Surnames of Trans-Allegheny Virginia
1750—1800 II

W. E. MOCKLER

Pronunciation

INVESTIGATION HAS DEMONSTRATED that the spellings of early English place names are not always a reliable register of pronunciations.[51] "In the great majority of cases, a scribe uses the spelling he has been taught for ordinary words, and in the case of place names that which he finds in the document he is copying, making no change; this is the traditional spelling...."[52] The customary written form may even influence pronunciation or lead to the preservation of spellings (such as the English *Daventry* for *Daintry*) which record artificial pronunciations.[53]

When proper names lose contact, however, with traditional written forms – as in the break from an older culture – phonetic spellings often take precedence over the traditional. Such was the case with the surnames of early western Virginia, where, in the seating of a new population of diverse origins, phonetic and traditional spellings stood side by side, and where not seldom the former displaced the latter altogether as the recorded form.

Even when a name went unchanged morphologically, an occasional stray spelling casts sufficient light for establishing the sound-pedigree of the surname, and, by extension, for ascertaining the pronunciation of certain ordinary words of speech which were invariable in spelling. The phonetic evidence thus proceeding from a study of eighteenth-century surnames is lent support by the results of modern dialect investigation.

Clues to the values of certain sounds in the speech of colonial Virginia are demonstrated as follows:

[51] Mawer and Stenton, p. 6.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

1. The change of Middle English [ɑ] to [æ] was not complete. (Cf. the pronunciation of "Calvert" as "Cawlvert" by natives of Calvert County, Maryland.)[54]

Asburn	Osborne
Cadwealleder	Codwaller
Tannahill	Taunnihill
Gallaher	Golloher
Fast	Faust
McCalley	McColley
McCann	McCohn
Saverns	Soverns
[Alberts]	Olbers

2. Middle English [ɑ] followed by *r* had the value of [æ]. This pronunciation is found today in British dialects and until a generation ago was still in use in remote regions of West Virginia, e. g. *arm* [ærm].[55]

Barden	Bearden
Carnes	Cairnes

3. Words which show normal development from Middle English *er* [e:r] to Modern English *ar* [ɑ:r] often retained the *er* spelling although the phonetic value was [ɑ:r]. (Except in such isolated cases as the county name Berkeley [ba:rklį][56], where the pronunciation changed to conform to spelling, the nineteenth century saw alteration in spelling to fit the pronunciation.) The [ɑ:r] pronunciation is still found in such words as *service*, *nearer*, *vermin*, *herb*.

Berkeley	Barclay
Ferguson	Farguson
Herenton	Harrington
Kerns	Carns
Merchand	Marchant
Merrical	Maracals
Person	Parson
Sterling	Starling

[54] William A. Kinney, "Roving Maryland's Cavalier Country," *The National Geographic Magazine*, CV (1954), 443.

[55] Apparently "D. Boone killed a *bar* on this tree" reflects the pronunciation [bær].

[56] Eighteenth-century western Virginia records reveal an occasional *Barclay* beside *Berkeley*.

4. The raising of Middle English [e:] to [i:], which occurred at the end of the seventeenth century and had become general by the middle of the eighteenth, was not complete.[57]

Heastings	Hastings
Leake	Lake
McCleary	McClary
Wheally	Whaley
Yeates	Yates

5. As in certain current West Virginia dialect pronunciations, e. g. [fæir], *fair*, [aeg], *egg*, [e:] seems to have been lowered occasionally to [æ].

Clegg	Clagg
[Clem]	Clam
Gillespie	Gillaspie
Kemp	Camp
[Luellen]	Luallen
Pierpoint	Pairpoint
Reynolds	Rannolds

6. In at least one case [æ] appears to have raised to [e:].

Haskins	Heskins

7. As in many modern instances, [ẹ] and [i̯] alternated. (Cf. such local forms as *het* for *hit* (it), *let* for *lit*, *Nipton* for *Neptune*, and *rint* for *rent*.)

Jennings	Jinnings
Pendell	Pindle
McKenney	McKinney

8. One example of [e:] apparently diphthongizing as [ɑi] occurs.

McClain	McCline

9. The modern West Virginia dialect pronunciation of *china* as *cheny* [tʃe:ni̯] (e. g. *cheny* ware) appears to be reflected by one alternate spelling.

China	Cheney

[57] Cf. Shakespeare's rhyming of *clean* with *lane* and Pope's rhyming of *Tea* with *obey*.

10. An apparent instance of *u* as the sound [u:] when it is ordinarily [ụ] occurs with one name. (Cf. present-day dialect pronunciations *boosh* for *bush*; *poosh* for *push.*)

Cushman	Coochman

11. That *u* not infrequently had the value of [ʌ:] seems indicated. (Cf. the modern dialect forms *onder* for *under*; *plom* for *plum*; and *plonder* for *plunder.*)

Plum	Plom
Gulford	Galford
Crull	Croll
Murdock	Moredock

Vocabular Significances

As words long divested of meaning, names have resisted many of the stimuli which normally provoke variation or bring about disuse. It is not surprising, therefore, to find preserved even in the most ordinary surnames and baptismal names, as well as in place names, many older words of the language not otherwise extant. In the early Virginia surname *Bond*, for instance, is OE *bonda* 'serf'; in Camp is ON *kempa* 'warrior'; in *Crouch* is ME *crouche* 'cross' (connected with OE *crycc* 'crutch', 'staff'); in *Drake* is OE *draca* 'dragon'. in *Woodfin* is OE *wudu-fin* 'wood heap.' Such name survivals are an index both to cultural history and to language.

The search for special lexicographical significances in names has lead in recent years[58] to the scholarly investigation of our oldest body of surnames—those of the Middle English period. Such study has had important results. In the case of certain words first appearing as names, the date of earliest record has been pushed back as much as six centuries. Serving as an illustration is *stretende* found by Löfvenberg[59] as a surname (Roger de la Stretende) in 1262. The NED dates *streetend* from 1904. Fransson[60] gives fifteen occupational surnames whose earliest instances antedate more than five hundred years those of the NED, nine with instances antedating four to five hundred years the NED's, and thirty-two with instances antedating

[58] Löfvenberg credits Sir Allen Mawer in his paper "Some Unworked Sources for English Lexicography" (in *A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen on his Seventieth Birthday,* (1930) with suggesting the value of Middle English surnames as a source for the history of the English vocabulary.

