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Personal Names and Local Identities in Early Modern Cumbria

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Using the personal names recorded in the Protestation Returns of 1642 for Cumberland and north Westmorland, this paper examines the distribution of both surnames and forenames to explore questions of local identity in early modern Cumbria. Names from three sample areas (the Borders, the Solway lowlands and the northern Lake District) are analysed, the distribution of locally distinctive surnames being used to reconstruct the socio-economic horizons of local communities and the distribution of selected forenames being analysed as an indication of cultural affinities. Surname analysis identifies a patchwork of local societies, the most distinctive of which were the Borders and the Lake District valleys, highly self-contained socieites held together by shared experience. In the lowlands, Inglewood Forest appears to have separated the society of the 'Solway' region from that of the Eden valley. The boundaries between these distinct rural societies created a patchwork of local identities which were the product of cumulative patterns of human interaction through such factors as marriage horizons, master-servant networks and migration patterns. Forename distributions reinforce the impression that these local socieites each possessed a distinctive cultural character but also suggest that socio-economic territories might lie within wider cultural zone embracing several distinct localities.

SKETCHING the character of the inhabitants of Cumberland at the end of the eighteenth century, John Housman demonstrated an awareness of distinct social and cultural identities at the local level, noting the 'great differences in the manners of those ... inhabitants whom local situation has confined to particular districts'. He categorised the county's inhabitants under four headings: first, those living along the Anglo-Scottish border, who exhibited 'that fearless resolution and sort of savage courage, in dangerous enterprises, which distinguished their hardy ancestors'; second, the country people of the lowlands; third, the inhabitants of the Lake District, those 'happy people, who inhabit the peaceful dales shut up among the mountains'; and fourth, the miners of Alston Moor, 'generally rude and churlish', who 'labour hard about four days in the week and drink and make holiday during the other three'.[1]

This paper takes Housman's perceptions as its starting point, focusing on the first three local societies he identified.[2] A tripartite division of Cumberland into Borders, lowlands and Lakeland has figured prominently in conceptions of the county since the eighteenth century. To contemporaries, the far north of Cumberland, close to the Scottish border, stood out as a distinct local society. It headed Housman's list, its inhabitants, he claimed, still exhibiting a legacy of fierceness and lawlessness. Writing over a century earlier, Thomas Denton was similarly aware of the area's distinctive character. As 'Borderers', the inhabitants were, he wrote, 'a military kinde of men, nimble, wylie & allways in readiness for any service ... to this day they seldome meet upon any publick occasion, in the feild or privately in an alehouse, but (if drink flyes high) they have a rancounter ere they part'.[3] Social character was only part of a wider

distinctiveness. The Border parishes were linguistically separate, their dialect and place-names having more in common with those of Northumberland and the Scottish lowlands, than with the rest of Cumbria. The most immediate expression of this is the use of the Northumbrian Old English 'burn', rather than the Scandinavian 'beck', in the naming of watercourses.[4] Even the character of the rural landscape sets the Border parishes apart from the rest of the county, much of it having been rewritten in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by improving landlords, who were able to exploit the power they enjoyed as a result of the prevalence of leaseholding in a county otherwise dominated by customary tenures.[5]

The other distinctive local society identified by Housman, the hill farming country of the Lake District valleys, is also well-known. Epitomised by Wordsworth's romanticised notion of a 'pure Commonwealth ... a Perfect republic of shepherds and agriculturalists', early-modern Lake District communities do, indeed, appear to have borne characteristics of stability and independence which differentiated them from the rural mainstream.[6] Between the Borders and the Lake District lie the Cumberland lowlands, its rural society defined, according to Housman, by no salient characteristics other than the absence of the qualities which distinguished its neighbours. Yet people living around Cockermouth in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seem to have known the Holme Cultram area as 'the low land', suggesting that the Solway plain was viewed as being somehow distinct from other parts of the county.[7]

Attempting to capture the patchwork of local societies in early modern England poses considerable challenges to historians since it requires the pursuit of such elusive concepts as local identity, sense of belonging, and how contemporaries defined 'home'. Painstaking research has taken place in recent years in an attempt to define and reconstruct what Alan Everitt called the 'networks of regional and dynastic connexion' which bound communities together.[8] Work on kinship networks, marriage horizons, urban hinterlands and expressions of regional culture (vernacular buildings and dialect, for example), notably by Charles Phythian-Adams and others associated with the 'Leicester school' of local history, has begun to capture something of the texture of early modern society at local level, its patchwork of neighbourhoods and the lines of cleavage between them.[9] The elusive quarry of studies such as these has been, as John Marshall put it, to 'find out how contemporaries formed their allegiances to a particular district'.[10] This paper is a contribution to the quest for local identities. At its heart is an attempt to map local societies in Cumbria, using one particular expression of culture, the distribution of personal names (both surnames and forenames), to test whether Housman's tripartite division of Cumberland can be identified in the seventeenth century.

Surnames, inherited from ancestors and carried with the individual wherever he went, and forenames, chosen at birth and thus expressing culture at a particular point in time and space, offer different perspectives on local societies in the past. Broad, regional patterns are found in surname distributions across England: patronymics (Richardson, Thompson, Nelson etc) are particularly prevalent in northern England, for example, while regional dialect differences are visible in the distributions of some occupational surnames (Walker and Tucker being the northern and south-western

equivalents, respectively, of the southern surname Fuller).[11] Moreover, it has long been recognised that particular surnames were often concentrated in certain localities before the impact of increasing population mobility during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[12] Even today, a distinctive assemblage of local surnames may be used to celebrate local identity, as shown by the decision to incise distinctively north Cumbrian names on the floor of the underpass between Tullie House Museum and Carlisle Castle when it was refurbished in 2001.

In northern England most surnames have been hereditary since the fourteenth century.[13] Looking back from later centuries, we might postulate a 'genetic bottleneck' in the decades following the Black Death, when population levels were low. Where a name is highly localised, whether it is an unusual occupational name (Todhunter, for example) or a locative surname deriving from a minor place-name (Postlethwaite or Monkhouse, for example),[14] it might have originated with a single family in the later fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. The high degree of localisation can thus enable surnames to be used as 'genetic markers' to trace the spread of families from a point of origin, their distributions in the early-modern period reflecting the cumulative extent of migration (in pursuit of marriage partners, employment etc) and indicating social/economic horizons. Where surnames persisted in particular localities, stable 'core' families can be identified.[15]

Forenames, by contrast, represent deliberate acts of choice in the naming of infants and thus reflect prevailing culture and fashion. Most of the published research on the history of forenames has focused on the chronology of naming patterns and the cultural influences on the choice of names;[16] the geographical distribution of forenames remains largely unexplored. The analysis of forenames presented below thus represents an experiment in exploring local variation in naming patterns and the light this might shed on local cultures.

To undertake this exercise, the lists of inhabitants preserved in the Protestation Returns have been used to provide a snapshot of name distributions in the mid-seventeenth century. The Protestation was an oath promising to uphold the Protestant religion, which Parliament ordered to be tendered to all adult men in the winter of 1641-2. Parish officers were required to list all men aged 18 and over, noting whether they had sworn the oath.[17] The returns thus capture the names of men born between approximately the 1560s and the early 1620s and record them in their place of residence at the time the oath was tendered. They include the more mobile element of the population, such as farm servants and labourers, as well as long-term residents. The returns, largely compiled in early March 1642, are almost complete for Cumberland and the East and West wards of Westmorland (see Figure 1).[18] Protestation Returns do not survive for south Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, so the Hearth Tax returns, listing heads of household in the 1660s and early 1670s, have been used to extend the survey of selected name distributions to those areas.[19]

In order to test Housman's claim that three distinct local societies existed within Cumberland, the following discussion is based on an analysis of names recorded in three sample areas, chosen to represent the three local societies he identified. These

