

Some Local Place-Names in Medieval and Early-Modern Bristol*

By RICHARD COATES with the collaboration of JENNIFER SCHERR

Introduction: Authorship, Structure and Genesis of the Work

The entry on *The Back* which begins section 1. is by Jennifer Scherr and Richard Coates. Several other entries are by Coates backed with bibliographical and documentary information provided by Scherr, notably *Worship Street* and “*le Thoroughows*”, and that on *Cantock’s Close* in note 28. The other entries are Coates’ responsibility.

This article consists of two sections, the first being commentary on certain entries in A.H. Smith, *The place-names of Gloucestershire*, vol. 3 (hereafter *PN Gl*), and the second on some other local Bristol place-names mostly recorded before about 1650 but absent from Smith’s work. The first section deals with names in the order in which they are found in *PN Gl*, with each preceded by the relevant page-number; in the second the entries are alphabetical.

The stimulus for the article came from noticing that some entries in *PN Gl* suffered from historical and topographical errors and false claims that certain names were lost, as well as linguistic uncertainties. If the editor had had available a modern edition of the writings of the Bristol-born late-medieval topographer William Worcestre about his native town, some of these problems might well have been forestalled. Some of the errors in the parishes of Westbury on Trym and Henbury, now in the City of Bristol, have been dealt with elsewhere (Coates 2008).

Preliminary note about William Worcestre

We now benefit from modern editions of the works of William Worcestre by John Harvey (1969) and Frances Neale (2000). Worcestre’s notes dealing with the city of Bristol, dating from 1480 (library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 210), were not available in full to Smith, who had to rely on Nasmith’s selective edition of his *Itineraries* (1778). Harvey and Neale add a good deal of new material, some being of central importance to this collection of observations. Worcestre was not a first-rate latinist, and some of the translations offered here represent the

* We are most grateful for discussion of individual names in this paper with Joseph Bettey and Tom Bowly (*Serlesmyte*), Keith Briggs (*Grape Lane*), William Evans (*The Dings*), Peter Fleming (*Defence Street, Winch Street*), Judith Jesch (*The Back*), Evan Jones (*Kingroad*), James Lee (*Defence Street, Winch Street*), Dave Napier (*Arno’s Vale*), and Christopher Whittick (*Gib Taylor*), and also to Özgür Tüfekçi for an electronic image of Braun and Hogenberg’s (Hoeftnagel’s) map of medieval Bristol. Institutional permissions to reprint are acknowledged in the notes below. James Russell kindly supplied published material that had been inaccessible to us. It is now almost unnecessary to say just how useful the Internet has been in locating old and hard to obtain material which has now been posted on the Web, as well as allowing access to library and archive catalogues, saving us many hours and many miles.

meanings probably intended rather than strictly the words and grammar used. The section numbers referring to Worcestre's text which are used in this article are those introduced by Neale.

Some conclusions about the replacement of street-names drawn from Neale's edition have already found their way into at least one local book produced for a popular market (V. Smith 2002), but are included here for completeness' sake. For a general account of Bristol's medieval streets, with a focus on sanitary arrangements, see Ralph (1981), and for detailed consideration of parts of the city's topography in relation to their tenement histories, see the invaluable books by Leech (1997b, 2000).

Notation conventions

Linguistic material, like all other sorts of historical evidence, has to be handled with precision, and care must be taken when representing it in print. A system of notation is necessary. The one used in this article is more or less standard in linguistics and toponomastics (place-name studies), as follows:

- Words and longer expressions mentioned as examples in explanations are given in unemboldened *italic*. Spellings of names taken from documentary sources are also given in *italic*.
- Representations of units of pronunciation (phonemes) are given in the notation of the International Phonetic Association (IPA), enclosed between /slashes/. In this article, it is hoped that the usage will be self-explanatory, and non-technical terms are used alongside them where understanding may be helped.
- Representations of the phonetic detail of pronunciation are also given using the IPA alphabet, enclosed between [square brackets].
- References to letters of the alphabetic systems of particular languages are enclosed between <angle-brackets>.
- Lemmata (headforms) of entries in dictionaries are given in **bold roman** font.
- Representations of the meanings of words and expressions are enclosed between 'single quotes'.
- Extended quotations and passages quoted in translation are enclosed between "double quotes". Double quotes are also used for other conventional purposes, for example, pseudonyms, scare-quotes and "Titles of Literary or Other Artistic Works".
- Linguistic forms preceded by an **asterisk* are not found in any documentary records, but are reconstructed by philological scholarship and confidently believed to have once existed.
- First mentions of and cross-references to names which are now disused, whether or not the street or feature still exists, appear in **bold italic** font.
- First mentions of and cross-references to names which are still current are in **bold roman**.
- Mentions of places, as opposed to mentions of their names, are made in ordinary roman font (for example, "Nelson Street was once called *Grape Lane*").

