

**CHANGE IN THE BY-NAMES AND SURNAMES
OF THE COTSWOLDS, 1381 TO c1600**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis builds on previous studies of English by-name and surname history. Many have identified the regionally specific nature of name development in England (McKinley, 1990: 20; Hey, 2000: xi; Redmonds, 2004: xiv), yet most of our knowledge comes from national name surveys (see Reaney, 1967; McKinley, 1990), or research carried out at county level (see Redmonds, 1973; McKinley, 1975, 1977, 1981, 1988; Postles, 1995, 1998). While it has been recognised that our understanding of by-name and surname development ‘will need to be focused on particular parts of the country, looking at how groups of names were formed at different times in particular local communities’ (Hey, 2000: xi), there have been no studies of this kind.

By carrying out a diachronic study focused primarily on the influence regional identity has had on surname development in the Cotswolds, a region with its own distinct cultural, economic and topographical history, it has been possible to reach a greater degree of accuracy on the causes of regionally specific name development than previously achieved. The names from a time when hereditary surnames had only recently been established, 1381, have been compared with those from a period of greater surname stability, c1600, showing that there had been considerable change in the names of the Cotswolds between these two periods. Often, this change can be related to the regional wool trade. Within the Cotswolds, changes in name distribution, name frequency, the names of migrants, dialect lexis in naming and the incidence of inherited surnames can all be linked with the change in focus from raw wool exportation to cloth production, as well as other historical factors.

Through this research project, it is clear that there had been major changes in the names of the Cotswolds between 1381 and c1600, many of which have not been identified in previous research. This suggests that there are some aspects of English by-name and surname history that are not yet fully understood, such as the precise period when hereditary surnames became more common than non-hereditary by-names, and any regional variation. The national significance of these changes cannot be known without further regional studies for comparison, and it is hoped that such research will be carried out in response to the findings of this thesis.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Surname Research

The study of names, or onomastics, is a multidisciplinary field requiring linguistic understanding, as well as an appreciation of many elements that make up a region's history. Topography, economy and local dialect can all have an effect on the place-names and personal names of a given area. While place-name study has received much academic attention in England, detailed research into the country's personal names is comparatively lacking. It is telling that, while *The Journal of the English Place-Name Society* has been in publication since 1969, there is no academic journal dedicated solely to personal name research, also known as anthroponomastics. The aim of this project is, in part, to add to the relatively limited surname-based literature in an attempt to redress this balance, to exhibit the value of surname research and to contribute to its methodological development.

The study of surnames is a subcategory of anthroponomastics. Among academics and the general public, surname research is perhaps one of the more popular anthroponomastic topics in the United Kingdom, but it has been given greater attention in other European countries. The *Dutch Family Name Database* (NFD), created by the Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam, and the Central Bureau of Genealogy, based in The Hague, demonstrates the prominence of the Netherlands in this field, though a major

project under way in the UK, named *Family Names of the United Kingdom* (FaNUK), is creating a database of UK family name explanations that will make a considerable contribution to the field (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming).

The research behind this thesis began at the same time as the FaNUK project, and was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council funding which was awarded for the creation of the FaNUK database. As a result of the relationship between the two projects, any previously unknown etymologies or early name bearers which were discovered during the data analysis carried out for this thesis were fed into the FaNUK project. See, for example, the FaNUK entry for *Mansell* (Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming), where the second suggested sense was recognised through the name *Malmeshull*, which was identified in the data collection phase of this research project. A number of the early bearers in the FaNUK entry for *Clutterbuck* (see 5.3.3) were also identified as part of this project. Further to this, the validation of the International Genealogical Index as a suitable source of surname data (see 5.2.1.2), combined with the FaNUK team's own evaluations, contributed to its use as a data source in both projects, having established it as a reliable collection of surname data when treated with the necessary caution. Due to the collaboration between both projects, FaNUK also made an important contribution to this research, providing a number of early forms and previously unrecognised etymological origins for certain names which were then considered in the data organisation phase of this project, when assigning a type to each name in the datasets.

While FaNUK will make great improvements to our knowledge, it is unfortunate that there has been relatively little previous investigation into English surnames as the study of surname etymology, distribution and variant forms can provide

information not only of interest to genealogists looking to discover their family history, but relevant to many academic disciplines. The English language, dialects, historical economy and trade, topography, migration and demography can all be investigated through an analysis of the country's surnames, with medieval name forms being particularly useful for the study of Middle English (ME) phonology, occupational names showing which occupations were once practised in England, and locative names revealing the possible geographical origins of their early bearers. In England, they are a largely untapped resource that can, when analysed, provide a wealth of historical information that would otherwise not be known.

1.1.2 Name Types

There was a time when people in the British Isles were known only by a single first name. Hey (2000: 51) notes that 'the Englishmen who were recorded in Domesday Book as the holders of land before the Conquest did not possess hereditary surnames but were known simply by a personal name, such as Alric, Thorald or Wulfstan'. In some pre-Conquest records, 'it was often found convenient to identify a man by describing him as son of his father', and so it could be said that some people bore second names at this time, but 'such names were not family names; they died with the man' (Reaney, 1967: 75). Following this, when second names were being more widely adopted in England, most of them had a different semantic value than they have today. At their origin they were used to distinguish between people, possibly for purposes of ensuring proper inheritance, land ownership and legal process, but the causes of their initial use and the establishment of their heredity are debated (for a discussion of the

possible causes of surname heredity see Hey, 2000: 54–57). Prior to the hereditary system of surnaming that exists today, non-hereditary by-names were used to refer to specific characteristics or the origins of their bearers and were transparent in meaning. These by-names were likely to have been ‘coined and used in local speech, long before they were written down by clerks’ (Hey, 2000: 56) and some would later become hereditary surnames, while the others died out. Heredity will be discussed in **1.1.3**.

There were four main by-name types in England, each denoting one of the following:

1. Location
2. Nickname
3. Occupation
4. Relationship

There is, however, much variation and overlap between these four types. Without context, it is impossible to determine whether or not, for example, the by-name *Orchard* could have been used to refer to a person who lived at or near an orchard, or one who worked at an orchard. A name in its modern English form could also belong to a number of the four types. Take the surname *Bell*, for example, and its definitions in Reaney and Wilson (1997: 37):

Bell: (i) Ailuardus *filius Belli* 1086 DB (Sf); Ricardus *filius Bell* 1279 RH (Hu); Osbertus *filius Belle* 1297 SRY. *Bell* may be a pet-form of *Isabel*. *Bella* is probably a latinization of *Bele*, OFr¹ *belle* ‘beautiful’. v. BEAL. *Bellus* is a Latin form of OFr *Bel* ‘beautiful’, otherwise unknown as a personal-name. (ii) Seaman *Belle* 1181–7 ELPN; Serlo *Belle* 1190 P

¹ *OFr* is an abbreviation of *Old French*, and will be used throughout this thesis.

(Y). OE² *belle* ‘bell’, probably metonymic for BELLMAN or BELLRINGER. (iii) Hugo *bel* 1148 Winton (Ha); Robertus *bellus* ib.; Robert *le bel* 1186–1200 Holme (Nf). OFr *bel* ‘beautiful, fair’. (iv) Roger *del Bel* 1209 P (Nf); Robert *de la Belle* 1222 DBStP; John *atte Belle* 1332 SRLo. The last example denotes one who lives at the sign of the Bell. This type of name is not so common as has been suggested and the other examples are unusually early. They may denote a dweller by the church or town bell or bellhouse or be metonymic for the bellman or bellringer.

The recognisable and modern form *Bell* provides no clue as to the etymological origin behind each individual occurrence of the name, which could belong to any of the four types given above. However, as seen in the above entry by Reaney and Wilson, the medieval forms allow, in some instances, for an accurate etymology to be determined. For example, the name ‘Ailuardus *filius Belli*’ clearly shows that *Bell* was used as a given name³ and so the modern surname could belong to the relationship type. A collection and comparison of medieval name forms is the only accurate method of determining by-name and surname etymology. It is as Reaney (1967: 20) states: ‘the classification [of a surname] must be based on the original meaning, not on the modern form; if the original meaning cannot be definitely decided, any attempt at classification is useless’, as modern-day surnames have no sense.

The four name types also hold certain complexities that can cause difficulty in name interpretation (also see 2.2). Some of these, along with a brief description of the types, are given below:

1. Location — A locational name can derive from toponyms (e.g. *Hampton*, *Scarborough*, *Wakefield*), or from topographical features both natural and

² *OE* is an abbreviation of *Old English*, and will be used throughout this thesis.

³ The term *given name* will be used to refer to what is also known as a *first* or *Christian name*.

man-made (e.g. *Hill, Wood, Mill*). Some toponyms are derived from topographical features, so it can be difficult without documentary evidence to determine whether some locational names denoted a feature or a place. For example, the name *Yate* could be for someone who lived at a gate or for someone who came from Yate in Gloucestershire. Some place-names are also very common and so it is often impossible to provide a definitive origin for a toponymic by-name or surname. For example, the name *Walton* could come from one of the eleven major places called Walton (see Mills, 2003) or from one of the many other minor Walton place-names.

2. Nickname — A nickname was used to refer to any characteristic of the person in question. Often, the reasons behind its application would only be known by a few, but some nicknames are motivationally⁴ transparent due to their specificity. The surname *Foljambe* for example can only derive from the OFr *fol* ‘foolish, silly’ and *jambe* ‘leg’, meaning something like ‘strange leg, useless leg’ as a by-name. However, it is impossible to be certain whether the nickname *White* would have been used to refer to complexion or hair colour. Irony can also not be ruled out, with the by-name *Small* possibly applied to someone who was unusually tall or large, as well as the literal meaning.
3. Occupation — These names are not just those related to a trade or craft, such as *Smith*, but to any official status or rank, including names such as *Bailiff, Franklin, Knight* and *Parson*. McKinley (1990: 11) notes that ‘it is in

⁴ Throughout this thesis, the concept of *motivation* is used to refer to the reasons behind the bestowal or adoption of a particular by-name, whatever these reasons may be. This allows a distinction to be drawn between motivational and etymological origin.

practice very difficult to draw any clear-cut distinction between these groups' and so their collection into a single type is the most practical solution.

4. Relationship — This type includes names which are derived from given names. These can be a given name, a hypocoristic form of a given name, a possessive form of either of these, or a term of relationship such as *son* 'son' or *maugh* 'son-in-law' combined with a given name. The large number of potential forms means that one given name can give rise to many different by-names and surnames. Coates (2006: 333) exemplifies this point by listing some possible forms of the name *William*:

William Williamson Williams Will Willson/Willison Wills/Willis Willmot Willmots Willet Willets Willard Willie Willcock Willcockson Willcocks Wilkin Wilkinson Wilkins Wilk Wilks with numerous spelling variants such as the dominant *Wilson* and *Wilcox*.

As well as being from given names, relationship by-names and surnames can be derived from words denoting a familial relationship, such as *Cousin*.

There are also names which denote a relationship to a person by way of their occupation, such as *Smithson* and *Cookson*.

Some names have no clear origin, as a result of etymological complexity and a lack of contextual evidence, and so cannot be categorised under any of these four types.

Instead, they must be classified as uncertain in origin.

English surnames can have their origin in any of the languages at some point spoken or written in the country. Other than English, the languages most commonly seen in the country's medieval names are Anglo-Norman and Latin, being languages of official

record and administration around the times of by-name formation and the establishment of surname heredity.

1.1.3 Heredity

There is no simple description or explanation as to when and how names became hereditary in England. It is only clear that the establishment of a hereditary naming system was ‘a very long drawn out process, lasting several centuries at least, but the general view still is that it was rare for new surnames to develop in England after c.1500’ (Redmonds, 1997: 57). There was, however, much variation between class and region:

It would seem that in the south of England and East Anglia, very few families, apart from substantial landholders, had hereditary surnames before about 1150. Between about 1150 and 1250 instances where families outside the ranks of sizable landholders had hereditary surnames begin to appear, but remained few. Between 1250 and 1350, many families belonging to various classes acquired surnames. It is not possible to give precise statistics, but it is likely that, in the regions in question, rather more than half the population had surnames by about 1350. [...] In the north of England, developments occurred about a century later than in the south and Midlands (McKinley, 1990: 31–32).

The need to distinguish between people using by-names may have increased following the Norman Conquest. Anglo-Saxon and Viking settlers used a wider range of given names than the Normans. After the Conquest, the given name stock in England reduced dramatically as Norman names rose in popularity. This increased the need to distinguish between people by some other means, with by-names providing an elegant solution, though this is not the full story, as ‘Bynames — both English and Scandinavian — are found in England before the Conquest’ (Reaney, 1967: 314). Their

subsequent use as hereditary surnames perhaps developed for the identification of familial links, ensuring the proper inheritance of land, a theory that is consistent with the fact that hereditary surnames were initially ‘confined to the upper reaches of the landowning classes’ (McKinley, 1990: 25). Part of this project will discuss the establishment of surname heredity in the Cotswolds⁵ in an attempt to add to our understanding of this process in a local context (see 4.3, 5.4 and 6.4).

1.2 Research Objectives

The broad aim of this project is to build on the limited literature and knowledge of English by-names and surnames by analysing the names of a region that has not been previously investigated: the Cotswolds. This region was chosen due to its distinct topography and history, as discussed in chapter 3. Such regional research can provide a more accurate account of the origin and state of the names of England than previously managed, as there were ‘very sizable [by-name and surname] differences which existed in the Middle Ages, and which in large measure persisted into later periods, between the different English regions’ (McKinley, 1990: 20).

Therefore, it makes sense to study names at a localised level (some has been carried out at county level. See McKinley, 1975, 1977, 1981, 1988; Postles, 1995, 1998; Redmonds, 1973), not simply to discover the by-names and surnames of a particular region, but how they compare with what the current literature suggests about the nature of English names nationally. Localised knowledge can be fed into the national to

⁵ There is uncertainty in current usage about whether *Cotswolds* is grammatically singular or plural. I opt for the singular throughout this work, referring to the Cotswolds as a single unified region.

reassess the development of English surnames, if necessary. Redmonds (2004: xiv) recognises the importance of this approach, stating that ‘regional studies will require us to modify some earlier conclusions ... Local history should not be seen as inferior to national history but as its foundation’.

In order to investigate how the history of the Cotswolds has influenced the development of its names, this project looks to establish its defining aspects, and the extent to which these can be linked with the kinds of names in use in the region. Accordingly, the main research question of this thesis is: “has the regional identity of the Cotswolds influenced the development of its names?” For a discussion of what is meant by “regional identity”, see **2.6.2**. This research question is necessarily broad, allowing the consideration of many different historical factors. The names of the Cotswolds, as a set, have not been studied before, and so it is important that the investigation is not wholly informed by the methods and findings of previous research, but also by the unique regional identity of the Cotswolds.

Through this investigation, I hope to show the dynamic and variable nature of English by-names and surnames, while also exhibiting the value of this kind of research. I will analyse the names of the Cotswolds diachronically to evaluate the extent of any change. By comparing names from different periods it will be possible to investigate phonology, the lexis and grammar of the local dialect, migratory patterns, changes in general patterns of trade and occupation and their anthroponomastic effect, and other elements of the history of the Cotswolds. In doing so I hope to show the value of name research for the investigation of a region’s history, while also showing how and why the names of the Cotswolds have developed as they have. The findings can then be used to

re-evaluate our understanding of certain aspects of English by-name and surname development, possibly prompting further regional research.

1.3 Data

The data used for investigating change in the by-names and surnames of the Cotswolds is from the 14th-century poll tax returns and baptismal parish registers from 1580–1620, supplemented by the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls where necessary. The reasons behind the choice of these records are elaborated on in the relevant chapters as part of individual methodological discussions specific to each type of record, in order to ensure clarity. For a discussion of the 14th-century data, see **4.1** and **4.2**. For the 1580–1620 data, see **5.1** and **5.2**. All primary data used in this study is available on the CD attached to the back cover of this thesis.

1.4 Outline Methodology

This research into the names of the Cotswolds was carried out in three stages. Stage one was an analysis, in this sense meaning a close examination in order to draw conclusions from apparent patterns, of the names appearing in the 1381 Gloucestershire poll tax returns, the extant records of which are only from Cotswold vills (this dataset will be referred to throughout as the “1381 Cotswold PT”). The Cotswolds is well represented in the extant English poll tax returns from 1381, but the rest of the county is not at all.⁶ Stage two was an analysis of the names in baptismal parish registers from the

⁶ The word *county* is used here, and throughout, to refer to the administrative units prior to the 1974 boundary changes.

Cotswolds between 1580–1620 (this dataset will be referred to throughout as the “c1600 Cotswold PR”). Stage three was a comparison of the names found in the first two stages. The two datasets were initially studied separately because the names from either period are at very different stages of development. As a result, the relationship between name and regional identity in 1381 is different to that for c1600, and so the analyses of the names from these periods required different methodological approaches. For further discussion, see the introductory paragraphs to chapter 5 and **6.2**.

While certain patterns were expected to be found in these stages of analysis, the research was partly data driven. As the names of the Cotswolds have never previously been studied in depth, any expected findings were likely to be informed by previous knowledge of the names of England nationally. Very little is known about the localised nature of names, particularly in regions that have not been studied before, and it was therefore necessary to analyse the records without consideration of preconceived ideas on English name development, so as not to limit the possible findings of the research. Nevertheless, the current knowledge of English names was a useful starting point for guiding the analysis.

The data collection, then, was an important part of the research process, during which a complete appreciation of the names from both periods was formed and particular patterns recognised. These patterns were then investigated alongside Cotswold history in an attempt to find possible reasons for them. The methodological approach for each stage is explained in greater detail in the relevant chapters.

1.5 Chapters

Chapter 2 is a review of the literature relevant to by-name and surname research. It examines national and regional surveys of England's names and how they relate to this and other onomastic research.

Chapter 3 provides an introduction to the historical aspects of the Cotswolds most likely to have had an effect on the region's surnames, serving as an introduction to the analysis of the name data while placing the names of the Cotswolds in context.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 make up the three stages of research mentioned previously (1.4). Chapter 4 is an analysis of the names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, chapter 5 is an analysis of the names in the c1600 Cotswold PR and chapter 6 is a comparison of the names from both periods. Each chapter also includes a description of methodology and conclusions on the findings of analyses.

The final chapter 7 is a general conclusion, evaluating the nature of the change seen in the names of the Cotswolds and examining how the findings of the research may or may not alter our previous assumptions made about the by-names and surnames of England.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.1 Surname Dictionaries

Etymological origin is of great importance to by-name and surname research. Some appreciation of the possible motivation behind a name's bestowal or adoption is necessary to determine the history of its bearer's family, particularly of the first bearer of that particular name. Using the etymology of names, it is often possible to identify the types of occupations, given names, naming practices, languages, dialects and other aspects of history specific to the region in which the names are found. Those names that are seemingly not specific to a particular region still contain, in their etymology, valuable information as to the history of England as a whole.

The linguistic importance of and interest in name etymology and motivation has been widely recognised, leading to the publication of a number of surname dictionaries, perhaps the most well-known being Reaney's (1958), *A Dictionary of British Surnames*, available today in a revised 3rd edition as *A Dictionary of English Surnames* (Reaney and Wilson, 1997). Redmonds, King and Hey (2011: 4) identify it as 'the standard work on the etymology or meaning of surnames', with Hey (2000: 14) asserting that Reaney's dictionary and another of his works, *The Origin of English Surnames* (1967) 'remain standard texts and the essential introductions to the subject. The rest of Europe has nothing comparable'. Other dictionaries of British surnames or those specific to a

particular part of Britain include Black (1946), MacLysaght (1985), Morgan and Morgan (1985), Hanks and Hodges (1988) and Titford (2009).

While Reaney's work is a great achievement, it must be used with a degree of caution. Reaney was a philologist, concerned primarily with surname etymologies and their linguistic significance. Little attention is paid to the distribution of names or to genealogical evidence, yet Redmonds (1973, 1997, 2004) has shown the value of such considerations in determining surname etymology. Reaney's dictionary is also a collection of early medieval name forms, many of which do not exist today as hereditary surnames, such as *Malmains* and *Freshfish*. He also includes early examples of names which were recorded outside of the regions in which they were typically found, and as a result 'sometimes gives a misleading impression of where a surviving family name originated' (Redmonds, King and Hey, 2011: 4). In an editorial preface to McKinley's *A History of British Surnames*, Hey (1990: vii) outlines both the brilliance and limitations of Reaney's dictionary:

His publications marked a great advance in our understanding of the subject. For a time it seemed that we could go no further. Many a local historian, however, must have felt dissatisfied on reading the explanation of a surname offered in Reaney's dictionary. The purely linguistic approach seems inadequate. Detailed knowledge of the topography and documentary history of a parish or a neighbourhood often pointed to a different interpretation, especially in those areas of scattered settlement where the names of farms and hamlets are the same as surnames peculiar to the district. The approach of the local historian was needed to complement that of the specialist in old languages.

The FaNUK project is working on the creation of a more accurate dictionary. It aims to investigate the origins, history and distribution of all names borne by 100 or more people in the UK today, while identifying early forms of these names and thus exhibiting their development. Such a resource will be of considerable value to

genealogists, historians, philologists and anyone interested in the origin of their own name, providing the most up-to-date and reliable surname dictionary available.

2.2 Difficulties of Interpretation

The interpretation of a name's etymology and motivation is not always a simple exercise, due to linguistic complexities and the overlap between types (see 1.1.2).

Perhaps the most difficult type to interpret is that which comes from a nickname. The lack of contextual information in medieval documents makes it difficult to be sure of the original motivation behind such a name. Even if evidence was found to show, for example, that a person was known as *Short* because they were relatively short in height, it is not necessarily true that every other person known by the by-name *Short* was given the name under the same circumstances. It is just as possible that the name was applied ironically for a person who was especially tall. Indeed, McClure (1981: 100) states that 'since one of its principal functions is to tease, there is nothing more typical of nicknaming than irony' and 'in modern nicknaming, terms alluding to size or quantity are especially liable to inverted usage, and I know of no reason why one might assume differently of medieval practice'.

Some nicknames pose a further problem where they might also denote occupation by metonymy. Coates (2006: 332) gives the names *Frogg* and *Bull* as examples of metaphorical nicknames 'if the latter is not metonymic for a cattle-related occupation'. The key to solving such a problem is in the appropriate documentary evidence and biographical history, though such evidence is not easily found, if existing at all. Unfortunately, the use of biographical evidence in determining the meaning of a

name is not always employed in by-name and surname research. McClure (1981: 101) was aware of this, highlighting it in a critique of the Lund Studies series (including works by Fransson, 1935; Thuresson, 1950; Jönsjö, 1979):

If one dimension of information is chiefly lacking in the comparative methods used in Lund Studies of ME bynames it is that of local and biographical history. The name is treated as “word” rather than “person”, as a manifestation of linguistic form rather than social life.

A person’s by-name is an indicator of some part of social life, be it geographical place of origin, occupation, relationship or any distinguishing aspect of their appearance, personality or actions. Considering this, a purely etymological approach to surname interpretation is not always appropriate. It is as Clark (2002: 166) states, that ‘to study in purely lexical and etymological terms a form recorded as a name, and sometimes solely so, may be to study something that never, and certainly not in the given context, existed at all’.

Clearly, a lack of context on the use of certain nicknames can sometimes make their interpretation difficult. This is often not such a problem with a number of locational names. When derived from topographical features, locational by-names often contain a preposition or prepositional phrase, as in Laurencius *atte Wod*, recorded in the 1381 poll tax return for Twynning, Gloucestershire. The meaning of this name is relatively simple to deduce and, as a by-name, describes someone who lived ‘at the wood’. This type of name exists today as a contracted form, *Atwood/Attwood*. However, most modern forms of these topographical names have lost their preposition or prepositional phrase (e.g. *Wood*) and as a result their etymology and motivation are not quite so clear. For example, rather than being topographical, *Wood* could be a nickname from ME *wod(e)*, *wood* ‘frenzied, wild’. Therefore, the interpretation of surname

etymology is often made simpler by studying medieval name forms and simpler still by a comparison of different name forms from different periods in order to trace exactly how they have changed, provided the apparent development of name forms can be justified linguistically.

Toponymic by-names and surnames also tend to pose fewer problems than nicknames, particularly where they can be connected to a place-name which exists today. There are, however, still a number of difficulties in their interpretation. One characteristic of toponymic by-names and medieval surname forms is the frequent use of the preposition *de*, before the toponym. It was used to refer to someone as being “of” a particular place. Often the place can be identified from the by-name or surname, but when a place of origin is not obvious it is reasonably safe to assume that the name is toponymic owing to the use of the preposition. However, care must be taken. This French preposition was also occasionally used in names of relationship, possibly in denoting a person who was “of” somebody else, such as ‘*Edwardus de Charles*’ and ‘*Willelmus de Ketyll*’ (Fellows Jensen, 2003: 51). It is not clear whether this arose from the confusion of relationship names with place-names or if it was a genuine indication of relationship, and it was not a form found throughout the country, but certainly occurred in Norfolk (Seltén, 1972: 51). Therefore, if a name containing the preposition *de* cannot be connected to a known place-name and does not appear to contain known place-name elements (see Smith, 1956a, 1956b; Parsons and Styles, 1997, 2000; Parsons, 2004) it would be wise to at least consider a relationship name as its origin.

There are a number of other morphological characteristics of names that cause difficulty in their interpretation, one of these being the *-er* agent noun suffix. Names ending *-er* are commonly held to denote some sort of occupation. This is usually correct

(as in *Baker, Carter, Walker*), though some names of this form, particularly in the counties of Surrey and Sussex, can denote topographical origin. For example, it has been shown that the name *Waterer* was interchangeable with *Atwater* (McClure, 1982; also see McKinley, 1988: 152–173 for a discussion of the *-er* ending). Without further evidence it would be impossible to know whether a person known as *Bridger*, for example, worked at a bridge as a toll-collector or lived near one.

A much more general difficulty of name interpretation arises when using reference works on historical English vocabulary. McClure (2010a, 2010b) has studied 51 occupational by-names in the Nottingham Borough Court Rolls from the year 1303–1455 as an investigation into their lexical evidence and compared his findings with the relevant entries in the *Middle English Dictionary (MED)* (Kurath, Kuhn and Lewis, 1952–2001). He found that 21 of these by-names were not recorded in the dictionary and 8 needed a correction or modification of etymology. Whilst McClure's work exhibits the value of occupational by-names as lexical evidence and how their study can further our knowledge of English vocabulary, it also emphasises the potential perils of relying on vocabulary dictionaries for name interpretation. 'A lack of defining contexts is a major problem in interpreting Middle English occupational bynames' (McClure, 2010a: 167) and this affects their validity as lexical evidence in such dictionaries, as it does for other types of by-name too. Without context, by-names cannot always be used as conclusive evidence of English vocabulary as their meaning is not explicit. By the same token, dictionary definitions of words do not always represent the original meanings of corresponding names.

George Redmonds (1997: 121–168) has also highlighted linguistic difficulties in name interpretation. He shows that many surnames have undergone certain changes

since becoming hereditary, including vowel changes, consonant changes, metanalysis, metathesis, suffix confusion and abbreviations. Redmonds uses a number of alias names where people are known by two names of different form but identical etymology (though it is not always the case that the alias names of an individual person share an etymological origin; see **5.4.2**), sometimes alongside an in-depth analysis of biographical and local evidence, to prove how seemingly distinct names have the same origin. Consider, for example, ‘Simon Woodhouse alias Wydis’ from Thornton le Moor in 1611 (see Redmonds, 1997: 125). Only with such an explicit connection between these two names could their identical etymological origins be convincingly established. Where an alias for a particular name cannot be found, others can be used to ‘illustrate the type of change we might have to consider’ (Redmonds, 1997: 122). If an appropriate alias, in any sense, cannot be found, then a collection of variant name forms which demonstrate a clear sequence of linguistic changes between one name and another can be used. Once these linguistic changes have been identified, an etymological connection between two seemingly distinct names can often be established, though etymologically unconnected names with similar forms could complicate this process.

Of course, philology alone can sometimes explain connections between two apparently different names, but without consulting historical records and collecting a number of different name forms (also see **2.5**), these connections are not always clear. Therefore, name research must use local evidence, sometimes to construct a sort of collective biography, or prosopography, of people associated with a particular name, in order to determine conclusively the origins of surnames.

2.3 Name Distribution

It is perhaps unrealistic to expect a researcher, who is studying names nationally, to consult a large volume of local evidence for every name, but an appreciation of their distribution is certainly achievable and worthwhile. Today, ‘so many English surnames are found close to where they originated’ (Redmonds, 1997: 16), and because of this pattern the distribution of a name has long been recognised as a useful tool for discovering its origin(s), ever since Guppy (1890: 6) set out ‘to ascertain the homes of familiar surnames and to ascertain the characteristic surnames of each county’.

Previously, the discovery of name distribution has been a very time-consuming process, only achievable through extensive analysis of local records. However, Archer’s (2011) *British 19th Century Surname Atlas* software, which allows the user to view distribution maps of names in the 1881 census, makes the task much easier than it once was. Distribution can sometimes provide a clue as to the true origin of a name and sometimes cannot, but is a useful starting point in name interpretation. For example, it may be expected that the surname *Luton* originated in Luton, Bedfordshire and this is one possibility Reaney and Wilson (1997: 288) provide in their dictionary: ‘from Luton (Beds, D, K)’. The 1881 census data raises the possibility of a different origin, as shown in the poor law union distribution of the name *Luton* (see figure 2.1), with darker areas signalling a greater concentration of the name. The greatest concentration is around Bristol, perhaps making Reaney and Wilson’s suggestion that the name is from Luton in Devon the most likely of their three options. It is even more likely, however, that the name is from Litton, in north Somerset, approximately 11 miles from Bristol, with the

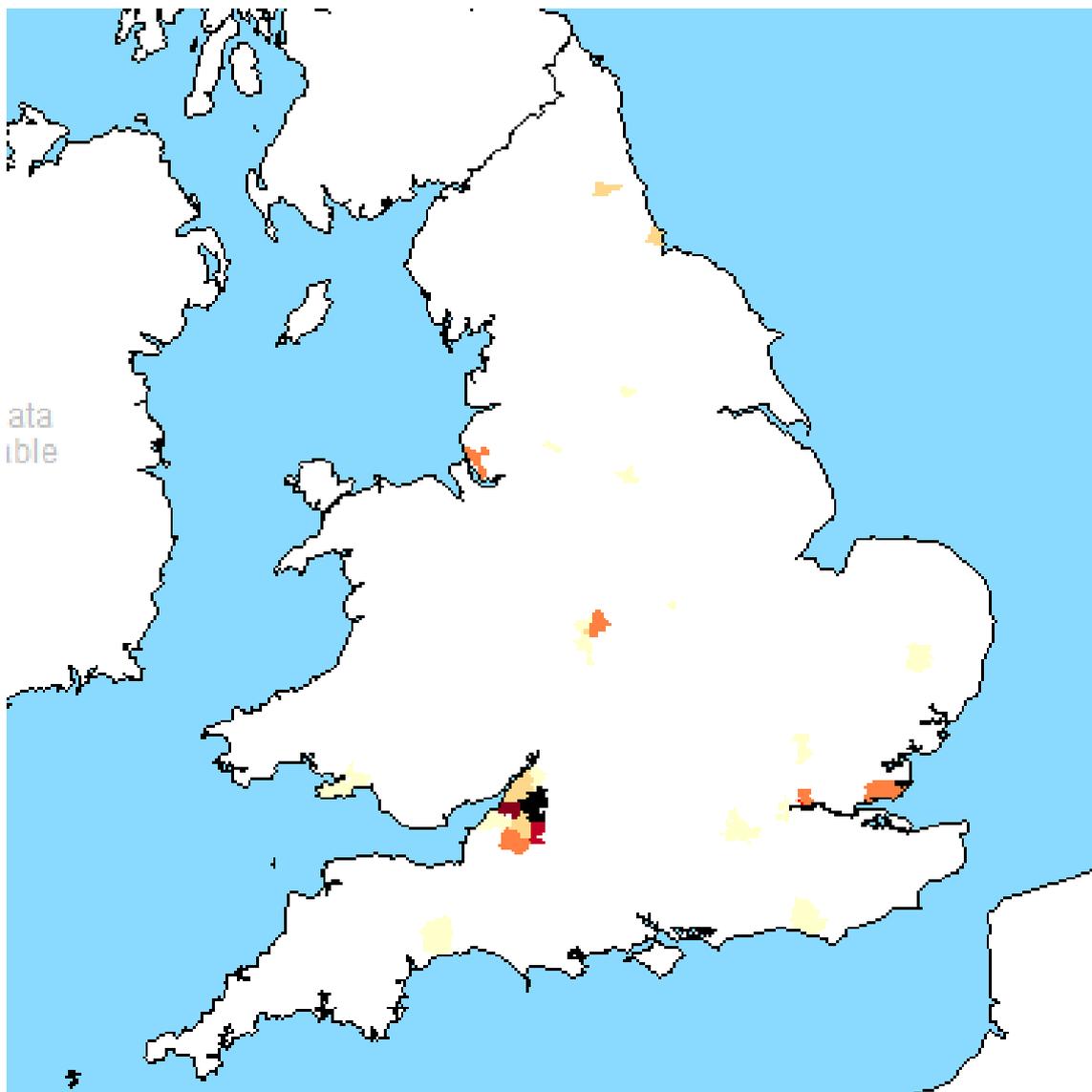


Fig. 2.1 — Poor Law Union distribution of the surname *Luton* in 1881.
Map from Archer (2011)

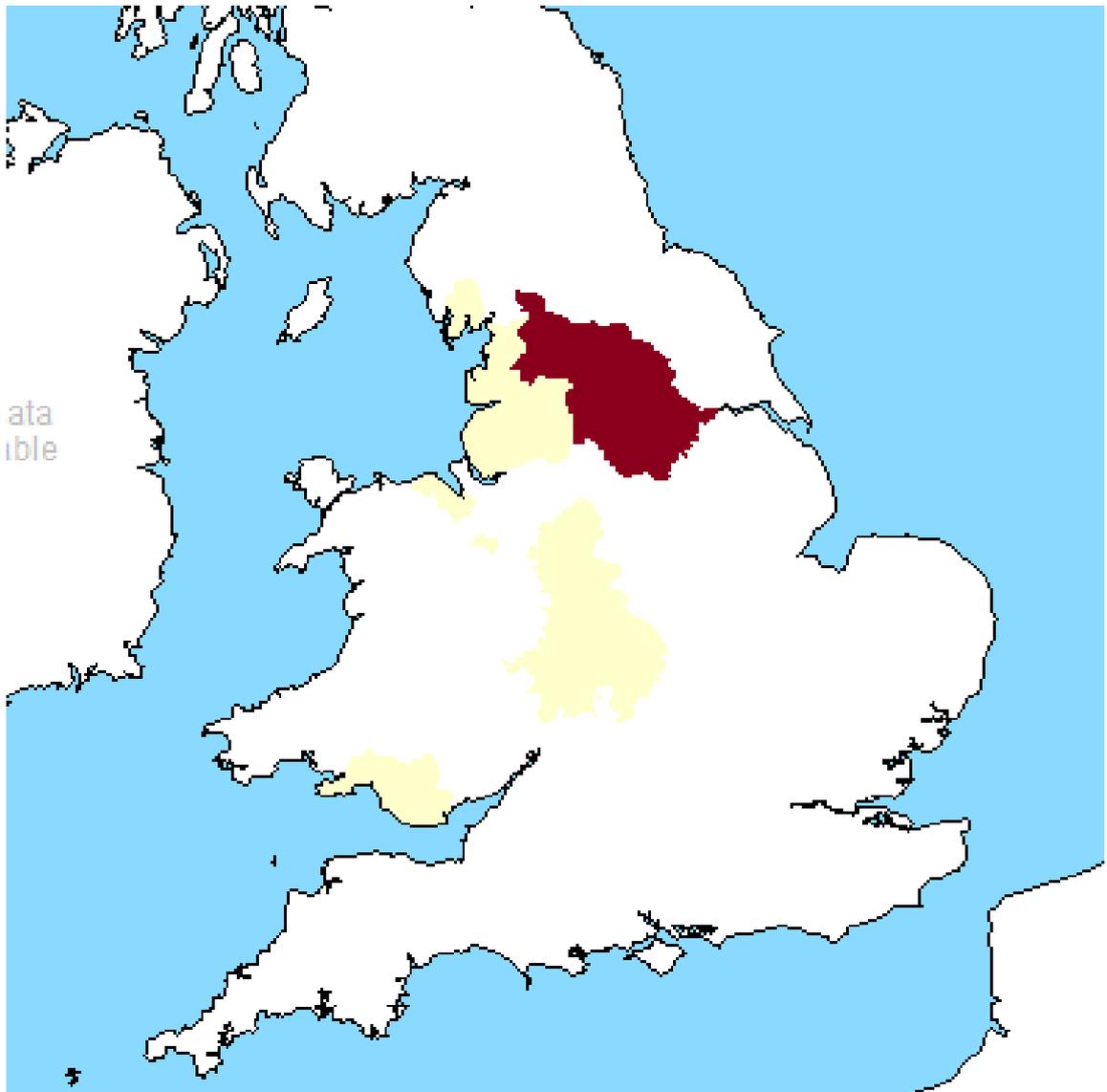


Fig. 2.2 — County distribution of the surname *Tordoff* in 1881.
Map from Archer (2011)

medieval form *Lutton* (see Watts, 2004: 377) represented in the surname (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: “Luton”).

However, while the map for the surname *Luton* shows a particularly localised distribution, this is not necessarily the case for all names. A number of surnames may not have their origin in the by-name of one particular person from one particular place, but a number of unrelated bearers who were known by the same by-name. For example, the surname *Smith* surely has its origin in many unrelated persons of the trade. Its frequency today, as well as during the medieval period, ‘is due chiefly to the blacksmith who was ubiquitous. We find him on every manor and in the towns where the smiths congregated’ (Reaney, 1967: 163) and as a result the name is found throughout the UK in such great numbers that it is highly unlikely to have originated from a single bearer.

Distribution can also be misleading when investigating a name’s origin. Reaney (1967: 321) was very much aware of this fact, warning that ‘the modern distribution of surnames is no safe guide’. Redmonds, King and Hey (2011: 99) exemplify this point in an analysis of the surname *Tordoff*. ‘It derives from a locality known as Tordoff Point on the Scottish side of the Solway Firth’, but the 1881 distribution would encourage the researcher to look for the name’s origin in the West Riding of Yorkshire (WRY) (see figure 2.2). In such cases, an investigation of biographical and prosopographical evidence is also required in order to trace the migratory patterns of the relevant surname bearers.

By consulting historical records and gathering a number of instances of a name from different times, it can be possible to see the route a name has taken from its place of origin. Redmonds, King and Hey (2011: 99) have carried out the necessary investigation for *Tordoff*, finding that,

the surname survived in Dumfriesshire into the late fifteenth century. The next references place it in York between 1499 and 1524, where the family were pewterers, and then in and around Leeds and Bradford by 1572, where it ramified successfully in the village of Wibsey. More than 95 per cent of the 707 Tordoffs in 1881 lived in the West Riding, with Bradford (386) and Leeds (145) the major centres; the surname is still numerous in both places at the present day.

It is clear, then, that name distribution 'will never be sufficient on its own to tell the full story and should be analysed in the context of each name's history' (Redmonds, King and Hey, 2011: 84). Nevertheless, Archer's *British 19th Century Surname Atlas* is still an invaluable tool and one which can make an important contribution to by-name and surname research. Previous regional studies (see Redmonds, 1973; McKinley, 1975, 1977, 1981, 1988; Postles, 1995, 1998) were published before Archer's atlas was available, and so there is a need to update the field through further regional research.

2.4 Migration

While they can cause difficulty in determining a name's origin, migration patterns are of interest to anthroponomasticians. Toponymic by-names and surnames can be studied to estimate the distances people were willing to migrate, and where people tended to migrate from and to. In some cases, this analysis can show how certain names, which do not have their origin in the place they are most common today, came to be associated with it.

McClure (1979) provides the definitive framework for using names in migration studies.

A cursory inspection of any thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century document listing tenants in an English town usually reveals that up to half or more of the persons listed bear surnames derived from the names of other towns or villages,

and therefore,

place-name surnames are a potentially important and abundant source of evidence for the study of population mobility in medieval England (McClure, 1979: 167).

In this work, McClure is clear in asserting that toponymic surnames are not necessarily a completely reliable source of information, but the fact that there is very little contextual evidence for migratory patterns during the medieval period makes them of considerable value.

One of the greater challenges in using toponymic names as migration evidence is a purely methodological issue. McClure (1979: 168) estimates that ‘not much more than 40 per cent of medieval English towns and villages were uniquely named,’ meaning it is often impossible to establish, with any certainty, the place of origin of a person with a common toponym as a by-name. To combat this problem, McClure employs two separate analyses. One of his methods is to connect toponymic by-names to the nearest possible place of origin, where the other is to only use those which are linguistically non-ambiguous. This methodology ensures that the apparent distances migrants have travelled are not overestimated.

Penn (1983) has followed McClure’s framework in a study of Bristol migrants, and his work could be usefully compared with this project. While care must be taken not to misrepresent the significance of Penn’s findings in relation to the names of the Cotswolds, as Bristol is, after all, a separate locality, their proximity may result in their showing similar patterns of ‘pulling power’. Penn (1983: 129) concludes that ‘the

evidence ... points convincingly to early 14th-century Bristol as a town of pulling power second only to London and superior to that of both York and Norwich'. An analysis of the names of the Cotswolds can be considered along with Penn's findings to determine how the region compared to Bristol in terms of pulling power, allowing an assessment of its national importance to be made (see 4.4.1). Further relevant works include Holman (1979) and Yarbrough (1980).

It must be noted that a toponymic surname only indicates the place of origin of the bearer's male ancestor on whom the original by-name was bestowed. So, the names in records from a period of established surname heredity cannot be used to estimate distances migrated by their bearers. However, this does not mean that they cannot be used in migration analysis. A collection of toponymic surnames may still show general trends in migration and the pulling-power of certain regions and settlements, and can be used in diachronic comparison with names from, or close to, a period of non-heredity to show changes in the toponymic name stock, possibly reflecting general changes in migration patterns.

Another issue that must be considered is the significance of county- and country-based names, such as *Wiltshire*, *Walsh* and *French*. While these denote places, their non-specific nature means any estimation of distance travelled by their bearers is difficult, and so they have not been used in previous studies. Furthermore, names such as these may not denote locative origin at all, but could have been used to indicate the bearer's native language or characteristics associated with people of those places, and are therefore nicknames. However, considering this point, it is also possible that apparently obvious toponymic names are not as they seem. Perhaps, particularly within local communities, people from a nearby place were known to possess certain

characteristics or behavioural traits. A toponym may then be applied to a person as a nickname to denote such a stereotype. Therefore, county- or country-based names could be justifiably fed into a migration study of toponymic names, seeing as their ambiguity may be no greater than that of English toponymic names. So long as migratory distances are not over-estimated, by assuming that the name *Wiltshire*, for example, originated on the nearest point of that county's border to the place in which the bearer is recorded, it may be possible to revise an already invaluable method of migration analysis by adding these names to the data sample. Further discussion of the use of county- and country-based names can be found in **4.4.1**.

In combining a linguistic approach to surname study (in this case the interpretation of medieval forms of toponymic names) with an investigation of local history (in this case, migration), it is clear that there is value in a multidisciplinary approach to name research. It opens up new paths of enquiry that cannot be tackled by philological knowledge alone. An appreciation of this fact is surely, in part, a factor that has contributed to recent advances in the study of names.

2.5 Multidisciplinary Name Research

Redmonds (1997: 3) states that 'Reaney's work was undoubtedly very important but it marked the end of an old tradition'. Where name research had traditionally been the preserve of the historical linguist, recent works have identified limitations in a purely etymological approach, outlining the necessity for an appreciation of many factors, including 'heredity, origins, classification, etymology, ramification,

distribution, linguistic development, and social factors’, as listed by Ralph J. Crandall in the foreword to Redmonds (1997).

Many aspects of history, not just linguistic, can have a noticeable effect on name development, change and continuity. Without a multidisciplinary approach, such development may not be recognised, as illustrated by Redmonds, King and Hey’s (2011: 114–116) discussion of the name *Wolstenholme*, which takes both variant name forms and their distributions into account. Following the investigation of a number of records, and consideration of the similar distributions of *Houseman* and *Wolstenholme* in 1881, the authors show that *Wolstenholme* may have developed into *Houseman*, realised through a number of variant forms, including *Wolsenholm*, *Wolstman*, *Woolsmon*, *Oulsman* and *Ousman*.

Without an appreciation of their distributions, and without a comparison of names from records of different dates, it would not be possible to establish the connection between *Wolstenholme* and *Houseman*; indeed, Reaney and Wilson (1997: 240) suggest that *Houseman* was equivalent to *House*, borne by someone ‘employed at “the house” (OE *hūs*), probably a religious house, convent’. It is, of course, possible that Reaney and Wilson are correct in some instances and that Redmonds, King and Hey are correct in others. What is important is that all linguistically possible origins of a name are known so that an informed proposal can be made as to its true origin, based on the context and record in which the name is found.

Today, much attention is being turned to the use of DNA analysis in name research and genealogy (see Sykes and Irven, 2000; Jobling, 2001; Smith, 2002; King and Jobling, 2009). Familial relationships have been determined by linking the transmission of Y-chromosomal DNA with surname inheritance. Such investigation can

be used to prove or disprove common ancestry between people with surnames of identical etymological origin and can, therefore, show whether a particular name in existence today is likely to have just one progenitor or multiple, distinct origins. For example, if genetic analysis of a number of people with the surname *Smith* showed that they did not all share similar DNA on the Y chromosome, it would be clear that the name was borne and passed down by a number of different people who shared no familial relationship. DNA evidence can also be used to prove a relationship between people with different surnames that are expected, based on linguistic evidence, to have the same origin. For example, some instances of the name *Houseman* could be conclusively proven to be a form of *Wolstenholme* if people with these two names were shown to share Y-chromosomal DNA.

This technique relies on the assumption that the father will always pass on his surname to his son, which is not always the case. A non-paternity event, that is ‘illegitimacy, adoption or a change of family name’ (Redmonds, King and Hey, 2011: 52), can make it difficult to accurately identify people of different generations who might share Y-chromosomal DNA. Considering this, in some cases, the findings of DNA analysis must be used more as an aid to name research, alongside documentary evidence. However, it is still a powerful tool with the potential to completely revolutionise the field.

Genetic study is of further use in the analysis of surname inheritance. Sturges and Haggitt (1987) formulated a mathematical model which could predict the chance of a surname becoming extinct due to the absence of a son to inherit a father’s name. They showed, with a sample of 1000 names from the year 1350, assuming that each different name was borne by an average of 2.2 males, that only ‘430 survived for 23 generations’

(Sturges and Haggett, 1987: 29), up to about 1994. These findings could explain why it is often not possible to find a modern form for many medieval names.

2.6 National and Regional Name Surveys

2.6.1 *National Name Surveys*

Reaney (1967) and McKinley (1990) have both produced works which offer a general introduction to by-names and surnames, discussing the history, nature and development of names nationally, investigating issues such as name type, origins, etymology and heredity. Other research tends to favour a regional approach, as there appears to be much variation in the naming practices of different parts of England and the British Isles, but as overviews of the field, Reaney's and McKinley's works are invaluable.

Both of them did touch on the topic of regional variation in a number of findings and so their national name surveys are by no means inadequately researched. Their discussions on the establishment of surname heredity touch on this regional variation, with McKinley (1990: 32) noting that 'in the north of England, developments occurred about a century later than in the south and Midlands. Wales and Scotland each had their own course of development'. In an analysis of name type proportions in a number of English counties, McKinley found further variation. Where one of his aims was to show diachronic name change, through a comparison of type proportions in the 14th century with those of the 16th and 17th centuries, his figures also show clear differences between English counties (see **Appendix 1**).

McKinley's name types differ slightly from those described in *1.1.2*, but choice of name type classification is irrelevant here. What is important is the variation in proportion between different counties. To give an example, in 1332 only 3% of surnames and by-names in Lancashire had their origin in a personal name, where the corresponding value for Suffolk in 1327 was 30%. It is clear from this, and many other comparisons that can be drawn from this table, that there was much regional variation, at the county level, in name type. The recognition of this, and other regional variation in name patterns, has led to research on the names of individual counties, in an attempt to reach more accurate conclusions on the nature of English by-names and surnames.

However, comparison of name type proportions calculated in different county-based research is not necessarily a reliable method for determining regional naming distinctions. The classification of names is made according to "meaning", but the ambiguity of this term is problematic, with no distinction made between the etymology of a name and the motivation behind its bestowal or adoption. This leads to classification difficulties when, for example, a researcher is faced with the name *Bridge*. Etymologically, the name is locative, derived from a topographical feature, but motivationally it could have multiple origins, possibly used to refer to someone who worked at a bridge taking tolls, or for someone who lived near a bridge. This ambiguity has caused different researchers to calculate significantly different name type proportions from the same records (see Parkin, 2013, for a more detailed discussion). While the comparison of name type proportions can be helpful in identifying regionally distinct naming patterns, the sometimes irreconcilable methodologies of different scholars mean that a comparison of their works can never be a completely reliable measure and should always be approached with caution. Note that the names analysed

in this project have been classified according to their possible motivation, so that they could be studied in terms of the intention behind their original use as by-names, rather than their etymological origins.

2.6.2 *Regional Name Surveys*

Redmonds (1997: 2) comments that some works written on English by-names and surnames ‘are so general ... that they best be avoided by all those feeling their way in the subject’. While he was probably not referring to the aforementioned works of Reaney and McKinley, which contain a wealth of important information, Redmonds appears to suggest that generality should have little place in name research. It follows, therefore, that it should be focused on particular aspects of naming patterns, one of these being the ‘very sizeable [by-name and surname] differences ... between the different English regions’ (McKinley, 1990: 20).

In order to investigate regionally specific naming in England, the English Surnames Series began to investigate by-names and surnames at county level, with the aim of eventually covering the entire country. Unfortunately, only seven volumes were published (Redmonds, 1973; McKinley, 1975, 1977, 1981, 1988; Postles, 1995, 1998), but the various regional name characteristics that were uncovered did much to exhibit the value of name research and its contribution to local historical knowledge.

The great merit of the English Surnames Series ... stands: in contrast with other recent works based on similar source-materials, these studies never lose sight of the special nature of naming, as distinct from common vocabulary, and so proceed consistently in terms of social status, of domicile and landholding, of migration-patterns, of economic activity, or gender and familial relationships, of types of milieu, and of ramification of individual clans (Clark, 1995: 384).

Even so, surveys at the county level are not necessarily the most appropriate for discovering the regionally specific nature of names. Postles (1995: 4) alluded to this in his study of the surnames of Devon, where he writes,

The main purpose here is to provide an interconnection between anthroponymy and social and economic research into the late middle ages and early modern period, within the context of Devon as a regional society (although counties can never be such an entity).

His recognition of the county as unrepresentative of a regional society suggests that there may be greater value in name research at a more localised level. Redmonds (2004: xiv) has also implied that county level analysis may be inadequate, stating that ‘many of the counties are made up of several distinct regions, and these can be linked to marked differences in their topography, history and language’. Hey (2000: xi) further supports this view:

The research that will forward our understanding of how surnames arose and spread will need to be focused on particular parts of the country, looking at how groups of names were formed at different times in particular local communities.

Redmonds’ (2011), *The Yorkshire Dales* is possibly the first work which studies the names of a topographically distinct region, rather than the more common approach of focusing on the administratively distinct county.

The analysis of the names specific to any given county is, in effect, an analysis of the names found in a large administrative unit. This is less than ideal, with administrative units creating artificial boundaries unlikely to have much influence on names, unlikely to separate particular groups of people and unlikely to act as any real

physical boundary at all. The investigation of the names found in a topographically distinct region is more appropriate, with such regions possessing boundaries that are more “real” than those of the county.

Schürer (2002: 226–227) has identified a number of factors that act as boundaries and barriers to migration and mobility and so it is likely that these have affected name distribution and localisation throughout England:

Some of these barriers, the easiest to identify, were of a physical nature: an escarpment; a river perhaps; or maybe even a forest. Others were broadly economic: the relative lack or surplus of employment opportunities, perhaps only perceived rather than real; or the sheer cost in terms of time and money of long distance travel. Yet to these we need also to add a third category, barriers which are perhaps best described as social or cultural ... Such barriers are perhaps best summarized as by-products of loyalties to a particular place ... It may indeed have been the case that the collective perception of social, economic and geographical barriers underpinned a network of boundaries that in turn acted to demarcate what may be termed ‘regional identities’.

As well as having an effect on local naming patterns through the boundaries they create, such regional identities can be identified in names themselves. Clark (2002: 102) recognises that ‘naming ... respects the “national” or, rather, the linguistic and cultural divisions within the larger realm’. She states that ‘for regional and socio-economic distinctions to have been replicated by anthroponymical ones would not be unexpected’ and exemplifies easily recognisable regional identity through the name ‘Owein Arwel Hughes’ who ‘could be nothing but Welsh’. The term *regional identity* is used here and throughout to refer to any characteristic that is recognisably associated with, though not necessarily exclusively so, a particular region or community, no matter what the size of that region or community.

From a comparison of names from different regions, separated by Schürer's (2002) and other boundaries drawn from regional identities, it may be possible to identify the extent to which regional identity has affected the localisation of certain names and naming practices. This information can then be used in an attempt to create a more accurate account of regional differences, change and continuity in English by-names and surnames.

2.7 Chapter Conclusion

The intention, through the literature review, has been to place this project in context. By presenting the development of the field of by-name and surname research, from national to regional surveys, and the importance of a multidisciplinary approach, taking many aspects of local history into account, justification has been given for the following points of analysis in the forthcoming chapters:

- By-name and surname etymology, and linguistic and onomastic ambiguity.
- Local history and prosopography.
- By-name and surname distribution.
- Migration.
- By-name and surname type proportion.
- Regional identity.

It has been emphasised that an appreciation of the appropriate local history is vital for a regional name study. Considering this, the following chapter will present a history of the Cotswolds and its potential influence on the by-names and surnames of the area.

CHAPTER 3

A History of the Cotswolds

As mentioned in 2.6.2, Schürer (2002: 227) suggests that ‘it may indeed have been the case that the collective perception of social, economic and geographical barriers underpinned a network of boundaries’. These boundaries will then have served to create a number of distinct regions throughout the English counties and the country as a whole.

The literature which has discussed the regionally specific nature of naming patterns and practices has shown that an in-depth historical knowledge of an area is paramount to understanding what has caused certain names and patterns to have become specific to one particular region. That being so, this chapter will present a history of the Cotswolds, discussing social, economic, linguistic and geographical factors and how these may have affected the names of the area from 1381 to c1600, informing the data analysis in chapters 4, 5 and 6.

