

Welsh Bynames on the Allegheny

W. R. Davis

Saint Francis University

The Welsh have long suffered from an inadequate number of names. This problem was solved in different ways in different communities. In the Welsh settlement in and around Ebensburg, PA, an elaborate, nuanced system of bynames was created, which served to differentiate similarly-named or identically-named individuals. The system which developed here is apparently unique and has not been previously reported. Characteristics of the bynames and their functions in the life of the community are considered. Annotated appendices of some 500 bynamed individuals are provided.

Introduction

Names such as the following were once well known around Ebensburg and Beulah, Pennsylvania:

David Evans Killheil	Sally Jay Jay	Jennie North Branch
David Evans Cwm Tan	Hugh Evans Pump	Emily Long Tom
David Evans Mason South	Davy Clay Pike	Lizzie Emma John A

Even at first glance these names are strikingly different from other American names. They are constructed differently and their social roles were different as well. Formally, none of the last words in any of these names is an inherited surname; rather they are bynames (often passed from one generation to the next) which served to distinguish one like-named person from another.

These names, and dozens more like them, are part of a previously unreported—and possibly unique—naming system; thus they arouse immediate onomastic and sociological interest. For me, there is a sentimental and emotional attachment as well. I was born in Ebensburg; I was raised with these names and I had used them from birth, never taking any more notice of them than the air around me. But they were striking when I returned to the Welsh community after an absence of 25 years.

Names 49.3 (September 2001):137-210

ISSN:0027-7738

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138 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

These are special names used in a historic Allegheny mountain community and to my knowledge they have never before been seriously considered, or even documented. I believe they are unique in their systematic formation and in their social functions, and they are probably restricted to the Welsh immigrants who settled in Cambria Township, Cambria County, in western Pennsylvania at the end of the 18th century. They are the result of earlier attempts of the Welsh to deal with problems of names and naming as a consequence of the shortage of available names. The names which are collected and analyzed here belong to the period beginning with the arrival of the first Welsh settlers at Beulah and Ebensburg in 1796 and ending about 1918 with the close of World War One, after which few, if any, new names of this type were created.

The primary defining characteristics of the Welsh naming system in this area are the pervasive use of postposed bynames, the kind which gave rise to hereditary English surnames, and their relation to the social structure and cultural self-image of the immigrant group which created and adapted them. Men were frequently identified by reference to their occupation or to a location associated with them, such as John Evans Sawyer, distinguished by trade and John Evans Ridge, distinguished by site. Both men are named John Evans, a common name combination. I have so far identified 27 men in this community named John Evans, each of whom was distinguished from the others by a unique byname. These are listed in appendix A in the JE section.

Although postposed bynaming was generally applied to males, the practice was often extended to women as well, but with some important differences. While a byname was simply added to a man's existing name, it was likely to replace a woman's surname; thus John Lloyd Beulah (the John Lloyd who lived at Beulah), but Annie Richard (the wife of Richard Hughes). Furthermore, a woman's byname was not based upon occupation or residence but was most often derived from the name of the principal male in her life. I identified three Emily Evanses; they were known as Emily Tom, Emily Long Tom, and Emily Jacob, for a husband (Tom Evans Blacksmith), a suitor (Long Tom Hughes), and a father (Jacob Evans). Upon marriage women were likely to receive their husbands' bynames in place of their own surnames or even in place of the bynames which they may have had before marriage. When Jenny Jones married John Evans North Branch she was known as Jenny North Branch. A single woman often assumed a byname relating

her to her father, and while the byname might change over time, the reference remained clear. Martha Jones, the unmarried daughter of Frank Jones, the town cop, was, successively, Martha Jones Frank, Martha Frank, Martha Jones Policeman, and Martha Policeman.

These bynames were known and used throughout the Welsh community. They appeared in newspapers, on gravestones and stained glass windows, on tax assessment lists and rosters of social and governmental organizations. They were so well known that the postmaster would unhesitatingly deliver to Catherine Davies, widow of the barber, Richard C Davies, letters addressed simply to "Mrs Dick Barber Town." Several examples of records containing bynames are shown in figure 1.

Although the general shortage of Welsh names is widely known and Welsh naming traditions in both the United Kingdom and the United States have received scholarly attention, the bynaming described here is distinctive, intricate, and much more sophisticated than that of any other Welsh-American community which has come to my attention.

Setting

The town of Ebensburg, Pennsylvania (approximately 15 miles due west of Altoona) is a distinct American community. It, and much of Cambria Township, and indeed of Cambria County, in which it is located, was settled by Welsh immigrants beginning in 1796. Sight unseen, the first settlers bought a wild, isolated tract of more than 17,000 acres on the eastern continental divide and walked to it from Philadelphia, a sixty-one day trek. It was an arduous and often perilous undertaking, but the settlers were desperate to found a *gwladfa*, a new homeland where they could continue to speak Welsh and maintain traditional Welsh culture. Theirs was the first Welsh colony in the newly-independent United States. The Independent Church which they established in Ebensburg became the first Welsh Congregational Church in America, the first Congregational Church in Pennsylvania, and the first church of any kind in the Allegheny wilderness, which only shortly before had been opened to white settlement by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, which ended hostilities with the Iroquois Confederacy in 1768.

The Welsh of Ebensburg and neighboring Beulah kept their language and traditional society for more than a hundred years and entered the 20th Century as the oldest Welsh community in the United States with living folkways and traditions.¹

140 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

Figure 1. Tracings from Document M-30, Cambria County Historical Society, Accounts of James Woodworkers. Cross-referenced to appendix A, bynamed males.

Thomas Jones saw Mill

THOMAS JONES SAWMILL (TJ 8b). P. 35 (1843).

D Jones Claypike

DAVID JONES CLAYPIKE (DJ 14). P. 12 (1843).

Richard Lewis Store

RICHARD LEWIS STORE (RL 1). P. 19 (1842-49).

John Roberts N

JOHN E ROBERTS NORTH (JR 4). Index.

Mr ... Clark at the Tunnel

MR CLARK AT THE TUNNEL (XC 1). P. 12 (1843).

Evan Hughes shoe maker

EVAN HUGHES SHOEMAKER (EH 2). P. 48 (1843).

Evan Hughes Farmer

EVAN HUGHES FARMER (EH 3). P. 75 (1845).

David Evans Mason South

DAVID EVANS MASON SOUTH (DE 14). P. 72 (1846).

Thos John Gate

John Thomas Gate

JOHN THOMAS GATE (JT 4). P. 23 (1842).

Daniel Jones father in law to ^{*Jones with note*}

DANIEL JONES (DJ 2). P. 52 (1843).

John J (Evans) Tanner

JOHN EVANS TANNER (JE 19). P. 112 (1851).

R^d Jones S, C,

RICHARD JONES STONECUTTER (RJ 3b). P. 85 (1849).

Richard Davis Butcher

R. Bucher
Richard Daves

RICHARD DAVIS BUTCHER (RD 2). Index and page account number 88 (c. 1845-50).

Of particular interest is the placement of the byname in the lower entry which suggests that this man was known popularly as Richard Butcher. He is the father of John R Butcher (JD 4b).

142 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

The stereotype which associates the Welsh with coal mining, iron smelting, labor unrest, and male choirs does not apply to the people of this community. Cambria township was in origin—and to an extent remains—an 18th Century preindustrial society, overwhelmingly agrarian in background and in outlook. While it is true that bituminous coal mining later came to the area, it lasted only a short time and left the society much as it had been. Spiritually the Welsh community was defined by somber, obstinate, non-conformist sectarianism, farmhouse preaching, and “chapelism,”² firmly imbedded in and conveyed by the Welsh language. The economics of the community were described by R. H. Tawney (1922) in a well-known passage:

It is a natural, rather than a money, economy, consisting of the petty dealings of peasants [farmers] and craftsmen in the small market town, where industry is carried on for the subsistence of the household and the consumption of wealth follows hard upon the production of it, and where commerce and finance are occasional incidents, rather than the forces which keep the whole system in motion. (91)

From the beginning these Welsh actively opposed the recognized concomitants of modern capitalism: “enterprise, the greed of gain, restless competition, . . . clamorous economic appetites.” Their founder and leader, Morgan John Rhys, believed that civilization was to be spread by assaulting the wilderness with large numbers of farmers and mechanics. Farmers and artisans headed the list of civic leaders. As late as the early 1900s, young men, when asked what they wanted to be when they grew up, routinely said “a good mechanic,” because in this community nothing was more respected or more vital. These values are reflected in the bynames used within the community, so it was only natural that employments supplied the majority of the bynames.

Welsh Names and Naming

The Welsh are everywhere known to suffer from an acute lack of personal names and there is no tradition of inherited family names. Alan Conway, for example, in the preface to *The Welsh in America* (1961), remarks that “unfortunately, the majority of Welsh people share common surnames like Jones, Thomas, Evans, Davies, Edwards, Williams, Lewis, Roberts and Griffiths. As a result the identification of any one John Jones is virtually impossible.”

T. E. Morris, a Welshman, writes:

Most of our surnames are derived from a number of Christian names and are borne by so many individuals and families in common that, generally speaking, surnames may well be said to have ceased to become distinctive as single surnames. It has been necessary, for at least two or three generations, when reference is made to a particular person bearing a common Welsh surname, to add either his personal-name, his calling, his place of abode, or some other distinguishing feature, to mark him among his fellows. Sometimes two or more of these alternatives have to be added, and even a nickname occasionally becomes handy! (1932, 93)

E. G. Hartmann (1967, 40), speculating on the fate of the Welsh from the earliest colonial times, thinks that “probably all these people merged quickly into the great body of their English-speaking neighbors so that only the existence of Welsh surnames gives a clue to their proper identity.”

Sensing that there is a difficulty here which cannot be disposed of so handily, Hartmann adds a long footnote which is worth quoting in its entirety:

The Welsh surnames present numerous difficulties to the student of local Welsh history, genealogy, and Welsh settlements throughout the world. Some thirty-nine surnames and their variant spellings include about ninety-five percent of the Welsh wherever found. Surnames are of three sorts: Anglicanized patronomic possessives; their Welsh equivalents, and those of pure Keltic derivation. The first are the most numerous and in order of their numerical strength follow: Jones, Williams, Thomas, Edwards, Richards, Owens, Davies or Davis, Hughes, Roberts, Lewis, Evans, Howell or Howells, James, Humphreys, Morris, Harris, Daniels, Jenkins, Walters, Hopkins. The second group, corresponding to the Mac's and Mc's of the Irish and Scots, are the result of the incorporation of the Welsh word for son, *mab* before vowels and *map* before consonants, with the patronomic. Thus *mab* Owen (son of Owen) eventually became *ab* Owen, then *Bowen*; *map* Richard, *ap* Richard, then *Pritchard*; *map* Hugh, *ap* Hugh, and, dropping the h, *Pugh*. The most numerous of such names include *Powell*, *Pugh*, *Price*, *Parry*, *Probert*, *Pritchard*, *Bowen* and *Bevan*. To the third class belong such names as *Lloyd*, *Morgan*, *Gwynne*, *Griffith*, *Vaughan*, *Meredith*, and *Llewelyn*.

With such a paucity of surnames even the Welsh found it difficult to distinguish their fellows accurately for identification purposes. It became the custom to tack onto the person's name some further identification. Virtually every Welsh colony had its *John Jones the Shop*, *John Jones the Deacon*, *John Jones Peg-leg*, and the like. Very amusing examples of such

144 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

further identification exist, including that of the prairie community of Powell, South Dakota, where there was a Hugh Roberts Religious, a Hugh Roberts Ungodly, and a Hugh Roberts Inbetween! (58, n. 3)

Hartmann leaves the mention of names at this point; unfortunately so because the levity of the Hugh Roberts example would lead a reader to believe that the use of such bynames was a less serious matter than it actually was and also because he was doubtless aware of many other examples of bynames which are now lost.

One of the notable features of the Allegheny Welsh was the particular way they coped with the traditional dearth of personal, especially family names. The local answer to this universal Welsh problem was persistent, methodical bynaming, and of a kind apparently unique to this community.

The Ebensburg *Mountaineer-Herald* is a local weekly newspaper and it is a major source of written bynames dating back to the Civil War. In 1970 the editor, David Thompson, Sr., confirmed and underscored for me the widespread use of the particular type of byname used by the Welsh of Cambria Township. "As far as the Welsh were concerned," he said, "we had special handles for them *all*. Otherwise we'd never have been able to keep them straight."

I talked to others who habitually identified a particular person as a "Davis Something-or-Other" or a "Jones Something-or-Other," more certain that the person had a byname than able to recall exactly what it was. In Ebensburg an outside researcher working with lists of names found on muster rolls, wills, deeds, genealogies, and similar documents will eventually be confounded by the bynames and wonder if David E Evans Sawyer is an Evans or a Sawyer, or if Daniel Jones West is a Jones or a West, simply because it is often difficult to sort out name from byname from the written documents alone.

Although my study of these names has been pursued for more than 30 years, I realize that even though I include in the appendices nearly 500 individuals with bynames, I have only scratched the surface of Welsh bynaming in this area; I am certain that there are many more bynames still to be uncovered in addition to the many more which were never recorded and are now no longer remembered. The practice was so pervasive that bynames were frequently used even when the surname was enough to identify an individual. The use of bynames was so widespread and so ingrained in the community that a speaker often felt

obligated to add the byname in order to complete the name, to fill the hole in a name, since the surname did not “feel final.”

As mentioned above, this phenomenon has gone generally unnoticed, even in the popular press, which usually takes an interest in such things. I know of only a few exceptions; these include an article in the *New York Sun* of January 22, 1911, entitled “Many Welshmen, Few Names,” which was reprinted in a local weekly in Ebensburg about 1922. The editor of the *Mountaineer Herald*, David Thompson, thought he also remembered a short item or two in Pittsburgh or Philadelphia papers in the early 1920s, but he was never able to find them again. Beyond these, nothing has apparently appeared in print since, outside of several brief notices of my own work (e.g., Davis 1988a; 1988b) in local western Pennsylvania publications.

The lack of consideration by serious scholars is even more remarkable. Although a body of significant scholarship is available on this Welsh community, its origins and early development, particularly by the historian Gwyn Alf Williams of the University of Wales (1980), the names created and used in Ebensburg have not been treated systematically or in any detail.

Family Names in Wales

Reaney (1995) notes that hereditary English surnames developed at any time in the 300 years following the Norman Conquest and he suggests that few new surnames were created after 1500. Two dates figure prominently in the dominance of England over Wales: the investiture of the future Edward II as Prince of Wales in 1301 and the extension of English law to Wales by an act forced through Parliament by the half-Welsh Henry VIII in 1542. The former date is associated with the settlement of increasing numbers of Welsh in the marches and the latter with a sense of grudging obligation on the part of the Welsh to conform to English naming conventions, at least for legal purposes. Reaney notes that in compliance with Parliament’s edict the adoption of surnames was a public rather than a private expedient because “the individual had no need for a label to distinguish himself from his fellows. . . . It was the official who required exact identification of the individual” (1995, xlv-xlvi).

For this reason the adoption of hereditary surnames in Wales came late and was incomplete. Intermingling in the border counties after 1301 and legal subordination after 1542 brought Welsh naming practices into

146 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

direct contact and competition with those of the English. Official naming in Wales had been strongly influenced by the tradition of gavelkind, which provided for the division of family property among the sons of a deceased male. In accordance with this tradition (guaranteed by Edward I and in effect until revoked by Henry VIII) only males needed to be clearly identified and then only to establish their relationship to their male progenitors. This patronymic demand could be manifested in either the ruling English way or the native Welsh way. Assuming an ancestor named Hugh, the two groups were likely to treat subsequent generations in the following way:

	Welsh	English
I	Hugh	Hugh
II	Griffith ap Hugh	Griffith Hughes[on]
III	Evan ap Griffith ap Hugh	Evan Griffiths[on]
IV	Rees ap Evan ap Griffith ap Hugh	Rees Evans[on]

The typical Welsh practice was an open-ended string of genealogical facts, “a rudimentary pedigree,” as Pine (1965) calls it, which became fully distinguishing after citing anywhere from 3 to 6 generations of male forebears (but was not necessarily limited to any particular number).

The early English naming system operated on the same principle at first, but it was usually closed after the first patronymic. When a Welshman, by circumstance or inclination, was moved to adopt a transmittable surname, he simply suspended the process and kept the first patronymic. On the English side this gave the common names *Hughes*, *Griffiths*, *Evans*, *Davies* (< Davy’s son), etc. and on the Welsh side it yielded such names as *Pugh* (< ap Hugh), *Powell* (< ap Howell), *Bevan* (< ap Evan), *Pritchard* (< ap Richard), and the like.