[59] *Op. cit.,* p. xli.

[60] *Op. cit.,* pp. 32–33.

three to four hundred years the NED's. Even more important, however, are the newly-recovered surnames—many of them compounded forms—which represent Old English words hitherto unknown. One may point by way of example to Ekwall's suggestion of an Old English common noun **hlammgeat* 'swinggate' as the source of the place name *Lamyatt* (Somerset) and to the verification of this postulation by Löfvenberg's discovery of the surname *atte Lomezate*.[61] Of a total of three hundred and seventy-three uncompounded name-words listed by Löfvenberg, no fewer than ninety-five are unrecorded in the NED.[62]

While the surnames appearing in medieval manuscripts have been given deserved attention and in turn have revealed much of linguistic interest, those of another peripheral area have remained untouched. These latter are the native British surnames which were lost except as they appear in records of colonial America. Of such names Bardsley remarks:

> It is curious to notice apparently extinct surnames in England crop up in the U. S. A.; v. for instance, Holy Peter, now Hollopeter across the Atlantic. It seems to have long died out in the old country. So with Liard, which I can only find in New York. The same remark applies to Pallister and to Chickin . . .[63]

Among these fugitive surnames are doubtless some which left no trace in Britain even in remote times. As a potential source of material for both onomasticon and lexicon they need to be collected and scientifically examined.

Not all of the non-traditional surnames of English fabric that appear at an early date in trans-Allegheny Virginia had their origins in the British Isles. Some, like *Brownfield*, may be anglicized German names. Others, such as *Whitecliff* and *Timberlake*, which actually stand for *Wycliff* and *Timperley*, reflect folk etymologies from this side of the Atlantic. Still others—perhaps *Rifle* and *Flintlock*—seem to have originated in the spirit of the frontier as the need for new names arose. Of the remaining non-traditional surnames, the majority represent obscure or extinct local names that have been brought to light by place name scholars in recent years. A small number, however, reveal hitherto unrecorded combinations or project word forms which antedate the earliest recognized instances:

---

[61] *Op. cit.*, p. xxxviii. [62] *Ibid.*, p. xl.

[63] *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, p. 6.

Beakwade. An unnoted compound of Nth. *beek* 'rivulet' plus *wade* 'ford.'

Bobinett. A surname appearing on the Allegheny frontier in 1784. The NED's first instance of *bobinett* is from 1832.

Boydstone. The unusual combination of a Celtic first element, Gael. *boidh* 'yellow,' and an OE second element, *stān* 'stone.' Or the pers. n. Boyd, a derivative of Gael. *boidh* 'yellow-haired,' plus *tūn* ('Boyd's homestead') may be represented.

Burchfield. A surname that may be an unrevealed place name containing the OE elements *birce* 'birch' and *feld* 'field,' with the significance of 'cultivated land near a birch grove or coppice.'

Calmire. An unrecorded compound of *calf* and *mire*, apparently signifying a muddy spot or enclosure in which calves were permitted to run. *Cal-* (OE *cealf*) is a common initial element in local names of the Anglian region.

Fornelson. A surname that appears to contain an unrecorded OE personal name *Fornel* or *Farnel*, similar in form to O. Scand. *Forni*, which is sometimes found in place names of the Anglian counties. Had the name developed from the latter, however, *Fornson*, rather than *Fornelson*, would have resulted.

Hardesley. An unnoted compound containing the OE personal name *Hererēd* and OE *lēah* 'open land.'

Hogmire. An unrecorded compound of *hog* and *mire. Mire* here and in *Calmire* seems to be used in a more specific sense (i. e. as an enclosure) than is indicated by other more common Nth. English *-mire* names—e. g. *Blamire*, *Longmire*, *Tranmire*, *Pundermire.*

Meander. A surname appearing on the frontier in 1784. The NED finds *meander* as a verb first used in a *personal* sense in 1831 (e. g. "He went meanderin.") The noun *meanderer* dates from 1889.

Sisco. Apparently a northern English name combining the ON personal name *Siggi* and ON *skógr* 'wood,' (i. e. 'Siggi's wood'). Cf. *Brisco.*

Tumblestone. A compound that may contain as a first element an unrecognized OE personal name 'Tumbel' or 'Timbel' and having the significance of 'Tumbel's *tūn* or homestead.'

Taboos and Surname Change

Surnames undergo change principally in two ways: 1) through an evolutionary process of gradual, unintentional, and frequently

unconscious mutation, and 2) through a conscious alteration that may transform a name orthographically or phonetically, or may involve the actual discard of a name in favor of a totally different one. The first of these has been with dealt above. The second, as it affected the surnames of western Virginia during and after the eighteenth century, will be the subject of the succeeding paragraphs.

The *intentional* change of a surname results almost exclusively from the name's assumption of meaning. This meaning may or may not be that which is associated with the ordinary words of speech; more than likely, it lies with the name's symbology. When the name comes to signalize a condition which sets apart the bearer, it immediately becomes subject to change.

Various factors induce the attachment of special significances that bring about changes in names:

A. Change may be effected from religious considerations.

Because it implied Irish extraction and hence allegiance to Catholicism, the Celtic surnominal prefix *O'* was taboo on the Allegheny frontier.[64] One early pioneer went so far as to have written into court records an apology he received for having been wrongly endowed with an *O'* name. The situation is described by Boyd B. Stutler in the *West Virginia Review*.[65]

"In 1774 Joseph and Samuel McClung had charge of collecting the tithes of the citizens of the Greenbrier watershed, that section then being a part of Botetourt County. In the prosecution of this duty, some time in 1775, they posted a notice listing the men liable for this tax. At that time Andrew Donnally was living on Sinking Creek.... In some way the McClungs had heard a rumor that Donnally had changed his name or shortened it by omitting an *O*; that his name was really O'Donnally; and that he was a papist. In posting the list of tithables the McClungs wrote the name as

[64] The Rev. Patrick Woulfe in *Irish Names and Surnames*, p. xxxii quotes:

> By Mac and O
> You'll always know
> True Irishmen, they say;
> But if they lack
> Both O and Mack
> No Irishmen are they.

