

## THE ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT OF LANCASHIRE.

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THE darkest period of English history is the earliest period, the two hundred years which lie between the departure of the Roman soldiers from Britain and the arrival of the Roman missionaries in England. In the century which followed the landing of St. Augustine the light is still dim, and nowhere is the outline of events more obscure than in Northern England, remote as it was from the centre of West Saxon power and from the interest of later West Saxon chroniclers. Even later, in the ninth and early tenth centuries, while events in Southern England are comparatively well documented, the story of the North is confused and incoherent. Of the earliest phase, the fifth and sixth centuries, it is as well to admit at the outset that certainties do not exist: we deal only with probabilities and possibilities. Many problems will never be solved, and future work will necessitate modifications of present views, yet, with the gradual accumulation of scattered shreds of evidence, the general history of this vague period is assuming a more definite shape. It is necessary to summarize the main lines of approach to the study of this confused age of settlement.

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In the first place there is the literary evidence. Gildas and Nennius represent the Celtic point of view while Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* preserve the traditions of the invaders. These are the four main literary sources for our knowledge of the period A.D. 450-650. Gildas alone lived within a hundred years of A.D. 449, the traditional date of the *Adventus Saxonum*. During his lifetime<sup>1</sup> much of Britain probably passed into the hands of the English but his book, *De Excidio Britanniae*, does not preserve an impartial, or even a comprehensible, record of events. His aim was not to write a historical account of the English invasions, but perhaps to rouse his fellow Britons,

<sup>1</sup> Gildas was born at a date which cannot be far removed from A.D. 500.

“*miserrimi cives*,”<sup>1</sup> to a fury of patriotic and united resistance. The result is therefore a series of vehement denunciations and wild exaggerations in a Latin style so rhetorical that his meaning is not infrequently obscured by his verbiage. Nennius, who wrote, or compiled,<sup>2</sup> his *Historia Brittonum* in the early years of the ninth century, provides little more than legendary additions which had come to adorn the central facts of the story. Obviously there is no written English tradition dating from the actual age of the invasions. Bede, who finished his *Historia Ecclesiastica* in 731, was describing events which occurred two hundred years or more before his time, while it was not until the late ninth century that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was compiled under, at least, the inspiration of King Alfred. Even the casual student of Bede can hardly fail to be impressed by his high sense of a historian's function and integrity, a sense so deplorably absent in later chroniclers. He makes an effort to record his sources,<sup>3</sup> and he distinguishes carefully between fact and hearsay or tradition.<sup>4</sup> In brief, modern scholars have confidence in Bede, and even his critics are compelled to treat his statements with the greatest respect. It is very probable that he used older annals which have since perished, but the fact that these cannot now be examined and the fact that he lived in an age separated by many years and by the introduction of Christianity from the heathen period, so alien in outlook and organization, invest his story with a vague atmosphere of legend and tradition. As for the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, whatever sources,<sup>5</sup> now lost, were available to the Alfredian circle, there

<sup>1</sup> In culture and outlook Gildas was a Roman. He is an example of how thorough had been the Romanization of Britain.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Brittonum* is a collection of extracts from earlier sources.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Bede's list of his sources in the preface to *Historia Ecclesiastica*. In addition to this detailed summary he mentions his lesser authorities by name whenever possible. For example, he quotes an interesting account of the personal appearance of Paulinus from one Deda, for whose reliability he vouches. (*presbyter et abbas quidam uir ueracissimus de monasterio Peartaneu, vocabulo Deda.*) He records also that Deda's informant was a very old man who had been baptized by Paulinus. See *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Lib. ii, cap 16. Similar examples are common.

<sup>4</sup> A famous example is his statement that Hengist and Horsa are considered (*perhibentur*) to have been the leaders of the Anglo-Saxons. (I. 15.) It is the tradition and so Bede records it. See also the above note.

<sup>5</sup> That the ninth century annalist was following earlier written sources is proved by occasional archaic spellings, especially of names. For example, *Coen-* in names like *Coenbryht* was obsolete by Alfred's time. These earlier sources were, no doubt, in Latin. It remains impossible, however, to date the underlying sources of the *Chronicle* much earlier than the first half of the eighth century. Therefore the original author was probably no more contemporary with the age of settlement than was Bede, from whom material is also incorporated by the Alfredian annalist.

is much to vitiate its account of the early years of the English Conquest.<sup>1</sup> Recently its validity has been seriously challenged on archæological grounds.<sup>2</sup> Under these circumstances it is most desirable that other evidence should be brought to bear upon this period, both to check the literary sources and to amplify the information which they contain.

Foremost among these new approaches to history is archæology. It is especially valuable in that its data reveal social conditions, customs, arts and movements of people which do not interest even a contemporary chronicler whose attention is held by events and persons important to his own age. It must be admitted, however, that archæology has not yet produced such brilliant results when applied to this early Anglo-Saxon period as when applied, for example, to prehistory. The greatest obstacle is the difficulty of interpretation, for archæologists are in violent disagreement on the fundamental principles of dating their material. Even the classification of finds according to type is far from unanimous. Another difficulty is that, since archæological discoveries depend largely on chance, the lack of Anglo-Saxon remains by no means proves the absence of Anglo-Saxons.<sup>3</sup> In short, the contributions of archæology are important and will, in the future, be vital. This science, however, can as yet add nothing to the story of the English Conquest of Lancashire.

The third line of approach<sup>4</sup> lies in the study of place-names. Given sufficient early spellings, it is usually possible to recover the original form and meaning of a place-name. It is also usually possible to decide whether its creators were English or Scandinavian or Norman or British. Further, one may often

<sup>1</sup> See the opinion of J. N. L. Myres in *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, pp. 327-328, and pp. 396-399. He regards the *Chronicle* as mainly, in its early entries, extracts from oral traditions and from sagas "forced into an annalistic framework and attached to dates which are at best traditional and at worst arbitrary." For a tentative defence of the *Chronicle* see R. H. Hodgkin's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 125ff. See also the references supplied by Mr. Hodgkin and Mr. Myres.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Leeds is the leader of a school which rejects the *Chronicle's* account of the beginnings of Wessex. See *The West Saxon Invasion and the Icknield Way in History*, 1925. On the other hand, O. G. S. Crawford regards the *Chronicle's* account as "a trustworthy historical description of events which actually took place." (*Cerdic and the Cloven Way. Antiquity*, 1931.) M. R. Hughes (*Antiquity*, 1931) defends the *Chronicle* against E. T. Leeds with regard to the English invasion of Buckinghamshire. Place-names also testify in favour of the *Chronicle* (*The Place-names of Buckinghamshire, E.P.N.S.*, Vol. ii, p. xii et seq.)

<sup>3</sup> Essex is a case in point. See *The Place-names of Essex. E.P.N.S.*, Vol. xii, p. xix, ff.

<sup>4</sup> For other lines of investigation, *vide infra*, p. 18 ff.

separate Anglian forms from Saxon forms, and, occasionally, one may be able to differentiate between place-names formed by the Northumbrians and place-names formed by the Mercians, that is between two closely related branches of the Anglian people. Such fine distinctions are beyond the skill of physical anthropologists who are, unfortunately, still unable to separate English skulls from Celtic skulls. Thus, by using place-names, it is possible to plot more exactly the extent and relative density of a settlement of a particular people. Neither archæology nor place-names can ever replace the written tradition with its vivid personalities and picturesque details—all of which are absent from both sciences. These studies can, however, supplement the literary sources. The following is an attempt to show how place-names may illuminate many obscure aspects of the Anglian Settlement of Lancashire. Some results may stand the test of time, but it is perhaps best regarded as an exercise in the application of place-name evidence. Like the archæologist, the place-name student has his own difficulties of interpretation which must, for the moment, render results tentative. The actual evidence will be found almost entirely in Professor Ekwall's *Place-names of Lancashire*, without which, of course, this paper could not have been written.

The first problem is the date of the Anglian settlement of Lancashire. In a familiar passage<sup>1</sup> Bede describes the English invaders as "*tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis, Iutis.*" Writing of the areas occupied by the various tribes, he lists, as one branch of the Angles, "*tota Nordanhymbrorum progenies, id est illarum gentium quæ ad Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant.*" The actual foundations of the two Northumbrian kingdoms are not recorded, but the accession of Ida in A.D. 547<sup>2</sup> is taken as the traditional beginning of Bernicia, while the emergence of Deira is first suggested in the *Chronicle* under the annal for A.D. 560 which records the accession of Ælle "*to Norþanhymbra rice.*" Older historians regarded these two dates as marking the beginning of the Anglian settlement of Northern England, much as they took the arrival of Hengist and Horsa to mark the conquest of Kent. It is now clear,

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica.* I. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica.* V. 24 and *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 547.

from archæological evidence, supported by place-names, that Angles had settled in Yorkshire considerably before the middle of the sixth century. It would, indeed, appear, upon archæological evidence, that the beginnings of Deira should be placed in the fifth century. Less is known about Bernicia, and neither archæology nor place-names can add much to the old view that the accession of Ida in A.D. 547 symbolizes its emergence as a separate Northumbrian kingdom. These Anglian settlements near the east coast remain obscure until, in A.D. 592, or 593, Ethelfrith rose to power. He ruled Bernicia for twenty-four years,<sup>1</sup> and for at least half that period he also controlled Deira, having driven Edwin and his brothers, the sons of Ælle, into a precarious but not uneventful exile.<sup>2</sup> The point which can hardly be over-emphasized is that Ethelfrith consolidated the Anglian power in Northern England. Not only did he weld Northumbria into a powerful, if temporary, unity, but he made the first and most spectacular advance against the Britons in this area. He penetrated to the west coast of England. Of two discernible movements, the first culminated in the Battle of *Degsastan*,<sup>1</sup> A.D. 603, by which an Anglian wedge was driven between the Strathclyde Britons of the remote north-west and their kinsmen of Lancashire and the South. The second thrust was towards Chester, and this seems to have brought the Lancashire plain under Anglian control. Bede describes the Battle of Chester<sup>3</sup>, which was an annihilating defeat for the Britons. The usual interpretation is that the Battle of Chester opened Lancashire to the English settlers who now flowed across the Pennines to take possession of their conquests. Archæology has as yet no comment to make upon this view that Ethelfrith's victory was the first step towards the colonization of Lancashire.

At this point place-names offer interesting evidence. Among

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica*. I. 34.

<sup>2</sup> The tradition is that Edwin's later introduction of Christianity into Northumbria was, to a great extent, due to a vision in which Paulinus had appeared before him. This occurred during his exile at the court of Redwald of East Anglia. See the story in *Historia Ecclesiastica* II. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid* II. 2. See also below, p. 18. The exact date of the Battle of Chester is not known. The *Chronicle* dating is obviously wrong. The *Annales Cambriae* place it in A.D. 613, a date which has often been accepted. Some authorities, e.g. R. H. Hodgkin (*A History of the Anglo-Saxons*), tentatively accept the date A.D. 616, as was suggested by Plummer (*Baedae Opera Historica*, Vol. ii, p. 77). Ethelfrith was killed in A.D. 616 (or 617), and it is probable that the battle occurred within one or two years of this date, i.e. in A.D. 614 or 615 or even in A.D. 616.

the most ancient of English place-names are those which contain the O.E. plural *ingas*<sup>1</sup>, a termination bearing some such meaning as "the followers of," "the people of," or "the sons of." These names are not originally place-names in the stricter sense but tribal or folk-names which have become associated with the sites occupied. As such they, preserving the memory of small and independent groups, can have been created only during the actual invasion and the years which immediately followed. Although they are common in areas known to have been settled at an early date, it is perhaps surprising to find Lancashire examples from this oldest stratum of English place-nomenclature. Yet, undoubtedly, Melling (West Derby) and Melling (Lonsdale North) have developed from an O.E. *Mellingas* ("the followers of one *Mealla*"). It is noteworthy that these two names are identical with Malling in Kent and Malling in Sussex, both in areas of early settlement. Staining and Bryning (Amounderness) are derived from groups of Angles known respectively as *Stainingas* and *Bryningas*. It is possible also that another folk-name, *Byllingas*, is preserved in Billinge (West Derby) and in Billinge (Blackburn).<sup>2</sup> These names are typical of the migration age and it is generally agreed that they arose in the first phase of the English settlement. Local conditions may well have caused variation, but at present the bulk of available evidence suggests very strongly that *ingas* names are characteristic of the sixth century rather than of the seventh.

Also of high antiquity are place-names with the termination *ingham*.<sup>3</sup> Their age is almost, if perhaps not quite, as great as that of the *ingas* folk-names. In Lancashire there are four place-names of this type:—

- (1) Aldingham (<O. E. *Aldingham* i.e., "the *ham* of the followers of *Alda*.")
- (2) Padiham (<O.E. *Padingaham* <*Pada*.)
- (3) Whittingham (<O.E. *Hwitingaham* <*Hwita*.)
- (4) Habbergham (<O.E. *Heahbeoringaham*.)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* *-ingham* is the genitive plural of *ingas* plus the habitative terminal *ham*. These names are genuine place-names in that they refer to a specific place, the *ham*, but it is clear, from the medial *inga*, that they arose while the *folc* was a living reality.

<sup>4</sup> The first part of this name is not clear. It may contain a personal name, or it may mean "the *ham* of the *Heahbeoringas*," i.e., "of the people who live on the hill" (O.E. *heahbeorh*). See *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 82.

To these may safely be added Billington<sup>1</sup> (Blackburn) the ending of which has been changed from *dun* (hill) to *tun*. It was originally O.E. *Byllingadun*,<sup>2</sup> the hill or ridge of the *Byllingas*, and is therefore another place-name which preserves a folk-name. There are other types of place-names which possibly arose in a like early period but for our immediate purpose, that of dating the Anglo-Saxon settlement, we can afford to ignore the controversial class of *ing(a)tuns*.<sup>3</sup>

The historical significance of *ingas* and *ingaham* place-names in Lancashire is that they were presumably created before the Battle of Chester. It would therefore appear that the old interpretation of Bede is not quite accurate. Ethelfrith's advance to Chester no longer marks the beginning of the Anglian settlement of Lancashire. It seems that a gradual Anglian penetration occurred during the later years of the sixth century, and that the Battle of Chester marks the culmination, rather than the initiation of this movement. Thus a study of place-names suggests that Angles were settling in Lancashire at a date considerably earlier than has hitherto been supposed.

There is really nothing revolutionary in this opinion, novel though it may appear by comparison with the older and more familiar interpretation. Two main arguments may be opposed against it. First it may be held that the existence of a British kingdom, *Loidis Elmet*, in the West Riding would prevent Anglian expansion to the west until after it had been conquered by Edwin in the second quarter of the seventh century.<sup>4</sup> That Elmet proved an effective barrier is most unlikely. Mr. Hodgkin has stated that it "remained a vigorous British State until its conquest by Edwin of York in the middle of the seventh century."<sup>5</sup> There would seem to be very little evidence for such a view of its strength and importance. Apparently it survived into the seventh century only because it possessed admirable

<sup>1</sup> Omitted from the map because it is desirable to retain a terminal uniformity in plotting the English place-names.