This system did not follow the Welsh to America, at least not to Ebensburg. There is only one recorded instance of this accumulation of patronymics in the Allegheny and this is by an immigrant Welshman born in 1806. “According to his own account, Daniel J. Jones was a son of John, ap (meaning son of) Daniel, ap John ap Evan, ap John ap Evan, having his record for six generations.” (Storey 1907, III, 59)

The tenacity with which the Welsh clung to tradition and resisted hereditary surnames is notorious and the Welsh use of multiple patronymics was the butt of endless jests by the English and the Scots;

typical is the following passage from Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* in which Wamba, the jester, sings of the Widow of Wycombe's rejection of her Welsh suitor:

Sir Davit ap Morgan ap Griffith ap Hugh
Ap Tudor ap Rhice, quoth his roundelay;
She said that one widow for so many was too few,
And she bade the Welshman wend his way.

Although examples of hereditary surnames can be found among the Welsh gentry as early as the reign of Henry VIII, the English Registrar General can still say in his official report for the year 1853 "at the present day [hereditary surnames] can scarcely be said to be adopted among the lower classes in the wilder districts."

In an adaptation of their native system, the Welsh practice became one whereby a father's given name was usually taken by his son as a surname: Thomas Hughes, son of Hugh Jones. But one may not assume that this custom was universal—as Reaney (1995, lii) points out—even in the mid-19th Century when, for instance, the three sons of Evan Thomas and Gwen Jones were known as Howal Thomas (from the father's surname), Hugh Evans (from the father's given name), and Owen Jones (from the mother's surname).

The concentration of *Jones*, *Williams*, *Davis*, along with a few other names, brought a need for further distinction among the Welsh. To address the situation, double surnames such as *Cynddylan Jones* and *Rhondda Williams* (cf. Reaney 1995, lii), created by prefixing the name of a house, farm, parish, or mother's surname, began to appear. Subsequent generations often standardized these double surnames by introducing a hyphen: *Nash-Williams*, *Sirhowy-Jones*, *Pryce-Davies*.

That these practices are due, in part at least, to the Welsh desire to achieve some sort of social mobility within the rigid English class system is suggested by Anthony Glyn who reported in 1970 that no "unhyphenated Jones" was commissioned as an officer in the Welsh Guards.

Welsh Names in America

By and large, the Welsh in the United States adopted Anglo-American naming practices. Consequently, most writers, although aware of some of the resulting confusions, have relegated the subject of names largely to asides and footnotes.

148 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

Both Conway (1961) and Hartmann (1967) are obliged by the very nature of their work to cite many personal names. When these overlap the authors distinguish when necessary between individuals of identical or very similar names by using some general conventions which have arisen in both Wales and the United States during the last century and a half.

Hybrid Names

Hartmann's *Americans From Wales* is dedicated

To

My parents, Louis and Catherine Jones-Davis Hartmann,
My grandparents, Edward R. Jones (*Penhernwenfach*)
and Jane Davis (*Tynllwyn*), and
My aunt, Miss Harriet Jones

Hartmann's mother has three surnames, in order, her father's, her mother's, and her husband's. While such hyphenated Welsh names have become somewhat common, one cannot be sure exactly how each one was formed or acquired. An Ebensburg grandmother is referred to as Catherine Jones-Evans. Orphaned very young, she was raised by an older sister who had married an Evans. When she herself married she might have been named Catherine Jones-Evans Davies, but the *Evans* would not have come from her mother as was the case with Hartmann's mother. It could have come from a number of places and we know its actual origin purely by chance.

To Hartmann's grandparents' names, appended parenthetically and in italics, are the names of villages in Wales, but they could also be the names of farms or other geographical features. Even knowing the origins of these names, one still can not be certain just how they connect with the individuals so named. They may be toponyms of origin of the individual or the family; they may be current or long prior residences; or they may have been assumed arbitrarily, perhaps for added social prestige. The revered Welsh religious poet, William Williams, is known simply as *Pantycelyn* 'Holly Hollow', the name of his modest farm.

As a young coal miner in Wales, Dick Davies made pine coffins at night with his miner buddies, Dick and Jim Jones, to pick up extra money. Dick and Jim Jones went off to study at the university. Years later when they appeared in the United States as ordained ministers, they

were Rev. R. Sirhowy Jones and Rev. J. Twyson Jones, sometimes with and sometimes without hyphens. *Sirhowy* has a grand, exotic ring to it, but it's just the name of a sooty little coal town and a polluted stream near the boys' childhood home. Dick Jones picked it up, plugged it in, and became a dignified, hyphenated Welshman. Brother Jim did likewise and picked up Twyson.

Patronymic Initials

To add to the complexity there is yet another concurrent, mixed system of naming, the result of pressure to conform to Anglo-American naming practices. In the old family Bibles Welsh males are recorded with a single given name, linked often, but not always, by a traditional particle (*ap* in Welsh, *of* in English) to the fathers' names in the typical Welsh way. Thus, Tom Davis' sons appear as John of Thomas, Stephen of Thomas, and Nathaniel of Thomas. The *of* or *ap*, if noted at all, tends to have no place on muster rolls, or on church and civic registries and it has now given way to the spread of the first name-middle initial-last name convention. On such public records, Tom Davis' sons now appear as John T. Davis, Stephen T. Davis, and Nathaniel T. Davis, all with the same initial (from *Thomas*). Tom's own name appears on the bronze plaque of the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Ebensburg as Thomas D. Davis with the same kind of vestigial initial derived by historical circumstance from Davy Davis Watchmaker, his father, and not from a deliberately given name. It was assigned to him by military record keepers who had blanks to fill for first name, middle initial, and last name.

Often the individuals themselves are unaware of the process and think they were intentionally given two names as later became the fashion. (No Welsh are ever "given" two names.) In one case a baptismal record reads "Leslie Davies of Richard," then "Leslie of Richard Davies." The initial began to replace *Richard* until Leslie eventually entered public school as Leslie R. Davies. He has thought all his life that he had been given the name Richard, but, of course, he had not.

Chalmers Roberts, distinguished journalist and Paris correspondent for the *Washington Post* in World War Two, had an ancestor, Hugh Roberts, who came to Ebensburg from Wales in 1796 and built the log house in which the writer now lives. Hugh Roberts had several sons, recorded as David H., Robert H., and John H. Chalmers Roberts once

150 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

remarked to me: "I can't understand why all Hugh's sons have the same middle initial." He seemed quite surprised to learn that it was a concealed patronymic, a remnant of their father's given name which survived because of a systematic blending of Welsh and English naming traditions. It's a fairly safe assumption that for men in this community if an initial persists, it's a patronymic. But there are exceptions since the initial may also derive from a postposed byname. Ignorance of these naming practices, together with hyphenization and the use of toponymics, has created a great deal of confusion for genealogical researchers and has led them along many false trails and into many blind alleys.

Literary and Patriotic Eponyms

There also developed after the Civil War, possibly as a means for escaping the limitations and ambiguities of the Welsh naming system, a practice of giving male children the full name of an admired literary or political figure. Among those known to me are Walter S. Davis (for Sir Walter Scott), B. F. "Frank" Jervis and B. Franklin James (for Benjamin Franklin), William H. Davies (for William Henry Harrison), and Abraham Lincoln Lloyd. This practice mixes with others in various ways and it is often difficult without direct knowledge to determine the exact source of a particular name. Byron W. Davis has Byron for the poet combined with a patronymic middle initial.

Bardic Names and Pseudonyms.

Literacy among the pioneer Welsh in Ebensburg was widespread and almost entirely due to basic Bible study, a few religious tracts, and the reading of one or two Welsh language newspapers, especially *Y Drych* 'The Mirror'. Celtic saints with non-biblical names such as *Dyfrg*, *Illtud*, *Cadog*, and *Beuno* were largely unknown or ignored. Only exceptionally was anyone associated with the bardic *eisteddfod* or other cultural revival movements which were flourishing back in Wales. Even the now-popular, folksy *gymnafa ganu* hymnsings were brought to Ebensburg between the World Wars.³ Children in Ebensburg rarely heard a Welsh folksong or poem and knew it to be such. In the 1920s they would most likely learn about "Men of Harlech," "Deck the Halls," "All Through the Night," and other traditional Welsh tunes from Lucille Kuhn, their Pennsylvania Dutch public school music teacher.

Revival of Welsh language and culture and political activism in Wales in the late 1800s never caused a ripple in Ebensburg. When new immigrants from Wales, with names like *Caradog*, *Taliesin*, and *Aneurin*, began to arrive from the industrial cities singing unfamiliar hymns, they were somehow “different.” “They are nice boys” the ladies would say, “but they are the ‘new’ Welsh.” Even today, a Welsh-American farmer here calls them “professional Welshmen.” The names which now stud St. David’s Day observances throughout the United States (*Geraint*, *Gareth*, *Iorwerth*, *Meurig*, *Elfodd*, *Emrys*, *Eifion*, *Mair*, *Gwilym*, among others) never became part of the tradition of Ebensburg families.

It is perhaps transitory, but pertinent nonetheless, to mention this important aspect of Welsh naming to complete the complex mosaic of names with which we are dealing. Some idea of these names and the complexities they add to the overall naming process can be gathered from appendix C, which lists names found in the most recent (1979) United States National Gymnfa Ganu hymnal. They provide a great deal of material for historical explanation and comparison with the Welsh names considered in detail here.

I have dwelt on the general subject of Welsh names rather at length to show its complexity and how vexatious it can become. In my own experience the work of a number of genealogists and local historians has reached a dead end due to name confusion which in a number of instances caused the investigators to suspend or even abandon their projects. The local Welsh community itself recognized this problem early on and dealt with it in its own way, mainly through an organized system of bynaming.

Bynaming in Ebensburg

The bynames performed a primary social function within the community. They were permanent and were clearly not epithets or nicknames and they were not presumed by the community to necessarily contain any literal, factual or current information about the person so named (although the byname may once have been pertinent, perhaps generations before). Morgan Tanner was a lawyer, John Davis Butcher was a paddy on the railroad, John Williams Preacher was a farmer, and Evan Evans Shoemaker was a grocer. The bynames were rarely pejorative or humorous, although occasional well-intentioned formations with amusing overtones were created.

152 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

The bynames were recognized throughout the community and used in newspapers, by postmasters and tax assessors, and on commemorative plaques and monuments to pinpoint otherwise unsure identities.

The bynames were inheritable along with or independent of the surname. Davy Evans Sawyer was not himself a lumberman; he came by his byname from his father, Evan Evans Sawyer, who was. There was a John Jones Camphill recorded in 1820 and another in 1920, the latter a scion of an unbroken line of John Joneses Camphill.

Postposed and Preposed Auxiliary Names.

Among the traditional Welsh of Ebensburg the choice between preposed or postposed auxiliary names was culturally defining; if preposed, you were general American; if postposed, you were Welsh. Your choice showed membership in a particular ethnic community. The origins of the Welsh practice are unclear; the postposed bynames may have arisen from the fact that in Welsh adjectives and attributive phrases follow the nouns they modify: *eglwys fach* 'a church little', *John y mawr* 'John the big'.

In general American English, auxiliary names usually precede family names and often precede given names as well: George Herman "Babe" Ruth, Diamond Jim Brady. In Ebensburg preposed auxiliary names were common, but they were used by the Welsh primarily with deliberate, humorous, derisive, or pejorative intent, more like nicknames than bynames. From the Joneses alone, I remember Nickelodeon Bill Jones, Prayin' Bill Jones, Cinnamon Liz Jones, Pee-Pee Jones (and Mrs. Pee-Pee, his wife), Pinky Ann (from her pinking shears) Jones, Rain-or-Shine Jones, Bumpus Jones, and many others.

The distinction between nicknames (preposed) and bynames (postposed) was an important one and may mask a number of serious social distinctions. Nicknames were optional and commented on individuals and society, while bynames were a necessary part of a person's name (and identity). I remember Nigger Bill Roberts, Nigger Nell ("goin' to Hell on a peanut shell"), and Black Sam Williams. But we also had Charles Carter Colored, Robert Linton Johnston Colored, Colonel William Roberts Colored, and Major John Thomas Colored, where all references were positive and deferential. It was at once surprising and reassuring to find the Welsh treating Blacks and Whites equally and showing this equality in their characteristic preposed vs. postposed naming patterns.

Preposed or postposed names signaled social distinctions and social orientations. Tommy Davis was retarded; when he was viewed with empathy, he was Tommy Davis Tinkle or Tommy Tinkle, since postposed bynames were value neutral; but if he was viewed unsympathetically, he was Tinkle Davis or Tinkle Tommy.⁴ Preposed bynames or nicknames were often tinged with scorn. This nuance may be the exclusive province of the Ebensburg Welsh; to my knowledge it has not been reported in other communities. Older generations, especially the ethnically proud and socially conscious women of the community, made these distinctions carefully and consistently.

I asked a woman of mixed (not entirely Welsh) background whether she remembered Ed Jones Tinner. Of course she did. She remembered "Tinner Jones" very well and pointed out exactly where his shop had once been. But she had reversed the name as it was presented to her. When I put the same question to two thoroughly Welsh ladies, they both knew him as well. The first referred to him as "E O Tinner" and the other as "Ed Jones Tinner," each either reinforcing or reducing the name as used by the questioner. E O Tinner is an acceptable reduction of Edward O Jones Tinner, intended to show that the byname enjoys precedence and may preempt conventional surnaming. Numerous examples of this phenomenon can be seen in the appendices. Mutual reinforcement of this kind was quite common in conversation among knowledgeable speakers.

On a similar occasion I made an effort to elicit recall of a local attorney, well known at the turn of the century, whose name was William Harrison Davis. (President William Henry Harrison was a popular eponym among the Welsh of the region.) The attorney was a colorful, eccentric, and outrageous figure addicted to bourbon whiskey and Morgan horses, both of which he kept in quantity at his midtown home. An elderly Welsh lady said that he galloped off his drunken binges on the unpaved streets of Ebensburg, the street in front of her house being on his route. But she never used a tone of censure and always spoke proudly of him (as did her Welsh neighbors) as Bill Davis Lawyer. In his non-Welsh persona he was caricatured and satirized as "Foghorn Bill" because of his deep, resonant courtroom voice. To queries recalling "Lawyer Bill" and "Foghorn Bill," there were many responses. One day in conversation with an 80 year old retired Welsh school teacher his name came up and she remarked quite pointedly: "*they* called him Lawyer Bill, but *we* always said Bill Davis Lawyer."

We were the Welsh; *they* were all the others. That was preposed versus postposed in its quintessential form.

This remarkable lady, “Miss Jean” Davis, more than anyone else in later years, gently put interviewers right when they strayed from the “Welsh way.” She did so mostly from the rocker on the front porch of her home and one could never predict just when or how she would do it, but everyone knew that a slip was sure to be corrected; it could not be ignored. She was sure who my mother was but one day she felt compelled to be sure about my father’s identity and asked exactly which “Davis” he was. Upon being baited unfairly with a non-Welsh reply to the effect that my father was Pepper Davis, she quietly observed: “Oh yes, of course, Harry Davis Pepper. Harry Pepper was your father.” She made the correction by putting the byname where it belonged and deleting the surname, affirming again the precedence of the byname. (Harry Davis Pepper is HD 1 in appendix A. He was so named for his vigor and vitality and also because an athlete who inspired these qualities in his teammates was known as “the pepper.”)

She also spoke of her colleague, the grande dame of all of Ebensburg’s school mistresses, Miss Annie M. Jones (ANN 2 in appendix B) who taught good sentence structure and classical parsing to three generations of school children, referring to her as “Miss Annie Tom L” (Tom L Jones was her father.) Miss Annie Jones’s brother, Herman, married Annie Davis, creating a second Annie Jones, but this posed little problem since she quickly became “Annie Herm.” That was the Welsh way—tack on the name of the main male in her life. This instance confirmed early notions I was forming about the special system for naming women (and men under certain limited circumstances) and for which I am using the term “sponsonymics” since there does not appear to be a serviceable existing one.