(Mac's use by Scots as well as Irish made it an acceptable prefix.)

[65] Boyd B. Stutler, "Annals of the Mountain State," *The West Virginia Review*, VII (1930), 174.

rumor told them it should be written—they flatly accused him by calling him O'Donnally. Great was the wrath of the injured citizen. He declined to receive a verbal apology; the insult had been given publicly and the retraction must be made the same way. Therefore he required the McClungs to prepare a formal statement setting out the facts and apologizing for the insult, and, after this document had been witnessed by...neighbors of Donnally, it was taken before the Botetourt County court at the May term, 1776, where it was proved in due and solemn form and ordered to be recorded...."

Undoubtedly this antipathy is reflected in the paucity of *O'* names on the frontier generally. Only four appear in early Monongalia records. One instance of *James O'Cochran* beside the excised *James Cochran* occurs in a deed of survey for 1783. (In other records, only *James Cochran* is mentioned.) The slip is revealing. Woulfe gives *O'Cochran* as an Irish surname; and Black goes so far as to point out that use of *Cochrane* as a concealment for the transplanted Irish *O'Corcoran* is well known in Scotland.[66] Elsewhere are found *O'Bryan*, *O'Finn*, and *O'Glesby*, but of the last there is some doubt. Its alternation in a deed from 1783 with *Oglesby*, a traditional English form (*Oegel's* or *Oeguald's* 'settlement or farmstead'), leads to the belief that it may be a scribal misliteration. Of more than three thousand names of family heads given in the first Federal Census (1790) for Washington County, Pennsylvania (a portion of which was orginally included in Monongalia), only one—*O'Brine*—bears the *O'* prefix.

Today, in certain regions of West Virginia, *Kelley*, *Murphey*, and *Rian* are traditional 'Protestant' spellings, while their counterparts, *Kelly*, *Murphy*, and *Ryan*, are looked upon as 'Catholic.' The names first occur as *Kelly* (1781), *Murphy* (1781), and *Ryan* (1782). *Murphey* appears in 1782, *Kelley* in 1796, *Rian* not until after 1800. Two names in later use also mirror religious dissidence: *McCarty* and *Hennessee* were originated by Protestants to mark a distinction from 'Catholic' *McCarthy* and *Hennessey*.[67]

B. Change may be effected from political considerations.

The restrictions placed upon settlement in northwestern Virginia are reflected in surname change. Fear that an influx of Pennsyl-

[66] Black, *op. cit.*, p. xlv.

[67] Mrs. Anna Morrell McCarty, formerly of Morgantown, and Mr. Eugene Hennessee, of Parkersburg, are my informants.

vania Germans would loosen Virginia's claim to the region led a Monongalia court, in May, 1772, to decree that "no Bedford County people are by any agreement made after this date [to] be allowed to homestead any land West of the Mohongalo River, from the Lakes to the Greenbrier...."[68] Four months later the following case came before the court:

> Complaint made by Edward Scott and ten settlers of Upper Tingooqua Creek and Eckerlin Run against one Jacob Zeller and four sons as being obnoxious to said complainant. The Corte bei ng of desire to hold this Virginia territory as made in agreement.. in 1767 – that no Penn settlers be allowed to make Tomahawk claims on Virginia lands – did set Ord on September 2nd – the sheriff bring the Zeller family into Corte on this day, September 4th, 1772.... The Corte do find no obnoxious claim made by Zellers, now declare Edward Scott– complaint set by– and make clear all the Ords of Virginia Rights – and same being made to them– *the Zeller name being changed to Sellers– by Ord of the Corte* and made by oath and so made in this Corte record by Ord of Camp Cat Fish Corte this 4th day of September 1772.[69]

Such direct anglicizings as that of 'Zeller' to 'Sellers' may have been more common than the records show. Schuricht, in writing of German settlement in the Valley of Virginia, points to the early appearance of the translated forms 'Carpenter,' 'Hunter,' and 'Greentree' from 'Zimmermann,' 'Jaeger,' and 'Gruenebaum.'[70] Local feeling elsewhere in western Virginia doubtless encouraged similar substitutions which are not revealed.

C. Change may be effected from social considerations.

In the newly-awakened social consciousness of the nineteenth century, not a few names came to represent, indirectly, meaningful significations or to possess meaning within themselves as words. Illustrative of the former are the names 'Croston,' 'Male,' and 'Newman' which in one region are exclusively used by the people called Guineas; and the labels are freely spoken of as "Guinea names." In another community, 'Cross' has come to signify Negro blood in a predominantly white strain.

Other local conditions sometimes attach opprobrium to names. Circumstances of indolence, poverty, and even ignorance may so color a name that, in time, the name and the state become

---

[68] Horn, *op. cit.*, I, 75.

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 86–7. (The italics are mine.)

[70] Herrmann Schuricht, *History of the German Element in Virginia*, I, 77, 95, 203, ff.

synonymous. One family informally changed 'Hawkinberry' to 'Hillberry,' in the hope, no doubt, that reproach would fade with the name. For the same reason 'Mike' was changed to 'Michael'.

Because of its connotation as a meaningful word, 'Coon' (sometimes spelled *Koon*), which had appeared as a frontier surname as early as 1781, was legally changed by one family to 'Koen.' In a similar case, the eighteenth-century 'Snodgrass,' after court appeal, became 'Ketterer.'

