

Surnames of Trans-Allegheny Virginia

1750—1800 I

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Aim and Scope of the Inquiry

THE PRESENT WORK is primarily projected as an etymological and phonological investigation of the surnames in use on America's first English-speaking trans-Appalachian frontier. A secondary object is the elucidation of such ethnographical, sociological, and linguistic problems as the material at hand may incidentally reveal. In the study, I have endeavored to bring under scrutiny all surnames and surname derivatives¹ in use in northwestern Virginia before the close of the Revolution, to examine scientifically their constituent elements, and to observe their metamorphosis over a period of fifty years. Official public records comprise the principal name sources.

Most valuable of these documentary materials are accounts of District and Circuit court proceedings (1774)²; reports of commissioners on adjustment of claims to unpatented lands (1779)³; land entry books (1780)³; surveyors' records and indexes of survey (1781);³ certifications of public claims describing non-military services rendered during the Revolution (1782); and enumerations of family heads in the Virginia State Census (1782). Such subsidiary sources as estray⁴ books, lists of tithable property, calendars of

¹ Place names containing personal names of which there is otherwise no contemporary record.

² Actual date at which manuscript record begins.

³ Earliest references are to land entered in 1766. A more detailed account of sources is to be found at the end of the introduction and in the bibliography.

⁴ An "estrays" is a farm animal found wandering from its owner. Court records include detailed descriptions of such animals.

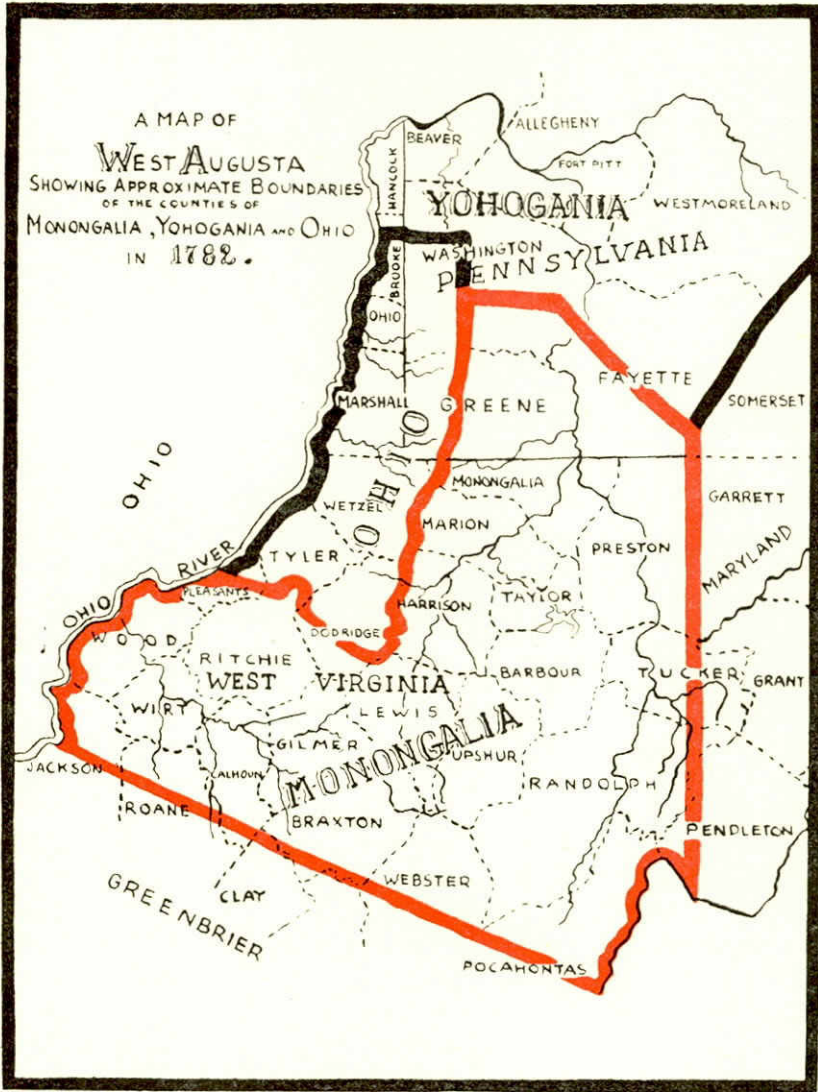
wills, marriage records, and cemetery readings provide the necessary materials for extending the survey of name modifications to and beyond 1800.