<sup>2</sup> This explanation is made reasonably certain by the survival (in Symeon of Durham, c. 1130) of a form *Billinghamoth* (<O.E. *hoh*, a spur or ridge) which also preserves an unreduced form of *inga*. See *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 71, and also Appendix I.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>4</sup> Among modern writers S. W. Wooldridge seems to hold such an opinion. He refers to Elmet as a "buffer state, interposed between the Celtic west and the English east." See pp. 119 and 126 of his important article, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement*, in *An Historical Geography of England before 1800*, edited by H. C. Darby.

<sup>5</sup> *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*. Vol. I. p. 150.

natural defences of forest and marsh,<sup>1</sup> and not because of any inherent vitality. Surely it is imagination to see an effective barrier in this tiny British community which probably deemed itself fortunate to avoid contact with the English and which would hardly invite aggression by a resistance too strenuous. In any case, it was no obstacle to Ethelfrith's armed march to Chester, nor, apparently, did Ethelfrith fear what it might attempt while he was absent with the Northumbrian armies. It is perhaps not unlikely that meagre bands of peaceful settlers would meet with less opposition than would an army. Finally, one is not compelled to believe that either Ethelfrith or the earlier settlers passed even near to the confines of this miserable British refuge. Its area was so small<sup>2</sup> that alternative routes would offer no difficulty. It is highly probable, indeed, that the Angles and Ethelfrith did not choose to journey through the heart of *Loidis Elmet*, if only because the forests and swamps, which protected these Britons, presented far more formidable obstacles than did the Britons themselves. In view of the above we may rule out *Loidis Elmet* as, in itself, an effective barrier to Anglian penetration of Lancashire in the late sixth and early seventh centuries.

The second possible argument against an Anglian infiltration into Lancashire before the Battle of Chester is not so easy to refute. Whatever the date of the first Anglian settlements in Yorkshire,<sup>3</sup> it would be dangerous to assert that the

<sup>1</sup> S. W. Wooldridge holds this opinion also. *op. cit.* p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence of the extent of this British kingdom is fragmentary. The *Tribal Hidage* (? seventh century) allots only 600 hides to what appears to be this district (*Elmed sætna six hund hida*). The inhabitants of the Isle of Wight (*Piht gara*) are also rated at 600 hides, a comparison which may, or may not, give a reasonably correct impression of the size of the district occupied by the *Elmetscete*. The area of the Isle of Wight is somewhat less than 150 square miles. Comparison may also be made with the larger folks and kingdoms in the *Tribal Hidage*, e.g., *Cilttern sætna* (4,000 hides), East Anglians (30,000 hides) and West Saxons (100,000 hides). It is not certain that the land of the *Elmetscete* can be equated exactly with the territory of the British kingdom of *Loidis*, but that there is some rough approximation of equality in area is a reasonable assumption.

Place-names supply a further indication of the territorial extent of *Loidis*. Leeds, Ledston and Ledsham in the West Riding contain the same element as that which appears in *Loidis*, preserved by Bede as the name of a *regio* or district (*Historia Ecclesiastica* II, 14). *Elmet*, also preserved by Bede, as the name of a forest (*silua Elmete*), survives today in Barwick in Elmet and Sherburn in Elmet. These five modern place-names lie within an area of less than 100 square miles, or within a rectangle roughly 15 miles east to west and 6 miles north to south.

The above evidence is, indeed, fragmentary and inconclusive, but, such as it is, it suggests that *Loidis Elmet* was far from extensive. Its centre seems to have been on or near the Aire, and, if we believe that it occupied most of the land between the Aire and the Wharfe, we might not be far from the truth.

<sup>3</sup> *vide supra*, p. 5.

Northumbrian kingdoms possessed any effective organization before the reigns of Ida and of Ælle. It may be held that expansion towards the west is not likely to have occurred within a generation or two of such consolidation. It might be replied that expansion does not demand a previous consolidation. In fact the nature of the movement rather suggests wandering groups innocent of state organization.<sup>1</sup> More convincing is the analogy of a parallel expansion westwards from Northumberland and Durham. Of it Professor Stenton writes: "it seems clear that the movement which colonised the two north-eastern counties proceeded without intermission until it reached the western sea."<sup>2</sup> If this could happen with inhospitable Cumberland for its goal, there is little objection to a belief in a similar movement towards Lancashire. Therefore, in conclusion, there would appear to be no powerful argument against the opinion already expressed, i.e., that the Angles had reached Lancashire some years before the Battle of Chester.

Place-names also contain within themselves invaluable details of the manner in which the Anglian settlement was effected. The written tradition suggests a military conquest in *circa* A.D. 615, and historians have naturally assumed a later influx of peaceful farmers. The place-names already quoted reveal that Lancashire was first colonized, not by individuals, and not with the blessing of an organized state, but by small communities, each under its own leader and each behaving as an independent unit. The earliest English place-names in Lancashire prove that the inhabitants of the first settlements were members of recognized groups, presumably less restricted than families.<sup>3</sup> For example, the *Mellingas* apparently wandered westwards until they made a permanent home in South Lancashire on the edge of a low-lying swamp. It is not impossible that the northern Melling commemorates another branch of the same group. Likewise, the *Staningas*, the *Bryningas* and the *Byllingas* all shared in the settlement of Lancashire. Whittingham is the

<sup>1</sup> *vide infra*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Presidential Address to the Royal Historical Society, 1939*, p. 21. (*Transactions*, Vol. xxii, 1940). Place-names like Hensingham, Addingham, Whicham, Dearham, Rottington, Workington, Distington, Frisington and Harrington are adduced in support of this view. It may be noted here that some Lancashire place-names are rather earlier than these in type.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix I.

site which the *Hwitingas* chose for their *ham*. Aldingham, Padiham and Habergham today preserve the memory of migratory groups of Angles known as the *Aldingas*, the *Padingas* and the ?*Heahbeorgingas*. On the map other place-names are marked which originally may have possessed an *ingatun* termination. If this derivation is correct,<sup>1</sup> these places record the existence of such groups as the *Totingas*, the *Plësingas*, the *Alhheringas* and some half a dozen others.<sup>2</sup> Thus, fossilized in place-names, there is an important addition to our knowledge of the nature of the English settlement, especially as the very names of many of the early folks are preserved.

The routes by which the Angles reached Lancashire cannot be fixed with certainty, but the valleys of the Aire, the Wharfe and other rivers suggest probabilities. It is unlikely, also, that the old Roman roads were ignored.<sup>3</sup> The place-names of the West Riding have not yet been subjected to a careful modern scrutiny, and conclusions based upon them are not very reliable. However, from a group of place-names east of Pontefract (e.g., Knottingley, Kellingley and Kellingham) a line of advance along the Calder for some thirty or forty miles may possibly be traced in such names as Santingley, Haddingley, Addingford, Hostingley and Stanningley (in Heckmondwike) as far as the neighbourhood of Halifax, where Illingworth, Trimmingham and another Stanningley are found. This line passes south of the *Loidis* region.<sup>4</sup> From Halifax the Roman road to Manchester<sup>5</sup> would provide swift and easy access to South-East Lancashire. Secondly, from the Bradford district, where one finds Manningham (a fairly safe example), Bowling, Cullingworth, a third Stanningley etc., an advance northwards is perhaps indicated, through Frizinghall and Cottingley and along the Aire beyond Bingley. Cowling stands on a tributary of the Aire, within two miles of the Lancashire boundary and within five or six miles of Skipton. Other settlers may have passed far up the Wharfe to Addingham (another reasonably safe example) which is four miles above Ilkley. From Skipton and Ilkley Lancashire lay open. Apart from Roman roads running to the valleys of the

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* pp. 42-44, where Lancashire *ing(a)tun* names are discussed and where a list is given.

<sup>3</sup> *vide infra.* p. 14 and note, and p. 26. <sup>4</sup> *vide supra.* p. 8. <sup>5</sup> *vide infra.* p. 15 note.

Ribble and the Lune respectively, the valleys themselves offer an attractively easy passage. The extensive and early settlement of these areas in Lancashire<sup>1</sup> is noteworthy, and an advance along Airedale and Wharfedale is, even without the evidence of place-names, the most plausible explanation, although the possibility of a more northerly Pennine crossing and an entry into Lancashire from the valleys converging on Kendal cannot be ignored.<sup>2</sup>

On the densities of early populations the chroniclers are generally silent. The revelations of archæology are spasmodic, and place-names fail equally if concrete facts and figures are demanded. It is, however, often possible to discover the relative density of a settlement by comparison with other areas. Place-names of certain types, if plotted on a map, sometimes reveal concentrations of population in a striking manner, but certain factors operate to impair the accuracy of any impression thus obtained. Perhaps in northern England the chief of these factors is the intensive settlement by the Scandinavians, who not only coloured all later history, but who also buried many English place-names beneath a thick layer of their own place-nomenclature.<sup>3</sup> Not a few English place-names must have been lost, or changed beyond recognition. In spite of this, in the two or three centuries which preceded the arrival of the Northmen the Angles certainly occupied Lancashire in considerable numbers, as is at once suggested by the numerous Anglian place-names which have survived the Scandinavian flood. It is significant that in Lancashire there are some two hundred examples of O.E. *tun*,<sup>4</sup> although some of these are contemporary with, or later than, the Scandinavian invasion. This paper attempts to discuss only the

<sup>1</sup> This is shown on the map. See also pp. 13-15 and notes.

<sup>2</sup> The place-name evidence adduced in this paragraph can be accepted only with a caution. Not having yet been carefully studied, the significance of these place-names is by no means certain: one or two must be of great antiquity, others are more doubtful, and some may not have been formed until a comparatively late date. It is only suggested that, regarded as a whole, they indicate the earliest Anglian penetrations of the Pennines. Even if all are not contemporary with the Anglian advance, they probably mark the routes followed. Some of the oldest English place-names have no doubt disappeared. Further information on the place-names in *ing* and *ingaham* will be found in Ekwall's *Dictionary of English Place-names*.

<sup>3</sup> Staining, for example, seems to owe its modern form and pronunciation to the Scandinavianization of O.E. *Staningas* to *Steiningas*. cf. *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 156. Some English place-names were, no doubt, replaced by completely new Scandinavian creations.

<sup>4</sup> Listed in *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 18.

first phase of the Anglian settlement, not its later history,<sup>1</sup> and, during the first generation or so, the number of Angles who found their way across the Pennines can have been but small.

If it is surprising to find in Lancashire such early place-names as those which indicate group settlement, yet it must be admitted that examples of this type are not numerous. Unless, as is always possible, future research allows the recognition of one or two more in minor-names, there are, at the most, six examples of *ingas* and only four of *ingaham*. This paucity of ancient types should be compared with the evidence from Kent, East Anglia and other areas known to have been settled at an early date.<sup>2</sup> Although the very existence of some dozen<sup>3</sup> early place-names in Lancashire is a greater cause for wonder than is their comparative scarcity, this must not obscure the implication that, in the sixth and early seventh centuries, Anglian settlers were very few. They were certainly few enough to avoid competition for the more attractive sites, and they were apparently few enough to avoid alarming the Britons.<sup>4</sup> There can have been nothing like a mass migration in this first phase.

The Norsemen arrived in Lancashire to find only the less habitable land available for settlement, and they were content to occupy the low-lying districts and the hills which the Angles had ignored.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, the Angles had chosen sites of which the natural advantages have been vindicated by their long prominence. The vast majority of the old townships and of the more important places have Anglian names.<sup>6</sup> That the Angles, if they came peaceably, were thus able to take possession of the best districts would seem to provide some slight additional evidence for the view that Lancashire had been sparsely populated by the Britons.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The later English settlements in Lancashire may be approximately recovered by studying the distribution of such place-name elements as O.E. *leah* and O.E. *feld*.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>3</sup> These place-names are accepted as early on the assumption that they preserve the names of Anglian folks, i.e., that they are group-names. Place-names may also be regarded as of an early date by reason of other evidence, e.g., the occurrence of an archaic personal name as a first element.

<sup>4</sup> *vide infra*, p. 30. The question of Anglo-British relations is discussed below, pp. 16-31.

<sup>5</sup> This is shown by the distribution of Scandinavian place-names. In other districts Scandinavian nomenclature is, in general, confined to minor-names and to sites of little importance. cf. *Place-names of Lancashire*, 248 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* pp. 234-240.

<sup>7</sup> This view is generally accepted. For the remote south-western districts see F. Walker's *Historical Geography of South-West Lancashire*, pp. 2, 17, etc.

Whatever may have been the condition of pre-Anglian Lancashire, there is no doubt that the first English settlers chose their homes with an appreciative eye for the topography of the county. The outstanding fact is that they avoided both the hills and the low-lying swamps. The early English place-names are situated, as is clearly seen from the map, at heights which, as a rule, vary between 100 feet and 500 feet above sea-level. Below 100 feet much of Lancashire must have been marsh. The position of Melling is interesting: it lies upon a peninsula of higher ground which rises to 119 feet at Melling Mount, the centre of the parish. It is very probable that west of Melling the present coastal plain was an uninhabitable swamp. Even the exceptions to this general rule seldom lack explanation upon closer investigation: the Fylde seems to be a strange choice for early settlement, but both Bryning and Staining were probably above the level of the marsh. Bryning lies "at the north end . . . of a strip of land rising above the general level."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it is between 50 feet and 75 feet above sea-level. Staining is likewise surrounded by islands of higher ground rising above 50 feet. In the south, the mosses along the Mersey would, one imagines, have repelled early settlement.<sup>2</sup> Dumplington,<sup>3</sup> however, is over 50 feet above sea-level and stands near the Irwell; Pennington<sup>3</sup> is higher and has rising ground on three sides. Of all the early English place-names marked on the map, Warrington, itself a doubtful member of this class<sup>3</sup>, alone lies below 50 feet. It is indeed low-lying, but the existence of the Roman road and its position in pre-Conquest England as the head of a hundred<sup>4</sup> prevent the assumption that its site was altogether unattractive. All the remaining English place-names shown on the map stand on the higher ground above 100 feet. Further details of position<sup>5</sup> only amplify what is clearly revealed by the map, i.e., a decided preference for the belt of elevated land which falls between the low-lying swamps and the uninviting hills, the areas above 100 feet and below 500 feet.

One of the most interesting concentrations of early English

<sup>1</sup> *V. C. H.*, vi, 159.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Walker. *op cit.* p. 9. He describes the belt of moss and marsh as "a most complete barrier between Lancashire and Cheshire."

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix II, pp. 43 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *D.B.* 269. b.