In the late nineteenth century there began a fashion in surnames that has seen the shifting of accent from first to second syllable in a number of disyllabic names. This phonetic alteration, which does not always extend to orthography, apparently was motivated by a sense of social consciousness and took place at a time when a corresponding shift was under way in such common nouns as *garage*, *restaurant*, and *chauffeur*. In certain instances the change can be justified as a return to an original form:

Arnett	Arnett(e)
Barnet	Barnette
Burdin	Burdine
Galion	Galyean
Lazell	Lazell(e)
Odel	O'Dell
Sinkler	Sinclair
Waddel	Waddell

D. Change may be effected from considerations of personal safety.

What must have been the common type of intentional name change in the eighteenth century—that proceeding from a desire to conceal identity—is the one least frequently discernible; for seldom did the advantage of lifting the veil of anonymity, especially for public record, outweigh the expedience of keeping it lowered. Just such a rare case, however, is that of Richard Thomas Atkinson, who enlisted in the Virginia Militia in 1776 under the name of Richard Thomas. Applying in 1819 for a Revolutionary pension[71], he made the following statemant before the Monongalia County Court:

[71] *Revolutionary Pensioners of Monongalia County* (*Revolutionary Soldiers Who Applied for Pensions in Monongalia County*), p. 2.

The reason I enlisted in the name Richard Thomas was that previous to the Revolution . . . I was a soldier in the British servise and was advised to enlist in the name of Thomas for fear if [I] was taken prisoner [I] would be known by [my] full name.

(Signed) Richard Thomas Atkinson

In the absence of any detail, one may wonder whether Atkinson had been a deserter from the British Army. If such was the situation, he was not the first to seek freedom from Army service in the western wilderness. The earliest settlers on the headwaters of the Monongahela were the Eckarly brothers from eastern Pennsylvania who in 1753, because of religious scruples, had come to escape military duty;[72] and the men who opened the way to settlement of the Buckhannon Valley were the Pringles—John and Samuel—who in 1761 had fled the garrison at Fort Pitt.[73]

Outlawry on the western Virginia frontier, however, was not represented alone by a few Army deserters. Indeed, if the assertion of one writer can be accepted, the earlier frontier communities of the Monongahela country were "filled with criminals and outlaws from the older settlements east of the mountains," and the blessings brought by the genuine pioneer "were enjoyed by thousands of adventurers of every grade from the cutthroat knave to the polished land-shark."[74]

Some historians have maintained that the country watered by the Monongahela, the Ohio, and the Kanawha was settled in large part by the indentured white servants of tidewater Virginia, who, in the great exodus of that class, made their way westward.[75] Other historians have denied this claim.[76] But as early as 1717, Governor Spotswood of Virginia, writing of the outward movement of white freedmen, was saying, "The inhabitants of our frontiers are composed generally of such as have been transported hither as servants, and being out of their time settled themselves where land is to be

[72] Samuel T. Wiley, *History of Monongalia County, West Virginia*, p. 32.

[73] Richard Ellsworth Fast and Hu Maxwell, *The History and Government of West Virginia*, p. 44.

[74] Archer Hulbert, *The Ohio River*, p. 88. This historian says again, p. 195, "The lawless condition of the land and its comparatively small number of inlaws made the West a haven for outlaws from the southern and eastern states."

[75] See Boyd B. Stutler, "Annals of the Mountain State," *The West Virginia Review*, VII, (1930), 357.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

taken up...."[77] The institution of indentured servitude lasted throughout the colonial period. A French traveler writing in 1765 observed that "...the number of Convicts and indented servants imported to Virginia [is] amazing...."[78] How widespread was the practice of absconding is impossible to determine although running away seems to have been the most common misdoing of servants in the colonies.[79] Doubtless many who fled their bonds found sanctuary beyond the Blue Ridge under different names.

Of the felons transported from England to America for penal servitude, Smith[80] says,

> As for the convicts, their ultimate fate is shrouded in mystery, where it is perhaps as well that it should remain. William Eddis[81] remarked that most of them either found their way back to England after their seven or fourteen years was finished, or else they moved to different parts of the colonies and took up a new career under assumed names.

However nebulous the pattern, however vague the circumstances, discarding of names and identities on the slopes of the Alleghenies can hardly have been uncommon. Indeed, the assumption of new names for the purpose of avoiding recognition—especially with the growth of population following the Revolution—may well have been extensive. In the absence of any other data, the incidence of non-traditional surnames and of baptismal names as surnames appears to form the only tangible evidence on the subject.

---

[77] Abbot Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage, White Servitude and Convict Labor in America*, 1607–1776, p. 297.

[78] "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI, (1921), 744. The importation of servants seemed to have been at its peak about the middle of the eighteenth century. (See Eugene Irving McCormac, "White Servitude in Maryland, 1634–1820." *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences*, Series XXII, (1904), 107.)

[79] "Servants would plot how they might run away even before they landed in Virginia and under the liberty given them on the plantations, and with an accessible back country, it was not a difficult matter to accomplish." (James Curtis Ballagh, "White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences*, Thirteenth Series, (1895), 53. Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 264–65 and McCormac, *op. cit.*, p. 48.)

[80] *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

[81] Eddis came from England in 1769 as secretary to Governor Eden of Maryland. His *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777 Inclusive* appeared in London in 1792.

Surnames in Frontier Place Names

The early West Virginia surname 'Doddridge' (which has become a place name)[82] will serve as a subject for exemplifying the terminal theory of Old English place names and at the same time for demonstrating the value of topographical name investigation to surname study.

As shown by Kökeritz,[83] a name's terminal element may assume special significance in the derivation of an obscure first element. Non-habitative terminals (words denoting natural features, e. g. OE *hyll*, *cumb*, *dūn*) favor the descriptive word as a first constituent while personal names are much more frequent in compounds with habitative terminals (words denoting homesteads or places characterized by various forms of human activity, e. g. OE *hām*, *tūn*, *worþ*).[84]

Of 'Doddridge' Bardsley says only that it is of local origin and represents some spot in County Devon which he is unable to find.[85] Harrison goes further in etymologizing, but stops with 'Dodda's Ridge,' the first element of which he identifies as a personal name and the second as OE *hrycg*, 'ridge.'[86] Those who hold with the terminal theory, however, would seek another first element. In the present circumstance, it seems to me that a most likely alternative to the personal name is OE **dod(d)* seen in ME *dod* 'rounded summit,' (Mod. Engl. dial. *dod*, *dodd*) and ME *dodden* (Mod. Engl. *dod*) 'to make the top or head of anything blunt, rounded or bare' (NED).[87]

In the light of the terminal theory of Old English place names, the incidence of surnames in the stream nomenclature of early western Virginia forms an interesting pattern. Of one hundred and

[82] Doddridge County, West Virginia.

