Saxton; occasional forms are: Birkestad, Birkerstat, de Birkestathe 1246 LAR, Birkyrstath 1418 LF. It seems we must start from an early M.E. form Bikerstath. The situation of the place gives no indication as to the etymology of the name. The church stands on a slight ridge; there is no stream of importance, but there are two small brooks, one called Bickerstaffe Brook.

The immense preponderance of forms in -i- in early sources renders derivation of the first el. of the name from O.N. bekkiar, the gen. of bekkr “brook,” impossible. Moreover, Biker- occurs in various other names, some of which cannot contain bekkiar: Bickershaw, Wigan (p. 102); Bickerton, Yks. (on a slope): Bicretone DB, Bykerton 1226, etc. (Moorman); Bickerton, Nhb. (on a brook): Bykerton 1245 (Mawer); Bickerton, Ches. (on the slope of a hill of 695ft.): Bicretone DB; Bickerton, Heref.: Bicretune DB; Bycardyke, Notts.: Bikeresdoc 1189, Bikerisdiek 1278 (Mutschmann); Bixton, Norf.: Bicherstuna DB. But Bicker, Linc. (Bichere DB), Byker, Nhb. (Byker 1249 PR) very likely contain O.N. kiarr “marsh.” Bicker is near Bicker Fen. Byker adjoins Walker, which is near Wallsend and clearly has the word wall as first el.; both are on the low shore of the Tyne (cf. on these names Mawer). I think Bicker
and Byker go back to O.Scand. *by-kiarr* "village-marsh." Or *by-* may mean "by"; cf. Bywater "by the water" and the like. These two names are probably to be disregarded in trying to account for *Bicker-* in Bickerstaffe, etc.

The common occurrence of the element tells us that *Bikre-, Biker-* must represent some common noun or pers. name, probably of Engl. origin. It can hardly be O.N. *bikarr* "bowl," as no topographical use of this word is known, and a meaning "hollow" hardly suits all the names. Nor can *Biker-* well be the O.E. word corresponding to O.Sax. *bikar* "bee-hive" from which O.E. *bécere* "apiarius" is derived.

I believe *Bikre, Biker* is a pers. name, perhaps related to O.E. *Bico(c)a*. This name might belong to O.N. *bikka* "to rock, to fall," etc.), L.G. *bikken*, O.H.G. *bicchan* "to prod, to thrust." To this group, I suppose, belong M.E. *biker* "skirmish," *bikeren* "to skirmish," which show the *r* of *Bier-. O.E. *Bico(c)ra* might be derived from an adj. ; cf. e.g. O.E. *slidor*, *slipor*, *swifor*, *stamor*, M.E. *fiker*, etc. But it may also be O.E. *Bico(c)ra* is an extension of *Bica*. There are some apparently analogous cases. Thus O.E. has *Tepra* by the side of *Teppa-. Hothersall in Bl. seems to have as first el. a side-form with *r-* suffix of O.E. *Huda-. Certain place-names in -ing may be explained in a similar way : Beckering, Linc. (cf. O.E. *Béac, Becca*), Pickering, Yks. (cf. O.E. *Piccinga wurth*), Peppering, earlier *Piperinges* (cf. O.E. *Pippa*). A number of rather doubtful German names with *r-* suffix are given by Förstemann 1199. Very likely the names adduced are not all to be judged of in the same way ; some may e.g. be O.E. names in -here.†

The second el. may be O.N. *stóð* "landing-place" or *stádir* "homestead.

**Barrow Nook** : de(l) *Bárwe* 1332, 1366 LS. O.E. *bearo* "grove.

**Mossock** (or Moss Oak) Hall : *de Mosok* 1366 LS, 1418 LF. Probably "mossy oak."

3. **Skelmersdale** (S.E. of Ormskirk; v.) : *Schelmeresdele* DB, *Skelmersdale, Skelmaresden, Skelmarisden* 1202 LF, *Skelmardal* 1246 LAR, *Skelmarisdale* 1278 LAR, 1346 LF, *Skelmersdale* 1300 LF, *Skelmersdale* 1332 LS. The first el. of the name is obviously a pers. n. identical with that of *Skelmergh*, Wmr : *Skelmers(h)ergh* 1278, etc. (Sedgefield), and of Skelmanthorpe, Yks. : *Skelmertorp* DB. Björkman derives it from O.N. *Skialdmarr = O.Dan. Skielmerus, Skelerus.* Second el. O.N. *dálr* "valley," perhaps referring to the valley of the Tawd (called *Skelmere* by Harrison, 1577).


**Alton** (name now lost) : *Altona* c 1190 Ch, *Altunegate* c 1225 CC, *de Olton* 1366 LS. "The old town." New Park seems to have taken its place.

**Blythe Hall** : *De Blythe* 1366 LS, 1398 SC, *de Blyth* 1401 ib. Blythe Hall stands near Ellerbeck. Blythe is a well-known river-name, no doubt a derivative of the adj. O.E. *blīðe* "mild," etc. One in Northampton is mentioned in O.E. charters : *blīðe, on blīðan* 944 BCS 792 (orig.), etc. Blyth is a river in Nhb. I suppose Eller Beck was formerly called Blithe and that it gave name to the place.
Hoscar Moss: de Horsecarr 1340 CC, de Horscar 1366 LS. The name is self-explaining: “horse-carr.”

Newburgh (v. near the Douglas): Newburgh (vil.) 1431 Moore MSS, Newburgh 1529 LF, Newborow (vil.) c 1540 Leland. The place was once a borough (VHL iii. 256). “The new borough.”

Scarth Hill (h.): Scarth c 1190 Ch. The hamlet is situated on an eminence (254ft. above sea-level) S.E. of Ormskirk. Scarth in the above quotation denotes a natural feature. The name is O.N. *skarð “notch, cleft, mountain pass.” Cf. the Scarth Whc 334, an “intersection” in Crow Hill, Bl.

Tawdbridge, formerly Taldeford (on the Tawd): de Taneldeford, de Taneletford 1246 LAR, de Taldeford 1282 LI, 1285 LAR, 1332 LS, 1341 IN. The original name apparently means “the old ford.” The 1246 forms, though partly corrupt, seem to go back to O.E. *æt pon aldan forda. Taldeford is perhaps from a reduced form of this: *æt aldeford, which was wrongly divided as at Taldeford. The river-name Tawd is an obvious back-formation, and Tawdbridge is a new name formed with the river-name. There is a Tawd Bridge on the Tawd also in Upholland.

Westhead (h.): Westhefd c 1190 Ch, Le Westheued, del Westheued 1366 LS. Westhead stands at the foot of a ridge, on the top of which is Scarth Hill. On O.E. hæafod “ridge,” see p. 12.

Wiriples Moss (or Warper’s Moss): Wiriplesmos c 1190 Ch. Cf. Wirpeślid in Tatham, Lo. (1205-25 CC 930), Werplesburn, Suss. HR, and Worpleson, Surr. (Werplesdon 1312 AP 313), Warpsgrove, Oxf. (Werplesgrave DB). The first el. is apparently a derivative of O.E. weorpan “to throw,” either an agent-noun *wirpel, *weorpel, meaning e.g. “a moldwarp,” perhaps used as a pers. n. (Alexander), or rather a derivative with -isa meaning “something thrown”; cf. Norw. værsl “a cairn.” O.E. *werpels may be the source of dial. wapple “a bridle way” (also worpel, worple), the original meaning being perhaps “road formed by stones thrown down” (e.g., over a marsh), “stepping-stones.” This might be the meaning here.

Wolmoor (now lost): Wolvemor 1202 LF, de Wluemor c 1240 CC, de Wułwemor (Wulwemore, Wulmore) 1246 LAR. O.E. wulfamôr, or Wułfan môr, “the moor of the wolves,” or “the moor of Wułfa.”

5. Burscough (N.W. of Ormskirk; v., formerly the site of a priory): burgechou c 1190 Ch, Burscogh c 1190 Ch, 1327 LS, etc., Burseascoh 1212 LI, Burchissoch o 1225 CC, Burscough c 1270 LPD II. 198, 205, Burscho 1286 ChR; Birsco, Birscow 1246 LAR, Burskou, de Birskou 1276 ib., Birskeouk 1278 LAR. The name means “the wood belonging to Burh,” or “the wood by the (old) burh.” The second el. is O.N. skógr “wood.” The name tells us that there was formerly a burh in Burscough. Other forms of the name are: Burgastud c 1190 Ch, Burchestestude a 1216 LPD II. 197, Bourchestude, Burgestude a 1264 ib. 199, 202. These represent another type, viz., O.E. burh-styde “the site of the burh.”

Greetby (cf. Greetby Hill): Gritebi c 1190 Ch, de Greetebi 1246 LAR, Greetby a 1264 LPD II. 205, de Grettiby 1398 SC. Perhaps the first el. is the O.N. pers. n. Grettir; if so, the earliest form is miswritten. But the modern form with ee is curious, and perhaps O.N. griót “stone(s)” is rather to be assumed as the first-el.: O.N. Griótby or Griótaby.
Martin or Martin (old manor): Merretun DB, Merton a 1190 Ch, a 1264 LPD II. 199, Martin 1235 LF. O.E. meretūn “the tank by the mere.” Martin was situated at the now drained lake of Martin Mere (Merton Mere 1396 SC, Martin Mere 1546 LF, Merton meere 1577 Harr.).

Tarlescough (h.): Tharlescough c 1190 Ch, Terlesco wood 1577 Saxton. “The wood (O.N. skógr) of Paraldr.” Paraldr is a side-form of paraldr, an O.N. name (cf—Björkman). The same form is found in Tarlton, Leyl. ; cf. Tharoldstube (in Scarisbrick) 1398 SC, Thoraldestub 1303 SC (orig.).

6. Scarisbrick (S.E. of Southport, v.): Scharisbrec c 1200 SC, Scaresbrek c 1240 HS XXXV. 142, 1326 LF, etc., de Skaresbrek 1238 LF, Scarisbrek 13 cent. HS XXXII. 188, de Scarisbrec (Scharesbek) 1246 LAR, Scaresbreck c 1270 SC, Skresbrek 1322 LI, 1332 LS; now [skæ-zbrik]. The township is on the whole low and flat, but the part where Scarisbrick Hall is situated rises to about 50ft. above sea-level, the ground sloping away to the W. The village is on the slope. The second el. of the name is obviously O.N. brekka “slope.” The first el., as shown by the regular early a, cannot be O.N. sker. It is no doubt a pers. n. of Scand. origin: cf. O. Dan. Skar in Særstorpe, Skarsholm—(Nielsen).

Harleton or Hurlston (old manor): Hirletoon DB, vrltonam c 1190 Ch, Hurltuna 1190 CC, Hurlton 1200-46 CC, c 1286 SC (orig.), Hurleton 1246 LAR, 1298 LI, 1326 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Hurilton c 1280 SC (orig.). Occasional are Hurdilton, Hurlston 1468 SC, Hirdylton 1451 CC. It is difficult to give a definite etymology, as the early forms may go back to various O.E. bases. I am inclined to believe that the first el. is an O.E. pers. n. *Hearla, a derivative of Heor- in Heorwulf, etc. O.E. eo appears in Lanc. names sometimes as M.E. u, i; cf. Rivington, Sa. (p. 48). The different forms of the name are well accounted for by such a base.

Aspinwall or Asmall: de Aspenewell 1246 LAR, Aspinwalle c 1280 SC, de Aspenwall 1332 LS. Now [asmel]. O.E. æspen adj. “aspen” and wælla “well, brook.”

Bescar (h.): Bircgar 1331, 1359 SC, Bircheare 1546 LF. O.E. birce “birch” and carr from O.N. kiarr.

Drummersdale: Drombulsdale 1546 LF. Björkman, E.St. 44, 253, suggests as first el. a Scand. nickname corresponding to Swed. drummel “lout” and compares e.g. O.N. drumbr “a log,” drumbi a nickname, and Icel. Drymbisruð. This seems to be right.

Gorsuch: Gosfordeisich c 1200 SC (orig.), Gosefordeisichte c 1280 SC (orig.), de Gosefordeisiche 1283 LI, de Gosefordsik 1332 LS, Gorsiche 1519 DL. Numerous other examples are found in SC. The second el. is O.E. sic “water-course.” Gosford means “goose-ford”; cf. de Gosford 1367 Moore MSS.

 Snape (h.): Snape 1200-46 CC, c 1270 SC (orig.), 1341 IN, 1546 LF. Cf. the Withinesnape (in Harleton) c 1280 SC (orig.). M.E. snake “pasture” (see p. 17).

Whams Farm (N. of Scarisbrick): ?Quassom c 1240, Quassam c 1300, Whassum 1338, 1386, Whassomheyes 1492 SC. This must have been close to Martin Mere; Mere Hall (cf. del Mere 1361 SC) is close by. Whassum recalls O.Swed. hwas (Swed. vass) “reed.” At “the reeds” seems a suitable name.

Wyke House: Wik c 1180 SC, Wyk 1276 LAR, the Wyke 1440, Longe Wik 1577 SC, the Wyke, Long Wyke, the High Wyke 1503 LP I. 21, 23. O.N. vik “bay.” The place was no doubt named from a bay in Martin Mere.
FORMBY CHAPELRY (of Walton)

This detached portion of Walton, situated S. of Southport, must have been formerly connected with the adjoining par. of North Meols. Formby and North Meols are situated along the sea, and much of the ground consists of sandhills. **Formby** (v.) : Formby church DB, Formebeia 1177 LPR, Fornebii 1203ff. LPR, Formby 1252 IPM, 1298 LI, etc., **fornby** 1323 LS, Formby 1609 LF. This may be "the byr of Forni," as suggested by Wyld and assumed by Björkman (Forni is a known O.N. name), or "the old byr" from O.N. forn "old" (Harrison). In favour of the latter alternative it may be pointed out that *Fornaby* "the old byr" is a common Swed. name (Hellquist, Ortnamn på -by p. 51). An old village may have been so named in contradistinction to new settlements made by Scand. immigrants.

**Ravensmeols** (old manor, now partly washed away by the sea): Mele DB, Molas 1094 Ch, Ravenesmeles 1190-4 Ch, 1246 LAR, etc., -mueles 1232 LAR, -moles 1246 LAR, -moesles 1284 ChR, Rauenesmelis c 1200 CC, -mules 1269 LAR, Ravensmel 1322 LS, Ravenmeles 1468 LF; now [revn mi'lz]. First el. O.N. *Hrafn* pers. n.; second el. O.N. *melr* "sandbank, sandhill." The forms -muelles, -moles, -moeles are Norman spellings, probably pointing to *e*, which is due to compensation-length, an *h* having disappeared after *l* (cf. Noreen, Aisl. Gr. § 119, 2).

**Ainsdale** (old manor, v.): Einulesdel DB, Ainulesdale c 1190 Ch, Aynuliuedale 1200 CC, Aymulvedale 1295 ChR, de Haynuldisdal (Aynulesden) 1246 LAR, Aynolisdale 1451 CC. The first el. of the name may be O.E. *Ægenwulf* (Searle) or a hypothetical O.N. Einulf. The former is the opinion of Björkman, the latter that of Wyld. I am inclined to decide in favour of the latter alternative, because the names of this district are preponderantly Scandinavian, O.N. *Einulf* is not found, but the analogous O.N. Einbiørn is, and Enbiørn is a common O.Swed. name.

NORTH MEOLS PAR.

The district of Southport, on the sea.

1. **Birkdale** (S. of Southport) : Birkedale c 1200 CC, 1305 Lacy C, etc., Berkdale 1311 IPM; Birkedene c 1200 CC. O.N. *birki* "birch-copse" and *dalr* "dale." Birkdale was formerly a part of Argarmeles.

**Argarmeles** : Erengarmeles DB, Argarmelis 1243 LI, Agermoles 1246 LAR, Argarmel 1249 IPM, Argarmeles 1254 IPM, Argarmeles 1255 IPM, Arknell 1330 LI, Arkarmeris in Byckedale 16 cent. DL. The name has disappeared; most of Argarmeles has been washed away by the sea. In 1503 John Shirlok, aged 80 years, deposed that he never knew of any place called Argarmeles, but that he had heard that there once were such lands, which had been drowned in the sea. The place of them was unknown to him (LP I. 24).

2. **North Meols** : Otegrimele, Otringemele DB; Molea a 1149 Ch, Moeles 1153-60 Ch (orig.), de Molis 1229 LAR, Molis 1242 LI, Mels 1311 IPM; Normalas c 1190 Ch, Nor Muelis 1229 LAR, Normalis 1243 LI, Nortmelis 1246 LAR, North Meles 1312 LI, Northmeles 1229 LAR, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, etc. The original
name was *Meles* or a compound with a pers. n. as first el. This pers. n. is corrupt in the only extant forms. O.N. *Oddgrímr* may have existed, though it is not evidenced. But probably it is O.N. *Audgrimr*, often found in England as *Oudgrim, Odgrim*, etc. (Björkman, Personennamen). Later the old name was supplanted by North Meols.


**LEYLAND HUNDRED**


Leyland hundred, the smallest in Lancashire, occupies the district S. of the mouth of the Ribble. The surface is level and low in the W., but rises in the E., where an altitude of c 1,200ft. is reached at Great Hill (: Grethull LPR 375).

**Names of Rivers**

*Douglas* (joins the Ribble near its estuary): *Duglis* a 1220, *Dugeles* a 1232, *Duggles* a 1233 CC, 14 cent. Higden, *Dugles* a 1235 CC, *Duggils, Dugles*, pron. *Duggels* c 1540 Leland, *the Duglesse* 1577 Harr., *Dowlies* 1577 Saxton. Hogan gives from an Ir. source the form *Dubh glaisi* (g. sg.). The name is British and means “the black stream”; it is a compound of *dubo-* “black” (Welsh *du*, etc.), and a word for “stream” corresponding to Welsh *glais*, Ir. *gLais* “stream.” The name is common in Wales and Ireland: *Douglas, Irel.; Dulas, Wales* (Angles., Glam., Montg., etc.). Early Welsh forms are *dubleis* LL 198, *dibleis* ib. 191 (Monm.), *dubleis, dugleis* ib. 78 (Carn.).

*Asland* (the name of the lower course of the Douglas): *Asklone* a 1217 CC, *Ascalon* 1223 LF, *Askelon, Eskelon* a 1250 CC, *Asteland* 1550 DL, *Astland* c 1555 DL, *Oslande* 1590 Burghley. The name is a compound of O.N. *askr* “ash” (and *eski* “ash-trees”) and *lon(e)*, identical with Sc. dial. *lane* “the hollow course of a large rivulet in meadow-land; a brook whose movement is scarcely perceptible; the smooth, slowly moving part of a river.” This *lane* is supposed in NED to be perhaps a different word from *lane* “road”; but cf. e.g. *Swed. pad* “road, path; also river valley” NoB I. 119ff. The same word is perhaps found in (quam de) *Hangelan, Hangelon* c 1200 CC (Ainsdale). The river *Asland* is a “lane” in the sense given above.

*Perburn* (earlier name of Buckow Brook, a trib. of the Douglas): *Perburne*
c 1200 CC, *Perburn(e)* c 1250 LD II. 200. *Per-* is probably O.E. *peru* “pear,” in M.E. also “pear-tree.”

**Yarrow** (a trib. of the Douglas): Yarwe c 1190 CC, Earwe 1203 LF, Yarewe 1246 LAR, Yarugh 1276 IM, Yaro c 1540 Leland, the Yarowe 1577 Harr. The Yarrow is a fairly important river, whose name may with probability be looked upon as British. An O.E. *Gearwe* or the like we may derive from Celt. *garwo-* “rough” (Welsh garw, Ir. garbh, etc.; cf. Garw, Glam.). The upper part of the river seems to be rapid. With an O.E. *Earwe* we may compare the Gaul. river name *Aroa* (Stokes 19) and Arrow, the name of a place and river in Warw. (: *Arne* for *Arve* 710 BCS 127, *Arve* DB). Cf. Yarrow, Sc.

**Lostock** (a trib. of the Yarrow): Lostoc c 1200 CC, Lostok 13 cent. WhC 860ff. Cf. Lostock in Salford, p. 39. Lostock can hardly be an old river-name. I suppose a place so called was once situated on the river, which came to be called Lostock Water or the like and finally Lostock. Lostock Hall in Walton-le-Dale may be the place, but the name is apparently not evidenced until the 14th cent. (VHL VI. 295).

**WymoI Brook** (a trib. of the Lostock): (aqua de) Wimoth c 1215 CC, (Molendinum de) Wimode c 1225 CC, (aqua de) Wimode c 1250 CC, Wymote (r.) 1547 LP III. 16. This name possibly contains O.E. *mōpa* “mouth of a river” and must then originally have denoted the confluence of the brook with the Lostock. If we may assume such a small brook to have a Brit. name, I suggest that *Wi-* is identical with the obviously Celtic river-name Wye in Bucks, Kent, Heref.

**Sid Brook** (joins the Yarrow from the S., near Croston): Suthebroc c 1190, c 1200 CC. “The southern brook.” The sound development is curious.

**Chor** (brook in Chorley). A back-formation from Chorley. Harrison 1577 calls it Ceorle.

**Warth Brook or Warthe Dean** (between Heapey and Anglezark): Worddeyn LPR 375. O.E. *worh* “enclosure,” etc., and *denu* “valley.”

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**STANDISH PAR.**

A district N.W. of Wigan and the Douglas. It is on the slopes of Harrock Hill, the elevation being 382ft. at Standish.


**Standish** (v.): Stanesdis 1178 LPR, Stanidis c 1190 Ch, Stanedis 1207 LPR, 1212 BF, Stanedich 1213 LPR, de Stanediss 1245 LAR, Stanediss (de Stanedis, Stanidiss, Stonidis) 1246 LAR, Stanedisch 1253 LAR, Stanedisse 1276 LAR, Staunedesse, Stanedis 1276 IM; Standische 1288 IPM, Standiash 1304 LF, 1327, 1332 LS, Standish 1330 LF, Standich c 1540 Leland. O.E. *stān* “stone” and *edisc* “park or enclosed pasture for cattle” (Wyld). Cf. Standish, Glo. (Stanedis 872 BCS 535, late copy), Farndish, Beds. (fearn edisc 824 BCS 378; incorrectly explained by Skeat), Cavendish, Brundish, Suff., which show the same loss of the first vowel of *edisc* as Standish.

**Langtree** (old manor): Longetre c 1190 Ch, c 1200 CC, 1330 LF, Langetre 1206 LF, c 1250 LD II. 201, 1288 IPM, 1292 PW; Langitre 1258 LAR, 1311 IPM, Longetr’ 1332 LS. “The long (high) tree” (O.E. *lang* and *tréo*). Cf. Langtree (hundred), Glo.
Birley Wood: de Birleg 1332 LS. O.E. bīre “byre” and lēah.

2. Shevington (W. of Standish; h.): Shevington c 1225 CC, Sewinton 1243 LI, Schevinton 1288 IPM, Shevynton 1322 LI, 1324 LCR, 1328 LF, etc., Shevington 1332 LS; Shevington 1312 LI, 1372 Gaunt R, 1420 LF, Scyvington 1324 LI, Shevington 1327 LS.

The same first el. is found in Schevynlegh 1329, and Shevynhulde 1362 in Charters and Deeds relative to the Standish family (ed. J. P. Earwaker). Both names denote places in or on the border of Shevington. They tell us that the first el. of Shevington cannot be a word with the suffix -ing and also render it extremely improbable that Shevin- is the gen. of the (somewhat doubtful) O.E. pers. n. Scēafæ. Preservation of the n in all three names would be highly remarkable. The name Shevynhull, which probably designates the hill on the slope of which Shevington village stands (Shevington Moor), perhaps suggests that Shevin is an old hill-name, but a definite etymology of such a name cannot be given without more illustrative material. Somewhat similar names are Shavington, Shr. (Shevynitone DB) and Shavington, Ches. These places cannot have been named from hills.†

Crook (h.): del Crok 1324 LCR. The hamlet stands at a bend of the Douglas. The name is M.E. crōk, probably from O.N. krōkr “bend, hook.”

Gathurst (on the Douglas): Gatehurst a 1547 DL. First el. perhaps O.E. geat “gate.”

3. Worthington (S. of Chorley, on the Douglas): Wrhinton c 1225 CC, de Worthington 1243 LI, de Wyrhinton (Worthington, Worhinton) 1246 LAR, de Wurthyncton 1276 LAR, Wrhinton”, de Wrhinton 1276 IM, Worthington 1292 PW, 1318 LF, 1327 LS, etc., Worthington 1320 LF, 1332 LS. There is a Worthington also in Leic.: Wrhinton 1276 HR. Worthington may very well contain O.E. wördign (=wordig) “enclosure,” etc., or O.E. wyrding “cultivated field”? (B-T.). On the other hand, the names Worston and Worsthorne in Bl. very likely contain an O.E. pers. n., of which Worthing- may represent a patronymic. Cf. p. 78.


5. Anderton (S.E. of Chorley): Anderton 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1327 LS, etc., de Anderton 1282 LI, Anderton 1332 LS. Anderton stands on the Douglas, called here Anderton water by Leland (c 1540). The name is no doubt identical with Anderton in Ches. (Anderton 1303-4 RS 59). I suppose the name has as first el. O.E. Banrēd pers. n. Between n and r a d would develop at an early date, and the long diphthong would be shortened. Andersfield, Som. (Andredesfeld 1187 PR) seems to contain the same first el.

Roscoe Low (hill 525ft.): (rivulum de) Rascahæ a 1190 CC, ? de Rasoc, de Rachecok 1246 LAR. Roscoe seems to go back to an O.N. rā-skōgr meaning either “roe wood” or possibly “boundary wood.” Rascahæ is apparently an anglicized form.
6. Heath Charnock (on both sides of the Yarrow, N. of Adlington and Anderton): Chernoc a 1190 CC, Hethchernoke 1270 LAR, Hethchernok 1288 IPM, Hethchernocke 1322 LI, Hethchernok 1327 LS, 1353 LF, Hath Chernok 1332 LS; Hegchernot 1341 IN; Estcherinok 1278 LAR. The township is also called Charnock Gogard (Chernock Gogard 1284 LAR) from a family of the name. The surface reaches 650ft. above sea-level; presumably the ground was partly heath.

The name is identical (minus the distinctive addition) with Charnock Richard. Charnock Richard and Heath Charnock, both on the Yarrow, are separated by Duxbury township. Either we must assume that Charnock was once a larger district, which included also Duxbury, or that Charnock is an old name of the river Yarrow, which was applied to two places situated on the river. The river may have had different names in different parts of its course. Thus Ock in Berks., seems also to have had the name (O.E.) Cern (cf. Skeat, Place-names of Berks., s.v. Charney). I have no doubt the name is Celtic. If Charnock is an old river-name, we may compare Cernio, the name of an affluent to the river Carno (Montgomerysh., Wales). If it is a derivative of a river-name, this may have been identical with the O.E. Cern just mentioned; and the suffix is the well-known Celtic ending -äko (W. -og, etc.).

Limbrick (h., on an elevation). Perhaps O.N. lind-brekka “lime-tree slope.”

Street: del Strate 1284 LAR, 1323 LCR, 1332 LS, de Strata 1270 LAR. The place was probably named from a Roman road (O.E. strēt, strēt), or some other ancient road.

7. Duxbury (S. of Chorley, traversed by the Yarrow): Deukesbiri 1202 LF, Dukesbiri 1227 LF, Dobesbiri 1246 LAR, Dokesbiri 1288 IPM, Dokesbury 1321 LF, 1237 LS, etc., Dokesbur’ 1332 LS, Duxbury 1506 LF. I suppose the first el. is a pers. n. identical with that of Duxford, Cambr. (Dochesuorde DB, Dukes-worth 1286 FA); Skeat suggests an O.E. *Duc.

Burgh (on the N. bank of the Yarrow): de le Burg’ 1276 IM, de Burgh 1288 LI, del Burgh 1332 LS, Burghe 1577 Harr. I suppose there was once a burh in the place, which would have been very suitable for the purpose. Possibly this burh also gave name to Duxbury; Duxbury Hall, however, is on the other bank of the river.

8. Coppull (S. of the Yarrow, S.W. of Chorley): Cophill 1218 LAR, de Cophull 1243, 1254 LI, 1246 LAR, Coppel 1276 LAR, Cophull 1322 LF, etc., Coppull 1386 LF, etc.; Coppehull 1332 LS. Cop means “top” (especially of a hill), “heap, mound, tumulus” (NED); in dialects also “hill, peak.” The name presumably means “peaked hill.” The hill which gave the place its name is probably Coppull Hill (300ft.) S. of Coppull Hall.

Blainscough: de Bleynescowe 1281 VHL VI. 227, Blaynscow 1538 LP II. 95. The forms are too late to allow of a definite etymology. O.N. Blásaingr pers. n. may be the first el. The second is O.N. skögr “wood.”

Chisnall Hall: Chisnallhi a 1220 CC, de Chysenhale 1285 LAR, de Chisenhall 1324 AP, de Chisenhale 1332, 1342 LF. I think Wyld correctly identifies the first el. with an adj. cisen from cis “gravel” (cf. Chesham, p. 61). The second is O.E. hath “haugh.” Chisnall Hall stands near a brook on level ground.

9. Welch Whittle (S.W. of Chorley): Withull 1221 LF, Quittul c 1210 CC, Walsewythull 1243 L, Walschewythull 1288 IPM, Whalshequithull 1324 LI, Whithull
LEYLAND HUNDRED

Waleys 1332 LS. The distinguishing addition is the family name Waleys (Walsh), literally "Welsh." Whittle is "white hill." There are several heights in the township, one of which has been called "the white hill."


ECCLESTON PAR.

A district W. of Chorley and Standish, bounded on the S. by the Douglas.

1. Parbold (on the Douglas; v.): Iperbolt 1195 LF, Perebolt 1202 LF, Perbold 1212 LI, a 1233 CC, Perebolt 1202-30 LPD II. 202, Parbold 1243 LI, etc., de Perbold 1246 LAR, Perbold 1332 LS, etc. The variation in the early forms is remarkable, yet I suppose the name is simply a compound of O.E. peru "pear" (or rather "pear-tree") and bold "homestead," etc.; cf. Appleton, Plumpton, Plumstead, and the like. Iperbolt must be corrupt. The form -bold may partly be due to change of o to a in a weakly stressed syllable, partly to inverted spelling, the change of a to o being common in Lancashire before l. The early a in the first syllable is possibly due to Norman influence.

2. Wrightington (W. of Standish): Wristington 1195 LF, Wrichtington 1202 LF, Writington 1212 LI, Urittington 1246 LAR, Wrytinton 1256 LF, Wrightington 1314 LF, etc., Wrightington 1327, 1332 LS. This is probably O.E. Wyrtena tūn "the town of the wrights" (Wyl); cf. para wyrtena land 944 BCS 795 (Wilts.) and Smeaton, Yks., apparently "the smiths' town."


Fairhurst: Fāyhrurst 1539 CC. Self-explaining.

Harrock Hall, Harrock Hill: Harakiskar c 1260 CC, Harrock-hyll 1501 CC, Harrock-hill 1539 CC. O.E. hār "hoary" and ac "oak." Harrock Hill, on which is Harrock Hall (estate), reaches over 400 ft. I suppose the hill was named from a place at which there was a "hoar oak."


Tunley: Tunleg (vill) 1246 LAR, de Tunlegh 1332 LS. O.E. tūn and lēah. Cf. Towneley in Bl. (p. 84).

3. Heskin (N. of Wrightington, W. of Chorley): Heskyn (surname) 1257 LAR, de Eskin 1260 LAR, Heskyn 1301, 1388 LF, 1332 LS, de Hefkyn 1341 IN, Heskin 1497 LF. The township lies on the N. slope of the Wrightington hills; Heskin Hall and Heskin Green (h.) stand near Sid Brook. A satisfactory etymology of this curious name is offered by a word appearing in various Celtic languages: Welsh hesen "sedge, rush," O.Corn. hescen "canna, arundo," O.Ir. sescenn "marsh." The sense "marsh" is probably that of early Welsh
hesgen in place-names, as hescenn iudie LL 143 (iudic is a pers. n.), Hesgyndv (dw=du “black”) Rec. Carn. 200, Penheskyn ib. 103, Cumhesgyn ib. 200. Heskin (Denbigh) is Heskyne 1334 Surv. Denbigh. The township does not now seem to be marshy, but very likely there were formerly marshes along Sid Brook.

Barmskin Hall (S. of Heskin Hall). The name has not been found in early sources. It seems to contain the name Heskin.


Sarscow: Saferscohe CC 494, Sarrescoogh 1401 VHL VI. 164. Björkman Namenkunde, suggests as first member of Safrebi, Linc. O.N. Safari pers. n. This is evidently the source of Safara, Sefar(e) on coins of William the Conqueror (Brooke, Catalogue of English Coins, 1916), and may be the first el. of Sarscow, whose second el. is O.N. skógr “wood.”

Tingreave or Ingrave: Tyndaghre 1393 VHL VI. 163, Tyngreuff 1433 TI, Tyngrewe 1505 LF. O.E. týned from týnan “to fence, enclose” and græf “grove.” The form Ingrave is due to the fact that the definite article in Lanc. is often t (<that), which caused the initial T- to be mistaken for the article.

CHORLEY PAR.

A district N. of Wigan, in a bend of the Yarrow. The surface is hilly. There is only one township.

Chorley (town): Cherleg 1246 LAR, Cherle 1252 LF, de Cherlyhe 1254 LI, Cherlag 1276 LAR, Cherleg 1276 LAR; Chorley 1257 LI, 1278 LAR, 1288 IPM, etc., Chorlegh 1332 LS, etc. Chorley is probably O.E. ceorla leah; cf. Chorlton p. 32. The same name is found in Ches. and Herts.


Eaves: de(l) Eues 1288 LI. O.E. efes “border of a wood.”

Healey: Hall[e]y 1202, Helei 1215 LPR, Heley-cliffe LPR 376, Helegh (park) 1314, 1324 LI. “The high lea.” Higher Healey is on the slope of Healey Nab, a conspicuous hill (682ft.).

Kingsley (h.): de Kingsle 1246 LAR, Kyngele 1535 DL. Presumably “the king’s lea.”

Knowley: Knolhale 1288 LI, 1314 OR. O.E. cnoll “knoll” and halh “haugh.” Little Knowley is near the Blackbrook and Knowley Top, which stands at the foot of a knoll.

LEYLAND PAR.

A large district N. of Chorley. In the east an elevation of c 1,250ft. is attained on Withnell Moor. The ground slopes away gradually, until in the W. a level of c 50ft. is reached.

The eastern, hilly part was formerly called Gunnolf’s Moors (embracing the

1. Withnell (N.E. of Chorley): Withinhull c 1160 Ch, Whithen-, Whythen(e), Withenhull 1246 LAR, Wythenhule 1276 LAR, Wytheinul 1313 LF, Wythinhull 1332 LS, Wynnele 1580 DL. "Willow hill," dial. withen (O.E. wiþ and hyl. The church stands on the slope of Pike Lowe (720ft.). This is very likely the hill that gave the place its name.

Brinseall (h.): Brendescoles c 1200 WhC 835, de Brendescoles 13 cent. WhC 118, de Brendeschales (Bradeschales) 1246 LAR. "The burnt huts," from M.E. brend "burnt" and scale "hut" (O.N. skáli).

Ollerton: de Alreton 1240, 1246 LAR, Ayleton 1269, 1276 LAR, Allerton 1278 LAR, Ollerton 13 cent. WhC 848. O.E. alor "alder" and tun.

Roddlesworth (on the N.E. slope of Great Hill, h.): Radholfeswortha c 1160 Ch, de Rotholuesworth (Roteleswurt) 1246 LAR, Rothelesworth 1327, 1332 LS. "The worp of Hrodulf." Hrodulf is a well-known O.E. pers. n. The same pers. n. appears to enter into a name in the neighbouring Hoghton: Rothlisden 13 cent. WhC 859, Routhelesden 13 cent. ib. 836. The change of [b] to [d] is due to the following l.

Stanworth (h.): on a hill side, near Roddlesworth river: Stanword, -le c 1200 WhC 831, 835, Stanworthe, Stanworthel, Stanworle 1276 LAR, de Staneworth 1263 LAR. "Stone enclosure." O.E. stán-worp; -le is O.E. leah.

2. Hoghton (S.W. of Blackburn, W. of the Darwen): Hootonam c 1160 Ch, de Houton 1227f. LAR, Hooton 1241 LF, Hutun (de Hooton, Hothon) 1246 LAR, Houaton 1276 LAR, Hoghton 1278 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Houghton 1577 Harr.; now [(h)ö]tn. It is not always easy to distinguish the forms of Hoghton from those of Hutton. The first el. of the name is no doubt O.E. hōh "spur of hill, ridge." The early forms may seem to point to original Hōn-, but c may very well be a spelling for h. The most striking physical feature of the township is a steep hill or short ridge, on which is Hoghton Tower (over 500ft. above sea-level). The hill answers perfectly the description of a hoe or heugh in NED.

Brimmecroft (h.): de Bromcroc 1246 LAR, de Bromycroft 13 cent. WhC 839, Bromcroft 1497 LF. Self-explaining. For the change of o to i cf. [briam] for broom in N. Lanc. (Wright), de Brimbyhurst (Broomhurst) 1277 LAR.

3. Wheelton (N.E. of Chorley, on the Lostock; v.): Weltonam c 1160 Ch, Welton c 1200 WhC 835, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., Wylton, Welton 1276 LAR, Quelton 1276 LAR, 1288 IPM, etc., Weleton 1278 LAR, Quilton 1313 LF. I suppose the first el. is O.E. hwēol "wheel"; the same word is found in the name Whelcroft 13 cent. WhC 839ff. (in Wheelton). As Wheelton vill. is on the Lostock, it may have been named from a water-wheel, or wheel may have had such a meaning as "whirlpool." But wheel was used formerly in the sense of "a circle," as in the following instance from RSB: "a quibusdam circulis qui vocantur le Whelos juxta Harashowe" (p. 487). Circles made of stones may be meant. A place called Hjol (lit. "wheel") in Norway is thought (NG II. 5) to have been named from something rounded about the situation of the place, e.g., a round hill. Wheldale in Yks. (Queldale, Weldale DB, etc.) seems to contain O.E. hwēol.

Burton Brook: Burton brok, Burtonbrok 13 cent. WhC 839f. The name seems
to point to a lost place Burton, which, however, need not have been just in Wheelton township.

4. **Heapey** (N. of Chorley; h.): *de Hepeie* 1219 LAR, *de Hepay (Hepethe)* 1246 LAR, *de Hophay* 1246, 1249 LAR, *de Hephay* 1248 LAR, *de Hopay* 1251 LAR, *de Heppay* 1285 LAR, *Hepay* 1332 LS, etc., *Hepey* 1497 LF. The forms seem to point to O.E. hēope “hip” and hege “hey” as the elements of the name. But a first el. heap “hill” would also be suitable, as Heapey is on a fairly conspicuous hill.

**Shackerley** (on Warth Brook): *de Shakerleh* 1332 LS. Cf. the same name, p. 101.


**Coppild - Lailand**

6. **Euxton** (N.W. of Chorley, N. of the Yarrow; v.): *Euekeston 1187 LPR, Euekeston 1188 ib., Euekaston 1212 LI, 1242 LAR, Euekeston 1243 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Eukston 1246 LAR, Heuekeston, Heukeston 1277 LF. The modern pronunciation is said to be Exton; cf. Extonbrugh 1577 Saxton. The first el. of the name is no doubt a pers. n., perhaps O.E. Ėfca, Ef (Redin).

**Armetridding** (on the Yarrow): *de Armetheriding* 1246 LAR, del(l) *Ermetrindinge* 1332 LS. M.E. ermite, armite “hermit” and ridding “a clearing” (p. 16). Cf. “Cloch ubi heremita sedit” (Caton) CC 840.

7. **Leyland** (S. of Preston, on both sides of the Lostock; town): *Lailand DB, 1212 LI, Leilandia, Lailanda c 1160 Ch (orig.), Leiland 1212 LI, Leyland 1243 LI, 1391 LF, etc., Leylond 1246 LAR, 1321 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Laylond 1284 LAR, 1327 LS, etc. I take the name to be simply M.E. ley-land (leland) “fallow land, land ‘laid down’ to grass”; first el. lea, ley, lay “fallow, unploughed,” O.E. læg (cf. O.N. lægr “low,” O.Fris. lech) found in læghrycg (NED s.v. lea-land). If this is right, the name may be compared with Fallowfield, p. 30. The first el. is hardly O.E. lēah; this ought to have given early M.E. *Lēland or *Lēland.

**Blacklache House**: Blakelache c 1250 LPD II. 201, del *Blakelache 1332 LS. “Black leach” or “pool”; cf. p. 15.


**Midge Hall**: Midgehalgh 1390 LF. The name means “haugh infested by midges”; cf. the same name in Am. The place stands on the outskirts of Leyland Moss.

**Snubbsnape**: Snubsnape 1372, Snopssnape 1549, Snobbesnape 1596 VHL VI. 14f. On snape “pasture” see p. 17. The first el. may be compared with E. snub “a snag or stub” (1590 Spenser), snub vb. “to crop; to eat close” (EDD), Icel. snúbbíttr “stumpy.”

**Worden** (S. of Leyland town, sometimes called a vill): Werdenbroc, (riulo de) Werden a 1250 CC; Werthen, de Werden 1246 LAR, Wereden 1524 DL. Worden
LEILAND HUNDRED

Hall is on Worden Brook. Supposing Werthen to be a later form of Werden, we may take the name to be a compound containing O.E. denu “valley.” The first el. may be O.E. wer “weir” or possibly an old river-name; cf. Wear, Durh. (a Celtic name).


9. Cuerden (S.E. of Preston, in a bend of the Lostock): Kerden, Alde Kerden c 1200 CC, Kerden 1243 LI, 1246, 1285 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., Kirden 1212 LI, Keredyn 1278 LAR, Kerdyn 1285 LAR, Kerden, Kerden 1292 PW, Kyrdens 1451 CC; now [kju’edn]. Occasional spellings such as Keverden 1554 LF show influence from Cuerdale, Cuerdley. The name cannot be a compound of carr (O.N. krarr) and O.E. denu, for if so we should expect Mod. Carden. Cf. e.g., Carr House (Bretherton): Carrehowes 1451 CC, del Car 1332 LS. The absence of the change c/>a indicates that the vowel of the first el. was long. The name is perhaps British; cf. Cerdyn, the name of a river in Cardigan (Wales), Kerthen (Cornwall): Korthyn 1306 IPM. This is no doubt Welsh cerddain (dd = ð), Corn. kerden “mountain ash.” As regards [d] instead of [ð], Haydock p. 99 may be compared. But the name may be a compound containing O.E. denu. If so, the first el. is possibly the O.E. pers. n. Car found in Caresige 972 BCS 1289, now Kersey, Suff. Or it may be an old river-name of Brit. origin identical with Keer in Lonsdale. Lostock is no doubt an English name, and an earlier Brit. name must have existed.

Faldworthings (name lost, but common in early sources): de Faldeworthyng 1278 LAR, de Faldworthinges 1322 LI, de faldeworthinges 1332 LS. First el. O.E. falod “fold.” The second may be O.E. wyrding “cultivated field” or wyrðing “enclosure”; cf. p. 21.

BRINDLE PAR.

A hilly district E. of Leyland, S.E. of Preston. It contains only Brindle township: Brunhull 1208, 1204 LPR, de Brunhull 1204 LPR, Burnhill 1206 LPR, 1246 LAR, etc.; Burnhull 1212 RB, 1292 PW, Burnul 1212 LI, de Brunhull 1226 LI, de Brunhull 1246 LAR, 1251 LI, de Brunhull 1246 LF, de Brunhull 1254 LF, Burnhill 1332 LS, Birnehill 1448 DL, Bryndill 1480 Ind, Bryndill 1509 DL, 1511 LF, Bryndyhill 1548 LP III. 32, Brenhull 1556 LF, Brinhill 1558 Brindle R.

The place was named from a hill, very likely the conspicuous Hough Hill S. of the church. The modern and late M.E. forms seem to point to a first el. Bryn- or Byrn-, though the absence of early spellings with i, y is remarkable. Brunhill 1227 LF has probably been misread for Brunhill. If Burn- in early sources stands for a pronunciation [byrn] it might represent a Brit. word corresponding to W. bryn “hill” (cf. Brynn, p. 100). But I am more inclined to believe that the base had a u and is simply O.E. burna “brook.” Late Bryn-, Brin- may be compared with Brynley for Burnley (Brunley) 1574 DL. An etymology “Burnhill” (O.E. burna “brook” and hyll) would suit the locality, for Lostock Brook rises N. of Hough Hill and flows round it.

PENWORTHAM PAR.

A mostly low and level district S. of Preston and the Ribble.

1. **Farington** (N. of Leyland on the upper Lostock; v.): *Farinton* a 1149 Ch, 1212 L1, 1242 LF, *Furington* 1153-60 Ch (orig.), *Farington* 1246 LF, 1341 IN, etc., *de Farenton* 1246 LAR, *ffarington* 1327, 1332 LS. Though all the early forms show a vowel between r and n, I believe this is O.E. *færn-tūn* (*fearn* "fern"). Cf. Farringdon, Berks. (O.E. *Fearndun*, but *Farendone* Rob. Gl., *Ferendone* DB, *Fardinon* HR; cf. Skeat). But an O.E. *Faringa tūn* (*Faringas* being derived from a pers. n. *Fara* or the like; cf. Farleton, Lo) is also possible.


The final el. of the name seems to be O.E. *hæm* or *hamm*. The middle el. is most probably O.E. *worhp* "enclosure, homestead." The first might be O.E. *penn* "a fold," but this does not seem very probable. A combination of the elements *penn*, *worhp*, and *hæm* (or *hamm*) is not what we should expect. The Brit. *penn* "a hill," etc. (cf. Pendleton, Pendle, etc.) is formally unexceptionable, and I am inclined to believe it is really the first el. of the name. It is known that there was a Brit. settlement at Penwortham. The place stands on a plateau reaching 100ft above sea-level. It may seem doubtful if such a slight elevation could have been called a *penn* (i.e., "hill"), but the surface falls away sharply and the surrounding country is very low. The hill or ridge is really much more conspicuous than one would expect. Besides, the Celtic word might here mean "end; promontory." If the first el. is Brit. *penn*, the rest of the name may be O.E. *wɔorphæm* or *wɔorphamm*, "enclosed homestead" (cf. Wortham in Suff.). But it is quite possible only the el. -*ham* is English, the rest being an adaptation of a Brit. name. For the matter of that, the whole name may be British. Dr. Bradley, EHR 26, p. 822, thinks some early forms recall Welsh *pen-y-werddon"* "head of the green."

**Blashaw** (or Blashaw) Farm: *Blakesawe* a 1096 PC, Blachshagh 1305 Lacy C, *Blakeshagh* 1324 LI. "Blackshaw."


3. **Howick** (S.W. of Penwortham, on the Ribble; h.): *Hocwike* a 1096 PC, *Hokewike* a 1122 Ch, *Hocwica* 1149 Ch, *Hocwik* 1202 LF, *de Hocwic* 1257 LI, *Hocwick* c 1230 CC; *Howyk* 1246 LAR, *Howghwyk* 1276 LAR, 1317 LF, 1327 LS, etc., *de Houghyk* 1314 LI, *Houyk* 1285 LAR, *Hoghwyke* 1332 LS. It is difficult to determine if this was originally *Hocwic* or *Hōhwic*. The early forms seem to point to the former, and the change from *Hocwic* to *Howick* would have an exact parallel in Winwick (p. 98). Yet c may very well be a Norman spelling for the voiceless guttural spirant (h). If *Hōhwic* is the correct form, the first el. would seem to be O.E. *Hōc* pers. n.; if *Hōhwic* be given the preference, it is O.E.
hoh as in Hutton. Howick vil. stands on a piece of land (50ft.) jutting out into the Ribble estuary. Second el. O.E. *hoh* “homestead,” etc.

**Nutshaw Hall**: *de Noteschaw* 1285 LAR, *de Noteschage* 1332 LS.

4. **Hutton** (on the Ribble estuary, S.W. of Penwortham; v.): *Hotun* a 1180 Ch, *Hoton* c 1200 CC, 1276 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Hotton* 1461 CC. First member O.E. *hoh*, probably in the plural form (g. pl. *hóh*). The ground is low near the river, less than 25ft. above sea-level. The village is on somewhat higher land (above 50ft.) and from this spurs of fairly high ground jut out into the low country. These spurs of land I suppose were the *hóh*’s that gave name to Hutton. The Canons of Cockersand had a grange in Hutton (now Old Grange; cf. *Grangia de Hoton* 1273 CC), situated at a place called *Hohum* 1215 ib. 393f.; cf. *Hohum Kar* ib., *Howin* (for *Houm*) ib. 423ff. *Hohum* is the dat. pl. of O.E. *hoh*; so the grange was situated at the *hóh*’s. Old Grange stands at the extremity of a slight spur of land reaching 38ft. above sea-level.

A now lost chapel is mentioned in Cockersand Ch: *capella de Ulvedene* a 1246 CC 420 (also *Ulvedale* ib.), *Ulvedale* a 1246 ib. 411. “The valley of Ulf.” *Ulf* is a common O.N. name.

5. **Longton** (S.W. of Penwortham, bounded on the W. by the Douglas; v.): *Longetuna*, *Langetona*, *Langetona* 1153-60 Ch (orig.), *Langeton* 1178 LPR, 1205 LPR, 1212 LI, *Longton* 1243 LI, 1288 Ind, 1332 LS, etc., *Longton* 1391 LF, etc. “The long village.” The township is long and narrow (4 miles in length by 1 across), and the village “struggles along for over 2½ miles” along a road (VHL VI. 69).

**CROSTON PAR.** (ancient)

A district on the Douglas. Formerly the parish included the parishes of Hoole, Rufford, Tarleton, and Hesketh-with-Becconsall. These are all dealt with under Croston. The surface of the par. is mostly low and level.


2. **Mawdesley** (on the Douglas; v.): *de Madesle* 1219 LAR, *Moudesley* 1269 LAR, 1288 IPM, *Moudesleigh* 1327, 1332 LS, *Maudeslegh* 1382 LF, etc., *Mawdesley* 1398, 1500 LF, etc. Wyld is no doubt right in identifying the first el. of the name with the name *Maud* (<O.F. *Mauhut*, etc.); the form *Maldislei* of 1295 given by Wyld is especially valuable. The name is common in early M.E. documents in forms such as *Mahald*, *Maald*, *Mald* (Forssner).

3. **Croston** (on the Douglas and Yarrow; v.): *Croston* 1094, c 1190 Ch, 1212 LI, 1322 LS, etc., *Crostona* 1153-60 Ch (orig.). Named from a cross; in VHL VI. 91 it is stated that part of the market cross remains. The name is probably Scandinavian.


4. **Ulmes Walton** (N.E. of Croston, on both sides of the Lostock): *Walton* 1203 LF, *Walton* 1341 IN; *Ulneswalton* 1285 LAR, 1321 LF, etc., *Vlneswalton*
137 LS, Vlnes Walton 1332 LS, Oveswalton 1362 OR, Oneswalton 1361 Gaunt R, Ulveswalton 1543 LF, VIswalton 1663, Ouswalton 1666 Croston R. The distinguishing epithet seems to have been originally Ulves gen. sg. of Ulf pers. n. (O.N. Ulf); Ulf de Walton lived c 1160. Later u in Ulves was misread as n, and as early as 1331 Ulves- appears to have been considered the correct form (VHL VI. 108). Yet the old form long survived in pronunciation. On Walton "the tún of the Wealhémen," see p. 224.

Barbers Moor (h.): Barbismor c 1200 CC, Barbars-more 1639 Croston R. Etymology obscure.

5. Bretherton (N.W. of Croston, on the Douglas; v.): Bretherton a 1190 CC, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc.; Brethirton 1320 LF, Brotherton 1577 Saxton, 1645 Croston R. The first el. is a form with i-mutation of O.E. brōðer or O.N. brōðir "brother." The most natural explanation is "the tún of the brothers," the township having been in the joint ownership of two or more brothers. An analogous name is O.N. Bræðragardr NG II. 408. O.E. *brēdra-tūn or perhaps more probably O.N. *broedrátun may be the base. Forms with i-mutation of O.E. brōðer are rare, and M.E. brether, etc., may be at least partly of Scand. origin. But it is also possible that Brether- represents the O.N. gen. sg. broðr. Falk shows NG V. 262 that certain Norw. names, such as Brödre-Aas (Buskerud), Brörby (Kristians Amt) contain this form. In the case of Brödre-Aas the name was given because the place was a part of an estate handed over by its owner to a younger brother.


6. Hoole (E. of the Douglas, S.W. of Preston. There are two townships: Much and Little Hoole. Great Hoole is a village. Hoole is now a parish): Hull, de la Hulle 1204 LF, Hole 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, Holes 1223 LF, Hulle 1241 LF, de Hola, de Hull 1246 LAR, Hoole 1508 LF, How 1577 Harr., Howle 1577 Saxton; Magna Hole c 1233 CC, 1296 Ind, 1327 LS, Much Hole 1260 LF, Great Hoole 1320 LF, Hole Magna 1332 LS; Littlehola c 1200 CC, parva Hola a 1220 CC, Parva Hole a 1251 CC, Parva Hole 1327, 1332 LS, Little Hoole 1423 LF. The forms Hulle, Hull show that we have to start from an old form with u, and the later oo tells us that the l must have been short. The most probable etymology is O.E. hulu "husk," in M.E. also "a hut or hovel." O.Scand. hula "a hollow" would do phonetically, but does not seem to suit the situation of the places.

Walmer Bridge (in Little Hoole): Waldemurebruge a 1251 CC. The hamlet stands on a brook. Walmer appears as Waldemure, Waldesmure a 1251 CC, Waldemurfeld, Waldemur furlong ib. Waldemure may contain O.B. Walda pers. n. or wald "wold," i.e. "forest," and mire, O.N. miárr.


Holmes Wood (v.): Holmes wood 1571 DL. The place occupies a slight elevation over the low general level; it was formerly close to Martin Mere, whose name is
preserved in Mere Side S. of Holmes Wood. The name means "the islands" (from O.N. holm).

8. Tarleton (N. of Rufford, v.; now a separate parish): Tarleton c 1200 CC 469, 1298 LF, 1327, 1332 LS, Tarilton c 1212 CC, Tarlton c 1225 CC, de Tarleton 1246 LAR, Tarleton 1539 CC. O.N. *Porvaldr (=porvaldr) pers. n. and tun.

Cf. Tarlssouh p. 124, Tharleston, Yks.: Tarlston 1188 YCh 1364 (orig.). The Tarlssouh p. 124, Tharleston, Yks.: Tarlston 1188 YCh 1364 (orig.). The surface of the district is very low, and the ground is partly moss-land. Martin Mere adjoined the township on the W. Tarleton is on slightly higher land.

Holmes (h.; on a slight elevation): Holmes juxta Maram de Tarlton, totas holmas juxta Maram de Tarlton c 1210 CC, Holmez 1554 LF. Cf. Holmes Wood supra.

Mere Brow (S.E. of Holmes; h.) took its name from Martin Mere.

Sollom (h.; S. of Tarleton near the Douglas): Solayn-, Salaynpull, Solaynpul c 1200 CC, de Solame 1372 LF, Solam he 1451, Sullam 1539 CC, Solom 1554 LF. Solaynpull is a "pool" or brook that falls into the Douglas (cf. CC 464). The early forms show that Sollom goes back to earlier Solayn, the m having developed from n before -pull. The name cannot therefore be identical with Sollom (mosse) CWNS XIV. 148 (Cumb.); cf. Solom 1282 IPM (prob. the dat. pl. of sol "mire").

Derivation from solein adj. "lonely" (a Fr. word) is hardly probable. It seems more likely that the name is an old compound of O.E. sol "mire, muddy place" and M.E. hain "enclosure, park" (< O.Scand., O.Swed. hægn, etc.), or rather an O.N. *Söl-hlein "sunny slope." The hamlet stands on the S. slope of a slight ridge, near the low bank of the Douglas.

Wignall (near Holmes): de Wygnale 1323 LI, Wignall (surname) 1451, 1461 CC. First el. probably O.E. Wicga pers. n.; the second is O.E. halh.

Wilshers (VHL VI. 116): Wilschahe c 1250 CC. The first el. is perhaps O.E. wulf "she-wolf." If it is wulf or Wulf pers. n. the development of the vowel may be compared with that of Sid Brook, p. 127. Second el. O.E. scaga "shaw."


Hesketh [Bank] (v.): de Heschath 1288 LI, de Heskayth 1298, 1304 LF, de Heskayth 1293 LS, Heskait 1327 LS, Hesketh 1332 LS, Hesketh 1323 LI, Hesket 1577 Harr. See further Lindkvist p. 64, who gives earlier examples of Hesketh in Yks. (: Hesteskeith, -scaith 12 cent.). The correct etymology (O.N. *hestaskeid "race-course") is given by Wyld (and Lindkvist). Presumably the race-course was on the level shore of the Ribble (Hesketh Sands).

Becconsall: Bekaneshou 1208 LF, 1292 PW, 1341 IN, Bekaneshou 1212 BF, Bekanesho 1246 LAR, Bekanshowe 1327 LS, Becanshou 1332 LS. The name is a compound of O.N. Bekan (from O.Ir. Beccin pers. n.) and O.N. haugr "hill."

Cf. Beacons Gill in Furness. Becconsall Hall stands on a ridge, which reaches 54ft. above sea-level and falls away sharply to the low land on the shore of the Ribble.
AMOUNDERNESS HUNDRED


O.N. Agmundar-nes “the ness of Agmundr (Ogmundr).” In the sources Amounderness is always used of the hundred or deanery of Amounderness. This is apparently the case also in the example of c 930, if that may be looked upon as genuine. What ness the name originally referred to it is impossible to say. It might be an old name of Rossall Point, near which there must have been important Scand. colonies. But Amounderness as a whole forms a ness, and it may well be the name was from the first applied to the whole district.