In another instance, I had suspected for some time that data on a certain Tom Hughes (TH 1 in appendix A) was incomplete. His was an example of multiple bynaming which was unusual but occasionally occurred. He was known as Long Tom Hughes, Tom Hughes Granger, Tom Hughes Evangelist, and Tom Hughes East. His wife was Emily Long Tom and jointly they were referred to as Long Tom and Little Emily. I was puzzled by the fact that the most popular of his nicknames, Long Tom, referring to his height, did not seem to have arisen from an add-on of the Welsh type. I thought that the two types might be mutually exclusive, but one day I overheard a woman talking about *Tom Hughes*

High-Shoulder(s) and when I questioned her she said, “Oh yes, he was also called Long Tom but *we* always called him *Tom Hughes High-Shoulder(s)*.” And there was the missing Welsh-type byname in appropriate postposition.

Byname Grammar

Historically, definite articles, prepositions, and particles may have served as transitional elements or grammatical bridges between a name and some additional identifying feature such as a place of residence, occupation, parent, or sponsor. Where the definite article is involved we may simply be dealing with traditional epithets. While the linking particle persists unsuppressed or unmodified, the evolution of the bynames is incomplete.

It is uncertain that such links were ever in general use on the Allegheny. Contemporary name usage in Wales, however, depends especially on the definite article and might be termed epithetical were it not for the fact that descriptive adjectives are almost never used and the terms chosen do not call attention to any personal quality of the individual. Modern Welsh naming of this type can be seen in Richard Llewelyn’s *How Green Was My Valley*, whose characters include Dai Ellis the Stable, Old Owen the Mill, Ellis the Post, Daniel Thomas the Woodyard, Mr. Evans the Colliery, and Mrs. Mostyn the Grove. This, as far as I know, is still the practice in Wales. Fowkes (1981) includes a discussion and gives additional examples, such as Evans the School (school=teacher), Ned the Engine, and Wil the Milk (269).

Evolution of the Bynames

In and around Ebensburg, byname usage differed from that in Wales from the start. Written evidence of these bynames dates from as early as 1796, when the first settlers arrived, and linkages such as those mentioned in the previous section are almost never found. The few exceptions are where the byname is in Welsh and where the byname includes *y* ‘the’: *y crydd* ‘the shoemaker’, *y mawr* ‘the big’, *y gof* ‘the smith’.

It is tempting to posit phrases like “the Elizabeth Jones on Phaney Street,” or “Elizabeth Jones of Ambrose Jones,” as primitives which evolve gradually into “Elizabeth Jones Phaney,” and “Elizabeth Ambrose.” But there is scant evidence for this as a process of byname formation. Overwhelmingly, even when it is first attested, a byname is a free name constituent; it is not joined to the base name by any

156 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

grammatical element(s). Furthermore, there are usually no interim or transitional forms. (An interesting exception is the case of David J Evans Farmer, DE 10 e in appendix A.)

The sponsonymic particle *of* was once in wide use without any particularly Welsh associations and characteristic of (though not limited to) women's names. It is apparently restricted to written names and was commonly found in both public and church records:

Mrs. Eliza Evans of D (husband's initial)

Mrs. Eliza Evans of Thomas (husband)

Dora Owens of D L (father's initials)

William Pryce of Harry (father).

The idea that some form of attrition is at work and that these bynames evolved from phrase reduction is not justified by the available evidence and I take this point to be an important indicator of the psychology of the speakers, who are thoroughly synchronic in their outlook and do not exhibit any knowledge of or concern for any prior states of the forms they use.

Particles, which persist in Wales, are rare in Ebensburg. Occasionally, however, there are alternate forms with prepositions used with toponymics: *in the hollow*, *on the mountain*, *at the tunnel*, *by the gate* alternate with *hollow*, *mountain*, *tunnel*, and *gate*, respectively, and an occasional *the ridge* or *the pump* alternates with plain *ridge* and *pump* in the same person's name. The overwhelming preference, however, is to avoid any grammatical linkage, and probably because linking elements impede the perception of the byname as an integral part of the name itself.

Stress and Bynames

Phonetically the bynames assume the position of prominence usually reserved for the inherited surname and thus take the tonic accent, thereby increasing the salience of the byname. I have heard these names pronounced hundreds of times by the oldest and most typical speakers. There is absolute agreement and uniformity in their stress pattern. If there is the slightest hint of isolation of the byname, making it sound for instance as if it is standing in apposition to the surname or is simply "something extra" and not an integral part of the name, it will be immediately perceived as unauthentic or originating outside of the community (although nothing will be said). For this reason bynames are

most often understood by strangers to be the actual surnames (even though *Sally Jay Jay* might strike them as a bit odd) and they become surrogates for the old surnames, and freely preempt them, as noted above.

In unmarked contexts bynames are stressed as though they were surnames. In English, surnames carry the tonic accent of the name phrase and are stressed according to their phonetic composition, as with other nouns. Bynames are stressed similarly: Annie M Jones Tom *Á*, Martha Jones Policeman, John Davis y *Máwr*, David E Evans *Grócer*. As a result, the original family name (surname) is often obscured and over time forgotten, even by formerly close friends.⁵ In 1998, a former resident of Ebensburg tried to find out the “real” name of Johnny Hoehandle, who used to pitch horseshoes behind the Knights of Columbus Hall in the 1920s. As far as could be determined, only people who themselves had played horseshoes back then knew him and they had forgotten his family name, and were thus unable to connect him with any family in the community.

A man named Thorne (given name unknown), and nicknamed “Jiggers,” did sewing and made alterations. People may have said Tailor Thorne or Tailor Jiggers, but one family at least always sent its children to Jiggers Tailor (a patently Welsh formation). Their children once looked for him in the phone book under the family name of Taylor, but of course he wasn’t there.

The main subject of this study is obviously those bynames which were systematic, recognized, and accepted by the community at large; as such they were permanent and reflected the values and the social structure of the Welsh community. Even in less formal situations, when it was necessary to name someone ad hoc to suit an immediate need, or to satisfy a momentary whim, the same naming rules which created bynames on the one hand and nicknames on the other, were followed: derisive, humorous, or descriptive names were preposed and those which were simply functional were postposed.

Often there were several bynames for the same person, one byname used by one group, another byname used by another group. A dozen or so women in Ebensburg were known as Grannie Evans. One particular Grannie Evans (Elizabeth Evans) was known to the boys who brought her their little wooden buckets on baking day for a nickel’s worth of leavening as Grannie Evans Yeast. But to the children who saw her come to the house when their mothers had taken to their beds in labor,

158 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

she was Grannie Evans Baby-woman. She was also known as Liza Yeast, Liza Baby-woman, and Liza Evans Midwife.

Because of the limited surnames available, in many Welsh marriages the spouses shared a common surname even though they were unrelated. With so few surnames in the community it was not easy for a Jones to avoid falling in love with another Jones, or an Evans with another Evans. When Harry Davis married Evelyn Davis, their children had two Grannie Davises. Predictably, the male line took precedence and Harry's mother was plain Grannie Davis; Evelyn's mother became Grannie Davis Grunt, or simply Grannie Grunt.

Of all the bynames I have uncovered, none were ever applied to children. Children had nicknames but the use of bynames was limited to adults and their use denoted status, maturity, and an established place in the Welsh community.

A comparative study of the use of bynames in other Welsh-American communities, while it would serve to validate or qualify the conclusions reached here, goes beyond the scope of this investigation, the main purpose of which is to record and interpret to the greatest extent possible the names and patterns of naming in and around Ebsenburg while there were still living witnesses and participants in the processes of byname creation and byname usage.

Sources

To be included in the appendices, a byname must be attested by at least two unrelated primary sources, either oral or written. Since I was investigating a period of more than a century (1796-1918), it was necessary to rely exclusively on documentary evidence for most of that period. As was to be expected, I found dozens of occurrences of some names while many others, which I will call "byname remnants," interesting names for which there wasn't confirmation, were omitted although they were probably genuine and may be confirmed as additional materials come to light.

There are, of course, problems with relying on documents. Since usage was primarily oral, there were few orthographic standards. Newspapers printed bynames in lower case and upper case, italicized, underlined, enclosed in parentheses or quotation marks, set off by commas or by other graphic devices. Handwritten examples varied even more widely. A discussion of the orthography of the bynames would provide a great deal of useful information, but it is impossible to treat

the spelling and graphic representations of the bynames succinctly and it would add little to an understanding of their nature and their functions in the social life of the community.

Many people were reluctant to call attention to the bynames and the way they were used; they were especially concerned that notice of the names would go beyond the Welsh circle, and would appear in sources of general circulation which would open the community to outsiders where few people would understand anyway. This attitude inhibited my interviewees even in the 1970s, long after the bynames had ceased to be a functional part of the Welsh society.

By the time I began to investigate the bynames systematically, most people with firsthand knowledge had died. Most of the people I was able to interview who had experienced the bynames directly, with memories of events before 1918, were then over 60, and trying to recall not only their own usage but also that of their parents and grandparents as well. Members of the last generation of bynamed Welsh were born between 1890 and 1910. In the early 1970s, when most of these names were collected, the best sources of information were people in their 60s, 70s, and 80s. They had grown up in Cambria township and had used the names much of their lives. This pool has evaporated and it is now impossible to find additional oral information.

The people I interviewed were usually accurate and reliable; however, I often had to stir their memories and coax them to talk since the names were by this time archaic and had gone unused for decades. The social displacements of World War One erased the last traces of the social and linguistic insularity which had contributed to the creation and propagation of the names. I have found no evidence of any new bynames of this kind establishing themselves after 1918.

Some informants, while congenial, were reserved and sometimes reluctant to offer information, especially when they saw I was writing down the names. Some failed to see any reason for my recording them and went so far as to deny that they knew anything about the bynames. I remember especially two women, raised together as sisters. One was a fountain of the old names, but the other said, indignantly, "Well, I certainly never heard any names like that." A retired police chief of Ebensburg would often burst forth with a recitation of old bynamed Welsh, many of the names of considerable interest and previously unknown to me. But he saw no reason why anyone would want to record them. More than one person said, in effect, "I'll give you some names,

160 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

but don't tell anyone where you got them." While I do not completely understand this reluctance and the cultural split personality it suggests, I have a great deal of sympathy for the people who feel this way.

Their attitudes may be related to the fact that there is among these Welsh, as in many other cultures, a "lace curtain" element as well as a commoner or "shanty" side, whose manners and habits were by some better forgotten. Even though the United States was then (in the 1970s) in the midst of a bicentennial renaissance of ethnic pride with genealogy, the search for roots and heritage very much in fashion, there were still subjects, ethno-linguistics first among them, which were not open for discussion under any circumstances. Many people had taken refuge in an undifferentiated filiopietism which demanded that their Welsh forebears be presented in the briefest and best possible light, as sturdy, industrious, God-fearing pioneers (and with the fervent hope that one would not have to go into much detail). Complete candor and frankness were rare commodities. In part, certainly, for some people this reticence was simply cover for their own lack of knowledge or lack of interest in the bynames. But there was another reason as well, deeper and more ancient.

Schlechter (1990) has commented perceptively and in detail on the ethnic ambivalence of the Welsh in colonial Pennsylvania from the time of William Penn, through an account of David Evans, a Welshman "who gradually—and painfully—became an Englishman in America" (227). Schlechter concludes his investigation by noting that "by the end of the colonial period, Welsh identity in Pennsylvania—as elsewhere in America—was virtually extinct" (228). (The Ebensburg community seems to have been a century-long holdout.) The Welsh, he notes, were not religiously unified as were many other immigrant groups, and had little basis for cultural cohesiveness other than their language, which had absolutely no currency outside their ghetto-like clanishness.

The Pennsylvania Welsh community which Schlechter describes so well is precisely the one which the Ebensburg settlers left in 1796 in search of a new beginning on the Allegheny. They were refugees from the "Welsh Tract," which Schlechter claims was in an advanced state of cultural disintegration at that time in the late 18th century. These immigrants sought to create "an island of ethnicity within the sea of Anglo-American colonial society" and, to continue using Schlechter's words, "their pilgrimage serves as an illustration of [people] torn between two worlds and two cultures, basically unhappy in both" (228).

They were resolved to preserve the language which in large measure was their culture and they did so successfully and against great odds for more than a hundred years. But the group psyche was split and vulnerable from the start. The surrounding dominant English-speaking culture assaulted their community remorselessly, even in the Allegheny wilderness. It should, then, come as no surprise that while prying more deeply than anyone had before into the esoteric naming system, I found acceptance and denial, as well as cooperation and evasion, of the conflicted heritage of the Welsh in Ebensburg. I was able to discover as much as I did only because I had been a member of the community for so long; without this personal attachment I would have been able to discover very little. Grown children were reluctant to discuss the old ways, the “eccentricities” of their parents and grandparents. Indeed they were eccentric in the view of many, as well as coarse and rustic, and rude in behavior. The youth of the post-1918 generations were uncomfortable seeing, perhaps in 1940, a grand uncle (and a man of some means) sitting in the rear pew of the church spitting tobacco juice on the floor during worship service or watching him leave with the seat of his pants darned from side to side like an old sock. The bynames, too, were relegated to a distant era, and best forgotten.

Loss of the Bynames

Cultural insecurity eventually penetrated the last redoubt: the Welsh language, with which the bynaming system was inextricably linked. The use of Welsh was actively discouraged in Welsh homes and the children were taught to avoid using a “foreign” language in public like the new immigrants, the Italians, Poles, and Hungarians, the “foreign elements,” did. The pressure to assimilate was enormous and it finally affected the Welsh language, which was the very mortar holding the cultural edifice together. The bynaming system began to suffer the same fate, keyed as it was in so many ways to the old language and culture. It, like the language itself, would shortly be viewed with amused tolerance, a quaint relic, no longer functional and increasingly difficult to talk about.

The larger culture overtook the bynamed Welsh. They began to be ever more conscious of their special names and the traditions these names represented. They became less forthcoming about them than when they were secure in their identity and language. I thought of something I had read in Frazer’s *Golden Bough* years before and told myself it was because “the name contains [the] soul” and it was not to be bared to the outside world.

At the beginning of the 20th century there was clearly an inclination among the “better” Welsh, those who were often more influential because of a little more money and a little more education in distant schools, to disappear into the general population, simply to be “American,” even if this meant abandoning, denying, or even repudiating the old language, the old ways, and the old country. For many people there was nothing which exuded “old Welsh” more than all those “funny” names, which nobody understood anymore and which nobody outside the township had ever understood anyway. They no longer contributed to a spirit of ethnic unity because ethnic identity was no longer meaningful for many people, especially the young.

Understandably, then, little or no public interest was ever shown in perpetuating, understanding, or even recording the bynames that had been so much a part of peoples’ lives and the life of the community. There were, especially during the bicentennial celebrations of the mid-1970s, occasions during which speeches on local names and local folkways could be heard, but interest quickly waned. The old spontaneous dynamic of creating and manipulating distinctive names, in response to the community’s need to order and understand itself, had been replaced by the dull efficiency of legal names, social security numbers and street addresses.

Sic Transit

The bynaming I have endeavored to record here is long finished. Occasionally, though, these names still unite some of us across the years in a cultural, not to say emotional, web, which, though hard to explain, can be keenly felt, even in a passing encounter. As I was leaving a bicentennial service of the old Welsh church in 1997 Anne Griffith Houston (then 85) gently pressed my hand and said “I know you study our names. Please be sure to mention in your work that John Evans Carpenter was my grandfather.” (John Evans Carpenter is JE 3 in appendix A.) She was a patrician woman, but she glowed with pride as she spoke the prized tradesman’s byname of other times.

Notes

1. In the late 1970s the community was featured in a BBC Channel 4 Wales dual language documentary film, *Welsh Zion* (not distributed in the United States), produced and directed by Gwyn Pritchard.

2. To get an idea of the religious proclivities of the Welsh, it was once common to ask “church or chapel?” “Church” meant “Established Church of England” and “chapel” referred to the many dissenting groups who worshipped in a *ty cwrdd*, literally a ‘meeting house’, which was usually rendered as ‘chapel’ in English. The

Crown and Parliament were at pains to deal with these sects politically for over two centuries following the Toleration Act of 1689. Evans (1984) calls chapels “social foci” which provided “a maze of cultural and literary societies and of special meetings for young people and children.” The chapel was the “social centre” of a community at which public meetings were held as well as dramatic and musical performances (383).

3. An *eisteddfod*, literally a ‘sitting’, is a meeting or conference for celebrating traditional Welsh language and music. At an *eisteddfod*, there will be declamation, poetry reading, storytelling, and musical performance. The great international *Eisteddfod* is held annually at Llangollen in northeast Wales. Lesser *eisteddfodau* are held regularly in many American cities. These reunions embrace a far broader Welsh culture (perhaps including pre-Christian Welsh pagan traditions) than does the *gymanfa*.

