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THE PLACE-NAMES

OF

BEDFORDSHIRE

PUBLICATIONS : OCTAVO SERIES

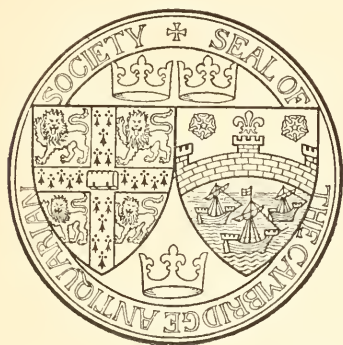
No. XLII.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF BEDFORDSHIRE

BY THE

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF BEDFORDSHIRE.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

IN 1901 my essay on "The Place-names of Cambridgeshire" was published for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and a little later the same Society published my second essay of the same character on "The Place-names of Huntingdonshire." In 1904 the East Herts. Archæological Society accepted from me and published a somewhat larger pamphlet on "The Place-names of Hertfordshire," nearly all of which had previously appeared from time to time in the columns of the *Hertfordshire Mercury*.

The Editor of the *Bedfordshire Standard* kindly granted me permission to send him, from time to time, during the year 1905, portions of a similar essay on "The Place-names of Bedfordshire," which now appears in a revised form; on which account I am indebted, for the third time, to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

A few preliminary considerations, of wide application, may conveniently be here given.

1. The place-names of Bedfordshire are nearly all of native English origin; and are always formed according to the strict rules of Anglo-Saxon grammar.

2. Nearly all these names are of one or two types. Either they are significant of possession, like Eversholt; or they are descriptive of position, like Millbrook. The former name refers to a *holt*, *i.e.* a plantation or wooded hill, which was first permanently taken possession of by a squatter whose name, in modern spelling, would be *Ever*; whilst the latter refers to a

brook on which some one built a useful and conspicuous *mill*. The name *Ever* occurs again in Evers-den (Cambs.) and in Evers-ley (Hants.). It is spelt *euer* in Middle English (where the *u* is sounded as *v*), *Eofor* in Anglo-Saxon, *Eber* in German, and *Aper* in Latin. The literal sense is 'a boar,' but it was freely used as a personal name. The English name *Eofor* occurs in the famous old poem entitled *Bēowulf*, and the Roman name *Aper* is mentioned by Tacitus. The German *Eber-hart* (hard or strong boar) was spelt *Euerard* by the Normans; whence our modern *Everard*.

A place-name like *Millbrook* is formed, like *cart-horse*, by simple juxtaposition; but in possessive names the former part of the word occurs in the genitive case. *Evers-* answers to the A.S. (Anglo-Saxon) *eofor-es*, gen. of *eofor*. The genitive form depends, in Anglo-Saxon, partly on gender; but if we confine our attention to the names of men, which are masculine, the rules are not difficult. In fact, these two will suffice.

1. If the nominative ends in *-i* (in very early times) or in *-e* (as is more usual) or in a consonant, then the genitive ends in *-es*. Examples: *Ini*, later form *Ine*, gen. *Ines*; *Eofor*, gen. *Eofores*. *Ini* or *Ine* was a famous king of Wessex, only known (I fear) to most of us in the Latinised form *Ina*; which was certainly not his real name.

2. Nearly all other nominatives end in *-a*, and take a genitive in *-an*. Thus the genitive of *Offa* is *Offan*.

Conversely, the genitive form *Ines* assures us at once that the nominative could not have been *Ina* in true English. But it may be said, once for all, that our old Latin historians made a sad hash of all native names.

The only book that seems to have been occasionally consulted by former investigators is the celebrated *Domesday Book*; but it must be remembered that in many cases this famous record only gives Norman spellings, and that such spellings not unfrequently misrepresent such English sounds as the Norman scribes could not easily pronounce. It is usually the case that a somewhat later spelling by a native scribe gives a far better idea of the true sound of the name.

The most authentic sources of information are the Anglo-Saxon Charters. I refer to the well-known editions by Kemble and Birch, and to the select charters edited by Earle and Thorpe. We find also a few names in the Crawford Charters, edited by Napier and Stevenson. There is no good county history. The account of Bedfordshire in Camden's *Britannia* is very brief and poor, and the few remarks upon place-names are worthless. His statement that Bedford "implies *beds and inns at a ford*" is ludicrous, and cannot be reconciled with his other (correct) statement, that one A.S. form of the name was *Bedan-ford*. For the A.S. *bed* is neuter, with a gen. singular *beddes* and a genitive plural *bedda*; and not one of its cases ends in *-an*. Moreover, it doubles its *d* in the course of declension.

Besides the Charters, it is also necessary to consult the A.S. Chronicle, and any other early writings in which place-names are mentioned. Some of the Charters only exist in late copies, and some of these exhibit Norman spellings, the peculiarities of which must be allowed for.

I append the names of some other useful records; with the abbreviations which denote them.

A.M.—*Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series); vol. iii. 1866. This volume contains the *Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia*.

Cat.—*A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* (Record Series).

C.R.—*Charter Rolls; Calendar of the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office*; vol. i. A.D. 1226—1257. Ed. 1903.

Cl. R.—*Close Rolls; Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*. Ed. T. D. Hardy (1833). Vol. i. (1204—1224).

Cl. R. 2.—The same (1844); vol. ii. (1224—1227).

D.B.—*Domesday Book*.

E.T.—*Ecclesiastica Taxatio* (1291). Ed. 1802.

Ex. R.—*Exchequer Rolls; Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio*; vol. i. Ed. 1805.

F.A.—*Feudal Aids* (Record Series); vol. i.

H.R.—*Hundred Rolls (Rotuli Hundredorum)*; vol. i.

H.R., vol. ii.—The same; vol. ii.

I.p.m.—*Inquisitiones post Mortem, sive Escaetarum*; ed. J. Caley; vol. i. (Record Series).

R.B.—*Red Book of the Exchequer*; ed. W. D. Selby (Rolls Series). See the index in vol. iii.

R.C.—Ramsey Chartulary ; ed. W. H. Hart. See the index in vol. iii.

T.N.—Testa de Nevill (Hen. III.—Edw. I.).

T.R.—Tower Rolls ; Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati ; ed. T. D. Hardy (1837).

Many of these contain an index of personal names as well as of place-names. Both should be consulted, because many of the former refer to the latter.

When I cite an Anglo-Saxon personal name as being on record, I mean that it is duly inserted in Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, which contains a fairly complete list of all such A.S. names as are found in printed documents.

In explaining the meanings of place-names, it is best and clearest to arrange them according to the suffixes which they contain. Thus Melchbourne and Woburn will be considered together, because both contain the suffix *-bourne* or *-burn*.

The number of suffixes found in Bedfordshire is upwards of forty, and they are all of native English origin ; a fact which is of great significance. There is scarcely a trace of Norse or Danish, and if there be any Celtic, it only occurs in river-names, which I do not pretend to explain. A good deal of worthless talk has been spent in the past in trying to find Celtic origins for many words that are not Celtic at all. There has never been much Welsh in Bedfordshire since the time of Egberht, at the latest.

The English suffixes found in Bedfordshire are, most of them, readily intelligible, and may conveniently be here enumerated. The chief ones are : *-borough*, *-bourne*, *-bridge*, *-brook*, *-bury*, *-cliff*, *-cote* or *-cot*, *-den*, *-dish*, *-don*, *-ey*, *-field*, *-ford*, *-grave*, *-hale* (*-hall*), *-ham*, *-hanger*, *-head*, *-hill*, *-hoe*, *-holt*, *-hurst*, *-ing*, *-lake*, *-ley*, *-low*, *-mead*, *-mount* (*-mont*), *-pool*, *-sand*, *-snade*, *-stead*, *-stoke*, *-stow*, *-thorpe* (*-drop*), *-ton*, *-tree*, *-wade*, *-well*, *-wick*, *-wold*, *-worth*, and *-yate*. Some of these require some elucidation, but they are not difficult. It is further convenient to consider at the same time such names as Hatch and Heath, because they are used as suffixes in other counties, though they here occur alone. A few other names are noted afterwards.

As to the names selected, they include all (I believe) that are recorded in Kelly's Post Office Directory of Bedfordshire (1903); not excepting small hamlets that are included under the heading of the parish in which they are situate. The smallest appears to be Budna, included in Northill, and represented in the Directory by a single house.

The various suffixes above noted will now be discussed in their alphabetical order. Nearly all the names are to be found in Bacon's County Atlas, though they are not all in the index. The index to Philips' County Atlas is, on the whole, a better one. Pigot's Atlas (1831) has some older spellings.

1. BOROUGH.

Borough is from the A.S. *burh*, of which the oldest sense was a small fort. The dative case *byrig* is the source of the modern E. *bury*. See further under BURY (p. 8).

EDDLESBOROUGH.—Bacon's Atlas marks Eddlesborough Green, near Eaton Bray, as being in Beds., though Eddlesborough itself is in Bucks. However, as the sense is certain, it may as well be here considered. We find these spellings: *Edolvesbur'*, Cat.; *Edulvesburwe*, F.A.; *Eadulfes-*, as a prefix in Kemble's Index to his Codex Diplomaticus. Eadulf is a late spelling of Eadwulf; and the meaning is 'Eadwulf's borough.' Elstree in Herts. means 'Eadwulf's tree.' Of the common name Eadwulf, no less than eighty examples have been recorded.

2. BOURNE, BURN.

The A.S. *burn* meant a brook or a small stream. Examples occur in Husborne Crawley, Melchbourne, Redbornestoke, and Woburn.

HUSBORNE CRAWLEY.—Called in Philips' Atlas by the name of Crawley Husborne. In Pigot, Husborn and Crawley are marked as separate, Husborn being the more northerly. Bacon marks a Crawley Heath. When double names of this

kind occur, one of them (usually the latter) is often the name of the chief family resident in (or once owners of) the place in question. But in this case both names are place-names in origin, though Crawley became a family name also. We find the following old spellings:—*Crawelai*, D.B.; *Craulee*, T.N.; *Husseburn*, E.T.; *Husseburne*, R.B., I.p.m., A.M.; *Husseburne Crauele*, F.A.; *Husseburne Crawel*, H.R. In a great many instances, the suffix *-e*, as found in D.B. and other Middle English spellings, represents the A.S. suffix *-an*, a genitive form from a nominative in *-a*; and so, in this case likewise, *Husse* represents *Hussan*, genitive of the A.S. name *Hussa*, of which four examples are known. Hence *Husborne* means ‘*Hussa’s stream.*’ The stream is also known as *Crawley Brook*. The meaning of *Crawley* is given under *-LEY* (p. 37).

MELCHBOURNE.—Spelt *Melceburne*, D.B.; *Melcheburne*, R.C.; *Melcheburn*, H.R., E.T., T.R.; *Melchbourne*, F.A. The prefix answers in form to the Middle English *melche*, *milche*, modern E. *milch*, full of milk; but this epithet seems only to be applied to cows. Another *melch*, in the English Dialect Dictionary, means ‘mellow’ or ‘soft,’ but seems to be only applied to fruit or eatables. There is another *melske* in a Danish dialect, given by *Molbech*, answering to A.S. *milisc*, which meant ‘sweet,’ as applied to mead or to a honeyed drink. It is possible that the last of these is here referred to.

REDBOURNESTOKE.—Here *Redbourne* seems to mean ‘red stream’; see further under *-STOKE* (p. 44).

WOBURN.—Spelt *Woburne*, *Woberne*, D.B.; *Woburne*, R.B.; *Woburn*, H.R.; *Wouburne*, F.A.; *Wuburn*, Cat. In an A.S. Charter dated 969, mention is made of the *Woburningas* or men of *Woburn*; see *Birch*, *Cart. Saxon.* iii. 517. From A.S. *wōh burn*; literally, ‘crooked stream.’ I find it impossible to trace streams on the new Ordnance map; what with ‘contour-lines’ and boundary lines, the task is hopeless. Any other map is often clearer; the crooked stream appears in *Pigot’s Atlas* (1831).

3. BRIDGE.

STANBRIDGE.—Spelt *Stanbrigge*, F.A.; *Stanbrugge*, A.M.; *Stanbruge*, I.p.m. The A.S. *brycg*, a bridge, is spelt both *brigge* and *brugge* in Middle English. The whole name appears in the A.S. *Stānbrycg*, *i.e.* ‘stone bridge.’ The A.S. long *a* is shortened before *nb*, instead of becoming the long *o* in *stone*. The bridge is at Stanbridge Ford, near the station, at some distance from the village. Stone bridges were once rare, and therefore notable.

4. BROOK.

Examples occur in Millbrook, Sharnbrook, and Tilbrook.

MILLBROOK.—Spelt *Melebroc*, D.B.; *Milebrok*, H.R.; *Mulebrok*, *Melebroc*, F.A. The vowels, *e*, *i*, *u*, are various ways of representing the A.S. *y*, which was sounded like the German modified short *ü*, and had no invariable equivalent in the French alphabet used by Norman scribes. The A.S. form is *mylen-brōc*; from *mylen*, a mill, and *brōc*, a brook. *Mylen* is not a native word, but borrowed from Lat. *molina*, a mill.

SHARNBROOK.—Spelt *Scernebroc*, *Sernebroc*, D.B.; *Scharnebroke*, *Schernebroke*, F.A.; *Scharnbrok*, E.T. The Normans wrote both *sc* and *s* to denote *sh*, when an *e* followed. The A.S. prefix is *scearn*, meaning ‘filth’; showing that the brook, at one time, was in a bad condition. A dung-beetle is still called a *sharn-beetle* in Hampshire.

TILBROOK.—Spelt *Tilebroc*, D.B.; *Tylebrok*, F.A. Here the *-e*, as usual, represents an A.S. genitive suffix *-an*; and *Tilebroc* answers to A.S. *Tilan brōc*, *i.e.* ‘Tila’s brook.’ Many names ending in *-a* were really pet-names or shortened names, and *Tila* may very well have been a pet-name for *Tilbeorht*, a name which occurs six times. Bacon’s Atlas calls the brook the river Til, but this is doubtless a name made out of Tilbrook; the very same stream, after passing Kimbolton, is called the Kym, in spite of the fact that Kimbolton means ‘Cynebald’s town’!

5. BURY.

The form *bury* represents the A.S. *byrig*, really the dative case of *burh*, a fort, modern E. *borough*. The sense is 'fort,' and it is common in many counties. Place-names, in Anglo-Saxon, were often in the dative case, the preposition *æt* (modern E. *at*) being understood.

Examples occur in Howbury, Limbury, and Millowbury. Also in Ickwell Bury, and in other cases where it is written separately.

HOWBURY lies to the North of the Ouse, between Bedford and Barford. The prefix *How* is the same as the *Hough* in Houghton, and means 'a spur of a hill.' See further under HOUGHTON (p. 50). The sense is 'hill-fort.'

LIMBURY.—Called in Kelly's Directory Limbury-cum-Biscot; and near Leagrave. These places lie to the N.W. of Luton. A certain John de Lymberi is mentioned in F.A., p. 145, who at p. 155 of the same is called John de Lyndberi. We thus learn that Limbury stands for an older form Lindbury, which is easily understood; since the A.S. *lind* means a linden-tree or lime-tree. The sense is 'lime-tree-fort.'

MILLOWBURY.—Named from Millow, to the N. of Edworth; which is spelt *Melehou*, D.B.; *Melho*, C.R.; *mulno*, F.A. Here *mele*, *mel*, *mulu* are all from the A.S. *mylen*, a mill; see MILLBROOK (p. 7). *Ho* represents the A.S. *hōh*, a spur of a hill; which is further explained under the heading HOE (p. 29). Thus Millowbury is 'the fort on the mill-hill,' or 'mill-hill-fort.'

6. CLIFF.

CLIFF is here used in the sense of declivity or steep hill. It occurs in HOCKLIFFE, whence the name of the poet Hoccleve. Spelt *Hocheleia* (in a Latinised form), D.B. Better spelt *Hocclive*, E.T., H.R., T.N.; *Hocclyve*, I.p.m., F.A.

In the will of Æthelstan Ætheling, one of the six sons of Æthelred II., king of England, by his first wife, dated 1015, there is mention of land at Hoeganclife; where *clife* is the dative of *clif*, a cliff. This is identified with Hockliffe by

Thorpe, in his *Diplomatarium*, p. 561. The sense is 'Hocga's cliff' The A.S. *cg* was pronounced as *gg*. The A.S. Hocga is allied to *hocg*, a hog; which occurs also as a proper name in Hocges-tun, *i.e.* Hog's town, noted in Kemble's Index, vol. vi. p. 300.

The A.S. *hocg*, a hog, is not given in any dictionary, and its existence was not known, until it was discovered by myself in some fragments of a charter, written on two strips of parchment lately found inside a book-cover in the library of Queens' College, Cambridge. See Proceedings of the Camb. Phil. Society, Michaelmas Term, 1902; p. 15.

7. COTE, or COT.

Cote or *Cot* is the old word for a cottage or small detached house. The double form is due to the double form in Anglo-Saxon, *viz.* *cote*, dative, and *cot*, nom.; or else *cotan*, dat., from the fem. nom. *cote*. It occurs in Biscott, Caldecote, Caulcott, Eastcotts, Holcut or Hulecote, and Thorcote.

BISCOTT, or BISCOT; N.W. of Luton.—Short for Bishop's Cote. We have this on the evidence of Domesday Book, where it is spelt *Bissopescote*. The sound of *sh* was often denoted by *ss* by Norman scribes.

CALDECOTE; E. of Northill.—Spelt *Caldecote*, I.p.m.; found also in other counties, as Cambs., Northamptonshire, Rutland and Warwickshire. It represents the A.S. dative *cealdan cote*, or rather the Old Mercian *caldan cote*, meaning 'at the cold cot'; as explained in my *Place-names of Cambs.*, p. 28. By 'cold' was meant that it was in a bleak situation; or, possibly, that it was a mere shelter, unprovided with a fire-place.

CAULCOTT; in Lower Shelton, near Marston Moretaine.—The same name, but occurring in the nom. case. Old Mercian *cald cot*, *i.e.* 'cold cot.' Spelt *Calcote*, I.p.m. But of course it may have been shortened from the form above.

EASTCOTTS; near Cardington.—Spelt *Estcote*, R.B. The prefix means *east*, formerly spelt *est*.

HOLCUT, or HULCOTE; near Salford.—Both spellings are in Kelly's Directory. The former should be *Holcot*, as *cut* is unmeaning. Spelt *Holcot*, F.A.; *Holcote*, E.T.; *Holecote*, D.B. The last spelling represents the A.S. *Holacotan*, which occurs in King Eadgar's grant of land at Aspley, A.D. 969; printed in Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, iii. 517. This evidently refers to this very place. *Cotan* is the dat. case of the weak fem. sb. *cote*, a cot. *Hola* is the A.S. *hola*, a hole, or hollow place, closely allied to the adj. *hol*, hollow. The sense is 'cot in the hollow.'

THORNCOTE; in Northill.—*I.e.* 'cot by the thorn-tree.'

S. DEN, DEAN.

From the A.S. *denu*, a valley. Much confused with *-don* in modern names; but they can usually be separated by the old spellings. Still, the separation requires great care.