Amounderness was originally the district roughly between the Ribble and the Cocker, the E. boundary being formed by the fells on the Yorkshire border. I here reckon to Amounderness the parts that originally belonged to it, though they are now in Blackburn or Lonsdale hundreds.

The W. part of the hundred is flat and is called the Fyde: *The Fyle pro Feild 1536 Camden*; cf. del Filde 1246 LAR, del Fylde 1293 LI, del ffylde 1325 LCR, 1332 LS. See Fieldplumpton, p. 151. This is O.E. gefylde “plain.” The E. part is on the slope of fells, and reaches over 1,600 ft. on the Yorkshire border.

Names of Rivers


Loud (a trib. of the Hodder): Lude 1246, 1262 LF, Loude c 1350 LPR, 1409 AD V. From O.E. hludeburnan 956 BCS 982, and O.E. Hlyde (river-name), e.g., 956 BCS 945, 972 BCS 1282 (orig.).

Swill Brook (between Preston and Fishwick). The name belongs to O.E. swilian “to wash” and probably means “the brook where clothes were washed.”

Savick or Savock Brook (falls into the Ribble W. of Preston): Savoch a 1190 CC, c 1230 CC, Savock c 1200 CC, Safok a 1268 CC, Savok 1252 ChR, Savoke 1338 LPR, Savok c 1540 Leland. Probably a British name. The stems in Gaul. Sabis, Sabatus or in Samara, Samina (Holder) may be thought of.

Wyre (falls into Morecambe Bay): Wir a 1184, etc., CC, 1194-99 Ch (orig.), c 1230 FC II. (orig.), Wyr c 1210 CC, Wyir c 1230 FC II. The name is doubtless British. I suppose it is identical with Wear, Durh. (: Uiuri g. sg. Bede, in the O.E. translation Wiire, Wire). This has been convincingly identified by Chadwick, in Essays and Studies presented to W. Ridgeway, with the G. river-name Weser. A stem *wisur-* is to be assumed. The cognate Welsh gwyar means
"gore, blood." It is perhaps worthy of notice that the Wyre has red-brown water.

Skippool (formed by Woodplumpton and Blundell Brooks, which join near Poulton): (ulteran) Skippoles 1330 LC 471, the Skipton 1577 Harr.; cf. le Polle LC 403. Clearly "ship-pool," from O.N. skip "ship" and pool in the sense "stream." Skippool was formerly an important harbour (VHL VII. 226). The stream gave name to Skippool: Skippull 1593 Poulton R.†

Brook (joins the Wyre W. of Catterall): Brock, Broc c 1200 CC, Brok, Broc 1228 ClR, Broc, Brocke, Broke c 1250 CC, etc., Broke 1338 LPR, Brok c 1540 Leland, the Brooke rill 1577 Harr. I suppose this is simply O.E. brōc “brook.”


Pilling: Pylin 1246 CC, 13 cent. CC. Cf. Pilling township, p. 165. The etymology of the name is doubtful, but we may compare pill, a name on both sides of the Severn and in Cornwall for a tidal creek on the coast, or a pool in a creek at the confluence of a tributary pool (NED). The Pilling may be accurately described as a pill. The word appears in O.E. as pyll, and in early Welsh as pill (LL 188, etc.). A Yks. instance of the word is adduced by Lindkvist, p. 71, Larpool: Lairpel c 1146, etc. If the name is Celtic, as seems probable, it may contain the Welsh suffix -yn, originally no doubt diminutive, but in Welsh usually singulative (Pedersen II. 57f.).


Names of Hills

Longridge Fell (in the S.E.): Langrig 1246 LF, Longerige 1409 AD V, Longridge hill 1577 Saxton. The fell gave name to Longridge chapel (and town): Chapel of Langgrige 1521 LP I. 90, Longerydche chap. 1554 DL. Longridge is a long ridge.

Parlick (1,416ft.; in Bleasdale): (caput de) Pirlok 1228 ClR, Perlak 1228 WhC 371, Pireloke 1338 LPR, Pyrelok pyke c 1350 lb. The name cannot mean “pear orchard” as Wyld suggests. But the etymology may be correct with a slight amendment. O.E. loc means “fold for sheep or goats.” A sheep fold at which grew a pear tree (O.E. pyrige) may very well have been at the foot of or on the slope of the hill; this may have been called Parlick (Pirlok) and have given the hill its name. For a probable earlier name see under Core, p. 143.

MITTON PAR. (part)

Aighton, Bailey, and Chaigley (N. of the Ribble, bounded on the N. and E. by the Hodder). In the township is Longridge Fell (1,149ft.).

Aighton (the S.E. part): Actun DB, Achintona, Aiton 1102 Ch, Aighton, Haghton c 1140 Ch, Acton 1246, 1259 LAR, etc., Achten 1277 LAR, Aighton 1292 LF, 1332 LS, 1335 LF, etc. O.E. æctūn “oak town.” Cf. Aughton in De and Lo.
Hurst Green (h.): Hurst c 1200 WhC 22, del Hurst 1278 ClR, del Hirst 1335 LF. O.E. hyrst. The place stands at a small hill.

Stonyhurst: del Stanyhurst 1358 LF, Stonyhurst 1577 Harr., Stonyhurst 1577 Saxton. O.E. hyrst in this and the preceding name apparently means "hill." Stonyhurst is in a commanding situation.

Winkley (at the confluence of the Hodder and the Ribble): de Wynkyley 1243 LI, Wynkedeley 1292 PW, de Winkedeleg (Wynkedele, Wynkydele, Wynkathely, Wynkythele, Wikedele) 1246 LAR, de Winkedelegh 1257 LI, de Winkedeleye 1258 LI, de Winkedeleye 1293 LI. This name recalls Dinkley (p. 70) and Worsley (p. 40). Like these it has as last el. O.E. lēah and a middle el. -ket-, -ked- and the like. It is possible that Winkley contains an old Brit. name composed of Celt. *vindo- "white" (Welsh gwyn, etc.) and *kaito- "wood" (Welsh coed, etc.); cf. Lichfield, whose first el. (Celt. Lētocētum) means "grey wood," and E. Whitting-wood. There is also a Brit. pers. n. which might possibly be thought of, O.W. Guencait LL, Mid. Welsh Gwyngat, M.Bret. Guengat (Loth 195).

Davyscoles (now lost): de Daniscole (Danisccales) 1246 LAR, de Danyscales 1296, David Scotes 1305 Lacy C, Danyscoles 1311 IPM, Davidscales 1324 LI. The first el. is perhaps the pers. n. David. The second is scale "hut" from O.N. skāli.

Bailey (the S.W. part): de Baillee 1204 LF, Beylle 1246 LAR, de Bailegh 1257 LI, Bayley 1284 LF, Bayleghe 1292 PW, Bayleigh 1298 WhC 1059, Baileye 1338 LF. The second el. is O.E. lēah "lea." The first may be identical with that of Bayworth, Berks. (bægan wyrde 956 BCS 924), Beyton, Suff. (Beapatona DB, Beyton IPM), Baywell, Worc. (bæganwelan 718 BCS 139). These latter no doubt contain a pers. n. O.E. *Bēga or *Bāge from the W. Germ. stem *bāɡ- found in O.H.G. bāga "fight, conflict." Baildon, Yks. may have as first theme an l-derivative of this stem (O.E. *Bāgel), and such a name is possible also in Bailey. But the first el. of Bailey may also be O.E. bēg "berry."


Two alternative explanations of the name seem possible. The first el. may be O.E. Ceadd(a) (cf. Chaddesley, Worc.: Ceaddesleage 816 BCS 357). This became Chadgeley in the same way as Quegdeley, Glo. developed from Qedegley (c 1142, etc., Baddeley). A [dʒ] has in this case been substituted for [dz]. Or the first el. may be identical with that of Chailey, Suss. (Chegley 1268, Chageley 1284, etc., Roberts), i.e., apparently, an O.E. Coȝ(a). If so, the forms with d show substitution of [dz] for [dʒ]. Cf. Badsberry, p. 148, Pledwick, Yks. (Plegwyke 1275, etc., Pledewyk 1534 Goodall). I am inclined to prefer the second alternative, as spellings like Cheydesle do not go well with a base Ceaddesleah. Some of the early forms may represent Norman attempts at spelling the difficult name, while some may be due to association with Chadsell, the name of a place in Chaigley. Chadsell perhaps contains O.E. Ceadd(a).
**WHALLEY PAR. (part)**

**Bowland-with-Leagram** (a hilly district on the Yks. border, bounded on the E. by the Hodder).

**Bowland** (the N. part): *Boelandam* 1102 Ch, *Bowland* c 1140 Ch, 1258 IPM, c 1540 Leland, *Bochlande* a 1194, *Bochland* 1211-32 Kirkstall C, *Bowelande* a 1240 ib., *Bogh-*, *Boughland* Percy C 478f., *Bowlond* 1311 IPM, *Boghland chase* 1330 PatR, *Bowelond* 1375 Gaunt R.; now [bolan(d)]. The forest of Bowland is the name of a large district, the greater part of which is in Yorkshire. Several of the examples given refer to the Yks. part. Some 8 or 9 miles E. of the Lanc. border, on the Ribble, is Bolton-by-Bowland: *Boulton in Bowlond* 1254 Percy C 83, *Boulton in Bowloud* 1315 IPM. The early forms tell us that the first el. is a word with original *g* (*Bog-*). It may be O.E. *boga* or O.N. *bogi* “bow; arch,” etc., or one of the relatives of these, *e.g.*, O.N. *bugr* “bend,” O.Swed. *burgh* “bend,” abugh “bend of a river.” There were no doubt by-forms of these with *o*; Norw. *bo* “bow” is actually found. In M.E. *bowe* is found in this sense: *pe bowe of the ryuer of Humber* Trev.; but O.N. *bugr* may be the source (NED). I suggest that Bowland means “the land by the bend,” the bend being that made by the Ribble c 1 mile S. of Bolton-by-Bowland. Close to this is Bow Laith; cf. *Bogh* 1306, “the great bowe next Rible” 1659 (lands in Bolton) PD 183, 283. *Bogh* (bowe) is clearly a word meaning “bend of a river.”

**Dinckling Green**: *Denglegrene* 1462 Whit. I. 345, *Dynkeler Graue* 1527 CCR, *the Incklengrene* 1616 Chipping R. The earliest example perhaps points to the word *dingle* as first el.; the place is in a valley.

**Greystoneley**: *Graystonlegh* 1462 Whit. I. 345, *Grayston Lee* 1527 CCR. “The lea or pasture by the grey stone.”

**Lickhurst**: *Lekehirste* 1462 Whit. I. 345, *Lykehurst* 1527 CCR. O.E. *lēac* “leek” and *hyrst* “copse” or “hill.” The place is on a hill slope.


**Leagram** (the S. part): *Lathegrin* 1282 VHL VI. 379, *Lathegryn* 1425 CR, *Laythgryme Park* 1349, *Laithgryme Park* 1362 Hist. of Leagram (CSNS 72), *Laythe- gryme* 1377 CCR, *Laythgryme* 1462 Whit. I. 346. In Scandinavians, p. 45, I explain the name as a combination of O.N. *hlada* “barn” and *Grimr*, pers. n., the order between the elements being due to Celtic influence. However, I am now more doubtful about the name. As pointed out in the place referred to, there was a similar name in Bolton-le-Sands: *Laithgryme* (cultura) 1230-46 FC II. As I now find, the same name occurs in Li. Asby (Wmnl.): *Laythgrym* 1314 OWNS XX. 73. These names cannot well all be compounds with the pers. n. *Grimr* as second el., and I now believe at least *Laithgryme* (Bolton) and *Laithgrym* (Li. Asby) represent O.N. *leðr* “road” and Scand. *grim, -a, -e* “a blaze,” “a mark made on a tree to indicate a boundary.” Laythgrym would mean
CHIPPING PAR.

“A blaze made to indicate a road.” Whether Leagram should be explained in the same way or has as first el. O.N. hlaða must remain doubtful in absence of sufficiently early forms.

CHIPPING PAR.

A small parish on both sides of the Loud, N. of Longridge. The country is hilly, Longridge Fell being to the S., Parlick and Fairsnappe Fell to the N. The district was formerly called Chippingdale: Chipenden DB, Cepndela 1102 Ch, Chippendal 1256, 1258 LAR, Chependsall 1256 LAR, Chipendale 1258 IPM, Chippingdale 1296 LI.

1. Chipping (N. of the Loud): Chipping 1241 AP, Chipping 1242 LI, Chepin 1244 LAR, 1246 LAR, Chippin 1246 LAR, Chipin 1258 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., Chypyn 1274 LI, Chepyn 1232 LI, Schipen, Schyphen 1311 IPM. Chipping is identical in origin with Chipping in Herts., Glo., Ess., etc., and goes back to O.E. céping “market.” The frequent -in instead of -ing in early forms is due to the influence of Chippin(g)dale, where n developed owing to assimilation. The usual i instead of e (O.E. ā) is due to the palatal ā; cf. Bülbring, Ae. Elementar-buch § 292, Luick, Hist. Gr. § 194, 2, note 1.

Core : Couere 1228 CLR, de Covre 1314 LI, de Couer 1323 LF, 1371 LF, de Coure 1332 LS. Cf. Couerhill 1284 LAR. Higher and Lower Core are situated on the lower slope of Parlick. This name I take to be related to O.E. cofa “room,” O.N. kofi “room,” O.H.G. chubisi “hut,” M.H.G. kober “basket,” O.N. kofr “chest,” kofri “hood, cap.” It may be a native or a Scand. name. The meaning may have been “hut.” But I think it very likely that Core is really an old name of Parlick Point. The name Couerhill of 1284 rather tells in favour of this hypothesis. If so, the name is very likely derived from O.N. kofr “a hood, cap.” The fine hill of Parlick has a very characteristic shape. Seen from the W. it looks rather like a slightly oblique pyramid; from the S. it presents a more rounded outline. It seems quite probable that it may have been thought to resemble a primitive cap or hood.1 Or there may have been an old word meaning “hill” or the like belonging to the group of words under discussion; cf. O.N. küfr “rounded summit,” Du. kuif “top of a tree,” etc. (Torp-Fick p. 47). It is doubtful if Cover in Coverham, Coverley, etc. (Yks.) is related to Core.

Elmridge (at a ridge of 500ft.): Helme Ridge 1557 DL, Elmeridge 1602 Chipping R. The name does not contain the word elm, but an earlier place-name Helme: Logagia de Helme 13 cent. Smith, Hist. of Chipping, p. 8, de Helm’ 1332 LS, de Helm 1377 LF, Helme 1553 LF, identical with helm “a roofed shelter for cattle” (1501, etc., NED). Cf. Helmshore p. 91. Later H- was dropped, as it is often in Lanc., and the first el. was associated with elm.

Wolfhall (according to VHL VII. 26, formerly Wolfhouse): Wolfehall 1600 RS XII, Woolfshall 17 cent. Whit. I. 330. Wolf Fell is not far North. The name may have been originally Wolf Fell House.

1 This guess is confirmed by the fact that Kofri (< kofri “a cap”) is the name of “a characteristic, beehive-shaped peak” in Iceland (Bugge, Vesterlandenes Indflydelse, p. 364). Bugge’s suggestion that Kofri is a Romance word (belonging to Fr. couvrir) is disproved by the circumstance that Kofri is found early as a pers. n. in Norway and Sweden, also in early place-names (Lind, Lundgren-Brate).
Thornley: Thorndeley 1202 LF, de Thornideley (Thornythele, Tornelay) 1246 LAR; Thornideley 1258 IPM, Thordele 1277 LAR, 1323 LCR, Thornedeye 1278 LAR, Thornedelche 1302 LI, Thornedelche 1332 LS, Thornley 1327 LS, etc.  Probably “the thorny lea.” The first el. is a derivative of O.E. *porne, probably *pornede adj. (cf. hofere: hofer, etc.) or, if the form Thornythele be trustworthy, possibly pornhte “thorny” or a noun with a p- suffix meaning “thorn-brake” and analogous to Frant, Suss. (et fyrmpan 956 BCS 961, orig.), which I take to be a derivative of fern; cf. O.H.G. Thurnithi (Forstemann).  
Wheatley (old manor): Wateley DB, Weteley 1227 LF, 1332 LS, Wetelay, de Wheteley 1246 LAR, Queteley 1258 IPM, Weteley 1258, 1278 LAR. “Wheat lea”; cf. the same name p. 81.  
Bradley: de Bradeley 1202 LF, Bradely, Bradelaybroke 1246 LF, de Bradeleygh 1332 LS, Braidley 1602 Chipping R. “The broad lea.”  

**RIBCHESTER PAR.**  

A district N. of the Ribble N.E. of Preston. The ground slopes from Longridge Fell down to the Ribble.  
1. Dutton (the E. part): Dotona 1102 Ch, Dutton 1258 IPM, 1292 PW, 1338 LF, etc., Ducton 13 cent. Ind., ? Dighton 1311 IPM, Dytton 1341 IN. I take the occasional spellings Dyton, Ducton, etc., to be corruptions and derive the first el. from O.E. *Dudda or Dudd* pers. n. This is corroborated by the name Duddel. Duddel Brook is another name for Dutton Brook; Duddel Hill is a hill reaching 410 ft. Early forms of the name Duddel are: de Dodehill 1324 LCR, de Dodehull 1332 LS, 1357 LF, Duddill 1590 DL.  
Stidd (old chapelry): de Stede 1276 LAR, Camera Sancti Salvatoris vocata Le Stede 1338 Whit. II. 464, (parish, manor of) Stede 1543 ib. The source of the name is O.E. styde, stede “place,” later also “farm, estate in land,” etc. Possibly the meaning is here “place of worship.” The chapel dates from the 12th cent. In Church Lawford (Warw.) Stude is a place where there was a chapel (Duignan). Cf. however (vaccary del) Stede (in Skipton) 1299 Whitaker, Hist. of Craven³, p. 457.  
Hay Hurst: de Hayhurst 1246 LAR, 1355 LF, de Hauhurst 1262 LAR. O.E. hege “hedge, enclosure,” or hēg “hay” and *hyrst*, probably in the sense “a hill.”  
Huntingdon (Hall): Huntingdenebroc 13 cent. Whit. II. 467, de Huntingdon (Huntindene) 1277 LAR, de Huntyngdon 1341 IN. It is difficult to determine if the first el. is simply *hunting* sb. or O.E. *huntna* g. pl. of *hunta* “a hunter.” The second is O.E. *denu* “valley.”  
Ragden Wood (near Starling Clough): Rakedefn klof 13 cent. Whit. II. 467, Ragden Clough 1550 DL. The first el. may be rake “a way, path”; esp. “a narrow path up a cleft or ravine” (<O.N. rāk); but O.E. racu “bed of a stream, water-course” (in ét-, strēamracu) or hrace “throat” are also possible.  
2. Ribchester (v.): Rībelecastre DB, Rībbecestre 1202 LF, 1246 LAR etc., Rībcelcstre 1215 LPR, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, Rībcelcstre 1258 IPM, Rībchestre 1246 LAR, Rībilchastre 1335, 1355 LF, Ribilchaster 1358 LF, Riblechastre 1362 CR 343,
Ribbechastre 1373 LF. Ribchester stands on the Ribble. It was the seat of a Roman station (Bremetomaci in Ant. It.). O.E. ceaster means “a city or walled town,” originally one that had a Roman station. The loss of l may be compared with that in such (O.E. swile), etc.

**Knowl Green** (h.) : de Oolle (Knoolle) 1246 LAR, de Knol 1262 LF, 1274 LI; now [nous gri:n]. O.E. cnoll “knoll, hillock.”

3. **Dilworth** (N. of Ribchester): Bülwurde DB, Dillewirth 1227 LF, Düllewerthe a 1240 CC, Dillesworth 1246 LAR, Dillesworth 1256 LAR, Dilwort 1279 CIF, Dyllewoerd 1292 PW, Dilwirth 1303 LF. I am inclined to believe that this is simply O.E. dīle “dill” and wurp. The forms with -s- (Dillesworth, etc.) to some extent tell against this etymology, but the s may be intrusive.


**Alston** (the W. part): Alston 1226, 1257 LI, 1332 LS, etc., de Alleston (Halueston, Halfiston, Halleston) 1246 LAR; now [olstn]. In view of the 1246 forms the first el. of the name seems to be some name in O.E. ālf-, perhaps ālfesige as in Alston, Worc.: ālfesiges tun c 1050 CD 805, Alsostone, Alstone 1275 (Duignan).

**Hothersall** (the E. part): Hudereshal 1199 ChR, Hudereshal 1201 LPR, 1226 LI, Huddeshal 1206 LPR, Hodersale 1212 LI, de Hodersale 1251 LI, de Hudeshale 1252 LI, Hudereshale 1257 IPM, Hodresal 1258 LAR, Hudresal 1259 LAR, de Hudresale 1279 CIF, Hodersale 1297 LI, 1332 LS; now [huters; ɔdəsl]. The first el. of the name is no doubt a pers. n., identical with that in Huddersfield: Oderesfeld DB, Hodersfeld 1280, Hudresfeld a 1297, Hudresfeld 1131 etc. (Goodall, Moorman). But it is not easy to explain such a name. The O.E. Hudthere (≈ Hythhere) found once does not account well for the regular d of the early forms. The change [ð] to [d] before r in rudder (O.E. rōðor), spider is evidenced a good deal later than in the names Hothersall and Huddersfield. It may be a derivative of O.E. Hud(d)a with an r-suffix; cf. Bickerstaffe, p. 121f. The second el. is O.E. ha[lh] “haugh.” Hothersall Hall stands in a piece of level ground in a bend of the Ribble.

**PRESTON PAR.**

A large district N. of the Ribble. The surface is low in the S. and W., but rises in the N. and E.

1. **Elston** (N.E. of Preston, on the Ribble): Etheliston 1212 LI, 1259 LAR, 1332 LS, de Etheleston (Etheliston, Ethelaston, Etherston) 1246 LAR, Elleston 1446 LF. The first el. is an O.E. name in ēðel- (a Northumbrian side-form of ēðel-; cf. Chadwick, Studies in Old English, p. 176). Elswick seems to contain O.E. ēdelsige, and this shows more plausible than ēðelwulf (suggested by Wyld) also in the case of Elston. The second el. is O.E. wīc “dwelling,” etc.


Grimsargh (the N. half): Grimesarge DB, Grimesherham 1189 Ch, de Grimesargh 1246 LAR, Grimesargh 1262 LI, 1341 IN, etc., Grymesargh 1324 LI, Greymesargh 1301 LF; now [grimzə]. “The erg her (or pasture) of Grim.” On ergh see p. 10. Grimer is a well-known O.N. pers. name. The land of the township is chiefly in pasture.

Brockholes (the S. part; in a bend of the Ribble): Brochole 1212 LI, de Brocholes


**Scales**: *Ribelton Scales* 1252 ChR. O.N. skáli "hut."

4. *Fishwick* (E. and now part of Preston): *Fissucwic*, de *Fiskewic* 1202 LF, *Fiswic* 1203f. LPR, *Fyswic* 1216-22 LI, *Fissewyk, Fiskewic* 1247-51 LI, *Fiswyke* 1252 IPM, *Fischewik* 1269 LAR, *Fixwyky, Fyssewyk* 1297f. LI, *Fisshewyk* 1326 LF, *ffishwik* 1332 LS. I believe (with Sephton) that this is simply O.E. *fisc-wic*, which I take to mean "place (village) where fish is sold"; cf. especially *saltwic* "place where salt is sold" (B-T). Or it might be "village where fish is caught." Fishwick is on the Ribble, and the ancient highway from Preston to the S. passes through the township. Fishwick is also the name of an old parish in Berwickshire near the Tweed.


**Avenham Park**: *Avenham* 1591 DL. The name is identical with Avenham or Enam in Singleton, with *Avenames* (Newton) 1212-42 CC, *Avenam de Farlton* (Westmorl.) 1208-49 ib. M.E. *avenam* is clearly a Scand. word; cf. O.Swed. *afnam* "land severed from an estate." In a note to Guisb. C II. 442 *ovenam* is explained as "land taken up from, or out of, a larger tract unappropriated and unenclosed," i.e., "a purpresture, encroachment, or intak." That may be the exact meaning also of *avenam*.

**Deepdale**: *Dypedale* 1228 CIR, de *Depedale* 1354 LF. "The deep valley."


**Tulketh**: *Tulket* c 1130 Sim. Durh., 1199 ChR, (villa de) *Tulchut* a 1250 CC, *Tulkid* 1252 ChR, *Magnum Tulket* a 1255 CC, *Tulkut, Tulchut*, (Kar de) *Tulkut* a 1268 CC, *Tulketh* 1292 PW, de *Tulkith* 1293 LI, *Tulcood, Tokylth* 1545 DL. This is, in my opinion, a Brit. name, to be compared with M.Bret. *Toulgoet* (Loth 234), Bret. *Toulhoet*, a fairly common name; also with Twl-côd (Llandaff, Wales): *tolcoit, Toll Coit* LL 188, (fontis) *tolcoit* ib. 189. The first el. is Bret. *toul* "trou," Corn. *toll*, Welsh *twîl* "hole, pit," the second Bret. *hoat*, O.Corn. *cuit*, Welsh *coed* "wood." Toulgoet means "le bois troué." Toulhoet, and probably Welsh Twl-côd, mean "le trou du bois." This is probably also the meaning of Tulketh. The quotation *Kar de Tulkut* is especially to be noticed. A place called Hole House is (or was) near Tulketh.

French Lea: Le Franceis a 1194 Ch, Le Franceis 1207 ChR, Lee Francia CC 209, Lee Franceis (Fraunchey) 1259 LAR, Le Galicana a 1268 CC, Lee Galicana 1377 LF, 1422 CR, La Lee Franucney 1334 LF; Frenkesslee 1278 LAR.

English Lea (now Lea Town): Engleshele[a] 1201 LPR, Le Engleis 1207 ChR, Englesheleee 1385 LF, Lee Anglicana 1422 CR.

Greaves: del Greues 1246 LAR, del Greves 1334 LF. O.E. grœf “grove.”

Sidgreaves: Sidegreves, Side Greves c 1230 CC, de Sydegreves 1246 LAR. First el. O.E. sid “wide, large.”

Cottam (the N.W. part): Cotun a 1230 CC, de Cotun 1227 LF, Cotum c 1230 CC, 1246, 1284 LAR, Kotun, Cotton 1246 LAR, Cotam 1292 PW, Cotham 1577 Harr. O.E. cotum dat. pl. of cot “cottage,” (often) “sheep-cote.”

Ingol (the N.E. part): Ingole 1200 ChR, 1314 LI, Igole, Ingool (Yngole, Yngoil) 1199-1206 Ch (orig.), Ingol 1246, 1284 LAR, de Ingoles 1246 LAR, Ingel 1257 ib., Inghoo 1558 LF. The second el. is O.E. hoh (or O.N. hol) “hole; hollow, valley.” The first is presumably a pers. name. O.E. Inga (Searle) may be English or Scandinavian (Björkman). The occurrence of the name in Inkpen, Berks. indicates that it is at least partly native.


Fernyhalgh: Fernyhalgh 1500 DL, Fernyhalgh (Chap.) 1516 DL. “Ferny house.”

Ingolhead (adjoining Ingol): de Thyncoleheued 1246 LAR, de Ingoledheued 1310 LI, de Ingolhéed 1332 LS, de Ingolfheved 1341 IN, Ingolheved 1380 LF. The first el. is no doubt the place-name Ingol. Ingolf- shows transition of -h into -f. The second el. is O.E. hēafod, whose sense is here not very clear; perhaps “upper end.” There does not seem to be any hill at Ingolhead.

Sharoe (h.): Sharoo, Shawarewe, Sharow 1502 DL, Sharoe 1513 ib., Sharowe 1558 LF. Perhaps the Charauhoke (Sharoe oak ?) 1338 LPR 425 contains the name. Sharoe is on slightly rising ground between Sharoe Brook and a brook that forms the boundary between Broughton and Fulwood. We may compare Sharow, Yks.: Scharhew 1285-1316, Scharhowe, -hou 1303, etc. (Moorman). The elements may be O.E. scar “boundary” (in landscaru, landscarhine) and O.N. haur “hill,” or O.E. hoh “ridge.” Charauhoke is one of the boundaries of Fulwood. But the early forms are not sufficiently clear.

Urton or Durton (near Broughton Hall): Overtun DB, Aulton 1201 LPR, Halicotun 1212 LI, Halechton 1226 LI, Halton a 1268 CC, Halghton 1327, 1332 LS. O.E. halth “haugh” and tûn. Haughton Hall and Haighton House stand on level ground near Savick Brook.

New Chingle Hall: Chynglethall 1501 LF, Chynglehall 1516 DL. “The hall covered with shingles.” Chingle is a side-form of shingle, “thin piece of wood used as a house-tile” (c 1200 NED); cf. Singleton, p. 154.

Newsham (h.; formerly Goosnargh): Neuhouse DB, Newesum, Neusum 1246 LAR, Neusum 1249 IPM, Neusom 1252 IPM, 1332 LS, de Neusum c 1260 CC, Neusum 1312 LI, Neusum 1327 LS. “(At) the new houses.”

Hollowforth (in Newsham; h.): de Holuford 1332 LS, Holoforth 1558 LF. “The hollow ford,” or “the ford in the hollow.” The place is on Barton Brook.

**LANCASTER PAR.** (detached portions)

1. Fulwood (N. of Preston, now partly suburban): ful(e)wude 1228 CIR, Fulwode 1252 Chr, Fulwode 1297 LI, Folewode 1323 LI. O.E. ful “rotten” or “dirty” and wudu “wood.” Fulwood belonged to the forest of Lancaster.

Cadley: Cadileisahoe 1228 CIR, Cadilegh 1314, 1324 LI, 1338 LPR. Apparently O.E. Cadan leah. But the regular i in the second syllable is curious.

Hyde Park (name lost): hyde 1256-8 LI, parc de Hyde, Hyde 1324f. LI, parco de Hyde 1323 LC 449, de Hide 1332 LS, Hydeschagbroke 1338 LPR. O.E. hid “hide.” I suppose Hyde is the name of a lost village or farm; Hyde is a common place-name.

**Killinsough:** Kelangeshalgh, Kelandeshagh 1324 LI, Kylaneshalgh 1363 M. The first el. may be the O.N. pers. n. Kylan from Fr. Coulen. The second el. is O.E. halh “haugh.” K. stands between the Savock and a tributary brook.

2. Myerscough (N.W. of Preston and Barton): de Mirsch(h) 1246 LAR, de Miresco 1265 LI, Mirescowe 1297 LI, Mireschogh 1323 LI, 1323 LC, Merscow c 1540 Leland. O.N. myrr “bog” (>E. mire) and skogr “wood.” The ground of the township is low and level and traversed by several streams (the Brock and others).

Aschebi DB is thought to be a lost vill. in Myerscough. Aschebi no doubt stands for Askbei, the first el. being O.N. askr “ash”; cf. O.Swed. Askby and Askaby.


Midghalgh or Midge Hall: Migelhalgh 1314 LI, Migelhalgh 1324 LI, Migel-, Migelhcal 1326 LC 454f. Cf. Migehalch (Ashton, Preston) a 1268 CC and Midge Hall, p. 133. O.E. mycg “midge” and halh “haugh.” The place stands a few hundred yards from Barton Brook; the intervening ground is low and level.

Stansacre: Stanunesacre 1553 DL. Earlier material is needed. The first el. may be O.N. Stein pers. n.

**KIRKHAM PAR.**

This large parish consists of two parts, separated from each other by the parishes of St. Michael’s and Preston. The chief portion is W. of the said parishes, and stretches from the Ribble in the S. to the Wyre in the N., with Hambleton N. of the Wyre. This portion is in the Fylde. The smaller portion (Goosnargh Chapelry, comprising Goosnargh and Whittingham townships) is on the border of Chipping and on the lower slope of Longridge Hill.

Ashley: de Esselewe a 1250 CC, de Ashileg 1323 LI. O.E. esse “ash” and léah.

Chingle Hall (estate): The Chingly Hall 1530 RW 268, Shinglehall 1546 DL, Synglehall 1571 DL. See New Chingle Hall, p. 147.

Comberhaugh: de Cumberhaugh 1310 LI, Cumberall 1497 LF. The place was apparently on Blundel Brook. The name is preserved in Cumeragh Lane, which crosses Blundel Brook. The second el. of the name is O.E. halh “haugh.” The first may be O.E. Cumbera pers. n. or Cumber “Briton.” The only objection against this etymology is the fact that the same name is found also in Cronton (Combral 1337 WhC 817) and in Houghton, De. (Cumbrall VHL IV. 167), which would seem to indicate that the first el. is rather a common noun. There are a M.H.G. kumber “rubbish,” Norw. dial. kumar “bud,” Swed. dial. kummer, kumber the same. There may have been an O.E. word of similar form and meaning.

Duxendale: Duxenden 1587 DL. Etymology obscure.

2. Goosnargh (N.E. of Preston): Gusansarghe DB, Gunanesarg 1206 LPR, Gosenhargh, Gosenargh, Gosenarch, Gusenhach 1246 LAR, Gosenhar’ 1257 IPM, Gosnahrhe, Gosenarwe, Gosenarewe 1269 LAR, Gosenarch 1277 LAR, Gosenargh 1284 LAR, 1306 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Gosenargh 1297 LI; now [gu‘zne]. Second el. ergh, argh “shieling” (p. 10). The first is apparently a pers. n. Gosan or Gusan from Ir. Gosan, Gusun (see Hogan, p. 81, 693).

Barker: Barker 1513, 1514 DL. The second el. of the name may well be ergh “a shieling”; the first being O.N. bœrk “bark” or Bœkr pers. n. Higher and Lower Barker are in a remote situation on a hill-side.

Beesley: de Beselaye c 1200 CC, Beysleye c 1210 CC, de Biseligh (Besleg) 1246 LAR, de Beysleye (Byssley) 1277 LAR, de Besley 1332 LS. Probably O.E. Bist pers. n. (Searle) and léah. Cf. Bisley (Glo.).

Blake Hall: Blakhall c 1450 HS LXIV. 279, Blackhall 1600 RS XII. Perhaps simply “black hall.”


Inglewhite (v.): Inglewhite 1662 RW 83. The first el. is probably a pers. n., e.g., O.N. Ingulfr. On the second see p. 19.

Kidnape: Kydesnape 1520 DL, Kydsonape 1539 CC. M.E. kid “young of goat” (a Scand. word) and snape “pasture,” see p. 17.

Longley: Longelee, Longelech c 1210 CC, de Longelyhe 1252 LI. “Long lea.”

Loudscales (on the Loud): de Ludescal(e) 1219, de Ludreskal 1221, de Ludescales 1222, de Ludescall 1223 LAR, Loud Scales 1585 RW 210; cf. de la Lude 1262 LAR. “The scales or huts on the Loud.” Scale is O.N. skål “hut.”

Middleton (on Westfield Brook, a tributary of Barton Brook): Middelton 1323 LF, de Midelton 1332 LS. “The middle tun.”

Threliffall (old manor; the N.E. part of Goosnargh): Threliefelt DB, de Threliffall
Forster, the all Frekintone dangerous Frecheltun Newton-with-Scales Frekenton O.N. and O.N. Freketon Salewic W. (Frequelton, de name v.) the near ? not Frequelton Clifton-with-Salwick Glistun (cf. or (cf. D. Sephton Skalys "The The Frequelton ffrekilton fall LPR, 5. seems the a Scales Newton Lundr Lund " The Lunding elements of the name are probably O.E. salth (pl. salas) "sallow" and wic "dwelling," etc. Lund (v.) : ? Lund 1228 CIR, le Lund a 1268 CC, Lundmosse 1595 DL. O.N. lundr "grove." 3. Clifton-with-Salwick (on the Ribble, W. of Preston). Clifton (v.): Clistun DB, Clifton 1226 LI, 1257 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Clyfton 1341 IN. First el. O.E. clif "hill, slope." Clifton vil. lies on a fairly steep slope above the marshy land along the Ribble. Salwick: Salewic DB, Salewic 1201 LPR, 1226 LI, Saleswic 1200 Rot Obl, Salevyk 1327 LS, Sawick 1577 Saxton. Salwick is near a small tributary of Savick Brook. The elements of the name are probably O.E. sal (pl. salas) "sallow" and wic "dwelling," etc. Lund (v.) : ? Lund 1228 CIR, le Lund a 1268 CC, Lundmosse 1595 DL. O.N. lundr "grove." 4. Newton-with-Scales (on the Ribble, W. of Clifton). Newton (v.): Neutune DB, Newton a 1242 CC, 1243 LI, 1332 LS, etc. "The new tün." Scales (close to Newton): Skalys 1501 CC, Scales, Scalys 1537 ib. O.N. skāli "hut." Dowbridge (h.): (magnam stratum de) Dalebrig(e), Delbrigeheuet, Dalebrigewara a 1268 CC. D. is in the valley of Freckleton Brook. The elements of the name are O.E. dæl (or O.N. dæl) "valley" and O.E. brycg. The road alluded to is the Danes' Pad, thought to be of Roman origin. The el. -wara (in one example) seems to be wra from O.N. (v) rá "corner." 5. Freckleton (on the Ribble; W. of Newton; v.): Frecheltun DB, Frecheltuna 1153–60 Ch (orig.), Frekeltona, ffrekelton c 1190 CC, Frekelton 1202, 1227 LF, etc., ffrekelton 1332 LS, Frekelton 1428 LF; Freketon 1201 LPR; Frekenton 1201f. LPR, 1270 LAR; Frequenton 1201f. LPR, Frequenton 1204 LPR; Frekintone 1212 RB; Frequelton 1212 LI; de Frikelton 1246 LAR. S. of the vil. is a point of land called the Naze: "the famous Neb of the Nesse," 1771 Whitaker, Hist. of Manchester I. 129. In Whitaker's time the Ribble formed a large bend here. The depth was 15ft.

This is a very difficult name, to no small extent owing to the variety in the early forms. The forms in l (Frekleton, etc.) are obviously to be preferred to those in n (Frekenton, etc.), as they are more common and evidenced earlier. No doubt n is due to Norman dissimilation. Then there is the question if the spellings with gu for h (Frequelton, Frequenton) are worthy of attention. I suppose they indicate that a w has been lost after k. Sephton assumes as first el. O.E. Freculf, but such a name is not evidenced; the instance in Scarle is Frankish. If the form contained a w, I think the first el. is an O.E. *Frecwulf containing O.E. frec "greedy" or "dangerous" (cf. Förster, E. St. 39, 328 ff.) and O.E. wāl "pool," referring to the deep place in the river mentioned. This seems to me the most probable explanation. If the original form had no w, it is perhaps an l-derivative of the stem in O.E. frec, frac. This may be an O.E. *Frecela pers. n. (cf. Freca) or a derivative of the O.E. adj. frēcel (M.E. frekel) "wicked; dangerous" (cf. Förster l.c.), a name of the pool.
6. Warton (on the Ribble, E. of Lytham; v.): Wartun DB, Wartuna 1153-60 Ch (orig.), Warton 1227 LF, 1332 LS, etc. Probably O.E. *weard-tūn (cf. weard-seld “guard-house,” etc., G. Wartburg). This etymology seems fairly certain for Warton in Lonsdale, and plausible for Warton in Am. Warton Bank would be suitable as a lookout place; the ground W. of Warton along the Ribble is very low and was in old days mostly uninhabitable. O.E. warop (wearp) “shore” is also possible as first el., but a name “shore town” is not very distinctive, as several old villages are on the shore.

Cowburn or Cowburgh (old estate): Couburugh 1189-94 Ch (in Ch R 1336), Cowburne, insula de Coburco (Kuburne) a 1246 CC. The original name was probably Cú-burne “cow brook,” -burgh being due to a deliberate change.


Bryning (h.): Birstaf brinn[ing] 1201 LPR, Birstatbrunning 1236 LI, Burstad Brining 1243 LI, Burwadbruning 1249 IPM; Brunigg 1252 IPM, Brining, Brunigg 1254 IPM, Brining 1341 IN, etc., Brinig 1332 LS, Brynin’ Waugh. The name has a curious history. In the earliest sources it is a double-barrelled name. From about 1250 the first part is dropped. I explain the first part as an O.N. Björstadr (whence Norw. Bjøaastad, Bjøastad) meaning “farmstead”; Bjør- is the gen. of byr (cf. E. byrlaw<byjarlog); stadar means “place.” The same name is Birstwith, W. Yks.: Birstad 13 cent. The second el. may be the O.E. pers. n. Bryning or O.Swed., O.Dan. Bryning. Or it may be an earlier name of the place, e.g., an O.E. patronymic Bryningas. I suppose Bystath Bryning means Bryning Farm. The order between the elements is due to Celtic influence. A Celtic el. is found in the next name.

Kellamergh (h.): Kelgrimeshereg 1201 LPR, Kelgrimesarqe a 1246 CC, Kelgrimisarke 1236 LI, Kelghrimeshare 1285 LAR, Kelgrimisharg 1249 IPM, Kelgrimesharg 1254 IPM, Kelgrymeasaregh 1276 CIR, Kelgrimeshargh 1297 LI, Kelgrimesarqh 1332 LS, Kelgrimesarqh 1347 LF, Kellamoor Waugh. The “ergh, or shieling, of *Kelgrim.” On ergh, argh see p. 10. Kelgrim is a Scand. pers. n., derived by Björkman, Namenkunde, from O.N. *Keilgrimr. Yet the earliest form does not quite bear out this suggestion.

8. Westby with Plumptons (N. of Lytham).

Westby (h.): Westbi DB, Westby 1226 LI, 1257 LF, etc.; Westeby 1327, Westebi 1332 LS. “The western by,” a Scand. name Vestýr.

Ballam (h.): Balholm 1189-94 Ch (in Ch R 1336), de Balholme 1324 LCR, de Balghholm 1332 LS. Ballam stands on a slight elevation (c 35ft.) with Lytham Moss on the W., Brown Moss on the E. Holm (O.N. holmr) no doubt means an “island” in a moss. The first el. is perhaps M.E. balgh adj. “round,” cf. p. 7.

Plumpton (formerly Fieldplumpton for distinction from Woodplumpton): Pluntun DB, Plumpton 1226 LI, 1257 LF, etc., Plumpton 1327, 1332 LS; Fildeplumpton 1323 LI, 1359 LF. O.E. plume “plum, plumtree” and tūn. There are now two hamlets: Great and Little Plumpton: Little, Le Graunte Fildeplumpton 1323 LI.


Ribby (v.): Rīgbī DB, 1169 LPR, Ribi 1094 Ch, Rygeby 1189-93 Ch, Ribby 1227 CIR, Ryggebi 1226 LI, Rygeby 1226 LI, 1332 LS, etc., Ruggeby 1249 LI. “The byr on the ridge”; O.N. hrygr “ridge” and byr. Ribby stands on or at a small ridge.
Wrea (W. of Ribby; Wrea Green, h.): Wra 1201 LPR, 1226 LI, c 1200 CC, Wraa 1324 LI, 1380 LF, le Wra 1323 LI, le Wraa 1327 LS; Wro 1322 LI. O.N. (v)râ “corner,” etc.; cf. p. 20. In this case the most plausible meaning of vrâ is “remote part.”

Compton, or Counton (in Ribby): Conton 1538 DL, Counton 1559 DL. Perhaps O.E. cumb-tûn “valley town.”

10. Kirkham (N.E. of Lytham, small town): Chicheham DB, Chercheham 1094 Ch, Chircheham c 1130 ib.; Kyrkham, Kircheham, Kyrcham 1094 ib.; Kircheham 1196 LF, de Kyrkeym 1243 LI, Kyrkheym 1246 LF, Kyrkham 1246 LAR, Kyrkeham 1262 LI; Kyrkeham 1279 LF, Kirkeham 1332 LS, Kirkham 1387 LF, etc. The forms point to O.N. kirkia as the first el.; ch is no doubt to be read k in the early forms. The second el. is O.N. heimr or O.E. hâm “home,” etc. I am inclined to believe that the name is an O.E. *Circeham, which was Scandinavianized wholly (to Kirkeheim) or partly (to Kirkham). The name may, of course, be Scandinavian, but Scand. names in -heimr are at least very rare in England.

11. Treales, Roseacre, and Wharles (N.E. of Kirkham).

Treales (the S. part; h.): Treules DB, 1206 LPR, 1332 LS, etc., Trivel”, Trevel” 1249 IPM, Treules 1286 IPM, Treules 1324 LI, 1327 LS, Treesles 1431 FA, Treesle 1517 Saxton, Treayles 1597 DL; now [trelz]. The name is sometimes written Trayles (Bulmer). I identify the name with M.Bret. Trefles 1249 (Loth 234), Treflys, Carn.: (Trefles Rec. Carn. 39). The latter is evidently Welsh treflys “court of the settlement” (Anwyl), a compound of tref “hamlet, town” and llys (O.Bret. lis) “court, hall, palace,” or Welsh Tref-llys “the township of the court or palace.” In Owen’s Pembrokeshire II. 411 Trellys-coed and T.-cnwc (Treflys Bl. B. of St. David’s) are explained in the latter way. Treales is situated in the interior of the district on slightly elevated ground; there are no prominent physical features about the place.

Wharles (the middle part; h.): Quarlous 1249 IPM, Werlows, Warlawes 1286 IPM, Wharlowes 1617 RW 64; now [wolaz]. Wharles is situated on an elevation of some 70ft. To the E. the ground slopes away to about 50ft. The second el. of the name may be O.E. hlâw “hill,” or if the first el. ended in l, O.N. haugr. The first el. is extremely doubtful. It seems most probable that it began with hw- (wh-). Possible sources are O.E. huer, O.N. hvarr “kettle, basin,” O.E. hwearf, O.N. hverf “turning,” etc., or O.E. hverfel “circle,” etc. Quaries, Norf. (: Quarles 1302, 1428 FA) is Huerules DB, which points to O.E. hverfel as its source. As the plural is difficult to explain if the second el. of Wharles meant “hill,” it seems most plausible that it is here to be taken in the sense of “mound”; the name would then have been given on account of some (funeral?) mounds in the neighbourhood. If so, a combination of O.E. hverfel “circle” and O.E. hlâw or O.N. haugr meaning “mounds standing in a circle” may be assumed. The same mounds may have given name to Roseacre, which was no doubt originally a field belonging to Wharles.

Roseacre (c 1 m. N.W. of Wharles, h.): Rasak’, Raysak’ 1249 IPM, Raysacre 1283 LF, Reyacre, Raysaker 1286 IPM, Roseaker 1577 Saxton; now [ro-ze-kæ]. O.N. hreyzi “cairn” and O.N. aker or O.E. æcer (Wyld, Lindkvist).

12. Medlar with Wesham (N. of Kirkham).
**Kirkham Par.**

Medlar: Midelarge 1215 CC, Midilharie 1216 ChR, Middelharg a 1220 Ch, Middelarghe 1226, *erwe* 1227 LI, Midelare c 1230 CC, Midelargh 1235 LF, Midelargh 1324 LI, Mithelarg 1292 PW, 1332 LS. The "middle ergh or shieling"; cf. on ergh, argh p. 10. The first el. is O.E. *middel,* or—as suggested by the 1292 and 1332 forms—originally the corresponding O.N. *middil,* found as a preposition.

Bradkirk: de Bredekyrk 1235 LF, de Bredekirke a 1242 CC, 1246 LAR, Bretekirke, Bredekirk 1249 IPM, de Bredekyrk 1276 AP, Bredekirk 1330 LF, 1386 Ind. II.; Bradkirk 1189 Ch (Kuerden's MS), de Bradecirke a 1242 CC, Bradecirke, Bredekirke 1286 IPM, de Bradekyrk LC 417. I believe the name means "plank church" (first el. O.E. *bred* "board, plank"); cf. Felkirk, Yks., whose first el. is convincingly derived by Goodall from O.N. *fipl* "board." The second el. is Scand. in form, but very likely *kirk* has replaced an O.E. *circe.* There seems to be no mention in early records and no trace of the church that gave name to the place.

Wesham (v.): West(h)usum 1189 Ch, Westhusam 1194 Ch, de Westhusum 1246 LAR, Westeshum 1263 IPM, Westsum 1327, 1332 LS, Westsum 1431 FA; Westhus 1204 LPR. At "the western houses"; *-husum* is the dat. pl. of O.E. or O.N. *hus* "house." Wesham vil. is N.W. of Kirkham vil.

Mowbrick Hall (in Wesham): Moulebrec, Mulebrec 1249 IPM, Molebek 1286 IPM. O.N. *Miið* pers. n. (Björkman, E.St. 44, 254) and O.N. *brekka" slope." Mowbrick stands on a slope.


Weeton (v.): Widenetun DB, Wytheton 1243 LI, Witheaton 1249 IPM, 1327 LS, Wythington 1242 IPM, Wyhton 1297 LI, Wetheton 1324 LI, 1332 LS, 1346 FA, etc., Weton 1341 IN, etc.; Whiteton 1206 LPR. O.E. *widig* "willow" and *tün.* There are still some fine specimens of the willow-tree in the village.

Mythop (in Weeton): Midehope DB, Mithop 1212 LI, 1249 IPM, Methop 1286 IPM. Cf. Meathop, Wml. (Midoth a 1190, Mithheop c 1200 CC, Midhopp 1254 LI) and Middop, Yks. (Mithope DB). Mythop stands on a slight elevation (c 50ft. above sea-level) surrounded by low-lying country; to the W. the level is only 19ft. The second el. is O.E. *hop* "a piece of enclosed land, e.g., in the midst of fens" (NED). The first el. would seem to have been originally O.E. *mið* "middle," but Scand. *miðr* seems to have replaced it, as it has in Meathop, Wml.

Preese: Pres DB, Prees c 1200 CC, 1243 LI, 1259 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Prese c 1200 CC, de Prehes 1276 LAR, de Preses 1246 LAR. I derive the name from the Brit. word found in Welsh *prys* "covert, brushwood," *pres* "brushwood, fuel," Corn. *pres* "meadow" (common in place-names). The same name is Prees, Salop: Pres DB, 1234 FA, Prees 1316 FA, etc. The long vowel is due to the Brit. lengthening in monosyllables (Pedersen § 203ff.). Sephton derives Preese from the Celtic word.

Swarbrick Hall (in Preese): Swarte-, Swartebrec 1249 IPM, Swartebrecke 1286 IPM, de Swart(e)brek 1332 LS; now [swaˈbrik]. The first el. is more probably a pers. n., O.E. *Swart, Swarta* (from O.N. *Svaetr, Svarri,* Björkman), than the adj. O.E. *sweart,* O.N. *svartr.* Cf. Mowbrick. The second el. is O.N. *brekka* "slope." Swarbrick Hall stands at a small hill reaching about 100ft. above sea-level, the surrounding country being lower.
Greenhalgh (the S. part; h.): Greneholf DB, Grenole 1212 LI, 1216 Ch.R, 1292 PW, Grenole 1215 CC, 1249 IPM, 1270 LAR, etc., Grenol 1249 LI, 1394 LF, Grenel 1237 LS, Grenoll 1332 LS, Grenehalgh 1501 CC; now [gri:n]. The name means "the green hollow," the second el. being O.E. holh sb. "hollow"; cf. Scotch houle "hollow place or depression." Greenhalgh h. is on the edge of a shallow depression in the ground.
Corner Row or Cornoe (in Greenhalgh; h.): Cornege 1189 Ch, de Cornay 1216 Ch.R, de Cornay 1215 CC, Corney c 1230 CC, de Corney 1246 LAR, Cornay 1292 PW; Corneraw 1501 CC, Corneyrow 1553 LF; now [ko:nə ro:]. The original name was Corney, to which was added raw, row "a number of houses standing in a line." Corney apparently means "corn island," i.e., the island where corn was grown. But it is also possible Corn- represents O.E. corn, a sideform of cran "crane" (cf. Cornbrook, p. 27). Corney stands in a bend of Thistleton Brook, which here makes a right angle; this may have caused the place to be described as an "island." But O.E. ëg was also used in the sense "land on a river" or the like.
Esprick (h.): Eskebrec c 1210 CC, Escebrec 1249 IPM, de Askrebrek 1332 LS, O.N. Eskebrekka "ash slope." Esprick stands on a slope. Ashtrees are still common in the hamlet.
Thistleton (the N. part; h.): Thistilton 1212 LI, Thistleton 1219 LF, 1286 IPM, 1332 LS, Thistleton 1249 IPM. "The tun where thistles grow."
15. Little Eccleston with Larbrick (N.E. of Blackpool; on the Wyre).
Little Eccleston (h.): Egleston DB, Ecliston 1212 LI, Parua Eccleston 1261 LAR, 1332 LS, Little Eccleston 1331, 1369 LF. "Church town," Brit. *ecclés "church," see p. 37. Li. Eccleston adjoins Great Eccleston in St. Michael's, of which it was no doubt originally a part.
Larbrick (W. of Little Eccleston): Lairbrec 1212 LI, Leyrbrec a 1213 CC, de Lairebrec 1246 LAR, Layrbrek 1332 LS. See further Lindkvist. "Clay slope" (O.N. leir "clay" and brekka "slope"). Larbrick stands a little way S. of the Wyre at an altitude of 65ft. The ground slopes away to the Wyre. The soil is clayey (VHL VII. 181).
16. Singleton, Gt. and Li. (N.E. of Blackpool; S. of the Wyre): Singleton DB, Syngeltona 1094 Ch, Syngelton c 1190 Ch, Singleton 1177 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, etc.; Singleton a 1213 CC, 1245 IPM; de Sengelton 1206 LC 385, Sengleton 1330 LC 471, etc.; Schingeltona 1169f. LPR, Schingelton 1172, 1182 LPR, de Shingelton, de Shyngelton 1246 LAR, Shingelton 1362 OR; Singelton (magna cum parua) 1327, 1332 LS, Little Syngelton 1303 LF. Singleton Grange: Singleton Grange 1297 LI.

The remarkable variation in the early forms corresponds exactly to that in the early forms of shingle sb.1 "a thin piece of wood used as a house-tile": shyn gle, schyn gle, shyn gel 1300, etc. (scincle c 1200), singel, single 1330, etc., schengle, shengyll 16 cent. (NED), to some extent also with those of shingle sb.2 "small roundish stones": chingle, shingle 16 cent. (NED). Chingford, Ess. (Cingefort DB, Chingeford 1303 FA, Shingelford 1346 FA) seems to contain this latter word. Singleton more probably contains the former shingle. The same name seems to be Singleton, Suss., correctly explained by Johnston,
LYTHAM AND BISPHAM PARS.

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who also adduces Singleborough in Bucks. (Sincleberia DB, Cincleberge 1262 IPM; cf. seincle c 1200 NED). If this is correct, shingle “house-tile” must be an O.E. adaptation of Lat. scindula. The variation between single and shingle must be due to different substitutions for Lat. sc-. -gl- for Lat. -dul- is remarkable. Singleton would thus seem to mean “the tūn with shingled roof(s)”; cf. Chingle Hall, pp. 147, 149.

Mains (manor-house in Li. Singleton): Maynes 1594 Poulton R. Cf. mains sb.²(< domain) “the farm attached to a mansion, a home farm” (1533ff. NED).

Newbigging (now Singleton Grange): Neubigging 1215 LPR, 1226 LI, 1216 CC, Newbigging 1215 CIR. Bigging “building” (1300, etc.) is a derivative of big vb. “to build; to dwell” from O.N. byggia.

17. Hambleton (S.E. of Fleetwood, on the W. bank of the Wyre; v.): Hamelton DB, Hamelton 1177, 1201, 1206 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LF, 1332 LS, etc. The first el. is no doubt a pers. n. O.E. *Hamela or the like (Wyld); cf. Hama and Hemele. The name Hambleton is found in Yks. (Hamelton DB), Leic., Linc., etc.

Sower Carr: Sawerker 1622 RW 56. O.N. saurr “mud,” etc., and kiarr “marsh.”

LYTHAM PAR.

The S.W. part of the hundred; on the Ribble.

Lytham (township, town): Lādun DB, Lythum 1189-94 Ch (in ChR 1336), 1000 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Lithum 1201 LPR, 1212 LI, Lethum 1341 IN, 1506 LF, Lethom 1494 Ind II, Lethum 1577 Saxton; now [lādum, lēdum]. This must be O.E. hēdum “at the slopes” from O.E. hēd. The name seems to refer to the slight slope above the Ribble. There is hardly any point in the township higher than c 25ft. Most of the district was formerly mosseland.

Eastham (N.E. of Lytham town): Estholme, Estholmer c 1190 Ch (in ChR 1336). “The eastern holm.” The place stands on very low ground; to the E. close by is a slight elevation, which was no doubt formerly a holm or island in the moss.

Kilgrimol (Cimiterium de K.) c 1190 Ch (in ChR 1336), Kyteamrosse 1531 LP I. 210. The cemetery by the 16th cent. had been worn into the sea (VHL VII. 216). The place is now in St. Annes. The elements of the name are apparently Kelgrim as in Kellamergh and hol “hollow.”

BISPHAM PAR.

A narrow strip of land along the sea.

1. Layton with Warbreck, now called Blackpool.

Layton, Gt. and Li. (villages): Laton DB, Latona c 1140, Lattuna 1147, Latona 1155 Ch, Laton 1236, 1297 Li, 1285 ChR, 1332 LS, etc., magna Laton 1275 LC 380, de Parua Latum 1284 LAR, Great, Little Laton 1340 LF, parua Laton 13 cent. WhC 423; Lathun, Lathom 13 cent. CC. The first el. I take to be O.E. lād “water-course, channel.” As regards the long vowel before t from dt cf. Huyton p. 113. There are small water-courses in Layton. Another possibility is that the first el. is O.N. lā “water along the shore,” Norw. dial. lāa “peat-water,” cf. M.H.G. lā “pool, peaty water,” etc. Cf. Blackpool infra. Lathun (Lathon) CC is no doubt due to association with Lathom De.
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Warbreck: Wardebreck c 1140, Wardebrecc 1147, Wardebrech 1155 Ch, Warthebrek 1324 LI, 1332 LS, etc. “Beacon hill”; from O.N. varði, varða “beacon” and brekka “slope.” Warbreck stands on a ridge of 100 ft., on which is also a place called Knowle (O.E. enoll “knoll”).