[83] Helge Kökeritz, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Wight*, (*Nomina Germanica*, Arkiv för germansk namnforskning utgivet av Jöran Sahlgren, Nr. 6), pp. lxxxi, lxxxii. Kökeritz is one of several, notably Zachrisson, who have utilized the terminal theory.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. lxxxii.

[85] *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, p. 87.

[86] *Op. cit.*, I, 117.

[87] The *NED* says of *dod*, *dodd*: "sb. *north dial.* In North of England and South of Scotland a frequent term for a rounded summit or eminence, either as a separate hill, or more frequently a lower summit or distinct shoulder or boss of a hill." Cf. von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 224–5, and Tengvik, *op. cit.*, pp. 310–11.

sixty-six watercourse names still current in the twentieth century in northern West Virginia and recorded as early as the Revolutionary period,[88] eleven designate rivers, sixty-six, creeks, and eighty-nine, runs and branches. A surname combines with *river* only twice to form a compound[89] (*Tygart's River*, *Hughes River*) while in the other nine river names, descriptive words are employed as first elements. Correspondingly, *creek* has nineteen instances of surnames against forty-seven compounds with descriptive words. With *run* and *fork* as terminals, however, surnames predominate as first elements in a ratio of sixty-one to twenty-eight.

Regardless of how precisely the computation here reflects the terminal theory as it applies to Old English names, the conclusion may be reached that the smaller the stream, the more personal becomes its association and the more often does its designation incorporate a surname.

The need for such a formula as that employed by students of Old English local names is not lacking with regard to present-day place nomenclature. A case in point is 'Otter Creek,' a tributary of Tygart's River, which appears as 'Aughter's Creek' and 'Outer's Creek' in the earliest records. The spelling and the genitival *s* point to a stream title of surnominal origin. On the other hand, the creek as a natural feature is most frequently denoted by a descriptive word rather than by a personal name. In similar fashion 'Gnatty Creek', a branch of Elk Creek, which appears first (1781) as 'Natta Creek' (perhaps from the surname Van Natta) may or may not have received its present designation through folk etymology. An interesting case also is that of 'Windy Run', a tributary of Tygart's River. Here the question is whether the modern name represents the eighteenth-century surname 'Whendy,' which was preserved for a time in 'Whendy's Run' before disappearing altogether, or whether it is merely a descriptive epithet.

---

[88] *Reports of Commissioners on Adjustment of Claims to Unpatented Lands, Monongalia, Yohogania, and Ohio Counties, Virginia and West Virginia* (1779–1783), p. 1 ff.

[89] The meaning of *Buckhannon* (River) is in dispute. It is most frequently explained as an Indian word sometimes translated 'brick river' or 'breaker in pieces' and sometimes held to be the name of a Delaware chief, *Buckongahelas*. (See Hammil Kenny, *West Virginia Place Names*, pp. 135–136.)

Examples of this kind not only reveal the necessity for a carefully detailed examination of place names but also point up the intimate relationship existing between place names and surnames. As noted earlier, place name scholarship has much to contribute to surname study. The extent to which the latter is able to reciprocate, however, is not fully realized.

From Bynames to Middle Names

Like other Germanic peoples, the Anglo-Saxons, following the well-defined principles of alliteration, variation, and repetition, bestowed a single compounded or uncompounded name upon their off-spring.[90] Not infrequently, however, two persons of a village or of one family connection carried the same name, and out of the need for distinguishing between them grew the nickname or by-name[91]—precursor of the hereditary surname of later periods.

In use in England since the eighth century,[92] this early form of second name was, as a rule, no more than a loosely attached and changeable description which ceased to exist with the death of the person who bore it.[93]

That a need similar to that of earlier periods had arisen in eighteenth-century western Virginia and was being met by use of the secondary appellation is indicated from contemporary records:

The patronym as a byname is found in 'Van Swearingen son of John.'[94] Two grandsons of Morgan Morgan, the first settler in what is now West Virginia, are distinguished as 'Morgan Morgan son of James'[95] and 'Morgan Morgan the 3d.'[96] *The Third* is not alone here, being used in at least three other instances. *Junior*[97] and *senior* are very common; and once 'John Ramsay the lesser' stands with 'John Ramsay Senior.'[98]

---

[90] See Woolf, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[91] *Byname* is here used in the sense of "a name other than the principal or main one; a subsidiary name or appellation." (*NED*)

[92] In *Beowulf*, for example: 'Scyld Scēfing,' 'Bēowulf bearn Ecgþēowes,' 'Unferð Ecglāfes bearn.'

[93] Tengvik, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[94] *Reports of Commissioners on Adjustment of Claims to Unpatented Lands, Monongalia, Yohogania, and Ohio Counties, Virginia, West Virginia*, p. 188.

[95] *Monongalia County District Court Fee Book, 1799–1800*, p. 3.

[96] *Ibid.*

[97] Ekwall finds *junior* and *senior* in use in London before 1300 (*Variation*, p. 44).

[98] *Reports of Commissioners . . .*, pp. 34, 36.