<sup>5</sup> Some further details are incidentally provided in Appendix II, pp. 42 ff.; others may be obtained from *V.C.H.* and from 1" O.S. maps.

settlers is to be found in the Lune valley. Melling (Lonsdale), in the fertile district between the Lune and the Wenning, may well have been the centre of this distinct Anglian settlement. It appears in Domesday Book and apparently it was a place of considerable importance.<sup>1</sup> In the immediate vicinity are other ancient English place-names. Whittington, once the head of Earl Tostig's lordship,<sup>2</sup> stands above the Lune at a point where the ground begins to rise. Wennington is near Melling, and Addington is not far distant. There are one or two other place-names which are possibly of an early date. It has long been thought, on other grounds, that this area "was at one time relatively far more populous and important than it is to-day."<sup>3</sup> It would now seem to be indisputable that, even in the earliest phase of the Lancashire settlement, the Angles found the Lune valley very desirable. The rivers and the Roman roads suggest, furthermore, that it was most accessible to the invaders. For the rest, the oldest English place-names are scattered widely over the more habitable parts of the county, that is over the belt of elevated ground below the hills. It should be noticed how closely they are related to the Roman roads, which were certainly not avoided in Lancashire.<sup>4</sup> Pilkington stands on the Irwell and on the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester. This road passes very near to Tottington, situated on rising ground above the Irwell. Further north it passes between Billinge Hill and Billinge Scar on the west and Billington Moor (earlier *Byllingahoth*) on the east. Dimplington and Pennington are within two or three miles of the Roman road which connects Wigan and Manchester. Near Adlington the name of Street<sup>5</sup> probably commemorates another Roman road. In any case, the road between Warrington and Walton-le-Dale passes near Worthington and at no great distance from Adlington. Alkrington

<sup>1</sup> "The seat of a compact lordship occupying the tongue of land between the Lune and the Wenning." *V.C.H.* viii, 186.

<sup>2</sup> *D.B.* 301 b. (Under Yorkshire). See also *V.C.H.* viii, 241.

<sup>3</sup> *V.C.H.* viii, 186. Notice the interesting reason given for the above conclusion, i.e., "The number of ancient churches and chapels around Melling." cf. *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested that in Southern England the Anglo-Saxons avoided Roman towns and Roman roads. cf. E. T. Leeds. *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*.

<sup>5</sup> In Heath Charnock (South of Chorley). cf. *Place-names of Lancashire*, pp. 129 and 237.

stands near an old road which apparently used to run from Manchester, through Littleborough, to Ilkley.<sup>1</sup>

The valleys of the Ribble and of its tributaries also attracted the Angles. Padiham and Habergham probably represent a considerable settlement on the Lancashire Calder. Pleasington lies within a loop of the Darwen. Possibly the *Byllingas* occupied the valley of the Ribble for some seven miles<sup>2</sup> or so below the confluence with the Calder, as may well be suggested by such names as Billinge Hill, Billinge Scar and Billington Moor, all of which are found on the higher ground to the south of the river. Staining and Bryning appear to be isolated but the survival of the Britons in the Fylde indicates that this area was not so repellent to early settlers as, for example, the low-lying coastal plain of South-West Lancashire. It is not improbable that the Fylde was quite accessible either by water or by land.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Lancashire section of this road is omitted from the first edition of the *O.S. Map of Roman Britain*, on which the road from Ilkley fades away near Littleborough. There is some evidence that near Littleborough this road turns southwards to join the York—Manchester road. Thus it is marked on the second edition of the *O.S. Map of Roman Britain* and on Map I of R. G. Collingwood's *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 1937, although the course is uncertain. On the other hand, W. T. Watkin's *Roman Lancashire*, 1883, an old but very valuable work if used with caution, contains a lengthy discussion (pp. 56–62) on this road. Watkin believed that it connected Manchester and Littleborough directly, and he quotes from Whitaker's *History of Manchester*, 1771, that the names "Street Fold in Moston, Street Bridge in Chatherton and Street Gate in Ryton . . . ascertain the general direction of its course." There is no other evidence of this road, which would explain its omission from the *O.S. Map of Roman Britain*. However, the evidence of the minor-names noticed by Whitaker is most convincing. O.E. *stræt* is commonly applied to a paved road, and its occurrence is a fairly reliable guide to the existence of a Roman road. It seems very probable that the line through Moston, Chadderton and Royton, first suggested by Whitaker, does indeed mark the course of an independent Roman road from Manchester. For this reason its probable course is marked on my map. Alkrington would stand very near to such a road.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix I, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> On many maps there is marked a supposed Roman road, "Danes Pad," described by Watkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–78. From Preston it curves westwards and northwards, and passes within a mile or so of Bryning and of Staining. It would provide an obvious line of communication but for the fact that it appears to be a myth. I am greatly indebted to Mr. R. Sharpe France, of the County Record Office, for much interesting information. He traces the origin of this myth to the Rev. William Thornber (*History of Blackpool*, 1837) and thus explains the inclusion of the supposed road on the first 6" Ordnance Survey map of 1844. Recent investigation has revealed no trace of it, and it is not indicated on Teesdale's map of 1830, although it appears on modern maps (e.g. 1928 1" Ordnance Survey map where it is marked as the "site of Roman road"). Mr. France is of the opinion that "early investigators mistook raised footpaths made for local use through the many swampy areas of the western Fylde for a Roman road."

On the other hand Mr. France informs me "that finds made just before the war at Kirkham show quite definitely that there was a small Roman station there." That a Roman road stretched at least to Kirkham is further suggested by the evidence of charters. An entry in the *Cockersand Chartulary* (*Chetham Society*, Vol. 39, p. 205) reads: "*Sicut magna strata se extendit de Dalebrig.*" Dowbridge is less than a mile east of Kirkham, and it is very likely that a *magna strata* at this date (before 1268) is a Roman road. Further east in Lea we find *Wattlelingestrete* (1285) and (a field called) *vattelingstrete* (*circa* 1300) (*De Houghton Deeds and Papers*. *Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 88, Nos. 125 and 148). Finally, Mr. France declares "that the name Watling Street Road in Fulwood seems to be of quite old usage." In conclusion, therefore, there

Thus it will be seen that the Angles, preferring in general the higher lands below 500 feet, were guided in particular to the settlement of certain areas by their accessibility. It will be noticed that South and South-East Lancashire, the valley of the Ribble and the valley of the Lune are, because of river-systems and Roman roads, very accessible to peoples advancing westwards along the routes indicated above.<sup>1</sup>

In reconstructing the Anglo-Saxon Conquest of Britain, the historian has met with no more controversial question than the extent to which the native British population survived the English settlement. It is a question to which widely divergent answers have from time to time been offered, and it is a question vital to an understanding of the nature of the Conquest and to subsequent cultural and social history. Were the Britons exterminated, or were they allowed to live out their days under the new dominant race? Linked with this question of mere survival, but distinct from it, is the problem of how far were British habitation sites adopted by the English, of how far was there any continuity of life in Britain.

Older historians held the view that the Britons who remained in England were either slaughtered or enslaved. In 1867 Freeman declared that "there is every reason to believe that the Celtic inhabitants of those parts of Britain which had become English by the end of the sixth century had been as nearly extirpated as a nation can be."<sup>2</sup> J. R. Green, in 1882, wrote of "a real displacement of the British people" and of a "sheer dispossession of the conquered people," although he seems to believe that this displacement was achieved by the flight rather than by the slaughter of the Britons.<sup>3</sup> A further and drastic modification of Freeman's dictum was made in 1904 when Vinogradoff described the Anglo-Saxon settlement as merely "a

would seem to be no reasonable doubt that, as Mr. France writes, "there was a Roman road running westward as far as Kirkham but not beyond." I have so marked it on my map. It need hardly be added that the name "Danes Pad" does not afford a clue to the origin of any section of the road, real or supposed.

Bryning stands on comparatively high ground within a mile and a half of the Ribble estuary and within two miles of Kirkham and the Roman road. Staining is less obviously accessible: it is one of a series of villages on the ridge which runs parallel to the Fylde coast. The English could have reached it easily by coasting northwards from the Ribble estuary, although it is preferable to suppose a land route. I am very grateful to Mr. France for his help with this note and for permission to quote from his letter.

<sup>1</sup> *vide supra*. pp. 10-11.

<sup>2</sup> Freeman. *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*. I. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Green. *The Making of England*, Chapter IV.

powerful factor" in English History, and insisted that "it did not lead to a wholesale destruction or flight of the provincial population."<sup>1</sup> It has even been held that in many districts the Britons remained undisturbed, and the theory of absorption, especially in the more remote areas, has found supporters. As late as 1927, one scholar<sup>2</sup> could write, "The process of absorption and amalgamation went on as the Anglo-Saxon conquest proceeded westwards . . . the Britons were not exterminated but absorbed by their Saxon conquerors. Their civilization vanished, but the race remained." So great has been the reaction from Freeman's opinion.

The exponents of the "extermination" theory derived some support from the written tradition. Gildas paints a vivid picture of the fate of the Britons. He laments the evil lives of his countrymen and describes the punishment of their sins by the Anglo-Saxon scourge: "In righteous vengeance on the aforesaid crimes, a Fire from the East burned from sea to sea, and, fanned by the hands of wicked men, it destroyed all the neighbouring fields and cities. Once kindled, it did not die down until, consuming almost all in the island that stood above ground, it licked the Western Ocean with its red and savage tongue."<sup>3</sup> Gildas continues to describe ruined buildings and altars, priests and people "everywhere hurled to the ground by whirling swords and crackling flames." Mingled with the stones of lofty walls and holy altars are fragments of human bodies encrusted with dark and clotted blood. Although Gildas is, in spite of his verbiage, a valuable authority, it would be dangerous to apply such a romantic and impassioned picture to the whole of Britain. Such scenes as he describes may well have been enacted in some localities: we know that similar violence was not unknown during the conquest, for at least one horrible massacre is recorded in a blunt matter-of-fact manner by the English themselves. Under the year 491 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is mentioned the capture of *Andredescester* from which, it is said, "*ne wearþ þær forþon án Bret to lafe.*"

Of what happened in Lancashire no direct evidence is

<sup>1</sup> Vinogradoff. *The Growth of the Manor*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Zachrisson. *Romans, Kelts and Saxons in Ancient Britain*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Gildas. *De Excidio Britanniae*. cap. xxiv.

available, but Bede, in Latin less involved than that of Gildas, shows Ethelfrith as a notorious scourge of the Britons :

*“rex fortissimus et gloriae cupidissimus Aedilfrid, qui plus omnibus Anglorum primatibus gentem uastauit Brettonum . . . Nemo enim in tribunis, nemo in regibus plures eorum terras, exterminatis uel subiugatis indigenis, aut tributarias genti Anglorum, aut habitabiles fecit.”*<sup>1</sup>

Such is Bede's summary of the reign of Ethelfrith, and it accords well with a belief that slaughter or slavery awaited those Britons who failed to escape by flight. As the opinion of a cautious historian it gives a much-needed support to the colourful picture of Gildas. The Battle of Chester, too, is a gruesome illustration that violent bloodshed occurred even in Western England, outside the areas first conquered. Bede tells the story of this battle.<sup>2</sup> The Britons were accompanied by a body of priests from Bangor-Iscoed who remained apart to pray for the success of Christian arms. When he realized their intention, Ethelfrith resolved to treat them as combatants: “he ordered that they should be attacked first, and then he destroyed the other forces of that wicked host.” Some twelve hundred holy men perished and only fifty escaped. Thus there is some evidence for the older view that the fate of the Britons was death or slavery or exile.

To-day it is possible to deny the wholesale destruction of the Britons, but it is not yet possible to replace the old view by more than a series of impressions, each enlightening some aspect of the Britons' fate which, no doubt, varied from one locality to another. From what follows it will be seen, first, that the evidence for continuity of life is slight or non-existent, and, secondly, that in some areas, it seems probable, a considerable number of Britons passed alive into Anglo-Saxon society, although it is safe to emphasize that these survivors have little significance for later history. Many modern studies seek to throw light on the fate of the Britons.<sup>3</sup> Students of English Language find that the British influence upon the speech of the conquerors is infinitesimal. The whole social structure of Anglo-Saxon England remained aggressively Germanic. Scholars have

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica* I, 34.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* ii, 2.

<sup>3</sup> For a summary of these studies see Myres, *op. cit.* chapter xxiv.

\* so see de Chronicle — E 605 A.D.  
A 607 A.D.

studied agricultural methods and field-systems in an effort to trace continuity.<sup>1</sup> Air photography now testifies against the continued use of British sites by the English.<sup>2</sup> Old English laws and institutions have no element of British or Roman origin. Mediæval town customs and even street-plans have been studied. In some towns the street-systems of Roman times have been preserved; in others they have been overlaid and lost. In any case, it is difficult to interpret such evidence.<sup>3</sup> Claims that mediæval town life is built upon a foundation of Roman customs dissolve on investigation. Archæology reveals very few sites which were in continuous occupation from the fourth to the sixth century. It is true that the English adopted some sites vacated by the Britons but in general an appreciable interval seems to have occurred to break the continuity of occupation. The valley of the middle Thames, where Saxon finds of the fifth century prove a remarkably early English settlement, provides the most plausible examples of unbroken occupation of sites. At Frilford Romano-British graves are followed by Saxon graves under conditions which indicate that no long interval had elapsed. Cemeteries also at Reading and Long Wittenham show occupation from the Roman period into Saxon times. At Sutton Courtenay early Saxon dwellings have been discovered in close association with Romano-British remains, and at Lowbury Hill primitive Saxon pottery has been found in similar circumstances. Such archæological proofs of continuity are, however, very rare. The above examples are exceptions to the rule. In general the Anglo-Saxons neglected British sites. On the other hand, modern studies provide good reasons for accepting the survival of many Britons—mere survival though it be. Anthropology at present offers no contribution,<sup>4</sup> but the O.E. laws contain direct references to Britons who were recog-

<sup>1</sup> e.g. H. L. Gray, *English Field-Systems*, believes that Romano-British influence persisted. J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Pre-Feudal England, The Jutes*, holds that the Kentish field-system is purely Germanic.

<sup>2</sup> See O. G. S. Crawford, *Wessex from the Air*, and *Air Survey and Archæology*.

<sup>3</sup> The usual view is that the continuity of a street-system argues an unbroken occupation. On the other hand, R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Saxons*, expresses the opinion that continuous occupation would be likely to modify an ancient street-system, and that, indeed, a period of desolation would tend to preserve and not to destroy the Roman outline. See also Myres, *op. cit.*, pp. 429-31.

<sup>4</sup> As stated above, p. 4, anthropologists are unable to distinguish between Britons and Anglo-Saxons by means of body structures and skull forms. Nigrescence is far from reliable even if statistics were available. A map based on Beddoe's ludicrously unsatisfactory statistics appears in R. H. Hodgkin's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, I. 171.

nized as such several generations after the conquest. Among the references to *Wealas* in the *Laws of Ine*, there is one which fixes the wergild of a *wealh* holding five hides at six hundred shillings.<sup>1</sup> Thus in Wessex, at least, not all the Britons were slaves and not all were so socially insignificant as the Kentish *lætas*,<sup>2</sup> who in the *Laws of Æthelbert*, represent descendants of Romano-Britons. The occurrence of British personal names<sup>3</sup> among the Anglo-Saxon kings points to some degree of intercourse and perhaps of intermarriage in the higher classes. Perhaps more important is the revival of Celtic art which recovered from the cold Roman formalism to flourish in Anglo-Saxon England. Saxon grave-furniture occasionally includes objects showing decorative designs which are quite definitely Celtic. British craftsmen undoubtedly existed somewhere, possibly in the service of the English. Other lines of investigation<sup>4</sup> are also pursued in an effort to force from the Past the hidden fate of the Britons, and of these the study of place-names ranks high in importance.