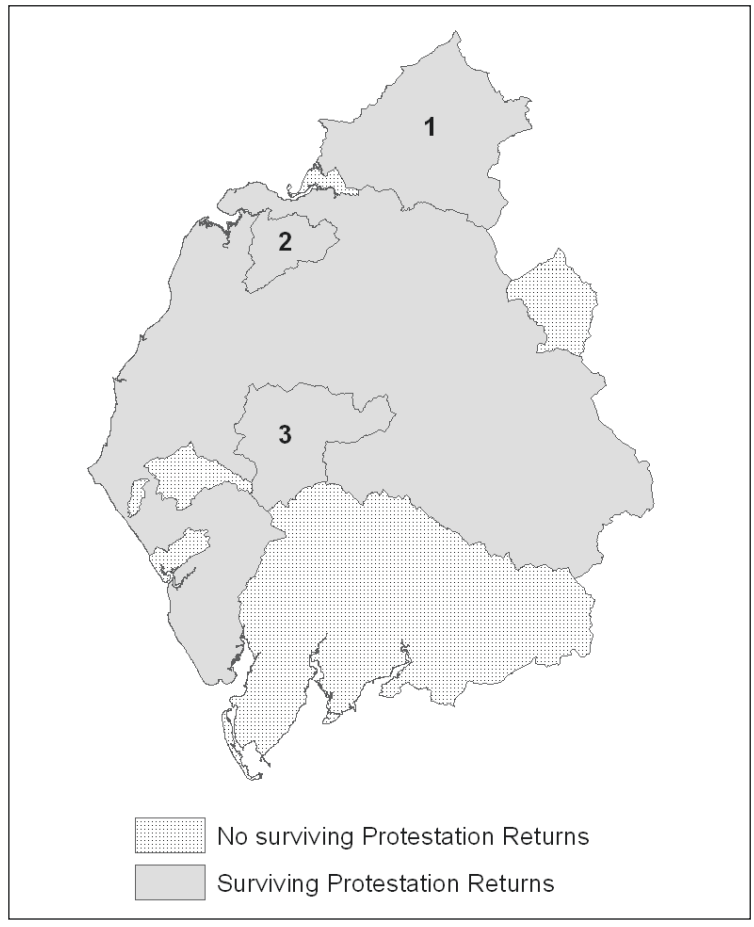


FIG. 1. Cumbria: coverage of Protestation Returns.
Sample parishes: 1 Border; 2 'Solway'; 3 Lake District.

are, first, the Border region, defined as the twelve parishes covering the north-eastern corner of the county (Arthuret, Bewcastle, Brampton, Denton, Farlam, Irthington, Kirkandrews on Esk, Kirklinton, Lanercost, Scaleby, Stapleton and Walton); second, a group of six parishes in the Solway lowlands (Aikton, Kirkbampton, Kirkbride, Great Orton, Thursby and Wigton); and third a block of land in the northern Lake District (the large ancient parish of Crosthwaite and the adjacent chapelries of Threlkeld, Matterdale and Watermillock in Greystoke parish). Each comprises a block of contiguous rural communities and a small market town (Brampton, Wigton and Keswick, respectively). In total, the samples capture the names of 3,150 men living in Cumberland in 1642.

Surnames

Between them, the men living in the three sample areas in 1642 shared 492 surnames but the distribution of names was far from even: in each area approximately 40 per cent

of the surnames were each borne by only a single individual, accounting for around 10 per cent of men in the Solway and Lake District samples and only 6.3 per cent in the Border parishes.[20] Conversely, a comparatively small body of surnames accounted for a majority of the individuals listed: 50 per cent of oath-takers were encompassed by 20 surnames in the Border sample; 23 in the Lake District and 25 in the Solway parishes. What is more, the ten most frequent surnames in each sample showed very little overlap, each group of parishes yielding a distinct list (Table I).

TABLE I: The ten most common surnames in the sample parishes.

Borders (Sample size: 1,604)		*Lake District (Sample size: 658)*		*Solway (Sample size: 887)*	
Bell	122 (7.6%)	Grave	28 (4.3%)	Barne	54 (6.2%)
Graham	117 (7.3%)	Fisher	26 (4.0%)	Wilson	33 (3.8%)
Hetherington	92 (5.8%)	Birkett	23 (3.5%)	Dande	22 (2.5%)
Foster	60 (3.8%)	Wilkinson	21 (3.2%)	Pearson	22 (2.5 %)
Armstrong	57 (3.6%)	Wilson	21 (3.2%)	Leethwaite	20 (2.3%)
Nixon	56 (3.5%)	Scott	17 (2.6%)	Watson	20 (2.3%)
Little	32 (2.0%)	Williamson	17 (2.6%)	Harrison	19 (2.2%)
Routledge	32 (2.0%)	Dawson	16 (2.5%)	Hodgson	18 (2.1%)
Mulcaster	27 (1.7%)	Bowe	15 (2.3%)	Robinson	18 (2.1%)
Storey	27 (1.7%)	Gaitskarth	15 (2.3%)	Moore	17 (2.0%)

Even when the full corpora of names are compared, the overlap between sample areas is modest. The majority of surnames in each sample are not found in the others, the proportion of 'unique' surnames being higher in the Borders (at 71.8 per cent of the surnames from the sample parishes) than in the Solway (58.8 per cent) and Lake District (61.4 per cent) sample areas. Only 30 surnames were common to all three areas; of these, 16 were patronymics. The basic data thus reinforce the expected pattern of highly localised surname distributions, in which each area had its own distinctive set of surnames, even though the patronymics which formed a significant part of the Cumbrian surname assemblage were widespread.

This body of data may be explored further at two levels. The first approach is to examine the degree of concentration in surname distributions at local level, as measured by expressing the ratio of oath-takers to surnames at parish level. In north Westmorland Postles found that the mean ratio was around 2.00.[21] In the twelve parishes in the Border sample, the mean was markedly higher at 3.01, with some individual parishes exhibiting remarkable concentrations: 4.92 men per surname in Bewcastle, 4.33 in Nichol Forest chapelry, 3.93 in Lanercost. High concentrations of surnames were also found in the Lake District and in upland communities in the Pennines. Indeed, away from the Border, the highest ratios of oath-takers to surnames tended to be found in remote upland valleys, such as Eskdale (3.7), Wasdale (3.1), St John's in the Vale (3.1), Borrowdale (3.0) and Bampton (3.4) in the Lake District fells and Ravenstonedale (3.3) in the Howgills.[22] The pattern reinforces the view of upland communities as comparatively homogeneous societies of hill farmers, possessing enduring kinship bonds and stable networks of neighbourliness.[23] Surname concentration may be thought of as a measure of self-containedness, a quality which we might expect to enhance the perceived distinctiveness of a community when viewed from outside. The

higher levels of surname concentration in the Border parishes and the Lake District valleys may thus be interpreted as expressions of the separate identities of these regions noted by Housman and others.

A second level of analysis involves examining the distribution of individual surnames across the county. Mapping these distributions enables something of the onomastic texture of the county and the boundaries between different local societies to be reconstructed.

