THE undulating coastal plain between the rivers Ribble and Mersey, now so densely peopled, was sparsely inhabited in the centuries before the Romans came. Small hunting-fishing communities led a precarious existence in forest, moor and fen. (1) They spoke that variety of P-Celtic (British, Brythonic, or Brittonic as Kenneth Jackson prefers to call it) (2) which is still preserved in such river-names as Alt, of obscure origin; Douglas "black stream" (Br. *dub-o*—"black" + *glassjo*—"stream") (3) and Glaze (Br. *glasto*—"bluish green"). The Sankey, which falls into the Mersey near Warrington, and its tributary Goyt, like the Ribble itself, have Brittonic names of doubtful provenance. Dearth of early forms prohibits us from proffering valid etymologies. (4) On the other hand, some river-names are Old English, notably Mersey *mêres eða* "boundary river" and Tawd, a back-formation from Tawdford *œt pêm aldan forda* "at the old ford", now Tawdbridge. Eller Beck "alder brook", a tributary of the Douglas, is Scandinavian.

Many Roman names like Mamucium, surviving in the first element of Manchester, are also based on prehistoric British tribal names. (5) Through Mamucium passed the Roman road from Aquae (Buxton) to Bremetennacum (Ribchester), Galacum (Overborough) and so on to Luguvalium (Carlisle). Another road from Condate (Northwich) crossed the Mersey at Wilderspool near Warrington and then led north through Coccium (Wigan) to Lancaster. (6) These last names—Coccium

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(1) The following abbreviations should be noted: Br. Brittonic; CG Common Germanic; DB Domesday Book; EPNE English Place-Name Elements; EPNS English Place-Name Society Publications; IE Indo-European; Ir. Irish; Lat. Latin; ME Middle English; OA Old Anglian; OE Old English, or Anglo-Saxon; OED The Oxford English Dictionary; OF Old French; ON Old Norse; OW Old Welsh; W Welsh; VCH Victoria History of the County of Lancaster.

(2) Kenneth Jackson, Language and History in Early Britain (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 3.

(3) Identical with Douglas in the Isle of Man and in Ireland.


(5) EPNE, Vol. I, p. 87. Cf Dorchester (Durnovaria), Gloucester (Glevum) and Winchester (Venta).

and Wigan—are equally dark. The ancient parish of Wigan lies on the eastern margin of the hundred of West Derby.\(^{(7)}\) The elucidation of its name has baffled toponymists.\(^{(8)}\) The first recorded instance occurs in 1199 and Wigan is there the form, precisely as it is spelt to-day. Harrison was surely guessing when he associated this obscure name with OE *wigan* “warriors”, a weak plural form which by a mere coincidence happened to be identical with it.\(^{(9)}\) For this entertaining surmise, however, he was severely castigated by Wyld who averred roundly that the conjecture was a downright absurdity. “First, places are not named in this way; secondly, these OE words (*wig* “war” and *wiga* “warrior”) are poetical words, and would not be used in place-names even if such designations were used; thirdly, the modern form absolutely prohibits such an etymology. If Harrison were right the modern name would be *Wine* or *Wyon* . . . or something of the sort”.\(^{(10)}\)

Oddly enough, there is a Wigan in Huntingdonshire, shown by its early forms to derive from an OE dative plural *æt þæm wicum* “at the farmsteads”. There is also a Wigan in Anglesey which is thought by Ekwall and others to represent an ellipsis of Tref or Bod Wigan “village or dwelling of a man named Wigan”.\(^{(11)}\) Whatever its precise origin, Lancastrian Wigan is most likely Brittonic since we find other names of Celtic ancestry both in the immediate vicinity and further south (Figure 1). We find Bryn “hill” (*W bryn*); Culcheth “narrow wood” (*W cul coed*); Haydock “pertaining to barley, barley field” (*W haidd + adjective suffix -og*); Kenyon “Einion’s mound” (*OW crūc Enion*); Ince “island, water-meadow” (*W ynys*); and Penketh “end of the wood” (*W pen coed*). Two

\(^{(7)}\) For practical reasons the present study is limited to the old hundred of West Derby.

\(^{(8)}\) Although the Lancashire volume has not yet appeared in the publications of the English Place-Name Society, the county has been well served. Within one quarter-century no fewer than four studies of varying merit were made: Henry Harrison, *The Place-Names of the Liverpool District* (London, 1898), 104 p.; Henry Cecil Wyld and Thomas Oakes Hirst, *The Place Names of Lancashire, Their Origin and History* (London 1911), xxiv-400 p.; John Sephton, *A Handbook of Lancashire Place-Names* (Liverpool 1913), 268 p.; and Eilert Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester 1922), xvi-280 p. All four volumes provide useful information. In some ways Wyld and Ekwall supplement each other since Wyld was an authority on the history of English sounds and Ekwall is pre-eminent as a place-name specialist. Ekwall helped Sir Allen Mawer, Wyld’s successor in the Baines Chair of English at Liverpool University, to found the English Place-Name Society in 1923.

\(^{(9)}\) Harrison commented briefly or discursively, just as the mood took him, on selected names in West Derby hundred and Wirral. He was no place-name expert, but here and there he made a brilliant guess which Wyld and Ekwall, with their superior training and with much fuller sources of information at their disposal, were happy to corroborate.

\(^{(10)}\) Wyld-Hirst, *op. cit.*, p. 266.  

\(^{(11)}\) Ekwall, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
Figure 1. PLACE-NAMES OF CELTIC ORIGIN IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE
names contain Celtic first elements: Pemberton “corn farm or outlying grange on or by a hill” (W pen + OE bere tun), and Eccleston “church farm” (Br. eclésia, OW eculys, W eglwys + OE tun). The first element of Makerfield is probably W magwy “wall, ruin”. It is the name of the district roughly covered by the old Newton hundred and it is therefore frequently added to the names Ashton and Ince as well as to Newton itself.