The place-name evidence is of recognized value, but its interpretation in terms of history is often a hazardous task as will be seen. It is clear that, if any number of Britons survived the Anglian settlement in Lancashire, one might justifiably expect to find traces of their existence in British place-name elements embedded in the general place-nomenclature of the county. Places preserving in their names such fragments of British speech are shown on the map. There are about fifty examples, including one or two which are doubtful. Professor Ekwall regarded them as "not very considerable,"<sup>5</sup> but, when compared with similar survivals in other counties, it becomes apparent that they are indeed fairly numerous. This impression is greatly strengthened if one remembers the probability that other British place-names survived the English conquest only to

<sup>1</sup> *Laws of Ine*, cap. 24. A *wealh* holding five hides and having a wergild of six hundred shillings would be a very substantial person, in position intermediate between an ordinary freeman and a nobleman.

<sup>2</sup> *Laws of Æthelbert*, cap. 26. The life of a *læt* was valued at forty, sixty or eighty shillings, according to his class. This suggests a status inferior to that of an ordinary Kentish *ceorl* whose wergild was one hundred shillings.

<sup>3</sup> Cædwalla of Wessex bears a British name. Most scholars claim a British origin for the name of Cerdic, but this is less certain. In the genealogy of the Lindsey dynasty occurs the name Cædbæd, which is also British. See F. M. Stenton, *Lindsey and its Kings*, p. 139 (in *Essays Presented to R. L. Poole*.)

<sup>4</sup> For example, the study of burial customs. See Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

<sup>5</sup> *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 224.

be lost during the Scandinavian settlement. Furthermore, some writers have inferred from place-name evidence that the Britons were driven into isolated groups living miserably in the hills and the forests. Professor Ekwall himself first suggested that "to some extent" groups of British place-names could be pointed out,<sup>1</sup> but other writers, neglecting his cautious phrases, refer to clearly defined groups of isolated Britons. The map reveals, perhaps, a preference for one or two districts and also, to some extent, a tendency towards the grouping of British place-names in the areas around Manchester and Wigan, but if the occurrence of all examples is taken into account, the idea of isolated groups will be completely dissipated. Professor Ekwall also declared "that the Britons had to give up the best land and settle in more remote parts,"<sup>2</sup> a view which he emphasized by pointing to at least one group of British place-names as suggesting "a British population driven up among the hills," by referring to British place-names "in the interior of the Fylde," and by inferring "an inaccessible forest district" in the hundred of West Derby from the unusually high number of British place-names preserved there. Some writers have generalized from these interesting data, and to-day the accepted view seems to be that the Britons were driven into the hills and the forests where they continued to exist in isolated groups for some considerable time.<sup>3</sup> Therefore it might be useful to re-examine the evidence upon which this view is based.

Apart from strict place-names, the names of rivers, hills and forests are helpful in elucidating the problem of British survival and the kindred problems of continuity. In England most of the more important rivers have British names. In Lancashire the proportion of British river-names is very much above the average,<sup>4</sup> and it is found that even smaller streams sometimes possess British names, an occurrence far less common in eastern England. This frequency at once implies a closer or a more prolonged contact between the Britons and the English than is

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> This common view is not, after all, an unjustifiable interpretation of Professor Ekwall's conclusions, although he is less emphatic in applying local details to the whole county. See, however, *The Celtic Element*, in *The Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names*, Part I, where he states that in Lancashire "the British settlements were evidently not restricted to the hilly parts."

<sup>4</sup> See comparative material in *English River-names* (E. Ekwall).

usual elsewhere. It is significant that the highest proportion of British river-names is found in the west, in such counties as Dorset, Somerset, Lancashire, and, above all, Cumberland, where it is unlikely that there occurred the same degree of slaughter and racial antagonism as characterized the districts first conquered by the English. River-names, however, must be used with caution: even a preponderance of British river-names does not prove any close contact between the Britons and the English. Rivers are natural features of considerable local prominence, and a very slight and superficial contact would enable an alien race to assimilate their names. Thus, although the British influence in the river-nomenclature of Lancashire is very conspicuous, it cannot, in itself, safely be taken to prove more than mere racial contact. It cannot support the view that any real intermingling of races occurred.

The same holds true of British hill-names and of British forest-names. Hills are conspicuous for many miles, and forests<sup>1</sup> are of great local importance. The fact that they often preserve British elements in their names does not prove any real racial intercourse, for, as stated above, physical features which are topographically outstanding not uncommonly retain their pre-English names even in districts where there can have been little racial intercommunication. In Lancashire the truth of this statement is forcibly illustrated by the name of Pendle Hill. It contains the British element *pen(n)*, meaning "summit, top, end," and, in the wider sense, "hill." To this has been added O.E. *hyll* (hill), giving such thirteenth century forms as *Pennul* and *Pennehille*. The impression conveyed is not that the English were familiar with the strict meaning of *pen*, but that they were ignorant even of its general signification. Thus the English explanatory equivalent was added.<sup>2</sup> Cheetwood provides a more striking illustration. The Englishmen who added O.E. *wudu* (wood) to British *cet* (wood) cannot have mingled long with the Britons. They had heard the old name, but they had never learnt the meaning of this very common British word.

<sup>1</sup> On *The Lyme* see the interesting evidence and conclusions in *Place-names of Lancashire*, pp. 23-26.

<sup>2</sup> Later the name Pendle (*pen hyll*) apparently became so obscure as to necessitate the addition of a second explanatory "Hill." Hence Pendle Hill might be said to mean "The Hill hill Hill!"

Otherwise they would not have created what is a "howler" in place-nomenclature.<sup>1</sup> Such names are strong arguments against all but the most superficial contact: they could have been communicated by a dying captive or even in the heat of battle, for to the English they cannot have been more than meaningless sounds.

To return to the strict place-names, some fifty-four are marked upon the map. At first glance this seems to suggest a considerable survival of the Britons, but again a certain caution must be observed in interpretation. It will be noticed that almost every example refers to some topographical feature. *Cet* (wood) appears in Blenket, Cheetham, Cheetwood, Culcheth, Penketh, *Roskit* and Tulketh; *pen* (hill, top, end) in Pemberton, Penketh, Pendlebury, Pendleton (twice) and Penwortham; *pres* (brushwood) in Preese and Preesall; *inis* (island) in Ince Blundell, Ince-in-Makerfield and perhaps Inskip. Brynn means "hill," and Mellor, which is identical with Moelfre in Anglesey, means "bare hill." These topographical names have little more significance as evidence of racial intercourse than have river-names and hill-names. Of all it may be said that they prove some contact but that they prove it to have been of a transitory nature. Under this general group of topographical names one must also include place-names derived from rivers: Glazebrook and Glazebury may well have been created entirely by Englishmen at a much later date. Here too must be listed Chadderton, Chatterton and Hanging Chadder (<*cader*), for hill-forts are prominent topographical features, and also Eccles, Eccleshill and Eccleston (three times) for, if the first element of these names is British,<sup>2</sup> it is *ecles* (church). Finally, important Roman sites would be conspicuous landmarks to the invaders and the Celtic element in Manchester falls into this class. Thus it will be seen that almost all the British place-name elements surviving in Lancashire are topographical names and, as such, they give little support to a belief in extensive survival or racial intercourse.

The lack of names indicating British habitations is, indeed, astounding. Treales (<*tref*, a town, and *lis*, a court or hall) is

<sup>1</sup> Similar phenomena are not uncommon. cf. Chetwode (Bucks.), Bredon (Wores.) and Bredon-on-the-Hill (Leics.).

<sup>2</sup> Occasionally the first element may be a personal name, perhaps a diminutive of O.E. *Ecca* or *Echha*.

the only safe example. This absence of habitative elements is a powerful argument against any considerable British survival, and it forbids the assumption that in Lancashire British sites were adopted by the English. On this evidence it is necessary to deny continuity of habitation. Similarly, British personal names are equally rare. Wigan provides the only reasonably safe example of a British personal name preserved in a place-name.<sup>1</sup> If any number of Britons had survived it would be natural to expect more than an occasional and doubtful personal name element.<sup>2</sup> The monotonous repetition of topographical elements in the list of British place-names is a warning against over-estimating the extent to which the English mingled with the Britons. Regarded as a group, the fifty-four British place-names in Lancashire could be learnt by an alien race without any close or prolonged communication, for they refer to rivers, woods, conspicuous hill-forts and the like.

On the other hand, it is unwise to underestimate the number of Britons who survived. It will not be possible to decide what proportion of the pre-English population evaded death and displacement during the Conquest until more is known of British settlements in Roman Lancashire, but the number of British place-names, whatever may be their type, is too great to be ignored. It is clear that at least some Britons survived: how many and for what length of time are questions which cannot be answered with any degree of certainty. The continued existence of British regional names such as *Deira*, *Bernicia*, *Lindsey* and *Elmete* may be interpreted to prove that the Anglo-Saxon invasion did not at once sweep away the Celtic social and territorial organization.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that in Makerfield we have preserved the name of an old British district. Its first element seems to be British, it is often used as a name for Newton Hundred, and, like *Elmet*, it is added to certain place-names in

<sup>1</sup> *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 103. Even so Wigan is a mutilated form of some original as would lie behind the Welsh *Tref Wigan* or *Bod Wigan*. Kenyon may possibly be another example.

<sup>2</sup> There is a strong Celtic strain in the place-names created by the Scandinavians who arrived in Lancashire from Ireland, but in this case Celtic personal names are not lacking e.g., O.Ir. *Beccán* (Beaconsall, Beacons Gill), *Betheag* (Bethacar Moor), *Gusan* (Goosnargh), *Beolan* (*Belanespot* in Garstang), etc. This makes the lack of British-Celtic personal names even more noteworthy.

<sup>3</sup> "Territorial names of British origin . . . indicate that the Anglo-Saxon invasion did not mean the total destruction of the old territorial division." *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names*, Part 1, p. 20.

the neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup> British territorial names of this type go far to disprove the universal expulsion or annihilation of the Britons.

To pursue the problem further one must examine the distribution of British place-names in Lancashire. It is not possible to recover with any certainty the areas which were dense woodland in Saxon times, but it is at once evident that the Britons were not driven into the hills. Forty-three of the fifty-four British place-names are south of the Ribble, and of these the majority are situated between 100 feet and 500 feet above sea-level. It will be remembered that the earliest English settlers also preferred this elevated belt of land, from which it would appear that the Britons survived in the more attractive areas and not in remote isolation. Only about half a dozen British place-names stand higher than 500 feet and in each case certain factors exist as arguments against isolation. For example, Hanging Chadder is very near to a presumed Roman road and, in any case, it probably commemorates one of the British hill-forts, which were not normally occupation sites.<sup>2</sup> Chatterton also refers to a hill-fort and it stands on the east bank of the Irwell. Croichlow Fold is in Tottington parish through which passes a Roman road. Further north on the same road stands Eccleshill. Glodwick and Werneth are near another Roman road. Thus it will be seen that none of the above places can be regarded as isolated. In fact, of British place-names higher than 500 feet only Rossendale can be considered truly remote and Rossendale is a forest-name the British origin of which is, at the very least, doubtful.<sup>3</sup> The remaining thirty-five British place-names south of the Ribble are all below the 500 feet contour. Thus it can safely be denied that a study of place-names suggests that the Britons were driven into the hills. North of the Ribble the truth of this statement is even more obvious for of the eleven examples six are in the Fylde and two are in the Ribble valley.<sup>4</sup> On the other

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Ashton-in-Makerfield, Newton-in-Makerfield and Ince-in-Makerfield.

<sup>2</sup> It is obviously unlikely that the Britons occupied their hill-forts for long, if at all, after the arrival of the English. Even in the pre-Roman age a hill-fort was not a permanent home for a tribe. It seems to have been a temporary refuge for people whose normal dwellings were in the neighbourhood.

<sup>3</sup> cf. *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 92. The connection of *Rossen-* with Welsh *rhos* is very doubtful. The name is obscure.

<sup>4</sup> The remaining three, Cark, High Cark and Blenket, are North of the Sands and all below 500 feet.

hand, the Britons clearly avoided those regions which were low-lying and which are known to have been especially forbidding. The coastal marshes of South-West Lancashire form a case in point, for in the whole of South-West Lancashire between Penwortham and the Mersey estuary only one<sup>1</sup> certain example of a British place-name has been found at a height of less than 100 feet, and that is Ince (Blundell) which, it is implied, was an "island" rising above the general level of the swamp. This, indeed, is a remarkable testimony against the usual view that the Britons survived only in inhospitable districts.

The Roman road system also affords a clue to the distribution of British place-names which ought not to be ignored. On or near Roman roads are Newton-in-Makerfield, Ashton-in-Makerfield, Haydock, Brynn, Ince, Wigan, Pemberton, *Roskit*, Charnock Richard, Heskin, Eccleston (in Leyland), Cuerden, Penwortham,<sup>2</sup> Tulketh, Dinckley, Winkley, Pendleton (in Blackburn)<sup>3</sup> Mellor, Eccleshill, Croichlow Fold,<sup>4</sup> Heath Charnock,<sup>5</sup> Eccles, Worsley, Pendleton (in Salford), Pendlebury, Chaddock Hall, Cheetham, Cheetwood, Manchester, Chadderton, Werneth, Glodwick and Hanging Chadder.<sup>6</sup> In fact, apart from the British place-names in the Fylde, Ince, ?Haskayne and ?Maghull in the coastal marshes, and Cark, High Cark and Blenket Farm in the Cartmel region, very few of the fifty-four listed examples are at any great distance from Roman roads. The oft quoted preference for the Wigan and Manchester districts takes on a new significance when the British place-names are shown in relation to the network of Roman roads. If one must see clusters of British place-names in Lancashire the most intelligible grouping would appear to be not in the hills but around the Roman roads. Without insisting upon this point, it is sufficient for our present purpose to remark that, if the Britons survived with their place-names, they survived in areas which were very accessible. They were certainly not driven into a remote isolation.

This view receives indirect support from English place-names

<sup>1</sup> Two others, Haskayne and Maghull, are marked on the map, but both are of doubtful British origin. cf. *Place-names of Lancashire*, pp. 119 & 120.

<sup>2</sup> Along the Warrington-Preston road.

<sup>3</sup> Along the road from Kirkham to Ribchester and Ilkley.

<sup>4</sup> Along the Ribchester-Manchester road.

<sup>5</sup> Notice the occurrence of Street in this neighbourhood. It probably refers to a Roman road.