A *gymanfa ganu* is a ‘coming together for song’. It is in no way a concert or performance. The *gymanfa* is less formal than an *eisteddfod*, purely Christian, and regulated only by the singers who may repeat choruses at will or dictate to their leader what they want to sing next.

4. It was explained to me that he was called *Tinkle* because of the sound which the little bells in his head would make, and that no one else could hear.

5. A case in point is the Ebensburg high school class of 1911, which consisted of 11 students. Alumni could name every classmate. One of the girls in that class was Margaret Jack. None of the surviving alumni knew her by any other name, but no one could remember a family of that name. After three months of correspondence and discussion, the class finally came to the conclusion that Margaret Jack was the daughter of one of the town’s several Jack Davises, whom they went on to identify by means of a short family history.

Also, it was reported to me that a deputy sheriff, who was not from a Welsh family, claimed that not until she was well into her teens (in the 1920s) did she discover to her amazement that her lifetime friend, Emily Jacob, was “really an Evans.” The byname had supplanted the surname in salience.

The Appendices

The primary byname lists are found in appendix A (men with bynames) and appendix B (women with bynames). These appendices are essentially dictionaries of the collected bynames, along with whatever relevant information I have been able to gather about them. As with most other auxiliary names, especially nicknames, men with bynames considerably outnumber women with bynames, in this instance nearly 4 to 1. The byname lists are annotated in the informal and anecdotal manner of personal field notes which have been cleaned up by the field worker. In these notes will be found much of the substance of this byname study itself and some of the points made in the main text will be elaborated upon in the individual entries.

164 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

Appendix A Men's Bynames

This appendix is arranged alphabetically by surname, with identifying information preceding each name and byname. First, in upper case, are initials of the given name and surname. Arabic numbers distinguish like-named individuals and lower case letters indicate name variants. An X or empty space means that the missing part of the name has not been found or is irrelevant to the listing. Variants which are irrelevant to the present concerns are enclosed in brackets. For consistency, all names are listed in uppercase, although they were not necessarily written this way in the available documents.

AC 1 a ART CUSTER COURTHOUSE
 b MISTER CUSTER COURTHOUSE

The surname is pronounced [kustər] and the family was related by marriage to a large, well-known Welsh clan. This man worked for the county. I had an aunt who worked with him professionally, referred to him often and never called him anything but Art Custer Courthouse.

CC 1 CHARLES CARTER COLORED

It is clear that this byname means "African-American." It is also quite clear that it is not intended to be pejorative. Ebensburg was an abolitionist community, a station on the underground railway, and supplied many volunteers to the Union Army.

DC 1 DANIEL CHRISTY CARPENTER

Not a typical Welsh surname, but the byname is used by Welsh tax assessors.

JC 1 JOHN CONRAD S(HOE)MAKER

One of very few bynamed men to appear on the tax rolls of adjoining Allegheny Township, which was predominantly Catholic and non-Welsh.

XC 1 MISTER CLARK AT-THE-TUN(N)EL

The reference is to the Gallitzin Tunnel of the Pennsylvania Railroad which, along with the nearby Horseshoe Curve, was an engineering marvel and landmark in its day. The Welsh were not reluctant to assign toponyms of current residence to outsiders with whom they had regular contacts. This byname is attested from a Welsh woodworker's account books of 1840-70 and from oral sources.

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 165

- CD 1 a CHARLES DILLON SMITH
 b CHARLES S DILLON
 c [CHARLES DILLON JUNIOR]

Attested from merchant accounts of 1851. The Dillons came very early from Catholic Allegheny Township to the east. Form b is taken as a permutation of a, the byname as source of the “middle initial,” as often happened. Samuel Dillon operated a hotel in Ebensburg in 1834 or before and his account books show extensive dealings with the Welsh. Charles is likely a son who received a Welsh byname. The *Junior* is not the regular English form accorded to a son of the same name; here it is clearly a byname on the Welsh pattern using English lexical items.

- DD 1 DAN DAVIES BLACK

A very early byname from the Beulah Library Book, whose entries are mostly prior to 1813. This is short for “blacksmith” and appeared at a time when whitesmiths, silversmiths, and goldsmiths were also current. Silversmiths and goldsmiths, however, never appeared in the village and whitesmiths, when they did, were called *tanners*. *Smith* was the normal apocope of *blacksmith*.

- DD 2 DANIEL DAVIS NORTH

North is the most common of the toponyms which may be either of origin (< North Wales) or of current residence (< north of town).

- DD 3 DANIEL DAVIS SHOEMAKER

Although I am listing only three Dan Davises, there were many others and quite a few with bynames, but not all have been confirmed. The reaction of one of my informants is typical: “Her father was a Dan Davis something-or-other, but I can’t recall just what.” Another lady said of a particular Dan Davis: “I know we put something after his name because I remember him so well. Why, he was the one who took his second wife to the shore for their honeymoon and lost his false teeth in the sea!” Few Ebensburgers today are aware that this Dan Davis Shoemaker (c. 1837-1911) was the father of the Hon. Webster Davis, Undersecretary of the Interior during the McKinley administration, orator of national renown, and sometime mayor of Kansas City.

- DD 4 a DAVID DAVIS CARPENTER
 b DAVID DAVIS C
 c DAVID C DAVIS

A very amply documented case, with dozens of written references over thirty years in many contexts: tax rolls, newspaper articles, lists of voters. From repeated alphabetical listing by surname with abbreviation of the byname as David Davis C, writers gradually forget that C was not really a middle initial and began to write David C. Davis. (cf. CD 1 a, b above).

166 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

DD 5 DAVID DAVIS COALIER

Coalier is an Americanization of the British *collier*, a maker or seller of charcoal.

DD 6 DAVID DAVIS DIRTY-FACE

This byname may not be pejorative; it may simply be another term for *coalier* or *miner*. One of the documentary sources, the cover boards of the accounts of a local artisan, notes that he “now lives in Galia Co., Pa.” Ohio is probably meant. Galia-Jackson Co., Ohio, was a favorite destination for transient Welsh going west from Ebensburg.

DD 7 DAVID DAVIS DROVER

Drover occurs at least twice in this community. Many Welsh were drovers in the old country, driving livestock out of the hills to English markets. It is not known whether they actually worked this trade in America. My mother in 1971 remembered this name as very Welsh. David Davis Drover was a member of the Independent (Welsh) Church and there are many references to him. He is never mentioned without his byname and it is carved on his gravestone in the Welsh Cemetery in Ebensburg.

DD 8 DAVID DAVIS FARMER

Farmer does not simply separate those who farm from those who do not. In a country town everyone was presumed to farm to some extent and most back yards had barns and coops and stables leading directly out to open pasture and fields. When used as a byname *farmer* denotes an earned dignity attributed to a relative few who had distinguished themselves as such. My mother and my aunts spoke with the greatest deference of “good” farmers like John Norman (Griffith) and Willis E. (Davis). This man’s headstone in the little Welsh cemetery reads “David Davis Fr.” His name sometimes occurs as “David F Davis,” attesting to the degree to which the byname has been integrated into his identity and become his “middle initial.”

DD 9 DAVID DAVIS JACKSON

Jackson is the township adjoining Cambria to the west. Lumber was the main industry in the early days and there were no towns. Aging Welshmen often retired to Ebensburg for an easier life. When they did, Jackson was the natural byname to set them off from the many townsmen of like name. A woman born in 1896 remembered this man and I afterward found in the Cambria-Herald of 27 February 1891 a report of “that former resident David Davis . . . familiarly known as ‘David Davis, Jackson’ who dropped by to say ‘hello’ to the editor.” “Dropping in on the editor” was a sure way to make the papers and let everyone know you were in town. More than one person may be involved here. The burial of a David Davis Jackson in Lloyd Cemetery during the year

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 167

preceding June 1878 is also recorded, so there may have been a father-son sharing of this name. Tom Davis Jackson (TD 6) may be related.

DD 10 DAVID DAVIS MERCHANT

DD 11 DAVEY DAVIS PUMP

DD 12 DAVEY DAVIS SHOEMAKER

DD 13 DAVID DAVIS TAILOR

There were at least two, perhaps three or more, men of this name and byname. The relation between them, if any, is unclear. The name David Davis Tailor appears as early as 1810. One David Davis Taylor died before 1883, and another between 1895 and 1900. Whether either in fact practiced the trade of tailor is not known; one is assessed an occupation tax in 1854 as "laborer."

DD 14 a DAVID DAVIS WATCHMAKER

 b DAVID R DAVIS WATCHMAKER

Immigrated from the Llanbrynmair area of Wales in 1847 with his son Tom Davis Mason. The R is patronymic, from Roland.

DD 15 DAVID DAVIS WEAVER

DD 16 DAVID DAVIS WEST

DD 17 DAVID DAVIS BACH

In early Welsh record keeping *Bach* occurs several times. It may be the Welsh word for 'small' in contrast to *mawr* 'big, great' often used, especially in Wales, as a byname. It may also stand for the English *bachelor*, but the usual early form for celibate males on official lists is *single freeman* in early times.

DD 18 DAVID J DAVIS NORTH

ED 1 EDWARD DAVIS LABORER

ED 2 EDWARD DAVIS LAUREL HILL

A local toponym. Laurel Hill is a ridge of the Alleghenies a few miles west and southwest of Ebensburg.

ED 3 EDWARD DAVIS MINER

ED 4 a EVAN DAVIS SOUTH

 b EVAN E DAVIS SOUTH

These are probably two different individuals. The Beulah Library Book contrasts Evan Davis South with plain Evan Davis c. 1813, where the byname clearly refers to his place of origin, South Wales. Evan E. Davis South does not

168 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

begin to appear until about 1860. The time lapse is substantial and the reappearance with middle initial suggests a new use of *South* as place of current residence: South (of) Ebensburg. Welsh postmasters often sanctioned these bynames by posting mailing lists to Maggie Davis Town, Maggie Davis North, Maggie Davis South, etc.

- GD 1 a GEORGE DAVIS PAINTER
 b PINEY DAVIS PAINTER
 c GEORGE PAINTY
 d GEORGE DAVIS PINTY
 e [GEORGE A DAVIS]

Painter in popular speech was [penti] or [peni]; an alternate form, *Pinty*, was [paynti] or [payni]. Form b, therefore, contains two versions of the same byname. By the time form b had evolved, few people recognized this. One of his sons inherited the nickname derived from the byname and was also given the additional trade byname, Piney Davis Plumber. This man's youngest son (now in his nineties) is still alive. I see him regularly in church and we chat about these names. He always calls my father Harry Pepper and I always call him Ernie Davis Painter or Ernie Painter. I do this to watch his quiet smile of satisfaction as we talk in a way we both understand perfectly and which reunites us across time in a lost culture. Ernie is not listed here because I never found adequate independent confirmation of who both he and I know he is.

- GD 2 a GEORGE DAVIS JEWELER
 b GEORGE DAVIS WATCHMAKER
 c [GEORGE T DAVIS]

The choice among these names depends on whether or not you know that this person is the grandson of Davy Davis Watchmaker and, so knowing, wish to suggest the connection. At the turn of the century there were at least five George Davises in the Congregational Church: George T. (the jeweler), George A. (the painter), George W., George R., and George J., distinguished only by middle initial in the church books. I feel certain there were more George Davises and more bynames, now lost.

- HD 1 a HARRY DAVIS MASON
 b PEPPER DAVIS MASON
 c HARRY DAVIS PEPPER
 d HARRY PEPPER
 e [HARRY E DAVIS]

Form b combines common nickname with Welsh byname. Forms c and d postpose the nickname in the usual Welsh way.

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 169

JD 1 JAMES DAVIS CWM

Cwm 'valley' is a toponym of place of origin. There are numerous farms and localities of this name in Wales.

JD 2 JAMES DAVIS FARMER

JD 3 JOHN DAVIS BEULAH

Beulah was a wilderness hamlet founded in the spring of 1797 about two miles west of Ebensburg. Within a few decades it was a ghost town but the word became a popular byname.

JD 4 a JOHN R DAVIS BUTCHER
b JOHN R BUTCHER
c JOHN B DAVIS

Here again is the pattern of a byname, which was inherited (from the father), superseding the surname and also providing the source of a middle initial due to the frequent abbreviation "Davis John B" in written lists. *R* is patronymic, from his father, RD 2 (below).

JD 5 a JACK DAVIS CARPENTER
b JACK DAVIS SAWYER
c JOHN S DAVIS CARP

My sources attribute both bynames to a single person (see GD 2 a and GD 2 b above). *Carp* was a popular name which, when preposed, replaced the given name and, when postposed, was added to the entire name; thus *Carp Davis* or *Jack Davis Carp*, are possible but *Jack Carp* or *John Carp* are not. Of particular interest is c, which incorporates both variants of the byname, one as a middle initial.

JD 6 JOHN DAVIS COOPER

JD 7 a JOHN D DAVIS CARROL
b JOHN D DAVIS NORTH
c JOHN D NORTH

JD 8 a JOHN E DAVIS NORTH
b JOHN E NORTH

JD 9 a JOHN J DAVIS NORTH
b JOHN J NORTH

The preceding three John Davises North were all alive during the period 1870-1900. In speech they would normally have been kept apart as *John Davis Carrol* (the most distinctive of his two bynames; his farm must have been in

170 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

Carroll Township, north of Cambria Township), *John E. North* and *John J. North* (spoken middle initial plus byname; see JD 4 b). Here again we see the byname supplanting the surname.

- JD 10 a JOHN T DAVIS MASON
- b JOHN T MASON
- c JACK DAVIS MASON

All widely used in speech; John T Davis Mason was the preferred form in writing.

- JD 11 JOHN DAVIS Y MAWR

The byname is Welsh *y mawr* 'the big', and one of the few bynames with a linking particle, probably because it was an established form brought with the bearer from Wales.

- JD 12 JOHN DAVIS MERCHANT

- JD 13 JOHN DAVIS PINE FLAT

A local toponym. Pine Flat is a hamlet some 12 miles northwest of Ebensburg.

- JD 14 JOHN DAVIS WEST

From a local reference: "west of Ebensburg." It was not customary to speak of "west Wales."

- JD 15 JOHN DAVIS Y BACH

Y bach 'the small' in Welsh. Contrasts with JD 11.

- RD 1 a RICHARD DAVIES BARBER
- b DICK DAVIS BARBER
- c RICHARD BARBER DAVIS
- d RICHARD BARBER
- e DICK BARBER
- f [BARBARA (sic) DAVIES]

This man's wife received mail addressed to Mrs. Richard Barber, a typical case of byname taken for surname. She also received mail addressed to Mrs. Barbara Davies. The *Johnstown Tribune* of 1913 notes as "news from Ebensburg that "Mr. and Mrs. Richard Barber Davis of High St. have recovered from their illness."

- RD 2 a RICHARD DAVIS BUTCHER
- b RICHARD B DAVIS

The father of JD 4, above, and again shows the byname as middle initial.

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 171

RD 3 ROBERT DAVIS BLACKSMITH

RD 4 a ROBERT DAVIS STORE
b BOB DAVIS STORE
c [R L DAVIS]

RD 5 a ROY DAVIS PLUMBER
b PINEY DAVIS PLUMBER

Son of George Davis Painter (GD 1 a, b), whose nickname he inherited.

SD 1 S T DAVIS COALIER

TD 1 TIMOTHY DAVIS EAST

TD 2 T G DAVIS BEULAH

TD 3 a TOM DAVIS CRIBOR
b TOM DAVIS WOOL CRIBER
c TOM DAVIS CARDER
d TOM DAVIS WOOL[EN] DRAPER

From Welsh *cribwr*, a comber or carder of wool. Form a is the original and was the most frequently used. He married Mag Camphill, MGT 5 in appendix B.

TD 4 a TOM DAVIS CREIGIOG
b THOMAS DAVIS CRAIGW

From Welsh *creigiog* 'rocky, craggy'. It is also said to be a place name in Wales. *Craigw* is a variant, perhaps a misspelling. He was a blacksmith about the time of the Civil War.

TD 5 T[OM] DAVIS FARMER

TD 6 a CAPTAIN THOMAS D DAVIS JACKSON
b TOM DAVIS JACKSON
c THOMAS D JACKSON

A captain in the Civil War, this man was frequently referred to orally by his full name, military rank, and byname. *Jackson* is the name of a neighboring township (cf. David Davis Jackson, DD 9). *Jackson* is cut into his gravestone and into that of his wife, Susan.