3.1 Topography

The county of Gloucestershire is roughly made up of three topographically distinct regions: the Forest of Dean, the Vale of Berkeley and the Cotswolds. While these regions lie either wholly or partly within Gloucestershire, ‘a purely artificial unit’

(Finberg, 1975: 21), they have very different landscapes. Their topographical isolation is emphasised by Finberg (1975: 22) who states that

were it not that recently improved communications have linked them much more closely together than ever before, there would be little or no justification for attempting to deal with all three in one narrative.

The topography that outlines the Cotswolds and distinguishes it from the surrounding areas creates a physical boundary with the potential to cause regionally specific name patterns and characteristics in the area. Furthermore, different parts within the Cotswolds are topographically distinct and so name differences between these distinct parts can be compared in order to investigate the anthroponomastic effect of topographical isolation within a small area.

Perhaps the most prominent feature of Cotswold topography is its escarpment, which marks ‘the whole western frontier of the Cotswolds’ (Hadfield and Hadfield, 1973: 15). This high scarp falls sharply to the west into the valley of the river Severn and so any settlement at its top is exposed. To the east of the escarpment ‘the Cotswolds slope imperceptibly into the basin of the Thames’ (Green, 1973: 250), and although the easternmost area of the Cotswolds is still relatively high, it is sheltered in comparison to the escarpment. The east Cotswolds is therefore topographically different from the west. A comparison of names found in the east and west may show what role height and exposure had in creating boundaries that dictated settlement, regional identity and name patterns (see **6.5**).

There is a further topographical difference within the Cotswolds, between the north-east and south-west.

Over the wide wold of the north and east and centre sweeps turf and ploughland ... Up and down the heights and gullies of west and south grow the woods, and along every stream are the mills, the hamlets, the small works, the craftsmen (Hadfield and Hadfield, 1966: 15).

A clear distinction can be drawn between the wide open land of the north-east and the valleys and gullies in the woodland of the south-west. In addition, it appears that the industrially advantageous position along the streams is likely to have affected specific settlement patterns and raises the possibility that topographical features may have had some influence on habitative tendencies according to industry (see *4.5.1* and *5.5.3*).

The distances between the distinct parts of the Cotswolds are not so large that migration can be ruled out as a possible influence on name distribution and patterns in the region. It must be taken into account when analysing topography and naming patterns because to assume, for example, that all names recorded in the north-eastern Cotswolds originated there would be wrong. However, it is also important not to overstate migratory influence.

much of the movement was within limited areas, or between places which had strong economic or administrative ties, and this helps to explain why, even now, so many English surnames are found close to where they originated (Redmonds, 1997: 16).

Topographical comparison may show just how localised such patterns are.

Furthermore, a study of names that appreciates the wider topography of England may also be worthwhile. It is possible that topography has had some part in migration to the Cotswolds, and so an identification of the major routes into the Cotswolds, along with the other parts of England that they serve, could suggest the likely origins of migrants to the area. Identifying the common routes into the Cotswolds and possible

reasons for immigration is required in order to determine how outside influence has contributed to the Cotswold name stock.

3.2 Migration

A number of Roman roads pass through the Cotswolds providing easy access to the region, even for those who would have to travel relatively long distances.

Cirencester, in the south of the Cotswolds, is a point of convergence for these roads, presumably because of its prosperity and importance during the Roman period, being the site of *Cironium* (see Coates, 2013), ‘the second largest centre in the Roman province of Britain’ (Hadfield, 1973: 218). Cox, Hadfield and Bick (1973: 139–140) have described the network of major Roman roads in the Cotswolds:

The line of the Foss Way is a spinal route, from Moreton-in-Marsh, through Stow-on-the-Wold past Northleach to Cirencester. Most of the alignment south of Cirencester, however, is no longer in use ... Cirencester, of course, was a centre of Roman roads, and one may still follow the radial Ermin Street to the scarp edge at Birdlip for Gloucester ... or go north along the White Way, north-east along Akeman Street towards Quenington ... or south-east towards Cricklade.

It would be reasonable to expect, given Cirencester’s continued prosperity, and location in the Roman road network, that the town has attracted migrants who have contributed to its name stock. Similarly, the proximity of other settlements (such as Lower Slaughter, Bourton-on-the-Water and Chipping Campden) to Roman roads may also be linked to their growth and prosperity, not just because they will have been easy to travel to, but because the nearby roads could serve as trade routes.

It is possible that the relationship between settlement and Roman road is not quite so important, particularly when considering the period of English surname heredity. Roughly a century after the Roman departure from Britain ‘long stretches of the roads would have been quite overgrown and useless’ (Margary, 1973: 23) and so many roads may not have been in suitable condition for use as trade routes, probably up to about 1555 when an ‘act compelling parishioners to repair and maintain the highways was passed’ (Bagshawe, 1979).

The Roman roads are, nevertheless, worth investigation. As they ‘linked Roman sites which were invariably situated near a water supply ... initially Claudian forts, posting stations ..., developed towns or tribal capitals’ (Bagshawe, 1979), it is safe to assume that settlements near Roman roads, whether or not the first buildings were erected during the Roman period, after it, or before, are in relatively advantageous positions. It follows that regions close to Roman roads might have attracted a greater number of people, from greater distances. That being so, an investigation of migrant names found in the Cotswolds, and the typical origins of these migrants, could be carried out in order to assess the importance of the national road network for migration, and its role in changes in the regional name stock (see **4.4.1** and **5.3.2**).

A major influx of immigrants to the area came as a result of its importance to the wool trade. ‘In the Fifteenth Century, Cotswold wool was considered the best in England and therefore in Europe. It was the basis of the prosperity of that lovely region’ (Trevelyan, 1946: 87). This was partly due to the skill of the Flemish weavers invited to work in England by Edward III. ‘Skilled artificers with trade secrets were invited over’ (Trevelyan, 1946: 36) so that the ‘immense pre-eminence of English wool in the European markets’ (Power, 1933: 39) could be maintained, with many coming from

Flanders thanks to the strong alliance formed with the region during the Hundred Years' War, described by Trevelyan (1946: 33) as an

attempt to keep open the market for our wool and cloth trade in Flanders and in France. The alliance with Van Artevelde and the Flemish burghers against France, was at once diplomatic and commercial.

When studying the effect of migration on the names of the Cotswolds, it is important, then, to allow for influence from outside of the country, particularly from well-known cloth-producing regions. Although the Cotswold wool trade was perhaps at its peak in the fifteenth century, 'there are Flemish weavers recorded in Wotton-under-Edge by 1330' (Mander, 2009: 8) and so the names of foreign immigrants may well have been long established in the area (see 4.4.2 and 5.3.3).

The migration of skilled foreign workers is not the only factor that may have contributed to the Cotswold name stock as a direct result of the wool trade, with many wool trade-related names of English origin, predominantly of the occupational type, likely to have been formed in the region.

3.3 Trade and Occupation

3.3.1 *Wool and Cloth*

As previously discussed, the wool trade was important to the economy of the Cotswolds, with 'Cotswold wool fetching particularly high prices' (Bingham, 2009: 33–34) compared with wool produced in other parts of England. For clarification, the term *wool trade* will be used throughout not only in reference to wool production and

processing, but cloth manufacture too. For the purposes of this project it is often not necessary to distinguish between the two as their dependence on one another means that their influence on Cotswold names is closely related. When a distinction between wool and cloth production is required, the terms *raw wool production* and *cloth production* will be used.

There were a considerable number of processes involved in the medieval wool trade, and so there was the potential for many descriptive occupational by-names to have been formed. Walrond (1973: 185), in his ‘diagram of the principal processes in broadcloth manufacturing’, identifies no less than 16 distinct stages, and does not include those related to sheep farming or the sale of wool and cloth. To give an idea of the number of different names that may be related to the wool trade, Fransson (1935: 81–118) includes a whole chapter dedicated to ‘Cloth Workers’ in his work on ME occupational surnames,⁷ which contains no fewer than 164 names. Some of these do not necessarily relate to woollen cloth, with names relating to silk, felt and horsehair also included, but the majority do. Considering the importance of the wool trade to the Cotswold economy and the wide variety of wool-related occupational names in England, wool trade processes are likely to have given rise to many names in the Cotswolds.

It is important, during the analysis in this project, that such processes are well known in order to correctly connect certain names to the wool trade, so that its effect on the names of the Cotswolds can be appreciated. In addition to this, further comparative analysis can be carried out between different parts of the Cotswolds at different periods,

⁷ Note that Fransson’s use of the word *surnames* refers, in terms of this project, to both by-names and surnames.

based on historical knowledge of the trade, so that a more accurate understanding of the region's by-name and surname development can be reached. In other words, the wool trade-related identity of the Cotswolds can be investigated and then the possible anthroponymic impact of this identity can be suggested.

Many works mention clear differences between certain areas of the Cotswolds. One point for analysis is the changing centre of the wool trade in the Cotswolds, from the north-east to the south-west, between the two periods covered by this project. Walrond (1973: 181) mentions that 'about 1279 the parish of Blockley, near Chipping Campden ... was assessed as having enough pasture to feed 800 sheep. Twenty years later the number had been increased to 1,612 and by 1383 to 2,065', exhibiting the strength of raw wool production in the north-east Cotswolds during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However,

as the export of raw wool declined the medieval prosperity of the little towns and villages of the north Cotswolds declined with it ... the bulk of the Cotswold cloth manufacture from the middle of the fifteenth century onward was centred in the south and southwest. (Brill, 1955: 205)

Walrond (1973: 189) suggests this change was slightly later, noting that

the cloth industry, by this time [*c1600*] dead over much of the north and east Cotswolds, was expanding in the valleys around Dursley and Wotton-under-Edge, and in particular around Stroud, Chalford, Woodchester and Painswick.

Regardless of who is more accurate, it is clear that the Cotswold wool trade changed between 1381 and c1600, with its centre moving to the south-west as the 'export of wool as raw material declined, and yielded precedence to the export of manufactured cloth' (Finberg, 1975: 86).

Considering this, a comparison of the names found in the north-east and south-west Cotswolds is justified, as suggested in **3.1**. It will examine the general anthroponymic effect of the shift from raw wool production to cloth manufacturing, including its influence on the localised distribution of the region's names. This comparison will not be restricted to occupational wool trade names, and analysis should not necessarily consider the particular name type at all. As the parish registers being used are from a period that postdates the generally accepted date of hereditary surname establishment, it is unlikely that the names from these records will provide a true description of people's occupations. Instead, the analysis will investigate all names of the Cotswolds, exploring the possible impact of changes in the regional economy and industrial conditions (see *4.5.1* and *5.5.3*).

Since it had been such an important industry, there are many more distinctions to be drawn between different parts of the Cotswolds in terms of the regional wool trade. Perry's (1945) extensive account of the woollen industry from 1100–1690 provides many of these, on which name analysis can be based.

While wool had been traded in Bristol from 'as early as 1188' (Simpson, 1931: 69, footnote 7), and Gloucester had been 'a fairly important centre of woollen industry' (Perry, 1945: 59), Perry (1945: 51) stresses that 'it is a mistake to assume that the medieval wool industry [of Gloucestershire] was concentrated in Bristol and Gloucester', and that 'the existence of fairly plentiful material for the history of the Bristol crafts has tended to obscure the steady growth of production in rural areas'. While the significance and influence of the large towns and cities cannot be ignored, rural Gloucestershire, especially the rural parts of the Cotswolds, was very important to the wool trade. In the early fifteenth century the Bristol guild system was beginning to

break down as cloth production laws were ignored and fulling was increasingly carried out in the Cotswolds:

The sending of “raucloth” [*unfulled cloth*, *DHP*] out of town to be fulled had always been forbidden, but gild regulations had evidently not suppressed the practice. There was a strong inducement to send out cloth for fulling. Whatever may have been the truth about the skill of the country fullers, the streams which flowed down from the Cotswolds afforded a water supply far purer than that of the Bristol Avon, where the ancient appointed places for the work lost favour as the city grew in size (Perry, 1945: 69).

As favourable conditions, and possibly workers of greater skill, existed in the Cotswolds, Bristol gradually lost its status as an industrial centre of the wool trade. ‘It seems that after 1500 the industry, though still of some importance, declined relatively to that of rural Gloucestershire’ (Perry, 1945: 73).

This information can be used to inform name analysis based on rural and urban distinctions. Seeing as ‘restrictive practices in the towns encouraged cloth production in the countryside’ (Hurst, 2005: 107), a comparison of the names found in such settlements, while also taking into account the period during which such changes were most noticeable, may provide an explanation for any name differences between urban and rural Cotswold settlements. As mentioned by Perry, the effects of the break-up of the guilds were felt after the beginning of the fifteenth century, so a comparison of names from the 1381 PT and c1600 PR is appropriate in such analysis. It is, however, clear that this change was gradual, with cloth manufacturing having been moving from town to country ‘ever since the Thirteenth Century’ (Trevelyan, 1946: 85). Indeed, Hurst (2005: 108) states that ‘the future lay with rural cloth makers who were, for instance, setting up by c.1300 on the banks of the River Frome in an area later to be known as Stroudwater’. Therefore, care must be taken when comparing names from

these different periods, bearing in mind that many name changes, as a result of this change in the wool trade, may already have taken place in the Cotswolds before 1381.

The guild system may also have had an indirect effect on Cotswold names when wool trade-related occupational by-names first became hereditary.

Under the medieval guild system each urban craftsman was responsible for one process only, the product changing ownership repeatedly in its progress from fleece to cloth. The rural clothier on the other hand bought the wool and supervised every process up to the marketing of the cloth (Walrond, 1973: 184).

This being so, the urban craftsmen are more likely to have been known by their specific occupation than the rural clothiers, who did not necessarily have one single role in the production process. If this was the case, it is possible that non-hereditary by-names persisted for longer in urban, rather than rural, areas, as there was a greater need to identify people by their roles. This could be investigated by a comparison of names and occupations of individuals in the 1381 Cotswold PT, comparing those from rural and urban settlements. If name and occupation are synonymous⁸ then one possible explanation for this is non-heredity (see 4.3).

One occupation specific to the wool trade that can be used to guide name analysis is fulling, and it is likely to have given rise to a number of names in the Cotswolds. ‘Throughout medieval times much cloth was “fulled under fote”’ (Perry, 1945: 52), an important cleaning process during cloth production. In an area such as the

⁸ The use of the term *synonymous* is conceptually problematic here as it usually refers to equivalency in meaning, and meaning cannot be conclusively established for names. However, without a more appropriate term, when investigating occupational names and descriptions throughout this thesis, *synonymous* is used to describe a combination of name and occupation where the occupation is one indicated by the name’s etymology.

Cotswolds, where the wool trade was important to the regional economy, it is perhaps more likely that most of the cloth was prepared in industrial fulling mills, rather than trodden under foot, as ‘all cloth of any quality had to go through [the milling] process’ (Brill, 1968: 138). Nevertheless, fulling would have been an important occupation in the Cotswolds.

The fulling of cloth has given rise to three different occupational names in England. These are *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker*, all of which are apparently identical in meaning but regionally specific in their use (see Schürer, 2004: 55–56 and 68). Nationally, *Fuller* has been shown to be a south-eastern name, *Tucker* is south-western, and *Walker* covers the rest of the country. However, with limited research into the names of particular regions, little is known on the localised distribution and distinctions of such regionally specific yet synonymous names. This can be investigated with the Cotswold data, as the region is close to the isogloss boundary for *Tucker* and *Walker*. Such analysis could provide new information on the localised use of names, and then an assessment of the relationship between national and local patterns of name distribution can be made (see 5.6.1 and 5.6.2).

As mentioned previously, by the middle of the fifteenth century the wool trade was more centred in the south-west Cotswolds than the north-east. However, once the trade was established in the south-west, there were still changes to come. With the increase in Cotswold production, caused by the break-up of the Bristol guilds, came the need for expansion and as a result the Stroudwater valleys became increasingly industrialised for such purposes, ‘at the expense not only of the vale towns but the ancient Cotswold centres of the woollen manufacture’ (Perry, 1945: 78).

Along the River Frome, ‘from Chalford near the head of the main valley down to Stonehouse’ (Perry, 1945: 78), were a number of fulling mills, and

The wonderfully clear water was perfect for applying the finest dyed finishes ... and its quantity was great enough for driving many fulling mills. In the fifteenth century there was much expansion of cloth production, in this part of the south Cotswolds (Hurst, 2005: 132).

The suitability of the water, along with good access to wool as a raw material and the proximity to Bristol for exportation purposes meant that ‘the Cotswolds ... flourished’ (Keen, 2003: 149) as a cloth-producing region, with many settlements along the Frome and its tributaries in the Stroudwater valleys becoming important cloth-producing towns, including Painswick, Nailsworth and Woodchester. The Stroudwater region had become so important that when an act of 1555 ‘attempted to confine the large scale manufacture of cloth to the towns an exception had to be made in favour of the district’⁹ (Perry, 1945: 80). Furthermore, those people in John Smith’s (1980) muster roll from 1608 who ‘were employed in the industry as clothiers, weavers, fullers and dyers in the 23 little villages which lay in this district ... represent about 42 per cent of the able-bodied population’ (Perry, 1945: 81–82).

The increasing importance of the wool trade to the area can be used to inform a further approach to name analysis, investigating the effect of the ‘steady industrialisation of the Stroudwater valleys’ (Perry, 1945: 78) on the names of the Cotswolds. By analysing the names found in the Stroudwater valleys, an attempt can be made to determine just how important this ‘most remarkable development of the 16th

⁹ The intention of this act was ‘to encourage the industry in corporate and market-towns, to limit the number of looms and apprentices who might be employed by country masters, and to ensure that different branches of the industry were not engrossed in the hands of the same employer’ (Crittall, 1959: 148).

century' (Perry, 1945: 78) was to the Cotswold wool trade, and what influence it had over its names (see 4.5.1, 5.5.2 and 5.5.3).

The wool trade and its development in the Cotswolds is such a major part of the region's history that its contribution to regional identity will have been considerable. The history of the trade, given above, is by no means exhaustive, but is meant as a general introduction and to show how the resulting identity of the Cotswolds can be applied to name analysis. An appreciation of the region's history will be used as a starting point for this analysis, used to identify name distinctions and changes, leading to more in-depth investigation. Any analytical choice made according to the history of the Cotswold wool trade will be explained more thoroughly as investigation is carried out in the following chapters.

3.3.2 *Building and Masonry*

The wool trade was 'the major factor in the growth of the Cotswold towns' (Smith, Eagles and Morgan, 1973: 103), and so is likely to have influenced the names of the area. There were, however, other industrial practices in the Cotswolds that may have dictated regional identity and therefore naming; one of these being building:

[fourteenth century] references in various Cotswold parishes to quarries, stonemasons and tilers indicate the exploitation of the local limestone for building. Quarries in Barrington, Sherborne and Windrush were providing stone for buildings in London and Oxford from the fourteenth century as well as for local building (Smith, Eagles and Morgan, 1973: 103).

The fact that Cotswold limestone was used in London suggests it was a desired material, whether this was due to quality or aesthetics, with its popularity apparent in the distance people were willing to have it transported. Given this level of popularity, it is likely that the quarrying and cutting of Cotswold limestone would have been important to the regional economy. It would be expected, then, that it would have been very much a part of regional identity, which could in turn have contributed to the area's names.

The geology of the Cotswolds has meant that suitable stone for building was only quarried in certain parts. The quarries mentioned by Smith, Eagles and Morgan, in Barrington (now Little and Great Barrington separately), Sherborne and Windrush, are in the east Cotswolds and so this area may have a greater number of names related to quarrying and masonry, especially in the 1381 PT, where a greater number of names will be descriptive or only recently hereditary. It must, however, be appreciated that such names may not always be site specific. Perhaps the by-name *Quarrier* was more likely to be found near a quarry, but a *Mason* might not have been required to live near the site at which his stone was excavated.

There is little literature on the age of Cotswold quarries, and so any comparison of name distribution and quarry sites must consider the possibility that some names predate some quarries. In such cases, the distribution of people with building-related names is not necessarily related to the distribution of these quarries, meaning the two cannot be usefully compared. This makes the analysis of building and quarrying names difficult and limited for the Cotswolds, however, the quarrying of Stonesfield Slate can be more accurately studied, as more seems to be known of the practice.

Stonesfield Slate is used for the

typical Cotswold roof ... though it is not slate in the geological sense ... The correct term should be “Tilestone”, for it is, in fact, a sandy limestone which splits nicely into thin layers which are suitable for roofing (Dreghorn, 1967: 135).

The Slate was often dug straight from the surface of the ground and so was readily available, though only in certain areas where ‘the Stonesfield Slate series of rocks form passage-beds from the Fuller’s Earth clay to the Great Oolite limestones’ (Dreghorn, 1967: 136). Such a feature was only found in areas where the Great Oolite was outcropping from Inferior Oolite and, as a result, much of the Slate was taken from areas south-east of the Cotswold scarp. The necessary geology was found in ‘the old slate-quarrying area at Sevenhampton’ (Dreghorn, 1967: 136), which was a great contributor to the Cotswold industry.

It is possible that there are a greater number of by-names and surnames related to tiling, including *Slatter* and *Tiler*, to be found in these areas. However, as mentioned in the case of masons, a tiler would not necessarily have lived near points at which the tiles were commonly found. Even so, an initial analysis of the 1381 PT appears to show a greater number of people with the surname *Slatter* in the east of the Cotswolds, with very few instances of the name elsewhere. This will be studied more thoroughly in the following chapter (see 4.5.4), but the data appears to show that slate-related occupations and their resultant hereditary surnames were specific to certain parts of the Cotswolds.

3.4 Social History

The use of Cotswold limestone and Stonesfield Slate may have had a further

effect on the names of the Cotswolds, altering the living conditions and villages of the area.

By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ... the local limestone was replacing timber for domestic and farm buildings, particularly for the larger farmhouses ... By 1500, then, the Cotswolds had acquired many of the physical features that are characteristic of them today; the villages with their stone farmhouses and cottages and parish churches formed comparatively self-contained units, with usually a mill and a few rural crafts ... The area was dotted with small towns and markets, forming centres of local trade and industry, but apart from the growing woollen industry the area was still predominantly an agricultural one (Smith, Eagles and Morgan, 1973: 108–109).

Between the time of the 1381 Cotswold PT and the c1600 Cotswold PR, the increasing use of Cotswold limestone contributed to the formation of ‘centres of local trade and industry’, allowing settlements to become larger, more prosperous and self-contained. Coupled with the

break-up of the feudal manor ... beginning the gradual transformation of the English village from a community of semi-bondsmen to an individualist society in which all were at least legally free (Trevelyan, 1946: 4),

which was a long process at its peak in the fourteenth century, the relative freedom of the lower classes was increasing.

It is not obvious what effect this will have had on names during the period covered by this project, but this change in Cotswold history, as well as that of much of the country, is certainly justification to consider the change and continuity of names according to status. Perhaps the increasing numbers of peasants released from serfdom caused a greater amount of migration, as people were no longer tied to the land of their lord. Conversely, perhaps the number of larger, more prosperous and self-contained

villages in the Cotswolds allowed and encouraged newly freed men to remain in such places in an attempt to establish themselves in the local economy and trade. It is possible that, as ‘the area was still predominantly an agricultural one’ (Smith, Eagles and Morgan, 1973: 109), the break-up of the feudal system had little effect on the Cotswolds in terms of status and class, with little change in focus of local farming. These possibilities are, of course, speculative. The lack of detailed biographical and prosopographical evidence for such periods makes discovering the specificities of class change difficult, though some work can still be done.

In studying names specific to certain classes, it is first necessary to evaluate which names are more common to which classes. This cannot be completely accurate, as it relies on the assumption that the by-names once borne mostly by a particular class continued to be class-specific as surnames, which is surely untrue considering the generally accepted view of increasing social mobility, described by van Leeuwen (2009: 547):

Many historians and sociologists think there has been a trend away from traditional societies, where a person’s social position was essentially inherited, to more open ones, where social position depends upon individual achievement.

Even so, the possible class-specificity of certain names must be considered in an investigation of change in the Cotswold name stock, especially when studying non-hereditary by-names. If migration, for example, was more common among the landholding classes, then there would be a greater deal of change in the names of Cotswold landholders than those of people from other classes. An appreciation of which name types were proportionately common to which classes is, therefore, required for such investigation. For example, McKinley (1990: 201) notes that ‘locative [*in this case*

McKinley uses the term “locative” to refer to toponymic names, distinguishing them from topographical names] names were never entirely confined to the landholding class’, but that ‘they are, however, much less common, proportionately, in other sections of the community’, and so an investigation of toponymic names is likely to include a high proportion of landholding bearers. For a further discussion of these considerations, see McKinley (1990: 199–203).

Considering the change in the structure of Cotswold industry and society between 1381 and c1600, any investigation of the names of a particular type must appreciate that the findings cannot necessarily be extended to all names of the region, but might be specific to a certain class. It is probably the case that such distinctions became less pronounced following the establishment of hereditary surnames, but they would have remained to some extent. Also, any change identified in diachronic comparison could be a result of social mobility, rather than any differences in naming practices. In other words, by-name and surname analysis must consider class as an important onomastic variable.

3.5 Cotswold Phonology

A further aspect of Cotswold history that is likely to have had an effect on the region’s names is the phonology of its dialect. The typical speech sounds of Cotswold residents might be apparent in the written forms of their names, and their development could be traced through diachronic comparison of different forms of etymologically identical names and their morphemes (for an account of Gloucestershire phonology, see Smith, 1965: 62–78). Such a study could also be fed back into the interpretation of

etymologically unclear surnames and by-names from the Cotswolds if previously unknown phonological features of the area are identified.

In this way, the by-name and surname evidence can contribute to current knowledge of the region's dialect while showing how the region's names have been affected by the typical Cotswold phonology. Furthermore, a phonological investigation of Cotswold names can exhibit the value of phonological research for the identification of by-name and surname change, continuity and etymology on a national level (see **4.6.2** and **5.6.3**).

There is little literature written exclusively about the dialect of the Cotswolds and those who have worked on the subject have tended to focus on dialect lexis rather than phonology (see Webster Huntley, 1868; Gardiner, 2008; Sutton, 2008). What such works do provide, however, is a useful starting point in constructing a characteristic Cotswold phonology.

In the introduction to his Cotswold dialect glossary, Webster Huntley (1868: 1–21) includes a number of typical 'change of letters observable in the vernacular tongue on the Cotswolds' (1868: 5), which can be compared with the phonological features and changes seen in the name evidence. However, care must be taken when using his work in this way. There are clear shortcomings in his description of the Cotswold dialect, including his disregard for the specific conditions of phonological changes, or 'change of letters' as he calls it, in the Cotswolds. The fact that Webster Huntley uses this phrase serves as a clear warning to treat the work with care, as he appears to suggest that Cotswold pronunciation is a result of the substitution of certain letters for others, rather than sound change that is often reliant on other phonetic features.

For example, Webster Huntley (1868: 5) notices that ‘the letter “a” frequently becomes “o”, as in “Hand – Hond,” “Land – Lond,” “Stand – Stond,” “Man – Mon;”’. He is, of course, correct, as can be seen in his examples, but fails to realise the conditions under which this phonological change takes place. It is a feature of the West Midland dialect, as Serjeantson (1927a: 65) recognises, being ‘the occurrence of *on, om,* for OE. *a+nasal*’. Webster Huntley’s work is unreliable, but is helpful in that it has a collection of ‘change of letters’ that can be related to Cotswold phonology following further study.

The construction of a Cotswold phonology is not a simple task. Although the example above shows a feature of the West Midland dialect, this is not evidence that this alone was the dialect of the Cotswolds. The Gloucestershire place-name evidence suggests that in the OE period there was influence in the southern parts of the Cotswolds from the West-Saxon dialect, while the north was characterised by Anglian dialect (see Smith, 1965: 41). So, at the time of the 1381 PT and c1600 PR it is reasonable to allow for the possibility that the Cotswold dialect exhibited a number of phonological characteristics which originated in the different dialects of surrounding areas. This is supported by Smith (1965: 62), who mentions that ‘there are in both the phonology and the vocabulary [of Gloucestershire place-names] some traces of southern and south-western features’. From this, along with the evidence of ME West Midland dialect in the region’s names, it is clear that an appreciation of Cotswold phonology from by-name and surname evidence must take a number of different dialects into account. Kitson (1996: 17) notices that in the translation into OE of Orosius’ *Historia adversus Paganos* there is ‘a dialectal subsystem on the border of two main dialects using elements of both’, which he approximates as a ‘ninth-century dialect of Bristol’

(1996: 28). It is, therefore, possible that a subsystem of certain ME phonologies may also be seen in the Cotswolds in the period covered by this project.

3.6 Chapter Conclusion

Much like the previous, the intention of this chapter has been to place the research project in context. Where the previous chapter discussed this project's relevance to other by-name and surname research, this chapter has raised a number of historical considerations that are likely to have had some effect on the names of the Cotswolds and how these have informed the direction of the research.

It is possible that some historical factors mentioned above had no effect on the by-names and surnames of the Cotswolds, just as it is possible that the names of the area have been affected by history that we have no knowledge of. McKinley (1990: 6–7) sums this up well, stating that

Frequently ... the reasons for the marked differences that can be seen where surnames are concerned between counties and between regions escape investigation. It would appear that each region has its own habits and practices in the formation of surnames, often ones for which there is no obvious explanation, and it would probably be wrong to suppose that all such practices can be related to economic and social conditions, settlement patterns, and similar factors.

However, even if the historical factors given above, as well as others, seem to have had no noticeable effect on the names and their development, this is still of interest in that it would suggest that there are aspects of by-name and surname history that we are, as yet, unaware of.

The Cotswold history should not always be seen as having a direct effect on the names of the region, but sometimes as an aid and guide to name analysis used to support any conclusions where appropriate. Where the main concern of this project is the change in the by-names and surnames of the Cotswolds, rather than Cotswold history, to study the names in isolation is to ignore the context of their coinage, development and bearers' migratory movement. The historical context is therefore vital for a diachronic study of the names of the Cotswolds. Without it there would be a fundamental layer of understanding missing from the data analysis and resulting conclusions.

CHAPTER 4

The Names of the Cotswolds from the 14th-Century Poll Tax Returns

Having placed the study in context, the remainder of this work will be an analysis of the names of the Cotswolds, including methodological considerations for each type of record used. This analysis will start by focussing on the 14th-century poll tax returns, with the treatment of later records and diachronic comparison to follow in the later chapters.

4.1 The 14th-Century Poll Tax Returns and Their Uses

The poll tax returns of 1377, 1379 and 1381 are of considerable value for any survey of the by-names and surnames of England. Where previous assessments were not made of those ‘too poor to be taxed’ (FitzHugh, 1988: 160), the 14th-century poll tax attempted to include the entire population. Altogether, the returns ‘include the names and payments of some 60 per cent of the whole population, several times more than may be found in the earlier Lay Subsidies’ (Rogers, 1995: 149), and ‘after 1381 only aliens were taxed per head until another general poll tax was levied in 1513’ (FitzHugh, 1988: 234). This means that the 14th-century poll tax returns exist in isolation as the only complete records, in terms of people from all social classes, of their time. Other records which do not include all classes are likely to misrepresent the true nature of the names in the entire population at that particular time:

If the surnames or by-names in use in English communities in the period from approximately 1100 to 1400 are analysed in class terms, it can be seen that there were sharp differences between one class and another in the nature of the names in use (McKinley, 1990: 201).

It follows that the only types of record that accurately reflect English name patterns are those which include an area's entire population or all classes of that population in correct proportion, as the 14th-century poll tax returns do. As McKinley states (1990: 32), 'the late fourteenth-century poll tax returns ... give a more complete view of the names then in use than any other source for the same period'. Nationally, as outlined by Hey (2000: 46–47), the poll tax returns

are unsatisfactory in their coverage, because they simply do not survive for many counties or are incomplete, but they are the best source that we have for identifying distribution patterns for surnames close to the period of formation.

Missing or incomplete records mean that an exhaustive country-wide name survey using the poll tax returns is not possible, but the surviving records allow for general patterns to be realised, and for detailed and reliable name analysis of particular regions.

The available Gloucestershire poll tax returns do not cover the county in its entirety, with two out of its three distinct regions (see **3.1**) lacking the wealth of name data required for detailed analysis. The Forest of Dean has returns surviving from only four vills taxed in 1379, and the Vale of Berkeley has none at all. However, the 1381 returns for Cotswold vills, and the 1381 reassessment, are sufficient for by-name and surname analysis. The easternmost hundreds of the county are well represented by the poll tax returns, with records surviving from Kiftsgate (later Upper Kiftsgate), Holford and Greston (later Lower Kiftsgate), Salmonsbury (later Upper and Lower Slaughter),

Tibblestone, Bradley, Rapsgate, Bisley, Crowthorne and Cirencester (as separate hundreds, but later one known as Crowthorne and Minety), and Brightwells Barrow.¹⁰

The Gloucestershire hundreds for which poll tax returns are extant are particularly suitable for a study of the Cotswolds because

the hundredal boundaries follow the escarpment, the western-crest line of the Cotswolds forming a barrier between the hundreds of the Vale of Gloucester ... and the row of hundreds situated on their eastern flank (Anderson, 1939: 3),

neatly separating these two regions. However, the eastern Cotswold boundary is not quite so well defined by the county records, with small parts of the region in neighbouring Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and Worcestershire, though most of the area lies within the Gloucestershire boundary. Unfortunately, the poll tax records for other parts of the Cotswolds are not as complete as the Gloucestershire records, with Warwickshire and Worcestershire lacking any surviving records for the Cotswolds, although Oxfordshire and Wiltshire are fairly well represented. Given the inconsistent coverage of the poll tax returns for these parts of the Cotswolds, they have not be used for primary data in this study as they may misrepresent the name patterns of the area. Where appropriate, however, they have been drawn on for comparison with, and corroboration of, findings from the Gloucestershire Cotswolds names.

¹⁰ Note that changes in English hundred names are ‘often connected with a change in area, or with the combination of two or more hundreds’ (Anderson, 1934: xxix), and it is the latter which is usually the case in Gloucestershire, with many smaller Domesday hundreds having ‘been lost through amalgamation with other hundreds’ (Anderson, 1939: 1).

Overall, the 1381 Cotswold PT is the best source available for a study of the by-names and surnames of the region, due to the suitability of the poll tax returns for name analysis, and the coverage they provide for the Cotswolds. This is not to say that the surviving Gloucestershire poll tax returns are undamaged and cover the Cotswolds in its entirety. Parts of records have been lost, or become faded and torn, and so the extant records do not include all members of the region's population. This is an inevitable and unavoidable problem when using historical records in any study. However, given the nature of other records of this time, the poll tax returns are the most appropriate for this analysis as they are the closest to a true representation of the names and proportion of name types from the period in question.

The names of the 1381 Cotswold PT have been compared and analysed according to known historical distinctions and regional identities, many of which have been discussed in chapter 3. This method allows reasonable explanations for any characteristics and developments of Cotswold names to be given, while not relying on preconceived ideas about English by-names and surnames. If previously established knowledge of English by-names and surnames was applied to this study, without consideration of other historical factors, then any unique developments in the names of the Cotswolds might have gone unidentified or been misunderstood.

4.2 The 1381 Cotswold PT Name Data and Methodology

The transcription of the 1381 Cotswold PT data is an exercise that requires a considerable investment of time. Thankfully, Carolyn C. Fenwick has undertaken the mammoth task of transcribing all surviving 14th-century poll tax returns for England,

presented in three volumes (1998, 2001, 2005), the first of which alone required ‘a decade’s hard labour’ (1998: x). Some parts of the 14th-century poll tax records have been published previously, but these works are often unsuitable for any historical research, as Fenwick discusses (1998: x):

Some of these publications have gaps in the data, where illegibilities have only now yielded their secrets to the ultra-violet lamp. Some are translated into English, which does not provide the reader with the information necessary to assess exactly what the compilers were trying to convey. Some are so edited and changed from the original as to be virtually useless for historical research. The majority of documents have not received any attention.

Fenwick’s editions of the records ‘present all the material in a readily accessible form that reflects both the language and the layout of the original documents’ (1998: x) and so are suitable for this study. That being the case, Fenwick’s transcription of the 1381 Gloucestershire poll tax returns (1998: 249–314) has been used as the primary source of data.

When using historical tax records, it is important to be aware of any discrepancies and possible errors in the data; scribes are known to have made mistakes. It is also possible that Fenwick has made some errors in transcription, as certain letters in some medieval hands can be easily confused or appear identical, such as <u> and <n>. There are instances where an in-depth awareness of local names is necessary as context for an informed transcription of a name; an awareness that is only achievable in a local study, such as this project.

For example, in Fenwick’s (1998: 284) edition is the name *Willelmus Grenel*. He was assessed as an inhabitant of Chipping Campden and paid 13s 4d in tax, the highest amount paid by any person in the town, much higher than the standard 12d. A

‘William Grenell of Campeden, wool-merchant’ was also apparently so important to the English wool trade that, in 1395, he was pardoned

of all contempts, trespasses, frauds, deceits and unjust and excessive weighings and purchases of wools contrary to statute, whereof he is or may be indicted, and also of all ransoms, imprisonments due therefor or forfeitures incurred thereby (Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1391–1396: 626–627).

It is highly likely that this person is ‘William Grevel or Greville of Chipping Campden, who died in 1401’ (Simpson, 1931: 89), a prominent wool-merchant to whom a brass was dedicated, on which is inscribed “flos mercatorum lanae totius Angliae” (Beckinsale, 1937: 350; also see Hurst (2005: 74–75) for a description and picture of the brass). The name transcribed by Fenwick as *Grenel* is more likely, then, to be *Grevel*. This is not to say that Fenwick’s transcription of the poll tax returns is in any way inadequate or that any alternative suggestions made in this project are necessarily more accurate. Any alternative spellings given are merely suggestions based on local context and may simply address original errors made by scribes.

There is a further methodological issue in using the Gloucestershire poll tax returns, in that some of the records are damaged, with either entire sections missing or individual entries faded or torn. Fenwick (1998: 249–250) mentions that the returns for Bradley, Cirencester and Rapsgate hundreds are damaged, and that only the Salmonsbury hundred returns are complete. It is clear that the returns from Salmonsbury, Holford and Greston and Kiftsgate hundreds are in better condition than those from the others, and so the numbers of people and their names from a particular hundred in the 1381 Cotswold PT are not necessarily directly comparable with those from another. Therefore, an effective use of this data must involve a proportional

comparison to ensure that any recognisable patterns are true, rather than a false result from incomplete data. Care has been taken, however, not to omit damaged names unnecessarily. Where individual names are so faded or damaged that their origin cannot be reasonably interpreted, they have been omitted from the data sample, but where the etymology of such names is still clear they have been retained for some analyses.

There are few cases where this is appropriate, but if only a small number of letters are missing it is often still possible to be sure of a name's etymological origin. For example, Fenwick (1998: 290) has transcribed the name of Ricardo ···*lleward*, molendar', recorded in Lechlade. While the initial part of the name is faded, it is safe to assume that this is the name *Mulleward*, given that it was very common throughout the Cotswolds at this time, and that the person's occupation is synonymous with it. It is, however, impossible to be certain that the form suggested above is how the name was originally recorded. Even though this is the most usual form in the 1381 Cotswold PT, exhibiting the typical south-western and West Midland development of OE /y/ in Middle English, a different vowel might very well have been written in the original record. Considering this, damaged names like this are not used in phonological analysis, but where their etymology is clear they are not discarded unnecessarily from the data set. Similarly, any damaged names which appear to be toponymic, such as that of Johanne *St*ncombe* (Fenwick, 1998: 285), the ending *-combe* having been derived from OE *cumb*, 'a hollow, a valley', have not been used in any analysis of specific toponymic by-names and surnames, but have been made available for other analysis, where appropriate.

Following the extraction of all names in Fenwick's (1998) transcription of the 1381 Gloucestershire poll tax, they were assigned one of the types outlined in *1.1.2*. The

classification of names in this way is not an exact science (see **2.2**), but is at least consistent within this project. Any comparison made with name type proportions calculated by other researchers cannot be completely reliable, and so is only ever intended as supplementary information for clarification or support. Overall, there are 5,039 names in the 1381 Gloucestershire poll tax returns which are suitably undamaged for some sort of use in this project, and so these names make up the main dataset, referred to as the 1381 Cotswold PT.

Considering the issues outlined above, the extraction of the poll tax data from Fenwick's edition has been an important part of the research process, allowing for methodological challenges posed by the data to be identified. Furthermore, through copying the names manually into a spreadsheet and preparing them for sorting and comparison according to certain criteria, a necessary familiarity with the names of the Cotswolds, and those specific to certain areas and vills within the Cotswolds, has been gained, informing part of the project's analysis. In this sense, the analysis is partly data driven, using the distribution and characteristics of the names of the Cotswolds as a guide for focussing the investigation. Any obvious patterns are then examined alongside the regional identity of the area, as well as the existing by-name and surname related literature, in an attempt to provide context and explanations for these patterns, thus adding to our knowledge of the names of the Cotswolds and the country as a whole. This investigation will be based around the hypothesis that distinct areas, based on the broad concept of regional identity, will exhibit a distinct by-name and surname character. In other words, the names of a distinct area, whether this area is the Cotswolds or a region within the Cotswolds, will, in some way, be different from those

of another distinct area, because ‘for regional and socio-economic distinctions to have been replicated by anthroponymical ones would not be unexpected’ (Clark, 2002: 102).

4.3 The Establishment of Hereditary Surnames in the Cotswolds

As discussed in *1.1.3*, there is no simple answer as to when and why descriptive by-names became hereditary surnames in England, with much variation between different regions and classes. However, it is generally accepted that surnames were hereditary for the vast majority by 1350 in the south and 1450 in the north. Hey (2000: 53) has suggested that ‘the first half of the fourteenth century was probably the main period during which urban families came to accept family names’ and that ‘by 1350 over half the rural families had firm surnames’. Reaney (1967: 315) believes that, in the south of England, the peasantry, who typically gained surnames much later than the land owning classes, did not have hereditary surnames by 1200, but that ‘there are signs of their development from about 1225 and they became steadily more common as the century advanced and were in fairly general use about 100 years later’. McKinley (1990: 37) has found that ‘in the Midlands and East Anglia most unfree families seem to have adopted surnames in the period between 1250 and 1350’, though he is careful to point out that ‘more detailed research than it has so far been possible to carry out might well reveal local peculiarities in other parts of the country’ (McKinley, 1990: 38). Redmonds (1997: 96) suspects that names may not have been hereditary at such early dates, showing that ‘some by-names were still stabilizing after c.1540’. Redmonds, King and Hey (2011: 50) recognise a need for further research into the establishment of

hereditary surnames, as ‘it is by no means clear what percentage of the native population acquired a surname after 1400’.

There is reason to believe that hereditary surnames might not have been well established in the Cotswolds in 1381, at least 30 years after the dates of heredity suggested by a number of scholars. While uncovering proof of heredity in the 1381 Cotswold PT is not straightforward, as it can be difficult to identify members of the same family where a relationship is not made explicit, there are strong indications of non-hereditary by-naming. Redmonds, King and Hey (2011: 51), based on a general observation of surname instability in the 14th-century poll tax returns, mention that

We cannot, therefore, ignore those sources which continued to emphasize the high proportion of unstable names, particularly those derived from occupations. The fabric rolls of the great abbeys clearly demonstrate the enduring link between occupation and “surname”, in some cases well into the sixteenth century.

It is this link between occupation and “surname”, or by-name, in the 1381 Cotswold PT that appears to suggest a large proportion of names may not have been hereditary at this time.

To investigate this link, there are some methodological considerations that must be borne in mind. It is clear that only those names which also have an occupation listed with them can be used in the analysis, but not all of these are suitable. Where a name is not occupational, no conclusion can be made on whether or not the name is hereditary by comparing it to the occupation listed with it. For example, in the case of Johanne *Bristow* from Dowdeswell, whose occupation is given as *cissor*’ (tailor), the name *Bristow* could have been inherited from his father, but it is also possible that it is a by-name describing his own place of origin, known today as Bristol. Whichever might

be true, Johanne *Bristow*'s occupation provides no information on whether or not he bore a surname or by-name. If he had the name *Tailor*, this would be a much clearer indication of non-heredity in that the name describes his occupation. So, only names derived from a specific occupation can be used. Reaney and Wilson (1997: 1) briefly discuss how

there is some evidence of heredity of surnames, too, in York where a number of freemen followed occupations different from those denoted by their surnames: Richard le warner, carnifex 1319

and it is this principle that is used to analyse the level of surname heredity in the names of the Cotswolds in 1381.

There are 170 occupational names in the 1381 Cotswold PT which also have an occupation or description listed alongside them. This does not include non-specific descriptions such as “cultores terrarum”, “labor” and “servient”, which cannot be meaningfully compared with names derived from specific occupations. Of these 170 people, 115 have a name that is synonymous with their listed occupation, often with the occupation being a Latin equivalent of the English name, such as,

Willelmo *Carpunter*, carpuntar' (Dowdeswell)

Thoma *Goldsmyth*', aurifabr' (Cirencester)

Ricardo *Mulleward*, molend' (Preston)

Ricardo *Schepherde*, bercar' (Shipton and Hampen)

Willelmo *Sclatter*, tegulator' (Quenington)

Johanne *Skynnar*', pellipar' (Lechlade)

Roberto *Smyth*', fabro (Coberley)

The 115 names with an occupational synonym do not include those where any interpretation is needed to make a connection between name and occupation. For example, it is possible that *Johanne Coupere, carpent'*, from Bibury, was known by the by-name *Coupere* because he made barrels or casks, and made them out of wood, so was listed in the poll tax as being a carpenter. In this sense, there is a link between name and occupation but, because the connection is not so clear as it is with synonymous examples, combinations such as this have been treated as unconnected to avoid overestimating the level of apparent non-heredity.

Nevertheless, a large proportion of people, that is 67.65%, have a synonymous name and occupation. If this calculation was considered to be representative of all names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, it could be said that approximately two-thirds of the regional population did not have an hereditary surname, though this is extreme and cannot be asserted with complete confidence given the small size of the sample. Even so, it raises the possibility that the majority of Cotswold inhabitants did not have an hereditary surname at this time. There is also evidence of non-heredity in the poll tax returns for Cotswold villis in Oxfordshire and Wiltshire:

Willelmus Smyth', fab' (Bloxham, 1379)

Johannes Mason, cement' (Bloxham, 1379)

Adam Irmangere, irmangere (Malmesbury, 1379)

Robertus Sadeler, sadelar' (Malmesbury, 1379).

To treat a connection between name and occupation as evidence of non-heredity is to assume that occupations themselves were never hereditary. This seems unlikely, as it is expected that some occupations would have remained in the family, as they sometimes do today. In such cases, it would be possible for a person's name to be

synonymous with their occupation when the two were applied independently. However, analysis in 6.4 suggests that cases of synonymous names and occupations are mainly an indication of non-hereditary naming. There is also evidence of diachronic frequency change in the names of the Cotswolds which reinforces the possibility that many people did not have hereditary surnames in 1381. One particularly compelling example of this is the decreasing frequency of the name *Shepherd* between 1381 and c1600. This analysis is carried out in 6.3.

The 1381 Cotswold PT, then, shows signs that, towards the end of the 14th century, heredity was not quite so well established across the south of England as previously thought. In addition to this, the distribution of those names with synonymous occupations suggests that, in 1381, by-names were more common in particular parts of the Cotswolds. Therefore, it is apparent that the preference for by-names over hereditary surnames was greater in some parts of the Cotswolds than others, or that people from certain parts of the Cotswolds adopted hereditary surnames earlier than others.

As shown in figure 4.1, most instances of a synonymous name and occupation occurred in the south Cotswolds, with very few in the north; the two outlying northernmost points on the map representing two instances in Chipping Campden and a single instance in Winchcombe. This pattern does not fit in with the national trend of later hereditary surname adoption in the north of the country. Clearly, this pattern is on a much smaller scale, but it does show an unexpected distribution of by-names in relation to the national picture, suggesting a pattern of hereditary surname development specific to the Cotswolds. It has been considered that this distribution might be due to the habits of different scribes, with those responsible for the northern parts of the

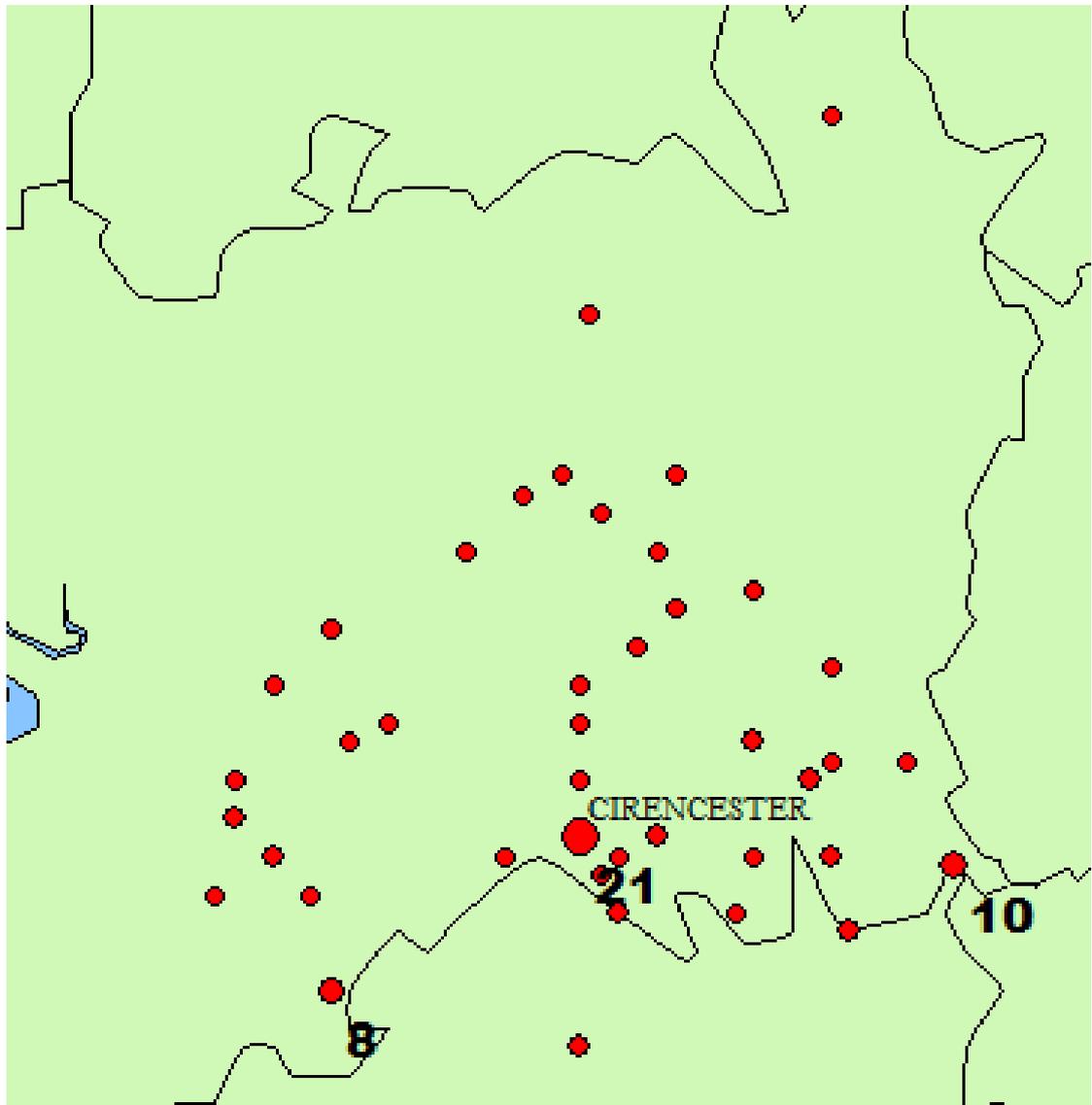


Fig. 4.1 — Map of names with synonymous occupations in the 1381 Cotswold PT.

Except those which are numbered, red dots represent 5 or fewer instances within that vill. There were 8 instances in Tetbury, 10 in Lechlade and 21 in Cirencester.

Map plotted using *GenMap UK* (Archer, 2007)

Cotswolds perhaps providing fewer occupations alongside names. Given that ‘internal evidence shows that the returns for the three [northern] hundreds of Salmonsbury, Holford and Greston and Kiftsgate were originally drawn up together’ (Fenwick, 1998: 249), this is certainly a possibility. However, following investigation, the pattern of synonymous names and occupations seems to be representative.

In the four northernmost hundreds of Holford and Greston, Kiftsgate, Salmonsbury and Tibblestone, roughly making up the emptier northern area of figure 4.1, there are 13 occupational names with a non-ambiguous occupation, two of which are synonymous with that occupation, meaning only 15.38% show possible signs of non-heredity. In the remaining hundreds of Bisley, Bradley, Brightwells Barrow, Cirencester, Crowthorne, Longtree and Rapsgate, there are 157 occupational names with a non-ambiguous occupation, 113 of which are synonymous with their occupation, meaning 71.97% show possible signs of non-heredity. These population sizes are small, particularly for the four northern hundreds, and so these findings are not conclusive proof, but they do support the notion that there were a greater proportion of by-names in the south Cotswolds than the north, as figure 4.1 suggests.

The three places with the most instances of synonymous name and occupation are numbered on the map, with 8 in Tetbury, 10 in Lechlade and 21 in Cirencester. Out of the 115 people with synonymous names and occupations in the 1381 Cotswold PT, the people in these three towns make up 33.91%. The high proportion of apparently non-hereditary names in these towns suggests that by-names were more common in urban, rather than rural, areas in 1381. Indeed, this seems to be the case from a further investigation of the names found in market towns.

The Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey (Douthwaite and Devine, 1998a: 14) provides a list of Gloucestershire towns and the dates at which they were awarded a market charter. The market towns in this list which also appear in the poll tax returns, and were officially market towns by 1381, are:

Winchcombe

Fairford

Stow-on-the-Wold

Chipping Campden

Lechlade

Tetbury

Northleach

Painswick

Minchinhampton

Cirencester is not included in the Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey because it and Gloucester had ‘a considerable history of archaeological investigation, meriting individual and detailed study’ (Douthwaite and Devine, 1998a: 8). It is, however, included in this investigation. Apart from Stow-on-the-Wold, which did not contain any occupational names with a synonymous occupation, these market towns, including Cirencester, comprise 9 out of the 41 vills in the 1381 Cotswold PT within which one or more occupational names appear with synonymous occupations. These 9 market towns make up 21.95% of the 41 vills, and so if the distribution of by-names was even throughout the region, then roughly 22% of names with a synonymous occupation would be found in the market towns. This is not the case. The 9 market towns contain 52 out of the 115 occupational names with a synonymous occupation, which is 45.22%,

showing that, in 1381, by-names were unevenly distributed, with more than expected in urban areas.