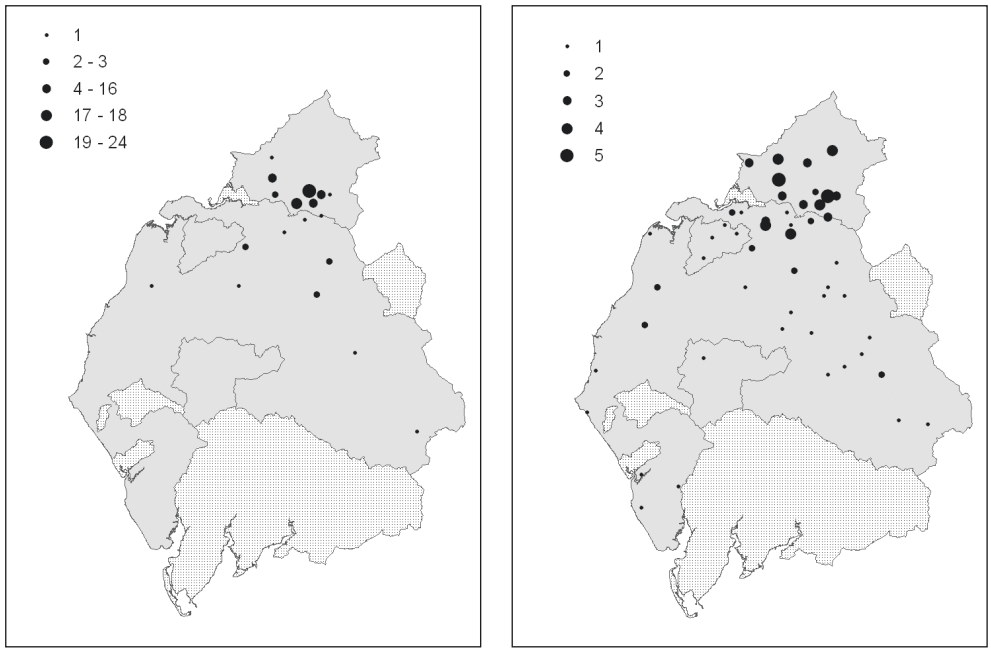
Border surnames

The close association between surnames and specific places was a feature of the Border parishes on which contemporaries commented. Thomas Musgrave, writing of the West March in 1583 could list the 'surnames' by their place of residence: in Bewcastle 'the Fosters inhabit uttermost, the Rutliges next them, and the Nixons next them, and next the howse of Bewcastell the Nobles and others ... [in Solport] standes Hethersgill, all Hethringtons, almost to Carlill'.[24] A century later, Thomas Denton made a similar observation: in Kirkandrews on Esk, he wrote, 'there are many persons of one surname here especially of the Grahams & Johnsons'.[25]

Six surnames, each borne by over 50 men, stood out in the twelve sample parishes in north-east Cumberland. Together, they accounted for 31.6 per cent or almost one-third of the individuals dwelling there in 1642. The most frequent were Bell (carried by 122 men); Graham (117) and Hetherington (recorded as 'Hetherton' in some parishes) (92); a second group comprised Foster (60 occurrences); Armstrong (57) and Nixon (56). The six names exhibit a variety of origins. They include a patronymic (Nixon: 'son of Nick'), an occupational surname (Foster: 'forester'), two locative names (Graham: a Norman import, derived from Grantham (Lincs.); Hetherington: from the deserted village of that name in Tynedale, Northumberland), a by-name (Armstrong) and a name of uncertain origin (Bell).[26]

The global figures across the Border parishes mask local concentrations. These and other distinctive Border surnames were not spread evenly but concentrated in overlapping clusters: Grahams in the western parishes of Arthuret, Kirkandrews on Esk and Kirklinton; Fosters in Nichol Forest and Stapleton; Nixons and Routledges in Bewcastle; Armstrongs, Tweddalls and Fidlers in Lanercost. In the eastern parishes around Brampton, Hetheringtons and Bells overlapped, the former being concentrated to the north of the town in Irthington, Walton and Lanercost (see Fig. 2a), and the latter further east in Lanercost, the Dentons and Farlam. Local concentrations at parish level were often striking: 54 per cent of the men in Nichol Forest chapelry were named Foster; 39 per cent of those in Farlam were Bells; Nixons accounted for one-third of the men in Bewcastle; Hetheringtons for a similar proportion in Walton. Within parishes, concentrations could be even more localised: a majority of the men in the township of Talkin (Hayton parish) were named Milburn, a fact commented upon by Thomas Denton.[27]

In such communities surnames ceased to perform the identificatory function that lay at their core. Where there were several William Bells, other features were needed to



(a) (b)

FIG. 2. Border surnames

(a) Distribution of men bearing the surname Hetherington, 1642 (b) Distribution of Border surname assemblage (Armstrong, Foster, Graham, Hetherington and Nixon), 1642. The map shows the number of those names represented in each parish.

distinguish one man from another of the same name. Denton noted this: as a result of the local concentration of surnames, he wrote, 'men are more frequently called by the name of the place where they dwell, then by their own names'.[28] He might have added that they were sometimes distinguished by reference to their parentage (Cuddie's John) or to a personal characteristic (Andrewe Rowtlidge alias blackstaffe).[29] Examples of such naming are found in the Protestation Returns from the Border parishes but, significantly, not elsewhere in the county. In Lanercost parish, for example, 'Thomas Hetherington alias Thom of Bletteron' falls into the first category; 'Thomas Armstrong Eckie's Tom', into the latter group.

The six dominant surnames may be treated as an assemblage of Border names and their distribution used to attempt to define the limits of the distinctive Border society recognised by contemporaries. Of the six names, only Bell had a county-wide distribution, including a secondary concentration centred on Lorton, near Cockermouth. If it is excluded and the distribution of the five remaining names are plotted by parish (Fig. 2b), it is striking how few and scattered were the parishes in which more than one of the Border names was represented, south of the environs of Carlisle. A scatter of Border surnames spreads out across Inglewood Forest and the Eden valley, with occasional occurrences scattered thinly across western Cumberland; the names are almost wholly absent from the Lake District. The comparatively sharp boundary between the parishes in which more than one of the names occur and the rest of the county appears to confirm the separate identity of the Border area.

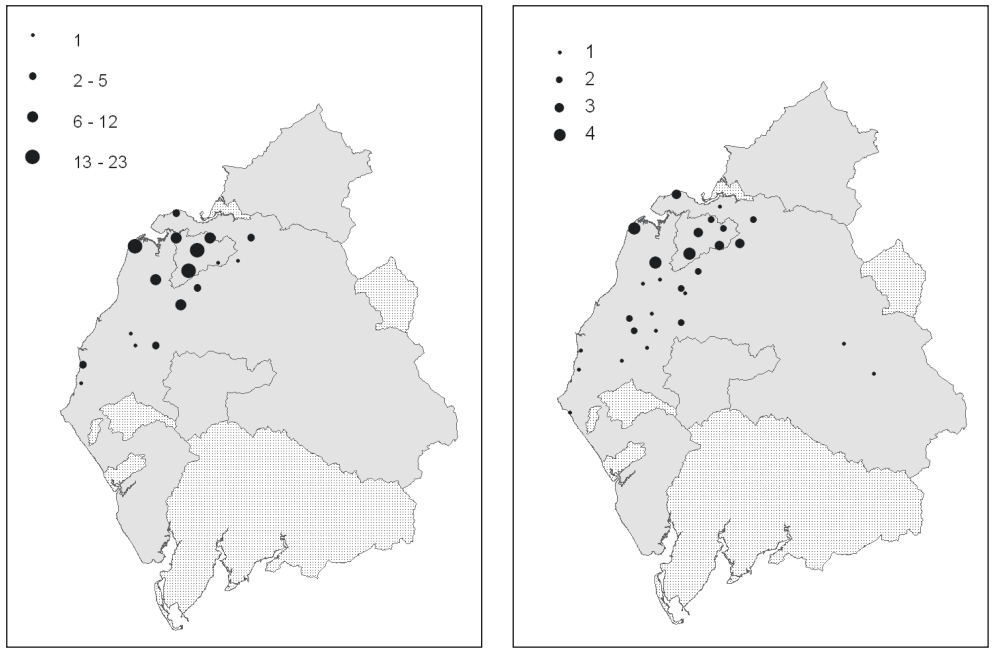
Surnames in the Solway lowlands

Although the concentration of surnames in the Cumberland lowlands was not as marked as in the Border parishes, a similar distinctive lexicon of identifier surnames, some exhibiting strong concentrations in particular parishes, can be identified. Patronymics (Wilson, Watson, Hodgson, Harrison, etc.) were numerous and widespread, accounting for nine of the 20 most frequent surnames in the sample parishes. Not being highly localised, they do not provide sufficiently distinctive 'markers' and have been excluded from the following analysis. Instead, five non-patronymic surnames have been examined. Barne was the most frequent name in the sample parishes, occurring 54 times and accounting for over 6 per cent of the oath-takers. The remainder were comparatively uncommon but showed concentrations in the sample parishes: Tiffin and Twentyman each occurred 16 times and were ranked joint 11th; Messenger (14 occurrences) was ranked 13th; and Studholme (12 occurrences), ranked joint 18th. Two of the five names are probably by-names: Barne, from Old Norse *barn*, 'a child', and Tiffin, thought to be a variant of 'Tiffany' (late Latin *Theophania*, 'manifestation of God').[30] Two appear to be occupational names: Messenger (self-explanatory) and Twentyman, possibly a variant of 'twinterman' (i.e. a herdsman of twinter beasts).[31] Studholme, is locative, being the name of a hamlet in Kirkbampton parish, recorded from the thirteenth century.[32] Barne, a surname borne by 105 men in Cumberland in 1642, showed concentrations in several parishes: Wigton (23 occurrences), Holm Cultram (15); Aikton (14) and Bolton (12) (see Fig. 3a). The remainder were rarer: Messenger and Tiffin were borne by 33 and 32 men, respectively, and were both concentrated in Wigton, where each occurred 13 times; 28 individuals bore the surname Twentyman, a particular concentration (ten instances) occurring in Kirkbampton parish; and Studholme, which occurred 17 times, was concentrated in Thursby (eight).