It occurs in Dean, Ravensden, Stagsden, Stodden, Wilden, and Yielden or Yelden. But in Battlesden, Harrowden, Maulden, Warden, the suffix should rather be *-don*; and they are treated accordingly under that heading. It is quite possible that both suffixes, *-den* and *-don*, may have been used in some instances; *-den* would then refer to the valley itself, and *-don* to the hill above it.

DEAN.—A common name in many counties; from the A.S. *denu*, dat. case *dene*, a valley. Spelt *Dene*, D.B., T.N., I.p.m.; *Deen*, R.C. Dean, in Hants., is represented by A.S. *æt dene*, where *dene* is the dat. case; see Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 487.

RAVENS DEN.—Kelly remarks that it was formerly *Ramesden*, a spelling I have not found. But it makes no difference to the sense, because the A.S. *hræfu*, a raven, was also spelt *hræmn* or *hræm*. The sense is 'Raven's valley.' Raven was a personal name, as well as the name of a bird. It is remarkable that Ramsey, in Hunts., does not mean 'Ram's island,' but 'Raven's island.'

As to the old spellings, we find *Ravenisden*, H.R.; *Ravenysdene*, F.A.; but also *Ravenesdon*, E.T.; *Ravensdon*, I.p.m.

STAGSDEN.—Evidently so named by popular etymology; as if from *stag*, with which it has nothing whatever to do. Kelly says, “formerly *Stachedene* and *Staggisdene*.” The latter I have not found; it can only be quite a late and worthless spelling. The forms are: *Stachdene*, *Stachedene*, D.B.; *Stachedene*, F.A., H.R., vol. ii.; *Stacheden*, H.R. Also *Stachesdene*, F.A.; *Stachisdene*, H.R., vol. ii. In I.p.m. we also find mention of a place named *Stache* (Somersets.), and of a *Stachewelle*.

Stachis or *Staches* appears to be not A.S., but rather the gen. case of a Norman form *Stache*, which I take to be short for *Eustache*, the Norman or Northern French equivalent of the French *Eustace*. Similarly, in the Close Rolls, we find *Magister Stachius*, short for *Eustachius*; and *Stace*, as a proper name, is short for *Eustace*, which was formerly accented on the *a*. As a matter of fact, D.B. records that Earl Eustace had land in Stagsden, so that the place may easily have been named after him, as he was a person of great consequence at that date. The land had originally been granted to his father, who is known to history as Count Eustace II., of Boulogne. This Eustace II. married no less a person than the sister of Edward the Confessor, and had caused no small trouble by his outrageous conduct at Dover, as is duly narrated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1048. He was wounded in the battle of Hastings, and was rewarded by William with grants of land in no less than ten counties. See the Digest of the Domesday of Bedfordshire, by W. Airy, 1881; p. 30. It is a pity that Mr Airy should refer, at p. viii, to the “evident” derivation from “the two A.S. words *stag* and *den*”; for *stag* is not an A.S. word at all, but Norse. It occurs once, in the Laws of Cnut, where it has to be explained; but did not really find its way into English till long afterwards. I doubt if it can be found earlier than the fifteenth century.

STODDEN.—The name of a hundred. Spelt *Stodene*, *Stodden*, D.B.; *Stodden*, H.R. From A.S. *stōd*, a stud of horses. The sense is ‘stud-valley.’

WILDEN.—Spelt *Wildene*, D.B.; *Wylden*, E.T.; *Weledene*, F.A. We have here to do with a descriptive name, as the

forms suggest. In the present case, *wil* may be short for the A.S. *wilig* (in which the final *g* was hardly heard), an occasional form of *welig*, a willow tree, which will account for the spelling *Wele*. A willow is still called a *willy* in many provincial dialects. We have clear evidence that Willbury Hill (Herts.) is from the same source; as shown in my Place-names of Herts., p. 71. The hundred of Willey is similarly named; see it discussed below, under the suffix -LEY (p. 39). Thus Wilden means 'willow-valley.'

YIELDEN, or YELDEN.—The old spellings are curious, viz. *Giveldene*, D.B.; *Givelden*, Cl. R.; *Gyuelden*, E.T.; *Gyvelden*, *Yeveldene*, F.A. The A.S. *g* (before *i*) was sounded as *y*; and all the prefixes may be reduced to an A.S. form *Gifel*, in which the intervocalic *f* was sounded as *v*. This A.S. *Gifel* is a river-name, the same as the modern *Ivel*. There is another and larger *Ivel*, which flows through Biggleswade, and a third *Ivel* in Somersetshire, which flows through Ivelchester or Ilchester. And it is much to be suspected that the river *Isle*, in Somersetshire, which flows past Ilminster, is only another form of the same name. See it further discussed under NORTHILL (p. 34), which is considered under the suffix -ILL, since it is wholly unconnected with the more common suffix -HILL. We may explain Yelden as *Iveldene*, or 'Ivel valley.'

9. DISH.

The English *dish* (A.S. *disc*) is sometimes used in the sense of cup or hollow; the Oxford Dictionary explains it as sometimes meaning a concave surface, or a depression in a field.

FARNDISH; near Poddington.—Spelt *Fernadis*, D.B.; *Farnesch*, T.N.; *Farendis*, E.T.; *Farnedis*, H.R., vol. ii., F.A.; *Furndisch*, l.p.m. Also *Farnadich*, *Farnediche*, F.A. These forms strongly support the view that the suffix is really *dish*, and not *diche*. The Norman scribes usually write *s* for *sh*, but *dice* or *diche* for *ditch*. Compare the D.B. spellings *Sernebroc* for Sharnbrook, *Eseltone* for Shelton, and *Sethlindone* for Shillington. Neither does *Furndish* stand alone; for there is a Brookdish on the N. bank of the river Waveney, a little below

Scole, in Norfolk; and there may be others. In spite of the varying spellings of the former element, the word meant is clearly the A.S. *fearn*, fern, which is very common in place-names. Kemble's Index (p. 286) has a whole column of instances. It is possible that *Ferna-* may represent the gen. pl. *fearna*, 'of ferns.'

The sense, viz. 'fern-hollow,' is precisely the same as that of Farncombe in Surrey, where *combe* is of Celtic origin, and equivalent to the Welsh *cwm*, a hollow, a dingle.

10. DOWN, or DON.

A *down*, A.S. *dūn*, of Celtic origin, meant a hill-fort, or often simply a hill, especially one with a more or less flat top. When it occurs as an unaccented suffix, it is reduced to the form *-don*, and is then often confused, in modern times, with the suffix *-den*, a valley, with an almost opposite sense; and sometimes with *-ton*. We can often distinguish them by the old spellings; but there may be instances in which the name was really double, *-den* being applied to the valley, and *-don* to the hill above it.

Examples occur in Battlesden, Caddington, Harlington, Harrowden, Honeydon, Maulden, Pegsdon, Roxton, Shillington, Stondon, Sundon, and Warden.

BATTLEDSEN.—Spelt *Badelesdone*, *Badelestone*, D.B.; *Badelesdone*, F.A.; *Badelesdon*, E.T.; *Badeleston*, I.p.m. These forms answer to an A.S. *Badeles dūn*, i.e. 'Badel's down'; where *Badel* is a personal name. This name is not otherwise known; but the closely related weak form *Badela* occurs in *Badelan brōc*, i.e. 'Badela's brook'; in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 343, l. 19. As *d* is sometimes altered to *th* by confusion with the A.S. crossed *d* (with the sound of *th*) it is probable that the name *Batheles mere* (in R.C.) is an error for *Badeles mere*.

CADDINGTON; near Luton.—Spelt *Cadendone*, D.B., F.A.; *Cadendon*, Cat.; *Cadindon*, E.T., H.R.; *Kadindon*, T.N. From A.S. *Cadan-dūn*, lit. 'Cada's down.' *Cada* is a known name.

In this case, the original suffix *-an* has first become *-en* and then *-in*; both of which changes are very common. And finally

-ing has been substituted for *-in*, and *-don* turned into *-ton* by confusion with the numerous names that end in *-ington*.

HARLINGTON, to the N.E. of Toddington, on the Midland Railway.—Spelt *Herlingdone*, D.B., A.M.; *Herlingdon*, E.T., F.A., H.R. It thus appears that the original suffix was *-don*, for *down*. *Herling* answers to the A.S. *Herlinga*, gen. pl.; as seen in *Herlingaham*, cited in Kemble's Index. *Herlinga* is the genitive of the pl. *Herlingas*, i.e. sons or tribe of *Herl*. But *Herl* is obviously a much contracted form, and due to some A.S. name beginning with the very common prefix *Here-*. Almost certainly, *Herl* here represents Herulf, a common contraction of Herewulf, a well authenticated name. We may conclude that Harlington means the 'Herewulfings' down,' or the down occupied by the family of Herewulf. The A.S. *-ing*, meaning 'son of,' and the pl. *-ingas*, meaning 'sons of,' or 'family of,' are extremely common. Neither is there any difficulty in the reduction of *wulf*, often called *ulf*, to a simple *l*; for it occurs again in Eddlesborough and Elstree, as has been already explained under BOROUGH (p. 5). There is another Harlington in Middlesex, and an East and West Harling in Norfolk. I explained Harlton in Cambs. as meaning 'Herela's town,' where "Herela is a pet-name formed from a name beginning with Here—such as Herebeald or Herefrith." Of course I should rather have said—"such as Herewulf," which would have accounted for the *l* at once.

HARROWDEN; near Cardington.—This is a clear case of a double sense in the suffix. Harrowden is marked in the Ordnance Map as being in a valley; but it must have taken its name from the hill above, marked as Tinker's Hill, and rising to the height of 135 feet above the sea. For the old spellings clearly show this. It is spelt *Herghetone*, *Hergentone* in D.B.; but *-tone* is an error for *-don*. We find elsewhere *Harwedone*, R.B.; *Harewedon*, I.p.m.; and *John de Harwedone*, R.C. The D.B. form *herghe* represents the A.S. *hearge*, dat. of *hearh*, a heathen temple. This is clearly shown in Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 530, where *æt hearge* (lit. at Harrow) is employed to denote Harrow-on-the-Hill, in Middlesex. The sense is 'temple-down.'

We obtain, from the very names, the interesting information that there were once heathen temples both at Harrowden and on the hill at Harrow. *Hearh* was only applied to an old heathen place of worship, which was often on a hill-top. As the English usually destroyed these, after their conversion to Christianity, we can hardly expect to find relics of them now. Yet it is highly probable that the conspicuous church at Harrow-on-the-Hill occupies the very site once selected for the worship of idols.

HONEYDON, to the west of Eaton Socon.—The hill is conspicuously marked in Bacon's Atlas. I find no early notice of it; but it doubtless means 'honey down.' The A.S. *hunig*, honey, appears in several place-names; notably in Honeybourne, co. Worcester, spelt *hunig-burnan* (in the dative) in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 2.

MAULDEN, near Ampthill.—The road from Clophill to Maulden rises to 278 feet above the sea. The name is probably of double significance, Maulden having been suggested by an older Maldon. Spellings are *Meldone*, D.B.; *Maldon* (Beds.), E.T.; *Maldone*, *Maldene*, F.A.; *Meldone*, *Maudone*, R.B. There is another Maldon in Essex, mentioned in the A.S. Chronicle as early as A.D. 913. It is there spelt *Maldun*; and in the Parker MS. the *e* is marked as long. This accounts for the spelling *Meldone*, with *e*. The A.S. *māl* (with long *e*) meant a cross, mark, crucifix; *Cristes māl* meant the sign of the cross. Maldon means 'cross-down,' and it is probable enough that crosses were erected at both places in some conspicuous position.

PEGSDON, or PEGSDEN; to the east of Hexton (Herts).—Spelt *Pechesdone*, D.B.; *Pekesdone*, F.A. Also *Pekesdene*, *Pekysdene*, *Pekesden* (in Shillington), R.C.; *Pecchesdene*, A.M. As *che* in D.B. means *ke*, usually written *ce* in A.S., the equivalent form to *Pekesdone* in A.S. is *Pēces dūn* or *Pēaces dūn*; which may be associated with *Pēaces dēl* in the will of Æthelstan Ætheling (A.D. 1015) in Earle, Land Charters, p. 226, l. 1. If this be right, the sense was 'Pēac's down'; or, in modern spelling 'Peak's down.' The name may be connected with the Peak

in Derbyshire, called *Pēac-lond* in A.S. We find the name of Miles de Pek, who was a tenant in Shillington, and Richardus de Pecco; both in R.C.

ROXTON, N.W. of Tempsford.—Originally from a form which should have given Roxdon. Spelt *Rochesdon*, *Rochestone*, D.B.; *Rokesdone*, *Rokesdon*, F.A.; *Rokisdun*, Cl.R.; *Rokesdon*, E.T. The prefix answers to A.S. *Hrōces*, gen. of *Hrōc*, a rook, also used as a personal name. The sense is 'Rook's down.'

There is a RUXOX FARM to the W. of Flitton. The spellings *Rokesac*, *Rokeshoc*, in A.M., explain it. Both *ac* and *hoc* represent the A.S. *āc*, an oak; so that Ruxox simply means 'Rook's oaks,' originally 'Rook's oak,' in the singular.

SHILLINGTON.—Beyond all doubt a more correct form is Shitlington, or rather Shitlingdon. It is spelt Shitlington in Pigot's Atlas (1831) and in Magna Britannia (1720). Still earlier, the suffix is *-don*. The old spellings are *Sethlindone* (for *Shetlindone*), D.B.; *Scitlingdune*, *Scutlingdon*, *Scytlingedune*, *Schitlingedune*, R.C.; *Shutlyngdon*, Cat. In Thorpe's Diplomatarium, p. 383, a late copy of a charter has the false form *Sucklingdon*, but the footnote gives *Scytlingedune* (for *Scytlinga dūne*), from a much better MS. It may be noted that the *e* in the D.B. form, and the *i* and *u* in the other forms, all alike represent an A.S. *y*. Hence the name means 'the down of the Scytlings,' or sons of Scytel (or Scytela), a diminutive form connected with the known name Scytta, which means 'an archer': from *scēotan*, to shoot.

STONDON, near Henlow railway-station.—Spelt *Standone*, D.B., R.C.; *Stondone*, R.C.; *Staundone*, R.C.; *Staundon*, H.R., E.T. All from A.S. *Stāndūn* (Kemble), *i.e.* 'stone-down.'

SUNDON.—Spelt *Sonedone*, D.B.; *Sonendon*, E.T.; *Sunondone*, *Sunendune*, A.M.; *Souendone*, *Souyndone* (with *u* misprinted for *n*), F.A. All from A.S. *Sunnan-dūn*, *i.e.* 'down of the Sun'; see Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 580. The peculiar gen. form *sunnan*, in place of the usual *summ-* in composition, suggests that the goddess Sunne (the Sun) was once worshipped here in heathen times.

WARDEN, or OLD WARDEN.—Spelt *Wardone*, D.B., F.A.; *Wardon*, H.R., E.T.; *Wardune*, R.C., R.B. From the A.S. *weard-dūn*, lit. ‘ward-down,’ i.e. a look-out hill, a hill used for watching the approach of strangers.

11. EY.

The suffix *-ey* (sometimes *-y*) represents the Old Mercian *ēg*, A.S. *īeg*, *īg*, an island. The term was freely applied to sites that were not real islands, but had water partly surrounding them. Examples are seen in Arleseey, Sandy and Turvey.

ARLESEY.—Also spelt *Arsley* (as in Philips’ Atlas), but incorrectly. Spelt *Alricesei*, *Alriceseie*, D.B.; *Alrichesey*, I.p.m.; *Alricheseye*, *Aylricheseye*, F.A. The spelling *heye* for *eye* by Norman scribes is not uncommon. The fullest form is the last, neglecting the second *h*. *Aylriches* is the regular representative of A.S. *Ægelrīces*, a late form of *Æthelrīces*; and the sense is ‘Æthelrīc’s island.’ The name *Æthelrīc* (also spelt *Ægelrīc*, *Ailrīc*) is extremely common; more than sixty examples of it are known.

SANDY.—D.B. has *in Sandeia*, in the ablative case; *Sandeye*, F.A.; *Saundeye*, E.T.; *Sondheye*, H.R. *Eye* is the usual M.E. spelling; *heye* is very characteristic of a Norman scribe. They seldom understood the true use of *h* before the fourteenth century. The sense is certainly ‘sand-island’; not the adj. *sandy* (A.S. *sandig*), which was spelt *sandy* in Middle English, just as it is now.

TURVEY.—Spelt *Toruei*, *Torueie*, D.B. (with *u* for *v*); *Turf-eye*, *Turveye*, Exchequer Rolls; *Torfeye*, *Tourveye*, F.A.; *Turveye*, *Turfeye*, H.R., vol. ii.; *Tureueya*, E.T. We often find *o* written for *u* by Norman scribes. The prefix is the A.S. *turf*, turf; and the sense is ‘turf-island.’

12. FIELD.

As in Cranfield, Froxfield, Wingfield. CRANFIELD.—Spelt *Cranfelle* (for *Cranfelde*), D.B.; *Cranefeud*, T.N.; *Crangfelde*, *Cranfelde*, R.C.; *Craunfeld*, E.T., F.A. Lit. ‘crane-field.’ In

the Aspley Charter, dated 969, printed in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 517, there is a reference to the *Cranfeldinga dic*, or 'dike of the people of Cranfield'; and again, to the spot where three boundaries met, viz. 'Cranfeldinga and Merstuninga and Holacotan,' *i.e.* of the people of Cranfield and the people of Marston and of Holcote.

The spelling *Cranc* in this passage and the spelling *Crang* in R.C. are not necessarily wrong. The German *Kranich*, a crane, has a final guttural; so that there may very well have been an A.S. form *cranc* (for **cranoc*) with the sense of 'crane,' though the form in common use was *cran*. Compare the entries '*grus, gruis, cornoch*,' and '*grauis* [error for *grus* or *gruis* ?], *cornuc*,' in the Corpus Glossary, 995, 996.

FROXFIELD; marked in the Ordnance Map at the entrance of Woburn Park on the road from Eversholt. The prefix is the same as in *Froxwell*, cited in the I.p.m. In fact, we find *Froxa-felda*, dative, in a charter of 965-975, in Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 527. The nom. is *Froxa-feld*, lit. 'field of frogs'; from A.S. *froxa*, gen. plural of *frox*, a frog.

WINGFIELD; to the S.W. of Chalgrave.—Spelt *Winefelde*, R.B.; *Winefeld*, A.M.; so that *ng* has been substituted for *n*, and the true name is Winfield. For A.S. *Winan feld*, *i.e.* 'Wina's field.'

13. FOLD.

From the A.S. *falod, fald*, a sheep-pen, a fold for cattle.

STOTFOLD.—Spelt *Stotfalt*, D.B.; *Stotfold*, F.A.; *Stotefold*, E.T. Compare also *Stotfoldeslade*, R.C. It can hardly be a mistake for *stöd-fald*, an enclosure for a stud of horses (Bosworth-Toller). The former element is, rather, the equivalent of the Middle English *stot*, meaning (1) a horse, (2) a bullock; see Stratmann's Dictionary and the English Dialect Dictionary. The form *stotta* (though not in the A.S. Dict.) occurs in *stottan-wille*, *i.e.* 'stot-well'; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 184; in a charter dated 957. We may explain the name as meaning 'stot-fold'; and understand *stot* to mean either a young horse or a bullock. Cf. Stottesdon, co. Salop.