However, this may have been due to a greater number of people having lived in urban areas. Further investigation suggests that, proportionately, more people had non-hereditary by-names in rural areas. Within the returns for the 9 market towns, there are 87 occupational names with an occupation alongside, 52 of which are synonymous with their occupation. In the records for the other villis, there are 83 occupational names with a listed occupation, 63 of which are synonymous. So, in the market towns, 59.77% of occupational names with a listed occupation show signs of non-heredity. In the other villis, this figure is 75.9%. It can be deduced from this that, in the Cotswolds in 1381, by-names were *proportionately* more common in rural than in urban settlements. This pattern is in keeping with the general national trend, that ‘in the countryside the idea of hereditary surnames took longer to take hold’ (Hey, 2000: 53) than in towns.

While they appeared in greater proportion in rural areas, there were still an unexpectedly large number of people from Cotswold market towns with by-names in 1381, even though previous literature suggests that most people would have had hereditary surnames by 1350. As discussed previously (see **3.3.1**), the medieval guild system for the wool trade required each urban craftsman to be responsible for only one role in the wool and cloth production process. As a result, there would have been a need for each person involved in the trade to be known by their specific role, and by-names would have served this purpose well. If it was standard for people involved in the wool trade to retain descriptive by-names, then people with other occupations might have followed suit to fit in with the town’s naming system. This might explain why there was a higher proportion of apparently non-hereditary by-names in the urban areas of the

Cotswolds than expected at this period, and also raises the possibility that previously inherited surnames were sometimes replaced by names with more local relevance, the idea of which is explored further in the following chapter, in relation to wool trade names (see 5.5.2).

The reasons behind the proportionately higher number of by-names in rural areas are not clear, even though it is a pattern generally recognised throughout the country during the period of hereditary surname adoption. It is only possible to speculate that the requirement for identification of people using surnames was not especially important, as the inhabitants of smaller rural areas were likely to have known one another personally.

Whatever the reasons for the localised use of by-names in the Cotswolds in 1381, their prevalence at this time is unexpected given the findings of previous national surname surveys, and shows that the Cotswolds had its own distinct pattern of name development towards the end of the 14th century. This appears to be closely linked with its regional identity, as wool trade names in particular show higher levels of non-heredity. In the 1381 Cotswold PT, there are 42 names derived from wool-related occupations which also have an occupation listed with them, 39 of which are synonymous with that occupation. There are 128 names derived from non-wool-related occupations which also have an occupation listed alongside, 76 of which are synonymous. Therefore, within the sample of occupational names with a listed occupation, 92.86% of wool-related occupational names show signs of being non-hereditary, where the corresponding value for non-wool-related occupational names is only 59.38%. This suggests that there was a greater need for people involved in the

trade to be identified as such, compared to those who were not, which is unsurprising given it was the main industry of the Cotswolds at the time.

The wool trade did not just influence surname heredity in the Cotswolds. As the following sections and chapters will show, many aspects of the region's by-name and surname history can be connected with the industry, suggesting a close link between regional identity and the Cotswold name stock.

4.4 Migration Evidence in the Names of the 1381 Cotswold PT

4.4.1 *English Toponymic Names*

As discussed previously (see 2.4), toponymic by-names and surnames can be analysed in order to estimate the distance each individual or ancestor with such a name might have once travelled to settle in a certain place. Toponymic by-names are most suitable for this kind of investigation because they would have been used to refer directly to the place from which the bearer originated. Surnames are not as appropriate, because the hereditary surname becomes less likely to denote the exact origin of the bearer with each inheriting generation. McClure (1979: 168) recognised this issue, stating that

the growth of hereditary naming is not likely to interfere seriously with one's results until after the middle of the fourteenth century in the south and the midlands, and until after the end of the fourteenth century in parts of the north.

However, given the findings on the level of heredity in the Cotswolds at the time of the 1381 poll tax (see 4.3), suggesting that hereditary surnames were not so common as

previously thought, it seems reasonable to investigate the level of migration in 1381, to and within the Cotswolds, by an analysis of toponymic names.

In 4.3, a high level of non-heredity has been established for occupational names only, but since there is no extensive study on whether the development of heredity was dependent on name type, let us assume that it was not. It is possible, therefore, that many names derived from toponyms in the 1381 Cotswold PT are, in fact, non-hereditary by-names and so indicative of actual distances travelled by the bearer. The consequences of this possibility being true will now be explored.

From a study of the names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, it is clear that some people travelled considerable distances to the Cotswolds, and even if this migration occurred over a number of generations it is still of interest considering that, even today, ‘so many English surnames are found close to where they originated’ (Redmonds, 1997: 16). For example, Alicia *Yepeswith*’ is recorded in the market town of Lechlade. *Yepeswith* is a misreading of *Yepeswich*’, a common error due to the letters <t> and <c> being similar in a number of medieval hands. This name comes from Ipswich in Suffolk, which has the form *Gepeswic* in an 1130 Pipe Roll (see Ekwall, 1960: 266), 124 miles away from Lechlade. Johanne *Quelderek*, recorded in Duntisbourne Rouse and Pinbury, has a name derived from Wheldrake in the East Riding of Yorkshire (ERY), 155 miles from the Cotswold vill in which he lived in 1381. Robertus *Lynhope*, recorded in Dumbleton, has a name that suggests the furthest migration distance. The closest place named *Lynhope* is apparently Linhope in Northumberland, about 236 miles from Dumbleton.

There are names in the 1381 Cotswold PT which have their origin in foreign places, most commonly French, such as *Lacy* and *Lasy*, from Lassy in the French département of Calvados. It is likely that people with toponymic names of French origin

acquired their names earlier than the English. 'At the time of the Conquest some of the more important and wealthier noble families in Normandy already possessed hereditary surnames' (McKinley, 1990: 25), when very few English people did, if any at all.

Following the Norman Conquest,

when the great Norman landowners did start to acquire surnames, their most common practice was to take the name of the place that was the family's chief residence. This was often still in Normandy (Hey, 2000: 33).

It is not necessarily true that all Norman land owners settled in England already with a hereditary toponymic surname, as 'many of them did not adopt hereditary surnames until well after the Conquest' (Hey, 2000: 33), but some of them did.

Due to this relatively early adoption of hereditary surnames from French toponyms, such names have not been studied in this investigation of migration. Any distance between a French toponym and a Cotswold vill, in which a corresponding French toponymic by-name or surname is recorded, might have been travelled by a number of generations over a period of more than 300 years, since the Norman Conquest up to 1381. This is too long a timeframe to be sure of the significance of the apparent distances travelled. In addition to this, because the journey would have involved travelling across the English Channel, the migration evidence of French toponymic names is not comparable with that of English toponymic by-names and surnames, as migration across water would not have been necessary for the English.

Other names omitted from the investigation are those that are not toponymic but still denote a place of origin in some way, such as the name *French*. The bearer of the by-name *French*, if it denotes their geographical origin, could have originated from any

place in France. This level of uncertainty makes it difficult to estimate the distances travelled. Of course, such a name might not denote place of origin at all, but the native language of the person, or a characteristic stereotype associated with people of the country, making it even more unsuitable as migration evidence. This could be true of names derived from English toponyms, but the stereotypes of a whole country are surely more likely to give rise to a by-name than those of a specific English settlement. Similarly, the name *Walsh* has not been used in the investigation because it would not necessarily have been used to refer to a person from Wales. The by-name *Walsh* could also be a nickname, an adjectival form of OE *walh*, meaning ‘foreigner’ as well as ‘Welshman’. In theory, the by-name *Walsh* could describe any place of origin other than the country in which the bearer is recorded, meaning its origin is too ambiguous for use in this study.

Names that have been used in this investigation, which do not appear to have been used in previous name studies of migration, are those derived from English counties, such as *Wiltshire* and *Devonish*. Whilst it is not possible to be sure of the exact settlement of origin of the bearer of such a name, migratory distance can still be estimated. This can be done by assuming that the point, on the border of the named county, which is closest to the bearer’s place of residence, is the place of origin of the name. This gives the shortest distance likely to have been travelled, and so ensures the distance of migration is not overestimated.

Names of this type are treated as linguistically ambiguous for the purposes of this analysis. While each English county is uniquely named, the method of measuring the closest point on the county border is similar to the method of distance measurement for the linguistically ambiguous toponymic names, which is to assume that the closest

possible place of origin of a name is the true origin of its bearer. The non-ambiguous toponymic names have been studied both independently and alongside the ambiguous toponymic names, in much the same way as McClure has done (1979). In order to identify the closest possible place of origin of a name to the settlement in which the bearer was recorded, the English Place-Name Society (EPNS) dictionaries have been used, first studying the Gloucestershire volumes, and then the volumes for each bordering county, and so on, until a relevant place-name was found. This approach decreases the likelihood that mistakes are made when attempting to identify the closest place of origin of a name to the settlement in which the bearer was recorded. Any counties for which EPNS volumes have not been completed were studied using other place-name dictionaries, such as those by Ekwall (1960) and Watts (2004). Also like McClure's analysis (1979: 175), 'distances are necessarily notional, being estimated as the crow flies'. If two or more people with the same name are recorded in the same vill, then the distance travelled is only calculated once. This is also the method used by McClure (1979). All distances have been measured using the 'Measure distance...' tool in *GenMapUK* (Archer, 2007). Tables of distances travelled, calculated from an analysis of all toponymic names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, are presented in figures 4.2 and 4.3.

These tables suggest that most migration was over relatively short distances, with both sets of data showing that approximately 80% of people with toponymic names were found within fifty miles of the place of origin of their name. Much of the movement up to a distance of twenty miles was within the Cotswolds itself, meaning that many people remained in the region. The people who migrated shorter distances,

Migration to the Cotswolds in 1381, taken from linguistically non-ambiguous toponymic names				
<i>Distance (miles)</i>	<i>Number of names</i>	<i>% of names</i>	<i>% of names suggesting migration</i>	
0*	10	5.62%	N/A	
1-10	52	29.21%	32.91%	} 77.22%
11-20	26	14.61%	16.46%	
21-30	17	9.55%	10.76%	
31-40	11	6.18%	6.96%	
41-50	16	8.99%	10.13%	} 13.92%
51-60	4	2.25%	2.53%	
61-70	3	1.69%	1.90%	} 8.86%
71-80	3	1.69%	1.90%	
81-90	7	3.93%	4.43%	
91-100	5	2.81%	3.16%	} 8.86%
101-110	2	1.12%	1.27%	
111-120	2	1.12%	1.27%	
121-130	3	1.69%	1.90%	
131-140	4	2.25%	2.53%	} 8.86%
141-150	1	0.56%	0.63%	
151-160	2	1.12%	1.27%	
TOTAL	168			
*(origin of name same as bearer's place of residence)				

Fig. 4.2 — Table of migration to the Cotswolds. Includes linguistically non-ambiguous toponymic names.

Migration to the Cotswolds in 1381, taken from linguistically non-ambiguous and ambiguous (closest origin) toponymic names				
<i>Distance (miles)</i>	<i>Number of names</i>	<i>% of names</i>	<i>% of names suggesting migration</i>	
0*	20	5.28%	N/A	
1-10	121	31.93%	34.47%	} 83.19%
11-20	77	20.32%	21.94%	
21-30	39	10.29%	11.11%	
31-40	17	4.49%	4.84%	
41-50	38	10.03%	10.83%	
51-60	10	2.64%	2.85%	} 11.68%
61-70	7	1.85%	1.99%	
71-80	11	2.90%	3.13%	
81-90	8	2.11%	2.28%	
91-100	5	1.32%	1.42%	
101-110	2	0.53%	0.57%	} 5.13%
111-120	4	1.06%	1.14%	
121-130	4	1.06%	1.14%	
131-140	4	1.06%	1.14%	
141-150	1	0.26%	0.28%	
151-160	2	0.53%	0.57%	} 0.28%
161-	1	0.26%	0.28%	
TOTAL	371			

*(origin of name same as bearer's place of residence)

Fig. 4.3 — Table of migration to the Cotswolds in 1381. Includes linguistically non-ambiguous and ambiguous toponymic names.

within the Cotswolds, cannot be compared with those from other toponymic name migration research which has looked at an individual place, such as Penn's (1983) study of Bristol migrants. Those people who were living in the Cotswolds, who had a name from a different Cotswold toponym, do not indicate the pulling power of the Cotswolds as a whole. However, distances calculated from toponymic names which originated from outside the Cotswolds are certainly appropriate for such a comparison.

Penn (1983: 128) found, for only the non-ambiguous toponymic names,

that over 40 per cent of the place-names derived from the Bristol evidence can be identified with places at a distance of 40 miles or more from the town, with no less than 17 per cent of the total referring to places more than 80 miles away.

These figures, as is to be expected for a large city, show that Bristol had a greater pulling power than the Cotswolds in the fourteenth century. In comparison, 32.91% of toponymic names in the Cotswolds derive from places more than 40 miles away from the villis in which the bearers were recorded. A lower proportion of people, that is 16.45%, bore names derived from places over 80 miles away. This is, however, less than 1% lower than Penn's figure for Bristol migrants, showing that the proportion of people willing to migrate especially long distances to the Cotswolds was not too different from those migrating to Bristol.

The Cotswolds is, on the whole, a rural area. Even urban parts, such as the market towns, would not have been as big or industrially diverse as the major English cities. It is, then, surprising that the typical distances travelled by migrants to the area were not much less than for Bristol, which, in the 14th century, was 'a town of pulling power second only to London and superior to that of both York and Norwich' (Penn,

1983: 129). Compared with other rural settlements, the Cotswolds appears to have attracted migrants from further afield. McClure's (1979: 175) investigation of 'rural immigration in medieval Nottinghamshire' shows that 82.5% of non-ambiguous and ambiguous place-name surnames derived from places up to 30 miles away. In the Cotswolds, 67.52% of these types of name came from up to 30 miles away, meaning a greater proportion of people travelled more than 30 miles in migrating to the Cotswolds than those who migrated to rural Nottinghamshire.

It is possible that the increasing prosperity of the Cotswolds as a wool trade centre may have attracted migrants during the 14th century. Not long after the time of the poll tax, 'the greatest woolmen of the fifteenth century ... were those of the Cotswolds, for this district seems to have gained greatly in importance as the wool centre at this time' (Power, 1941: 30). Considering that 'wool entered into every phase of English life in the middle ages' (Power, 1941: 14), it is likely that, as the Cotswolds came to prominence as a wool trade centre, it was a much more prosperous region than many other English rural areas, and so was more attractive to migrants, especially those with wool trade expertise. The lack of detailed prosopographical evidence makes it difficult to prove that the wool trade was responsible for much of the migration to the Cotswolds. However, some of those people who appear to have migrated the furthest distances have names derived from places known for their importance to the medieval wool trade, or derived from places near to these important settlements.

The toponymic origins of the names *Quelderek* and *Yepeswith*', mentioned previously as examples of far travelling migrants, can be connected with the wool trade. The name *Lynhope* was also used as such as an example, but being from a linguistically ambiguous toponym cannot be relied upon as firm evidence. Johanne

Quelderek, from Duntisbourne Rouse in the 1381 Cotswold PT, takes his name from Wheldrake in ERY, only 6.5 miles from York. York was an important trading centre for wool in the north of England, and in Yorkshire was only ‘second to Beverley’ (Lloyd, 1977: 129) in terms of numbers of inhabitants involved in the industry around the year 1300. A name not yet mentioned, from the 1381 Cotswold PT, is that of Ricardo and Johanne *Routh*, from Yanworth. Their name has its origin in Routh in ERY, roughly 4 miles away from Beverley. Beverley was the most important wool trade centre in Yorkshire,

whose citizens invested more frequently and on a larger scale than those of any other town. Between 1298 and 1305 about 70 Beverley men and women can be identified, from the customs accounts alone, as wool exporters, while the true total is certainly larger (Lloyd, 1977: 129).

The name *Yepeswith*’ derives from Ipswich in Suffolk, which also has a long history in the wool industry. ‘The volume of cloth exported from Ipswich expanded dramatically between the 1350s and the 1430s, by which time it handled 8 per cent of England’s cloth exports’ (Bailey, 2007: 269).

Without relating the pattern of migration to the Cotswolds to the local industry, any specific distributional pattern of toponymic names is difficult to recognise, as can be seen in figure 4.4, where all non-ambiguous and ambiguous English toponymic names have been plotted. As has been presented in figures 4.2 and 4.3, it is clear that there was a high concentration of names within and close to the Cotswolds, which decreases as the distance from the area increases. What is not presented in those tables is the geographical distribution of the origins of the names. While this does not seem to show any clear pattern of migration from particular parts of the country, there is perhaps some significance in the apparent lack of names from some areas.

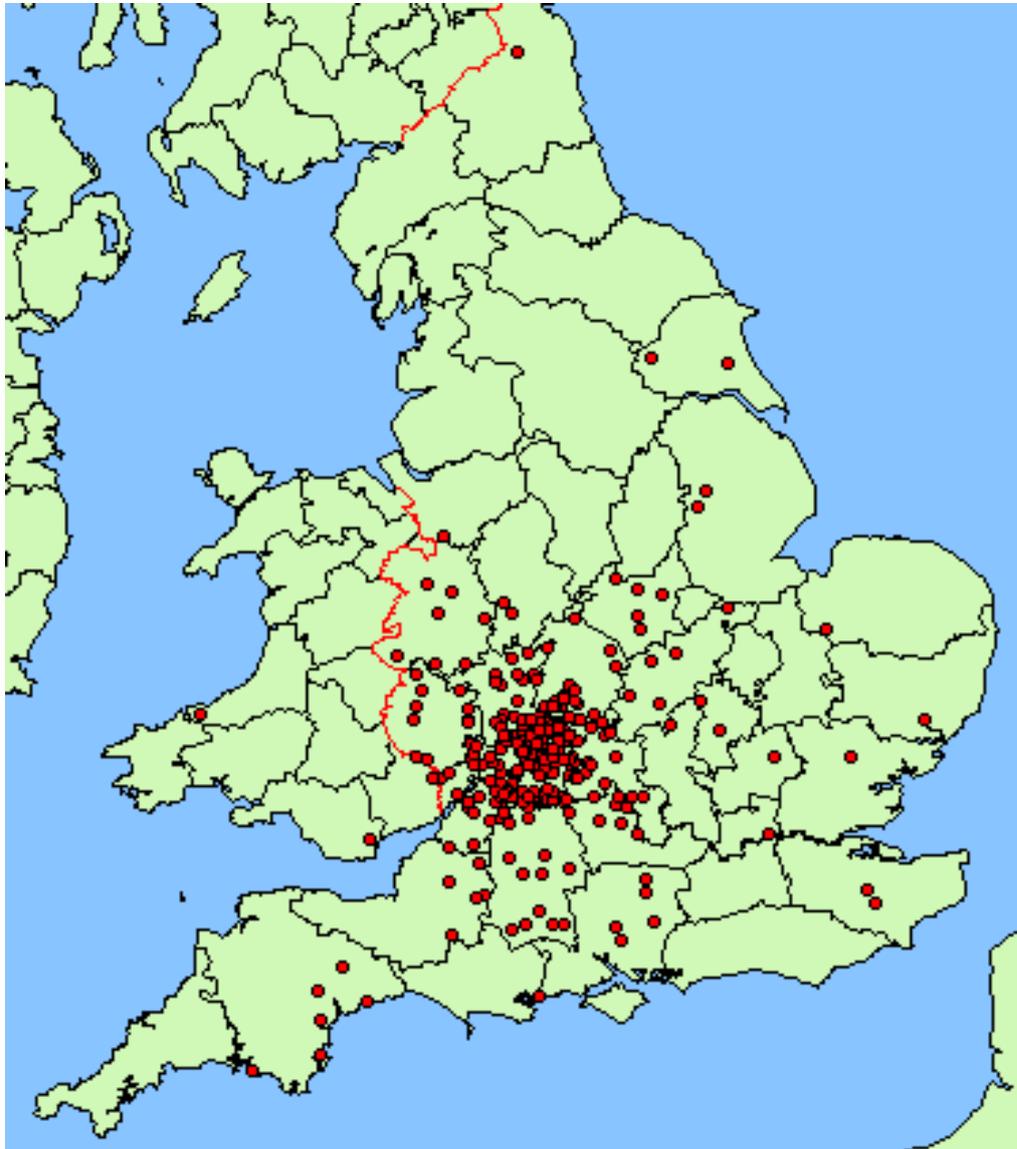


Fig. 4.4 — Map of origins of non-ambiguous and ambiguous toponymic names from the 1381 Peasants' Revolt.

Map plotted using *GenMap UK* (Archer, 2007)

There appear to be very few Welsh toponymic names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, even though Wales' eastern border is close to the Cotswolds. However, Wales had an altogether different history of by-name and surname development to England (see 5.3.4). 'It would appear that until after 1500 the great majority of the Welsh-speaking inhabitants did not have surnames' (McKinley, 1990: 41), and prior to this, 'a great many Welshmen at all levels of society used names of the genealogical type' (McKinley, 1990: 41), otherwise known as patronymics. A lack of Welsh toponymic by-names, compared with numbers in England, at the time of the 14th-century poll taxes, means that the apparent migration pattern from Wales is not surprising. It is quite possible that there was more migration from Wales than the toponymic name distribution suggests, but this would never show up in such analysis.

There are a greater number of toponymic names originating from areas north-east of the Cotswolds, in comparison to the low numbers from Staffordshire and the complete absence from Derbyshire, Lancashire and WRY. Considering that the names originating in the north-eastern counties of Lincolnshire, ERY and Northumberland suggest migration over considerable distances, it seems that the comparative lack of migration from northern and north-western counties is not due to distance alone. Perhaps the Fosse Way is conveniently placed to have allowed more migration from the north-east of England, connecting Cirencester with Lincoln. There were no such major Roman roads in the north-west, and so the journey from there would have been more difficult (see 5.3.2 for further discussion). This is assuming that most journeys would have been made over land, as 'roads were, in most cases, adequate for the traffic, even in inclement weather, that many people traveled' (Crabtree, 2001: 282).

This pattern of migration may also have been related to the wool industry.

Lindsey, in Lincolnshire, was known for its 'high priced wools' (Power, 1941: 17), while no settlement in north-west England appears to have been important to the national wool industry. It is perhaps telling that an Act of 1353 stipulated that the staple, or quality control, of wools, among other products,

shall be perpetually holden at the places underwritten, that is to say, for England at Newcastle upon Tine, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter and Bristow ... and not elsewhere (as quoted in Simpson, 1931: 75).

These places are spread about the entire country, except the north-west. Its isolation from the national wool industry might have something to do with the apparent lack of migrants from the area to one of the country's wool industry centres, the Cotswolds. However, it must be noted that the migration analysis of toponymic names may not provide a complete picture. All other name-types, including the topographical sub-set of the locative category, are not considered, and while this is unavoidable, it is possible that the pattern of migration in 1381 from toponymic by-names or surnames is not necessarily representative of the actual pattern.

McKinley (1990: 201) has stated that 'almost any list of landholders of knightly or baronial rank for any date between about 1100 and 1400 will show a marked preponderance of locative names' and that this type of name is 'much less common, proportionately, in other sections of the community'. Considering this, most people in a migration study of toponymic names are likely to have been from a high level of society. The results presented above, then, must not be considered as a complete representation of migration to the Cotswolds in the 14th century, with other classes likely to exhibit different migratory patterns. Even so, in comparison with other studies

of toponymic names, it is apparent that the Cotswolds attracted a relatively large proportion of migrants. This suggests that its identity as an important part of the wool industry and national economy made it more attractive to the country's population than other rural areas, encouraging migration to the region for trading purposes.

4.4.2 Flemish Immigrants

It appears that the wool trade also attracted migrants from the European continent, particularly from Flanders with its 'many thousands of workers living wholly by the manufacture of woollens for export' (Carus-Wilson, 1950: 162). There are a number of toponymic by-names or surnames in the 1381 Cotswold PT which suggest a Flemish connection. This is not unexpected, as 'skilled artificers with trade secrets were invited over' (Trevelyan, 1946: 36) from Flanders by Edward III, around the beginning of the Hundred Years War, to maintain a successful wool trading relationship.

Marg' *Braban* is found in Chipping Campden, and Johannes *Brabane* in Stow-on-the-Wold. There is also a Johanne *Braban* in the 1379 poll tax return for Bradford-on-Avon in Wiltshire, outside of the Cotswolds but close to its southern edge. These names originate from the Flemish Duchy of Brabant which, following the success of longer established cloth-producing towns such as Ghent, Ypres and Bruges, 'found its chance during the disturbances of the Hundred Years War' (Power, 1941: 9–10). Two of these people were involved in cloth production. Johannes *Brabane* has the word *tex*' listed as his occupation, which is an abbreviation of Latin *textator* or *textor*, meaning 'weaver'. Johanne *Braban* has the occupation *cissore*, used to refer to a tailor or a cutter of cloth. The presence of Flemish migrants in the Cotswolds, some of whom

were involved in the wool trade, again supports the theory that migration to the region was partly influenced by its prominent position in the industry toward the end of the fourteenth century.

Further to toponymic names from Flanders, there is more possible evidence of migration to the Cotswolds from the continent. The name *Baldwin* is found in the poll tax returns, as both a given name and a by-name or surname, as in *Walterus Baldewyn* from Cow Honeybourne, *Walterus Baldewyne* from Ashton-under-Hill and *Baldewen* West wolmangere, from Malmesbury in Wiltshire in 1379. '*Baldwin* was a particular favourite in Flanders, and it was probably Flemish influence which was responsible for the popularity of the name in England in the 12th and 13th C' (Withycombe, 1977: 40). The name, then, was popular in England, and so the bearers in the Cotswolds are not necessarily Flemish migrants, although the dates of the poll tax returns are outside the date range of popularity mentioned above. Perhaps continued influence from Flanders contributed to the later popularity of the name in the Cotswolds. Those people named *Baldwin* might very well not be Flemish, but the existence of the name in the Cotswolds at this date may suggest that there was Flemish influence and presence in the area.

4.5 The Distribution of Names in the 1381 Cotswold PT

As the study into migration has shown, the distribution of the names of the Cotswolds was, in some ways, connected to the regional identity of the area, in that the wool trade appears to have encouraged migration to the Cotswolds and contributed to its name stock. In broader terms, an aspect of Cotswold regional identity can be shown to have had an effect on its names. This opens up the possibility that other aspects of

Cotswold regional identity have had an impact on its names. Considering that the Cotswolds is a region defined by its topography, within which further topographical distinctions can be made (see 3.1), a study of Cotswold topography and its possible influence on the by-names and surnames of the region is a worthwhile approach.

4.5.1 Name Distribution in the North-East and South-West Cotswolds

There is a distinction to be drawn between the topographies of the north-east and the south-west, with the ‘wide wold of the north and east and centre’, consisting of ‘turf and ploughland’, making up a very different landscape to the ‘heights and gullies of west and south’ (Hadfield and Hadfield, 1966: 15), with multiple streams and valleys. In the south-western Cotswold area known as Stroudwater (see 3.3.1), ‘in the valleys of the Frome, the Cam and the Little Avon, numerous springs provided an abundance of clear water’ (Finberg, 1975: 87). Also, in the south and west Cotswolds, ‘fuller’s earth lay between the Great and Inferior Oolite, especially near Stroud, Dursley and Minchinhampton’ (Finberg, 1975: 87), and was used in the production of cloth.

The hundreds of Bisley and Longtree contain vills that are near to and within the Stroudwater area, making up the south-westernmost region of the Cotswolds for which returns are surviving from the 14th-century poll tax. The hundred known as Kiftsgate in 1381 is the north-easternmost of all the Gloucestershire hundreds. Its southern border is the only one which joins it to the rest of the county, and it is otherwise surrounded by Worcestershire and Warwickshire. The names from these hundreds will, therefore, be used in this investigation of the north-east and south-west Cotswolds. Tables of name type proportion from both regions are presented in figure 4.5 for comparison.

KIFTSGATE HUNDRED		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	199	18.03%
Multiple possibilities	179	16.21%
Nickname	57	5.16%
Occupation	343	31.07%
Relationship	265	24.00%
Uncertain	61	5.53%
TOTAL	1104	

BISLEY AND LONGTREE HUNDREDS		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	128	29.36%
Multiple possibilities	72	16.51%
Nickname	22	5.05%
Occupation	100	22.94%
Relationship	80	18.35%
Uncertain	34	7.80%
TOTAL	436	

Fig. 4.5 — Tables of name type proportion in villas from the north-east Cotswolds (Kiftsgate hundred) and the south-west Cotswolds (Bisley and Longtree hundreds), formulated using the 1381 Cotswold PT

There are clear differences in the name type proportions of these two areas, one of these being an 8.13% difference between the proportion of occupational names in the north-east and south-west. As suggested previously in migration analysis (see 4.4), it seems that the most important of all Cotswold industries at this time, the wool trade, had an impact on the region's name stock, by encouraging migrants from other wool-producing areas. In a similar way, the industry may also have influenced the localised distribution of occupational names, with greater numbers of such names occurring in areas where the Cotswold wool trade was centred.

In 1381, the Cotswold wool industry was mainly supported by the raw wool trade, rather than cloth production and export. With its 'wide wold' and more open landscape, in comparison with the 'heights and gullies' of the south-west, the north-east has more favourable conditions for sheep farming. This being the basis of wool production, it is expected that the north-east Cotswolds would have been the regional centre of the wool industry, and might therefore have contained more occupational names, at this time.

From this interpretation, it seems that the topography of the Cotswolds has influenced the distribution of its inhabitants' names, by dictating the localised focus of the wool industry. This conclusion is, of course, based on the assumption that most occupational names in the 1381 Cotswold PT were by-names, describing the jobs of their bearers, as analysis in 4.3 appears to show. Otherwise, such a direct connection between trade and name distribution could not be made.

The largest difference in name type proportion between Kiftsgate hundred and Bisley and Longtree hundreds is that for locational names. About 18% of names from the north-east Cotswolds were locational, considerably less than the proportion of locational names in the south-west, which is 29.36%. In fact, the northern hundreds generally had lower proportions of locational names than those in the south, with Kiftsgate having had the lowest of all Cotswold hundreds except for Tibblestone, where 15.85% of its names were locational. Bisley hundred had the highest proportion of locational names in the south, making up 39.14% of all its names.

This value might be slightly skewed due to a high number of damaged entries and entire villis missing from the returns for Bisley hundred. The return for the vill of Bisley is largely complete, and 66.67% of its names were locational, suggesting that this vill was a significant factor in the high proportion of locational names apparent in the 1381 poll tax returns for Bisley hundred. It is possible that those damaged entries from other villis in the hundred contained higher proportions of other name types, which would have caused different figures to be presented in figure 4.5. However, even in ignoring Bisley hundred altogether, the south-west still had a comparably high proportion of locational names, with those of Longtree hundred making up 24.31% of all its names; higher than the 18.03% for Kiftsgate in the north-east. It does seem likely,

then, that the high proportion of locational names in the south-west Cotswolds is representative of the true name type proportion at this time, even though the particularly high numbers in the vill of Bisley may have exaggerated it slightly.

It is not clear as to why there would have been a higher proportion of locational names in the south-west than the north-east Cotswolds. As has been mentioned, 66.67% of all names in the 1381 return for Bisley were locational, and out of the 58 locational names in the entire hundred, 34.48% of these came from the vill of Bisley. Given that this vill contained the highest proportion of locational names of all vills in the south-west Cotswolds, it seems a logical starting point for investigating the possible reasons behind the high proportion in the area as a whole.

In 1381, the vill of Bisley was not the largest settlement, nor one of great economic importance, within the hundred to which it gave its name. While Bisley was ‘anciently the centre of a hundred and of a large manor and ecclesiastical parish which included Stroud, the primary settlement has remained small’ (Herbert, 1976: 4). Even when granted a market charter in 1687, Bisley failed to grow and gain status as a market centre, ‘probably due to competition from nearby settlements, such as Stroud or Nailsworth’ (Douthwaite and Devine, 1998a: 20). Bisley’s status is further reflected in that fact that only 64 people in total were taxed there in 1381, not too dissimilar to Painswick where at least 82 were taxed; there were more but the final 18cm of the Painswick poll tax return membrane is unreadable due to damage. These fairly similar numbers show that even though Bisley was the ancient centre of the hundred, it was by no means its only, or most, important settlement. Furthermore, the poll tax returns for Tetbury and Minchinhampton, in Longtree hundred, also show similar populations, with at least 121 people taxed in Tetbury and at least 111 in Minchinhampton, both returns

having similar levels of damage to that of Painswick. It seems, then, that the south-west Cotswolds did not have a single dominant settlement.

In comparing these findings with those for Kiftsgate hundred in the north-east, it appears that these two topographically distinct Cotswold areas had very different demographic structures. In Chipping Campden, in Kiftsgate hundred, there was a taxed population of 309 in 1381, more than twice as much as the second highest population for the hundred, which was 150 people in Pebworth with Broad Marston, a very different pattern to that seen in the four major settlements of the south-west. It is possible that the different distribution of either area's population may have influenced the proportion of their locative names in such a way as presented in figure 4.5.

McKinley (1990: 6) has noted that,

at the period when surnames were evolving regions that had many small dispersed settlements, such as the Pennines or parts of Devon and Cornwall, had a much higher proportion of surnames derived from place-names than did areas where much of the population lived in nucleated villages.

This pattern, while on a larger national scale, could explain the distribution of locative names found in the south-west and north-east Cotswolds. However, McKinley only mentions 'surnames derived from place-names', so all topographical names must be disregarded before investigating the applicability of his statement to the distribution of Cotswold names. In the 1381 Cotswold PT, 12.31% of all names in the north-east were toponymic; in the south-west 16.28% were toponymic. While the difference is not quite so pronounced as for all locational names, it is clear that there were a higher proportion of toponymic names in the south-west Cotswolds than the north-east. This difference

could be attributed to their different settlement and population structures, similar to those mentioned by McKinley.

As already discussed, within the south-west hundreds of Bisley and Longtree, there were fairly similar numbers of people taxed in the main settlements. While these vills were close to each other geographically, their populations represented a scattered pattern of settlement in that there was more than one main vill in the area, in contrast to the single heavily inhabited market town of Chipping Campden in Kiftsgate hundred. In Bisley, 'communications within the hundred were difficult, depending largely on steep and narrow lanes climbing hillsides from crossing-points on the streams' (Herbert, 1976: 3), causing many of its vills to be isolated. Considering this, it seems that the vills in Bisley and Longtree hundreds were not too dissimilar from the 'small dispersed settlements' mentioned by McKinley (1990: 6) which tended to contain a greater proportion of people with toponymic names. At the very least, they can be said to be relatively small and relatively dispersed when compared with Chipping Campden.

In the north-east Cotswolds, the large number of people taxed in Chipping Campden in 1381, being twice as many as in the settlement with the second highest taxed population, points to a different pattern of settlement than that of the south-west. Chipping Campden was by the far the most important settlement in Kiftsgate hundred during the fourteenth century, and was quite possibly the most important in all of the Cotswolds. Its status as a centre for the trade of raw wool led to it becoming 'one of the wealthiest towns in the country' (Douthwaite and Devine, 1998b: 20), with the 1334 tax list showing that 'the sum due for Chipping Campden was 340 shillings, about one third of the total for the county' (Leech, 1980 cited in Douthwaite and Devine, 1998b: 20). There was no other vill to rival it in terms of wealth or population in the north-east

Cotswolds, and as such Chipping Campden would have been the nucleus of the region. In this way, the entire hundred of Kiftsgate would have resembled the structure of a nucleated village, though on a much larger scale.

While the distinctions made between the north-east and south-west Cotswolds do not adhere to the strictest definitions of dispersed and nucleated villages, they are broadly based on the characteristic patterns of such settlement structures. The south-west appears to have been made up of a number of relatively dispersed and isolated settlements, as much as is possible within the confines of a single hundred. The north-east seems to have been more closely related to a pattern of nucleated settlement, relatively speaking. McKinley's (1990: 6) observation that areas with dispersed settlements tended to give rise to a greater proportion of toponymic names than nucleated settlements, could then explain why there were a greater proportion of toponymic names in the south-west Cotswolds than the north-east in 1381.

There is one final difference in name type proportion between the south-west and north-east Cotswolds. In Bisley and Longtree hundreds 18.35% of all names derived from a relationship, where Kiftsgate had a higher proportion of 24%. The reasons behind these different proportions are not easily uncovered, especially in comparison with locational and occupational names which can be linked directly to aspects of topography and trade respectively. However, the previously suggested cause for the discrepancy in the proportions of locational names might be applicable here too.

As already mentioned, communication within Bisley hundred was difficult, and this was also true of a significant portion of Longtree hundred, as 'the valleys of the Nailsworth area suffered from poor communications until 1780' (Herbert, 1976: 153). With parts of this south-western Cotswold area being isolated, it is unlikely that

relationship-based by-names would have been suitable as a means to easily identify certain people, as knowledge of the bearer's family would have been necessary. For example, from the name *Willesone*' alone, which is found in the 1381 poll tax return for Bisley, it would be impossible to know which *Wille* or William this person was the son of, without a previous relationship with, or prior knowledge of, the family in question. Within a single small vill such prior knowledge is likely, but throughout a number of vills with poor communication links it is not.

This would have made relationship by-names unsuitable as a transparent means of identification within the south-west Cotswolds, and so could explain why there were proportionately fewer relationship names within the region than in the north-east, which did not suffer from such difficulties in communication. This idea of transparency and identification could also partly explain why the south-west Cotswolds contained a high proportion of locational names. Unlike relationship names, to know the intention behind a locational by-name would not have required prior knowledge of the bearer's family. Instead, only the more easily obtained local geographical knowledge would have been necessary in order to identify the bearer. However, it must be noted that some differences in name type proportion might not always be influenced by aspects of regional identity, but indirectly by the relative change in numbers of names belonging to other types.

Hypothetically, it is possible that some name types were in some way "dominant", becoming more common at the expense of other "weak" names. For example, with Chipping Campden having been such an important wool trade centre before and at the time of the poll tax, its inhabitants, and those of Kiftsgate hundred as a whole, might have preferred to use occupational by-names in order to communicate

their position in the industry. Perhaps names belonging to a “weak” type such as nicknames, which tended to be less transparent than names of other types, would fall in numbers as people preferred names of a “dominant” type. If this was the case, there might not be any reason for the low number of nicknames in the north-east Cotswolds, other than there having been a tendency toward the adoption of occupational names, which would reduce the relative number of nicknames. Considering this, the pursuit of a separate explanation for each individual name type percentage may not always be appropriate or necessary.

4.5.2 Distribution of Name Types

In investigating the effect of topography on the names of the Cotswolds, it has become apparent that the proportion of names belonging to each type can reflect identifiable distinctions in the regional identity of different areas. However, comparing names from only those areas which are known to have had distinct identities could cause a number of other distributional patterns to go unrecognised. To ensure that a complete picture of the distribution of Cotswold names can be realised, a certain amount of analysis must be data driven, using patterns realised in the data collection process as a starting point, uninfluenced by preconceptions of regional identity. Firstly, though, let us determine the number of names belonging to each type, in the Cotswolds as a whole, in 1381. Once this general overview of name distribution in the region has been established, more specific patterns of name distribution will be discussed.

As mentioned earlier (see 4.2), there are 5,039 names in the 1381 Cotswold PT. The percentages of these names, categorised by name type, are as follows:

Location	20.14%
Multiple possibilities	18.08%
Nickname	5.87%
Occupation	28.32%
Relationship	21.23%
Uncertain	6.35%

Seeing as this was a time when, according to analysis in **4.3**, most people in the Cotswolds had non-hereditary by-names, and many others had presumably only recently embraced hereditary surnaming, the proportion of name types will not have changed significantly from a period when all names were non-hereditary. As such, the reasons behind the kinds of names being used, and their frequency, are likely to be related to the region's identity around the year 1381, rather than at a much earlier date.

Interestingly, these name type proportions are different from those for many nearby areas, when comparing them with McKinley's (1990: 23) calculations from early 14th-century subsidy rolls (see **Appendix 1**). For the county of Gloucestershire, McKinley has classified 44% of names in the 1327 subsidy roll as having a locative origin, considerably higher than the 20.14% for Cotswold names in 1381. Such a difference emphasises how the naming patterns of the Cotswolds were different from those of the rest of Gloucestershire, the county in which most of the Cotswolds lies. Similarly, McKinley found 16% of names in the 1327 Gloucestershire subsidy roll to be occupational in origin, where 28.32% of names were occupational in the 1381 Cotswold PT. This, again, could be taken as an indication of the importance of industry in the Cotswolds relative to its surrounding areas. However, it must be reiterated that the comparison of name type proportions that have been calculated by different researchers

is not always a reliable method, and should always be approached with caution. As there is no standardised method of name classification, personal choices behind the suggested origins of names can lead to vastly different results, even when individual researchers have used exactly the same name data. This problem has been discussed in **2.6.1.**

In the Cotswolds as a whole, it is clear that occupational names were more common in 1381 than the other name types, perhaps due to the dominance of the wool industry in the region, which may have encouraged the adoption of occupational names over others. Of all the 1,427 occupational by-names or surnames in the 1381 Cotswold PT, 18.01% are directly related to the wool trade, including names such as *Shepherd*, *Spinster* and *Walker*. This calculation does not include those names that have an ambiguous origin, where they could be related to the wool trade but could also be associated with different materials or goods. If such ambiguous names, such as *Mulleward* and *Tailor*, are included, then this figure becomes 29.57%. It is clear from this that the wool trade had a considerable impact on the names of the Cotswolds.

4.5.3 *The Distribution of the Name Shepherd and its Variants*

Perhaps the greatest indication of the wool trade's anthroponomastic influence in the Cotswolds is the frequency of the name *Shepherd* and its variant forms. Out of all the names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, *Shepherd* makes up 3.35%. This may appear a small proportion, yet a comparison with other common names shows that this was the most frequent name in the region by some way. For example, the name *Smith*, which is today 'our most common surname ... due chiefly to the blacksmith who was ubiquitous'

(Reaney, 1967: 162–163), makes up only 1.25%. From an analysis using all surviving 14th-century poll tax data, transcribed by Fenwick (1998, 2001, 2005), it is clear the *Shepherd* was more common in the Cotswolds than anywhere else; the next highest proportion of the name was in Rutland, making up 2.08% of all names in the county's returns.

Before presenting further findings on the frequency of the name *Shepherd*, it must be noted that the following calculation is a crude measure, yet given the available data in the 14th-century poll tax returns it is not possible to investigate it more thoroughly. The number of names from all poll tax returns in the country, whether damaged or not, and all occurrences of the name *Shepherd* and its variants, have been used to calculate the proportion of *Shepherds* in each county for which at least some returns are extant. As this is a measure of frequency, without focussing on orthography and name variants, the inclusion of damaged name entries is not considered to be a problem. The advantage in retaining these damaged entries is that the count of all names from each county will be as accurate as possible. Much like the returns for the Forest of Dean and the Vale of Berkeley in Gloucestershire, it is also possible that a number of records for some villis are missing, and so the poll tax returns will not provide complete coverage of the entire country. However, even a crude calculation such as this can provide valuable information, and given that suitable data for by-name and surname investigation from this period is not abundant, it is a worthwhile exercise.

As previously discussed, the name *Shepherd* made up 3.35% of all names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, and the name appears to have been more common in the Cotswolds than anywhere else at the time. Confirmation of *Shepherd*'s prominence in the Cotswolds, when compared with many other parts of England, has been obtained using

the Banwell Ratio. This calculation determines how much more common a name is in a given region than would be expected if it was evenly, or statistically randomly, distributed nationally, by comparing its regional and national frequencies. Details of the calculation are given in **Appendix 2**.

It is a particularly useful formula for analysing the country-wide distribution of a single name because it involves proportionate figures, rather than real numbers. As a result, it eliminates

the consequences of varying sizes of area, varying population densities, and overlapping areas, leaving only the degree to which the surname is over- or under-represented in each. In the Banwell method, if a surname was spread evenly throughout the population, each area would have a final figure of 1.0. The degree to which this is not the case is a product of the history of that particular surname and might therefore tell us something about it (Rogers, 1995: 22).

The Banwell number can, therefore, be used in this project to assess how common the name *Shepherd*, or any other, was in the Cotswolds relative to the rest of the country during the 14th century. It must be reiterated that any calculation using the incomplete data of the poll tax returns, with many records damaged or missing, cannot be completely accurate, and could be better described as a measure of how common the name is in the extant 14th-century poll tax returns for the Cotswolds, relative to the extant returns for the rest of the country. Regardless of how it could be phrased, the method makes good use of the limited data from the period, and so is considered to be worthwhile.

There were 169 people with the name *Shepherd*, or a variant, in the 1381 Cotswold PT. This is out of a total of 5,039 names, making the **X** value for the Banwell

calculation 0.0335. In all surviving 14th-century poll tax returns for the country, there were 1715 people with the name *Shepherd* out of 177,206 names in total, giving a **Y** value of 0.00968. Dividing **X** by **Y** gives a Banwell number of 3.47, to three significant figures. This means that, from the available poll tax data, in the second half of the 14th century, the name *Shepherd* and its variants were roughly 3 and a half times more common in the Cotswolds than they would have been if evenly distributed throughout the country. This implies that the number of instances of the name *Shepherd* in the Cotswolds was not due to a random distribution of the name about the country, and so there must have been a reason for its relative popularity in the region.

Given the prominence of the wool industry in the region, it is not unexpected for there to have been a relatively high number of shepherds in the Cotswolds at this time, who might then have adopted a by-name reflecting their occupation. *Shepherd* was clearly a fairly common name in the country as a whole, owing to the fact that ‘there would be only one man with the task of keeping the sheep, so that the occupation would be a distinctive one’ (McKinley, 1977: 137), and it persisted as an hereditary surname, with *Shepherd*, excluding variants, being the 156th most common surname in Britain in 1881, according to Archer’s (2011) surname atlas. However, its proportionately high frequency in the 1381 Cotswold PT, in terms of its national distribution and the regional name stock, shows that *Shepherd* was especially common in the Cotswolds.

While *Shepherd* was a common name in the Cotswolds at this time, it was not evenly distributed throughout the region. 70.66% of people in the 1381 Cotswold PT with the name *Shepherd*, or a variant, were recorded in the four northernmost hundreds of the Gloucestershire Cotswolds, being Holford and Greston, Kiftsgate, Salmonsbury and Tibblestone. This calculation excludes two of the 169 people so named, as the

returns in which they appear are damaged so that their place of origin is unclear, meaning 118 out of 167 people with the name *Shepherd*, or a variant, were definitely taxed in these northern hundreds. The name was clearly more common to the north of the Cotswolds, presumably due the area's 'wide wold' (Hadfield and Hadfield, 1966: 15) being more suited to sheep farming, and the fact that Chipping Campden, in Kiftsgate, was the centre of the Cotswold wool trade in the 14th century.

The choice to treat the four northernmost hundreds as a distinct area of the Cotswolds, when investigating the distribution of the name *Shepherd*, may appear arbitrary. However, there is reason behind it based on the distribution of the variants of the name, as shown in figure 4.6. It must be noted that this map does not show the number of people named *Shepherd* in each individual vill, just which forms appeared in which vill, regardless of number.

In the 1381 Cotswold PT, variation in the initial morpheme of the name *Shepherd* gives the following four variant forms: *Sche-*, *Schi-*, *She-* and *Shi-*. These forms had a clearly defined distribution, with the four northern hundreds having only contained names in *She-*, and the remaining parts of the Cotswolds having contained all four of these variant forms in different amounts. It appears that this distribution was down solely to the spelling preferences of scribes, partly supported by Fenwick's (1998: 249) observation that 'the internal evidence shows that the returns for the three hundreds of Salmonsbury, Holford and Greston and Kiftsgate were originally drawn up together'. It seems, then, that the scribes who drew up the returns for these northern hundreds preferred a *She-* spelling for the name *Shepherd*, while the scribes for the remaining hundreds were less particular.

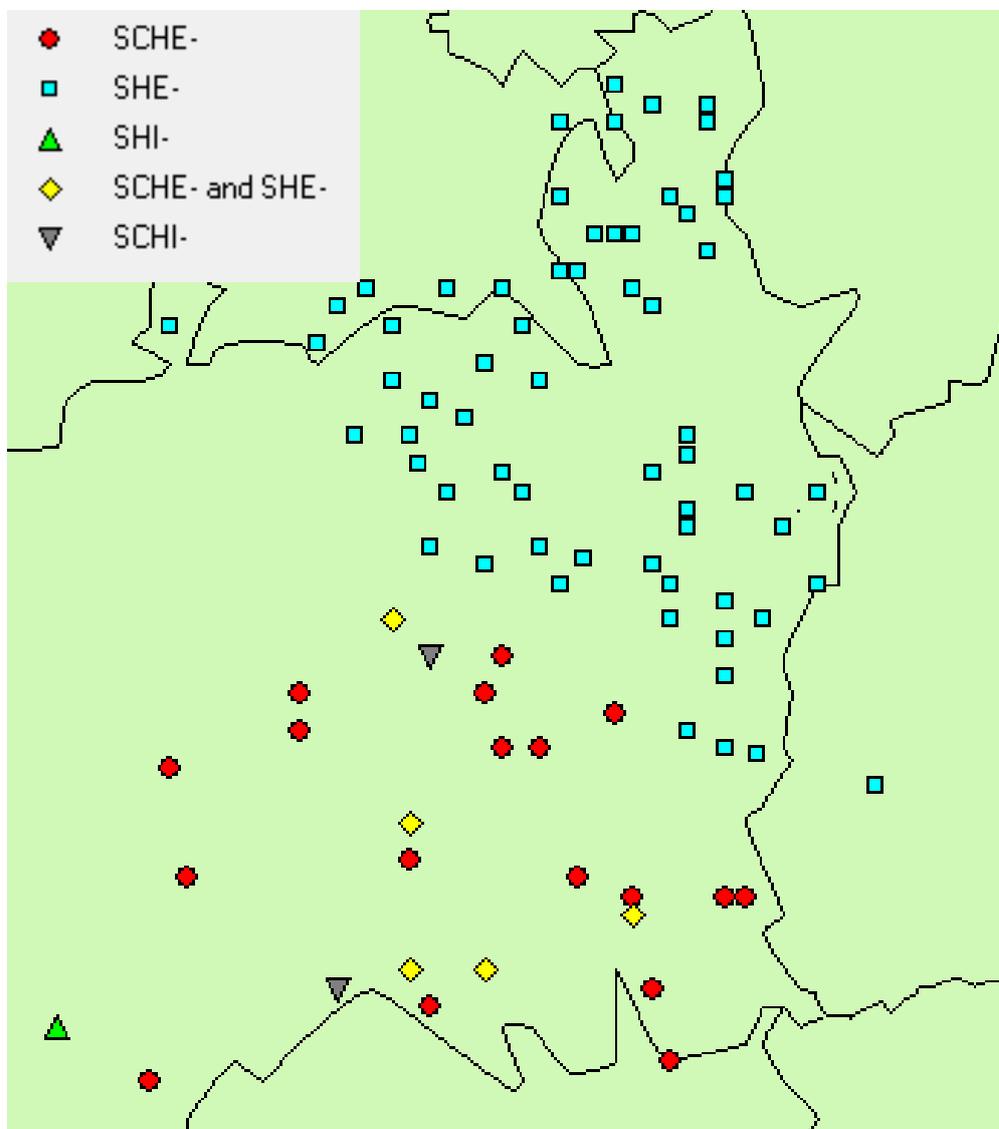


Fig. 4.6 — Map of the distribution of the name *Shepherd*, and variants, in the 1381 Cotswold PT.

Map plotted using *GenMap UK* (Archer, 2007)

It is assumed that this was only a matter of orthography because the variation between <Sch> and <Sh> is usual in the written regularisation of OE words beginning *sc-*, such as *scēap*, *scēp*, ‘sheep’, with no phonological significance. Whether or not the spelling preferences of scribes would have had a direct impact on the later development and persistence of variant name forms has not been studied, and so is not known. However, such a clearly defined distribution of variant name forms, within a relatively small area, as a result of scribal practices alone, may be significant to the field of onomastics in general. It suggests that some marked differences in name form distribution might have no phonological or dialectal significance, but only represent the choice of a scribe at a time when spelling was not standardised, having no bearing on the development of a name. In some cases, without further investigation, it may be unwise to assume that the distribution of different name forms is a result of the language or dialect of a region. This is discussed further in 4.6.

It is possible that the regional phonology of the Cotswolds has had a different effect on variation in the name *Shepherd*, with most forms in *-e-*, but some in *-i-*. There are only 3 instances of *Schi-* or *Shi-* variants in the 1381 Cotswold PT, all in the southern Cotswold hundreds. The use of <i> might have been influenced by West Saxon **scī(e)p*, **scȳp* ‘sheep’, which seems to have occurred in the forms of Cotswold place-names in ‘a few cases’ (Smith, 1965: 67–68), as opposed to West Saxon *scēap* and Anglian *scēp* which were more common to the Cotswolds, according to the place-name evidence. West Saxon **scī(e)p*, **scȳp* is apparent in Shipton Moyne of Longtree hundred, and Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers of Bradley hundred. The locations of these south Cotswold place-names fit in with the distribution of *Shepherd* variants in *-i-*, with the three of them having been on the south side of the clear divide

shown in figure 4.6. It makes sense that some aspect of phonology previously realised in place-name forms would have influenced by-names and surnames in a similar way, yet, further investigation suggests that the distribution of the *Shepherd* forms is unrelated to Cotswold phonology, and is a result of scribal practice.

The marked separation of *Shepherd*'s variant forms is defined by the boundaries of the Cotswold hundreds, which are administrative units unlikely to perfectly define or contain linguistic developments. Boundaries for dialect features are not so clear-cut, as Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978: Introduction) state, isoglosses 'do not so much mark clefts between two distributional areas as indicate transitional areas in which the contrastive forms meet or merge'. Similarly, in their atlas of dialects, Upton and Widdowson (1996: xviii) describe how 'each map reveals areas in which particular words or pronunciations are concentrated, with the areas shading into one another rather than being sharply demarcated'. Therefore, if the variants of the name *Shepherd* were a reflection of Cotswold phonology, it would be expected for there to have been an area where distinct variant forms met or merged, rather than the sharp demarcation seen in figure 4.6. Furthermore, other name variants from the 1381 Cotswold PT should exhibit different distributions to those of *Shepherd*, if based on lexis or phonology, as the development of different names would not have followed identical geographical patterns. This is not the case, with many name variants and morphological features showing remarkably similar patterns of distribution. As was the case with the name *Shepherd*, the four northern hundreds of Holford and Greston, Kiftsgate, Salmonsbury and Tibblestone frequently contained different name forms to those found in the rest of the Cotswolds.

As well as the map of variants of the name *Shepherd*, two further examples of this pattern are given in figures 4.7 and 4.8. Figure 4.7 shows the distribution of names ending *-us*, which is an unusual form and will be discussed further in **4.6.1**. While these figures do not display, to the same extent, the clearly distinct pattern of distribution seen in the map for the name *Shepherd* (figure 4.6), a similar pattern is easily recognisable, with the four northern hundreds appearing distinct from the rest. This recurring distribution suggests that the cause is the same each time. Considering that the form of a name, when being recorded in the poll tax returns, was ultimately the choice of a scribe, it is reasonable to deduce that the marked distributional distinctions are a result of different orthographical practices by different scribes, unlikely to be a completely accurate reflection of phonological differences within the Cotswolds.