Geographically, this inquiry is confined to that portion of the old land division of West Augusta known as Monongalia. When Augusta County, Virginia, was formed in 1738, it included most of present-day West Virginia. In 1776, however, the region of Augusta west of the Alleghenies, which for years prior to the Revolution had been familiarly known as West Augusta⁵, was by an Act of the Virginia Assembly⁶ officially set apart as the District of West Augusta and by the same act divided into the three counties of Monongalia, Ohio, and Yohogania. Monongalia—largest, most mountainous, and most isolated of the three—included the northern half of West Virginia lying west of the meridian of the head fountain of the Potomac and east of a line following the watershed between the Ohio and Monongahela and, to the southwest, the Ohio itself. From it have been taken all or parts of twenty-two counties in West Virginia and three in Pennsylvania.

The period and the region invite linguistic study for two principal reasons: 1. Into this “back-yard” of the colonies came together for the first time pioneers from Maryland, Virginia, and the South to intermingle with a backwash of settlers from the more northern colonies. Scotch, Scotch-Irish, English, and Germans, along with a sprinkling of South Irish, Welsh, and Dutch, came to live not in closed communities but as neighbors. Here was to be found a heterogeneous population undominated by any single national stock or by any one culture or institution and yet not altogether free of older traditional ways and rivalries. In the resultant amalgamation of these impingent groups the language was forced to condition itself to a new environment. 2. Following initial settlement there was no great population shift within Monongalia. The presence of a mountain barrier between seaboard and Transmontane and the lack of any important east-west communication link set the region apart. Eighteenth-century language patterns thus preserved sometimes remained fixed, sometimes took directions deviating from the normal American development.

⁵ Josiah Hughes, *Pioneer West Virginia*, p. 43.

⁶ William W. Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX, 262.



Any regional study of the English language in colonial America may well begin with names: only they appear in the sufficiency of number and the variety of form necessary for a consideration of many early habits of language generally.

The Value of Surname Study

The manifold value of scientific investigation in the realm of English onomatology has come to be fully realized only since the beginning of the present century. The systematic study of place names (and subsequently of surnames) is based upon the foundation laid by Skeat, who advocated for such study the methods pursued by the etymologist.⁷ Justification of his methods may be seen in the contributions of the English Place-Name Society under Mawer and Stenton,⁸ in the Uppsala studies in English nomenclature under Zachrisson, and in kindred studies at Lund under Ekwall. All reveal the light that English place names shed not only upon the language but also upon the history of a people and their institutions.

In more recent decades the scholar again using the tools of the etymologist and frequently the base provided by place name endeavor has turned his attention to specialized study in the field of the English personal and family name. This is a natural consequence, for of English surnames not fewer than forty percent⁹ are local derivatives and as such form the largest of the four classes into which surnames are grouped. Löfvenberg's volume on Middle English topographical surnames¹⁰ points the way to a utilization of the great body of place name productivity. At the same time, work in the Old English personal name¹¹ pursued extensively by Björkman,¹² Redin,¹³ von Feilitzen,¹⁴ and Ström,¹⁵ has produced basic data

⁷ *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, Part I, ed. A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, p. 2.

⁸ The most recent being Vol. XXII—*The Place-Names of Cumberland*, Part III, 1952.

⁹ An estimate based upon an analysis of names appearing in the London Directory (1870) actually reaches forty-two per cent for local names. The remainder approximate thirty per cent for baptismal, nineteen per cent for official and hypocoristic (the two combine to form the class called descriptive), and nine per cent for occupational names. See Charles W. Bardsley, *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, p. 2.

¹⁰ Mattias T. Löfvenberg, *Studies on Middle English Local Surnames*.

¹¹ "Personal" here is defined as "given" or "baptismal" name.