As Fig. 3b shows, the boundary surrounding the parishes containing two or more of these five surnames is particularly sharp on the northern and eastern sides: in 1642 the five names were completely absent from Eskdale and Leath wards (though two men called Twentyman were living in north Westmorland). It is as though the distribution of these distinctive Solway names was blocked by Carlisle and Inglewood forest, separating an agricultural rural society in the Cumberland lowlands from the rest of the county. Only to the south is there a more attenuated scatter of these surnames, extending to the Cockermouth area, with isolated occurrences of Barne in the coastal parishes of Harrington and Moresby, and Messenger at St Bees.

Lake District surnames

As in the Border parishes, high levels of surname concentration were associated with intense local concentrations of individual surnames in some Lake District communities. Particularly striking is the pattern in Borrowdale, where the 55 oath-takers included 13 Birketts and 11 Fishers. Most of the Fishers were in the hamlet of Grange, while the bulk of the Birketts were nearby at Watendlath and further up the valley at Rosthwaite and Seatoller. Similar concentrations appear elsewhere where the returns provide data at hamlet level. In Mungrisdale chapelry, for example, half of the ten oath-takers in the tiny hamlet of Bowscale were named Todhunter and four surnames (Udall,



(a) (b)

FIG. 3. 'Solway' surnames
(a) Distribution of men bearing the surname Barne, 1642 (b) Distribution of 'Solway' surname assemblage (Barne, Messenger, Studholme, Tiffin and Twentyman), 1642. The map shows the number of those names represented in each parish.

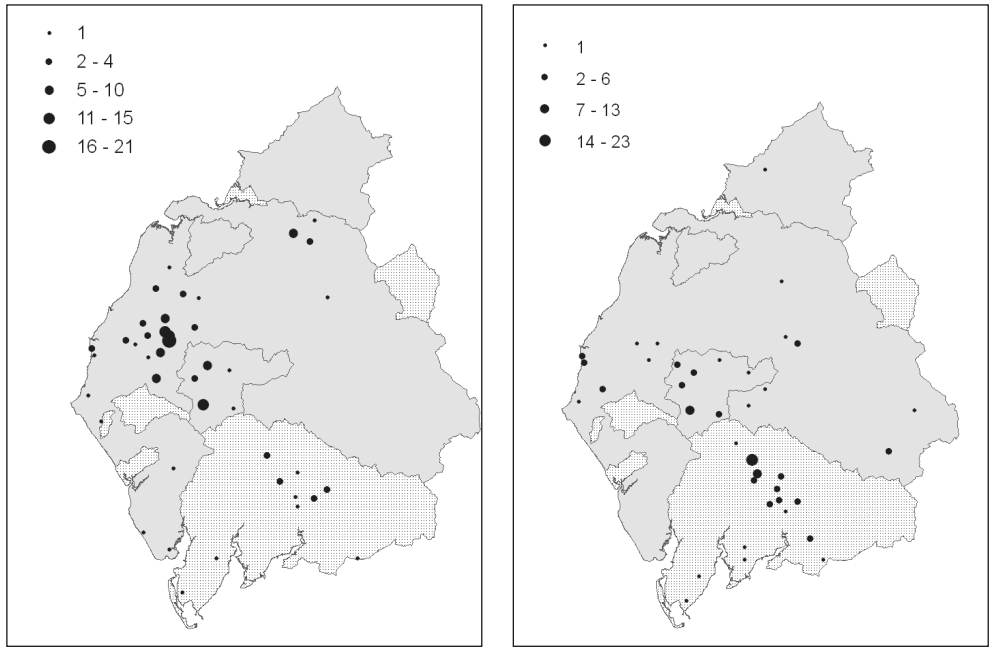
Colman, Scott and Sowerbie) accounted for 18 of the 23 men at Murrah. Across the Lake District localised concentrations such as these linked families to places. Within the parish of Crosthwaite, each chapelry was typified by particular surnames: Birkett and Fisher in Borrowdale, as has been noted; Grave and Wren at St John's in the Vale; Williamson in the Keswick area; Bowe around Braithwaite. Elsewhere, similar family-hamlet bonds were found: in Eskdale chapelry in the south-west of the Lake District, for example, concentrations of Vicars and Nicolson families were found on the northern side of the valley, with Wilsons and Tysons south of the river, in Birker.

To what extent is it possible to talk about distinctively 'Lake District surnames'? This question can be explored by examining the distribution of the three most common surnames in the sample parishes: Grave, Fisher and Birkett. Two are occupational names: Grave being the local variant of 'greave' or 'reeve', the manorial official and rent collector;[33] Fisher is self-explanatory. The third name, Birkett (and its variants, 'Burkett', 'Birkhead' etc) is a locative name, seemingly deriving from Birkett 'high place with birch trees', near Threlkeld, a place recorded in a thirteenth-century stream name.[34]

When the distributions of the three names in 1642 are examined, some striking patterns emerge. Grave, the most frequent surname in the sample parishes, is highly localised: indeed, of the 40 oath-takers in Cumberland with the surname, 28 (70 per cent)

were found in the sample area around Keswick, most of the remainder lying scattered across the northern fringes of the Lake District. The association of the surname with the Lake District is reinforced by its presence in the Hearth Tax assessments for Langdale and Hugill in south Westmorland and Claife in Furness.[35] Fisher (Fig. 4a), by contrast, was much more common, borne by 140 oath-takers in Cumberland in 1642. Not surprisingly, concentrations of the surname reflected locations where fishing had been a significant occupation: at Corby (eight occurrences), beside the valuable fisheries on the Eden; in coastal settlements, notably Workington (four occurrences), which Leland described as 'a lytle pretty fyssher town';[36] and, most strikingly, around the lakes and rivers of the northern Lake District. The greatest concentrations of the surname were in the cluster of townships at the foot of Bassenthwaite Lake (Wythop (21 occurrences), Embleton (15) and Setmurthy (12)), in the Cocker valley (Lorton (eight) and Loweswater (seven)) and in Borrowdale (eleven) at the head of Derwentwater. Leaving aside the outlying clusters at Corby and Workington, the name is concentrated in the northern parishes of the Lake District and is absent from most of the rest of the county. However, like Grave, the surname Fisher was also found on the southern side of the Lake District, with clusters of householders bearing the name in Kendal, Troutbeck and Underbarrow in the Hearth Tax survey of 1674-5.

The distribution of the third name, Birkett and its variants (Fig. 4b), presents a similar pattern: in 1642 it was only thinly scattered across northern Cumbria outside the sample



(a) (b)

FIG. 4. Lake District surnames
(a) Distribution of surname Fisher. (b) Distribution of surname Birkett.
The data are for 1642 for Cumberland and north Westmorland, 1666 for Furness and 1670 (Fisher) and 1674-5 (Birkett) for south Westmorland

parishes in the northern Lake District, but it was found in the Kendal-Windermere area in 1674-5, with a particular concentration in Troutbeck (Westmorland), where 23 householders bore the name. All three surnames thus share similar distributions: intense local concentrations in certain Lake District townships; distributions which straddle the central Lake District watershed; and an almost complete absence from much of northern Cumbria, the Eden valley (if one omits the cluster of Fishers beside the Eden) and south-west Cumberland.