Blackpool town (: Blacke Pull 1661 RW 14) took its name from “a peaty-coloured pool of water” (VHL VII. 242), called Pul 1252-68 CC 157; cf. del Pul 1332 LS (Layton).

Bispham or Layton Hawes: Houwes, Howes inter Lithum et Laton 13 cent. CC, the Hawes 1531 DL. The plural of how from O.N. haugr “hill.”

2. Bispham with Norbreck (N. of Blackpool).

Bispham, Gr. and Li. (hamlets): Biscopeham DB, c 1130, 1147 Ch, 1196 LF, Bischopeham 1094 Ch, Biscopeham c 1140 lb., Bischopham 1155, c 1190 lb., Biscopeham 1216 Ind, Bishaym c 1270 CC, Bispeham 1327 LS, Bispham 1332 LS, 1340 LF, etc., Byspham in ye Fyle 1577 Saxton. O.E. Biscopham “the bishop’s ham.” The forms with hey, due to Scand. influence, are very rare. There is no reason with Lindkvist p. 69 to look upon the name as Scand. and derive the first el. from O.N. biskop. It is doubtful if the pronunciation sk is evidenced; with Biscopeham in DB, etc., may be compared Biscopestone, Sus., Som., etc., in DB. For the development of Biscop- to Bisp- cf. Bispestone, Staffs. Biscomb (Bardsley) is probably a different name.

Norbreck (h.): Norhicbrec 1241 LF, Northbrek 1267 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, etc. “The northern slope” or “hill” (O.N. brekka). The place is on the slope of a small hill N. of Gt. Bispham.

POULTON-LE-FYLDE PAR.

A district E. and N. of Blackpool, W. of the Wyre. The surface is low and mostly level.

1. Marton (S.E. of Blackpool): Meretun DB, Merton 1176 LPR, Meretona 1777f. LPR, 1212 LI, Merton 1286 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., Maret 1183f. LPR, Marton 1249 IPM, etc., Great, Little Marton 1297 LI, etc., Merton Magna 1327 LS. Marton is named from Marton Mere, now reduced considerably in size, so that the hamlets of Gt. and Li. Marton stand at some distance from it. The first el. is O.E. mere “lake.”

Linhoulm is sometimes mentioned together with Marton in early documents: Lynholm, Lynlom 1249 IPM, Lenholm 1286 IPM, de Lynholme 1332 LS. “Flax holme” (O.E., O.N. lín “flax”).

Peel: Pile 1593 Poulton R. Peel “a palisade; a small tower” (<A.F. pel).


2. Hardhorn with Newton (E. of Blackpool).

Staining (h.): Staininghe DB, Steniȝ 1208 Rot. Obl. 425, Stanyngas, Steyningen 1211-40 WhC 419f., Staininges, Stayingnes, Staining, de Staining 1246 LAR, Stayingne Grange 1297 LI, Stayingne 1312 LI.

This is no doubt an old name in-ingas, derived from a pers. name or some other word. The base seems to be a Scand. word, but I am inclined to believe that Staining is rather a Scand. adaptation of an O.E. Stæningas or Stæningas; cf.
Steyning, Suss.: Steeningum 880, Staninges DB, but Steininges 1278, etc. (Roberts). The form Stanynggas, which looks as if it had been taken out of some O.E. deed, to some extent corroborates this. Stän- is not with certainty evidenced in O.E. pers. names. But the corresponding Stein- is common in O.H.G. and Scand. names; it is therefore probable that the element was once used by the Anglo-Saxons. Derivation from *Stän pers. n. seems to me most probable, but stän “stone” or a place-name Stän may also be the base. Staining is an old manor; in DB it is assessed at no less than six ploughlands. Hardhorn and Newton are not mentioned until fairly late.

Hardhorn (h.): Hordern 1298 WhC 439, 1324 LI, 1327 LS, Hordorn 1332 LS. O.E. hordan “store-house, store-room.” Cf. Hordern, p. 48. Hardhorn must have been a storehouse belonging to the lords of Staining or to Whalley Abbey. Newton (h.): Newton 1298 WhC 439, 1327 LS, Nuton 1332 LS. Todderstaffe: de Taldrestath 1332 LS, Taldrestath 1526, Taldrstaffe 1524 DL, Todrstaffe 1597 Poulton R. The forms allow of no definite etymology. Todderstaffe stands on a brook; the second el. may be O.N. stóð “landing-place.”

3. Poulton (N.E. of Blackpool; with Great Poulton v., Little Poulton h.): Pultun DB, Pultona 1094, c 1190 Ch, 1216 Ind, Pulton 1196 LF, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Magna, Parva Pulton LC 400, Kirkepulton 1330 LF. “The tân at the pool.” Poulton township lies between two brooks, which join to form the brook called Skippool. I suppose Poulton was named from Skippool, which see. Compley: Compley 1600, Conntley 1605, 1607 Poulton R. An earlier form is very likely Cantelawe LC 403. If so, the name seems to go back to O.E. Cantan hlāw “the hill of Canta.” High Compley is on a slight hill.

4. Carleton (N.E. of Blackpool; Gt. and Li. Carleton, hamlets): Carlentun DB, Carlson a 1190 CC, Karlton 1243 LI, Karleton 1256 LF, Carleton 1327, 1332 LS, etc.; parva Carlson c 1200 CC, Magna Carlson c 1260 ib. Carleton and Carlton are common names in Scand. England; examples are found as far S. as Cambr. and Beds. I take it that the first el. is karl the gen. pl. of O.N. karl “a man, a husbandman,” etc. Skeat explains Carlton, Suff. so, while Björkman, Wyld, Sephton take the first el. to be a pers. n. (O.N. Karl, -i). The name is a Scand. counterpart of Chalton, etc. (see Chorlton, p. 32). To some extent Carleton may be a Scand. adaptation of O.E. Ceorlātn.

Hayholme: Hayholme c 1270 CC, de Haiholm 1332 LS, hayome 1594 Poulton R. O.E. hēg or O.N. heìy “hay” and O.N. holm “island,” etc.

Norcross (Great Carleton): Norcros c 1200 CC, Nortcros c 1250 CC, de Norcroses 1285 LAR. The “north cross.”

Risca: Risecarre 1598 Poulton R. Probably O.N. hris “brushwood” (or O.E. hris) and kiarr “bog,” etc.

5. Thornton (Gt. and Li., N. of Blackpool, between the Wyre and the sea; v.): Torentun DB, Torrenton 1226 LI, Thornton 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Thornton 1258 IPM, Thornton 1275 LC, 1297 LI, etc. First el. O.E. porn “thorn.”

Burn or Borm Hall (N. of Gt. Thornton): Brune DB, 1246 LAR, Brunne 1204 LPR, 1283 LF, Brone 1324 LI, de Brun 1332 LS; Brone 1200 LPR, de Brune LC 417. O.E. bruna, an older form of burna “brook”; cf. Burnley in Bl. There are two or three small brooks in the neighbourhood. Of course, the place may have been named after a spring.
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The Holmes (near Gt. Thornton vil.): le Holmes 1386 CR 358, Holmes 1489 PatR, 1525 DL. O.N. holmr "island," etc.

Limebrest (S. of Gt. Thornton): the Lynebreste 1604 Poulton R. Etymology obscure.†

Ritherham, now Cleveleys (on the sea): Rotherholme 1571 DL, Ritdthrome 1588 RW 5, Rytherome 1596 Poulton R. O.E. hryðer "ox" and holm "island."

Rossall (the headland between the Wyre and the sea with Fleetwood town at the N. end): Rushale DB, Rossall 1212 LI, Rossale (pastura) 1216, 1221 CR, (haya de) Roshal 1222 CR, Rosshale 1228 LF, 1292 CHR, Russal, Rosseal 1292 PW, Rosso hall 1577 Saxton. The ground is low and level.

The second el. of the name is perhaps O.E. halh "haugh." The first el. is supposed by Wyld to be O.E. hros "horse," but the O.E. form is regularly hors, and it is doubtful if O.E. hros existed. O.N. hross "horse" is well evidenced. If the first el. is hross, however, the second el. should rather be identified with O.N. hali "tail," which is found in Norw. place-names to denote a long and narrow strip of land or a projecting ridge. Also in Iceland hali is used, e.g., in the name Rafhali "fox's tail." Rossall might mean "horse's tail" or perhaps "the tongue of land used for a horse-pasture." As a matter of fact, Rossall has mainly been used as a pasture-ground. On the other hand the spellings Rushale, Russall in early sources are noteworthy. Possibly they indicate that o was long. Cf. Gusansarghe DB, now Goosnargh. If so, Ros- may be identified with Welsh rhos (cf. Roose in Furness infra). This word originally meant "promontory," a sense still preserved in Irish, and possibly preserved in such names of promontories in Wales as Rhos-on-Sea, Penrhos Point, and Rhoscolyn Head (near Holyhead). If the first el. is the Brit. word, the second is no doubt O.E. halh.

Stanah (on the Wyre, opposite to Staynall): Staynole ultra Wyr CC 136, Staynolf 1324 LI. Stanah and Staynall must once have formed a whole, and it is hardly possible in each case to establish to which of the two early quotations refer. Of early forms the following may be quoted without an attempt at exact identification: Steinola 1177 LPR, Stanhol 1201 LPR, Stainhol, Steinhol 1226 LI, Stainholf 1249 LI, Steynhole 1265 IPM. The second el. is clearly O.E. holh or O.N. hol "hollow, hole," probably in the sense "a hollow in the ground." Staynall stands at the edge of a depression in the ground. The first el. is apparently O.N. steinn "stone" or Stein pers. n. -Again, of course, an O.E. name in Stân- may have been modified by Scandinavians; if so, the first el. is no doubt O.E. stân "stone."

Trunnah (near Gt. Thornton): de Truno 1271 CC, 1287 LC, Turnoll 1525 DL, Trunnall 1593, Truno 1600 Poulton R. Etymology obscure. The second el. appears to be O.E. hóð (or O.N. haugr). The place stands at a slight rounded elevation. The only suggestion I can make as regards the first el. is that it may go back to an O.E. *trun or the like, related to O.E. trendan "to roll," trinde "round lump, ball," Engl. trunide, O.Fris. trind, trund "round," etc.; cf. NED s.v. trend vb., Falk and Torp s.v. trind, Torp-Fick, p. 170. The base is found without d in O.H.G. treñila "ball," M.H.G. trennen, trennen. The O.E. *trun might be an adj. meaning "round" or a noun meaning "a lump" or something like that.

† Named from Sir Peter H. Fleetwood; the town dates from the earlier half of the 19th century (VHL VII. 237).
A district E. of Fleetwood and the lower Wyre.

1. **Stalmine with Staynall.**

Staynall (on the Wyre; h.) : Staynole (citra Wir) a 1190 CC, Stainold, Stainhole a 1220 FC II., Steineole 1206-35 FC II. (orig.), Staynoll 1332 LS, Steynolf 1520 LF. See Stanah, p. 158.

Stalmin[e] (N.E. of Staynall, h.) : Stalmine DB, Stalmin 1206 LPR, 1236-46 FC II. 237 (orig.), etc.; Stalmyne 1262 LF, 1297 LI, etc., Stalmyne 1332 LS, Staylmyn 1443 LF; Sto'min Waugh.

The second el. of the name is obviously O.N. *mynni* “mouth of a river.” The first el. seems to be O.E. *stall* (steall) “pool” (cf. Rawtenstall). But we expect as the first el. a word meaning a stream; cf. Airmyn, Yks., situated at the point where the Aire falls into the Ouse. Stalmine does not stand at the junction of two streams, but near a very slowly moving stream. The following seems to me the most plausible explanation of the name. The el. *stall* here means “a stream”; *stall* in dialects means not only “a pool,” but also “a large open drain, a brook, a small running stream” (cf. EDD). The same sense-development from “pool” to “stream” is seen in *pool* (p. 15). Stalmine is now more than a mile E. of the place where the brook falls into the Wyre. But it is quite possible that at one time the course of that river was more easterly than it is now; it seems very plausible that Staynall and Stanah were once on the same side of the Wyre, viz., on the W. bank. If so, Stalmine would have been a good deal nearer the mouth of the stream than it is now, especially at high water. Of course, the original Stalmine vil. may have been farther W. than the present one.

Corcas Lane (in the N.W. part of Stalmine) preserves an interesting old name: *Corchole, Corchola* a 1220 FC II., *Corchole* a 1235 ib.; *Corkea Hill* 1677 Stalmine R. This is probably the Ir. pers. n. *Corc* or O.N. *korki* “oats” (from Ir. *coirc*), and O.E. *hoh* or O.N. *hol* “a hollow.”

2. **Pressall with Hackinsall** (N. of Stalmine with Staynall).

Pressall (v.). Three types of the name may be distinguished: (a) Pressouede DB, Preshoued c 1190 Ch (PatR 15 R II.), Pressoueth a 1248,Presoueth a 1265, Preshout c 1265 CC, Preshefd (written -hesd) 1256 Ind.; (b) Pressoure 1094, c 1190 Ch, Preshouere c 1190 Ch, Presoura 1169 LPR, Pressoura 1177 ib., Pressoure 1202 ib.; (c) Preshou c 1190 Ch, 1200 CC, 1246 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Presho 1199 LF, 1261 IPM, Presheou 1355 LF, Presehowe 1327 LS, Priso 1590 Burghley.

The surface of the township is low and flat, but Pressall vil. stands on a short ridge which falls away steeply to the N. and is very conspicuous; it is marked as a beacon hill in Burghley’s Map 1590. The first el. of the name is no doubt identical with Preese p. 153. The old British name of the district was probably *Pres*. The second el. is in the earliest instances (type a) O.N. *hofuð*, here used in the sense “a steep ridge.” Type c seems to contain O.N. *haugr* “hill,” which supplanted the original second el., because *hofuð* at an early date was forgotten in the living language. Type b seems to contain O.E. *ðfer* “shore.” As Pressall stands near the bank of the Wyre, *Presouer* is a natural popular etymology for *Pres(h)oueth*. 

LANCASTER PAR. (PART)
ParroX Hall (estate): Parrock hey 1456 VHL VII. 258. The name seems to contain O.E. parroc “enclosure.”


The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. Hàkon. The second in the earliest quotations would seem to be O.E. hökh “projecting ridge,” etc., whereas the later ones point to O.N. haugr. I believe, with Lindkvist, that the name originally contained O.N. haugr. Hackinsall stands on a slight elevation in a low and level district.

Knott End (h.): Hacunshou Cnote c 1265 CC. M.E. knot “a hill”; cf. p. 9. There is a slight hill close to the hamlet.

Lickow: (Campus de) Licol c 1250 CC, Lickol c 1265 ib. The second el. is obviously O.E. hol(h) or O.N. hol, probably in the sense of “a hollow.” The first el. is doubtful. O.N. lykkia “enclosure” might be suggested. Cf. also Lickle, p. 191. Or we might compare O.E. Licepyt 945 BCS 803, Lichepet DB (Lickpits, Hants); this may contain a word derived from the verb lick.

3. Pilling Lane (the N.E. district, on the border of Pilling): the lower end of Pyllyn 1583 CC. Clearly “the road to Pilling.”

**ST. MICHAEL-ON-WYRE PAR.**


The parish is situated N.W. of Preston on both sides of the Wyre with a southern extension on the Woodplumpton Brook. The district is flat and low.

1. **Out Rawcliffe** (N. of the Wyre; v.): Rodeclif DB, Outroutheclif 1324 LI, Outeroutheclif 1327 LS, Outrotheclife 1332 ib., Outrauclif 1443 LF. Out, Middle, and Upper Rawcliffe are difficult to keep apart when no prefix is added. Examples of Rawcliffe: Boutecluve (!) 1206 LPR, Rauchvide 1267 LAR, Routhedeve 1286 IPM, Raucliff c 1540 Leland, the Rawcliffes 1577 Harr. The name means “red cliff” (O.N. raüðr “red” and O.N. klif “steep hill,” or O.E. clif “cliff”). The name is fairly common in England, see Lindkvist p. 159. The surface of the township is low, but Out Rawcliffe stands between two patches of higher land, reaching an elevation of 50ft. Out Rawcliffe is to the W. of Upper Rawcliffe, which is higher up the Wyre.

**Middle Rawcliffe**: Rodeclif DB, Middle Routheclive 1249 IPM.


Liscoe: Liscoe 1677 RW 54. Second el. no doubt O.N. skögr “wood,” the first being e.g. O.N. hlid “slope.”

Moorham Hill: Early forms not found. The second el. is no doubt holm. The place is on a piece of higher land in the old mossland.

Skitham: Scytholm CC 47. O.N. skir “dirt” and holmr “island.” The place stands at a slight elevation surrounded by mossland.
2. Upper Rawcliffe with Tarnacre (E. of Out Rawcliffe, on both sides of the Wyre).

Upper Rawcliffe: Rodelif DB, Uproucelive 1246 LAR, Hop Routheclive c 1250 CC, Uproucelive c 1275 CC, Vproucelive 1332 LS, Uproucliff 1369 LF. Upper Rawcliffe was no doubt originally part of Out Rawcliffe, as the name can hardly be explained otherwise; the ground is low and level.

Tarnacre (the N.E. part): Tranaker c 1210 CC, 1292 PW, de Tranaker 1246 LAR, Tranacre 1323 LF; Trenaker c 1275 CC, Trenakyr 1451, Trenakir 1461 CC. The second el. is O.N. akr or O.E. acer; the first O.N. trani (trans) “crane” or the O.N. pers. n. Trani derived from it. As regards the interchange of e and a we may compare Trenholme, Yks. (Tranholm 1276 HR), Tranwell, Nhb. (Trennewell 1268, Trenewell 1271 IPM, Tranewell 1289 ib., Tranwell, Trannewell 1324 ib.). The form with e may represent an O.N. form with i-mutation; cf. NoB VIII. 94ff.


Copp (h.): O.E. copp “top.” Copp stands on a small conspicuous hill (78ft.).

4. Elswick (S. of Eccleston, v.): Édelesuic DB, Hedhelswic c 1160 Ch 374, Ethelswine, Ethlescopic 1205 LF, de Ethelswine, de Ethleswyke 1246 LAR, Ethleswyk 1298 LF, etc., Ethleswyke 1311 IPM, Ethelswike 1332 LS. The form of c 1160 may point to O.E. Edelwisse as the first el.; anyhow it is a pers. n. in Édel-. The second is O.E. wic “dwelling,” etc.

5. Inskip with Sowerby (S. of the Wyre, S.E. of Gt. Eccleston).

Sowerby (the E. part): Sorbi DB, Soureby 1246 LAR, 1324 LI, Saurby 1332 LS, 1340 LF, etc.; now [sauerb]. O.N. Saurbyr from saurr “mud, dirt” and býr. Saurber is a common name in Iceland and Norway, and the corresponding name is found in Sweden; it denotes a village or farm standing on marshy soil. The name is common also in England; see Lindkvist p. 162f. The surface of the township is low and level. Sourelandes in Sowerby are mentioned 1230-68 CC 244.

Inskip (the S.W. part; v.): Inscip DB, Hinskipe, Insicype 1246 LAR, de Inscipk, Inschip c 1260 CC, Insckyp 1285 LF, Inskip 1330 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Insckyp 1341 IN. This is a very curious name. The first el. may be Celt inis “island” (cf. Ince, p. 103). Inskip stands on a plateau some 50ft. above sea-level; the surrounding country is low. The second el. of the name is doubtful. Two names that show a certain resemblance to Inskip may be mentioned here: Minskip, Yks. (Minscip DB) and Breunskip’ (Bronnskip’) in Denbigh 1334 Survey of Denbigh. The first el. of Minskip might be identical with Welsh mynydd “hill”; the place is on the slope of a slight hill. The first el. of Breunskip is, I presume, Welsh bryn “hill.”

6. Woodplumpton (on both sides of Woodplumpton Brook; v.): Pluntun DB, Plumptun 1256 LF, Pluont 1287 Ind, Wodeplumpton 1327, 1332 LS, 1369 LF, etc.; cf. Plympton brooke, the Plume or Plinton water 1577 Harr. O.E. plúmtún, see Fieldplumpton p. 151.

Bartle (Higher and Lower, S. of Woodplumpton): Bartayl (moor) 1256 LF,
Nezerbartailesheye 1287 Ind, de Bartail1 1323, 1328 LF. The second el. is the word tail (O.E. taegl) in the sense “a piece or slip of irregularly bounded land jutting out from a larger piece” (found from 1472 in Scotland, NED). Higher and Lower Bartle, and Bartle Hall stand a good way apart. Similarly O.N. hali “tail” is used in Norw. place-names. The first el. is perhaps O.E. berc (with vowel as in barley, Barton) or possibly bare adj. or even bær “boar.”


Eaves: Eves 1538 DL, the Eaves 1628 RW 63. O.E. efos, perhaps in the sense “edge of a wood.”

Lewth: Lewthe 1622 RW 63. The name is identical with dial. lewth “shelter; a sheltered place” (EDD) from O.E. hléowp “shelter, protection.”

GARSTANG PAR.

This parish occupies a large district on both sides of the Wyre and its tributaries the Calder and the Brock, besides Pilling township on the Lune estuary. The surface varies a good deal. The W. part is low and level, partly mossland, while the E. part is on the slope of the fells (Bleasdale Moor, etc.).

1. Bilsborrow (S. of Garstang and the Brock): Billesbure 1137 ff. LPR, Billesburg c 1200 CC, Billesburgh 1212 LI, 1303 LF, 1332 LS, etc., Billesburg 1226 LI, 1259 LAR, Ballysburgh 1245 IPM, Bilsburgh 1297 LI, Bilsborough 1508 LF. “The borth of Bil.” Bil is an O.E. pers. n., found e.g. in Billesley, Warw. (billes leah 704-9 BCS 123).

2. Claughton (S.E. of Garstang): Clactune DB, Clacton 1151 ff. LPR, 1208 LF, etc., Clatton 1246 LAR, Claughton 1252 IPM, Claghon 1285 LAR, 1292 PW, 1332 LS, etc., Claghton 1297 LI, Claygton 1554 DL; said to be pronounced Clighton (Bulmer p. 283). There seem to be two alternatives for the explanation of the first el. Either it is the pers. n. Clac (probably from O.N. Klakkr, etc., Björkman) found in Claxtorp, Yks., Clactorp, Linc. DB; or it is O.N. klakkr “lump, clot,” Swed. dial. klak also “small hillock,” Icel. klakkr “rock.” Cf. on this word in Scand. and Engl. names NoB VIII. 89f. At least it seems probable that some names in Clac- contain the common noun. Claughton stands on the slope of a hill which reaches some 400ft. above sea-level.

Dandy Birks (N.E. of Cloughton Hall, in a high situation). Said to be identical with Downanesherg 1241 CC. This contains Ir. Dunán or Dubán pers. n. and ergh “a shieling.” See Scandinavians p. 80.

Hecham or Heigham: Heyham 1241 CC, Hegham 1292 PW, de Hegham 1332 LS. The name seems to contain O.E. hēah “high” and hamm “enclosure” or hām “homestead.”

3. Catterall (S. of Garstang, in the tongue of land E. of the confluence of the Brock and the Wyre; v.): Caterhala DB, Caterhale 1212 LI, 1301 LF, Katerhal 1244 IPM, Caterale, Kateral 1258 IPM, Caterale 1323 LF, Caterhale 1332 LS, Caterall 1346 FA, 1387 LF, etc. This name has been identified with a Norw. name derived from O.N. Kattarhali, literally “cat’s tail” (Wyld, Lindkvist p. 186). But nothing in the situation of the place seems to render such an etymology plausible, while O.E. halh “haugh” is just what one would...
expect as the second el.; the surface of the township is low and flat, especially along the Calder. But if O.E. halh is the second el., the first is hardly Scandian. Names in halh very often have as first el. a pers. name, and very likely such is the case with Catterall. An O.E. pers. n. Catter or the like is not evidenced but is very likely the base of O.E. Cateringas in Cateringate Thorpe 560 (now Catherington, Hants.). A hamlet in Catterall was called Halechat 1212 LI, Halechat 1213-42 CC. This seems to be a place-name Hale (<O.E. halh) with a pers. n. Cat placed behind for distinction (from Catterall?). Cf. Thorpkat HR, Thorp Cuntasse ib. (now Catthorpe, Countesthorpe, Leic.).

**Landskill** (on the slope of Bleasdale Fell): Longstal (for -scal) 1341 IN, Lanscaile 1589 DL, Langscayles 1594 DL. "The long scale or hut" (O.N. skáli).

**Rowall** or **Rohall** or **Roe Farm** (at the junction of the Wyre and the Brock): Ruhale c 1200 CC, Rouhale 1251 CC, de Rouhale c 1260 CC, de Rouhale c 1265 CC, de Rouvale 1293 LI, 1325 LCR, Rowall 1443 LF. Cf. Roall, Yks.: Ruhale DB, Rughala 1159, etc. (Moorman). O.E. rūh "rough" and halh "haugh." The pronunciation is said to be "Rooa."

4. **Kirkland** (S.W. of Garstang): (mortuo bosco de) Kirkelund c 1230 CC, Kirkelund wood, Kirkelundfeldres 1247 IPM, Kirk(e)lund (bosco de K.) c 1280 CC, Kirkland 1392 LF. "The church grove"; lund is O.N. lundr "grove." Garstang church is in Kirkland. Churchtown is a hamlet close to the church.

**Humblesough:** Humbsilschough c 1280 CC. Humblesough is on flat ground. No prominent physical features suggest a definite etymology. As the second el. is Scand. (O.N. skógr), we seem warranted in deriving also the first from a Scand. word. O.N. humli "hop plant" or humla "humble-bee" are both plausible. O.Swed., O.Dan. Hum(b)li pers. n. is well evidenced in place-names, and O.N. Humli also occurs.

5. **Garstang** (town): Cherestanc DB, Gairstág 1194-99 Ch (orig.), Gresteng 1204 AP, Gerestēg 1199-1212 AP, de Geyrestang 1206 LC, Geirstang 1216 ChR, Gairstang 1247 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., Gayerstang 1246 LF, Gayrastang 1246 LAR, 1292 LF, etc., Gayrastanges c 1275 CC, Gerstang 1278 LAR, Garstan 1577 Harr. Further examples are given by Lindkvist, p. 47, who points out that the same name is found in Scotland, viz., Girstenwood: Gairstang 1305 ChR. The second el. is clearly O.N. stong "pole." The first el. is identified by Wyld with O.N. Geirr pers. n., with O.N. geiri "a triangular piece of land," by Lindkvist. It seems improbable that the word stong should twice have been combined with the same pers. name. Lindkvist's suggestion seems preferable, though it is curious also that a combination of geiri and stong should occur twice.

6. **Barnacre with Bonds** (E. of Garstang and the Wyre).

**Bonds** (near Garstang). The name is apparently late: Bonds 1667 RW 110. This may be elliptical for Bond's place or the like.

**Byrewath** or **Byerworth** (on the Wyre): Birwath c 1260 CC, Byrwath 1290 LI, de Burwath 1341 IN, Byreweth 1501 CC, Byrewarthe 1529 DL; now [baiawo]. The name probably means "the village ford," the first el. being the gen. (bjar, býjar) of O.N. býr "village," the second, O.N. vað "ford." O.E. byre "byre" is also possible as the first element.

**Dimples:** Dymplies 1524 LP I. 115, Dimples 1600 RS XII. The name no doubt means "the pools" (O.E. *dypnel or *dympla "a pool"); cf. Dumplington p. 38.
In O.M. 1846-51 three ponds are marked in the close neighbourhood of Dimples; traces of these are still to be seen.

Greenhalgh Castle: Grenolf 1347 VHL VII. 315, Grenéhaugh c 1540 Leland, Grenno cast. 1577 Saxton; now [gri'me]. Cf. Greenhalgh p. 154. The castle ruin is on a small hillock, but Greenhalgh Castle Farm is in a slight depression in the ground.

Howath or Howarth (on the Calder): Hawath, Howwat 1258 IPM, Howath c 1260 CC, Howath (pons) c 1280 CC, de Howath 1323 LI, Hawath 1443 LF, Hawith 1468 LF; now [hausp]. The name means the "ford by the hillock" (O.N. haugr "hill" and vad "ford"). The place stands close to Brunahill, which is on a slight hill. Lindkvist's suggestion "high ford" (O.N. hör "high" and vad) does not suit the topography of the place.

Lingart (h.): de Lingart's 1246 LI, de Lingard c 1260 CC, Lyngard 1451, 1461 CC. "Flax enclosure," O.N. or O.E. lín "flax" and O.N. garðr "enclosure."

Barnacre (the larger N.E. part): Bernacre 1517, Bernacre 1521 DL. Perhaps "barn-acer" (O.E. bern "barn" and õcer). Or the first el. might be O.N. Biarni pers. n.; cf. the next name.

Styzzacre: de Stissorsacre 1323 LF, de Steresacre 1341 IN. First el. O.N. pers. n. Styrr.

Sullam Side (on a hill-slope to the E.): de Solam 1246 LAR. Etymology doubtful. Sullom Hill reaches 525ft. We might think of O.E. Solan hamm (or hám), if Sola had ð.


7. Nateby (W. of Garstang; h.): Nateby, Natebi 1204 LF, parva Nateby 1320 CC, de Nateby c 1260 CC, 1292 LF, 1293 LI. As the second el. is O.N. byr "village," etc., it is probable that also the first is of Scand. origin. A pers. n. seems most plausible, and there are apparently traces of an O.Scand. Nāte; see Lindroth, Ortnamnen på -rum p. 55. This is probably the first el. of some other names in Nate-, as Nateby, Wml., but in some cases O.N. nata "nettles" is very likely to be assumed, as in Natland; cf. Norw. Notland, derived from Notuland, i.e., "nettles-land." NG XI. 124. Several E. names in Nāte- are adduced and discussed, without a definite result, by Lindkvist p. 202.


Dolphinholme: Dolphineholme 1591 DL, Dolphinhoulme 1621 Cockerham R. The elements are Dolfin pers. n. (perhaps Scand.) and O.N. holmr "island," etc.

Scorton (v.): Scourton c 1550 DL, Skuxton 1563 RW 73; now [sko'tn]. Close to the church is a deep ravine. It seems plausible to derive the first el. from O.N. skor "a rift in a rock or precipice," skura "a score, trench." In Sweden Skuru occurs as the name of a deep ravine in Småländ.

This is a difficult name. The topography of the place offers little indication. The surface is on the whole low, but there are some slight ridges or hillocks; most conspicuous is a long low ridge running from N. to S. along the Wyre. The first el. of the name may be compared with that of Keysoe, Beds. (*: Kaysho TN*, etc.), Cainhoe, Beds. (*: Cainou, Chainehou DB*), Cassio, Herts. (*: Caysesho 793 BCS 267), Keyham, Leic. (*: Caiha' DB*), Cayton, Yks. (*: Caiuine DB*, *Caytona* 1155 YCh 76). All these may have as first el. a pers. n. *Cai̇g* or *Cai̇ga*. If this is right we may assume the same pers. n. as the first el. of Cabus. Cf., however, Cayley p. 100. The second el. is an early M.E. word *ball* or the plural of it. I suggest that this is identical with *ball* "a knoll, a rounded hill" (W. Som.) and Engl. *ball* in the sense "ball of the hand or foot." Cf. Dan. *balle* in place-names, apparently to be compared with *balle* in fodballe "ball of the foot." (Steenstrup, Indledende Studier, p. 23). The word *balle* is here used to denote slight elevations. The same word I suppose is found in Swinsty Ball, the name of a hill in Kirkby Moor (Furness). I take the second el. of Cabus to refer to the elevations in the township mentioned.

**Gubberford** (in G. Lane, G. Bridge): *de Gobethayt* after 1268 CC, *Guburthwait*, *Guberthwat* 1398 CC, *Tobberthwayte* 1587 DL, *Goburthwayte* 1588 DL. The early forms are not clear enough to allow of a definite etymology. The second el. is O.N. *þveit* "thwaite." The first is possibly a pers. n. (e.g., O.N. *Guðbýrg*).

11. **Holleth** (detached township N. of Forton): *Holout* 1242 CC, *Holauth* 1320 CC, *Holouth* 1364 CC, *Holoth* 1521 DL. The elements of the name are O.N. or O.E. *hol* "hole" and ON *hófuð* "hill." The township consists of a conspicuous hill (c 100ft.). On this are found a number of small ponds, marked in the 6-inch map. Two of these are in a fairly deep round hollow. I suppose the name means "the hill with the deep pool or pools."

12. **Pilling** (on the Lune estuary; v.): *pylin* 1194-99 CC 375 (orig.), *Pylin* 1201 CC, 1270 LAR, *Pelyn* 1320 CC; *Mussam de Pilym* c 1280 CC 270; now [pilin]. The name is no doubt derived from the river-name Pilling. The surface is very low, and to a great extent consists of moss-land.

**Eskham** is probably "ash holm."

**LANCASTER PAR. (part)**

**Bleasdale** (E. of Garstang in the hilly country on the upper Calder and Brock): *Blesedale* 1228 CIR, (forest of) *Blesedale* 1297 LI, *Blestone* c 1540 Leland. Two possibilities seem to offer themselves for the explanation of the first el. of the name. It may be the O.N. pers. n. *Blesi*, found in Bleasby, Linc. and Notts. (cf. Björkman). Or it may be identical with the place-name Bleaze (Bleaze), found in Bleaze Wood, Lo., Blease Fell, Wml., etc. This name is no doubt identical with Norw. *Blesi*, *Blesan*, which are thought to belong to Icel. *blesi* "a blaze, a light spot." (Rygh NG II. 235). It is suggested that the names refer to some light spot in the vicinity, e.g., on a hill-side; Norw. *blesa* actually means "a bare spot on a hill-side." Another meaning of the word is found in Swedish
dial., viz., "an opening between hills." I am inclined to believe that Bleasdale contains the Scand. *blesi* or *blesa* in one of its senses. A full account of the name will be found in NoB. VIII. 85f.

**Admarsh Church:** *Admarshe* (pasture) 1572 DL, *Edmarshe chap.* 1577 Saxton, *Edmersey chappell* 1577 Harr., *Chappell of Admarsh* 1650 LC. The forms are too late to allow of a certain conclusion. The second el. seems to be O.E. *mersc* "marsh," the first O.E. *bada* or a name in *Eda-.*


**Fairsnape** (Higher and Lower, on the slope of Fairsnape Fell): *Fayrsnape* (vaccary) 1323, 1324 LI, *Fairsnap* 1341 IN. O.E. *fæger* or O.N. *fagr* "fair, beautiful," and *snape* "pasture" p. 17.

**Grizedale** (on Grizedale Brook): *Grisedale* 1314, *Grisdale* 1324 LI, *Grysedale c* 1350 LPR. First el. either the pers. n. *Gris* (O.N. *Griss*) or more probably the common noun *grice* "pig" (O.N. *griss*). Grizedale is also the name of a brook in Over Wyresdale.

**Hazelhead:** *Haselheved* 1323, 1324 LI, (vaccary) 1341 IN, *Haselheved c* 1350 LPR. Head means "hill." Stated to be now Broadhead.

**Thorpen Lees** (lost): *sthorsmelees* 1228 CLR, *Thorphynislegh* 1338 LPR, *Thor- fleghsyke c* 1350 LPR. The elements are the O.N. pers. n. *porfinnr* and O.E. *leah* "lea."

**Winsnape:** *Wensnape* 1228 CLR, *Wanesnape(broke)* 1338 LPR. O.N. *vœnn* "beautiful," etc., may be the first el.; the second is *snape* "pasture" (cf. p. 17).

**COCKERHAM PAR. (part)**

The part of Cockerham par. S. of the Cocker was originally in Amounderness hundred. The E. part of the district is undulating, while the W. part is low and level.

1. **Cleveley** (W. of the Wyre): *Cliveleie c* 1180 CC, *Cliveley c* 1270 ib., *Kliflegh c* 1380 CR 349. O.E. *cliff* "cliff," etc., and *leah*. Elevations of 200ft. are reached in the township.

**Shireshead chapel:** *Shireshead* 1577 Saxton, *Shireshed* 1577 Harr. The name means "the upper end of the shire." Shireshead stands near the Cocker, the old boundary between Amounderness and Lonsdale.

2. **Forton:** *Fortune DB, Forton* 1212 LI, 1323 LF, etc., *Fortun* 13 cent. Ind. Probably O.E. *ford-tun*, i.e., "the tun by the ford." In early documents two fords are alluded to in connection with *Forton*, viz., *Langwathforde* 1250-68 CC (O.N. *Langavað* "the long ford") and *Scamwath* (O.N. *Skammavað* "the short ford"), in *Scamwathlithe*, etc., 1220-40 CC. The township is bounded on the W. by the Cocker, on which the original Forton may have stood. Forton Hall is on a trib. of the Cocker.

3. **Cockerham** (see further p. 170).

**Crimbles:** *Crimeles DB, Crimblis c* 1155 Ch, *Crimbles* 1207, 1241 LF, *le Crymbles* 1320 CC; *Crimell c* 1240 CC; *Grimbles* 1364 CC; *Crumles* 1206 LF, *Crumbles*
1212 LI, de Crumbles a 1265 CC. Gt. and Li. Crimbles are both S. of the Cocker, but formerly part of Crimbles was N. of the river.

This name is common, especially as a field-name. Cf. e.g., Crimble (Heap, Bury), Cًrymmil (Worston) 1518 CCR, and see VHL III. 430, IV. 399. Goodall mentions several examples of Crimbles from Yks. Crymnel (Cornw.) is found OR I. 203, Crumble, Suss. HR II. 205. This name must represent a native common noun, apparently an O.E. *c**rymnel* or the like. This may be a derivative of *cruma* "small piece, scrap," the meaning being "a small piece of land."; this is corroborated by the fact that the name often has the plural form. Similar names are: Scrapps (a small piece of land in Aspull) 1501 CC (cf. scrap "a small piece"), the Croats, Glo. (cf. M.E. crote "small piece"). For names of similar meaning in Sweden see Lidén, NoB IV. 106ff.

**Laithwaite**: Laithwayt 1320 CC, Laithwaite 1600 Cockerham R. Probably O.N. *hlaða* "barn," as alternatively suggested by Lindkvist, and *thwaite*.

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**LONSDALE HUNDRED, SOUTH OF THE SANDS**

Lonsdale hundred consists of two distinct parts, Lonsdale S. of the Sands or Lonsdale proper, and Lonsdale N. of the Sands, the district W. of the Kent estuary and the Winster. The two parts are best dealt with separately.

Lonsdale at first meant "the Lune valley," but in the 12th cent. began to be used of Lonsdale hundred. Early forms of the name:

Lanesdale DB, (Burtona de) Lanesdala 1130 LPR, Lansdale (Yks.) 1210 AP, Lonsdale 1150-60 Ch, Lonesdale (Wapentake) 1169 LPR, 1285 Ind, Lonesdale (Wapentake) 1169 LPR, Lonesdale 1188, 1199 LPR, Lonesdal 1267 ChR; Landesdale 1220 CLR, Londesdale 1362 OR, Landes-, Lunesdale c 1540 Leland, Lonsdale, "corrupt for Lunesdale" 1577 Harr. "The valley of the Lune."

Lonsdale S. of the Sands comprises roughly the valleys of the Lune with its tributaries, and of the Keer. The surface is mostly undulating, with level parts along the sea and in the river valleys. There is a large fell district in the S.E. part, where an altitude of 1,836ft. is attained at Ward's Stone, and a smaller one in the N.E., where a height of over 2,000ft. is reached in Leck Fell.

**Names of Rivers, etc.**

**Damas Gill** (a trib. of the Wyre): Damersgile 1228 CLR, Damergill c 1350 LPR. The first el. is possibly a compound of O.E. dā “doe” and mere “lake.” There is a tarn (now a reservoir) near the stream. The second el. is O.N. *gil* “rivine.”

**Lune**: Lōinn 1156-60 Ch, Lon 1180-4 CC, 1228 CLR, Loon a 1190, 13 cent. CC, Lonn c 1190 Ch, Lone 1202 LF, 1246 LAR, etc., Lon’ 1252 IPM, le Loon 1342 LPD II. 162, Loone 1364 CC, 1389 FC II, Lune c 1540 Leland, 1577 Harr., Luni, Loni (gen.) 1586 Camden; now [lu’n, liun]. Cf. Lonsdale *supra* and Lancaster.

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1 In the following passage from the Chartulary of St. John Pontefract, p. 476, crimble is clearly used as a common noun: [ego dedi] “duos crimbris in campis de Brettona . . . . , unum crimble buttat super molendinum . . . . , et unum capud unius crimble buttat super dirue” [Dearne riv.].
The early and modern forms point to O.E. Lôn, M.E. Lôn as the base. Of course, we expect the name of such an important river to be British. It has been identified with Alone (the name of a Roman station) in Ant. It. (McClure p. 111). This identification is not impossible. Alone goes back to Prim. Celt. *Alaw-, which would become Brit. *Alôn- (>Welsh Alun). If the name was adopted very early, the ð might still have been preserved. As regards the loss of the initial vowel, it is to be remembered that Brit. *Alôn no doubt had the chief stress on the second syllable. The a, which occurs in early forms of Lonsdale and is regular in Lancaster, might be explained as due to O.E. shortening and subsequent substitution for o of the open o alternating with a before nasals. But the etymology of the name Lune is to some extent bound up with that of Lancaster. This name apparently means "the city on the Lune." Now there are two O.E. examples of this name, viz., Landc on two coins of the time of Harold I. (1035-39); cf. Hildebrand, Anglosachsiska mynt, p. 352f. If these forms are trustworthy, they seem to point to the first el. of Lancaster having been originally O.E. land; Landc(ester) might mean "the chief fort of the country" or the like. In such a form the ð would drop out at an early period. If this is right, the similarity between the first el. of Lancaster and the name Lune must be accidental, but Lan- (Lon-) must at an early period have been associated with the name Lune. This might help to explain the form Lanesdale for Lonsdale. After all, the O.E. Landc(aster) may be due to popular etymology.†

Cocker (a trib. of the Lune): Cocur ? 930 YCh (genuine ?), Cokir c 1155 Ch, Coker c 1175 CC, Koker a 1202 CC. Cf. Cockerham and Cockersand p. 170f. The same name is found in Cum., and Cockerton in Durh. (Cocertune Hist. St. Cuthbert) was no doubt named from a river Cocker. A lost stream-name in Leyl. is Cokerdene c 1225, c 1240 CC, Kokerdene c 1240 PC; the name may be preserved in Cocker Bar¹ (Leyland par.). If Stokes correctly derives Ir. ciar "crooked" from *kukros, the name Cocker is easily explained as the fem. form of this: *kukrā > Brit. *kokrā. The Lanc. Cocker may be aptly described as "the winding river." But the etymology of Ir. ciar proposed is open to doubt. Anyhow, Cocker is probably a Brit. name. We may perhaps compare the Brit. pers. names Cocuro, Cocurus in Holder.

Conder (a trib. of the Lune): Kondover a 1220 CC, Kondoure 1225-50 CC, Gondour', Gondouere 1228 CIR, Candover 1246 LAR. The name is no doubt British, the second el. being Celt. *dubron (Welsh dwfr, etc.) "water." The first el. is difficult.

Lucy Brook (between Aldcliffe and Lancaster): Lousibrook c 1300 FC II. First el. perhaps dial. losy "sparkling, frothing, foaming" (EDD sub. lous vb.). Escowbeck (Caton): Escouthebec a 1241, Escouthebroc a 1250 CC. The first el. is an O.N. place name Eski-hoðuð "ash tree hill." Cf. on hoðuð, p. 13.


Ragill Beck (a trib. of Artlebeck): Rouchengill, -heued, Rauchgill c 1350 LPR

¹ But Cocker Brook and Cocker Lumb in Oswaldtwistle Bl. do not contain this old stream-name. Cocker is evidently identical with the first el. of Cokaside, Cockaisidemos 1208-25, Kokasdiel 13 cent. DD; cf. la Thuercokerdiche 1270-80 ib. This may be identical with Cockey, p. 53, or a compound of O.E. coco "cock" and ëg "island, water-meadow."
Rouch- is no doubt for Routh-, i.e., O.N. rauðr "red"; gill is O.N. gil "a ravine."

Wenning (a trib. of the Lune): Wenningc 1170, c 1177 FC II, Wennings 1165-77 FC II. 309 (orig.), Wenning(g)a 1189 Cal. Sc. I. 28, Wening a 1255, Wenning a 1260 CC, Wennygh a 1268 CC, the Wenny 1577 Harr.; now [wenin]. See the discussion under Wennington p. 181. The name Wenning cannot be a derivative of the Celt. adj. *vindo- in Welsh gwyn (fem. gwen) "white," etc. (cf. Afon Wen, in Wales), for the water of the river is peaty-brown.

Hindburn (a trib. of the Wenning): Hyndborn 1577 Saxton, the Hincburne 1577 Harr.; now [hainbon]. First el. no doubt O.E. hind "the female of the hart." Cf. the same name in Bl.

Roeburn (a trib. of the Hindburn): the Rheburne 1577 Harr., Roburn 1577 Saxton; now [ro'bon]. Cf. Roeburndale p. 181. The first el. is probably O.E. rāgan g. sg. of rāge "roe." As regards the sound development we may compare M.E. (northern) bree from O.E. brēgan "frighten" (probably in breed All. Poems C. 143),dee "to die," kēe "key" (O.E. cēg), etc. The change from Re- to Roe-is due to influence from the word roe. Second el. O.E. burna "burn."

Greea (falls into the Lune near Tunstall): the Greety 1577 Harr.; cf. de Grettagila a 1230 CC (Clapham, Yks.). The name is identical with Greta, Cumb. and Yks. It goes back to O.N. Gríotá (cf. Grjótt in Iceland), from grjótt "stone(s)" and á "river."

Cant Beck (a trib. of the Greea): Kant 1202 LF. Perhaps a back-formation from Cantsfield; see this name, p. 183. If not, the name is probably British.

Keer (falls into Morecambe Bay): Keere, Kere c 1350 LPR, Keri c 1540 Leland; Docker 1577 Saxton, Harr. Possibly the Celtic adj. found in Ir. as ciar "dusky" (cf. Joyce II. 271). The base is *keiro-, which would give Brit. *kær-, a stem not to my knowledge evidenced in Brit. languages. But other derivations are possible. Docker is, of course, a different name, derived from Docker in Whittington.

Kent (falls into Morecambe Bay): Kent 1208 LF, 1272 LI, Kenet 1246 LAR, Kente c 1350 LPR. The name is identical with Kennet, the name of an affluent of the Thames (cynetan 944 BCS 802), Kennet, Camb., and Welsh Gynwyd, O.Brit. Cunetione (abl.) Ant. It. (Holder).

Hawes Water (Silverdale). Now ['z wotə]. The old name was Arnside Dub: Arnolwesheued Dub 1246 LF. Arnside is in Wml. just over the border. The elements of the name are O.E. Earnwulf pers. n. and heafod "head, hill." Dub, a word of obscure etymology, means "a pool." Hawes is presumably dial. hause (from O.E. or O.N. hals) "a narrower and lower neck between two heights or summits; a col" (NED), also "a defile, a narrow passage between mountains" (EDD).

Names of Hills

Clougha, Clougha Pike (S.E. of Lancaster; c 1,500ft.): Cloochoch 1199 LI I. 92, Cloochoeoc 1228 CIR, Cloghou 1228 WhC, Clough ho hill 1577 Saxton; now [klofa]. The elements of the name are clough (O.E. clōh) and O.E. hōh "projecting ridge," etc. Clougha Pike forms a projection from the massive of hills.

Little Fell (near Quernmore): Littelfel 1228 CIR. Fell is O.N. fjall.

Stephen's Head (E. of Clougha; 1,633ft.): Steuvense, Littelsteudensete c 1350 LPR. "Stephen's set or shieling." The hill was named from a shieling. A
similar name is *Ughtryshsete, Ughirthsete* c 1350 LPR (identified with Great Hill on the Yks. border). The first el. is the O.E. pers. n. *Uhtréđ*.  

**Swaintley Hill** (Roeburndale): *Swyneclogheued, Swyn(e)styclogh* c 1350 LPR. *Swynsty* might be O.E. *swynstig* “pigsty,” but is more likely O.E. *swin* “wild boar” and *stig* “a path.”  


**Winfold Fell** (close to Threaphaw): *Whynfell* c 1350 LPR. M.E. *whinne* “whin, furze” and O.N. *fiell* “fell.”  

**Wolfhole Crag** (1,731ft.; N. of Threaphaw): *Wolfalcrag, Wlfalcragge* c 1350 LPR, *Wulfo crag* 1577 Saxton, *Wulfcragge* 1577 Harr. The earliest forms point to O.E. *wulf-halh*, which might mean “wolf’s corner or hiding-place.” But the original form may have been *wulf-hol* “wolf’s lair.”

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**Cockerham Par.** (part)

The district N. of the lower Cocker. On the part of the par. S. of the Cocker cf. p. 166. The surface is mostly low and level in the W. with some pieces of slightly higher land, but is more elevated in the E., where altitudes of some 500ft. are reached.

1. **Cockerham** (v.): *Coacreham DB, Kokerham 1190 CC, 1202 AP, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, Cokerham 1332 LS, Cokirham 1327 LS, 1438 LF; Cokerheim c 1155, a 1160 Ch, 1207 LF, Kokerheim 1206 LF, Kokerhaim 1246 LAR.* The elements of the name are the river-name *Cocker* and O.E. *hām*, in some early forms replaced by Scand. *heimr*. The village stands near the Cocker.  

**Crookhey:** *Crochaghe c 1200 CC, de Crochaghe 1260 CC, de Crochagh 1314 LI.* The place is in a bend of the Cocker. The elements of the name are M.E. *crōk* (probably from O.N. *krókr* “bend” and O.E. *haga* or O.N. *hagi* “enclosure.”  

**Hillam** (old manor): *Hillun DB, O.E. hyllum* “(at) the hills.” Hillam stands at the S. end of a ridge reaching 75ft., on which is Norbrick (cf. Norbreck, Am.), and near another smaller hill.  

**Thursland:** *Thureslande 1320 CC, Thurslond 1340 CC, Thurlond 1364 CC.* First el. no doubt the pers. n. *Thór, Thûr* (of Scand. origin).  

2. **Ellel** (in the valleys of the Cocker and Conder): *Elhale DB, Ethale c 1155 Ch, 1246 LAR, etc., Ethal 1202 LF, 1246 LAR, Ellehal 1208 LPR, Ellale 1212 LI, 1277 LAR, 1332 LS. O.E. *Ella* pers. n. and O.E. *halh* “haugh, low-lying meadow.” There are typical haughs on the bank of the Conder where the church and Ellel Hall stand.  

**Ellel Crag** (at a hill reaching 400ft.): *Craghouse 1490 TI, Cragge 1598 Cockerham R. There is also Crag Hall. On *crag*, a Celtic word, see p. 9.*  

**Galgate** (v.): *Gawgett 1605 Cockerham R.* The name is considered to mean “the Galloway road,” cattle drovers from Galloway having given name to the road on which the place stands (VHL VIII. 96). Cf. *Galvaithgeate* CC 976 (Kendal or Cowperthwaite). Long Causey (Langcausall 1599 Cockerham R) may have
been named from the same road. Two Roman roads are considered to have met at Galgate.

**Hubbersy** (now lost): **Hobyrstath** a 1236 FC II., **Hobirstad** a 1250 CC, **Hobyystad** c1254 lb. First el. apparently the L.G. pers. n. **Hubrecht.** The second is doubtful. If the place was on the Conder, as the map in VHL VIII. indicates, the second el. of the name is probably O.N. *stop* "landing-place."

3. **Thurnham** (on the lower Lune, bounded on the N.E. by the Conder): **Thurnum** DB, **Thurnum** a 1160 Ch, 1205, 1230 CC, **Thirnum** 1301 LF, 1327 LS, **Thirnom** 1332 LS, **Thernum** c 1388 FC O.E. or O.N. **pyrnum** (dat. pl. of O.E. **pyrne** or O.N. **pyrinir**) "(at) the thorn-bushes."

**Crock:** (pullum de) **Croc** a 1190, c 1265 CC, **Crokipul** a 1160 Ch, **Crokpul**, **Crockepul** 1364 CC. Crook stands near a bend of the Lune. Cf. Crookhey p. 170. **Glasson** (at the confluence of the Conder and the Lune; now the port of Lancaster): (pasturam de) **Glassene** c 1265 CC, **Glasson** 1552 LF; now [Glazen]. Glasson is in a very low situation, but Old Glasson stands on a piece of slightly higher land. The name seems to be identical with Glazen (Glazenwood 1-inch map) Ess.: (on) **Glassne** 970 Thorpe 517, **Glasene** 1204-5, **Glasnes** 1219-20, **Glasne** 1223-4 Essex Feet of Fines (ed. R.G. Kirk). Glazenwood is in Bradwell near Coggeshall, less than a mile from the Blackwater. It is on rising ground, c 200ft. above sea-level; the ground along the river reaches some 130ft. Glasson and Glazen are probably of native origin and may belong to O.E. **glas** "glass" or rather to the base *glaes* discussed under Gleaston p. 209. But the material does not allow of a definite etymology. Glasson in Cumb. (Glassan 1259, 1278, Sedgefield) is probably unrelated. It may be Celtic, *e.g.*, an ellipsis of such a name as **Tref Glassan** "the village belonging to Glassan." **Glassan** is a known Ir. pers. name.

**Cockersand Abbey:** **Cocresha** 1207 LPR, **Kokersand** 1212 LI, **Cocressand**, **Cokerresand** 1215 LPR, **Cokersand** 1229 LAR, **Kokirsand** 1297 LI. The name means "the Cocker sands, the sandy bank of the Cocker." O.E. **sand** and O.N. **sandr** are both used in the sense "sandy shore." The abbey, now in ruins, stands on the shore near the mouth of the Cocker. The abbey was built at a place called **Askel(es)cros** CC 7571; **Askel** is O.N. **Askell** pers. n.

**LANCASTER PAR.**

This large parish, the chief part of which is situated on both sides of the lower Lune, comprises 14 townships in Lonsdale and 5 in Amounderness. The latter are detached and have already been dealt with. The surface of the Lonsdale part varies considerably. W. of the Lune it is low and mostly flat. E. of the river it is undulating, and rises by degrees till an elevation of some 1,500ft. is reached in the easternmost part (in Over Wyresdale and Quernmore).

1. **Over Wyresdale:** **Wyresdale** 1246 LAR, c 1250 CC, 1314 LI, etc.

The township occupies a large hilly district in the upper Wyre valley S.E. of Lancaster. It is sparsely inhabited. In early times the district seems to have been used only for pasture. Several of the divisions of the township are still called vaccaries, as Greenbank Vaccary, etc. Much of it is desolate fell country. The homesteads are chiefly on or near the Wyre.
Abbeystead: *vaccary del Abbey* 1323, 1324 LI. The name, which means "the site of the abbey," preserves the memory of a house of Cistercian monks in Wyresdale, founded by monks from Furness Abbey in the reign of Henry II., but soon removed (VHL VIII., 78).

Catshaw: *Cattesagh* 1323 LI, *Catteshawe* 1324 LI. O.E. *catt* "cat" and *scaga* "shaw."

Dunkenshaw: *Dunokesagh* 1323 LI, *Dunnokschawe* 1324 LI. Cf. Dunnockshaw p. 80. The first el. is no doubt M.E. *dunnoke* "hedge-sparrow."

Emmetts: *Emodes* 1323, 1324 LI. The place is in the tongue of land E. of the junction of the Tarnbrook and Marshaw Wyres. The name goes back to O.E. *ēagomōtu* "junction of streams."


Greenbank: *Grenebonk* 1323 LI, -bank 1324 LI. Probably "the green hill or slope."


Lentworth: *Lontworth* 1323 LI, *Lentworth* 1324 LI. L. stands N. of the Wyre and near a brook, called Gallows Clough. The first el. of the name may be an old name of the brook identical with O.E. *leontan*, *liontan* (obl. forms) 704-9 BCS 123, the name of a river in Warw. ; *lentan* 854 BCS 477, 931 BCS 675, the name of rivers in Hants and Berks. This is no doubt a Celtic name, to be compared with Welsh *liant* "a stream." On *worth* "enclosure," etc., see p. 20.

Marshaw: *Marchesagh* 1323 LI, *Marcheshawe* 1324 LI, *Marchshagh, Marschashheued* c 1350 LPR. I suppose the correct form is that of 1323, and identify the first el. with O.E. *meard* "marten."

Ortner (N. of Swainshead, on the N. bank of the Wyre): *Overtonargh* 1323 LI, *Hortounargh* 1324 LI. The name means "*the ergh* (or shieling) belonging to Overton." Overton is clearly the village of that name on the Lune estuary (cf. p. 175), situated at a distance of over 6 miles from Ortner as the crow flies. The example seems to indicate that Over Wyresdale was in pre-Conquest time common land to the townships round the lower Lune. On *ergh* see p. 10.

Swainshead (in the S.W. part, S. of the Wyre): *Suenesat* DB, *Swaineseste* 1199 LPR, *Swaynesheved* 1323f. LI. The elements of the name are the O.N. pers. n. *Sveinn* and *set*, *sat* "a shieling" (see p. 16). Swainshead Hall stands on a hill some 500ft. above sea-level.