¹² E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittelenglischer Zeit* (Halle, 1910); *Studien über die Eigennamen im Beowulf* (Halle, 1920).

¹³ M. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919).

¹⁴ Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*.

¹⁵ Hilmer Ström, *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History*.

regarding a second composite of surnames—that which derives from the baptismal or given name. Materials have been made available in the writings of Björkman on Old English bynames,¹⁶ and more recently of Tengvik¹⁷ in the same field, for the study of yet another class of surnames—the descriptive—as well as of the other types. And again in the Middle English period the investigation of Fransson¹⁸ in occupational names has opened the way for study of the fourth and final class of surnames. These and Ekwall's prolusions on the medieval surname¹⁹ illustrate that primary tenet of scientific approach to both place name and surname: a satisfactory interpretation can be made only after the earliest forms of a name have been adduced.²⁰

Like the place name scholar, the student of folknames has lent assistance to the historian, sociologist, anthropologist, and linguist. The value of the surname, for instance, as a barometer of sociological conditions is exemplified in Ekwall's evidence that apprentices in medieval London not infrequently discarded inherited surnames in order to adopt those of their employers.²¹ In another area, Löffvenberg has drawn upon the Middle English toponymical surname for information concerning the dialects of the different counties and for data pertaining to the history of English sounds.²² Elsewhere, Fransson has demonstrated that abundant material is afforded by Middle English surnames for the history of the English vocabulary. He points to the omission in the *NED* of more than two hundred words designating occupational names that survived only in surnames.²³ And, further, he finds in some fifty name words instances of common nouns that antedate the *NED*'s first recorded entries by three hundred or more years.²⁴

¹⁶ In his *Nordische Personennamen* and in *Zur Englischen Namenkunde* (Halle, 1912).

¹⁷ Gösta Tengvik, *Old English Bynames*.

¹⁸ Gustav Fransson, *Middle English Surnames of Occupation 1100—1350*.

¹⁹ Eilert Ekwall, *Studies on English Place- and Personal Names; Variations in Surnames in Medieval London*.

²⁰ This does not mean that the more general works of Bardsley, Harrison, and others have been superseded. Rather, they have been opened to revision and supplementation.

²¹ *Variations in Surnames in Medieval London*, pp. 12—36.

²² *Op. cit.*, pp. xli, xlii, *et passim*.

²³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 32, 33, *et passim*.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

That these same—and other—values attach to American nomenclature in its early period seems a legitimate premise. To seek such values by extending the methods of English place and personal name scholarship is the specific object of this investigation.

1. First of all, the collection and full examination of the surnames found in eighteenth-century trans-Allegheny Virginia will aid in the identification of modern surnames, many of which cannot be correctly explained without early instances. It is noteworthy to find, for example, 'Becker' and 'Van Camp' existing beside 'Baker' and 'Camp' until the beginning of the nineteenth century when the forms syncretize as 'Baker' and 'Camp.' Name variants thus supply data for determining the national origins of the pioneers. Sometimes, with regard to etymology, the investigation produces what appear to be negative results because alternative possibilities prevent close identification. I have pointed out etymologies, however, even when they are not convincing, in order to cast as much light as possible upon the name in focus. Occasionally, too, when distinctions usually seen in the etymon do not appear, a basis for establishing origins is provided by phonological clues presented in alternate spellings.

2. Within the large body of English surnames brought to attention, an effort has also been made to determine regional origins. Here, again, forms and spellings are of value in identifying names from Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, or the South; for Middle English dialectal differences still find reflection in surnames: e.g., 'Carlton' and 'Charlton,' 'Ellison' and 'Allison,' 'Burkham' and 'Burcham.' In view of recent efforts in that direction, it would seem that a correlation of ethnological and linguistic backgrounds will eventually be requisite for the thorough analysis of present-day American dialects.²⁵

3. In similar fashion, early surname spellings, especially variations over a period of years, will prove of interest in another branch of philological study. Most types of word—no matter how unique the pronunciation of a region—conform to the generally accepted rules of orthography and hence, to the literate person, are invariable. With no present sense or connotation in themselves, surnames

²⁵ See, among others, Charles Carpenter, "The Evolution of Our Dialect," *The West Virginia Review*, VII (1929),9; Cleanth Brooks, *The Relation of the Alabama-Georgia Dialect to the Provincial Dialects of Great Britain* (Baton Rouge, La., 1935).

must stand merely as sounds, even to the clerk who records them. The resultant irregular spellings provide one of the chief keys to the phonetics of early American English.