TD 7 a THOMAS D DAVIS MASON
b TOM DAVIS MASON

172 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

TD 8 a THOMAS E DAVIS MILLER
b TOM DAVIS MILLER

TD 9 a THOMAS J DAVIS NORTH
b TOM DAVIS NORTH
c THOMAS N DAVIS

Another byname capsulized into a middle initial. In 1867 he lived in the East Ward of Ebensburg.

TD 10 THOMAS W DAVIS SMITH SHOP

Like Thomas B Jones Woolen Mill (TJ 10), this seems to be a minimum oral form. The tax assessor calls him this but never taxes him for owning a smithy or practicing the smith's trade, so he probably got this name from someone or somewhere else.

TD 11 a THOMAS E DAVIS SOUTH
b DAVIS E THOS SOUTH

The second is an indexing form I have seen in lists, and of the type which frequently mutates into one of the forms so confusing to researchers.

TD 12 a TOM DAVIS WATERMAN
b THOMAS B DAVIS WATERWORKS

A source whom I found highly reliable insisted that the entire b name was the usual spoken, deferential form.

TD 13 a TOMMY DAVIS TINKLE
b TOMMY TINKLE
c [TINKLE DAVIS]
d [TINKLE TOMMY]

Thomas Davis was hard-working, well-behaved, and self-supporting, but slow all his life. The first two names, the Welsh versions, are notably more deferential than the last two. He was my uncle, my father's brother.

TD 14 THOMAS DAVIS CRAIGW

He was a blacksmith in Ebensburg c. 1865. For *Craigw*, see TD 4 b.

TD 15 TOM DAVIS YOCKY

This name does not appear in print; the spelling of the byname is my informant's best guess. It is probably derived from Welsh *iachu[s]* 'healthy, wholesome'. Cf. John Jones Yocky, JJ 23.

WD 1 WILLIAM DAVIS BLACKSMITH

WD 2 WILLIAM DAVIS SMITH

The first William Davis' headstone can be found in the old Welsh Cemetery in Ebensburg with the trade byname carved upon it. He died in 1839, aged 37 years. The second is listed on the 1840 tax rolls as Wm. Davis Smith. Two men are involved. At this period Black, Smith, and Blacksmith all occur (cf. Dan Davis Black, DD 1), although the first soon disappears. Interestingly, the forms do not mix. Once a man is established as, say, John Evans Smith, he will not be spoken of as John Evans Blacksmith, or John Evans Black.

- WD 3 a [WILLIAM HARRISON DAVIS ESQUIRE]
b WILLIAM DAVIS LAWYER
c BILL DAVIS LAWYER
d [FOGHORN BILL]

See remarks on page 153.

- WD 4 a WILLIAM DAVIS MERCHANT
b WILLIAM DAVIS STORE
c BILL DAVIS STORE

Two persons could be involved, perhaps a father and a son. The first name is recorded from 1810 to 1833, the second from 1860 to 1866. Cf. Bob Davis Store, RD 4.

WD 5 WILLIAM DAVIES BUTCHER

- WD 6 a WILLIAM HARRISON DAVIS POSTMASTER
b BILL DAVIS POSTMASTER

Contrasts with his contemporary, Bill Davis Lawyer, WD 3.

WD 7 WILLIAM DIVER TAILOR

A Welsh tax assessor in the early 1830s writes *Dever*. The source of this name is unclear; it may have developed from Devereaux, an attested Welsh name in this community.

AE 1 ABBIE EVANS DRUGGIST

A very late creation, from the 1910s.

BE 1 BEN(JAMIN) EVANS RIDGE

The son of Evan Evans Ridge (EE 15) and the brother of John Evans Ridge (JE 12). A family byname from a ridge of the Alleghenies where they lived, west of Ebensburg.

- CE 1 a CHARLES EVANS CARPENTER
b CHARLES EVANS CARP
c [CARP EVANS]

174 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

Attorney and son of Alvin Evans, U.S. Congressman. He may have been related to or even modeled himself after John Evans Carpenter (JE 3-6), a major figure in the town. He was known as *Carp*, to distinguish him from Charles Evans Carpenter (CE 2).

CE 2 CHARLES EVANS CARPENTER

A contemporary of, but unrelated to, Charles Evans Carp. His son is Bill Evans C & I (WE 2).

DE 1 DAVID EVANS BACH

Cf David Davis Bach (DD 17).

DE 2 DANIEL O. EVANS SCOTT

I take this to be a byname of national origin.

DE 3 DANIEL EVANS SHOEMAKER

DE 4 a DAVID EVANS CIL HAUL

b DAVID EVANS KILLHEIL

He and his wife were admitted to the Welsh Independent Church in 1833. The byname is likely based on his place of origin in Wales. Various place names are built on this pattern: Cil Bwrw, Cil Gaden, Cil Owain, etc. There is in fact a village of Cil-haul in old Montgomeryshire in Wales, about 2 miles east of Llanfair and about 2 miles northeast of my great grandmother's farm, an area which was sending many immigrants to the Cambrian colony at that time. *Cil* means 'a corner', 'a recess', or 'a refuge', and *haul* means 'sun'. In 1900 the remains of David were disinterred and moved to another cemetery by his daughter; his name at that time was given as David Evans (Killheil), an Irish language variant of the Welsh. Ned Evans Kil Heil (NE 1) is probably this man's son.

DE 5 a DAVID EVANS CLAY PIKE

b DAVY CLAY PIKE

Clay pike refers to the pavement of the Philadelphia-Pittsburgh Turnpike, an east-west toll road running through Ebensburg (not to be confused with today's Pennsylvania Turnpike). David Evans lived somewhere along it. The usual reference is to Davy Clay Pike and one would not suspect that he was an Evans.

DE 6 DAVID EVANS CWM

From one of many places in Wales with *cwm* as part of the name. Cf. DE 7.

DE 7 DAVID EVANS CWM TAN

See James Davis Cwm (JD 1). These two David Evanses are contrasted by means of these slightly differing bynames as early as 1813. *Cwm* means ‘rill, hollow, valley’ and *tan* means ‘fire’ when written with a circumflex and ‘flat, low, broad’ when it is not. It was suggested to me that *Cwm Tan* was the name of a place in Wales, and that may be so, but it was also a well-known local farm on Howell’s Run just downstream from Lem Howell in the Hollow, about 2 miles south of Ebensburg. The local Cwm Tan Farm is the immediate source of this byname and was this man’s home. The *Cwm* used alone in DE 6 almost certainly refers to a village or farm in Wales. Also see Ann Evans Cwm (Anne 8) in appendix B.

DE 8 DAVID EVANS DINAS

Dinas simply means ‘fortress, fortified town, citadel’ and enters into the formation of many place names in Wales: Dinas Corddyn, Bryn Dinas, Dinas Ffaraon, Dinas Emrys, Dinas Mawddwy, etc. It sometimes occurs alone as well. This instance could be the first part of a name brought from Wales. If this David Evans came from Dinas Mawddwy, the use of the first part only may be explained by the fact that a number of Ebensburgers came from there and carried the Mawddwy byname. Faced with distinguishing two David Evanses, both from Dinas Mawddwy, the obvious solution was for one to become David Evans Dinas and the other David Evans Mawddwy. Cf. Evan Evans Mawddwy (EE 11) and John Evans Mawddwy (JE 9).

DE 9 DAVID EVANS FARMER

- DE 10 a DAVID J EVANS FARMER
 b DAVID EVANS GEORGE R
 c DAVID GEORGE R EVANS
 d DAVID G J R EVANS
 e DAVID GEORGE EVANS

The evolution of this byname is especially complex because it affects several parts of the name. It starts as a sponsonymic and emerges as a name of occupational type, but now with a middle name and a middle initial surviving from his old sponsor. This man was listed on tax assessment roles under at least a dozen different names:

- 1841 Evans David George
 1842 Evans David Geo R
 1843 Evans David Geor
 1844 Evans David J Geo R

176 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

1845	Evans J Geo Rodgers Evans David J (Geo Rodg.
1846	Evans David J (Geo. R.)
1847	Evans David J (Geo. J. R.)
1848	Evans David J. G. J. R.
1850	Evans David J. (G.J.R.) farm Evans David J. (Geo. J. R) farmer
1851	Evans David J. Farmer
1852	Evans David J. Farmer
1854	Evans David J. Farmer

The entries were made by a number of tax officials, not all of whom were Welsh. They knew exactly who the man was, knew him personally, in fact, as they did all taxables in those days. But they heard him called different things over time. These ledgers have no blots or strikeovers and the rolls are uniform from 1808 to 1895, when printed forms were introduced statewide. No space was allowed for addresses and addresses were never used. Within the township names were entered alphabetically by commonly recognized surname, followed by given names or initials, and any titles, dignities, or bynames of positive social significance habitually associated with the individual. Nicknames, diminutives, and bynames with derogatory connotations were scrupulously avoided. In more than a few cases where the person was new to the area or the byname was in Welsh, the assessor would have someone else, perhaps the individuals themselves, write it in pencil then trace over it in ink. Pains were taken to ensure that the name was correct. Thus, the above entries, although they may seem confusing to us, were not made casually and they reflect reliable oral usage. Based on my experience with local naming practices, I can offer some interpretations. This David Evans was associated in some way with George J. Rodgers, whose name appears elsewhere on the same rolls throughout the period. George J. Rodgers was well known in the community; he married a daughter of George Roberts, minister and county judge, and he and his wife are buried together in Rev. Roberts' family plot in Lloyd Cemetery. Rodgers' relationship with this David Evans was in some way sponsorial, perhaps foster father, guardian, employer, or landlord. David Evans eventually acquired the regular, respected byname *farmer*. Simply farming as a primary occupation is not enough to justify the use of the word as a byname, as noted above. Delay in achieving this byname may be due in part to its still being linked to an older David Evans (DD 9), although he last appeared on the 1825 rolls.

- DE 11 a DAVID E EVANS GROCER
b DAVY EVANS GROCER

- DE 12 a DAVID J A EVANS
b DAVID EVANS J A

A double-initial spoken patronymic from 1840-50. See David J. J. James (DJ 1), and Elizabeth J. B. Jones (ELI 7), among others.

- DE 13 DAVID EVANS MASON

- DE 14 DAVID EVANS MASON SOUTH

This and the preceding tradesman are contemporaries; the second is distinguished by a toponym of current residence.

- DE 15 a DAVID EVANS MOWDDY [MAWDDWY]
b DAVID EVANS MOUTHY

This is a short form of Dinas Mawddwy, in Wales. Cf. David Evans Dinas (DE 8). By folk etymology (possibly influenced by David Evans' personality), it became Mouthy.

- DE 16 DAVID A EVANS NORTH

- DE 17 DAVID EVANS PREACHER

This David Evans is not a clergyman. Like *evangelist* and *apostol* (cf. JJ 1), this byname simply suggests a more than average piousness. Ordained ministers are given the title *reverend* or its Welsh equivalent *parchus*, both preposed. This man has no real property or taxable occupation, but is assessed a yearly tax of 75 cents anyway because he was found to have a gold watch.

- DE 18 a DAVID E EVANS SAWYER
b DAVID E SAWYER
c DAVY EVANS SAWYER

He was the son of Evan Evans Sawyer (EE 16), from whom he got the byname and whose patronymic initial he carries. I'm told he was not a sawyer by trade. In the late 1960s a woman introduced herself to me as "Davy Evans Sawyer's granddaughter," confident that it was still the most definitive identification to be had.

- DE 19 DAVID EVANS SOUTH

- DE 20 DAVID D EVANS JUNIOR SOUTH

Probably the son of the preceding, judging from the dates documented and the spoken patronymic initial.

- DE 21 DAVID J EVANS TAILOR

- DE 22 DAVID E EVANS WEAVER

178 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

DE 23 DAVID EDWARDS BACH

See David Davis Bach (DD 17).

DE 24 a DAVY EVANS THE GWYLT

 b DAVY EVANS Y GWYLLT

Y gwyllt means 'the wild one, the savage'. There were always one or more *cymro gwyllt* 'mad Welshmen' about the town. The term connotes outrageous, non-conformist, independent behavior.

EE 1 ED[WARD] EVANS TANNER

Builder of the east end tannery and later associated with John J. Evans Tanner, a relative who learned his trade from this man and inherited his byname.

EE 2 EVAN EVANS CARPENTER

Rather than a carpenter, he was primarily a wagonmaker.

EE 3 EVAN EVANS DIGOED

Although *digoed* means 'woodless, without trees', one of my sources interpreted it oppositely, as 'a place of dense trees'. It may be a toponym suggesting he lived near a clearing or it may refer to some locality in Wales. On a headstone in Lloyd's cemetery this byname is written *Dugoed*.

EE 4 EVAN EVANS FARMER

EE 5 EVAN EVANS GRAIG

The spelling of the byname is uncertain. It is a likely variant, a misspelling or alternate form, of *craig* 'crag, rock', which appears in various place names in Wales.

EE 6 EVAN EVANS GROCER

Father of Emily Jacob (EMI 1) in appendix B.

EE 7 EVAN EVANS LOOM

The equivalent of *weaver*. Welsh *gwidd* means both 'weaver' and 'loom'.

EE 8 EVAN EVANS MASON

The gravestone of his wife reads "Ann, wife of Evan Evans, Man." I have not been able to locate his stone.

EE 9 EVAN E EVANS MASON

I take him to be the son of the preceding because of the chronology and the patronymic initial.

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 179

EE 10 EVAN EVANS MELIN LLE

Melin lle means 'at the place of the mill'.

EE 11 EVAN EVANS MOWDDWY [MAWDDWY]

Cf. David Evans Mowddy (DE 15).

EE 12 EVAN EVANS NANT

Nant 'brook, creek' can refer to a local residence or be from one of many place names in Wales.

EE 13 EVAN M EVANS NORTH

EE 14 EVAN E EVANS NORTH BRANCH

North Branch refers to an arm of Blacklick Creek.

EE 15 EVAN EVANS RIDGE

His sons were John Evans Ridge (JE 12) and Ben Evans Ridge (EE 1).

EE 16 a EVAN J EVANS SAWMILL

b EVAN J EVANS SAWYER

The former is more common in earlier references (1841-67); the latter in more recent ones the trade form. This kind of bynaming was quite pervasive and used extensively, even in formal settings. In a 1900 obituary of Mrs. Mary Thomas the writer meticulously notes that her brothers were David J. Evans Tailor, Evan J. Evans Sawyer, and John J. Evans Carpenter, unequivocally establishing her identity. Note also the patronymic initial common to all three.

EE 17 a EVAN E EVANS SHOEMAKER

b EVAN S EVANS SHOEMAKER

c EVAN EVANS SHOEMAKER

d EVAN EVANS S M

e EVAN EVANS S MAKER

f EVAN E EVANS S M

In the first form the initial E is patronymic. In the second the initial derives from the byname *Shoemaker* and is thus redundant. Once a byname is set, it persists. This man worked as a shoemaker in the 1840s, but from about 1860 on, he was taxed as a grocer, yet listed under the names shown above.

HE 1 HUGH EDWARDS NORTH

HE 2 HOSEA EVANS CARPENTER

HE 3 HUGH EVANS PUMP

180 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

JE 1 JAMES EVANS BACH

- JE 2 a JOHN EVANS BEULAH
b JOHN J EVANS BEULAH
c JOHN T EVANS BEULAH

I am sure that only one man is involved here, although the two different initials can not be accounted for in the usual ways. The byname, a favored local toponym, is now a ghost town in the woods near Ebensburg. The spelling varies widely: *Bula*, *Beula*, *Bulah*, *Beulah*, *Beaula*, *Beulah*, among others.

- JE 3 a JOHN EVANS CARPENTER
b JOHN EVANS CARP (Cf. Charles Evans Carp, CE 1)
c JOHN J EVANS CARPENTER

JE 4 JOHN EVANS CARPENTER CAMBRIA

Cambria is a toponym of local residence referring to Cambria Township, not the classical name for Wales.

JE 5 JOHN EVANS JUNIOR CARPENTER

Another double byname needing a family seniority marker to complete.