Whatever the reasons behind these variant forms of *Shepherd*, it is clear that the name was proportionately most common in the Cotswolds in 1381, compared with the rest of the country. The importance of the region to the wool trade cannot be ignored as a reason for this, especially considering that there were more instances of the name in the north, nearer to Chipping Campden, which was an important wool trading centre at the time. While the variants of *Shepherd* cannot be easily or definitively explained in terms of regional identity, it seems that the wool producing identity of the Cotswolds certainly had some influence over the name's frequency in 1381.

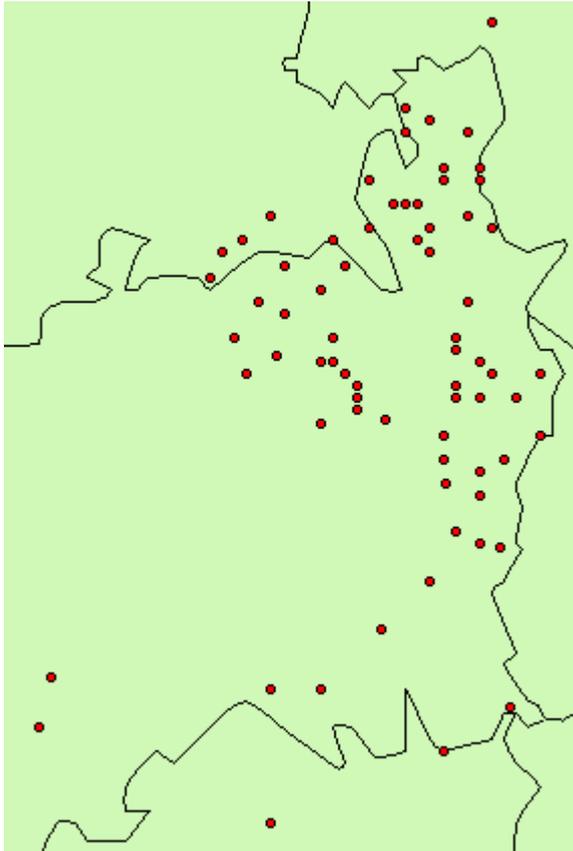


Fig. 4.7 — Map of by-names or surnames ending *-us* in the 1381 Cotswold PT.

Map plotted using *GenMap UK* (Archer, 2007)

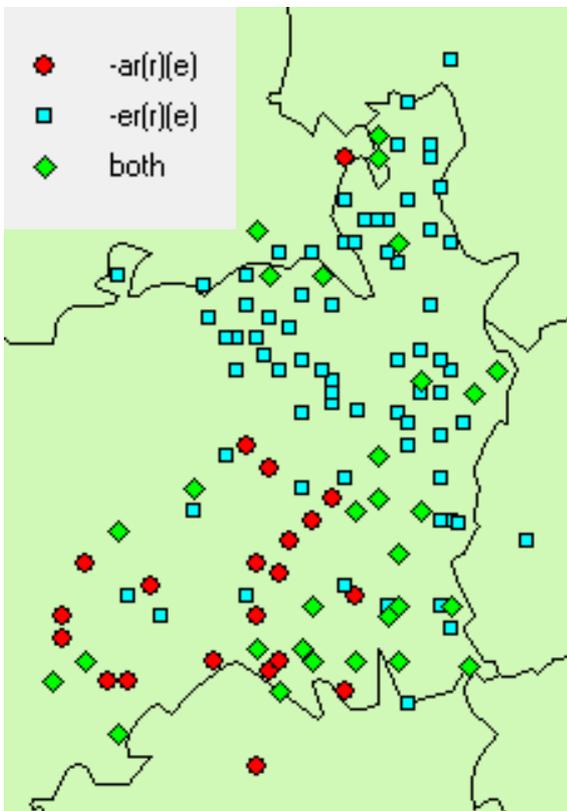


Fig. 4.8 — Map of by-names or surnames ending *-ar(r)(e)* and *-er(r)(e)* in the 1381 Cotswold PT.

Map plotted using *GenMap UK* (Archer, 2007)

4.5.4 *The Distribution of Stone- and Slate-Related Names in the Cotswolds*

Much as the wool trade appears to have influenced the development of the names of the Cotswolds, the importance of building and masonry to the region is likely to have had a similar effect (see 3.3.2). For this investigation, names included by Fransson (1935:175–180) in the section ‘Masonry and Roofing Workers’ which denote the use of stone or slate, and which are also recorded in the 1381 Cotswold PT, have been studied. These names are *Helier*, *Mason*, *Sclatter* and *Tiler*, or any variant of these, and their distribution in the Cotswolds in 1381 is shown in figure 4.9.

As can be seen, there is no clear pattern of distribution for each individual name, nor is there any convergence of these names about known 14th-century quarries for stone or slate. The map might show that the name *Mason* was more common in the north of the Cotswolds, but the small sample size means this distribution is less than conclusive. However, these stone- and slate-related names, altogether, did have a noticeable pattern of distribution, being concentrated in the east and north-east of the region. Excepting the outlying instance of the name *Mason* and the pairing of *Sclatter* and *Mason*, the names were absent from the south-west. It is possible that this eastern distribution was due to the location of Cotswold quarries and the region’s topography.

As has been discussed previously (see 3.3.2), while there are many quarries in the Cotswolds today, there is little literature on their age. The quarries which were known to have existed in the 14th century were mostly found in the east of the region, including ‘quarries in Barrington, Sherborne and Windrush’ (Smith, Eagles and Morgan, 1973: 103). There was also a central outcrop of Stonesfield Slate in ‘the old slate-quarrying area at Sevenhampton’ (Dreghorn, 1967: 136), and it is these four

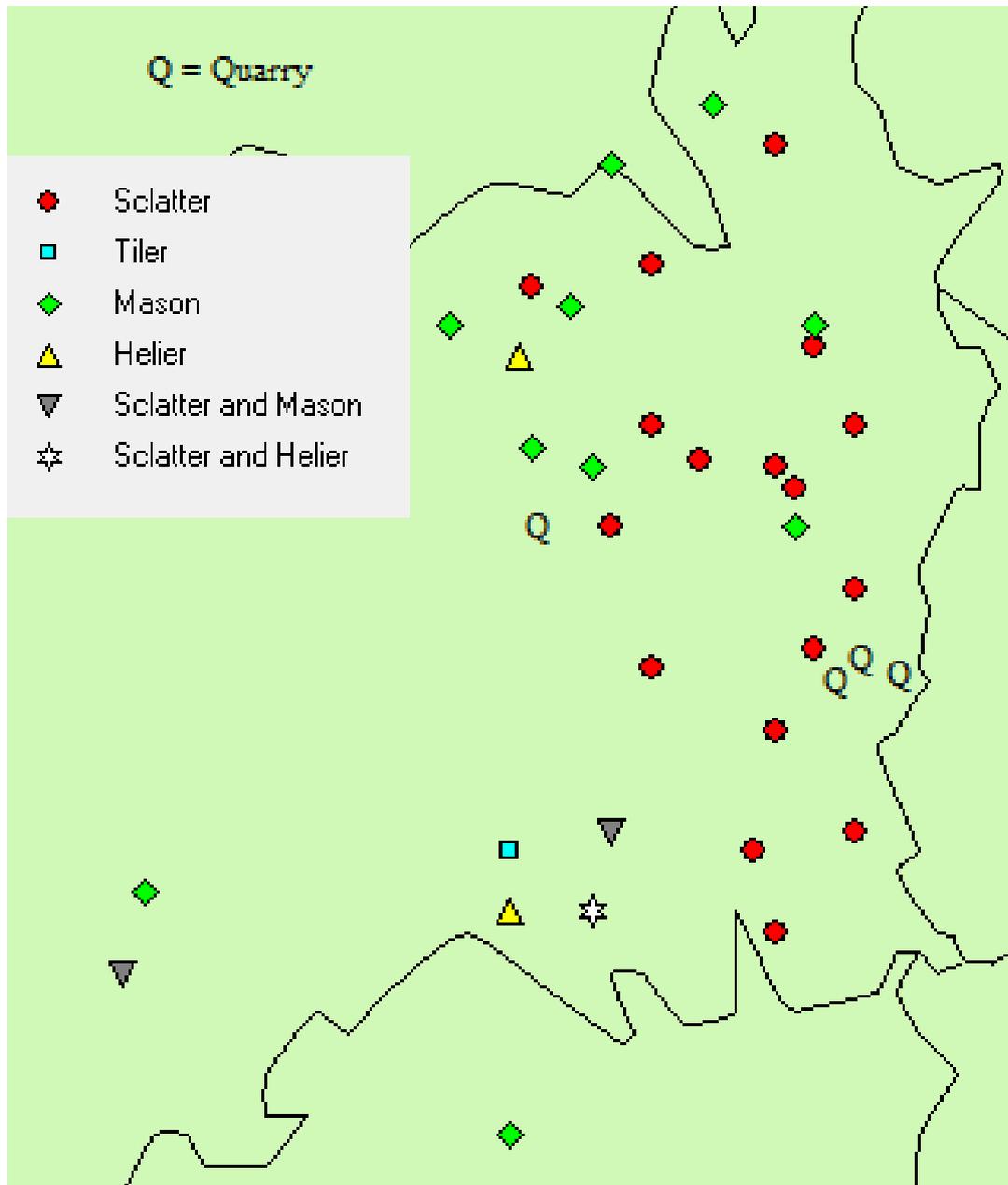


Fig. 4.9 — Map of occupational by-names or surnames related to stone and slate in the 1381 Cotswold PT.

Map plotted using *GenMap UK* (Archer, 2007)

quarries marked on figure 4.9. It is reasonable to assume that a greater number of people who worked as tilers, masons and other such occupations would have lived in the east Cotswolds, closer to these quarries and the materials required for their trade. This might explain why there seems to be a higher concentration of people named *Helier*, *Mason*, *Sclatter* and *Tiler* in the east Cotswolds.

It is, however, clear that there was no strong pattern of convergence around the four quarries, presumably because most stone workers would not have had to quarry their material themselves; quarrying was surely a distinct occupation. Nevertheless, for people to live near the source of the materials required for their trade would be advantageous. Therefore, stone workers are likely to have lived relatively close to a quarry or somewhere with suitable transport links to a quarry. This might explain why there were very few stone workers recorded in the west Cotswolds, some distance away from the eastern quarries. The steep slope of the escarpment may also have been a barrier to the transportation of heavy materials.

It seems, then, that the identity of the Cotswolds, as a region well known for its local limestone and Stonesfield Slate, has had some influence over the development and distribution of certain by-names and surnames within the area. Today, ‘the stone tile industry no longer exists in the Cotswolds, but in its heyday it employed hundreds of slatters’ (Dreghorn, 1967: 137), and so for it to have had an effect on the region’s names is expected.

4.5.5 *Other Cotswold Names and Banwell Numbers*

Having established *Shepherd* as a common name in the Cotswolds (see 4.5.3), similar analyses of other names in the 1381 Cotswold PT will now be carried out using the Banwell calculation, to establish which names were particularly common at the time. To carry out this calculation for every name appearing in the 1381 Cotswold PT would not be appropriate. Hypothetically, a name that only appears once or twice in the returns could still be common according to the Banwell ratio if it did not exist at all in the rest of the country, or at least only existed in similarly small numbers in a few counties. So, a selection of the most frequent names in the 1381 Cotswold PT must first be made, before any comparison with the rest of the country.

Methodologically, calculating the frequency of each name is not a simple task. As spelling was not standardised at the time, sorting the names alphabetically will not necessarily group all names of the same origin together. This means that a collection of all the variant forms of a name is not easily achieved in an Excel spreadsheet without a certain degree of manual sorting. That being the case, two phases of data organisation have been employed in order to accurately calculate name frequencies in the 1381 Cotswold PT.

The first phase involved an automatic alphabetical sorting of the names, which grouped all names of identical form together. A frequency was then assigned to each identical form, so an initial raw count for each unique name form was achieved. The second phase was a manual browsing of the raw sorted data, connecting each unique name form with its variants to give a final count of name frequencies, using the most frequent variant of a name as the head-form. While this was a time-consuming process,

it ensured that a more accurate collection of variant forms could be achieved than would have been possible if simply using automatic alphabetical sorting. The counts for the most frequent names in the Cotswolds were then compared with their occurrences in all other 14th-century poll tax returns, in order to calculate their Banwell numbers, which are as follows, along with their frequencies in the 1381 Cotswold PT:

NAME	FREQ.	BANWELL
<i>Shepherd</i>	169	3.47
<i>Taylour</i>	89	1.29
<i>Carter</i>	76	2.12
<i>Smyth</i>	63	0.83
<i>Mulleward</i>	60	4.25
<i>Dryver</i>	53	12.34
<i>Clerk</i>	47	1.67
<i>Holdare</i>	47	17.97
<i>Deye</i>	45	3.43
<i>Tasker</i>	41	14.42
<i>Webb</i>	37	1.96
<i>Heyward</i>	29	2.36
<i>Bayli</i>	27	2.92
<i>Carpunter</i>	27	2.89

These 14 names were the only ones, individually, to make up more than 0.5% of all names in the 1381 Cotswold PT. Other names in the returns may well have been more common in the Cotswolds than the rest of England according to the Banwell calculation, but to make this a criterion for classifying a name as common to the

Cotswolds could mean including those which only appeared once in the 1381 Cotswold PT, if they did not occur in any other county. This method is not practical and so a cut-off point, based on name frequency, has been used.

As can be seen above, the name with the highest Banwell number is *Holdare*. While it was only the 7th most frequent name in the 1381 Cotswold PT, it was almost 18 times more common in the Cotswolds than it would have been if evenly distributed throughout England. In comparison, whilst *Shepherd* was the most frequent name in the Cotswolds toward the end of the fourteenth century, it was not quite so unevenly distributed, having been about 3.5 times more common than expected from an even distribution.

Not all frequent names in the Cotswolds can be considered especially common to the region, as some were proportionately more frequent in other parts of the country. *Smyth* is a clear example of this, having a Banwell number of 0.83, meaning it was slightly less common in the Cotswolds than expected from an even national distribution, even though it was the fourth most frequent name in the region. *Smyth* is the only name given above for which this is true, with all others having been more common in the Cotswolds than expected from an even distribution throughout England. However, some of these frequent names were only slightly more common than expected, with the names *Webb*, *Clerk* and *Taylour* having a Banwell number of less than two. Considering the incomplete and damaged nature of many of the 14th-century poll tax returns, a certain amount of error must be allowed for in calculating the Banwell ratios. For this reason, these three names cannot necessarily be considered to have been more common in the Cotswolds than the rest of the country at the time.

It is worth mentioning here that those names found to have been more common in the Cotswolds than expected could also have been equally common in other parts of the country, and so it would be misleading to suggest that the names above with high Banwell numbers were only frequent in the Cotswolds. Therefore, the suggestion that a name was common to the Cotswolds is not to say that it was almost exclusively found in the region, nor is it to say that it originated there. It is meant only to show which names were proportionately common in the Cotswolds at the time. Following the identification of these names, the frequency of the same names in the c1600 baptismal parish registers can be compared in order to gauge their level of persistence. From this, an assessment of the change in the names of Cotswolds can be made, followed by a discussion of the influence of regional identity. This is carried out in **6.3**.

4.6 Phonology, Orthography and Dialect in the Names of the 1381 Cotswold PT

Some matters of orthography have already been discussed in the **4.5.3**. It was found that the specific distribution of variant name spellings seems to have been due to the practices of a small number of scribes, rather than being an indication of any localised phonologies in different parts of the Cotswolds. However, the existence of these variant forms might still be indicative of orthographical and phonological norms in the Cotswolds as a whole, or a particular part therein. The scribes are likely to have been Cotswold residents, with the detailed rolls of individual names having been drawn up by the borough commission in Gloucester, which ‘divided the county into smaller geographical areas, a group of hundreds or similar administrative areas, for which one member was responsible’ (Fenwick, 1998: xix). Presumably, scribes assigned a certain

area of the Cotswolds would have been so based on their familiarity with it, and so their spelling might be a reflection of the language of the region.

It must be noted that the written texts and records of medieval England are not an ideal source for discovering the historical phonology of a given area. As mentioned briefly in 4.5.3, recorded variant forms of names do not, and did not, always reflect phonological distinctions, and so, in some cases, might not be indicative of regional dialect distinctions. After all, the form of each name is down to the orthographical choices of the scribe, and these are not necessarily directly related to the spoken dialect of that scribe, nor are they necessarily indicative of the dialect of the region in question, because the scribe may not be a local inhabitant. In a discussion of two of Kristensson's (1965; 1967) works on the dialect evidence of names in the 1290–1350 lay subsidy rolls, McClure (1973: 193) makes a related point, stating that

It is doubtful if the name material in the county subsidy rolls is linguistically so straightforward that it can always be used with confidence to deduce new or more refined conclusions about the phonology of Middle English dialects ... The doubt arises from the fact that a variety of scribal influence may nonetheless come between the local speech forms and the written forms of the county rolls.

McClure's objection is, in part, to Kristensson's reliance on the county rolls for dialectal evidence. He suggests that they may contain certain scribal transcriptions that have altered the forms of some names from the local, and therefore original, rolls, potentially altering their apparent phonology. Unfortunately, only a very small number of the local rolls are extant, and so they are not suitable for a study of ME dialect. In response to McClure's (1973) discussion, Kristensson (1976: 52) acknowledges that '[his] paper touches important matter', and so sets out 'to make clearer the relationship between the county rolls and the original returns'. By comparing the local and county

rolls for Stratford on Avon in 1332, Kristensson (1976: 56) concludes that, while some of the names are spelt differently,

none of the spelling changes ... imply a change that gives the name concerned a different “pronunciation” of a dialect feature. This is important for the county rolls in their capacity of sources about Middle English dialects.

This finding is relevant to the phonological study of name forms in the 1381 Cotswold PT, as the data used in this project was transcribed from detailed assessment rolls, which were drawn up by the borough commission in Gloucester, using written or verbal information from local assessors (see Fenwick, 1998: xxvii, Figure 2). So, the documents transcribed by Fenwick are effectively county rolls, rather than a form of original local return. Kristensson’s finding, that the 1290–1350 lay subsidy county rolls are suitable for a study of dialect phonology, suggests that the extant 14th-century poll tax returns could also be suitable for a phonological investigation.

There is further disagreement between McClure and Kristensson. Kristensson (1965: 139) proposes that county scribes would have been especially careful in copying local rolls because ‘misspellings of the names of the tax-payers might lead to trouble when it came to collecting the taxes’, making the county rolls an accurate representation of the original local rolls. McClure (1973: 190) states that ‘the county rolls were not directly used for collecting the levies; this was done by the local assessors using copies of their own original returns’, thus rendering Kristensson’s point unimportant. However, in response, Kristensson (1976: 58, footnote 25) cites ‘the parliamentary writs for the levying of the Lay Subsidies in 1290 and 1297’, which

explicitly state that the chief taxers should have two county rolls made and that one should be sent to the Exchequer and the other should be kept by the chief taxers for the purpose of collecting the taxes.

Kristensson (1976: 58, footnote 25) suggests that, because the chief taxers would be called upon to settle any payment dispute which the sub-taxers had no authority to resolve, 'it was important that the names in the chief taxers' rolls had been taken down correctly'. There is clear disagreement between McClure (1973) and Kristensson (1976), and both make reasoned and sensible points.

While the lay subsidy rolls are, of course, not the poll tax returns, the above issues have been outlined with the intention of highlighting the methodological implications of using medieval tax records in dialect study. The point that is relevant to the study of the poll tax material is the apparently shared view of McClure (1973) and Kristensson (1976), that only those records which were, or might have been, used when physically collecting the taxes are suitable for use in a phonological investigation. The detailed rolls of the poll tax, which are transcribed in Fenwick's works (1998, 2001 and 2005), were drawn up by the county authorities, yet these rolls were made using verbal and written information provided by local assessors, and were then used by the tax collectors. The names in the detailed rolls of the 14th-century poll tax are therefore appropriate for use in a study of phonology, because their forms are likely to reflect local pronunciation.

As well as the specific concerns of using tax records for a study of phonology, there is more general disagreement about the extent to which spelling variation in any written document can be considered representative of phonological variation in spoken language. Stenroos (2002: 447) summarises this point, stating that,

There are two main theoretical traditions as regards writing and speech: one that sees writing essentially as a way of encoding speech and another that sees writing and speech as two parallel, largely autonomous systems. These two approaches have sometimes been called “relational” and “autonomistic” respectively.

Unfortunately, there is no way to be certain of the relationship between orthography and phonology in the 14th century as there are, of course, no recordings of speech from the time. However, there are certain features of regional ME dialect, constructed from the study of written records, which are still recognisable in speech today, suggesting that writing and speech were to some extent “relational”. For example, the ME West Midland dialect rounding of /a/ to /o/ before nasals (see 4.6.2) still existed in the spoken language of the region in the 20th century, as shown in Upton and Widdowson’s (1996: 4) map for the pronunciation of the word “hand”, where the isogloss for /o/ encompasses a large portion of the West Midlands. Stenroos (2002: 448–449) also makes this point, stating that,

it is not unfair to assume that the general predilection for spelling words like *man* or *ram* with an <o> in the West Midland area was related to the common pronunciation of those words in this area, especially as this is supported by twentieth-century dialectal evidence.

This is by no means proof that written records were ‘a faithful recording of speech’ (Stenroos, 2002: 449), but does suggest that there was a relational connection between writing and speech, though its extent cannot be easily determined. Considering this, any apparent distribution of dialect features, taken from a written source, cannot be taken as conclusive proof of the area’s dialect at the time. However, by seeking corroboration from other contemporary sources, and by comparing findings with previous knowledge on regional dialects, reasonable suggestions can be made.

As mentioned previously, it is likely that medieval Cotswold phonology included elements of West Midland and southern dialects (see 3.5). It is also likely, given its topographical isolation, that the Cotswolds embodied a kind of closed social network, causing aspects of its dialect to develop independent of much external influence and to be unique in a number of ways, similar to how Milroy (1987: 181) has found an ‘association between a close-knit, localized network structure and adherence to a vernacular or (more broadly) nonlegitimized norm’. This could in turn lead to the formation of regionally specific or unusual name forms. After extracting the 1381 Cotswold PT data, one particular name feature stood out more than any other, due to its frequency and unfamiliarity: the *-us* ending.

4.6.1 *The -us Ending in the Cotswolds*

In order to isolate the names ending *-us* in the 1381 Cotswold PT, the data was first sorted alphabetically by the final letter of each name. While it would have been possible to single out all names with a *-us* ending by manually sifting through the database, this would have been time consuming. There is no in-built option in Microsoft Excel to automatically sort data alphabetically by final letter, but there are ways in which it can be done. The method used in this project is presented in **Appendix 3**.

Out of the 5,039 names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, 169 end *-us*, such as *Hobbus*, *Stevenus* and *Wylkocus*, excluding those names where a vowel or <y> precedes the *-us* ending. These are often latinised forms, such as the name *Vicoryus*, or can represent a different sound, such as in the name *Thapunhaus*, and so are irrelevant here. A further 16 contain an element within their name which ends *-us* where it would not normally be

expected, such as *Salisbury*, *Bryddusheyne* and *Cattuslade*. These names with *-us-* cannot be isolated using reverse alphabetical sorting, and so a small amount of manual sifting through the database is required following the process. In total then, there are 185 names in the 1381 Cotswold PT in *-us(-)*, making up 3.67% of all the names recorded. This form was much more common in the Cotswolds than anywhere else in the country at the time, with Oxfordshire containing the next highest proportion of names in *-us(-)*, being 1.18% of all its names. The Banwell number for names in *-us(-)* in the 1381 Cotswold PT is 10.25, meaning names of this form were 10.25 times more common in the Cotswolds than would be expected from an even distribution nationally.

Those names ending *-us*, such as *Stevenus*, could be interpreted as being latinised forms of English by-names or surnames derived from given names, with the scribe choosing to create a masculine nominative singular form that is often used for given names in medieval records. See, for example, the name *Edwardus* Smyth, recorded in the 1381 poll tax return for Stow-on-the-Wold, though there are many more. This could explain most of the by-names or surnames in *-us(-)*, but not all. The name *Parsonus* could surely not have been interpreted as being derived from a given name, and the toponymic name *Cattuslade*, from the Cotswold place-name Castlett Farm in Guiting Power, clearly did not originate from a given name, nor are either of the elements which make up the place-name derived from a given name, but OE *cat(t)* ‘cat’ and *slæd* ‘valley’.

This ending also occurred in medieval forms of some Cotswold place-names, such as

Lyllusbrok, 1388 (Smith, 1964a: 53)

Elcustan, 1221 (Smith, 1964a: 159)

and in some forms of Gloucestershire place-names outside of the Cotswolds, such as

Tekusbury, 1390; *Thekusburia*, c.1360; *Tewcusbury*, 1416

(Smith, 1964b: 62)

Waynelodus Brugge, 1424 (Smith, 1964b: 151).

Also, at the beginning of a new membrane of the 1381 poll tax returns for Salmonsbury hundred, the hundred name is written as *Salmondusbury* (Fenwick, 1998: 264).

This *-us(-)* form also occurs in the 1480–1481 accounts for *The Trinity of Bristol*, ‘one of the finest English ships’ (Reddaway and Ruddock, 1969: 1). Within a transcribed edition of the accounts is the line, ‘Here after ffollowyng the salus of cloths’ (Reddaway and Ruddock, 1969: 21), with the editors providing an explanatory footnote for the word ‘salus’, which is ‘i.e. sales’, presumably because they consider the form to be unusual. This word ‘salus’ is clearly not a nominative masculine singular latinised form because, in the context of this document, it is plural.

However, this is not to say that all instances of *-us(-)* are plural. The Cotswold field-name recorded as *Lyllusbrok* in 1388 apparently has the OE given name *Lil* as its first element, and it appears to be in the genitive case. Considering this, it is also possible that some by-names or surnames derived from given names in the 1381 Cotswold PT which end *-us* might not be latinised nominative singular forms, but instead could be possessive. For example, *Stevenus* as a by-name or surname in the poll tax might not be a latinised form of *Steven*, as suggested previously, but could

sometimes be an orthographical or phonological variant of *Stevenes*. So, from a study of the 1381 Cotswold PT, and contemporary place-name forms and documents from Gloucestershire, it seems that this *-us(-)* element did not follow any specific pattern related to number or case. Instead, it seems to have been an alternative to *-es(-)* when appearing in unstressed syllables

This *-us(-)* ending has previously been suggested as a feature of the West Midland ME dialect, though, in most cases, only tentatively. In a summary of the features ‘especially characteristic of the West Midland dialect’ (Serjeantson, 1927a: 65), based on an examination of documents and previous works on regional dialects, Serjeantson (1927a: 65) noted as the final feature in her list, with some uncertainty, ‘perhaps also, though this test is less reliable, the occurrence of the unstressed endings *-us*, *-ud*, etc.’, apparently replacing *-es* and *-ed* respectively. This is not widely accepted as a feature of the West Midland, or any other, ME dialect, and not all of Serjeantson’s sources (see Serjeantson, 1927a: pp 58–63) recognise it, nor does she mention it in the following two papers of the series (Serjeantson, 1927b; 1927c). In a more recent work, Kristensson (1987: 164) identifies ‘a small admixture of *-us(-)* ... in unstressed positions’ in the West Midland dialect area, but does not include an example from a Gloucestershire or Cotswold source. Hjertstedt (1987: 28) identifies ‘WMidl. *-us*, *-ul* in unstressed position’ in the names of the Warwickshire subsidy rolls. The ending *-ul* also appears in some names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, though not in great enough numbers for reliable analysis. See, for example, the name Johannes *Dyngul*, recorded in Longborough. McClure (2005: 23) has studied names with the suffix *-cus*, though these are not relevant here; the *-cus* ending is ‘a Middle English hypocoristic suffix’. There are some names in the 1381 Cotswold PT which end *-cus* or *-kus*, but these are all clear

cases of *-us* for *-es* in unstressed positions, such as in Thomas *Wylkocus* from Bledington, Johannes *Hickus* from Donnington and Walterus *Cockus* from Stanton.

The evidence of the 1381 Cotswold PT shows that unstressed *-es(-)* was often written *-us(-)* in the Cotswolds towards the end of the 14th century, further south than has been noted previously, though the majority of names in *-us(-)* were recorded in the northern part of the region. The frequency of *-us(-)* names in the Cotswolds greatly strengthens the argument that unstressed *-es(-)* becoming *-us(-)* was a feature of the West Midland written dialect, and also suggests that the West Midland dialect was prominent in the Cotswolds. Furthermore, *-us* appeared much further south in the Cotswolds than expected, outside of what is usually considered to have been the ME West Midland dialect area. For example, the names *Grottus* and *Cattulus* are recorded in the 1379 returns for Sevenhampton in Wiltshire (see Fenwick, 2005: 79). This suggests that, within the Cotswolds, the dialect spread further south than previously thought. There is further evidence for this in the 1381 Cotswold PT, in the variation between /a/ and /o/ before nasals.

4.6.2 /a/ and /o/ Before Nasals

‘The occurrence of *on, om*, for OE. *a+nasal*’ (Serjeantson, 1927a: 65) is a feature of the West Midland dialect, as mentioned in 3.5, though most research has only noted it outside of the Cotswold region. From an investigation of the spellings *man* and *mon* in the West Midlands dialect area, Kristensson (1987: 11) found that, in Gloucestershire, ‘the large majority of *man* ... clearly indicates that *man* predominated in the whole county’, concluding that, while most counties of the West Midlands tended

towards /o/ before nasals, ‘/a/ prevailed in the same position in the whole of [Gloucestershire]’. Similarly, in what Serjeantson (1927a: 65) calls the ‘South West Midland’ area, made up of ‘Gloucestershire, and possibly West Oxford’, she identifies ‘*an* for OE. *a*+nasal’ (Serjeantson, 1927a: 66) as a feature of the dialect, but in other West Midland dialect areas she identifies ‘*on* for OE. *a*+nasal’ (Serjeantson, 1927a: 66 and 67). However, according to the evidence of the names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, this was not necessarily the case.

Rather than analysing every name ending /a/ or /o/ + nasal in the 1381 Cotswold PT, only those ending *-man* or its rounded form *-mon* are included in this investigation. This is to avoid any possible influence of established place-name spelling and pronunciation on by-name and surname forms; for example, Chipping Campden has no spelling recorded *Comp-* after the early 13th century, and this may have influenced the spelling of a locative name derived from the town. It also ensures accuracy in that the word *man* specifically has been shown to exhibit rounding in some parts of the West Midlands up to the 20th century (see Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978: Phonological Map 5), suggesting it had persisted in the area since the beginning of the ME dialect period, from the late 12th century onwards. It is therefore reasonable to assume that this rounding occurred in the West Midland dialect speakers’ pronunciation of names ending *-man* in the year 1381. While it is likely that this is true of all other words ending /a/ + nasal, particularly in unstressed positions like those in *-man*, it is not possible to be absolutely certain

In the 1381 Cotswold PT there are 135 names ending either *-man* or *-mon*. Of these 135 names, 54% end *-man*, and so 46% end *-mon*. These figures are remarkably similar considering Kristensson’s finding that, in Gloucestershire, /a/ before nasal was

more common than /o/, by far, in the period 1290–1350, not long before the time of the 14th-century poll taxes. The roughly even split of names ending *-man* and *-mon* is much more like the pattern found by Hjertstedt (1987: 27) in ‘a survey of *man*, *mon* and compounds ending in *-man*, *-mon*’ from the Warwickshire subsidy rolls, where 58.2% of names for the period 1351–1400 were in (-)*man* and 41.8% were in (-)*mon*. Still, in the 1381 Cotswold PT all but two of the names ending *-mon* were recorded in the four northernmost hundreds of the Cotswolds, and most of those ending *-man* were recorded in the southern hundreds, though there were 10 in the north. This corresponds to previously suggested distributions of this feature in the West Midlands as a whole, with /o/ before nasal in the north and /a/ before nasal in the south. It is possible that the scribes who drew up the poll tax documents for the northern Cotswold hundreds were more familiar with a northern West Midland dialect, and the rest of the scribes were South West Midland dialect users.

Even if this was the case, the frequency of *-mon* forms as far south as the Cotswolds is surprising, and they are by no means absent from the southernmost parts of the region. In the 1379 Wiltshire poll tax returns, the name *Chepmon* was recorded in Malmesbury, *Brugmon* and *Burymon* were recorded in Kemble, and *Nywemon* was recorded in Ashley; all of these settlements are in the far south of the Cotswolds. There is also place-name evidence for /o/ before nasal in the Cotswolds in, for example, a 1301 and 1304 form *Long(e)berg(h)*, for Longborough, and the 1303 form *Longeford*, for Longfords in Minchinhampton (see Smith, 1964a: 246 and 97 respectively), with the first element being from OE *lang* in both cases.

It seems, then, that ME West Midland dialect rounding of /a/ to /o/ before nasals was frequent in the Cotswolds in 1381, even though previous research has only

recognised the feature in the North West Midlands and Central West Midlands, not in Gloucestershire and western parts of Oxford. With parts of the northern Cotswolds reaching into the counties of Warwickshire and Worcestershire, where the dialect features in question have been recognised in previous works, it is possible that the dialect was easily spread across the Cotswolds as a whole; indeed, names in *-mon* also occur in the Wiltshire poll tax returns for some Cotswold vills. In this way, the regional identity of the Cotswolds has influenced its names in the 14th century.

The written forms of these names are only an orthographical representation of their perceived pronunciation at this time, and are unlikely to have had a long lasting effect on the region's names beyond the medieval period as the written language became increasingly standardised (see 5.6.3). However, at the time of the poll tax the written forms of names were clearly influenced by the regional identity of the Cotswolds, in terms of its phonology; that fact that this rounding is still pronounced today in some parts of the West Midlands suggests that the 1381 evidence is not just a matter of scribal convention without phonological significance. Perhaps even more importantly, the names of the 1381 Cotswold PT are an indicator of the dialect of the Cotswolds, and their investigation has allowed for a more complete picture of the region's phonology than has been previously known.

4.7 Chapter Conclusion

The intention of this chapter has been to survey the by-name and surname history of the Cotswolds, and how it relates to the general history of the region. By analysing its names using methods that have been carried out for other parts of the

country, it has been possible to add to our knowledge of such topics as migration, heredity and name frequency in the Cotswolds. Further to this, distribution patterns of certain names have been explained through the history of the Cotswolds, showing the extent to which the identity of the region, including aspects of economy, dialect and topography, has influenced its names.

More broadly, it is hoped that the considerable value of the 14th-century poll tax returns for name research has been made clear. The number of different ways in which the data have been analysed is meant to exemplify the richness of medieval by-name and surname data as a historical source, allowing detailed investigation of regional history. Similar studies will hopefully be carried out for other distinct regions of England, using the poll tax returns, so that meaningful comparisons of name development can be drawn.

Overall, this chapter has presented a number of new conclusions related to the by-name and surname history of the Cotswolds, and provides a more detailed anthroponomastic history of the region than has been achieved previously. However, the dynamic nature of name development requires a comparison of names from different periods in order to assess how the region's names have changed. To this end, the following chapter is a study of the names of the Cotswolds from c1600, a period of relative surname stability when compared with 1381. The findings of these chapters will then be compared in chapter 6 so that the extent of any change and continuity in the names of the Cotswolds, and the anthroponomastic contribution of its regional history, can be realised.

CHAPTER 5

The Names of the Cotswolds from Baptismal Parish Registers, 1580-1620

It must be made clear that the names from the period covered in this chapter are at a very different stage of development to those of the 14th-century poll tax returns. Considering this, the analysis of the names in the c1600 Cotswold PR will not be methodologically identical to that of chapter 4. The names of c1600 are mostly hereditary (see **5.4.1**), and so any attempt to identify connections between name development and regional identity requires careful investigation and consideration of Cotswold history. Methodologically, this is a more complex task than for the previous chapter, where the names were more easily connected with the contemporary history, because many of them were non-hereditary or recently hereditary, and so were descriptive of their bearers in many cases. As a result, this chapter is particularly long, making up roughly one third of the entire thesis. This is necessary in order to fully explore the methodological implications of using hereditary surname data in a study of name development, which are outlined throughout this chapter, where relevant (see, for instance, the first three paragraphs of **5.3**).

While this chapter will be based on similar themes to those of the previous one, and will consider the influence of regional identity, the different historical contexts of the two periods necessitate slightly different approaches to their data. In other words, factors such as trade, migration, dialect and name distribution will still be studied, but will only be informed by aspects of Cotswold history relevant to the period in question. Through this, a survey of the names of the Cotswolds in c1600 will be constructed,

independent of findings from the 1381 Cotswold PT. A discussion of the level of change and continuity in the region's names will then follow in chapter 6, where the findings from chapters 4 and 5 will be compared.

5.1 Baptismal Parish Registers and Their Uses

English parish registers, initially compiled across the country 'as a result of a mandate of 5 September, 1538' (FitzHugh, 1988: 213), are an important resource for name research. Registers were kept as a record of baptisms, marriages and burials associated with the parish church, and include the names of people for which each ceremony was held. In baptismal registers specifically, it is most common to find the given name of the baptised child alongside the given name and surname of the father. While there is no guarantee that the father's surname was passed on to their child, it is highly likely at this date (see *5.4.1*), especially in the south of the country. Even so, the surname of the father alone is enough for the purposes of this project, providing evidence of the names borne by Cotswold inhabitants. Much like the poll tax returns of the 14th century, parish registers are not class specific, and so provide as close to a true proportional representation of the names in use as is possible.

The baptismal registers are better suited to a regional study of surnames than marriage and burial registers. It is not always clear what affiliation couples would have had with the parish in which they were married. While 'there has always been a tendency for marriages to take place in the parish of the bride' (FitzHugh, 1988: 218), it is unusual for place of residence to be mentioned in marriage registers before 1754. Therefore, it is not always possible to know which of the two names recorded were

particular to the parish in question, making marriage registers an inappropriate resource for localised study. Burial registers are less likely than baptismal registers to include a fair representation of the names of the parish. Some churches ‘only registered burials by Anglican rites, which excluded suicides, excommunicates, executed criminals and unbaptized children’ (FitzHugh, 1988: 222), and so some names would not be recorded. Furthermore, ‘relatives were free to choose any parish for their burials’ (FitzHugh, 1988: 222) for a fee, and so the names recorded in burial registers might sometimes be representative of other parishes.

It is partly for these reasons that the baptismal parish registers have been chosen as the source of data for this investigation. On the whole, they are more likely to contain only names of those people resident in the parish, and so provide a more accurate representation of local names, than marriage and burial registers. This is not to say that they are a perfect resource, with many people choosing not to baptise their children between 1645 and 1660 ‘because of their disapproval of the changed rite under the Commonwealth (FitzHugh, 1988: 214). Later on, ‘towards the end of the seventeenth century, many children were being baptized by dissenting ministers and so were not officially recorded’ and ‘a later deterrent to the registration of the baptisms, especially poor children, was a tax of three pence levied between 1783 and 1794’ (FitzHugh, 1988: 214). However, for the period covered by this investigation, from 1580–1620, baptismal parish registers seem to be the most suitable.

5.2 The c1600 Cotswold PR: Name Data and Methodology

The date range of 1580–1620 covered by this part of the project was chosen

following a number of historical considerations. Primarily, this period was selected because it is a time when names are thought to have been hereditary for most people for a considerable period of time, especially in the south of the country. This is different from the situation in the period covered by chapter 4, with many names in the 1381 Cotswold PT shown to have been non-hereditary. The names from this later period of relative name stability can be compared with those of the poll tax returns in an attempt to discover how the names of the Cotswolds have been affected by increasing levels of heredity (see **6.4**).

There is a further reason for studying names recorded between 1580 and 1620. It is clear from an initial look at a number of parish registers that national coverage of extant records made soon after the 1538 mandate is poor. It is not until the late 16th century that baptismal parish registers have been suitably well kept, and have survived in great enough numbers, for their use in a regional study of names. Considering this, baptismal parish registers from c1600 are, following the 14th-century poll tax returns, the earliest suitable records for research of this kind.

To a certain extent, the choice of data range is arbitrary. There is little reason behind choosing 1580–1620 as a suitable date range over, for example, 1581–1621. The 40 years covered by the date range has, however, been considered methodologically. If a shorter period of time was used, there would be a risk of having too small a sample size for reliable calculations on certain aspects of surname history to be made. However, taking names from within a wider date range would have required a greater amount of

time than is necessary for a suitably representative sample of names to be collected.¹¹ For these reasons, a range of 40 years seemed appropriate for this project.

Unlike the 14th-century poll tax returns, which aimed to record the entire population in each year they were collected, the baptismal parish registers only include a record of each baptism in that parish. It is very unlikely that the baptisms recorded in a single year for one parish would be a complete collection of all the names usually found within it, as it is implausible that each resident family had a child in each year, or that each resident family had their child baptised in that parish. It is partly for this reason that a date range has been chosen, rather than collecting names from baptismal parish registers for a single year, or for several single, but non-contiguous, years.

It may appear that a 40 year date range covers a longer period of time than necessary for the collection of representative name samples for each parish. This would be true if baptismal parish registers were surviving for each year, but a number of the documents have been lost or damaged. Therefore, a study of the baptismal parish registers from 1580–1620 will not include the name of each child baptised within that period, but the name of each child baptised for which a record is extant. Such a wide date range is necessary in order to ensure that enough names are sampled for reliable conclusions to be made.

While it has been mentioned that this chapter will survey the names of the Cotswolds from c1600, independent of any findings from the poll tax analysis, the choice of which parishes to study must be partly influenced by the available data in the

¹¹ As is stated below (see 5.2.2), there are 11,708 names in the c1600 Cotswold PR. The size of this sample is comparable with, for example, Postles' (1998: 6–7) sample of 9,669 names from early sixteenth-century subsidy rolls and muster rolls, in his survey of the names of Leicestershire and Rutland.

poll tax returns, so that the names from the two periods can be directly compared in the following chapter. Therefore, the c1600 Cotswold PR sample is made up of names found in the parishes which correspond, in some way, to the vill in the poll tax returns. Methodologically, there are some difficulties in this approach.

At the most local level, the 1381 data was collected from individual vills, by which the poll tax returns are arranged. The baptismal parish registers were, of course, arranged by each individual parish. The vill and the parish are differently defined units, often covering areas of different size, as FitzHugh (1988: 293) describes, a vill was ‘a district or group of houses that bore a name. A parish might contain several vills’. Therefore, the names from an individual vill in 1381 cannot always be directly compared with those in a c1600 register from a parish with the same name. Some c1600 parishes may have been similar, in terms of area covered, to the vills of the 1381 poll tax, but it must be borne in mind that others will have been larger.

This issue can be dealt with by considering which 14th-century vills would have been roughly within each c1600 parish boundary, and using this information to ensure that the comparison of localised data from the poll tax returns and the parish registers is appropriate. This information can be taken from the English Place-Name Society volumes for Gloucestershire (Smith, 1964a; 1964b; 1964c; 1965). For example, the vills of Berrington, Broad Campden and Westington, in Kiftsgate hundred, had no corresponding parish name in c1600. However, the relevant English Place-Name Society volume (Smith, 1964a: 237–239) shows these three place-names as minor settlements within the parish of Chipping Campden. So, to make sure that any diachronic comparison is meaningful, the names of Chipping Campden parish in c1600

must be compared with the names found in Broad Campden, Berrington, Chipping Campden and Westington in the 1381 Cotswold PT.

This approach ensures that the names from the same parts of the Cotswolds are being studied, and that all the available relevant data is used in their comparison. If every Cotswold parish register was used in this study, the diachronic comparison would involve a certain amount of extraneous data which does not correspond to a 1381 vill, overcomplicating the investigation. In taking names only from those parishes which have a like-named vill in the 1381 poll tax returns, the influence of different locations on name development can be excluded during their comparison. This makes time, which is of course the key variable in a diachronic study, the main factor in a comparison of the names of the two periods, allowing for more reliable results.

While the use of a date range in the study of names from 1580–1620 ensures the data is more representative than the parish records from a single year, it cannot be guaranteed that the baptismal parish registers contain all names of people who lived in a given parish during this period. That being so, the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls can be used when any supplementary evidence is required, extracting only those names recorded in Cotswold hundreds. These muster rolls are titled ‘the names and surnames of all the able and sufficient men in body fit for his majesty’s service in the wars, within the county of Gloucester’, and so are likely to include names of people of different social classes, providing a good representation of the names in use. They are an easily accessible resource, available in a printed edition (see Smith, 1980). From now on, any mention of the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls refers only to the rolls from the relevant Cotswold parishes.

The c1600 Cotswold PR name data sample used in this project has been extracted from the International Genealogical Index's database of parish registers, referred to from now on as the IGI. Before an explanation of how the name data was taken from the IGI, it is first necessary to evaluate its suitability as a resource for surname research, and the resulting methodological implications.

5.2.1 The International Genealogical Index

5.2.1.1 Problems with, and the Use of, the Data

The IGI is an online resource compiled by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (often referred to as the LDS church, as it will be in the rest of this work), informally referred to as the Mormon Church, and contains 'several hundred million names of deceased people from throughout the world' (FamilySearch, 2012). The recording of a name by the LDS church is considered, by them, to be a posthumous baptism, granting the deceased an opportunity to adopt the Mormon faith after death. The IGI search engine provides a number of filtering options when looking for certain names, so that records from a particular place, date range or event (such as baptism, marriage or death) can be searched. For England, indexed names have either been transcribed by the LDS church from microfilm or microfiche copies of original parish registers (forming the "community indexed IGI"), or have been submitted by the general public (forming the "community contributed IGI").

Names submitted by the general public are unreliable, often with no indication of their source, presumably sometimes as a result of assumptions made by the submitter with little or no historical evidence. For this reason, the community contributed IGI

should not be used for a name survey of any kind. Thanks to the new IGI search engine, which has been available since May 2012, the community contributed IGI can be deselected and so only those names in the community indexed IGI will be included in a search. At the data collection phase of this project, the filtering out of the community contributed IGI was not quite as simple as the new search engine allows, though it was possible with a different method, searching by an IGI assigned batch number. This method can still be used with the new search engine.

The English IGI batch numbers are reference numbers assigned to specific records from individual parishes. Each parish will often have a number of batch numbers, referring to records of different events and covering different periods of time. Most importantly, these batch numbers are only assigned to names in the community indexed IGI. Therefore, any search of the IGI using a specific batch number will not only restrict the results to those from an individual parish, within a certain date range and from a certain life event, but will also not include any unreliable community contributed names. By using batch numbers for each search, restricting the date range to 1580–1620, and searching only for births (in the IGI ‘births’ means baptisms for the English records), the names required for this project, from individual Cotswold parishes, can be collected. A range of other filters and conditions can be used in an IGI search to tailor the results to each researcher’s needs. All batch numbers for the IGI can be found online, on pages compiled by Hugh Wallis (2002). It must be noted that some parishes have more than one batch number assigned to the same life events, though not for the same people, from the same period. It might, therefore, be necessary to carry out a number of batch number searches in order to obtain all records of, for example, baptisms from a single parish within a given date range.

While the exclusion of community contributed records from a data sample can vastly improve the reliability of the IGI, the transcription of names taken from parish registers is not 100% accurate. The community indexed records in the IGI have not been transcribed by experienced palaeographers, and so some names are copied erroneously. It is possible for any member of the public to volunteer as a FamilySearch indexer, with a few short tutorials being the only required training. Widespread assistance is the only possible way to compile an index of this size over a reasonable period of time, and so this is not meant as a criticism of the way FamilySearch operates. It is merely meant as a warning to those who use the IGI for anthroponomastic study.

Most transcription errors are minor, often being an omission of a single letter due to a misunderstood abbreviation, and so are unlikely to alter a name considerably from its spelling in the original record. Provided the origin of the name can still be recognised, such errors do not pose a problem to regional name surveys using large datasets to study the proportion of name types. FamilySearch has endeavoured to minimise these errors too, by providing two independent volunteers with identical images of records for transcription. Once both volunteers have transcribed the image, their work is sent on to an arbitrator. If there are any differences in the names indexed by the volunteers, then the arbitrator will make a judgement on which transcription, if any, is correct. If an arbitrator recognises multiple errors made by the same indexer, then their submission will be rejected and sent to a different indexer. Only when an arbitrator is happy with the level of agreement between the work of two independent indexers, and they have made any necessary minor corrections, are the indexed names made available in the IGI. By using this method, errors in the transcription of historical records are reduced. However, because arbitrators, like indexers, are not trained in

palaeography, and because the IGI deals with a large amount of data, some mistakes are inevitable.

5.2.1.2 The Suitability of the IGI as a Source in Surname Research

As part of this project, a short check of common errors in the IGI has been carried out. The names in the IGI from the 1580–1620 baptismal registers for the Cotswold parish of Quinton have been compared with those in the original records, which are on microfilm stored in the Gloucestershire archives. Not all of the baptisms in Quinton between 1580 and 1620 have been indexed in the IGI, with the registers from some years missing completely, even though they are available in the archives. However, the annual registers which have been included are more or less complete in the IGI, with very few names missing. Those years or individual names that are missing do not pose a problem to a name study, provided any comparison with other parishes is carried out proportionately, rather than in real numbers. It would require a great deal of work to collect all names that existed in any given parish between 1580 and 1620, if it is not impossible due to scarcity of evidence. What is most important to a project such as this one is that a representative sample of names is collected, and this is possible with the IGI.

Within the IGI baptismal parish register batch for Quinton between 1580 and 1620 there are 297 names. Only ten of these have any error in their transcription, and eight of them are so minor that no change to the apparent etymology of the name is made. These eight transcription errors are all either the addition or omission of a single letter. For example, Richard *Riland*, baptised in 1612, has been indexed in the IGI as

Richard *Rilande*, though Richard's father was recorded in the original register as John *Rilande*. Thomas *Whiteinge*, baptised in 1593, has been indexed as Thomas *Whitinge*. However, two of these erroneous transcriptions are more serious, altering the apparent etymology of the names.

Thomas *Hannes*, baptised in 1610, has been indexed in the IGI as Thomas *Haynes*, the name changed to the extent that the two spellings suggest distinct etymological origins. The other major error is more surprising, with Thomas *Horne*, baptised in 1586, having been indexed in the IGI as Thomas *Hornebee*. It is not obvious how such an error has been made. Only a speculative suggestion, that it is due to some sort of automatic word completion based on previous index entries, can be offered. Errors such as these are problematic for name research, but provided a large enough sample of names is collected the statistical implications are minimal. Only two of the 297 names from baptismal parish registers for Quinton between 1580 and 1620 have been changed to an extent that their true etymological origin is lost; that is 0.67%. Of course, to carry out these checks for all required parish records would not be possible within the time constraints of this project, and so such errors cannot be easily removed from the data sample. Thankfully, their apparent frequency in the IGI is low. While slight error in the calculation of name type proportion must be allowed for, it is likely to be small and to have little effect on name type comparison between different parts of the Cotswolds, or other English regions. However, where the exact spelling of a name is necessary for a phonological or dialectal study, it must be checked in the original record, so that there is absolute certainty.

It may be tempting to check spellings of names in the IGI against other printed editions of parish register transcriptions, to avoid the more time-consuming process of

using the original records. Extensive works include the two hundred volumes of marriage registers from all over England transcribed by W. P. Phillimore in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. There are many other local studies which include transcriptions of registers from a small number of parishes. However, there is no guarantee that the transcriptions in these works are more accurate than those in the IGI, so such an approach is not advised as it may potentially add to the erroneous data. Further to this, some sections of the IGI are taken from Bishops' Transcripts, rather than parish registers. Bishops' Transcripts are annual copies of parish register entries, sent by each church to their bishop. As spelling was not fully standardised (see **5.6.3** for further discussion) at the time, these Bishops' Transcripts were rarely copies as we know them today, with many names spelt differently, though this is not to say they were less accurate than the original parish registers in terms of the recorded name forms. In some Bishops' Transcripts there are 'errors and omissions owing to insufficient care in copying', but in others there are 'valuable details omitted from the original registers' (FitzHugh, 1988: 51). Where Bishops' Transcripts and their parish register survive, it is possible that the IGI and other printed editions have taken their data from these two separate sources, and so any spelling differences may not be down to error at all. For the purposes of accuracy, then, any check of the IGI should be made against the original record, rather than printed editions of parish register transcriptions.

5.2.1.3 Religion and the Omission of Names

There is a further issue in using the IGI as a source of data for name study, due to its omission of certain religious groups. An agreement was made between the LDS church

and the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in 1995, that the next issue of the IGI would have all names of posthumously baptised Jewish Holocaust survivors removed from it, and that the future posthumous baptism of Jewish people would be discontinued, unless they were direct ancestors of a living LDS church member. The Jewish community considered these baptisms to be disrespectful, disregarding peoples' religious choices at the time they were alive. As a result, almost all names of Jewish people are absent from the IGI, though some are still being added to the index against the terms of this agreement (for more information, and a detailed, though heavily biased, discussion of this agreement, see Kouchel, 2009). This is not so much of an issue for the period covered by this project, as the Jews were expelled from England in 1290, and allowed to resettle by Oliver Cromwell around the middle of the 17th century. However, other researchers must bear in mind that any IGI data from English records made after c1650 will be missing names of Jewish people.

An objection made by the Vatican to the posthumous baptisms of its followers resulted in the LDS church being denied access to Catholic records from 2008 onwards. This is unlikely to have had much of an effect on the names extracted from Anglican parish registers for the IGI, but it is possible that there may have been a resultant reluctance to include people with any sort of Catholic affiliation, to avoid causing any offence. This is only speculative, and evidence is scarce, but is based on the comparison of the original baptismal parish register entries for Quinton with the corresponding IGI data. It has been mentioned that the annual baptismal registers for Quinton between 1580 and 1620 which have been indexed by the LDS church are more or less complete in the IGI. However, there is one clear, and repeated, omission: the name *Canning*, which is frequent in the original parish registers. It is possible that, because Robert

Canning, 'lord of the manor of Hartpury in the early 19th century' (Herbert, 1988: 318), was the main benefactor of a Catholic mission in Gloucester, many people with the name *Canning* from Gloucestershire were omitted from the IGI so that the LDS church could avoid any dispute with the Catholic church. A similar practice may have been carried out for other records in the IGI, and so any researcher using it as a source of names must be aware that some Catholics may be missing.