1. Names Treated in *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire (PN Gl)*

The names treated in this section are preceded by the relevant page-number in *PN Gl*, vol. 3, and are presented in page order. Dates of mentions in the documentary record are taken from *PN Gl* where not otherwise specified, and details of the manuscript sources of these mentions can be found there.

86. *The Back* (to be identified with *Avenbakke*, *Bristol Back*, *Welsh Back*) and 90 *St Augustine's Back*. A.H. Smith explains the word *back* as being used "of buildings which 'back' upon the river".

The name of The Back is on record from 1323 and often in medieval times (Williams 1960: 288–9), but if William Smith’s map of 1568 engraved by Joris Hoefnagel and published by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg in 1581¹ and James (Jacobus) Millerd’s of 1673² can be a reliable guide two and three centuries later there were no buildings backing onto the river. In fact, The Back was a broad open space between buildings and the river, and a space is of more obvious utility for loading and unloading than buildings right on the waterfront would be. Indeed, Worcestre, writing in 1480 (§304), defines *a bakke* as “locus vacuus ad proiciendum siue custodiendum boscum pro igne domiciliorum & alia necessaria” (‘an open area for piling or storing wood for household fires and other goods’, trl. Neale; note that *prociendum* is literally ‘throwing’).³ The Key/Quay, on the east (left) bank of the Frome, was built when the Frome was diverted across the Marsh in 1240–7 (Sherborne 1965: 4–7; Leech 1997a: 25–6), and it is on record with this name in the *Great Red Book of Bristol*, from annal 1329, though alluded to earlier in *Keyferye*, also in the *Great Red Book*, annal 1285.⁴ It is likely that this was from its inception the main mercantile area, and that it was in some sense the *front*;⁵ its counterpart on the west (right) bank of the Avon must have been reduced in importance by the construction of the Fromeside quay, and was understood as, and called, *The Back* (or *Bristol-back* as in Sketchley 1775: e.g. 35, and on 19th-century maps). It was used principally by ships plying local trade in the Severn, and the southern part of the right bank came eventually to be known as *Welsh Back*, the name it still enjoys.⁶ Apparently part of it was very early associated with an individual; there is a reference to “the Back (which was) of Walter Roper” in 1251 and 1291 (Leech 1997b: 164). Some medieval sources (Leech 1997b: 163, 168) call The Back *Baccum Abone* (1376)⁷, *Avenbakke* (1422), i.e. as opposed to The Key/Quay; it is potentially

1. A segment of this can be seen as Image 4 in the text. It was downloaded from historic-cities.huji.ac.il/british_isles/Bristol/maps/braun_hogenberg_III_2_b.jpg, 26 April 2009, and is reproduced with the permission of the Historic Cities Research Project, historic-cities.huji.ac.il, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and by courtesy of Lieut. Özgür Tüfekçi.
2. Excerpts from this map can be seen as Images 1, 3, 5a, 5b, 6 and 7 in this article. They were digitized by, are copyright of, and are reproduced by permission of the Bristol City Museums, Galleries and Archives, and obtained through the good offices of Sue Giles and David Emeney.
3. The *bakke* in question here is at the foot of *Stipestreet*, that is, on the bank of the Frome at the bottom of the present-day Christmas Steps. Note other references to ‘empty spaces’: “vacua placea ibidem [i.e. (at) the tower by the marsh]”, *Little Red Book* c.1350 (Bickley 1900, 1: 3); “terras et placeas vacuas”, including part of St Augustine’s Back (*Charters and letters patent* ..., Seyer 1812: 10).
4. This latter record contains an antedating of the word *key* in the required sense, otherwise first attested in English in *Sir Bevis of Hampton*, MS S. (BL Egerton 2862), 141/3056, of uncertain 14th-century date (see *OED*, **key**, *n.*²). The *Great Red Book* was edited by Veale (1931–53).
5. The word *front* is, like *quay*, of French origin, and should not, in the context we are discussing, be taken automatically as the *English* antonym (opposite) of *back*. It is not recorded in the sense of ‘forepart’ till the mid-14th century (*OED*, **front**, *n.* (and *a.*), II). We do not claim implicitly here that the Key/Quay may have been referred to or even thought of as the *front*.
6. “... le Bak vbi naves Wallie jntrant ...” (‘the Back where the ships of Wales come in’, trl. RC) already in Worcestre (§123). Among the Victorian maps, Lander’s *Miniature pocket map of Bristol, Clifton and the Horwells* (1842; in Winstone 1970: 11) has *Welsh Back*; Chilcott (1844) has *The Back*. Some maps marking The Back also mark a *Welsh* or *Welch Market* towards the northern end of it.
7. *Abone* is of interest because it represents knowledge of the Romano-British river-name deriving from post-classical tradition (see Rivet and Smith 1979: 239–40), and not from the spelling or the pronunciation current in the 14th century (or even the 6th). It is thus a conventional latinization, and not simply the then-current name done into Latin, which would result in the *Avona* seen in the Ghyston and Vincent legend (see note 43).