JE 6 JOHN EVANS SENIOR CARPENTER

The preceding four Carpenters are different persons, although their lives overlapped. Record keepers were hard-pressed to keep them apart and they often failed. They are still remembered, at least in name, by the older members of the community. In 1970 a woman eagerly asked me if I had taken note of her grandfather, John Evans Carpenter. I hadn't the courage to ask her which one, given her obvious pride in having an ancestor of this name. This was a prestige byname and its bearer held an esteemed place in the community.

JE 7 JOHN EVANS CLOCHYDD

Clochydd in Welsh denotes 'bellman, sexton' or 'parish clerk'. This man was the sexton of a local Welsh church.

JE 8 JOHN EVANS Y GOF

Welsh *y gof* means 'the smith' and the presence of the *y* marks it as an import from Wales, not created locally. *Smith* was a common trade byname, but this is the only example I have of it in Welsh.

JE 9 JOHN EVANS MOWDDY

Cf. David Evans Mowddy (DE 15) and Evan Evans Mowddwy (EE 11).

JE 10 JOHN J EVANS NORTH

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 181

JE 11 JOHN EVANS NORTH BRANCH

Cf. Evan Evans North (EE 113) and Evan Evans North Branch (EE 14). This man's wife is Jennie North Branch (JEN 1 in appendix B).

JE 12 a JOHN EVANS RIDGE

b JOHN EVANS THE RIDGE

JE 13 JOHN EVANS SAILOR

He contrasts with John Evans Taylor (JE 21). His byname is either inherited or refers to an earlier life at sea. There is another instance of a *sailor* or *tailor* which I have not yet been able to sort out (JH 3 a-b).

JE 14 JOHN EVANS SAWYER

JE 15 JOHN EVANS SAWYER

There are two, if not more, John Evans Sawyers. One registers thus in Samuel Dillon's hotel in 1834. Another is sought by the Ebensburg postmaster in 1865, and perhaps a third in 1932 celebrates the birthday of his friend Obadiah Reese who turns 88. Since there are 98 years on the record, there must be at least two, and probably three individuals.

JE 16 JOHN EVANS SMITH

He arrived in the village from Wales in 1818 and died in 1877, aged 85 years. For a few short years after his arrival he signed himself *John Evans Blacksmith*, then soon adopted *John Evans Smith* or *John Evans S*. He was a figure of influence in the community and to mention him without his byname would be unthinkable. It appears on maps, deeds, legal notices, school board proceedings, and even on a large stained glass window and a bronze plaque in the Welsh church. One of his descendants, convinced that the byname had real relevance in John Evans' working life, has been looking for the site of his forge for many years. It is not clear to me, however, that he ever actually worked as a smith, at least not in this community.

JE 17 JOHN EVANS SPRING

JE 18 JOHN EVANS SPRINGFIELD

There are two men involved. *Spring* is not a likely shortening of *Springfield*. John Evans Springfield is an adult and was known throughout the area before 1822. A child who was almost certainly his son died in 1829 at age 11 and was buried in the Beulah Cemetery as John J. Evans of Springfield. The byname is a local toponym from a site somewhere along Blacklick Creek between Nanty Glo and Beulah. It was still known to 20th century miners and railroaders by this name.

182 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

In Ebensburg in 1848 a man identified as John Evans Spring acknowledged five years of unpaid obligations to an artisan. Since both Ebensburg and Cambria Township were renowned for their natural springs, it would be unusual if the word *Spring* did not turn up as a byname.

- JE 19 a JOHN J EVANS TANNER
- b JOHN EVANS TANNER

He was indeed a tanner. His tannery was located at the lower end of East High Street. There is now a Tanner Street named for him and it uses his byname in preference to his other names.

- JE 20 a JOHN J EVANS TAVERN
- b JOHN EVANS TAVERN

This byname is from the earliest period—not later than 1808-10. His tavern in Beulah was a meeting place for politicians as the county was being created. Government meetings took place there; it served officially as the Beulah post office, the first in the county. He enjoyed great trust and took on major responsibilities. He was a member of the first board of three county commissioners. He was appointed “viewer” to lay out a road from Beulah to Croyle’s Mill, the first public work undertaken by Cambria County. With the growing influence of the temperance movement, especially in the 1860s, the word *tavern* took on negative connotations and it is not found as a byname after the Civil War.

- JE 21 JOHN EVANS TAYLOR

See note above under John Evans Sailor (JE 13).

- JE 22 JOHN EVANS WEAVER

Probably the father of John Evans Tanner (JE 19), he was listed as practicing his trade in Ebensburg by 1822. There are gaps in the record, but a John Evans Weaver is also listed on the tax rolls of 1860 and 1870, so there may well have been more than one person with this name.

- JE 23 JOHN J EVANS WEST

- JE 24 a JOHN L EVANS POORHOUSE
- b JOHN L EVANS ALMSHOUSE

- JE 25 JOHN EVANS BLACKSMITH

Distinguished in the record from John Evans Smith (JE 16).

- JE 26 JOHN EVANS CWM TAN

Cf. David Evans Cwm Tan (DE 7).

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 183

JE 27 JOHN J EVANS POSTMASTER

The first postmaster of the new county of Cambria began his service in Beulah on January 1, 1805. His name and that of his colleague, John Lloyd PM, (JL 2) never occur without the byname.

JE 28 JOHN T EVANS RIDGE

Born in Wales in 1819, came to the United States in 1855, and settled on the "ridge" in 1860. There is no known connection between him and Benjamin Evans Ridge (BE 1), Evan Evans Ridge (EE 15), or John Evans Ridge (JE 12).

ME 1 a MORG[AN] EVANS TANNER b MORGAN TANNER

An attorney. Son of John Evans Tanner (JE 19) and brother of Tom Evans Morgan (TE 4). Known professionally as Morgan W. Evans, Esq. Only an inner circle from the early 1900s used Tanner, but two oral sources confirmed this usage in April 2001.

NE 1 NED EVANS KIL HEIL

In 1900 he is mentioned as the "late Ned Evans kil heil (Shady Hill)." He is probably the son of David Evans Cil Haul (DE 4).

RE 1 RICHARD EVANS GRIST

Dick Evans Grist operated a grist mill at the dam in Ventera for many years.

RE 2 RICHARD EVANS SMITH

RE 3 RICHARD EVANS WEAVER

TE 1 a THOMAS D EVANS BLACKSMITH b TOM EVANS BLACKSMITH

His wife was Emily Tom (EMI 2 in appendix B). The byname was never shortened because it contrasted with Tom Evans Smith (TE 2).

TE 2 a THOMAS J EVANS SMITH b TOM EVANS SMITH

TE 3 THOMAS EVANS TAILOR

TE 4 TOM EVANS MORGAN

A kind of sponsonym since Morgan was the given name of his brother. Cf. Morgan Tanner (ME 1).

WE 1 WILLIAM EVANS SOUTH

184 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

- WE 2 a BILL C & I
b BILL EVANS C & I
c [WILLIAM E EVANS]

He was general manager of the Cambria and Indiana Railroad in 1970 and this byname is one of the few very late creations. Several of my informants agreed in 1971 that they “always called him that.” He was the son of Charles Evans Carpenter (CE 2).

- EG 1 ED(WARD) GRIFFITH NORTH OF TOWN

“North of town,” when used as a local toponym, is usually shortened to “north.”

- EG 2 EVAN GRIFFITHS NORTH

- EG 3 EVAN GRIFFITH SMITH

- JG 1 JOHN GRIFFITH FARMER

- JG 2 JOHN GRIFFITHS MINER

The above two contrast with plain John Griffith from about 1834.

- TG 1 THOMAS GRIFFITH FARMER

- TG 2 THOMAS GRIFFITH MILL

- TG 3 THOMAS GRIFFITH SHERIFF

- WG 1 a WILLIAM GITTENS NORTH BRANCH

- b WILLIAM N B GITTENS

- c [WILLIAM GITTENS JUNIOR]

See comments on Evan Evans North Branch (EE 14) and John Evans North Branch (JE 11). Of special note is the conversion of the compound byname to a doubled middle initial.

- EH 1 ED(WARD) HUGHES FARMER

- EH 2 a EVAN HUGHES SHOE

- b EVAN HUGHES S M

The earliest reference, about 1813, uses only *Shoe* as the byname. The longer form, *Shoemaker*, though undoubtedly used at some point since it provides the initials in the second listing, has not yet been found. On official records from the 1840s his name is written Hughes Evan S M.

- EH 3 EVAN HUGHES FARMER

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 185

- JH 1 JOHN J HUGHES NORTH
- JH 2 JOHN J HUGHES SOUTH
- JH 3 a JOHN HUGHES SAILOR
- b JOHN HUGHES TAILOR

Both names occur for a brief period in the 1840s and it is not clear whether one or two persons are involved. An identical problem among John Evanses (JE 13 and JE 21), resulted in both a Sailor and a Tailor.

- RH 1 RICHARD HUGHES NORTH
- TH 1 a TOM HUGHES EAST
- b TOM HUGHES EVANGELIST
- c TOM HUGHES GRANGER
- d TOM HUGHES HIGH-SHOULDER(S)
- e [LONG TOM HUGHES]

Husband of Emily Long Tom (EMI 3 in appendix B).

- TH 2 TOM HUGHES MERRY-GO-ROUND

This byname is not documented but a story still current in the 1970s tells of Tom Hughes, who always went to the county fair, stayed until it closed, and came home broke. When asked where he had been and how he had spent his money, he would say, "Didn' do nothin', and didn't go nowhere. Just went round and round and round." He was addicted to riding the merry-go-round.

- BJ 1 a BENNIE JAMES PUMP
- b BENNIE JAMES PUMPER

He lived from about 1910 to 1955. He acquired these bynames from his father-in-law, Dan Jones Pump (DJ 4), who in turn got them from his father-in-law, Davy James Pump (DJ 1), possibly a unique line of transmission. *Pump* was originally a shortening of the occupation name *pumpmaker* or *pumpborer* and *pumper* referred to the man in charge of the pumps in the borough waterworks. Bennie himself, however, never pumped anything other than the foot pedals on his taxicab.

- BJ 2 BENJAMIN JONES WHEELS
- DJ 1 a [DAVID J J JAMES]
- b DAVID JAMES PUMP
- c DAVY THE PUMP

The first variant contains the double-initial patronymic (his father was James James James); the second is the local postposed trade byname; and the third is a literal translation of the Welsh byname which he probably brought with him when he emigrated from Wales.

186 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

DJ 2 DANIEL JONES FATHER IN LAW

DJ 3 DANIEL JONES MILL

- DJ 4 a DANIEL JONES PUMP
b DANIEL JONES PUMPER
c DAN JONES WATERMAN

This Daniel Jones supervised the town waterworks in the early decades of the 20th century. The use of *Pump* in this instance is also influenced by the fact that it was his father-in-law's byname.

DJ 5 DANIEL JONES SMITH
Early, before 1815, in Beulah.

DJ 6 DANIEL J JONES SMITH
Later, 1840s, in Ebensburg.

DJ 7 DANIEL J JONES BLACKSMITH
Here again *Smith* and *Blacksmith* are used to differentiate between the otherwise identical Daniel J. Joneses

DJ 8 DANIEL JONES SOUTH
Since this is an early byname (1815 or before), *South* here refers to South Wales, his place of origin.

DJ 9 DANIEL JONES SOUTH
Later, 1840s. Here, South-of-Town refers to south of Ebensburg.

DJ 10 DANIEL JONES SOUTH
Again, south-of-town, but distinct from the above, 1890 and later. The byname of the three men preceding may have been inherited since they represent different generations.

DJ 11 DANIEL JONES WEST
Contrasts with Daniel Jones South (DJ 9), a contemporary in the 1840s.

- DJ 12 a DAVID J JONES BEULAH
b DAVID B JONES

In spite of the apparently different middle initial, both forms refer to the same person. The byname provided the initial in the second listing; in the first, it is patronymic.

- DJ 13 a DAVID JONES CARPENTER
b DAVID W JONES CARPENTER

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 187

- DJ 14 a DAVID E JONES CLAY PIKE
b DAVY CLAY PIKE (Cf. David Evans Clay Pike, DE 5.

DJ 15 DAVID J JONES CLERK

- DJ 16 a DAVY JONES COFFINMAKER
b DAVY JONES PUMP

He was occupied both as an undertaker and a pumpmaker toward the end of the 19th Century.

DJ 17 DAVID JONES DIMBACH

Over 20 years there are many spellings of this byname, e.g., *Dimbech*, *Dimback*, and *Dimbak*. It is from the town of Dinbach (Denbigh) in North Wales.

DJ 18 DAVID W JONES FARMER

DJ 19 DAVIS J JONES MINER

DJ 20 DAVID JONES MIN FFORDD
Min ffordd 'by the road'.

DJ 21 DAVID J B JONES

A typical patronymic meaning David, son of J. B. Jones. Cf. Elizabeth J. B. Jones (ELI 7 in appendix B). John B. Jones is his father.

DJ 22 DAVID JONES RIDGE

DJ 23 DAVID J JONES WELL DIGGER

DJ 24 DAVID JONES WEST

DJ 25 DAVID JONES JUNIOR WEST

- EJ 1 a ED JONES TINNER
b E O TINNER
c [E O JONES]
d EDWARD O JONES TINNER

EJ 2 ELIAS JONES WEST

Father of Jane Elias (JAN 2 in appendix B).

EJ 3 EVAN JONES MILLER

EJ 4 EVAN JONES MINER

188 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

EJ 5 EVAN JONES SPRUCE

EJ 6 EVAN JONES DUGOED

A variant of *Digoed* (Cf. Evan Evans Digoed, EE 3). His wife is ANN 9 in appendix B; on her gravestone is carved "Ann Jones wife of Evan Jones (Dugoed) 1811-1832."

HJ 1 HUGH JONES CARPENTER

HJ 2 HUGH JONES SHOEMAKER

HJ 3 HUGH JONES SOUTH

HJ 4 a HARRY JONES SOUTH OF TOWN

b HARRY JONES DOWN SOUTH

HJ 5 HARRI[SON] JONES UP NORTH

JJ 1 a JOHN S JAMES APOSTOL

b [APOSTOL JOHN]

Son of Davy James Pump (DJ 1).

JJ 2 JOHN D JAMES NORTH

JJ 3 JOHN JAMES PLANK

A shortening of *Jefferson Plank Road*, now PA 160 leading south from Ebensburg.

JJ 4 JOHN JONES AEZREN

This is a very early byname, attested from 1796. Presumably a toponym; the origin is unknown.

JJ 5 JOHN JONES BETHEL

JJ 6 JOHN C JONES BLACKSMITH

JJ 7 JOHN JONES CAMP

An early byname, before 1813. It may be related to Camphill.

JJ 8 a JOHN JONES SUGAR CAMP HILL

b JOHN E JONES CAMPHILL

JJ 9 JOHN JONES JUNIOR CAMPHILL

Camphill is one of the more persistent bynames, appearing in different generations, and applied to men and women alike. A maple sugar camp was in operation near the village of Beulah in 1805 and there was a John Jones Camp before 1813. In 1833 the tax rolls enter for the first time a John Jones Sugar

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 189

Camp Hill who, within a few years, is recorded as John E. Jones Camphill. His estate was in probate in 1890. A woman who may be his sister (or daughter) is Mag Camphill (MGT 5 in appendix B); she married Tom Davis Cribor. In September 1900 the Ebensburg *Mountaineer-Herald* reported on "Mr. John Jones (camphill), of South Ebensburg." I also noted a newspaper item in the 1920s concerning the visit to town of a John Jones Camphill. A friend of mine, Paul Jones, said to me in 1976 after I declared publicly that there was a Camphill "mystery:" "Why, Dick, you mean you don't know where the Camphill farm is? It's our farm. We are the Camphill Joneses." His brother Tom reaffirmed this in 2000. (This farm overlooks Howell's-in-the-Hollow from the hill behind the South Ebensburg church and school-grange buildings.) In the meantime, researcher Susie Lipps has recently found deeds and other documents which prove the existence throughout the same period of an old Camphill farm north of Ebensburg. Thus, there are three possible sites. While I can verify only three men with this byname, I estimate there must have been a dozen, perhaps more, since 1800.

JJ 10 JOHN JONES COLLIER

JJ 11 a JOHN JONES GATEKEEPER

b JOHN JONES GATE

John Jones was one of the original settlers and gatekeeper at a highway tollhouse at Blair Gap, the eastern portal to the Allegheny plateau and used by the first Welsh settlers in 1796. In 1831 a John Jones Gatekeeper was resident in Ebensburg; after about 1840 he was known simply as John Jones Gate. In 1858 a "Reverend John Jones (Gate)" was preaching in a Welsh church in Utica, N.Y., perhaps a son or a nephew. The chronology allows for two and perhaps three different men.