While there are clear methodological concerns with using data from the IGI in a name study, it is still a valuable resource. For England, no single record of the entire population exists for the period covered in this project, and so it is not realistic to expect a collection of names from a given region to contain each and every name that existed in the area. What can be gained, from original parish registers or transcriptions, is a sample of names which existed at the time, reflecting the true proportion of different name types and showing which names were common to the region. Such a sample can be collected from the IGI. The suitability of the IGI for name research is also discussed by Hanks, Coates and McClure (2012: 48), who state, in support of its use, that,

In our view, it does not matter that IGI contains duplications, errors of transcription, and even a few fantasies (ghost ancestors). It does not matter, (a) because there are simple techniques for distinguishing reliable from unreliable entries — for example, we cite as evidence only entries for which a precise, verifiable event, date, and location are given — and (b) because the mass of reliable data far outweighs the unreliable. The IGI has been denigrated by some for unreliability and inconsistency of its transcribed material, but in our view these deficiencies have been overstated. We estimate that of the 190 million records at least 100 million can be trusted — probably more.

Given this support for the IGI as a source of name data, and using the techniques described above for the exclusion of the unreliable entries, it is considered appropriate for use in this, and future, name surveys.

5.2.2 Extraction of c1600 Cotswold PR Data, from the IGI

The names for analysis in this project were collected parish by parish, using the batch number search method described above (5.2.1.1), filtering out community contributed names, and including only those names from baptismal parish registers between 1580 and 1620. They were then copied into an Excel spreadsheet and each name was assigned a type, in the same way as for the 14th-century poll tax data. This ensured the names could be easily sorted according to certain criteria for different analyses. Names were taken only from parishes which share a name with a vill in the 1381 Cotswold PT, ensuring that the data from the two periods is directly comparable, but while bearing in mind that the vill and parish were different administrative units (see 5.2).

Unfortunately, not all Cotswold parish registers from 1580 to 1620 are extant, and sometimes records of marriages or burials have survived where those of baptisms have not. This means that there is not complete coverage of the Cotswolds, though the majority of baptismal parish registers are available. There are also parish registers missing for which a corresponding 14th-century poll tax return survives, though the methodological implications of this, in terms of their comparison, are a matter for the following chapter (see 6.2). Overall, and as discussed previously (see 5.1), for the years

1580–1620 the baptismal parish registers are a more appropriate source for name research than those for marriages or burials. It is for this reason that, even where some baptism records are missing from the IGI, the data has not been supplemented using marriage and burial records.

There are some anomalies in the IGI data that needed consideration before the sample of names was suitable for use. A small number of people appear to have been recorded with two names separated by the word *or*. For example, according to the IGI, Richard *Davis or Wilkins* was baptised in Great Barrington in 1591. Names of this form were not uncommon in historical records. Aliases such as these sometimes ‘demonstrate that the individual concerned was known by more than one surname’ (Redmonds, 1997: 18), and are potentially valuable to a name survey as they provide, in some cases, an indication of the linguistic or social development of a name, and of naming practices (see 2.2 and 5.4.2 for further discussion on aliases). However, considering that ‘the Latin word *alias* was the most common term used by clerks in such circumstances’ (Redmonds, 1997: 19), with *aliter*, *aut*, *nunc*, *sive*, *vel* and *vulgariter* serving the same purpose, it is surprising that the only word appearing in these kinds of names in the IGI is the English *or*.

While *or* was used to separate aliases, it only ‘came increasingly into use as Latin declined in importance’ (Redmonds, 1997: 20). Latin *alias* and other Latin terms of similar meaning were more common, especially in records from c1600, and so, while having forms with English *or* is not necessarily unusual for the time, it would be expected for there to be a greater number of names with a Latin equivalent. In the c1600 Cotswold PR there are no Latin *alias* conjunctions, and this poses a problem as it is

unclear whether or not the use of *or* in the IGI could be a translation of Latin *alias*, or whether any names separated by *or* were aliases at all.

Some baptismal register entries mention both the father and mother of the baptised child and so IGI indexers may have used the word *or* in their entry to hedge on which name the child would have inherited if they were a bastard. Some IGI entries may not be aliases, but instead a sign of palaeographic uncertainty by the indexer. Some may be actual alternative names, as found in the check of the IGI entries for the parish of Quinton (see 5.2.1.2). In the IGI is John *Gilkes or Shepard*, baptised in 1591. In the original parish register, this name is John *Gilkes al[ia]s Shepard*. These are all possibilities, but because FamilySearch have made no explicit statement on such names in the IGI, there can be no certainty in each individual case. For the purposes of this project, to avoid any names being analysed erroneously, any people recorded in the IGI with two names have been omitted from the data sample.

A further potential issue with the IGI data is the occurrence of some apparently duplicated entries. Sometimes these can be found in the same batch, and sometimes in two separate batches for the same parish. However, identifying duplicates is not as simple as finding two or more people from the same parish with the same given name and surname, as the English stock of given names was small and surnames were often localised in their distribution. Even people with identical names baptised one year apart are not necessarily duplicate entries, perhaps being children of the same parents, with the same name given to both after the first of them had died. Infant mortality was high at this time and so this was not unusual. In such cases the IGI must be given the benefit of any doubt, to avoid the needless omission of names from the sample. Yet, where two people share identical given names and surnames, and were baptised in the same year,

the chances of them being duplicate entries seems high. To ensure that the numbers of certain names from the Cotswolds are not overestimated, where two or more people baptised in the same parish, in the same year, with the same given name and surname, are recorded in the IGI, they have only be counted once. There are only four instances of this in the Cotswold data sample, and so even if these names are not duplicates, the effect of their omission will be minimal.

It is clear that the IGI has not been compiled without methodological flaws, and that, if its data is used in its raw form, it is not a wholly appropriate source for a name study. However, by applying the methods described above, the IGI can be used to collect a suitable and representative sample of Cotswold names from between 1580 and 1620. This is not necessarily the case for those regions where the relevant IGI data is deficient in coverage, but considering that, for Gloucestershire, ‘the International Genealogical Index (IGI) contains an almost complete coverage of baptisms’ (FitzHugh, 1988: 127), it suits the needs of this project. A sample of 11,708 names has been collected, allowing for a detailed investigation of the names of the Cotswolds from 1580–1620.

5.3 Migration Evidence in the Names of the c1600 Cotswold PR

In a similar way to the names of the 1381 Cotswold PT, a toponymic name from the c1600 Cotswold PR can be used to suggest the previous settlement in which the bearer of that name, or their ancestor if the name is hereditary, once resided. However, because there were different levels of surname heredity in both these periods, the

evidence of migration provided by toponymic names from c1600 is different to that of names from the 14th century.

At the time of the 1381 Cotswold PT, most names were either non-hereditary or had only been hereditary for a few generations, and so, in the case of toponymic names, many of them were descriptive of the bearer's habitative origin, or that of their recent ancestor. By c1600, all but a very small number of names would have been hereditary for a considerable period of time, and so were not direct references to the bearer's, or their recent ancestor's, previous home. Instead, toponymic names from this period are an indication of the habitative origin of a much earlier ancestor of the bearer, at some point in the past. It is as Postles (1995: 52) explains about all names, not just those of toponymic origin:

Although the migration of surnames depended on the movement of people, the distribution of surnames is not direct, precise or reliable evidence of personal mobility and movement of individuals, especially after the heritability and stability of surnames.

Using name evidence, it is not possible to reach a reliable estimate of the distances people were willing to migrate to the Cotswolds around the year 1600, as migration may have occurred over a number of generations up to that point, with people travelling only short distances at any one time. This does not, however, mean that no migratory information can be gained from a study of toponymic names at a time of surname heredity. It can still suggest the possible origins of migrants to the Cotswolds at some point during the preceding two hundred years or so. Instead of hinting at the pulling power of the region between 1580 and 1620, the toponymic names of the Cotswolds may reflect the potential mixture of regional identities that have gathered in the area over the years, possibly signifying 'the transmission and confusion of different

cultures, and, ultimately, resulting in a common rather than regional popular culture and national identity' (Postles, 1995: 52). If nothing else, a list of the toponymic names from the c1600 Cotswold PR can be compared with those in the 1381 Cotswold PT, and any change in the toponymic name stock of the region investigated (see 6.6), so that changes in the level of migration to the Cotswolds can be suggested.

In order to isolate the toponymic names from the c1600 Cotswold PR, all the names were first sorted by type to include only locative names in a raw sample. The etymology of each of these locative names was then studied, so that those with a toponymic origin could be extracted. Any names that were topographical in origin, or could have been either topographical or toponymic, were excluded from the sample so as to avoid any ambiguity and to ensure the level of migration was not overestimated. As mentioned, unlike the method used in the previous chapter (4.4.1), no calculations of average distances travelled have been made, as no meaningful conclusions can be drawn from a comparison of distances between the Cotswolds and the origins of different toponymic names borne around 1600. Even if two different toponymic surnames originated from places which are equidistant from the Cotswolds, there is no guarantee that the bearers of those names began their journeys to the region during the same period, nor can it be known whether they completed the journeys themselves or their journeys were continued by a relative in the following years. What these toponymic names can show, however, is where people might have ultimately travelled from to settle in the Cotswolds, at some time before c1600, and how they have contributed to the regional name stock.

There are a number of toponymic names that suggest migrants have travelled great distances to the Cotswolds before c1600. It is unfortunate that a more definite date

range for each individual toponymic surname bearer cannot be determined, but even without such information it is possible to identify the areas in England, and beyond, from which migrants tended to come. It must be stressed that the purpose of identifying these possible places of origin of Cotswold inhabitants, or of their ancestors, is not to measure the pulling power of the region around 1600, but to show the diversity of its name stock at this time as a result of previous migration.

5.3.1 *Toponymic Names from North-West England*

In the names of the c1600 Cotswold PR, there is evidence of previous migration to the Cotswolds from Cumberland and Westmorland. One name in particular, that of Andrew and Henry *Kendall* of Great Barrington, baptised in 1583 and 1580 respectively,¹² has a long history in the region, apparently established by landholders. Smith (1964c: 68) mentions that ‘a Sir Robert *de Kendal* held Harescombe in 1375’, a parish near Stroud, and was so important to the county of Gloucestershire as a whole that the name survives in the minor place-name Kendleshire, within the parish of Westerleigh, near Bristol. Given the preposition in the name of Sir Robert *de Kendal*, this is surely toponymic, and no other English place other than Kendal in the north-western county of Westmorland can be reasonably connected to the surname.¹³ Sir

¹² The same people seem to be recorded in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls, where Andrew *Kendall* is recorded in Great Barrington and Henry *Kendall* in Northleach, with a Thomas *Kendell* in Sapperton.

¹³ The surname is probably not from the parish known as Kendal today, which was *Kirkby* or *Kirkby Kendall* until the mid-15th century (see Smith, 1967: 114-115), but from the valley of the river Kent nearby (made up of the river name and Old Norse (ON) *dalr*, ‘valley’), or the Barony or Ward to which the valley gave its name (see Smith, 1967: 61).

Robert's presence here might also be an indirect indication of further migration from the north-west, with the high status suggested by his title meaning others were likely to travel with him. As medieval knights had their own 'estates and households to run' (Coss, 1993: 126), he was unlikely to have been alone.

The cloth industry had long been established in Westmorland, Cumberland and north Lancashire, where 'the regulation of textile operations is provided for in the early borough charters of Ulverston, Egremont and Kendal' (Britnell, 1996: 55). The north-west was not, however, known for the quality of its cloth, as Kerridge (1985: 20) describes,

The southern part of the Northwestern Lowlands and of the Lake District in the North Country has long manufactured cogware, which was a narrow dozen cloth usually left in its natural sheep's colour. It had the reputation of being made from the worst wool in the kingdom.

Kendal was clearly important in the trade of this cogware, giving its name to a particular type known as Kendal green (see *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* online, 2000–: "Kendal, n." for a definition of this type of cloth and further evidence of the trade).

Just as it has influenced so many other developments and changes in the surnames of the Cotswolds, perhaps the strength of the regional wool trade encouraged poor-quality-textile workers from the north-west to migrate to the region, in an attempt to better their wages. This theory is supported by the apparent historical cloth trade connections between the city of Gloucester and the north-west, particularly Kendal, as discussed by Herbert (1988: 45):

In spite of Gloucester's own clothmaking industry, visiting merchants appear also to have brought finished cloth for sale in the town, but one piece of evidence for that trade, the appearance on the roll of traders for 1481 of no fewer than 12 men described as "kendalman", is difficult to

interpret. They appear to have all been “foreigners” and were presumably dealers in the type of cloth made in Kendal (Westmld.).

The logical inference from the above statement is that the “foreigners” in Gloucester were from Kendal, or at least had some sort of ancestral or economic tie with the settlement. So, the cloth trading link between north-west England and Gloucester, which is very close to the Cotswolds and where cloth production was once ‘one of the town’s main industries’ (Herbert, 1988: 41), appears to have influenced the regional name stock, in that toponymic names from the north-west became established in the Cotswolds, presumably after bearers settled near to Gloucester.

There are other names in the c1600 Cotswold PR which suggest migration from north-west England. Two people named Johane *Gaskyll* and Thomas *Gaskyll* were baptised in Painswick in 1595 and 1596 respectively. This name appears to originate from Gatesgill in Cumberland, as suggested in Hanks *et al.* (forthcoming: “Gaskell”). The forms of the place-name itself do not provide firm support for this derivation, as the *-t-* is consistent from the 13th to the 17th century (see Armstrong *et al.*, 1950a: 133) but it does not occur in any forms of the surname. However, bearers of the name such as Agnes *de Gasegyll*’ (Burton Leonard, 1379 PT WRY), which can surely be from no place but Gatesgill, show that the *-t-* was lost early in the by-name or surname. While the late 16th-century bearers of the name *Gaskyll* in the Cotswolds were not necessarily once inhabitants of Gatesgill themselves, their presence supports the evidence of the surname *Kendal*, suggesting previous migration to the Cotswolds, which ultimately began in the north-west.

There are a number of other toponymic names which cannot be connected with Cumberland and Westmorland with quite so much certainty, but, given the existence of

the names *Kendal* and *Gaskyll* in the Cotswolds, it is possible that they too have their origins in north-west England. In Kempsford, three people with the surname *Lyddoll* were baptised in 1580, 1582 and 1584. There is also a William *Lydall* in the 1608 muster roll for Quenington, only 5 miles away from Kempsford. This name might be from Liddel Water or Liddel Strength in Cumberland (see Armstrong *et al.*, 1950a: 19 and 100).

The name borne by William and Edith *Brownericke*, baptised in Eastleach Turville in 1607 and 1612 respectively, might have its origin in Cumberland. There are 5 minor places named Brownrigg in Cumberland, with one in each of the parishes of Arlecdon, Caldbeck, Holme Abbey, Lazonby and Watermillock (see Armstrong *et al.*, 1950a: 220 and 257; 1950b: 276, 290 and 336), though the places in Holme Abbey and Lazonby are not recorded earlier than the 16th and 17th centuries respectively. Even so, one of these places named Brownrigg is a likely origin of the early 17th-century surname *Brownericke* considering the 1881 distribution of the name *Brownrigg* shows its bearers were concentrated in the north-west (see figure 5.1)

There are three people with the name *Calder*, baptised in Woodchester in 1595, 1598 and 1600, which might also be from a Cumberland place-name, Calder, apparently named after the river of the same name (see Armstrong *et al.*, 1950a: 7; 1950b: 427). However, it is also possible that some instances of the surname could have come from other like-named places, such as Calder in Midlothian, Calder in Caithness or Cawdor in Nairnshire. The Cumberland place-name is closest to the Cotswolds, and is therefore perhaps the most likely origin of the name borne by the people baptised in Woodchester, but the Scottish places cannot be ruled out, and are still of interest in that they may suggest previous migration over even greater distances.

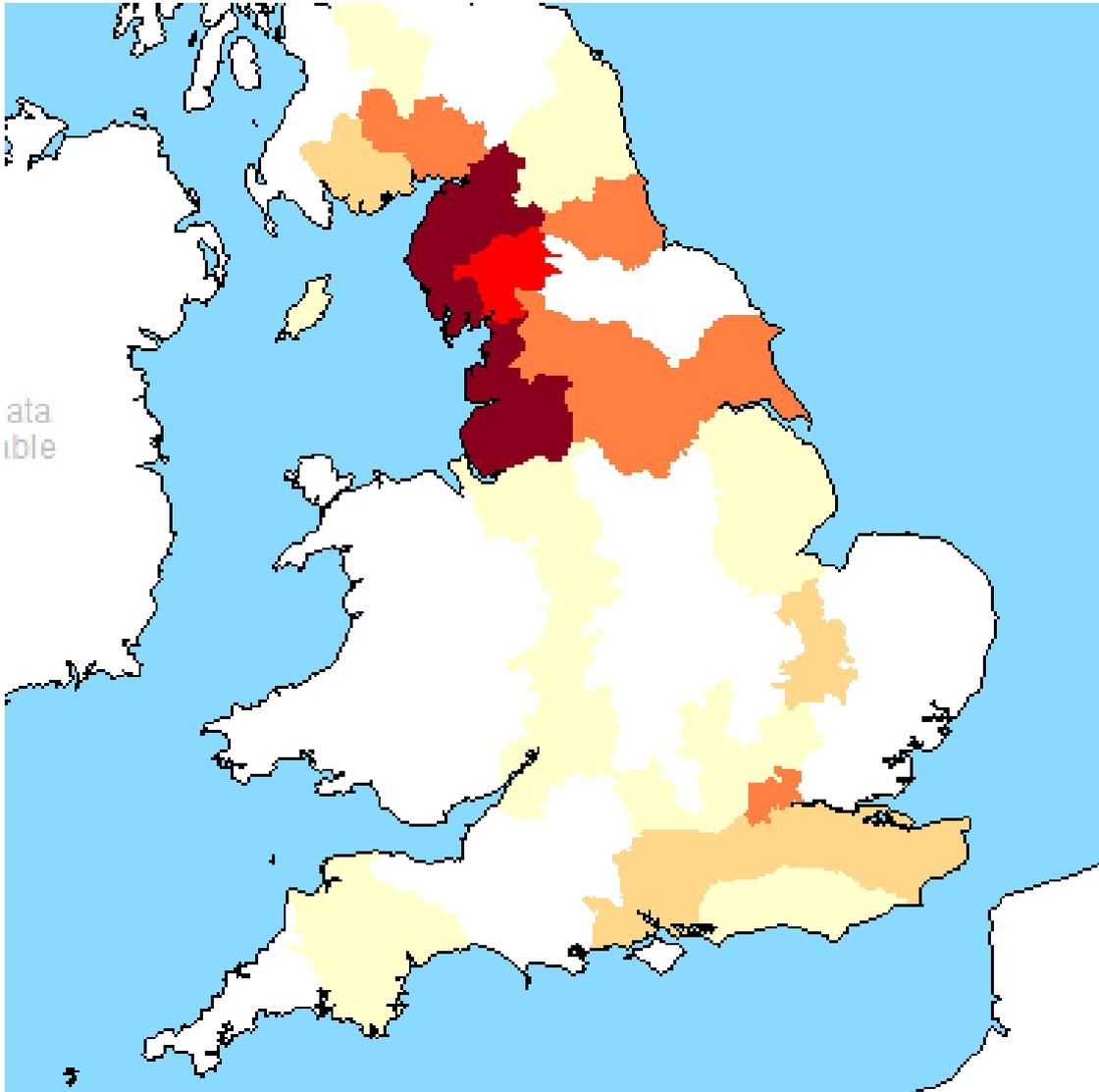


Fig. 5.1 — County distribution of the surname *Brownrigg* in 1881.
Map from Archer (2011)

Finally, the name *Applebee* may come from Westmorland, and is borne by three people in the c1600 Cotswold PR. They are Gorge *Applebe*, baptised in Stow-on-the-Wold in 1612, and Elisabetha and Dorothea *Applebee*, both baptised in Long Marston in 1613. The name is also recorded in the 1608 muster roll for Maugersbury, in a John *Applebee*. There is more than one place named Appleby in England, and so it is quite possible that the names of these people do not come from the Westmorland place, but from Appleby Magna or Appleby Parva in Leicestershire, or from Appleby in Lincolnshire. Even so, Appleby in Westmorland is a major place, and ‘was the head of the Barony and County’ (Smith, 1967b: 91). Given the evidence of other toponymic surnames which have their origin in Cumberland and Westmorland place-names, it is certainly possible that Appleby in Westmorland is the origin of the name found in in the Cotswolds.

Other names which suggest previous migration from the north-west of England, though not from quite as far as Cumberland and Westmorland, include the following:

John *Dylworth* (Lower Swell, 1608 GI MR) — from Dilworth in Lancashire.

Margaret *Greenehalfe* (Eastleach Martin, baptised in 1613) — from Greenhalgh, in the parish of Greenhalgh with Thistleton, in Lancashire. There are four other bearers of this name who were baptised in Eastleach Martin between 1607 and 1618, and there are three bearers of the name in the 1608 muster roll for Eastleach Martin. Redmonds (1997: 151) has commented that medieval forms of the name ‘clearly indicate that the final “gh” of “halgh” was not always pronounced, and that on other occasions it was given the value of “f”, as is represented in the Cotswold surname. The Domesday book form of the place-name was *Greneholf* (see Ekwall, 1922: 154).

Henry *Gysbourne* (Oddington, 1608 GI MR) — from Gisburn in WRY.

John *Hardcastle* (Duntisbourne Rouse and Pinbury, baptised in 1607) — from Hardcastle, in Bewerley township, in WRY.

John *Osboldston* (Oddington, 1608 GI MR) — from Osbaldeston in Lancashire.

John and Edmund *Pemerton* (Brockhampton, baptised in 1617 and 1620 respectively) — from Pemberton in Lancashire.

It is clear from these examples that there was once considerable migration to the Cotswolds by bearers of names which originated in the north-west of England.

Immigrants from Cumberland and Westmorland might have moved due to cloth trading links with the Cotswolds, and the data also suggests that there might have been much settlement from Lancashire and WRY. When and over what period of time such migration occurred cannot be determined, but these names do show that by c1600 the Cotswold name stock included a number of toponymic names that originated in the north-west.

5.3.2 *Toponymic Names in -by*

As well as using the origin of individual toponymic names to determine the level of outside influence on the Cotswold name stock, a more general appreciation can be gained by analysing the proportion of names made up of elements that are not commonly found in the language of the region. An analysis of names ending with ON *by* will now be carried to exemplify this point.

In the place-names of England, the generic *-by* is common in areas of Scandinavian settlement, which is to be expected given that it often derives from ON *bý* ‘farmstead, village’; Smith (1956a: 66) notes that it is ‘one of the commonest [elements] in the Danelaw’. The Cotswolds, and the surrounding area, is not a region known for Scandinavian settlement. It is implied by Walker (1976: 109) that Viking raiders were successfully turned away from nearby Gloucester, in stating that ‘the solution to these devastating raids was found partly in the fortification of burhs which provided a defence in depth’.

The failure of attempted Scandinavian settlement in this part of England is apparent in the lack of place-names ending *-by*. There are no such place-names in the Cotswolds, and only three *-by* place-names in all of the five counties which contain parts of the Cotswolds. All three of these are in the far east of Warwickshire, namely Monks Kirby, Rugby and Willoughby. Monks Kirby and Rugby were not original Scandinavian place-names, with DB forms of *-berie*, probably representing OE *byrig* (see Gover, Mawer and Stenton, 1936: 112 and 143), and were apparently changed due to Scandinavian influence, as suggested of Monks Kirby by Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1936: xxi–xxii). The rarity of such place names in Warwickshire, and their complete absence from the Cotswolds, shows that there has been very little Scandinavian influence on the toponomastic history of the region.

Considering this, any toponymic names in the c1600 Cotswold PR containing this originally Scandinavian element are sure to have been borne originally by people who migrated to the region. However, it is not necessarily the case that all *-by* endings in surnames represent ON *bý*, the name *Jacoby* being a clear case in point. There are also some place names ending *-by* that do not signify Scandinavian influence, instead

deriving from OE *byge* ‘the bend of a river’, but as names of this origin are mostly found in Devon (see Smith, 1956a: 72), confusion with place-names ending ON *bý* is unlikely. Nevertheless, care has been taken to only consider names that can be unambiguously linked to a place-name containing ON *bý*.

In the c1600 Cotswold PR, there are 62 people with a name derived from a toponym ending ON *bý*, including Ayles *Synderbie* (Painswick, baptised in 1598), from Sinderby in NRY, and Thomas *Granesbye* (Minchinhampton, baptised in 1609), from Grainsby in Lincolnshire. These 62 names make up 0.53% of all names in the c1600 Cotswold PR, a proportion supported by the similar pattern in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls, where 0.47% of all surnames are from place-names ending with ON *bý*.

To put these percentages in context, names in the c1600 Cotswold PR which have their origin in toponyms ending with OE *tūn*, which has the same approximate meaning as ON *bý*, make up 2.01% of the whole sample. OE *tūn* is ‘by far the commonest [element] in English [place-names]’ (Smith, 1956b: 188), and so it is surprising that toponymic surnames ending *-ton* are only four times more frequent than those ending *-by* in a region where there are no ON *-by* place-names. In Warwickshire, where there are three ending *-by*, there are 71 place-names which have OE *tūn* as their final element. If migration to the Cotswolds was typically over fairly short distances, it might be expected that the proportion of *-by* surnames, relative to those ending *-ton*, would be more like that seen in Warwickshire place-names, rather than the ratio of 1:4 in the c1600 Cotswold PR. Of course, this is a crude measure, as the frequency of single place-names is not directly comparable with that of surnames and their multiple representatives. However, it does at least raise the possibility that some migration to the Cotswolds occurred over considerable distances, not just from nearby. This is

exemplified in the surnames of Thomas *Busby* (Bledington, baptised in 1612), probably from Great or Little Busby in NRY, and Richard *Batersby* (Long Marston, 1608 Gl MR), from Battersby in NRY. These surnames are recorded in parishes which are 178 miles and 163 miles, respectively, from their places of origin.

It must be stressed that, unlike the examples given so far, not all of these surnames in *-by* imply migration from northern English counties. The surname of Richard *Kilbie* (Adlestrop, baptised in 1620) has its origin in Kilby in Leicestershire, 48 miles away from the parish in which the person was baptised. The surname of Jane *Kyrby* (Yanworth, baptised in 1617) could have its origin in any English place named Kirby, the closest to Yanworth being Monks Kirby in Warwickshire, suggesting a possible previous migration of 49 miles. Nevertheless, there is possible evidence of past migration from further away, with toponymic *-by* surnames in the Cotswolds which have their origin in place-names from counties such as Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, NRY, WRY and possibly Westmorland in the case of the surname *Applebee*.

The level of migration from settlements which are far from the Cotswolds is unexpected, given the findings of previous research. Using early 14th-century data, McClure (1979:175) has found that roughly 75% of toponymic by-names in rural Nottinghamshire showed signs of migration of no more than 20 miles, suggesting long distance migration was rare at the time. In an analysis of data from a later period, Postles (1995: 69) has found a similarly restricted pattern of rural migration in Devon, stating that 'in rural communities in the seventeenth century, migration was still localized'. If such localised patterns of rural migration in the 14th century remained the norm throughout England up until the seventeenth century, then the distances travelled to the Cotswolds, some of which are apparent in surnames ending *-by*, are surprisingly

high. It must, however, be stressed, as mentioned in 5.3, that any toponymic name which originated outside of the Cotswolds, but is recorded in the c1600 Cotswold PR, is not necessarily evidence of a single journey made by one individual. It could instead represent multiple shorter journeys made by a number of generations of the same family, before they settled in the Cotswolds before c1600. This being the case, the distance between the origin of a toponymic surname and the place in which a bearer is recorded in c1600 will not necessarily indicate the kinds of distances people were willing to travel to the Cotswolds at the time. However, toponyms which clearly originated outside of the region are still evidence of migration to the Cotswolds, regardless of when and over how many generations such migration occurred; they are therefore an important indication of change in the regional name stock.

The reasons for this migration to the Cotswolds are not clear, though perhaps the ease of access to Roman roads had some influence. The origins of the toponymic *-by* surnames are all near to the Fosse Way or the major roads of the north that link directly with it, suggesting these roads had an important role in Cotswold immigration (see figure 5.2). The term *major road* is used here to refer to the ‘main routes’, as described by Margary (1973). Figure 5.2 shows the approximate routes of Dere Street (Margary route 8), Ermine Street (Margary route 2) and the Fosse Way (Margary route 5), along with the origins of the toponymic surnames ending *-by* which were recorded in the c1600 Cotswold PR. Where a surname has more than one possible place of origin, the one nearest to the bearer’s baptismal parish has been plotted. The approximate route of Barton Street in Lincolnshire, ‘a presumed pre-Roman trackway along the eastern edge of the Wolds leading to Barton upon Humber’ (Cameron, 1997: 2) is also plotted, as a



Fig. 5.2 — Map of origins of non-ambiguous and ambiguous toponymic names ending *-by* from the c1600 Cotswold PR, including the approximate routes of Dere Street, Ermine Street and the Fosse Way.

Map plotted using *GenMap UK* (Archer, 2007)

suggested route of migrants from the county. It is presented as a dashed line to distinguish it from the major Roman roads.

This is only a crude measure, with other toponymic surnames, such as those from Cumberland and Westmorland discussed above (see **5.3.1**), clearly not fitting in with this pattern, but it does appear that the toponymic *-by* surnames of the Cotswolds had their origins fairly close to the Fosse Way, Ermine Street or Dere Street, as well as the Barton Street trackway. This means that the bearers would have had good access to the Fosse Way, providing a direct and relatively easy route to the Cotswolds.

The place-name evidence shows *by* is most common in Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and NRY, and so it is possible that the pattern in figure 5.2 simply represents this place-name distribution. However, ‘the [element] *by* is extremely common in all parts of the Danelaw’ (Smith, 1956a: 68). In WRY, there are 66 known place-names which contain ON *by* as a final element (see Smith, 1962: 166), only slightly less than half the number in NRY, where there are 143 (see Smith, 1928: 311). As shown in figure 5.2, four different toponymic *-by* surnames from the Cotswolds had their origin in NRY, with only one from the south-east of WRY. While these examples are very few, and so cannot be taken as firm evidence, they represent a distribution that is disproportionate to the place-name evidence. This suggests that there were greater levels of migration from NRY than from WRY, and the location of the major Roman roads is offered as a possible explanation for this pattern. None of the major roads linked to the Fosse passed through WRY, but Dere Street did cross NRY.

A possible alternative explanation for this pattern has been considered, that is, that NRY had greater levels of rural depopulation than WRY, leading to greater number of migrants from NRY seeking new land, tenancy or serfdom in other parts of England.

Indeed, there are 171 deserted sites in NRY and 75 in WRY, with a higher proportion of deserted sites per 10,000 acres in NRY than WRY (see Beresford 1989: Table XIV and Fig. 5). Rural depopulation was often related to the national wool trade, as explained by Rowley and Wood (1982: 17–18).

Most deserted village sites in England date from the period of the greatest prosperity in the wool trade in the fifteenth century, though depopulation for pasture continued well into the late Tudor period.

The purpose of this depopulation was to provide more space for grazing sheep in order to produce more wool. However, it is unlikely to have caused migration from NRY to the Cotswolds. Those involved in local wool production were more likely to remain close to their deserted settlements, as their skills were still required due to the prosperity of the industry. All other people were still unlikely to move far, as Beresford (1989: 17) describes,

The decades when the migration from deserted sites was at its height were not devoid of alternative employment. The very expansion of the textile industry that provoked conversion to grass necessitated an in-flow of labour. Some of this was to rural industry not very far in miles from the countryside of abandoned sites, but some was to town employment.

Therefore, it is unlikely that the depopulation of sites in NRY lead to increased migration to the Cotswolds, as people tended to migrate locally following site desertion. For this reason, the convenient location of Roman roads seems to be a more likely explanation for why, in comparison to names from WRY, a greater number of *-by* toponymic surnames from NRY occur in the Cotswolds in c1600.

If the distribution of these *-by* surnames is assumed to be representative of all migration to the Cotswolds before the period studied in this chapter, then it would

suggest that migration to the region was more likely to occur along the Fosse Way and the major Roman roads connected to it. Therefore, a greater number of migrants in the Cotswolds would have come from north-east England than other parts of the country. It might not be quite so simple, in that toponymic by-names were most common to the landholding classes, and were ‘much less common, proportionately, in other sections of the community’ (McKinley, 1990: 201). This class-specific by-naming trend might still be apparent, though to a lesser extent, in hereditary surnames, and if this is the case, then the pattern of migration seen in the c1600 Cotswold PR might be mostly indicative of the migration of the landholding classes. However, with increasing levels of social mobility from the early 16th century (see, for example, Bearman and Deane, 1992), the previously socially stratified naming tendencies may have been partly negated by marriage between classes, making the migration evidence of toponymic surnames from c1600 relevant to all of society.

An analysis of toponymic names without ON elements may show different distributions of migrant names, perhaps without such a northern bias. Considering this, it is not reasonable to assume that immigration to the Cotswolds only came down the Fosse Way from the north-east of England, but as the Fosse is a major Roman road, and goes directly through the Cotswolds, it is likely to have had some effect. However, it can be reasonably deduced that migrants tended to come from places closer to major Roman roads, bringing their surnames with them and contributing to the regional name stock. In this way, the historical landscape of England and the position of the Cotswolds are important factors in the surname history of the region.

5.3.3 *Flemish and Other Low Country Immigrants*

The skill of the Flemish weavers was well known, as alluded to by Chaucer (edited by Winny, 1965: 65) in his description of the wife of Bath's weaving ability, comparing her to 'hem of Ypres and of Gaunt'. They were heavily involved in the English cloth trade, and settled in the country in large numbers around the time of the Hundred Years War (see 3.2). There were especially high levels of such immigration in the 16th century when

Elizabethan state policy encouraged thousands of Protestant emigrants seeking to flee religious persecution in the European low countries to establish themselves in England (Bearman and Deane, 1992: 56).

In Flanders there were 'many thousands of workers living wholly by the manufacture of woollens for export' (Carus-Wilson, 1950: 162), and so it is inevitable that some of the persecuted Protestants from the Low Countries who fled to England were involved in the cloth trade. Indeed, 'it was these men who brought with them the techniques eventually adopted by the Norwich weaving community' (Bearman and Deane, 1992: 56), and so there were sure to have been some Flemish migrants with cloth expertise who settled in the Cotswolds too, as it was an important cloth-producing region at the time. This is supported by the surname evidence, with the c1600 Cotswold PR containing a number of names which have their origins in the Low Countries.

A name that suggests Flemish origins is that of Henry and Gyles *Dyper*, recorded in the 1608 muster roll for Winchcombe. This name could be from ME *dipper* 'diving bird', as suggested by Hanks *et al.* (forthcoming: "Dipper"), and the presence of the French definite article in some early forms certainly strengthens this argument.

However, Hanks *et al.* also give the Belgian town of Ypres as another possibility, which

is in Flanders, and it seems just as likely to be the origin of the Cotswold surname.

While the orthographical and phonological development of an anglicised surname from a foreign toponym is not easy to predict, medieval name variants show the possible relationship between Ypres and *Dyper*.

The modern English surname *Diaper* is assumed to be from a contraction of *de Ypres* ‘of Ypres’ (see Hey, 2000: 167; Coates, 2006: 332), and medieval variants show that the development of *de Ypres* to *Dyper* is equally plausible. In a Patent Roll entry of 26th July 1403, a John *Dipres* is recorded as part of an indenture, and is surely the same person as John *de Ypres*, mentioned in the same document (see Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1401–1405: 266–267). Considering these forms, it is plausible that the by-name or surname of a different John *de Iper*, who is recorded as a ‘[merchant] of Bruges’ (see Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1358–1361: 312) and so is probably Flemish, could also have been written as *Diper* or *Dyper*. Therefore, it seems likely that Henry and Gyles *Dyper* from Winchcombe in 1608, or their ancestors, were Flemish immigrants from Ypres.

The surname *Clutterbuck* is further evidence of Low Country influence on the Cotswold name stock. It appears 10 times in the c1600 Cotswold PR, with 6 bearers in Woodchester, 2 in Ebrington and 2 in Horsley. These include Edward *Cloterbooke* (Woodchester, baptised in 1605), Richard *Clotterback* (Ebrington, baptised in 1620) and Mary *Clutterbucke* (Horsley, baptised in 1620). It also occurs in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls, in Edward *Cloterbooke* (Woodchester), John *Clotterbooke* weaver (Cherington) and Thomas *Cloterbooke*, a lord of Eastleach Turville.

The origin of this name has not been conclusively identified previously, but the most frequent suggestion of a Dutch derivation seems very likely. Given that the *Clutterbuck* bearers first started to appear in the Cotswolds in the 15th century, relatively

late for a new English surname to occur, the possibility of foreign migration must be considered. Much work on the *Clutterbuck* family suggests that they ‘had fled from Holland in the sixteenth century’ (Moir, 1957: 242–243), and while this ties in with an increase in the number of *Clutterbucks* in the Cotswolds, there were bearers of the name in the region before this period. This has led Witchell and Hudleston (1924: 9) to suggest it is ‘likely that the settlement of the Clutterbucks in England was in truth due to commerce rather than to religious causes’, citing their ‘ancient and long-continued association with the textile trades’.

Whatever the reason for their leaving the Low Countries, they were well known in the Cotswolds as ‘successful clothiers’ (Johnson, 1989: 126), presumably settling in the region to make use of the skills they developed before migrating, and to contribute to the Cotswold cloth trade. Perry (1945: 115) states that the importance of ‘aliens and refugees ... in Gloucestershire was small’, but that ‘the Clutterbucks of course are an exception’, referring to them as a ‘great clothier family’.

There is no conclusive proof that the *Clutterbuck* family were originally from the Low Countries, but what evidence there is certainly makes this the most likely option. As a footnote to a list of parishes that the English bearers of *Clutterbuck* are known to have lived in, Clutterbuck (1894: 6) mentions that, ‘according to “Rietstap” [*source not given, though Rietstap was a Dutch genealogist from the 19th century*] the same arms are borne by certain families of Clotterbook in the Netherlands, and it may be that the race was Flemish in origin’. This theory is supported by the apparent etymology of the name.

None has been suggested for the surname previously, but it appears to be from the Early Modern Dutch word *kloterboeck* (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming:

“Clutterbuck”), defined by Kiliaan (1599) as ‘adversaria’, which is Latin for a ‘daybook’ (see Littlejohn, 1997: 8, Latin–English section). According to the *OED* (online, 2000–: “daybook, n. — 1.b”), a daybook was ‘originally, a book in which the commercial transactions of the day, as sales, purchases, etc., are entered at once in the order in which they occur’. It is plausible that Early Modern Dutch *kloterboeck* would have been used as a name for wealthy cloth merchants, who would have used a daybook to record their trade. It seems, therefore, that the Cotswold *Clutterbuck* family were likely to have come from the Low Countries, attracted to the Cotswolds by its identity as an important cloth trading region, contributing to its name stock. Today the name is still concentrated in Gloucestershire.

Other surnames that might be evidence of Flemish immigration are *Baldwin* and *Hanks*. While these names cannot be directly linked to clothiers from the Low Countries, they may have their origin in Flanders or have been surnames in the Cotswolds due to Flemish influence. There were 28 people in the c1600 Cotswold PR with the surname *Baldwin* (0.24% of all surnames), and 13 in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls (0.22%), assuming the surname *Balden* is a variant of *Baldwin*, supported by the name of Arthur *Baldwyn alias Balden*, recorded in the Kent Quarter Sessions Records of 1614 (accessed through *A2A*). The possible evidence of Flemish immigration and influence provided by the surname *Baldwin* has already been mentioned (see 4.4.2) so will not be repeated.

There are 25 people with the surname *Hanks* in the c1600 Cotswold PR (0.21% of all surnames), and 14 in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls (0.23%). *Hanks et al.* (forthcoming: “Hanks”) state that the name is

from the Middle English personal name *Hanke*, with genitival or post-medieval excrescent *-s*; it is identical with a Middle Dutch short form of *Hankin* 'young John', introduced to England by Flemish and Picard settlers after the Conquest. In England it was probably also used as a short form of *Hancock*, which could alternatively be a pet form of *Henry* (Henry).

It is, therefore, possible that, in some cases, the name *Hanks* was originally borne by Flemings. However, it could quite easily represent a short form of the English surnames *Hancock* or *Hankin* with genitival or post-medieval excrescent *-s*, analogous to the development of *Wilkin* to *Wilkes* (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: “Wilkes”). Even so, given the presence of other Low Country surnames in the Cotswolds at the time, the surname *Hanks* must be considered as possible evidence of Flemish immigration to the Cotswolds before c1600.

5.3.4 Names of Welsh Origin

An exhaustive account of all Welsh derived surnames in any collection of English documents is difficult to construct, if not impossible. While there are some names in the Cotswold parish registers that are unmistakably Welsh in linguistic origin, such as that of Thms *Merydith* (Elkstone, baptised in 1612), there are others that are ambiguous, in a number of different ways.

For example, the name *Griffin*, a pet form of the Middle Welsh given name *Gruffudd*, which is borne by 22 people in the c1600 Cotswold PR, could be evidence of Welsh migration to the region, but in England’s eastern counties, the name was ‘introduced by the Bretons who came over with the Conqueror and were numerous

there' (Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: "Griffin"). For reasons of proximity, it is perhaps more likely that most people surnamed *Griffin* in the Cotswolds were previously inhabitants of nearby Wales, but it is not possible to be sure in each individual case and so the name cannot be treated as evidence of Welsh migration. A different type of ambiguity is apparent in the surname of Thomas *Tue* (Kempsford, baptised in 1619). This could be Welsh in origin, from Welsh *tew* 'fat, stout' (see Morgan and Morgan, 1985: 196), but could be an English locative name from Duns Tew, Great Tew or Little Tew in Oxfordshire (see Gelling, 1954: 287–291).

It is also not inconceivable that some linguistically Welsh names borne by Cotswold inhabitants may have first been used as by-names in the Cotswolds due to Welsh influence, either from previous immigrants or English people with knowledge of the Welsh language. So, even the surname *Merydith* mentioned above, while a Welsh name, could possibly have originated in the Cotswolds in this particular instance. Reaney and Wilson (1997: lii) make a similar point, stating that 'many of the modern surnames derived from old Welsh personal names arose in England where they became hereditary in the fourteenth century or earlier'. Therefore, care must be taken before treating a linguistically Welsh name as evidence of migration, because it could have originated in England.

Perhaps the only type of surname that can be confidently used as evidence of Welsh migration is that which has its origin in the Welsh patronymic naming system. This will have only been used by speakers of the Welsh language, who must have come from Wales at some point. So, any surname from the Cotswolds in c1600 which shows signs of Welsh patronymic naming can be considered reliable evidence of migration some time before that date.

The Welsh patronymic naming system ‘involved a person having a given name and attaching to it the given name of (normally) the father’ (Rowlands, 1999: 165). It used the Welsh word *mab* ‘son’, to construct names in the form of ‘*Adda + mab + Einion*, “A son (of) E”’ (Morgan and Morgan, 1985: 10). The word *mab* would then have become *fab* due to grammatically-triggered lenition, which subsequently became *ab* because ‘the Welsh *f* sound was probably bilabial and therefore more easily lost’ (Morgan and Morgan, 1985: 10). This would then give names in the form of, for example, John *Ap Thomas*, with the <p> arising by devoicing of /b/ before a voiceless consonant. John *Ap Thomas*, from Coln St Aldwyn, is the only person with a Welsh patronym in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls; there are none in the c1600 Cotswold PR. Names of this form were surely not hereditary at this period, as they were used to refer directly to the father of the bearer, and so their rarity in England at this date, even in regions close to Wales, is not surprising. However, in a greater number of hereditary surnames recorded in England the Welsh patronymic system is still apparent.

In Wales, ‘the change to settled surnames filtered through different levels of society from the mid-sixteenth century onwards’ (Rowlands and Rowlands, 1996: 25). When Welsh patronymic names became hereditary, the ‘*ap* element often became incorporated into the new surname; thus Thomas *ap* Howell would become Thomas Powell’ (Rowlands, 1999: 166–167), through metanalysis. Most Welsh surnames formed in this way were, and are, found in areas of ‘greatest and earliest English influence’ (Rowlands, 1999: 167), close to the English border. So, it is likely that a number of hereditary surnames incorporating the patronymic element *ap* would have been in use in east Wales from about 1550, and so names of this form in the c1600 Cotswold PR could suggest previous migration from Wales. It is also possible that this

incorporation of *ap* into a surname could have happened earlier in England, if a Welsh person migrated when they still bore a non-hereditary Welsh patronym, though this is still evidence of migration. The important point is that all surnames including a remnant of the Welsh patronymic element *ap* must have originated in Welsh, and so are an indication of migration, at some period, when found in England.

In the c1600 Cotswold PR, there are 114 surnames (0.97% of all surnames in the sample) which could have their origin in the Welsh patronymic system. Some of these are etymologically ambiguous, and so are not definite evidence of Welsh migration, but given the proximity of the bearers to the Welsh border, a Welsh origin is often the most likely.

The two most common surnames in the parish register sample with possible Welsh patronymic origins are *Price* and *Powell*, occurring 38 and 35 times respectively. The surname *Price* could be a relationship name from Welsh *ap Rhys* ‘son of Rhys’, but also might be a nickname from ME *pris* ‘noble, excellent’. *Powell* could be a relationship name from Welsh *ap Hywel* ‘son of Hywel’, but may also sometimes be a form of the given name Paul, as Reaney and Wilson (1997: 360) point out, the seal of a John *Paul*, recorded in an Ancient Deed from Surrey, ‘bears the legend S. JOH’IS POWEL’. *Powell* may also have a locative origin, as shown in the name of Jordan *de Powella*, recorded in 1184 in the Warwickshire Pipe Rolls, though exactly which place-name gave rise to it is not clear. All of these possibilities are linguistically plausible, but the more modern distribution of the names *Price* and *Powell* make a Welsh patronymic origin the most likely, with the highest concentrations of the names in 1881 being around the Welsh border with England. For this reason, these surnames are assumed to be Welsh in origin, and while this could cause Welsh influence in the

Cotswolds to be slightly overemphasised, to disregard them completely due to potential ambiguity would be to ignore an important indication of migration.

Using 13th-century Oxfordshire records, McKinley (1977: 94) studied English surnames of Welsh toponymic origin and found that ‘only a few cases occur at Oxford, mostly the names of scholars’, with a very small number ‘in the county, outside Oxford’. The low numbers of people with Welsh locative names in 13th-century Oxfordshire suggests that migration to England was rare at this time, and with the Cotswolds including parts of west Oxfordshire, a similar pattern is likely to be true of the entire region in the 13th century. It appears, therefore, that sometime since the 13th century, there had been a considerable increase of migration from Wales to the Cotswolds. However, it must be borne in mind that the preference for patronymic naming over toponymic naming in Wales might mean McKinley’s evidence has caused him to underestimate the level of Welsh migration to England in the 13th century.

In one particular group of names, it seems that Welsh immigration to the Cotswolds was of great enough significance to cause a surname of Welsh patronymic origin to be almost as common as corresponding English forms. In the c1600 Cotswold PR, there are 15 people with the surname *Pritchard*, from the Welsh patronymic *ap Rhisiart*. By comparison, the English surname *Richardson* occurs only 6 times, *Richards* 7 times, and there are 12 people named *Richens* or *Richins*. Altogether, the names without Welsh *ap* are more frequent. However, some of these might have originally been borne by Welsh migrants, as McKinley (1977: 226) describes of personal names ending with genitive *-s* in 16th- and 17th-century Oxfordshire:

Names in this category have been common in Wales since at least the 16th century, and it is quite possible that some of the surnames found in 17th-century Oxfordshire were imports from Wales.

The same might also be true for the Cotswolds, meaning the 15 occurrences of the surname *Pritchard*, compared with the 25 other surnames which do not exhibit the Welsh patronymic form, are not necessarily an accurate reflection of the proportion of Welsh surnames derived from the given name *Richard*. It may well be that the number of originally Welsh names in the Cotswolds is greater than is implied by the proportion of patronymic *ap* forms, suggesting that Welsh immigration made a considerable contribution to the Cotswold name stock sometime between 1381 and c1600.

Through this section (5.3) on migration, an attempt has been made to show the effect of immigration on the names of the Cotswolds, and where it is apparent, the reasons behind it. Whether surnames have come from other parts of England, or other countries, it is clear that many non-Cotswold names have contributed to the regional name stock, increasing its diversity. Some of the names discussed in this section will be compared with those from the 1381 Cotswold PT in the following chapter (6.6) so that possible changes in migratory patterns since the late 14th century, and the effects of these on the change and continuity in the names of the Cotswolds, can be identified.

5.4 Heredity and Instability in the Names of the c1600 Cotswold PR

5.4.1 *The Level of Surname Heredity*

By c1600, most names in England were hereditary, especially in the south of the country. There were some areas that had a certain level of non-heredity at this time, with some new names ‘evolving in parts of northern England well into the 1700s’

(Redmonds, 1997: 57), and ‘evidence that ... nicknames and “by-names” continued to replace or modify established surnames into the nineteenth century at least’ (Redmonds, 1997: 96). Even so, ‘by the early fifteenth century it was rare for an English person not to have a surname’ (Hey, 2000: 54). Therefore, it would be expected that the vast majority of the names in the c1600 Cotswold PR were hereditary at the time. However, it would be unwise to suppose that this is the case without some sort of investigation, especially considering that the apparent level of heredity in the names of the 1381 Cotswold PT was unexpectedly low.

Identifying whether or not names recorded in parish registers were hereditary is not simple. The method used for the 1381 Cotswold PT, where occupational names were compared with the person’s actual occupation if provided, is not possible because such information is not available in parish registers. However, some information can be usefully gained from an analysis of the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls. These are not as appropriate as the parish registers for a representative analysis of a region’s surnames because ‘they did not necessarily cover all the menfolk. Evasion was evidently easy’ (FitzHugh, 1988: 202), but the inclusion of occupations for some people allows for a rough estimate of heredity at the time to be made, using the same method as for the 1381 Cotswold PT (see **4.3**).

In the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls there are 332 people with a name of occupational origin who also have their occupation recorded. Of these people, only 12, that is 3.61%, have an occupation synonymous with their name. However, considering that surname heredity was a much more established concept in 1608 than it was at the time of the 14th-century poll tax, it might not be correct to state that all of these 12 names must be non-hereditary. Alternatively, the synonymous combinations of name

and occupation could be an effect of economic history. For example, of these 12 people with synonymous names and occupations, 8 have the surname *Webb* and the occupation *weaver*. The job of weaver is likely to have been common in the Cotswolds, as is the hereditary surname *Webb*, due to the region's importance in the wool industry. It is plausible that a man with the by-name *Webb*, which described his occupation as a weaver, passed on his name to a son who did not become a weaver, giving evidence of the name having become hereditary. This son would then pass on the name *Webb* to a son of his own, who might by chance become a weaver because the job was relatively common in the Cotswolds. Using the method of analysis above, connecting synonymous occupational names and occupations, this person would give the appearance of possessing a non-hereditary by-name, when in fact they bear a hereditary surname that is, by chance, etymologically synonymous with their chosen occupation.

Whether or not this is the case for each individual with a synonymous name and occupation is impossible to know. What can be understood from the investigation is that, as an absolute maximum, 3.61% of people with an occupational name and an occupation listed alongside had non-hereditary by-names. Assuming that there is no difference between name types with regard to their heredity, this could be extended to all names of the period in the Cotswolds, suggesting that a maximum of 3.61% of its names were non-hereditary in 1608, though it is likely to be a lower percentage. It is clear that non-hereditary by-names were very rare at the time; hereditary surnames were the norm. However, while there are very few clear examples of non-hereditary by-names, the instability of the surnames of c1600 is evident.

5.4.2 *Instability in the Names of the Cotswolds*

Compared with today, there was a greater amount of instability in the surnames of England in c1600, recognisable in the data from the baptismal parish registers. Surname instability is used here to describe anything other than the normal hereditary transmission of a surname from parent to offspring. This instability could cause long established hereditary surnames in the Cotswolds to suddenly die out, as well as causing apparently new surnames to appear in the region. The investigation of surname instability is therefore important to a study of change such as this one, so that any changes to the Cotswold name stock might be identified. The most obvious examples of this instability are those people recorded as having two surnames, and while they have been omitted from the data sample for type proportion analysis, due to uncertainty in the accuracy of these names in the IGI (see 5.2.2), their existence is of interest.

After checking some of the IGI entries against the original baptismal registers in the Gloucestershire Archives, it is clear that some of these aliases are genuine, such as that of John *Gilkes al[ia]s Shepard*, baptised in Quinton in 1591. The alias suggests that surnames were susceptible to variation at the time, even when they were likely to be hereditary. For the purposes of surname research, this can be problematic. If a person can possess two surnames in the form of aliases, it is conceivable that a person recorded with a single surname could also be known by an alternative surname in another source, making a genealogical connection between them difficult to identify. Such cases could also give the impression that certain names were increasing or decreasing in numbers, but the patterns could be nothing more than a temporary anomaly due to the use of an alias.

There is also some instability seen in discrepancies between the c1600 Cotswold PR and the muster rolls, where aliases are concerned. For example, recorded in Minchinhampton in the 1608 muster roll is Will'm *Parsons al's Skirton*. In the c1600 PR for Minchinhampton both the surnames *Parsons* and *Skirton* are recorded individually, but not as aliases. Therefore, the alias was not fixed, suggesting a person recorded with two surnames could be known by either of them in different instances. This shows that the names of the Cotswolds could still alternate in the official records of c1600, and so were not necessarily like the hereditary surnames of the present day.

Why people might be given an alias is not always clear. In many cases, unlike the examples already given above, aliases are merely linguistic variants with an identical etymological origin (for examples, see Redmonds, 1997: 123–168), 'reflecting both general developments in the language and particular regional and social practices' (Redmonds, 1997: 121). However, some, like the case of Will'm *Parsons al's Skirton*, are clearly etymologically distinct names, and so the reasons behind their use are more difficult to understand. Perhaps Will'm *Parsons al's Skirton* came to be known by the alias *Parsons* because the name *Skirton*, probably from Skirden in Lancashire or WRY, was unfamiliar to the locals of Minchinhampton, so a more frequent name in the community was required as an easier means of identification. Indeed, in the c1600 PR for Minchinhampton, there are two people known by variants of the surname *Skirton*, and 9 people with the surname *Parsons*. However, if this was the case, then there would surely be a greater number of people with aliases from this period. Alternatively, perhaps an alias was used to distinguish him from another person with the name *Parsons*, to indicate that he was a bastard and so had parents with different surnames, or as a result of genealogical uncertainty following a non-paternity event.

These possibilities are, of course, speculative. In the examples given above it is impossible to be certain of why etymologically distinct aliases have been used. Only with a detailed study of many different local records could such reasons possibly be uncovered (see Redmonds, 1997: 99–120), but this is beyond the scope and aims of this project. Whatever the reasons for the adoption of etymologically distinct aliases in the Cotswolds, and the country as a whole, it is clear from their use that hereditary surnames between 1580 and 1620 were not stable, and it was still possible for names to alternate.