14. FORD.

It occurs in Barford, Bedford, Girtford, Langford, Salford, Shefford, Stanford, Tempsford.

BARFORD.—Spelt *Bereforde*, D.B., R.C., R.B., E.T.; *Bereford*, F.A., T.N., I.p.m. The A.S. form is *Beranford*, better *Beran-ford*, as in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 301. The sense is 'Bæra's ford.'

BEDFORD.—Spelt *Bedeford*, D.B., H.R., T.N. The A.S. form is *Bedan-ford*, A.S. Chron. (Parker MS.), A.D. 918; but we also find the forms *Bedcan-ford*, in the same, A.D. 571; and *Biedcan-ford*, also under the latter date, in MSS. Cotton, Tib. A. vi. and Tib. B. i., and in the Laud MS.; see Thorpe's edition, p. 32. The dat. case *Bedan-forda* occurs in the Chronicle several times.

It is usual to cite the form *Bedican-ford*, which it is not easy to find. No such form is given in Plummer's edition of the A.S. Chronicle, nor by Earle. It occurs in Bosworth's Dict., with a reference to the year 571 in the Chronicle (Ingram's edition). But *Bedican-ford* does not occur there in the MSS. themselves; we find only the dat. *Bedan-forda* in one MS., and *Biedcan-forda* in three others, as said above.

Out of this dubious form, wholly misunderstood, and mispronounced with a long *i* instead of a short one, some ignorant person constructed an impossible etymology from the verb *be-dīcian*, to 'be-dike' or protect by a dike; so that we are gravely informed (as in Kelly's Directory) that Bedford means 'the protected ford.' Almost as absurd as this is the derivation quoted from Camden in Bosworth's A.S. Dictionary, viz. '*bedan*, i.e. *bedum*, lectis, *ford*, vadum; lectos et diversoria ad vadum sonans.' Here there are two obvious blunders, viz. the misspelling of the A.S. *beddum* as *bedum*; and next, the ridiculous statement that the word means *lectis vadum*, a ford with beds. It may confidently be said that fords were never thus provided, either in the river or beside it.

There is absolutely no mystery at all about it; *Bedan* is the regular genitive of *Beda*, so that the sense is 'Beda's ford.' Seeing that *Beda* (in the eighth century, *Bæda*) is the usual

Old English spelling of the famous author more commonly known as 'the venerable Bede,' the name ought to be more familiar to us than it usually seems to be. It does not follow that Bedford was named after that particular Beda, but rather after some one of the same name; for, according to the Chronicle, it was already in existence in 571, almost exactly a century before the 'venerable' Beda was born. Nevertheless, he has made the name honourable. It is tolerably clear that the fable about the 'be-diking' arose from misunderstanding the alternative form that is spelt *Bedca* in the best MS. and *Biedca* in others. To which I would add that there is a third form *Bedeca*, which appears in *Bedecan tēa*, 'Bedeca's lea,' in a charter dated 973-4; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 632, l. 17. But the explanation is simple enough; all that is meant is that *Bedeca* (otherwise *Bedca* or *Biedca*) is a diminutive form of Beda, or a pet-name; just as Johnny is another form of John. In other words, the person referred to is the same as before.

This may be illustrated by a difficulty that occurs in the Early English poem by Layamon entitled the Brut. No one has explained how it is that, in the one MS., Layamon is called the son of Leovenath, and in the other, the son of Leuca. Yet it is simple enough. Leovenath represents the A.S. *Lēofnōth*, of which the pet-name was *Lēofa*; and an alternative pet-name could be formed by using the diminutive *Lēofeca*. The form Leuca, in the MS. of a later date, is contracted from, and equivalent to, *Lēofeca*; just as Stukeley (Hunts.) represents A.S. *Styfecanlēah*. And no more need be said, unless it be necessary to remind the reader that the *f* between two vowels represented the sound of *v*.

GIRTFORD, in Sandy.—I find no old spelling; but it probably means 'great ford.' *Gert* for *great* is as old as the fourteenth century; see the quotation dated 1387, in the Oxford New Eng. Dict., section 6c. The modern Deptford, near Greenwich, is spelt *Depeford* in Chaucer, and means 'deep ford'; with a like sense.

LANGFORD.—To the S. of Biggleswade. There is another

Langford across the Ouse, just below its junction with the Ivel; marked as *Ford* on the Ordnance Map, but Langford End is not far off. Spelt *Langeford*, D.B., F.A., T.N. The *e* marks the dative case; the A.S. form would be *æt thām langan forda*, i.e. 'at the long ford.'

SALFORD, on Crawley Brook.—The Ordnance Map marks Salford Ford. Spelt *Saleford*, D.B., E.T., H.R., T.N., R.C., F.A. There is another Salford in Oxon., and a third in Lancs. *Sale* represents the A.S. *salig*, otherwise *sealh*, a sally or willow-tree; not derived from the Lat. *salix*, but the native English name cognate with it. Thus the sense is 'willow-ford.'

SHEFFORD.—Spelt *Seppford* (with reference to Shefford in Beds.), H.R. *Seppford* is a Norman spelling of Shepford. The sense is 'sheep ford.' Compare *Shipmeadow*, Suffolk, and the numerous Shiptons.

STANFORD, to the S. of Southill.—To the E. of Stanford something is left of the old river, but the Ivel navigation canal has cut a straight course across its windings. In Pigot's map of 1831 the canal is absent. Spelt *Stanford*, D.B.; *Staunford*, F.A. For A.S. *Stān-ford*, i.e. 'stone ford.'

TEMPSFORD.—Near the junction of the Ouse and Ivel; but Tempsford is on the Ivel, above the junction. Spelt *Tamiseford*, D.B.; *Temeseford*, E.T.; *Temesford*, *Temseford*, F.A. In the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 921, we find *Temeseforda*, in the dative case, and *Temesan-ford* under the year 1010 (in the Laud MS. only). The mouth of the river Thames is called in the same *Temesemuth*, under the year 892, in the Laud MS. Only one conclusion seems possible, viz. that the river Ivel was also, at a very early date, called *Temese*, or 'the Thames.' Perhaps that was the Celtic name, afterwards changed by the English to the *Gifel* or *Ivel*. Hence Tempsford is really 'Thamesford.' Of course Thames is a silly pseudo-learned spelling of Tames or Tems, with a Norman *th* in place of an A.S. *t*. We do not write 'Thamworth on the Thame,' or 'Thenbury on the Theme'!

15. GRAVE.

Grave represents the A.S. *græf* or *graf*, dat. *græfe*, a trench. It occurs in Chalgrave, Leagrave, and Potsgrave, formerly Potsgrave.

CHALGRAVE; to the S. of Toddington.—Spelt *Celgrave*, D.B.; *Chalgrave*, H.R.; *Chaugraue*, T.N.; *Chalgraue*, E.T.; I.p.m. The spelling *Cel-* in D.B. answers to an English spelling *Chel-* or *Chal-*.

There is a Charter dated 926 concerning land at Chalgrave and Tebworth; printed in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 334. A note at p. 334 suggests that perhaps Chalgrave in Oxfordshire is meant, but that is quite out of the question; seeing that Chalgrave and Tebworth are not two miles apart. In this charter we find 'terram que nuncupatur *Cealhgræfan* et Teobbanwyrthe.' We have here the dat. case *græfan*, from a weak nominative *græfa* or *græfe*, with the same sense as the strong neuter *græf*, which has the dat. *græfe*. Such double forms are not uncommon. The actual form *Cealcgrafan* occurs in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 304; with respect to a place in Hants.

Cealh can hardly be other than the A.S. *cealc*, chalk; with *h* for *c* before the *g*. Hence the probable sense is 'chalk-trench.'

LEAGRAVE; to the N.W. of Luton. I find no old spelling; but it is on the river Lea. Hence the sense is 'trench beside the Lea.' The spelling Ligrave in Magna Britannia (1720) is explained under LUTON (p. 52).

POTSGROVE, or POTESGROVE.—The spelling with *grove* is modern; it is Potsgrave in Pigot's map (1831). Spelt *Potesgraua* (in the ablative case), D.B.; *Potesgrave*, E.T., H.R., F.A. Also *Portesgrave*, F.A., T.N. I think *Portes* is a mistake, because the *r* appears neither in the modern form nor in that in Domesday Book. *Potes* is the gen. of *Pot*; and that *Pot* was a real name seems to be sufficiently proved by the occurrence in two A.S. charters of the place-name *Potting-tun*, i.e. 'the town of the sons of Pot.' Hence the probable sense is 'Pot's trench.' Compare POTTON (p. 54).

16. HALE.

The suffix *-hale* has long been obsolete as an independent word. It means 'a nook, corner, secret place,' hence 'a retreat'; and is fully explained in the New English Dictionary. It represents *heale*, *hale*, dative of A.S. *healh*, O. Mercian *halch*. The nominative itself appears in modern English as *haugh*, in some place-names; see *Haugh* in the same Dictionary. Owing to its not being understood, it is usually turned into *hall* in modern English, in order to find a meaning for it. It occurs in Meppershall, Pertenhall, and Renhold.

MEPPERSHALL.—Spelt *Malpertesselle*, D.B.; *Meiperteshale*, R.C.; *Meperteshale*, R.B., F.A., H.R., E.T., Cat.; *Mupertishale*, Cat.; *Meparteshale*, Ex.R.; *Maperteshale*, Tower Rolls; *Meperdeshale*, I.p.m. The spelling in D.B. seems to be mistaken, as all other authorities are against it. The suffix is clearly *hale*, a nook; as in some other counties. The *-es* is the genitive suffix. The name of the first inhabitant appears in the variant forms: Meipert, Mapert, Mepert; Malpert, Meperd may be neglected. We have no older record of the name, so that all that can be said is that the sense is 'Meipert's nook'; where Meipert is a name of Norman origin, as the suffix *-pert* suggests. It well represents the Old High German Megipert (older form Magipert); for which see E. Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*.

I may add that Mapert has no connection with the name of Mapperton in Dorsetshire. The latter presents no difficulty, as the A.S. form is *mapuldurtūn*; the sense being 'mapletree-town.'

PERTENHALL; or, according to Kelly, 'formerly Partenhale.'—Spelt *Pertenhall*, *Partenhale*, D.B.; *Pertenhale*, H.R., F.A., E.T., I.p.m. It lies to the N. of Keysoe.

We have a record of the same name (though not of the same place) in a charter dated 972, containing a grant made by King Eadgar to Pershore Abbey, co. Worcester. In the boundaries mentioned we find the following:—'Of than hamme on Pyrt-broc; andlang broces to Pyrtan-heale; of Peartan-heal to hagan geate.' *I.e.* 'from the enclosure to Pyrt-brook; along

the brook to Pyrtan-healh (nom.); from Peartan-healh to haw-gate.' See Birch, *Cart. Saxon.* iii. 587. The true form of the dat. case is *Peartan-heale*; the sense is 'Pearta's nook.' We need not be concerned with the form *Pyrtā*, because *y* is a secondary vowel, *ea* (Mercian *a*) being more original. Moreover, the form of the name is completely established by the occurrence in Kemble's Index of a place-name, Peartingawyrth, *i.e.* 'the property (or homestead) of the sons of Pearta.'

RENHOLD; to the N.E. of Bedford.—In this instance *hale* was turned into *hall*, and afterwards into *hold*; and further, *Ren-* has been substituted for *Ron-*. Spelt *Ronhale*, F.A.; E.T.; *Ronhal*, T.N.; *Ronale*, H.R.; *Ronhall*, I.p.m. (1286). In a charter of Cnut, A.D. 1018, one of the witnesses is named Ranig; see Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* iv. 3. This furnishes a possible clue. An allied weak form Raniga (not found) would give a genitive Ranigan; and we might then explain the place-name as meaning 'Raniga's nook.' As the *g* in this form was pronounced as a *y*, and easily dropped, whilst at the same time *an* was often sounded as *on*, we find that Florence of Worcester turns the name *Ranig* into *Roni* (*A.S. Chron.*, ed. Plummer, ii. 219); and such a form as *Ronian-heale* would easily pass into *Ronhale*. And on the other hand, *Ranhale* might be turned into *Renhale*. This is the best guess which I am able to make. It would be difficult to form the place-name from Ranig or Roni directly, because the genitive case would then be Raniges or Ronies, and there is no trace of an *s*. I may add that Ranig is also found as Hranig, which is a more original form.

17. HAM.

This suffix is extremely common. In fact, there are *two* words that produce it. Of these the more usual is the A.S. *hām*, a home, which becomes *ham* (with short *a*) in an unaccented (final) syllable; and the other is the A.S. *hamm*, an enclosure. The former is usually employed in 'possessive' names; the latter in 'descriptive' ones. They are here taken together, as they cannot always be distinguished. However, Clapham, Higham, and Studham seem to be the only examples of the

latter class. Examples occur in Biddenham, Blunham, Bromham (or Brumham), Clapham, Felmersham, Higham, Pavenham, and Studham.

BIDDENHAM.—Spelt *Bidenham*, D.B., E.T.; *Bideham*, H.R.; *Bydenham*, Ex. Rolls; *Bedenham*, I.p.m.; *Bedyham*, F.A. In a charter relating to Chieveley, Berks., dated 951, we find a mention of ‘Byden-hāma gemæres,’ *i.e.* the boundary of the men of Byden-hām. The sense of *hāma*, a genitive plural form, is explained in the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 116. The *æ* was long, and derived from long *a*; so that the reference is to *hām*, a home. Byden should rather be *Bȳdan*, gen. of *Bȳda* (with long *y*), a known name. Thus the sense of Biddenham is ‘Bȳda’s home.’ The vowel in the first syllable has been shortened. It may be added that the original vowel of the name, *viz.* long *y*, accounts for the spelling *Bedenham*, as long *y* was sometimes expressed by long *e* in later English.

BLUNHAM.—Spelt *Bluneham*, D.B., Cl.R., H.R., vol. ii.; *Blounham*, F.A. Thus the *u* was long, *ou* denoting *ū*; and *-e* is for *-an*, from nom. *-a*. The sense is ‘Blūna’s home.’ Of the name Blūna there is no other record.

BROMHAM, or BRUMHAM (Kelly).—Spelt *Bruneham*, D.B.; and (wrongly) *Brimham*, D.B. In the latter case *un* was misread as *im*. Also *Brumham*, R.C. The sense is ‘Brūna’s home.’ Brūna is a known name, and is a weak form allied to the strong form *Brūn*, which is the modern English Brown. *Brūnham* became *Brunham*, with short *u*; and afterwards *Brumham*, by confusion with names like Bromley and Brompton.

CLAPHAM; near Bedford.—Spelt *Clopeham*, D.B.; *Clopham*, H.R., F.A., T.N.; *Cloppham*, R.C. In a genuine charter of the time of Ælfred, Clapham in Surrey appears as Cloppa-ham; see Sweet, Early English Texts, p. 451. *Cloppa* must be a genitive plural of a form *clop*, which occurs in *clop-acer* (clop-acre), and *clop-hyrst* (clop-hurst) in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 589, 590. The name is probably descriptive, and *ham* may mean ‘enclosure.’ The meaning of *clop* is not certainly known; but

Kalkar's Middle Danish Dictionary has *klop* in the sense of 'stub' or 'stump,' which would suit all three forms. The modern E. *clump* may be related. If we explain *cloppa* from this source, it will be best to give to *ham* the sense of 'enclosure.' It would then mean 'enclosure of stubby ground,' lit. 'of stubs.'

FELMERSHAM.—Spelt *Falmeresham*, *Flammeresham*, D.B.; *Felmeresham*, T.N.; *Felmersham*, I.p.m.; *Fulmeresham*, E.T. In a charter dated 963, we find a notice of *Fiolo-meres ford*; and in another, dated 709, we find *Feala-mæres broc* (brook); see Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 182, iii. 344. The correct spelling is *Feolu-mār* (with long *e*), a man's name. The sense is 'Feolumār's home.'

HIGHAM; also called Higham Gobion.—Spelt *Echam*, D.B.; *Hecham*, *Hegham*, *Heyham*, F.A.; *Higham*, E.C.; *Heyham Gobioun*, I.p.m. (A.D. 1301); *Heyham*, E.T. Here *hec*, *ec*, *heg*, *hey*, are all variant spellings of the A.S. *hēah*, Mid. Eng. *hēh*, mod. Eng. *high*. The sense is 'high enclosure.' The Ordnance Map marks an elevation of 247 feet above the sea. Gobion or Gubiun was the name of a family who had land there. 'Ricardus Gubyun tenet in villa de Hecham,' etc.; F.A. i. 7 (1284-6). Named Ricardus Gobion in 1289; A.M.

PAVENHAM.—Spelt *Pabeneham*, D.B.; *Pabenham*, F.A., T.N., I.p.m.; *Pabeham*, R.B., T.N. For A.S. *Paban hām*, 'Paba's home.' The name of Paba is not otherwise known; but it is closely related to the *Peb-* in *Pebworth*, Gloucestershire, and in *Pebmarsh*, Essex.

STUDHAM; on the borders of Herts., due S. of Dunstable.—Already explained in my Place-names of Herts. Spelt *Estodham*, D.B.; *Stodham*, E.T., H.R. A.S. *Stōdham*: Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 374. The *o* was long, giving later *oo*, which has been shortened before *d*, like the *oo* in *blood*. And the *a* was short, *ham* here meaning 'enclosure.' The A.S. *stōd* is now spelt *stud*. The sense is 'stud-enclosure,' or an enclosure for a stud of horses. So also A.S. *stōdfald* meant 'a stud-fold,' a paddock for a stud of horses. Compare STODDEN (p. 11).

18. HANGER.

A *hanger* is a well known dialect word, especially in Dorsets., Hants., Sussex, and Kent. It means a hanging wood on the side or slope of a hill; from the verb *to hang*. The A.S. form is *hangra*. It occurs in Moggerhanger and Polehanger.

MOGGERHANGER, or MORHANGER (Kelly); near Blunham.—Here Morhanger is a mere contraction. Spelt *Mogerhanger*, F.A.; I.p.m.; *Mogarhangre*, Cl. Rolls. In Magna Britannia, it is spelt *Maugerhanger*. The name is probably later than the Conquest; and the former part of the name may be Norman, viz. from the family name of *Mauger* or *Maugar*; see examples in F.A. Bardsley, in his English Surnames, notes that *Mauger* occurs in the Hundred Rolls, with an earlier spelling *Malger*. It is distinct from A.S. *Moga*, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 18.

POLEHANGER.—Polehanger Farm lies to the S. of Shefford. The prefix is probably the same as in Polstead, in Suffolk; of which the A.S. form occurs as *Polstyde*, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 602. From the A.S. *pōl*, a pool; dat. *pōle*. The A.S. *pōl* was pronounced like the modern E. *pole*, a pronunciation which lasted for many centuries. The word *pool* is now ascertained to be Germanic, and the Welsh *pull* to be merely borrowed from it.

19. HATCH.

HATCH occurs alone; viz. in Hatch, in Northill (Kelly). Spelt *Hatche*, I.p.m.; *Hache*, *Hacche*, F.A. From A.S. *hæcce*, dat. of *hæc*, fem., a hatch, half-door; in E. dialects, any small gate or wicket.

20. HEAD.

Head occurs in MANSHEAD, the name of a hundred. Spelt *Manesheve* in D.B., an error for *Manesheved*, or rather *Mannesheved*, as in H.R. The sense is certainly 'man's head,' whatever circumstance may have given rise to it. In my Place-names of Hunts., I have shown that Farcet means 'bull's head'; and we have two Swinesheads, one being in Lincs.