4. Another contribution of surname study concerns lexicographical matters. Surviving in surnames are many Old and Middle English words that have passed out of use. It is not impossible that early American surnames, some of which are extinct in Britain, preserve old words and meanings not otherwise recorded. 'Beak' is an English surname which Bardsley is unable to identify.²⁶ In early land records of western Virginia is found 'Beakwade,' a surname no longer traditional. The second element (*wade* or *wath*, 'a ford') points significantly to the first as the Northern dialect *beek*, 'a rivulet'.²⁷ With *beak* thus clarified in a dithematic name, it is not illogical to assume that often when it appears as monothematic, the meaning is the same.

5. Only a few remarks need be made here on the value of surnames in place name study. The situation in America reverses that in England where surnames did not establish themselves until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (in Wales not until the sixteenth) and where, as was noted earlier, a high proportion of surnames were adopted local names. Here, on the other hand, as many as sixty percent²⁸ of our place names derive from baptismal and family names. An interesting case is offered by the stream name 'Doll's Run.' One historian says that 'Doll' is an elliptical form of 'Dowdell'.²⁹ Another says that the second syllable of Rudolph Snider's given name supplied 'Doll'.³⁰ While the former seems the more likely explanation, it is not supported by the evidence that a study of personal names presents: Doll Snider ('Doll' alternates with 'Rudolph' in records from 1784) is found living on the stream both before it was dignified with a name and at the time its name came into use, while no 'Dowdell' appears in the early land records. Again, the necessity for a prior consideration of personal names may be seen in the stream name 'Gee Lick Run.' A writer of local

²⁶ *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, p. 87.

²⁷ See James O. Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, I, 158.

²⁸ The figure is based on an analysis of the first one hundred twenty names appearing in Hamill Kenny's *West Virginia Place Names*.

²⁹ Jacob Horn, *The Horn Papers*, II, 519.

³⁰ Earl L. Core, *Chronicles of Core*, pp. 29-30.

history explains³¹ that this run has been called 'G (or Gee) Lick' ever since the letter 'G' was found carved on a beech tree beside a spring here. A very early land claim, however, certifies Edward Ratliff to four hundred acres "on the left-hand fork of Freeman's Creek called Gee Lick Run, adjoining lands of *Gee* Bush, to include his improvement made in 1772."

6. Finally, the study of surnames is of value in itself, for surnames constitute an integral part of our vocabulary and as such deserve no less attention than other words. As Henry Bosley Woolf³² sees the picture, "...the study of names has a well-nigh universal appeal. One finds comments on the subject in the news columns of metropolitan dailies, essays of a popular nature in magazines of wide circulation, and scholarly articles in the learned journals. Books, too, in an increasing stream come from the press, each one a treatment of some hitherto neglected phase of name-study; and yet more volumes on uninvestigated topics in the fields of personal- and place-names are needed and expected."

In what area of surname endeavor should the student concentrate his efforts? One answer appears in the final chapter of Mawer and Stenton's *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names* (Part I)³³ where the observation is made that the history of English personal nomenclature "is a history with an obscure beginning and a fragmentary end." The writer continues, "Its middle phase—the period between the seventh and eleventh centuries—is well understood.... The beginning and the end of the history are no less important."

One may ask, further, where actually lies the end of surname history. If it is arbitrarily set with the close of the period in which surnames became hereditary, it is not far-distant in the past. Black³⁴ points to the fluid state of family nomenclature among the Scottish Highlanders even in the eighteenth century when a man was designated "not seldom by his father's and grandfather's, and great-grandfather's [given] names..."; and Lower,³⁵ quoting a contemporary, writes, "Why, the truth is, that they [surnames] are

³¹ See Kenny, p. 264.

³² Henry Bosley Woolf, *The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving*, p. 1.