A list of holders of tithable property produces the descriptive 'Richard Tibbs, red head.'[99] A second such list, showing an occupational sub-title, reveals beside 'Edmond West,' 'Edmund West, Constable.'[100] In a community with two others bearing the name James Hughes is 'J. Hughes, Blacksmith;'[101] and in the same record appear 'John Harris, Innkeeper'[102] and of three John Shidlers one designated 'John Shidler, Blacksmith.'[103]

From place of residence, no doubt, Horn Horn chose to be recorded as 'Horn Horn, Amwell,'[104] while of two Levi Harrods, one is 'Levi Harrod, Fort Harrod.'[105] Somewhat less laconic is 'John Downer living on Dunker creek.[106]

Three John Vanmeters are thus differentiated: 'John Vanmeter,' 'John Vanmeter Senior,' and 'Major John Vanmeter.'[107] A title, however, was of no value in keeping apart two William Crawfords, both of whom were colonels in the Revolutionary War. One was nicknamed 'Black Bill,'[108] the other 'Monongahela Bill.'[109]

How much farther byname use in trans-Allegheny Virginia would have extended had not the middle name come into vogue can only be surmised. Suffice to note the situation by 1842 among sea-coast villages of Scotland as Joseph Robertson describes it:[110]

"The fishers are generally in want of surnames. There are seldom more than two or three surnames in a fish-town....The grocers in 'booking' their fisher customers, invariably insert the nick-name

---

[99] The list representing the year 1786 was found among the papers of Col. William McCleary, an early county official, and is included in Samuel T. Wiley's *History of Monongalia County, West Virginia,* p. 82.

[100] The list represents the year 1785 and is found in Henry Haymond's *History of Harrison County West Virginia,* p. 275.

[101] From a listing of heads of families, Washington County, Pennsylvania, 1790, in Horn, *op. cit.,* II, 803.

[102] *Ibid.,* p. 805.

[103] *Ibid.,* p. 821.

[104] *Ibid.,* p. 805.

[105] *Ibid.,* p. 803.

[106] *Monongalia County Court Estray Register, 1796,* p. 6.

[107] From ms. records to which reference is made in Agnes Waller Reddy, *West Virginia Revolutionary Ancestors,* p. 79.

[108] Horn, *op. cit.,* I, 296.

[109] *Ibid.,* II, 648.

[110] "Notes on the Fishers of the Scotch East Coast," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* LI, (1842), 300–301.

or *tee*-name, and, in the case of married men, write down the wife's along with the husband's name. Unmarried debtors have the names of their parents inserted with their own. In the town-register of Peterhead these signatures occur: Elizabeth Taylor, spouse to John Thompson, *Souples*; Agnes Farquhar, spouse to Findlater, *Stouttie*. . . . Among the twenty-five George Cowies in Buckie there are George Cowie, *doodle*, George Cowie, *carrot*, and George Cowie, *neep*.

"A stranger had occasion to call on a fisherman. . . in one of the Buchan fishing-villages of the name of Alexander White . . . . Meeting a girl, he asked—

"'Could you tell me fa'r Sanny Fite lives?'

"'Filk Sanny Fite?'

"'Muckle Sanny Fite.'

"'Filk muckle Sanny Fite?'

"'Muckle lang Sanny Fite.'

"'Filk muckle lang Sanny Fite?'

"'Muckle lang gleyed Sanny Fite,' shouted the stranger.

"'Oh! It's "Goup-the-Lift" ye're seeking,' cried the girl, 'and fat the deevil for dinna ye speer for the man by his richt name at ance?"'

In contrast to this prominent role, the byname in western Virginia by the same date—the early 1840's—had made its exit from formal records. The middle name, whose use thirty years before was negligible, had become almost the sole agent for distinguishing those who bore the same Christian and family names.[111] Even *junior* and *senior* for a time were to become superfluous appendages.[112]

Although not unknown in the earliest period of settlement, the middle name before 1785 was so rare that among several thousand references to colonists on the Allegheny slopes I have found it employed only nine times. By 1795, it was recorded with one of every fifty names. The rate of increment in its use in the nineteenth cent-

[111] The exchange of byname for middle name is graphically illustrated in a notification appearing in the Massachusetts *Spy* for April 4, 1821: "Nathan Tufts, the third, son of Amos Tufts, blacksmith, changed his name to Nathan Adams Tufts, by Act of Feb. 24." (Richard H. Thornton, *An American Glossary* (Philadelphia, 1912), II, 894.)

[112] The son who received his father's given name usually bore *also* a middle name: e. g. *John Adams* and *John Quincy Adams*. Hence the lack of necessity for *junior*.

ury may be further traced in figures for names appearing in Monongalia County Deed Books for various years. I use the letter "D" as representative:

Deed Book	Years	Number of Surnames under "D"	Number of Middle Names	Percent of Middle Names
3	1803–1807	69	3	4 1/2
5	1810–1814	51	4	7 1/2
8	1819–1822	63	11	17
10	1823–1828	49	15	30
13	1833–1837	52	18	34
15	1838–1840	85	36	42
I(n.s.)	1864–1865	74	38	51

The most striking feature attached to the use of middle names in the eighteenth century, as well as later, is that a very high percentage were borrowed surnames. Significantly, seven of the nine coming to light before 1785 appear to be family names:

Peter *Smalwood* Roby
John *Dulling* Goff
Thomas James Goff
John *Pierce* Duvall
John *Hawkins* Low
William Augustus Smith
Thomas *Doyl* McCune
David *Wales* Sleeth
John *Wade* Lovberry

"This use of surnames [as first names or as middle names] originated in England during the Seventeenth Century," says H. L. Mencken, "and one of its fruits was the adoption of a number of distinguished names, e. g., *Cecil*, *Howard*, *Douglas*, *Percy*, *Duncan* and *Stanley*, as common given names. But the English began a return to *John*, *Charles* and *Williams* during the century following, and now the use of surnames is distinctively American. Of the fourteen Presidents of the United States who have had middle names at all, nine have had family names...."[113] The fact that

[113] H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, p. 516.

continental European immigrants frequently bore two Christian names[114] apparently did not influence the nomenclature of trans-Allegheny Virginia.

For what is perhaps the chief answer to the question of why in America the surname became and remained so prominently identified with the middle or second name one needs but look at the latter names themselves: *Adams*, *Asbury*, *Boone*, *Clay*, *Dow*, *Grant*, *Harrison*, *Jackson*, *Lee*, *Marion*, *Marshall*, *Morgan*, *Randolph*, *Sherman*, *Taney*, *Webster*, *Wesley*. The development of a new culture in this country—a culture in which the name of ancestor and of national and local hero was held in highest reverence—gave to middle names a significant function. In them were brought to memory the family patriarch, the circuit-rider and preacher, the frontier orator, the law-giver, statesman, and soldier.