<sup>6</sup> On or near the Roman roads which converge on Manchester.

of the *Walton* type. It is usually held that such names as Walton, Walcot(e) etc. contain as first element *Weala*, the genitive plural of O.E. *Wealh* (a foreigner, Briton, or "Welshman"): thus Walton means "the *tun* where the Britons live." This explanation cannot always be regarded as certain, for the first element may also be O.E. *weall* (wall), or O.E. *weald* (wold) or O.E. *wiella*, Anglian *wælla*, (stream). The danger of confusion is greater if early forms are rare as in Lancashire.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, it must be remembered that *wealh* quickly came to mean "slave," although it is probable that slaves were usually of British stock. It is generally accepted that the majority of Waltons and Walcots refer to the Britons. Less controversial are the place-names which contain O.N. *Brötár* (e.g. Birkby < *Bretabyr*, "the village of the Britons"). They are also important in that they recognize a distinct British population as late as the Scandinavian invasion. In Lancashire are Walton-on-the-Hill and Brettargh Holt (in West Derby), Walton-le-Dale (in Blackburn), Ulnes Walton (in Leyland), Bretteroum (in Lonsdale South of the Sands) and Birkby, Walton Hall and the doubtful Waltoncote (in Lonsdale North of the Sands). Leaving aside any doubts that may exist, the point which must be emphasized is that these names prove Britons to have been very few in the areas where they occur. If British settlements had been common, place-names like *Wealatun* and *Bretabyr* could not have arisen for they would have failed in their primary purpose, that of identification. Having emphasized that, although these names prove a British population, they also prove that it was an unusual feature of the district, it is interesting to examine the positions of the Lancashire examples. Birkby and Walton Hall are, as Professor Ekwall noted, "fairly high and at some distance from the broad Eea valley."<sup>2</sup> They are indeed, remote. Bretteroum is in Bolton-le-Sands, an area which the same authority, in quite another connection, considers to have been "to a great extent marshy."<sup>3</sup> Ulnes Walton is at no great distance from Ecclestone, but it stands

<sup>1</sup> In the Lancashire examples Waltoncote has no form earlier than 1509, but Walton-on-the-Hill (*DB. Waleton*) shows a frequent e in its forms. It seems probable that the four Lancashire Waltons do contain *wæala*. The forms may be examined in *Place-names of Lancashire*, pp. 68, 115, 136 and 198.

<sup>2</sup> *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 224. Professor Ekwall makes the point that the Britons were driven from the better lands into "more remote parts."

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p. 186. Because of the numerous minor-names ending in *-myre*.

in the coastal lowlands which were mainly swamps. Perhaps the most interesting of all are Walton-on-the-Hill and Brettargh (in Woolton) which are in the Liverpool region, an area devoid of British or early English place-names. They illustrate in a striking manner the view expressed above, that Britons were few in the unpleasant and marshy coastal plain of South-West Lancashire.

The distribution of British place-name elements, therefore, suggests that the Britons were not driven into remote and unattractive districts. They are seldom found in the hills and they are rare in the low-lying marshes. Place-names of the Walton and Birkby type bear out this view by illustrating that British populations in remote and undesirable regions were exceptions to the rule. Instead we find British place-names situated in the more attractive areas and clustered around the Roman roads, a distribution which tells against their isolation. Perhaps the relations between the English and the Britons were not unfriendly from the moment of their first contact.

This is further suggested if one considers the position of the British place-name elements in relation to the position of the earliest English place-names. In South-East Lancashire six English *ing(a)tun* place-names are intermingled with some twenty British place-names. This region apparently attracted both the English and the Britons, and its place-nomenclature hints that the two races lived together as neighbours. In the Fylde are six British and two *ingas* place-names. It is noteworthy that Ightenhill Park, a British name, is closely associated with two *ingaham* place-names, Padiham and Habergham. Likewise, it is interesting to find in the same parish<sup>1</sup> an undoubted *ingas*, Melling, together with two possible British elements in Maghull and Haskayne. Billinge Hill stands near to several British place-names south of Wigan (Haydock, Ince, Makerfield, Pemberton etc.). Near the Ribble the other Billinge is within two miles of Mellor; and Pendleton, Dinckley and Winkley also lie on the borders of a district which may well have been occupied by the *Byllingas*.<sup>2</sup> The Lune valley is the only area of intensive and early English settlement which has so far produced no British

<sup>1</sup> Halsall.

<sup>2</sup> *vide supra*, p. 15 and Appendix I. p. 34.

place-names. Elsewhere the rule seems to be that British place-names occur in just those districts occupied by the earliest English settlers. It may well be that in the first phase of the English settlement the two races dwelt together in peace.

At this point it is useful to correct a common terminological inaccuracy. It is usual to describe place-names which contain British elements as British place-names, but this description is patently illogical, for many of them obviously ought to be classified as English. To take two examples at random, Cheetham and Chatterton are undoubtedly English place-names, for, as place-names, they were formed by Englishmen and preserved by Englishmen; they possess distinctive English terminals, and it is rather in the nature of an insignificant accident that their creators decided to incorporate as first elements the British words *cet* and *cader* respectively. The same might be said of Pendleton, Penwortham, and, indeed, of the majority of the fifty-four listed "British" place-names. They are really English place-names, and, as such, they indicate some measure of racial contact rather than a prolonged survival of British-speaking Celts. Of the more genuine British place-names some, like Wigan and Kenyon, seem to have been mutilated by an English-speaking people, and it is even probable that un-compounded examples, such as Ince and Brynn, are English contractions of longer British originals. In any case they have clearly been preserved by the English from an early date: it is the Anglicization of British originals which has made so many explanations doubtful, as is the case with Heskin, Haydock, Maghull, Haskayne, Cuerden etc. Compound British names are few. Blenket, Culcheth, Mellor, Penketh, *Roskit*, Treales and Tulketh comprise a fairly complete list of compound place-names of which both elements are British, that is to say, seven out of fifty-four. On the whole it may be held that the great majority of the British elements in Lancashire owe their preservation, in the first place, not to a surviving British population but to their adoption by the English.<sup>1</sup> This adoption presupposes a period in which racial intercourse, however slight, occurred.

The age in which this contact occurred is indicated by the juxtaposition of the British elements and the earliest English

<sup>1</sup> See p. 30. note.

place-names as described above. This close relationship suggests that whatever intercourse there was took place in the first phase of the English settlement, a view which explains much that is otherwise incomprehensible. If what has been written is approximately correct, in the later years of the sixth century a gradual Anglian penetration of Lancashire developed. The advancing Angles were few, and it follows that they came in peace. At first they met with no resistance and they naturally chose the more attractive districts for their settlements. In these areas they tolerated the Britons and were tolerated by the Britons, and at this stage, presumably, the British elements which survive in Lancashire were learned by the English. Such a view explains why British elements are found in attractive areas, for it was in these areas, where the earliest English settled, that some measure of contact occurred. Considering the topographical position and the English character of the majority of "British place-names," it is far more reasonable to regard them as preserved by the Angles after a period of not unfriendly relations than to regard them as preserved by groups of Britons surviving in isolation.<sup>1</sup> Thus we may accept a certain amount of intercourse between the English and the Britons in the first phase of the settlement. Possibly the Britons, realizing their peril with the increasing Anglian pressure, finally offered such resistance that Ethelfrith determined on a conquest by force. This may perhaps explain why Ethelfrith believed it necessary to march to Chester but was content to leave *Loidis Elmet* in independence for another generation.

Although we may accept an age of friendly relations before the advent of force, it would be unwise to over-estimate the degree of intercourse which then occurred. There is no evidence for intermarriage or for any close racial intermingling. It is, indeed, unlikely that the period of peace lasted for more than a few years.

<sup>1</sup> This latter is the usual view. It is contradicted, as stated, by the fact that the Britons do not appear to have been isolated and by the fact that the British elements seem to have been preserved by the English. It might be added that if isolated Britons in some areas succeeded in preserving their lives and place-names intact for a generation or two and if, as is often suggested, the Britons finally succumbed to a later Anglian wave, then it is reasonable to suppose that their place-names would vanish almost as completely as if the end had come with the first Anglian impact. Indeed, it is altogether more satisfactory to regard the preservation of British elements as due to racial intercourse and not to surviving groups of isolated Britons. This, of course, does not, in itself, deny the survival of the Britons: it merely explains the survival of British elements as due to other causes.

The lack of habitative and personal name elements in British place-nomenclature denies a close or prolonged intercourse. Place-names like Cheetwood, revealing a profound English ignorance of common British words,<sup>1</sup> illustrate the superficial character of the racial contact. This ignorance, implied in the name Cheetwood, is emphasized by a comparison with the example of Dover. In the latter case the English were sufficiently conversant with British speech to recognize an ablative plural (*Dubris*, "at the waters") and to replace it by an O.E. plural (*Dofras*). It has been pointed out that this "implies a considerable familiarity with the British language on the part of the Anglo-Saxons."<sup>2</sup> Lancashire preserves a considerable number of British elements but no such striking proof of intimate racial intercourse.

In conclusion the results suggested by this re-examination of place-name evidence may be conveniently summarized. The Angles seemed to have reached Lancashire in the later years of the sixth century. They advanced across the Pennines in small but recognizable groups and proceeded to occupy the more attractive districts. Being few at first, they probably refrained from hostile action against the Britons, and, apparently, the two races lived side by side as peaceable neighbours. During this brief phase such intercourse occurred as was rendered inevitable by proximity. After a few years it may be assumed that a conflict developed, perhaps because the English hordes were arriving in dangerous numbers or perhaps because the invaders lost their tolerance as their strength increased. Possibly for a time conditions in Lancashire approximated to conditions which had existed elsewhere in England. Whatever the cause, Ethelfrith's victory at Chester marks the culmination of the struggle. It represents a decision—that Lancashire should be English.

<sup>1</sup> *vide supra*. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *English River-names*, op. cit., p. lxxxiii. It should be added that the name Dover does not prove intercourse between conquerors and conquered in Kent: the likelihood is that Dover was familiar to the English, by trading or raiding parties, before the conquest was undertaken. Andover (Hants.) and Wendover (Bucks.), which also contain O.E. plurals probably based on British plurals, are more reliable evidence for intercourse after the *Adventus Saxonum* because they are inland districts.

NB

See

D.E.

Chronicle

sub anno

605 E

607 A

(Augustus)

prophecy

about

the Welsh

(refusal

peace)

## APPENDIX I.

## INGAS AND INGHAM PLACE-NAMES.

It is generally agreed that place-names which originally possessed a plural *ingas* termination belong to the oldest stratum of English place-nomenclature. All place-names now ending in *-ing* do not, of course, fall into this class. For example, in Lancashire Falinge (Salford) has developed from O.E. *fǣlging*, "fallow land"; Chipping (Amounderness) from O.E. *cieping*, "market"; Newbigging (Amounderness) from M.E. *bigging*, "a building" (O.N. < *byggia*). There are other types of *-ing* place-names, but only those whose forms were originally plural can be taken to prove group settlement. The subject is too involved to be discussed here in detail, and reference should be made to Professor Ekwall's *English Place-names in -ing*. Briefly, the reasons for believing that *ingas* place-names arose at an early date are as follows:—

1. In form they are folk-names and not place-names. It follows that they were created before the *folc* had lost its individuality, which cannot have been retained for many years after the settlement. They are characteristic of the migration age when the tribal or family groups would be more conspicuous than their habitation sites, if, indeed, the latter were permanent at this time.
2. The personal names combined with *ingas* are of a very ancient type. They are usually uncompounded names and many of them no doubt became extinct soon after the arrival of the English in Britain. Many are never found in living use in England but continental equivalents show that they were part of the common Germanic heritage.<sup>1</sup>
3. The geographical distribution of *ingas* names reveals that they are common in areas of early settlement, and rare or absent in regions not settled intensively until a later date.
4. They are usually found "in easily accessible districts, near the sea, in valleys of important rivers, on Roman roads."<sup>2</sup> This distribution is to be expected for the earliest settlers would probably choose the most accessible and the most attractive sites.
5. The above point is emphasized by the fact that "names in *ingas* usually denote places of some importance, parishes, villages, hundreds."<sup>3</sup> Most of them appear in Domesday Book.

Place-names with an *ingaham* terminal also arose when the *folc* was still a feature of English society. Thus their form would show them to be of an early date.<sup>4</sup> It is not improbable, however, that this type remained in living use for some time after *ingas* names had ceased to be

<sup>1</sup> The example *Hæsta* (Hastings), not recorded in England, is quoted by Professor Stenton in *The English Element*, p. 51. Chapter III of *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names*, Part I. This article should be read, especially pp. 50-54.

<sup>2</sup> *English Place-names in -ing*, op. cit., p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> They often appear to be closely related to *ingas* names. cf. Woking (O.E. *Woccingas*) and Wokingham (O.E. *Woccingaham*).

created. It should be noted also that the personal-name element combined with *ingaham* and the distribution, geographical and topographical, of this type suggest that, like the *ingas* names, they were created in the earliest age of English history.<sup>1</sup>

It has been said that *ingas* and *ingaham* formations continued longer as living place-name elements in some areas than in others. This may well be so, but more work is required before such a theory can be satisfactorily demonstrated. At present there seems to be no need to qualify the view that *ingas* and *ingaham* place-names occur frequently in areas of early and intensive settlement and rarely or never in districts where settlements were few in number or late in date. No one would suggest that Lancashire was settled intensively at an early date, and in its paucity of ancient place-names it is strongly contrasted with Kent, Sussex, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk and even the coastal districts of Yorkshire. The occurrence of isolated *ingas* names in remote parts of England does not seem, at the moment, a sufficient reason for contending that the type continued to be formed in the North for many generations after it had been abandoned in the South. Future research may throw more light on this question, but, in any case, it seems safe to say that the disappearance or persistence of this type depends mainly upon the conditions of society. In the meantime it is wiser to regard the Lancashire *ingas* as indicating a few scattered settlements at a comparatively early date than as indicating that the *ingas* type remained in living use far into the seventh century. It is difficult to believe that Melling (twice) can be separated from Malling, in Kent and Sussex.

One of the most interesting names in Lancashire is Billinge, which occurs frequently. There is Billinge, by Billinge Hill (West Derby); Billinge Scar is on Billinge Hill (Blackburn); Billington is nearby, at the end of a ridge of higher ground south of the Ribble; Billingcote (Lonsdale North) is on the slope of a hill called "the Billings." Professor Ekwall is undecided whether to regard Billinge as a patronymic, *Byllingas* (<O.E. *Bylla*), or as an ancient hill-name; he inclines towards the latter explanation.<sup>2</sup> There would seem to be three, not two, possibilities:—

1. A hill-name. ?<O.E. *bil*.
2. A patronymic. O.E. *Byllingas* ("the followers of *Bylla*").
3. A toponymic. O.E. *Billingas* ("the dwellers on the hill").

It will have been noticed that, judging by the positions of the Lancashire examples, the theory of an ancient hill-name offers an attractive explanation. Similar "hill-names" are also known: Billinge Hill near Bollington (Cheshire), Billinge Hill near Rawdon (Yorkshire West Riding),<sup>3</sup> Billings Hill in Nunkeeling (Yorkshire East Riding),<sup>4</sup> and "der Billing"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *English Place-names in -ing*, op. cit., p. 155 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Place-names of Lancashire*, pp. 66, 67, 71, 104, 202, 237. See also spellings of the above place-names.