Near Formby we find just three names that are wholly or partly Celtic: Haskayne (in Halsall) “sedge, rush” (W hesgeri), Altcar “brushwood bog or marsh on the River Alt” (Br. Alt + ON kjarr), and Ince Blundell “water-meadow belonging to the Blundell family”. Is the first element of Maghull (DB Magele) also Celtic? It might just conceivably be W mag “plain” joined to OA halh “haugh, nook”, but on the whole it is more likely to be OE magde “mayweed, stinking camomile”, anthemis cotula, which still flourish in these parts.\(^{(12)}\)

These two clusters of Celtic names—a larger one in the old Newton hundred south of Wigan and a smaller one near the west coast (Figure 1)—point to a survival of a British population long after the Anglian immigrations of the seventh century. One small piece of historical testimony also points in the same direction. According to the anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert, King Ecgfrith of Northumbria (670-685) gave Cartmel to the saint “et omnes Britannos cum eo”.\(^{(13)}\) Clearly in this district British tribesmen lived on in subjection to their new masters. They called themselves Cymry “fellow-countrymen”. Cumberland was the land of the Cymry (OE Cumbra land) extending northwards to the old Celtic kingdom of Strathclyde but already these northern Celts were separated by their defeat at Chester (613-616) from their kinsfolk in Gwynedd or North Wales.\(^{(14)}\)

Besides names which are themselves Celtic we find Old English names referring to the Celts. Of these the commonest is Walton OA wāla tūn “farm of the Britons or of the (foreign) serfs”. This name wālas or walhas, CG walxas, may have originated in that of the Gaulish tribe Volcae, mentioned by Caesar.\(^{(15)}\) It was applied first to Celts but later to foreigners in general. Our own walnut is “foreign nut”. Etymologically it signified the nut of the Roman lands (Gaul and Italy) as distinguished from the native hazel.\(^{(16)}\) Walton occurs four times

\(^{(12)}\) This seems to be the first element in Mayfield in Sussex, Maidford in Wiltshire, and Maytham in Kent.
\(^{(13)}\) Ekwall, op. cit., p. 224.
\(^{(14)}\) Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, Liber II, ii.
\(^{(16)}\) OED, s.v. walnut.
in Lancashire and it always has the same signification “farm of the Britons or foreigners”. (17) In West Derby hundred stands Walton-on-the-Hill (DB Waletone) whose parish church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, served the whole Liverpool borough until the closing years of the seventeenth century. On the Ribble south-east of Preston nestles Walton-le-Dale. Ulnes Walton lies on the Lostock north-east of Croston in Leyland hundred. In Lonsdale North of the Sands we find Walton near Cartmel. (18) Nor should we forget that Wallasey just across the water was once Kirkeby in Waleyne, OA wāla ēg “island of the Welsh”. (19) Finally Brettargh Holt (now Holt Hall Farm, Gateacre) signifies “wood by the shieling of the Britons”. (20) It is an ancient name recorded in the thirteenth century.

That the English settlers who colonized our hundred after the battle of Chester came from both Northumbria and Mercia is fully confirmed by place-name evidence. (21) Bold indicates Mercian settlement: Bootle points to Northumbrian colonization. These two names are tribal or dialectal variants of early OE bōnl “dwelling-place, mansion, castle”, the first showing partial assimilation and metathesis (bōdl > bōdl > bōld) and the second showing partial assimilation and unvoicing (bōdl > bōtl). So, too, the chester of Manchester indicated Mercian settlement: the -caster of the earlier forms of Ribchester points to Northumbrian colonization. The Ribble was an important dialectal and tribal boundary for a thousand years and more. It was touch-and-go whether Ribcast or Ribchester would be accepted by convention as the modern name. It appeared as Ribelcastre in Domesday Book and it might well have retained its -caster ending to this day along with Lancaster, Muncaster and Hincaster, instead of settling down to a form in -chester like Manchester and Chester. Theodore of Tarsus, seventh archbishop of Canterbury (668-690), made the Ribble the northern limit of the Mercian diocese of Lichfield because he attempted wherever possible to follow linguistic and tribal boundaries in his organization of the Anglo-Saxon church. (22)

(17) Besides “farm of the wālas”, Walton may have two other meanings: weald tun “farm in a wood or on a wold”, and weall tun “farm by or with a wall”.

(18) For a useful discussion on Wal- names (Walbrook, Walburn, Walcot, Walford, Walpole, Walton and Walworth) see R. E. Zachrisson, Romans, Celts and Saxons in Ancient Britain (Lund, 1927).


(20) VCH, Vol. III, p. 117.

(21) James Tait oversimplified the picture (VCH, Vol. II, p. 175) when he described South Lancashire as Northumbrian before 923, when it was annexed by King Æthelstan, and as Mercian after that date.

(22) Mercia itself meant “borderland”, being the Latin equivalent of the OE mutated form Mierce “people dwelling on the meare, mark or march”.

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Mercia itself meant “borderland”, being the Latin equivalent of the OE mutated form Mierce “people dwelling on the meare, mark or march”.
Plate 1. RIBCHESTER BRIDGE OVER THE RIBBLE
The Ribble was a dialectal boundary. Ribchester, the final form of the word, is Mercian, but Ribelcastre, the Domesday Book spelling, was a Northumbrian form.
The diocese of Lichfield was bounded by York on the north, by Lincoln (Sidnacester) and Leicester on the east, by Worcester and Hereford on the south, and by Gwynedd and the Irish Sea on the west. In broad terms, therefore, it may be said that in the three or four centuries before the Norman Conquest the land between Mersey and Ribble belonged administratively to Cheshire, the area between Ribble and Kent to York, whereas present-day Lonsdale North of the Sands looked partly to York and partly to Cumberland and Strathclyde. There was no Lancaster-shire or Lancashire before 1066. The county of Lancaster had its beginnings in that honour or seigniory which was conferred by William I on Roger of Poitou as a reward for his services, although not until Henry II’s reign did Lancashire become an administrative county.