Like the agnomen of the ancient Romans,[115] the middle name became an honorific title. With the Romans, it was often bestowed in honor of some achievement on the part of the individual who bore it. With our pioneer forefathers, it was given as a token of honor and esteem for someone outside the immediate family circle.

Bibliography

I. PRIMARY SOURCES: DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL, PRINTED AND UNPRINTED.

DB-A Deed Book A, 1789. District and Superior Courts held for the District of Harrison, Monongalia, Ohio, and Randolph Counties.

DB-B Deed Book B, 1796. District and Superior Courts held for the District of Harrison, Monongalia, Ohio, and Randolph Counties.

DB-C Deed Book C, 1798. District and Superior Courts held for the District of Harrison, Monongalia, Ohio, and Randolph Counties.

FA Deed Book A, 1778. Fayette County Court. Fayette County, Pennsylvania.

[114] For examples of such names, see passenger lists given in Israel Daniel Rupp's *Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French, and Other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1776.*

[115] The agnomen, itself actually a surname, was apparently first employed in later Latin in order to distinguish the surname of individuals, e. g. Africanus, Asiaticus, Cunctator, and the like, from that belonging to all the members of a family, e. g. Scipio, Cicero, Cato, and the like. (Charles T. Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *Harper's Latin Dictionary, A New Latin Dictionary Founded on the Translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon*, revised edition, New York, 1907).

G-Env-2	Miscellaneous records of the General Court of Virginia at Richmond, 1789. Archives of West Virginia University. (Envelope 2.)
LB-1	Land Entry Book Number One, 1780–1831. Monongalia County, Virginia, West Virginia.
LB-2	Land Entry Book Number Two, 1783–1802. Monongalia County, Virginia, West Virginia.
MB-1	Monongalia County Court. Deed Book One, Old Series. 1794.
MB-2	Monongalia County Court. Deed Book Two, Old Series. 1797.
MCC	Monongalia County. Circuit Court Records, 1784–1859.
Monon. Estray Register	Monongalia County Estray Register. 1796–1876. A listing of stray farm animals taken up.
Monon. Co. Fee Bk.	Monongalia County Fee Book. 1796–1800. A listing of fees paid the county.
MC-Env-	Miscellaneous Records of the Monongalia County Court, 1788–1790. Loose, contained in separate envelopes. Archives of West Virginia University.
MD-Env-	Miscellaneous Records of the District Court held in Monongalia County, 1774–1790. Loose, contained in separate envelopes. Earliest records from 1771. Archives of West Virginia University.
ME	Monongalia County Superior Court of Law – Estates (Wills). 1789. . .
MMB	Monongalia County Court. Minute Book Number One, 1796.
MMR	Monongalia County Marriage Records. Early Marriage Licenses in Monongalia County. 1794–1802. *Transallegheny Historical Magazine* (October, 1902), II, 56–63.
MSB	Surveyor's Book. Index leaves only of a list of surveys made in Monongalia County in the years 1780–85. Archives of West Virginia University.
PSC-M	Public Service Claims for Monongalia County. A record of individuals who applied to the Court of Monongalia County during the period 1782–1787 in order to record their claims for services to the State during the Revolutionary War. In the manuscript collection of the Virginia State Library, Richmond.
RCAC	Report of Commissioners on Adjustment of Claims to Unpatented Lands. 1779–1783. A record of certificates granted by the Commissioners.
RSE	*Records of the State Enumerations: 1782–85.* (Heads of Families: Virginia, 1782.) Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908.
SR-1	Monongalia County Surveyor's Record Number One, 1781. For warrants and patents dated from 1766.
SR-2	Monongalia County Surveyor's Record Number Two, 1783. For warrants and patents dated from 1781.
SR-3	Monongalia County Surveyor's Record Number Three, 1784. For warrants and patents dated from 1783.
Wiley	Lists of persons having taxable property in Monongalia County in 1786, consisting of tithables, horses, and cattle. Lists found among the papers of Col. William McCleary and contained in Samuel T. Wiley's *History of Monongalia County,* Kingwood, W. Va., 1883.

WRA Reddy, Anne Waller. *West Virginia Revolutionary Ancestors.* Richmond, 1930. An index from manuscript public claims of the Revolutionary War in the Virginia State Library.

II. SUBSIDIARY SOURCES

Anderson, O. S. *The English Hundred-Names.* 1–3. Lund, 1934–39.

Bardsley, Charles W. *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.* London, 1901. [DS]

— — *English Surnames.* Seventh edition. London, 1901. [ES]

Black, George F. *The Surnames of Scotland.* New York, 1946.

Cemetery Readings in West Virginia: Fairmont and Grant Districts, Marion County. Prepared by the West Virginia Historical Records Survey Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration. Charleston, W. Va., 1941.

Cemetery Readings in West Virginia: Lincoln and Paw Paw Magisterial Districts, Marion County. Prepared by the West Virginia Historical Records Survey Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. Charleston, W. Va., 1939.

Ekwall, Eilert. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names.* Oxford, 1936. [ODP]

— — *English River-Names.* Oxford, 1928. [ERN]

— — *Studies on English Place-and Personal Names.* Lund, 1931.

— — *Variation in Surnames in Medieval London.* Lund, 1945. [VSML]

Ewen, C. L'Estrange. *A History of Surnames of the British Isles.* London, 1931.

Feilitzen, Olof von. *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book.* Uppsala, 1937.

Fransson, G. *Middle English Surnames of Occupation, 1100–1350.* Lund, 1935.

Gottschald, Max. *Deutsche Namenkunde.* Munich, 1942.

Harrison, Henry. *Surnames of the United Kingdom.* 2 vols. London, 1912–18.

Heintze, Albert. *Die deutschen Familiennamen...* Dritte Auflage herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. P. Cascorbi. Halle, 1908.

Löfvenberg, Matthias, T. *Studies on Middle English Local Surnames.* Lund, 1942.