JJ 12 JOHN JONES MASON

JJ 13 a JOHN JONES NANTY KHEDAR

b JOHN JONES NANT Y RHEDYN

Nant-y-Rhedyn means 'fern brook' and may be a town in Wales. The first form is found only in handwritten documents and may be an attempt to record the second.

JJ 14 JOHN JONES PUMP

JJ 15 a JOHN JONES QUITMAN

b JOHN JONES QUIT

For Quitman's Mill, which operated locally around 1850.

JJ 16 JACK JONES SOUTH

190 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

JJ 17 JOHN JONES TAILOR

JJ 18 JACK JONES TOPPER HILL
From "on top of the hill."

JJ 19 JOHN JONES WEST

JJ 20 JOHN JONES JUNIOR

JJ 21 JOHN JONES JUNIOR WEST

This and the preceding two entries probably represent three different men. John Jones West is on a list of the original settlers of the Beulah area (1797-1805). John Jones Junior contrasts with John Jones Junior West in merchants' accounts and tax rolls from the 1850s.

JJ 22 JONATHON JONES SPRUCE
Cf. Evan Jones Spruce (EJ 5)

JJ 23 JOHN JONES YOCKY

LJ 1 LEWIS JAMES MINER

MJ 1 MORRIS JAMES MILLER

MJ 2 MORRIS W JONES NORTH

MJ 3 MILTON JONES MILL

OJ 1 OWEN JONES YORK
Toponym of origin from York, England.

RJ 1 RICHARD JONES SENIOR

RJ 2 a RICHARD R JONES JUNIOR SHOEMAKER
b RICHARD JONES JUNIOR SHOEMAKER
c RICHARD JONES SHOEMAKER
d RICHARD JONES S M
e RICHARD S M JONES

Notice in particular the double middle initial from the byname and the coupling of family seniority with the trade name.

RJ 3 a RICHARD JONES STONECUTTER
b RICHARD JONES S C

Richard Jones' headstone in Lloyd Cemetery is neatly incised "Rd. Jones S.C." He signed his work that way as well. He was a very well-known figure

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 191

for decades and his common name, to my knowledge, was never written by him or anyone else without the byname.

RJ 4 RICHARD JONES TANNER

RJ 5 a RICHARD JONES JUDGE
b JUDGE JONES SHOEMAKER

I can confirm that only one person is involved, and the second name is a very unusual construction.

RJ 6 ROBERT E JOHN NORTH

The surname is equivalent to *Johns* or *Jones*. Only toward the end of the 19th century did the local Welsh begin to show any real concern for the spelling of common names or for the presence or absence of the English final *s*. Before then, *Davy*, *Davey*, *Davis*, and *Davies* were used interchangeably.

RJ 7 ROBERT LINTON JOHNSTON COLORED

He died in the almshouse, a respected man. The byname was probably to distinguish him from another Robert Linton Johnston, who was judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Cambria County.

SJ 1 SAMUEL JONES LOWER DUBLIN

Probably from Dublin, Pennsylvania, north of Philadelphia.

SJ 2 SCOTT JONES RED-WHISKERS

SJ 3 a R SIRHOWY JONES
b RICHARD SIRHOWY JONES
c DICK JONES SIRHOWY

TJ 1 a J TWYSON JONES
b JAMES TWYSON JONES
c JIM JONES TWYSON

Dick (SJ 3) and Jim (TJ 1) Jones were friends of my grandfather. They were both clergymen ministering to the Welsh Congregational Church between 1892 and 1908. They were brothers from humble mining families in the coal valleys of South Wales, from the Sirhowy Valley in fact, from which Dick took his professional name. (See text, pp. 148-49.)

TJ 2 a THOMAS JONES BEULA
b THOMAS JONES BULA
c THOMAS JONES BIEWLA

A toponym. These variants of *Beulah* represent an old byname, established before 1813.

192 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

TJ 3 THOMAS D JONES CARPENTER

TJ 4 THOMAS JONES FULLER

TJ 5 THOMAS JONES JACKSON

TJ 6 THOMAS JONES N[ORTH]

TJ 7 THOMAS JONES OBLER PLACE

TJ 8 a THOMAS JONES SAWYER

b THOMAS JONES SAWMILL

TJ 9 THOMAS JONES TOWN

I remember as a child some names with "town" and "country" added, but I have been unable to document any instances of their becoming fixed as bynames except for this one and for Maggie Jones Country.

TJ 10 THOMAS D JONES WOOLEN MILL

TJ 11 THOMAS JERVIS SAWMILL

WJ 1 WILLIAM JONES CARPENTER

Also know as "Prayin' Bill;" a brother of Ed Jones Tinner (EJ 1) and John Jones Blacksmith (JJ 1).

WJ 2 a WILLIAM JONES HOLLOW

b WILLIAM D HOLLOW

c MISTER JONES-IN-THE-HOLLOW

The "Joneses in the Hollow" are still referred to in speech. This form provides contrast with the "Joneses Topper Hill" and the "Joneses South-of-Town."

WJ 3 a WILLIAM JONES SHOEMAKER

b WILLIAM JONES S M

WJ 4 WILLIAM JONES WEAVER

WJ 5 BILL JONES CAMPHILL

Cf. John Jones Junior Camphill (JJ 9)

WJ 6 WILLIAM JAMES SHOEMAKER

XJ 1 _____ JONES ANOC BOOR

Surely a badly written Welsh toponym of place of origin. His first name was never given.

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 193

XJ 2 _____ JONES SOUTH-OF-TOWN

The *Cambria Herald* of 5 October 1877 reports that "Mr. Joseph O. Thomas has bought the farm of Mr. Jones, south of town, paying therefor the sum of \$1,600." This is the entire news item and readers must have found the identification fully defining and adequate. This can only be if south of town is a byname and not intended literally because in fact there were at the time many Joneses living on farms south of the town.

JK 1 JAMES KANE NORTH

JK 2 JAMES KANE WEST

AL 1 AUSTIN LLOYD SOUTH

DL 1 DAVID LEWIS CARPENTER

DL 2 DAVID LEWIS MINISTER [MINISTAR]

EL 1 EVAN LLOYD SHOEMAKER

GL 1 GRIFFITH LLOYD BULAH

His wife's tombstone identifies her as the wife of Griffith Lloyd (Bulah). In interviews in 1971 he was also referred to as Griff Lloyd Beulah and Griffy Lloyd Beulah.

JL 1 JOHN LLOYD BEULA

JL 2 a JOHN LLOYD POSTMASTER

b JOHN LLOYD P M

Son of Rees Lloyd, founder of Ebensburg, and postmaster for some 30 years. In writing the abbreviated form is more common and is in fact what is cut on his tombstone and on his wife's as well.

JL 3 JOHN LLOYD TAYLOR

JL 4 JOHN LLOYD WHEELWRIGHT

These John Lloyds were contemporaries and contrasted only by name from 1810 to 1840.

JL 5 JOHN LLOYD NORTH

JL 6 JOSEPH LONG PENSACOLA

A local toponym. Pensacola is a logging hamlet about 5 miles southwest of Ebensburg.

LL 1 LINCOLN LLOYD SOUTH

194 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

RL 1 RICHARD LEWIS STORE
RL 2 REESE LLOYD DOWN SOUTH
TL 1 THOMAS LEWIS BACH
HM 1 HUGH M^cCOY FULLER
JM 1 JOHN MILLER HILL
JM 2 JOHN MILLER TAILOR
JM 3 JOHN MORRIS CARP
JM 4 JAMES MURRAY JACKSON
JM 5 JAMES MURRAY NORTH
JM 6 JAMES MURRAY TANNER
JM 7 JOHN MURRY NORTH
JM 8 JOHN MURRAY TANNER
MM 1 MICHAEL M^cGUIRE SUMMIT

Summit is a village on the Allegheny Front above Cresson, 9 or 10 miles east of Ebensburg. By some accounts, Michael McGuire was the first white child born in the county and he lived most of his long life in Summit. He, along with William M^cConnell Weaver (WM 2) and Hugh M^cCoy Fuller (HM 1), are non-Welsh Catholics closely associated with or economically well-integrated into the Welsh settlements from the early 1800s.

RM 1 RICHARD MORGAN WEST
WM 1 WILLIAM MORGAN WEST
WM 2 WILLIAM M^cCONNELL WEAVER
DO 1 DAVID OWENS SAW MILL
EO 1 a EDWARD OWEN SHOP
b EDWARD OWEN SHOPKEEPER
JO 1 a JONATHAN OWENS BAKER
b JOHNNY OWENS BAKER
c [COOKIE OWENS]
JO 2 JOHN OWENS DRAPER

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 195

- TO 1 THOMAS OWENS CARPENTER
TO 2 THOMAS OWENS COOPER
P 1 PATSY NEW CAMP
P 2 PATSY STATE ROAD
P 3 PATSY AT BIG DAM
P 4 PATSY AT HOME
P 5 PATSY AT PHALEN'S
P 6 PATSY BUFFO
P 7 PATSY LEGAST (Licastro?)
P 8 PATSY AT LLOYD'S (Pascuale Battista).

A wave of non-Welsh immigration near the turn of the 19th century brought many new names to the community, but the Welsh treated them much as though they were native. They seized, for instance, upon the common given name *Pascuale* in its Anglicized diminutive *Patsy* and treated the various *Patsys* in much the same way as they had treated *Evans* or *Jones* a century before. Merchants' accounts, especially those of a Welsh baker, from 1911 to 1916 show that they attached bynames to the Patsys just as they would have to their own. Some of these may have been created on the spot, but they most likely represented established oral usage. They are of particular interest because they show the vitality of the system as well as its durability.

- DP 1 DAVID PRICE HILL

Toponym, from *Price's Hill*.

- WP 1 WILLIAM PRICE FARMER

- DR 1 a DAVID J ROBERTS OF JOHN
b [DAVID JOHN ROBERTS]
c [DAVID JOHN]

Redundantly patronymic. Cf. Thomas Rees of Job (TR 1).

- DR 2 DAVID ROBERTS PENBRYN

Perhaps a son of John Roberts Penbryn (JR 2).

- DR 3 DAV ROLAND[S] MILLER

- DR 4 DAVID ROWLAND(S) MILLER

196 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

ER 1 ENOCH REES JUNIOR WEST

ER 2 E ROBERTS STORE

JR 1 a JOHN ROBERTS BY GATE

b JOHN ROBERTS GATE

The earliest attested form is John Roberts by Gate; the later ones simply John Roberts Gate.

JR 2 JOHN ROBERTS PENBRYN

Penbryn is a common place name in Wales. David Roberts Penbryn (DR 2) and Thomas Roberts Penbryn (TR 1) may be children. The family grave-stones read in part "JOHN ROBERTS of Penbryn, JANE ROBERTS of Penbryn." In all other instances, there is no *of*.

JR 3 a JOHN ROBERTS SHOEMAKER

b JOHN ROBERTS Y CRYDD

An unusual example since Welsh and English forms of the byname generally do not alternate. *Crydd* 'shoemaker'.

JR 4 JOHN E ROBERTS NORTH

JR 5 JOHN J ROBERTS SOUTH

JR 6 a JOHN ROBERTS WHEELWRIGHT

b JOHN ROBERTS W M

c JOHN W M ROBERTS

When written out, the name is always *Wheelwright*; when abbreviated, it is always *W. M.*, for 'wheel maker'. The byname once again provides the middle initials.

JR 7 JOHN REES WEST

OR 1 OWEN ROBERTS NORTH

RR 1 REES REES SOUTH

RR 2 R ROBERTS SHOEMAKER

RR 3 a ROBERT ROBERTS SOUTH

b ROBBY ROBERTS SOUTH

c ROBBY SOUTH

In the informal form, Robby South, the byname has preempted the surname. Such forms were largely oral.

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 197

- TR 1 a THOMAS REES OF JOB
b [THOMAS REES JOB]

This is a written form. The father is Job; this is one of only two authentic examples of this type of patronymic in general use among these Welsh.

TR 2 THOMAS E REES JUNIOR

TR 3 THOMAS REES NORTH

TR 4 THOMAS REES NORTH OF EBENSBURG

Not necessarily North (of) Ebensburg. North Church is also possible and contrastive with TR 4 and TR 5.

TR 5 THOMAS REES SOUTH

TR 6 THOMAS J REES S[HOEMAKE]R

TR 7 THOMAS ROBERTS PENBRYN

Cf. John Roberts Penbryn (JR 2). Perhaps a brother of David Roberts Penbryn (DR 2).

TR 8 THOMAS [J?] ROBERTS SMITH

WR 1 COLONEL WILLIAM ROBERTS COLORED

There are at least four instances of this byname. No negative racial reference is intended. There were a number of African-Americans in Ebensburg, including the well-known Abraham Blain.

WR 2 WILLIAM ROBERTS JACKSON

WR 3 WILLIAM ROBERTS SHOEMAKER

WR 4 [WILLIAM ROBERTS JUNIOR]

WR 5 WILLIAM ROBERTS SOUTH

WR 6 WILLIAM ROBERTS JUNIOR SOUTH

WR 7 WILLIAM ROBERTS SENIOR SOUTH

Junior and *South* are in contrast from the earliest times (before 1813). *Junior Smith* and *Senior Smith* are found from 1840 on. It is not clear how many men there are in all. Maybe four, perhaps more.

JS 1 JOHN SKELLY NORTH

JS 2 JOHN SMITH DUMBMAN

Presumed to mean 'unable to speak'.

198 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

- JS 3 JOHN STEWART SUMMIT
Cf. Michael McGuire Summit (MM 1)
- WS 1 WILLIAM SMITH JACKSON
- ET 1 EDWARD R THOMAS OFFICER
The origin and significance of this byname have not yet been determined.
- JT 1 JOHN THOMAS OLD PLACE
- JT 2 JAMES THOMAS TAVERN
- JT 3 MAJOR JOHN THOMAS COLORED
Cf. Charles Carter Colored (CC 1) and Colonel William Roberts Colored (WR 1).
- JT 4 JOHN THOMAS GATE
- JT 5 JOHN THOMAS OFFICER
- JT 6 JOHN THOMAS SAWYER
- JT 7 JOHN THOMAS TEACHER
- JT 8 JOHN D THOMAS SHOEMAKER
- RT 1 RICHARD THOMAS SOUTH
- RT 2 ROBERT THOMAS BLACKSMITH
- RT 3 ROBERT THOMAS TAILOR
- RT 4 RICHARD TUDOR WEST
- TT 1 THOMAS R THOMAS SOUTH CHURCH
South Ebensburg Congregational Church—established 1865.
- WT 1 WILLIAM THOMAS BARBER
- WT 2 WILLIAM THOMAS BLACKSMITH
- WT 3 WILLIAM TIBBOTT MELINYDD
Welsh for 'miller'. An original settler and pastor of the Independent Church (Welsh). Most written references are to Reverend William Tibbott. He was also a successful miller.
- AW 1 ALEC WATERS SQUIRE
This is the only authenticated instance I have found where this common title was regularly postposed, with the exception of the derivative case of Emily

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 199

Squire (EMI 5 in appendix B). I have at least three other possible uses of Squire as a byname but they are not yet documented satisfactorily. There is an earlier, perhaps related, Squire Edmund Waters but the form *Edmund Waters Squire* is only presumed, not validated. A Squire was a minor magistrate later known as Justice of the Peace. It is distinct from *Esquire* as popularly used for lawyers and others.

BW 1 BENJAMIN WILLIAMS SMITH

DW 1 DAVID WATT COOPER

DW 2 DANIEL WILLIAMS SMITH

DW 3 DAVID WILLIAMS SOUTH

JW 1 a JOHN WILLIAMS BOWEN

b JOHN WILLIAMS B

c JOHN B WILLIAMS

Although a well-known patronymic surname, Bowen appears early (before 1830) in this community and behaves structurally like a postposed byname as the different forms attest.

JW 2 JOHN WILLIAMS MINER

JW 3 a JOHN WILLIAMS PITT

JW 4 a JOHN WILLIAMS PLASTERER

b JOHN WILLIAMS PLASTER

JW 5 JOHN WILLIAMS PREACHER

Actually, John Evans was a farmer. Cf. David Evans Preacher (DE 17).

JW 6 JOHN WILLIAMS SMITH

TW 1 a THOMAS WILLIAMS BOWEN

b THOMAS WILLIAMS NORTH

He may be the son of John Williams Bowen (JW 1). Several sources reported both bynames for the same man, an unusual situation.