Other surnames distinctive to the Lake District exhibit similar patterns. Tyson, for example, straddled the watersheds between the south-western valleys but was rare elsewhere, even in the coastal lowlands adjacent to its heartland. In 1642 Tysons were concentrated in Eskdale (17 occurrences), Ulpha in the Duddon valley (seven) and Wasdale (five) and, a generation later, the Hearth Tax returns record householders bearing the name in Langdale and in Furness.[37] More localised surnames also exhibit similar 'valley hopping': for example, Cowperthwaite, the most frequent surname among householders in Kentmere in 1670, was also found elsewhere in the Lakeland core (in Langdale, Troutbeck, Patterdale and Longsleddale) but was rare elsewhere.[38]

These surname distributions seem to indicate a separation of social and economic horizons between the communities of the Lake District valleys and the surrounding lowlands. They suggest that the links of these communities were stronger with other hill farming communities in adjacent valleys than with their lowland neighbours, reinforcing the conclusion that the Lake District may be seen as a distinct and distinctive 'country'.

The analysis of surnames from these three samples areas thus reinforces Housman's perceptions of the separateness of both the Lake District and the Border parishes: both exhibit higher degrees of surname concentration than the norm, and the distinctive surnames of each area are largely absent elsewhere. Both appear to have been local societies which were sufficiently self-contained to foster enduring socio-economic and cultural characteristics which gave them separate identities. However, Housman's pen-portrait of rural society in the Cumbrian lowlands was probably over-simplistic. The surname distributions identify what might be termed a Solway lowlands region, again exhibiting a degree of self-containment, with sharp socio-economic horizons to the north and east. Without a comparable analysis of surname distributions in other parts of lowland Cumbria, it is not yet possible to map other local societies. A skim through the Protestation Returns suggests a degree of self-containment in the Eden valley, which possesses a distinctive assemblage of surnames such as Gowling, Ion, Lowthian and Mounsey, which, like the Solway surnames to the west, do not penetrate Inglewood Forest. Inglewood itself may have formed another distinct local society, comparatively sparsely settled until the sixteenth century. From whence did migrants to the Forest come? The 'bleeding' of Border surnames south of Carlisle perhaps suggests one possible source. Further analysis of surname distributions might shed light on the patchwork of local identities elsewhere in early modern Cumbria.

Forenames and local cultural identities

Being chosen rather than inherited, forenames may be thought of as expressions of culture, embodying traditions and fashions current in their place and time. We can assume that the vast majority of names were those given at the font by godparents bringing a child to be baptised. Across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries several notable changes in naming practice in England have been identified. First, and of most significance to the present study, there was a move away from giving children the name of their godparent, which had been the norm until *c.*1600, with naming after family members becoming increasingly frequent across the seventeenth century. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century approximately 80 per cent of boys were given the name of one of their godfathers; by the mid-seventeenth century the proportion had fallen to approximately 40 per cent. Other changes included a steady increase in the number of children being given biblical names from the 1590s, accompanied by a decline in the use of traditional English names.[39] Although these shifts in naming patterns were less marked in the northern counties than elsewhere in England, it should be borne in mind that the younger men recorded in the Protestation Returns received their names during a period of significant change.

The 3,150 men listed in the sample parishes shared 79 forenames, 28 of which were common to all three sample areas and a further 13 common to two of the samples. The Border parishes contained a much richer assemblage of forenames than did the other sample areas (70 names, compared with 37 in the Solway sample and 41 in the Lake District sample) and had a much longer 'tail' of names (29) not found in the other samples. This may perhaps be connected to the greater concentration of surnames in the Border parishes, a wider range of forenames helping to distinguish between individuals sharing common surnames.

A comparison between the most popular names recorded in the three sample areas (Table II) highlights the particularities of the forename assemblage at local level. The 'top 15' names[40] in each sample accounted for the vast majority of individuals, over 90 per cent in the Solway and Lake District samples and 84 per cent in the Border parishes. As in England as a whole, John, followed by William and Thomas, predominated, while Richard and Robert, the names ranked fourth and fifth nationally, are found among the top six names in each sample.[41] Greater local variation was found among middle ranking names: George, ranked fourth and accounting for over 7 per cent of all names in the Border parishes, was ranked twelfth and borne by only 1.2 per cent of men in the Lake District sample. Nicholas, ranked tenth in the Solway sample, does not appear in the 'top 15' in the other sample areas (indeed, it was ranked only 31st in the Border parishes) but was particularly popular in south-west Cumberland, ranked seventh among the forenames from the valleys of Wasdale, Eskdale and Ulpha, where it was borne by 8.6 per cent of the oath-takers. Remarkably local concentrations of less common names were sometimes found: of the 51 oath-takers in the hamlet of Carleton, near Carlisle, for example, five were named Barnard and another five Randal. Until forename distributions are mapped completely, it is not possible to draw definitive conclusions about the popularity of the high and middle ranking names in different localities, but these observations suggest that striking differences in naming patterns may have existed at local level.

TABLE II: Most popular forenames in the three sample areas.

Borders (Sample size: 1604)		*Lake District (Sample size: 658)*		*Solway (Sample size: 887)*	
John	(24.3%)	John	(32.3%)	John	(31.1%)
William	(11.6%)	Thomas	(14.0%)	William	(14.5%)
Thomas	(10.9%)	William	(10.6%)	Thomas	(13.3%)
George	(7.2%)	Richard	(7.4%)	Robert	(11.1%)
Richard	(6.2%)	Christopher	(6.1%)	Edward	(3.8%)
Robert	(4.1%)	Robert	(5.9%)	Richard	(3.8%)
Edward	(3.9%)	Edward	(4.7%)	George	(3.6%)
Christopher	(3.7%)	***Gawen***	(2.1%)	***Anthony***	(2.3%)
James	(3.2%)	James	(2.0%)	Christopher	(1.8%)
David	(2.1%)	Henry	(1.8%)	***Nicholas***	(1.4%)
Andrew*	(1.9%)	Francis	(1.7%)	Matthew	(1.3%)
Simon	(1.2%)	George	(1.2%)	***Michael***	(1.1%)
Francis	(1.1%)	***Oswald****	(1.2%)	Henry	(1.0%)
Humphrey	(0.9%)	***Lancelot***	(0.9%)	James	(1.0%)
Matthew	(0.9%)	***Percival****	(0.8%)	***Mungo***	(1.0%)
Roland	(0.9%)				

Note: Names highlighted in bold only occur among the most popular names in one of the three sample areas. Asterisked names are not recorded at all in the other sample areas.

Though eight of the 'top 15' names were common to all three samples and a further four were found in two of the three, each sample area possessed a group of names which were not sufficiently popular in the other samples to appear in Table II (and, in three cases, were recorded only in the sample in question). These names, highlighted in Table II, reinforce the impression that there were marked cultural differences between the three sample areas. The forename assemblage of the Border parishes shows Scottish influence: David and Andrew (uncommon elsewhere in Cumbria) are probably to be interpreted as borrowings from the lexicon of prominent Scottish forenames. To them may be added a handful of other distinctively Scottish names recorded in the Border parishes outside the 'top 15': Archibald (occurring eleven times), Alexander (ten), Fergus (seven) and Hector (three). These presumably indicate familial links with southern Scotland, reflecting the cross-border extent of many of the 'clans' and acting further to distinguish the northern parishes from the remainder of the county. Forenames from the Border parishes also hint at a lasting legacy of names borne by local landed families: Roland was the dominant forename among the Vaux family of Triermain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; Humphrey (discussed further below) and Leonard (ranked joint 20th) were both associated with the Dacre family, lords of Gilsland barony.