³³ pp. 188–9.

³⁴ George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland*, p. xlii.

³⁵ Mark Antony Lower, *English Surnames*, p. 22.

not now, even in the nineteenth century, *fully* established in some parts of England. There are very few, for instance, of the miners of Staffordshire, who bear the names of their fathers." And if the end lies with the passing of morphological and phonological fluctuation, it is certainly nowhere in sight; for names today are constantly undergoing transformation.

The task of classifying and deriving surnames has only begun. The personal nomenclature of eighteenth-century trans-Allegheny Virginia is but a fragment in a lengthening strand. As long as people continue to carry names, it will have no end.

Origins and Forms

On the subject of pioneer origins, West Virginia historians agree that English, Scotch-Irish, and German represent the dominant strains among the settlers of the Trans-Allegheny. The figures, however, of those investigators who find in genealogical or etymological data a base for extending the analysis to proportional representations evidence a disparity.

Apparently working with traditional genealogical materials, Hughes³⁶ traces the ancestries of five hundred pioneer families scattered throughout the western Virginia counties. Maxwell,³⁷ who relies "more upon the origin of the name than upon any knowledge... of the history of the individual,"³⁸ devotes his attention to some eleven hundred early settlers in the Monongalia sub-region. Fast,³⁹ in a more limited inquiry, draws pertinent testimony from the biographical sketches of one hundred Monongalians represented in the *Biographical and Portrait Cyclopaedia of Monongalia, Marion, and Taylor Counties*.⁴⁰ Although the approaches of the three to the subject are variant ones, sufficient common ground exists for drawing a comparison. Their findings, reduced to percentages, are given in Table I.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 109—123.

³⁷ Hu Maxwell, "Pioneers in Monongalia County," *Trans-allegheny Historical Magazine*, I (1902), 284—292.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

³⁹ Richard Ellsworth Fast, "The Pioneers: Whence Came They?" *Trans-allegheny Historical Magazine*, I (1902), 205—208.

⁴⁰ Information in most cases was supplied by subjects themselves. The work appeared in 1895.

Table I: Pioneer Origins (Findings of Historians)

	Hughes	Maxwell	Fast
English	34%	18%	18%
Scotch-Irish and Scotch	23%	61%	21%
German	22%	8%	23%
Irish	8%	4%	
Welsh	5%		
French	3%		3%
Others or Unclassified	5%	7%	28%

Hughes and Fast reach essential agreement with regard to the Scotch-Irish (and Scotch), German, and French elements; Maxwell and Fast with respect to the English element; Hughes and Maxwell not at all. The aberrant figures are chiefly those of Maxwell.

That the genealogical sources upon which all three writers draw are not wholly reliable is made clear by Maxwell, himself, who states, "In my work in the field of county histories I have written brief biographies of several thousand persons whose ancestors lived in the original Monongalia County, and this store of information regarding families frequently assisted me. . . . I at least had at hand what the living representatives of the old families think of the matter. Often, however, they know very little about the nationality of their ancestors."⁴¹ At the same time, Maxwell's survey—extensive and thorough as it is—reflects etymological conclusions that can only be vitiated by the writer's assertion that "I put no name down as Scotch or Scotch-Irish which did not stand the test of being found in good standing in Mr. Charles A. Hanna's new and most excellent work, *The Scotch-Irish*."⁴² Apparently Maxwell's identification of almost two thirds of the West Virginia pioneers as Scotch or Scotch-Irish results from his failure to recognize that a high percent of the Lowland Scotch and Scotch-Irish names are common English surnames as well.

In the Table below I have set forth figures based solely upon linguistic evidence. While such evidence is by no means conclusive, it may help in establishing one fulcrum for the historian.

In the chart the proportion of English names looms large because no distinction can be made on purely etymological grounds between

⁴¹ Maxwell, p. 290.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 291.