SWINESHEAD.—Formerly in Hunts. Spelt *Swineshefet*, D.B.; *Swinesheved*, R.C.; from the A.S. *swīnes hēafod*, lit. 'swine's head.' Perhaps a fanciful name of some natural object.

21. HEATH.

HEATH occurs alone; it lies to the N. of Leighton Buzzard. No explanation is needed.

22. HILL.

Hill occurs in Ampt Hill, Clophill, Odell, Puddlehill, Pullox-hill, Wroxhill. For Northhill and Southill see below, under the heading ILL (p. 33).

AMPTHILL.—Spelt *Ametelle*, D.B.; *Amethulle*, E.T.; *Ametulle*, F.A.; *Amethull*, I.p.m.; *Amithulle*, A.M.; *Amthull*, H.R.; *Aunthull*, I.p.m. (A.D. 1264). The A.S. *hyll*, both masc. and fem., meaning a hill, is frequently *hulle* in Middle English, and occasionally *helle*; so that the above spellings are regular. The prefix is the A.S. *æmete*, an emmet or ant; so that the sense is 'ant-hill'; apparently a somewhat jocular appellation. As for the spelling *ampt*, it occurs in the earlier version of Wyclif's Bible, Prov. xxx. 25; the later version has *amt*.

CLOPHILL.—Spelt *Clopelle*, D.B.; *Clophulle*, F.A., E.T.; *Clophull*, T.N., I.p.m. The corresponding A.S. form is *clōp-hyll*; see the note upon *clōp* under CLAPHAM; at p. 25. The sense is uncertain; perhaps it means 'stubby-hill.'

ODELL.—Spelt *Wadehelle*, *Wadelle*, D.B.; *Wadhulle*, *Wodhulle*, H.R., vol. ii.; *Wodhull*, I.p.m.; *Wahulle*, F.A., R.B. Kelly remarks that Odell Castle is on an eminence; also that Odell is corrupted from Woodhill. The latter statement is doubly impossible; for firstly, place-names are not 'corrupted,' but gradually altered in accordance with phonetic laws; and secondly, no one ever called a wood an *ode*. Those who do not sound the *w* call it 'ood.

The spellings *Wad-*, *Wod-*, show that the first element is the A.S. *wād*, meaning 'woad'; and the sense is 'woad-hill.' The Normans, who disliked the sound of *w* before *o* and *u*, and

sadly neglected the initial *h*, originated a form which regularly became 'oad'ill, from which Odell is hardly distinguishable. There is no difficulty.

PUDDLEHILL, or CHALK HILL; "in Houghton Regis; on the rise of a hill, surrounded by chalk hills"; Kelly. The prefix is the ordinary E. *puddle*.

PULLOXHILL.—Spelt *Polochessele*, D.B.; *Pullokeshulle*, F.A., E.T.; *Pullokeshull*, T.N.; *Pullukeshulle*, *Pollokeshille*, A.M. The modern spelling is ingenious, as it suggests the idea of a hill where an ox has to pull; but the old spellings show that *Pullokes* is the genitive of *Pulloke*, a man's name.

The spelling in D.B. can be explained. The former *o* is due to the fact that Norman scribes usually wrote *o* to denote the sound of *u* in *full* or in *pull*. They also used *ches* to denote the sound of *kes*. And lastly, the scribe has substituted *ele* for *elle* or *helle*, the Norman form of Mid. E. *hulle*, a hill; and he has needlessly doubled the *s*. *Pulloke* is not otherwise known; but it is of a like character with the A.S. personal name *Puttoc*; and also with the modern E. *Pollock*. It is probably a diminutive, like *Bullock*.

WROXHILL; in the parish of Marston Morteyne (Kelly).—Spelt *Wroxhulle*, F.A., A.M. In F.A. we find the name of John de *Wrockeshale*, answering to *Wroccesheal* in Kemble's Index. *Wrocces* is the gen. of the personal name *Wroc*; and the sense is 'Wroc's hill.'

The form *Wroccesheal*, *i.e.* 'Wroc's nook,' explains *Wroxall* in Warw. and in the Isle of Wight. There is a *Wroxham* in Norfolk, and a *Wroxton* in Oxfordshire; all from *Wroc*.

23. HOE.

The suffix *hoe* or *ho* is rather common. It represents the A.S. *hōh*, a spur of a hill, lit. 'heel'; and is not to be confused with the Northern *how*, which is of Scandinavian origin, from Icel. *haugr*, a height.

It occurs in *Bletsoe*, *Cainhoe*, *Keysoe*, *Milow*, *Putnoe*, *Salpho*, *Segenhoe*, *Sharpenhoe*, *Silsoe*, *Staploe*, and *Toternhoe*. Also, in *Budna* (p. 30).

BLETSOE, to the N. of Milton Ernest.—Spelt *Blacheshou*, *Blecheshou*, D.B.; *Blechesho*, T.N., E.T., F.A.; *Bletesho*, I.p.m., vol. ii. Also *Bletnesho*, F.A. (A.D. 1316), Cat., I.p.m. In D.B. *ch* before *e* means *k*, so that, in the eleventh century, the form was *Blakeshō* or *Blekesho*. The equivalent A.S. spelling is probably *Blæces-hōh*, where *Blæces* is the gen. of *Blæc*. But whether the *æ* was long or short, it is hard to say; the forms corresponding to the modern E. *black* and *bleak* involve much difficulty, as is pointed out very clearly in the New English Dictionary. Still the *e* in Bletsoe favours the derivation from *blæc*, 'bleak' or 'pale.' In later times the name became *Blekso*, and then *Bletso* or *Bletsoe*, by the substitution of *t* for *k*. The occasional form *Bletnesho* I do not understand. The original sense appears to have been 'Blæc's hill-spur'; where *Blæc* is a name originally meaning 'pale one.'

BUDNA, in Northill.—Short for *Budenho*; spelt *Bodenho*, F.A. For A.S. *Budan-hōh*, *i.e.* 'Buda's hill-spur' or slope. Magna Britannia has *Budnahoe*, which really means *Budenho-ho*, and repeats the suffix. Buda is a known name.

CAINHOE.—The manor of Cainhoe was near Clophill, in the hundred of Flitt; D.B. It appears to be the modern Cain Hill, in Wrest Park; there is a Cainhoe Farm just outside the park, on the north. Spelt *Cainou*, *Chainehou*, D.B.; *Caynho*, F.A., H.R., I.p.m. This, in A.S. spelling, might be represented by *Cāganhōh*, *i.e.*, 'Cāga's hill-spur.' *Cāga* is not otherwise known, but would be the weak form corresponding to the strong form *Cāg*, which is preserved in Keysoe (below).

KEYSOE.—Spelt *Caissot*, *Chaisot*, D.B., with a needless final *t*. Better *Kaysho*, T.N., I.p.m.; *Caysho*, E.T., F.A. Found in A.S. in the form *Caegesho*, in a charter dated 793, but not an original one. It there refers to Cassiobury or Cashiobury in Herts., but this makes no real difference; for Cashiobury is merely another form of Keysoe-bury. A better spelling would be *Cāges-hōh*. *Cæg* is the A.S. form of the modern E. *key*. The sense is 'Key's hill-spur'; taking Key as being a personal name.

MILLOW.—Millow and Millowbury Farm lie to the S. of

Dunton. Spelt *Melehou*, D.B.; *Melho*, C.R.; *Mulho*, F.A. Also spelt *Milnho* in modern times, as in Airy's Bedfordshire Domesday. All from A.S. *mylen-hōh*, meaning 'mill-hillspur,' or hill-slope with a mill on it.

PUTNOE.—Near Goldington. Putnoe Farm and Putnoe Wood lie between Bedford and Ravensden. Spelt *Putnehou*, D.B.; *Putenho*, T.N.; *Poutenhou*, *Puttenho*, F.A. Also *Puttanho* in a late A.S. will; in Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 589. All from A.S. *Puttan hōh*; the sense being 'Putta's hill-spur.' Putta is a known name.

SALPHO.—Airy (p. 49) notes that "at the S.W. extremity of the parish of Ravensden is a hamlet called Salpho, forming part of the manor of Salphobury"; also that "the name of the manor, spelt in books and documents Salpho, has become curiously corrupted in the mouths of the country-people, who call the hamlet Saft End." In the Ordnance map it is Salph End. Spelt *Salchou*, D.B.; *Saleho*, *Salvo*, F.A. For A.S. *sealh-hōh*, Old Mercian *salh-hōh*; where A.S. *sealh* is the native E. word cognate with Lat. *salix*, with the same sense of 'willow.' The form in Chaucer is *salwe*, and in the sixteenth century we find *salowe*. *Salow-ho* became *Salvo*, *Salfo*, and was then spelt *Salpho*, with *ph* for *f*. *Safe* is from *Salf*, by dropping *l*; and *Saft* from *Safe*, by adding *t*. The sense is 'hill-spur near willows.' The Eng. Dialect Dict. notices the north-country forms *saugh*, *saf*, *saff*, *sauf*, *saufe*; all meaning *sallow* or *willow*.

SEGENHOE, near Ridgmount.—Segenhoe Manor is marked on the Ordnance map. Spelt *Segenehou*, D.B.; *Segenho*, F.A., A.M.; *Seggeho*, A.M.; *Sedgynho*, Cat. For A.S. *Secgan-hōh*, i.e. 'Secga's hill-spur.' The A.S. *secga* meant a speaker, one who says a thing, an informant, from *secgan*, to say. The Mid. Eng. *segge* was freely used in the simple sense of man, or person. But the A.S. *Secga* was also used as a personal name, as in the present case.

SHARPENHOE; due E. of Harlington.—The *hoe* or hill-slope attains the height of 524 feet above the sea. Spelt *Scharpenhoo*, F.A.; *Sharpenho*, Cat. For A.S. *Scearpan hōh*, i.e. 'Scearpa's

hill-spur.' Kemble's Index has *Scearpan-naes* and *Scearpen-hām*, both of which contain the same name. *Scearpa* is the weak form of *scearp*, adj., *i.e.* sharp; and Sharpe is still in use as a proper name. We may therefore equally well explain it as 'Sharpe's hill-spur.'

SILSOE; near Wrest Park.—Spelt *Sewilessou*, D.B.; also (apparently) *Suuilessou*, D.B.; *Sivelesho*, R.C.; *Sivelesho*, I.p.m.; *Sivelesho*, *Sevelesho*, *Sowenesho*, F.A.; *Shivelesho*, T.N. The form *Suuilessou* (in D.B.) is indistinct. Perhaps it should be *Siuilessou*, and it is printed by Airy as *Siwilessou*. The forms, as is so frequently the case, have been much contracted; and, if we may trust to those in D.B., it is most likely that *Sewil* or *Siwil* (the latter giving the true vowel) is short for *Sīwulf*, itself a later form of the A.S. *Sigewulf*, a very common name of which we have more than twenty instances. I would explain Silsoe as shortened from 'Sigewulf's hoe.'

STAPLOE, to the W. of St Neots.—Spelt *Stapleho* in Magna Britannia; *Stapelho*, R.C. The A.S. *stapol* means a post or pillar, such as must once have stood upon a neighbouring slope. The sense is 'pillar-hillspur.'

TOTTERNHO, or TOTERNHOE.—Spelt *Totenehou*, D.B.; *Toternho*, H.R., F.A.; *Toterho*, E.T. The *r* seems to have been needlessly introduced in the unaccented syllable. The D.B. form may be more correct, as it answers to the A.S. *Totan* in *Totancumb*, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 557; compare *Toten-berg* (a late spelling) in the same, iii. 159. *Totan* is the gen. of *Tota*, a known name, so that it may mean 'Tota's hoe,' or 'Tota's hill-spur.' It is probable that *tōta* meant a spy, or look-out man; and that Toternhoe, like Tothill, was a look-out hill. The *hoe* rises to more than 500 feet above the sea-level. Perhaps *Totene* = A.S. *tōtena*, gen. pl., 'of the spies.'

24. HOLT.

Holt is an interesting word, which is now little used except in place-names, though it occurs in Tennyson and Bulwer Lytton; see the New Eng. Dictionary. It represents the A.S. *holt*, a small wood, a copse, a small plantation. It occurs in Eversholt.

EVERSHOLT; near Woburn Park.—Spelt *Eureshot*, D.B.; *Eversolt*, H.R.; *Everesholt*, T.N., E.T., I.p.m. The last form is the best spelt. For A.S. *Eofores holt*, i.e. 'Eofor's holt.' As already explained at p. 2, Eofor was a personal name, with the literal sense of 'boar.'

25. HURST.

Hurst represents the A.S. *hyrst*, a thicket or copse, a place overgrown with brushwood. It occurs in Bolnhurst and Gravenhurst.

BOLNHURST.—Spelt *Bolehestre*, *Bulehestre*, D.B.; *Bolehurst*, T.N., F.A., E.T.; *Bolnehurst*, *Bollehurste*, Cat.; *Bolnherst*, F.A. *Boln* represents the A.S. *Bulan*, gen. of *Bula*, or *Bolan*, gen. of *Bola*. *Bula*, *Bola* are probably variant forms; and perhaps related to Icel. *boli*, a bull. The E. *bull* itself seems to be of Norse origin. The sense is 'Bula's hurst' or 'Bola's hurst'; possibly equivalent to a modern E. 'Bull's hurst,' taking Bull as a personal name.

GRAVENHURST.—Misspelt *Crauenhest*, D.B.; but *Gravenhurst*, R.B., R.C.; *Gravenhirst*, R.C.; *Gravenhurste*, I.p.m. Here *Graven* resembles A.S. *grafan*, known from its occurrence in the Laud MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the date 852. But this word should rather be *grāfan* (with long *ā*), giving a later form *Greven*; see Crawford Charters, ed. Napier, pp. 61, 62. We may rather compare it with Graveney in Kent, spelt *Grafon-aea* in 811 (Sweet, O. E. Texts, p. 456), lit. 'Grafon-stream.' *Grafon* suggests 'gravel,' which is of Celtic origin. Cf. Bret. *grouan*, gravel; O. French *grave*, gravel.

26. ILL.

This suffix occurs only in Northill and Southill, which, as the old forms prove, should rather be North Ill and South Ill; for they have no connexion with the word *hill*. *Ill* must have been the old name for the stream which, after leaving Southill Park, flows past Ickwell and Northill to join the Ivel at Girtford. And as the old spellings show, Ill is merely another form of Ivel itself. The Ill joins the Ivel before the combined

stream joins the Ouse. It is even more remarkable that there was yet another stream in Bedfordshire once named the Ivel, which gave its name to Yielden or Yelden; which can only mean Ivelden; see p. 12. And there is yet another Ivel in Somersets. which flows by Ilchester, formerly called Ivelchester; and another Ill or Ile, absurdly spelt Isle, which flows by Ilminster. The Isle and the Ivel likewise become one stream, near Langport.

NORTHILL.—Spelt *Nortgiue* (error for *Northgiuel*), *Nortgible*, *Nortgiuele*, D.B.; *Northgiuele*, E.T.; *Northyevele*, F.A.; *Northgivell* (1236), I.p.m.; *Northgeuell* (1257), I.p.m.; *Nortgyllle*, T.N. Observe that Ilchester is spelt *Yeuelchestre*, A.M.

None of these spellings will be understood unless it is remembered that the Norman scribes often used *g* to represent the A.S. *g*, which was pronounced like E. *y* before an *e* or an *i*. Thus the above spellings really represent *yivel*, *yevel*, and *yill*. Another point is that Middle English dropped the sound of initial *y* altogether before an *i*. Thus the A.S. *giccian*, Mid. E. *yicchen*, is the modern English *itch*; the A.S. *Gipeswic* is the modern *Ipswich*; and the A.S. *gif*, Mid. Eng. *yif*, is now spelt *if*. Similarly, the Early Eng. *Yivel* became the modern *Ivel*; and the Early Eng. *Yill* became the *Ill*. There can be no doubt as to the result. As Prof. Earle points out, the A.S. *Gifle* in Ælfred's Will does not mean *Gidley* (as Kemble guessed), but the Ivel Valley in Somersetshire. The Will only exists in a late copy, but the spelling of that name is correct. *Gifle* is a dative case, from a nom. *Gifel*, in which the *g* was a *y*, the *f* was a *v*, and the *i* was short. The sense is 'northern place upon the Ivel.'

SOUTHILL.—Spelt *Sudgiuele*, *Sudgible*, D.B.; *Southyevele*, F.A.; *South Giuele*, E.T.; *Sutgyle*, T.N. The spellings have been explained above. It means 'southern place upon the Ivel.'

27. ING.

Ing is well known as 'a tribal suffix,' the meaning of which will be explained presently (p. 35). It occurs in Knotting and

Marston Pillinge. Also in Harling-ton, Shilling-ton, formerly Harling-don, Shilling-don, explained under -DON; in Stepping-ley, explained under -LEY; in Billing-ton, Carding-ton, Goldington, Lidling-ton, Pudding-ton, Todding-ton, explained under -INGTON; and in Wrestling-worth, explained under -WORTH. But it also sometimes appears erroneously in modern forms, as in Caddin(g)ton (p. 13); Chellin(g)ton, Eggin(g)ton, Stevin(g)ton, Willin(g)ton, Wymin(g)ton (pp. 59, 60).

KNOTTING.—The A.S. *-ing* was a patronymic, meaning ‘son of.’ There is a remarkable example in the old Northumbrian version of the third chapter of St Luke, where ‘the son of Heli’ is rendered by Heling; and the like. Seth is called Adaming, *i.e.*, ‘son of Adam.’ These names in *-ing* were declined as strong substantives, with the nom. plural *-ingas* and the gen. pl. *-inga*. Thus the son of Golda would be called Golding, and the family or tribe descended from Golda would be called the Goldingas, *i.e.* the Goldings. There is a large number of names of this description.

Knotting lies to the N. of Sharnbrook. The spellings are: *Chenotinga*, D.B.; *Cnottinge*, T.N.; *Cnottynge*, F.A.; *Cnottyng*, E.T. The *Che* in D.B. means no more than *K* (or *C*) in this instance. It signifies that the Norman had much ado to pronounce *K* before an *n*, and inserted a short vowel-sound to assist him in the process. In the modern E. *knot* the *k* is simply neglected; but it was sounded at least as late as 1400.

But the final *-a* in the D.B. form is correct. It represents *Cnotinga*, gen. pl. of *Cnotingas*, *i.e.* the Cnotings or ‘sons of Cnot.’ The gen. pl. refers to their possession of the holding; it was a place ‘belonging to the sons of Cnot.’

The name of Cnot appears again in the place-name Cnottinga-hamm or Cnotinga-hamm; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 56. This corresponds to a Knottingham near Barkham, in Berks.; which no longer exists. There is a Knotting-ley in Yorkshire.

MARSTON PILLINGE; near Millbrook station; not far from Marston Morteyne.—It means the Marston where once the Pillings resided; just as the other Marston was named from the Morteynes. Pilling is still a somewhat common name, and

may be found in the Clergy List. It means 'a son of Pil,' or Pill. There is a Pils-ley in Derbyshire, and there are three Piltons.

Some of the Pillings occupied WOOTTON PILLINGE, about a mile to the N.E. of Marston Pillinge.