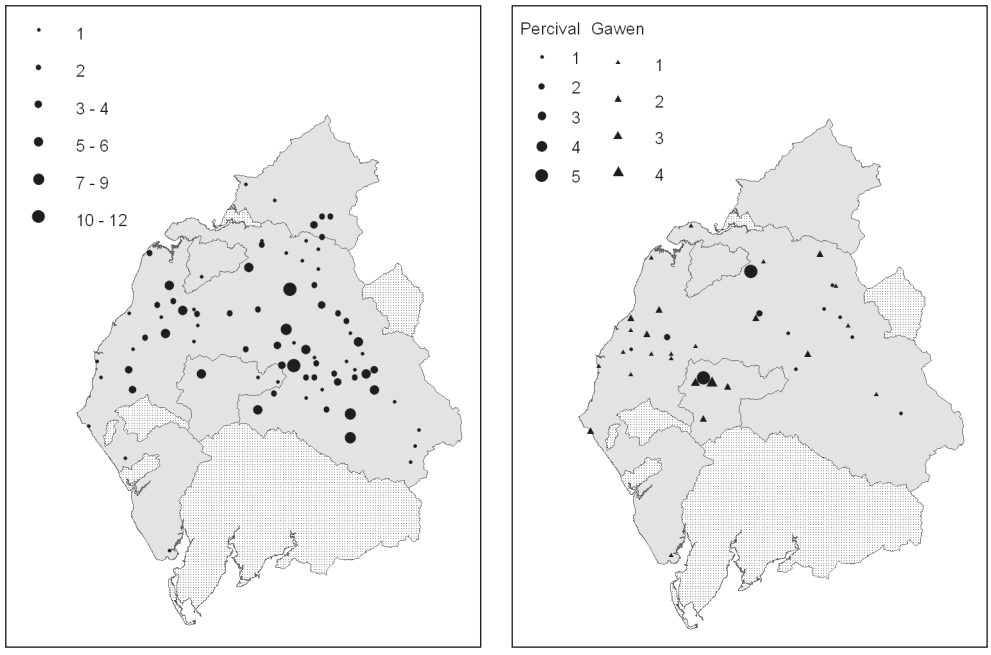
In contrast, the popular names found only in the Lake District sample include three names – Gawen (from Gawain) (14 occurrences), Lancelot (six) and Percival (five) – drawn from a different cultural wellspring, that of the Arthurian romances. Those in the table for the Solway parishes are less distinctive, except for Mungo (nine occurrences), the pet form of Kentigern, a saint whose cult was popular in parts of medieval Cumbria. A handful of these less common names – the three Arthurian names, Mungo and Humphrey – have been selected for closer examination (see Figs. 5 and 6).

Lancelot, Gawen and ***Percival***, all deriving their popularity ultimately from the Arthurian romances, may be discussed together. Lancelot (Fig. 5a) was the most common of the three, occurring 123 times in Cumberland and a further 73 times in north Westmorland in 1642. Its cultural reference was to Sir Lancelot of the Lake, the most popular of the Arthurian knights. The greatest concentration of the name was in Inglewood Forest and the Eden valley, where clusters were found in the parishes of Hesket in the Forest (ten), Hutton in the Forest (eight), Barton (12) and Crosby Ravensworth (nine), but men named Lancelot were found over much of lowland northern Cumbria, except in the most northerly of the Border parishes. It was comparatively rare in the Lake District and in southern Cumbria more generally. The other Arthurian names were much less common. Both Gawin/Gawen (from Gawain) (40 occurrences) and Percival (23 occurrences) were scattered unevenly across northern Cumbria, Gawen being more frequent in west Cumberland and Percival in Inglewood and the Eden valley. Both exhibited marked clusters, Crosthwaite parish (where there were eleven men named Gawen and five named Percival) standing out (see Fig. 5b).

Although the three Arthurian names clustered in different places, the broad distribution of all three was similar: they were almost absent from the far north (the Border parishes and the Solway lowlands north of the Wampool) and the far south-west (the Cumberland parishes south of St Bees). Both the fact that Cumbrians were choosing these names in some numbers and the particular distribution of the names – with a heartland in Inglewood and the Eden valley – suggests a legacy of a fashion for Arthurian literature, some of which located stories concerning Lancelot and Gawain in Carlisle and at Tarn Wadling in Inglewood Forest.[42] A scatter of Arthurian associations in place-names in eastern Cumbria reinforces this impression.[43]

Indeed, Lancelot Threlkeld (d. 1673) of Melmerby was said to have claimed that 'his family derived themselves from Sir Lancelot du Lake, one of King Arthur his knights', making explicit the link between the occurrence of the name in Cumbria and the popularity of Arthurian romance, probably in the late-medieval period.[44] It is possible to trace the spread of the forename Lancelot through gentry families in the core area in which the name had become popular by the seventeenth century. The earliest instance of the name among the Cumbrian gentry appears to be Lancelot Threlkeld (*c.*1435-1492), who had estates at Yanwath and Crosby Ravensworth. Through his daughter Ann, who married Sir Hugh Lowther (1461-1510), the name spread to the Lowther family and the Lancasters of Sockbridge. It was also used by the Salkelds of Whitehall and by the gentry Warcop and Wharton families in Westmorland by the early sixteenth century.[45] It seems likely that its popularity among a close-knit group of gentry families led to the name being appropriated by the community at large; it was in use among non-gentry families by the mid-sixteenth century.[46] The mechanisms by which the name gained its popularity may have included the influence of godparent-naming or a desire to emulate or honour local gentry.

A similar process may lie behind the clusters of the names Gawen and Percival. In 1642, their heartland was the extensive parish of Crosthwaite, surrounding Keswick, and other sources show that they were well-established in the area by the middle decades



(a) (b)

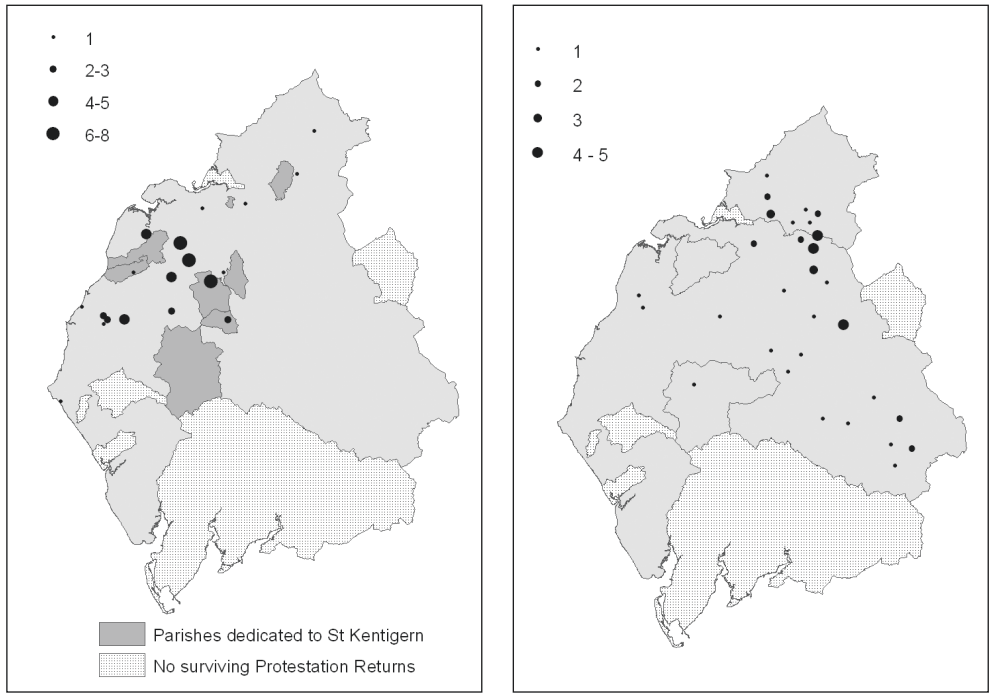
FIG. 5. 'Arthurian' forenames
(a) Distribution of men named Lancelot, 1642 (b) Distribution of men named Gawen and Percival, 1642

of the sixteenth century. A list of creditors and debtors of the Mines Royal in 1574 includes nine men named Gawen and four named Percival, all living in the Keswick area.[47] Significantly, both names were used by the local branch of the Radcliffe family, lords of the manor of Castlerigg and Derwentwater: Percival Radcliffe was bailiff to the absentee Lady Radcliffe in the 1560s, while Gawen Radcliffe was named among the gentlemen of Cumberland in a list drawn up in the early sixteenth century.[48] Like Lancelot, the mid-seventeenth century distributions of these names probably reflect diffusion from local gentry families through emulation.

Mungo, by contrast, allows another cultural influence, that of saints' cults, to be investigated. It was one of a group of non-biblical saints' names which formed part of the assemblage of given names in early modern Cumbria, often occurring in discrete local clusters. For example, men named Oswald formed a significant minority on the eastern fringes of the Lake District, in the contiguous territories of Watermillock (six), Matterdale (two) and Dacre (two); Rinion (a pet form of Ninian, the Celtic saint of Galloway) was found almost exclusively in the Border parishes, where it occurred eight times, scattered across five parishes. Though it is tempting to relate such clusters to the influence of saints' cults, the distribution of these forenames in the seventeenth century was not necessarily directly related to the names of the patron saints of the parishes in which they were recorded.