<sup>3</sup> *English Place-names in -ing*, op. cit., p. 165 note.

<sup>4</sup> *English Place-name Society Publications*, Vol. xiv, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from Jellinghaus. *English Place-names in -ing*, p. 4.

in Westphalia. On the other hand, the form *Billingahoth* for Billington Moor (Simeon of Durham,<sup>1</sup> c. 1130) points to the existence of a people known as the *Billingas*. Furthermore, Billinge (Blackburn) is so near to Billington that it is difficult to resist supposing some connection between the two names. It might be added also that the modern form of Billinge may be elliptical from O.E. *Billingahyll*.<sup>2</sup> It has been noted, too, that the persistent *u* forms of Billinge (West Derby) may point to a patronymic from O.E. *Bulla*.<sup>3</sup> Finally, *Billing-* names are not uncommon in England,<sup>4</sup> and in many cases topography completely forbids a hill-name derivation, while in others the existence of O.E. *Byllingas* seems beyond all reasonable doubt. (e.g. Billingham, Durham; Billingley, Yorkshire). Indeed, in most examples the folk-name is the more likely. If the Lancashire *Billing-* names are to be derived ultimately from a hill-name, it is possible that they are also toponymics and that they signify group settlement, i.e. *Billingas*, "the dwellers by the hill." This compromise would recognize the topographical evidence which, however, may be no more than a coincidence. Much work remains to be done on these names and it would be interesting to know more of their distribution in England.<sup>5</sup>

The frequent occurrence of the name in Lancashire may be taken as an argument in support of the view that it preserves a folk-name, *Billingas*. It may not be too fanciful to imagine such an early English *folc* as occupying the valley of the Ribble. Billinge Hill, Billinge Scar, Billington and Billington Moor all stand on higher ground south of the Ribble, and they mark out a territory some seven miles in length, a territory which Professor Stenton considers quite large enough for an early *folc*.<sup>6</sup> Similar concentrations of associated place-names are not unknown: comparison may be made with Sonning, Sunningdale, Sunninghill and Sunningwell in Berkshire, all of which apparently preserve the memory of the early English *folc*, the *Sunningas*.

## APPENDIX II.

### ING(A)TUN PLACE-NAMES.

The historical significance of place-names with an *ington* termination is at present controversial, and it is therefore desirable that some explanation should be given for the inclusion of these elements on the map as marking early English settlements.

*Ingas* and *ingaham* place-names, it is agreed, arose during, or within

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Regum*, 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 67. The early forms give some support to this possibility.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> Billingborough, Billinghay (Lincs.), Billingsford (Norfolk), Billingley (Yorks.), Billingham (Durham), possibly Billing (Northants.) etc.

<sup>5</sup> The great majority of *Billing-* names lie in Anglian territory.

<sup>6</sup> "The Domesday place-name *Redinges* covers an area at least seven miles wide, a territory quite large enough for an early *folc*." *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names*, Part I, p. 50.

a few years of, the actual migration age.<sup>1</sup> It might reasonably be assumed that other place-name formations containing the genitive plural *inga* (*ingaford*, *ingaleah*, *ingafeld*, *ingatun*, etc.) are of a like early date and that each such place-name preserves the memory of the tribal or family group which can have existed only for a comparatively limited period after the invasion. It would seem that most modern *-ington* place-names should fall into the *ingatun* class, a view which Professor Ekwall accepted<sup>2</sup> when dealing with the Lancashire examples in 1922. In 1920, however, Professor Mawer had enunciated the theory that *ing*, as distinct from *inga*, has a purely genitival force,<sup>3</sup> and he quoted the evidence of a seventh century charter.<sup>4</sup> This grant of land was made at *wieghelmestun*, and it is endorsed as *wigelmignctun* in a hand of the eleventh century.<sup>5</sup> Professor Ekwall declared himself "not convinced" that some *ington* names contain this possessive *ing*,<sup>6</sup> and his derivations in *Place-names of Lancashire* show his preference for the patronymic *inga*. Since 1922 a growing body of evidence has vindicated Professor Mawer's theory, and it is now clear that some *ington* names are like Wilmington, Kent, which must be translated as "Wighelm's *tun*" and not as "the *tun* of Wighelm's people" (i.e. *Wighelmington* not *Wighelmingatun*).<sup>7</sup> In 1929 Professor Mawer modified his belief in the strictly genitival force of the medial *ing*, which in the case of Wilmington seems to be the equivalent of the normal genitive. The modified theory<sup>8</sup> declares that the particle *ing* is rather a suffix to the personal name and that it records some past association between, for example, Wighelm and the *tun* which bears his name. Presumably it may act as a genitive or it may have a force considerably less definite than that of possession. This modified theory has found general acceptance among the foremost English place-name scholars, although usually the possessive aspect is given far greater prominence than the possibility of mere association. Professor Ekwall still retains his opinion that the majority of modern *-ingtons* arose from original *ingatuns* and he would explain *ingtun* as a natural reduction of *ingatun*. He writes: "The meaning of *ington* has been much discussed. Some scholars hold that in this case *-ing-* is a kind of adjectival suffix, *Beddington* meaning 'Beadda's *tun*.' But the probability is that in most cases *-ingtun* is a shortening of *-ingatun*, the *a* being lost in the inflected *-ingatune*."<sup>9</sup> He points out that, whereas

<sup>1</sup> *vide supra*, p. 32ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Place-names of Lancashire*.

<sup>3</sup> *Place-names of Northumberland and Durham*, pp. xxiv-xxvi. See also references to earlier opinions held by such scholars as Bradley, Alexander, Moorman and Ekblom.

<sup>4</sup> Also quoted in *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names*. I ii, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> In *Problems of Place-name Study*, p. 114, Sir Allen Mawer quotes another charter (*Birch. Carl. Sax.* 449) wherein the land granted to one *Badonod* is referred to, in a contemporary endorsement, as *Badenodingleand*. It is perhaps unfortunate that both examples contain compound personal names (*Wighelm* and *Badonod*), a type which is comparatively rare in *ing(a)tun* place-names. *Vide infra*, p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 114.

<sup>7</sup> Ekwall apparently does not yet accept this instance. Perhaps he doubts the identification of the O.E. form. cf. *Dictionary of English Place-names*, p. 496.

<sup>8</sup> *Problems of Place-name Study*, pp. 114 et seq. In the third of these lectures Professor Mawer deals with the *ing(a)tun* problem.

<sup>9</sup> *Dictionary of English Place-names* p. 252.

*ham* remained uninflected in the dative, *tun* acquired a final *e*, and he apparently believes that this inflexion would often cause an original *ingatum* to develop, by a natural shortening, into *ingtune*. This may well have occurred in some cases, but there are serious objections to the assumption of a very frequent reduction of *ingatum* to *ingtun*. The Old English material does not support such a view.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand it is impossible to distinguish with any certainty between *ingtun* and *ingatum* if O.E. forms are not available, and O.E. forms are not available for the majority of modern *-ingtons*. Therefore it is still really a matter of opinion as to how many of these were original *ingatuns*. In the absence of O.E. forms there are yet no distinguishing criteria. A careful examination of all *-ington* names may one day reveal some means of separating the two types, but at present material is limited and the following remarks are in the nature of tentative suggestions as to certain important factors which must be considered in the final solution.

The element *tun* is known to have been used in the creation of place-names at a late date.<sup>2</sup> This does not forbid its use also at an early date, which, indeed, is proved by the few accepted *ingatum* names.<sup>3</sup> In Picardy there are numerous *ingatum* compounds created at a date which can hardly be later than A.D. 600. In England there is no *a priori* case against the use of *tun* by the earliest settled name-givers. It remained in vogue throughout the O.E. period. Its precise meaning may well have changed with changing conditions, but its earliest use apparently coincides with that confused period when wandering groups formed permanent settlements but still preserved their individuality as units. Taking into account the number of place-names containing *ingaham*, *ingaford*, *ingaleah* etc., one would, on general grounds, expect to find a considerable number of *ingatuns* because the element *tun* seems to have been more popular and of wider application<sup>4</sup> than most other elements. The strong modern tendency in the case of a doubtful *ing(a)tun* place-name is to adopt an *ingtun* explanation. When this is based only upon post-Conquest forms it is far from certain, and it may be that future work will reveal a greater proportion of the *ingatum* type than is now accepted.

It is interesting to examine one or two of the areas which have received intensive study. Archæology alone would prove that Northamptonshire was certainly an area of early settlement. There are heathen English burials, and, to take merely one example, there is an urn at Great Addington which points to an Anglian settlement during or before the early years of the sixth century. English place-names which preserve evidence of heathenism<sup>5</sup> and which could have arisen only in the pre-Christian era,

<sup>1</sup> See the material collected in Karlström's *Old English Compound Place-names in -ing*. cf. also note p. 37 note 3 *infra* for references to a criticism of Ekwall's opinion.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. as late as the Scandinavian invasions as is shown by such hybrids as Grimston (*Grimr's tun*), Claxton (*Klakkr's tun*) etc.

<sup>3</sup> e.g., Nassington, Jevington, Yeverington, Washington, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *vide infra*, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Great and Little Harrowden (<*hearg* and *dun*), Weedon Beck and Weedon Lois (<*weoh* and *dun*). For derivations, forms and other information connected with these and the following data see the publications of *The English Place-name Society*, Vol. x.

confirm the findings of archæology. Therefore one would expect to find a number of place-names denoting group settlement. Billing, Wittering and Kettering alone represent the *ingas* type. There are two *ingaham* names, Cottingham and Rockingham. *Ingafeld* is found in Benefield, *ingahoh* in Farthinghoe, and three more of the *inga* type are found in Irthlingborough, Kislingbury and Wellingborough. In brief there are three *ingas*, two *ingaham* and five other *inga* names, excluding possible examples of *ingatun*. There is a total of 25 *ing(a)tun* names. Of these, 23 have personal names as their first elements, Nassington contains O.E. *næs* and Elmington<sup>1</sup> is obscure. The surprising fact is that, although Nassington is taken, in all probability, to originate in O.E. *næssingatun*, all the personal-name types are derived as *ingtuns* and are taken to contain the possessive *ing*<sup>2</sup> rather than the plural *inga*, e.g. Addington = *Eadda's tun*. In only one case out of 23 is the possibility of *ingatun* stated, i.e. Hemmington. In the great majority of these examples there is no trace of the genitival *a* in the forms, and this, presumably, is the reason for the almost universal preference for the *ingtun* termination. It may be that the *ingatun* type was rare in England, although this might be thought surprising. On the other hand, if any frequent reduction of *ingatun* to *ingtun* occurred, it has not yet been satisfactorily explained.<sup>3</sup> This, however, cannot remove one's strong impression that for some reason a later mediæval *e* should not be expected in place of the original *a*. In the earlier spellings of Hemmington, alone accepted as a possible *ingatun*, there are only three listed examples of later traces of the original *a*, which suggests how rarely we can expect its survival. Out of the whole group of Northamptonshire *ingtons* only three others<sup>4</sup> show any sign of a later mediæval *e*, and they only in one form each. It would be most unwise to attach any importance to a single isolated form,<sup>5</sup> and the point is not that an occasional post-Conquest *e* betrays an *ingatun* origin but that it emphasizes the general disappearance of similar forms.

One very powerful argument is provided by names such as Nassington, which does not contain a personal name. It is usual to explain these names as *ingatun* names, e.g., O.E. *næssingatun*, "the *tun* of the people of the ness." It is noteworthy that the forms of Nassington show no trace of the genitival *a*, but, presumably, the difficulty of attaching a possessive

<sup>1</sup> Elmington is ignored in the following figures. See p. 38 note.

<sup>2</sup> I retain the term "possessive *ing*", but it should be understood that *ing* would be more accurately described as "a particle or an adjectival suffix denoting possession or association".

<sup>3</sup> *vide supra*, p. 35, for Professor Ekwall's explanation. Using the material in *O.E. Compound Place-names in -ing*, op. cit., Professor Mawer denies this explanation in *Problems of Place-name Study*, p. 120. In addition to his objections it may be pointed out that, unlike *ham* but like *tun*, certain other elements receive dative inflexions, e.g., *leah*, but the dative of *ingaleah* does not show *ingatun*'s strong tendency to lose the medial *e*.

<sup>4</sup> Geddington, Harrington and Werrington.

<sup>5</sup> The danger of placing any reliance on an isolated spelling is admirably illustrated by Geddington. It possesses a form from the time of Richard I which shows an *e*, but the first element seems to be the O.W.Sc. personal name *Geiti*. This would clearly date the name as a late formation and would, almost as clearly, forbid its being an *ingatun*.

character<sup>1</sup> to a non-personal *næss* overrides the absence of forms with a medial *e*. It seems hardly reasonable, under these circumstances, to explain place-names of this type as originating in the possessive *ingtum* if they contain personal names, and to explain the non-personal type as *ingatum* merely because the latter class is not easily capable of a possessive interpretation, especially as genitival inflexions are equally absent from both groups.

In any final survey of *ing(a)tun* place-names their geographical distribution will constitute important evidence. In Northamptonshire the *ing(a)tun* formations are found in sites which would appeal to the earliest settlers, that is in the valleys of the Nene and its tributaries. By comparison it may be noted that place-names containing the simple element *tun*, many of which must be of later creation, are very common and do not show the same marked preference for sites which would immediately attract the earliest wandering groups of Englishmen.

Thirdly, of the 24 *ing(a)tun* place-names<sup>2</sup> in Northamptonshire, all survive today as parishes and all but Bainton<sup>3</sup> are Domesday manors. While this proves nothing, it suggests that these places were important at the end of the O.E. period and that they have retained their comparative prominence throughout the succeeding centuries. It usually happens that sites of early foundation remain conspicuous in later ages, for those factors which combined to attract the first settlers generally continue to maintain the importance of such places. It may be added that in Northamptonshire all the other place-names which denote group settlement are, without exception, Domesday manors and modern parishes.<sup>4</sup>

An additional argument for the existence of numerous *ingatum* formations is to be found in the fact that the genitive plural *inga* is often combined with elements such as *leah* and *feld*. It is usually accepted that the use of *leah* and *feld* in place-nomenclature belongs to a later phase of the settlement, when the English were beginning to expand from their earlier habitation sites, the *hams* and *?tuns*. If such elements can be combined with *inga*, as they not uncommonly are, it is very reasonable to expect a more general combination of *inga* and *tun* (which is not by its meaning excluded from the earliest phase) than is at present accepted.

Finally it may be hoped that the study of O.E. personal names will eventually provide important evidence bearing upon the problem of *ing(a)tun* names. This vital study<sup>5</sup> is still in its infancy and one is not yet able to draw from it more than a few suggestions as to future possibilities. It is known that some personal names ceased to be used very soon after

<sup>1</sup> The less definite force of association would not be so incongruous.

<sup>2</sup> Elmington is omitted. It is a small place but it appears in Domesday Book. Its original form is obscure and it is not certain that it belongs to the *ing(a)tun* class at all.