Further instances of instability can be seen in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls. Thomas *Butcher al's Basonne* is recorded in Chipping Campden, and the next entry in the roll is Thomas *Butcher his sonne*. The fact that the son was not known by the two surnames of his father shows that some aliases were not hereditary, and suggests that the name *Butcher* was, or had become, the true hereditary name of the family. Another example can be seen in the Brimpsfield roll, where Richard *Hayward al's Westrip*, husbandman, is followed by *ffrancis Hayward his sonne*. In both cases, the order of the aliases seems important, with the first of the two being retained.

Perhaps the clearest example of non-hereditary names being in existence at the time can be seen in the case of John *Ap Thomas*, recorded in Coln St Aldwyn, discussed in 5.3.4. Such Welsh patronymic names are rare in England at this time, even in the English border counties, such as Gloucestershire. Considering that ‘Welsh surnames appear in the border counties from the twelfth century’ and ‘when a Welshman settled in England he was treated by his neighbours — at any rate so far as his name was concerned — as an Englishman’ (Reaney, 1967: 317), the use of the Welsh patronymic form in the Cotswolds could be considered unusual. The existence of the name in the

1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls shows that there were people in the community with non-hereditary by-names,¹⁴ and because the Welsh patronymic had not been anglicised, perhaps non-hereditary naming was still a perfectly acceptable system to some of the Cotswold community.

Finally, there is one further feature of the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls which suggests instability in the names of the time. In some cases, it seems that names may not have been passed down just to a bearer's offspring, but to their servants as well. This kind of naming is not unheard of, with Reaney (1967: 306) noting that,

in London, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was quite usual for the surname of an apprentice to be replaced, either temporarily or permanently, by that of his master which in many instances became the family name.

Referring to this observation of Reaney's, McKinley (1977: 205) suggests that 'it also seems possible that bondmen were sometimes given the names of their lords', and this appears to have happened in a number of cases in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls.

Many of the people in the muster rolls have their occupation or status listed along with their name, including servants. In most cases, the name of a servant's lord is also indicated, and where both of these people bear the same surname it seems likely that the lord has passed their name on to the servant. Some examples are as follows:

¹⁴ It is assumed that John *Ap Thomas* did not have an hereditary surname, as Rowlands and Rowlands (1996: 25–26) imply that names with *ap*, which occurred as late as the eighteenth century 'in upland Glamorgan parishes and in western Monmouthshire', were not hereditary at this period, distinguishing them from fixed surnames. While hereditary surnames with *ap* do exist today, this appears to have been due to 'renewed national awareness and growing interest in the past', leading to a revival of patronymic names 'in the second half of the twentieth century' (Rowlands and Rowlands, 1996: 34).

Henry *Jones*, Smith

Thomas *Jones*, his servant (South Cerney)

Edward *Gladyrin*, butcher

Robert *Gladyrin*, his servant (Bourton-on-the-Water)

John *Hankes jun'*,

Giles *Dobyns*,

servants to John *Hankes* thelder Carpenter (included in a list of multiple servants in Buckland)

There are many more like this in the muster rolls, with 27 servants sharing their surname with their lord. Those given above have been chosen to exemplify the possible significance of names, in terms of heredity, when they are apparently shared by lord and servant.

It is possible that the shared surnames are a result of coincidence rather than a servant inheriting their lord's name. In the case of Thomas *Jones* from South Cerney, servant to Henry *Jones*, this surname is especially common in the west of England and the whole of Wales. In fact, the majority of names of this form, derived from a given name with a genitive *-s*,

were much more common, as a proportion of the whole body of surnames or by-names in use, in the south west Midlands than in any other part of England. Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, and Herefordshire all had relatively large numbers of such names by about 1350 (McKinley, 1990: 118).

Due to its frequency in Gloucestershire, a lord and servant sharing the surname *Jones* cannot necessarily be taken as evidence that the servant had inherited his lord's name. It

might simply be that both had inherited the name independently. However, this is surely not always the case, as other shared surnames in the muster rolls are much rarer, greatly increasing the probability that some servants did indeed inherit the name of their lord. One of the examples given above supports this point.

The name *Gladyrin* is not common, and its etymological origin is not clear. In addition to the butcher and his servant referred to above, there is only one other bearer of a variant form of this name in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls: Thomas *Gladyren*, Caryar, also of Bourton-on-the-Water. In comparison, there were 35 bearers of the name *Jones*. The chances of Edward and Robert *Gladyrin* having inherited their surnames individually, from separate parents, before one became the other's servant seems very unlikely given the rarity of the name. In this case, it is most plausible that the servant inherited his surname from his master, showing that surname inheritance did not necessarily follow only family lines at this time. Presumably these servants would have had a family inherited name before forming ties with their lord, and so even at a time when surname heredity was well established, it was still possible for names to change, perhaps also, in some cases, with the late addition of a genitive *-s* that has previously been explained as excrescent. However, there is another possibility posed by the final example given above, that some surnames shared by servant and lord may sometimes denote familial relationship.

John *Hankes jun'*, along with Giles *Dobyns*, is recorded as being a servant to John *Hankes* thelder Carpenter. As the two people named John *Hankes* are distinguished as being the elder and the junior, this could denote immediate familial relationship between father and son, as it would be interpreted today. If the elder John *Hankes* passed his surname on to his servants in all cases, then Giles *Dobyns* would not

be so named, suggesting that the younger John *Hankes* is a special case, further strengthening the idea that they were related. Also, at this period the word “servant” did not necessarily denote a person bound to their lord, but could be used

in a wider sense: one who is under obligation to render certain services to, and to obey the orders of, a person or body of persons, esp. in return for wages or salary’ (*OED* online, 2000–: “servant, n. — 2.a.”).

It is therefore possible that John *Hankes jun*’ worked for his father, John *Hankes* the elder Carpenter, and so the surname was indeed hereditary in a familial sense. While this may be the reason for some of the shared surnames between servant and master, indicating family business rather than a servant’s inheritance of their lord’s name, it seems unlikely that this is always the case.

It is difficult to determine why, in the early 17th century, a person might share their surname with another who is identified as their servant, though the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls raises a number of possibilities. It is apparent that some servants may have inherited the surname of their lord or master, suggesting that hereditary family names could be replaced. Therefore, at a time when the concept of hereditary surnaming was well established, surnames were not necessarily fixed within a family group. This instability means that a shared surname could denote other kinds of relationship, and although this would have been rare in comparison to familial ties, it is a possibility that must be considered when studying surnames of this period.

5.4.3 *Name Variants and Methodological Concerns*

Another aspect of surname instability is the development and persistence of

variants with the same etymological origin. Of course, variants are not unique to this period, but they pose a different methodological challenge to earlier medieval by-names and surnames when it comes to categorising them within a given typology. At a time when spelling was not fully standardised, it is reasonable to assume that, following a by-name's initial use, an increasing number of variant forms of that name would have been recorded as time progressed. This would then lead to an increasing number, albeit at a slower rate, of variant name forms whose spellings have been altered to such an extent from an etymologically representative name form that their true etymology cannot be realised, or is ambiguous. It follows from this that, without a detailed analysis of a number of different types of record, there will be an increasing number of names that are difficult to accurately classify within a typology. As a result, there is likely to be a difference in the proportions of name types calculated for the same region from different periods, even if nothing has changed but the forms of the names in use. If what has been suggested here is indeed the case, there are two possible effects: (1) the later the record, the greater number of names will be classified as having multiple possible origins, and, (2) the later the record, the greater number of names will be classified as having an uncertain origin. In the c1600 Cotswold PR, there are a number of surnames that can be used to exemplify this point.

The name *Mills*, regardless of the period in which it is recorded, could plausibly derive from the OFr given name *Miles*, or a genitive form of the ME given name *Mill*, itself a shortened form of *Millicent*, or a genitive form of the ME given name *Mihel*, a form of *Michael* (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: “Mill”; “Mills”; “Myhill”), meaning the name *Mills* could be classified as a relationship name. It is unlikely to be a plural form for someone who lived at a mill, given that only the singular form appears in the

1381 Cotswold PT. However, by c1600, at the time of the baptismal parish registers used in this project, it is also plausible that the surname *Mills* is a post-medieval form of the name *Mill* with an excrescent final *-s*, a feature of some names which has yet to be fully understood (see McKinley, 1990: 85–87). The surname *Mill* could be topographical or occupational, originally describing some kind of association between the bearer and a mill, as well as being from the ME given names *Mill* or *Mihel*.

It is not known exactly when the post-medieval excrescent *-s* began to occur in surnames, but it was non-existent, if not very rare, at the time of the 1381 Cotswold PT, while it is certainly found in surnames recorded c1600. So, the instances of the surname *Mills* that are in question, recorded in the c1600 Cotswold PR, might have their origin in one of three given names, or in the topographical feature. They must, therefore, be classified as having multiple possible origins. However, if the name *Mills* was found in a period when there is very little evidence of the excrescent *-s*, such as the time of the 1381 Cotswold PT, it is safe to assume that, in all probability, the name had its origin in the OFr given name *Miles*, or a genitive form of the ME given names *Mill* or *Mihel*, but had nothing to do with a mill; it would then be classified only as a relationship name.

A further example of the classificatory difficulties posed by the development of variant name forms can be seen in the surname *Barefoot*. This name is recorded in the c1600 PR for Lechlade and Kempsford, in the south-east Cotswolds, in the forms *Barefoot*, *Barfoote* and *Bearefoote*. If this name was found in the 1381 Cotswold PT or any other records from around this period, it would be safe to assume that it was originally a nickname, made up of ME *bar* “bare” and *fo* “foot”. However, at the date it was recorded in the baptismal parish registers for Kempsford and Lechlade, there is

another possibility. It seems that *Barefoot* may also be a folk-etymological development of the surname *Barford*, which also occurs in Lechlade at this time, and is toponymic.

While the appearance of the surnames *Barefoot* and *Barford* in the c1600 PR for the same parish supports a suggestion that the two might share an etymological origin, it is not proof. However, there is further evidence of this in the history of Brightwell Baldwin in Oxfordshire. In the late 14th century, ‘Sir *Baldwin* de Bereford is granted the manor of Brightwell’ (Gelling, 1953: 121). The surname *de Bereford* denotes the family’s origin, being from Barford in Warwickshire. At a later date, in the 16th and 17th centuries, ‘the tithing of the parish that corresponded with the de Berefords’ manor was known as “Brightwell Barefoot”’, and ‘an 18th-century servant at the manor in Brightwell Baldwin was surnamed Barefoot’ (personal correspondence with Simon Draper).

Given the evidence of the surnames *Barefoot* and *Barford* in the c1600 PR for Lechlade and Kempford, as well as the history of Brightwell Baldwin in Oxfordshire, it seems very likely that the surname *Barefoot* is sometimes a variant form of *Barford*. However, it could also conceivably originate from a nickname made up of ME *bar* and *fot*. When the form *Barefoot*, or similar, is found in a 14th-century record, such as the case of Thomas *Barefot* in the 1381 poll tax return for Bramley, Surrey, it is surely the nickname, and can be classified as such. However, when the name *Barefoot* is found around the year 1600, as it is in the Cotswold PR, it could also be toponymic, and so should be classified as a name with multiple possible etymological origins.

The second potential problem caused by an increasing level of surname variation, as mentioned above, is a greater number of surnames without any clear or decipherable etymological origin, as some variants are likely to have become distant

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from any kind of etymologically representative form. If a collection of variant name forms were made using a number of records, and the clear development of a particular surname could be seen, then a name that might be etymologically opaque on its own can still be assigned a type, due to a demonstrated connection to earlier, etymologically transparent forms. However, if a helpful string of connected surname forms cannot be found, then any surname whose form has obscured its etymological origin must be categorised as “uncertain”. Unfortunately, this can only be hypothetical. The act of providing absolute proof that a name of uncertain origin from c1600 has developed from an earlier surname with a known etymological origin would, of course, be contradictory.

These problems with classification are not specific to the names of the Cotswolds, and cannot be attributed to its regional identity. They are methodological issues relevant to the study of English surnames from any region, and are mentioned here not to explain any aspect of naming unique to the Cotswolds, but to highlight the possible difficulties in categorising surnames recorded c1600 and onwards.

As a result of increasingly ambiguous name forms, there are likely to be a greater percentage of surnames placed in a “multiple possibilities” or an “uncertain” category when using records from c1600, compared with records from an earlier period. This would in turn cause an apparent drop in percentages for other name types. Therefore, it must be borne in mind that if name type proportions are compared as part of a diachronic study (as is carried out in **6.5**), any apparent differences might not be a reflection of a change in naming habits, or of a change in name stock, but instead could simply be due to the general linguistic development and variation of names.

Unfortunately, there is no simple and immediate way to alter surname classification methodology to make diachronic comparison appropriate. While it is clear that variants are likely to cause a problem in typological studies, it is not possible to accurately quantify the classificatory effects of surname variation without a great deal of work, using many different records from different periods to estimate the rate of increase of surname variants with time. Without a study of this kind, all that it is possible to say is that the implications of increased name variation must be borne in mind when placing importance on differences in name type proportions, found in diachronic comparison. With a static study, from a post-medieval date or date range, such as 1580–1620, it is likely that a large proportion of names will be placed in a “multiple possibilities” category, and it is unfortunate that they can therefore be of little use to a regionally specific investigation of surname patterns.

Overall, it appears there was still a certain amount of instability in the names of the Cotswolds between 1580 and 1620, even though the vast majority of names would have been hereditary. It seems that hereditary surnaming was not just a practice reserved for directly related families, and so servants’ names were susceptible to change. Aliases show that people could be known by more than one name, and the appearance of a Welsh patronymic form raises the possibility that some non-hereditary by-names were still in use, perhaps supported by the small proportion of people with a synonymous name and occupation.

Some apparent markers of instability might have nothing to do with surname inheritance, but just with the variation in spellings of the same name. While the methodological implications of this have been outlined in this chapter, because they are most relevant to surnames from c1600 and onwards, they will be further discussed in

the following comparative chapter, looking at any changes or similarities in name type proportions (see 6.5). In order to carry out this investigation, the surnames of the c1600 Cotswold PR must first be placed into categories. As well as aiding the diachronic study of surname instability, this classification also allows for regional name distinctions within the Cotswolds, around the year 1600, to be recognised.

5.5 The Distribution of Cotswold Names in the c1600 Cotswold PR

5.5.1 *Name Type Proportions and Banwell Numbers*

All 11,708 names in the c1600 Cotswold PR, taken from the IGI, have been assigned a type, giving the following proportions for the region as a whole.

Location	22.06%
Multiple possibilities	25.55%
Nickname	6.31%
Occupation	17.25%
Relationship	25.47%
Uncertain	3.36%

These proportions cannot necessarily be directly attributed to aspects of Cotswold regional identity c1600 because the surnames are likely to have been mostly hereditary at this point, and so their etymologies are not a reflection of the contemporary conditions of the region. It is, however, still possible to determine the regional specificity of the name stock in the Cotswolds by comparison with different studies of surname type proportions for other parts of England.

As was also true of the name type analysis using 14th-century data (4.5.2), McKinley's (1990: 23) calculated name type proportions for the entire county of Gloucestershire in 1608 (see **Appendix 1**) are different to these findings for the Cotswolds in c1600. This suggests that the surnames of the Cotswolds developed differently and perhaps separately from other parts of Gloucestershire well into a time of heredity, supporting the point that the region had and maintained its own name stock and its own regional identity at the time, and was perceived as distinct from other parts of the county in which most of its area lies. Interestingly, the high proportion of relationship names in the c1600 Cotswold PR shows a pattern more similar to that for Oxfordshire in 1641–1642, according to McKinley's (1990: 23) figures.

Overall, the Cotswolds appears to have a different pattern of name type proportion than the counties in which it lies. As shown in **Appendix 1**, the counties of Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Worcestershire have a higher proportion of locative names than any other type. "Surnames from personal names" is the next highest category for Oxfordshire and Worcestershire, showing some sort of similarity to the Cotswold proportions, but it is clear that they had different surname patterns. In fact, the only counties studied by McKinley (1990: 23) using 16th- and 17th-century records which contained a greater proportion of relationship names than any other type (when his locative and topographical names are taken as a single category), are Cornwall, Shropshire and Suffolk.

It is very unlikely that there has been any surnaming influence on the Cotswolds from these three counties, considering their distance from the region. However, it is not impossible that similarities in the regional identities of these counties caused them to develop similar surname patterns, especially as Shropshire and Suffolk had not

inconsiderable roles in English wool and cloth production. In Suffolk, ‘the manufacture of woollen textiles grew into a major industrial activity’ (Bailey, 2007: 269) after the Black Death, while the best wool in England ‘came from sheep raised in Herefordshire and Shropshire’ (Hentschell, 2008: 3). Considering that the Cotswolds had been ‘the largest source of fine wool’ (Power, 1941: 16) in the fifteenth century, it might have been the case that these three areas followed similar paths of anthroponomastic development as a result of their shared economic focuses. However, Cornwall did not have an important role in the wool trade, exporting no wools because they ‘were too coarse for foreign markets’ (Power, 1941: 17). This increases the likelihood that the high proportions of relationship names in the Cotswolds, Cornwall, Shropshire and Suffolk are coincidental.

Furthermore, the name type calculations of one researcher cannot necessarily be reliably compared with those of another (see **2.6.1**), and so the suggested cause behind the similar surname patterns for Shropshire, Suffolk and the Cotswolds can only be speculative, as is the case with the comparison of Cotswold name type proportions with McKinley’s county calculations. Even so, it has been shown in other parts of this thesis that the wool trade has had an impact on surnames in the Cotswolds, and so the similarities in name type proportions with other wool trading regions have not been ignored. It could be, then, that the distribution of Cotswold surnames from the years 1580–1620 still shows signs of influence from the wool trade. However, this is not well supported by the frequencies of individual surnames recorded in the baptismal parish registers, where wool trade names appear in relatively small numbers.

Using a methodology similar to that used in the previous chapter (see **4.5.5**), the names from the c1600 Cotswold PR which make up 0.5% or more of the whole sample

have been isolated, and their Banwell numbers calculated. Much like the 14th-century poll tax returns, the IGI does not include the entire population of England at the time, and its coverage of parish registers is not complete for the entire country. So, a Banwell calculation using the IGI can only ever be a crude measure, but it has been used here to make the best use of the data available for the period. The Banwell numbers below are therefore very rough estimates of the true distribution of certain names in the Cotswolds between 1580 and 1620, but can still be interpreted, exercising necessary caution, especially when they are particularly high.

By searching only the Community Indexed IGI, and specifying a search for births between 1580 and 1620 with England as the birthplace,¹⁵ a total IGI baptism count for England between 1580 and 1620 of 1,795,375 is returned. A count for a specific name can then be achieved by entering it into the “Last Names” field, and performing a search. These two figures have been used alongside the c1600 Cotswold PR to calculate a Banwell number for individual names, carried out for the names in the Cotswold registers which make up 0.5% or more of the data sample.

NAME	FREQ.	BANWELL
<i>Smith</i>	166	1.04
<i>Freeman</i>	118	11.32
<i>Davis</i>	110	2.8
<i>Cooke</i>	106	2.34
<i>Taylor</i>	102	1.43

¹⁵ Note that the “Match Exactly” box, by the “Birthplace” entry field, must be ticked to ensure only baptisms are included in the results.

<i>Webb</i>	89	5.02
<i>Clark</i>	80	1.23
<i>Stevens</i>	78	2.23
<i>Kinge</i>	77	2.64
<i>Osborne</i>	77	7.78
<i>White</i>	74	2.29
<i>Harris</i>	63	1.1
<i>Gardiner</i>	58	4.6
<i>Greene</i>	58	1.31

As can be seen, the only one of these frequent surnames that is directly related to a wool trade occupation is *Webb*, from ME *webbe* ‘weaver’. Its Banwell number of 5.02 shows it was roughly 5 times more common in the Cotswolds between 1580 and 1620 than it would have been if evenly distributed nationally, suggesting that there must be some reason for the name’s frequency in the region. The importance of the Cotswolds to the national wool trade is surely a reason for this, but it is surprising that there are not more wool or cloth related occupational names that occur in high frequencies.

The next most frequent name specifically related to cloth production is *Walker*, occurring 37 times and making up 0.32% of all names in the parish register sample. With a Banwell number of 0.96 it is by no means a common Cotswold name in relation to the rest of England. The only other name in this list that could perhaps be linked to the wool trade, albeit very tentatively, is *Taylor*, and with its Banwell number of 1.43, it was also not particularly common in the region relative to the whole country. It seems, therefore, that by c1600 the most frequent surnames of the Cotswolds did not reflect its important wool trading history, and contemporary cloth-producing practices for which

the region was so well known. Perhaps such occupations were so common in the Cotswolds that they became unsuitable as distinctive surnames.

5.5.1.1 Osborne and Freeman

Other than *Webb*, the only other two surnames with particular high Banwell numbers are *Freeman* and *Osborne*. Those with a number lower than 5 have been ignored, in case of slightly over exaggerated values due to errors and disproportionate coverage in the IGI. The high relative proportion of the surname *Osborne* is difficult to explain. The name seems to have its origin in the Norman given name *Osbern*, most likely a pre-Conquest anglicised form of ON *Ásbiorn*, born by settlers in the Danelaw, some of whom would then have migrated to Normandy; some cases could be Norman cognates of Old Saxon *Ōsbern* (see Feilitzten, 1937: 338–339; Fellows Jensen, 1988: 131–132; Insley, 1994: 24–33). Therefore, its presence in England, particularly in the Cotswolds and south-west England where there is very little evidence of Scandinavian settlement, is likely to be due to Norman influence.¹⁶

It is possible that, given the noticeably higher Domesday population density to the south-east of an imaginary ‘line joining the estuaries of the Humber and the Severn’ (Darby, 1977: 92), there was a greater Norman influence on surnames in this part of

¹⁶ There is another possible origin of the surname *Osborne*, from the German town of Osnabrück, once known as *Osnaburg* in English. Coates (2012: 210) shows that the form *Osborne*, which occurs in the Bristol Exchequer Customs Accounts between 1503 and 1601, has been used to refer to a ‘kind of coarse (generally cotton) cloth referred to elsewhere as *Ozenbridge cloth*’, originally made in Osnabrück. It is not inconceivable that the surname *Osborne* could, in some instances, derive from either the cloth or the German town, though as the cloth was made with cotton, not the wool for which the Cotswolds was so famous, the Norman origin seems the most likely.

England. The high Banwell number for the surname *Osborne* may therefore be a reflection of its greater concentration in the south of England as a whole, not the Cotswolds specifically. Indeed, a proportional distribution view of the surname *Osborne* in 1881 shows the most concentrated areas are south of this Humber–Severn line, presented in figure 5.3.

The surname *Freeman* having the highest Banwell number of 11.32 out of all the frequent names listed above is equally difficult to account for in relation to specific Cotswold history. It is therefore more likely to represent a wider distribution of the name, as seems to also be the case with *Osborne*. The surname *Freeman* derives from OE *frēomann*, *frīgmann* ‘freeman’, ‘free-born man’ (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: “Freeman”), and so might have been borne, as a by-name, by people with no obligation to provide a certain service to a lord, when not being used ironically or as a relationship name. It is, however, not so simple, as the concept of freedom from feudal obligation was complicated, in part due to the ‘highly stratified’ society of Medieval England where, ‘to the basic distinction between slave and free was added the division into noblemen (thegns) and non-nobles (ceorls) and each group was further differentiated’ (Williams, 1995: 72). In fact, any person known as “free” was not necessarily free from feudal ties, with land owned by free peasants ‘subject to the manorial laws and customs’ (Choudhury, 2005: 18).

The surname *Freeman* having been proportionately common in the Cotswolds is not in keeping with the known distribution of free peasants in medieval England, who were ‘principally a feature of the east, and especially Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire, declining gradually in importance towards the south and west’ (Williamson, 2012: 110),

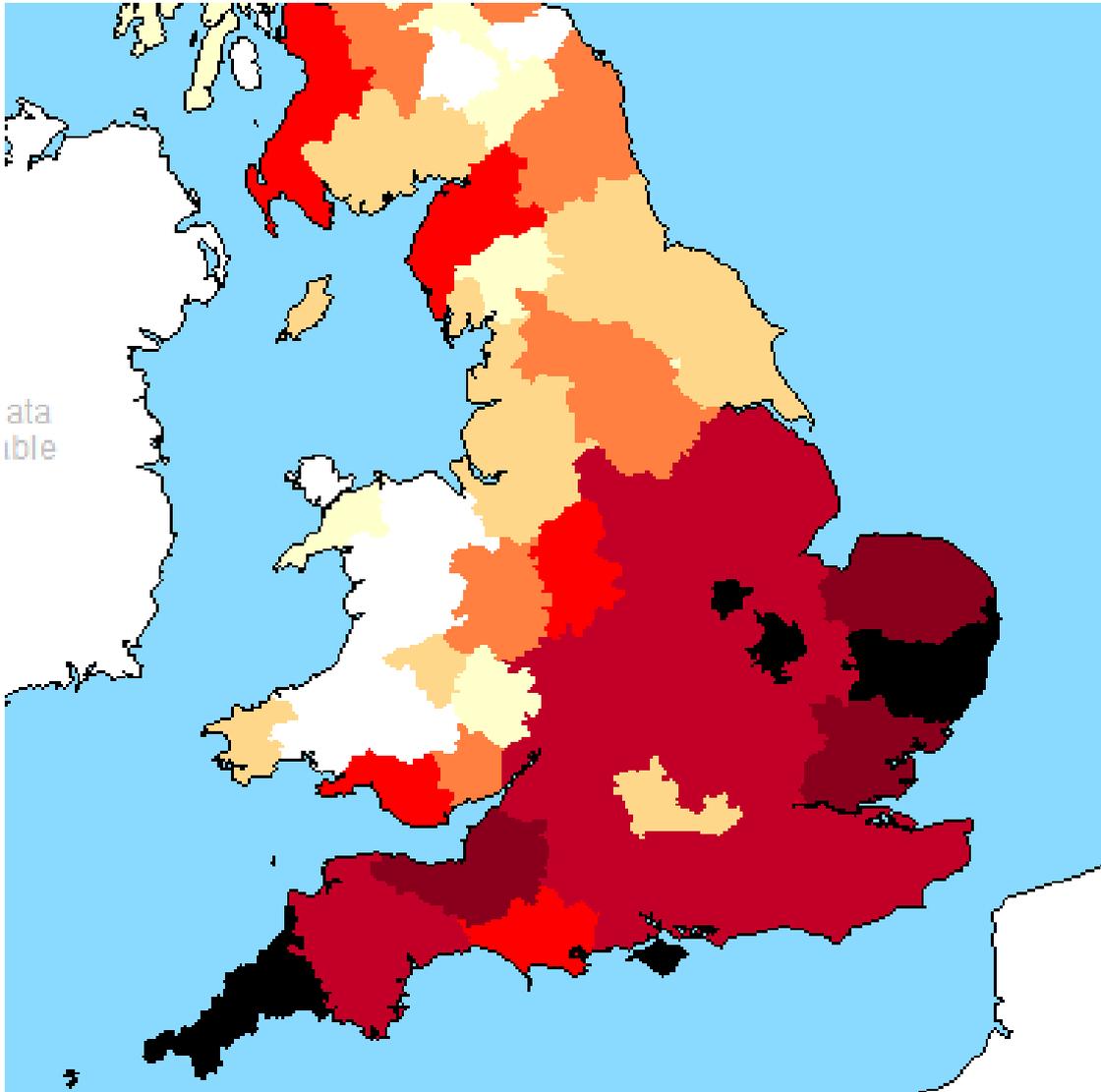


Fig. 5.3 — Proportional county distribution (number of names per 100,000) of the surname *Osborne* in 1881.
Map from Archer (2011)

according to analysis of Domesday Book. Perhaps, then, *Freeman* as a by-name was more likely to have been borne by a different order of feudal freeman, rather than a free peasant. In a discussion of the Domesday population of the midlands, Darby and Terrett (1971: 17) write,

one of the most interesting groups was that of radmen (*radchenistres*) who were found mainly in the western counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford and Shropshire ... They seem to have been freemen, and in the descriptions of the manors of Berkeley and Deerhurst they were definitely described as such.

Perhaps it was these people, assuming they were called, as well as seeming to be, freemen, who were responsible for the later high concentration of the surname *Freeman* in the Cotswolds, which mostly lay in Gloucestershire, one of the counties mentioned in Darby and Terrett's analysis. However, this would assume that concentrations of the name were similarly high in Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and Gloucestershire as a whole, and this was not the case.

Using community indexed IGI baptismal parish register data from 1580–1620 for these counties, their Banwell numbers for the surname *Freeman* range from 3.69 to 0.63, far from the high concentrations represented by the Cotswold Banwell number of 11.32. These figures suggest the Domesday radmen are not the reason for the high and nationally uneven proportion of people named *Freeman* in the Cotswolds c1600. However, the differences in these Banwell numbers could be considered as evidence of distinct social organisation in the Cotswolds when compared with Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and the rest of Gloucestershire.

In Domesday Gloucestershire, while there were a number of freemen known as “radmen”, there was also a greater proportion of serfs, who were not freemen, than in

any other English county, making up ‘about one-quarter of the total population’ (Darby and Terrett, 1971: 17) of the county. However, ‘in the district between the Severn and the Wye there were very few serfs and the percentage fell to about five’ (Darby and Terrett, 1971: 17). This piece of land between the Severn and the Wye approximately makes up the Gloucestershire Pay of the Forest of Dean. It seems, therefore, that it was the Vale of Berkeley and the Cotswolds in particular that contained high proportions of serfs. Perhaps, then, another explanation for the numbers of people named *Freeman* in the Cotswolds around the year 1600 is that it would have been especially distinctive as a by-name, as there were relatively few freemen in the region, and so it then persisted and increased as an hereditary surname.

This pattern may have been aided by social change in England following the Black Death, when ‘the fifteenth century saw the withering away of most obligations and restrictions on peasant labor’ (Byrne, 2004: 66) and the increasing freedom of peasants. Horrox (1994: 227–352) also shows how this might have been caused, translating a number of medieval documents which express the displeasure of unfree tenants in the 14th century. The extent to which this caused a relative increase in the frequency of freemen in the Cotswolds cannot be made certain, as it is a general comment on the country as a whole, but it is surely more likely to have caused an increase than any reduction in their numbers.

All of this is, of course, assuming that those areas of England known for high concentrations of freemen in the 11th century and onwards would have developed similarly high concentrations of a corresponding by-name or surname. This is not necessarily the case, but the demonstrated relationship between surname data and social history in the Cotswolds makes it a possibility, showing that the early social identity of

the Cotswolds may have influenced the later development of its names. It is, however, also possible that the Cotswold frequency of *Freeman* in c1600 is not a result of naming patterns or social organisation within the region. Certain English surnames, even those which are monogenetic and were therefore rare close to the time of their first use as by-names, have become remarkably widespread throughout the country. Redmonds, King and Hey (2011: 74) note that ‘whereas numerous hereditary surnames have become extinct, right across the country, others have proliferated to an extraordinary degree’. Such ramification could explain how *Freeman* had become a frequent name in the Cotswolds by c1600, regardless of the number of free men in the region in the past. Whether monogenetic or polygenetic, *Freeman* could have originated in any area or any number of areas in England outside of the Cotswolds, before it then spread to the region before c1600. If this was the case, then there may be no specifically Cotswold-related reason for the name’s frequency in the c1600 Cotswold PR, although its particularly high Banwell number does suggest it had become more common to the region than it was in most other parts of England at the time.

Having discussed the distribution of surnames in the Cotswolds as a whole between 1580 and 1620, attention will now be focused on name distinctions within the region. It has been shown that the wool trade was an important part of Cotswold history, both in the literature and in this project so far, and so its influence on the surnames of the Cotswolds will be investigated first.

5.5.2 The Distribution of Wool Trade-Related Names

By c1600, there had been an important shift in the Cotswold wool trade. As

mentioned briefly in 3.3.1, this change may have been underway by the time of the 14th-century poll tax, as the ‘export of wool as raw material declined, and yielded precedence to the export of manufactured cloth’ (Finberg, 1975: 86). This is in keeping with the national trend, when ‘in the mid-sixteenth century ... there was a rapid increase in the production of wool cloth’ (Hentschell, 2008: 3), at the expense of the raw wool trade. Raw wool was still the main focus of the trade in 1381, but cloth was becoming increasingly important up to the period being studied in this chapter.

By the middle of the fifteenth century, most cloth production in the Cotswolds ‘was centred in the south and southwest’ (Brill, 1955: 205). This area, where ‘the wonderfully clear water was perfect for applying the finest dyed finishes’ (Hurst, 2005: 132), was known as the Stroudwater region, and included riverside settlements such as Painswick and Woodchester. Its suitability for cloth production led to it becoming the centre of the wool trade in the Cotswolds at the expense of the rest of region; ‘at the close of the Tudor period [the wool trade] had all but disappeared from the rest of the Cotswolds’ (Perry, 1945: 93). The Stroudwater valleys had become such an integral part of Cotswold trade that, ‘when an act of 1555 ... attempted to confine the large scale manufacture of cloth to the towns an exception had to be made in favour of the district’ (Perry, 1945: 80).

Even so, the increasing importance of cloth production is unlikely to have led to a high number of specifically cloth related surnames in the Cotswolds, because the level of heredity c1600 means that the use of new descriptive non-hereditary by-names would have been rare. This is not to say that there would have been none, especially considering that cloth producers were ‘setting up by c.1300 on the banks of the River Frome’ (Hurst 2005: 108). However, the importance of the Cotswold raw wool trade at

a time when many names were non-hereditary makes it more likely that names related specifically to raw wool processing, rather than cloth production, would have been more common in the region as a whole.

It is, therefore, surprising that the surname *Shepherd* and variant forms occur at a very low frequency in the c1600 Cotswold PR. Only 12 out of the 11,708 people in the dataset have the surname *Shepherd*, or a form of it. This low frequency also goes against findings of other works, which suggest such a common occupation would have given rise to a large proportion of hereditary surnames. In a general comment on occupational names nationally, McKinley (1990: 133) refers to

the large number of surnames derived from words for persons employed in herding different types of livestock, for these were specialist occupations, followed by only one or two people in each village.

He suggests that because such occupations were ‘very widely practised, all over the country, yet were not exercised by a large number of people in any one place’ (McKinley, 1990: 133), they were suitably distinctive within local communities for use as surnames. More specifically, in his work on the county of Oxfordshire, which borders Gloucestershire and contains a small portion of the Cotswolds, McKinley (1977: 137) makes the same point by referring to the name *Shepherd*, stating that ‘in many rural villages there would be only one man with the task of keeping sheep, so that the occupation would be a distinctive one’. He bases this observation on ‘the distribution of persons named Shepherd or Bercarius (Bercar etc.) in the Oxfordshire Hundred Rolls 1278–79’ (see McKinley, 1977: 135, MAP 3), and implies that it would lead to the surname being common today.

The surname *Shepherd*, excluding variants, is certainly relatively common today, and was the 156th most frequent in Britain in 1881. However, it would be a mistake to assume that this means it, and its variants, must have been common throughout England following the establishment of hereditary surnaming. As is clear from its frequency in the c1600 Cotswold PR, it was not common in the Cotswolds at this time, and this is supported by its frequency in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls, where it makes up only 0.08% of all surnames recorded in Cotswold parishes.

It seems most likely that the rarity of the name in the Cotswolds around 1600 is a result of the region's earlier prominence in the wool trade. As it was well known for its wool at a time when many people did not have hereditary surnames, it is probable that there were a higher concentration of shepherds, and therefore people with the by-name *Shepherd*, working in the Cotswolds than in other parts of England. Perhaps then, within the Cotswolds in particular, the name *Shepherd* would be considered by McKinley (1990: 133) to be an unsuitable surname because of its frequency, as he describes:

occupations which were followed by any large proportion of the population would not be appropriate for [use as surnames], for they would not serve to distinguish a man from his neighbours.

The regional identity of the Cotswolds has therefore influenced the use of the surname *Shepherd* in a way that seems contradictory. As a result of the region's earlier importance in the English raw wool trade, the name *Shepherd* became rare as an hereditary surname, apparently because it was not a distinctive by-name. Further analysis of the name's decline is made through diachronic comparison (see **6.3**).

Such unexpectedly low numbers were not, however, the case for other wool trade surnames. After *Smith* and *Cook*, the next two most frequent occupational surnames in the c1600 Cotswold PR are *Taylor* and *Webb*. Both of these are relevant to the wool trade, with *Webb* having its origin in ME *webbe* ‘weaver’, and *Taylor* referring to a tailor when used as a by-name. A tailor can only be linked indirectly, and tentatively, to the wool trade, with the abundance of locally produced wool likely to have promoted the occupation in the Cotswolds. However, greater significance should be placed on the name *Webb* here, as it has a much clearer and direct association with cloth production.

As by-names, *Webb*, and perhaps *Taylor*, would have described occupations connected to cloth production and use, the primary focus of the region’s industry at the time. However, they are almost certainly hereditary surnames at this point, so are unlikely to describe the occupations of the bearers in the parish registers. Their frequency c1600 in the Cotswolds is therefore most likely to be due to the earlier use of *Taylor* and *Webb* as by-names, but not so commonly that they were unsuitable as hereditary surnames, like the name *Shepherd*.

It is interesting that these two names were frequent in the Cotswolds around 1600, yet names that were more closely related to the trading of raw wool, such as *Shepherd*, were rarer. It raises the possibility that, even though they were probably hereditary at the time, the transparent etymology of the names *Taylor* and *Webb* retained some significance, relevant to the regional identity of the Cotswolds. Considering the importance of the regional cloth industry, and the fact that surnames could be unstable, cloth-related names might have been purposefully held on to by the local community, as markers of identity, if a situation arose where a choice between two surnames had to be

made. Such cases are likely to be rare and difficult to identify, but if, for example, the parents of a bastard child had the surnames *Webb* and *Shepherd*, they might have been more likely to bestow the name *Webb* on the child as it would have had greater local relevance in c1600. Other surnames which were less relevant to regional society might then have been more easily lost. This idea is supported by the distribution of cloth-related occupational surnames, when compared with that of raw wool-related names, in the c1600 Cotswold PR.

Walrond's (1973: 185) 'diagram of the principal processes in broadcloth manufacturing' serves as a helpful collection of potential wool- and cloth-related surnames, and shows at what stage in the cloth production process each role was required. For the purposes of this analysis, the stages prior to the production of yarn are considered to be raw wool trade processes, as they involve readying the wool for weaving. Any cloth will begin to take shape at the weaving stage, so this and all following stages are considered to be cloth production processes.

As well as the supply of wool, provided by shepherds, the processes specific to raw wool which have also given rise to medieval by-names and hereditary surnames are carding, combing and spinning. *Carder*, *Comber* and *Spinner* are all surnames today, and *Cardmaker* was used as a medieval by-name; see, for example, Henrico *Cardmakere* in the 1381 poll tax returns for Cirencester. None of these names are found in the c1600 Cotswold PR.

Following the spinning of wool, the processes specific to cloth production in Walrond's (1973: 185) diagram which have also given rise to medieval by-names and hereditary surnames are burling, drying, dyeing, fulling and weaving. Shearing and marking have not been included here because, even though they might denote distinct

stages of cloth production, shearing is also a raw wool-related process and the surname *Marker* has possible additional unrelated etymological origins. The processes of dyeing, fulling and weaving have all given rise to surnames which occur in the c1600 Cotswold PR. See, for example,

Richard <i>Dyer</i>	baptised in Painswick, 1607
Maria <i>Tucker</i>	baptised in Sherborne, 1580
Robert <i>Walker</i>	baptised in Painswick, 1615
Margaret <i>Weaver</i>	baptised in Mickleton, 1610
William <i>Webb</i>	baptised in Horsley, 1596

Note that tucking and walking were synonyms for fulling, and the corresponding names had, and have, specific distributions as a result of regional usage (see **5.6.1**; Schürer, 2004: 55–56 and 68; Longley *et al.*, 2005: 131–132). The occurrence of cloth production surnames, and the absence of raw wool-related surnames, except for *Shepherd*, is in keeping with the dominant industry of the Cotswolds at the time.

This focus on cloth production can be seen clearly in the occupations of people recorded in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls. All of those people who also have an occupation listed alongside them have been extracted from the muster rolls. This does not include such descriptions as ‘husbandman’, ‘servant’, ‘labourer’ and ‘yeoman’, which are not specific enough to determine the actual role of the person in question, leaving a total of 1,856 people with an explicit occupation. 42% of these are specific to the wool trade, again emphasising its importance in the Cotswolds. So that the dominance of the wool industry and the resultant effect on the region’s surnames is not overstated, occupations indirectly related to the trade, such as tailoring, have not been included in this sample.

Splitting the 780 wool-trade occupations into raw wool processing and cloth production, again using Walrond's (1973: 185) diagram as a guide, 698 of them are specific to cloth production, with 78 specific to raw wool processing; that is 89.49% and 10% respectively. The remaining four occupations are ambiguous, and without any sort of biographical information on the people in question their occupations cannot be assigned to a single stage in the wool-trade. These are 'woolwinder', 'woolworker' and 'shearman'. Of course, raw wool would still have been required for the cloth to be produced, so a certain number of raw wool workers are to be expected in the Cotswolds at this time, though it is clear that they appear in small numbers. This is due to the decline in quality of Cotswold wool during the Tudor period, when 'the wool from the local downs [in the valleys west of Wiltshire] was better than the Cotswold for making the heavily fulled broadcloths' (Ponting, 1971: 27).

It is apparent that the distribution of the cloth- and raw wool-related surnames in the Cotswolds as a whole reflected the economic focus of the region around the year 1600. In this way, the names of the region appear to have been influenced by regional identity. It is not easy to explain how such a pattern is possible at a time when names had long been hereditary and were unlikely to have changed in any major way since the 14th century, when raw wool processing was dominant in the Cotswolds. Clearly, there are things about surname development at this time that are not well understood. However, one possible scenario can be offered where such a change could take place. Without detailed biographical evidence of individual name change, this cannot be fully supported, and so the following is given only as a possibility.

Where a name is etymologically transparent, and so its original motivation as a by-name more easily understood, any relevance it had to the region could contribute to

its preservation as the local community looks to maintain its regional identity through its names, as much as is possible. This means that any etymologically transparent occupational surname in the c1600 Cotswold PR might indirectly indicate the cloth-producing identity of the Cotswolds around the year 1600, rather than indicating the region's identity at a time of non-hereditary by-naming. In this way, the locally perceived etymologies of certain surnames may have had an effect on their use in the Cotswolds, contributing to the continuity of those names which reflected the region's identity. If, for example, a person with the surname *Weaver* who lived in a community of cloth workers faced a circumstance where their name might be lost, such as marriage if they were female, they might have been more likely to retain their name because of its relevance to the community; more so than a person with the name *Baker*, for example. Perhaps it would also have been more important, for trading purposes, for people involved in the cloth industry to be known by their occupation rather than their surname at a time of increasing prosperity. Even though they would have had an hereditary surname, their role in cloth production may have been how they were better known locally, and so how they introduced themselves to parish clerks.

All of this is, of course, difficult to prove, and it could be argued that the high level of heredity c1600 means that surnames would not reflect the region's contemporary identity. However, in an area known for its exportation of raw wool at a time when name heredity was becoming the norm, the high proportion of cloth-related names and the near absence of raw wool-related names between 1580 and 1620 suggest that important changes to the Cotswold name stock were possible even when most names were hereditary. This is supported by a more localised analysis of Cotswold surname distribution between 1580 and 1620.

5.5.3 Name Distribution in the North-East and South-West Cotswolds

As mentioned previously, around the year 1600 the Cotswold wool trade was centred in the south-west of the region, in an area known as Stroudwater, and was focused on cloth production. The increased industry in the Stroudwater region came ‘at the expense not only of the vale towns but the ancient Cotswold centres of the woollen manufacture’ (Perry, 1945: 78). Therefore, a comparison of the names in the south-west with those in the north-east, which was the centre of the wool trade before its focus shifted, could show how regional distinctions, and therefore differences in identity, have influenced the surnames of the Cotswolds. For this investigation, the names in the baptismal registers from parishes in the south-western hundreds of Bisley and Longtree will be compared with the names from Upper Kiftsgate hundred in the far north-east of the Gloucestershire Cotswolds. Any findings can then be compared with those from the 1381 Cotswold PT in the next chapter. The methodological considerations behind the comparison of these two areas have been explained previously, and so will not be repeated here (see *4.5.1*).

In order to first identify any differences in general name patterns between the north-east and south-west, the proportions of surname types from the c1600 Cotswold PR from within the hundreds of Bisley, Longtree and Upper Kiftsgate have been calculated, and are presented in figure 5.4. These tables show that there was very little difference, for all of the surname types, between the north-east and the south-west of the Cotswolds, suggesting that regional identity had almost no distinguishing effect on proportions of name types.

UPPER KIFTSGATE HUNDRED		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	589	23.25%
Multiple possibilities	688	27.16%
Nickname	146	5.76%
Occupation	412	16.27%
Relationship	616	24.32%
Uncertain	82	3.24%
TOTAL	2533	

BISLEY AND LONGTREE HUNDREDS		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	941	21.27%
Multiple possibilities	1174	26.54%
Nickname	268	6.06%
Occupation	842	19.03%
Relationship	1070	24.19%
Uncertain	129	2.92%
	4424	

Fig. 5.4 — Tables of name type proportion in parishes from the north-east Cotswolds (Upper Kiftsgate hundred) and the south-west Cotswolds (Bisley and Longtree hundreds), formulated using the c1600 Cotswold PR.

The only surname type percentage that differs by more than 2% between the north-east and south-west is that for occupational names, but even this difference of 2.76% is small, and so any conclusions made from it can only be tentative at best. However, this discrepancy does become more pronounced when Upper Kiftsgate hundred is compared with Longtree hundred alone. If the proportions for Upper Kiftsgate and Longtree are compared, all but the percentages of occupational names are again very similar, but the difference between the values for the occupational names increases to 4.36%. The proportion of occupational names in Bisley hundred alone is actually 0.04% lower than that for Upper Kiftsgate, while the sample of names from Longtree hundred contains 581 occupational names out of a total of 2816, making 20.63%. This difference between Upper Kiftsgate and Longtree hundreds is still small, and it would be unwise to attach any great importance to the increased discrepancy, when Bisley hundred is disregarded, without any supporting evidence. However, this pattern is not surprising given the geography of the Stroudwater region.

Both Bisley and Longtree hundreds contained important cloth-producing parishes, with Painswick and Bisley in Bisley hundred, and Minchinhampton in Longtree, though perhaps a greater area of Stroudwater lay in Longtree than Bisley hundred. The Stroudwater settlements studied by Perry (1945: 83) which are also included in the Cotswold baptismal parish registers sample are Minchinhampton, Woodchester, Rodborough, Horsley, Cherington, Avening, Painswick and Bisley. Only Painswick and Bisley were in Bisley hundred, with the rest in Longtree, perhaps suggesting Longtree hundred housed a greater proportion of cloth workers than Bisley, who may have had a greater tendency to adopt or retain occupational names as a marker of identity.

Indeed, there are a greater proportion of specifically cloth-related names in Longtree than Bisley in the c1600 Cotswold PR. 29 out of the 261 occupational names in the Bisley hundred sample are related to cloth production, where there are 99 out of 581 for Longtree hundred, giving 11.11% and 17.04% respectively. It must be noted that names which derive from mill-workers, such as *Muleward*, have been included in this measure. Previously, in this work, such names have not been treated as being specific to the wool trade because there are types of mills not used for fulling cloth. However, considering their location in the Cotswolds at the time, within the Stroudwater valleys when cloth production was this particular region's focus, it seems reasonable to assume that most of these mill-related names were perceived as being specific to cloth production.

There is also a noticeable difference in the distribution of specifically cloth-related names when the occupational surnames of the north-east and the Stroudwater region are compared, further supporting the theory that regional identity

had some sort of influence on Cotswold names at a time when they were hereditary. In the north-east of the region, within Upper Kiftsgate hundred, where the raw wool trade had been in decline from the early 15th century, 6.55% of occupational names derived from jobs related to cloth production. In the south-western hundreds of Bisley and Longtree, containing the Stroudwater valleys where cloth production was centred c1600, 15.44% of the occupational surnames were cloth-related.

This pattern is mirrored by the distribution of jobs at the time, seen in the occupations of the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls. In Upper Kiftsgate hundred, of all the people who had a specific occupation recorded alongside their name, excluding descriptions such as servant and labourer due to their ambiguity, 15.28% had an occupation related to cloth production. In the south-western Cotswold hundreds of Bisley and Longtree, 65.99% of people with a recorded occupation had cloth-related jobs. In the 1608 muster rolls, Perry (1945: 83) found a similar distribution of occupations, counting 746 jobs of 'woollen manufacture' out of a total of 1,753 people in the Stroudwater region; that is 42.56%. He also noted clear contrasts between Stroudwater and nearby parishes out of the valleys, stating that

Feudal Sapperton, on the high ground above the head-waters of the Frome, presents a striking contrast [to the Stroudwater valleys]. Here we have gentlemen, yeoman, husbandmen, and servants to Sir Henry Poole, Lord of the Manor. A miller, a carpenter and a smith were the only craftsmen in the place (Perry, 1945: 82).

Considering that, in terms of both occupations and occupational surnames, there is greater evidence of the cloth industry in the Stroudwater region than other parts of the Cotswolds between 1580 and 1620, it seems that the distribution of the surnames of the Cotswolds did partly reflect the regional identity of the time, even when most of them

would have been hereditary. This is unexpected and raises the possibility that the names of the time were perhaps more unstable than previous works suggest, susceptible to change influenced by regional identity.

5.6 Dialect Lexis and Phonology in the Names of the c1600 Cotswold PR

Phonological differences in regional ME dialects are sometimes apparent in the names of the 14th century (see 4.6), but it is not clear whether the surnames from c1600 are reliable evidence of the contemporary dialect. That is not to say that there were no dialect differences in spoken English at this time. Even though ‘the idea that there is, or should be, a standard or correct spoken form of English goes back at least to Puttenham’ (Kerswill, 2007: 47), a sixteenth century literary critic, ‘there is no evidence that any kind of non-regional pronunciation was in widespread use until the last quarter of the nineteenth century’ (Kerswill, 2007: 47). Clearly, then, there would have been considerable dialectal differences in spoken English in c1600, but whether or not these would have been apparent in written records of surnames from c1600 requires further investigation.

At a time when spelling was becoming standardised, it is possible that some surname variants would have been replaced by a more widespread form of the name, making it increasingly unlikely that surname forms were representative of regional dialect.¹⁷ However, as spelling was by no means completely standardised by c1600 (see

¹⁷ Note that this is not considered to be a contradiction of the earlier suggestion that the number of variant name forms would increase with time (see 5.4.3), as this previous hypothesis only predicts the persistence of variant forms which have such an obscured etymological origin that

5.6.3), it is still possible that some names of the Cotswolds from this period represent elements of the contemporary regional dialect. Although, considering that most of these surnames would have first been formed as by-names about 200 years (at least) before 1600, some hereditary surname forms might instead represent the dialect at a time of non-heredity.

It seems that this is the case, with Viereck (2009: 77–79 and 95–97) showing that the modern distribution of the variants *Pytt*, *Pett*, *Pitt* and *Putt*, which reflect regionally specific ME phonological developments of the OE vowel /y/, conforms to the expected pattern, hundreds of years after the names would have been formed. Using data in English phone books from 2004, Viereck shows that even today the distribution of the variants *Pett*, *Petts* and *Putt* roughly represent the particular regional developments of OE /y/ in ME, with *Pett* and *Petts* more common in the south-east of England, and *Putt* the usual form in the south-west.

The distribution of these modern surnames appears to be a fossilisation of ME dialect distribution. Of course, the spelt forms of such names must have been continually phonologically compatible with a contemporary local dialect of the region in which they were recorded, otherwise such spellings would be altered to fit in with what was regionally acceptable. However, this does not necessarily indicate that their forms were a result of a later contemporary dialect, so long as ME forms continued to represent acceptable phonology. Therefore, it must be considered that any dialectal features of name spelling at a time of heredity may not reflect the phonology of the time, but of a period of non-hereditary by-naming in the ME period. Similarly, the

they cannot be connected with another etymologically identical variant. In this section, the focus is on variant forms with a clear shared origin.

distribution of an hereditary surname which has its origin in a particular regional lexicon might represent the regional distribution of that lexical item in ME. This has been suggested previously for the names *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker* (see Schürer, 2004: 56), which will now be discussed.

5.6.1 *The Names Fuller, Tucker and Walker*

It is clear that *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker* had, and still have, particular regional distributions (see Schürer, 2004: 55–56 and 68; Longley *et al.*, 2005: 131–132). As by-names, each of these ‘essentially refers to the same occupation’ (Schürer, 2004: 55), concerned with the treatment of wool cloth, as described in detail by Carus-Wilson (1941: 40):

The process of fulling, that is to say, of beating or compressing the cloth in water, served first of all to shrink the cloth, reducing it in width by anything from a fifth to a half and in length to a corresponding extent ... Secondly, it served to “felt” the cloth, so inextricably entangling the fibres that the pattern of the weaving often ceased to be visible ... In addition to shrinking and felting the cloth, making it close and firm, the fulling process also scoured it and cleaned it, with the aid of various detergents such as fuller’s earth.

The apparently synonymous words, *fuller*, *tucker* and *walker*, for a person that fullled cloth as described above, had regionally specific usages in England. While it is probably only the word *fuller* which would be widely understood today, with ‘tucker, n.1’ labelled as obsolete in the *OED* (online, 2000–) and ‘waulker, n.’ labelled as historical, all three still persist as surnames. Schürer (2004: 55–56 and 68) and Longley *et al.* (2005: 131–132) have shown that, in 1881 and 2003 respectively, *Fuller* was a name

predominantly found in the south-east of England, *Tucker* in the south-west and *Walker* in the Midlands and the north. For clarity, distribution maps of these surnames from the 1881 census are presented in figure 5.5.

From figure 5.5, it is clear that *Fuller* was rare in the Cotswolds. The distributions of the names *Tucker* and *Walker* in the region are not so clear, though their proportional local poor law union distributions, given in figure 5.6, show that *Walker* was the most common surname out of the three in 1881, probably reflecting the regional use of the word at a time close to hereditary surname establishment. Indeed, Schürer (2004: 56) found that ‘there is strong evidence to suggest that this broad regional distribution of the three surnames [in 1881] is similar to that of the early fourteenth century’. It seems, then, that *Walker* was always the usual name out of three in the Cotswolds, presumably because it was the regional dialect term for anyone who fulled cloth. The idea that *Walker* was continually dominant in the region is supported by the names in the c1600 Cotswold PR.

In the c1600 Cotswold PR there are 37 people with the name *Walker*, one person with the name *Tucker* and no people with the name *Fuller*. The surname *Walker* makes up 0.32% of all names in the c1600 Cotswold PR, where *Tucker* makes up 0.0085%. These numbers are small, but it is clear that the use of these three names in the region followed the same pattern over a considerable number of generations. This pattern is also seen in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls, with 19 bearers of the name *Walker* and no instances of *Tucker* or *Fuller*. The slightly earlier Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1523–1527 (see Faraday, 2009) further support the preference for the name *Walker* in the Cotswolds, with *Tucker* and *Fuller* being absent from records for the region.