The distribution of the name Mungo (see Figure 6a) illustrates vividly that expected correlations between parochial dedications and naming patterns at local level are not

always found. The 52 occurrences of the name in Cumberland were concentrated in the north-west of the county but there is comparatively little correspondence between church dedications to St Kentigern (Mungo) and the residence of men named Mungo in 1642. Such an association is seen in the parishes of Caldbeck (where seven men bore the name in 1642) and Aspatria (one occurrence) and in the chapelry of Mungrisdale (three occurrences) but no men named Mungo were recorded in the parishes of Bromfield, Crosthwaite, Castle Sowerby and Irthington, all of which have Kentigern dedications.[49] Nevertheless, the distribution as a whole suggests that Mungo had become embedded in the assemblage of forenames favoured in that part of the Cumberland coastal plain and the northern fringes of the Lake District, in which the majority of church dedications to Kentigern were found. Godparent-naming or family lineage had probably replaced any direct link with the cult of the patron saint as the means of transmission of the name by the sixteenth century. We appear to be seeing an expression of a local cultural identity in an area not dissimilar in extent to that identified in the analysis of 'Solway' surnames, discussed above (Fig. 3b). Again, the Lake District and Inglewood Forest seem to hem in a distinctive local society on the Cumberland plain.



(a) (b)

FIG. 6. (a) Distribution of men named Mungo in 1642 in relation to parishes with churches dedicated to St Kentigern (b) Distribution of men named Humphrey, 1642

Humphrey, the final forename selected for mapping, was a continental name imported by the Normans, which seems to have gained in popularity in the late-medieval period, perhaps reflecting the renown of 'Duke Humphrey', the duke of Gloucester (1391-1447), youngest son of Henry IV.[50] The name occurred 40 times

in Cumberland in 1642, with a further ten occurrences in north Westmorland (see Fig. 6b). It exhibited a markedly easterly distribution, the principal grouping falling in the barony of Gilsland, with an outlying cluster at Melmerby (where five men bore the name) and a scatter through the upper Eden valley. It seems plausible that the popularity of the name in these particular parts of Cumbria reflects a fashion for honouring feudal lords. The close association between the name Humphrey and the Gilsland area may be the result of naming children after the late-fifteenth century baron of Gilsland, Humphrey Dacre (d. 1485). The cluster at Melmerby might be associated with Humphrey Threlkeld (d. 1526), the lord of that manor.[51] Again, godparent-naming or descent through families might account for the multiplication of the name at local level between the early sixteenth century and 1642.

The names selected for analysis have been drawn, of necessity, from among the less common forenames. Chronologically, they probably represent a particular phase in naming fashions, predating the adoption of biblical names which gathered pace in the seventeenth century. The Arthurian names are strikingly absent from thirteenth and fourteenth century lists of names from Cumbria and probably represent new names adopted from the fifteenth century. Saints' names are likewise rare in earlier medieval lists, the burgess called Mungou at Cockermouth *c.*1270 being an exception.[52] The century between *c.*1450 and *c.*1550 appears to have been critical in the adoption of these 'new' names. Explaining the processes by which these names attained the distributions they exhibited in 1642 has to be in large part conjectural, but it is probably safe to assume that godparent-naming played a major part in the choice of forenames. If so, it might take a matter of no more than three or four generations for an unusual forename to spread from a single godparent, through a handful of godchildren who might in turn have acted as godparents, to create the frequencies of names such as those encountered in the Protestation Returns. As fashions changed and naming after family members became more common, distinctive forenames would persist through generations of the same family. Lancelot became a regular forename in the Fletcher family of Dean and Mockerkin; Gawen in the Wren family of Castlerigg, for example.[53]

Both godparent-naming and family fashion could be expected to reinforce the spatial patterns exhibited by surname distributions: social horizons would presumably influence choice of godparents, while, once a particular forename became associated with a particular family, it would migrate with the surname. In this way, forenames could become distinctive cultural markers which can help historians to differentiate between communities at a comparatively local scale in their quest to identify local societies. In Cumberland, the Border parishes stand out, not least in the percolation of Scottish forenames, as do the Solway lowlands, where the popularity of Mungo coincided approximately with the rural society identified from the analysis of surnames.

That brings us, in conclusion, to the relationship between the *socio-economic horizons* suggested by the distribution of surname groups and the *cultural regions* suggested by the pattern of forename distributions. Surname analysis identifies a patchwork of local societies, the most distinctive of which, as Housman noted, were the Borders and the Lake District valleys, highly self-contained societies held together by shared experience, whether Border reiving or Lakeland hill farming. These and

the distinct local societies of the lowlands were bounded by zones of separation, creating a patchwork of local identities which were the product of cumulative patterns of human interaction reflecting such socio-economic factors as marriage horizons, master-servant networks and migration patterns. Forename distributions suggest that these socio-economic territories might lie within wider cultural zones embracing several distinct localities. The relationship between the distributions of the Arthurian names across northern Cumbria and the different surname patterns in the Solway lowlands, Inglewood and Eden valley is a case in point. Gawen, Lancelot and Percival, for example, were each spread widely in an arc from the Eden valley into western Cumbria, straddling the divisions tentatively identified from the analysis of surnames. They were largely absent from those parts of Cumberland without resident gentry: the western and south-western valleys of the Lake District, the Borders and Burgh barony. Their distribution perhaps suggests that we can identify a cultural region in which inter-connected resident gentry families celebrated local identity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by naming their children after characters in the heroic romances associated with Carlisle, the city which, as the seat of diocesan and county government, was the focal point of their community and the local centre of power and pride. Through a desire to express allegiance to local gentlemen (and perhaps the role of gentry as godparents at the font), these names then percolated to the wider populace.

How do these socio-economic and cultural territories relate to the more formal framework of administrative building blocks which make up Cumbria? Echoes of the legal and administrative geography of medieval Cumbria seem to be visible in early modern naming patterns.[54] First, it is possible to argue for the persistence of a cultural boundary dividing north-east from south-west Cumbria. The southern boundary of the medieval diocese of Carlisle, itself a legacy of the political geography of Cumbria before the Norman conquest, was reflected in some aspects of forename distributions in the early modern centuries. Lancelot and Gawain, spread so widely across northern and eastern Cumbria, were largely absent from southern Cumbria, whereas other distinctive forenames of the Millom, Furness and Kendale areas (such as Miles and Roger) were rare further north.[55] The diocesan divide, rather than the county boundaries, perhaps formed the primary cultural division of Cumbria. Second, some elements of the pattern of feudal overlordship in the medieval period were replicated in the socio-economic horizons represented by surname distributions. The Lake District edge, corresponding approximately to the division between the private hunting forest of the Lakeland fells and the manorialised lowlands, was roughly replicated in the separation between the distinctive assemblage of surnames in the Lake District and those in the surrounding lowlands. Similarly, Inglewood Forest recurred as a 'frontier zone', separating the distinctive local society of the Solway lowlands from that of the Eden valley. Early modern Cumbria was not one but several 'countries', as our ancestors would have termed them: distinctive areas of countryside each with its own social persona. Personal names, both surnames indicating genetic continuity and forenames expressing culture and fashion, were part of those local identities, and may be used to recapture something of the social and cultural mosaic of the early modern countryside, as this paper has sought to demonstrate.