Among the most ancient of all Anglo-Saxon names we may reckon forms in -ing like Melling near Aintree and Billinge near Wigan. The Germanic suffix -ing had the primary meaning “belonging to” as in OE cieping “market”, earlier “place associated with cēap or barter”. This suffix clearly retains much of this ulterior meaning in names like Clavering “clover field” in Essex, and Deeping “deep fen” in Lincolnshire. In other names like our Melling and Billinge it has acquired a secondary meaning “belonging to as children”. In other words it has become a patronymic suffix as in King Alfred’s historical designation Ēlfred Ēdelwulfing. Melling comes from the nominative or accusative plural Mellingas “children or household of a man named Malla or Moll” and Billinge means “children or household of Billa”. In names like Aldingham (on Morecambe Bay), Whittingham (on Blundell Brook near Preston), Habergham and Padiham (just west of Burnley in the Calder Valley), we find in the earliest forms the genitive plural -inga linked with hām and so we can interpret these names as “homes of the children of Alda, Hwīta and Pada” and “home of the Hēahbeorgingas or high hill dwellers”. It so happens that Cheshire likewise has just four -ingahām names—Altrincham, Kermincham, Warrington and Tushingham “children or households of Aldhere, Cēnfrith, Wārmund and Tunsige”—arranged in a shallow curve from Altrincham in the north to Tushingham thirty miles away in the south. All these

(26) This Billa is connected with billhook “pruning implement” and not with the modern pet-form of William.
eight Lancashire and Cheshire villages lie in the midst of fertile farmland with easy access to rivers. The root meaning of home was “safe, permanent dwelling” whereas town meant originally “fence”. In general we may conclude that genuine Old English names ending in -ing, -ingham and -ington all go back to the days of the early settlements and that they stand in that order of antiquity: first, the family itself; second, the place where the family could lie down and sleep; and third, the dwelling that has inevitably demanded and acquired some form of protection.

In West Derby hundred we meet no -ingham or -ington names at all and this complete lack highlights the prominence of Melling and Billinge. The Lancastrian names I mentioned a moment ago—Aldingham, Whittingham, Habergham and Padiham—all lie outside our area. In East Anglia and the Midlands they abound. You think at once of Sandringham, Walsingham and Sheringham in Norfolk, and of Birmingham, Nottingham and Buckingham in the Midlands. There settlements were far more populous in the early centuries. But, you may fairly ask, what about Accrington, Pennington and Warrington? These have, all three, other origins. They remind us of that fundamental principle of place-name study that requires us, first of all, to collect and arrange the earliest recorded instances before so much as beginning to suggest etymologies or to weigh conflicting and varied evidence in the scales of probability and plausibility. If we now do this with these names, we surely discover that Accrington goes back to acern tun “farm where acorns abounded”; Pennington to pening tun “penny farm, that is, one paying a rent of one penny”; and Warrington to wæring tun “farm situated by a river-dam”.

Elsewhere in Lancashire we come across one dozen genuine -inga tun names. In West Derby hundred we find numerous names ending in plain -ton, but one, and only one, ending in original -hám, namely Abram from Eadburg hám “village of a woman named Eadburg”. Evidently

(27) The original meaning of town is still preserved in its German cognate Zaun “fence, hedge” and its derivative verb zuänen “to fence in”. In early Old English tun meant “that which is fenced in, enclosure”; then “enclosure with a dwelling, farmstead”; and still later “manor, estate”; and finally “village”. The current meaning “urban area, municipality” dates only from Middle English. It is rarely found except in later names like Hightown near Formby.
(28) F. T. Wainwright in TRANSACTIONS, Vol. 93, pp. 1-44.
(30) Newsham (æt hám) néowum húsam “at the new houses” does not belong here.
Eadburg was a noble dame who managed her own estate.\(^{31}\)

If we now pass on to consider later Old English names, we are not surprised to find that many consist of a personal name followed immediately by some generic term denoting either a habitation or a geographical feature, natural or constructed. Among names denoting a habitation we find, besides bold, ham and tun already mentioned, burg or byrig “fortified place”;\(^{32}\) cot “cottage, hut, shelter”; hūs “house”; stoc “dwelling”; wic “dairy farm” and warp “enclosure”. Among names denoting a feature of the landscape we may note acer “plot of arable land”, later “measure of land that a yoke of oxen can plough in one day”; bearu “wood, grove”; brōc “brook”; brycg “bridge”; burna “fountain, spring”; clif “cliff, steep rock, escarpment”; croft “small enclosed meadow (near the house)”; dāl “dale, valley”; dān “down, hill”; erō “plough-land”; feld “open country”; ford “natural or artificial shallow place by which a stream can be crossed”; furlang “piece of land (especially in the common field) having the length of one furrow”; haga “hedge, hey, enclosure”; halh “haugh, nook, corner of land, water-meadow”; hēafod “head, headland, eminence, ridge-end”; hlāw “artificial mound, tumulus, hill”; hop “small branch valley” or “enclosed plot in a marsh”; hyll “hill, natural eminence”; hyrst “wooded hill”; land “estate, landed property”; lanu “lane, narrow road”; lēah “clearing or glade in a wood, open land used as arable”; mōr “moor, untilled upland”; nēss “headland, promontory”; pōl “pool, creek”; sceaga “shaw, thicket, small wood”; sic “channel, ditch”; snād “portion of land cut off or detached”; steap “hard river-bank, loading or landing place”; stān “stone”; treō(w) “tree”; and wēlla “brook”. These composite names fall into three classes according to the grammatical form of the personal appellation comprising the first component, whether nominative without inflexion, or genitive strong in -es, or genitive weak in -an. Into the first class fall Atherton and Winstanley from Ædelhere tun and Wynstan læadh; to the second category belong Halsall Hæles halh, Knowsley Cēnwulfs læah, Occleshaw Ēcwulfs sceaga, Rixton Rices tūn, Simonswood Sigemundes wudu, Tyldesley Tidwaldes læah and Woolston Wulfs tūn; whereas to the third group may be assigned Bedford Bēdan ford,\(^{33}\) Chowbent Cēolan beonet, Gidlow Giddan hlāw, Kinknall Cynecan halh.