The name Marston is explained under -TON (p. 54); it is merely 'marsh-town.'

WESTON ING.—This is the most convenient place for discussing the apparent suffix in Westoning, more correctly written Weston Ing. It lies to the N. of Harlington, and is written as Westoning in Bacon's map and in the Ordnance map. But it appears as *Weston* in E.T. and H.R.; and as *Weston Ing* in the Catalogue of Ancient Deeds. It means 'west town,' once occupied by a tenant named William Ing. In Feudal Aids, i. 21 (1316), it is called Weston Tregoz (probably from a former tenant), but it is noted that there was a 'villa' there, tenanted by Willelmus Inge. In the same, i. 7 (1284), we are told that Willelmus la Souche and Willelmus Inge were tenants in Toternhoe.

It may be added that the provincial E. *ing*, a meadow, is not of English origin, but Norse. There is no example of its use in Beds., unless William Ing took his name from it.

28. LAKE.

FENLAKE; in Eastcotts.—Not far from Bedford. Spelt *Fenlake*, Cl. R., vol. ii. *Lake* has not its usual meaning here, nor is it connected with Lat. *lucus*. It is a native English word meaning a small stream of running water. The stream is marked on the Ordnance map, and flows into the Ouse. See *Lake*, sb. (3) in the New Eng. Dict., and *Lake* (2), a stream, in the Eng. Dial. Dict. The prefix is the A.S. *fenn*, a fen; and the sense is 'fen-stream.'

29. LEY.

Ley is the usual spelling in place-names of the word which we usually spell *lea*; from A.S. *lēah*, 'a tract of open ground, either meadow, pasture, or arable land'; New E. Dict. The

form *ley* is really due to the very frequent use of the dative case, A.S. *lēage*, *lēge*, in which *g* had the sound of *y*.

It occurs in Aspley, Crawley, Gladly, Hatley, Oakley, Prestley, Riseley, Steppingley, Stopsley, Streatley, Thurleigh. But not in Willey, though it will be convenient to consider this with the rest.

ASPLEY GUISE.—Spelt *Aspeleia* (ablative), D.B.; *Aspele*, R.C., F.A., E.T.; *Aspeley*, I.p.m. A.S. *Æsplēa*, in the Aspley Charter dated 969, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 517. The A.S. *esp* (also *eps*) means an aspen tree. The sense is ‘aspen-lea.’

GUISE is a family name. In Feudal Aids, i. 1, we read: ‘Anselmus de Gyse tenet Aspele.’

CRAWLEY; as in Husborne Crawley.—Husborne has been explained under BOURNE (p.5). Spelt *Crawelai*, D.B.; *Craweleye*, *Craulai*, R.C.; *Crauley*, I.p.m. A.S. *Crāwanlēa*, with reference to Crawley in Hants. From A.S. *crāwan*, gen. of *crāwe*, fem. a crow, also a known female name. The sense is ‘Crow’s lea’; and the genitive case suggests that the Crow was a woman.

HATLEY, or COCKAYNE HATLEY; due E. of Potton.—Spelt *Hatelai*, D.B.; *Hattelega*, R.B.; *Hattele*, E.T., F.A. We find ‘æt Hættanlēa and æt Pottune,’ in the will of Ælfhelm of Wrattling, Cambs.; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630. Hættan is the gen. of Hætta, and the sense is ‘Hætta’s lea.’

COCKAYNE is a family name. The church contains four sixteenth-century brasses to the Bryan and Cockayne families. ‘Joh. Cockayn tenet di.f.m. in Hattele’; F.A. i. 37 (1428).

NARES GLADLY.—The name of an old manor. Airy says of *Gledelai* in D.B.:—“This manor, situate in the modern parish of Heath-and-Reach, taken from that of Leighton Buzzard, may still be recognised in the names of Nares Gladly; and though only marked by a small farmhouse, remains a manor of itself, distinct from that of Leighton. The modern prefix is probably the name of some former proprietor.”

Spelt *Gledelai*, D.B.; *Gledele*, A.M. As *gled* is an earlier variant of Mid. Eng. *glad*, A.S. *glæd* (Mod. E. *glad*), the modern name is a fair guide. The A.S. *glæd* meant bright or cheerful

as well as glad. The sense may very well have been 'bright lea.' In the Flower and the Leaf, a poem written by a lady in the fifteenth century, we find it used as an epithet of leaves: 'a *glud* light grene.' Compare the name Fairleigh.

OAKLEY.—There are six or seven places so called. The sense is 'oak-lea,' which is quite consistent with the old spellings. Spelt *Achelei*, *Achelaiv*, D.B.; *Acelea*, *Acleia*, *Acle*, *Occle*, R.C.; *Ocleie*, A.M.; *Acle*, *Ocle*, *Okele*, F.A.; *Ocle*, T.N.; *Acle*, R.B. A.S. *Aclēa*, *Aclēah*; with long *a*, from *āc*, oak; see Kemble's Index.

PRESTLEY; a manor in Flitwick.—The Ordnance map has Priestley Farm, to the N.W. of Westoning. Spelt *Prestelai*, D.B.; *Prestele*, F.A.; *feodum de Presteleia*, R.B. It corresponds to A.S. *Prēostulēage*, dative, lit. 'lea of the priests' or 'priests' lea'; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 201. The gen. pl. *prēosta* accounts for the final *e* in *Preste*, in the old spellings.

RISELEY; to the South of Melchbourne.—Spelt *Riselai*, D.B.; *Risele*, R.B.; *Rysele*, E.T.; *Riseleg*, *Risleg*, T.N.; *Rysle*, F.A. I take the name to be descriptive, meaning 'brushwood lea'; from A.S. *hrīs*, a twig, branch, prov. E. *rise*, brushwood, undergrowth.

STEPPINGLEY; to the N.W. of Flitwick Wood.—Formerly *Stepingley*, as in Pigot's Atlas (1831). Spelt *Stepigelai* (for *Stepingelai*), D.B.; *Stepyngele*, F.A.; *Stepingele*, *Steppinggele*, A.M. These represent A.S. *Stēapinga lēah*, i.e. 'lea of the Steapings or Steepings'; where *Stēapinga* is the gen. pl. of *Stēaping*, a son of *Stēapa*. *Stēapa* is a known name, allied to A.S. *stēap*, steep, high, lofty. *Stēapan-lēah*, i.e. 'Steapa's lea,' also occurs; see Kemble's Index.

STOPSLEY; N. of Luton.—Spelt *Stopesle*, F.A., lit. 'Stopp's lea.' The name *Stopp* occurs in *Stoppingas*, i.e. 'sons of Stopp'; in Kemble's Index.

STREATLEY; to the E.N.E. of Sundon.—Spelt *Stradlei*, D.B.; *Stratle*, F.A.; *Strateleye*, E.T. A.S. *Stratlēa*; Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 589, with reference to this very place. The sense is 'Street-lea'; with reference to a very old high-road. Streatley

lies close to the high-road from Luton to Bedford, and the four miles of it from Luton to Streatley are so nearly straight that it may well have been on the line of an old Roman road. The Icenhild Way is not far off.

THURLEIGH; to the E. of Bletsoe.—Here *leigh* answers to the A.S. nom. *lēah*, a lea, just as *ley* does to the dat. *lēage*. I find a mention of Willelmus de *Thorlege*; Cl. R. As there is here no sign of the gen. case, the former element is the A.S. *Thūr*, Thor, familiar to us in the gen. case in the word Thurs-day. The sense is 'Thur-lea,' a true compound. This probably means that the lea was once dedicated, in heathen times, to the worship of Thūr or Thōr, the god of thunder. Thūr is the A.S. name, and Thōr the Norse name of this once renowned divinity.

WILLEY, the name of a hundred.—As this has the appearance of a compound ending in *-ley*, it will be considered here. But it is really a simple word, once spelt with but one *l*. The doubling of the *l* means that the *i* was short, as in *will*. Spelt *Wilge*, or (in Latinised spelling) *Wilga*, D.B.; *Wylve*, H.R., F.A.; *Wile*, R.B. The hundred was no doubt named from a lost hamlet. The forms answer to the A.S. *welige*, dat. of *welig*, a willow; and the place-name originally meant 'at the willow.' The *i* appears in the Mid. Eng. *wilwe*, and in the modern *willow*; also in the A.S. adj. *wilht*, abounding in willows. So also Willian (Herts.) means 'the willows,' nom. pl.; and Welwyn (Herts.) means 'at the willows,' dat. pl.

30. Low.

As in Henlow.

The A.S. *hlāw*, mod. E. *low*, means a burial-mound. Some contend that some at least of the *lows* are older than Anglo-Saxon times. That may well be the case, so that the prefix may have been used in two senses. If I am right, we may explain Triplow in Cambs. as 'Trippa's low'; but it is obviously impossible to know in which sense it was Trippa's. He may have been buried there, or he may have occupied land in the

immediate neighbourhood of a low that had been there for some hundreds of years.

HENLOW.—Henlow railway-station is between Hitchin and Shefford. Spelt *Haneslau*, *Haneslauue*, D.B.; *Hanelawe*, *Hene-lawe*, T.R.; *Henlawe*, E.T., T.N., I.p.m.; *Henlow*, F.A. The forms in D.B. (which do not really differ) are here the only important ones; they preserve an *s* which is dropped even in *Hanelawe*, which is the next oldest form. The sense must have been ‘Hann’s low.’ The name Hann is preserved in Hannington, Hants., which means ‘the town of the sons of Hann’; also in two other Hanningtons, in Northamptonshire and Wilts. respectively, as well as in three Hanningfields, all in Essex. Also in the A.S. *Hanninge* (for *Hanninga*), *i.e.* ‘place of the Hannings’; in *Hann-īge*, now Hanney or ‘Hann-island’ in Berks.; and perhaps in Hansfleet (for Hannesfleet); see Kemble’s Index. In other places, Han- may have a different sense; thus Hanbury (Worc.) means ‘at the high borough,’ A.S. *hēanbyrig*, and Hanwell (Midd.) means ‘Hana’s well.’ The D.B. form omits the double *n*, just as it omits the double *n* in the old form of Manshead (p. 27).

31. MEAD.

BUSHMEAD; in Eaton Socon (Kelly); but much nearer to Colmworth.—From *bush* and *mead*. The old spellings are *Bysmede*, A.M.; *Bissemede*, F.A.; which are remarkable not only for the use of *s* or *ss* to denote the sound of *sh* (not uncommon with Norman scribes), but also for the use of *i* or *y* for the modern *u*. Bushey (Herts.) also appears in H.R. as *Bissey*; and the A.S. for ‘bush’ must have been *bysc*.

In Mr Duignan’s Place-names of Worcestershire, he hesitates to derive Bushley from *bush ley* (or *lea*) because the old spellings are *Biselega* (D.B.), *Bisseley* (Subsidy Rolls), and *Bushley* (in later documents). He adds—“we have no authority for accepting the D.B. *Bise* or the later *Bisse*—as forms of bush.” But the examples of Bushmead and Bushey make it quite clear that we *have* such authority; which solves his difficulty.

32. MOUNT.

Mount or *Mont* is a suffix of French origin; from the Old French *mont*, a hill.

RIDGMOUNT, or RIDGMONT.—Mr Airy says:—"The name of this place, formerly spelt Rougemont—the red hill—is comparatively modern, being compounded of two Norman words, and therefore subsequent to the Conquest. At that period the whole place was comprised in the manor of Segenhoe."

I have not found the spelling Rougemont in early times. I suspect it to be a mere creation of some guessing antiquary, haunted, as usual, by the belief that all names are sure to be 'corruptions.'

It is spelt *Rugemond* in F.A.; and *Ridgmond* as late as in *Magna Britannia* (1720—31). In Pigot's *Atlas* (1831) it is *Ridgemont*. I have no means for deciding the question. I think the explanation given above to be very doubtful. The spelling *Rugemond* is indecisive; for *ruge* might be a less correct form of *rugge*, the usual Middle English form of the modern word *ridge*; and even *mond* might represent the A.S. *mund*, or the modern English *mound*. So that the native phrase 'ridge-mound' is far more likely than the alleged French form. The question awaits further early evidence. Surely the word *rouge* was uncommon in Early English; and it could only have given rise to some such form as *Rudgemont*, certainly not to a syllable containing an *i*.

33. POOL.

COPLE; to the E. of Cardington—The old spellings are curious; viz. *Cochepol*, *Chochepol*, D.B.; *Coupol*, *Coupulle*, F.A.; *Coupul*, E.T.; *Couphulle* (error for *Coupulle*), Cat.; *Coupulk*, Cat. As *o* is often written for short *u* in D.B., the suffix is *pul* or *pulle*, answering to the A.S. *pul*, *pull*, nom., *pulle*, dative, meaning 'a pool.' The A.S. form exactly answering to the modern E. *pool* is *pōl*, with long *o*, to which *pull* appears to be related. English dialects also employ the form *pull*, with the same sense as *pool*. It will be observed that, in one instance,

the suffix is *pulk*, which represents the Mid. Eng. *polk*, prov. E. *pulk*, meaning 'a small pool,' as it is merely a diminutive form of *pull*, a pool. This variation is a fortunate one, as it puts the sense of *pul* or *pulle* beyond all doubt. The prefix presents some difficulty; it was evidently changed from the earliest form into something different. The later form *Cou-* is the usual later spelling of the A.S. *Cū*, a cow; so that the sense, in the thirteenth century, seems to have been 'cow-pool.' But as the vowel *u* in the form *Cow-pull* was short, it was easily altered to *Cowple*, and (the meaning being lost) to *Cople*.

But the earliest form was different. Both the spellings in D.B. refer to the same sound, which would better be expressed by the spelling *Coke-pull* or *Cuke-pull*. Of these it is necessary to select the latter, in which *Cuke-* became *Cuk-*, and then *Cū-*, by the loss of *k* before *p*. (The form *Coke-* would have given *Cok-*, and M.E. *Cō-*.) *Cuke* represents *Cucan*, the genitive of *Cuca*, which appears in *Cucan-heulas* and *Cucan-dene*; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 113, 140. *Cuca* is the weak form of *cuc*, a variant of *cwic*, lit. 'lively.' The sense is 'Cuca's pool.'

34. SAND.

CHICKSANDS PRIORY; to the W. of Shefford.—Formerly Chicksand. Spelt *Chicesane*, D.B.; *Chikesand*, R.B., T.R.; *Chikesaund*, F.A., H.R.; *Chikesond*, E.T., T.N.; *Chiksond*, I.p.m. *Sond* is a common old variant of *sand*; the spelling *sane* in D.B. is erroneous. The *s* should probably be repeated; in which case, the form *Chikes* answers to an A.S. form *Cicces*, gen. of *Cic* or *Cicc*, a name which is not otherwise known; the sense being 'Cicc's sand.' This form has nothing in common with the Mid. Eng. *chike*, shortened form of *chiken*, a chicken; for this *chike* was unknown till after 1300.

35. SNADE.

Snade represents the A.S. *snād* (with long *æ*), a slice, morsel, bit, portion, formed (with mutation of long *a* to long *æ*) from *snād*, the second grade of the root-verb *snīthan*, to cut. It meant a separated piece, a strip of land.

WHIPSNADÉ; to the S. of Dunstable.—More correctly Wipsnade; the insertion of the *h* is late and unauthorised. Spelt *Wybesnade*, F.A., E.T.; *Wibesnade*, I.p.m.; *Whipsnade*, I.p.m., vol. ii. (later). The *s* should probably be repeated; in which case *Wibes* corresponds to an A.S. form *Wibes*, from a nom. *Wibi*; this form is not otherwise known, except as appearing again in *Wibs-ey*, near Bradford, Yorks. Otherwise, *Wibe* must represent *Wibban*, gen. of *Wibba*, which is a known name; according to Florence of Worcester, *Wibba* was the father of *Penda*, king of *Mercia*. It also occurs in the A.S. *Wibban-dun*, i.e. *Wibba's down*, perhaps *Wimbledon* in *Surrey*; and in the A.S. *Wibbe-toft*, in *Warwickshire* (*Thorpe*). The right sense is probably 'Wibi's portion'; or else 'Wibba's portion.' It hardly matters, as *Wibi* and *Wibba* are related 'strong' and 'weak' forms. The A.S. *Hwipstede*, in *Thorpe*, *Diplomatarium*, p. 596, is thought to be *Whepstead* in *Suffolk*. Certainly, the prefix in it seems to be different.

36. STAPLE.

Staple.—There are two words thus spelt in English. One of them denotes the chief commodity of a place; this is of French origin, and has nothing to do with place-names, as is usually but erroneously assumed. The other *staple*, now chiefly used of a hoop of iron, is the true English word, though greatly changed in sense. The A.S. *stapol* meant a post or pillar; also, something that supports or holds a thing firmly. It occurs in *Stapleford* in *Cambs.*, that is 'a ford marked by a fixed pole or post'; and also in *Dunstable*.

DUNSTABLE.—Spelt *Donestaple*, F.A.; *Dunstapliu* (a Latinised form), A.M.; *Dunestaple*, E.T. Also *Dunestapel* in the A.S. *Chronicle*, under the year 1125. The Anglo-French *Dunestapel* and *Donestaple* are to be divided as *Dun-estapel*, *Don-estaple*; answering to an A.S. form *Dūn-stapel*, lit. 'down-staple,' i.e. 'hill-pillar.' Probably named from some conspicuous pillar on one of the neighbouring downs.

37. STEAD.

Hence the compound *home-stead*, a home station, a settlement, farm; A.S. *hām-sted*.

WILSHAMSTEAD, or WILSTEAD (Kelly); near Bedford.—Spelt *Winessamestede*, D.B.; *Wyleshamstede*, E.T.; *Wilshampsted*, F.A. The D.B. spelling solves the name. It is from A.S. *Wines-hāmstede*, where *Wines* is the gen. of *Wini*, later form *Wine*, a rather common name. Indeed, the A.S. *wine* simply means 'friend,' though also employed as a personal name. The name should rather have been *Winshamstead*; but *l* was substituted for *n* not long after the Conquest. The sense is 'Wine's homestead.' The A.S. *wine* was pronounced *winy*. It occurs again in Wins-low (Bucks.), Wins-hill (Derb.).

38. STOKE.

Stoke is closely related to *stock*, A.S. *stoc*, a stock, trunk of a tree, perhaps also sometimes the stump of a stone cross. It occurs in REDBOURNESTOKE, once a place-name, but now only surviving as the name of a hundred. Spelt *Radburnestoch*, *Radeburnesoca*, D.B.; *Radeburnestoke*, A.M.; *Redbournestoke*, F.A.; *Radburnestok*, H.R.; *Radeborne*, *Radeburne*, R.C.; *Redburne*, R.B.

I have shown, in my Place-names of Herts., that the names Radwell and Radnor may fairly be interpreted as meaning, respectively, 'red well' and 'red bank'; from the A.S. *rēad*, red. So here, I suppose the sense of Redbourne or Radbourne to be simply 'red bourne,' i.e. red stream. We find *to rēadan burnan*, to the red bourne, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 587. Then Redbournestoke will refer to 'a stump near the red bourne.' The comparative *redder* is spelt *raddere* in Political Songs, ed. Wright (Camden Society), p. 330.

39. STOW.

Stow means 'a place'; whence the verb *to bestow* or *stow away*, to put into its place. It occurs in Elstow.