confusing that this name or a transformation of it was later applied to the waterfront in Temple parish (see below), and that The Back was adjacent to Bast Street, i.e. Baft Street or Back Street (see below, p. 161) not the Bast Street in Redcliff. The northern part of The Back was sometimes called *St Nicholas' Back* from the adjacent church (see, for example, Millerd's map).

St Augustine's Back was on the west (right) bank of the Frome, and again seems to be named in distinction from The Key/Quay, but first in 1382 (*Great Red Book*). On 19th-century maps it appears, proceeding downriver from the Stone Bridge, as *Under the Bank*, *St Augustine's Parade*, and *The Butts*. There were other *backs*, such as Little, Friars', St James's, Frome, and Redcliffe Backs (Worcestre, e.g. §§291, 36, 156, 304 and implicitly 390, respectively; Williams 1960: 287–90; note *super baccum de Frome* in c.1350 in the *Little Red Book* (Bickley 1900, 1: 3)). The first four were on the right bank of the Frome, and the last on the left bank of the Avon. St James's Back extended northwards to Silver Street. They are all open areas along a river-bank, if Millerd's map can be trusted, except *St James Back*, where the thoroughfare is separated from a narrow reach of the Frome by houses,⁸ and *Back Avon Walke*, along the northern side of the Portwall, which needs to be understood as 'the walk leading to Back Avon'. Alternatively, perhaps the name *Back Avon* migrated when the river was diverted along the line of the Portwall during the works to rebuild Bristol Bridge in the 1240s and was never restored exclusively to its former location (but note the confounding use of *Baccum Abone* and the like for The Back, above, p. 157).

Back Avon⁹ was the name for the main waterfront in Temple parish by the time of Millerd's map (1673). The exact relation between Back Avon and what was to become Temple Back remains slightly unclear. Commentators generally say that Edward Ward bought land in Temple Back for his delftware factory in 1683, though whether calling it *Temple Back* is a concession to its position on more modern maps is not clear. There is a reference to "a convenient glasshouse with proper warehouses situate on Temple Backs" in the *Bristol Weekly Intelligencer* (1 Dec. 1750; Powell 1925: 241). We know that "James Alsop was apprenticed at Temple Back on 9th November 1761" (Dowling 2009). John Wright had a sugar-house in Temple-back in 1775, and the widow Ann Cooke also dwelt there (Sketchley 1775: 110, 20). The next-oldest secure contemporary mention of Temple Back discovered so far is in the title of Samuel Jackson's watercolour "Ferry Slip at Temple Back with the Tower of St Philip's and St Jacob's 1823"; but here it is not fully clear whether we are dealing with a street-name, a quay name, or an area name. The "modern" street Temple Back appears as a street-name unambiguously for the first time as *Commercial Road or Temple Backs* [sic] on Plumley and Ashmead's map (1828), a conventional thoroughfare with buildings on both sides, as it remained in 1889 (OS 6").