Tarnbrook (on the Tarnbrook Wyre): *Tyrn(e)brok* 1323, 1324 LI. Tarnbrook was originally, of course, the name of the brook. As *e* often becomes *i* in N. dialects (cf. *gris* < *gres* "grass," etc.), it seems plausible that *Tyrn-* stands for earlier *Tern-* and is to be derived from O.N. *tiprn* "tarn." However, to judge by the map, there is no tarn near the stream. It should be added that Tarnsyke Clough is the name of a brook that falls into the Wyre near Tarnbrook.
2. **Quernmore** (E. of Lancaster): *Quernemor* 1228 CIR, *Quernemore* 1278 FC II. (orig.), 1323 LI, *Quernmore* 1342 FC II., Whermore c. 1500 DL; now [wɔr'me]. The township lies on the W. slope of Clougha Fell. The second el. of the name is O.E. *mōr* “moor.” The first is O.E. *cweorn* or O.N. *kvern* “quern, mill” or possibly “mill-stone”; cf. Quarlton p. 46. **Hareapettle** or **Appletree**: *Harapelltre* 1323 LI, *Harapulatre* 1324 LI, *Appulatre* 1537 DL. O.E. *hār* “grey” and *appeltrēo.*

**Hutton** (old manor, the N. part of the township; the name is now lost): *Hotun* DB, *Hoton* 1278 FC II. (orig.), *Hutton* 1557 LF. Cf. the same name p. 136.

**Lyth Brow** (on a hill-side S. of Caton): *le Lyht* 1278 FC II. (orig.). O.N. *hið* “slope.” In the same document the interesting name *les Schyrokes* “the shire oaks”; the name is now lost.

**Rowton Brook**: *La Routandebrok* 1323 LI, *Routandbrok* 1324 LI, *Routane* 1537 DL. Really the name of the brook on which the place stands. The name means “the roaring brook”; first el. the pres. part. *routand* from M.E. *routen* “to roar” (<O.N. *rauta*); cf. Rawtenstall p. 92.

**Scarthwaite** (now apparently lost): *Starkthweyt* 1278 FC II. (orig.), *Sterwhart* 1530 DL. The early forms do not allow of a definite etymology. Possibly that of 1530 points to O.E. *stirc* “a heifer” as the first el.; if so, Stark- in the earliest quotation must be miswritten.

3. **Scotforth** (S.E. of Lancaster, bounded on the E. by the Conder; v.): *Scozforde* DB, Scotford 1204 LF, Scotford 1212 LI, 1246 IPM, 1323 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Schotford*, Scotford 1301 LF, *Scodford* 1323 LI, *Scotforth* 1501 CC. Scotford vil. stands near a stream; the village was no doubt named from a ford over this stream. I take the first el. of the name to be O.E. Scot “Scotsman,” etc., either in the gen. plur. or (originally) in the gen. sing. The name may be compared with Galgate (p. 170) and refer to Scottish traffic along a road through the district or to some event in which a Scotsman or some Scotsmen were concerned.

**Bailrigg**: *Bailrig* a 1254 CC, *de Bailrugge* 1277 LAR, *de Balrig* 1283 LI, *de Balerig* 1287 LC, Baleryg 1461 CC, Baylerygge 1539 CC, Balerigge 1545 LF; now [be'lirig]. B. stands on the side of a gently sloping ridge. The second el. of the name is O.N. *hrygggr* “ridge.” The first must be a word with a (M.E.) long vowel, perhaps O.N. *bál*, M.E. *bål* “a blazing pile, a bonfire” or more probably O.N. *bái* “a gentle slope along the shore,” a word found in Norw. and Icel. place-names. Bailrigg is not on the shore of the sea, but no doubt O.N. *bái* was originally used of any gentle slope.

**Big Firth** (S. of Scotforth vil.): *de Biggetheit* 1242 LAR, *de Bigthwait* 1246 LI, *Biggethwayt* 1323 LF. Bigthwaite clearly means “barley thwaite” (O.N. *býgg* “barley” and *thwaite* p. 19). The identification of the early forms given with Big Firth is not certain, but plausible. Bigthwaite is stated to be in the adjacent Ashton township. Big Firth is near the Ashton boundary. The correctness of the identification is to some extent corroborated by the fact that it is difficult to explain the name Big Firth if the second el. is O.E. *ford*, for the place is not on a stream. A change of Bigthwaite to Big Firth is easily explained as due to popular etymology. It is worthy of notice that at least in Wml. *-thwaite* is sometimes pronounced [fet]; cf. Ellis V. 605. Cf. also Gubberford, p. 165.
LONSDALE HUNDRED

Burrow (sometimes looked upon as a separate vill): Burg, Burgo, Burgum c 1200 CC, Burgh 1451ff. CC, Burgesbrc c 1200 CC (a brook), (Brentebrec super) Aldeburgh a 1268 CC, Burghthwayethurst LC 336. O.E. burh “fortified place.” Nothing appears to be known about this old burh. It is worthy of notice that the place stands on the old Roman road between Ribchester and Lancaster, and in a fairly high situation (on Burrow Heights).

Hala Carr (E. of Scotforth, near a brook): Helecarre 1658, Helacar 1659, Hayley Karr 1660 Lancaster R.; now [e]lo ka-]). I suppose Hala is identical with the first part of the lost name Hallistrice: Helewadris 1184-90 CC, Helewataris 1190 CC, Halotryse 1545 LF, Halatrash (?!) 1659 Lancaster R. The last syllable of this is apparently O.N. hrís “brushwood” (or O.E. hrís “twigs, branches, brushwood”); cf. e.g., Kelderise (Scotforth) CC 804. This element seems to have been added to a name with O.N. vað “ford” as second el. The first el. is obscure; possibly it is O.N. heil “luck” or heill adj. “lucky.”

Hazelrigg: Hesilrig c 1200, c 1250 CC, Haselrig c 1210 CC. H. stands on or at a ridge. The elements of the name are O.N. hesli “hazel-bushes” or O.E. hasel “hazel” and O.N. hryggr “ridge.”


4. Ashton with Stodday (a low-lying district E. of the Lune estuary S. of Lancaster).


Stodday: Stodhae c 1200 CC, de Stodye 1246 LI, de Stodyehahe 1252 LI, Stodhag 1262 LAR, de Stodagh 1332 LS, Stodyad 1440, 1448 LF. O.E. *stódhaga “stud enclosure.”

Brantbeck: Brantebrec, Brentebrec c 1250 CC, de Brantebre 1246 LI. M.E. brant, brent “steep” (from O.E. brant or O.N. bratt < *brant-; cf. Swed. brant) and O.N. brekka “slope.” B. is on a fairly steep slope. The loss of the r in the second syllable is due to dissimilation.

Grizehead (apparently lost): Grischevet c 1250 CC, de Grishedad 1332 LS. O.N. griss “pig” (or Griss pers. n.) and O.E. hafod “hill.”

5. Aldcliffe (S.W. of Lancaster): Aldecif DB, 1332 LS, Audeclivam 1094 LC, Aldeclyue, Audeclyue c 1190 Ch, Aldeclyue 1212 LI, 1327 LS, Aldeclyf 1341 IN, Audclyff 1577 Saxton, Aulcliffe 1577 Harr. I take the name to represent an O.E. Aldanclyf; Alda is a known O.E. name. Clif seems to mean “a slope”; the ground rises to 100ft. close to Aldcliffe Hall.

6. Lancaster (town): Lande 1035-1039 Hildebrand (coin), Loncastre, Cher-

caloncastre DB, Lanceastrum 1094 LC, Loncastra 1127 Ch, Lancastra 1162ff.,
1176ff. LPR, Lancastre c 1140 Gaimar, 1198 LPR, 1212 LI, 1225 LF, 1246 LAR,
etc., Lancaster 1262, 1292, 1314 LF, etc., Langcastre, Langkastre 13 cent. Ind.
Leland c 1540 gives the local pronunciation as Lancaster, “corruptly spoken for Lunecastre viii miles off”; Camden 1586 gives the local pronunciation Loncaster. The name seems to mean “the city on the Lune”; cf. however under Lune p. 168. Chercoloncastre in DB means “Kirk Lancaster”; there are in DB two manors of Lancaster.

Bowerham (old manor; now the S.E. part of Lancaster): Bolerund 1201 LPR,
Bolerun 1204, 1206 ib., Bulerun 1207 ib., Bolron 1212 LI, 1450 CC, Bolron 1297
LI, de Bolrune 1332 LS; Bolrune 1226 LI, 1212-17 RB, 1215 CC, etc. The name seems to be identical with Boldron, Yks. (Bull(e)run 1280 IPM, Bollerun 1285 ib.). It appears to have originally ended in -n; the -m may be due to assimilation to the initial labial or to association with names in -ham and -rum (p. 16). The first el. is apparently M.E. bule "bull" (probably a Scand. word) or possibly O.E. Bu(ol) pers. n. The second I identify with a word run found in Cumb. and Wml. names, as Poteruns RSB 419, Stelerun ib. 163 (cf. Scandinavians p. 93f.) and very likely to be derived from O.N. runnr "a brake or thicket."

Calkeld Lane (street): Caldekelde 1220-50 FC II. "The cold well." Keld is O.N. kelda "a well."

Edenbreck (in Lancaster): Etenbreck 1285 FC II (orig.). The second el. is O.N. brekka "a slope." The first is doubtful.

Priestwath or Priesta, now Scale Ford (VHL VIII. 13): Prestreguet 1094 LC, Prestwath 1317 LC, 1460 FC II., Prestwaith 1371 OR. The name means "the priests' ford," the second el. being O.N. vêg "ford," which in the earliest quotation is translated by Fr. qvet (qve). The last form quoted seems to show influence from O.N. veiðr "fishery, hunting; place for fishing," etc.

7. Bulk (N.E. of Lancaster, in a bend of the Lune): Bulk 1318 LC, 1327 LS, 1332 LS, Bulke 1341 IN, Bowke 1581 DL. The ground slopes from some 280ft. to some 30ft. A long ridge, on which is a place called Ridge (: Ridge 1318 LC), runs from S. to N. The name might be identical with M.E. bulk "a heap" (1440, etc.), apparently a Scand. word; cf. O.N. bulki "a heap, cargo," Swed., Norw. dial. bulk "a knob, bump." If this is right, the name would mean "a hill" or the like and refer to the ridge mentioned. But we might also compare the O.E. bolca "a gangway." The name might refer to a foot-bridge over a stream. Cf. vadum de Bulkes (Am.) 1330 LC.

Newton: Neuton DB, Neutev 1094 LC, Newton 1212 LI, Newton 1389 FC II. The name is now preserved in Newton Beck. In DB Neuton represents Bulk township.

Dolphinlees: Dolfenlee, -ley 1533 DL. The first el. is the pers. n. Dolfin, perhaps of Scand. origin.

8. Overton (W. of the Lune estuary; v.): Ouretun DB, Ouretonam 1094 Ch, Overtun 1177, 1205 LPR, 1332 LS, etc., Overtun 1201ff. LPR, 1212 LI, etc., Orton 1577 Saxton, 1577 Harr.; now [ovetn, o'vetn]. Overton vil. stands near the bank of the Lune. The first el. of the name is no doubt O.E. ofer "shore." The meaning "upper town" is improbable.

Bazil Point (a promontory S. of Overton): Basul 1199-1206 CC. The second el. of the name is O.E. hyll "hill." The S. end of the point rises to 50ft. The first el. is possibly the pers. n. from which Basing (Hants) and the first el. of Basing-stoke (Hants) are derived.

Colloway: Collingseswelle c 1200 CC. "Colling's well or brook." There is a small stream near the place. Colling is an O.E. pers. n., probably native.

Sunderland (the southernmost part of the township): ? de Sinderlaund 1246 LAR, ? Sunderloand 1262 LAR. O.E. sundor-land. A meaning "outlying, detached land" is plausible. Cf. the same name pp. 29, 70.

Trailholme: Threlhame 1663, Thrilham 1664 Heysham R. The forms, though late, point to an O.N. prœalaholmu "island of the thralls." The place stands on a

9. Middleton (W. of the Lune; v.): Middeltun DB, Middelton c 1190 Ch, 1199ff. LPR, Midelton 1212 LI, 1332 LS, etc. The village has a middle position between Overton and Heysham; hence its name. O.E. Middeltun.

10. Heaton with Oxcliffe (W. and N. of the lower Lune). Heaton: Histune DB, Hetun c 1160 Ch, Heton c 1170 Ch, 1212 LI, 1283 LF, 1332 LS. “The high tun.” The township is low-lying, but Heaton h. stands on a tract of rising ground, some 50ft. above sea-level.

Oxcliffe: Oxenclif DB, Oxeclive 1201ff. LPR, Oxalclive 1212 LI, 1297 LI, Oxcliff 1327, -clif 1332 LS, 1427 LF, etc., Excliffe 1577 Harr.; now [okslif]. The name means “the height where oxen were kept.” The small hamlet stands on a little bluff.

Melishaw: Melanshow in an early deed VHL VIII. 71; now [melisf’, melife]. The elements of the name may be the O.Ir. pers. n. Maelán and O.N. haugr. The farm stands at a slight hill, which, however, has now practically disappeared.

Ovangle: Ovangle 1476, 1586 DL; now [o’fangl]. The place stands on a slight elevation close to an arm of the Lune which separates the large meadow called Salt Ayre from the mainland. This arm makes a wide bend. It seems plausible, therefore, that angle might be O.E. angel or O.N. pungull “a fishing-hook,” here used as a name of the bend or the arm as a whole. The first el. might then be the O.N. ofan “above”; a meaning such as “(the place) above the bend” would be very suitable. But there are other names containing an el. angle, with which Ovangle may be compared. In Ince Blundell there were formerly two pieces of land called Low-angle and the Ox-angle 13 cent. HS XXXIII. 12, 17. The situation of these places is unknown. The meaning of angle at least in Ox-angle can hardly have been simply “hook” or “bend.” But very likely it is identical with O.E. angel, etc.; this word may have developed senses such as “bend of a river,” traces of which are perhaps to be found in Continental languages (cf. Förstemann), and also “land within a bend,” “river-meadow” or the like. This may be the sense of angle in Ovangle, whose first el. might then be O.E. Ofa pers. n. Angel, the name of the district from which the Angles came, may belong here; see on this name especially Erdmann, Über die Heimat und den Namen der Angeln, Uppsala 1891. Cf. Angle (Pembr.) on Angle Bay.

Salt Ayre: Ayre is O.N. eyrr “gravel-bank.” The word is often found denoting islands or water-meadows, former sand-banks, in the Lune valley. High and Low Ayre are low-lying meadows, liable to floods, W. of Tunstall. Green Ayre (Green-aer 1778 West, Guide to the Lakes p. 18) is now part of Lancaster. Cf. also under Skerton. Salt Ayre is still partly submerged at high water.

11. Poulton, Bare, and Torrisholme, on Morecambe Bay; originally three manors. The township is also called Morecambe from the modern town of this name.

Poulton-le-Sands (old vil.): Pultune DB, Pulton 1201 LPR, 1212 LI, 1332 LS,

1 The identification of Morecambe Bay (formerly Kent Sands) with Ptolemy’s Moricambe, which gave rise to the name Morecambe Bay, seems to have been made first by Whitaker, History of Manchester, 1771 (I, 125). It was accepted by West, Antiquities of Furness, 1774, and the new name was soon generally adopted.
etc., **Poulton** 1226 LI; **Putton** 1200 LPR, **Pilton** 1205 ib. are no doubt corrupt. The old vil. stood near the sea, and must have been named from some pool or brook (O.E. *pōl, pull*), perhaps from Bare Beck, which falls into the sea a little to the E.

**Bare** (v.): **Bare** DB, 1094 Ch, 1212 LI, 1332 LS, etc., **Bar** 1206 LF, **Barre** 1220-25 FC II. Probably O.E. *bearo* "grove"; **Bar** 1206 no doubt stands for **Bar**, i.e., **Bare**.

**Torrisholme** (h.): **Toredholme** DB, **Toroldesham** 1201 LPR, **Turoldeholm** 1204, 1210 ib., **Thoraldesholm** 1206 LC, **Thoroldesholm**, **Thoroudesholm** 1212 LI, **Thorodesholm** 1233 LF, **Thorisholme** 1323 LI, -holm 1332 LS, **Torisholm** 1322 LF, 1327 LS, **Torrysholme** 1557 LF. The elements of the name are *Thorol* pers. n. from O.N. *Þóraldr* and O.N. *holmr*. *T*- instead of *Th*- is due to A.N. influence. The place is situated at the S. end of a ridge reaching 150ft.; the surrounding country is low.

**Hestham** (in Poulton). The name no doubt goes back to earlier **Hestholm** from O.N. *hestr* "horse" and *holmr*; cf. de **Hestholm** 1332 LS (Marton, Am.). The place is on a slight elevation in low-lying country.

12. **Skerton** (N. of the Lune opposite to Lancaster): **Schertune** DB, *escartonam* 1094 Ch, **Schereton** c 1190 Ch, **Skerton** 1201ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., **Schaerton** 1249 LI, **Skerton** 1310 LF, **Skyrton** 1557 LF; now [skə'tn]. The old village stands on the bank of the Lune opposite to a low flat islet called Cow Shard; further up-stream are Stake Ayre, Rabbit Ayre and others. I have no doubt the name means "the village at the ayre or gravel-bank." The first el. is O.N. *sker* "skerry," etc. The ayres were originally gravel-banks such as one sees to-day in different parts of the lower Lune. In Engl. dialects *scar* (O.N. *sker*) means among other things "a bed of rough gravel or stones; a spit of sand running into a lake" (EDD).

**Beaumont** (the N. half of the township): **Belli Montis** 1190 FC, **Bellum Montem** 1292 ib., **Belmont** 1212 LI, de **Beaumont** 13 cent. LC, **Beaumond** c 1320 LI, de **Bemound** 1332 LS; now [bo'mont]. The name is obviously French and means "the beautiful hill." The place, which belonged to Furness Abbey, is in a fairly high situation and well deserves the name.—**Neuhuse** DB is said to have embraced Beaumont (VHL VIII. 59).

**Scale Hall**: **Scale** 1577 Saxton. "The hut"; O.N. *skáli*.

13. **Caton** (N.E. of Lancaster, S. of the Lune; v.): **Catun** DB, **Catton** 1186, 1197ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1273 LAR, **Caton** 1185, 1196 LPR, 1327 LS, 1395 LF, etc., **Katun** 1233 LF, 1251 IPM, **Katon** 1664 RW 52; now [ke'tn]. The first el. of the name is no doubt a pers. n., e.g., O.E. *C(e)atta* or O.N. *Kåti*. If the modern pronunciation is not due to the spelling, it is most probably O.N. *Kåti*, as that form might account for both the forms *Catton* and *Caton*; see Layton p. 155. Cf. **Catton, Norf.** (Catetuna, Cattuna, Catuna DB), Yks. (Cattune DB), Caton, Dev.

**Crag House**: *del Crag* 1332 LS. Cf. p. 9.

**Grassyard** or **Gresgarth**: **Gresgarthe** 1577 Saxton, **Gresyard**, **Girsgarth** 1589 RW 85. O.N. *gres* “grass” and *garðr* “enclosure.”

**Littledale** (the S. part of Caton): **Liteldale** 1226 LI, **Liteldale** 1251 IPM. "The little valley."

**Tongue Moor** (in Littledale): **Tonge more** 1588 RW 222, **Tangmore** 1636 RW 80,
LONSDALE HUNDRED

Tunghmore 1639 RW 295. The place is in the tongue of land between Foxdale Beck and a tributary of it. The first el. is probably the O.E. tæng "fork of a river," discussed p. 18.

Winder (near Artle Beck; now perhaps lost, but found in O.M. 1846-51): Wynder (family name) 1501 CC (Caton). See Winder in Cartmel p. 197.

14. Gressingham (a detached township N. of the Lune, near Hornby): Ghersinctune DB, Gersingheam 1183, 1194 LPR, Guersuingham 12 cent. LC, Gersingham 1204 LPR, 1235 LF, 1285 LAR, etc., Gersingham 1204-12 CC 921 (orig.), de Gersinghaym 1246 LAR, Karsingeam 1212 RB; Gressingham 1206 LPR, 1246 LAR, Gressyngahm 1341 IN. The name may be compared with Grassington, Yks. (Gheresntone DB), Gressenhal, Norf. (Grassinghal 1275 HR), Grassendale in Garston (p. 111). The first el. seems to be M.E. gresing, grasing "pasturing, pastureland" (1440, etc.), a derivative of O.E. gers or O.N. gras (gres). As regards the interchange of Gers- and Gres- cf. M.E. gers, gres "grass." The second el. seems to be O.E. ham; cf. the isolated forms in -haim, due to Scand. influence. But O.E. hamm is also possible. The name seems to mean "grazing-farm."

Eskrig: Escrigr 1202 LF, escrog 1204-12 CC 921 (orig.). The place stands on a ridge. The name goes back to an O.N. Eschiryggr "ash ridge."

Higher, Lower Snab: the Snabbe 1584 DL, Snab 1673 RW 316. The places are on a slope. Snab "a steep place or ascent; a rugged rise or point" is evidenced in NED from 1797.

CLAUGHTON PAR.


Claughton (v.): Clactun DB, Clahton 1208 LF, 1226 LI, 1252 IPM, 1255 IPM, Clacton 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, Clauhton 1241 LF, de Clafton 1246 LAR, Clagton 1255 IPM, Clatton 1257 LAR, Claghton 1297 LI, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., Clauhton 1297 LI; now [klaftn]. Clauhton vil. is at the foot of Clauhton Moor, which rises steeply to some 1,000ft. above sea-level. The name is identical with Claughton in Am., and may like that have for its first el. a pers. n. Olac (from O.N. Klakkr) or O.N. klakkr "a hill," etc.

HEYSHAM PAR.

A district on the sea, W. of Lancaster, S. of Morecambe.

Heysham, Higher and Lower (hamlets): Hessam DB, Hesseim, Heseym 1094 CH, Hесheim 1180-99 Ch (orig.), Hesam 1212-17 RB, 1297 LI, etc., Hesseim 1194 LPR, Hessem 1201 LPR, Hesham c 1190 Ch, 1208 LF, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Hesaim 1212 LI, Hesam 1246 IPM, de Heshaym 1259 IPM, Hesaym 1272-5 FC II. (orig.); Heghsaym 1323 LI, Hysheam 1557 LF; magna, parva Hesham LC 298, Hesaym Superiori 1285-8 FC II, Nethir-hessam 1297 LI; now [hisse'm], but Ellis, p. 626, gives the form [ hipsem].

The second el. of the name seems to be O.E. hām rather than hamm; it is often Scandinavianized to -haym, etc. The first is no doubt O.E. hās. This word corresponds to a L.G. word very common in place-names (as Hees, Hais, etc.) and apparently still in living use in the form hees or hese; the meaning seems to be "brushwood, underwood" (cf. Forstemann, Namenbuch 1196ff., Nomina
Geographica Neerlandica III. 338). The base of the word is *haisio*; cf. Silva Caesia (=Heserwald) in Tacitus. O.E. hēs is often used in names of swine-pastures. This seems to tell us that at least its original meaning was "beach or oak wood." The same stem is found in M.L.G. heister, hēster, M.H.G. heister 1 "young tree," especially "young oak or beech." Examples of O.E. hēs are: hēse ÆSIL. c 831 BCS 400 (orig.), Lōnga hēse 793 BCS 265 (orig.; now Hayes in Midds.), Hēse (Kent) 838 BCS 418. The O.E. form hēs(e) is due to the Kentish sound-change ë > ē, and hēse, hēse, which also occur, are inverted spellings due to the changes ŋ, ë > ē (in Kentish, etc.).

**Cross Copp** (on a small hill N. of Heysham): Crosse coppe 1272-5 FC II., 1285-8 ib. O.E. copp means "top, summit."

**Sugham Fields** (on a slight elevation, 57ft. above sea-level): Suggelholm c 1280 FC II., LC 292. The second el. is O.N. holmr. The first is difficult to determine. O.E. Suca pers. n., sucge in O.E. hegescge "hedge-sparrow," dial. sug "a morass, soft, boggy ground," Swed., Norw. dial. sugga "sow" may be thought of.

**HALTON PAR.**

A district N. of the Lune, N.E. of Lancaster.

**Halton** (township; v.): Haltune DB, Haltun c 1225 FC II., Halgtun, Halghtun 1246-51 LI, Halghtun 1251 IPM, Halton 1243 LI, 1246 IAR, 1252 LI, 1332 LS, etc. O.E. halh and tun. The village stands on the Lune, where there is a narrow strip of flat ground. Halh seems to mean "haugh," i.e. "flat river meadow."

**Aughton** (on the Lune; h.): Aghton 1320-46 CS 74, 1458 TI; now [aftn]. O.E. Aco-tūn "oak town."

**Holgill** (on Holgill Brook): Hollegyll 1329 LC, Holgill 1331 ib. O.E. hol(h) or O.N. holr adj. "hollow" and gill "a ravine."

**Sideyard** or **Sidgarth** (near Aughton): Sydeyard, Shydeyard 1232 LI, Sideyard 1458 TI. The same name is found in Caton: le Sigard, boscum de Sidyard a 1250 CC. The first el. is no doubt O.E. sid adj., with the meaning "large" or perhaps "distant." The second varies between O.E. geard and O.N. garðr.

**Strellas**: Stralow 1210-35 FC II., Stralaw(e)s 1366-7 ib. Strellas Lane, S. Beck, and S. Bridge are c 1 m. N.W. of Halton vil., near a couple of hills, one of 300ft. I suppose the name consists of O.N. strá (or possibly O.E. *strā by the side of strēa) "straw" and O.E. hlāw "hill."

**Stub Hall**: de Stub 1212 LI, Stubbe 1376 LF, le Stub 1458 TI. O.E. stubb "stub, stump of a tree."

**MELLING PAR.**

The nucleus of this parish is the tongue of land between the Lune and the Wenning. To the N. of the Lune is Arkholme with Cawood, and S. of the Wenning is a large district consisting to a great extent of fell country. Most of the district is hilly.

1 I am inclined to believe that a word corresponding to G. heister is the first el. of Hesterheugh (a hill at Yetholm, Scotland): Hesterheugh 12 cent. Hist. St. Cuthbert (Sim. Durh. p. 139). As G. heister seems to go back to a base *heistra-, Hester- must, if my suggestion is correct, be derived from a side-form with an on-suffix (heiströhn-); cf. O.E. bēce "beech" (O.H.G. buöhka), birce, fyrne by the side of boerc, þorn, etc. (Kluge, Stammbildungslehre, § 83.)
1. Melling with Wrayton.

Melling (near the Lune; v.): *Mellinge DB, Melynges 1094 Ch, c 1200 LC, Mellinges 12 cent. LC, Mellinges 1196f. LPR, 1271 LAR, Melling c 1190 Ch, 1227 ChR, 1246 LF, etc., Melyng 1332 LS, 1363, 1375 LF; Melling 1229 LF.

Melling represents an O.E. *Melingas, a patronymic derived either from O.E. *Moll or from the stem *Mall- in Malling, Kent, and Suss. It is identical with Melling in De, p. 119.

Wrayton (old manor; Wrayton 1229 LF, Wretton 1227 ChR, Wraton 1271 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, de Wraton 1247 CC. Further examples in Lindkvist p. 199. First el. O.N. (v.) rá “corner.” The place stands on the Greeta in a situation remote from the main valley.

Cringleber (at a small round hill). The name means “round hill,” the first el. being O.N. *kringla “circle” (cf. O.N. *kringlu-þýrr “round marsh”), the second O.E. *beorh or O.N. *berg “hill.” Cf. Cringlebarrow p. 189 and Cringelborhanes, etc., p. 85.

2. Hornby (v., castle: near the confluence of the Wenning and the Lune): Hornebi DB, 1212 Li, Hornebi 1227, 1229 LF, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Hornby 1297 Li, 1500 LF, Horne Castelle c 1540 Leland. The first el. of the name is a dissyllabic word, no doubt the pers. n. Horne DB (probably Scand.). It is noteworthy that Horni seems only to be evidenced in E.Scand. sources.

3. Farleton (on the S. bank of the Lune): Fareltun DB, 1154-89 Ind, Farletones 1208 LF, Fareston 1212 Li, Farleton 1235 LF, 1246 LAR, etc., Farilton 1243 Li, ffarleton 1332 LS. The name is apparently identical with Farleton, Wml.: Fareltun DB, c 1170 Ind., Farleton 1190-5 Ch, Farlton 1227, Farleton 1244 (Sedgefield). The first el. of the name would seem to be a pers. n. It might be O.N. Faraldr (cf. Björkan, Namekunde).—But in view of Farham, Cumb. (Farlam 1169, etc., Fartham 1234, etc.: Sedgefield) it is perhaps rather the somewhat doubtful O.N. Farle (cf. Björkan, op. cit.) or an O.E. name corresponding to it and derived from the stem Far- found in O.G. names (cf. Förstemann).


4. Arkholme with Cawood (between the Lune and the Keer, N.W. of Melling).

Arkholme (v.): *Ergune DB, Argun 1195 LPR, Argun 1196 ib., Ergum 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, ergun 1243 Li, Ergum 1271 LAR, 1279 ChR, Arwun 1519 LF, Erholme 1539 LF. The dat. pl. of *ergh, argh “shieling, mountain pasture” (see p. 10). The township is hilly; it reaches 466ft. at Cragg Lot. Arkholme vil. is near the Lune.

Cawood: (nemus de) Kawode c 1225, c 1250 CC, (moss of) Cawode c 1350 LPR. Cf. Cawuda (silva) CC 469 (Hoole, Leyl.) and Cawood, Yks. (Lindkvist p. 184). First el. M.E. la “jack-daw,” probably a native word. Cawood was the forest of the lords of Melling.


Kitlow (on a hill): Kyldeo 1445 VHL VIII. 205, Kitley 1647 RW 309. This might be an old *Ketilhow, “the how (O.N. haugr) of Ketill.”

Locka: Lochawe 1271 LAR, de Loghagh 1325 LCR, de Loghagh 1326 ib. O.E. *lochaga from loc “lock, enclosure, fold” and haga “enclosure.”
Storrs: de Stordis 1243 LI, Estrodes 1271 LAR, the Storthes c 1350 LPR, del Storches 1332 LS, Storres c 1590 RW 263. O.N. storð “brushwood, underwood.”

5. Wennington (h.): Wenigetun, Wincinctune DB, Wenington 1212 LI, Wenington 1227 ChR, 1271 LAR, Weninton 1229 LF, 1243 LI, Wennyngton 1332 LS, 1346 LF, etc. The hamlet stands on the river Wenning, whose name is evidenced from 1165 on, and it would seem obvious that the first el. of the name is that of the river. But Old Wennington (Old Wenington 1227 ChR, Old Weninton 1229 LF) stands near the Greeta. If the epithet Old may be taken to prove that the original Wennington was that on the Greeta, it does not seem quite probable that it was named after the Wenning. If it is not, Wennington, like Wennington in Hunts, must have as its first el. the patronymic Wenningas (from O.E. Wenna pers. n.). I am inclined to prefer the second alternative. The river-name would then have to be explained either as a back-formation from Wennington (which, in view of the early occurrence of the name, is somewhat hard to believe) or else as an independent derivative of the pers. n. Wenna: “the stream belonging to Wenna,” no doubt the same Wenna as the ancestor of the Wennings.

Hutton (on a ridge or hill between Wennington and Old Wennington): Hotun a 1227 CC, Hotunna a 1242 ib. First el. O.E. hōn “ridge,” etc. Cf. the same name in Leyl.

6. Roeburndale (a wide tract of hill country on both sides of the Roeburn): Reburndale 1285 IPM, Rebrundale, Reynbrundale 1301 FC II., Reburnecdale 1341 IN, Ryburndale 1372 Gaunt R, Roberundale 1528 LF. “The valley of the Roeburn.”

Harterbeek (on a brook): Hatherbecke 1576 RW 277, Harterbeck 1587 ib., Hartherbeckes 1609 ib. 24. The first el. may be identical with that of Harter Fell, Cumb. (Harterfel c 1210 FC II.), i.e., the gen. of O.N. hiptr “hart” or hiptr pers. n.

Haylot (on the slope of Haylot Fell): Hailett 1584, Hayloth 1624 RW 228. No doubt literally “hay lot”; lot means “allotment for grazing on a fell.” An early example of this lot is Yuelotesheuede 1228 CIR, which means “Yew Lot Hill.”

Mallowdale (near the Roeburn, on the slope of Mallowdale Fell): Malydall 1574 RW 277, Malladale 1640 RW 159. Probably simply “mallow dale.”

Outhwaite (on the lower Roeburn): Wwethait 1199 ChR, Uthwyatte 1528 LF. Probably the thwaite of Ulfr; Ulfr is a common O.N. name.

Salter (on the slope of Goodber Fell): Salter 1612, 1625 RW 222, Lower Salter 1613 RW 310. The name is identical with Salter in Cumb. (Salterghie 12 cent.), a compound of O.N. salt sb. or saltr adj. “salt” and ergb “a shieling.” The meaning of the first el. is not obvious.

Scambler (apparently lost): Scambr 1536 DL, Scambeler 1569 ib. The first el. is apparently the Scand. pers. n. Skamel (found in O.Dan.; cf. O.N. Skamkell), found also in Scamhelbrec c 1250 Wetherhal Reg. The second is no doubt ergb “a shieling.”

Smeer Hall: Smerhawe 1418 TI, Smeerchaw 1639 RW 317. The second el. is probably O.E. haga or O.N. hagi “enclosure.” The first is apparently O.N. smör “butter.” The meaning of the name would be something like “fat pasture.” In Scand. place-names smör “butter” is sometimes used to denote
good soil or the like. In Swed. dialects *smörmäse* means "a pasture where cows give the best butter." Cf. Lindroth, Ortsnamn på -rum, p. 70. But the first el. may also be O.E. *smeoru* with a sense "mire" or the like.


7. **Wray with Botton** (a long strip of hillside land along the Hindburn).

Wray (v.): *Wra* 1227 ChR, 1229 LF, 1271 LAR, etc., *Wraa* 1327, 1332 LS; now [re'].

The village stands on the Hindburn in a rather remote and out-of-the-way situation. The name is O.N. *(v)rá* "corner."

Botton: *de Bottun c 1230 CC, Botine 1246 LF I. 95, Botten 1341 IN; Botnebek 1235 LF*. Botton is the district round the upper Hindburn valley. The name is O.N. *botn* "bottom; the innermost part of a valley," also used as a place-name in Iceland. An essentially correct explanation is given by Sephton.

Summersgill: *Somerscall* 1606 RW 222. "Summer scale or hut," "hut for use in summer" (O.N. *sumarr* "summer" and *skáli* "hut"). The place is on a hill side.

Thrushgill: *Thursgill* 1631 RW 317, *Thurskeale* 1672 RW 293. The elements of the name are apparently O.N. *purs* "giant" and *gil* "ravine." Higher and Lower T. are on the steep slope W. of the Hindburn. Cf. *Thursgall* c 1350 LPR (near Capernwray) and *Thursegilemos* CC 958 (Bland, Yks.).

**TATHAM PAR.**

A narrow strip of hilly country between the Hindburn and the Yorkshire border, chiefly S. of the Wenning. The church, however, is on the N. bank of the river. There is only one township.

Tatham: *Tathaim* DB, 1215 LPR, *Tateham 1202, 1463 LF, Thatham, Thataim 1212 LI, *Tatham 1226 LI, 1317 LF, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., Tatam 1297 LI*. O.E. *Tāta*, a common pers. n., and *hám*, sometimes supplanted by O.N. *heimr*. There is no village Tatham; it must have been on the Wenning.

High Gale: *Gail* a 1225 CC. O.N. *geil* "ravine."


Ivah: *Ivo* 1520, 1597 DL, *Ive 1528 LF, Ivooth 1603 RW 317, Ivo(h) 1631 RW 277. The place is close to Ivah Great Hill (647ft.). The name is obscure; the second el. may be O.N. *hfuð* "head, hill."

Lowgill: *Lawgill* 1520 DL, 1528 LF. Probably "low ravine."


Robert Hall (old seat): *Robertes hall 1577 Saxton*. The place was named after Robert Cansfield, who inherited it in 1515 at the age of three (VHL).

Whiteray (on Whiteray Beck): *Wytewra 1235 LF, Whitraye* 1622 RW 311. The place is high up among the hills. The elements of the name are O.N. *hvitr* or O.E. *hvit* "white" and O.N. *(v)rd* "corner," etc.
THORNTON AND TUNSTALL PAR.

THORNTON PAR. (Yks.)

Ireby township on the Yks. border belongs to Thornton par. in Yks., but is reckoned as belonging to Lancashire, owing to early connection with Tatham. The township is situated E. of the Lune and Whittington.

Ireby (v.): Ireby DB, Yreby 1212 LI, Yrebi 1215 LPR, Ireby 1241, 1317 LF, etc., Yrby 1297 LI, Irby 1332 LS. Cf. Ireby in Cumb., Irby in Ches. The first el. is the pers. n. Ire (O.N. Iri) or, more probably, Ira, the gen. of O.N. Irar “Irishmen.”

TUNSTALL PAR.

This parish, situated between the Lune and the Greeta, forms the N.E. part of the hundred. The surface is level along the Lune, but rises to considerable altitudes in the N.E. on the Yks. border.

1. Cantsfield (between Cant Beck and the Greeta ; v.): Cantesfeld DB, Cancefeld 1202 LF, Cancefeld 1208, 1229, 1235 LF, Cancefeld 1243 LI, Cancefeud 1271 LAR, Caintesfeld 1327, 1332 LS, Caintesfeld 1341 IN; now [kansi’ld]. The early forms are a good deal influenced by Norman spelling. We may start from a late O.E. Cantesfeld. The first el. has some connection with the name Cant Beck. But Cantsfield vil. stands some way S. of Cant Beck on a small tributary of the latter. Yet it is no doubt possible to derive Cantes- from Cant, the name of the brook (found from 1202). On the other hand, Cant may be a back-formation from Cantesfeld, and the first el. of the latter may be *Cant pers. n., a side-form of Canta, which is no doubt a pet form of names such as Cantwine (Centwine). I am inclined to prefer the second alternative. The vil. and hall stand at a piece of level land extending to Cant Beck.

Laithbutts: Lathebolt 1202 LF. There seems to have been a place called Lathebolt in Whittington: Lathebote 1219 LF, -bot a 1219, c 1260 CC. Cf. also Lathebot c 1200 CC 579 (Ainsdale, De.). Laithbutts is obviously identical with these two names. The first el. is O.N. hlaða “barn.” The second may be Norw. dial. bót “a piece”; also, “a patch of land.” Cf. bæti in place-names in the Faroe Islands (Jakobsen), a derivative of bót. But it is curious that the combination Lathebot is so common. Cf. Lathebot (Rimington, Yks.) 1276 PD.

Scaleber (on the slope of a hill near the Yks. border): Scaleberg(e) 1202 LF. First el. O.N. skálí “hut.”

Thurland Castle (W. of Cantsfield vil.): Thurland 1465 PatR, 1539 CC, 1577 Saxton, 1586 Camden, Thorsland 1500, 1514 DL, Thurlande 1577 Harr., Thursland 1578 RW 104; Fyrrelande c 1540 Leland. The name, according to VHL VIII. 232, does not occur until 1402. The first el. is apparently a Scand. name in pör-, pür-. Possibly Thurland is identical with the Thoro island mentioned in CC 903 (1247) under: Wennington, which is separated from Cantsfield by the Greeta.

2. Tunstall (E. of the confluence of the Greeta and the Lune; v.): Tunestalle DB, Tunstall 1235 LF, 1246 LAR, 1271 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Tunstal 1227, 1229, 1235 LF, 1246 LAR, Tunstale 1338 LF. This is a fairly common place-name occurring in various parts of England (Kent, Suff., Staffs., Yks., Durh., etc.). The name is identical with O.E. tunsteall (O.E. tun and steal “place”), which
seems to mean "site of a farm; farmstead." It may be compared with O.E. hámстeall "homestead" and O.N. names in -staðr such as Bólstasðr, Bjárstaðr, etc. (Rygh, Indl. p. 76).

3. Burrow with Burrow (on the Lune): Borch DB, Burg 1212 LI, Burg' 1252 IPM, Burgh 1259 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., Burras 1577 Saxton, Burros 1577 Harr. There were two manors, distinguished as Over and Nether Burrow: Over-, Nethirburgh 1370 LF. Burrow is, of course, O.E. burh "fortified place." There are remains of a Roman fort (VHL II. p. 519). A Roman road runs along the E. boundary of the township.

Cowan Bridge (at Leck Beck): Collingbrigke, Colligbrige c 1200 CC. First el. presumably Colling pers. n. as in Colloway p. 175. There is a place Collin Holme in Tunstall.


4. Leck (the N.E. part of the parish; v.): Lech DB, Leec 1196 CC, Lecke 1212 LI, Lec 1251 IPM, Leck 1252 IPM, 1327 LS, Leek 1332 LS, 1370 LF. Leck vil. stands on Leck Beck, and, of course, took its name from it. The source is very likely O.N. lekr "brook." But the name is found so often in England (cf. e.g., Leake Natts., Yks., Lincs., Leek Staffs., Warw.) that it is difficult to believe that the O.N. word is always the source. Partly the name is probably a side-form without assimilation of Leach, Lache (Glo., Ches.) from an O.E. word for "brook" found in M.E. as leche, lache, in Mod. E. as leach, leitch (NED s.v. leach).


Old Town (estate): Altan (for -tun) 1212 LI. "The old tun." Perhaps the oldest settlement in Leck.

Todgill (Todgilber O.M. 1846-51): de Toddegill 1332 LS, Todgill 1590 RW 27. The place stands in a valley by a hill (547 ft.). The first el. of the name is no doubt tod "a fox" (1170 NED), the second O.N. gil "a ravine."

WHITTINGTON PAR.

A single-township par. W. of the Lune. The part near the Lune is level. Whittington proper forms the N. half, Newton with Docker the S. half. Whittington (v.): Wyetune DB, Wittington 1212 LI, Wittington a 1219 CC, Whittington 1246 LAR, 1327 LS, Wyttton 1252 IPM, Whytenton 1332 LS. No doubt an O.E. Hwitingatun, Hwitingas being a patronymic derived from Hvita. Whittington was in pre-Conquest time an important place, the centre of the great lordship of Whittington held by Tostig. The vil. is near the Lune.


Sellet Hall: magnum Sælehout a 1219 CC, a 1268 ib., Selleth hall 1577 Saxton. The place is situated on the slope of Sellet Bank, a hill of 379 ft. The name probably represents a Scand. Selhofuð, from sel "hut, shieling" and hofuð "a hill."

Thirnby (old manor; the name is now lost): Tiernebi DB, Thirneby a 1219 CC,
Thirnebi a 1268 CC. Cf. Thrinby, Wml.: Thirney 1200, Thirney 1241 (Sedgefield). The first el. is no doubt an O.Scand. pers. n. Thyrne, found as Pirne in a York doc. of 1023 (Björkman, Namenkunde). The name seems to be evidenced only in E.Scand.

West Hall (old manor): Westhalle 1416 TI, West hall 1577 Saxton. The place is W. of Whittington vil.


Docker (h.): Dokker 1505, 1507 LF, Docker towne 1577 Harr. The name is identical with Docker, Wml.: Docherga 1294 (Sedgefield). Its second el. is ergh "a shieling" (cf. p. 10). The first is perhaps O.N. dörkk "a hollow, valley" (cf. Scandinavians p. 77). The hamlet stands on fairly high ground in a valley, through which runs a brook.

Yarlsid is a small round hill of c 250ft. Cf. the same name in Furness (p. 201).

BOLTON-LE-SANDS PAR.

A district N. and N.E. of Lancaster, on Morecambe Bay. The surface is undulating. In the E. elevations of some 400ft. are reached.

1. Slyne with Hest (N. of Lancaster).

Slyne (v.): Sline DB, Asselinas 1094 Ch, Slynes c 1190 Ch, Slin 1177 LPR, Slin 1185 LPR, Sline 1203 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., Slyne, Slyndale 1200-10 FC II., Slyne 1246 LAR, etc., Slene 1248-51 LI, de Slen c 1250 CC, de Slene 1332 LS; de Slyen c 1200, a 1240 CC; now [slain]. Slyne stands on a ridge. Near Slyne Hall is a small, prominent hill.

The early forms point to a M.E. Sīne (with short i); [slain] must be a spelling-pronunciation. Related names are perhaps Slynhead p. 107, Slindon, Staffs. (Slyndone DB), Slindon, Suss. (Eslindone DB). But the last two may have as first el. *slind-, with d lost. I believe Sline goes back to an O.E. *slinu or the like, related to Norw. dial. slein "gently and evenly sloping terrain," sleina "to glance aside; to slope." These contain a stem parallel to hlin- in O.E. hlīnian "to lean," Goth. hlains "hill," Norw. lein "slope," etc., Lat. clino, etc. (Torp-Fick 111). Interchange of initial sk- and k- and the like is a well-known phenomenon in Aryan languages; cf. Noreen, Urg. Lautlehre 201ff., Brugmann I. § 818, and especially Johansson PBB XIV. 289ff., where O.E. slīnd, Ir. slis "side" by the side of O.N. hlīð, Lat. clino, etc., are pointed out. O.E. *slinu may have meant "a slope"; this seems a suitable meaning here. A meaning "hill" is also possible; cf. especially Goth. klains. As regards the formation of the word we may compare O.E. cinu "chink" by the side of O.E. cinan "to burst."

Hest (with Hest Bank, h.): Hest 1177ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1332 LS, etc., Hest 1327 LS, Hest 1246 LI, Hest 1557 LF; now [hest]. This is apparently another interesting old name containing an otherwise lost word. The form Hest points to a word with a long vowel, O.E. Hǣst or Hēst. The name is to be compared with the Cont.-Germ. Hāist dealt with by Fürstemann, p. 1198, and considered by him to belong to the L.G. hees (see Heysham). O.E. *hǣst very likely had about the same meaning as hēs. It may be the first el. of Hesthope (Shrops.) 1341 IN.
Stapleton Terne (old manor): Stopeltierne DB, Stapiturnam 1094 Ch, Stapithorne a 1189 FC II., Stapelthorn c 1190 Ch, Stapelthurn 1201 LPR, -e 1212 LI, Stapilterne 1201 (orig.), 1220-40 FC II., Stapelthurn 1226, Stapilterne 1297 LI. O.E. stapol “pillar, post” and pyrne “thornbush.” Cf. to stapola dorne 901 BCS 596, to dom dorne dor se stapl stent OD 1096. The meaning seems to be “the thornbush by the staple.” The change to Stapleton Terne is due to association with tarn “tarn.”

Ancliffe: Ancliffe 1537 FC II., Lytell, Great Anclyff 1539 ib. Ancliffe Hall is on a slope. The first el. of the name is doubtful. It may, of course, be the well-known O.E. pers. n. Anna.

2. Bolton-le-Sands (v.): Bodeltone DB, Boeltone 1094 Ch, Bothelton c 1190 Ch, 1201, 1202 LPR, 1212 LI, 1244 LAR, etc., Bothelthun 1201-16 FC II. (orig.), Boulton 1256-8 LI, Boulton 1206 LPR, 1226 LI, e 1248 LI, 1310 LF, Bolton 1265 IPM, 1297 LI, 1327, 1332 LS, etc. O.E. bōðl “dwelling” and tun; cf. p. 8. The addition le-Sands refers to the situation of the village near the sands of Morecambe Bay.

The ground must formerly have been to a great extent marshy, to judge by numerous names in -myre “mire,” found in early sources, as Eunge-, Wedholm-myre LC 177. In the marshy land were several pieces of higher land designated by names in -holm. Examples are: Calsholme c 1240 FC II., Gerefholm 1204 LPR (Grefholm c 1245 CC) “the greave’s holm,” Serlesholme 1323 LI “the holm of Serle.”

Dirtren (in Dirtren Lane, Yate): Driteru (for Driterū, i.e., -rum) 1204 ChR, Driterum 1204ff. FC II. O.N. or O.E. drit “dirt” and rīm, perhaps “a clearing.” The change -m>-n has a perfect analogy in Dendron p. 209. The nasal seems to have been assimilated to the dental consonants in the words.


Hatlex: in Magnis Hakelakes 1230-5 FC II., in Parvis Hakelakes, Litel-, Mekel-hakelakes 1246-67 ib., de Hakelakes 1250-70 FC II. 139 (orig.), Haclex 1586 RW 93, Hakles 1526, Hacktlek 1557 LF; now [hatlikes]. Hatlex farms are on a brook called Hatlex Beck. The second el. of the name is no doubt take sb. “a small stream.” The first may be a pers. n., e.g., O.E. Haæker or O.N. Haki, or possibly haekle “stickleback” (found from 1655, but probably a native word representing O.E. *haecule, *hecle; see NED). The plur. form is probably due to the fact that there are (or were) two farms of the name.

Inglebreck: Hingelbrec c 1200 CC, Ingelbrec 1201-16 FC II. (orig.). Probably O.N. Ingolf or Ingialdr pers. n. and brekka “hill, slope.”

Ramshead (apparently lost): Ramesheued c 1204 FC II., -e c 1242 ib., Rameshout LC 242, Rameshout c 1320 LI. O.E. ram, “ram” or Ram pers. n. and O.E. hæfdod or O.N. høfud “hill.”

Kellettes 1297 LC. Ovrekellet 1277 LAR, Overkellet 1278 LAR, Kellet superiori c 1275 CC, Overkellet 1285-7 CC, Overkellet 1332 LS.

Wyld derives the name from O.N. kelda “spring” and hlið “slope.” In Anglia Beiblatt XXIII. I have expressed some doubt as to the correctness of this etymology. Wyld bases his etymology on the form de Keldelith LC 150 (deed from c 1225, but in a late transcript). I am not convinced that Keldelith refers to Kellet. There is a Kellet in Wml. which is often written Keldelyth and the like in early sources (see Sedgefield). Very likely Keldelith in LC refers to Kellet. Yet I now believe Wyld’s derivation is correct; the analogy of Kellet seems to me convincing. The early reduction of the original form may be due partly to the base having been O.N. *Keldhlið, where the d would easily be dropped between the l’s, partly to A.N. influence. The early change of -ð to -t is apparently due to A.N. influence (cf. Zachrisson, A.N. Infl. p. 95f.). The name then means “the slope of the spring.” Over Kellet stands by Kellet Seeds (470ft.); Nether Kellet is on the slope of a hill. The spring which gave name to the place may have been that mentioned CC 907: Verleskelde “the earl’s spring.”

Addington (in Nether Kellet): Addington 1786 Yates. I have found no earlier forms of the name. Addington 1311 quoted by Wyld is a mistake for Adlington, Le. If it is an old name in the district, it probably represents O.E. Addinga tūn.

Birkland Barrow: Berchlundberge, Berkelandberh, Birkelundberh 1200-50 CC, Birklundberg’ 1230-40 FC II. Cf. Birkelundesur 1268-75 CC. The place stands on a hill. The name is a compound of Birkelund (O.N. birkilundr “birch copse”) and O.N. beorh or O.E. beorh “hill.”

Capernwray (h., hall): de Coupmanwra c 1200 LC, Koupemonesura 1212 LI, de Caupemannesura 1228 CIR, de Copmanueura, de Coupmanewro 1246 LAR, Copynwra c 1350 LPR; now [ke’pne’]. See further Lindkvist, p. 146. O.N. kaupmaðr “merchant,” here perhaps used as a pers. n. (Lindkvist, Björkman, Personennamen) and O.N. (v)rø “corner,” etc. The place stands in a remote situation near a brook falling into the Keer.

Helks Wood (near Birkland Barrow): le Helkis c 1270 CC. Helks in Lanc. and Yks. dialects means “large detached crags; a confused pile or range of rocks” (EDD). Helk is apparently from O.N. helk, holkn “barren, rocky ground.” The loss of n probably took place in English, as no form without n is evidenced in Scand. languages. Helks Wood is on the slope of a hill reaching 400ft.

WARTON PAR.

A district N. of Lancaster on the lower Keer and Kent Sands. Most of it is hilly, but there is some flat, partly marshy country, especially on the Keer and the Kent estuary.

1. Carnforth (S. of the lower Keer; v.): Chreneforde DB, Corneford 1212 BF, Kerneford 1246 LAR, 1312 LF, 1332 LS, etc. (the usual early form), Carneforde 1356, Corneford’ c 1388 FC. The second el. of the name is O.E. ford; the vil. stands on the Keer. The first el. I take to be a form of O.E. cræn “crane”; cf. the common name Cranford. It might be a sideform with e, identical with cren in Barbour. But it is quite possible that e (in Kern-, etc.) is merely an inverted spelling for a, due to the fact that in A.N. e often became a before r, especially
in a pretonic position. Chrenesforde in DB has an exact parallel in Cranefort by the side of Cranfert DB (Suffolk). As regards the form Kerneford we may compare early forms of Cranwich, Norf.: Kernewis 1275 HR, Kernewiss 1283 AP. Metathesis is found in O.E. cornuc, for cronuc, cronuc, a derivative of cran.

Cf. also Cornbrook, p. 27.

2. Warton with Lindeth (N. of the Keer, on Morecambe Bay).

Warton (the E. part; v.): Warton DB, Warton 1246 LR, 1285 LR, 1332 LS, etc. Probably O.E. Weard-tun, from weard “guard”; cf. Warton, Am. The village stands at the foot of the dominating Warton Crag (534ft.), an ancient beacon hill, on which there are remains of an old earth-work. But O.E. ward, weard “shore” is also a possible first el.

Hubberthorne (now lost): de Hubberthorne 1246 LI, de Hubrightthorn 1302 VHL VIII. 178, Hoburthornes 1416 TI. The first el. is the L.G. pers. n. Hubrecht, Hubrecht, as in Hubbersty, p. 171.

Hyning: del Heyning 1299 LI. Cf. le Haynine (Yks.) Percy C 247, le Henyng (Bolton-le-Sande) LC 186, 190. The name is identical with haining “enclosure” (1535, etc.); cf. hain “enclosure” (1205ff.), hain “to enclose” (15 cent.) from O.N. hegn “to fence” (NED).

Maureholme (a lost old manor): Maureholme (cultura) c 1240 FC II., Moureholm 1324 IPM, Morholm’, Moreholme 1356 FC, Maureholme 1431 FA. See further Lindkvist, p. 148, who derives the name from O.N. maurr “ant” and holmr “island.” M. is supposed to have stood on a hilltop E. of Warton.

Tewitfield (or -mire): Twewhitmyre c 1388 FC, Tuwhitfeld 1500 DL. First el. ten(h)ir “lapwing or peewit.”

Lindeth (the W. part): Lyndheved 1344, 1347 OR, Lyndhevede, Lindheved, Lindehevede 1356 FC, Lyndesheved 1412 FC, Lynteth 1501, Lyndeth 1537 CC. O.E. lind “lime-tree” and hæfod “head; headland.” L. occupies a steep headland. The change of -d to -th may be due to association with the word heath.

Fleagarth: Flegarth 1548 DL. The first el. is doubtful. O.N. flá “a small ledge on a hill-side” may be suggested.

3. Borwick (N.E. of Carnforth, on the N. bank of the Keer; v.): Bereuwic DB, de Berwik 1228 CIR, Berewyk 1285 LR, 1323 LI, -wik 1327 LS, Berwik 1332 LS, 1518 DL, -wynk 1446 LF, Barwyck hall 1577 Harr. O.E. berewic “berwick, demesne farm”; cf. Barton p. 38. The change of e or a to o is remarkable, but late; Borwic 1255 LI is probably corrupt for Berwic.

4. Priest Hutton (N.E. of Borwick; v.): Hotune DB, Hoton 1327, 1332 LS, 1382 LF, Presthotton 1406 CR, 1438, 1443 LF. Cf. Hutton p. 136. The village stands at a spur of land in a sheltered position. Priest was added to distinguish the place from Hutton Roof in Kirkby Lonsdale (Wml.). The manor was in the hands of the rector of Warton.

5. Yealand (W. of Burton in Kendal; there are two townships, old manors and villages, Yealand Redmayne and Yealand Conyers): Yaland DB, de Yaland 1206 LC, Yaland 1200-25 CC; Hielande 1202 LF, Hieland 1204-12 CC (orig.), 1207 LF; Yealand 1190 CC, 1208 LF, 1212 LI, 1243 LI, etc., Ieland 1227 LF, Yelond 1246 LF, 1332 LS; Y Doland 1246 LR; Mukelelond, Litylelond 1323 LI, Elandes 1577 Saxton; Yealand Redman 1395 LF, 1341 IN, Yeland Coygners 1301 LF, 1341 IN, Yeland Conyers 1533 LF; now [jeland].
Warton Par.

The etymology depends upon whether the early forms *Hieland*(*e*), *Yholand* are to be disregarded or not. An inorganic *H* is not uncommon in early forms of names, but in this name they are unusually frequent. If the name originally began in *H* I would derive it from O.E. *Héaland*; if not, from O.E. *Èaland*. The villages are situated on the E. slope of a ridge; "high land" is an accurate name. On the other hand, Leighton Beck is less than a mile N. of Yealand Conyers village and forms the N. boundary of the township; but the intervening land is occupied by White Moss. O.E. *Èaland* would mean "the land by the stream." The first alternative seems to me distinctly preferable.1 We must in any case assume that O.E. *êa* became [ja] and [je]. *Hêa-* would have become [hja], and by loss of [h] in this unusual position [ja]. A change of *êa* to *ya, ye* is found elsewhere; see, e.g., Zachrisson, A.N. Infl. p. 65f. The relation between *Yaland* and later *Yeland* is not sufficiently clear.—After the Conquest, Yealand was divided into two manors named from the families by which they were held.


Hilderston (near Leighton Beck): *Hildriston* a 1190 CC, *Hildrestona* 1190 CC, *de Hildreston* 1260 CC, *Hildrestonheuet* a 1220 CC. The first el. is obviously an O.E. pers. n. in *Hild-*, perhaps *Hildered*, found in the time of Canute, or *Hilderic*, as in Hildersham, Cambr. (Hildricesham DB).