\(^{32}\) Nominative and oblique cases respectively.

\(^{33}\) Identical with the Bedford of Bedfordshire.

\(^{34}\) Cyneca and Wineca are hypocoristic derivatives formed from the name-elements Cyne “royal” and Wine “friend”.
Rainford and Rainhill Regnan ford and hyll, Winwick Winecan wic.\(^{(34)}\) and Woolton Wulfan tun.\(^{(35)}\)

Many villages, hamlets and farmsteads bear monothematic Anglian names of varying degrees of antiquity with neither personal appellation nor qualifying epithet affixed, such as Bold and Bootle already mentioned. Here also belong Barrow from \((æt þæm)\) bearwe, dative singular form of bearu “wood, grove”\(^{(36)}\) Byrom from \((æt þæm)\) byrum, dative plural form of byre “byre, cowshed”\(^{(37)}\) plain Croft is found east of Winwick, plain Ford north of Litherland, and plain Hale is the appropriate name of that ancient village which is fast losing its pristine beauty as it suffers industrial encroachment from Widnes on the east and Speke on the west. This characteristically north-country hale or haugh has also given its name to Halebank and Halewood. South-east of Wigan we find Leigh from OE lēah with its neighbour Westleigh, and north-east of Wigan on high ground stands the old village of Haigh from OE haga, identical with The Hague in the Netherlands which the Dutch themselves now call 's Graven hage “The Count’s Hague”. The form Haigh shows the retention of the final voiced plosive with vowel lengthening and subsequent diphthongisation as in present-day name from OE nama, but the final consonant might be vocalized as in the first element of Hawcoat “hedged sheepcote” near Furness Abbey and as in the Southport hawes or sand-hills. Beside OE haga from CG hag-on-, the form hege from CG hag-iz was also used and from this derive the numerous Lancastrian heys such as Alder Hey, Court Hey and Hillfoot Hey. Another term for an enclosure was Parr which is preserved in the district of that name in the eastern half of St. Helens. It still signifies a “pen for animals” in local dialect. Until recently an old house called Quick stood near by, an abbreviation of cwic-hege “quickset hedge”. Speke probably comes from OA spec “small branch, twig, tendril” and so “brushwood”. Twiss (Green) denotes “fork of a river, junction of two streams”, whereas Wirples (Moss) signifies “track, bridle-path”. Bruche indicates “land newly broken up for cultivation”, being a late ME form. So is Dingle “deep dell, usually shaded with trees”, a West Midland term of uncertain origin which we first encounter in an Assize Roll of A.D. 1246.

\(^{(35)}\) Wulf and Wulfia are the strong and weak reduced forms of such widely used dithematic names as Cynewulf and Wulfstan.
\(^{(36)}\) Barrow Old Hall, west of Warrington; and Barrow Nook, south of Bickerstaffe.
\(^{(37)}\) The dative plural form also survives in Byram in the West Riding, whereas the nominative or accusative plural form is preserved in Byers Green and Edmundbyers in Durham.
You may recall that Milton’s Comus uses it when addressing the Lady in the masque of that name:

I know each lane, and every alley green
Dingle, or bushy dell of this wilde Wood
And every boskey bourn from side to side.

We may compare these west-country dingles—*Comus* was specially composed for a celebration at Ludlow Castle—with the cloughs of Yorkshire and the Peak, the dells of Hertfordshire, the chines of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, and the coombs of Devon and Cornwall.

Simple names like Barrow and Croft, Haigh and Dingle, do not always prove to be sufficiently distinctive. They either receive additions or they are superseded. In general it may be said that dithematic names do fulfil their functions as appellations satisfactorily because they are both adequately discriminating and easily memorized. Many West Derby names of this type are found elsewhere in England and in various parts of the British Commonwealth and of the United States: Allerton *alra tun* (*alra* being genitive plural of *alor*) “farm of the alders”; Appleton *appeltun* “orchard”; *(38)* Arbury *eorðe burg* “earth fortification”; Ashton *æsc tūn* “ash-tree farm”; Aughton *āc tūn* “oak farm”; Barton *bere tūn* “barley farm, outlying grange”; Blackmoor “black moor”; Bradley *brād lēah* “broad glade”; Burton (in Burtonwood) *burg tūn* “farm attached to a (fortified) manor house”; Cowley *col lēah* “charcoal glade”; Dalton *del tūn* “valley farm”; Denton *denu tūn* likewise “valley farm”; Ditton *dic tūn* “farmstead surrounded by a ditch or moat”; Everton *eofor tūn* “boar farm”; Golborne *golde burna* “marigold brook”; Hawkley *hafoc lēah* “hawk glade”; Hindley “hind glade”; Holbrook “brook flowing in a deep hollow”; Holcroft “croft in a hollow”; Holland *hōh land* “land on a hough, heel or ridge”; *(39)* Houghton *hōh tūn* “farm on a hough”, elsewhere appearing as Haughton, Holton, Hooton, Howton, or Hutton, an obvious name for a well-placed farm built up on a dry ridge; Linacre *līn æcer* “flax field”; Lowton *hlāw tūn* “hill farm”; Marton *mere tūn* “farm with a mere or pond”; *(40)* Newburgh *nēowe burg* “new manor house”; Newsham (*æt þēm*) *nēowum hūsum* “at the new

*(38)* Orchard *ort geard* meant “root yard, vegetable garden”, whereas *æppel* denoted any round or oval fruit.