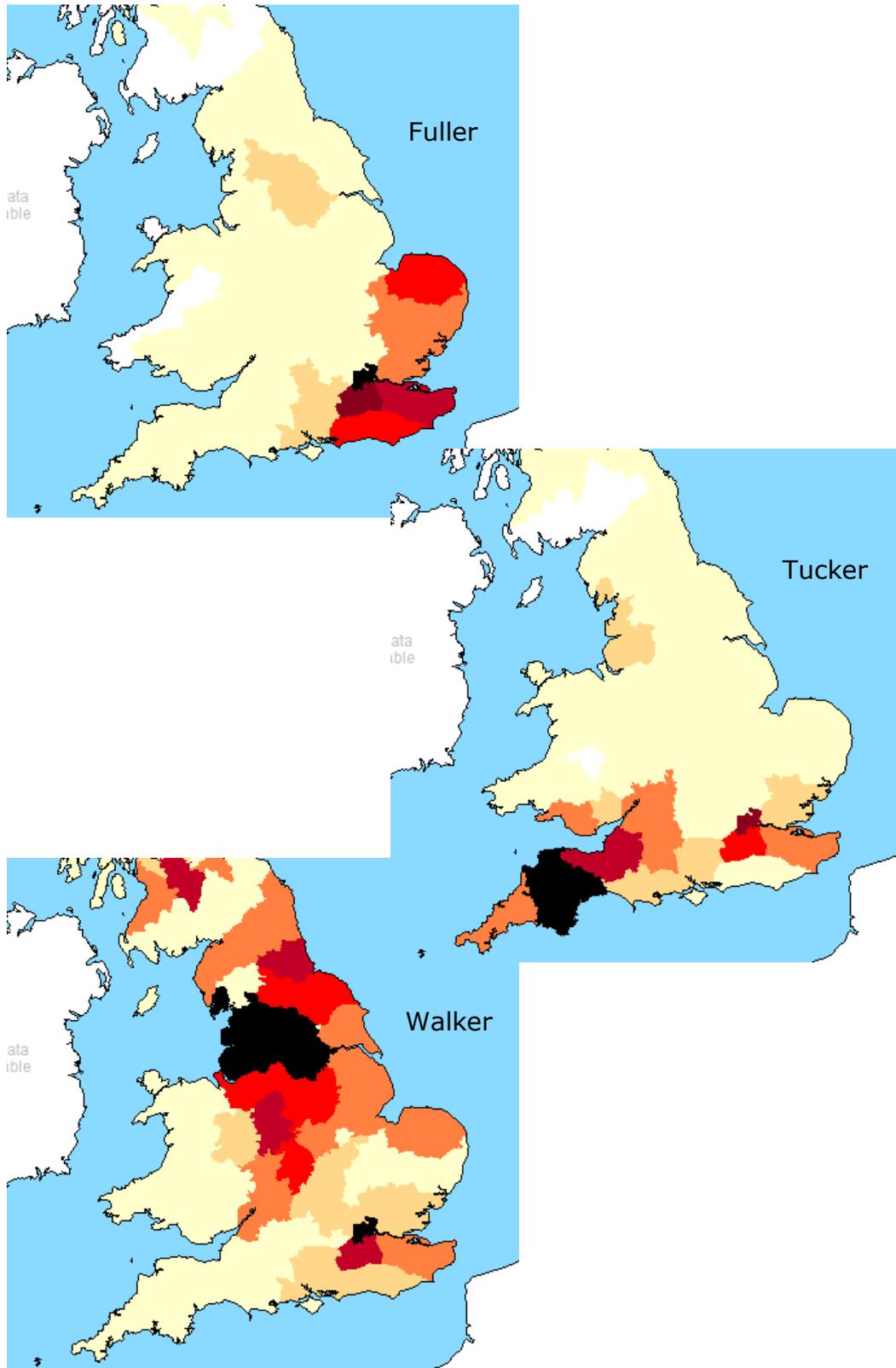


Fig. 5.5 — County distribution of the surnames *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker* in 1881.

Maps from Archer (2011)

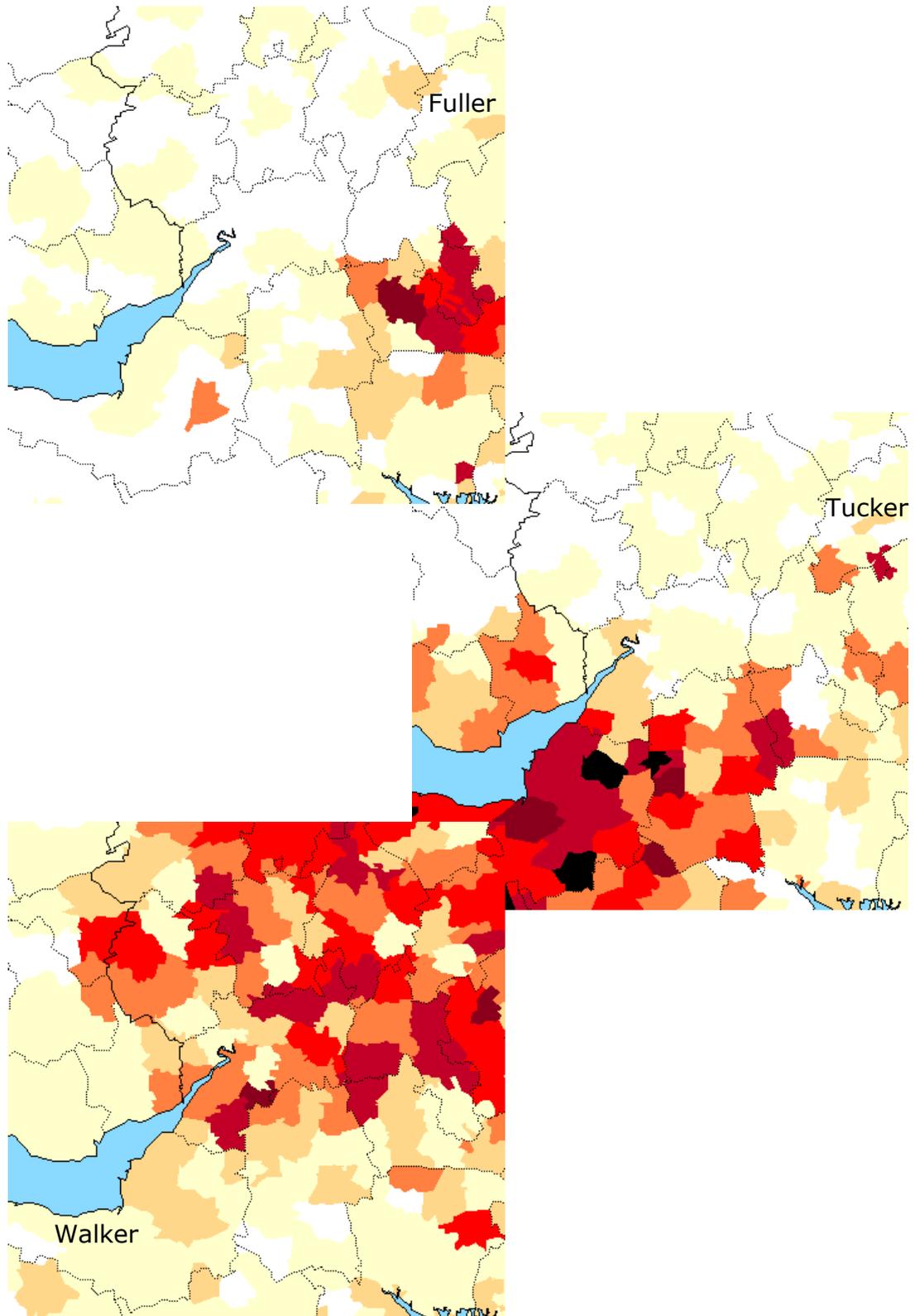


Fig. 5.6 — Proportional poor law union distribution (number of names per 100,000) of the surnames *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker* in 1881.

Maps from Archer (2011)

Using data spanning about 358 years (from 1523 to 1881), it seems that *Walker* was consistently the usual surname out of the three, *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker*. Considering this, it would be reasonable to assume that the word *walker* was used in the regional dialect of the Cotswolds, rather than *fuller* or *tucker*. However, the use of these words in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls, outside of the recorded surnames, does not support this conclusion. As a description of a person's occupation, *walker* does not appear at all, while *tucker* is written 129 times, contradicting the surname evidence; *fuller* appears 14 times.

As these surnames might be a fossilisation of the usual regional word from a time when hereditary surnames were beginning to be established, it is possible that *walker* was the Cotswold dialect word in the 14th century, but that the lexical isogloss shifted since this period and *tucker* became the more common dialect term. However, from an analysis of the 1381 Cotswold PT, it does not appear that this was the case. Note that while the remainder of this section involves a comparison of the data from 1381 and c1600, it is not included in the following comparative chapter of this project because it is not an investigation of diachronic name change. Rather, the issue being studied is the difference in the use of surname and lexical item in c1600, using the 1381 data as supporting evidence.

In a similar pattern to the c1600 Cotswold PR data, the 1381 Cotswold PT shows that *Walker* was the common name out of the three, but *tucker* was the more common word for describing a person's occupation. As names, *Walker* appears 12 times, *Tucker* once and *Fuller* not at all. As occupational descriptions, *walker* is written once, *tucker* five times and Latin *fullat'* appears once. No meaningful conclusions could be drawn from these numbers alone, as the sample is too small to place any importance

on the differences, but they do show the same usage as later records. This suggests that the use of *tucker* as a descriptive term in 1608 and the preponderance of *Walker* as a surname at the same time is not an indication of a change in regional dialect, as the difference in usage was long established; it was even apparent at a time when many names were descriptive of the bearer.

There must, therefore, be another explanation for the use of *Walker* and *tucker* in the Cotswolds. One possibility worth exploring is that scribal practice could have given the false impression of mixed usage of the two words in the region. As has been discussed (see 4.6), ‘a variety of scribal influence may [...] come between the local speech forms and the written forms of the county rolls’ (McClure, 1973: 193). While this comment was made with respect to ME phonology, it is appropriate to dialect lexis too. If a scribe employed in the Cotswolds was originally from a further south-western part of England where *tucker* was part of the vernacular, his influence may cause this word to appear most commonly as an occupational description, while *Walker* would be most frequent as a name owing to it having been the usual Cotswold word. This explanation would be reasonable if the discrepancy in surname and lexical item occurred very rarely, but because it appears to be consistent over hundreds of years, occasional scribal influence is a very unlikely cause. It would suppose that all scribes of the records studied in this investigation were from the south-west of England, outside of the Cotswolds, which is not plausible.

Considering that *tucker*, out of the three words *fuller*, *tucker* and *walker*, was the most commonly used by Cotswold scribes outside of the name evidence, it is possible that it was the usual local dialect term. The frequency of the name *Walker* would then be unexpected, but could be due to migration from further north where *walker* was

typically used. This, however, also seems unlikely, as the almost complete absence of the name *Tucker* in the Cotswolds, from 1381 up to 1620, would mean that no hereditary surname was formed from the local dialect term *tucker*.

Another possible explanation, it would seem, is that *tucker* and *walker* had developed subtly different senses in the Cotswolds. While previous works have treated the names *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker* as regionally specific terms for the same fulling process, some have not fully committed to the idea that they were synonymous. Schürer (2002: 55) states ‘each of these surnames essentially refers to the same occupation’, with the slight level of uncertainty introduced by his use of the word ‘essentially’ being of interest. Such caution may be deliberate as there were slightly different methods of fulling in the medieval period, which could have caused *walking* to be considered distinct from *tucking* and *fulling*.

Carus-Wilson (1941: 42) has found that

most probably hand fulling was reserved for small articles such as hats and caps, made usually of felt, while the long heavy broadcloths which came to form the staple of the English export industry were fulled by foot.

It is not difficult to see how the action of fulling with the feet could become more readily associated with *walking* than the other two terms. Etymologically, the verb *to walk* is complex, with the *OED* (online, 2000–: “walk, v.”) noting

it is remarkable that to the end of the Old English period the primary sense of the verb (strong and weak) is “to roll”, and that from the beginning of the Middle English period it is “to move about, travel”.

It is surely the former sense that relates most closely to fulling cloth, with the *OED* (online, 2000–: “walk, v.”) suggesting that the sense ‘to full (cloth) ... is presumably to be seen as a [specific] sense development of sense 2a’, which is ‘to toss (something) about. Also: to work with the hand, roll up. *Obs.*’ However, considering the primary ME sense was ‘to move about, travel’, it is not implausible that the cloth-related sense of *walk* could have been linked specifically to fulling cloth with the feet, due to the walking (in the modern sense) action required to do so.

If this was the case, the frequency of the surname *Walker* in the Cotswolds can be explained, even with competition from the word *tucker* in the near south-west. The large scale wool trade of the region makes it likely that fulling with the feet was a more common process than the hand fulling used for smaller items, causing *walker* to be the usual term in the Cotswolds, and therefore *Walker* the usual name. However, the increased ambiguity of the verb *to walk*, due to its shift in sense from ‘to roll’ to ‘to move about, travel’, might have meant *tucker* became more appropriate and accurate as an official description of occupation with the related verb retaining its cloth-specific sense throughout the period studied (see *OED* online, 2000–: “tuck, v.1 — 3.”), and was preferred to *fuller* for reasons of geography and dialect.

This suggestion cannot be proven, and is in no way meant to be conclusive, but along with the other possible explanations given it seems the most likely. The theory that *walker* and *tucker* had developed slightly different senses in the Cotswolds appears to be supported by the fact that, within the 1381 Cotswold PT, no person with the name *Walker* has the occupation *tucker*. At this time, when some names were apparently non-hereditary, it would be expected for *Walker* and *tucker* to have occurred alongside each other if they were considered to be equivalent in sense, just as *fuller* and *tucker* do

in the case of Ricardo *Toucar*, *fullat* (Througham, Bisley), though this is assuming that the Latin *fullat* represents the English *fuller*, which is not necessarily the case. The interpretation of Latin occupational descriptions and their translation is discussed further in 5.6.2. *Walker* and *tucker* also do not appear alongside each other in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls, further supporting the notion that *walker* and *tucker* had developed different senses.

From this analysis of *Walkers* and *tuckers* in the Cotswolds, it is difficult to arrive confidently at any conclusions on their use in the region. While the national distribution in 1881 shows a concentration of the surname *Walker* in the Cotswolds, fitting in with the distribution of the surname in the c1600 Cotswold PR (and other records from different periods), the use of the occupational description *tucker* is puzzling. Considering that *Walker* was the usual name in the region out of the three arguably synonymous surnames *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker*, it would be expected that this was due to *walker* being the usual word for a fuller in the Cotswolds, not *tucker* as it seems to have been. Perhaps, as suggested above, the wool trading identity of the region has caused *Walker* to be the common name and *tucker* a more accurate occupational description, but short of any medieval document stating exactly this point, this can only ever be hypothetical.

It is clear that the regional use of these words is not as simple as the national distribution of their corresponding surnames would suggest, emphasising the need for further research into the anthroponomastic evidence of dialect lexis at a local level. This is not just an issue for the names *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker* in particular, but for all names with apparently regionally specific equivalents.

5.6.2 *The Names Weaver, Webb, Webber and Webster*

It has been recognised in many previous works, both anthroponomastic and historical, that the profession of weaving has given rise to a number of different but apparently synonymous surnames. Aspin (1982: 4) mentions how ‘street and field names recall the old [wool] occupations, as do the surnames of many thousands of British people. Weaving has given us Weaver, Webster, Webber and Webb’. These four surnames had different national distributions, as described by McKinley (1990: 144),

Webb was found in the south of England, the south west, the south Midlands, and Essex with the adjoining part of Suffolk. Webster was originally the usual surname from the craft in the rest of East Anglia, the north of England, and Scotland. Webber and Weaver were both much rarer names, with only scattered examples of both.

The exact period he is referring to here is not clear, but his description of the distribution of these names is very similar to Reaney’s (1967: 356), who gives 13th- and 14th-century sources.

Studies of more recent periods have found similar patterns. Rogers (1995: 52) notes that ‘Webb and Webster appear to divide the whole country between them, whereas the far less common Weaver and Webber have a more limited regional concentration’. Barker *et al.* (2007: 257–264) also show this distribution, but none make comment on the significance of the distribution of the surname *Webster*, which requires further investigation. This agent noun suffix, *-ster*,

has been the subject of much debate among the experts, but the general conclusion has been that names such as Baxter, Brewster, Webster and so forth were originally the feminine forms of occupational terms’ (McKinley, 1990: 140).

Why a feminine form would persist as an hereditary surname in such great numbers and also have a clearly defined regional distribution is not clear. It is not plausible that weaving was mostly carried out by women in the north of England and men in the south, and so further work is required before names in *-ster* can be treated simply as regional variants of their masculine equivalents. Due to this uncertainty, the surname *Webster* has not been considered in this project, though the name does not occur in the c1600 Cotswold PR so this will not misrepresent the distribution and proportion of weaving names in the Cotswolds.

In the same way as for *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker*, the distribution of these weaving surnames could also be considered as being indicative of regional language use in medieval England. It would therefore be expected for *Webb* and *webbe* to be the most common surname and occupational description, with small numbers of *Weaver*, *Webber*, *weaver* and *webber*; in 1881, *Weaver* was concentrated in the south-west, especially Devon, and *Webber* in the West Midlands.

The evidence from the c1600 Cotswold PR is as expected, with 4 people named *Weaver* (0.034% of total sample), 89 named *Webb* (0.76%) and none named *Webber*. This is supported by the 1608 Gloucestershire muster roll data, which has 4 people named *Weaver* (0.067% of total names), 43 named *Webb* (0.72%) and no people named *Webber*. *Webb* is also the usual name in the 1381 Cotswold PT, occurring 35 times (0.69%), with no people named *Weaver* or *Webber*. However, much like the case of *Walker* and *tucker*, the usual occupational term is not *webbe*.

In the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls, out of the three options, only the word *weaver* is used as an occupational description. There are 433 people listed as *weaver* out

of a total of 1,854 people with a specific occupation alongside their name, showing the importance of the cloth industry to the Cotswolds at the time, but also that the usual local word for a weaver c1600 was not the same as the usual surname. Unlike the case of *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker*, however, the discrepancy in name distribution and occupational description seen in the 1608 muster rolls was not necessarily the same in the 14th century.

In the 1381 Cotswold PT, while *Webb* occurs 35 times and *Weaver* and *Webber* not at all, *webbe* is not used as an occupational term; instead Latin *textor* is the word used to refer to a weaver, where it is English *weaver* in 1608. The use of Latin means it is not possible to ascertain whether *webbe* was the usual English word at the time, but the fact that it does not occur as an occupational description is not proof that it was not part of the spoken Cotswold vocabulary. For example, *Smith* is a frequent name in the 1381 Cotswold PT, while the only equivalent occupational term used is Latin *fabro* or *faber*, but no one could reasonably suggest that this means the word *smith* was not used at the time. In Oxfordshire, McKinley (1977: 149) noted that

the Latin words *Textor*, *Testrix*, *Tixtor*, and *Telarius* occur at times, mostly in the 12th and 13th centuries, as surnames or bye-names, with the literal meaning of “weaver” [...] It is usually impossible to say what Middle English name is being translated by these term, but in Oxfordshire they are probably being used to translate Webb.

He bases this assumption on the frequency of the name *Webb* in the county, over the other synonymous but less frequent weaving names. Perhaps the same can be said of Latin *textor*, as an occupation, in the poll tax returns, making it most likely *webbe* was the usual word of the time.

It is clear that the word *webbe* was part of written English in 1381, with the *OED* (online, 2000–: “webbe, n.”) having examples of it from the early 12th to early 15th century, when it must have been used for the surname *Webb* to have been formed. Perhaps *webbe* had then become obsolete before 1608, along with *webber* which the *OED* (online, 2000–: “webber, n.”) has no quoted examples of past 1518, and *weaver* became the more common term, as it appears to be in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls.

As found in the previous section on *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker*, the conflicting use of synonyms as names and occupations within the Cotswolds poses a problem to the study of local dialect using surnames, but in a different way. It seems that the regional dialect word for a weaver had changed sometime between 1381 and 1608, probably from *webbe* to *weaver*. Given that *webbe* and *webber* had become obsolete in the 16th century, according to quotations in the *OED*, this was probably not specific to the Cotswolds, but the implications of this change are relevant to surname study in general.

It shows that the regional distributions of surnames at a single point in history are not always suitable as dialect evidence. There are localised complexities, like those identified in the Cotswolds, that cannot be explained with a map of national distribution, and which require further research before the relationship between name and local dialect can be fully understood.

5.6.3 /a/ and /o/ Before Nasals

As well as etymologically synonymous names saying something of the language of the Cotswolds, the phonology of the region c1600 might also be reflected in its

surnames, providing information on the dialect of the region at the time, and how this aspect of regional identity has given rise to certain surname forms. However, there are methodological difficulties in using data from this period for this purpose, and so these will be discussed first before any analysis.

The suitability of 14th-century written records for phonological analysis has been discussed previously (see 4.6), and many of the issues outlined there are relevant to this section too, but there is an additional concern when using surnames recorded in c1600. Ever increasing levels of spelling standardisation are sure to partly obscure the spoken regional dialect of the Cotswolds, and with this process having begun much earlier than c1600 it is unlikely that all of the name forms in the Cotswold PR are representative of the phonology of the time.

By the beginning of the 15th century, ‘professional scribes ... had already established a large measure of consistency in spelling’ (Scragg, 1974: 64), and after English became the language of official records in the 1430s (see Kibbee, 1991: 66), ‘a universal stabilised orthography, in essence that which has become established in English, was increasingly widely used’. This process was aided in the second half of the fifteenth century, when spelling ‘moved towards modernity from the beginning of printing in England’ (Howard-Hill, 2006: 17). By the mid-sixteenth century, ‘printers had not yet arrived at a consistent orthography but they had begun to influence the development of spellings towards the modern standard’ (Howard-Hill, 2006: 17).

While hereditary surname spelling is not necessarily directly comparable with that of the everyday English language, the increased standardisation might well have had an effect on the spelling of names too, with scribes favouring consistency over the

representation of regional phonology. Therefore, in c1600 Cotswold PR, it is unlikely that there is an abundance of phonologically relevant name data.

This is not to say that all names would have been spelt according to a standard spelling system at the time, just that they were tending towards a standard. Even after 1620, ‘by the middle of the seventeenth century ... printing-house practice had reached a high degree of uniformity in spelling’ (Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2006: 290), but not complete consistency, and so the same is likely to be true of parish clerks. Following the introduction of the English printing press, ‘occasional phonetic spellings continue to occur in a sporadic way in printed books for several centuries’ (Wyld, 1927: 153), and so it is reasonable to assume that a number would have occurred in the handwritten spellings of the c1600 PR. Barker *et al.* (2007: 18) give a much later date, stating that

in the early 18th century the spelling of English words belonging to the general vocabulary became standardized. This was not the case, however, with English family names whose spelling variation remained

presumably because the obscure etymology and original motivation of many hereditary surnames meant that standard forms could not be established. Therefore, while it is unlikely to be considerable, some phonological dialect evidence may be available in the surname forms of the c1600 Cotswold PR.

As a study of c1600 Cotswold phonology, an aspect of West Midland dialect, specifically the rounding of /a/ to /o/ before nasal consonants, has been selected for analysis. The existence of this dialect feature as far south as the Cotswolds has already been discussed (see 3.5 and 4.6.2), and its persistence in parts of the West Midlands up to the present day, as shown in linguistic atlases and dialect literature (see Orton,

Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978: Phonological Map 5; Upton and Widdowson, 1996: 4; Wright, 1905: §30, 25–26), makes it highly likely it was also a feature of the c1600 dialect. Whether or not it would have been represented in written records of the time is another matter, though it is apparent in some West Midland place-name forms.

For example, in the Worcestershire place-names ‘*Mamble* and *Ham Green* in Feckenham we get *om* as late as 1591 and 1656’ (Mawer and Stenton, 1927: xxvii), *Ham* and *Stone* in Gloucestershire has *-om-* forms up to 1597 (see Smith, 1964b: 223) and *Ham Hill* in the Gloucestershire parish of Charlton Kings is *Homme Hill* in 1606 (see Smith, 1964b: 98). It also occurs in early 16th-century Gloucestershire subsidy rolls, in names such as John *Fremon*, from Gloucester in 1524, and *Emothea Perymon* vidua, from Henbury in the same year (see Faraday, 2009: 65; 132), and in the accounts of a Bristol ship from 1480–1481 where reference is made to a ‘*schermon pleyte*’ (see Reddaway and Ruddock, 1969: 21). Considering that this dialect feature exists today and is represented continuously up to the early 17th century in written records, the c1600 Cotswold PR is considered suitable for an investigation of /o/ before nasal in the Cotswolds.

For reasons discussed in 4.6.2, only those names ending *-man* and *-mon*, where *-mon* is clearly a rounded form of *-man*, are studied in this investigation.¹⁸ In the c1600 Cotswold PR, the vast majority of such names end *-man*. Only 3 out of 287 end *-mon*, and two of these surnames cannot conclusively be said to exhibit West Midland

¹⁸ By c1600, it might have been that the vowel of both of these endings, when unstressed, had tended towards [ə]. Luick (1940: 768) says: ‘*nachtoniges a* hat wohl schon im Laufe des 16. Jahrh. eine gewisse Reduktion erfahren’ and ‘*ö* vor *n* ... ist in unbefangener Rede schon um 1500 zu [ə] reduziert’ (764). However, he also notes that there was variation in the following centuries, and so the phonology of *-man* and *-mon* may still have been distinguishable in c1600; the following analysis is carried out on this basis.

rounding. There are two bearers of the surname *Amon*, recorded in Cirencester in 1617 and 1620. The name has two likely relationship-based origins, either from the OFr given name *Amand*, *Amant* (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: “Amand”), or from the ME given name *Agemund*, itself from Old Scandinavian *Qgmundr*, *Aghmund* (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: “Ammon”). West Midland rounding is only present in the surname *Amon* if it has its origin in the OFr given name, and this is perhaps more likely in the Cotswolds than a name of Scandinavian origin, but without definite proof the two instances of the surname must be excluded from the analysis. Therefore, in the c1600 Cotswold PR there are 284 surnames ending *-man*, and only 1 ending *-mon* which appears to exhibit rounding of /a/ before nasal, being that of William *Ashmon*, baptised in Painswick in 1605.

The same dominance of /a/ before nasal in the Cotswolds at this time is seen in the names of the 1608 muster rolls, where 129 end *-man* and 4 end *-mon*. With some of these names in *-mon*, it is again not possible to be sure of their significance in the investigation as their etymologies are ambiguous and might not show rounding of /a/. The surname of William *Beamon*, recorded in Postlip, might be for a ‘bee man’ or ‘bee keeper’ (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: “Beeman”), but could have its origin in the Norman place-name Beaumont (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: “Beaumont”); if the latter is the true, the final vowel has not undergone the West Midland dialect change. The surnames of James *Armon* (Cirencester) and Robert *Marmon* (Rodborough) are also problematic. *Armon* could be a form of the ME given name *Herman*, in which case rounding has occurred, or it could be from a ME form of the Continental Germanic given name *Heremund* (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: “Harman”), and therefore there has been no dialect influence on the final vowel. *Marmon* could be a reduced and

rounded variant of the name *Marriman*, but might also be a form of the surname *Marmion* (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: “Marmon”). The only name in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls which can be confidently identified as having /a/ rounded before nasal to /o/, giving the ending *-mon*, is that of Edward *Kynmon* from Long Marston; the name appears to be from OE *cȳna* ‘cow’ and *mann* ‘man’, possibly for a herdsman (see Hanks *et al.*, forthcoming: “Kinman”).

It is clear that the characteristic West Midland rounding of /a/ to /o/ before nasals was not at all common in the recorded surnames of the Cotswolds between 1580 and 1620. This was not necessarily the case in speech, especially considering that Upton and Widdowson’s (1996: 4) present day isogloss for /o/ in the word “hand” covers part of the north Cotswolds. Perhaps increasing levels of written standardisation caused *-man* to be the usual recorded form, and rare names in *-mon* are the ‘occasional phonetic spellings’ mentioned by Wyld (1927: 153), representing the spoken dialect of the region, though this is speculative. All that can be conclusively stated is that /a/ before nasal consonants was common in the written forms of the names of the Cotswolds around the year 1600.

5.7 Chapter Conclusion

As was the case in chapter 4, the intention of this chapter has been to provide a name survey of the Cotswolds. This has meant investigating the kinds of naming patterns that have been studied in other works on English anthroponymy, allowing for an analysis of migration, dialect, name distribution, stability and heredity. This has been achieved by using the regional identity of the Cotswolds, in particular its economic,

social and linguistic history, to inform parts of the analysis, and to allow for suitable conclusions on name distribution to be drawn.

Together with chapter 4, this chapter provides a more complete picture of Cotswold name history than has been presented previously, showing how certain names and naming patterns may have become or had once been particularly frequent in the Cotswolds. In doing so, this project has made a useful contribution to the field of name study, and shown the benefits of analysing the names from a region with its own distinct identity. Further to this, the intention has been to analyse similar aspects of name history in chapter 4 and chapter 5, with the aim of highlighting the dynamic nature of name development, even at a time when many would have been hereditary, through the clear changes in Cotswold names between the two periods. Such discrepancies may have been apparent in the project up to this point, some of which have been mentioned briefly without any in-depth discussion.

A detailed comparison of the names of the two periods will now be carried out, in an attempt to explicitly identify change and continuity in the names of the Cotswolds, and its importance to our understanding of name history in England as a whole.

CHAPTER 6

Change in the By-Names and Surnames of the Cotswolds, 1381 to c1600

A Comparison of Findings from the 1381 Cotswold PT and the c1600 Cotswold PR

6.1 By-Name and Surname Change

It is clear from much previous research that there has been a great deal of change in the names of England, in a number of ways, since by-names were first used. At the present day, most surnames are well fixed, and while there is no legal barrier to adopting a new name, provided it is not for fraudulent purposes, (see Citizens Advice, 2013), the majority of people either retain their inherited surname throughout their life, or only change it following marriage. Spelling change, regardless of its cause, is also very rare. However, the surname characteristics of the present make up only a small proportion of the entire history of English by-names and surnames. ‘There is abundant proof that, even among the landed classes, surnames were far from stable in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries’ (Reaney, 1967: 304), and this instability clearly continued, to some extent, over the following centuries, with Redmonds (1997: 96) showing that ‘nicknames and “by-names” continued to replace or modify established surnames into the nineteenth century at least’.

While the instability of by-names and surnames has been widely identified, no study has sought to establish how it has changed English name patterns in a general sense, but has tended to look at single instances of name change in a number of individuals. It is to the general issue that this project will now turn, comparing the

names and their distribution from the 1381 Cotswold PT, with those from the c1600 Cotswold PR. Through this comparison, it will be possible to identify the extent to which the surnames of the Cotswolds changed over a period of roughly 200 years, and how these findings are relevant to our understanding of by-name and surname history in the country as a whole.

6.2 Diachronic Comparison of Names and Methodological Considerations

The names from the two periods studied in this project are not directly comparable, in terms of their significance to the bearer. A number of the names from 1381 appear to have been descriptive by-names, where a much greater proportion were hereditary by c1600. However, this shift in semanticity was surely a fundamental factor in name change, and so this is not considered to be a methodological limitation. It is something that must be borne in mind during comparison of names from different periods, as it is likely to have influenced name change as some by-names died out to make way for more appropriate hereditary surnames (see 5.5.2, where the low frequency of the name *Shepherd* in c1600 is discussed).

Further assessment of name changes in the Cotswolds will be made according to the known history of the region that has informed investigation in the project so far. As similar methodologies have been employed in chapters 4 and 5, using Cotswold history to guide the analysis, the findings in the separate chapters can be compared in order to identify how change in regional identity has influenced by-name and surname development.

It was explained in 5.2 that the most appropriate approach for diachronic comparison was to extract names from the available IGI parishes which correspond to the 1381 poll tax villis. It was also mentioned in 5.2.2 that the c1600 Cotswold PR data does not exactly correspond to the villis available in the 1381 data, due to the unavailability of certain parishes in the IGI baptismal registers. Methodologically, this poses a problem as it means that the comparison of regional name distribution for both periods does not use data from exactly the same settlements of the Cotswolds, but for the kind of analysis carried out in this project, the impact of this is minimal. For comparison of general name type proportions and frequencies of individual names in the Cotswolds as a whole, the small number of missing parishes is unlikely to skew the patterns represented by a sample of almost 12,000 names in any major way.

It is because of the occasional missing parishes in the IGI that direct comparison of names from individual villis and their corresponding parish has not been made, with localised analysis focussing instead on particular sub-regions of the Cotswolds and the names found within given areas. This approach makes it unlikely that any false patterns of surname distribution have been created due to a lack of relevant data. However, it is still an important methodological issue, potentially exaggerating a small number of apparent differences in surname patterns, and so must be considered when the investigation of names is limited to a particularly small area of the Cotswolds.

The effect of this data discrepancy on the comparison of the by-names and surnames of the Cotswolds as a whole is small and probably insignificant, due to the large sample sizes. It is, therefore, possible to have confidence in the differences which are apparent from a comparison of the most frequent Cotswold names from both periods, a matter to which this thesis will now turn.

6.3 Changes in the Frequency and Distribution of Individual Cotswold Names

The most frequent Cotswold names for both periods, including their variants, along with their Banwell ratios, have been calculated in the previous chapters (see 4.5.5 and 5.5.1). Comparison of these can show the extent to which there has been a change in the names that were most common to the Cotswolds, and in order to do this, the calculations for 1381 and c1600 are presented together in figure 6.1. The percentage of each name, in terms of the total number of names in the data sample from which they were taken, has also been included, so that meaningful comparison of name frequency can be made between the two periods, even though both sets of data are of different sizes.

Before studying the shifts in frequency of individual names between the two periods, there is interest in the more general pattern of name proportion which suggests there were considerable differences between the Cotswold name stocks of 1381 and c1600. In 1381, 6 names occurred at a frequency of more than 1%, where there were only 2 such names in the c1600 Cotswold PR. A greater number of different names above this percentage threshold suggests that there may be a smaller number in total. To clarify this point, consider two separate samples of names, one with 100 individual and etymologically distinct names and the other with 110. Each name in the sample of 100 makes up 1% of the total, where each name in the sample of 110 makes up 0.91%; the higher percentage points to a smaller total. This is a crude example, but it does seem to be the case for the Cotswold data, where there are 1,936 different names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, and 2,133 in the c1600 Cotswold PR.

1381			
NAME	FREQ.	% OF TOTAL	BANWELL
<i>Shepherd</i>	169	3.35%	3.47
<i>Taylour</i>	89	1.77%	1.29
<i>Carter</i>	76	1.51%	2.12
<i>Smyth</i>	63	1.25%	0.83
<i>Mulleward</i>	60	1.19%	4.25
<i>Dryver</i>	53	1.05%	12.34
<i>Clerk</i>	47	0.93%	1.67
<i>Holdare</i>	47	0.93%	17.97
<i>Deye</i>	45	0.89%	3.43
<i>Tasker</i>	41	0.81%	14.42
<i>Webb</i>	37	0.73%	1.96
<i>Heyward</i>	29	0.58%	2.36
<i>Bayli</i>	27	0.54%	2.92
<i>Carpunter</i>	27	0.54%	2.89

1580-1620			
NAME	FREQ.	% OF TOTAL	BANWELL
<i>Smith</i>	166	1.42%	1.04
<i>Freeman</i>	118	1.01%	11.32
<i>Davis</i>	110	0.94%	2.8
<i>Cooke</i>	106	0.91%	2.34
<i>Taylor</i>	102	0.87%	1.43
<i>Webb</i>	89	0.76%	5.02
<i>Clark</i>	80	0.68%	1.23
<i>Stevens</i>	78	0.67%	2.23
<i>Kinge</i>	77	0.66%	2.64
<i>Osborne</i>	77	0.66%	7.78
<i>White</i>	74	0.63%	2.29
<i>Harris</i>	63	0.54%	1.1
<i>Gardiner</i>	58	0.50%	4.6
<i>Greene</i>	58	0.50%	1.31

Fig. 6.1 — Tables of frequencies and Banwell numbers for names in the 1381 Cotswold PT and the c1600 Cotswold PR.

The tables include only those names which occur at a frequency of 0.5% or higher.

Clearly, there has been an increase in the number of different names between the two periods. This could be due to increasing levels of migration diversifying the name stock (see 6.6), a number of new names being coined after 1381 including any variants which became etymologically obscure (see 5.4.3), or a combination of the two. Such change is not specific to total numbers, but also to the frequency of individual names. For example, in the 1381 data 64.45% of all the names have a frequency of one, where in c1600 only 44.77% of the names occur once. Looking at this difference another way, 91.53% of names in the 1381 poll tax returns are borne by 5 people or less, where the same percentage for c1600 is 75.76%.

This shows that, between the two periods, there was a reduction in the number of names borne by only a very small number of people. One possible explanation for this is name death, which could occur through the death of a person or a non-paternity event. Sturges and Haggett (1987: 29) estimate that, since 1350, of all names that existed in England, ‘about a third survive’ today, which is a considerable reduction. This is sure to have had a greater effect on those names which occurred infrequently, as a lower level of name death would be required in order to eradicate the name completely from a given name stock. Of course, it is also possible that some of these low frequency names became more common as males in any given family reproduced. Increasing population in the Cotswolds might also have contributed to an increase in frequency of individual names.¹⁹ It seems reasonable to assume that a combination of

¹⁹ While no figures exist for the Cotswolds, for the county of Gloucestershire as a whole there was an estimated population of 81,923 in 1377, and 101,256 in 1600 (see Broadberry, Campbell and van Leeuwen, 2010: 25, Table 8B). With an increasing population and a decreasing tendency for new by-names and surnames to be formed, it might have been that a number of names increased in frequency, although in-migration might have introduced new low-frequency names.

these would have contributed to the reduction in low frequency names seen in the Cotswolds between 1381 and c1600.

However, while both name death and reproduction explain the decrease in low frequency names, they seem to contradict the apparent rise in the total number of different names between the two periods. Within a closed system of surname heredity, reproduction alone would cause the diversity of the name stock to remain constant, and that is disregarding marriage which would cause a reduction. Name death could only further such a reduction, and so the increased diversity seen in the Cotswolds is surprising. There could have been a net increase in the amount of immigration to the Cotswolds, causing the region's name stock to have become more diverse through the introduction of names previously unknown in the region. This cannot be measured, as information on emigration from the Cotswolds is not easy to find, but no other likely reason can be suggested.

As well as general name patterns, there was much change in the frequency of individual names in the Cotswolds between 1381 and c1600, as can be seen in figure 6.1 where only 4 names occur in both tables, and even they have not remained in the same proportion. These are *Clark*, *Smith*, *Taylor* and *Webb*; the different spellings in the two tables represent the most common form of that name in the relevant data sample. The kinds of factors that may have been responsible for these changes in name frequency can be identified by focusing on individual names.

Perhaps the most noticeable difference is the absence of the name *Shepherd* in the 1580–1620 table, where it was the most frequent in 1381 by quite some way. Having made up 3.35% of all names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, and then only 0.1% of names in the c1600 Cotswold PR, it is clear that there was a considerable reduction in

the number of Cotswold inhabitants named *Shepherd*. The Banwell numbers for both periods suggest that this is not just a reflection of a national pattern of decline, with the value of 3.47 in 1381 showing it was proportionately common in the Cotswolds at the time, and a 1580–1620 *Shepherd* Banwell number of 0.76 suggesting it had become relatively rare in the region when compared with an artificially even distribution throughout England.

However, considering the drop in frequency of the name *Shepherd* in the Cotswolds, its Banwell number for c1600 is still surprisingly high. With the frequency of the name decreasing roughly by a factor of 34, the Banwell number should be reduced by a similar factor if the proportion of people named *Shepherd* in the rest of country remained constant throughout this period. This would cause the c1600 Cotswold PR Banwell number for *Shepherd* to be approximately 0.1. As the actual number is 0.76, it can be deduced that there was also a reduction in the relative frequency of the name in the country as a whole between the two periods. This reduction was not equally severe as that in the Cotswolds alone, otherwise the Banwell number would have remained constant, but it does suggest that the name *Shepherd* became less common in England between 1381 and c1600.

As mentioned separately in 4.5.3 and 5.5.2, the frequency of the name *Shepherd* in the Cotswolds in 1381 was likely due to the importance of the raw wool trade to the region, with its relative rarity by c1600 probably because its earlier frequency made it unsuitable as a distinctive hereditary surname. This may also explain the decline of the name in the country as a whole, as the raw wool trade was ‘*the backbone and driving force in the English medieval economy*’, with ‘*the greatest activity*’ having taken place ‘*fifty years either side of the turn of the fourteenth century*’ (Bell, Brooks and

Dryburgh, 2007: 1), a time when non-hereditary by-naming was still common. The particular importance of the wool trade in the Cotswolds might be why this decline of the name *Shepherd* was more regionally pronounced.

The decline of the Cotswold raw wool trade in the 15th century, and the increase in cloth production, may also have had some effect. Shepherds would still have been required for providing wool to cloth manufacturers, but they may have become less important to the region as the industry shifted, causing numbers of the by-name *Shepherd* to decrease, and perhaps causing a reduction in numbers of the surname *Shepherd* too, if regional identity had an effect on surname use. As already mentioned (see 5.5.2), in the Tudor period Cotswold cloth manufacturers began to use a greater amount of wool produced outside of the region, with that from the downs in western Wiltshire being ‘better than the Cotswold [wool] for making the heavily fulled broadcloths’ (Ponting, 1971: 27). However, at a time of established hereditary surnaming around the year 1600, names were very unlikely to have had descriptive significance for their bearer. Any change in name frequency cannot, therefore, be directly attributed to economic change after the end of the 14th century, by which time many names would have been fixed. It is possible that the etymological and lexical transparency of occupational names such as *Shepherd* may have caused them to operate in a similar way to medieval by-names in a small number of cases, and so part of the name’s decline may be due to the decreased importance of the raw wool trade. However, the theory that its earlier frequency as a by-name made it unsuitable as a distinctive hereditary surname seems more likely.

A further pattern of name frequency change between the two periods involves those names with the highest Banwell numbers. Excluding *Webb*, all names with a

Banwell number higher than 2 appear in only one of the two tables presented in figure 6.1; however, it is not necessarily the case that any name with a Banwell number less than 2 appears in both (see *Harris* and *Greene* in the 1580–1620 table). This shows that names which were particularly common in the Cotswolds, in comparison with other parts of the country, were more susceptible to frequency changes than those names which were still frequent in the Cotswolds, but not considerably more so than in the rest of England. The name *Holder*, for example, having made up 0.93% of the names in the 1381 Cotswold PT, made up 0.22% of the c1600 Cotswold PR, and its Banwell number decreased from 17.97 to 4.04. In the other direction, *Freeman* only made up 0.42% of names in the 1381 data, but increased to 1.01% by c1600; its Banwell numbers were 3.93 and 11.32 respectively.

The reasons behind this change are not clear. The explanation for the c1600 frequency of the name *Freeman*, given in the previous chapter (see 5.5.1.1), that a high number of Domesday serfs in the region may have meant *Freeman* became a distinctive surname and so persisted in the Cotswolds, might also be why there were fewer people named *Freeman* in 1381, as there were not many people who could be accurately described as freemen. However, no reasonable explanation for the frequency changes in the name *Holder* can be suggested.

What is perhaps most important for an understanding of surname development is the greater fluctuation in those names that were, at one time or another, more heavily distributed in the Cotswolds than they would have been if spread evenly throughout England. This suggests that the names most common to a particular English region at any given time were not necessarily common prior to that period and might not have remained common afterwards. Therefore, the use of synchronous records to show that

certain names were or are particularly common to a certain area would not be appropriate. In the Cotswold data, the greater fluctuation in frequency of names which once had a very high Banwell number raises the possibility that people may have responded to a perception of a name as over-common by adopting or bestowing a different name instead. In other words, if a name was particularly common to a specific region in relation to the rest of the country at a certain point in time, this might mean that it would have become much less frequent in that region in the following centuries.

The opposite is true of those names which were similarly frequent in the Cotswolds but conformed to a more even national distribution, showing a greater level of stability. In figure 6.1, the four names in the 1381 table with a Banwell number closest to 1, representing an even distribution, are *Clerk*, *Smith*, *Taylor* and *Webb*; these are the only names to also appear at a frequency of more than 0.5% in the c1600 Cotswold PR. It seems, then, that names were most likely to maintain a high frequency in a distinct region if they were also similarly frequent throughout most of the country. By c1600, the names *Clerk*, *Smith* and *Taylor* maintain a Banwell number close to 1, emphasising how an even distribution could contribute to a name's stability. However, *Webb* became unevenly common by this period, with its Banwell number increasing to 5.02, suggesting that certain conditions could alter this stability.

Webb appears to have been a frequent name in the Cotswolds from 1381 to c1600, and it is not difficult to imagine why given the wool trading history of the region. As the name is etymologically related to cloth production in particular, its increased Banwell number between the two periods is perhaps a reflection of changes in textile production nationally. In the fifteenth century,

textile production expanded in districts such as the Stour Valley of Suffolk, the West Riding of Yorkshire, the Cotswolds and around Exeter. But this was at the expense of older cloth-making towns such as York, Coventry and Norwich, and of other parts of the countryside (Lee, 2001: 127).

It would therefore be expected for the proportion of weavers in the Cotswolds to have increased relative to the rest of the country, and the increased Banwell number suggests that the name *Webb* also followed this pattern. The comparative stability of the names *Clark*, *Smith* and *Taylor* might then reflect the non-regional nature of their corresponding trades, with clerks, smith and tailors required in all parts of the country.

It is, of course, questionable as to whether changes in regional economy can be connected with changes in related occupational surnames, as their inheritability means that they cannot necessarily be directly associated with the trade they originally described. However, the case of the name *Webb* between 1381 and c1600 does support the idea that, even when names were mostly hereditary, national changes in economic focus could have an effect on related surnames in certain circumstances, as discussed in 5.5.2.

6.4 Changes in the Heredity and Stability of the Names of the Cotswolds

Much previous research into the development of hereditary surnames suggests that the names of the Cotswolds would have been hereditary, for most bearers, in both periods studied in this project. This is certainly true of the names from c1600 (see 5.4.1), but is not necessarily the case for the names of the 1381 Cotswold PT (see 4.3).

By studying the occupational names which also have an occupation recorded alongside

them, it was possible to provide a maximum estimate for the level of heredity in the Cotswolds in 1381 and c1600. This was done by assuming that synonymous name and occupation was an indication that the bearer's name described their job, and was therefore not hereditary. In the 1381 Cotswold PT and the corresponding 1608 muster rolls, the proportion of people with a synonymous name and occupation, relative to all people with an occupation listed alongside an occupational name (the reasons for this methodology are outlined in 4.3), are 67.65% and 3.61% respectively.

This change strongly suggests that levels of name heredity in the Cotswolds were very different in 1381 and c1600, even though most previous research, excepting Redmonds (1997), states that the majority of surnames were and remained hereditary from about 1350. The Cotswold evidence raises the possibility that the majority of the region's names were, in fact, not hereditary in 1381, and were therefore not hereditary in 1350, with hereditary surnames becoming the norm sometime between 1381 and c1600. If the heredity of occupational names can be considered as representative of all name types, which is questionable, then it can be said that a maximum of 67.65% of the Cotswold population had non-hereditary by-names in 1381, with a much lower maximum of 3.61% by c1600. Whether or not this change is relevant to the entire population, the difference contradicts previous research, and so merits further investigation.

While the increased use of hereditary surnames in the Cotswolds is a likely explanation for this difference, there are other possibilities. It was suggested that a relationship between name and occupation might not always be indicative of a non-hereditary by-name (see 4.3). If an occupation was passed down from father to son over a number of generations, and that same occupation originally gave rise to the

family's hereditary surname, then it would be possible for the bearer of an hereditary surname to also have a synonymous occupation.

As the extent to which occupations were inherited at precise points in England's history is not firmly established for all regions, the relevance of this to surname heritability is not easy to establish, though research into social mobility can be of help. Stone (1966: 20–21), after estimating that 95% of England's population lived in rural areas in 1500, and 85% in 1700, states that

in a society in which 90% of the population are manual workers on the land, even if every other job and office is filled by one of their sons, still only 11% can expect to change occupations.

This would suggest that about 89% of rural Cotswold inhabitants in c1600 inherited their occupation from their father. A similar study for the 14th century has not been found, though it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the proportion of the population living in rural areas and working on the land would have been slightly higher than it was in 1500, given the decreasing trend towards the year 1700.

This raises the possibility that the high proportion of synonymous names and occupations in the 1381 Cotswold PT might be due to the inheritance of both occupation and surname, and so is not necessarily anything to do with non-hereditary by-naming. If Stone (1966) is correct, then close to 90% of people in rural parts of the Cotswolds would have inherited their father's occupation at this time. The estimate of 67.65% people with a synonymous name and occupation in 1381 is lower, but there are plausible explanations for this. It could be as a result of there having been fewer inherited occupations in the urban areas of the Cotswolds, with instances of synonymous names and occupations proportionately higher in rural parts, as discussed

in 4.3. It could also have been due to a greater proportion of occupational inheritance amongst agricultural labourers, who are not included in the investigation of the Cotswold data. This is because the description of these people in the PT as *cultores terrarum* or equivalent is too vague for any connection with their names to be made. A further possibility is that some people possessed more than one surname, as alias names in the c1600 data suggest (see 5.4.2), and so an occupation might have been inherited while an occupational name was dropped for a non-occupational alternative. Therefore, from analysis of the 1381 data alone, it seems possible that the estimated 67.65% of people with synonymous names and occupations might represent the proportion of the population who inherited an occupation and a surname from their father, rather than those who were known by a descriptive by-name. However, this conclusion does not make sense following diachronic comparison.

If the proportion of synonymous names and occupations reflects the number of people who had an inherited family trade and surname in 1608, then it might be expected for this figure to be around 89%, according to Stone's (1966: 20–21) observation, that 'only 11% can expect to change occupation'. The proportion of 3.61% of people with a synonymous name and occupation in the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls is far from this figure, and so it is unlikely to be the case. Of course, if 89% of each generation retained their family occupation and synonymous hereditary surname in medieval England, then the proportion of the population with synonymous names and occupations would have been considerably lower than 89% by 1608. If 89% of each generation of a population retained their family occupation over 8 generations (roughly 200 years), this would effectively mean that approximately 40% of the population

retained a family occupation over that period.²⁰ This is a not an exact calculation, as it assumes that the same families were inheriting their occupations with each generation and that the regional population remained constant, which are both improbable. Even so, this 40% is still much higher than the 3.61% of the 1608 muster rolls and therefore the suggestion that a link between name and occupation denoted inheritance of occupation and surname, in most cases, is very unlikely.

Therefore, the percentage of 67.65% in 1381 is most likely to represent the number of people with non-hereditary by-names at the time, where the 3.61% for 1608 shows a drop in their use, and the almost complete establishment of hereditary surnames. The figure for 1381 may be slightly exaggerated by a number of people who had both an hereditary surname and inherited occupation at the time, but is still surprisingly high given that previous research has suggested that ‘more than half the population had surnames by about 1350’ (McKinley, 1990: 31). It appears that the majority of Cotswold inhabitants may still have borne by-names in 1381, with hereditary surnames then becoming more common some time before c1600.

This is supported by the change in frequency of the name *Shepherd* in the region. The explanation for its sharp decline between 1381 and c1600 was made assuming that it was not hereditary in 1381, but occurred so frequently that, by the time hereditary surnames became more fully established in the Cotswolds, it was not suitably distinctive, leading to a low proportion of the surname by c1600 (see **6.3**). The fluctuations in the frequency of other names between these two periods, also noted in

²⁰ To clarify this calculation, let us assume a population of 100 people. If 89% of this population retained a family occupation over 8 generations, this would mean that 0.89^8 of the 100 people still practised that family occupation at the end of the period. $100 \times 0.89^8 = 39.37$, meaning 39.37% of the 100 people retained a family occupation.

6.3, could be further evidence that many names were non-hereditary in 1381, with those which were particularly common to the Cotswolds at the time becoming less frequent by c1600. This is impossible to prove, but even if heredity is disregarded as a possible cause, these frequency changes point to instability in the regional name stock.

A further indication of this instability is the change in number of variant name forms. It was suggested in 5.4.3 that the number of variants would increase with time, and this appears to be the case in the Cotswold data. To use a simple example, the name whose modern form is usually *Smith* appears 62 times in the form *Smyth* in the 1381 poll tax returns, and once as *Smith*. In the c1600 Cotswold PR, the following forms occur: *Smith* (77 times), *Smithe* (48), *Smyth* (28), *Smythe* (12) and one presumably erroneous form, *Smthe*. These different forms are all a result of scribal preference or incompetence, and not an indication of a changing pronunciation of the name. It is also of interest that the dominant form has changed, perhaps as a result of increasing standardisation in the written language or the selection of a perceived standard form.

The intention here is to emphasise that the written form of names could change, and that ‘some surnames, certainly not all, develop large numbers of variants in the course of their history’ (Redmonds, 1997: 121), which is sure to complicate genealogical investigation. While an identification of the variant forms of the name *Smith* is fairly straightforward, it might not be quite so simple for a more unfamiliar or etymologically obscure name. Of course, this development of variants is not specific to Cotswold names, but raises a point that is of importance to the field in general, that names could be represented by an increasing number of alternative forms. Other examples include the name *Baldwin*, which occurs in the two forms *Baldewyn* and *Baldewyne* in 1381, but in c1600 has the forms *Balden* (see the case of Arthur *Baldwyn*

alias Balden mentioned in 5.3.3), *Baldwin*, *Baldwine*, *Baldwinne*, *Baldwyn*, *Bauldwyn* and *Bawlden*. The name *Webb* also shows an increased number of variant forms, with the spellings *Webb* and *Webbe* in 1381, and the c1600 variants of *Web*, *Webb*, *Webbe* and *Webe*.

Finally, one particular marker of instability in naming is the alias, as mentioned in 5.4.2. Again, aliases were not specific to the Cotswolds by any means, and have been studied previously, most notably by Redmonds (1997; 2004), but no mention has been made of their relative scarcity in pre-15th-century sources. It is clear that a person could be known by more than one name before this period, but this was often expressed in a way that suggests they were a means of accurate identification for official purposes, acting as descriptions but with the potential to become by-names, such as in ‘Thomas le Walche, de Selby, girdeler (1329)’ (Reaney and Wilson, 1997: xiii). Surely such a combination is different to a later example like that of ‘Thomas Dickson alias Dickinson’ (Redmonds, 1997: 115) from WRY in 1739, which existed at a time when surname heredity was well established.