Leighton (old manor): *Betheleghton* 1246 LF, *de Lecton* 1255 LI, *Leghton* 1301 LF, *Leghton Conyers* 1325 LF; now [le'tn]. O.E. *leactun* "garden." *Bethe-* in the earliest quotation may stand for *Beche-, i.e., Beck*; cf. Leighton Beck. Leighton Hall stands a good way from Leighton Beck stream, and Leighton is a part of Yealand Conyers, which is separated from Leighton Beck by Yealand Redmayne. We must assume that in early days Leighton extended as far as Leighton Beck, as it could give that brook its name. This is corroborated by the fact that Leighton House stands N. of Leighton Beck (in Wml.). Probably Leighton was in pre-Conquest time the name of the whole district occupied by the Yealands. But *Bethe-* might also be a form of the name Beetham. Leighton before the Conquest belonged to Beetham lordship (Wml.). Early forms of Beetham2 are: *Biedvn DB, Beithum* 1190-9 Ch.


6. Silverdale (on Morecambe Bay; v.): *Selredal* 1199 ChR, 1246 LF, *de Sellerdal* 1246 LAR, *Sellerdal* 1341 IN, *Celverdale* 1292 PW, *Silverdale* 1320-46 CS 74, *Silverdale* 1382, 1507 LF.3 Silverdale proper is no doubt the valley in which the church stands. The name simply means "silver valley." It refers to the silver-grey rocks which form a prominent characteristic of the place. Such

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1 Wyld suggests as first el. the O.E. word corresponding to G. *gau* (O.E. -gê, etc.). This would not account for the early forms.

2 Beetham is apparently a Scand. name, identical with (Ind.-U) *Bjoe* in Bergenhus, Norway; cf. *Wþþiðedom* 1482. *Bjoe* is O.N. *Bíðar*, pl. of *bídor* "a table," etc. The name refers to flat ground (N. xi, 90f.).

3 Forms such as *Syfrathelege* 1292, *Siuerdelege* 1241 LF, refer to a place in De.
lime-stone rocks are found especially in the high ridge N. of the church (called Silverdale Nab by West, Guide to the Lakes, 1778), at the cove near the sea where Cove Hall is, and in the hill E. of the church. No doubt these cliffs were formerly to be seen in more places than they are now.

**Challen Hall**: Challend Hall 1574 RW 301; now [tsæn həl]. Challen is probably a family name; cf. Challen in Bardsley.

**BURTON IN KENDAL PAR.**

This parish is in Wml. with the exception of one township.

**Dalton**: Dalton a 1225 CC, 1228, 1235 LF, etc. The place seems to have been named from the valley N. of Dalton Hall.

**Deerslet or Deerslack**: de Duresslet 1324 LI, Durslett 1451, 1461 CC. Apparently O.E. déor or O.N. dyr “deer” and O.N. sléta “flat ground,” whence Yks. dial. sleet “a flat meadow; a level moor” (EDD).

**LONSDALE HUNDRED, NORTH OF THE SANDS**

This district, which is separated from the rest of the hundred by a strip of Westmorland, forms the southernmost part of the Lake District. It is bounded on the E. by the Kent estuary, the Winster, and Lake Windermere, on the W. by the Duddon, on the N. by the Duddon and the Brathay. It consists to a great extent of fell country, and abounds with lakes or tarns, rivers and streams, and hills with distinctive names. Settlements of importance are found chiefly in the southern parts, and to some extent in the river valleys and on the lakes.

**Names of Rivers**

**Winster** (a trib. of the Kent): Wynster 1577 Saxton, Winstar 1577 Harr. Cf. Winstirthwaytes 1249 (Sedgefield), stated to be an early form of Winster in Kendal, also Wynster 1538 RW 215 (a place). I identify the name with Vinstra, the name of two rivers in Norway. *Vinstra* is derived by Bugge (in Rygh, N.E. 342) from the adj. vinstri “left.” The Winster may have been called “the left one” in contradistinction to the Leven, which forms the W. boundary of the Cartmel district, while the Winster forms the E. boundary. Or the comparison may have been with the Gilpin in Wml., which runs parallel to the Winster; the point of view would then have been that of people coming up the Kent. The derivation from the Brit. words found in Welsh *gwyn* “white” and O.Bret. *staer* “water” suggested by McClure, p. 150, is rendered impossible by the fact that the Winster has dark brown water.

**Eea or Ay** (runs through the Cartmel district). No early forms have been found.\(^1\) The present pronunciation [eə] points to O.N. á “river” as the source rather than O.E. ēa.

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\(^1\) West, Guide to the Lakes, 2nd ed. 1780, and Antiquities of Furness, 2nd ed. 1813, gives the *Eau*, “pronounced commonly *Eea,*” as the name of the Leven after its junction with the Crake. Stockdale, Annales Caermelenses, p. 542, states that the Kent is called the “*Ea*” in its passage over the sands.
Leven (empties Lake Windermere into Morecambe Bay): *leuennam* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Leven* 1196 LF, *Levenam* 1196 FC, *Leuene, Leuene* 1246 LAR. The name Leven is found elsewhere. Bartholomew mentions one Leven in Yks. and three in Scotland. There is every reason to suppose that the Engl. and the Scotch Leven are identical in origin. The Scotch Leven occurs in early sources as *Lemain* (g. *Lemma*), and is thus identical with Ir. *Lemain* (see Hogan). The names are derived from a word meaning “elm,” O.Ir. *lem*, Welsh *llwyf* etc. The *v* in Leven is due to Brit. lenition.

Crake (empties Coniston Water into the Leven): *crec* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Craic* 1196 LF, *Crecc, Craic* 1196 FC, *Craik* 13 cent. FC; now [kreɪk]. There is a river of the same name in Wml.: *Craik* 1247, *Craik, Craye* 1257 FC. The name is perhaps preserved in Crake Hall near Skelsmergh. I suppose the name Crake is cognate with Welsh *croig* “rock,” earlier *creic* in *Penncreic* LL 229. It may be a derivative of that word, or it may go back to a Brit. name of the type *Afon Creic* “the rocky stream” or the like. The river in parts of its course has a rocky, stony bed, and it runs past rocky hills. It is also possible that the river was named from some place called Creic. The place *Craitskelah* near the Crake, mentioned in a Final Concord of 1196, may have been named from the Crake, but also from one of the hills W. of the Crake. A similar explanation no doubt holds good for the Wml. Craik.

Dulas: *Water of Dulas* (in Finsthwaite) 1565 West, App. ix. The stream that runs past Stott Park and falls into Lake Windermere may be meant. The name seems identical with Douglas p. 126, but appears in a later form.

Levy Beck (falls into the Leven estuary). No early forms have been found. *Lebby Beck* 1867 Morris. An earlier name of the stream is given by Harr. 1577: *The Rawther*. This seems to be most probably corrupt for *Rawthey, i.e., O.N. Rauð-á* “the red river.”

Duddon (falls into the Irish Sea): *Dudennam* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Duden* c 1180 Ch, 12 cent. RSB, *Dudene* 13 cent. RSB, *Dodyn* c 1280 RSB, *Dodyne, Doden*, *Dodin* c 1300 FC; *Duthen* 1196 LF; now [dudn]. I believe the name is a compound, the second el. being O.E. *denu* “valley.” If so, the compound was obscured at an early date, as indicated by spellings such as *Dodyn*. The first el. may be an old Brit. river-name identical with Celt *dubh* “black” (Welsh *du*, etc.). Cf. Duff in Ireland (Hogan, s.v. *dub, dubh*) and Dove Ford, p. 220. As regards the disappearance of the final *v* we may compare *Douglas* in Leyland. The river Duddon has clear water, but a dark bottom. Or the first el. may possibly be the O.E. pers. n. *Dudda* or *Dudd*.


Otterpool (in Angerton): *Otrepul, Otirpul, Otterpool* FC I. 325ff., *Otrepole* 1424 FC II. “The otter pool.” Cf. the same name, p. 95.

Lickle (a trib. of the Duddon): *Licul* c 1180 Ch. Cf. de *Likyl* 1246 LAR. The name seems to be a compound with O.N. *hyllr* “pool” as second el. *Hyllr*, like *pool*, may have come to be used also of a slowly-moving stream. The lower course of the river is characterized by numerous wide bends. It seems plausible, therefore, that the first el. may be O.N. *lykkja* “a loop.”

On the Lickle is a place called *Crogrlinhurst*, no early forms of which have been
found. The first el. Croglin- is identical in form with Croglin, the name of a river in Cumb. If Croglinhurst is an old name, it seems extremely probable that the Lickle was once called Croglin.

**Brathay** (falls into Lake Windermere): *Bratha* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), 1196 LF, *Braiza* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Brayza* 1196 FC; now [bre'ði]. O.N. Breiða “the broad river,” as suggested by Collingwood, Scand. Britain p. 213. The lower part of the river is remarkably broad. The river gave name to Brathay Hall: *Brathey* 1577 Saxton.

**Yewdale Beck** (falls into Coniston Water): *Yewedalebec* 1196 LF. Yew is, of course, O.E. ðw “yew.”

**Names of Lakes**

No sufficiently early forms have been found of Gaits Water¹ (Gait is very likely a pers. n. of O.N. origin, as suggested by Wyld), Helton Tarn, Levers Water.²

**Blelham Tarn** (in Haweshead): *Blalam terne* 1537 Beck lxv, *Blalam Terne* 1539 FC II.; now [blehelm]. The first el. is O.N. blár “blue, black”; this suits the case. The second cannot be determined with the material at our disposal. Possibly it is the word lum “a pool,” found several times in Bl.

**Coniston Water or Thurston Water**: *turstinivatra* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Thurstainwater* 1196 LF. See further Lindkvist, p. 96. The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. Pörsteinn or rather Púrsteinn. The lake was named from a previous owner. See also under Coniston-infra. The name Thurston Water was formerly applied also to the river Crake or to its upper part. *Thurstane Water in Egton* (a fishery) is mentioned in FC II. 605 (1539). West (1774) tells us that the Crake was called Thurston or Coniston water as far south as Lowick Bridge or Under Nibthwaite (p. xxxii). Thurston Vale is the name of the valley S. of Coniston Water in O.M. 1846-51.

**Elterwater** (a tarn on the N. boundary, partly in Wml.): *heltewatra, Elterwat'* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Elteswater* 1196 LF, FC, *Helterwatra* 1196 FC, *Elterwater FC I. 393, Elterwaterpark* 1539 FC II. The name probably represents an O.N. *Elptarvatn* (cf. Swed. Åmertavatten), the first el. being the gen. sg. either of O.N. elptr “swan” or of Elptr, a river-name derived from it. *Elptr* is a common element in Scand. names of lakes and rivers. See the detailed discussion of the name in NoB VIII. 86f., and cf. Noreen, NoB I. 5ff. The change of Elptarto *Elter*- is regular; cf. the loss of f in halter from O.E. hælter and O.Norw. alt<alpt (Noreen, Aisl. Gr. § 281). Engl. water seems to have replaced an original O.N. vatn, as it often has in Shetland names (Jakobsen p. 163). It may be added that another example of the el. *Elter*- seems to occur in N. Lanc., viz., Elter Holme, the name of a slight headland in Esthwaite Water.

**Esthwaite Water.** See p. 218.

**Standing Tarn** (N.E. of Dalton in Furness) seems to have been formerly Green Tarn: *greneterne c 1535, Greneterne 1537 Beck lxvi.*

¹ *Goats Tarn* 1774 West (Map), *Goats Water* 1786 Yates, *Goate-water* 1843 Jopling; *Gaits Water* 1849 The Old Man.

Windermere: ? Wonwaldremere\(^1\) c 1130 Sim. Durh., Winendemere, Wynandrem\(^2\) 1157-63 Ch (orig.), Winandermer 1196 LF, Winndermer 1196 LF, 1246 FC, Wynandermer 1272 IPM, Winandermear 1282 FC, the Winander Water 1577 Harr.

The first el. of the name must be identical with that of Winderwath, the name of a place near Great Asby in Wml.: de Vinanderuual\(^3\) c 1277 CWNS XX. 74, Wynndeswath 1288 ib. IX. 325; cf. also Sedgefield. Windermere and Winderwath are far apart and must have been named independently of each other. This shows that Windermere cannot have as its first element an old name of the lake, as might be supposed. In all probability Winder- is a pers. n., as has been suggested by Wyld and others. This is all the more probable as personal names are the first el. of the names Thurston Water and Ulswater in Cumb. (Ulveswatre 1324 IPM). Ulswater is a lake of the same size as Windermere. But Winder- cannot be the gen. of an O.N. *Wignandr: a name corresponding to O.E. Wignōð would have had the form *Wignannr. There is no O.N. name to which Winnder- may be with certainty referred. But the O.Swed. Vinnunder, Vinandus, found in Finland (Vinandus de Tenalum 1329, Vinnunder i Vinundbōle 1410; cf. Lundgren-Brate), may be the name sought for. Vinandus 1329 is also called Vinaldus, and Brate is inclined to believe that the name is Low German. But Vinandus must be identical with Vinnunder, as the two names were borne by persons from the same district, and Vinnunder seems to be in all probability an old Swed. name (Vinunder, g. Vinandar). It would seem to be a name analogous to Anunder and the like; see Noreen, NoB I. 143ff, i.e., a name with O.N. \(\text{-}\text{v}\text{ndr}\) “staff” as second el. The chief objection against this etymology is the fact that the el. Vin- (O.N. vinr “friend”) is not with certainty evidenced in Scand. names as a first el. If Wonwaldremere Sim. Durh. belongs here, it seems to point to the second el. having once begun with a \(w\). This would go very well with the etymology suggested, for names in \(\text{-}\text{v}\text{ndr}\) sometimes retained \(v\) in certain forms. The Saxon form Wonwaldremere given by Camden 1587 cannot be traced. I believe, then, that Winander- represents the gen. sg. of an O.Scand. Vinundy, gen. Vinandar.

Names of Hills, etc.

Apart from names of minor hills which have given names to places, very few hill-names have been found in early sources.\(^2\)

\(^1\) The identification is not certain. The entry in which the name occurs refers to the year 791. If Windermere is meant, the name cannot well have formed part of a contemporary annal.

\(^2\) The absence of names such as Wetherlam, Old Man, etc., in early sources, is remarkable. It is curious that West, in his Antiquities of Furness 1774, and Guide to the Lakes 1778, does not mention the names of any Furness hills, though he was a resident of Tytup Hall, N. of Dalton-in-Furness, and enumerates a great many Cumberland and Westmorland hills. The first mention of hill-names such as Old Man I find in Yates’s map of 1786: Dow Crag, Fairfield, Grey Friar, Stickle Pike, Scar (=Walney Scar), Weatherlom, Yeovide Cragg, also Old Man Quarry. Smith’s New and Accurate Map of the Lakes 1800 has Fairfield, Grey Friar, Old Man, and his map of the county of Lancaster 1801 adds Stickle Pike and Weatherston (!). Wetherlam I find in the map in Wordsworth’s Guide to the Lakes, 3rd ed., 1822; in the text occurs Walna Scar. Leigh’s Guide to the Lakes 1830 has Walney Scar.

Of the names, Grey Friar is self-explanatory. Stickle in Stickle Pike is O.E. sticol “lofty; steep.” The hill is steep and pointed. Names such as Dow Crags, Fairfield, Wetherlam
Caw (1,735ft.; in Dunnerdale and Seathwaite): Calfheud 1170-84 Ch. The early form seems to mean "the top of Caw." Calf is, of course, O.E. calf or O.N. kalfr "calf." A reasonable theory is that the word calf is here used in the same way as when it denotes a small island situated near a larger one. This has actually been suggested by Collingwood, CWNS XVIII. p. 94, though he thinks Calfheud refers to a point on Dow Crags. The fells W. of Coniston Water consist of a mountainous range with peaks such as Coniston Old Man (2,633ft.), Wetherlam (2,502ft.) and others, with the minor height called Caw further south. To anyone who has seen the fells, e.g., from the S.E., I think, it will seem very plausible that Caw could be looked upon as the "calf" of the more northern group. The loss of the -f of Calf may have taken place in such a combination as Caw Pike.

Flan Hill (N. of Ulverston): Flan (the name of a place) 1597 RW 81. There is a M.E. word flan (<O.N. flan) "a sudden gust of wind" c 1475 (NED). A hill-name Flan-how or the like seems quite plausible, and Flan 1597 may be an elliptic form. Perhaps the Norw. name Flamberget (Flanberg 1723) has the same first el., but the author of NG XVI gives a different suggestion.

Latterbarrow (Hawkshead). No early forms are on record. In Scandinavians, p. 91, I suggest that Latter- in this and some other names may be early Ir. lettir "a hill, a slope." I find now that Latter- at least in some of these names can be explained in another and simpler way. There is an O.N. word látr (<*lahtra-) meaning "lair of an animal," and lettre in Norw. dialects means "small house or shelter for animals, especially pigs" (Aasen). Swynlatermire (Asby, Wml.) CWNS XX. 73 very likely contains O.N. látr in the sense "lair of wild swine" or "pig-sty." One of these senses seems plausible in Latterbarrow, La. and Cumb., and in Latterhead, Cumb. Also Hulletter in Colton (p. 216) may very well contain this látr, the first el. being e.g. O.N. höll "hill." But it seems very difficult to believe that Whinlatter in Cumb. (the name of a hill of 1,696ft.) can be so explained. I find that the identification of Latter- with O.N. látr is suggested by Collingwood in Thorstein of the Mere (1895).

Tarn Hows (N. of Coniston Water): Ternehowys 1538 FC II., Ternehowes 1560 lb. O.N. tårn "tarn" and the plur. of O.N. haugr "hill." The hills were named from the tarns close by.

Wrynose Hawse (on the border between Lanc. and Cumb.): Wreineshals, Wraineshals 1157-63 Ch (orig.), Wrenhalse 1157-63 FC, Wranishals c 1150 Ch, Wreneshals 1196 LF, Wrenosse hill 1577 Saxton. The second el. of Wrynose is house (O.N. or O.E. hals) "a narrower and lower neck or connecting ridge between

cannot be explained without earlier forms. Old Man probably contains the common words old and man, but their exact meaning is doubtful. Perhaps the most probable explanation is that man is here used in the sense "a cairn or pile of stones marking a summit" (cf. NED), and that the name originally referred to the mediaeval beacon (Collingwood, CWNS 18, p. 93). Another possibility is the following. Old Man is a miners' term for an old vein that has become exhausted or has been abandoned for a long time (NED, EDD). It is no doubt an adaptation of G. alter man, used in the same sense (Grimm Wbch, Mann 14). In Yates's map Old Man occurs only in the name Old Man Quarry, though it is possible the words at the same time do service as the name of the hill-top. Old Man Quarry may have been named from an "old man," Old Man being subsequently taken to be the name of the hill. But Mr. Collingwood tells me there are no traces of any old mines near the top of the Old Man.
two heights or summits; a col. . . . Generally at the head of two stream valleys which descend opposite sides of the hause, forming a pass over the ridge or mountain chain at this point " (NED). This description suits Wrynose Pass (or Hawse) to a nicety. The Duddon and Brathay both rise at Wrynose and flow different ways. After the second el. of Wrynose had been obscured Hawse was added again. The first el. may be an O.E. pers. n. (V)reini, a by-name from (v)reini "stallion" (Wyld); O.Swed. Vreini may have existed (Björkman, Namenkunde). But I find it at least as probable that the first el. is simply the O.N. (v)reini "stallion." It may be the name, as suggested by Collingwood, who thinks, however (CWNS XVIII.), that the base of the name may be vrein-

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The Eastern, smaller part consists only of Cartmel parish, while the Western part, the Furness district, consists of several parishes.

Early forms of the name: Ceartmel 12 cent. MS Gale (Sim. Durh. 231); Cartmel 12 cent. Hist. St. Cuthbert (Sim. Durh. 141), Cartmel 1177, 1189, 1194 LPR, 1215 ChR, etc., Carmel 1188 LPR, Karmel 1190 CC, Kartemel 1199 ChR, Kartmel 1206ff. LPR, 1270 ChR; Caertmel c 1188 Ind; Kertmel 1157-63 Ch (orig.), Kertmel 1188 Ind, c 1190 Ch (orig.), 1205 LPR, 1279 LF, etc., Carmel 1187 LPR, Kertemel 1297 LI. Cartmel 1169 LPR is no doubt miswritten.

The name is used of the parish, village (or town), and priory of Cartmel. No doubt it originally denoted the village. For the etymology it is of importance to establish whether the first syllable originally had the vowel a or e. Forms such as Kertmel are probably more common in early sources than Cartmel and the like. But the earliest forms are probably Cartmel, Ceartmel, those heading the list. These are found in MSS of the 12th cent., but very likely represent late O.E. forms. They render it likely that the O.E. base was Cartmel or Ceartmel. Kertmel is probably a traditional spelling, the e being a so-called inverted spelling (cf. Carnforth, p. 187).

The name is probably Scandinavian. The fact that Cartmel is stated in the Hist. of St. Cuthbert to have been given in 677 by King Ecgfrith to St. Cuthbert might point to the name being British or at least pre-Scandinavian; but there is no proof, even if the statement is trustworthy, that the place was called Cartmel at that early date. The second el. is no doubt O.N. melr "a sand-bank." Cartmel vil. stands on the Eea. There are not now any sand-banks or sand-hills in the neighbourhood, but very likely there were formerly. The slight bank between the two arms of the Eea may very well have been a sand-bank, especially as the stream has a sandy bottom. The first el. I identify with O.E. ceart, found in place-names (Chart, Kent, Surrey), Norw. kart (O.N. *kartr) "rough, rocky, sterile soil." The meaning of O.E. ceart was probably about the same as that of kartr. Cartmel may be a compound of O.N. kartr and melr. Or the O.E. name of the place may have been Ceart; if so, we must assume that Cartmel was
coined by Scandinavians adding melr. Close to the town, on the W., is a piece of rocky ground, Cartmel Park, which would be accurately described as a ceart or kart. This may have been called O.E. Ceart. Another possibility is that Cart- is an old name of the Eea, as suggested by Bradley, EHR 26 p. 822. If so, it is probably to be compared with the (somewhat doubtful) Norw. river name Kart-, dealt with by Rygh, Norske Elvenavne, and presumably to be derived from kart.

Cartmel is not in DB, but is evidently represented by Cherchebi, a name equivalent to the later Churctowne, a name of Cartmel vil.: Churctowne 1585 Cartmel R. Cherchebi is O.N. Kirkubyr “church-village.”

The ground of the district varies considerably. The S. part and the country along the Leven estuary are very low, and were in early times to a great extent uninhabitable. The Eea valley is broad and level. On both sides of it are irregular ridges, the eastern one of which continues as Cartmel Fell to the N. boundary of the parish. Much of the district is fell country.

1. Lower Allithwaite (the S.E. part; v.): Hasliuethait 1162-90 FC II. (orig.), Alisuthwait 1200-20 FC II., Alesthuyth 1225-45 LPD II. 192, Alithwait 1327 LS, Alguywait 1322 LS. See further Lindkvist p. 106. Lindkvist explains the name as a compound of O.N. Elifyr pers. n. and thaute. This is perhaps right, but the preponderance of A- in early forms is remarkable. Perhaps we have to assume a side-form *Álfyr by the side of Elifyr; cf. Noreen, Alisl. Gram. § 54, 3, a.

Birkby Hall (fairly high on a hill slope): Briteby 1489 PatR, Bretby, Brykby 1522 DL, Biritby 1537 LR, Birkeby 1589 DL. This name, like Birkby, Cumb. (Bretteby 13 cent. RSB 285) and Yks. (Bretebi DB), means “the settlement of the Britons,” and represents an O.N. Bretabyr.

Blenkett Farm: Blenkett 1609 Cartmel R. The name seems identical with Blenket Rigg, the name of a hill (810ft.) in W. Cumb. The elements may be the Brit. words corresponding to Welsh blaen “point, end, top,” O.Bret. blaen “summit,” and Welsh coed “wood,” etc. Perhaps “the end of the wood.”

Boar Bank (on a hill slope N.W. of Allithwaite vil.): Borebancke 1598 DL, -banke 1604 Cartmel R. Bank means “hill”; the first el. is doubtful.

Honeythwaite (in O.M.1846-51 more correctly Unithwaite) Wood (S.E. of Cartmel): Unythwaitle 1537 LR. The first el. seems to be O.N. unytr or O.E. unynt “useless, worthless.”

Humphrey Head (a conspicuous headland in the S.): (terra de) Hunfridheved, Hunfridesheved 1199 ChR, Hunfrideshefed 1215 ib., Umfrayhed 1537 LR, Oumfray head 1577 Saxton, Houmfre, Hunnfrehead 1592 DL. O.E. Hunfrid pers. n. (later associated with Humphrey), and O.E. heafod “head-land.”

Kent’s Bank (on Kent Sand): Kentsbanke 1491, Kentisbanke 1537 LR. “The bank of the river Kent.”

Kirkhead (a headland E. of Humphrey Head): Kirkhead 1571, Kirkitt ende 1608 Cartmel R. The name seems to indicate that there was once a church at the place. Cf. Kierkepol 1199, Kirkepol 1215 ChR, which seems to have been the name of a neighbouring pool.

Outerthwaite: Oollerthwait 1612 Cartmel R, Viterthwait 1600 RS XII. “The outer meadow or clearing.” The place stands a good way from Cartmel, just where the moss begins.
Rothwaite (near the Eea): Rothwhait 1609, Rostatt 1617 Cartmel R. O.N. hross "horse" and thwaite.

Templand: Templand 1491, -lande 1537 LR. The suggestion by J. Stockdale, Annales Caermonensis 1872 (p. 592) that this is T'hempland "the hempland" seems very plausible. The definite article in Lanc. dialects is t'.

Wraysholme Tower: Wrasome 1431 FA, Wrasom, Wresom 1598 DL, Wraysholme 1600 RS XII. The old peel is situated on a slight ridge in the old mossland. This renders it likely that the name has as second el. holme "an island."

Close by are places called Holme (The Holme 1606 Cartmel R; on a slight elevation) and Rougholme (Rougholme 1589 DL). The first el. may then be O.E. wrâse "a lump, knot" or possibly the gen. of O.N. (v)rá "corner." But the early material is not conclusive. Wraysholme might also be e.g. the dat. pl. of O.E. wrâse. The name would then refer to the ridge mentioned and one or two small knolls close by.

2. Lower Holker (the S.W. part).

Holker (h.), Holker Hall: (pasture in) Holkerre 1276 LAR, Holker 1342, 1394 LF, 1332 LS, Howker 1577 Saxton; now [ho'ke]. The original Holker was no doubt near Holker Hall; the name came to be extended to the districts now called Lower and Upper Holker, the old Walton. The elements of the name are O.E. holh or O.N. hol adj. or sb. "hollow" and carr "fen," etc. (O.N. kiarr). The ground is low close to Holker Hall with many hollows and depressions.

Cark (v.): Karke 1491 LR, 1587 RW 179, Carke 1537 LR, Nethercarke 1626 RW 154. Cark is situated on the S. slope of a ridge, which at least a little way N. is rocky. The name is perhaps to be derived from the Brit. word appearing as O.W. carrec "a cliff, rock," Welsh carreg "stone, rock"); cf. Ir. carric "a rock." The Celtic word is common in place-names. Another possibility is that Cark is an old name of the Eea. If so, the name may be compared with Welsh carrog "a brook, stream." Cark is on the Eea, and a good way N. there is, on one of the arms of the Eea, a hamlet High Cark (p. 199).

Cowpren Point (the S.W. point of the Cartmel peninsula): Gowborn head 1577 Saxton. Etymology doubtful. The guess that this is an O.N. hauprann "market booth" may be permitted.

Daughtarn: Dowthorne 1604 Cartmel R, Dowthorn 1623 RW 172. The place stands by a hill close to Cark railway station. The etymology of the name is doubtful. The second el. seems to be rather O.E. or O.N. porn than O.N. típrn "tarn."

Flookborough (v.): Flockeburgh 1246 LAR, Frokesburgh 1394 LF, Flokeberew 1395 FC, Flockeburgh 1508 LF, Flockburgh 1537 LR. The place, now a fishing-village, was formerly a borough. The first el. of the name is probably the O.N. pers. n. Flóki (thus Wyld). Björkman, Namenkunde, seems to prefer derivation from O.E. flóo a kind of fish. According to VHL VIII. 270 flukes are caught at Flookborough.

Quarry Flat: Quarelflate 1537 LR. Quarel is an old form of the word quarry. On flat see p. 11.

Winder: de Winderge 1225-45 LPD II. 192, de Wynder 1279 LF, Chanon, Ravynse Wyndor 1491, Chanon Wynder, Ravenswynder 1537 LR. The places are situated on slight elevations in the old marsh (Winder Moor), which is about
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20ft. above sea-level. Winder is a compound of O.N. vindr or O.E. wind and erga “a pasture” and “a hut on a pasture”; cf. p. 10. The name probably means “a hut for shelter against the wind.” The same name occurs twice in Stu, and also in Cumb. and Wml. The el. Ravens-represents the gen. of the pers. n. Raven (O.N. Hrafn). A portion given to the canons of Cartmel got the distinctive name Chano Winder.

3. Upper Holker (E. of the upper Eea). The E. half is hilly, while the W. part consists of low and flat country along the Leven.

Walton Hall: Walleton DB, Waletana 1190 CC, de Walton 1342 LF. Walton formerly no doubt included the whole of Holker. The place is situated fairly high at some distance from the Eea and Cartmel. The name represents O.E. Wala-tun “the tun of the Britons.”

Backbarrow: Bakbarowe Mill 1537 L.R., Bak(e)barayfell 1538 DL. The place stands near the Leven. Old Backbarrow is slightly further N.; it is no doubt the original Backbarrow. I suppose the elements of the name are O.E. bac or O.N. bak “back” and O.E. beorh or O.N. berg “hill.” The name may mean “the hill with the backlike top” or the like. Such a name would well describe the ridge at the foot of which Old Backbarrow stands. The following passage from Leland (VII. 7), not referring to Backbarrow, may be worth quoting: “there was a coppe in the hille as a bakke stonding up aboue the residue of the hille.”

Bigland Hall: Biglande 1537 L.R. “The barley-field” (O.N. bygg “barley”).

Frith: the Frith, Frithhall 1537 L.R. O.E. fyrhþ, gefyrhþ “frith, wood.”


Speel Bank (at Speel Bank, a hill of 600ft.): Spilbanck 1593, Speelbanke 1606 Cartmel R, Spilbanke 1593 RW 48. The first el. seems to be M.E. spile “play, sport.” Cf. the common G. place-name Spielberg, earlier Spilberch, etc. (Förstemann). The second el. is bank “a hill.”


4. Broughton in Cartmel (N. of Cartmel): Brocton 1276 LAR, Brighton 1314, 1321, 1429 LF, 1382 LS. Field and Wood Broughton are situated on the two arms of the Eea, which gave the place its name, O.E. Bróctun. The township comprises the broad Eea valley and a hilly district to the E.


Grange (town): Grange 1491 L.R. Self-explaining.

Hampsfield (h.), Hampsfield Hall: de Hamesfell 1292-9 FC II., -fell' c. 1300 FC, Hamesfell 1314 LF, Hampsfell 1537 L.R., Hamfeldhall 1577 Saxton; now [hamsfield]. Hampsfield took its name from Hampsfell, now [hamsfel], a long
ridge (727 ft.); Hampsfield is on the slope, Hampsfield Hall at the foot of the ridge. The elements of the name are the O.N. pers. n. Hamr, found also in Hampsthwaite, Yks. (Lindkvist, p. 110, Björkman, Namenkunde), and O.N. fjall "fell." The form -field is due to association with the word field.

**Head House**: Headhouse 1579 Cartmel R. The place is on a very conspicuous hill (560 ft.) with a round cop. *Head* is O.E. hēafod in the sense "hill."


**Slack** (in a long broad valley N. of Grange): *Slacke* 1592 RW 139, 1601 DL; now [tæ slak]. O.N. slæki "valley." Near Slack is Eggerslack.

5. **Upper Allithwaite**. The township is N. of Broughton township. The district must formerly have been held together with Allithwaite. The old name of the district was Newton.

**Newton**, or **High Newton** (v.j), and **Nether Newton** (h.): *Neutun* DB, *Newton* 1537, *Over*, Nether Newton 1491 LR. "The new tūn." Newton is situated comparatively high and some way off from the main valley.

**Lindale** (h.): *Lindale* 1246 LAR, *Lydale* 1497 LF, 1537 LR. L. is situated in the deep valley of Lindale Beck, called the Gill in O.M. 1846-51, far from any of the old villages. The name cannot mean "flax division" (O.E. ðūn and gedā). Its elements are O.E. līnd "lime-tree" and dāl "valley." There are numerous lime-trees in the upper part of the valley.

**Buckcrag**: Buckcragg 1576 Cartmel R. The place stands at a rocky hill, stated to bear a certain resemblance to a buck.

**Castlehead**: Castlehead 1592 Cartmel R, *Castlehead* 1638 RW 174. "Castle hill." Castlehead is on a little bluff close to the Winster. There was formerly a peel at the place, called Atterpile Castle (VHL VIII. 269).

6. **Staveley** (S. of Lake Windermere; v.): de Stavelay 1282 FC, Staveley 1491, 1537 LR. O.E. Staelflēah; cf. p. 29.

**Ayside** (h.): Ays heed 1491, Aysett 1537 LR, Ayshead 1573, 1592 Cartmel R, Aysye 1591 DL, Eysd 1599 RW 268. The hamlet stands at the foot of a high ridge and on a stream called Ayside Pool, one of the head-streams of the Eea; there are also hillocks close to the hamlet. The forms are too late to allow of a definite etymology. Wyld identifies the name with de Aykesheued 1279 LF, and that may be correct, but there is a place Oak Head near Ayside on a little hill, which may be meant; cf. Ackehead a 1603 DL. The first el. of the name may be O.N. á "river" (cf. Eea) or O.N. eik "oak"; the second, set "a shieling" or O.E. hēafod "hill."

**High Cark**: Ouer Carke 1606 Cartmel R, Over Carke 1623 RW 39. The place stands at one of the head-streams of the Eea, now called Muddy Pool, and close to a small, but rocky and prominent hill. Derivation of the name from the Brit. word found in O.W. carrerec "cliff, rock" is extremely plausible; cf., however, Cark p. 197.

**Fiddler Hall**: Fidler Hawe 1589 DL, Fidlerhaue 1611 Cartmel R. Probably "the fiddler's hillock" (O.N. haugr "hill"). The place stands on a small hill.

**Seattle**: Settyll 1491, 1537 LR, Seattle 1593 Cartmel R; now [setl]. Seattle stands on a fairly broad and flat ridge sloping gently towards the S. The name would seem to be identical with Settle, Yks. (Setel DB), i.e., O.E. setl "abode,
dWelling.” But the Mod. form to some extent tells against this. Also the form Seintill 1508-9 quoted in VHL VIII. 281 is noteworthy. Earlier material is needed.


7. Cartmel Fell : Cartmel Fell 1537 LR, Carpmanfell 1577 Saxton. The district, as the name indicates, is hilly.

Birkett Houses : Birkett Houses 1665 RW 10. Birket is no doubt for Birkhead. The place is on a broad ridge.

Burblethwaite Hall (near the Winster) : Burblethwaite 1351 VHL VIII. 282. The name may be identical in origin with Burbladthwait 1204 FC II., Burbladthwait c 1343 ib. (Burton in Lonsdale). Burblad looks like a plant-name, perhaps of the same meaning as burblek (Wml.), i.e., Petasites vulgaris. But the first el. of Burblethwaite may be burblek.

Hartharow : de Hertergh 1332 LS, Hertharrowe 1537 DL. O.E. heorot or O.N. haþtr “hart” and O.E. beorh or O.N. berg “hill.”

Ludder Burn (on the slope of a hill and near a brook) : Litterburne 1537 LR, Ludderburne 1619 RW 191. Litter- may be miswritten for Luter-; if so, I would identify the first el. with O.E. hlúttor “clear, pure.” A different etymology is suggested in Scandinavians p. 91.

Rosthaite : Rossethewayte 1537 LR. Cf. p. 197.

Rubuth or Rubuts : Rubuth 1508 VHL VIII. 283, Rullesburgh 1537 LR. Apparently an O.N. pers. n. such as Hrólfr and búð “booth.”

Thorfinstye Hall : Thorfinstye 1275 VHL VIII. 282, Thorpanstye 1537 LR, Thorfinstye 1577 DL. The place is at the foot of the fells not far from the Leven. The elements of the name are O.N. Porfinnr pers. n. and O.N. stígr or O.E. stýg “path.” Cf. Brancepeth, Durh. (“the path of Brand.”) and similar names in Mawer.

FURNESS

Early forms : Fuldpernessa c 1150 Richard of Hexham (MS 13 cent.), ffudernesium 1127 Ch, Fudernesium 1127-33 Ch (1398 PatR), de Fodeernesio, Fudernesio 1127 FC II.; furnesio 1153-60, 1157-63 Ch (orig.); furnesio 1155, 1189-94 Ch (orig.); Fonesio 1158 Ch (orig.), furnesio 1194-99 Ch (orig.), Fumnes 1169ff. LPR, 1196 LF, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, etc., Furneys 1295 ChR, Furnaise 1246 LAR; Furnes 1170ff. LPR, 1252 ChR, etc., Fournes 1246 LAR; Fournes 1343 LF, Fournes 1336 FC; Furneals 1201 LPR, Furnels 1205 ib., Fornell 1246 LAR. Other variants might be added. Now [fane’s].

The second el. of the name is clearly neÁ “head-land,” probably O.N. nes. The spellings in -nes, -nels, etc., are due to A.N. influence. The first el. is difficult. It is probable that the name was originally applied to some special point and later extended to the whole district, though it is true the southern part of the district may be described as a peninsula. The original Furness was probably the southernmost point, the present Rampside, for the first el. of the name Furness seems to be identical with that of Fouldray, the ancient name of Peel Island outside Rampside. Early forms of Fouldray are : Fotherey c 1327
FC II., *Fotheray* c 1400 FC, *Foderaye* 1537 LR, (the pyle of) *foudray* 1577 Saxton, 
the *Foulbra* 1577 Harr., *Fouldray* 1586 Camden.

Wyld suggests as first el. of Furness O.E. *fōdr* “fodder.” This may seem to be to some extent borne out by the early forms of Fouldray, though O.N. *fōdr* or O.E. *fōðr* should be substituted for O.E. *fōdr*. This etymology may be correct. But the early occurrence of forms in *u* is remarkable: I have found no spellings of *u* for earlier *ð* in other Lanc. names until much later. Further, O.N. *fōdr* does not seem to have been used as a place-name element in Norway or Iceland. It seems probable to me that we have to start from a base with *u*. McClure’s suggestion (p. 77f.) that *Fuder*- is identical with Gael. *Fothur*, a word considered to mean “wood,” is perhaps not absolutely impossible, but at any rate not immediately convincing.

Starting from the supposition that the original form was *Futher-*, I suggest the following etymology. There are in Norway traces of a name *Fud(d)* applied to small islands, as *Fua* a skerry, *Fudeholmen* an islet; cf. *Fuvig* (NG IX. 66). It is suggested that the name may be O.N. *fuð* (Norw. *fu*, Swed. dial. *fu, fo*, Scotch *fud*) “podex.” Fouldray may have been originally called *Fuð*, and from it the neighbouring headland was called *Fudarnes*. Later we must assume that the name of the island was extended to *Fudarey*.¹ The isle has a rounded shape. Its surface is on the whole flat, but there is a long fairly deep depression running from S. to N.

It is easy to understand why the headland was named from Peel Island, and not from the larger Foulney. While Foulney rises only to 22ft. above sea-level and was hardly more than a sandbank a thousand years ago, Peel Island is 42ft. above sea-level. The reason why the cons. *ð* was lost in Furness, while it was retained in Fouldray, is probably that *Futher-nes* had the chief stress on the second element.

The Furness district falls into two parts. The southern part, called Low or Plain Furness (*Lowfurnes* 1546 DL, *Playne Furneys* 1582 ib.), is undulating, hills or ridges alternating with valleys, but no higher elevations than c 1,000ft. are reached. The northern part, Furness Fells or High Furness (*Montanis de Furnesio* 1196 LF, *Fournes-fell* 1338 FC, *Heigh Furnes* 1584 DL), is a fell district, where elevations of over 2,500ft. are common.

**DALTON PAR.**

Dalton par. forms the S.W. part of the Furness peninsula. It is not divided into townships, but was formerly divided into four byrlaws or bierleys. It seems plausible that this is an old Scand. division, as the name *bierley* is a Scand. word (O.N. *byjarlog* “village law,” possibly also “a law district”).

1. **Dalton** (town): *Dalton* DB, *Daltonam* 1189-94 Ch (orig.), *Dalton* 1246 LAR, 
*Dalton in fournaise* 1332 LS; now [do'tn, doltm]. The town is in a broad valley among hills; hence the name.

2. **Yarlside** (the S.E. part, E. of Barrow-in-Furness): *Yerleshed Cott* 1509, 
*Yerlyssyde cote* c 1525 Beck 304, 328, *Yerlesyde* (hamlet) 1537, *Yerlessyde* ¹ Cf. Nötterød (Norway) < *Njötarey*, a compound of *Njöt* (g. *-ar*), an earlier name of the island, and *ey* (NG VI. 233).
The name is clearly identical with Yarlside in Wml. (Jerlesete 1235 CWNS XIV. 394), the elements being O.N. jarl “earl” (or O.E. eorl) and set “a hill pasture.” Yarlside is a fairly common hill-name in England; cf. Scandinavians p. 32f. Yarlside seems to have been near Stank. The iron mines in the rather conspicuous hill E. of Park House S. of Furness Abbey are now called Yarlside Mines, and Yarlside Road is that between Dalton and Roose. Yarlside may have been on the hill mentioned. Cote in the earliest examples means “a sheepcote.” In this division is Furness Abbey.

**Crivelton**: Crivelton DB, Criueltonam 1155, 1158 Ch (orig.), Crivelton 1246 LAR, Cryvelton 1336 FC II., Creiviltona 1400 FC. The name is now lost, and the situation of the place is unknown. No doubt it was near Newton. If the DB form is trustworthy, the base of the name may be an O.E. clifwara tun “the village of the cliff-dwellers” ; cf. Cleworth p. 101. Newton is in a remote valley among hills. If Crivel- is the more original form, I have no definite suggestion to make.

**Newton** (S. of Dalton ; v.): Newtona 1191-8 FC, Newton 1190, 1336 FC. Newton and Crivelton were originally distinct places, as both are mentioned together in old sources. Later Crivelton was merged in Newton, and in FC I. 451 there is the express statement that Crevelton was the old name of Newton.

**Fordbottle**: Fortebodele DB, fordibottle 1155 Ch (orig.), fordebothe 1189-94 Ch (orig.), Fortebothe 1246 LAR. The name is lost. The place no doubt stood at a ford over the stream that runs past Roose. The elements of the name are O.E. ford and bōtl “house, dwelling.”

**Roose** (N.E. of Barrow ; v.): Rosse DB, Ros 1155, 1157-8, 1189-94 Ch (orig.), 1246 LAR, Roos 1336 FC II., Ruse FC I. 451, Ruse 1537 LR; now [ru'z, ru's]. Roose is an old Brit. name, identical with Welsh rhos “moor, heath, plain,” Bret. ros “tertre en général recouvert de bruyères” (Loth), Ir. ros “promontory; wood.” The Brit. word is often used as a place-name. The long vowel in Roose is due to Brit. lengthening; cf. Jones p. 72. Rhos in Pembrokeshire is stated in Owen’s Pembrokeshire III. 268 to be called also Roose. The meaning of the word in the present case is probably “moor.” The hill N.E. of Roose may well once have been a moor, i.e., a hill covered with furze and heather. Roosecote (Rusecote 1509 Beck 304) means “the sheepcote belonging to Roose.”

**Billingecote** (N.E. of Furness Abbey): Byllingecote 1509 Beck 305, Billingcote 1588 RW 122. Another name is byllynge c 1525 Beck 325; cf. Lytel-, Greetebylling 1539 FC II. The place stands on the slope of a hill (304 ft.), called The Billings (Beacons-billing 1843 Jopling). I suppose Billing is an old hill-name, identical with Billinge in Blackburn, and probably derived from O.E. bill “sword.”

**Holebeck**: Holebecke 1597 RW 47. Old Holebeck stands E. of Roose on a small brook, which runs in a fairly deep valley. “The hollow brook,” “the brook in the hollow.”

**Newtown** (in the S. on low ground): Newtoune 1537 LR.

**Peaseholmes**: Peesholme 1509 Beck 304. The place stands near the sea on a piece of ground rising over the surrounding land. O.E. pisu “pease” and holm “island.”
Rampside (h.): Rameshede 1292 FC, Rameshevede 1336 FC II., Rameshevede 1400 FC, Ramsyde 1539 FC II.; now [ramsaid]. Rampside was originally the name of the southernmost point of the Furness peninsula. The first el. may be the pers. n. Ram found in Ramsbottom; if so, head means "headland." But I think it more likely that it is O.E. ram "ram," and that the name was given owing to a resemblance between the headland and a ram's head. The name then means "the ram's head."

Stank (h.): Stanke 1509 Beck 304, 1537 LR. Probably M.E. stank "a pond or pool," found from the 14th cent. (O.Fr. estanc). There are disused iron mines in the hamlet; the name may refer to an old mine-pit.

Waltoncote: Walton Cote 1509, Waltoncote c 1525 Beck 305, 327. No doubt named from an old village or homestead called Walton.

3. Hawcoat (the S.W. part; h.): Hawcote c 1535 Beck 326, 1537 LR, Haycot 1538 FC II., Hay cote 1577 Saxton; now [hɔˈkɔt]. Haw- is probably O.E. haga or O.N. hagi "enclosure"; coat means "sheepcote." Hawcoat is on fairly high ground (W. of Furness Abbey); this would to some extent support the theory that Hietun DB (O.E. Hēatūn "the high tún") is an old name of Hawcoat.

Sowerby Hall: Sourebi DB, Soureby 1338 FC; now [sauarbi]. The place stands on low ground near Duddon Sands. O.N. Sauðbær; cf. Sowerby (Am.) p. 161.

Beacons Gill (in O.M. 1846-51; S. of Furness Abbey, E. of Newbarns): Bechanes-gile 1190-1220 FC II., Bekanesgill FC I. 21. The valley in which Furness Abbey stands was formerly called Bekansgill. The elements of the name are O.N. Bekan (from Fr. Beccâne) pers. n. and gil "a ravine." The name was applied to the whole valley. "Bekingill between Ramsyde and Sawthende" (1539 FC II. 594) was a fishery; Beck, p. lxv, quotes from a document of 1537 "Oystergarth athedd and Bekyngyll."

Bouth Wood (N.W. of Furness Abbey): Bouth 1509 Beck 304, Bow the Parke, Bouthhouse 1539 FC II. O.N. bōð "booth."

Breast Mill Beck (near Furness Abbey): Byrstmewekhouse (for Byrstmelbek-) c 1535 Beck 327, Bristmylbeck 1526 West 98, Byrsmelbek 1535 ib. 102, Burmelbeck, Byrfemelbeckhouse 1539 FC II. The place is near Poaka Beck, which in O.M. 1846-51 is here called Breast Mill Beck. Breast-mill in Yks. dial. means "a water-mill of which the water goes in at the side or breast to turn the wheel" (EDD). Close by is Millwood: Milnewood 1338 FC.

Cocken: de Cokayn 14 cent. FC, Cokayn 1336 FC II., Kokayn 1336, 1400 FC; now [kɔkin, kɔkn]. Lindkvist, p. 193, derives the name from M.E. Cokaygne, name of an imaginary country, the abode of luxury and idleness, a French name. If it is true, as suggested by W. B. Kendall in the report of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club, vol. XII., p. 40f., that the clearing of the Cocken land was accomplished by the monks of Furness Abbey, this derivation has much probability. The name is no doubt jocular.

Dane Gyll (E. of Hawcoat in the valley of a stream): Danegyll c 1535 Beck 327, Dangleflat, Dangylle 1539 FC II. The second el. is O.N. gil "a ravine." The first is doubtful; O.N. Dánr pers. n. or Danir "Danes"?

Hindpool: Hyndpull 1539 FC II. The place stands at a little bay called Hind Pool. O.E. hind the animal and pol, pull "pool."
LONSDALE

Rakes Moor (N.E. of Hawcoat, on high land): *Rakesmore 1539 FC II. *Rake (O.N. râk) means “a path; pasture-ground.”

Robswater (O.M. 1846-51): *Robswaeter 1539 FC II. The place was N. of Hawcoat. Sawter may be identical with Salter, p. 181. On loss of l see p. 22.

Salthouse: *Salthus 1247 FC, Salthous 1336 FC II. “A house in which salt was made or stored.”

Sinkfall: *Synkefall 1539 FC II. I take the elements of the name to be a M.E. *senk “hollow” (a Scand. word: cf. Norw. dial. sôkk, senk f., Swed. dial. sâkk f., sänka “hollow, little valley”), perhaps the source of E. sink “a basin where waters collect and form a bog,” and fall “a clearing”; cf. p. 10. Sinkfall stands close to a depression in the ground.

Sandscale: *Landschale (!) 1292 FC, Sandscale 1336 FC II. Sandscale stands on low ground near the Duddon Sands. The first el. of the name is obviously O.N. sandr (or pl. sandar) or Engl. sand “sandy beach.” The second is O.N. skáli “but.”

To Hawcoat bierley belong the islands S. of the Furness peninsula.

Barrow: *Barrai 1190, 1191-8 FC, Barray 1292 FC, 1336 FC II., *Insula de Oldebarrey, Barrahed, Barrahaw 1537 LR, Old barro Insula, Barrohead 1577 Saxton; now [baro]. Barrow was originally the name of a small island, later called Old Barrow, and recently joined with the mainland. The island gave name to the town of Barrow-in-Furness, which is chiefly on the mainland. *Barrahed 1537 is no doubt the point opposite Barrow island. *Barrahead may have as its second el. O.E. haga “enclosure.”

Barrow probably represents a Scand. Barrey, whose second el. is O.N. ey “island.” This name is evidenced elsewhere. Barra (Barru 11 cent. Johnston, Pl.n. of Scotland) is one of the southernmost of the Hebrides, and Barra Head is a promontory at the S. extremity of the Barra islands. From Barra may be derived the O.N. epithets Barreýjarðskáld and (Alfdís hin) barreýska (Landnâma), usually referred to Barrey in the Shetlands (Finnur Jónsson, Aarb. 1907, pp. 177, 246). *Barreýjarfljórðr, mentioned in a Saga, proves the existence of a Barrey in the Shetland group (Jakobsen, Aarb. 1901, p. 170); it may be the present Fair Isle. It is difficult to believe that the first el. of the name can be either O.N. *barr “corn,” in historical time an exclusively poetical word and not with certainty found in Norw. place-names, or O.N. barr “pine-needles.” I am inclined to believe that it is the Celtic barr “top, summit” (Welsh bar, Ir. bair). The meaning “summit” is not suitable in the case of Barrow, but the Celtic word may also have had such a sense as “extreme point, headland”; cf. the meaning “source of a stream,” found in Ir. place-names (Joyce, Irish Names of Places III. 130). Or the name may have been transferred to Barrow from one of the other Barreys.

Foulney: *Fowley 1537 Beck lxv, the *Fola 1577 Harr., Fouldy 1577 Saxton, Fouley, *Fowler 1667 CWNS X. 278; now [fo’lni]. The island formerly “bred innumerable fowl of divers kinds”; cf. the graphic description in a document of 1537 quoted in VHL VIII. 310. The name means “bird island” (O.N. fugl or O.E. fugol “bird,” and O.N. ey or O.E. ey “island”). *Fugløy is a well-known Scand. name. The change of Fowley to Foulney seems due to influence from Wainey.
Peel Island was named from the peel castle on the island. On the old name Fouldray, etc., see p. 200.

Roa: the Roa 1577 Harr.; now [ro\'a]. Earlier forms are wanted. But very likely Roa is O.N. Raudey "the red island"; cf. Roa in the Shetlands (Jakobsen, Aarb. 1901, p. 171f.).

Walney: Wagneia(m) 1127, 1127-33 Ch, 1190 FC, Wagneia 1155, 1189-94 Ch (orig.), Wagneya 1200 ChR, Wannegia 1246 LAR, Wagenay 1336 FC II., Wavenay 1404 CR, Waynow 1537 LR, Wanowe, Wayno 1539 FC II., the Waunay 1577 Harr., Walney 1577 Saxton. I derive the name from an O.N. Vogn, the first el. being O.N. vogn "grampus, Orca Gladiator." The grampus, according to VHL I. 210, is still a visitor, even if a rare one, to Morecambe Bay. The name may have been given because grampuses used to be seen near the island. But it is also possible that the name was given in allusion to the shape of the island; like the grampus, it is long and narrow.

Several minor places on Walney are mentioned in early sources.

Biggar: Bigger 1292 FC, Bygger 1537 LR, 1539 FC II. The first el. of the name seems to be O.N. bugg "barley." The second might be ergh "a pasture; a hut" (cf. p. 10). The combination does not seem quite convincing, but it is possible some cultivation of barley may have been carried on at a place chiefly used for pasture. Or O.N. geiri or O.E. gæra "a triangular piece of land" may possibly be thought of.

Idlecote: Idell cote 1509 Beck 305, Idelcote 1539 FC II. W. B. Kendall, Report of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club XIII. 47f., states that the sheepcote was erected on two common fields that had been left to lie idle. I cannot judge whether this is a trustworthy statement.

North Scale: Northscale 1247 FC, 1292 FC.


The bierley is also called Sanct Elen birlay 1537 FC II. It was then named from St. Helen's chapel, N.W. of Dalton. Cf. Sanct Elen doube 1537 FC II. (doube=dub "a pool"), Sanytellyngarth 1539 ib. The bierley had two divisions: Ireleth division (the W. part).

Ireleth (h.): Irlid 1190 FC, (grangiam de) Ireleth c 1200 FC, Ireleth 1292 FC, Irlythe 1336 FC II., Yerlethcote 1539 FC II.; now [ailep]. The pers. n. Ire (prob. Scand.) cf. Björkman, Namenkunde) or the gen. of O.N. Írar or O.E. Íras "Irishmen" and O.N. hlíd or O.E. hlid "slope." Ireleth stands on a hill-slope.

Killerwick: Chilwestreuc DB, Kilverdiswic 1190 FC, -wik 1191-8 FC, Killerwyk 1336 FC II, Killerwith 1509 Beck 305. The name is lost. The place seems to have been merged in Elliscales, near which it was presumably situated. The first el. of the name is the pers. n. Kilvert, which is apparently of Scand. origin (Björkman, Personennamen und Namenkunde), but of obscure history. The second el. must be O.E. wic, perhaps in the sense "cattle-farm."

Askam (near the Duddon estuary): ? Askham 1535 DL. Perhaps, like Askham in Wml. (Askum 1232, Sedgefield), O.E. æscum or O.N. askum "at the ashes." But a base Ask-holm is equally possible. There seems no reason to believe that the form Ascum quoted by Wyld from LC (1326) belongs here.1

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1 Ascum is here used as a surname. Sir John de Ascum was proctor of the rector of St. Michael's (Am.).
Dunnerholme: Dunrehelm c 1220 FC, Dunerholme, Donnerholme 1252 FC I.316f. The place stands at a rocky eminence rising 60ft. above sea-level, on the low shore of the Duddon estuary. An el. Dunn- is found also in the name Dunnerdale, which very likely has as its first el. a form of the river-name Duddon; see p. 223. As Dunnerholme is on the Duddon, the same etymology seems plausible for the first el. of Dunnerholme. But there is in early sources a third name with a first el. Dunn-., viz., Dunermersk c 1245, Dunermersk c 1270 FC II. (orig.). The place seems to have been in Martin; if so, this Dunnercannot be from Duddon. I have no definite suggestion to offer as regards this element. Possibly we may compare certain etymologically obscure Norw. names, e.g., the now lost Dunnarstadir (NG 3, p. 271). The O.E. pers. n. Dunnere, found once in The Battle of Maldon, does not seem to me a probable source.

Elliscales (N.W. of Dalton): Aylinescal 1211-22 LPD II. 170, Alinscalis, Alinescales c 1230 FC, Alescales 1539 FC II. See further Lindkvist p. 192. The first el. clearly a pers. n., is identified by Lindkvist with M.E. Aylene< Aylwine, by Wyld with O.E. Ælwine. But the early loss of w is somewhat remarkable, and I am inclined to believe that it is rather O.F. Aelín1 (with reduction of ei to i in the unstressed syllable) or the corresponding Ir. Ailéine. The second el. is O.N. skóli “hut.”

Goldmire (W. of Dalton, on a stream): Goldmyers 1517 DL, Goldemyre 1539 FC II., (water-course of) Goldmyre 1538 FC II. Gold- may be O.E. golde the name of a yellow plant, perhaps also used of the marsh-marigold; cf. Golborne, p. 99; -mire is O.N. mjrr “marsh.”

Greenscooe: Grenescow 1338 FC, Grenescogh 1400 FC. O.N. gráinn “green,” and skógr “wood.”

Haume, High and Low (or, Green): Howe hom 1336, 1400 FC, Greneham, Heyham c 1535 Beck 325, The Hygham, the Greneham 1539 FC II., Greenehame 1596 RW 178; now [a:m]. High Haume is high up on the slope of High Haume hill (510ft.); Low H. is on its lower slope. I suppose this is O.N. haugum “at the hills.” Possibly Hougun DB, identified by Dr. Farrer with Millom, Cumb., refers to this place. There are several smaller hills near Haume. Another possibility is that the name is a compound of O.N. haugr “hill” and O.E. hann “enclosure.” But it is doubtful if the O.E. word was still in use in the district in the Scand. time.