We should not rule out the possibility that all Bristol's quays were once called *backs*, and that when the grand new one was built about 1247 it alone was referred to using the fashionable term of French origin *key/quay*. In that case, perhaps the source of *back* as a general term should be sought in the sense of 'part of the anatomy used for bearing loads'. The informant(s) of Joseph Wright, the editor of the *English dialect dictionary*, understood as generic: in the entry **back**, sb²: "The name given in Bristol to a strip of wharfage, from a quarter to half a mile in length" (Wright 1898–1903, 1: 110).

8. Did this Back lose its original function relatively early as ships increased in size and could not proceed this far, allowing it to be built over?
9. The order of elements in this name, with the generic first, is curious, but cf. *Tower Harratz* below. It may simply represent a bureaucratic transposition of the Latin (*super*) *baccum Abone* seen in 1376–7 in the *Little Red Book* (Bickley 1900: 215) and Leech (1997b: 163).

What is the origin of the word?

If its origin is not in the simple metaphor just mentioned, nor in The Back being a non-front, there are other avenues to explore. For instance, it is formally possible that the *back* names might include Old West Scandinavian *bakki* '(river-)bank', as exemplified in *á Tempsar bakka* 'on the bank of the Thames' in the 11th-century poem "Liðsmannaflokkur" (Poole 1991: 89). The plausibility of a Scandinavian connection would depend on Bristol's early trade with Viking Dublin and Norway. There are certainly other names of Scandinavian origin in and adjacent to the Severn estuary (see below), but they are only coastal, and not found as far inland as central Bristol.

There is a mention in Robert Ricart's *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar* (Toulmin Smith 1872) of disasters in the Severn in 1484 at a place called *Hollow Backs*: "Shippes lost at Kyngrode the Anthony of Bristowe & a ship of Bilbowe set a lond at Holow bakes". This place was evidently to be found adjacent to the roadstead called Kingroad, between Portishead and the (old) mouth of the Avon, and it was recorded a few years earlier by Worcestre (§406) as *holowbakkes* and *le Holow bakkys*. A Bristol deposition in 1654 mentions "the Hollow Backe on the pill side in Kingroade" (Nott and Ralph 1948: 174).¹⁰ *The Hollow Backs* are shown spelt in the modern way on one of the smaller-scale maps in the border of Millerd's (1673), between Kingroad and Aust. They must be distinct from the *Hollow Back* and *Hollowbacked Hackmoor* found not far away in Tytherington in 1839 (*PN Gl* 3: 21), because Tytherington is a wholly inland parish. Williams (1960: 290, 291) identifies it/them with the *holan pyll* 'hollow creek' marking the southern boundary of Aust parish in a 10th-century charter; but this is far too far north, since Worcestre (§406) says that it was four miles beyond Hungrode, the roadstead in the Avon between Pill and Shirehampton. The text before emendation read "kyngrode", which makes more sense, given that Worcestre also says that it was a place where *Black stonys* were situated and (less precisely) where ships laid up before making the journey through the Avon Gorge (which could mean either Kingroad or Hungrode). The combination of information seems to place Hollow Backs, onto which the ships were blown in 1484, at about NGR ST5181, about four miles from the old mouth of the Avon; and if the hydrology and topography of the Severn have not radically changed here the location of the Black Stones must be represented by somewhere very close to the present English Stones at ST5285. Note, though, that Worcestre elsewhere refers to the *Englyshstonys* by name (Harvey 1969: 6–7, 134–5, 140–1 and note), suggesting that the Black Stones were really part of, or near, the English Stones rather than identical with these. The wording of Worcestre's text (§406) does not permit equating the Black Stones with Black Rock near the Welsh bank of the Severn at Portskewett. The English Stones are marked by depressions filled with water even at low tide (personal inspection, RC), which could account for the use of the word *hollow*. This coast has pills suitable for the place mentioned in the 1654 deposition, for instance Stup Pill and New Pill in Henbury parish.¹¹ There may be some linguistic connection between *Hollow Backs* and *Holes Mouth* (seemingly a modern name), but the latter originally applied to the former mouth of the Avon (i.e. not the modern Swash Channel, a little further south) and is close to Kingroad itself.