TW 2 THOMAS WILLIAMS COLORED

TW 3 THOMAS WILLIAMS FULLER

WW 1 WILLIAM R WILLIAMS BLACKSMITH

WW 2 [WILLIAMS WILLIAMS JUNIOR]

200 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

- WW 3 WILLIAM R WILLIAMS MILL
WW 4 WILLIAM WILLIAMS N[ORTH]
WW 5 WILLIAM WILLIAMS SOUTH
WW 6 WILLIAM WILLIAMS TAVERN
WW 7 WILLIAM WILLIAMS WEST

With the attrition of bynames, name clusters such as the seven William Williamses (and surely there are more than these) pose problems of identification. Contemporary Welsh in Ebensburg and Cambria make use of the fact that now two names are usually given to children and use one or more forms of these to distinguish among otherwise like-named individuals. Often the least usual name will be used. William Henry Williams is Bill Henry, William Hay Williams is called Hay, etc.

- XW 1 _____ WILLIAMS-ON-THE-MOUNTAIN

A very early byname; it appears among Judge George Roberts' cases in the Beulah Library Book about 1810.

Appendix B Women's Bynames

An inheritable family name was even less important in the lives of Welsh women than it was for men. A man at least kept one surname throughout his life and was accountable under it to the civil authority. A woman, on the other hand, changed her surname when she married and public records show little concern for her exact identity. To the tax assessor Mrs. Reese Widow, Ann Davis Widow, Widow Patrick McGahey or Hoover Tom's Widow were quite adequate, if indeed any account of them was kept at all. By edict women's surnames had been declared politically otiose in Britain and Wales in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307) and no public record was to be made of them (Reaney 1995, xxxvi).

Women were often viewed as potential public charges, especially if there were minor children, and the taxable resources they may have had were frequently overlooked. In 1824 a compassionate assessor reported the precarious circumstances of one Martha Jones, widowed during the year and left with four boys to raise. Not to be found overly lenient or delinquent in the examination of her assets, the assessor elsewhere duly noted that she had one cow (she in fact had a house and land as well)

and recommended a total annual tax of nine cents on this capital item. She thus became a taxpayer and eligible for any attendant benefits.

In baptismal and confirmation records, *of* is found frequently with women's names: Martha Jones of J L, Dora Owens of D L, or Martha Jones of John, all references to the father. When a woman married, her background simply dropped out of the picture and in Welsh church records a notation may appear "John Roberts y Crydd a Catherine ei wraig" 'John Roberts Shoemaker and Catherine his wife'. A tombstone inscription might read "Ellinor, wife of Griffith Lloyd (Beulah)." The identity of the female was totally subsumed by that of the male.

It must have seemed only natural then that this entrenched chauvinism should be perpetuated in Welsh women's bynames. A new class of names, without precedent in Wales as far as I know, was developed for this purpose. For want of an appropriate existing word, I will call them "sponsonyms" since they use the name of the principal male in the woman's life—father, brother, husband, suitor, uncle or some other. They are postposed, like men's bynames, but to a woman's given name, unlike men's bynames; thus Annie Richard, Annie Tom L, Annie Herm, Annie Dan, and so on. At times, the man's surname is added as well: Annie Tom L Jones or Annie Dan Davis.

To my knowledge, there are no written records of these bynames at all. I cannot recall ever seeing one in print. My mother, her sisters and friends used them constantly in speech but wrote them only in informal notes to one other, which have now vanished. Common as they once were, they are now nearly impossible to recover and the list which follows should be seen as a mere vestige of what was once an elaborate, flourishing practice.

ANN 1	ANNIE RICHARD (Hughes)	[Husband]
ANN 2 a	ANNIE TOM L (Jones)	[Father]
	b MISS ANNIE TOM L	
	c ANNIE M. JONES TOM L	
	d MISS ANNIE M	

Miss Annie taught three generations of Welsh children to parse English sentences. *Miss* plus a given name or its diminutive was always used for teachers from the Welsh community until World War II. Those from outside the Welsh circle were also referred to as Miss, but the surname was generally used: Miss Hildebrand, Miss Piercy.

202 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

- ANN 3 ANNIE DAN (Davis) [Father]
ANN 4 a ANNIE HERM (Herman T. Jones) [Husband]
b ANNIE HERMAN T
ANN 3 and ANN 4 are the same woman; she was Annie Dan before marriage and Annie Herm afterward.

- ANN 5 ANNIE M. DAVIS NORTH [Residence]
ANN 6 ANN DAVIS WIDOW [Civil status]
ANN 7 ANN EVANS WIDOW
ANN 8 ANN EVANS CWM [from husband?]

Cf. David Evans Cwm (DE 6) and David Evans Cwm Tan (DE 7) in appendix A. This woman died in 1900. It is not clear whether she had this name in her own right or got it from a man in her life.

- CAS 1 CASSIE JONES SOUTH
CAT 1 CATHERINE FESTUS (Tibbott) [Father]
ELE 1 ELINOR GRIFFITH (Lloyd) [Father]
ELE 2 ELEANOR JOHN (Lloyd) [Husband]

There was at least one other Ellinor Lloyd, the wife of Griffy Lloyd Beulah (GL 1 in appendix A). and there is a suggestion, currently unconfirmed, that there was an Ellinor Griffy.

- ELI 1 ELIZABETH EVANS SOUTH
ELI 2 ELIZABETH EVANS WIDOW
ELI 3 a ELIZABETH JONES AMBROSE [Father]
b ELIZABETH AMBROSE
c ELIZABETH JONES PHANEY
d ELIZABETH JONES HEIRESS
e LIZA HEIRESS
ELI 4 a ELIZABETH JONES GATE [Toponym/
Occupation]
b LIZA GATE

A widow with a male-style byname earned in her own right.

- ELI 5 LIZZIE JONES GWYDD [Husband or Father]
From Welsh *gwydd* 'a loom, a weaver'.

204 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

- GRA 2 a GRANNIE DAVIS GRUNT [See text, p. 158]
b GRANNIE GRUNT
- JAN 1 JANE EBBY (Jones) [Father: Ebenezer]
- JAN 2 JANE ELIAS (Jones) [Father]
- JAN 3 JANE HERMAN (Jones) [Father]
- JAN 4 JANE OWEN J (Jones) [Father]
- JAN 5 a JANE JONES NORTH
b JANE NORTH
- JAN 6 JANE ROBERTS PENBRYN
Wife of John Roberts Penbryn (JR 1 in appendix A). A byname borne by everyone in the family.
- JEN 1 a JENNIE NORTH BRANCH [Husband: byname]
b JENNIE EVANS NORTH BRANCH
c JENNIE JONES CAMPHILL [Family: byname]
d JENNIE CAMPHILL
Wife of John Evans North Branch (JE 11).
- MGT 1 MAGGIE DAVIS COUNTRY
- MGT 2 MAGGIE DAVIS TOWN
- MGT 3 MARG DAVIS NORTH
- MGT 4 MAGGIE DAVIS NORTH [CHURCH]
- MGT 5 MAG CAMPHILL (Cf. John Jones Camphill, JJ 7, 8, 9).
- MGT 6 MAGGIE TIM (Roberts) [Father]
- MGT 7 MARGARET DOLPH (Myers) [Husband: Randolph]
- MGT 8 MARGARET JACK (Davis) [Father]
- MGT 9 MARGARET PARKE (Davis) [Husband]
- MGT 10 MARGARET JOHN (Hughes-Jones) [Father: John
Hughes. Husband: John D. Jones]
- MGT 11 MARGARET HUGH (Hughes-Roberts) [Father: Hugh
Hughes. Husband: Evan Hugh Roberts. Father-in-law: Hugh Roberts]

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 205

- MGT 12 a MARGARET REESE OBADIAH [Husband]
 b MARGARET OBADIAH
- MRS 1 MRS DOCTOR JONES (Fremont C.)
- MRS 2 MRS DOCTOR GRIFFITH (Abner)
- MRS 3 MRS DOCTOR RICHARDS
- MRS 4 MRS DOCTOR RICE
- MRS 5 MRS DOCTOR BENNETT (Harry J.)
- MRS 6 MRS JUDGE JONES
- MRS 7 MRS JUDGE EVANS (John Edgar)
- MRS 8 MRS JUDGE GRIFFITH (George Webster)
- MRS 9 MRS JUDGE BARKER (Augustine)
- MRS 10 MRS JUDGE KEPHART (John W.)
- MRS 11 MRS PREACHER JONES
- MRS 12 a MRS PREACHER THOMAS
 b MRS REVEREND THOMAS
- MRS 13 MRS REVEREND JENKINS
- MRS 14 MRS EVANS CWM (=ANN 8)
- MRS 15 MRS JONES JACKSON
 Wife of Tom Jones Jackson (TJ 5).
- MRS 16 a MRS JONES HOLLOW
 b MRS JONES-IN-THE-HOLLOW
 c MRS WILLIAM D JONES HOLLOW
 d ELIZABETH JONES HOLLOW
 e [CINNAMON LIZ]
- MIS 1 MISS EVAN EVANS
 Daughter of Evan Evans, an unusual formation.
- MTH 1 a MARTHA DOC
 b MARTHA DOCTOR (Jones)
 c MARTHA JONES DOCTOR
 Daughter of Fremont C. Jones, M.D. Cf. MRS 1.

206 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

- MTH 2 a MARTHA FRANK (Jones) [Father]
b MARTHA JONES FRANK
c MARTHA POLICEMAN
d MARTHA JONES POLICEMAN
- MTH 3 MARTHA TIM (Jones) [Husband]
- MTH 4 a MARTHA JOHN D (Jones) [Father]
b MARTHA JONES JOHN D
c [MATTIE JONES]
- MRY 1 MARY SHERM (Griffith) [Husband: Sherman]
- MRY 2 MARY ROBERTS NORTH
- MRY 3 MARY EVANS BEULAH
- MRY 4 MARY CHARLES (Pugh) [Husband]
- MRY 5 MARY DAVID (Davis) [Father]
- MRY 6 MARY DAVID (Powell) [Father]
- MRY 7 MARY ELLIS (Roland) [Father]
- MRY 8 MARY EVAN (Griffith) [Father]
- MRY 9 a MARY J J JAMES [Father: James
b MARY J J James James]
- Sister of David J J James (DJ 1) in appendix A.
- MRY 10 MARY THOMAS WILLIAM [Father]
- MRY 11 MARY WILLIAM
This is not an erroneous writing of *Williams*; numerous records of the period contain entries of the type Mary Thomas (William).
- MRY 12 MARY WILLIAM (Davis) [Father]
- MRY 13 MARY JONES WIDOW
- MRY 14 MARY A JONES NORTH
- MRY 15 MARY E JONES SMITH [Father]
Her husband's byname, not her maiden name.
- MRY 16 MARY JONES SOUTH

Allegheny Welsh Bynames 207

MRY 17	MARY J JAMES JUNIOR	[Son's wife, née Davis]
MRY 18	MARY J JAMES SENIOR	[father's wife, née Owens]
MCY 1	MARCY JONES SOUTH	
PAM 1	PAMELA ROBERT (D. Davis)	[Father]
RAC 1	JACKY RACHEL (Davis)	[Husband]
	A unique form—a diminutive of her husband's name, proposed.	
SAL 1	a SALLY J J JAMES	[Father: James
	b SALY J J	James James]
	Sister of Mary J J James (MRY 9)	
SAR 1	SARAH EVAN (Davis)	[Husband]

Appendix C

Pseudonyms, Toponyms, and Bardic Names

Found in the 1979 Gymanfa Ganu Hymnal

This list represents widespread contemporary style in Welsh identification as used by a responsible national organization. The Welsh National Gymanfa Ganu Association publishes a hymnal which is a compendium of the most popular Welsh religious part songs (our only remaining cultural bond since the language itself is no longer in daily use in the United States). The name list is unsystematic and confusing; it frustrates even the most interested readers. It demonstrates the wide diversity, the lack of uniformity, the inaccuracy and even the carelessness which can be seen in Welsh naming on what should be a very knowledgeable level. One would be tempted to think that the "greats" at least would be clearly and consistently identified, but even the beloved William Williams appears six different ways in the list. Hymn number 3, "Bryn Calfaria," points out the dreadful absurdities of the situation, where the first three verses are attributed to "Pantycelyn. (1716-1791)" and the fourth is carefully set apart as written by and attributed to "W. Williams. (1716-1791)," as though this were an entirely different person!

Despite occasional superficial similarities, none of the auxiliary names found here are true bynames such as those used in Ebensburg; rather there is an incoherent array of "name tags" which the Ebensburg

208 Names 49.3 (September 2001)

Welsh would have found intolerable, not to say incomprehensible. Perusal of this list may, however, enhance the appreciation of how a small town managed a problem which has proved intractable to the more sophisticated. They confronted Welsh naming and imposed upon it a useful order and structure in a way no one has before or since.

Composers:

- William Owen, Prysgol (1814-1893).
- John Edwards, Penrhiwceibr (1878-1928).
- Ieuan Gwyllt (1822-1877). Bardic pseudonym of Rev. John Roberts E. Stephen, Tanymarian (1822-1885).
- T. R. Williams, Trefriw (1866-1922). Compare with the noted Welsh poet "Thomas Williams of Trefriw" c 1550-1622.
- J. Richards (Isalaw) (1843-1901).
- W. Roberts, Tynymaes.
- John Hughes, Treorchy (1873-1932).
- D. Evans, Tresalem (1869-1944).
- Gutyn Arfon (1849-1919).
- John Thomas, Llanwrtyd (1839-1922).
- William R. Jones. Chicago.
- John Hughes, Glan Dwr (1872-1914).
- Evan Morgan (Llew Madog) (1846-1920).
- J. R. Lewis (Alaw Rhondda) (1860-1920).

Writers:

- Ap Hefin (1870-1946).
- J. O. Williams (Pedrog) (1847-1922).
- William Edwards, Bala.
- William Jones, Bala (1764-1822).
- John Williams (Sain Tatham) (1728-1806).
- Daniel Jones, Tredegar (1788-1848).
- DI. J. (?-1848).
- Daniel Jones, Treborth (1805-1868).
- Gomer - (J.H.) (1773-1825).
- Ebenezer Thomas (Eben Vardd).
- Eben Fardd (1802-1863).
- Last of the 19th Century eisteddfodic bards.
- Robert ab Gwilym Ddu (1766-1850).
- Alafon (1847-1916).
- Ieuan Glan Geirionydd (1795-1855).
- Founder of the Eryri (Snowdonia) school of poetry.

Glan Geirionydd (1795-1855).

Ieuan Glan Geirionydd (1795-1855).

Ieuan Glan Geirionydd (Evan Evans) (1822-1877).

Presumed admirer of the preceding.

J. D. Evans, Ap Daniel.

Ieuan. Gwyllt (1822-1877).

See note at Composers.

Ieuan Gwyllt (1822-1877).

Pantycelyn (1716-1791).

One of the most revered religious poets of Wales.

William Williams (1716-1791).

W. Williams (1716-1791).

W. Williams, Pantycelyn (1716-1791).

William Williams (Pantycelyn) (1716-1791).

William Williams, Pantycelyn (1716-1791).

The preceding 21 hymns are all by the same man. When he is referred to only as Pantycelyn the term is simply the name of his modest farm.

Gethin (?-1867).

Bardd Nantglyn (1769-?).

Efel

R. D. (Mynyddog) (1833-1877).

Eifion Wyn (Eliseus Williams) Porthmadog (1867-1926).

Cf. Dewi Wyn o Eifion (1784-1841), noted poet and John Eifion Jones, featured tenor at the Los Angeles St. David's Day observance in 2000.

Pedr Fardd (1775-1845).

Peter Jones (Pedr Fardd) (1775-1845).

Ieuan O. Leyn. (John H. Hughes) (1814-1893).

Rev. Thomas Jones, Dinbych (1715-1820).

Alfa (1876-1931).

Gwyyrosydd (1847-1920).

R. M. J. (Meigant) (1852-1899).

William Reese Hiraethog (1802-1883).

Elfed (1860-1953).

Elvet (1860-1953).

H. Elvet Lewis (1860-1953). [H. = Howell]

J.H. (1775-1854).

Cemlyn

Thomas Lewis, Talylychau (1759-1842).

Samuel Griffiths, Llangeitho.

Evan Rees (Dyfed) (1850-1923).

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