Hagg: Hagg 1338, Hagge 1400 FC, Hagspryng 1537 Beck lxvi. E. dial. hag “an allotment of timber for felling, a certain portion of wood marked off to be cut” (EDD), from O.N. hagg “felling of trees.”

Mousell (on Butts Beck): Moushil 1271 FC, Mousell 1509 Beck 305, Mousell 1539 FC II., Moyselspryng 1537 Beck lxvi; now [mo'zel]. The place is at a hill. The elements of the name seem to be O.E. mūs “mouse” and hyll “hill.” The modern pronunciation is remarkable. Spryng 1537 is spring “a copse, grove . . . ; a plantation of young trees,” etc. (NED).

Roanhead: Ronheved 1338 FC, Ronhevede 1400 FC, Ronehede 1539 FC II.; now [roned]. The place is situated near Sandscale Haws, a spit of sand projecting into the Duddon estuary; this may originally have been called Roanhead. If

1 The form Alaynscheles quoted by Wyld from AD I. refers to a place in Durham. The date should be 1393-4 instead of 1206.
so, the second el. means “headland.” But more likely the place was perhaps named from the slight hill near which it stands; in this case head means “hill.” The first el. is possibly M.E. rone “a brake or thicket” (NED).

Stewnor: Stonenernbech c 1190 FC II., p. 791, Stonerbek 1412 FC, Stevenor, Stevenor 1603 RW 122, 165; now [stjuˈnə]. Stewnor Bank and S. Park are high up among the hills in the N. part of the division. Stewnor Beck may be the present Poaka Beck. I take Stonenern- to be miswritten for Stonenu- (in LPD II. 166 it is actually spelt Stonenerubech) and to be identical with Steveney, Cumb.: Stonenergam 12 cent. RSB. The first el. is O.N. stofn, stufn (or O.E. stofn) “a stump, stem,” the second being ergh “a hill pasture.”

Thwaite Flat: Waterflatt c 1535 Beck 325, Wafterlat 1539 FC II. Cf. pp. 11, 19.

Lindal with Martin division (the E. part).

Martin (N. of Dalton, near Poaka Beck; v.): Meretun DB, 1185-1200 LPD II. 174, Mertona 1157-63 Ch (orig.), Merton 1190 FC, Meretona c 1200 FC II., Parva Meretona 1249 FC II. (orig.); now [maˈtn]. O.E. Meretun “lake town.” There are, or were, two or more tarns near Martin. In FC II. p. 753 we read (in an original document of c 1225) of “unam acram circa Sephe’ne et unam rodam in capite Tarne” and of “lacum qui Tarne vocatur,” and the same document mentions Potfurlang “the furlong at the pot or pool.” Sephe’tern clear-ly means “rush tarn,” the elements being O.N. sef (Engl. dial. seave) “rush” and O.N. tiorn “tarn.” There is a place Tarn Flat ½ mile S. of Martin (: ? Terneflat 1332 FC).

Orgrave (old manor): Ourgrave DB, Oregrauwa 1157-63 Ch (orig.), Orgraf 1190-1200 FC II., Orgrave, Ourgrave 1235, Oregraue 1246 LF, (molendinum de) Orgrave 1247 FC II. (orig.). Orgrave has been merged in Lindal, but the name is preserved in Orgrave Mill Cottages on Poaka Beck near Tytup Hall. Early documents frequently mention iron mines in Orgrave and the neighbourhood, and Lindal is still a mining centre. This tells us that the name Orgrave is a compound of O.E. őra “ore” and graef “grave” and means “ore-pit.” I find that the correct explanation was given by Collingwood as early as 1902 (The Lake Counties, p. 66). The name gives the important information that iron mining must have been carried on in the district since before the Conquest. The original Orgrave may have been at Eure Pite S.W. of Lindal; Eure is the form of ore to be expected in N. dialects; cf. [fluə(r)] “floor” N.Lanc. (E. D. Gr. p. 444).

Lindal (v.): (grangia de) Lindale c 1220, (grangia de) Lindal c 1225 FC II., Lindale 1292 FC, Lyndale 1336 FC II.; now [lɪndl]. The name, like Lindale in Cartmel, probably means “lime-tree valley.” The village stands in a valley or hollow, but the name may also refer to the deep valley W. of the church. In FC I. 241 the name is explained as “the division or portion of the Common-land divided off for the purpose of growing lin, line, or flax.” This etymology is founded on a passage in which mention is made of portions of Orgrave common field, among others “dim. rodam versus Lindale ad Raulith.” But versus may mean “in the direction of,” and the passage does not prove that Lindale was in Orgrave common field. The place is often called a grange, which shows that it did not belong to the common field.

Tytup Hall: Tytope 1537 FC II.; now [taitap]. Earlier material is wanted. The second el. may very well be O.E. kôp in the sense “a valley.” The place is in the valley of Poaka Beck. The first el. might be an O.E. pers. n. *Tyta; cf. Tytel.
ALDINGHAM PAR.

The S.E. part of the Furness peninsula, on Morecambe Bay. Like Dalton, Aldingham is not divided into townships, but three subdivisions are recognized: Aldingham, Gleaston, and Leee with Dendron.

Aldingham was the principal seat of the lordship of Muchland, which embraced Aldingham and parts of Urswick par. (VHL VIII. 300ff). The name Muchland appears late; the first quotation in VHL (Michel-land) dates from 1498; cf. Michel-land 1511 Ind, Michel-lande 1533 FC, Michell's Land 1536 DL. The name is generally, and already in 1774 by West (p. 25), explained as Michael's land, the first lord of Muchland having been Michael Fleming, who held it in 1127. This seems correct, only the late appearance of the name is curious.

1. Aldingham (on the sea; h.): Aldingham DB, 1212 LI, 1269 LAR, 1327 LS, Aldingeham 1292 PW, Aldyngham 1332 LS, 1336, 1389 LF, Aldingame 1341 FC, Audingham 1587 RW 174. O.E. Aldinga hām “the hām of the Aldingas or descendants of Alda.”

Hart Carrs (near Leee): Hert DB, Hertcarr 1418 CR, Hert Park 1536 DL. If the old name was Hert, we may compare Heorot the name of Hroðgār's hall in Beowulf, Hart the name of a parish in Durham (Hert 1130-5 YCh 671), Swine in Yks. (Swine DB, Swyn 1163-72 YCh 1362). But Hart in Durr. is perhaps not a safe analogy, as there are in the neighbourhood of the place Harton (Heortedun Sim. Durh.), and Hartlepool (Heruteu “Insula Cervi” in Bede). The name would seem to be O.E. heorot “hurt.” Names of animals used as place-names are occasionally found in Norway: Hjorten “the Hart” NG XIII. 353, Hon (<Hundr “dog”) NG I. 43. The reason why places got names such as these is as a rule by no means apparent.

Baycliff (h.): Bellecliue 1212 LI, Beelecliue, -clyue 1269 LAR, Beelcliff, -hagges 1418, Beaciff 1585 RW 105. The place stands on a slope c 100ft. above sea-level near Morecambe Bay. The second el. is clearly O.E. clif “a slope.” The first is rather doubtful. The earliest quotation points to O.E. Bella, a known name. But if the form Beelcliff is trustworthy, it might be O.E. bæl “fire, blaze.”

Newbigging (at two slight elevations in very low surroundings): Newbygging, Newebigginge 1269 LAR. Bigging “building; hut” is a derivative of big vb. from O.N. byggia “to build; dwell.”

Roosebeck (h.): Rosbech 1227 FC II., Rosebec, -beke 1269 LAR, Rosebek 1418 CR. The hamlet stands in the S. part of the parish, close to a brook, which forms the boundary against Dalton. This brook, which rises not far from Roose (in Dalton par.), must formerly have been called Roose Beck.

Scales (on a hill; h.): Scales 1269 LAR, 1418 CR, del Scales 1332 LS. O.N. skáli “a hut.”

Seamill (on the sea): Semilne, Semilln 1269 LAR, Sey Mill 1536 DL.

Sea Wood (near the sea): Marina Silva 1282 CWNS XII. 234, Le Sewod 1418 CR, Seywood Park 1528 DL. Sea Wood Scar (in the sands outside Sea Wood) seems to be le Whytescarre in Marina Silva 1282 CWNS XII. 235. Scar is O.N. sker “skerry.”

Sunbrick : Swinebroc, Swynbrok (no doubt for -brek) 1269 LAR, Swynbreke 1282 CWNS XII. 235, Sombrek 1418 CR, Swinebreke 1584, Sunbreke 1583 RW
URSWICK PAR.

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now [sunbrik]. The place is in the N. part of the parish on the slope of a prominent ridge of 400ft. called Birkri (Byrkeryg 1282 CWNS XII. 234). O.N. svin-brekk “slope where swine are kept.”

Windhill (on a hill N. of Aldingham): ? Windul 1180-90 FC II. (orig.), Whynhill 1418 CR, Windle 1605 Aldingham R. “Windy hill”; cf. Windle in De. The form of 1418, however, may point to “whin hill.”

2. Gleaston (W. of Aldingham): Glassertun DB, de Glestona 13 cent. RSB, Cleston, de Cleyston, de Gleston 1246 LAR, Magna, Parwa Gleston, Gleston 1269 LAR, Gleston 1389, 1450 LF, c 1540 Leland, Glayston 1577 Saxton, Glaiston 1577 Harr.; now [gli’stn]. Gleaston hamlet stands on a brook at the foot of Beacon Hill (286ft.). Gleaston castle is a little way to the N.

It seems we have to assume as the first el. of the name a form Gles- or (in view of the DB orm and the mod. pronunciation rather) Glēs- from O.E. Glās-.

The latter base would have to be derived from the root glēs- in O.E. glisian, glisian, etc., O.N. glis “gleam,” etc. The base Gles- (or Gles-) would belong to Germ. glas-, glās- with much the same meaning; cf. the Norw. place-names Glesnes, Gleserud, O.N. glāsiligr “shining” etc. (NG XI. 262). The el. Glese- might be an old name of the brook, which has clear water. Or a beacon fire might have been called glēs or the like; cf. Beacon Hill. Or Gles- may refer to the situation of the place. The hamlet is in a sheltered position with hills to the W., N., and E., but with a free southern aspect “The light, sunny place” would be a suitable name. Glesnes in Norway is thought to have possibly got its name in allusion to its high free situation with a southern view. Or a meaning “glade, clearing” may be thought of. Glesefeld (in Lanc.) 1291 TE may have the same first el. as Gleaston.

3. Leece with Dendron (S.W. of Aldingham).

Leece (v.): Lies DB, Les, Lees 1269 LAR, Lees 1327, 1332 LS, Leghis 1341 FC, Lece 1577 Saxton; now [li’z]. Apparently the plur. of O.E. lēah “lea, pasture,” etc. With the DB spelling Lies may be compared the DB Hieton.

Dendron (h.): ? Dene DB, Denrun, Denrum (printed Deu-) 1269 LAR, Denrun 1412 FC, Deurun 1418 CR, Dendron 1584 RW 58; now [dennrn]. If Dene DB belongs here, the original name may have been O.E. denu “valley,” or in this case rather “hollow, level ground among hills.” The second el. of Dendron seems to be O.E. or O.N. rūm “room,” here perhaps “clearing”; cf. p. 16. The same change of -m to -n is found in Dertren, p. 186.

URSWICK PAR.

A district N. and W. of Aldingham, E. of Dalton par. There is no division into townships.

Urswick (E. of Dalton town): Ursewica c 1150 FC, Hursewic 1189 Ch, 1212 LI, Wursewic 1190 FC, Ursewic 1194 Ind, c 1205 FC II. (orig.), 1212 LI, Vrs(e)wich, vrs(e)wic 1198-1208 Ch (orig.), Urswyk 1246 LAR, 1413 LF, Ursewik 1269 LAR, Vrsewyk 1327, -wik 1332 LS; Magna Urswik 1180-90 FC II (orig.), Great Urswyk 1277 LAR; Parca Urswik 1257 LAR, Little Urswyk 1299 LI. There are two villages and old manors: Great (or Much) and Little Urswick. Great Urswick, which is no doubt the earlier settlement, stands round the upper end of a large
tarn. The earliest forms of the name point to early M.E. Urse- (rather than Ures-) as the first element. I believe this is the old name of the tarn, O.E. *Ursō “the bison’s lake”; cf. Swed. Ursjön (Hellqvist, Svenska Sjönamn, p. 679f.). The second el. is O.E. wic “village, homestead,” etc.

Quernbarow Fields (still found in West’s map 1774): Querneberg 1227 LF, Wharneborow (-barowe) Feld 1539 FC II. The elements are O.E. cwern or O.N. kvern “mill,” etc., and O.E. beorn or O.N. bergh “hill”; cf. Quartzon, p. 46.

Bardsea (N. of Aldingham; old manor, v.): Berretseige DB, Berdeseia(m) 1155, 1158, 1189-94 Ch (orig.), Bardsea 1202 LF, Berdesey 1246 LAR, Berdeseye 1269 LAR, 1348 LF, Berde 1269 LAR; now [ba‘dza, ba‘dzi]. The village is on the slope of a hill. Below it is a flat triangular piece of ground on the sea-shore, which may formerly have been partly under water. At the E. end is a slight hill, called Wadhead Scar. The second el. of the name, O.E. ēg “island,” etc., no doubt refers to this piece of land. The first el. is clearly a pers. n. If the DB form is to be trusted, it may be assumed to have been a dissyllabic name, perhaps O.E. Beornred. If it was monosyllabic, we may compare the O.E. Beard which seems to enter into Beardshaw, Bl.

Bolton (S. of Little Urswick; old manor): Bodeltun DB, Botheltun 1180-90 FC II. (orig.), Bowlton 1235 LF, Boulton 1299 LI, 1304 LF, Bolton c 1300 FC, 1432 LF. O.E. Bōptūn; cf. p. 8. The name is now preserved in Bolton Chapel (ruined) and Bolton Heads (a hill). There is no vil. or hamlet of the name; Hawksfield farm is on or near its site.

Stainton (S.E. of Dalton town; old manor, v.): Steintun DB, de Steynton 1246 LAR, Steynton, Staynton 1269 LAR, Stayntonam 1276 FC; now [stentn]. The name means “stone village,” “the village with the stones.” On the village green are numerous stones of various sizes, some huge blocks of remarkable shape. They are obviously erratic blocks, and some have deep cavities or channels formed by the action of running water. An inhabitant told me they are thought to have been washed up by the flood. The correct etymology was given by West 1774. The first el. of the name is O.N. steinn or O.E. stān, later Scandinavianized.

Adgarley (h.; now in Stainton, which it adjoins): Eadgarlið 1180-90 FC II. (orig.), Adgareslíð 1212 LI, Adgerlīð, -lyth c 1300 FC; now [adga-li]. O.E. Eadgar pers. n., and O.E. hlīð or O.N. hlīð “slope.” The place stands on a slope.

**PENNINGTON PAR.**

A district W. of Ulverston, N. of Urswick. The surface gradually rises till altitudes of 700 to 1,000 ft. are reached in the N.

Pennington (v.): Pennington DB, Penig-, Penytona 1157-63 Ch (orig.), Peninton 1187f. LPR, Penigton 1198-1208 Ch (orig.), Peniton 1202 LF, Penitona 1201-6 LPD II. 161, Penynton 1327, 1332 LS; now [penitn]. The name seems identical with Pennington in Hants: ? Pčnigton 973 BCS 1297, Penitone DB. Its first el. is no doubt O.E. peni(n)g “penny.” There were presumably fiscal reasons for such a name. Analogous examples are given by Johnston, PI.N. of Scotland s.v. Peninngham.
Cowran: Coran 1623 Pennington R, Coren 1666 RW 71; now [kauran]. Perhaps "cow-house," from O.N. kúr (g. pl. kúia) or O.E. čū and O.N. rann "house."

Ellaborrow: Ellerburghe 1332 FC, Ellerbarrowe 1542 DL. O.E. ellern "elder" or O.N. eltr "alders" and M.E. bergh "hill."

Ewe Dale (in the far N.): Ulvedale, -bech 1189-1209 LPD II. 166, Ulvedale (vacherie) 1352 FC, Uldale 1408 FC II. O.N. Ulfadalr "valley of the wolves." The identification of the early forms with Ewe Dale is not absolutely certain, but Ulvedale is stated to have been in the far N. of Pennington.

Holebiggerah: Holbigora 1332 FC, Hole Bigway 1538 FC II.; now [(h)öl bigre]. Near this was bigwara 1332 FC. Bigwara is O.N. bygg "barley" and (v)rág "corner," etc. The place is in a deep valley.

Kirkstead (near Lindale): Kirkested 1322 FC. "The site of the church." There must have been a church at the place.

Loppergarth (close to Pennington church): Lopgarth 1595 RW 107, Loppergarth 1642, Laupergarth 1643 Pennington R. First el. possibly dial. louper "jumper; vagabond," etc., from O.N. klaupari.

Rathmoss: Rathmosse 1656 Pennington R. Near by is Rathvale. Rath is no doubt O.N. rauðr "red" or a derivative of it. The places are near the upper Levy Beck, formerly apparently Rawthev; cf. p. 191.

Walthwaite (on a hillside): de Walthwayt 1260-80 FC II., Walthwaiteforde, Walthwaitforde 1332 FC; now [wlhpekt]. Wal- is probably O.N. vólur "pasture, meadow"; Norw. vold, Swed. vall are often used of a meadow at a shieling or of a shieling. The place is near a brook.

Whinfell (h.): Quinfel 1329 FC, Whinfell 1587 RW 229. The place stands at a hill (308ft.). The elements of the name are M.E. whin "gorse" and O.N. fjall "fell."

ULVERSTON PAR.

This large parish forms a long, comparatively narrow strip of land, which reaches to the N. boundary of the county. It is bounded on the E. by the Leven estuary, the Crake, Coniston Water, and Yewdale Beck. The western boundary follows a chain of hills, which separate Ulverston from Kirkby Ireleth par. In the S. is some comparatively low land, but the ground rises quickly. In the N. are hills such as Coniston Old Man, Wetherlam, and others. The villages and homesteads are mostly in the E. part.

1. Ulverston (town): Ulverstun DB, Oluestonam 1127ff. Ch, Oluestoñ 1155, 1189-94 Ch (orig.), Ulveston 1191-8 FC, 1246, 1273 LAR, Olueston 1196 LF; Ulverston, Ulvereston, Ulverestune puł 1180-4 Ch, Ulverston 1246 LAR, 1309 LF, etc., Ulvereston 1271 LAR, Ulverston 1277 LAR, Ulvereston 1332 LS; Ulreston 1246, 1336 LF, Vlerston 1327 LS; U'eston 1867 Morris. The early forms without r are no doubt chiefly due to omission of an abbreviation-mark for er. Partly Norman influence may be assumed. The first el. of the name is either the common O.E. pers. n. Wulfhere, with loss of W owing to Scand. influence, or O.N. Ulfarr, as suggested by Björkman, Personennamen. I am inclined to prefer the first alternative.

Conishead Priory (S.E. of Ulverston, on Leven Sands): Cuningesheued 1180-4
Ch, Conigeshevede, Conyngeshevede 1180-4 Ch (orig.), Chunghishewid 1194-9 Ch (orig.), Cunningeshet, -heved 1208 FC, Cuningeshewed 1235 LF, Coningesheued 1246 IPM, Cuningesheued 1246 LAR, Kunisheved 1245 LPD II. 192; now [kunized]. The present (modern) mansion stands at the foot of a short ridge or hill with fairly steep sides, on the N. slope of which is Big Head Wood. The second el. of the name, head (O.E. heafod), means “hill” and refers to this hill. The first el. is O.N. *konungr, konungr “king,” which has very likely replaced O.E. cyning; cf. Coniscliff, Durh.: Ciningesclif Chr. (E.), Cunesclive 1203 (Mawer).

**Dragley Beck** (h.): Dracklebecke 1596 RW 241; now [dragle bek]. Dragley appears as Drakelow c 1270 FC II. The hamlet stands on Levy Beck. Drakelow is no doubt identical with Drakelow in Derby: *et Dracan hlauen* 942 (Johnston). It probably means “the hill or mound of the dragon.” There may have been a legend about a dragon attached to the place.

**Gascow**: [Gars]chownab 1180-4 Ch, Garthsoh, -lac 1220-46 Ch, Gartischou 1272-8 LPD II. 193; now [gaskow]. The elements of the name are O.N. *gardr* “fence; enclosure” and *skögr* “wood.” There is a small pointed hill behind the farm; this is the *nab* referred to in the earliest example (O.N. nabbr, nabb “peak or knoll”).

**Hasty Gill** (a long valley N.W. of Ulverston, at the head of which a height of 700ft. is reached): *Hastigale* 1365 FC, *Hastagle* 1412 FC (Index). The second el. seems to be O.N. *geið* “narrow glen.” The first el. is doubtful, especially as the early forms vary. If, as seems probable, *Hastigale* is the more correct form, we may think of O.N. *hásti* “stallion” or *hástîg* “high path.” But better material is wanted.

**Roshead or Rosside** (N.W. of Ulverston, in Hasty Gill): (villa de) Reuesath, Ruesath c 1270 FC II., de Ressat 1332 FC, Rosset a 1412 FC, Rossett 1537 LF, Russett 1552 LF. I believe the elements of this name are O.N. *Refr* pers. n. and *set, sat* “shieling”; cf. p. 16. The change of *e* to *i* is abnormal.

**Swarthmoor Hall**: Swartemore 1537 LR, Swarthmore 1537 FC II., Swarthmore 1595 RW 216, Swartmoor 1867 Morris; now [swa’pmuə]. Probably O.E. *sweart* “black” and *môr*. The place was named from Swarth Moor, now drained, which gave name also to Swarthmoor village in Pennington.

**Trinkeld** (S.W. of Ulverston): *Hindekeld* 1180-4 Ch, Trandeckeld 1319 LPR 3571, (cursum fontis quae vocatur) Trankelde FC I. 424, Trynkell 1539 FC II., Trenkelt 1598 RW 216, Trinkel 1615 RW 107; now [trîŋkeld, trîŋ keld]. O.N. *þrándr* (or rather *þrándi*; cf. Björkman, Namenkunde) pers. n. and *kelda* “spring” (thus in the main Wyld). A copious well rises at the place, and from it a rivulet runs eastward. The sound-development of the name is remarkable. The change of *a* to *i* is probably due to the fact that *a* was long. This was palatalized to [e] and shortened early enough to take part in the change of *e* to *i* before *nk*. The regular *Tr*- instead of *Thr-* is due to the change of *pr > tr* found in parts of Lanc. and Wm. (Wright, E.D.Gr. § 313).

2. **Mansriggs** (N. of Ulverston; h.): Manslarig 1520 VHL VIII. 356, Manslariges 1539 FC II., Mansriggs 1577 Ind II. The district occupies some ridges and hills. The first el. of the name cannot be determined with the material available.
3. Osmotherley (N. of Ulverston): Asemunderlawe 1246 LAR, de Asmundrelaw 1341 IN, de Osmoundrelaw 1332 LS, Osmotherley 1539 FC II., Easmotherle 1588 RW 50; now [osmudeli]. See Lindkvist p. 4 and Wyld. Asmundar, the gen. of O.N. Asmundr (later anglicized to Osmund-), and O.E. hlāw “hill.” The name is remarkable in so far as it contains a Scand. gen. form and an Engl. second el. We must assume that O.E. hlāw had been adopted by Scand. settlers. The loss of n and change of d to ð is found also in Osmotherley, Yks.

Broughton Beck (h.): Broctunebec c 1246, Brochton-, Broghtunbec c 1272 FC, the name of the brook on which the hamlet stands. The old name of the place was Broughton: de Broughton 1332 LS, de Broghtona 1333, Broghtonam a 1412 FC. O.E. Æßtun.

4. Egton with Newland (N.E. of Ulverston, on Leven Sands and the Crake).

Newland (the S. part): Newlande 1276 FC, Neweland 1418 CR. The place may originally have been a piece of newly cultivated land belonging to the township of Ulverston or Plumpton.

Egton (the N. part): Egetona 1248 LPD II. 171, Egeton 1262 ib. 175, Egton 1272 FC, Eggeton FC I. 413; now [ektn]. There is no hamlet called Egton. The place was very likely near the present hamlet of Penny Bridge, which was named from a family resident there. An early name of the ford that preceded the bridge was Tunewath(h) FC I. 348, 378, i.e., “the village ford,” probably “Egton village ford.” Egton may be O.E. Ecgan tūn, as the earliest forms seem to suggest, or ecg-tūn, i.e., “the tūn at the edge or hill-side.” The hills slope sharply towards the Crake.

Greenodd (at the confluence of the Crake and the Leven; v.): Green Odd 1774 West (map). The name means “the green promontory.” It need not be old, as odd (O.N. oddi) is still used in Lanc. dialects in the sense “a small point of land.” (EDD)

Nettleslack (h.): de Netlisclk 1264 FC II. (orig.), Netylslake 1544 DL. The place stands in a slight hollow or valley. The elements of the name are O.N. netla or O.E. netale “nettle” and O.N. slacki “valley.”

Plumpton (E. of Ulverston, on the flat shore of the Leven): (landam de) Plumbtun, Plumton 1180-4 Ch, (Haya de) Pluntun 1276 FC, Plunter Ho’ 1867 Morris. O.E. plume “plum-tree” and tūn.

Seathwaite, High and Low (hamlets; in the higher W. part): Scaithwait 1246, 1272 FC, Scaithwaiht 1248 FC II., Skathwaiht 1336 FC II., Scaith(h)ait 1597 RW 168; now [skəpət]. Cf. also Lindkvist p. 121. Lindkvist suggests as first el. O.N. skaf “peeled bark used as fodder.” More probable is perhaps the O.N. pers. n. Skapī, or Norw. skapt in the sense “lower spur jutting out from a hill.”

Toppin Rays (on a hill): Toppinraise 1590, 1599 RW 184. Engl. dial. toppin(g) means “a hill.” Rays is O.N. hreysi “cairn.”

5. Lowick (N. of Egton with Newland and Osmotherley): Lofwic 1202 LF, Lowyk 1246 LAR, Lufwik, -wic, -wyk, Lowyk, Lofwyk FC I. 435ff., Lewike 1577 Harr.; now [loı̈k]. Lindkvist, p. 147, suggests as the elements of the name O.N. lauf “leaf, foliage” or a beck-name Laufa and O.N. vík “bend of a river.” The existence of a beck-name Laufa may to some extent be corroborated by Harrison’s statement that the brook which rises at Lowick chapel was called the Lew. But probably the name Lew is a back-formation from Lewike, and the
first alternative, Laufvik "leafy bend," seems to me preferable. Laufvik is a common name in Norway; cf. e.g. NG XI. 62. Lowick Bridge and Lowick Green are on the Crake, which makes several bends.

Grof? Crag: Crophacrage 1636 RW 76, Bropha-cragg 1662 RW 77; now [gro? kr?g]. The farm is on the slope of a rocky hill, called Grof? Scars. I imagine the name represents an O.N. Gr?f-haugr (cf. Norw. Grovaugn NG V. 113), the first el. being O.N. gr?f "hole, hollow; brook." A quarry may have been at the place, or a natural hollow may be meant.

Hawkswell: Hawkeshwell 1561, 1563 DL. O.N. Haukr pers. n. and O.E. wella "well, brook." A small brook runs past the farm.

Knappenthaw: Knapthall 1591f. RW 283, Knapathou 1674 ib. 32; now [nap?w].

The farm stands at a ridge with a round knoll at one end. The first el. is an O.E. cn?ppele "provided with a cn?p." O.E. cn?p means "top of a hill," dial. knap also "bump, knob." The second el. is no doubt O.N. haugr "hill." The name accurately describes the hill.

6. Subberthwaite (a hilly district in the W. part of the par.): de Sulbythwast 1284 LAR, Sulthwast 1346 VHL VIII. 357, Soelthwast 1489 PatR, Soberthawt 1538 FC II., Southerthoat 1577 Saxton, Soberthat 1592 RW 32; now [sub?w]. The earliest forms point decisively to the first el. being a place-name in -by, no doubt identical with Souly in Cumb. and Wml., and probably having as first el. the pers. n. Sul found in O.Dan. or possibly O.N. s?l "pillar." We must assume that there was once a place called Sulby somewhere near Subberthwaite. The later forms seem to be due to association with M.E. bergh "hill." A plausible explanation is that a neighbouring hill had the name Solberg, identical with Sulber Hill in Yks. (Solberge DB, Solberhe FC) from O.N. S?lb?arg "sunny hill." This may have been the name of Lin Crag, at the foot of which Subberthwaite stands. S?lb?arg, now Solberg, is a common name in Norway, and is held to mean sometimes "sunny hill," sometimes "a hill situated in the west" (NG IX. 110, XI. 12).

Gawthwaite or Goathwaite: Golderswatt 1552 LF; cf. VHL VIII. 354. Second el. O.N. ?veit; the first is doubtful.


Tottlebank: Totlbank 1612 RW 283. The place stands at the foot of a hill of 700ft., close to Blawith Knott (812ft.). I believe Tottle- is M.E. t?te-hill "lookout hill." Bank means "hill."


Birkrow: Byrkerowe 1564 DL, Birkaye 1640 RW 176. Second el. apparently O.N. (v)r? "corner," etc. Bouldrey or Bouthrey Bridge perhaps has the same second el.

Cockenshell: de Cockanscales 1284 LAR, de Cokainscalis 14 cent. FC, Cokenscale 1632 Torver R. Cocken- cannot be anything else than the place-name Coken...
(Dalton); cf. p. 203. The name would seem to show that the fells in High Furness were common land belonging to the townships in the south. The second el. is O.N. skúli “hut.”

Houkler Hall: Hoglerhowe 1609 RW 284, Houghler Hall 1637 ib.; now [haukle hø'1]. The farm stands at Spout Crag (over 300ft.) W. of Blawith chapel. The name no doubt originally denoted the hill, the second el. being O.N. haugr “hill.” The first el. is doubtful; it is very likely a compound containing ergh “a shieling.”

Pickthowe: Pickthawe 1609 RW 175, Pickthawe 1644 RW 289; now [pik'ø'l]. No doubt identical with Pikedhowe FC I. 203 (W. Yks.). “Pointed hill” ; cf. Pike Law in Bl. The place stands at a small pointed hill, characterized also by pointed rocks on its sides.

Stable Harvey (in a valley near Coniston Water): de Stableheruy 1332 LS. This must be “the stable of Harvey.” Harvey is a French name.

Water Yeat (on a small brook): Wateryate myll 1539 FC II., Wotteryait 1597 RW 3; now [wɔr'tæjet]. Yeat is O.E. geat “gate.”

8. Torver (W. of Coniston Water): Thoruergh 1190-9 Ch, Thorvergh 1202 LF, Thorfergh 1246 LF, Torver(e)gh, Thorvergh 1246 LAR, Torveg 1252 LAR, Toruergh 1272-80, 1299-1320 LPD II. 193, Torver 1537 LR. The second el. is ergh “a shieling.” The first is doubtful. If it began in T-, either O.N. torf “turf, peat” or the O.N. pers. n. Torfi or Torfa would yield a satisfactory etymology. If the name began in Th-, a Scand. name in por- must be the first el., e.g., Popeif (a woman’s name; cf. Björkman) or Porolfr, but neither seems to go well with the early forms.

Grassguards: Gresga/rSr 1599 Torver R. O.N. gresgarðr “grass enclosure.”

Hoathwaite: Holwayt 1272-80 LPD II. 193. The place is on a brook in a deep valley. Lindkvist’s suggestion that the first el. is O.E. or O.N. hol “hollow” seems thus very plausible.

9. Church Coniston (at the N. end of Coniston Water; v.): Coningeston 1157-63 Ch (orig.), Koningeston 1196 LF, Coningeston 1257 LAR, Kunyngston 1336 FC II.; now [kunistn]. O.N. *Kunungstun “the king’s tuin.” The name might be an O.N. adaptation of O.E. Cyningestun, but is more probably Scandinavian and possibly preserves the memory of a small Scandinavian mountain kingdom. A Norwegian “kingdom” was not a large district. A sea-king might command quite a small fleet. There is no intrinsic improbability in the suggestion that Coniston with adjoining districts formed a Viking kingdom. Its extent may be indicated by the names Thurston Water for Coniston Water and part of the Crake, and Cunsey on Lake Windermere. Thurston Water was named from one Thurstan, an early owner. The southern boundary of his possessions was possibly the point where Thurston Water changed its name to Crake (cf. p. 192). Thurstan may have been the founder or one of the early kings of the kingdom. Cunsey is very likely O.N. Kunungs-d and may have been named from the same king as Coniston. If so, his kingdom must have comprised at least part of the land between Coniston Water and Lake Windermere. But, of course, Coniston may have belonged to some larger Scandinavian kingdom.

Little Arrow: Little Array 1610, Little Harrow 1671 RW 112. Probably ergh “a shieling.”
LONSDALE HUNDRED

Haws Bank: Howhousebancke 1645 Coniston R. Howhouse has as first el. O.N. haugr "hill." Bank means "hill."

Tilberthwaite: Tildesburythwait 1196 LF, c. 1200 FC, Tilburthwait a 1412 FC; now [tilbərθwæt]. Tilberthwaite farms stand 2½ miles N. of Coniston in a valley. The first el. is a lost place-name tillesburc 1157-63 Ch (orig.), which contains a pers. n., O.E. Telli, as in Tilbury (Lindkvist), or perhaps rather one identical with that in Tildesley, De. The el. burg suggests that there was once a fort at the place. There are possibly traces of one at Low Tilberthwaite.

COLTON PAR.

The district between the Crake and the S. part of Coniston Water on the W. and the Leven and the S. part of Windermere on the E. It is mostly hilly except in the southernmost part and along Colton Beck and Rusland Pool. It consists to a great extent of fell country and forest land. Colton till 1676 belonged to Hawkshead. There is no division into townships, but the customary division into hamlets may be in the main followed.

(a) Colton (the S.W. part; h.): Coloton 1202 LF, de Colton 1332 LS, Colton 1336 FC II., Coltona 1400 FC; now [kəltən, ko'ltən]. Colton h., with the church, stands on Colton Beck. The earliest form points to a first el. with l, not ll, and probably dissyllabic. I suppose it is O.E. Cola pers. n. Cola is not found very early (929 Wilts, etc.), and is looked upon by Björkman as probably Scandinavian, while Redin thinks it is at any rate not genuinely English. As Koli is rare at least in O.N. and O.Dan. (while Koly is common), and Collingbourne is a place-name in Wilts, where we do not expect to find Scand. names in very early times, I think Scand. origin improbable, and see no reason why O.E. Cola, like O.H.G. Colo, should not be a native name. Derivation from a brook-name is in itself possible; Kola is a common Norw. name of streams, meaning "the coal-black one." But such a sense at least does not suit Colton Beck. A third possibility is that the first el. is O.N. kola "charcoal burning." On Scand. name apparently containing this word see Lidén, NoB IV. 117ff.

Bandrake Head: banryghed c 1535 Beck 329, Banryghed 1539 FC II. The place stands at the S. end of a ridge now called the Rigg. Banrig, obviously the original name of this ridge, no doubt stands for Bandrig, band being band "ridge of a hill; a long ridge-like hill," a word common in the Lake District and probably from O.N. band "band, tie," in Norw. place-names also used of "long narrow mountain." Cf. Scandinavians, p. 17f.

Haybridge (on Rusland Pool): Haybrige c 1535 Beck 329, Haybryg 1537 LF Hay- may be O.E. haga or O.N. haquis "enclosure."

Bouth (h.): Bouthe 1336 FC II., 1400 FC, 1577 Saxton, Bouth 1577 Harr.; now [bouθ]. O.N. bidó "booth, hut." Bouth was no doubt originally a dairy-farm belonging to Colton.

Hullater: Hullater 1538 FC II., 1648 RW 226. The place is on the slope of hill called Hullater Scar. Cf. Latterbarrow, p. 194.

Kirkthwaite: Kyrkwythe c 1535 Beck 329, Kyrkthwayte 1537 LR. The place stands a good way from Colton church. There must be some special reason why the thwaite was named from the church.
Legbarrow Point (at the confluence of the Crake and the Leven): Legbarro 1577 Saxton. The second el. is M.E. bergh “hill.” The wood-clad point is not very high, but rather prominent. The name may be identical with the first el. of Legburthwaite, Cumb., which is of doubtful origin.

Ravensty: the Ravenstie 1509 Beck 303, the Ravenstye 1537 FC II. Apparently O.N. Hrafn's stigr “Hrafns’s path.” The name is lost. Manor courts were held at the Ravensty, which seems to have formed a boundary within Furness Fells; cf. West p. 154, Beck p. 303.

Sales: Saylys c 1535 Beck 329, Sayles 1537 LR, 1539 FC II.; now [se-lz]. Perhaps the plur. of O.N. seyla (Norw. seyla “mine, pool, puddle”); cf. Seyla, the name of a place in Iceland. But the place is in a high situation; Sales Bank reaches 559 ft.

Tottlebank: totyle banke c 1535 Beck 329, Totilbanke 1537 FC II. Cf. the same name p. 214. There is a prominent hill at the place.

Whitestock Hall: Whitstockhowe 1597 RW 52. Presumably “the hill with white stock or tree-trunk.”

(b) Haaverthwaite (between Rusland Pool and the Leven): Haverthwayout 1336 FC II., 1539 ib.; now [havapet]. O.N. hafri “oats” and thwaite. The village is on a slight hill close to the Leven.

Abbot’s Reading: Abbot Ridding 1661 RW 238. On ridding “clearing,” see p. 16.

(c) Finsthwaite (at the S. end of Lake Windermere; v.): Fynnesthwayt 1336, Lower, Outer Fynswyth 1539 FC II. “Finn’s thwaite.” Finnr is a well-known O.N. name.

Newby Bridge (on the Leven): New bridge 1577 Saxton, Newbridge 1577 Harr., Newbybridge 1659 Hawkshead R. The original name would seem to have been New Bridge. If the name Newby Bridge is original, Newby is probably a family name.

Stot Park: Stot parke c 1535 Beck 329, Stotparke 1537 LR. M.E. stot means “a bullock” and “a horse.” The usual meaning of the word in Northern dialects is “young bull or ox.” Park means “paddock, enclosure.”

(d) Rusland (on Rusland Pool; v.): Rolesland 1336 FC II., -e 1400 FC, Ruselande 1537 LR; now [ruzlen(d)]. The first el. is apparently a pers. n. representing e.g. O.N. Hróaldr or Hrólf. Rusland Pool is a stream with a very slow course. Cf. on pool “a stream,” p. 15.

(e) Nibthwaite (E. of the Crake; High and Low Nibthwaite villages are near the river): [Thornebuthwaite 1202 LF, Tornbetheweit 1207, Thornubthweieitht, -thweith 1208 LF], Neubethwagyt 1246 LAR, Neburthwaiet 1336 FC, Neburthwait 1336 FC II., Neburthwaite 1400 FC, Nyththwewait 1537 LR, Nyththwayt, Nyththawtigrange 1539 FC II.; now [nibpet]. The variation in the early forms renders a definite etymology difficult. The bracketed forms are usually held to refer to Nibthwaite. The place called Thornebuthwait must have been situated in the neighbourhood of Nibthwaite, and the identification is plausible. If so, Thor is no doubt a distinctive addition, there being two Nibthwaites, either the pers. n. Thor or thorn “thornbush.” But, as pointed out in VHL VIII. 363, there is mentioned in a deed of 1522 a place Furnebuthwaity in Blawith. This may be a later form of Thornebuthwait. Nibthwaite may have as first el. a compound of the adj.
new (O.N. nyir) and O.N. býr or búð. A base Newbúththwait is perhaps the most plausible. The forms in Nébur- seem to be due to association with the word neighbour. The change of New- to Ne- may be due to the following labial; cf. safe from sauf, etc., and [nibikan] for Newbigging, Cumb. Arkld (on a slope near the Crake): Arkeredyn 1573 DL. The second el. may be ridding “clearing” with change of r to l owing to dissimilation.

Hill Park: Hell parke c 1535 Beck 329, Hellpark 1539 FC II., Hellparke 1537 FC II. The regular e in the early forms shows that the first el. cannot be O.E. hyll. O.N. helo “stone, flat hill,” etc., or helium “cave, hole,” or hialli “a ledge, a terrace” may be thought of.

(f) Bethecar Moor (a hilly district reaching over 1,000 ft., E. of Coniston Water): Bothaker 1509 Beck 304, Bethokar c 1535 ib. 329, Betaker 1537 LR, Betacre, Bettaker 1539 FC II.; now [běpække]. High and Low Bethecar are high up on the hill side. Neither O.E. æcer “field” nor O.N. kíarr “carr” seems probable as second el. The places are no doubt old shielings, and I suppose the second el. is ergh “a shieling,” the first being the Gael. pers. n. Beathag, earlier Bethoc (McBain, p. 412). Cf. Bedrule (Jedburgh): Rulebethok 1280 Johnston, Pl.N. of Scotland.

ICKENTHWAITE: Ycconewayt c 1535 Beck 329, Ykhornthwaity 1537 LR, Eccornthwaity, Ycconrwyat 1538f. FC II. O.N. ikorni “squirrel” and pesit.

Parkamoor: Parkamore c 1535 Beck 329, 1539 FC II. The place is in a high situation. The name apparently means “the enclosure on the moor.”

HAWKSHEAD PAR.

A district W. of Lake Windermere. Most of it is fell country, but there are stretches of level ground on Esthwaite Water in the centre, and on Lake Windermere and Coniston Water. Hawkshead, till 1578, was a chapelry under Dalton.

I. Hawkshead and Monk Coniston with Skelwith (the N. part).

Hawkshead (town): Hovkeset 1198-1208 Ch (orig.), Howkeset c 1220 FC, Hawkset, Hoxet 13 cent. FC, Hawkshewed 1336 FC II.; now [hōkse, hōksed]. O.N. Haukr pers. n. and set, sat “shieling.” Hawkshead was originally no doubt a dairy-farm under Coniston. Hawkshead Field: Hawkershed feyld c 1535 Beck.

Hawkshead Hill (h.): Hyll c 1535 Beck 329.

Birkwray (in a valley): Byrkwray 1600 RS XII.; now [běk rě]. O.N. birki “birches” and (v)rá “corner,” etc.

Esthwaite: Estwyth 1539 FC II., Esthwaite 1670 RW 243; now [estwet]. The first el. may be the adj. east or O.N. eski “ash-trees.” Earlier forms are wanted; the form Estwyat of 1326 given by Wyld refers to a place in Notts. Esthwaite Water is called Estwater 1537 Beck lxv, the Mere of Hawkshead Estwater 1539 FC II. This may seem to point to the adj. east as the first el. of Esthwaite, but Estwater might be a contraction of Esthwaite Water.


Hannakin: Anykinsyke 1659, 1683, Han(n)ikin sicke 1678f. Hawkshead R. Perhaps the pers. n. Hankin (or a diminutive of Ann) mistaken (in combinations like those above) for a place-name.
Monk Coniston (a district N.E. of Coniston Water, adjoining Church Coniston): Monkke Coneston 1568 DL. The district belonged to the monks of Furness.

Brantwood: ? Brentwood 1356 FC. The place is on a steep slope. The first el. may be M.E. brant, brant “steep.” But brent “burnt” is possible.

Skelwith: Selwitha 1246 LAR, de Skelwith 1352 LS, Skelwith 1537 LR; now [skelip]. The original Skelwith was no doubt where the present Skelwith Bridge over the Brathay is, an excellent place for a ford. The second el. of the name is O.N. vaf “ford.” The first might be O.N. skigil “hut.” But I believe it is an old name of Skelwith Force, a waterfall just above the bridge. O.N. skiallr means “loud, resounding.” From it Norw. river-names seem to have been formed. Magnus Olsen, NG XI. 557, thinks the name Skjeldalen contains a river-name Skjöfl “the loud one.” A waterfall might well have been called Skiallr. I believe Skel- goes back to such a name. The roar of the waterfall is heard from a considerable distance; it must have been a valuable help to wayfarers in locating the ford.

 Arnside: Ernesyde 1537 FC II., Arnesyd c 1535 Beck 329, Arneside 1577 Saxton. High Arnside is on the slope of a hill (1,056ft.). The elements of the name are no doubt an O.N. pers. n. (e.g., Armis) and set, sat “shieling.”

2. Claife (on Lake Windermere): de Clayf 1272-80 LPD II. 193, de Clayfe 1316 LI, Clayf 1336 FC II., 1400 FC; now [klef]. O.N. kleif “steep hill-side up which there is a path.” The name no doubt refers to Claife Heights, which reach over 800ft.

Colthouse (h.): Colthowse c 1535 Beck 329, Coutehouse 1596 RW 243; now [kulthaus]. Self-explaining.

Lonethwaite (h.): Lonethwayt 1537 LR, -c 1539 FC II., Lounthwaite 1613 RW 45; now [lo:ntet]. Perhaps identical with Lownthwaite in Cumb., whose first el. may be dial. loun from O.N. logn “calm” (Lindkvist 117). Or the first el. may be lone, a sideform of lane.


Tock How (on the slope of Latterbarrow): Tockowe 1597 RW 45. The first el. may be O.N. Tóki or O.E. Tocca pers. n.

Wray, High Wray: Wraye c 1535 Beck 329, 1537 LR; the Heywray 1619 RW 23; now [re’, hai re’]. Cf. Lowrey 1656 Hawkshead R. O.N. (v)rá “corner,” etc. The places are in a remote situation near the brook that empties Blelham Tarn.

3. Satterthwaite (the S. part; h.): Saterthwayt 1336 FC II., Saterthwayte, -thwayte 1539 FC II.; now [sattet]. First el. as in Satterhow.

Consey, High and Low: Concey myll 1537 Beck lxv, Consay 1593, Consey nabb 1649 Hawkshead R. The places are on low ground near Lake Windermere, Low Consey on Consey beck. The most probable etymology is O.N. Kunungsá,
the name being originally that of the beck. But the second el. may be O.N. ey “island,” here “water-meadow” or the like. Cf. Coniston, p. 215.

**Force Forge, Force Mill** (on Rusland Pool): *Forse Forge* 1668 RW 103, *Force Mlyn* 1537 DL. Dial. *force* “waterfall” from O.N. *fors*. The part of Rusland Pool where the places are is called Force Beck, and *Fosse* is the name of Rusland Pool in Saxton's map of 1577 and in Harr. 1577.

**Graythwaite**: *Graythwayt* 1336 FC II., 1537 LR. Lindkvist p. 109 suggests as first el. O.N. *grár* or O.E. *grāg* “gray.” But it is remarkable that *Graythwaite* is found in Bolton-le-Sands. “The grey thwaite” does not seem a very plausible name. Perhaps the first el. is rather a pers. n., derived from the adj. *grár*. O.Swed. and O.Dan. *Grā* seem to occur, and O.N. *grái* is well evidenced as a by-name; cf. Finnur Jonsson, Aarb. 1907, p. 259. Or we might think of O.N. *greiðr* “ready, free” as the first el. of *Graythwaite*. This adj. is used as an epithet to *leid* “road.”

**Grizedale** (on Grizedale Beck; h.): *Grysdale* 1336 FC II., 1537 LR. The first el. is O.N. *gríss* “pig,” less probably *Gríss* pers. n.

**KIRKBY IRELETH PAR.**

This large parish occupies the N.W. part of the Furness district, being bounded on the W. and N. by the Duddon, on the E. by a chain of high hills. Most of it is fell country, but there is some level land in the S. part on the rivers Duddon, Lickle, and Steers Pool.

1. **Kirkby Ireleth** (the S.E. part): *Kirkebi* 1191-8 FC, *Kirchabi* 1175-1200 LPD II. 178, *Kirkeby* 1227 LF, 1292 FC, *Kirkebi* Irlid 1180-99 Ch (orig.), *Kirkeby Ireleth* 1278 LAR, *Kirkeby Irlid* 1332 LS; now [ka'bi]. O.N. *Kirkiubýr* “church village.” The church is at Beckside, which seems to be the original Kirkby. The old name was, of course, Kirkby, *Ireleth*, the name of the adjoining part of Dalton, being added for distinction from Kirkby Lonsdale and others.

*Gerleuuorde* DB has been identified with Kirkby Ireleth. This is purely conjectural. *Gerle-* is identical or cognate with the first el. of *Yarlside*, and represents a form of O.E. *eorl* or O.N. *jarl*. The second el. is O.E. *worp* “enclosure.”

There are five customary divisions, from S. to N.: Low and Middle Quarters, Heathwaite, Woodland, besides Kirkby Moor in the east.

**Ashlack Hall** (Heathwaite): *de Ekseslac* 1270-80 FC II. (orig.), 1284 LAR, *de Esselac* 1325 FC II. (orig.). O.N. *eskí* “ash-trees” and *slakki* “valley.” The place is in a valley.

**Beanthwaite** (Middle Quarter): *Benetwhat* 1582, *Beanethat* 1605 RW 274; now [bi'nepet]. “The clearing where beans are grown.”

**Dove Bank, Dove Ford** (Middle Quarter): *Donefoard* 1636 RW 112; now [duv bank, duv fard]. Dove Ford is not far from Grizebeck, while Dove Bank is on the slope of a hill. *Dove* may be *devo* the name of the bird, but it may also be an old name of the brook that gave name to Grizebeck, identical with Dove in Derby and Staffs. (an *dufan* 951 BCS 890), and Yks., and probably of Brit. origin (Prim. Celt. *dubo-* “black”). The brook has clear water, but a dark bottom.
Grizebeck (Middle Quarter; on a brook; h.): (piscarium de) Grisebek 13 cent. FC; now [graizbek]. First el. O.N. griss “pig,” less likely Griss pers. n.

Haverigg Holme (Woodland): Haverigge 13 cent. FC. The place stands near Steers Pool below a ridge. The elements of the name are O.N. hafri “oats” and hrýggr “ridge.” Holme seems to mean “water-meadow” or the like.

Heathwaite: Heittheuot 1273 PatR (Lindkvist, p. 110). Better material is wanted. The early form seems to point to O.N. hey or O.E. hēg “hay” as the first el.

High Mere Beck (Low Quarter): Merbecke 1615 RW 172. The place stands on a brook which forms the boundary between Kirkby Ireleth and Dalton, and is called Merebek 1252 FC, Merebecke 1422 FC II. The name means “boundary brook” (O.E. gemäre “boundary”).

Raisthwaite (Woodland): Reishtwaeth (l) 1319 Dugdale VI. 556, Raisthwayt 1538 FC II.; now [re:stæt]. First el. O.N. hreysst “cairn.”

Row Ridding (Woodland): Row Ridding 1649 RW 176; now [rau ridn]. “Rough clearing.”

Soutergate (Low Quarter; h.): de Soutergate 1332 LS, Soutergate c 1535 Beck 328; now [sautæ:gt]. O.E. sütëre or O.N. sútæri “bootmaker” and O.N. gata “road.”

Troughton Hall (Woodland): de Troughtona 1422 FC I. 685, Troughton Hall 1599 RW 195. O.E. trog “trough,” later also “valley,” and tūn. Troughton Hall is in the valley of Steers Pool. If Troughton is a name of old standing in the district, it is of considerable interest, names in -tūn being rare in this part of Furness. Bartholomew gives no other Troughton.

Woodland: Kirkby wodelands 1544 DL, Woodland chap. 1577 Saxton.

2. Angerton Moss (between Kirkby or Steers Pool and the Duddon; extraparochial): Angertoona c 1300, (pastura de) Angertonaco 1293, (Mussa) Angertonaco, (mariscum de) Angertoona c 1300 FC, (marsh of) Angerton 1299 LI, Angertonmosses 1336 FC II.; now [anjætn]. The township occupies a small area of flat mossland, only partially reclaimed.

The name Angerton is curious. Names in -tūn usually denote old villages or homesteads, but the Angerton district must in early times have been practically uninhabitable and used only to some small extent for pasture. One explanation may be that Angerton once belonged to and took its name from some place in the neighbourhood called Angerton. No such place is known to have existed; also Angerton is used alone of the district. The present Angerton farm in Broughton, situated at a slight elevation reaching over 50 ft. above sea-level just outside the boundary of Angerton Moss, is hardly an old settlement. I am inclined to believe that there was once a village or homestead in the district, which disappeared at an early period, being destroyed by the inroad of the sea or, more probably, by a flood of Steers Pool or the Duddon. Such a catastrophe is not without parallels in the history of Lancashire. Cf. Cheetham’s Lancashire p. 8f., Bird’s Lancashire Stories II. 360ff.

Angerton Moss is situated on the estuary of the Duddon, that is, on a deep bay. It is therefore possible that Anger- is O.N. angr “bay.” The O.N. word is common in place-names, but is not in living use in historic time. However, the name Angry Head in the Shetland Islands (Jakobsen, Aarøger 1901, p. 74)
seems to show that it was still used in the Viking Age. Another possibility is 
that Anger- is the el. anger found in Angram, Bl., etc., and which seems to be a 
lost O.E. anger “pasture,” etc., identical with G. anger “meadow,” etc. As the 
name seems to be very old, the second alternative is perhaps preferable.


Whelpshede Crag (a rock S. of Angerton farm): (rupem de) Quelpesatecrag c 1300 
FC. Whelpshede appears as Welpesat 1235 LF. The place must have been a 
sheiling in the moss. The second el. of the name is set, sat “a sheiling, a pasture.” 
The first is identical with that of Whelpside (on the Mint, Wml.), and of Whelp-
seite- in Quelpesatehouses 1280, Whelpesattehowe 1285 IPM (Yks.), which have no 
doubt the same second el. as Whelpshede. Cf. also Whelpo in Cumb. (Quesphow 
1285, Whelphou 1336; Sedgefield). Whelp- seems to be O.N. Hvelp (also 
Hvelpi NG IV. 190) pers. n., originally a nickname (hvelpr “a whelp”). It is 
remarkable that Whelp is so common in England and particularly that it occurs 
trishe combined with set. Possibly some names contain the name of the animal. 
Also O.E. hvelp, like the corresponding G. word, may have been used as a pers.
name.

3. Broughton1 (between Steers Pool and the Duddon, N. of Angerton Moss; 
town): Brocton 1196, 1235 LF, Broghtona c 1300 FC, Broghton 1378 LF; now 
[bro'tn]. O.E. Brōctūn. A small brook runs through the town. The township 
occupies several ridges and some level land in the river valleys.

Appletreeworth. No early forms found. If this is an old name in -worth, it is 
rather remarkable, as names in -worth are very rare in Furness.

Aulthurside: Oulehurst 1618 RW 206, Aulhirst 1638 RW 167. This is one of 
the two names in -hurt found in the Furness district. The first el. is doubtful.

Baskell (on the slope of a ridge): Bascall 1592 DL, Baskell 1609 RW 9. The 
second el. is no doubt O.N. skāli “a hut.” The first is doubtful.

Bleansley, Lower and Upper (on the slope of a ridge W. of the Lickle): Blengeslit 
1292 VHL VIII. 404, Bleansie 1570, 1598 RW 102; now [blin'zli]. First el. 
apparently O.N. Bliŋgr pers. n., second O.N. hlīð or O.E. hlīd “slope.”

Borderiggz: de Bordirigges 1330 LI, Bordiriggs 1587 RW 10, Bordridge 1597 
RW 12; now [bordirig, bo'drigz]. The place stands E. of Broughton between 
two ridges. The first el. of the name seems to be O.E. bord “board; shield,” 
perhaps referring to the flat upper surface of the ridges.

Braclet (near the top of a ridge): Bracelet 1614 RW 7, Breuslot 1660, Braslet 
1663 Torver R.; now [bre'slot]. The second el. is probably dial. sleet “a flat 
meadow, a level moor” (<O.N. sletta). The first might be O.N. breiðr “broad.”

Hawthwaite (on the top of a ridge reaching 300ft.): Hawthwayt 1509-47 DL; 
now [o'pat]. First el. O.N. havr “hill.”

Rosthwaite (h.): Rosthwait, -bank 13 cent. FC. Cf. the same name p. 197.

4. Dunnerdale with Seathwaite (a district E. and S. of the Duddon, chiefly fell 
country).

1 Borch in DB is held by the editor of VHL to be a corrupt form of Broughton. This 
may be correct. But probably Borch represents O.E. Burh or O.N. Borg. This might, of course, 
have been an earlier name of Broughton. But in my opinion Borch refers to the same place 
as Borgerha 1196 LF. This latter is to be sought a good way N. of Broughton. Mr. Colling-
wood is no doubt right in locating Borgerha at Castle How on the W. bank of the Duddon. 
Borgerha may be O.N. Borgar-d or a combination of O.N. borg and eryh “a sheiling.”
Dunnerdale (the S. part): *de Dunerdale* 1293 LI, *Dunerdale, Donerdale* 1300 LF, *Donesdale* a 1412 FC, *Dunerdaill* c 1550 RW 221. Dunnerdale does not now denote the Duddon valley but the district E. of the river. I believe the name meant originally “the Duddon valley,” and has as first el. a Scand. gen. form of the name *Duddon*. This name occurs in an early source as *Duthen*, which I take to be a Scandinavianized form. The Scand. form may have been *Duôn*, gen. *Duônar*. This latter became *Dunner-* in the same way as *Wathenpol* (1291) became *Wampole* (1362), now Wampool in Cumb. Cf. also *Tanshelf* (thus 1257) from O.E. *Taddenesscylfe* (Goodall). In favour of this suggestion it may be pointed out that names in *dale* very often have a river name as first el.; cf. Lonsdale, Roeburndale, Wyresdale in Lancashire. The form *Dunnersdale* 1522 DL is too late to be adduced against the suggestion offered.