*(39)* The southern division of Lincolnshire, Parts of Holland, also has this origin, but the Huntingdonshire village of that name comes from OE *haga* “hedge” + ON *lundr* “grove”; whereas continental Holland derives from *holt land* “forest country”.

*(40)* Frequently spelt *Martin* by association with the renowned fourth-century bishop of Tours of that name.
houses", already noted above; Newton mēowe tun “new farm”; (41) Poulton pōl tun “farm near a pool or creek”; Prescot prēosta cot “priests’ cottage”; Risley hris lēah “brushwood glade”; Swinley swīn lēah “pig glade”; Thornton þorn tun “hawthorn farm”; (42) and Tunstead tun stede “farmstead”. The defining element denotes a compass direction in some names: Norley “north glade”; Southworth “south enclosure”; Sutton “south farm”; Astley “east glade”; and Westhead “west head” signifying west of the headland at the end of the ridge leading up to Scarth Hill. Here too we may note numerous names in this undulating countryside denoting “upper” or “lower”, such as Upholland and Downholland, Uplitherland and Downlitherland (now plain Litherland); but the earliest forms of Upton near Farnworth suggest that this particular name here signifies not “upper farm” but upp in tūne “(land) higher up in the village”. Orford, north of Warrington, means “over ford”. Thus its source is distinct from that of Orford in Suffolk, which comes from ēora ford “ford by the seashore”. Middleton (Hall) east of Winwick denotes literally “middle farm”, one between two or more others presumably more ancient. It is not surprising that Middleton has become an exceedingly common English place-name. (43) It goes without saying that Netherton means “nether or lower farm”.

Other West Derby names of this dithematic type are, so far as I know, peculiar to this area or occur only rarely outside it: Aspul æspe hyll “aspen hill”; Aspinwall æspen wǣlla “aspen brook”; (44) Bamfurlong bēan furlang “furlong (piece of land one furrow in length) used for growing beans”; Peasfurlong “furlong used for growing peas”; Bickershaw bēocera sceaga “bee-keepers’ wood”; Bickerstaffe bēocera stæp “bee-keepers’ landing-place”; (45) Birchley birce lēah “birch glade”; Childwall cilda wǣlla “children’s brook”; Cleworth clif worp “cliff enclosure”; Cranshaw cranuc sceaga “crane wood”; Cronton crāwena tūn “crows’ farm”; (46) Crookhurst crōc hyrst “wooded

(41) Newton-in-Makerfield, or, as it is more usually known locally, Newton-le-Willows.
(42) Down the ages haywards have preferred the hawthorn for quickset hedging and Thornton has thus become a common name throughout the land.
(43) Middleton is in fact frequently reduced to Milton, thus becoming identical with another large group of names from mylen tun “mill farm, one possessing its own wind or water mill”.
(44) The tree-name was asp and its derivative adjective aspen. Cf. beech and beechen, oak and oaken, etc. Later aspen superseded asp as the name of the tree to avoid confusion with asp “small venomous snake”.
(45) Honey production was an important industry in Anglo-Saxon England where the people drank mead.
(46) Early forms of Cronton present such conflicting evidence that “crows’ farm” must be regarded as only a plausible elucidation.
hill in a bend or corner”; Farnworth *fearn worp* “fern enclosure”; Garston *græt stān* “great stone”\(^{(47)}\) referring perhaps to some trias boulder or monolith like the so-called Robin Hood Stone now enclosed within railings in Booker Avenue, not to mention the Calderstones or Caldway Stones recently removed to the City Museum from their prehistoric site just south of present-day Menlove Avenue\(^{(48)}\); Gateacre *gāta æcer* “goats’ field”\(^{(49)}\); Grassendale *gæsern dæl* “grassy valley”; Halsnead *healf snæd* “half snade or portion cut off”;\(^{(50)}\) Hengarth *henge erp* “steep ploughland”; Hollinfare (by modern Hollins Green) *holegn fær* “holly ferry”; Howley *holh lēah* “glade in the hollow”; Huyton *hīp tūn* “farm by the hithe, small haven, or landing-place” on an upper reach of the River Alt; Laffak (now part of St. Helens) *lagū ãc* “law oak”; Lightshaw *lēoht sceaga* “light-coloured bush or wood”; Lydiate *hlīd geat* “swing gate”; Maghull *mægðe hlīh* “mayweed haugh or nook”, discussed above; Markland *mearc lamu* “boundary lane”; Orrell *ōrā hyll* “ore hill”;\(^{(51)}\) Poolstock *pōl stoc* “dwelling by a creek”; Renacres *rygene æceras* “rye-fields”; Ritherope *hrīðer hop* “ox hope or small enclosed valley”; Shakerley *scēacera lēah* “robbers’ glade”; Shuttleworth *scyttel worp* “barred enclosure”; Smithdown *smēðe dūn* “smooth or level hill”;\(^{(52)}\) Spellow *spell hlāw* “speech hill” where local meetings were held;\(^{(53)}\) Tarbock (much changed from) *porn brōc* “hawthorn stream”; Tawdbridge *æt Aldbrycege* “at (the) old bridge”;\(^{(54)}\) Thatto *þēote wēlla* “brook with a conduit or water-pipe”; Wavertree *wæfre trēo* “swaying

\(^{(47)}\) Old spellings occur both with metathesis (Gerstan 1094) and without (Grestan 1155). It is clear that our Garston has an etymology distinct from that of the Garstons of Hampshire and Hertfordshire, both of which point back to the more obvious *gæs tūn* “grass enclosure, grazing farm”.