Table II: Etymological Classification of the Surnames Found in the Monongalia Sub-Region Before the End of the Revolution

Traditional English 51%	Non-Traditional English 2%	Scottish 8%	Irish 4%	Welsh 2%
German 9%	French 1%	Dutch 1%	South European .5%	Indeter- minate 21.5%

the Anglo-Saxon names of England and those of the Scottish Lowlands and Ulster, between English names and anglicized South Irish names,⁴³ and between certain English and Welsh names of baptismal origin. The residual problem, therefore, of the onomatologist becomes that of extending the classification of British (primarily English) surnames. It may find at least partial solution on linguistic evidence other than that involving the etymon or even the surname itself.

Evidence presented by local surnames may help in determining not only the frontiersman's British ancestral home, but also his first place of settlement in the colonies. Syllogistically, the matter can be put thus: It is certain that more than fifty per cent of the settlers in tidewater Virginia before 1700 were from the southern half of England;⁴⁴ but since the local surnames carried by the early inhabitants of the western slopes of the Alleghenies reflect a dissident pattern, the population cannot extensively represent the tidewater Virginia element. Concomitantly, two-thirds of the New England colonists before 1700 came from the south of England, especially the southeast;⁴⁵ hence, the stream of migration into the western Virginia wilderness shows no close kinship with the New England strain.

After noting this incidence of south English representation in eastern Virginia and New England, Professor Baugh says of the Middle Atlantic region,

⁴³ The fashion of changing Irish into English surnames set in during the time of Edward IV (Woulfe, p. xxxii.)

⁴⁴ Albert C. Baugh, *A History of the English Language*, p. 451. Baugh quotes from the *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* prepared by Charles O. Paulin and John K. Wright, (Washington and New York, 1932), pp. 46-7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

We unfortunately do not have the same sort of information about the early settlers in the middle colonies. But we are not without a basis for inference. We know that the Quakers played the principal part in the settlements along the Delaware, and that this sect had its largest following in the north of England and the north Midlands. We should expect a good many of the settlers in eastern Pennsylvania and the adjacent parts of New Jersey and Delaware to have come from the northern half of England. We know also that large numbers of Scotch-Irish settled in Pennsylvania and were later prominent in the settlement of parts of the South and the West. . . . It would seem likely that the population of the Middle States was much more northern than that of New England and Virginia, and that the prominence of the Scotch-Irish in the constant advance of the western frontier was an influential factor in carrying the form of English spoken in the Middle colonies into the newer territories of the West and in making this speech the basis of General American.⁴⁶

Elsewhere Professor Baugh states that West Virginia was largely settled from western Pennsylvania and seems to belong dialectically with Pennsylvania.⁴⁷

The present investigation lends support to the general conclusions of Professor Baugh. Two corollary details of specific concern to the Monongalia area, however, cannot be overlooked:

1) Paullin and Wright find that the English counties sending the greatest number of settlers to tidewater Virginia were Gloucester, Kent, Yorkshire, and Lancaster.⁴⁸ Worthy of note is the fact that three of these—Yorkshire, Lancaster, and Gloucester—are among the four counties contributing most liberally to the local surnames of Monongalia.

2) There is little to indicate that the number of Scotch-Irish settlers in the Monongalia region was proportionately as large as it may have been elsewhere on the frontier. There is certainly nothing in the body of surnames *per se* to support the statement of John Fiske, the historian, that at one time the Scotch-Irish formed almost the entire population of West Virginia.⁴⁹

Finally, while undoubtedly revealing a north English and Scottish nucleus, the surnames as a group show most palpably the heterogeneous nature of the population of the Monongalia pocket. The same diversity is noticeable for American regional origins, where the figures of Professor Fast⁵⁰ may serve as an epitome. This historian finds that of one hundred pioneer Monongalia County

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 451–452.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

⁴⁹ Fast, p. 207.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

families, ancestry can be traced to Pennsylvania for thirty-four, to Virginia (chiefly the Shenandoah Valley) for twenty-six, to Maryland for eleven, to New Jersey for eight, to Delaware for seven, and to New England for one.