Scrithwaite: *Skraithwaite* 1615 RW 221, *Scrythwaite* 1786 Yates; now [skrai]*pat*. The first el. is no doubt O.N. *skråta* “a landslip on a hillside, a black streak on a mountain-side from old slips,” the source of dial. Engl. *scree* “the débris or shale which collects on a steep mountain-side,” etc. (EDD). Scrithwaite stands on a slope.

Sella: *Sellaye* 1584 RW 223, *Sellowe* 1624 RW 59. The place stands at a round hill on the bank of the Duddon. The elements may be O.N. *sel* “hut on a sheltering,” and *haugr* “hill.”

Stonestar: *Stonescarre* 1584 RW 221, *Stonester* 1786 Yates; now [sto'n st'er]. The place stands on the Duddon at the foot of a steep, rocky hill. The second el. of the name is O.N. *sker*, whence Engl. dial. *scar* “a precipice; a cliff; a steep, bare bank.”

Seathwaite (the N. part): *Seathwhat 1592 RW 47, Seathwhat* 1598 RW 88, *Seathut* Waugh. “The clearing by the lake” (O.N. *sér* and *fveit*). The place was named from Seathwaite Tarn, which is high up among the fells (1,210ft. above sea-level). There is not now any farm at the tarn.

Troutal (on the Duddon): *Trutehil* 1157-63 Ch (orig.). In the early example the name designates a pool in the Duddon: “de sicut aqua descendit de Wraineshals in Trutehil et inde per Dudenam vsque mare.” The second el. is O.N. *hylr* “a pool,” the first apparently being O.E. *trûht* “a trout.” But, of course, the first el. might be the pers. n. *Trute* (apparently of Goidelic origin) found in Troutbeck, Cumb.; cf. Sedgefield.
SUMMARY OF RESULTS

In this chapter an attempt will be made to draw some conclusions from place-names as regards early Lancashire, especially its history.

I. BRITONS IN LANCASHIRE

There is one direct testimony to the survival of a British population in Lancashire after the Anglian immigration. According to Hist. St. Cuthbert (Sim. Durh., Surtees Soc. LI 141) Ecgrith, King of Northumbria (670-685), gave Cartmel “et omnes Britannos cum eo” to St. Cuthbert. There is no definite reason to doubt the substantial correctness of this statement. If it is correct, it tells us that in the Cartmel district a British population lived on, in a subject position, after the Anglian invasion.

In the same direction point place-names containing an English or a Scandinavian word for “Briton.” Here belongs first of all the name Walton from O.E. Wala-tun, no doubt “the tun of the Britons.” There are four Waltons in Lancashire: Walton-on-the-Hill (De), Walton-le-Dale (Bl), Ulnes Walton (Le), and Walton near Cartmel. To these may be added Waltoncote, near Dalton-in-Furness. These names, of course, do not prove that a British element was recognized long after the invasion.

Of greater importance are names containing Scand. Bretar. These names are few. A certain case is Birkby, near Cartmel. Here probably belong Brettargh (Woolton, De) and Bretterorum (Bolton-le-Sands). At least the first two cannot well be older than the tenth century.1

It is interesting to note that Birkby and Walton, near Cartmel, are situated fairly high and at some distance from the broad Eea valley. The names seem to tell us that the Britons had to give up the best land and settle in more remote parts.

The Britons who gave name to the Waltons and Birkby may be supposed to have been landholders and freemen. Their status may have been that of the Wealas mentioned in Ine’s laws, whose wergeld was half that of the freeborn Englishman.

It should be added that names such as Walton, Birkby do not testify to a considerable British element. They rather suggest that British villages and homesteads were exceptions.

Better information than by direct testimonies is offered by place-names. The British element in Lancashire place-names, though not very considerable, is by no means negligible.

River-names in Lancashire, as in other parts of England, are, to a great extent, British. No safe conclusions can be drawn from such as to the survival for any

1 An interesting name is Brettestret, found in WhC p. 318, as the name of the Roman road that runs past Downham; cf. Brettestreit 13 cent. VHL vi. 365 (in Clitheroe), referring to the same road. The identical name is found in Westmorland: Bretrett, Brothstrette, -strede 1220-47 (15 cent. copy) CWNS x. 436ff., the name of a road near Martindale. A Roman road, now called High Street, runs close to Martindale Common. Apparently Roman roads were in some places held to be of British origin. In fact, Geoffrey of Monmouth, says the British roads were first made by King Belinus (Windisch, Das keltische Britannien, p. 163). The first element of these names is O.E. Brettas “Britons.”
length of time of a British element. The same remark applies to names of places which had acquired some importance already in pre-English time, as Manchester or to that of a prominent hill such as Pendle. Of most value are such names as seem to have denoted ordinary British settlements, hamlets or homesteads. Yet also names of insignificant streams may be used as evidence.

The British (or probably British) names\(^1\) are not evenly distributed. To some extent groups of such names may be pointed out.

In the south-east, in the hilly district east and north-east of Manchester, we find Alt, Chadderton, Hanging Chadder, Glodwick, Wemeth, also the stream-names Beal, Irk, Tame. These names seem to suggest a British population driven up among the hills.

Another cluster of British names is found north-west of Manchester, in the Eccles and Manchester districts: Cheetham (Cheetwood), Eccles, Pendleton (Pendlebury), perhaps Worsley. Further north are Croichlow, Chatterton.

In Blackburn hundred British names are few and scattered. Certain examples are Colne (an old stream-name), Eccleshill, Ightenhill, Mellor (an old hill-name). Rossendale very likely contains an old British stream-name. Alkincoats, Dinckley, Winkley are etymologically obscure.

In West Derby hundred a comparatively large group of British names is found in the old Newton hundred, south of Wigan. The old name of the district, Makerfield, seems to contain a British word. Here belong: Culcheth, Haydock, Kenyon, possibly Brynn (Winwick par.), Ince, Pemberton, Wigan (Wigan par.). To these may be added the now lost Roskit 1199-1222 CC 695, Rosket 1531 VHL iv. 119 (Aspull, Wigan). In the CC passage Roskit is used of a brook, but it was no doubt originally the name of a locality, as it is in the example of 1531. The name may be identified with le Rongoct in Brittany (Rosquoc nemus 1270 Loth 229), a compound of ros “hill overgrown with heather, etc.,” and koat “wood” (cf. Cheetham p. 33). Near this district, though in Leigh par., is Chaddock, and Eccleston and Penketh (Prescot par.) are not far off. Glazebrook and Sankey are streams in this district.

The rather considerable number of British names in the eastern part of West Derby hundred seems to tell us that in this district a British population was left in undisturbed possession for a comparatively long time. As the district is not separated by natural boundaries from the surrounding ones, the inference is plausible that it was in the old days chiefly an inaccessible forest district. At the time of the Domesday survey Newton hundred was still largely forest (VHL i. 257).

In the rest of West Derby hundred there are only two or three British names: Ince Blundell (Sefton), Haskayne and ? Maghull (both in Halsall).

Only a few examples occur in Leyland hundred: Charnock, Eccleston, Heskin, Penwortham. It is worthy of notice that Charnock, Heskin, and Pen-

\(^1\) As British names are reckoned also such as contain British elements. I do not here take into consideration elements of possibly British origin found in living use in M.E. and Mn.E. dialects, such as crag (cf. p. 9) or cumb, or British pers. names in common use in O.E. time, as Cædmon, Ceadweall.
wortham are near each other, and that Cokerdene and Wymott Brook are streams not far west of Eccleston.

Amounderness hundred yields a better harvest. Here we find the interesting name Treales. Near this place are Eccleston, Preese, Freesall, also Inskip and Tulketh; Savick Brook runs near Tulketh. These names seem to imply that a British population lived on in the interior of the Fylde and was merged gradually in the Anglian population.

No certainly British names have been found in Lonsdale proper. Also streams have English or Scandinavian names; British are only names of rivers, as Lune, Cocker, Conder, Keer, Kent.

In Lonsdale North of the Sands, especially the Cartmel part, we might expect to find a considerable number of British names. In Cartmel, however, the only examples are the two Carks and Blenket. In Furness we only find (besides river-names such as Crake, Leven, Roose) the stream-name Dulas,\(^1\) perhaps Croghanhurst, and the now lost Glanscalan (Glensalan) 1170-84 Ch, the name of a valley. Glan may be identical with Welsh glyn "valley" (for a instead of y cf. Canon for Welsh Cynon in Survey of Denbigh 1334). The second element may be compared with that of Welsh Bodscallan: Bodscathlan Rec. Carn.; it may be Welsh ysgallen "thistle." But the name may also be Goidelic. Cf. Mr. glend "valley" and scáldan "a hut" (Marstrander, p. 34f.).

It is quite possible some names of Furness hills or hill-tops found only in modern sources may date back to British times, such as Dow Craggs (cf. Welsh dus "black"), or Carrs (cf. Collingwood, Book of Coniston, p. 23), which might be O.E. carr "rock," derived by Förster, p. 126, from a British source. But so long as no early forms are on record no conclusions can be based on such names.

However, a Welsh immigration into Lancashire\(^2\) is known to have taken place in early post-Conquest times, and the possibility must be discussed whether any of the British names in Lancashire may have been introduced as a consequence of it. To Robert Banastre, who had received, about 1165, a grant of lands in Blackburn (Walton, Mellor, Eccleshill, Darwen, etc.), was granted by Henry II. Prestatyn in Flintshire. From this he was driven out by Owen Gwynedd in 1167, and he then brought his people into Lancashire, where he obtained a grant of land in Makerfield. The Welsh are called Banastre's Welshmen or le Westroys (as late as 1278, VHL i. 369). In Lancashire documents from about 1200 Welsh

\(^{1}\) Duleshope (hoppe) ? 930 YCh I, the name of a stream in or on the boundary of Amounderness, may contain the same stream-name. But the stream fell into the Hodder, and must have risen not very far from the source of the Cocker. Perhaps it is the present Langden Brook, which runs a little S. of the boundary between Lancashire and Yorkshire, and falls into the Hodder not far from Dunsop Bridge. Possibly Dunsop is identical with Duleshope. If so, Dules- may be miswritten for Dunes-. Cf. also YCh I, p. 4.

\(^{2}\) It may not be out of place to point out here that there seems to have been a not considerable emigration from Lancashire into Wales in the Middle Ages. In the Survey of Denbigh 1334 the number of people with surnames taken from Lancashire places is quite remarkable. From the Index I enumerate e.g. Bullyng', Blakeburne, Cliderowe, Dedesbury, Dukworth, Grenolf', Hodeshale, Latham, Plesyton', Rachedale, Radeclive, Reded, Ribchester, Rommesbothem, Romworth, Rossindale, Scheresworth', Stalemyyne, Symounduston', Twyseleton', Whalley. Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, one of the chief tenants in Lancashire, was granted in 1282 or 1283 the lordship of Denbigh (Introd. to Survey, p. xi.). This accounts for the emigration in question.
personal names are frequently found, obviously borne by these Welsh. Later they disappear. The Welsh names are chiefly found in documents referring to south Lancashire, but they are not restricted to Newton hundred.

In my opinion it is extremely doubtful if any of the British names dealt with can have been introduced by Banastre's Welshmen. These names mostly denote old manors, and it is improbable that such (e.g., Wigan, Kenyon) should have been renamed owing to late Welsh influence, for these Welsh cannot after all have been so very numerous. Some names, e.g., Ince Blundell, Eccles, Haydock, have been found too early, while others are shown by their forms (e.g., Chaddock, Culcheth, Penketh, Eccleston) to be early loans. It is quite conceivable that these Welsh may have left behind some place-names, but I cannot point out any plausible example.

II. ANGLIANS IN LANCASHIRE

1. Mercians or Northumbrians in Lancashire

While it seems to be generally held by scholars that Lancashire north of the Ribble was annexed early to Northumbria and received a Northumbrian population, there is not the same consensus of opinion as regards the nationality of the Anglians in the land between the Ribble and the Mersey. Some scholars hold that the Ribble of old has formed the boundary between Northumbrians and Mercians. On the other hand Professor Tait, VHL ii. pp. 2, 175ff., is inclined to think that this district was Northumbrian down to 923, when it was annexed to Mercia by Æthelstan, and had till then a Northumbrian population and dialect. The place-name material throws some light on this question.

1 Some of the Welsh names found in early Lancashire sources may be worth pointing out. Most of those here given were no doubt introduced by Banastre's Welshmen. Some of the names are very corrupt and difficult to explain.


3 Cf., however, p. 232 infra.
The place-names reveal some important dialectal differences between South and North Lancashire, which reach far back. As usual in the case of dialectal differences, a perfectly neat boundary line cannot always be drawn, as there is some overlapping in the border districts. Some dialect characteristics of South Lancashire are occasionally met with in Amounderness. On the part of Blackburn north of the Ribble see p. 232. Some dialect characteristics, as the change $\bar{a} \rightarrow \delta$, or $a \rightarrow o$ before $l$, are too late to be taken into consideration.

(a) The $i$-mutation of $a$ before $l + a$ consonant is usually $a$ south of the Ribble (p. 21). This is the regular West Midland development. The Northumbrian development is $e$, and this is usually found north of the Ribble. For a few isolated exceptions, cf. p. 21. This distinction must have developed in O.E. (and probably not late O.E.) time.

(b) O.E. $e$ before $a$ (ea) is regularly palatalized in the West Midlands, but remains as $k$ in southern Northumbria (Yks., etc.). In Lancashire south of the Ribble palatalization has taken place: Manchester, Chadderton, Chadwick, Chatburn, Chat Moss, etc. The same development is found in Blackburn north of the Ribble; Ribchester; Chaigley, Chadsell. In the rest of Lancashire north of the Ribble we find $k$: Lancaster, perhaps Cadley; cf. Cadieve-hustude (Tarnacre) 1200-17 CC 248, Cadmanwelle 1451 CC, fontem Cademair (!) c 1200 CC (Bolton-le-Sands). The development south of the Ribble is typically Mercian.

Here we may also mention the peculiar palatalized form of O.E. *ecer* found in Cliviger and in Goldacher (Garston) WhC 572. This form has been found outside Lancashire only in Alsager, Ches. The similar palatalized form of *acorn* (atchern, etc.) has been evidenced in Lanc., Ches., Shrops., and Staffs. dialects, while in M.E. times it seems to occur also in a Norfolk source (Anglia-Beiblatt xxxii. 156ff.).

(c) O.E. $a$ before nasals frequently appears as $o$, which, however, as a rule becomes $a$ later on, except in the West Midland dialects, where $o$ is often found to this day (Morsbach, Me. Gr., p. 120ff., Luick, Hist. Gr. § 367). This is not quite a safe criterion, because in O.E. $o$ was common in all dialects, also in Northumbrian. The common northern *lane* for *lane* seems due to this change. However, as in M.E. and Mn.E. time $o$ is chiefly found in the West Midlands, its frequent occurrence in early forms of South Lancashire place-names points to the South Lancashire dialects having been West Midland ones. Examples of $o$ are found in early forms of Ramsbottom Sa, Cronkshaw, Ramsgreave Bl, Cranshaw De; cf. Cronkeford (Brettargh) WhC 806. For the dialects north of the Ribble the material is scanty. It is significant, however, that the following names never show any $o$-forms: Hambleton (Am.), Cant, Cantsfield, Rampside (Lo). Cronemosse (Lancaster) Li II. 172, however, forms an exception. Crones-keshaiobroc 1211-40 CC 227 (Dilworth) is in Blackburn north of the Ribble.

The conclusion seems warranted that the dialects of South Lancashire bear a West Midland stamp, and that some dialect characteristics go back to O.E. time.

It is difficult, in the present state of English place-name study, to establish

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1 This may very well be due to this district having been partly repopulated, after the Conquest, from South Lancashire. At the time of the Domesday survey only 16 of its 62 vills were inhabited; the rest were waste. Cf. Collingwood, Scandinavian Britain, p. 179.
any name-types that may be said to be distinctly West Midland or distinctly Northumbrian. No safe conclusions can be drawn from names such as Adlington, Anderton, found in Cheshire and South Lancashire. More important is the fact that the South Lancashire Lostock (found thrice) has a counterpart only in Cheshire, or that O.E. *fwlging*, besides in S. Lancashire, has been exemplified, so far as I know, only in Staffs. and Worcs. (cf. p. 10). These may perhaps be looked upon as Mercian names. Another distinctive name-element is possibly *waver* in Wavertree and Wharton. This element does not seem to occur in the North, while it is well evidenced in the Midlands; cf. p. 112. To the examples adduced there we may add Waverton, Ches. (*Wavetone DB*). Waverton, Cumb., is on the Waver, whose name is found as *Wafyr* 11 cent. RSB 527 (Gospatric’s Ch.); we may compare the O.E. river-name *Wafer* 957 BCS 1001 (Som.). But the etymology of the element is obscure.

Of most importance for our purpose are names containing O.E. *bold*: Newbold Sa, Bold De, Parbold Le. The form *bold* has been found only very rarely in northern counties (Newbald, E. Rid. Yks., Bold, Scotland); it does not occur in N. Lancashire. In the West Midlands it is the regular form: Bold, Shr.; Newbold, Ches., Derby, Notts., Staffs., Leics. (3), Northants., Worcs., Warw. (5); Wychbold, Worcs. The common occurrence of the form in South Lancashire seems to indicate a Mercian colonization.

When once the Old English personal names have been carefully studied,¹ it will probably be possible to make a distinction to some extent between Mercian and Northumbrian names. At present safe conclusions can hardly be drawn from them. There are, however, certain personal names occurring in place-names which may to some extent corroborate the conclusions arrived at.

O.E. *Ceadda* (in Chadwick, Chadsworth Sa, perhaps Chadswell, Chaigley Bl N. of the Ribble) is common in the West Midlands² (e.g., Chaddesley, Worc., Chadsmoor, Staffs., Chaddesden, Derby, Chadkirk, Ches.); cf. also Chadshunt, Warw., Chadwick, Warw., Worcs., with O.E. *Ceadelphia* (? or to some extent *Ceadwalla*) as first element. The only place-name possibly containing this name found in old Northumbrian districts is Cadley, Am. The fairly common occurrence of Ceadda in S. Lancashire is noteworthy.

O.E. *Plesa* (in Pleasington, Pleasley) is rare. *Ploesa* is the name of a Mercian dux (O.E.T. p. 457). The name may be the first element of Pleasley (Notts.), for which I have no early references, and enters into the lost name *Plesincho* (Ess.) DB (cf. also Round, *Commune of London* 12), possibly also into *Plestuna* DB (Norf.).

*Tottle* occurs in two Lancashire names: Todmorden, Tottington Sa. Tottle-

¹ An excellent beginning has been made by Redin. However, he does not deal with the names found in place-names, the material most important for our purpose.

² The popularity of the name Chad in the West Midlands is due to the fame of St. Chad (†672), bishop of Lichfield. St. Chad seems to have been a Northumbrian by birth (Bede iii. 23). If so, the name must have been used in Northumbria, but it does not seem to have been very popular there as it was in Mercia.

Place-names with *Ceadda* (*Ceadelphia*) as first el. are found also in other Midland and in Southern counties. Cf. Gevenich, Die englische palatalisierung p. 63ff., Förster, *Keltisches Wortgut*, p. 180ff. But some examples probably contain the name *Cedd* (as Chedworth, Chediston).
worth seems to contain a derivative of it, and Tetta in Tetlow may be a related name. Tot(t)a, Tetta are at least extremely rare in place-names in the North; Todburn, Nb. and Totele DB (Yks.) are at most doubtful examples. They are fairly common in the Midlands and the South: Tottington, Nrf., Toynton, Linc. (Tottintune DB), Totton, Hants., Tostock, Suff. (Totele DB), Totnor, Heref., Totternho, Beds., Totley, Derby (Totingelei DB), Totham, Ess. (Totetham DB), Tottemham, Midds., etc.; Tettenhall, Staffs., Tetworth, Hunts. Totta is the name of a Mercian in BCS 32, Tota that of a South Saxon O.E.T. p. 168. But Totta is found once in the Liber Vitae (O.E.T. p. 163).

The following names, which I have not found in the North, may also be mentioned. They are all rare. Bred (in Bastwell), found in Warw., Worcs. (cf. p. 74), also in Badsay, Heref. (Bannister). Bell (in Borsden), found in Cambr. and Som. (cf. p. 43). Duc (in Duxbury), found in Cambr. (cf. p. 129), perhaps also in Duckington, Ches. Goldgifu (in Goldshaw Booth), found in Worcs. (cf. p. 80). Gydda (in Gidlow), found in Devon and Berks., also no doubt in Gidding, Hunts., Gedding, Suff.

But there are, south of the Ribble, certain names which point rather to colonization from the North (Yorkshire).

(a) There is one certain name in -ing (Melling), and Billinge may be another. Names in -ing (O.E. -inges) do not occur in the majority of West Midland counties: Derby, Cheshire, Hereford, Stafford, Shropshire; Dinting, in Derby, is probably not a case in point. There are isolated examples only in Notts. (Gedling, Hickling, Meering) and Leicester (Peatling). The occurrence of Melling (and Billinge) in South Lancashire is, therefore, in the highest degree remarkable. These names cannot have been given by Mercians. But there are several names in -ing in Yorkshire, and in N. Lancashire we find at least Melling and Staining. The S. Lancashire -ings are thus easily explained if we may assume a Northumbrian colonization. The fact that Melling is found both south and north of the Ribble is of special significance.

(b) O.E. böytl often appears in the North of England as böytl: Bootle, Cumb., bottle Nb. and Durh. (common; cf. Mawer), Fordbottle in Furness. The form böytl does not occur in the West Midlands, but there are three instances of Newbottle in Northants. In S. Lancashire we find Bootle, near Liverpool.

Bolton (a compound of böyt and tun) is an extremely common name in Yks., and occurs in Scotland, Nb., Cumb. (3), Wml., as well as in N. Lancashire (two different). In the Midlands and South the name is absent. It is, therefore, remarkable that there are two Boltons in Salford hundred. These typically northern names seem inexplicable if South Lancashire was colonized only by Mercians.

The conclusion is that the place-nomenclature of South Lancashire shows Mercian as well as Northumbrian characteristics. The Mercian ones are especially certain dialectal peculiarities that must date far back, while the Northumbrian ones consist of certain unmistakable name-types. We must assume that both Mercians and Northumbrians took part in the colonization of the district south of the Ribble.
The land between the Ribble and the Mersey, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A), belonged in 923 to Northumbria, from which it was in that year wrested by King Edward. The statement of the Chronicle is corroborated by one in Chr. E., which tells us that Whalley, in 798, was in Northumberland. It would, therefore, seem easy to explain the Northumbrian names in the district. The dialect and place-names, till the Conquest in 923, might have been Northumbrian, the Mercian characteristics being due to later Mercian influence. I cannot accept this conclusion. We must assume that by 923 the greater part of Lancashire was inhabited by an English population, and it is very difficult to believe that after 923 a very considerable immigration of Mercians and a recolonization of the district south of the Ribble took place. This would be a necessary assumption, if we are to explain the Mercian character of the early dialect, unless the district was already inhabited by a Mercian population at the time of the Conquest. Such forms as Chatburn, Ribchester (found in the northernmost part of the district), cannot be due simply to influence exercised on the dialects of the newly-conquered district by those of Mercia. My own opinion is that the land between the Ribble and the Mersey had a Mercian population before 923. The history of the district, I think, is about as follows:

It is known that in 613 or 616 (cf. Plummer’s Bede ii. p. 77) Æthelfrith, King of Northumbria (593-617), made a raid to Chester and defeated the Britons there.

It is very probable that Lancashire was conquered at this time, or had already been added to Northumbria before. This is the opinion of Oman.¹ According to him the land between the Ribble and the Mersey afterwards (either at Æthelfrith’s death in 617 or at least in 633) returned into British possession and was later colonized from the Trent valley.² I am not sure this is correct. I believe the district was to some extent colonized by Northumbrians, and to this colonization are due such names as Bootle, Bolton, Melling. The last-mentioned name points to early colonization.³ I do not think it can be much later than 600. Had the district returned to the Britons such names would probably have disappeared.

At some time a Mercian colonization must have taken place, and to a great extent superseded the earlier Northumbrian. It seems plausible that this Mercian recolonization of South Lancashire was contemporaneous with that of parts of the West Riding carried out by Penda (626-655). The Mercians invaded Northumbria in 633, and seem to have recolonized parts of the West Riding (cf. Brandl, op. cit. p. 14f.). Brandl draws attention to the important fact that

² There is no definite reason to suppose that the land between the Ribble and the Mersey again became British either after Æthelfrith’s death or as a result of the victory gained by Cadwallon of Gwynedd and Penda over Edwin at Hatfield in 633. After the battle Cadwallon marched on York and later further north; he was defeated and killed by the Northumbrians in the very next year (Oman, p. 277f.). It does not seem probable, anyhow, that Cadwallon himself ever marched into South Lancashire.
³ A study of Engl. place-names in -ing has brought me to the conviction that names in -ing (<O.E. -ingas) belong to a very early stratum. I hope soon to be able to publish my results.
the dialect of the Leeds district\(^1\) in the tenth century seems to have been Mercian. In the early Tribal Hidage, Elmet (in the West Riding) seems to be included among Mercian districts\(^2\) (EHR xxvii, 626, 634).

We do not know if the land between the Ribble and the Mersey was invaded at the same time as the West Riding, but such a hypothesis is in itself plausible, and it would give a very satisfactory explanation of the relation between the Northumbrian and Mercian elements in the Lancashire place-nomenclature.\(^3\) When, in or after 655, the Northumbrians recaptured the West Riding, the land between the Ribble and the Mersey may have again become a Northumbrian dependency, but, if so, its population was then preponderatingly Mercian. Of course, it is not necessary that the district became Northumbrian so soon, but at least in 798 it must have been so.

Brandl, *op. cit.* p. 27, lays stress upon the fact that the land between the Ribble and the Mersey was placed in the diocese of Lichfield, a Mercian diocese, and takes it to prove that the Ribble of old formed the boundary between Mercians and Northumbrians.

The districts north of the Ribble, at least Lonsdale proper and Amounderness, were probably conquered by Northumbrians before the land south of the Ribble, *i.e.*, in the sixth century. The statement concerning Cartmel quoted p. 224, if trustworthy, shows that the Cartmel district was in Northumbrian possession as early as the time of Ecgfrith (670-685). There is every reason to believe that the Lune valley and parts of Amounderness became English some time before. In this connection I want to draw attention to a circumstance which seems to render it extremely probable that at least parts of the present Lancashire were firmly in Northumbrian possession early in the seventh century. Æthelfrith's successor, Eadwine, is known to have conquered Man and Anglesey (Bede, H. E. ii. 9). Such conquests seem to imply that the opposite coast of England was in Northumbrian hands.

Certain place-names suggest very early colonization of the districts in question. On names in *-ing* see p. 231. Some names in Lonsdale contain elements hardly or extremely rarely found as living words in historic times, and not, to my knowledge, evidenced in other Northern English place-names. Cf. Heysham, Hest, Slyne.

That the old dialect of this district was Northumbrian in character has already been pointed out, and also that certain name-types are obviously Northumbrian. I will here only draw attention to the names Elston and Elswick (Am.), which contain the typically Northumbrian form *Ædel-* for *Ædel-*.

A few words must be added on the history of Blackburn hundred north of the Ribble. This district is in Domesday reckoned to Amounderness, but was

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\(^1\) The interlinear gloss to St. Matthew (MS Rushworth), written by Farman, priest of Harewood N.E. of Leeds in the West Riding, is in a Mercian dialect (cf. Luick, *Hist. Gr.* § 24). For traces of Mercian dialect in the place-names of the West Riding see my Contributions to the History of O.E. dialects, p. 63.

\(^2\) Pointed out to me byProf. Tait.

\(^3\) Cf. also Professor Tait, VHL II. 179, who thinks it just possible that some Mercian characteristics of South Lancashire may be older than the annexation in the 10th century. "It is conceivable that the land between Ribble and Mersey was Mercian for a time in the seventh century."
annexed, early in the twelfth century, to Blackburn (VHL vi. 230). The resulting closer relations with Blackburn cannot explain the agreement of the dialect of the annexed district with that of Blackburn, as revealed in place-names. Such forms as Chaigley, Chadswell, cannot have developed in the twelfth century. There must have been intimate relations between the district in question and Blackburn before the Norman Conquest. This is very plausible in view of the contiguity of the districts. I do not think there is any reason to suppose that Blackburn north of the Ribble is old Mercian territory.

Blackburn north of the Ribble to this day is a remote and secluded district. The local dialect, for instance, seems very well preserved in it. The district is separated on the north and north-west from Amounderness by the crescent-shaped ridge of Longridge. It is intersected by a number of streams and deep valleys, which must have made communication in an easterly-westerly direction difficult. The Ribble runs in wide curves, and its valley would not form a satisfactory channel of communication. No Roman road is known to have run north of the Ribble east of Ribchester. That which ran from near Preston into Yorkshire crossed the Ribble at Ribchester and followed the southern bank of the river. But communication across the Ribble with its numerous fords was easy. There is every reason to suppose that the inhabitants of this district would come into closer contact with their neighbours in Blackburn than with their kinsmen in the Fylde. This would account for the Mercian character of their dialect.

The name Ribchester is interesting. We really expect the form -caster, and Ribelcastre DB may, but need not, contain this form. Ribchester would be the form of the name south of the Ribble. It is easy to understand that this form was victorious, as the place came to belong to Blackburn.

2. Early Place-Names and the Distribution of the Anglian Population

A study of place-names may throw some light on the spread of the population in early times. For this purpose, of course, only such names are of value as may be supposed to be old ones. In the case of Lancashire names, extremely few of which have been found in O.E. sources, it is difficult to establish what names belong to the earlier strata of names. However, we may take it for granted that on the whole the early medieaval townships belong to the earliest settlements, and that the names found attached to such represent the earliest name-types of the district. Unfortunately, Domesday gives very unsatisfactory information as regards some hundreds, while it is very full as regards others. However, as a rule, the Domesday manors correspond nearly to the townships of the Subsidy Rolls of 1327 and 1332, and where Domesday fails us we may base our investigations on these. No doubt we must reckon with the possibility that some early fourteenth-century townships have sprung up after the Conquest.

1 It may be added here that the element rod "clearing," which I have otherwise not found N. of the Ribble, occurs in this district: Braderode, Flazerode (Thornley) 1202 LF.
2 During a few days' stay in Ribchester in the summer of 1921, in which I made excursions on foot east and west, I had the experience that this is to some extent true to this day.
3 Occasional slight variations between LS 1327 and 1332 are usually not taken notice of.
SUMMARY

SALFORD HUNDRED

Domesday mentions very few Salford names. We must, therefore, consult the Subsidy Rolls. These give 42 names of townships, to which should be added Newton, the rectory manor of Manchester. Of these 43 names four are Scandinavian or contain Scandinavian elements (Flix-, Tur-, Urmston, Oldham), and Castleton is clearly late, having a French first element. Of the remaining 38 names exactly half (19) have as second element tun: Ashton; Chorl-, Hea-, New-, Withington (Manchester); Bar-, Clif-, Pendleton (Eccles); Hea-, Hul-, Westhoughton (Dean); Bol-, Rivington (Bolton); Chadder-, Crompt-, Pilking-, Royton (Prestwich); Middleton; Tottington (Bury). Clearly the chief type of names of townships is in this district the name in -tun.

Of the other names a considerable percentage have as second element, or consist of, a designation for a village or homestead or the like, or (in a few cases) a word meaning a “clearing” or the like. We find burh in Bury, Pendlebury, ceaster in Manchester, ham in Cheetham, stoc in Lostock, vic in Prestwich, worp in Edgeworth (Bolton), Butterworth, Hundersfield (Rochdale), Rumworth (Dean); further land in Spotland, rod in Blackrod. Only a few contain a word denoting a topographical feature: leah (Worsley), clif (Radcliffe), ford (Sal-, Stretford), weila (Halliwell), wudu (Harwood); there is also Reddish (O.E. dce). No doubt some of these are comparatively late. The old manor of Rochdale (in the earliest sources Recedham, etc.) has been replaced by Castleton, Butterworth, Hundersfield, Spotland, which are no doubt later settlements than Rochdale.

A look at the map shows that the places which gave names to townships are as a rule situated in the comparatively level country on the N. bank of the Mersey, or in or near the valleys of its chief tributaries, especially the Irwell. Exceptions are (at least partly) to be explained by special circumstances. The fertile and easily accessible river valleys would no doubt be first taken possession of. But the Roman roads were an extremely important means of communication, and the invaders would to some extent follow them. It is significant that we find Pendleton, Hulton, Westhoughton on the line of the Roman road from Manchester to Wigan. Chadderton, Crompton, and Royton, which are in a somewhat higher situation than the old Salford townships generally, are near the Roman road which led from Manchester through Oldham into Yorkshire. Edgeworth is in a similar situation, but stands on the Roman road running from Manchester over (or near) Broughton, Prestwich, Radcliffe, Blackburn, to Ribchester. Tottington is nearer this road than the Irwell. Rivington is in a very remote situation, but it is on the upper Yarrow, and was very likely connected originally with the Leyland settlements. It is near Adlington in Leyland. It should also be noticed that on the border of Rivington (in Heath Charnock) is a place called Street, which renders it likely that there was once a Roman road in the district.

As the tunn form such a large percentage of old township names it is a reasonable supposition that other names in tun are also comparatively old names. The places with names in tun are all in the southern level district or in the river
valleys. Most of these have later risen to townships. Most are in Manchester or Eccles parishes. They are: Taunton (Ashton); Brough-, Chorl-, Clay-, Den-, Gor-, Haugh-, Moston (Manchester); Bol-, Dumpling-, Little Hough-, Mon-, Swin-, Winton (Eccles); Wharton (Dean); Alkring-, Foxden-, Heaton (Prestwich); Chatter-, Elton, Edenfield (Bury); Balderstone (Rochdale). The number of tūns in this district is really remarkable.

The elements burh, hām, wīc likewise occur in some other than old township names: Didsbury (near Manchester); Irlam, Thornham; Ard-, Bes-, Gothers-, Whittlewick (all four near Manchester), Chadwick (near Rochdale). All are in the level southern district or in or near river valleys. Some at least of these are probably old settlements.

The element wərp we found in four names of early townships. But, as pointed out, it seems doubtful if all really belong to a very early stratum (cf. also p. 20f.). Very likely the worths are fairly old settlements, but hardly as a rule so old as the tūns and hāms, etc.

I am inclined to believe that the tūns, hāms, burhs, and wīces mark fairly accurately the earliest district colonized by the Anglians, which, of course, does not mean that all these names date from the seventh century. If so, the northern boundary of the district would be indicated by such names as Tottington, Chatterton, Edenfield (N. of Bury), Rochdale (earlier Recedham). In the district south of this line names of old types are fairly evenly distributed, except in parts rendered uninviting by forest, hills, or moss-lands.

BLACKBURN HUNDRED

Blackburn and Whalley parishes are best dealt with separately. For the district north of the Ribble see under Amounderness.

Of the 24 townships into which Blackburn par. is now divided, 19 were recognized in 1327 and 1332; Eccleshill and Dinckley formed townships with Mellor and Wilpshire respectively. Of the 21 names eight end in tūn, two in burh, one in scir (Wilpshire); three (Over and Nether Darwen, Blackburn) are old river names; Mellor is an old British name. There remain: Dinckley (O.E. læah), Cuerdale (prob. O.E. halh), Livesey (prob. O.E. āg “island”), Eccleshill, Great and Little Harwood. Again, names in tūn are numerous. The places with names in tūn and burh are in or near the broad Ribble valley (Walton, Samlesbury, Balderston, Osbaldeston, Clayton-le-Dale, Salesbury, Billington), or the valley of some other important river (Witton and Pleasington in the Darwen valley, Rishton near the broad Calder valley). The earliest settlements, as might have been expected, seem to have been along the Ribble and its tributaries. It may be added that Darwen, Eccleshill, Blackburn are on the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester. There are no names in tūn, burh, etc., except those mentioned.

Whalley par. now consists of 47 townships, many of which are of recent origin and correspond to old vaccaries. In 1327 and 1332 only 27 were recognized. As Henthorn and Coldcoates formed a township with Mitton, Extwistle one with Briercliffe, there are 30 names to be dealt with. Of these only six end
in tūn, two in hām, two in cot (Coldcoats, Huncoat), one in aecer (Cliviger). There are, further, Church and Colne (an old river-name). The rest have as second element, or consist of, a topographical term: lēah (Burn-, Mear-, Whalley), burna (Chatburn), clif (Briercliffe), denu (Hasling-, Marsden), dūn (Downham), hēafod (Read), hrycg (Foulridge), stān (Simonstone), twisla (Ex-, Oswaldtwistle), porn (Hen-, Worsthorn), wella (Wiswell). Clitheroe may have a Scandianvan second element.

The difference between Whalley and Blackburn or especially Salford township names is striking. The usual element tūn is here comparatively rare, while names in lēah, burna, denu, etc., preponderate. The difference may very well be due to later colonization of parts of Whalley than of Salford or Blackburn. Further examination shows that Mitton, Pendleton, Twiston, Worston are near the Ribble (and a Roman road), while Clayton-le-Moors, Hapton, Altham, Padiham, are near the lower Calder. Huncoat and Church are in the western part near a tributary of the lower Calder. No tūns or hāms are found on the upper Calder or its tributaries. Names of townships in these remoter parts are such as Cliviger, Worsthorn, Foulridge, etc. There are three tūns, besides old township names: Accrington, Clifton, Moreton. Accrington is near Church, Clifton and Moreton on the Calder. The now lost Hoghton was in Altham.

The conclusion must be that the colonization of Whalley parish began in the Ribble and lower Calder valleys, and from there spread further up the Calder and its tributaries. The place-nomenclature of the latter districts seems to be of a fairly late type.

WEST DERBY HUNDRED

The surface of this hundred shows comparatively little variety. There are no fell districts, but there were formerly mossy or low-lying parts, which were uninhabitable or uninviting. The division into townships has not changed considerably from 1327 (1332) to modern times. We had better follow the older division into three hundreds.

In Warrington hundred the division into townships recognized in 1332 is still kept up with the exception that Poulton was not reckoned as a township, while Glazebrook and Rixton were separate townships and Penketh formed a joint township with Sankey. To the present Widnes corresponded Appleton. Prescot, the rectory manor, is omitted in LS.

Of 26 names 11 end in tūn (Warrington, Rixton, Woolston, Burton[wood]; Atherton, Pennington; Appleton, Cron-, Eccles-, Dit-, Sutton), one in cot (Prescot), one in bold (Bolld). Of the remaining 13 two are old river-names (Glazebrook, Sankey), one is Celtic (Penketh). There are four names in lēah (West Leigh, Ast-, Tyldesley; Cuerdley), two in ford (Bed-, Rainford), two in hyll (Rainhill, Windle), one in stān (Whiston), while Parr is obscure. The common occurrence of lēah in Leigh is remarkable. The names may indicate that

1 Yet Altham may contain O.E. hamm.

2 This does not imply that names in -burn, -ford, -ley, -wood, etc., are necessarily late. On the contrary, many such names are very old. But the common occurrence of names containing topographical terms like these rather suggests late colonization. Cf. Round, Commune of London, p. 2f.
Leigh was formerly a forest district. Further names in tun are Poulton (Warrington), ? Etherston (Leigh), Den-, Upton, Eltonhead (Prescot). The tunns are chiefly in the southern part.

The townships of Newton hundred recognized in 1327 and 1332 are on the whole the same as the present ones. Yet Kenyon is given with Lowton, and Winstanley is coupled with Billinge. To Houghton, Middleton, and Arbury corresponds, in 1327, Middleton-cum-Houghton; in 1332, Middleton-cum-Arbury. Of the present Wigan townships Dalton and Upholland are in Domest day reckoned to West Derby proper.

Of the 24 names of townships five seem to be pre-English, while one is Scandinavian (Hulme). Of the remaining 18 there are six ending in tun (Ash-, Hough-, Low-, Middle-, Newton; Pemberton), one in burh (Arbury1), one in ham (Abram), one in wic (Winwick), one in worp (Southworth). There are, further, Croft, Haigh, and the old river-name Golborne. Billinge may be a hill-name or an O.E. name in -ingsas. We further find leah in Hind-, Winstanley, hyl in Aspull, Orrell.

All the tunns are old township names. The only Wigan tun (Pemberton) is near the Douglas. It may be added that in Wigan par. are two old township names in hyl and two in leah, while in Winwick are five tunns and no hyls or leahs. But the material is too scanty for any definite conclusions to be drawn.

West Derby hundred proper is more difficult to judge of, because here Scandinavian names begin to crop up. Even several names of old townships are Scandinavian. The names discussed infra are those found in the Subsidy Rolls of 1327 and 1332 and in Domesday. The differences between DB manors and LS townships are not very considerable. In DB are missing Garston, Hale; Everton; Aintree; Ormskirk, Bickerstaffe, Burscough, Scarisbrick; Crossens. On the other hand, DB includes the following names not in LS: Wibaldeslei; Smithdown, Toxteth; Uplitherland; Barton; Martin; Argarmeles. It will be seen that many of these (especially those not in DB) are Scandinavian.

The 30 English (or probably English) names are of the usual types. There are 11 names in tun: Dalton (Wigan), Allerton, Woolton (Childwall); Huyton; Walton; ? Everton, Thornton (Sefton), Barton (Halsall), Aughton; Harleton, Martin (Ormskirk). Interesting names of old types are Bootle, Melling. There is one name in acre (Linacre),2 two in land (Down-, Upholland), one in geat (Lydiate). Ince is British, and Speke is somewhat obscure. The rest have as second element, or consist of, a topographical term: halh (Halsall, Maghull; Hale), leah (Wibaldeslei; Knowsley), brōc (Tarbock), dun (Smithdown), pol (Liverpool), stān (Garston), trēo (Wavertree), wēla (Childwall). There are no names in burh,3 ham, wic. The only common name-type is -tun. Further tunns are the now lost Alton (Ormskirk), Netherton (Sefton).

English names are most common in the two southern parishes (Childwall and Huyton) and in Halsall, where English names preponderate, while Scandinavian names are at least equally common in Walton and Sefton, and pre-

1 But Arbury was very probably named from a pre-English fort.
2 But this may quite well be Scandinavian. Cf. Linacradal in Iceland (Landnámabók).
3 Burscough may have as first el. an O.E. place-name Burh.
ponderate in Ormskirk, Formby, North Meols. It is particularly remarkable that Halsall, which is a long narrow strip between Ormskirk and Formby—Altcar—Sefton, is almost purely English in its early place-nomenclature. In explanation it is to be pointed out that the north-western part of West Derby hundred is low-lying, partly mossy, and was probably to a great extent uninhabitable at the time of the Anglian invasion. But Halsall is on higher land, partly on a ridge, partly on the western slope of the rising country west of Ormskirk. This district must have been taken possession of by Anglians early,1 while the districts to the west were not on the whole colonized until after the Scandinavian invasion. But it is not so obvious why the Ormskirk district is chiefly Scandinavian. Part of it was no doubt mossland, while part may have been forest. Also, some old English names may have been supplanted by Scandinavian ones.

Of minor names not very many are English, except in Childwall and Huyton. We may mention: Fazakerley, Newsham, Simonswood, Spellow (Walton); Renacres, Shurlacres, Waddicar (Halsall); Orrell, Ford (Sefton); Aspinwall, Blythe, Gorsuch, Tawdbridge, Westhead, Wirples Moss, Wolmoor (Ormskirk). Of course, many late names are purely English.

LEYLAND HUNDRED

Few Leyland names are in Domesday. The townships now recognized were so in 1332, with the exception that in some cases two modern townships formed a joint township (Standish-cum-Langtree, etc.). Of early names of townships two may be pre-English (cf. p. 225), while five are, or may be, Scandinavian (cf. p. 251). Of the 33 probably English names 14 have names in ātun: Adling-, Ander-, Sheving-, Worthington (Standish), Clay-, Eux-, Hogh-, Wheelton (Leyland), Faring-, Hut-, Longton (Penwortham), Eccles-, Wrightington (Eccleston), Ulnes Walton (Croston). There are two names in ham (Bispham, Penwortham), one in burh (Duxbury), one in bold (Parbold), one in wic (Howick); one in land (Leyland), one in wofr (Roddlesworth); further, Hoole. There are five names in hyll (Coppull, Welch Whittle, Whittle-le-Woods, Withnell; Brindle), one in leah (Chorley; also Mawdesley with a French first element); further, Standish, Heapey, Rufford, Langtree.

All the places alluded to, with the exception of Rufford, are situated east (most a good distance east) of the Douglas. The country west of the Douglas, and a large district east of it, are very low-lying and partly mossy. These parts were probably not to any considerable extent colonized until after the Scandinavian invasion. Rufford stands in a low situation (mostly c 20ft. above sea-level). It is probably a late settlement; the name does not tell against this. Near the Douglas on its eastern side is Mawdesley; the name is obviously late. Hoole (close to the lower Douglas and mostly on low ground, yet over the 25-feet level) would seem to be fairly late, at least to judge by its name.

The old Anglian settlements are those on the slowly rising ground east of the lower Douglas and near the Ribble. In the easternmost part there is hilly

1 It is noteworthy that two possibly Brit. names in West Derby proper are in Halsall.
country; here names in tun are rare (Hoghton, Wheelton). The early English settlements may be said to comprise the present Standish, Chorley, Leyland, Eccleston, and Penwortham parishes, while the old Croston parish (inclusive of Rufford, Tarleton, Hesketh, and probably Hoole parishes) represents later colonization. On Croston cf., however, also p. 251. In Leyland par. are found two more tuns: Ollerton, Burton (Brook).

AMOUNDERNESS HUNDRED

(Inclusive of Blackburn north of the Ribble)

The Domesday manors in Blackburn north of the Ribble are: Aighton, Ribchester, Chipping, Dilworth, Wheatley. LS 1332 further mentions Dutton, Thornley. The tuns are near the Ribble. Names in leah and hurst are common in this district. See material.

In Amounderness proper the place-nomenclature is to a great extent Scandinavian, but names of townships and early manors are preponderatingly English. Not in DB, but in LS 1332, are Als-, Els-, Ribble-, Thistleton, Bilsborrow, Hothersall, Wesham, Brockholes, and some Scandinavian names. Instead of Hardhorn and Newton, DB has the old name Staining. In DB are given Burn, Mythop, Rossall, which are not in LS.

Among 46 (certainly or probably) English names of old manors or townships those in tun predominate. They are 25: Alston (Ribchester), Ash-, Bar-, Brough-, Els-, Haigh-, Pres-, Ribbleton (Preston), Clif-, Eccles-, Freckle-, Hamble-, New-, Plump-, Single-, Thistle-, War-, Weeton (Kirkham), Layton (Bispham), Mar-, New-, Poul-, Thornton (Poulton), Plumpton (St. Michael's), Forton (Cockerham). Other elements are: ham in Whittingham, Kirkham, Bispham; -ing in Staining (Poulton); burh in Bilsborrow (Garstang); wic in Fishwick (Preston), Salwick (Kirkham), Elswick (St. Michael's); hus in Newsham (Preston), Wesham (Kirkham); corn in Hardhorn (Poulton). The rest are Crimbles (Cockerham); Lea (Preston); Catterall (Garstang); Hothersall (Ribchester); Brockholes (Preston); Greenhalgh (O.E. holh), Mythop (Kirkham); Lytham; Burn (Poulton). Rossall is obscure. The normal type of old township names is clearly -tun. The number of names containing other O.E. words for "village" or "homestead" is noteworthy, as is the rare occurrence of leah and the absence of worp.

The English names are not evenly distributed. The vast majority are in the Fylde, the flat country in the west, and on the Ribble. In the eastern portion of Kirkham par., for instance, is only Whittingham, and it is not in a high situation. Near this place is Middleton (not in DB). But even in the western portion there are tracts in which old English names are absent or rare. The south-western part, Lytham par., was formerly to a great extent marsh, and the majority of settlements are here fairly late. North of the lower Wyre the only English names of an old type are Hambleton and Ashton (St. Michael's). The district is low-lying and was apparently only to a small extent inhabitable at the time of the Anglian invasion. Most names of townships in the last-mentioned district are Scandinavian. That is also the case with the townships to the east,
where the ground rises. The old English settlements in Amounderness hundred seem to have been made only or chiefly in the southern half. Scandinavian names are common all over the district. Minor names of English origin are not very numerous except in Preston parish. We may mention Cottam, Ingol (Preston); Cadley, Fulwood, Hyde (Lancaster); Ashley, Beesley, Longley, Comberhalgh; Bradkirk, Compton, Cowburn, Corner Row (Kirkham), Heigham, Rowall, Winmarleigh (Garstang), Cleveley (Cockerham).

**LONSDALE SOUTH OF THE SANDS**

The full Domesday list of manors forms a sufficient basis for an examination of the early name-material.

The most common second element is *tūn*, found in 15 English names: Ash-, Hea-, Hut-, Middle-, New-, Over-, Poulton (Lancaster), Halton; New-, Whittington; Wennington; Bolton; Hut-, Warton; Dalton. There are four names in *hām*: Cocker-, Gressing-, Heys-, Thatham; further, Melling; Borwick; Lancaster; Burrow; Tunstall; Neuhuse; Yealand; Cantfield. Others are: Ellel (O.E. *hāh*); Ald-, Oxcliffe; Carn-, Scotforth; Stapleton Terne, Thurmham; Bare; Hillham; Slyne. The number of *tūns* is striking. Possibly Caton and Farleton should be added. Names in *tūn* not in DB are: Aughton (Halton), Hilderston, Leighton (Warton), Addington (Bolton), Hutton (Melling).

The places enumerated are nearly all in the open country near the sea or in the river valleys, especially the Lune valley. Places in the more remote hilly districts to a very great extent have Scandinavian names. An exception is formed by the Over Wyresdale district, where a good many English names occur.

To judge by place-names the old English settlements in this district would seem to have been extensive and populous.

**LONSDALE NORTH OF THE SANDS**

Cartmel parish.—Domesday mentions two places with English names, Newton and Walton. LS 1332 adds Broughton. All three places are in or near the broad Eea valley, to which the early Anglian settlements were probably restricted. The southernmost part of Cartmel was formerly uninhabitable marshland, as was probably the low country on the shore of the Leven. To the west and east of the Eea valley are hilly districts, where extensive settlements were impossible.

English names of an old stamp are exceedingly rare in this district. We may mention Humphrey Head, Staveley (near Lake Windermere), Seattle; also Ludder Burn (if Ludder- is O.E. *hlūttr* "clear," which seems to have gone out of use early).

The Furness district is well represented in Domesday.

A good many probably English names are found. Several *tūns* are among DB manors: Crivel-, Dalton, Martin (Dalton), Gleaston (Aldingham); Bolton, perhaps Stainton (Urswick); Pennington; ? Ulverston; also the now lost
Heaton, Suntun. There are, further, Aldingham; Fordbottle, the lost Gerle-worde, Orgrave (Dalton); Leece, Dendron, Hart (Aldingham), Bardsea (Urswick), also Warte (lost; perhaps O.E. varð “shore”). Names in tun not found in DB are Newton, Waltoncote (Dalton), Broughton, Egton, Plumpton (Ulverston); ? Colton; Broughton, ? Angerton (Kirkby Ireleth). There must have been a Plumpton in Dalton (Plunton c 1535 Beck, Plimton 1535 West 101). I suspect Suntun in DB is a mistake for Plumton. More doubtful are Hutton and Troughton in Broughton. Urswick is in LS 1327, 1332.

The material tells us there were Anglian settlements, partly at least villages, especially along the east coast and the Crake (Egton is on the Crake, a good way north), along the river that runs past Dalton (here are several old manors), and on the lower Duddon. If Hutton and Troughton may be trusted, Anglian settlements would seem to have been made rather far north.

But the places dealt with so far on the whole belong to Low Furness. Extremely few old English names can be pointed out in High Furness. The only really safe case is Tilberthwaite, north of Coniston, which contains an O.E. name in burh. Names such as Brantwood, Fieldhead, are not conclusive. But Tilberthwaite cannot well have been the only Anglian settlement in northern Furness in pre-Scandinavian days. I suppose there was some Anglian colonization of which there is no record.

In Low Furness are a few other English names that may be supposed to be old, e.g., Adgarley, Baycliff, Dragley, Mousell, Rampside.

It is a curious fact that so many old Furness manors have disappeared after the time of Domesday. The explanation is perhaps to be sought in the fact that the greater part of the district was handed over to the monks of Furness Abbey. The monks seem to have let out the land to small holders; this must have led to the disappearance of some old manors. Further, the monks are known to have devoted much energy to reclaiming waste land; as a result old manors would in some cases be supplanted by new, more valuable settlements. The mining industry may also account for important changes in the original distribution of land.

III. SCANDINAVIANS IN LANCASHIRE

Place-names wholly or partly Scandinavian abound in Lancashire. Before proceeding to draw conclusions from these names a few introductory remarks are necessary.

We must distinguish between Scandinavian names in a stricter sense, i.e., names given by people speaking a Scandinavian tongue, and names containing Scandinavian elements. The former point to Scandinavian immigration. Names containing or consisting of elements that are well evidenced in M.E. or Mn.E. dialects, especially hybrids, need not do so. Such elements may have been introduced from neighbouring Scandinavian districts. Many names of this kind are probably quite late. Of course, if names containing elements of this description are numerous in a district there is a strong presumption in favour of direct Scandinavian influence. It is not always easy to distinguish between the two types of names. As a rule those consisting of two Scandinavian elements,
especially such as are not known to have been used in M.E. or Mn.E. dialects, may be looked upon as probably Scandinavian in the stricter sense.

The chief interest attaches to really Scandinavian names. As regards these the following circumstance, which, I believe, is sometimes overlooked, should be borne in mind. In old days place-names were not as a rule given deliberately by the owners of places; they arose spontaneously, so to speak. They were no doubt as a rule given by neighbours, not by owners. It follows that if a Scandinavian name in the stricter sense is found in a district, we may as a rule conclude that the population of the neighbourhood was to a considerable extent Scandinavian. A homestead founded by a single settler or family in an English district would as a rule get an English name, though it might contain the owner’s Scandinavian name; the name would be given by English people. I do not think, therefore, that an isolated Scandinavian place-name points, as a rule, to the immigration of an individual or an individual family. It indicates a Scandinavian neighbourhood, which may, of course, have been quite small.

It follows from what has been said that we must be cautious in drawing conclusions from personal names found in place-names. A single immigrant may quite well have had his name attached to a place-name. Further, fashion has always played an important part in the field of personal names. Scandinavian names were no doubt to some extent adopted by English people, and need not always prove Scandinavian immigration.

It is not always possible to distinguish neatly between English and Scandinavian place-names. Some name-elements may just as well be English as Scandinavian, and do not allow of safe conclusions (e.g., beorh—berg, haga—hagi). But we must also reckon with the possibility that English names have been

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1 I do not deny that deliberate naming of places took place occasionally in the Viking age. There are a few cases in the Landnámabók which point in this direction. Thus it is said (p. 11) that Orlygr, in accordance with a vow, called a bay in Iceland Patreksfjörð after bishop Patrick. One Asbiorn hallowed his land-nam to Thor and called it jörs mjölk (ib. p. 105). Eiríkr the Red gave the island found by him the name Greenland, because he thought people would be more anxious to go there if it had an attractive name (ib. 35). There are a few other similar cases. But it is by no means certain that all such stories should be taken to be literally true. The Landnámabók was composed at least two centuries after the events.

Occasional statements such as the one on p. 40, that Steinolfur let “bes gera ok kulladi Saurhoc; þui at þar var myrland miök” and the like should not always be taken literally. In some such cases the two versions of Landnámá do not agree. Thus Haukubók says (p. 60): “Ingimundr fann a vatn einu beru ok i j hynna med henni; þat kulladi hann Hunavata.” The corresponding passage in Sturlubók is: “Ingimundr fann beru ok huna tv hvita aa Hunavatni.” On p. 4 Haukubók says: “Gardar—lofadi miök landit ok kulladi Gardars hól,” while Sturlubók simply remarks: “Eptir þad var landit kallat Gardars holmr” (p. 130).

The names found in Landnámá are just such as we should expect to have arisen spontaneously. They are such as Kalmanstunga (named after one Kalman), Kylansholmen (from Kylan), Ævinadalr (so called because lost pigs were found there), etc. If names had been given to a great extent deliberately, we should expect to find that emigrants often used the names of their old homes in Norway. I have not noticed a single case of this kind in Landnámá.

Even in present-day England names arise spontaneously. Many farms are now called not by their officially recognized names, but by that of their tenants, “(Mr.) Johnson’s,” etc. I have come across cases where the old name of a farm seemed to be unknown to people in the neighbourhood.
remodelled by Scandinavians, and that Scandinavian names have been Anglicized. Exchange of an English for a Scandinavian name is a well-known phenomenon, exemplified, e.g., in the case of Derby (earlier Norðworðig), Whitby (earlier Streoneshalh). Certain cases of this kind are not found in Lancashire; probable examples are, however, the Kirkbys. But substitution of a Scand. element for an English one has in all probability taken place in Bradkirk, Kirkham, Mythop, Staining, very likely in Stainton, Stainall. Early -heim for -ham belongs here.

Anglicizing of Scandinavian names no doubt took place, especially after the Scandinavian language had ceased to be spoken in Lancashire. Fairthwaite (Lo) is Fagher- in the earliest instances; Engl. fair has replaced the Scand. fagr. So it is quite plausible that Fairsnape originally contained Scand. fagr. Hawkshad (Bolton-le-Sands) in the earliest forms has as second element O.N. hofuð, later exchanged for head. Very probable cases in point are Medlar, Sholver. On -water for a probable earlier O.N. -vatn, see p. 192. I have no doubt some other names which look like hybrids were originally purely Scandinavian formations.

1. Danish or Norse Names

The Scandinavian element in Lancashire is generally held to be chiefly West Scandinavian (Norwegian); cf. Scandinavians, p. 8, with references. Yet also a Danish immigration is sometimes assumed to have taken place. The place-names throw some light on this question.