\(^{(48)}\) See Ronald Stewart-Brown, *A History of the Manor and Township of Allerton in the County of Lancaster* (Liverpool, 1911). The house built by Joseph Need Walker is named Calderstone. The earliest extant reference to the *Caldway Stones* is not before 1568.

\(^{(49)}\) Identical with Gatacre in Shropshire.

\(^{(50)}\) Whipsnade in Bedfordshire signifies “Wibba’s portion”.

\(^{(51)}\) Both Orrell in Sefton and Orrell in Wigan have had iron-workings.

\(^{(52)}\) *DB Esmedun* shows prothetic *e*, as in *especial* beside *special* and *estate* beside *state*. It also shows complete assimilation of *ð* to *d*, as in *Haddon from hǣd dūn*. The shortening of the vowel in the first component took place at some time after the raising of *ē* to *i* in the fifteenth century. * Cf. Smithills near Bolton and Smithfield in London. It is noteworthy that Smithdown is recorded over one century before Liverpool. To-day the name is preserved not only in Smithdown Lane and Smithdown Road but also in Smithdown Gate (at the junction of Smithdown Road, Ullet Road and Greenbank Drive) and Smithdown Place (Penny Lane).


\(^{(54)}\) For this kind of syllabic metanalysis compare the adjective tawdry “gaudy, showy but worthless” like the articles once displayed for sale at St. Audry’s fair in the Isle of Ely.
Our ears are so well attuned to shorter rhythms that we find something strange in trithematic names like Fazakerley from *fæs xcer lēah* “fringe acre lea” or “glade near (or forming) a boundary field”. Owing to the dearth of early forms, the etymology of this unique toponym remains in some doubt, but the phonology of these postulated early forms is unexceptionable. The voicing of the sibilant from *s* to *z* is an example (like the word *example* itself) of the operation of Verner’s Law which still functions in living English, and the retention of the short vowel in antepenultimate position is in complete accord with the prosodic principle by which a vowel is shortened, or remains short, in this position, as in *Whitacre* beside *White Acre*. Harrison was the first to suggest *fæs*, but Wyld rejected it on the ground that “the name has the appearance of a rather late compound of the name of a certain field or acre, with the further suffix -lēah”. Wyld therefore took it as *Fasanecer lēah* “the glade by or near Fasa’s acre”. Ekwall and Smith, however, have reverted to Harrison’s brilliant conjecture. In his late tenth-century gloss of the Lindisfarne Gospels Aldred used *fæs* in the account of the sick woman who “touched the hem of Christ’s robe”, whereas his contemporary West Saxon glossator preferred *fnaed*. It is surely not without significance that *fæs* is still in use as a northern dialect word.

When an inherited name comprised three components, our ancestors frequently dropped the middle one or drastically reduced it if the remaining parts were sufficiently distinctive without it. Thus Gosfordsich “goose ford over a sike or sitch” became Gorsuch. Similarly Lamberhead (Green) on the western outskirts of Wigan has been partially reduced from older Landmerhede *lond gemere hēafod* “land boundary head”. In fact it stands high on the boundary between Orrell and Pemberton. The last mentioned name is also trithematic. As we have already had occasion to note, it is a hybrid form consisting of *W pen* prefixed to OE *bere tūn*. It has survived without drastic curtailment because it is readily pronounceable. So, too, is Windleshaw *wind hyll sceaga* “wind(y) hill coppice”, an
Plate 2. THE CHANTRY CHAPEL AT WINDLESHAW

*Windleshaw* means windy hill coppice, and this old chapel, commonly called Windleshaw Abbey, lies on an exposed ridge of land in the west of St. Helens.
ancient compound preserved in the name of the oldest part of St. Helens cemetery with its old chapel, commonly called Windleshaw Abbey (Plate 2), lying off the East Lancashire Road.

Whatever may have been the precise status of the domain between Ribble and Mersey in the early eighth century, it certainly formed part of the realm of Offa, king of Mercia (757-796) who built the famous dyke between Cheshire and Wales that still bears his name. Indeed, these fertile lands between Offa’s Dyke and Ribble might have long remained thus closely associated, had not the young landless sons of an over-populated Scandinavia set out on voyages of adventure and disturbed the peace of the north. The Viking Age (750-1050) had begun. In 793 the marauders raided Lindisfarne, where St. Cuthbert had served as bishop. In the following year they sacked Jarrow, where Bede had lived and taught. Tidings of these portentous events must surely have spread across the Pennines through the Aire Gap to the scattered farmers, huntsmen and fisherfolk on Merseyside. Later they heard news of Norse longships ploughing the main round the Scottish coasts and making swift raids on Shetlands and Orkneys, Caithness and Sutherland, the Hebrides and the Isle of Man. To these ruthless adventurers Ireland offered an attractive prize. Hitherto it had enjoyed a mature Celtic civilization unmarred by alien conquest. The Vikings founded Dublin, which remained a Norse city for centuries until it was captured in 1170 by the Normans under Strongbow. After the capture of York by the Vikings in 866, South Lancashire was severed from Cheshire and once more the Mersey became a true “boundary river” separating English Mercia from Scandinavian Danelaw. Alfred the Great, king of Wessex (871-899), saved his own people. His daughter Æthelflaed, lady of the Mercians, fortified Chester and made that city an outpost of Mercian strength. Meantime York had become the centre of a Norse kingdom, which naturally sought collaboration and even some sort of union with the Irish Vikings. Communication between York and Dublin lay across the plains of Derby wapentake. Ambitious kings of York, Rægnald, Sihtric and Ólaf Guthfrithson, had visions of a far-reaching Viking empire. In 954, however, Eric Bloodaxe, that last king of York commemorated in Egils saga Skallagrímssonar, was slain on Stainmore by Alfred’s youngest grandson. By this deed Eadred made himself first ruler of all England.