Forms

However diverse their origins, the British and continental surnames planted in early western Virginia became subject to the same processes of evolution; and in the course of adapting to the frontier environment, many of these surnames underwent limited change of form. Certain deviations are significant only so far as they point to phonological changes that follow definitely established sound laws. Others are loosely defined permutations that reflect loss of a uniform standard. The former—vagrant and usually impermanent—serve chiefly as indices to pronunciation. The latter may be marked as tendencies toward new and permanent patterns of morphological development. They are as follows:

Initial Variation

a. Prothesis:

Ackford	Hackford
Artman	Hartman
Askins	Haskins
Azel	Hazel

b. Aphaeresis:

DeBerry	Berry
Lemasters	Masters
MacGuire	Guire
McMahon	Mahon
McNeal	Neal
McWilliams	Williams
O'Cochran	Cochran
O'Glesby	Glesby
Van Camp	Camp
Van Sickle	Sickle

Medial Variation

a. Epenthesis:

<i>d</i> Winslow Rogers	Windslow Rodgers
<i>e</i> Cotrell Henry Judy Kelly Murphy Petty Roby	Coterell Henry Judey Kelley Murphey Pettley Robey
<i>p</i> Tomson	Thompson
<i>s</i> Hawkinberry Hollingsworth Soverns	Hawkinsberry Hollingsworth Saversons
<i>t</i> Harness	Hartness
<i>y</i> Grable Graham	Graybill Grayham

b. Syncope:

Cartwright	Cutright
Colburn	Cobun
Codwalleader	Codwaller
Downward	Donnard
Dunaway	Donnay
Goodwin	Goodin
Harrington	Herenton
Isenor	Isner
Templeton	Templin
Richardson	Richason
Washburn	Washbun

c. Substitution:

Hiley	Highly
Huff	Hough
Kane	Kain
Louther	Lowther
More	Moore
Morriss	Maurice
Orr	Owr
Prather	Prator
Radcliff	Ratcliff
Rhodes	Roads
Salisbury	Salisbury
Slater	Slaughter
Spurgeon	Spurgin
Snyther	Snyder
Veach	Veatch
Wamsley	Wansley
Wilmoth	Wilmouth

Final Variation

a. Epithesis:

<i>d</i> Eckerlin	Eckerland
Freeman	Freemund
McClelan	McCleland
McFarlen	McFarland
[Waller]	Wallard
Worl	World
<i>e</i> Ford	Forde
Low	Lowe
Troy	Troye
<i>g</i> Owens	Owings
Hadden	Hadding
Jenkins	Jenkings
Hutchins	Hutchings
Rainey	Raning

s Bayne

Beek
 Bigg
 Coon
 Dakin
 Daugherty
 Eckerlin
 Goudie
 Griffith
 Grigg
 Hain
 Hay
 Hendrick
 Hughes
 Hutchin
 Lafavour
 Lemaster
 McCollum
 Minnie
 Power
 Richard
 Severn
 Stout
 William
 Wood

t Hacker
 Patten
 Robison

b. Apocope:

Copeland
 Hollan
 Nevill
 Norriss

c. Substitution:

Harbert
 Marchant
 Stewart

Baines

Beeks
 Biggs
 Coons
 Deakins
 Doughities
 Eckerlands
 Goudeys
 Griffiths
 Griggs
 Hains, Hanes
 Hays
 Hendricks
 Huses
 Hutchings
 Lefevors
 Lemasters
 McCollums
 Minnis
 Powers
 Richards
 Severns
 Stouts
 Williams
 Woods
 Hackert
 Pattent
 Robisont

Copelan
 Hollan
 Nevil
 Norris

Harbard
 Marchand
 Steward

Stuart	Stuard
Rees	Reece
Tegarden	Tegards

Metathesis

Cracraft	Corecraft
Province	Purviance
Tomlinson	Tomelson

Transposition

Estell	Estle
Pindall	Pindle

Division

Cartwright	Cart Right
Hogmire	Hog Mire

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Another Bombay.—Lewis Heck's discussion of Bombay, Delaware, reminds me of Bombay in Midland County, Michigan. It was the location of the general store of Kelley Brothers. At this place the drifters of the old Wright and Ketchum logging camps were accustomed to meet. It developed into a loafers hangout, which the settlers called in derision "Bums Bay". Later, as the logged over land was settled by farmers, the latter failed to see the elegance of such nomenclature and the name was changed to Bombay.

Theodore G. Foster.