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[4] The dialect boundary is discussed in Beat Glauser, 'The Scottish/English border in Hindsight', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* **145** (2000), 65-78, which summarises his earlier work, *The Scottish-English Linguistic Border; Lexical Aspects* (Bern: Francke. 1974). For the 'burn'/'beck' boundary, see Eduard Kolb, 'Skandinavisches in den Nordenglischen Dialekten', *Anglia* **83** (1965), 127-53

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[6] See Angus J. L. Winchester, 'Wordsworth's "Pure Commonwealth"? Yeoman Dynasties in the English Lake District, *c.*1450-1750', *Armitt Library Journal* **1** (1998), 86-113; Jonathan Healey, 'Agrarian Social Structure in the central Lake District, *c.*1574-1830: The Fall of the "Mountain Republic"?', *Northern History*, **44** (2) (2007), 73-91; I. D. Whyte, 'The Customary Tenants of Watermillock *c.*1760-*c.*1840: Continuity and Change in a Lake District Township', *CW3*, ix, (2009), 161-74

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[9] For example, the contributions to Charles Phythian-Adams (ed.), *Societies, Cultures and Kinship 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces and English Local History* (Leicester, 1993); Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Differentiating Provincial Societies in English History: Spatial Contexts and Cultural Processes', in Bill Lancaster, Diana Newton and Natasha Vall (eds.), *An Agenda for Regional History* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2007), 4-22; Alan Fox, *A Lost Frontier Revealed: Regional Separation in the East Midlands* (Studies in Regional and Local History 7; Hatfield, 2009)

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[13] Postles, *North through its Names*, 10-11

[14] These Cumbrian examples supplement the discussion of other comparable surnames below. Todhunter (i.e. 'fox hunter') was concentrated in the north-eastern Lake District, particularly in Greystoke parish. Postlethwaite, a name concentrated in south-west Cumberland and Furness in the early-modern period, derives from a lost place-name near Millom; Monkhouse, a name concentrated in the Inglewood area, originated in the place so-called in Sebergham: Protestation Returns; *Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Carlisle 1661-1750*, Susan Dench (ed.), (British Record Society, 1998); A. M. Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland* (English Place-Name Society XX-XXII; Cambridge, 1950-2), 151-2, 416-7

[15] For studies of 'core' families, see Everitt, *Landscape and Community*, 309-30; David Hey, 'Stable families in Tudor and Stuart England' and Suella and David Postles, 'Surnames and Stability: a Detailed Case Study', both in Della Hooke and David Postles (eds.), *Names, Time and Place: Essays in Memory of Richard McKinley* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2003), 165-80 and 193-207

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[17] See Anne Whiteman, 'The Protestation Returns of 1641-2: Part I, the general organisation', *Local Population Studies*, **55**, (1995), 14-26

[18] M. A. Faraday (ed.), *The Westmorland Protestation Returns 1641*/2, CWAAS Tract Series No. XVII (Kendal, 1971). The returns for Cumberland remain unpublished: Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/82. Nominal lists survive for all but seven parishes in the county, namely Alston Moor; Beckermet St John; Drigg; Edenhall; Ennerdale chapelry; Irton and Rockcliffe. In Cumberland the parish of Aikton returned all men aged over 16 years, while in Westmorland, Bolton and Hartsop and Patterdale limited their lists to those under 60 years old. The data presented below are drawn from the Protestation Returns unless otherwise stated. I am most grateful to William Cook for preparing the maps published in this paper

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[20] The figures were: Solway sample: 194 surnames of which 80 (41.2 per cent) were each borne by only one individual, accounting for 9.2 per cent of men in the sample; Lake District sample: 167 surnames of which 74 (44.3 per cent) occur once, accounting for 11.4 per cent of men; Border sample: 255 surnames of which 99 (38.8 per cent) occur once, accounting for 6.2 per cent of men listed

[21] Dave Postles, *The North through its Names*, English Surnames Survey Volume 8 (Oxford, 2007), 229

[22] The figures for parishes in Westmorland are from Postles, *North through its Names*, 229-30

[23] See Winchester, 'Wordsworth's "Pure Commonwealth"'

[24] *Calendar of Border Papers Volume I*, 124

[25] Denton, *Perambulation of Cumberland*, 387

[26] P. H. Reaney, *Dictionary of British Surnames* (2nd edn., London, 1976), who offers a range of possible explanations for Bell: from Old French *belle* ('beautiful'); a shortened form of Isabel; a 'dweller by the church or town bell or bellhouse'; or it may be 'metonymic for the bellman or bellringer'. Hetherington (Northumb.) is at NY 82 78

[27] Denton, *Perambulation of Cumberland*, 359. In 1642, 15 of the 28 oathtakers in Talkin township were Milburns

[28] Denton, *Perambulation*, 387

[29] For examples of such usage, see *Calendar of Border Papers Volume* I, 121-6; J. V. Harrison, 'Five Bewcastle Wills, 1587-1617', *CW2*, lxii, (1967), 93-111, from which those quoted come

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[31] Twentyman is discussed in C. W. Bardsley, *English Surnames; Their Sources and Signficiance*, (3rd edn., London 1884), 271-2

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[33] The name, and its variant Greave, are discussed by Postles, *North through its names*, 83-7

[34] Diana Whaley, *A Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names* (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society, 2006), 28

[35] Phillips, *Westmorland Hearth Tax*, 163, 170 (1670 assessment); PRO, E179/250/9, f. 82 (1666 assessment)

[36] *The Itinerary of John Leland* L. Toulmin Smith (ed.), (London, 1964), Vol. V, 54

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[38] Phillips *et al.*, *Westmorland Hearth Tax*, *passim.* Cowperthwaite is a locative surname, originating in Firbank township, Westmorland: A. H. Smith, *Place-Names of Westmorland* (English Place-Name Society Vol. XLII, Cambridge, 1967), 33

[39] Smith-Bannister, *Names and Naming Patterns*, 25-70, 155-82

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[43] Pendragon Castle, Mallerstang, had acquired its name by 1309; King Arthur's Round Table at Eamont Bridge was so-called by *c.*1540: Smith, *Place-Names of Westmorland*, ii. 13, 205. The mountain name Blencathra appears as 'Blenkarthur' in 1589 and subsequently: Whaley, *Lake District Place-Names*, 289

[44] CRO (C), Carlisle Dean & Chapter muniments, Machell MSS, Vol. VI, 717

[45] H. Owen, *The Lowther Family* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1990), 9, 49; F. W. Ragg, 'De Threlkeld', *CW2*, xxiii, (1923), 154-205; *idem.*, 'De Lancaster', *CW2*, x, (1910), 395-494; C. R. Hudleston and R. S. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry* (*CWAAS* Extra Series XXIII, Kendal, 1978), 292; G. Duckett, 'Extracts from the Cottonian MSS relating to the Border service', *CW1*, iii, (1878), 213-14

[46] For example in Dacre, where several adults bore the name by the 1550s and 1560s: H. Brierley, *The Registers of the Parish Church of Dacre, Cumberland 1559-1716* (Kendal, 1912), 1, 2-3; H. Warne, *The Duke of Norfolk's Deeds at Arundel Castle: the Dacre estates in Northern Counties* (Chichester, 2006), 34

[47] W. G. Collingwood, *Elizabethan Keswick* (CWAAS Tract Series VIII, Kendal, 1912), 157-8, 162, 166

[48] Collingwood, *Elizabethan Keswick*, **35**, 162; Duckett, 'Extracts from the Cottonian MSS', 213

[49] The evidence for church dedications is drawn from T. H. B. Graham and W. G. Collingwood, 'Patron Saints of the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW2,* xxv, (1925), 1-27

[50] Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, *A Dictionary of First Names* (Oxford, 1990), 159

[51] *CFH*, **81**, 338

[52] Richard Hall, 'An Early Cockermouth Charter', *CW2*, **77**, (1977), 79 (where the name is rendered 'Mungon')

[53] For Fletchers of Dean see pedigree by J. Gorton Brooker (CRO, D/FCF/2/87, table 7); for the Wrens of Castlerigg see Winchester, 'Wordsworth's "Pure Commonwealth"', 95-6

[54] For the territorial structure of medieval Cumbria, see Angus J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), 14-27; Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: a Study in British Provincial Origins AD 400-1120* (Aldershot, 1996), 23-43

[55] Lancelot and Miles, for example, exhibit almost complementary distributions in Cumbria (conclusion from analysis of probate indexes to 1720). In Westmorland the distribution of the two names in 1670 reflected the deep-seated division of the county between the north (barony of Westmorland) and south (barony of Kendal): 92 per cent of householders named Lancelot (49/53) were in the north of the county, whereas 71 per cent of householders named Miles (37/52) were in the south: Phillips, *Westmorland Hearth Tax*, 109-87