(60) F. T. Wainwright in TRANSACTIONS, Vol. 94, pp. 3-55.

(60) Dublin is nevertheless its Celtic name—the Irish Blackpool! (Br. dúbh “black” + linn “pool”).
Figure 2. PLACE-NAMES OF SCANDINAVIAN ORIGIN IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE
Such momentous happenings have inevitably left their marks on our local nomenclature. If we survey the Scandinavian names in our area, we are not surprised to find that, with two unimportant exceptions, they all occur on or near the coast west of a curve from Crossens in the north to Aigburth in the south by way of Skelmersdale and Roby. The two exceptions are Scholes east of Wigan and Hulme north of Warrington, the one characteristically Norwegian and the other Danish. Now Scholes is a somewhat isolated survival, but Hulme belongs to a considerable Danish settlement extending over a wide area of East Lancashire (Davyhulme, Hulme in Manchester, Levenshulme and Oldham from older Oldhulme), and spreading into Cheshire (Cheadle Hulme, Kettleshulme, Hulme Hall, Church Hulme and Hulme Walfield) and Staffordshire (Hulme End, Upper Hulme, and Hulme near Stoke-on-Trent).

The Scandinavian names in our area, apart from Hulme, are all Norse. As we trace them geographically from Crossens and North Meols to Toxteth and Aigburth (Figure 2) we encounter many interesting forms of ancient lineage with namesakes elsewhere in England, in the Hebrides and the Western Isles, as well as in Scandinavia itself. Crossens “headland with a cross” reminds us that Old Irish cross, cognate with Latin crux, crucis, was taken into Old Norse as kross and so into Middle and Modern English as cross, largely superseding (but never entirely ousting) rood from Old English rōd. North Meols and Ravensmeols show mellr “sand-hill” and so did Argarmeols near by until that luckless parish was entirely washed away by an aggressive sea. Birkdale birki dalr is “birch-tree dale”; Ainsdale Einulf’s dale”; and Whams Farm, which is in the middle of reclaimed land in Martin Mere, must surely take its name from dialectal wham signifying “morass” or “marshy hollow” rather than from the older meaning “farm in a hvamr or small valley”. Wyke Cop “hill-top by a creek” and Blowick “blue creek”, now a suburb of Southport, show vik “creek, inlet, bay”; while Carr Cross (north of Scarisbrick), Bescar Lane near by, and Great and Little Altcar further south, show kjarr “brushwood”. Snape Green suggests snape “poor pasturage, patch of scanty grass”, and so does Snape Gate in

Norwegian test-words include skål “shieling” as in Scholes, hūd “cow-house”, brekka “slope”, gíl “ravine”, slakki “shallow valley”, setr “summer-pasture farm” and preit “clearing, paddock”. Among Danish test-words may be placed hulmr “island in a fen” as in Hulme, hūd “cow-house” and porp “village” (if not English).

Cf. Meols in Wirral, Cartmel in Lonsdale hundred and Rathmell in the West Riding.

In northern names blār means not only “blue” but also “cheerless, cold, exposed” as probably it does in Blea Tarn blā tjørn in Lakeland.
Plate 3. Typical coast of South-West Lancashire

Meols, the Norse word for sandhills, appears in such place-names as North Meols, Ravensmeols, and Argyle.

By courtesy of Country Life
Whiston. Scarisbrick “Skar’s hillside or slope” should be compared with Walton Breck and Warbreck *varði brekka* “beacon hillside” in North Liverpool. Tarlscough “Tharald’s wood”, Burscough “wood by a *burg* or fortified farm” and Cunscoough “king’s wood” all have as their second component *skógr*, cognate with OE *sceaga* and modern *shaw*. Lathom “at the barns” comes from the dative plural form of *hlaða* “shed, barn”. Ormskirk is the church of a man nicknamed Ormr or “serpent”, who founded and endowed it, whereas Formby means either “old village” or “dwelling of a man nicknamed Forni or *old one*”. Like LITHERSKEW in the North Riding, Litherland and Uplitherland “land on a slope” preserve the genitive singular form *hliðar* of the feminine noun *hlið* “slope, hillside”, to which we find an interesting and exact parallel in modern *eiderdown* from ON *ævardunn*. Skelmersdale is the valley of a man bearing the impressive name of Skjalmar or Skjaldmarr “shield horse”. Near by we discover many minor names of genuine Norse provenance like Scarth Hill (on the way from Ormskirk to St. Helens) from *skarð* “gap in a hill”, Greety Hill (leading north-east out of Ormskirk to Greety Hall) from *grjót* “gravel, stones”, and Mickering Farm (on Cock Beck between Aughton and Bowker’s Green) from *mykjar* “of dung, muck” + *eng* “meadow, pasture”. The early forms of Great and Little Crosby show unmistakably that the first component is a genitive plural form and that therefore Crosby goes back to *krossa býr* “village of the crosses”. Kirkby and Kirkdale signify “village” and “valley with its own church” respectively. Croxteth and Toxteth are the “landing or loading places of Krókr (on the Alt river) and Tóki (on the Dingle brook)”. Derby, which gives its name to the hundred, is plain *Derbei* in Domesday Book. It did not acquire its epithet West until much later. It signifies “village of (the) wild animals”, probably referring to some kind of deer-park or woodland enclosure. The other Derby on the Derwent was Mercian *Nordwordig* before it was renamed in the tenth century by the Scandinavians, who made it one of the Five Boroughs of the Danelaw along with Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham and Stamford.