ELSTOW.—Spelt *Elnestou*, D.B.; *Elnestow*, E.T.; *Elnestowe*,

T.N., I.p.m., F.A., H.R., vol. ii.; *Alnestowe*, H.R., and Close Rolls (1224); *Alnestow*, *Aunestow*, A.M.; *Elnystow*, F.A. Kelly remarks that it was 'formerly Helenstow,' of which there is no evidence. It is clearly a guess, in order to explain the spelling in D.B.; the alternative spellings not having been observed. Judith, Countess of Huntingdon, niece of William the Conqueror, founded a nunnery at Elstow in 1078, which, according to Lysons (*Magna Britannia*, p. 81), was "dedicated to the Holy Trinity, St Mary, and St *Helen*." This is the piece of evidence on which the fable was founded, that the D.B. *Elnes* meant 'Helen's.' But in D.B. itself, under *Elnestou*, the nuns are called the nuns of St Mary; and, under Wilshamstead, we are told that "the Countess Judith gave the manor in alms to the Church of S. Mary at Elstow"; see Airy's Digest. So that, at that date, the church was not called the church of St Helen, but of St Mary. Further, the form *Elena*, the A.S. form of Helen, or any French form of the same, would not have been cut down to *Eln* between 1078 and 1086, when the Domesday Survey was completed. Thirdly, it is impossible that any form of the gen. case of Helen could have appeared as *Alnes* or *Aunes*, or *Alne* or *Aune*, at any early date; and it may be noted that *Alnestow* is a common form of Elstow. I find, moreover, that there was another *Alnestowe*, the name of a hundred in Rutlandshire; see *Rotulorum Originalium Abbreviatio*, i. 241. This hundred-name is spelt *Alsto* in Pigot's Atlas, and *Alstoe* elsewhere.

It is clear to any one at all accustomed to these old spellings that, in the forms *Eln-*, *Aln-*, *Aun-*, we have to deal with a much abbreviated form; and the use of the equivalent prefixes *El-*, *Al-*, points to the usual abbreviation of *Æthel-*, or of *Ælf-*, both very common prefixes. The use of *A* or *E* indicates the A.S. *Æ*, which had the sound of *a* in *apple*, intermediate to the Latin and A.S. *a* and *e*. The *-n-* is a much reduced remnant of some usual suffix, the only three available being *-nōth*, *-hūn* and *-wine*. Practically, the only likely A.S. representatives of *Eln-*, *Aln-* are *Æthelnōth*, *Ælfnōth*, *Æthelhūn*, *Ælfhūn*, *Æthelwine*, and *Ælfwine*; all fairly common. But *Æthelwine* and *Ælfwine* do not part with the *w*; their shortened forms

are Alwin or Elwin. I think the choice lies between Æthelnōth and Ælfnōth; of which the latter is the easier, and occurs both as Alnōth and Eluōth. The abbreviation of Ælfnōthes to *Alnes* or *Elnes* is certainly possible; so that all points to the probability that Elstow originally meant 'Ælfnōth's stow.' It is not more remarkable than the proved reduction of 'Eadwulf's tree' to Elstree.

By way of further illustration of the difficulty of deciphering these contracted forms, I may state that Alston in Worc. means 'Ælfsige's town'; Alston in Staffordshire means 'Ælfweard's town'; Alstone in Glouc. means 'Ælfred's town'; and Alston in Somersets. means 'Ælfnōth's town.' See Duignan's Worc. Place-names, p. 3. The presence of the *-n-* helps us in the case that we are now discussing.

I had arrived at this probability as to the origin of Elstow when it occurred to me to consult the Domesday Book for Rutlandshire as to the old spelling of the *other* place-name which likewise appears as *Alnestowe*. On opening the record, the first name that meets the eye, twice over, is *Alfnodestov*, in large characters. This settles the question, and enables us to conclude, past all doubt, that the true old name of Elstow was 'Ælfnōthes stōw.'

40. THORPE.

The A.S. *thorp*, a village, appears sometimes as an independent name. There are Thorpes in Lincs., Essex, Norfolk, and elsewhere. It is also spelt *throp* or *thrup*; hence we have THRUP END, near Lidlington.

It also appears as a suffix, as in Miluthorpe, *i.e.* 'mill-village,' in Westmoreland. It is noted in the E. Dial. Dict., s.v. *Thorpe*, that Ravensthorpe in Northants. is pronounced Ranstrup. It is not doubted that this form *-trup* or *-trop* is sometimes further altered to *-drup* or *-drop*. It appears, accordingly, in Soul-drop, which lies to the S.E. of Knotting.

SOULDROP.—Not in D.B.; spelt *Soldrope*, *Suldrope*, F.A.; *Sulthrop*, E.T.; *Suldrope*, H.R., vol. ii. The form *Sulthrop* is evidently the oldest, and proves that *drop* resulted from *throp*.

We might explain the spelling *Soldrope* by help of the prov. E. *sole*, a pool of stagnant water, which is still in use in Kent. Several place-names are formed from it; see the E. Dial. Dict. It represents the A.S. *sol*, a miry pond; and gives the sense as being 'pond-village.'

But the better spelling of the old prefix is obviously *Sul-*. This represents the A.S. *sylu*, a miry place, and gives the sense of 'mire-village.' It comes to the same thing.

41. TOWN, -TON.

A large number of place-names end in *-ton*, the unstressed form of *town*, of A.S. *tūn*. The old sense of *town* was often a farm, a home-stead, a farm-house with all its belongings; it was from such a beginning that towns often took their rise.

Some names end in *-ing-ton* or *-in-ton*; these will be considered separately from the rest, in § 42 (p. 57).

In the first set we have Barton, Beeston, Campton, Carlton, Chalton, Charlton, Clifton, Clipstone, Dunton, Eaton, Everton, Flitton, Houghton, Kempston, Leighton, Luton, Marston, Milton, Potton, Shelton, Staughton, Stratton, Sutton, Westoning, Wootton, and Wyboston.

We may also consider Chawston at the same time, though it did not end in *-ton* originally.

In the second set we have Billington, Cardington, Chellington, Eggington, Goldington, Lidlington, Podington, Stevington, Toddington, Willington, and Wymington.

Harlington was formerly Harlingdon, and has already been noticed under *-DON* (p. 14). The same remark applies to Caddington, Roxton, and Shillington (pp. 13, 16).

BARTON IN THE CLAY.—There are a large number of Bartons, and the word has been explained in the New Eng. Dict. Spelt *Bertone*, D.B.; *Bertune*, R.C.; *Berton*, I.p.m. It meant a demesne farm, or the demesne lands of a manor, not let out to tenants, but reserved for the lord's own use. Its simpler meaning was merely a 'farm-yard.' From the A.S. *bere-tūn*, a barley-enclosure, courtyard, farm-yard. From *bere*, barley; and *tūn*, an enclosure.

BEESTON; near Sandy.—Spelt *Bistone*, D.B.; *Beston*, E.T., H.R., R.C.; *Beistune*, *Besetone*, R.B.; *Beestone*, F.A. The corresponding A.S. form would be *Bēos tūn*, where *Bēos* is the gen. of *Bēo*, used as a personal name. In the usual sense of ‘bee,’ the A.S. *bēo* is indeclinable in the singular, the pl. being *bēon*, Chaucer’s *been*. Thus the sense is ‘Bee’s farm.’ The name of John Bee occurs in 1428 in F.A.

CAMPTON.—Spelt *Chambeltone* (with *Ch* for *C*), D.B.; *Cameltune*, *Kameltuue*, R.C.; *Cameltone*, F.A., A.M. The A.S. *camel* is only known in the sense of ‘camel,’ borrowed from Latin. If this had been adopted as a name, which is unlikely, we should have expected the gen. form *Cameles*. I cannot explain this place-name. There is a river named Camel in Cornwall; so perhaps there was once a stream so named in Beds. River-names are sometimes of Celtic origin.

CARLTON; near Chellington.—Spelt *Carlentone*, D.B.; *Carletone*, R.C.; *Karleton*, T.N.; *Carlton*, F.A. There are many Carltons. *Carl* is the Norse equivalent of the A.S. *ceorl*, whence Charlton (below). The Old Norse *karl*, a husbandman, was also a proper name. Its combining form is *Karla-*; which seems to have been treated as an A.S. weak sb., with a gen. in *-an*, thus producing a form *Carlantun* instead of the more nearly correct *Karlatun*. It is remarkable that Carlton in Cambs. is likewise spelt *Carlentone* in D.B. The sense is ‘Karl’s farm.’

CHALTON; near Sundon.—It seems to be the same place as the *Cealhtun* mentioned in Æthelstan Ætheling’s will, which also mentions *Hocganclif*, apparently *Hockcliffe*. The form *Cealhtun* stands for *Cealctūn*, according to the rule that *ct* becomes *ht* in Anglo-Saxon; see the explanation of LEIGHTON (p. 52). Thus the sense is ‘chalk farm.’

CHARLTON; to the S.W. of Blunham.—Misspelt *Chalton* on the Ordnance map; but D.B. mentions *Cerlentone* as a manor near Blunham.—Spelt *Cherletone*, R.B., F.A.; answering to A.S. *Ceorla tūn*, ‘farm of the churls’ or husbandmen; *ceorla* being the gen. pl. There are many Charltons.

CLIFTON, to the E. of Shefford.—It is also the name of a hundred. Spelt *Cliftone*, D.B.; *Clifton*, E.T., H.R., F.A., T.N. From A.S. *clif*, a cliff, steep slope. The sense is ‘cliff farm.’

CLIPSTONE, in Eggington (Kelly).—Spelt *Clipestun*, *Clippes-tun*, C.R.; *Clipston*, R.C. The spelling with final *-tun* shows that the word is Clips-ton, and not Clip-stone, as no doubt it is often thought to be. The prefix is *Clipes*, gen. of *Clip*, a personal name, of which we have one clear example; see Searle, *Onomasticon*, p. 137. The sense is ‘Clip’s farm.’

DUNTON, near Eyworth.—Spelt *Daintone*, *Domtone*, D.B.; *Duninton*, T.N.; *Dountone*, F.A. The spellings in D.B. cannot be right; they are probably meant for *Danitone*, *Donitone*; the latter being the better. The spelling *Duninton* explains that the name is not compounded of *dūn*, a down, and *tūn*; but that the former element represents the A.S. *Dūnan*, gen. of *Dūna*; as in *Dunan heafde*, Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 603 (A.D. 947). The long *u* explains the form *Dountone*. The sense is ‘Dūna’s farm.’

EATON.—There are two Eatons; and it is curious that they have different origins, as is apparent from the different early spellings.

EATON, SOCON.—Spelt *Etone*, D.B., F.A., R.C., R.B., H.R.; *Eton*, T.N. Here *E-* represents the Mid. Eug. *e*, *ee*, A.S. *ēa*, a stream, a river; and the sense is ‘farm on the stream.’ As to *Socon*, I suppose it is the same as the word usually spelt *Soken*, A.S. *sōcn*, and has here the sense of ‘a district within which certain legal privileges could be exercised.’ It occurs in a like sense in Piers the Plowman, where there is a reference to ‘Rutland soken’; B. ii. 110.

EATON BRAY.—Spelt *Eitone*, D.B.; *Eytone*, F.A.; *Eytone*, *Eitone*, R.B.; *Eyton*, E.T., H.R. So that the modern spelling should rather have been Eyton. The prefix is the Mid. Eug. *ey*, O. Mercian *ēg*, A.S. *īeg*, an island; a term loosely applied to any piece of land wholly or even partially surrounded by a stream or streams. The sense is ‘island farm.’ Bray is a family name. The church contains the arms of Edmund, Lord Bray (Kelly).

EVERTON, N.W. of Pottton.—Spelt *Euretone*, D.B.; *Everton*, I.p.m., T.N. From A.S. *eofor*, a boar. Literally, 'boar farm.' There is an Everdon in Northants., and an Everley in Wilts., in which Ever thus appears without the gen. suffix.

FLITTON; in the hundred of Flitt.—Flitton is "bounded on the north by the Flitt, a tributary of the Ouse"; Kelly. There is a reference in R.C. to the hundred of *Fleytene* (error for *Fleytone*) or *Flitte*. In D.B., both the hundred and the town are called *Flichtham*, probably an error for *Flittham*. We also find the spellings *Flitte*, T.N., E.T., F.A., I.p.m.; *Flitt*, H.R.; *Flitton hundred*, I.p.m. *Flitt* may suitably denote a stream, as being a slightly contracted form of A.S. *flēot*, a stream, prov. E. *fleet*, a shallow channel. We may explain Flitton as 'the farm by the Flitt.' Fletton in Hunts. is from the same A.S. *flēot*.

HOUGHTON CONQUEST.—Spelt *Houstone*, D.B.; *Houctone*, *Hougton*, A.M.; *Hoctune*, *Houcton*, *Hohtune*, *Hochtone*, *Houghtone*, R.C.; *Houton*, H.R. The *s* in D.B., and the *c*, *g*, *ch*, *gh*, all represent the final guttural (like the German *ch*) in the A.S. *hōh*, a spur or slope of a hill. The sense is 'farm on a hill-slope.' The same A.S. *hōh* is the origin of the termination -HOE, already discussed (p. 29).

Kelly notes that the church has two brasses to members of the Conquest family, dated 1493 and 1500 respectively. I find a mention of John Conquest, of Clopham, *i.e.* Clapham, in 1316; F.A. In *Magna Britannia*, it is noted that the patrons of the living were then (1720) the Earl of Aylesbury and Sh. Conquest, Esq. It is now in the gift of St John's College, Cambridge.

HOUGHTON REGIS.—That is, King's Houghton; with reference to William I. In D.B. it is said to be 'the royal demesne manor, rated as to ten hides.'

KEMPSTON.—Spelt *Camestone*, D.B.; *Kemeston*, Ex. R., F.A.; *Coembestune*, *Kemestone*, *Kembestone*, R.C.; *Kemmeston*, Cl. R.; *Kemyston*, *Kemston*, *Kempston*, T.N. The use of a *r* for *e* in D.B. tends to show that the original vowel was *æ*. It could not have been *e*, as the A.S. *Ce* becomes *Che* in modern

names. In a charter printed in Kemble, iv. 143, and in Thorpe, *Diplomat.* p. 381, there is a mention of ‘Crangfeldæ et Kemestan.’ Thorpe says that Kemestan refers to Kempston in Norfolk, but it rather means Kempston in Beds., which is only six miles from Cranfield in a direct line. In footnote 14 on p. 383, Thorpe gives a much older spelling, viz. *Cæmbestunce*, from another MS. Here *Cæmbes* is the gen. of *Cæmb*, so that the sense is ‘Cæmb’s farm.’ No other example of the name *Cæmb* is known, but the A.S. *camb* means a comb, a crest of a cock, or a crest on a helmet, and the last sense might easily serve as a distinguishing name for a man. There is a Kempsey in Worcestershire, but the D.B. spelling is different, viz. *Chemesige*, and the A.S. form is *Cymesige*, probably a contraction for *Cymenesige*, ‘Cymen’s isle,’ as Mr W. H. Duignan suggests in his book on Worcestershire Place-names. The *c* before *y* remains hard.

LEIGHTON BUZZARD.—Spelt *Lestone* (with *s* for A.S. *h*, as often), D.B.; *Leyton*, H.R.; *Leyhton*, T.N.; *Leytune*, A.M.; *Leython Busard*, E.T. (1291); *Leythone Busard*, F.A. (1316); and *Leghton Busard*, temp. Henry III., I.p.m. Spelt *Leighton Beaudesert*, *Magna Britannia* (1720), without any authority; but the name was probably given to it to enable some antiquary to discover one more absurd ‘corruption’ in place-names. Kelly says: “thought to be a corruption of Beaudesert, though some have derived it from *Bossard*, one of whom was Knight of the shire in the time of Edw. III.” However, the name was already spelt *Busard* even in the time of Henry III.; and it is obviously derived from the name of a family called *Busard* (with one *s*). No doubt the family name was taken from the Mid. Eng. *busard*, O.F. *busart*, a buzzard; such nick-names were common at that date, especially if uncomplimentary. A buzzard was an inferior kind of a hawk, useless for falconry, and so came to be an epithet for a stupid man. The old proverb, ‘one cannot make a sparrow-hawk of a buzzard,’ is quoted in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 4033, and occurs in the French original, which is of early date. It follows that the modern spelling *Buzzard* is absolutely correct.

As to Leighton, there is no difficulty. There are plenty of Leightons, because the word simply meant 'garden.' It is from the A.S. *lēah-tūn*, lit. 'leek-town,' *i.e.* place for cultivating leeks, which was once a general word for vegetables. The A.S. for leek is *lēac*; but this became *lēah* on account of the phonetic law whereby almost every A.S. *ct* passed into *ht*. Exceptions are not common; however, Acton is one. I have already explained this in my Place-names of Hunts., a county which contains two Leightons and a Leightonstone; and Herts. possesses a Layton.

LUTON.—This interesting place-name has never been properly explained. It occurs as *Lygtūnes*, in the gen. case, in the Parker MS. of the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 917; and as *Lygetūn* in a late copy of a charter, in Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 403. This has often been said to refer to Leighton Buzzard, of which the A.S. form was *Lēahtūn*; but it can hardly be contended that *yge* and *eah* are the same thing!

Yet the matter is extremely simple. The river now called the Lea was called in A.S. *Lyge*; see the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 895, where it occurs as *Lygan*, in the dative case. It is clear that *Lyge-tūn* means 'Lea-town'; and it is a fact that Luton is on the river Lea, whilst Leighton Buzzard is not.

The phonology of the river-name is a little difficult. It resembles the A.S. *lyge*, a falsehood, mod. E. *lie*, which in many Northern dialects became *lee*, a form used even in Harding's Chronicle. Perhaps this helps to explain it. It also remains as *Lea* in the place-name Leagrave. We should rather have expected the modern name to have been the Lye; and it is interesting to find that in *Magna Britannia* (1720) the name of Leagrave is spelt Ligrave.

But it can also be shown, independently of phonology, that the A.S. *Lygetun* must be Luton. In *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of Beds.* (1783), p. 29, it is rightly said that Luton, formerly Lygetun, was given by King Offa to St Albans in 795. The Charter is extant in Birch, *Cart. Saxon.* i. 367; clearly assigning to St Albans some land at Lygetun.

But in the *Collectanea* for Bedfordshire, p. 52*, we read: "Vicar' in eccl' de Luton, que est Abbat' et Convent' Sti. Albani, auctoritate concilii ordinata est hoc modo, A.D. 1209"; Reg. in the Bp of Lincoln's Registers; and there is a note that "the abbey held the rectory in their own hands only from 1166 to 1199; after which they appointed a vicar." This shows, beyond a doubt, that Lygetun was Luton.

At the last reference the name of the place is given as Luton, Luyton, or Lee Lauton, and is there explained as signifying 'the town by the water,' *i.e.* by the river 'Lee.'

It is somewhat surprising that the river Lyge should now be spelt Lea, even though we remember that the A.S. *g* denoted a *y*-sound, or a mere glide; no doubt it became *Lië* in Mid. Eng., with *i* as in E. *machine*, just as the adj. *dr̄yge* (now *dry*) became *drië*, with the same *i*. But there its development was arrested; the final *e* fell away, and a sound was left which we should now denote by *Lee*. This Lee, which would be the correct spelling, has been altered to Lea in comparatively modern times by the influence upon the eye of the written word *lea* in the sense of meadow, and is quite unmeaning. It does not mean that it would have rhymed with *sea* in the days when *sea* was pronounced as *say*.