In Scandinavians, p. 8ff., I discuss briefly name-elements that may be used as criteria. As Norse test-words I mention būð “booth,” gíl “gill,” skáli “hut”; as Danish ones, bōð “booth,” and to some extent pørp. As regards būð, however, it should be remembered that Northern English ð at a fairly early date developed to a sound often written u, ou. In early Lancashire place-names ð and ū seem to be kept well apart, and early spellings such as Buth, South point to O.N. būð. Similar spellings in later sources are not trustworthy.

Gíl does not seem to occur in early Danish or in Danish dialects, while it is common in Norwegian. But Steenstrup, Stednavne, p. 96, says gíl “a ravine” occurs in the common Danish names Gilbjerg, Gilbakke, Gilhøj; cf. also Kok, Danske Folkesprog i Sønderjylland 1867, who mentions Gilbjerg (or Gildberg), Gilbro. If this is correct, it is doubtful if gíl is a safe criterion. However, no early forms of the Danish names have been adduced, and I do not consider it certain that Gíl- is really gíl “a ravine.”1 In Sweden gíl is somewhat better evidenced, but apparently only in the northern and middle parts. On the whole, it seems to me at least that gíl points rather to Norse than to Danish origin, especially as the word has not been evidenced in Danish or Swedish dialects in early or late times.

Skáli seems to be exclusively West Scandinavian. Kok’s suggestion (op. cit.)

1 The fact that gíl seems evidenced only as a first element rather indicates that it is not gíl “a ravine.” The earliest forms I have found (Gildberg 1499 De ældste danske Archivregistraturer ii, Gildbierg 1529 Erslev and Mollerup, Fredrik L’s Danske Registranter) do not point to gíl. Forms such as Gilbierre 1580, Gilbierg 1583 Kronens Skøder i. are too late to be trustworthy. Gildbierg is also spelt Gildbierg. Trap, Kongeriget Danmark1 II. 886, gives the form Gilðþi (with long i). Gil- (Gil-) may be gíld adj. “excellent,” gílde “gild” or a pers. n. Gil, Gilð (Nielsen).
that the corresponding Danish word is found in Skalby, Skalberg is surely not correct.

To the elements pointing to Norse origin the following may be added:

Breck (Warbreck, etc.) goes back to O.N. brekka <*brinka. The assimilation (nk > kk) in the dissyllable brekka is considered to be a West Scandinavian phenomenon (cf. e.g., Noreen, Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen § 131). The O.Swed. form is brinka, brekka being found only in dialects nearly related to Norwegian. Assimilation is found, it is true, in some Swed. dialects, also in the originally Danish ones of Halland and Scania. But the assimilated form has not, to my knowledge, been found in Denmark, either in dialects or in place-names. As regards Scania it should be noticed that, so far as I can find out, brekka occurs only in the north-western parts,¹ those adjoining Halland. I believe the form has spread from Vestrogothia, which adjoins Halland, and whose dialects are related to Norwegian.

M.E. slakke valley < O.N. slakki seems distinctly West Scandinavian. The corresponding Danish word is slank "hollow." It may be added that Engl. bank, corresponding to O.N. bakk, Dan. banke, is not a criterion of Danish origin; the assimilation nk > kk took place so late that early loans from Old Norse would still have nk.

The common element ergh "a shieling" (O.N. erg < O.Ir. airge) may perhaps be looked upon as a criterion of Norse colonization, as most of the Scandinavian settlers in Ireland and Scotland were probably Norwegians.

An additional Danish test-word is hulm "holm," while holm may be Norse or Danish. The O.N. form is holmr (holmi). Hulumber (hulmi) is well evidenced in Sweden, e.g., in the place-name orboholm 1287 (cf. Söderwall), and in personal names, as Hunmo 1298, Hulmerus 1251, etc. (Lundgren-Brate). The form is found in Danish in the personal names Hulmfrith (Blandinger udgivne av Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund I. 72) and Hulmgyve in Hulmgjærtorp (Nielsen). It is common in Danish place-names in Normandy, as Torkulmum 1030, Turhulm 1068, Chetelhulm 1042 (Fabricius, Danske Minder i Normandiet, p. 303ff.). The form hulm occurs occasionally in English place-names, as Hulme, Norf. (cf. infra); also in Anglo-Lat. hulmus in Prompt. Parvulorum c 1440. It might be objected that hulmr may have been an old Norse side-form of holmr, which disappeared just as did the u-forms in Sweden and Denmark. But a-mutation of u to o was carried out much more regularly in West than in East Scandinavian (Noreen, op. cit. § 31). In a great many words we find E.Scand. u as against W.Scand. o. And the early sources of West Scandinavian languages are much fuller than those of East Scandinavian. The absence of W.Scand. hulmr, hulmi must prove that the forms were lost early in W.Scand. dialects.

Conclusions may sometimes be drawn from personal names. On the whole, East and West Scandinavian personal names agree very closely, but there are some exceptions. Examples will be pointed out infra.

In this place I will only deal briefly with names containing the element ðør, ður. O.N. names always show the form ðør, with the exception of ðuríðr,

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whose u may be due to the following i. In Danish and Swedish pür is common, as in Thure, etc.; pür consequently would seem to be a criterion of E.Scand. origin. In Lancashire we find pür in Turton, Thurston Water, etc. I do not think this is a safe criterion. The history of the element pør, pür is a vexed question (cf. e.g., Noreen, op. cit. § 31, Kock, Svensk Ljudhistoria §817, Lindroth, NoB iv. 161ff., Finnur Jónsson, Norsk-islandske kultur- og sprogforhold, p. 301ff.); pür and pør go back to earlier purn- (and ponr-?), with loss of n and lengthening of the vowel. Whatever may be the relations between pør and pür, both were possible developments in East and West Scandinavian, and the practically regular W. Scand. pör is due to generalization. In early West Scandinavian pür must have been used to some extent. Tur- actually occurs in O.N. names found in Irish sources (Marstrander, p. 65). Another explanation is also possible. Probably pør developed out of pünr-. The n was lost; a was nasalized and later became o. As shown by such forms as O.E. Anlaf, O.Ir. Tomrair (from early forms of O.N. Óláfr, pör), nasalized vowels must have been spoken in the Scand. languages of the Viking age (cf. also Finnur Jónsson, l. c. p. 225), and a form pür may have been in use at the time of the Scandinavian immigration into Lancashire. Such a form might have given by adaptation O.E. pūr. O.N. pur might have been preserved in Thurston Water, etc., just as an early form of Óláfr was retained in Anglezark.1

In Thurland, found only in late sources, Thur- may be a late development of Thör-.

2. Danes in Lancashire

As the Danish test-words are few, it is not quite easy to establish to what extent the Scandinavian colonization of Lancashire may have been carried out by Danes. The rare occurrence of the element thorpe rather indicates that the Danish share cannot have been considerable. But conclusions founded on the absence of a certain name-element are precarious. We must make it our object to find out if there is anything at all in the place-names that points to a Danish immigration.

We can then hardly fail to be struck by the remarkable fact that while Scandinavian place-names are comparatively rare in Salford hundred generally, there are several in the southernmost part, and that here hulm is frequent. There are in Flixton parish two townships, Flixton and Urmston, both with names containing Danish personal names. The pers. name Flīk has only been found in Danish, and Urm is distinctly East Scandinavian (cf. p. 37).

The form hulm is found in Davyhulme (earlier Hulm) about 1 m. north of Flixton, in Hulme (now in Manchester), Levenshulme, further in the field-name Oldham, in Withington, east of Flixton (Aldehulm c 1200 CC731). It is also found in Hulme (Reddish), but this may originally have been Hulme Hall, named from a family. Kirkmanshulme is a doubtful instance; the early forms regularly have -holm. As regards Oldham (Frestwich) and Wolstenholme (Rochdale), forms in -holm are too rare to be taken into consideration. Besides in the cases mentioned, hulm occurs also in Hulme (Winwick), a good way west of Flixton.

1 The preservation of the O.N. name in such an early form as Anlaf proves that the place-name (Anlaves-ergh) must have been adopted by English people at a very early date.
Other Scandinavian names in this district are rare. We may mention Derboth (Barton-upon-Irwell) 1277 LA, not far from Flixton; both is O.Dan. both.

The considerable number of distinctly Danish names is unparalleled in the rest of Lancashire. We must conclude that there was once a Danish colony on the northern bank of the Mersey, in the district south and south-west of Manchester. It is impossible to establish the extent of this colony. That it embraced Flixton parish seems evident. But names such as Hulme need not prove that it comprised the whole of the district where these are found. The form hulm may have been introduced into the English dialects of the neighbouring country from the Danish language of the colony. Very likely it embraced only the low-lying country between the Mersey and the lower Irwell. This district may have been sparsely inhabited before the time of the Danish immigration. It was isolated at least on three sides from the surrounding country; so here a small Danish colony would have a good chance of retaining its independence.

No Danish colonization has hitherto, so far as I am aware, been proved to have taken place in South Lancashire. But such colonization is quite plausible. The present Lancashire probably belonged to the Danelaw. Even South Lancashire was carucated; its hundreds were sometimes called wapentakes, and Domesday tells us that the thegns of Derby paid their customary dues in ores instead of shillings. The holders of manors in Newton and Warrington hundr. are called dreongs.1 Mr. Collingwood, Scandinavian Britain, reckons Lancashire to the Danelaw (see map). It does not follow that a Danish colonization ever took place, but the place-names adduced prove that such was the case. The small Danish settlement south of Manchester was no doubt connected with Scand. colonies in Cheshire and Staffordshire. This is indicated by the fact that hulm is a common element in Cheshire and occurs in Stafford.2

It might be suggested that the Danish colony alluded to was part of a larger settlement in South Lancashire, and that Edward in 923 wrested Manchester from Danes. There is nothing in the place-nomenclature that justifies such a theory. We should not expect the Danish names to be restricted to such a small area if there had been a considerable Danish settlement round Manchester.

But if a Danish colony once existed south of Manchester, it would not be surprising if we could point out another or others in South Lancashire. However, there are no obvious traces of any other. The isolated Hulme in Winwick just

1 These Scand. features are probably not due to Norse influence, as the Norse do not seem to have extended their settlements beyond the coast districts.

2 The Cheshire Scand. hulmos are all east of the Weaver, most in the north-east part of the county.


The only Staffordshire name in hulme is: Hulme (near Stoke-upon-Trent, N.Staffs.); in Hulme 1225 AP. Scand. names seem to be rare in Staffs. Duignan mentions Swinsoo, Thorpe Constantine, and the hybrid Thursfield.
SCANDINAVIANS IN LANCASHIRE

mentioned does not allow of safe conclusions. It is just possible that the name Derby (near Liverpool) preserves the memory of a Danish colony. The name, which is not quite easy to explain, might be a replica of the more famous Derby in Derbyshire. If so, it is probably Danish. This suggestion receives some slight support from Toxteth, the name of a neighbouring place. Toki, its first element, is a chiefly Danish name. It was introduced into Norway and Iceland from Denmark, where it was common from the earliest times (Lind). The names Derby and Toxteth may point to an old Danish settlement on the lower Mersey. But, of course, West Derby may have got its name independently of the other Derby, and even if the Scandinavian colonies in West Derby hundred were founded by Norsemen some Danes may well have been among these.

There is one more district in which we may expect to find Danes, viz., the Lune valley. In the neighbouring Kendal district (Wml.) are no less than five names in thorpe, an unusually large number in the north-west of England. Kendal may have belonged to the Danelaw (Scandinavians, p. 5f.). The thorpes certainly indicate Danish colonization. If this is right, there is good reason to believe that the Danes also penetrated into the Lune valley; in fact, they could hardly reach Kendal without crossing it. Now there are two evidently old settlements in the Lune valley with names that look Danish: Hornby and Thirnby. Hornby is not actually on the Lune, but on the Wenning near its junction with the Lune. The first elements of Hornby and Thirnby are personal names which are evidenced only in East Scandinavian sources. These names do not allow of definite conclusions, and no other names in the district are distinctly East Scandinavian. Cracanethorp (Caton) CC 840 is too isolated to carry weight. All that can be said is that there is a priori a certain probability that there were once Danish settlements in the Lune valley, and that Hornby and Thirnby are very likely old Danish names. The majority of Scandinavian place-names in the district are no doubt Norwegian.

As regards the rest of Lancashire there is nothing in the place-nomenclature that gives a right to assume a Danish colonization on a scale similar to that in the Flixton district. All we can do is to point out a few names in both, and isolated instances of thorpe.

Examples of both are found especially in Blackburn and the northern part of Salford. The word is found in names of vaccaries; it seems to have been the technical term for a vaccary, at least in Blackburn. Examples are: Dunnishbooth, Bothestudeyerdh, Brendebotheke WmC 658 (Rochdale), Oozebooth (Blackburn par.), Goldshaw Booth, Hawbooth, etc. (Whalley par.), Laddebothesike (Wigan, De) CC 611. No doubt more examples could be adduced. Examples like these carry no weight. The only one that might be a really Scand. name is Oozebooth. But Ulf was in use in Lancashire in post-Conquest time, and Oozebooth may be a late name. The word booth is widely spread in dialects and well evidenced in M.E. literature. Its occurrence in a few place-names, mostly hybrids, does not prove a Danish immigration. The word may have been introduced into Lancashire dialects from Yorkshire.¹

The names in thorpe are too rare to be of importance as evidence; porp is

¹ An early Yks. example is botham (aco.) c 1220 Pontefract Chartulary, p. 140 (clearly used as a common noun).
SUMMARY

occasionally used in Norwegian place-names, and some isolated examples of it do not seriously tell in favour of Danish immigration.

Of course, it is quite plausible that some Danish immigrants have found their way from Yorkshire into eastern Lancashire. There were Danes in the West Riding. Names in -thorpe are fairly frequent in the district near the Lancashire border. See Collingwood, Anglians, p. 44. Gawthorpe (Habergham Eaves) might have been named after Gawthorpe near Dewsbury (Goukethorpe 1274; cf. Lindkvist p. 141).

3. Norsemen in Lancashire

The results of our investigations concerning a possible Danish element in the Lancashire place-names have proved rather meagre. On the other hand, even a cursory examination of the material tells us that the West Scandinavian test-words are common in various parts of the county. Gill, scale, and slack are widely spread; so is ergh. Breck is common all along the coast, while buth is found only in Lonsdale. There can be no doubt that the Scandinavians in Lancashire must have been predominatingly Norsemen, Norwegians. Consequently the probability is that names which may be West Scandinavian are such rather than East Scandinavian. In the following survey only such names are considered as are or may be West Scandinavian.

Salford Hundred

Scand. names, in a stricter sense, are few. Certain (or fairly certain) cases are Anglezark (Bolton), Sholver (near Oldham), Gawksholme (Rochdale), Brandlesome (Bury; first el. a W.Scand. pers. n.), perhaps Turton (Bolton), Boysnope (Eccles). The places in question are mostly in the hilly parts in the north or east.

There are, further, a number of names containing Scand. elements, mostly hybrids. The Scand. elements are words that are in dialectal use in M.E. or Mn.E. time, at least in the north, as bank, car, gate “road,” holm, mire, scale, slack. Most are found in the hilly districts of Rochdale, Bury, and Oldham, some in Eccles. A few examples will suffice: Schofield, Roughbank, Wolstenholme, le Schorebonk, le Roughslak WhC 658, 698 (Rochdale), Summerseat, Hall Carr, Scout (Bury), Gamelsley, Folescales (Bolton), Oldham, Scowcroft (Oldham), Slack, Hulfseliscoft CC 680, Walthewycroft (first el. Walthof, a distinctly W. Scand. pers. n.) WhC 918 (Eccles). Some more similar names might be added. Only Oldham and Turton are the names of early townships.

Far-reaching conclusions cannot be drawn from this material. Some Scandinavian immigration has no doubt taken place, especially into the northern districts and Eccles, where there was plenty of unreclaimed land to be had. The Norse seem to have come from the north (perhaps from Leyland; names such as Anglezark, Turton may mark the approximate route) and from Norse colonies in Yorkshire (cf. Collingwood, op. cit. p. 45ff.; Goodall p. 179).
BLACKBURN HUNDRED

In the western half, Blackburn par., there are hardly any Scand. names in the stricter sense. Belsetenab may be one; so may Myerscough, if it is an old name. The rest are a few hybrids containing the well-known elements *bank*, *car*, *gate*, *holm*, etc., or pers. names. They are distributed fairly evenly and offer no particular interest. Examples are Blacksnape, Duncar, Feniscowles, Martholm (a late name), *Cronekiskar* WhC 101 (Blackburn), *Darnalkar* ib. 969, *le Whiteker* ib. 1010, *Lyolfesik* ib. 1030 (first el. an O.N. pers. n.), *Swaynesmore* ib. 1027 (Billington), *Scholecroft*, *Stiholme* CC 518f. (Cuerdale), *Redecar*, *Elyynkar* 1200-8 DD (Rishoton). Examples of names in -car, -gate, -holm are found in VHL vi. (passim). No definite conclusions can be drawn from this material as regards a Scandinavian immigration.

In Whalley par. the Scand. element is more marked, but Scand. names in the stricter sense are few. Barnside may be one. Ravensholme, Snellshou, at least seem to consist of two Scand. elements. Hay Slacks, Sparth, also *Algoolholme* 1475 CCR (Gr. Marsden; first el. O.N. *Algautr*; cf. Björkman, *Personennamen*, and Lind), may be cases in point. But not one of these is really quite conclusive.

The Scand. elements in hybrids are mostly the same as those mentioned under Salford, but some new ones crop up, as *eng, gill, how* (O.N. *haugr*). Such names are found all over the parish without being particularly common anywhere. *How* occurs in several names of hills, as Blacko, Gerna, Noyna, etc. Other hill-names containing Scand. elements are Boulsworth, Stank Top; cf. Brownbrinks. In the material are further mentioned, e.g., *Holme*, Filly Close, Moor Isles; *Icornhurst*; *Ayneslack*; Scholefield; Gambleside; Ormerod. Cf. also *le Britholm, Meneenge* (Altham) WhC 303ff., *Woluetcoles* (Clitheroe) ib. 1111. Many examples are found in the Clitheroe Court Rolls, as *le Halflatt* (Chatburn), *Breddie Yngs* (ib.), *Brodholme, the Hag* (Colne). Isolated examples of this kind will be found in VHL vi.

The Scand. names as a rule denote minor places, or such as have risen into some importance lately. The only exception is Clitheroe; yet it is not absolutely impossible that -how (O.N. *haugr*) may have replaced O.E. hōh. We must conclude that some Scandinavian settlements were made in this district. The Scandinavians no doubt came from the Craven district and the Upper Ribble valley. In these districts are numerous Scand. place-names, not only minor names, but also names of villages and townships. Close to the border of Whalley parish are e.g. Earby, Newby, and a little farther off Bracwell, Carleton, Hellifeld, Gargrave, Rathwell, Stainforth.¹ Near the border of Whalley is a Hesketh (S.W. of Bracwell). In these districts are numerous names in *gill* (Cor-, How-, Ray-, Wycongill),² *scale* (High Scale, W. of Hellifeld, Scaleber, near Settle), and at least one *ergh* (Battrix); also *thwaite* occurs.³ This West Yorkshire district

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must have been colonized to a great extent by Norsemen. These probably poured in from the Lune valley along the Wenning, on which are places with such names as Lawkland, Newby, and into the Ribble valley, along which they spread southwards. This explains why Scand. elements are fairly common in the place-names of Whalley, but rare in Blackburn parish.

WEST DERBY HUNDRED

In the old Warrington hundred are no Scandinavian names in the stricter sense, but there are a few names containing Scand. elements, as Scholes, Ridgate, Hope carr; cf. le Cartegate (Cronton) WhC 817. Interesting names are Laffog (if the first element is O.N. ipp) and Lunt, which gives us an example of O.N. lundr. The material hardly proves that a Scand. immigration into this district ever took place.

In the old Newton hundred are found a few names with Scand. elements, such as Scholefield, Scholes. Turssekar (Hindley) CC 649 seems to contain two Scand. words (O.N. purs “giant” and kiarr).

In West Derby hundred proper Scand. names are very common. Here they frequently appear as names of townships and villages. On the relation between Engl. and Scand. names cf. p. 237. The following Domesday manors (at least probably) have Scand. names: Roby (Huyton); Derby, Kirkby, Kirkdale, Toxteth (Walton); Sefton, Crosby, Litherland (Sefton); Altcar; Uplitherland (Aughton); Lathom, Skelmersdale (Ormskirk, which has a Scand. name itself); Formby, Mele, prob. Ainsdale (Formby); Argarmeles, Otegrimele (North Meols). LS 1327, 1332 add Aintree (Sefton), Bickerstaffe, Burscough, Scarisbrick (Ormskirk), Crossens (North Meols). To 30 Anglian names of townships or DB manors correspond some 21 Scand. ones. Two or three of these, of course, are somewhat doubtful.

Minor names are to a great extent Scandinavian or partly so. I here draw attention chiefly to names Scandinavian in the stricter sense. In Childwall par., where all names of early townships are English, we find Aigburth, Brettargh, Thingwall. In Dalton (Wigan) is Laithwaite. In Walton are e.g. Aynarsargh, Ingoe, Warbreck. In Halsall are e.g. Cuncough, Eggergate, Harker, also Gettern, the name of a now drained mere (O.N. gedda “pike,” and tipn “tarn”), Murscoh CC 634, Ruthwaite ib. 537, Sandwath ib. 532. In Ormskirk are Greetby, Tarlsough, also Nathelarge (with ergh “shieling” as second el.; cf. Scandinavians, p. 80). Numerous Ainsdale names in CC 568-94 are Scandinavian. We find names in -hou, as Bleshouldale, Keshou; mel (O.N. meir), as Quitemeledale; skarth, as Winscarthithe; slet (O.N. slétt), as Elreslete; further, e.g., Lathebot, Stardale (O.N. storr “sedge”), Wra. On the interesting names Scarthwulmer, Starhourauen, Gilanre-, Melcanerhou, also Oddisherhe, which show Goidelic influence, I refer to Scandinavians, pp. 46, 71, 81. In Ravensmeols is Stangerhau WhC 527 (O.N. stangarhuagr).

1 Cf. Birkwith, Mosdalebek, Solberger (now Sulber), Calfkelde 1400 FC i. 200ff., Thuerepilae, Erdaftypilae 1190 FC ii. 334 (Seleide, on the upper Ribble); Bla., Crookeboc 1400 FC i. 202, Threforthescales 1165-77 FC ii. 296 (Newby, near the Wenning); Ellerbeck, Mosdalebeck FC ii. 326 (Souther Scales); Utvespilae 1200-16 FC ii. 363 (Flasby, N.W. of Skipton).
It is obvious that a considerable, systematic Scandinavian colonization took place in the district of West Derby hundred proper, especially its northern part. Scand. names are most numerous in the low-lying districts near the sea, which had not till then been to a considerable extent inhabited.

LEYLAND HUNDRED

Scandinavian names are numerous in the low-lying western parts, those adjoining the strongly Scandinavianized parts of West Derby. Also the names of old townships are (at least partly) Scandinavian; Becconsall, Hesketh, Croston, Tarleton, probably Bretherton. As regards Croston, however, its situation is not so low that it may not have been an old English settlement. The name may have replaced an old English one.

Of other Scand. names may be mentioned: Elremure, Siverthesarge, Thorp (Bretherton) CC 475ff., Sollom (Tarleton); cf. also Burnildesgate (O.N. Brynhildr pers. n.) CC 464 (Tarleton).

In the rest of Leyland names of old townships are English, but there are some Scand. names in the stricter sense: Blainscough, Ellerbeck (stream), Roscoe (Standish), Brinscall, perhaps Snubsnape (Leyland), Ulvedale (Penwortham), Sarscow (Eccleston). Several names contain Scand. elements, also some not found in the districts hitherto discussed: Crook (Standish, Leyland), Crofeld, Crocland (Hooke) CC 451ff., Lairburnsik, Lairclade (O.N. leir "clay") CC 409, 426 (Hutton). Others are: Asland; Limbrick (Standish); Gunnolf's Moors, Scalecroft CC 499 (Leyland), Harekar CC 411, Rokar CC 394 (Penwortham), Walmer (Hooke).

There must have been a Scandinavian colony at least in the western part of the hundred. But it very likely comprised parts of the old Anglian territory. The name Gunnolf's Moors, which designated a large inland district, refers to an early owner who, to judge by the name, must have been a Scandinavian chieftain.

AMOUNDERNESS HUNDRED

In the part later annexed to Blackburn (cf. p. 232f.) Scandinavian names are rare. Distinctly Scandinavian is Leagram. Partly Scandinavian are Daviscoles, Elmridge.

In Amounderness proper the frequency of Scand. names varies. Preston parish is predominatingly English. In the rest of the district Scand. names abound. In some parts names of old manors and townships are, to a great extent, Scandinavian.

DB manors or LS townships with (at least partly) Scandinavian names are: Grimsargh (Preston); Aschebi (Lancaster); Goosnargh, Threlfall, Bryning (earlier Birstath Bryning), Kellamergh, Larbrick, Medlar, Ribby, Westby, Wrea (Kirkham); Norbreck, Warbreck (Bispham); Carleton (Poulton); Hackinsall, Presall, Staynall, Stalmine (Lancaster); Rawcliffe, Sowerby (St. Michael's); Cloughton, Garstang. Scandinavian and English townships are
found side by side. In Kirkham and Bispham are several composite townships with names formed of one Scandinavian and one English name, as Westby with Plumpton, Medlar with Wesham, Li. Eccleston with Larbrick, Bispham with Norbreck, Layton with Warbreck.

A great many minor names, especially in the northern part, are Scandinavian or partly so. A few interesting names found in early sources are here given; for the rest I refer to the material.

**Preston:** *Clakerkelde* (Tulketh) CC 216, *Heggarthe* (Cottom) CC 225.

**Kirkham:** *le Blenesyle* (first el. obscure) CC 230 (Whittingham); *Avenamis, Dounanesbrec* (first el. *Dundan*, a Goidelic pers. n.) CC 202 (Newton); *Baunebrec* (O.N. *baun* “bean”), *Flitteholm* CC 194ff. (Warton); *Alykesof* (O.N. *eikiskógr* “oak wood”) CC 201 (Preese); *Gasefosland* (O.N. *gás* “goose” and perhaps M.E. *flesh* “pool,” found Gaw. 1430) CC 190 (L. Eccleston), *Wafoth* (O.N. *vær* “wet”) CC 166 (Greenhalgh).

**Poulton:** *Helrecar* (O.N. *elri* “alders”), *le Smithieflat, le Sortebuttes* (Sorte-app. from a side-form of O.N. *svatr* “black”) CC 148ff.


**St. Michael’s:** *Kirkgate* CC 181, *Serlescales* (O.N. *Sorli* pers. n.) CC 178.

**Garstang:** *Stanrays* CC 265 (Bilsborrow); *Calder-, Cros-, Timbergate* CC 254f. (Cloughton); *Ounespull* (O.N. *Aun* pers. n.; cf. Lindkvist p. 157) CC 270 (Kirkland); *Belenespot* (Ir. *Beolan* pers. n.; cf. Scandinavians, p. 70), *Tilverdheimholm*1 1220-46 CC 280 (Garstang); *Leyrsic, Ferm-, Pilaweora, Sourbut* (cf. Sowerby) CC 292ff.


Of course, there are in early sources numerous English names of fields and the like.

There is a statement which has been taken to prove that there was a Scandinavian population in Amounderness c 930, viz., in the twelfth century “Lives of the Archbishops of York” (Historians of the Church of York, Chron. and Mem. ii. 339), which tells us that Æthelstan granted to the cathedral church of St. Peter the whole of Amounderness “quam a paganis emerat.” Whether the

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1 Cf. *Tillirdauholme* CC 278, *Tyllesholm* 1539 CC 1196. The name seems to be a compound of *holm* with an earlier place-name *Tilverdheim*, very likely Scandinavianized for *Tilverdham*, *Tilverd* being a form of O.E. *Tüfrīþ*. *Tilverdham* may have been replaced e.g. by Garstang.
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statement is true or not, the place-names tell us that there must have been a very considerable Scandinavian population, which spread over the greater part of the district. Some parts, especially the low-lying northern (north-western) districts, seem to have been first colonized by Scandinavians. The whole district was named from a Scandinavian chieftain.

LONSDALE SOUTH OF THE SANDS

Most old townships (manors) of this district have English names (p. 240). A few, however, have Scandinavian names: Swainshead, Skerton, Torrisholme, perhaps Caton (Lancaster), Arkholme, perhaps Farleton (Melling), Claughton; Ireby (Thornton), probably Leck (Tunstall), Kellet (Bolton), all of which are in DB, further Wray, Wrayton (Melling) 1332 LS. On Hornby, Thirnby, see p. 247.

Minor names are to a great extent Scandinavian. Only some examples not dealt with in the material are here given. The material is somewhat uneven because some townships are better represented in early sources than others.


Lancaster: Keledrise, Morhaus (O.N. maur “ant” and haugr “hill”), Reysbrec, Sundholm (? for Soud-, O.N. sauð “sheep”), Skynersflatte CC 801 ff. (Scotforth); Schelduvelbuttes, Skelthofesflat (O.N. Skipludalr pers. n.), Seflat, Houks- hout, Sulstinfetef, le Tern, toftum Haraldi, Tranewath (Ashton) CC 785 ff. Beiskebrec, Crocflat (Stodday) CC 810 ff.; Bolehauge, Capilbrek (M.E. capel “horse,” O.N. kapall < Ir. capall) FC ii. 171 (Skerton); Mourhounes (O.N. maur “ant”) CC 817 (Bowerham); Buthebanck, Grenebanc, Kirkebanke, Tuneker, Swinsti, Torsholm, Stanrais, Spanrig (O.N. spán “chip,” etc.), Welslet, Thistelthwait CC 826 ff. (Caton); File, Ulvesthweit 1202 LF (Gressingham).

Claughton: Sletholmbec, Felebrigge (O.N. fiöl “board”), le Hau (O.N. haugr), Thistelwuat CC 883 ff.

Heysham: Staynkeldeker, Litelcrosseslak FC ii. 277 ff., Drake-, Ormsholm LC 292.

Halton: Núthinghou (O.N. níðingr “villain”) FC ii. 168, Sygerithwath ib. (“ford of Sigirðr”) ib. 162.

Melling: Ravenescrosse 3 1323 LI, Cabbanarghe (cf. Scandinavians p. 79), Wy nefel (app. “whin fell”), Esphouet, Asphothuk (O.N. espí, esp “aspen, -s” and høfuð “hill”), Dalslakland, Gayle, Swinemure CC 900 ff. (Wennington).

1 Æthelstan’s charter is printed by Dr. Farrer in YCh 1, in a different form in BCS 703. It only says that Æthelstan had bought the land “non modica pecumia.” The authenticity of the charter is doubtful. It may be pointed out here that two other charters of Æthelstan’s mention the purchase of land from pagans. By the charter BCS 658 the king grants to Uhtred Ashford and Hope in Derbyshire (“terram—quam proprio condigna pecumia id est xx. libras inter aurum et argentum a paganis emorat”). By the charter BCS 659 the king in the same terms grants away land in Beds. A forger knowing a genuine charter of Æthelstan’s containing this phrase might well have introduced it to render his forgery more trustworthy.

2 Stated to be Ravens Close east of Wennington (LI ii. p. 122).
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Tunstall: Langauenam, Haverbergh (O.N. hafri “oats” or hafr “ram”), Brakanwra CC 897ff. (Lock).
Warton: de Hothweit LAR, Hewthwaite 1845 VHL viii. 166 (Carnforth); Ellerholm (now Eldrams), Sout(h)enou (O.N. sauðr “sheep”), Staynhusslac 1246-71 EHR xvi. 294 (Warton); Hokereytherig (? O.N. haukahreidr “hawk’s nest”) 1246 LF (Yealand).
Dalton: Arkillesthorn (O.N. Arnkell pers. n.), Soukhusthorn (O.N. sautðhús “sheep-cote”) 1228 LF.

The examples adduced, which might be considerably added to, tell us there must have been a very considerable Scandinavian immigration into Lonsdale proper. The Scandinavians seem to have spread all over the district. The colonization of the hilly parts seems to be chiefly due to them.

LONSDALE NORTH OF THE SANDS

The Cartmel district seems to have been sparsely inhabited before the Scandinavian time (p. 240). The Scandinavian element in the place-nomenclature is strong; it is really easier to enumerate the English than the Scandinavian names. The name Cartmel seems to be Scandinavian. Of Domesday manors only Kirkby (=Cartmel) has a Scand. name, but by 1332 the Scand. names Allithwaite and Holker have taken the name of Newton and Walton as the names of the townships. For minor names the early material is very scanty, and we must be content with a reference to the names given in the material.

The Furness district is better represented in early sources. Of Domesday manors only Sowerby has a distinctly Scand. name, but the names Stainton and Ulverston at least show Scand. influence, and Killerwick has a Scand. first element. Of early townships Kirby Ireleth has a Scand. name. The name Furness is no doubt Scandinavian.

Names of later townships or villages (in High Furness), on the other hand, are preponderatingly Scandinavian: Blawith, Coniston, Hawkshead, Lowick, Subberthwaite, Torver, etc. Names of minor places and also those of streams, lakes and hills, are mostly Scandinavian, as seen from the material. Some of the elements have not been met with in the districts discussed hitherto, as O.N. kleif (Claife), látr (Hullete), oddr (Greenodd), skriða (Srithwaite).

Of names found in early sources the following may be mentioned:

Dalton: Melbrek, Fermeribouthe, Leyrgile, Langeslak, Staynonesterne, Stermanwra
FC i, Ingríðhros 1262-3, Gyle c 1225 FC ii, Cros-, How-, Oldeladflät, Scalbank, Grenethwaytmedowe 16th cent. FC ii.

Aldingham: le Calfocar, Layreposbanes, Brakanthweyt 1419 CR.

Pennington: Brakanbank, Kirke-, Mos-, Terneflät, Aykerhamer (O.N. eik “oak” and hamarr “cliff”), Grenemire, Lairipot 1332 FC i.

Urswick: le Sletehaw 1282 CWNS xii. 235 (first el. perhaps O.N. sléttr “even”).

Kirkby Ireleth: Gunildebrigge (O.N. Gunnhildr pers. n.), Saurcles (O.N. saurr “mud” and scale), Fog(h)ura1 FC i. (Angerton). Note le Ose de Sterisipul FC i. 321, where Ose must be O.N. ós “mouth of a river.”

For High Furness early sources are very scanty.

Of particular interest in this district are names containing a Scand. genitive form combined with an English second element. A certain case is Osmotherley. Possible cases are Elterwater and Windermere, but in these a Scand. name for “lake” may have been replaced by an English word. A name such as Osmotherley presupposes a mixed speech in which Scand. inflexions were kept, but in which the vocabulary was partly English.

It need hardly be said that a very considerable Scandinavian colonization has taken place in Furness. High Furness seems to have been in old days an almost purely Scandinavian district. Cf. on English names in this district p. 240f.

To sum up, the place-names tell us that, before the Norman Conquest, the coast districts all the way from the Mersey estuary to the Duddon and some inland districts must have had a very considerable Norse population. There are good reasons to believe that the immigrants came, not straight from Norway, but from Norse colonies in Ireland, Man, the Hebrides, and Scotland.

This latter fact accounts for the remarkable Celtic (Irish-Gaelic) influence found in the Scandinavian place-nomenclature, and which I have dealt with in my book Scandinavians and Celts. Thus the common element ergb “a shieling” is Ir. aire. To the Lancashire examples pointed out in the book quoted may be added some fresh ones (Barker, Bethecar, perhaps Houkler Halî, Robsawter). Some Ir. personal names are found in place-names, as a rule combined with Scand. elements; examples will be found under Becconsall, Beacons Gill, Bethecar. Sometimes the order between the elements of compounds is inverted in accordance with Celtic usage. The Lancashire examples of this type are few and mostly somewhat doubtful. An additional (and, in my opinion, safe) case is Croskelloc 1260-76 FC ii. 777 (orig.), in Ulverston. The first element of this name is Ir. cros (O.N. kross, M.E. cross). The second may be identical with the pers. name Chelloc quoted by Björkman, Namenkunde, and identified by him with Chetelog LV (<O.N. Ketillaug, etc.). Another possible source is O.N. Kiallakr<Ir. Cellach.

Hardly any light is thrown by place-names on the time of the Scandinavian immigration. There is good reason to believe that it took place in a fairly late period of the Viking age, very likely from about 900. A Scandinavian emigration from Ireland to Cheshire is known to have taken place immediately after

1 First el. M.E. fogge, Mn.E. fog “aftermath; long grass left standing in the fields during winter, etc.” (Lindkvist, p. 200). Fog is identical with Norw. dial. fogg “tall, thin grass,” especially growing on wet soil (Ross). Fog is probably a Scand. word.
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900 (901 or 902). A similar period is likely for the Scandinavian settlements in Lancashire (e.g., in Amounderness). If the Irish-Gaelic elements in place-names may be taken to prove that the immigrants had been to some extent influenced by Irish civilization and speech, an earlier time than about 900 is hardly to be reckoned with.

It has been suggested that the Scandinavian immigration into the north-west of England was of a peaceful nature, and that no systematic conquest of the district took place. The place-names to some extent seem to point in this direction. Scandinavian names are most numerous in districts which seem to have been practically uninhabited before the Viking age, e.g., the low-lying districts of West Derby, Leyland, and Amounderness and the Lonsdale and Furness fell districts. This might seem to indicate that the Norse were content to settle in districts before unoccupied. I do not think this conclusion is necessarily correct. Also against the theory of peaceful immigration seems to tell the general improbability that such extensive settlements as those which must have taken place, for instance, in the Liverpool district and in Amounderness should have been permitted by the previous inhabitants if they were in a position to prevent them. However, if Lancashire (or the greater part of it) belonged to the Danelaw, a strong Scandinavian immigration without a previous conquest is plausible. There were very intimate relations between the Scandinavians in York and Dublin in the time before and after 900, as a result of which a stream of Norse settlers poured into Northumbria (Yorkshire). On this point reference may be made especially to A. Bugge, Vikingerne ii. 255ff., Oman, p. 495. Under the circumstances it is extremely probable that Norse from Ireland also founded settlements on the west coast, and did so with the consent or even the encouragement of the kings of York. They may have settled in waste districts or bought land from previous inhabitants, just as settlers in Iceland often did.

How long did a Scandinavian language continue to be spoken in Lancashire? This question cannot be definitely answered. The well-known runic inscription of Pennington, however, indicates that a Scand. language of some sort was in living use as late as the twelfth century in the Pennington district. The place-names do not throw much light on this question. It is true some place-names show a somewhat late form, as -breck, -slack (O.N. brekka, slakki), but the assimilation nk \(\rightarrow\) kk at any rate took place before 1000; cf. Finnur Jónsson, op. cit. p. 264. The only place-name known to me that seems to be of value for the present purpose is Stanraysinum (written Stau-) LC 184 (Bolton-le-Sands), which apparently contains the Scand. suffixed article; the word seems to be O.N. steinhreys “cairn.” As the origin of the suffixed article seems to date from about 1100 (Noreen, Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen § 207) this example would seem to show that in the district of Bolton-le-Sands a Scand. language was spoken at least as late as about 1100.

1 If A. Bugge should be right in his suggestion (op. cit. ii. 317) that Amounderness was named after Agmund Hold, who was killed in 911 during a Northumbrian raid in Mercia (Chron. D), this theory gains in probability. The position of a bold was intermediate between that of an earl and a thegn. A bold may very well have been head of Amounderness.
IV. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Place-names referring to old roads, buildings, and the like.

Names containing O.E. *strēt, strēt* as Stretford, Stanistreet, as a rule refer to Roman roads and have been of value in determining the exact lines of such roads. Thus Street-fold, in Moston, Street-yate, in Royton, mark the line of the road from Manchester to Oldham and the north-east (Whitaker, Manchester i. 138). At Street in Leyland no Roman road has been found, so far as I know. A search for one might very well be worth while.

Other memorial of the Roman time are names in -caster, -chester (cf. p. 9) and *port* (Alport, Portfield).

Old forts have often given name to places, and names containing a word such as *burh* often give hints as to where old forts are to be looked for. Burrow (on the Lune) and Castercliff (Bl) are named from old forts. The name Tilberthwaite Lo (olum *Tillesburc*) indicates that there was a fort at the place, and its site has been determined with much probability by Mr. Collingwood. Burrow south of Lancaster was probably named from a lost fort, as were no doubt Arbury, Burscough (De). But not all names in *burh* were named from forts; cf. p. 8. Some names in -*borough* (as Flookborough, Newburgh) refer to boroughs.

Names such as Eccles, Ecoleston, in my opinion indicate that there were British churches in the places so called. It is true there are no traces of an old church at Eccleshill or Eccleston Am., but many old churches have disappeared. Eccleston in Prescot par. adjoins Prescot, where the old parish church is. No doubt Eccleston originally embraced Whiston, from which Prescot was carved out as a rectory manor.

Bradkirk (Am.), Kirkstead, Kirkhead, Kirkpool (Lo.) contain the word *kirk* and refer to lost churches. The disappearance of the wooden church at Bradkirk is no matter for surprise. The church may have been of a type similar to that at Greenstead in Essex (cf. Reallexikon ii. 557f.). Old documents mention churches or at least chapels of even flimsier material than boards. Thus, according to the Register of Lanercost, a chapel of wickerwork was made about 1050 at Triermain in Cumberland; cf. the Register of Wetherhal, p. 224.5.

On the name Abbeystead, see p. 172.

It is doubtful if there is any place-name alluding to a place of heathen worship. The Angians were probably Christianized soon after their immigration into Lancashire. The Norse may have been to some extent so even before they came to Lancashire. Some of the colonists of Iceland who came from the British Isles are stated to have been Christians. Cf. Finnur Jónsson *op. cit.* p. 17ff. (esp. p. 43). There is one place-name, however, now lost, which may refer to a heathen place of worship: Harhum 1298 LI (West Derby); cf. Harumcar 1228 CIR, Harumkar 1228 WhC. This must be the dat. pl. of O.E. *hearg* "(heathen) temple; idol," or O.N. *horgr* "heap of stones; heathen place of worship"; cf. the place-names O.Swed. Hargh, O.Dan. *Hörg* 1145, Horgh (now Hör in Scania; Falkman). But the meaning may be simply "heap of
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What renders it rather plausible, however, that the meaning may be that of “temple” is the fact that Harhum must have been close to Thingwall. In CIR 1228 the perambulation of the forest of West Derby begins at “the broad apple-tree” in Harumcar, and ends at Thingwalacres.

Singleton, Chingle Hall, New Chingle Hall, were named from shingled roofs. The use of shingles must have been exceptional in Lancashire.

2. Names referring to old institutions, social classes, etc.

Only a few isolated cases can be adduced here.

Some places are shown by their names to have been local meeting-places. Spellow De is a case in point. Moothills are mentioned, e.g., in Carnforth (Moothaw VHL viii. 166), Kellet (Mouter or Mootha ib. 141). Cf. also Schyrokes, p. 173.

Thingwall, near Liverpool, was a Scandinavian thing-place.

Laffog De may have been named from an oak at which a court of justice was held.

At Hesketh (S.W. of Preston) was a Scandinavian racecourse. Hesketh is a common place-name in N. England. Horse-racing was a favourite sport with the Norse in Norway and Iceland.

Several place-names allude to old systems of defence, beacon hills and the like. Probable old English names of this kind are Warton (Am. and Lo.) and Wardle, Sa. On Wuerdle, near Wardle, see p. 57. The two Warbrecks date from Scandinavian times. Lookout hills are often alluded to in place-names; cf. Tottlebank and Tootal Hill, near Longridge.

Of social classes the following are mentioned in place-names:

King (O.E. cyning or O.N. konungr): Kingley, Conishhead, Coniston, Cunscough. The last two obviously contain the Scand. word. Cunscough may be later than the conquest of S. Lancashire by King Edward. But Coniston must have been named from some Scandinavian king.

Earl: Yarlside (two), Yerleskelde, Yarlesmyre seem to contain the O.N. jarl “earl.” The names cannot well be later than the time when North Lancashire was under Northumbrian earls.

Geréfa: see Gerefholm, p. 186.

Ceorl: Chorlton Sa, Chorley Le. Cf. O.N. karl in Carleton Am.

Thrall. O.N. præll is found in Threlfall Am. and Trailholme Lo. (which see).

3. Personal names in place-names.

In his admirable book on Berkshire place-names, p. 25ff., Professor Stenton, in discussing the personal element in local nomenclature, gives it as his opinion that a personal name in a place-name has a seignorial implication. As, before the Conquest, the land between the Ribble and the Mersey was parcelled out in small manors held by thegns or drenge, and the same was very likely the case with the rest of Lancashire, we might expect to find personal names plentiful in the names of old Lancashire names of townships, villages, and hamlets. A few notes on the personal element in Lancashire place-names may therefore be of
interest. As the names in question can be easily picked out from the lists on p. 234ff. a full discussion will not be necessary.

In Salford hundred the only English names of early townships that have or may have a personal first element\(^1\) are Edgeworth (very doubtful) and Hundersfield. More often we find personal names in other names, as Balderstone, Chorlton (with Hardy), Elton, Ard-, Bes-, Gothers-, Whittleswick. These may be old manors.

In other parts of Lancashire personal names are more common in place-names. Thus in Blackburn we find Balderston, Osbaldeston, Witton, Livesey, Worston, Huncoat, Chatburn, Simonstone, Oswaldtwistle, Worsthorn. In West Derby they are also more numerous than in Salford. There are, e.g., in the old Warrington hundred, Atherton, Rixton, Woolston, Bed-, Rainford, Rainhill, Tyldesley; in the old Newton hundred, Abram (first el. a woman's name), Winwick, Winstanley; in West Derby proper, Harleton, Woolton, Halsall, Knowsley, Wibaldeslei. For the rest of the hundreds I refer to the lists on p. 234ff.

To the examples from Blackburn and West Derby a few more might be added. Anyhow, the number of place-names with a personal first element is comparatively small. The percentage is much smaller than in Berks., where more than half the names enumerated by Stenton p. 45ff. have a personal first element. But I do not think definite conclusions can be drawn from the comparatively rare occurrence of place-names with a personal first element in Lancashire. Even in a strongly manorialized district the majority of place-names might very well have as first elements a descriptive word. On the other hand, it is not necessary to assume that a personal name in place-names has always a seignorial implication. Many villages have no doubt developed from insignificant beginnings, e.g., from clearings or small farmsteads. The later village would often retain the old name of the place, which would frequently contain the original squatter's name. Nor need a personal name in a place-name always imply ownership. There are numerous instances in Landnámabók of localities named from some person who was killed or perished there. A Lancashire example of this kind is Deadwincloough, though in this case the valley was named from a nameless woman.

Scandinavian names fairly often contain personal names. We may mention Flixton, Turton, Urmston in Salford, Ainsdale, Argarmeles, Scarisbrick, Skelmersdale, Toxteth in West Derby. Here we must remember that the Norse usually lived in isolated homesteads, not in villages, and probably settled to a great extent in homesteads also in England. The names mentioned, as a rule, probably refer to freehold homesteads, and hardly have a seignorial implication in a stricter sense.

4. Flora and fauna in place-names.

Many tree-names are found in place-names, e.g., alder (Ollerton, etc.), aspen (as Aspden), birch (as Birch, Birtle, Birtenshaw, Bescar, etc.), elm (see wise, p. 20), hazel (Hazelrigg, etc.), holly (Hollinworth, etc.), linden or lime (Lindale),

\(^1\) I do not count names such as Tottington, because these, in my opinion, contain a genitive plural (*Totinga tun*).
mountain ash (Wickenlow), spruce fir (perhaps in Sahden), sallow (Salford, Salesbury, etc.), willow (Withington, etc.). The beech does not occur in names.

Particularly frequent in place-names is ash (O.E. æsc, O.N. askr), not only in minor names, as Ashhurst, Eskrigg, etc., but also in names of old townships. There are several Ashtons. This might be due simply to the common occurrence of the ash in Lancashire. But there are probably other reasons. Not only was the ash in the old days a very valuable tree, but it is also fastidious as regards soil. Very likely it was known that where ashes grow, there the soil is generally good. Moreover, the ash was, in the old days, looked upon as a holy tree. A charter in BCS 476 (A.D. 854) mentions "quendam fraxinum quem imperiti sacrum vocant" (Taunton, Somerset). For further examples reference may be made to Bugge, Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse, p. 499. For this reason people would settle where ashes grew or plant ashes at their homesteads. Similar considerations may account for the considerable number of names containing the word oak.

 Thornbushes or hawthorns have given name to several places: Thornham, Thornton, Thornham, etc. The thornbush and hawthorn also used to be looked upon as holy. On holy thorns and hawthorns in Sweden, see Sahlgren, NoB viii. 56f. A thornbush at a homestead or village would, therefore, naturally give rise to a place-name.

 Names of animals frequently occur in place-names, especially those of woods, hills, streams, and the like. We may mention hart and hind (in Hartshead, Hindley, etc.), roe (Roeburn, Royle, Read), badger (Brockholes, Brock Hall, Badsberry, etc.), marten (Marshaw), grampus (Walney). Urswick seems to contain O.E. ār "bison." Many names contain the word wolf (or O.N. ulfr), as Wolf Fell, Wolfenden, Wolfhole Crag, Woolden, Ulvedale. On Ulvegravegate see p. 252. Names of birds in place-names are, e.g., crane (Cranshaw, Carnforth; Tarnacre, etc.), crow (Crawshaw), hawk (Hawkshaw). Cf. also Dunnockshaw, Tewitfield, Warcockhill.

5. Names referring to agriculture, etc.

The chief industries in old Lancashire were agriculture and cattle-farming. Names alluding to these pursuits are numerous. Only a few need be pointed out.

Several names contain the name of a cereal, as barley, O.E. bere, or O.N. bygg (Barley, Barlow, Barton, Borwick, etc.; Bigland, Bigthwaite), rye (Royley, Royton, Ryley, Renacres, Ruthwaite, p. 250, etc.), wheat (Wheatley). I have found no names with O.E. āitan "oats" (except one or two field-names), and only two or three with O.N. hafri (Haverthwaite, Haverigg; Haverbreck). Perhaps oats were so commonly cultivated that a name alluding to them would not have been distinctive enough. No conclusions should be drawn from these names as regards the extent to which the various cereals were cultivated. But it is extremely interesting to find that barley and wheat must have been cultivated from an early date in places where they are hardly ever grown now, e.g., in the highly situated parts of the old Forest of Pendle (Barley, Wheatley).

It is of some interest to find that the old Scandinavian and Celtic custom of sending cattle away to shielings in the summer must have been introduced into
Lancashire. The numerous names in -ergh and -set originally denoted shielings. But many of these at an early date developed into permanent settlements. Several erghs are among Domesday manors.

The name Orgrave proves that iron-mining was carried on in Furness before the Conquest. The two Orrells were possibly named from iron mines. Mill-stone quarrying may be alluded to by such names as Quarton, Quernmore.

Place-names referring to hunting or fishing seem to be chiefly Scandinavian: Ingoe, Waitham, Waitholme. The word cockshoot “a glade through which woodcocks, etc., might dart so as to be caught by nets stretched across the opening” (first exemplified in NED in 1530) is found early in Lancashire place-names (Kocsute, Kockesuteheved 1180-1200 CC 607), which proves that this method of catching birds is of high antiquity.

6. Folk-lore, etc.

Only a few isolated names contain allusions to popular beliefs or customs. Of interest are names containing O.E. pyrs “giant, goblin” (Thirsden, Thursclough; cf. Thuresdloch CC 647, in Hindley) or O.N. purs the same (Thrughill, etc.; cf. p. 182). The words, as will be seen, are always combined with such words as mean “a ravine” or “a fen.” Alden may contain O.E. aelf, ielf, “a fairy.” On Grimshaw see p. 76. Dragley apparently means “the dragon’s mound,” and may refer to some local legend. Cf. also Drakeholm, p. 253.

Halliwell was named from a holy well. On Wiswell, see p. 77.

Cunliffe, if the alternative explanation suggested p. 73 is correct, refers to an ancient method of curing sickness.

Very few names testify to a feeling for natural beauty. Examples are: Breightmet, Facit, Fallowfield (Heaton). Scandinavian names such as Fairthwaite, Fairsnape, Winsnape, may belong here, but it is quite possible that the adjectives fagr, venn, have rather the more original sense of “good, excellent,” than that of “beautiful.”
ADDENDA

P. 9, s.v. cross. Förster, Keltisches Wortgut, p. 28 ff., takes a somewhat different view of the history of the word.

P. 23 f., s.n. Lyme. To the examples given the following may be added: Drayton subitus Lyme 1259 IPM. The editor identifies this with Drayton in Wroxeter. But there are two Draytons in N. Salop., one near Betton-in-Hales, which is very likely meant.—Schertelyme 1297 IPM (Staffs.)—Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, is also called Chesterton-under-Lyme.

P. 46, s.n. Quarltton. Also Goth. (asilu) quirnus, and probably O.H.G. quirn, M.H.G. kürne had the meaning "mill-stone." This tells in favour of the theory that O.E. cuerno had this sense.

P. 58, s.n. Littleborough. Cf. Euxton Burgh, the name of the village in Euxton, Le. Also in this name the meaning of burh is obscure.

P. 82, s.n. Habergham. The present pronunciation is [(h)abagam].

P. 93, s.n. Deerplay. Cf. Deerplay, W. Yks., Hindeplewe (Stanford, Nh.) Selby C ii. 271.

P. 113, s.n. Tarbock. The identification of the surname (de) Thornebrooke with (de) Torbok (Tarbock) suggested tentatively is undoubtedly correct. Henry de Thornebrooke is stated to have been bailiff between Ribble and Mersey (1232-56 CC 556). This post was held by Sir Henry de Torbock, who flourished in the first half of the 13th century (VHL iii. 177). This clinches the etymology of Tarbock given.

P. 121, s.n. Bickerstaffe. A late O.E. instance of Bickerton is found in YCh 7: Biceratune c 1030, apparently a lost place near Otley, W. Yks. This proves that O.N. bekkiar cannot be the first el. of Bickerton, and, I suppose, also disposèes of Mawer's suggestion that it might be bicker, "quarrel." Bicera- may quite well be the gen. of an O.E. pers. n. Bicera, for n would have disappeared by this time in the dialect of the district. It may also be a gen. pl. If so, we might compare O.E. bycera (fald) 972 BCS 1282, which is hesitatingly identified in B-T (Suppl.) with O.E. béocere "apiarius." The i, if this is correct, must be due to Anglian "smoothing" of io (in O.E. bio) before c. Dr. Bradley told me long ago that he had considered the possibility of deriving Bicker- from O.E. béocere.

P. 128, s.n. Shevington. While the MS. is passing through the press, I come across some illustrative material that seems worth quoting. Prof. Tait suggests connection with the hill-name Chevin. I had already thought of such connection, but the different initial consonants seemed to render it impossible. However, I now find that the Chevin, the name of a ridge in W. Yks., near Otley, appears in O.E. sources as scefnio c 972 BCS 1278, (on) Scefinger c 1030 YCh 7. To be quite exact, scefnio is not the name of the ridge, but that of a place named from the Chevin, and no doubt situated at the foot or on the slope of the ridge. Chevin is presumably identical with or related to Welsh cefn "ridge"; cf. M.W. kefyn, kevyn, Gaul. Cebenna. Here C (>Ch-) has apparently been replaced by O.E. Sc-; the O.E. ending -ing has been substituted for original -en, -in. The substitution of Sc- is difficult to explain. The only possible analogy I know of is Shornecote (Schernecote DB, Cernecote c 1290, etc.) near the Churn in Wilts., whose first el. is identified by Zachrisson, A.N. Infl., p. 159, with the river name (Cern). I doubt whether this etymology is correct. More probably the name has as first
el. O.E. scearn "dung." Cerncote being due to association with the name Cern. Zachrisson thinks Sh- is due to A.N. influence. This is, at any rate, impossible in the case of scefinc.

O.E. scefinc may represent an O.Brit. Is cefn "below the ridge"; cf. Welsh Iscoed "below the wood," and particularly M.W. Iskevyn (the name of a place in Llandanwg, Merioneth) Rec. Carn., which apparently means "below the ridge." Is cefn (>scefinc) I suppose was the name of a place at the foot of Cefn, "The Chevin." As Is was unstressed, loss of the initial vowel might take place. Shevin- in Shevinhull and Shevington may be analogous to O.E. scefinc. If so, Shevington Moor may be supposed to have had the O.Brit. name Cefn.

P. 140, s.n. Skippool. Cf. Skyppul WhC 490, the name of a stream or pool near the Alt (De).

P. 158, s.n. Limebrest. The name may be compared with a lost name in Bowerham (SLo): (acram super) Bounbrest c 1200, Bambrist, -brest 1450, Bavenbrest 15 cent. CC. The first el. of this name is O.N. baun "bean." This suggests that Lime- may be O.E. or O.N. lin "flax," with n>m before the b. The second el. of both might be O.E. bréost in some transferred sense such as round hill or slope (cf. breast of a hill). But more probably we may derive it from an O.N. equivalent of Norw. dial. brest "slope." Limebrest is on a slope. Bounbrest was close to the Lune. The prep. super before the name is noteworthy.

In Saxton’s map (1577), as well as in Speed’s map of 1608, the Fleetwood peninsula, or the left bank of the Wyre N. of Thornton village, is called Bergerode. I find no mention of this name in other sources.

P. 168, s.n. Lune. As regards the form Landc on coins, it should be pointed out that the editors of VHL (viii. 4) look upon the existence of a mint at Lancaster in the reign of Harold I. as very doubtful.
INDEX

The Index contains all the names discussed pp. 23-223; further, a selection of names and forms dealt with in the Introduction and Summary. Forms from early sources are italicized.

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