<sup>3</sup> Bainton, however, appears in A.D. 980. *English Place-name Society Publications*, Vol. x, p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> Billing, Wittering, Kettering, Cottingham, Rockingham, Benefield, Farthinghoe, Irthingborough, Kislingbury and Wellingborough.

<sup>5</sup> See Professor Stenton's *Personal Names in Place-names. Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names*, I, 165ff.

the English arrived in Britain, and place-names containing such archaic personal names<sup>1</sup> are thus proved to have arisen at a very early date. Further research may gradually reveal more chronological details of the fashions in personal nomenclature, and it may become possible to date more place-names by this knowledge. On examining the personal names found in *ing(a)tun* place-names it is at once obvious that un-compounded names are in a great majority; the proportion of un-compounded<sup>2</sup> to compound<sup>3</sup> personal names is roughly ten to one, although in some areas the preponderance is more clearly marked. In Northamptonshire 21 out of 23<sup>4</sup> examples contain un-compounded names. Redin's work<sup>5</sup> on this type of O.E. personal name showed that, in O.E. documents, compound names had by the tenth century almost completely ousted the simpler un-compounded names from popularity. It may be accepted that un-compounded names were becoming unfashionable at least during the ninth century among the upper classes.<sup>6</sup> This means little more than that, on the whole, *ing(a)tun* place-names belong to the earlier half of the Anglo-Saxon period, for short names remain popular for a longer period than do compound names,<sup>7</sup> and it seems unlikely that many of the personal names used during the first two centuries of the O.E. period could have fallen completely out of use by the ninth century.<sup>8</sup> It is at this point that one can only look to future research.

If one examines the place-nomenclature of Nottinghamshire on the lines suggested above, the following facts are noticed. There are three *ingas* formations, situated geographically where one might expect to find them,<sup>9</sup> and there are six *ingaham* formations. All are Domesday manors and modern parishes. There are also some 13 examples of the *ing(a)tun* type, and it is noteworthy that all are Domesday manors, and that all, with the exception of one name now lost, are modern parishes. Moreover, they are situated near the Trent and the Devon, only three lying in the centre of the county and at any distance from the waterways. Their positions are coincident with the areas of earliest settlement in the county. In the Nottinghamshire volume of the *English Place-name Society* all are listed as *ingtun* types; not one is considered to have been originally an *ingatun*. Some are of doubtful origin; for example, Scarrington is

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Creoda* and *Horsa*, found respectively in Long Crendon and Horsendon (Bucks.). *English Place-name Society Publications*, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *Adda*, *Tot(t)a*, *Wadda*. These three examples are very common in place-names.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *Wulfstan*, *Wiglaf* and *Eadwulf*, preserved respectively in Wolstanton (Staffs.), Willaston (Ches.), and Edlaston (Derby).

<sup>4</sup> The two exceptions being Alderton and Harrington which contain respectively the compound names, *Ealdhere* and *Hæðhere*.

<sup>5</sup> *Studies in Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*. Mats Redin. *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, 1919, p. 188. Redin was unable to include material now available from the study of place-names, but his work remains the basis of all later research.

<sup>6</sup> It was, of course, these classes whose names were usually recorded in place-names. It is interesting to notice that the peasants and lower classes preserved the older un-compounded names. cf. *Personal Names in Place-names*, op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>7</sup> Redin, op. cit., p. xxiv.

<sup>8</sup> *Personal Names in Place-names*, op. cit., p. 177.

<sup>9</sup> Meering and Gedling are on the Trent; Hickling is not far from the Devon, a tributary of the Trent.

obscure, while Balderton (< O.E. *Bealdhere*) does not appear to be an *ing* name of either type.<sup>1</sup> Of the others only one contains a compound personal name.<sup>2</sup> In all there is the usual conspicuous lack of genitival inflexions, a fact which does not seem to have much significance. Some may well have originated in *ingatun*.

It is impossible, in this appendix, to examine other areas in detail, but the following rather random facts may be noted.<sup>3</sup> Bedfordshire has four or five *ing(a)tun* names, all of which appear in Domesday Book, all of which are modern parishes, and all of which contain uncompounded personal names. In Huntingdonshire there are nine examples; eight appear in Domesday Book, seven are modern parishes, and only one does not contain an uncompounded personal name. Of the twelve Essex examples ten are found in Domesday Book, six are modern parishes and all but one contain uncompounded personal names. The North Riding of Yorkshire provides the usual high proportion of Domesday manors and uncompounded personal names in its list of *ing(a)tun* place-names, and of the whole group it has been written that "these names belong with one or two exceptions to the Vale of York and Upper Teesdale."<sup>4</sup> Other areas show similar results.<sup>5</sup>

The impression that many place-names, now regarded as *ingtun* formations, would be more correctly classified as *ingatuns* must, for the moment, remain an impression. In the absence of O.E. forms no distinguishing criteria of general application to these two groups are available; yet in isolated cases special conditions exist which suggest an *ingatun* origin. For example, Werrington (Northants) is explained as "*Wider's farm*," i.e. *Wideringtun*.<sup>6</sup> Seven miles away is Wittering ("the people of *Wider*," i.e. *Wideringas*). It would seem more satisfactory to regard Werrington as an original *Wideringtun*, "the *tun* of the *Wideringas*," a *folc* which undoubtedly occupied this district. In support of this it may be added that Werrington is one of the three<sup>7</sup> Northamptonshire *ing(a)tun* names which preserve, each in one solitary form, traces of a genitival plural.<sup>8</sup> Another example of a probable *ingatun* is Sneinton (Notts.).<sup>9</sup> This place-name contains the same personal name as does Nottingham, i.e. *Snot*, and it is adjacent to Nottingham—in fact it is now included within the boundaries of that city. It is more satisfactory to regard the original form as *Snotingtun* than as *Snotingtun*. Thus Nottingham and Sneinton would be, respectively, the *ham* and the *tun* of

<sup>1</sup> An impression slightly strengthened by the fact that the personal name, *Bealdhere*, is of the compound type.

<sup>2</sup> Alverton contains *Ælfhere*. The other ten place-names are (*Sutton*) Bonington, Collington, Dallington, Kilvington, Kirklington, Laxton, Orston, Ossington, Ruddington and Sneinton.

<sup>3</sup> For details see *English Place-name Society Publications*.

<sup>4</sup> *English Place-name Society Publications*, Vol. v, p. 320.

<sup>5</sup> e.g., After the following counties are given, first, the number of *ing(a)tun* place-names which contain personal names, and, secondly, the number of those in which the personal name is uncompounded in form:—Northants., 23, 21; Essex, 12, 11; Hunts., 9, 8; Yorks., E.R., 15, 14; Warwick., 24, 21; Beds., 5, 5; Notts., 11, 10.

<sup>6</sup> *English Place-name Society Publications*, Vol. x, p. 267.

<sup>7</sup> *vide supra*, p. 37, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> 1198. *Curia Regis. Widringeton*.

<sup>9</sup> *English Place-name Society Publications*, Vol. xvii, p. 174.

the *Snotingas*. Indeed in these two examples, Sneinton and Werrington, the *ingatun* explanation is the safer one. We cannot be sure that these two men, *Wider* and *Snot*, ever lived in England, but, whether they accompanied their groups to England, or whether they are ancestors or leaders who died in the homeland, we can at least be sure that groups of people known as the *Wideringas* and the *Snotingas* actually lived and settled in the above two districts. For a few place-names like Werrington and Sneinton special circumstances make *ingatun* the more reasonable origin, but the fact remains that, for the majority of these doubtful *ing(a)tun* names, there are no general distinguishing criteria. In view of the general considerations described above, it is not improbable that many place-names now accepted as *ingtuns* are really *ingatuns*. These considerations may at this point be conveniently listed as a kind of summary to the general question:—

1. When O.E. forms are not available, the absence in later forms of traces of a genitival inflexion is no safe reason for denying an *ingatun* origin.
2. The existence of place-names like Nassington and their interpretation, without the support of inflexional survivals, render it unsatisfactory to ignore the probability that *ingatun* in combination with a personal name occurs far more frequently than is at present accepted.<sup>1</sup>
3. The topographical distribution of *ing(a)tun* names suggests their creation in an early phase of the English settlement.
4. The fact that almost all of these places appear in Domesday Book implies their importance in Anglo-Saxon England. The fact that many are modern parishes supports this suggestion by emphasizing their continued local prominence. Important sites are often of high antiquity.
5. The not infrequent combination of *inga* with such elements as *leah*, *feld*, *ford* etc., would make it seem strange if *tun* were not often used in similar compounds.
6. The full contribution of personal name evidence has yet to be offered to the solution of this problem, although even now valuable conclusions may be drawn.

In conclusion it may be stated that, unless O.E. forms provide reasonable bases for certainty, it is not possible to distinguish between *ingatun* and *ingtun* formations. Professor Ekwall prefers the former as the origin of most *-ingtons* and he is so often right. On the other hand, the contrast between *ingatun* and *ington* must be accepted, but many arguments point

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare the frequency of personal and non-personal first elements in different types of place-names. For example, in Essex 12 *ingas* have non-personal first elements as against 14 which are combined with personal names. This latter proportion is unusually low, for, normally, the personal type is far more common than the non-personal type. In Sussex 41 *ingas* names are combined with personal names without a single example of the non-personal type. In the same county the proportion in other *inga* formations is 39:6. Figures may be obtained from *English Place-name Society Publications*. On every count, however, one may justifiably expect to find more *ingatuns* combined with personal names than are at present accepted.

to the existence of far more *ingatuns* than is at present believed. The Lancashire examples do not possess O.E. forms, and it must remain a matter of opinion as to how many, if any, are *ingatuns* and as to how many, if any, are *ingtuns*. It may be remarked that, since the *ingatun* type is no doubt somewhat later in date than the *ingas* and *ingaham* types, it might be permissible to expect perhaps a dozen examples in Lancashire. It is obviously impossible to point to any individual Lancashire *-ington* as belonging to either class: one can only refer to them as *ing(a)tuns*, bearing in mind the likelihood that some, at least, are *ingatuns*.

There is another aspect of the problem which has not been discussed here, i.e. the age of the *ingtuns*. Is it possible to use *ingtuns* as denoting early settlement? It seems that *ing* may often have been used in a collective sense. Also some *ingtuns* undoubtedly appeared before A.D. 600: Bensington, Oxford, seems to be a safe example for it is mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year A.D. 571. On the other hand the best opinion would regard the use of a connecting particle instead of a grammatical compound as evidence of a later date, later, that is, than *ingas* and *ingaham* names but not necessarily later than A.D. 600. In this particular problem much must be left in doubt. It is a matter of opinion at what date *ingtuns* could have arisen in North-Western England; it is a matter of opinion at what date they did actually arise in Lancashire; it is, indeed, a matter of opinion whether they did arise in Lancashire or whether the *ingtons* are *ingatuns*. In fact the question is disastrously open.

It will have been noticed, however, that no attempt has been made to use the *ing(a)tun* place-names in dating the Anglian conquest of Lancashire.<sup>1</sup> They are used only to indicate the areas of early Anglian settlement, a distinction which is by no means pointless. If one wished to list the earliest English place-names in Lancashire, it would be difficult to suggest a type, apart from *ingas* and *ingaham* types, which is older than the *ing(a)tuns*. There is no reason to doubt that they mark the areas of earliest English settlement, and there is no reason at present to doubt that most of them were created during the seventh century.

Below is a list of Lancashire *ing(a)tuns* with brief notes to facilitate an examination of them along the lines suggested above. Further details should be sought in *Place-names of Lancashire (PNLa)*, *Dictionary of English Place-names (DEPN)* and *Studies in Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Redin). Modern *-ingtons*, such as Accrington (O.E. *æcern tun*), are, of course, omitted.

ADDINGTON. Its position, on higher ground above the Lune and in an area of early settlement, is compatible with a belief in its *ingatun* origin. On the other hand, it is an insignificant place, appearing only on large scale maps, and it possesses no form before 1786. It is a common type of name (cf. Addington in Bucks., Northants. etc.). O.E. *Adda* was in use at an early date: it appears in combination with *ingaham* (cf. Adding-

<sup>1</sup> vide *supra*, p. 7.

ham in Yorkshire West Riding and in Cumberland), and it appears in 547 as the name of one of the sons of Ida of Bernicia (*Flor. Wig.*). Redin (p. 81) lists *Adda* as an original short form for which no corresponding compound name is recorded, a type which dates from the migration age and beyond. Its obscure signification tells further in favour of its antiquity, as does the fact that it is a weak formation (Redin).

ADLINGTON. cf. Adlington (Ches.). It stands on rising ground above the Douglas. O.E. *Eadwulf* is a compound personal name which is common in the eleventh century although it also appears earlier. In Edlingham (*Place-names of Northumberland and Durham*, p.71) it is found in combination with *ingaham*.

ALKRINGTON. On rising ground below Oldham, and near a Roman road, it is situated in an area where contact with the Britons may well have occurred. O.E. *Alphere* is a compound name found in Alkerton (Glos. and Oxon.). It passed into Middle English as *Alcher*, *Algher* and the like (cf. Domesday examples in Feilitzen's *Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p. 242). It is certainly not a name like *Creoda* which soon became obsolete.

DUMPLINGTON. It stands on the fringe of a group of British place-name elements around Manchester. The first element is not a personal name but some word like *dympe* (PNLa, p. 38). If Dumplington is not an *ingatun* name meaning "the *tun* of the dwellers by the pool" (O.E. *Dymplingas*) it is difficult to see what it may be.

PENNINGTON. cf. PNLa, p. 100, DEP, p. 345. O.E. *Pin(n)a* does not occur independently in the O.E. period, but it is found in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (*Pinna* and *Pinnae*). It is also found in the Gloucestershire Domesday Survey in the strong form *Pin* (cf. Feilitzen, op cit., p. 344). It was however in use in the O.E. period. cf. the place-names "Pinton" (Worcs.), Pennaton and Pennicot (Devon), Pinley and Pinley Abbey (Warwick). cf. *English Place-name Society Publications* (Worcs., Devon and Warwick).

PILKINGTON stands on rising ground above the Irwell and near a Roman road. O.E. *Pileca* is preserved in Pilton (Northants) and Pilt Down (Sussex). cf. PNLa, p. 49. It is a diminutive in *-eca* of the first element of some *Pil-* compound such as *Pilheard*. Diminutive personal names of this type are often very old and they give rise to "some of the most ancient place-names in England" (cf. *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names I*, p. 171).

PLEASINGTON is in the Darwen valley on rising ground south of the Ribble. It is interesting to note that the name "*Pleseley*" occurs in the neighbourhood in 1284 (PNLa. 74). This may possibly be taken to suggest that Pleasington is an *ingtun* formation. Redin's classification of O.E. *Plesa* (p. 107) leads to the conclusion that it is one of the oldest of uncompounded personal names. cf. Pleasley (Derby).

TOTTINGTON stands on rising ground above the Irwell and near to a Roman road. O.E. *Tot(t)a* is one of the commonest personal names in place-names. Its use at an early date is proved by Tooting (Surrey) which is a folk-name (*Totingas*), but it remained alive long enough to be preserved in Devonshire place-names (Totleigh, Toatley, Totnes, Tottiford). It is not easy to see if O.E. *Tot(t)a* was in living use during the tenth century because of confusion with O. Dan. *Toti* and O. Swed. *Tote*.