But in composition with *-ton*, the result was different. The old spellings are: *Loitone*, D.B.; *Luitone*, F.A.; *Luiton*, Cl. R.; *Luitona*, R.C.; *Luyton*, R.C., I.p.m.; *Luton*, H.R. Here the *i* or *y* may represent the glide denoted by the *g* in *Lyge*-, the final *e* being suppressed; the Norman long *ū* being used to denote the very sound which in A.S. was written as long *ȳ*; *i.e.* the sound of the modified *u* in the German *grün*, green. After this, the glide-sound was soon entirely lost, so that we already find the modern spelling in H.R.; whilst the *u* was developed precisely as if it had been of *French* origin, so that it is now sounded like the *u* in *lunar* or *lucid* or *lucre*; or like the *ui* in *fruit*.

Another explanation of the spelling *ui* is afforded by the fact that it was sometimes employed in place of the A.S. *ȳ*; and perhaps this supposition is the easier of the two, the *-ge* being ignored.

MARSTON MORTEYNE.—Spelt *Merstone*, D.B.; *Merston*, E.T., H.R., T.N.; *Mershton*, F.A. There are many Marstons. They all mean ‘marsh town’ or ‘marsh farm.’ In F.A. i. 2, I find: “Constantinus de Morteyn tenet manerium de Merston cum villa de Merston”; A.D. 1284—6.

In the same parish is MARSTON PILLINGE. For the explanation of Pillinge, see under -ING (p. 35).

MILTON.—It would be an easy guess to derive Milton from *mill*; and it would be wrong.

It is a remarkable fact that a large number of our Miltons were once called Middleton, *i.e.* ‘middle farm.’ The number of Middletons that still remain is surprising; there are more than twenty.

Spelt *Mildentone*, D.B. (wrongly); but also *Middeltone*, D.B. (rightly); *Middelton*, H.R., T.N. In the A.S. Chronicle, both Milton Abbas (Dors.) and Milton (Kent) are spelt *Middletun*. Both Milton Bryant and Milton Ernest were once called Middleton. Bryant refers to the family of Brian, and Ernest to the family of Ernys. “Rogerus Extraneus tenet. . . un. f.m. in Middelton per heredem Roberti Brian, qui est tanquam in custodia sua, de heredibus de Bello Campo (Beauchamp), et idem heredes de rege”; F.A. i. 1 (1284—6). “Johannes Ernys et alii quondam tenuerunt di.f.m. in Midyltone”; F.A. i. 38 (1428).

POTTON.—Spelt *Potone*, D.B.; *Potton*, H.R., T.N., R.C., F.A., E.T. Spelt *Pottune*, dat., in the will of Ælfhelm of Wrattling, Cambs.; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630. It doubtless stands for Pottantun, *i.e.* ‘Potta’s farm.’ The name of Pot or Potta may also be inferred from the tribal name Potting, which occurs both in Potting-dun and in Potting-tun; both are in Kemble’s Index.

SHELTON; in the N. end of the county.—Spelt *Eseltone*, *Esselton*, D.B.; *Scelton*, F.A.; *Shelton*, T.N. In D.B. the *s* or *ss* is a makeshift for the sound of *sh*, which did not exist in Norman. The A.S. symbol was *sc*. The prefixed *E* in the D.B. forms is very characteristic; as the Normans could not easily pronounce the *E. sh* without a preparatory vowel-sound.

Hence such forms as *establish*, *especial*, as parallel to *stablish*, *special*. The A.S. form with the same prefix is *Scelfdune*, dative; Earle, Land Charters, p. 396. *Scelf-dun* is a compound, meaning 'shelf-down,' or 'down with shelving slopes,' applied to the neighbouring hill. And Shelton, for Shelf-ton, means 'the sloping-hill farm.' There is a Shelton in Staffordshire with the same origin (see Duignan's Staffs. Place-names); and there are Sheltons in Norfolk and Notts.

STAUGHTON; called Little Staughton or Staughton Parva.—Great Staughton is in Hunts., and is explained in my Place-names of Hunts. as equivalent to Stockton. The spellings *Stoctone*, *Stokton*, *Stoutone*, all in F.A., corroborate this. For the explanation of *stock* see Redbournestoke, explained under STROKE (p. 44). The sense is 'stock farm,' or 'farm near a stump.' The *ct* in A.S. *stoctūn* became *ght* precisely as the *ct* in A.S. *lēac-tun* became *ght* in Leighton. See the explanation of LEIGHTON (p. 52).

STRATTON.—Stratton Park lies to the S.E. of Biggleswade. Spelt *Stratone*, D.B.; *Stratton*, F.A. Lit. 'street town,' or the farm beside the street. The street is the Old Roman Way which extends, almost in a straight line, from Biggleswade to Baldock.

SUTTON; to the S. of Potton.—Spelt *Sudtone*, *Suttone*, D.B.; *Suttone*, R.C.; *Sutton*, E.T., F.A. The spelling *Sudtone* is intermediate between Sutton and the original A.S. *Sūhtūn*. The sense is merely 'south farm.' There are more than forty Suttons.

WESTONING.—Not in D.B.; spelt *Weston*, E.T., H.R.; *Weston Ing*, Cat. The suffixed *Ing* has already been explained under -ING (p. 36). The sense is 'west farm,' lit. *west-town*; and it was once tenanted by Wm. Ing. There are nearly thirty Westons.

WOOTTON; to the S.W. of Bedford.—Spelt *Otone*, D.B.; *Wodetone*, R.B.; *Wotton*, F.A., E.T.; *Witon*, H.R. The spelling *Otone*, for *Wotone*, is due to the loss of *w* before *o* or *u* in Norman; they called a *wood*, a 'ood. The spelling *Witon*

points back to a very old time, when the early A.S. form *widu*, a wood, was still in use, and is in this case dialectally preserved; the more usual form is *wudu*, whence E. *wood*. The literal sense is *wood-town*, i.e. 'wood farm.' There is still a wood at Wootton, called Wootton Wood. There are a dozen Woottons and three Wottons.

WYBOSTON; in Eaton Socon.—It lies to the W. of Little Barford. Spelt *Wiboldstone*, D.B.; *Wyboldiston*, H.R. The sense is obviously 'Wigbald's farm.' *Wigbald* is the Mercian spelling of the A.S. *Wigbeald*, a known name of which there are six examples. *Wig* means 'war,' and *beald* means 'bold.' There is another Wyboston in Hunts., which I have already thus explained in my Place-names of Hunts., on less clear evidence. Wobaston in Staffordshire is only another form of the same word, and is explained from the same source in Duignan's Place-names of Staffs.

CHAWSTON.—This is the most convenient place for considering Chawston, though this name did not originally end in *-ton*. It lies to the N. of Roxton. Spelt *Chaulestorne*, *Calnestorne* (for *Caluestorne*), D.B.; *Calvesterne*, R.B.; *Chalmstern* (probably an error for *Chaluistern*), H.R.; *Chalvesterne*, R.C., F.A., I.p.m.; *Chalsterne*, F.A. As to this difficult form, of which neither element is at all certain, I can only guess. Perhaps some one else may hereafter interpret it better. As to the former element, we can best reconcile the two forms in D.B. by supposing them to represent *Chalves* and *Calves*. I think these answer, respectively, to the A.S. *Cealfes* and O. Mercian *Calfes*, genitives of A.S. *Cealf* and O. Merc. *Calf*, modern E. *calf*, respectively. This requires that *chalf* should be a dialectal form for *calf*, but there is evidence for this form only in the Kentish dialect. For Kentish, it is quite certain; for in the A.S. versions of the Gospels, in Luke xv. 27, the two Kentish MSS. have the readings *chealf* and *chalf*. The development of the sound of *cea-* is difficult; for while the A.S. *cealf* answers to the modern E. *calf*, the A.S. *cealc* answers to the modern E. *chalk*; a fact of which I do not remember to have seen an explanation. My theory is that, whilst the A.S. *cealf*

was superseded by the O. Merc. *calf* (whence the modern E. *calf*), the A.S. *Cealf*, considered as a proper name, produced a Middle English form *Chalf*, whence a later *Chauf*; the genitive of which would be *Chalves*, later *Chauves*, and finally *Chaws*. We have no evidence that the A.S. *Cealf* was used as a personal name, but the use of the names of animals as personal names has always been common in English; and in Bardsley's work on English Surnames, we are told, with reference to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that "Richard le Calf, Godwin le Bulloc, Roger le Colt are all of common occurrence, and still abide with us."

The second half of the word is also very difficult. I suppose the D.B. suffix *-torn* to represent the A.S. *thorn*, a thorn. The change from the difficult *sth* to the simple *st* would be natural enough, especially for a Norman. That this is right, is rendered probable by the alternate form *-tern*, which would equally well represent the A.S. *thyrne*, a thornbush. I have shown, in my Place-names of Hunts., that the place-name Bythorn (by the thorn) was originally called Bytherne (by the thornbush); and the name was naturally altered when the old word *therne* became obsolete.

I would explain in a like manner the name Woodmansterne, in Surrey. A very likely sense is 'woodman's thornbush.'

The result of my guesses as to Chawston is that it originally meant 'Cealf's thorn' or 'Cealf's thornbush.' All that is certain is that the modern ending *-ton* is delusive, and that it cannot have formerly meant 'town' or 'farm.'

42. THE SUFFIX -INGTON.

I now come to consider the names that end in *-ington*.

They can (with some trouble) be divided into two sets. In the former, the ending is correctly used and refers to tribal or family settlements. But in the latter it is used erroneously, and has been substituted for something else.

In the former class are included the following: Billington, Cardington, Goldington, Lidlington, Podington, and Toddington.

In the doubtful class are included the following: Chellington, Eggington, Stevington, Willington, and Wymington.

BILLINGTON, to the S. of Leighton Buzzard.—*Billinges*, R.C.; *Billing*, *Billingbure*, R.B. Literally 'farm of the Billings,' or of the sons of Billa. Billa is a known name. The Billings are further commemorated in Billingborough (Lincs.), Billingford (Norf.), Billingham (Durham), Billinghay (Lincs.), Billingshurst (Sussex), and in the famous Billingsgate.

CARDINGTON.—Ill-spelt *Chernetone*, D.B.; *Kerdingtone*, R.C.; *Kerdington*, H.R., F.A., E.T.; *Kerdyngton*, I.p.m. Apparently, 'the farm of the Cærdings,' or of the sons of Cærda. The name Cærda occurs in Cærdan-hlæw, *i.e.* Cærda's low or burial mound; see Birch, *Cart. Saxon.* iii. 147. There is another Cardington in Shropshire.

GOLDINGTON.—Spelt *Goldentone*, D.B.; *Goldington*, T.N., E.T.; *Goldingthone*, F.A. It is the 'farm of the Goldings or sons of Golda'; which is a known name.

LIDLINGTON.—The *d* is incorrect; it should certainly be Litlington. Spelt *Litincleton*, D.B. (incorrectly); *Litlington*, T.N.; *Litlingtune*, A.M. The same as Litlington in Cambs., which is also spelt *Lutlington*. As *i* and *u* both result from an A.S. *y*, the A.S. form would be *Lytlinga-tūn*, *i.e.* 'farm of the Lytlings'; from A.S. *lytel*, modern E. *little*. The name of Eadric Lytle (spelt *litle*) occurs in Birch, *Cart. Saxon.* iii. 369; and the name Lytelman (little man) occurs in Searle's *Onomasticon*. I think this explanation better than the one given in my *Place-names of Cambs.*, where I wrongly supposed that Lidlington (Beds.) is correctly spelt with a *d*; whereas the *d* is modern.

PODINGTON, or PUDDINGTON; in the N.W. corner of the county.—Spelt *Podintone*, D.B.; *Podingtone*, F.A.; *Podington*, T.N., E.T. The Normans used *o* to denote both the *o* in *pod* and the *u* in *pudding*; so that the old spellings tell us nothing. If we are guided by the spelling Puddington, we may take the name to mean 'farm of the Pudings' or sons of Puda: which is a known name. The alternative is to take Poddings as meaning 'sons of Podda'; which is also a known name.

TODDINGTON.—Spelt *Dodindone* (for *Todindone*), *Dodintone*

(for *Todintone*), D.B.; *Todingedon*, H.R.; *Todingduna*, A.M.; *Todingdon*, F.A., E.T.; *Todingtone*, R.B.; *Tudingdone*, A.M. The suffix thus seems doubtful, but the name may have been two-fold; in which case *Todingedon* would refer to a hill, and *Todingeton* to a farm near it.

As the Norman *o* often signifies an A.S. *u*, we may pay especial attention to the spelling *Tudingdone*, and to the much later spelling *Tuddington*, given in *Magna Britannia* (1720). The tribe or family referred to must be, I think, the Tudings, or sons of Tuda (originally, according to Sweet, pronounced with long *u*). Tuda is a well-authenticated name, and occurs in the A.S. Chronicle. We even find *Tudingatun*, probably *Toddington*, in *Thorpe*, Diplom. p. 527.

I now proceed to consider the second class of names ending in *-ington*, which do not really refer to names of tribes or families.

CHELLINGTON; near Harrold.—Not in D.B. Spelt *Chelwintone*, *Chelwentone*, *Chelvyntone*, F.A.; *Chelwinton*, I.p.m.; *Chelvynton*, I.p.m., vol. ii.; *Chelinton*, T.N.; *Cheleton*, A.M. The prefix represents *Ceolwynne*, gen. of *Ceolwynn*, a female personal name. Female names are not common, but a few clear examples occur, probably from the occupation of a farm by a widow. The genitive of a fem. strong sb. ends in *-e* instead of *-es*, and regularly disappears in later forms. The sense is ‘*Ceolwynn’s* farm.’

EGGINGTON; E. of Leighton Buzzard.—Spelt *Egginton* in *Magna Britannia* (1720); so that the intrusion of the *g* is quite modern. There is another Eggington in Derbyshire, which is spelt *Ekynton*, *Egindon* in F.A.; *Eginton*, I.p.m.; *Egentona*, A.M. Perhaps the prefix answers to A.S. *Ecgwynne*, gen. of *Ecgwynn*, a known female name. The A.S. *cg* regularly denoted *gg*. The sense is ‘*Ecgwynn’s* farm.’ It can hardly mean ‘*Ecga’s* farm,’ as that would have become Egton. There is an Egton in Yorkshire.

STEVINGTON, or STEVENTON (Kelly); to the E. of Turvey.—Spelt *Stiuentone*, D.B.; *Stiventon*, *Styventon*, R.C.; *Stivintone*, *Steventone*, R.B.; *Steventone*, *Stevintone*, F.A. *Stiven* represents

an A.S. form *Styfan*, gen. of *Styfa*, in which the *f* was pronounced as *v*. This name is not recorded, but occurs in the diminutive form *Styfec* at least thrice. From the genitive *Styfeces* was formed the name of Stetchworth, Cambs.; see my Place-names of Cambs., p. 27; and also Stechford in Worcestershire. And from the weak form *Styfecca* is derived the name of Stukeley in Hunts. The sense is 'Styfa's farm.' The change from Stiventon to Steventon was doubtless owing to the influence of the Norman name of Stephen. There is another Steventon in Hants., and another in Berks.

WILLINGTON; to the E. of Bedford.—Spelt *Welitone*, D.B.; *Wyliton*, E.T.; *Willinton*, F.A., p. 50 (1316). The D.B. form is the oldest and the best; *Weli* answers to A.S. *welig*, a willow-tree. The sense was probably 'willow farm.' See the explanation, under -LEY, of Willey, as the name of a hundred (p. 39).

WYMINGTON, in the N.E. corner, near Puddington.—Spelt *Wimentone*, D.B.; *Wimetone*, A.M.; *Wimenton*, *Wymenton*, Cl.R.; *Wemyngtone*, F.A.; *Wyminton*, Cl.R., vol. ii.; *Wyminton*, *Wymington*, H.R., vol. ii. The evidence plainly suggests an A.S. form *Wiman*, gen. of *Wima*. But no such name as *Wima* is known. It may stand for *Wilma*, or we may suppose that the name is old, and has been much contracted; perhaps from *Wigmund*. There is no old authority for the alternative spelling *Wynington*, as in Kelly.

43. TREE.

Only in WIXAMTREE, the name of a hundred. The place itself is now lost; but the sense is certain. Spelt *Wichestanestou*, D.B., where the suffix is E. *stow*, a place; *Wixtonestre*, *Wyxtonestre*, F.A.; *Wyxonestre*, H.R.; with the very common clerical error of *c* for *t*. The D.B. spelling *Wichestan* evidently represents *Wikestan*, a Norman form of the common A.S. name *Wigstan* or *Wihstan*, compounded of *wīg*, war, and *stān*, stone. The A.S. *hs* is often replaced by *x*, so that the later form *Wixton* accurately represents *Wihstan*. In the A.S. Chronicle,

under the date 800, Wihstan is also spelt Weohstan and Weoxtan. The name Wixamtree means 'Wigstān's tree.'

44. WADE.

Wade is the A.S. *wād*, a ford, a place where a stream can be waded through, cognate with (but not borrowed from) the Latin *uadum*, a ford.

BIGGLESWADE, a town, and the name of a hundred.—Spelt *Bichelesnuade*, D.B.; also, erroneously, *Picheleswade*, and even *Bichelesnuorde*, D.B.; *Bikeleswad*, H.R.; *Bikeleswade*, E.T., A.M., I.p.m.; *Bicleswade*, T.N. The prefix answers to an A.S. form *Bicles*, gen. of *Bicel*, diminutive of the known name *Bicu*, which, according to Sweet, had a long *i*. The nom. *Bicel* would become *Bichel* in later English, but the *k*-sound would be preserved in the gen. form *Bicles*, in which the *e* before the *l* would be dropped in A.S., though it would readily be reinserted by a Norman scribe. The old name must at first have been pronounced as Bickleswade, and the 'voicing' of *ck* to *gg* took place later. The sense is 'Bicel's ford.'

45. WELL.

As in Holwell, Ickwell, Radwell, Sewell.

HOLWELL; near Shillington, to the E.—Misspelt Holywell in Philips' Atlas. Spelt *Holewelle*, D.B., R.B., R.C.; *Holewell*, T.N.; *Holwelle*, R.C. We find *æt Holewelle* in a late charter, in Kemble, vi. 211; and an earlier form *to Holan wyll*, with reference perhaps to Holwell in Oxfordshire, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 568. Here *holan* is the dat. of *hol*, adj., hollow, and *wyll* is the dat. of *wyll*, a well. The sense is 'at the hollow well'; in the dative case.

ICKWELL; in Northill (Kelly).—Spelt *Iekewelle* (for *Yekewelle*), F.A. (1346); *Gikewelle*, *Gykwella* (with *G* for *Y*), A.M. The Mid. Eng. *yek*, *yeke*, means a cuckoo, and is derived from the A.S. *gēac*, a cuckoo. The form *yek* was shortened to *yik*, and then the initial *y* was dropped; see this illustrated under NORTHILL (p. 34). The sense is 'cuckoo-well.'