The use of *alias*, *or*, *otherwise*, or any other conjunction, as a way of expressing that a person was known by more than one name, is very rare before the 15th century, and most common in 16th- and 17th-century records. Perhaps, then, there is a distinction to be made between the multiple non-hereditary medieval by-names which were used for identification and clarity, and later names which made use of a conjunction. From a comparison of the 1381 Cotswold PT and the 1608 muster rolls, it does indeed appear that the two were distinct, with only one of these types of alternative name occurring in either period.

The previous chapter drew attention to alias names in the c1600 Cotswold PR and the 1608 Gloucestershire muster rolls (see 5.4.2), but no mention was made of them in the analysis of the 1381 Cotswold PT because no such names occur. The only entry in the poll tax returns which suggests the use of any kind of alternative name is that for Ricardo *Yaneworth Enekot*, from Cirencester. The origin of *Yaneworth* is clear, being a locative name from Yanworth in the Cotswolds, but *Enekot* is problematic. The ending *-kot* suggests a locative origin, if it is a form of OE *cot*, *cote* ‘cottage’, but no corresponding place-name can be found. It could be that *-kot* is a scribal error for *-koc*, a diminutive suffix, and therefore *Enekot* derives from a given-name, but the origin of *Ene-* is unclear.

As a result of this uncertainty, the reason for the appearance of *Enekot*, as an apparently alternative name to *Yaneworth*, is not obvious. However, the absence of the word *alias*, or an equivalent term, separating *Yaneworth* and *Enekot* suggests that their use was different to the alias names of the c1600 Cotswold PR. Perhaps *Yaneworth Enekot* was a combination of by-names written by a scribe for purposes of accurate future identification, as in earlier examples such as this description from a 12th-century Danelaw charter: ‘Gaufridus filius Bertranni (de Snelleslund), del Lund, de Lund, filius Bertrammi de Lund’ (Reaney and Wilson, 1997: xii); it is implausible that this was how the person referred to himself. While the etymological or motivational origin of *Enekot* is unclear today, it may have been apparent to the scribe.

The alias names of the Cotswolds in c1600 are different, and show signs of being established alternative hereditary surnames by which an entire family could be known. For example, it is implausible that Richard and Henry *Eyles al[ia]s Slaymaker*, of South Cerney, in the 1608 muster rolls, were assigned their names independently of

each other by a scribe, and so are likely to have been related bearers of the same hereditary surname(s). The possibility of this name being down to scribal choice is increasingly unlikely, given that the names *Eyles* and *Slaymaker* existed in the Cotswolds on their own, and so their combined use in an alias may point to marriage between two families.

Without context, the intention behind the use of alternative names cannot be conclusively determined. However, the data suggests that in 1381 scribes occasionally used alternative names so that certain people could be accurately identified, where they did not do so in c1600, when alias names appear to have been hereditary within family groups. While this has been found from an investigation of alias names, the principle can perhaps be extended to all names, as it is relevant to scribal practice in general. Therefore, it could be deduced that there was a major change in naming practices between the two periods in the Cotswolds, supported by the finding that non-hereditary by-names were most common in 1381 while hereditary surnames were the norm in c1600, and further reinforced by the frequency changes identified in **6.3**.

6.5 Changes in the Distribution of the Names of the Cotswolds

A further indication of change can be seen in the different proportion of names classified under each type for both periods. These figures have been discussed separately in **4.5.2** and **5.5.1**, but are presented together in figure 6.2 for comparison. The biggest change between the periods is in the number of occupational names, with their proportional representation in the Cotswolds decreasing by 11.07%. McKinley

TYPE	1381 (%)	1580–1620 (%)
Location	20.14	22.06
Multiple possibilities	18.08	25.55
Nickname	5.87	6.31
Occupation	28.32	17.25
Relationship	21.23	25.47
Uncertain	6.35	3.36

Fig. 6.2 — Table of name type proportions from the 1381 Cotswold PT and the c1600 Cotswold PR.

(1990: 23) found the opposite pattern in his analysis of Gloucestershire names from 1327 and 1608 (see **Appendix 1**), and while this might be due to different name patterns in the Cotswolds when compared with Gloucestershire as a whole, no conclusions can be drawn from such a comparison. As has been mentioned previously (see **2.6.1**), different methods of classification result in different calculations of name type proportion and so comparison of findings made by different researchers is not appropriate.

There are a number of possible explanations for the drop in occupational names. As mentioned in **5.4.3**, increasing variation in name forms could lead to greater ambiguity in the origin of names at the time, so it could be that some names which were clearly occupational in origin in 1381 have been classified as having multiple possible origins when occurring in the c1600 data. However, occupational names tend to be some of the more motivationally and etymologically transparent, especially when compared with relationship names and nicknames. Furthermore, when occupational

names derive from agent nouns they are relatively simple to identify, and so increased ambiguity is unlikely to be the whole reason for their decline.

It may be that the occupational names have apparently fallen in numbers due to an increase in the proportion of another type. If there was an actual increase in the use of relationship names in the region, for example, then there may have been a relative decrease in the proportion of all other names, with no real change in their use in the Cotswolds between the two periods. However, this is also unlikely to be the only reason, given that the occupational names category shows the most change. Therefore, there was probably a real reduction in the number of occupational names in the region, as is also suggested by the change in the most frequent individual names in the Cotswolds (see figure 6.1). In 1381, 12 out of the 14 most frequent names were occupational in origin, and the other two might have been too, but had multiple possible origins. In the c1600 data, only 6 out of the 14 most frequent were occupational.

It is possible that the fall in the number of occupational names between 1381 and c1600 is due to the different levels of heredity in either period. McKinley (1977: 121) points out that many names from occupations ‘have not survived to the present day, and some never became hereditary at all’. He also explains that some occupational names ‘were of such a long and cumbersome character that it is difficult to suppose that they were ever generally used in everyday speech’, and so were presumably more likely to fall out of use than other names were, when heredity became increasingly established. The Oxfordshire names that McKinley cites to support this point are *Matrassemaker*, *Patenmaker* and *Wastelmongere*.

Similarly, apparently descriptive by-names such as *Cardmacar*, *Mosterdmakere*, *Synemaker*, *Scolmaister* and *Flexmongar* are recorded in the 1381 Cotswold PT but do

not survive in the c1600 Cotswold PR. The name *Slaymaker* is recorded in the 1608 muster rolls, independently of its common alias *Eyles* (see 6.4), and seems to be first used as a surname in the 16th century (see McKinley, 1977: 146), but no other occupational names in *-maker*, *-master* or *-monger* appear in the Cotswolds at this time.

The disappearance of these ‘cumbersome’ names from the Cotswolds sometime between 1381 and c1600 strongly suggests that they were non-hereditary in the late 14th century. It is possible that they died out even though they were hereditary, with their rarity meaning that the death of only a very small number of bearers would remove the name from the regional stock. However, considering the decrease in number of people with a synonymous name and occupation between the two periods, suggesting many names were not hereditary in the Cotswolds in 1381, it is more likely that these particular occupational names were non-hereditary.

The large drop in proportion of occupational names in the Cotswolds might then have been because many of them were non-hereditary in 1381 and so fell out of use when different hereditary surnames were adopted or bestowed. Of course, this decline is not necessarily a result of names dying out completely, but could also be due to names decreasing in numbers, just as *Shepherd* has been shown to have done (6.3). As shown in figure 6.2, occupational names made up the greatest proportion of all name types in the Cotswolds in 1381, and this would also have contributed to their decline. Being so common at a time of non-heredity, many would then have been unsuitable as distinctive hereditary surnames in the following years, and so would have decreased in numbers.

After occupational names, the greatest percentage change is the 7.47% increase in those categorised as having multiple possible origins. This supports the theory presented in 5.4.3, that before spelling became standardised, as time progressed from a

name's first use, a greater number of variants of a name would have been formed. Some of these forms would have become etymologically ambiguous on their own, leading to a greater number of names classified as having multiple possible origins. However, it was also suggested that the same effect would be seen in a category for names of uncertain origin, but figure 6.2 shows that the proportion of names of this type decreased by 2.99% in the Cotswolds between 1381 and c1600.

This theory could still be justifiably defended if the percentage of "uncertain" names remained constant, but the reduction greatly strengthens the argument against it. Proportionately fewer numbers of names of uncertain origin cannot be easily explained, though it is a possibility that any names which people presumed to be lexically transparent were more likely to survive, as they were more easily remembered and referred to by the local community. If, on the other hand, a scribe was presented with a by-name which included unfamiliar vocabulary, they might be inclined to use a more transparent name in the record, causing the unfamiliar by-name to die out. It might then be that an increased number of variants have indeed led to a greater number of names being classified as having multiple possible origins, but not led to an increased percentage of "uncertain" names as many of them fell out of use. So, the suggestion as to why the proportion of names with multiple possible origins increased could still be correct, but given the contrasting evidence of the names of uncertain origin it is less likely.

Unfortunately, an alternative explanation cannot be offered. Unlike the other four, "location", "nickname", "occupation" and "relationship", these two categories exist only for the convenience of the researcher, so that the ambiguity and uncertainty of name development and distribution can be quantified. No aspect of regional identity can

be directly connected to names which are essentially not understood motivationally or etymologically, and so an attempt to provide a conclusive explanation for changes in their proportion is not worthwhile, and probably not achievable. However, it is still possible to conclude that there were clear changes in the Cotswold name stock between 1381 and c1600, even when many names would have been hereditary.

The remaining changes are small, with locational names having increased by 1.92%, nicknames by 0.44% and relationship names by 4.24%. As the increased proportions of locational names and nicknames are so slight, no importance can be placed on them. The 4.24% increase in the proportion of relationship names is large enough to suggest important change in the use of these types of name, but there is no obvious reason for this. Considering the large decrease in occupational names between the two periods, it is possible that the small increase in the proportion of locational names, nicknames and relationship names is only a relative change, as a result of greater changes in occupational naming in the region.

On a more localised level, there are further naming distinctions to be realised between the two periods. In the previous two chapters, proportions of name types have been calculated for topographically distinct parts of the Cotswolds, specifically the north-east (Kiftsgate hundred in 1381, Upper Kiftsgate hundred in c1600) and the south-west (Bisley and Longtree hundreds). For further diachronic comparison of localised distribution changes between 1381 and c1600, name type proportions from the south-east Cotswolds and settlements on the Cotswold scarp have also been investigated.

As mentioned previously (see **3.1**) there is a clear topographical distinction between the western scarp and the south-east Cotswolds. The western edge of the region

is defined by the Cotswold escarpment, marking its 'western frontier' (Hadfield and Hadfield, 1973: 15), tracing a roughly south-west to north-east line from Wotton-under-Edge to Chipping Campden, and a north to south line from Wotton-under-Edge to Bath. 'The north-western face of the escarpment descends steeply into the Severn Valley' covering a vertical distance of roughly 300 metres and 'reaches a maximum at Cleeve Hill, where it peaks at 330m OD'. East of the escarpment, the dip-slope descends at a gentler gradient towards the south-east, forming 'an extensive plateau surface deeply dissected by numerous streams' (Lane, Watts and Farrant, 2008: 86). So, a comparison of the names found on and around the Cotswold scarp with those found in the south-easternmost parts of the region will be a comparison of the names from the highest and lowest Cotswold settlements.

As the Cotswold scarp defines the western boundary of the Cotswolds, only the villis in the 1381 Cotswold PT which lie on the region's western boundary, along with their corresponding c1600 Cotswold PR parishes, are considered in this analysis. Methodologically, choosing which villis to use from the lower south-eastern area of the Cotswolds is not quite so simple. With the 1381 Gloucestershire poll tax as a primary source, the south-easternmost part of the Cotswolds is not so well defined, as this area is also made up of villis from neighbouring counties. However, the geology of the region provides a convenient basis for the selection of villis for name analysis. At the lowest points of the south-east Cotswolds, Cornbrash and Oxford Clay are exposed, as opposed to the Middle and Upper Lias and Inferior Oolite of the escarpment (see "Gloucestershire Geology", in the sleeve of Smith, 1965). These geological differences correspond to differences in height, and as this is an investigation into the effect of topographical distinctions on name distribution in the Cotswolds, the names from villis

which sit either entirely or partly on the exposed Cornbrash or Oxford Clay are taken to be representative of the region's low south-eastern name stock. The c1600 parish registers, selected for comparison, are from the parishes which correspond to these 1381 south-eastern vills.

The name type proportions from these two areas of the Cotswolds, along with those from the north-east and south-west, are all presented together in figure 6.3. From these tables, it is clear that there was a greater amount of localised variation in name type proportion in 1381 than there was in c1600, seen in the ranges of name type percentages from the different parts of the Cotswolds, for both periods.

In 1381, the difference between the highest and lowest proportions of locational names in the four topographically distinct parts of the Cotswolds was 11.33%, with locational names making up 29.36% of all names in the hundreds of Bisley and Longtree and only 18.03% in Kiftsgate. From the c1600 Cotswold PR, the corresponding percentage range for locational names is 4.48%. The 1381 range for occupational names is 8.13%, where it is 2.76% in c1600. The ranges for nicknames, relationship names and names with multiple or uncertain origins are all small, and similar, for both periods. The greater variation in 1381 shows that differences in topography and geographical location had more of an effect on name patterns at this time than they did around the year 1600. The c1600 Cotswold PR data shows that there was very little difference in name type proportions for the distinct parts of the Cotswolds at this time, suggesting that topography no longer dictated naming patterns, with name type proportions being fairly consistent across the entire region.

This seems a likely outcome of the increased usage of hereditary surnames. In 1381, when many names were non-hereditary, they might have been especially

KIFTSGATE HUNDRED, 1381		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	199	18.03%
Multiple possibilities	179	16.21%
Nickname	57	5.16%
Occupation	343	31.07%
Relationship	265	24.00%
Uncertain	61	5.53%
TOTAL	1104	

UPPER KIFTSGATE HUNDRED, c1600		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	589	23.25%
Multiple possibilities	688	27.16%
Nickname	146	5.76%
Occupation	412	16.27%
Relationship	616	24.32%
Uncertain	82	3.24%
TOTAL	2533	

BISLEY AND LONGTREE HUNDREDS, 1381		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	128	29.36%
Multiple possibilities	72	16.51%
Nickname	22	5.05%
Occupation	100	22.94%
Relationship	80	18.35%
Uncertain	34	7.80%
TOTAL	436	

BISLEY AND LONGTREE HUNDREDS, c1600		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	941	21.27%
Multiple possibilities	1174	26.54%
Nickname	268	6.06%
Occupation	842	19.03%
Relationship	1070	24.19%
Uncertain	129	2.92%
TOTAL	4424	

SOUTH-EASTERN VILLS, 1381		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	158	19.82%
Multiple possibilities	148	18.57%
Nickname	55	6.90%
Occupation	201	25.22%
Relationship	179	22.46%
Uncertain	56	7.03%
TOTAL	797	

SOUTH-EASTERN PARISHES, c1600		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	140	18.77%
Multiple possibilities	191	25.60%
Nickname	45	6.03%
Occupation	126	16.89%
Relationship	219	29.36%
Uncertain	25	3.35%
TOTAL	746	

WESTERN SCARP VILLS, 1381		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	183	18.45%
Multiple possibilities	179	18.04%
Nickname	50	5.04%
Occupation	297	29.94%
Relationship	214	21.57%
Uncertain	69	6.96%
TOTAL	992	

WESTERN SCARP PARISHES, c1600		
	Numbers	Percentage
Location	988	21.73%
Multiple possibilities	1194	26.26%
Nickname	295	6.49%
Occupation	856	18.83%
Relationship	1069	23.51%
Uncertain	145	3.19%
TOTAL	4547	

Fig. 6.3 — Tables of name type proportion from different parts of the Cotswolds in 1381 and c1600.

susceptible to change if any bearer migrated to a different local area with different naming tendencies. By c1600, when the majority of names were hereditary and fixed, they would have been much less likely to change following migration to a different area. When names were hereditary, assuming people moved around the Cotswolds, each name type would gradually become evenly spread throughout the region, as the four tables for c1600 show.

However, looking at figure 6.3 in another way, comparing changes in type proportion between 1381 and c1600 for each topographically distinct part of the Cotswolds, it might still be possible to identify localised changes in naming patterns, to some extent. For example, the proportion of occupational names decreased in all four parts of the Cotswolds. Out of these areas, it had been lowest in the south-western hundreds of Bisley and Longtree in 1381, but by c1600 it was highest here. This change corresponds to an important shift in the Cotswold wool trade, which was focused on raw wool in 1381 and cloth manufacturing by c1600. The raw wool trade was most prominent in the north-east Cotswolds, with the valleys of the south-west playing almost no part in it, but the streams and rivers of the south-west were useful for the fulling of cloth, which later led to its establishment as the regional centre for cloth production (see **3.3.1**). In 1381, the lower proportion of occupational names in the south-west reflects how the wool trade was of little importance to the area, but the higher proportion in c1600 reflects how it had become the centre of Cotswold cloth production. Therefore, the change in regional identity of the Cotswolds influenced the distribution of its names, with occupational names having been most frequent where the regional industry was based, even at a time when names were hereditary.

Generally, figure 6.3 shows that, in terms of name type proportion, there was very little continuity in the distribution of Cotswold names from 1381 to c1600. All four distinct topographical areas saw a change of 6% or more in at least one name type, excluding “multiple possibilities” and “uncertain” as they cannot be usefully compared diachronically. Whatever the reasons for this, it is clear that between 1381 and c1600 there was not just a considerable change in the frequency of individual Cotswolds names (see 6.3), but in naming patterns and practices throughout the region. Further to this, the variability in name type proportion between different Cotswold areas in 1381 is in clear contrast to the more consistent proportions of c1600, perhaps indicating a shift from localised naming practices to more widely adopted regional norms. However, this is not to say that the Cotswold name stock had become less diverse, with immigrants to the region making a noticeable contribution.

6.6 Changes in Patterns of Migration to the Cotswolds

A comparison of the studies of migration to the Cotswolds for 1381 and c1600 can show whether there has been any clear change in the immigrant name stock. If there are any toponymic names which derive from non-Cotswold toponyms in the c1600 Cotswold PR, and they do not occur in the 1381 Cotswold PT, this indicates probable migration to the region after 1381. By comparing the toponymic names from both periods, it is therefore possible to identify any change in the typical origins of immigrants, and how this has influenced the region’s names.

It was shown in 4.4.1 and figure 4.4 that, around the year 1381, English migrants to the Cotswolds tended to come from all parts of the country except for the north-west,

possibly because there was not much of a raw wool trade in the region, and so it had no obvious economic link with the Cotswolds. However, in the c1600 data sample there is evidence of migration from the north-west, and Cumberland and Westmorland in particular, apparently influenced by the Cotswold cloth trade (see 5.3.1).

It is not clear exactly when the north-west migrants first arrived in the Cotswolds, though it seems likely to have been fairly soon after 1381, within the following 100 years. The presence of Sir Robert *de Kendal* in Harescombe in 1375 (see Smith, 1964c: 68) shows that there were migrants from north-west England living close to the Cotswolds before 1381, but their movement into the region seems to have come after. As well as lying at the western edge of the Cotswold scarp, Harescombe is close to the town of Gloucester, and it is likely that proximity to this town was the reason for their settlement there. While the Cotswolds and Gloucester were involved in the raw wool trade in the second half of the 14th century, Gloucester was also known for cloth production, which was ‘one of the town’s main industries’ (Herbert, 1988: 41) at the time. As Kendal was known for its own type of cloth, and there were people described as “kendalman” in Gloucester in 1481 (see Herbert, 1988: 45), the presence of Sir Robert *de Kendal* in Harescombe in 1375 raises the possibility that he was a cloth trader who operated in Gloucester.

As the trading of raw wool declined in the Cotswolds, and cloth production became the main industry of the region, the Gloucester cloth traders who originally came from north-west England may then have moved to the Cotswolds. In the early 15th century, ‘restrictive practices in the towns encouraged cloth production in the countryside’ (Hurst, 2005: 107), and this could explain the movement of people named *Kendal* into the Cotswolds sometime after 1381, though this cannot be known for

certain from the data used in this project. What is clear is that sometime between 1381 and c1600, people with toponymic names derived from places in the north-west of England arrived for the first time in the Cotswolds, contributing to the regional name stock.

This discussion of the name *Kendal* emphasises an important point made in 5.3, that any toponymic surname recorded in the c1600 Cotswold parish registers, which originated from outside of the region, does not necessarily indicate a journey made by the bearer, or a single journey travelled from place of origin of name to Cotswold parish. In fact, the journey of bearers of the name *Kendal* to the Cotswolds, sometime after 1381, is likely to have been very short. What such cases do show, however, is that people did migrate to the Cotswolds, and where their surname indicates any past connection with a place known for wool or cloth production, there is a possibility that an involvement in the trade influenced their migration.

Migration to the Cotswolds was not just from within England. Many people in the region bore names of Flemish origin, and the history of Flanders and the Low Countries, along with their trading relationships with England, makes it likely that the migratory choices of some Flemings were influenced by the wool and cloth industries (see 4.4.2 and 5.3.3). In the c1600 Cotswold PR, there are a greater number of Flemish names than in the 1381 Cotswold PT, suggesting that there had been an increased amount of Flemish migration to the Cotswolds after 1381.

It is clear that there had been people from Flanders living in the Cotswolds before the time of the 14th-century poll tax returns. In 1086, the tenant of Hawling was ‘the Flemish Sigar de Chocques’ (Aldred and Dyer, 1991: 144), presumably from Chocques in modern day France, which was in ‘south-central Flanders’ (Oksanen, 2012: 268

187) at the time of Domesday Book. There were other Flemings in Domesday England, but most of them, including Sigar *de Chocques*, came from ‘the southern and western parts of “French” Artesian Flanders’, rather than the ‘northern “Flemish” Flanders’ (Oksanen, 2012: 187) which later became particularly well known for its cloth. Therefore, the presence of Flemings in the Cotswolds in 1086 is unlikely to have much to do with the wool trade.

Later Flemish migration, at a time when the Cotswolds was well known for its wool, is seen in the names of the region in 1381, though in fairly small numbers. There are two people named *Brabant* in the 1381 Cotswold PT (see 4.4.2), which derives from the Duchy of Brabant, an area which became known for its cloth during the Hundred Years War. At this time, Edward III invited ‘skilled artificers with trade secrets’ (Trevelyan, 1946: 36) from Flanders to work in England, in an attempt to maintain a good political relationship and improve the English wool industry. Therefore, the people named *Brabant* in the Cotswolds in 1381 may well have been wool merchants. However, it is only this name which is a clear indication of Flemish migration at the time. The name *Baldwin* was mentioned in 4.4.2, but this was also a popular English given name in the 12th and 13th centuries (see Withycombe, 1977: 40), and so is not necessarily direct evidence of Flemish migration.

By c1600, there were a greater variety of Flemish names in the Cotswolds. While *Brabant* was no longer found in the region, *Baldwin* still was, and there were also three which were not found in the Cotswolds in 1381. These were *Clutterbuck*, *Dyper* and *Hanks*, all of which may have Flemish origins, as explained in 5.3.3. Therefore, there must have been migration to the Cotswolds from Flanders after 1381, or from other parts of England where Flemings had settled previously. It has already been

mentioned that one possible reason for this was the settlement of Low Country protestants in England as they sought to ‘flee religious persecution’ (Bearman and Deane, 1992: 56) in the sixteenth century (see 5.3.3). However, as the name *Clutterbuck* was found in the Cotswolds in the fifteenth century, there must be an additional explanation. The *Clutterbucks* were well known as cloth merchants, and so the rise of the cloth trade in the Cotswolds seems a likely reason for this migration.

The greater variety of Flemish names in the Cotswolds in c1600 suggests that settlement in the region had become a more attractive prospect to the Flemings than it had been in 1381, and the decline of the Flemish cloth trade may have been an added reason for this change. Towards the end of the Middle Ages,

The supply of English wool [to Flanders] began to dry up with the expansion of the weaving industry in England itself, and the European market for Flemish cloth was reduced to a fraction of what it had once been (Pounds, 2005: 182).

This would have coincided approximately with the change in the Cotswold trade, with a shift in focus from raw wool to cloth production in the fifteenth century. Perhaps the Flemish cloth merchants and weavers began to leave Flanders in greater numbers as its industry was in decline, with some settling in the Cotswolds to contribute to its emerging cloth trade. Kerridge (1972: 23) makes a similar point, referring to Flemish settlement in England as a whole, stating that growth in English cloth production ‘was helped by the export tariffs on English wool and by an influx of Flemish woollen workers deserting a declining for a growing industrial region’.

As well as increased Flemish migration to the Cotswolds between 1381 and c1600, there appears to have been an influx of Welsh migrants. The extent of Welsh

migration to the Cotswolds was discussed in 5.3.4, but not in chapter 4 as the 1381 Cotswold PT includes very few Welsh names. There are some names which suggest the bearers were of Welsh origin, such as that of Johanne *Landaf* of Cirencester, which comes from Llandaff near Cardiff, but there are no names formed from the Welsh patronymic system, like there are in the c1600 Cotswold PR.

Overall, there seems to have been an increase in migrants settling in the Cotswolds, since 1381 up to c1600. Many had come from places where some migration to the Cotswolds had already taken place, such as Flanders, where others came from areas where there is only clear evidence of migration to the Cotswolds since 1381, such as north-west England. This general pattern of increased migration to the region might be a result of its cloth trade. Oakland (2011: 63) has suggested that as cloth manufacturing became more important to the English economy, many people settled close to the country's wool ports, while 'others moved to cloth-producing areas and market towns in the West Country and the Cotswolds'. If this was the case, it is again possible to see how the regional identity of the Cotswolds has influenced its names, encouraging migration to the region which would then have contributed to a more diverse name stock between 1381 and c1600.

6.7 Cotswold Dialect and Name Spelling

As part of the analysis of the c1600 Cotswold PR, it was explained that, since 1381, certain occupational names which were originally used to describe the same cloth-producing processes were regionally distinct. Out of *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker*, the usual Cotswold name has always been *Walker*, and out of *Weaver*, *Webb* and

Webber, the usual Cotswold name has always been *Webb* (see 5.6.1 and 5.6.2). While this pattern was not reflected in the use of occupational descriptions in the records, it suggests that the preference for certain names over any possible synonymous alternatives was consistent. Therefore, in terms of onomastic dialect lexis, the names of the Cotswolds show continuity between 1381 and c1600.

However, in comparing the data from the two periods, there were clear differences in the spelling of certain names, apparently as a result of phonological change, or a change in the orthographical representation of a consistent phonology. The particular aspect of Cotswold phonology studied in this project is the West Midland dialect rounding of /a/ before nasals (see 4.6.2 and 5.6.3), with the distribution of names ending *-man* and *-mon* from 1381 and c1600 presented in figure 6.4. This shows that in the Cotswolds in 1381 there was an approximately even mix of /a/ and /o/ before a nasal consonant, but by c1600 the names of the region no longer represented the dialect rounding in large numbers.

As West Midland rounding of /a/ to /o/ before nasal has persisted in the spoken dialect of some parts of the West Midlands up to the present day, it is likely that the change in name forms between 1381 and c1600 is due to orthography only. This is supported by the dialect analysis in 4.5.3 and 4.6, which shows that regional spelling differences of 1381 were probably not an accurate reflection of phonology, but a result of the orthographical preference of a small number of scribes. It is, however, a slightly different matter when considering baptismal parish register data, as the records for each parish would have been drawn up by individual scribes, rather than the small number involved in the 14th-century Gloucestershire poll tax borough commission at Gloucester. As a result, the distribution of certain name spellings in parish registers is more likely to

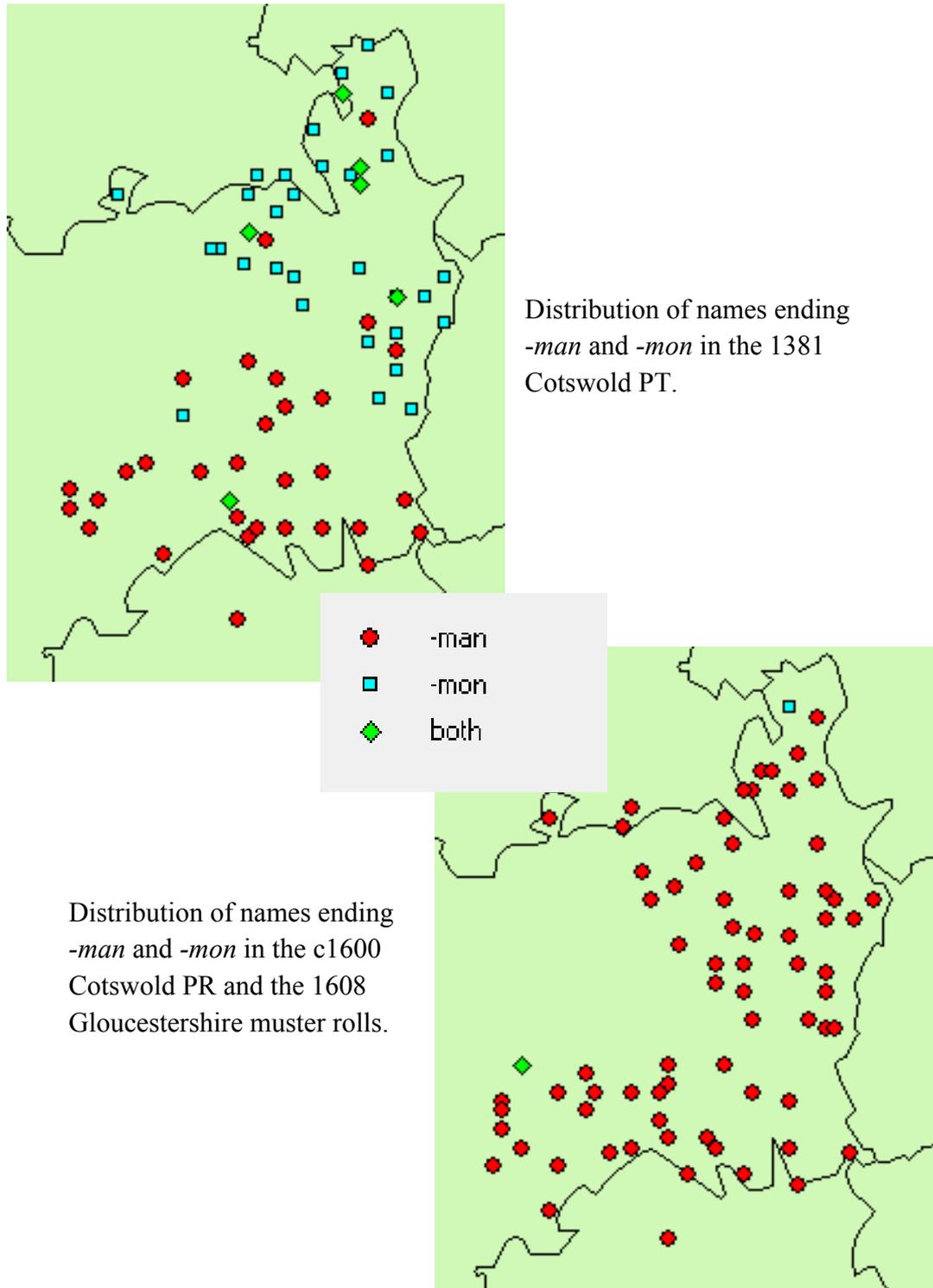


Fig. 6.4 — Maps of the distribution of names ending *-man* and *-mon* in the Cotswolds in 1381 and c1600.

Map plotted using *GenMap UK* (Archer, 2007)

be representative of local dialect, although increasing levels of spelling standardisation bring the suitability of c1600 surname forms as phonological evidence into question (see 5.6.3). The small number of *-mon* forms in the Cotswolds in c1600 might be representative of regional phonology, similar to the ‘occasional phonetic spellings’ (Wyld, 1927: 153) which continued after the introduction of the printing press in England, with the dominant *-man* forms being the orthographical standard, assuming such a standard had penetrated rural areas, including the Cotswolds, by this period.

This suggests that between 1381 and c1600, most name forms which were once representative of regional phonology would have changed, if necessary, to conform to a standard spelling, probably after the introduction of the first English printing press in the second half of the fifteenth century. This means that the name forms of the Cotswolds from c1600 onwards are not an accurate reflection of regional phonology, but of an increasingly standardised English written language. This is also apparent in the *-us* ending, a form of *-es* (see 4.6.1), which occurred in the Cotswolds in 1381, but had become rare in the names of the region by c1600, with no such forms in the baptismal registers or the 1608 muster rolls. Therefore, there was noticeable change in the names of the Cotswolds between 1381 and c1600, in this case not in the types of names used, but in the way they were spelt.

6.8 Chapter Conclusion

Overall, there is a general trend of change in the names of the Cotswolds between 1381 and c1600. This has been closely linked with changes in regional identity, whether these have been specific to the Cotswolds or representative of a wider national

identity. The two Cotswold name surveys of 1381 and c1600 data have shown different results when the same themes have been investigated, and their direct comparison has shown that there was considerable anthroponomastic change in the region.

While some individual names showed continuity between the two periods, such as *Webb* which was frequent in the Cotswolds in both 1381 and c1600, the predominant pattern was one of change. This seems to have permeated many different aspects of naming, with diachronic changes in heredity, the frequency of individual names, the proportion of name types, the localised distribution of names and name types, names of migrants and the effect of local dialect. In most cases, these differences appear to be a result of changes in regional identity, often because of the Cotswold trade in wool and cloth.

Through this thesis, an account of the history of the names of the Cotswolds has been presented, contributing to our understanding of by-name and surname development in England by establishing its relationship with regional identity, as defined in 2.6.2. This suggests that a worthwhile approach to name study is the investigation of names from definable regions, allowing for a more complete understanding of their development. Where previous name research has tended to focus on specific counties, future study could benefit from restricting analysis to more localised areas with distinct regional histories.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

7.1 Thesis Summary

This research has been carried out with the aim of contributing to our knowledge and understanding of by-name and surname development in England, and the effect of regional identity. By investigating the names of the Cotswolds from 1381 and c1600, and comparing the findings, it has been possible to show how the names of the region have changed over time. By also considering the history of the Cotswolds in both periods, a case is made for why these changes have occurred, linking them with changes in regional identity, paying particular attention to the defining feature of the Cotswold economy, its wool and cloth trade. In taking this approach, which has not been done before, an important contribution to the methodological development of the field has been made.

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to by-name and surname history, before establishing the need for localised regional studies, and stating the data to be used in the project and the general methodological approach.

Chapter 2 reviews previous anthroponomastic works, highlighting key issues in the field such as disagreement on the development of hereditary surnames and the methodological difficulties in classifying names within any given typology. Through a review of national and regional surname surveys, it is made clear that the county

boundaries used in much previous research into regional surname development are inappropriate, as they do not necessarily demarcate areas of distinct social, cultural and economic histories; aspects which have influenced the kinds of names typically used in different parts of the country. As a result of this, the choice to study the names of a topographically, economically, culturally and socially distinct part of England, namely the Cotswolds, was made.

Chapter 3 outlines the history of the Cotswolds, paying particular attention to what has made it distinct from the surrounding regions and the rest of the country. Where possible, the anthroponomastic effects of these distinctions are suggested, informing the data analysis in the following chapters.

Chapter 4 constitutes a survey of the names in the 1381 Gloucestershire poll tax returns, of which the only extant records are for villis in the Cotswolds. This survey uses the known history of the region outlined in chapter 3 to guide the analysis of the names, explaining naming patterns in terms of regional identity. In this chapter it is shown that, in 1381, surname heredity was not quite as well established in the Cotswolds as previous research would suggest. It was also found that there was migration to the region over unexpectedly long distances, particularly from regions with wool-trading connections. The distributions of different name types and individual names are then presented and explained in terms of the Cotswold regional identity, showing localised patterns of type proportions and individual name use within different parts of the region. Often, these patterns are closely linked to the different topographies and economies of the separate parts of the Cotswolds, with the wool trade in particular having had a clear effect on name distribution and frequency. Finally, the dialect evidence of the region's names is investigated, resulting in findings which are different to those of previous ME

dialect surveys. It appears that rounding of /a/ to /o/ before nasal consonants and the orthographical tendency to use *-us(-)* for *-es(-)* in unstressed positions, which are both features of the ME West Midland dialect, occurred in the Cotswolds, further south than suggested in previous research.

Chapter 5 is a survey of the names in Cotswold baptismal parish registers from 1580–1620, supplemented with supporting evidence from the 1608 muster rolls. Much as in chapter 4, the history of the region is used to inform the analysis and to explain certain surname patterns. It is shown that, sometime before c1600, there was migration to the Cotswolds over long distances, from many different parts of England and other countries, with many migrants having come from cloth-producing areas. The names of the time are shown as being mostly hereditary, but with a certain amount of instability in their inheritance, and in some cases were susceptible to change. The distribution of different name types appears approximately even throughout the Cotswolds at this time, though what little differences there are appear to conform to economic and topographical distinctions between localised areas. It is surprising that the c1600 contemporary history of the region is apparently reflected in the localised distribution of certain names, suggesting regional identity influenced Cotswold naming patterns at this time, even though many names are thought to have been hereditary for a number of generations. Chapter 5 also shows that certain dialect words were used differently in the region, depending on whether they were names or occupational descriptions, and that in c1600 the local phonology was very rarely represented in name forms.

Chapter 6 compares the findings of the two previous chapters, showing where there has been change and continuity in the names of the Cotswolds. It shows that in almost all aspects of by-name and surname history studied, there has been noticeable

change between 1381 and c1600. Such change is identified in the level of surname heredity, the level of migration to the region, the distribution of names throughout the region and within certain parts of it, the names most common to the Cotswolds and their frequencies, and the onomastic representation of regional phonology. Apart from the dialect lexis apparent in the regionally specific use of certain names, there has been very little continuity in the by-names and surnames of the Cotswolds. The general pattern is one of change.

7.2 Research Question

As stated in **1.2**, the aim of this thesis has been to answer the question: “has the regional identity of the Cotswolds influenced the development of its names?” Following diachronic analysis and comparison, it does indeed appear that, overall, the regional identity of the Cotswolds has had a continued effect on the development of its names. Many of the different name patterns in 1381 and c1600 seem to correspond with differences in the social, cultural and economic conditions of the Cotswolds, often as a result of changes in the regional wool trade.

In the previous chapters, the aspects of Cotswold name history and development that have been linked with the wool trade include:

- Heredity
- Names of immigrants
- Distribution of name types

- Distribution and frequency of individual names
- Dialect lexis in naming

These elements of Cotswold name history have also been partly influenced by other features of regional identity, such as topography, demography and settlement structure. It has also been possible to use the name evidence to investigate the regional identity of the Cotswolds, with some 1381 name forms providing new information on the regional phonology and dialect lexis, contributing to our knowledge of Cotswold history.

Considering the findings of this project, it is possible to conclude that the regional identity of the Cotswolds has influenced the development of its names, with changes in the wool trade having the most noticeable effect. As a result of the attempt to answer this research question, it has also been possible to provide an account of the change and continuity in the names of the Cotswolds, the details of which can add to our understanding of by-name and surname development in England. This is not just because the names of the region have not been studied before, but also because the findings of this research show patterns of anthroponomastic development in England which have not been recognised previously, and raise important questions that could be usefully investigated for other parts of the country, which we will now turn to.

7.3 Implications for the Field of By-Name and Surname Research

The analysis of the 1381 Cotswold PT shows that over half of the names may have been non-hereditary at the time. This is a pattern that does not fit in with findings of some previous research, such as McKinley's (1990: 32) observation that, in the south

of England, 'more than half the population had surnames by about 1350'. It is perhaps an indication that, while McKinley may be correct in terms of the general development of hereditary surnames nationally, there was a certain amount of regional variation, and it may even have been the case that hereditary surnames became established later than is suggested in previous research. It also seems that previous findings on surname heredity have not been methodologically consistent or rigorous, with conclusions apparently based on the researcher's impression of the level of heredity in certain records, rather than calculations and comparisons of the frequencies of non-hereditary and hereditary names in a given period. Therefore, the analysis in this thesis provides a new methodological approach to the study of surname heredity, which could force us to alter our conclusions on surname development. With further investigation of other distinct regions, it will be possible to reach a greater level of understanding on the chronology and distribution of hereditary surname establishment in England.

The toponymic names and names of foreign origin in the Cotswolds, for both periods, suggest a greater level of migration to the region than has been found in other surname studies for different parts of England. Many migrants whose names derived from places which are not particularly near to the Cotswolds, such as the north-west and north-east, might have had connections with the wool trade and had relatively easy access to the Cotswolds using major Roman roads. There was also migration from Flanders, an area known for its cloth industry. It is particularly interesting that the level of migration the Cotswolds in 1381 was not too dissimilar to that for 14th-century Bristol, suggesting that people were willing to travel great distances to places other than the major English cities, and that migration might have been more common at this time than first thought. If this were the case, then it might be possible to re-evaluate our

understanding of surname distribution and the widespread ramification of certain names in England as a whole. In order to do this, the social, cultural and economic connections of a migrant's place of origin of name and the place in which they live could be usefully investigated for other parts of the country, giving a more complete idea of how the modern distribution of surnames has come to be.

The localised differences in name distribution, as well as changes in name type proportions, in the Cotswolds suggest that there were distinct patterns of naming within very small areas, defined by many aspects of regional identity. This is something that may well have been specific to the Cotswolds, but similar local distribution analyses for other parts of England would allow the extent of localised naming patterns throughout the country to be assessed. The changes of name distribution and frequency between 1381 and c1600 also show that regional identity may have had an effect on which names were used within certain parts of the Cotswolds, which is unexpected at a time when most names were hereditary and so presumably not likely to change as a result of social, cultural or economic differences. It seems, then, that we do not currently fully understand the development of hereditary names, and the extent to which their etymological transparency may have influenced their use. It is important to determine whether this is a feature particular to the Cotswolds, or one of national relevance, which would require us to reassess our understanding of hereditary surnaming. In order to do this, diachronic name surveys similar to this one could be carried out for other English regions, using the data of the 14th-century poll tax returns and c1600 parish registers, and the findings of these surveys could then be compared (see 7.5).

The 1381 distribution of certain by-name and surname forms raises an interesting point on the use of historical records and name forms as evidence of dialect

phonology. On the face of it, the distribution of names with and without the typical ME West Midland rounding of /a/ to /o/ before nasal consonants shows a pattern of phonology that is slightly different to findings of previous dialect research. Names ending *-mon*, when a rounded form of *-man*, were the norm in the north Cotswolds according to the 1381 poll tax evidence, but other studies of West Midland dialect do not find the feature quite so far south. It might be that this phonological feature was common to the Cotswolds, but it is also possible that its distribution in the region is merely a representation of the dialect of a small number of borough court scribes who compiled the poll tax returns used in this project. Therefore, whenever name evidence is used in future dialect study it might only be appropriate as an approximate guide to the language of the region. If the exact origin of each scribe is unknown, then the dialect evidence from the records they have compiled cannot be confidently assigned to the language of a particular area.

Finally, the dialect lexis evidence of the names *Fuller*, *Tucker* and *Walker*, and *Weaver*, *Webb* and *Webber* in the Cotswolds in c1600 requires us to reassess our understanding of by-name and surname history. The discrepancy found between name and occupational description suggests that the onomasticon of the time was in some way distinct from the lexicon, or possibly reflects changes in regional dialect over time. This calls into question the notions that name distribution is an accurate reflection of regional dialect, and that by-names and surnames were borne out of everyday language, rather than an independent naming system. It is therefore possible that by-naming had its own distinct linguistic rules, and as a result the study of national surname distribution is no safe guide to the regional lexicons of England. Only when further anthroponomastic investigation of distinct regions is carried out can the significance of

the Cotswold data be realised, and the suitability of name distribution as evidence of dialect lexis can be reassessed.

Overall, and perhaps of greatest importance to the field, there is clear major change in the names of the Cotswolds between 1381 and c1600, in a number of different ways. Between these two periods, there appears to have been very little stability in the names of the region, whether in relative frequency of individual names or the distribution of name types. It might be a change only seen in the Cotswolds, but it could be representative of by-names and surnames, and the transition of one to the other, nationally. If so, this is a factor in English name development that is not well understood, and therefore its causes require further investigation, as do the implications of this change for the use of name evidence in the study of linguistic, social, cultural and economic history.

The methodological contribution of this thesis will aid such further research. New or modified approaches have been suggested for the analysis of surname heredity, migration, name frequencies and dialects. More generally, the benefits of a regional surname study have also been made clear, and the difficulties in comparing name data from two different periods have been made more explicit than they have been before. As a result, I believe that the methodological development of the field of anthroponomastics, and therefore our knowledge, can be improved by following a number of the approaches and ideas set out in this thesis. It has been shown that with suitable methodological rigour and caution, our understanding of by-name and surname development can be improved and conclusions can be made with greater confidence than previously managed. Considering this, and the future publication of the work of the FaNUK project team, further academic study of English surname development will

surely lead to the creation of new, improved and important information on the anthroponomastic history of the country.

7.4 Project Limitations

As has been explained throughout, this project has certain limitations that must be considered alongside its findings. In some cases, these cannot be avoided and no greater detail can be achieved, where in others, further study could help to enhance some of the conclusions reached in this thesis.

The discussion and comparison of Banwell numbers, using both the 14th-century poll tax returns and the c1600 baptismal parish registers, is not a completely reliable measure. These records do not offer complete national coverage, and so the Banwell numbers cannot be considered a true proportional representation of national name frequency. Instead, they must be treated as a proportional representation of name frequency in the records used. While the relatively high Banwell numbers are likely to be a rough indication of their true distribution, those which are smaller must be treated with caution.

The sources of data used in this project also have their limitations. A small number of Fenwick's (1998; 2001; 2005) 14th-century poll tax transcriptions appear to be erroneous. It has been shown, for example, that <n> and <u> have sometimes been confused. The IGI has similar errors, as well as the complete omission of certain names. As a result, the datasets analysed in this project are not a complete representation of the Cotswold name stocks of both periods. They do, however, contain a large amount of data, which Fenwick and the IGI have made readily available. As many thousands of

names have been analysed, the patterns presented in the thesis can still be considered representative of the Cotswolds, but it is also likely that there are further Cotswold name developments to be discovered, and so the study of different records and different periods could help to improve understanding of the region's onomastic history.

One particular set of records that could be used for this is the 1523–1527 Lay Subsidy Rolls, available in published form (Faraday, 2009). While not as suitable as the poll tax returns and baptismal parish registers for by-name and surname study, because they only include those people with a certain level of wealth, they do provide a collection of Cotswold names from a different period. Therefore, they could be used to reach greater precision on the date of certain regional name changes, the lack of which is a further limitation of this project. This would allow for a more complete account of the major changes in name development between 1381 and c1600, recognised in this thesis.

7.5 A Case for New Regional Name Surveys

The national significance of many findings in this thesis cannot be fully known without further regional studies for comparison. Through this project, an attempt has been made to show that by-name and surname development can be closely linked with regional history, specific to truly distinct regions rather than the administratively distinct counties. The study of such regions has been made much more achievable following Fenwick's (1998; 2001; 2005) transcriptions of the 14th-century poll tax returns and the ever increasing coverage of the IGI.

In light of the findings of this project, there is a case to be made for further regional name surveys, perhaps using this thesis as a framework and model. With many patterns of Cotswold name development going against the findings of previous research, and suggesting considerable change at a time of surname heredity, there are clearly some aspects of English anthroponomastic history that are not yet fully understood. This understanding could be improved through the study of other regions with their own distinct identities, such as the Fenland in the east of England, an area of marshland which lies in parts of Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk. As described by Darby (1940: 22),

the Fenland, as much as any district in the English plain, constituted an area of characteristic occupations and peculiar practices arising from the nature of its terrain. Here, regional custom, the *consuetudo loci*, was of paramount importance in the development of an individual economy, and in the maintenance of a local habit of life quite different from that in the normal medieval community.

Clearly, the Fenland as a whole had its own identity, also supported by Butlin's (1998) discussion of the region. Further to this, certain parts of it were topographically distinct, and as a result

the activities of the region fell into three main groups:

- (1) Those belonging to the marsh itself — fishing and fowling; the gathering of reeds and rushes; and the making of salt along the sea-shore.
- (2) Those associated with the intermediate zone (usually, but not always, above the water-level) and consisting mainly of the production of hay, of the grazing of animals, and of the cutting of turves.
- (3) Finally, there was the more usual arable farming on the islands, or in the permanently drained portions of the fen (Darby, 1940: 22).

Having been topographically and economically distinct, these three parts of the Fenland are suitable for by-name and surname comparison in an investigation of localised naming differences, as has been carried out for the Cotswolds.

Conditions in the region also changed between the late 14th-century and c1600, as the sixteenth-century Dissolution of the Monasteries caused ‘a crop of administrative problems which had at least some repercussions on the upkeep of the banks and watercourses’ (Summers, 1976: 50) which helped to drain the fens, leading to an increase in flooding. As a result, local agriculture suffered: ‘conditions in the Fenland evinced signs of a deterioration, which became more strongly pronounced as the century moved on’ (Summers, 1976: 51). This change in administration, and its effect on the region’s topography and economy, can be considered in diachronic comparison of the names of the Fenland to discover how its regional identity influenced the development of its names. A name survey of this region would be a worthwhile exercise, adding to findings from the Cotswold survey and so advancing our knowledge of regional name development.

The field of name research might then benefit from the construction of further diachronic regional name surveys, allowing for a more complete understanding of by-name and surname development in England as a whole. Thanks to the fairly recent availability of the 14th-century poll tax returns, and with the appropriate use of the IGI, this is an achievable goal.

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**APPENDIX 1 — Percentages of People from a Number of County Records,
Arranged by Name Type. Taken from McKinley (1990: 23).**

<i>County</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>
Buckinghamshire, 1332	24	14	24	21	7	10
Devon, 1332	28	15	14	22	12	9
Dorset, 1327	15	16	19	21	16	12
Gloucestershire, 1327	32	12	24	16	13	3
Kent, 1334-5	27	15	22	19	11	6
Lancashire, 1332	52	15	3	15	6	7
Leicestershire, 1327	27	17	21	10	10	18
Oxfordshire, 1327	21	7	24	23	9	14
Shropshire, 1327	40	9	23	5	16	7
Staffordshire, 1327	30	15	17	18	7	13
Suffolk, 1327	15	11	30	23	5	15
Surrey, 1332	27	18	14	24	9	8
Sussex, 1332	23	26	15	18	12	6
Warwickshire, 1332	30	11	21	23	8	9
Worcestershire, 1327	19	11	31	14	12	13
Yorkshire, 1379	29	3	13	24	8	23
Buckinghamshire, 1524	23	7	33	21	5	11
Cornwall, 1664	19	12	37	14	12	5
Devon, 1524-25	20	18	27	17	12	6
Gloucestershire, 1608	20	14	21	28	11	6
Lancashire, Salford Hundred, 1524	59	11	11	13	2	4
Nottinghamshire, 1641-42	28	13	31	16	9	3
Oxfordshire, 1641-42	22	13	32	22	8	3
Rutland, 1522	28	9	26	22	12	3
Shropshire, 1672	21	13	42	11	9	3
Staffordshire, 1666	29	12	25	21	6	7
Suffolk, 1524	14	7	30	30	3	16
Surrey, 1664	22	11	20	26	4	17
Sussex, 1524-25	17	15	27	23	4	14
Worcestershire, 1603	29	15	29	17	10	3

[values are percentages]

*[Table Headings: 1=Locative names, 2= Topographical names, 3=Surnames and by-names from personal names
4=Occupational names, 5=Surnames and by-names from nicknames, 6=Names in other
categories, or of uncertain origin]*

APPENDIX 2 — The Banwell Ratio

The Banwell Ratio was devised by Eric Banwell as a way of measuring the relative density of a surname within any given area by using data from phone books. It is described in the “Help” section of Archer’s (2011) *British 19th Century Surname Atlas*, and made applicable to the names of the 1881 census, as follows:

1. Let **X** be the total number of occurrences of the surname in the selected county, divided by the total population of that county.
2. Let **Y** be that total number of occurrences of the surname in the census, divided by the total census population.
3. Then the Banwell number is **X** divided by **Y**.

To avoid any confusion, it must be noted that while the method of calculation described by Archer (2011) appears different from Banwell’s original formula, which is given by Rogers (1995: 21), they are algebraically identical.

Tweaking Archer’s (2011) description of the calculation so that it can be used with the 14th-century poll tax returns, gives the following conditions:

X is the total number of occurrences of the name in the Cotswolds, divided by the total number of by-names/surnames in the Cotswolds,

and

Y is the total number of occurrences of the name in the 14th century poll tax returns, divided by the total number of by-names/surnames in the 14th-century poll tax returns.

The Banwell number represents how many times more common a name is than would be expected if it was evenly distributed, so that if the calculation produces the number “1”, then the name adheres to a pattern of random distribution. If the calculation produces, for example, “0.5”, then the name in question is half as common as expected in the studied area. If the calculation produces the number “3”, then the name is 3 times more common than if it was evenly distributed.

APPENDIX 3 — Alphabetical Sorting by Final Letter in Microsoft Excel

This method was taken from an internet forum for ‘computer enthusiasts’, under the title “Any Excel function that will reverse a string?”

Available at: <<http://superuser.com/questions/121618/any-excel-function-that-will-reverse-a-string>> [Accessed 07/10/2013].

Within Microsoft Excel, it is possible to make small additions and alterations to the program by using Microsoft Visual Basic (MVB), which is built into Excel and most other Microsoft Office applications. Using MVB, a function can be written into the Excel program which can be used to reverse the contents of cells, and these reversed cells can then be sorted alphabetically to group all names ending *-us*, or indeed names with any other ending, together. For the purposes of repeatability, the steps for creating this reverse text function will now be explained as simply as possible.

To start, open a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet then press Alt+f11 to open MVB. Open the “Insert” menu from the menu bar, and select “Module”. This will open a new window, into which copy the following code, aligning each new line against the left of the window:

```
Function Reverse(Text As String) As String
    Dim i As Integer
    Dim StrNew As String
    Dim strOld As String

    strOld = Trim(Text)

    For i = 1 To Len(strOld)
        StrNew = Mid(strOld, i, 1) & StrNew
```

Next i

Reverse = StrNew

End Function

Once this code is written, all MVB windows can be closed, and then the function “=reverse(**cell**)”, where **cell** is the cell whose contents require reversing, can be used like any other Excel function, and will reverse the text of the chosen cell. The function can then be copied to apply to any column, row or selection of cells. The new selection of reversed text can then be sorted in the usual way for Microsoft Excel, arranging the names alphabetically, but by their endings. Note that the code is only valid in the individual workbook for which MVB was used. If the reverse function is required for multiple workbooks, the above process must be repeated for each one in turn. Note also that to retain the code in an individual workbook, it must be saved as the file type “Excel Macro-Enabled Workbook”.

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