WARRINGTON, in a low-lying district north of the Mersey, is mentioned in Domesday Book. It is a hundred, a parish and a site of considerable importance at a crossing of the Mersey. On the other hand it is a doubtful *ing(a)tun* for it may contain O.E. *wering*, an *-ing* extension of O.E. *wer* (weir). In PNL<sub>a</sub> it is listed as a patronymic but cf. DEPN, p. 475. cf. also Warwick (DEPN, p. 476 and *English Place-name Society Publications*, Vol. xiii, p. 260). As an *ing(a)tun* its position and its importance are its strongest points.

WENNINGTON. Its position, in Melling parish and on rising ground above the Lune and the Wenning, favours early settlement. Its connection with the River Wenning is, however, obscure. cf. PNL<sub>a</sub>, p. 181, DEPN, p. 482, and *Dictionary of English River-names*, p. 448. It is in Domesday Book.

WHITTINGTON is a modern parish and a Domesday manor. It is in an area of early settlement and Ekwall (PNL<sub>a</sub>, p. 184) states that it is "no doubt an O.E. *Hwitingatun*." O.E. *Hwita* is common in place-names, but it remained in living use too long to be of value for dating; it is early enough to form an *ingaham* place-name (Whittingham, Lancs. and Northumberland) and late enough to appear in Domesday Book (cf. Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, p. 297).

WORTHINGTON is a doubtful *ing(a)tun*. It stands on the Douglas to the north of the British place-name elements around Wigan, and it is not far distant from a Roman road. cf. PNL<sub>a</sub>, p. 128 and DEPN, p. 511.

BILLINGTON is undoubtedly O.E. *Billingadun*. It is one of the few fairly certain *inga* names in Lancashire. cf. PNL<sub>a</sub>, p. 71. It is omitted from the map only because it is desirable to maintain some kind of terminal uniformity in the classification of English place-names.

Although in the above list only Warrington and Whittington are ancient parishes, all the remaining places, except Addington and Dumplington, are townships and are, therefore, of some local importance.

## “ BRITISH ” PLACE-NAMES IN LANCASHIRE.

### *West Derby Hundred.*

Brynn.  
Chaddock Hall.  
\*Culcheth.  
Eccleston.  
Glazebrook.  
Glazebury.  
?Haskayne.  
Haydock.  
Ince Blundell.  
Ince-in-Makerfield.  
Kenyon.  
?Maghull.  
Makerfield (Ashton-in-).  
Makerfield (Newton-in-).  
Pemberton.  
\*Penketh.  
\*Roskit.  
Wigan.

### *Leyland Hundred.*

Charnock (Heath).  
Charnock Richard.  
?Cuerden.  
Eccleston.  
?Heskin.  
Penwortham.

### *Lonsdale Hundred.*

\*Blenket Farm.  
Cark.  
High Cark.

### *Salford Hundred.*

Chadder (Hanging).  
Chadderton.  
Chatterton.  
Cheetham.  
Cheetwood.  
Croichlow Fold.  
Eccles.  
Glodwick.  
Manchester.  
Pendlebury.  
Pendleton.  
Werneth.  
?Worsley.

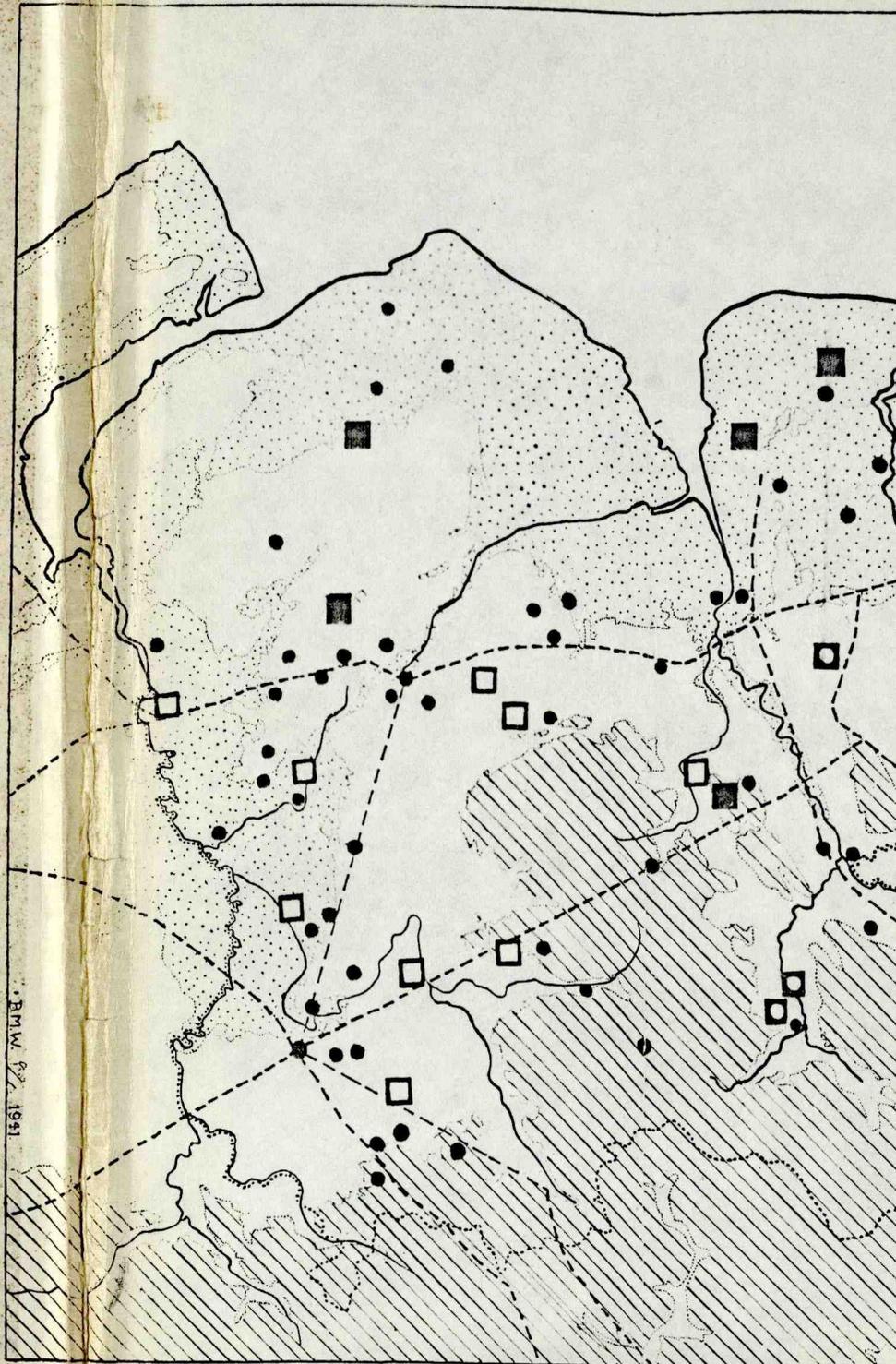
### *Blackburn Hundred.*

Dinckley.  
Eccleshill.  
Ightenhill Park.  
\*Mellor.  
Pendleton.  
?Rossendale (Newchurch-in-)

### *Amounderness Hundred.*

Eccleston (Great and Little).  
Inskip.  
Preesall.  
Preese.  
Rossall.  
\*Treales.  
\*Tulketh.  
Winkley.

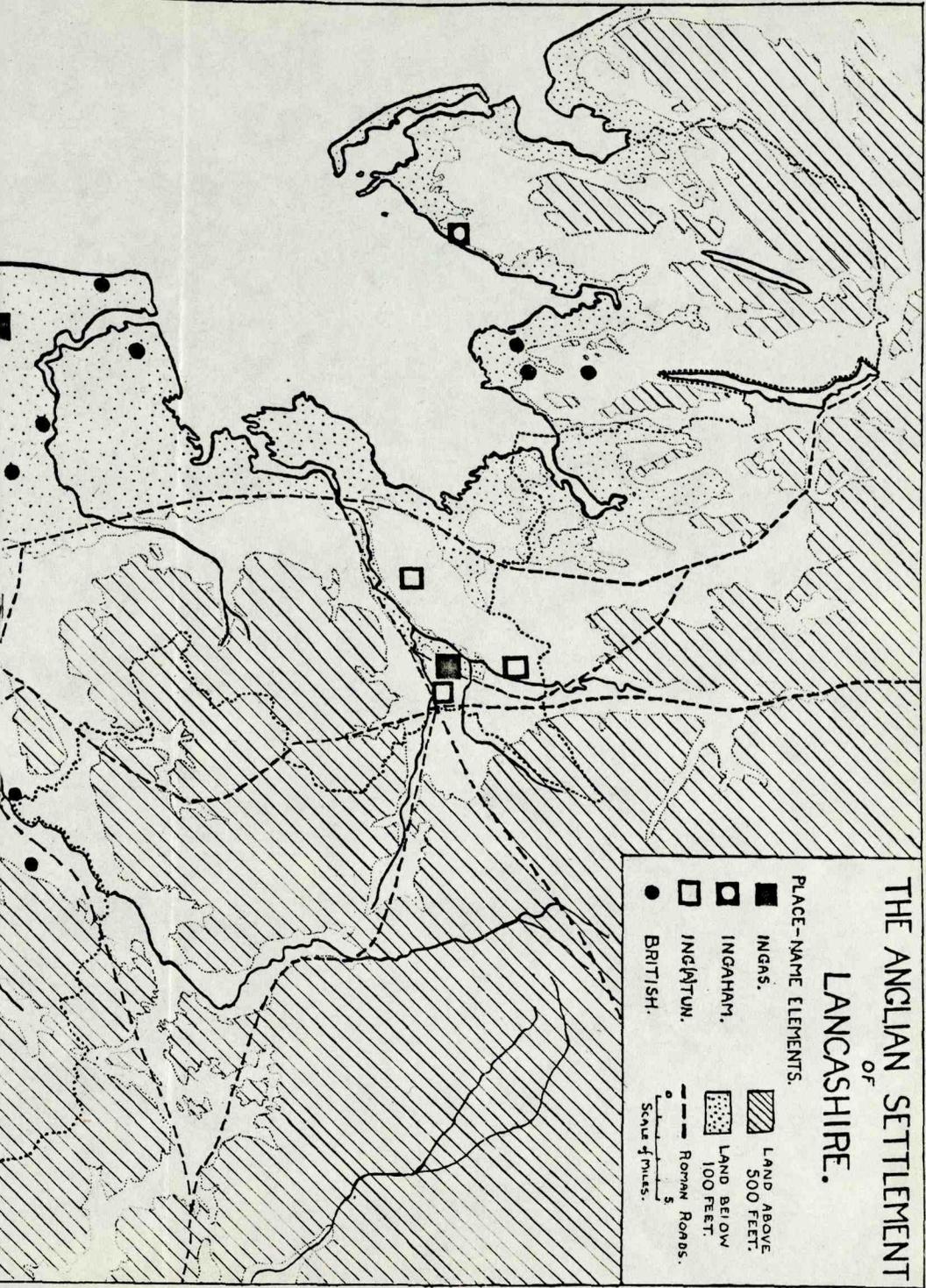
\* A compound place-name of which both elements are British.

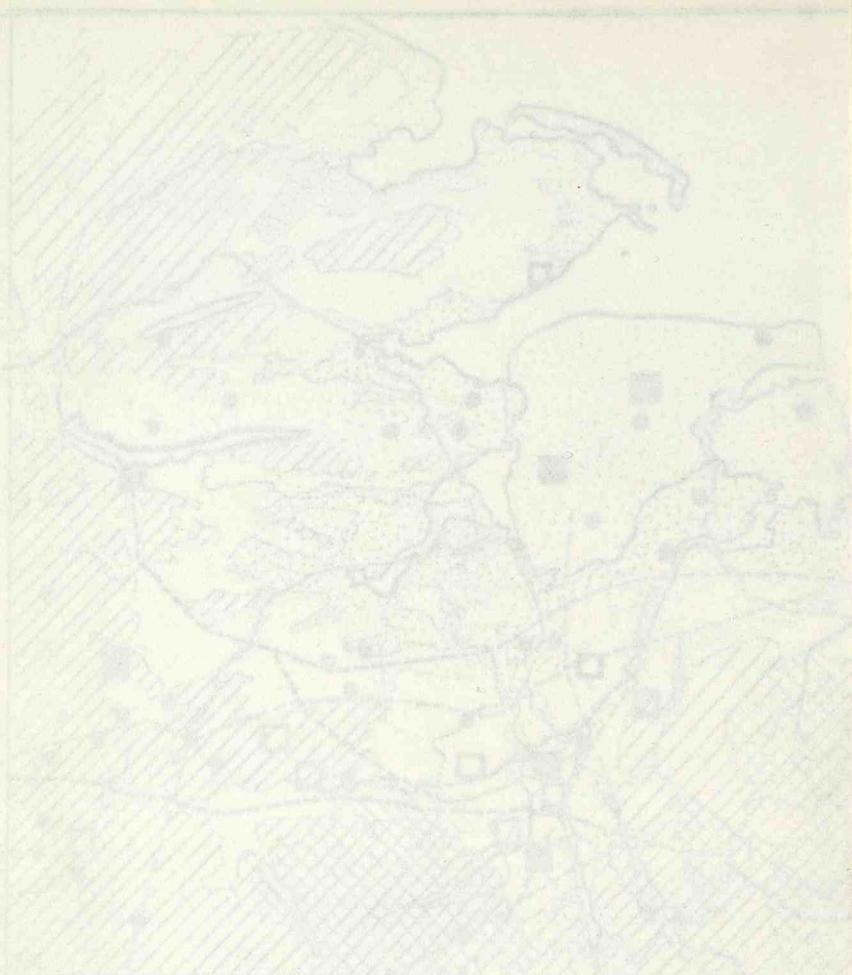


# THE ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT OF LANCASHIRE.

## PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS.

-  LAND ABOVE 500 FEET.
  -  LAND BELOW 100 FEET.
  -  Roman Roads.
  -  INGS.
  -  INGAMM.
  -  BRITISH.
- Scale of miles.  
0 1 2 3





1. 1/2 section  
 2. 1/4 section  
 3. 1/8 section  
 4. 1/16 section  
 5. 1/32 section  
 6. 1/64 section  
 7. 1/128 section  
 8. 1/256 section  
 9. 1/512 section  
 10. 1/1024 section  
 11. 1/2048 section  
 12. 1/4096 section  
 13. 1/8192 section  
 14. 1/16384 section  
 15. 1/32768 section  
 16. 1/65536 section  
 17. 1/131072 section  
 18. 1/262144 section  
 19. 1/524288 section  
 20. 1/1048576 section  
 21. 1/2097152 section  
 22. 1/4194304 section  
 23. 1/8388608 section  
 24. 1/16777216 section  
 25. 1/33554432 section  
 26. 1/67108864 section  
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