Only two miles south-east of West Derby village stands Thingwall Hall, now St. Edward’s Orphanage, ON *ping völfr* “thing field, meeting-place of the thing, court of justice, or parliament”. It has its exact counterpart across the water in Wirral, where Thingwall stands in the centre of the peninsula.

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(65) *Westderbei* first appears in Lancashire Pipe Rolls, A.D. 1177.
(66) OE Chronicle A, s. a. 942.
with its own cluster of Norse names around it—Meols, West Kirby, Greasby, Frankby, Irby, Thurcaston, Storeton, Pensby and Raby. We may indeed compare these West Derby and Wirral Thingwalls with Tynwald in the Isle of Man, Tinwald in Dumfriesshire, Dingwall in Ross at the head of Cromarty Firth, Tingwall in the Shetland Islands, Tingvalla in Sweden, and Thingvellir (plural form) in Iceland, the site of the historic Althing.  

Raby in Wirral likewise has its counterpart in Roby near Huyton from rā byr “village by the boundary mark”, and it has more distant namesakes in Raaby in Denmark and Råby in Sweden. From Roby we soon reach the end of our Scandinavian journey at Aigburth (from eiki berg “hill of the oaks”).

And what of Liverpool itself? It is well known that it takes its name from that pool or tidal creek, now covered over, which led inland from the present Canning Dock along the line of Paradise Street, Whitechapel and the Old Haymarket. To prosaic observers this creek appeared muddy and coagulated, or perhaps in some other way it reminded them of the largest gland in the human body. Indeed, this use of liver as a defining element has parallels not only in North Riding Liverton and West Riding Liversedge but also in Suffolk Livermere. In his Chronicle (A.D. 1297) Robert of Gloucester alluded to the Red Sea as the livered se. Although Allerton, Childwall, Woolton, Smithdown, Toxteth, Derby, Litherland and Walton all appear in Domesday Book, Liverpool is not so much as mentioned there. It first emerges as the name of a Walton manor in a deed of 1191, only a few years, in fact, before the twenty-eighth day of August in the year of grace 1207 when King John issued those letters patent at Winchester which in effect made Liverpul a borough and port and which thereby marked the beginning of its administrative history. King John issued no charter. He merely invited settlers to come to his new port in Lancashire, promising them certain privileges if they came.

The French have left few traces in our local names. We possess no ancient Anglo-Norman village name to vie with Cheshire Malpas. We have to make the most of Bewsey Old Hall on the outskirts of Warrington (OF beau sé “beautiful seat”) and Platt Bridge in Wigan (OF plat “flat”). The family name Blundell

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(68) The present form is somewhat irregular showing partial assimilation of the voiceless plosive k to voiced g before b and the substitution of interdental fricative for final velar plosive through weakening of stress.

(69) Our plate (French assiette) comes from the feminine form of plat, which has become a regular term for “footbridge” in both Lancashire and Cheshire dialect. In that respect, it may be noted, Platt Bridge is tautologous.
is a hypocoristic derivative of OF blond “light auburn”. It serves as an epithet in the village name Ince Blundell (in order to distinguish it from Ince-in-Makerfield) and as a prefix in the attractive modern name Blundellsands.

In this brief paper I have concerned myself mainly with ancient names, but the manifold origins of modern names are often no less entertaining and instructive. An important modern name may have come into general use quite casually—I might almost say accidentally. St. Helens, for instance, takes its name from a chapel of ease which happened to be dedicated, like Sefton Parish Church, to the mother of the emperor Constantine. The trivial origin of the name Southport has been well described by a former vice-president of this learned Society.\(^{70}\) The outer ridge of sandhills on the fringe of this elegant seaside town was known as the hawes in the eighteenth century; the middle belt of cottage holdings was referred to as the keys; and the inland stretch of peaty pasture was called the moss. In 1792 William Sutton of Churchtown, North Meols, built a hotel at the southern end of the hawes, which he decided to call South Port. When Sir John Gladstone, father of William Ewart, moved from 62 Rodney Street in 1813 to his new home on the Litherland shore, he named it Seaforth House to please his wife. She was a member of the Mackenzie family, whose head at that time happened to be Lord Seaforth.\(^{71}\) Only two years later the Royal Waterloo Hotel (now plain Royal Hotel) was founded on Crosby Seabank to commemorate Wellington’s victory over Napoleon in that decisive battle fought on 18 June 1815, near the village of Waterloo “water meadow”, eleven miles south of Brussels. This one hotel has since given its name to a whole populous district. Again, not many years after this, in 1824, an old inn north of Childwall known as “Three Swans” was re-named “Old Swan” by its proprietor in order to distinguish it from a rival Swan Inn which had been recently opened near by. In the course of time this inn-name has gradually come to denote a large suburban parish. Other names have since arisen fortuitously. As a result of that inevitable proliferation of distinctive appellations in an expanding society, we now meet old names and new ones side by side. Their varied origins—Brittonic, Roman, Welsh, Mercian, Northumbrian, Danish, Norse, Norman French, Modern English—bear eloquent testimony to that felicitous blending of nations which has made a great county greater still. This open

plain, “lying”, as Ramsay Muir once said, “at the very heart of the British Isles”, has remained a lively meeting-place of English, Scots, Irish and Welsh, as also of many other people within the Commonwealth and without, who have here learnt to settle down and work together for the corporate well-being of a cosmopolitan community renowned for its resourcefulness, energy and enterprise.

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