Lower, Mark Antony. *English Surnames.* London, 1842.

The Oxford English Dictionary. Being a Corrected Re-Issue... of a New English Dictionary. Ed. J. A. H. Murray. Oxford, 1933. [NED]

Rupp, I. Daniel. *Thirty Thousand Names of Immigrants...* Philadelphia, 1927.

Tengvik, G. *Old English Bynames.* Uppsala, 1938.

Weekley, Ernest. *Surnames.* New York, 1916.

— — *The Romance of Names.* London, 1928. [RN]

Withycombe, Elizabeth G. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names.* New York, 1947.

Woulfe, Patrick. *Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall...* Dublin, 1923.

III. OTHER WORKS CONSULTED

Ballagh, James Curtis. "White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences,* VI–VII (1895), 11–32.

Baugh, Albert C. *The History of the English Language.* N. Y., 1935.

Björkman, E. *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittelenglischer Zeit.* Halle, 1910.

Bosworth, J. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.* Ed. and enlarged by T. N. Toller. Oxford, 1882–1921.

Brachet, A. *An Etymological Dictionary of the French Language.* Tr. by G. W. Kitchin. Third edition. Oxford, 1882.

Brumbaugh, Gaius Marcus. *Revolutionary War Records. Virginia Army and Navy Forces.* Washington, D. C., 1936.

Bryant, Margaret M. *Modern English and Its Heritage.* New York, 1948.

Carpenter, Charles. "The Evolution of Our Dialect," *The West Virginia Review,* VII (1929).

Chapuy, Paul. *Origine des noms patronymiques francais.* Paris, 1919.

Core, Earl L. *Chronicles of Core.* Core, W. Va., 1937.

Dauzat, A. *Les noms de personnes; origine et evolution.* Paris, 1925.

Davies, Trefor Rendall. *A Book of Welsh Names.* London, 1952.

Emerson, Oliver F. *The History of the English Language.* New York, 1897.

Estrich, Robert M. and Hans Sperber. *Three Keys to Language.* The Ohio State University, 1952.

Fast, Richard Ellsworth and Hu Maxwell. *The History and Government of West Virginia.* Morgantown, W. Va., 1901.

Fast, Richard Ellsworth. "The Pioneers: Whence Came They?" *Transallegheny Historical Magazine,* I (1902), 205–8.

Franck, J. *Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal.* s'Gravenhage, 1912.

Halliwell, J. C. *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words.* Fourth edition. London, 1860.

Hanna, Charles A. *The Scotch-Irish,* 2 vols. New York, 1902.

Haymond, Henry. *History of Harrison County, West Virginia.* Morgantown, W. Va., 1910.

Hening, W. W. *Statutes at Large, Being a Collection of the Laws of Virginia, 1619 to 1792.* 13 vols. Philadelphia, 1823.

Horn, W. F. *The Horn Papers. Early Westward Movement on the Monongahela and Upper Ohio, 1765–1795.* 3 vols. Scottdale, Penna., 1945.

Hughes, Josiah. *Pioneer West Virginia.* Charleston, W. Va., 1932.

Hulbert, Archer. *The Ohio River.* New York, 1906.

Jespersen, Otto. *Growth and Structure of the English Language.* Fourth edition. New York, 1923.

"Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *The American Historical Review,* XXVI (1921), 726–747.

Jordan, R. *Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik.* Second edition. Heidelberg, 1934.

Kenny, Hamill. *West Virginia Place Names.* Piedmont, W. Va., 1945.

Kökeritz, Helge. *The Place-Names of the Isle of Wight.* Uppsala, 1940.

Krapp, George P. *The English Language in America.* New York, 1925.

Loughead, Flora A. *Dictionary of Given Names, With Origins and Meanings.* Glendale, Calif., 1934.

McCormac, Eugene Irving. "White Servitude in Maryland, 1634–1820," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences*, Series XXII, Nos. 3–4, 1904, 7–112.

McKnight, George H. *Modern English in the Making.* New York, 1928.

Mallery, Richard D. *Our American Language.* New York, 1947.

Mawer, A., and F. M. Stenton. *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names.* (English Place-Name Studies 1:1). Cambridge, 1924.

Maxwell, Hu. "Pioneers in Monongalia County," *Transallegheny Historical Magazine*, I (1902), 284–292.

Mencken, H. L. *The American Language.* Fourth Edition. New York, 1937.

Moore, Samuel M. *Historical Outlines of English Phonology and Morphology.* Ann Arbor, Mich., 1929.

New Descriptive Atlas of West Virginia. Clarksburg, W. Va. 1933.

"Notes on the Fishers of the Scotch East Coast," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, LI (1842), 296–305.

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

Revolutionary Soldiers Who Applied for Pensions in Monongalia County, West Virginia. Daughters of the American Revolution, West Virginia. Colonel John Evans Chapter. Morgantown, W. Va. Copied from the Original Statement Made by the Soldier. By Genealogical Committee. 1942. (Typewritten.)

Schuricht, Hermann. *History of the German Element in Virginia.* 2 vols. 1898–1900.

Skeat, W. W. *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language.* New and Corrected Impression. Oxford, 1924.

Smith, Abbot Emerson. *Colonists in Bondage.* Chapel Hill, 1947.

Smith, Elsdon C. *The Story of Our Names*, New York, 1950.

Stratmann, F. H. *A Middle-English Dictionary.* A New Edition.... by H. Bradley. Oxford, 1891.

Ström, Hilmer. *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History.* Lund, 1939.

Stutler, Boyd B. "Annals of the Mountain State," *The West Virginia Review*, VII (1930), 174.

— — "Annals of the Mountain State," *The West Virginia Review*, VII (1930), 357.

Winkler, Johan. *Studien in Nederlandsche Namenkunde.* Haarlem, 1900.

Woolf, Henry Bosley. The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving. Baltimore, 1939.

Wright, Joseph. *The English Dialect Dictionary.* London, 1898–1905.

Yonge, Charlotte. *History of Christian Names.* London, 1884.