RADWELL; to the N.W. of Milton Ernest.—Spelt *Radeuuelle*, D.B.; *Radewelle*, F.A.; *Radevell*, T.N. I have discussed this name with reference to Radwell in Herts., where I give two solutions. It either means ‘Ræda’s well,’ or else simply ‘red well.’ I believe the latter is right; see the notice of Redbournestoke, under the heading STROKE (p. 44).

SEWELL; in Houghton Regis (Kelly); near Toternhoe.—Kelly notes that Houghton Regis church contains an effigy of Sir John Sewell, knight. But Sewell was at first a place-name, and is spelt *Sewelle* in D.B.; compare ‘Joh. de Sewelle,’ F.A. And we find it as *Seuewella* in A.M. I suppose it to be the same as the A.S. *Syfan wyll*, i.e. ‘Syfa’s well,’ mentioned in a Hants. charter dated 938; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 444. The A.S. *Syfan* would become *Seue* (*Seve*) in Norman; and the passage from *Seuewell* to *Sewell* is easy. The A.S. *Syfan* is the gen. of *Syfa*, a personal name that is not otherwise known, though it may possibly be related to *Seofeca*.

46. WICK.

As in Astwick, Flitwick, Hardwick, and Hinwick.

Wick represents the A.S. *wīc*, a village; not a native word, but borrowed from Lat. *uicus*.

ASTWICK.—Spelt *Estuuiche*, D.B.; *Estwike*, F.A. It means ‘east village.’

FLITWICK; bounded on the S. by the river Flitt.—Spelt *Flicteuuiche* (with *ct* for *tt*), D.B.; *Flettewyk*, T.N.; *Flettewyc*, E.T.; *Flittewike*, A.M.; *Fletewyk*, I.p.m. It means ‘village by the Flitt.’ The spelling *Flete* represents the A.S. *flēot*, a stream. See the remarks on FLITTON (p. 50).

HARDWICK, to the S.W. of Felmersham.—Spelt *Herdwic*, H.R., vol. ii.; *Herdwik*, F.A. Hardwick in Cambs. is from A.S. *heorde*, a herd or flock. The sense is ‘herd-village.’ There are several Hardwicks.

HINWICK, near Puddington.—*Haneuuiic*, *Heneuuiic*, *Haneuuiich*, *Heneuuiich*, D.B.; *Henewike*, F.A.; *Henewic*, Cl.R., vol. ii.;

Hynewik, H.R., vol. ii.; *Hinewik*, H.R., vol. ii. The prefix answers to A.S. *Hanan*, gen. of *Hana*, a personal name. The sense is 'Hana's village.' The literal meaning of *hana* is a cock; the feminine is the modern E. *hen*.

47. WOLD.

Wold is a late form of the O. Mercian *wald*, A.S. *weald*, a wood. It now often means a tract of open country.

HARROLD.—Spelt *Hareuuelle*, D.B.; *Harewold*, F.A., T.N.; *Hareuuald*, *Harewaud*, C.R.; *Harewolde*, I.p.m. The D.B. form means 'hare-well,' and will not account for the modern form; the latter means 'hare-wold,' the *w* being dropped. Shakespeare has *old* for *wold*; King Lear, iii. 4. 125.

48. WORTH.

As in Colmworth, Edworth, Eyworth, Tebworth, Tilsworth, Wrestlingworth.

The A.S. *worth* was applied to an enclosed homestead or farm. It is closely allied to *worth* in the sense of 'value'; and may be taken to mean 'property' or 'holding,' or 'farm.'

COLMWORTH, to the E. of Bolnhurst.—Spelt *Colmeworde*, *Culmeuorde*, D.B.; *Colmwyrthe*, E.T.; *Colmeworthe*, F.A.; *Colmworth*, H.R. The prefix answers to A.S. *Culman*, gen. of *Culma*; and the sense is 'Culma's farm.' We do not find the exact form *Culma* elsewhere, but we find the related strong form *Culm*; and (with mutation of *u* to *y*) we also find both *Cylma* and *Cylm*. See Searle's Onomasticon.

EDWORTH.—Spelt *Edeuorde*, D.B.; *Edesworthe*, *Edeworth*, F.A.; *Edeworth*, E.T.; *Eddewurth*, T.N.; *Eddeworthe*, I.p.m. The prefix answers to Eadan, gen. of Eada (with long *Ea*), a pet-name for any of the numerous names beginning with Ead-, as Eadwine, Eadweald, &c. The prefix *Edes-* in F.A. intimates that the name may once have been used in full; and if the name *Edwoldeshowe* in H.R. refers to Edworth, the full name was Eadweald. The sense is 'Eada's farm,' possibly 'Eadweald's farm.'

EYWORTH.—Spelt *Aieuuorde*, D.B.; also *Aisseuuorde*, D.B.; *Eyworthe*, H.R.; *Eyworth*, T.N., E.T., I.p.m., F.A. We may compare the prefix *Ey-* with the prefix in the old forms of EATON BRAY (p. 49); and so explain it as ‘island-farm.’ Eyworth is on a promontory between two rivers, and has streams both on the north and south-east. The form *Aisseuuorde*, if correct, is hard to explain; so that, in that case, the name remains unsolved. But it is probably a mistake.

TEBWORTH; between Hockliffe and Chalgrave.—Spelt *Thebworth* (with *Th* for *T*), A.M.; also *Thebbeworthe*, *Teburthe*, A.M. Fortunately, the A.S. form of the name occurs as *Teobbanwyrthe*, in the dat. case, in a charter relating to Chalgrave and Tebworth, dated 926; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 335. Thus the sense is ‘Teobba’s farm.’

TILSWORTH; to the N.W. of Dunstable.—Misspelt *Pileworde*, D.B.; *Tulesworthe*, H.R.; *Tulesworth*, *Tullesworth*, F.A.; *Tolesworthe*, R.B. The only A.S. known name that suits the prefix is the A.S. *Tugel*, occurring in *Tugeles mōr*, ‘Tugel’s moor,’ in a charter dated 1044; see Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 90, l. 8. As the A.S. *g* in such a word was a mere glide, and disappeared in the thirteenth century (so that, e.g. the A.S. *tigel* became *tile* in l. 1533 of the *Cursor Mundi*), the A.S. *Tugeles* would necessarily become *Tules* in H.R. The *o* in *Tolesworthe* is due to the frequent use of *o* for *u* by Norman scribes. A likely sense of Tilsworth is ‘Tugel’s farm.’ But this is only a guess. If we could find such an A.S. form as *Tull*, it would fit better. We find the weak form *Tulla*.

WRESTLINGWORTH.—Spelt *Werateuuorde*, *Warateuuorde*, D.B.; *Wrasingwrthe*, E.T.; *Wrastlingworth*, F.A., Cl.R., vol. ii.; *Wrestlingworth*, H.R. The spellings in D.B. are valueless, owing to the inability of the Norman scribe to deal with the sound; but the use of *war*, *wer*, to denote *wr* is striking. The true A.S. spelling is *Wræstlingaworth*, meaning ‘farm of the Wræstlings’ or of the sons of Wræstel. Wræstel is a scarce name, but the gen. Wræstles occurs in the place-name *Wræstleshyll*, i.e. Wræstel’s hill; Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 535. The literal sense of *wræstel* is ‘one who wrests’ or twists, but it

very likely had the sense of wrestler, of which the usual form is *wrestlere*. There is a real connexion with the modern verbs *to wrestle* and *to wrest*.

49. YATE.

Yate is the A.S. *geat*, a gate. It occurs in Markyate.

MARKYATE; transferred to Herts. in 1897.—Spelt *Markyate*, E.T., I.p.m. Formerly called Markyate Street, often contracted to Market Street, because it lies on the famous old road called Watling Street. The word *mark* means ‘boundary’; and the sense is ‘boundary gate.’ It is just on the boundary between Beds. and Herts.

50. MISCELLANEOUS NAMES.

All the principal names that involve distinct suffixes or epithets have been discussed. A few more may be noted; most of the places are of little consequence.

BEADLOW; near Clophill.—I find no early mention of it; but it probably represents A.S. *Bedan hlēw*, i.e. ‘Beda’s burial-mound.’ See Bedford (under FORD, p. 19); and -LOW (p. 39).

BROGBOROW, or BROGBOROUGH.—Brogborough Middle Farm lies to the N. of Ridgmont. In F.A., vol. ii., the spellings *Brocbury* and *Brogbury* occur, with reference to a place in Herefordshire. So no doubt Brogborough stands for an older Brokborough, where Brok- is a shortened form of Brook, as in other cases. In fact, Brogborough is probably the *Brockeberge* mentioned in A.M. iii. 171. The sense is ‘brook-fort.’

BROOM; in Southill.—Spelt *Brom*, R.B. The reference is simply to the plant so called.

CHILTERN.—Chiltern Green lies to the S.E. of Luton. Spelt *Ciltern* in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 1009. In Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 52, there is a reference to *Cilte wudu*, i.e. ‘Cilte wood’; and again, at p. 415, to *Cilte cumbe*, i.e. ‘Cilte combe,’ now Chilcombe (Hants.). *Ciltern* is compounded of *Cilt-* or *Cilte* and *cern*, *ern*, a small house, habitation, cottage.

The meaning of *Cilte* is not known. *Cilt* looks like a feminine personal name, with a genitive in *-e*.

END.—There are a large number of places of which *end* forms a part. The signification is that of limit or boundary, the beginning or end of a piece of property, and the like. In most cases, local knowledge will supply the sense. There is a good example of its use in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, in the Parson's Prologue, l. 12: 'As we were entringe at a thropes ende,' *i.e.* as we were arriving at the first beginning of a village.

Most of the examples need no explanation; I may instance Box End, Brook End, Bridge End, Hatch End, Kitchen End, Wood End, etc.

HAYNES, or HAWNES.—The latter is the older form. Spelt *Hagenes*, D.B.; *Hawnes*, E.T.; *Hawenes*, F.A.; *Hawnes*, I.p.m. It appears to be the genitive sing. from a nom. *Hagen*, a personal name; the word *hām*, home, or something equivalent, being omitted. We do not find the exact form *Hagen*, but the allied weak form *Hagena* occurs thrice, with variant forms *Hagana*, *Hagona*, and *Haguna*; all personal names. Also, the Latin gen. *Hagani*, as if from *Hagan*, which may be right. The change from A.S. *ag* to modern E. *aw* is regular and common.

HOLME.—Holme Farm and Holme Green lie to the S. of Biggleswade. They take their name from a *holm* beside the river Ivel. The original meaning of *holm* is an island, but it is also applied to a piece of flat low-lying ground by a river or stream, submerged or surrounded in time of flood (*New Eng. Dict.*). From the Norse *holmr*, a meadow on a shore. Spelt *Holme*, F.A.; *Holm*, H.R., vol. ii.

HYDE.—West Hyde lies to the S. of Luton Hoo Park. The name *Hyde* is the same word as when we speak of a *hide*, or measure of land. From A.S. *hīgid*, a hide of land.

KENSWORTH.—Originally in Herts., but transferred to Beds. in 1897. The prefix represents the A.S. *cēnes*, gen. of *cēn*, which is the modern E. *keen*. But *Cēn* was used as a personal name. We may explain it by 'Keen's farm'; as Keen is a personal name still.

PICKSHILL; near Turvey.—Spelt *Picshill* in Magna Britannia (1720); absurdly spelt *Pictshill* (!) in the Ordnance map. Spelt *Pikeshulle*, F.A., R.B. The prefix is the A.S. *Pīces*, gen. of *Pīc*, answering to the modern E. *Pike* as a surname. *Pīces* occurs in Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 617. Thus the sense is 'Pike's hill.'

REACH.—Heath and Reach form a parish. They lie to the N. of Leighton Buzzard. Reach in Cambs. was spelt *Reche* in 1279, H.R. It is the same word as the modern E. *reach*, in the sense of extension, extent, range, or stretch of country.

ROWNEY.—Rowney Warren is to the S.W. of Southill Park. Though the immediate district is not quite an island, it is much surrounded by water, having streams on both the north and south sides. It is spelt *Runheye* in C.R.; where *heye* is a frequent Norman spelling of the Mid. Eng. *eye*, an island, or a piece of land partially surrounded by water. The spelling *Rown-* shows that the *u* in *Run-* was long; and it probably represents the A.S. *rūwan* or *rūgan*, dat. of *rūh*, rough; an epithet that is remarkably common in place-names. Kemble's Index shows *rūwan enol*, rough knoll, *rūwan hammas*, rough enclosures, *rūgan dīc*, rough dike, *rūgan hege*, rough hedge, *rūgan hlinc*, rough linch, *rūwan lēah* or *rūan lēah*, rough lea, etc. The usual sense of *rūh*, as regards land, is 'uncultivated.' Thus the sense of Rowney is 'uncultivated tract, nearly surrounded by water.' As is usual, it is in the dative case, which accounts for the *n*. A very striking instance of a similar use of *n* occurs in Newnham, where *Newn* is the dative of *New*.

SEXTONS; near Wilden.—Mr Airy rightly identifies it with *Segresdone* in D.B. This *Segresdone* represents an English perversion of the O. French and Norman *secrestein*, now spelt *sexton*, which was also used as a personal name. It means that it was once owned by a Norman named *Secrestein*.

SOMERIES FARM; to the S.E. of Luton.—From the personal name *Somery*, spelt *Somery* and *Sumery* in F.A.; where we find mention of the surname *de Somery*, showing that *Somery* had previously been a place-name. *Somery* represents an A.S.

sumer īg, 'summer island.' Compare the place-names Somercotes, Somerford, and Somerton.

SUDBURY; a manor of Eaton Socon.—Spelt *Subberie*, D.B.; *Suthbur*³, T.N. Literally, 'south bury.' Compare Sutton, *i.e.* 'south town.'

THICKTHORN.—Mentioned in Magna Britannia (1720). Thickthorn Farm is to the N. of Houghton Conquest. The sense is obvious.

THORN; in Houghton Regis (Kelly). The sense is obvious.

TINGRITH; near Westoning and Harlington.—Spelt *Tingrei*, D.B.; *Tingrie*, F.A.; *Tingrye*, C.R., F.A.; *Tingri*, F.A., A.M.; *Tingrithe*, A.M.; *Tingeriz*, I.p.m. Here the Norman scribes usually dropped the final *th*, which they could not at first pronounce; one of them ingeniously substitutes the Norman *z*, which was sounded as *ts*. But the English spelling *Tingrithe* is right. The name presents difficulties. *Ting* is not an English word, but the Danish equivalent of A.S. *thing*, a place of meeting, a court. *Rithe* is the prov. E. *rithe*, A.S. *rīth*, masc., *rīthe*, fem., a small stream. The sense is 'stream where a meeting was (once) held.' *Ting* occurs again in Ting-ley Junction, in Yorkshire (Bradshaw), and in Ting-wall Kirk, near Lerwick, in the Shetland Isles. The traces of Danish in Beds. are very slight, but this is one of them.

UPBURY, between Pulloxhill and Wrest Park.—Spelt *Upberry* in Magna Britannia (1720). *Up* means 'high up' or 'high.' And see BURY (p. 8).

WREST PARK.—Formerly Wrast; *Wraste hamlet* (1308), H.R.; *Wrast* (1307), Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edw. I. From *Wrast* as a personal name; A.S. *wrāst*, noble, excellent.

51. REMARKS.

I add a few notes on some of the Norman spellings found in D.B. and in some of the other early records.

The vowel *e* has two or three values. It sometimes represents the A.S. *e*, as in *Dene*, Dean, for A.S. *denu*; sometimes the A.S. *y*, as in *Melebroc* for *mylenbrōc*; and sometimes even

the A.S. *ea*, as in *Celgrave* from A.S. *cealc*. In one instance it represents the A.S. long *æ*, as in *Meldone* for *Mǣldun*, Maldon.

The vowel *o* is frequently used for the A.S. *u*, especially before *n*; as in the numerous names in *-tone*, for A.S. *tūn*.

The chief peculiarities of Anglo-French spelling are enumerated at the end of my Notes on English Etymology, p. 471.

I here notice some examples, numbering the cases as they are numbered there:—

1. Norman scribes sometimes dropped initial *h*; hence *Ametelle* in D.B. for *Amet-helle*, Ampthill; *Clopelle* in D.B. for *Clop-helle*, Clophill; *Wadelle* in D.B. for *Wad-helle*, Odell.

2. They wrote *s* for *sh*; as in *Sernebroc*, Sharnbrook; *Sepford*, Shefford; sometimes even prefixing *E*, as in *Eseltone*, Shelton. In the middle of a word they wrote *ss*, as in *Bissopescot* for Bishopscot or Biscot.

5. They often dropped *w* before *o*; hence Wootton appears in D.B. as *Otone*.

9. *Ght* was a difficult sound for them, as it represented the A.S. *ht*. They sometimes wrote *st* for it; as in *Lestone* in D.B. for Leighton.

10. Final *ld* was difficult. Hence *Cranfelle* in D.B. for A.S. *Cranfeld*, Cranfield.

12. Final *nd* sometimes became *n*. Hence *Chicesane* in D.B. for Chicksand.

13. They substituted *n* for *ng*. Hence *Goldentone* in D.B. for Goldington.

14. For final *t* they sometimes wrote *th*, which did not represent the E. *th* (as in *heath*) but a strongly pronounced *t* followed by an aspirate or slight splutter. Hence *Sethlindone* in D.B. for Shitlington. This remarkable form has *S* for *Sh* (see 2); *e* for A.S. *y* (see above); *th* for *t*; *n* for *ng* (see 13); and *o* for A.S. *u* (see above).

We may also note the use of *che* for *ke*, and *ce* for *che*, as in modern Italian. Hence D.B. has *Pechesdone* for *Pekesdone*, Pegsdon; *Rochestone* for *Rokesdone*, Roxton; *Achelei* for

Akelei, Oakley; and conversely, *Celgrave* for *Chelgrave*, Chalgrave.

CONCLUSION.

The chief point to be noted as to the place-names of Bedfordshire is their thoroughly English character. Traces of foreign influence are indeed slight.

The only traces of Latin influence occur in Streatley, Stratton, and Market Street as another name for Markyate. The words *mill* and *wick* are also ultimately of Latin origin; and the word *bishop* (in Biscott) is Greek. Of Celtic (exclusive of names applied to rivers) the only traces occur in Tempsford (from the river-name Thames); in Campton (if from the river-name Camel); in Luton, if the name of the Lea is of Celtic origin; and perhaps in the prefix of Gravenhurst. The word *down*, whence the suffix *-don*, was originally Celtic.

Of Scandinavian, the traces are likewise extremely slight. The most noticeable are the prefixes in Boln-hurst, Carl-ton, and Ting-rith; and the name Holme.

Of the times when the Saxons were still heathens, there seem to be traces in Sundon and Thurleigh; and certainly in Harrowden.

To the Normans we probably owe the original form of the prefixes in Meppershall, Moggerhanger and Stagsden; and the name of Sextons. Of Norman families there are several traces, as in the names of Eaton Bray, Houghton Conquest, Higham Gobion, Leighton Buzzard, Marston Morteyne, Milton Bryant, Milton Ernest, and Cockayne Hatley.

But nearly all the rest of the names are wholly English in regard of speech; and the speech, like that of Hunts., was that of the early Mercian Angles. And Bedfordshire is likewise certainly to be included among the counties which have helped to form the standard literary language of the British Empire and of the United States of America.

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