Back in *Hollow Backs* could be truly from Scandinavian *bakki* 'bank'; the place is not far from other clearly Scandinavian names in the Severn estuary, for example, *Gruggy* (cf. Old Norse [ON]

10. Note the function of this place for the "airing" of goods in 1650 (Nott and Ralph 1948: 32, 34, and discussion on 2).
11. E.T. Jones (2003) draws attention to a Bristol port survey of 1565 (TNA MS E159/350 Hil, no. 348, *r, v, seq.*) where other pills, unidentified and presumably lost in the development of Avonmouth docks, are mentioned between the mouth of the Avon and Stup Pill: *Skeys pille, mere pille* and *Battens pill(e)*. Any of these might be relevant for "the pill side".

gruggótr ‘muddy’), (*Welsh* *Grounds* (cf. ON *grunnr* ‘shallow’), and *The Scars* (cf. ON *sker* ‘rock, reef, skerry’). Formally, *Hollow Back(s)* could be compared with an ON compound **holu-bakki* ‘bank with a hollow’. However, *bakki* was normally used for the bank of a river or lake rather than an object within the water, so there are uncertainties here. In conclusion, any connection between the names in the city and the Severnside *Hollow Backs* remains uncertain.

Williams (1960: 291) proposed that *back* might be a borrowing of Latin *bacca* ‘basin for a ship’, specifically ‘pool scoured on the outer edge of a bend in a river’, but as Smith (*PN Gl* 3: xii) points out that word was normally used in the sense ‘trough, tub, basin’, i.e. in a culinary sense.¹² The theory is no longer taken seriously, but Williams makes some pertinent comments which show the difficulties attending the assumption that all the backs were simply quays for regular ships.

Other backs

The existence of *The Back* in Chepstow on the inner bank of the great bend in the Wye might be taken as disproving Williams’ theory, but this name may have been transferred to Chepstow from Bristol after its exact original significance had been lost. The age of the name in Chepstow is uncertain; Charles (1937: 243–4) does not mention it, and the earliest known attestation is in 1534–5 (Waters 1984: 23). The position of *The Back* is on the waterfront just like that of its counterpart *Backs* in Bristol; Waters states that the name has sometimes referred to the whole riverside, and not just the present small square. Publicists at Chepstow Town Council (www.chepstow.co.uk, online Town Trail, point 17, accessed 17 July 2009) understand it to mean ‘wharf’, but they explicitly compare it with Bristol’s *Welsh Back*. The relation of *The Back* to *the Back Lane* mentioned in 1560 is not clear; they may be mutually irrelevant since *Back Lane* is a very frequent name for a non-main street, often parallel to some more important thoroughfare.

Some more Gloucestershire *backs* appear in the documentary record for the first time at the same period as the Chepstow one. *Le backes* existed in c.1542 in Hartpury (*PN Gl* 3: 158), which A.H. Smith attributes to Old English [OE] *bac* and glosses as ‘land backing onto the river’. However, Hartpury is not on the Severn but its tributary the Leadon, and it is therefore it is not clear that we are dealing with a back in the same sense as at Bristol or Chepstow; the modest Leadon is not tidal if it ever was, was historically subject to heavy flooding, and no landing-place, however rudimentary, is recorded in Hartpury parish sources or in adjacent Highleadon on the same river. Individualized *backs* appear in Longney in 1575 (*PN Gl* 2: 185): *Poles Backe* and *Smalamsbacke*, with surnames, recalling “the Back which was of Walter Roper” in very early Bristol records (1251, 1291) mentioned by Leech (1997b: 164). A *back* also exists in Elmore (*PN Gl* 2: 163), the parish upriver from Longney on the Severn and opposite Minsterworth, but this is first recorded as late as 1830. It is possible that the names of all of these (except perhaps Hartpury) were fashionably copied from the well-known Bristol name in Tudor times. On the other hand, the Elmore site, even if not the name, is an ancient one, yielding Romano-British finds (Allen and Fulford 1990).¹³

Back of Avon, an existing street in Tewkesbury (not mentioned in *PN Gl* 2: 63 or *VCH Gloucestershire* 8: 110–22), is apparently not found in early records. The Avon in question is the Mill Avon, a wide artificial cut which was probably made in the 12th century to drive the abbey mills (*VCH* 8: 112) but which must have been flanked by a quay or quays at some time because

12. Since the word refers to loading-areas, a connection with French *bac*, Medieval Latin *bac(c)us* ‘ferry’, also seems very unlikely.
13. There was a *Back Quay* in Bridgwater between 1697–1701, said to be the “old Langport slip” (*VCH Somerset* 6: 193), but the age of this name is uncertain, as its relation to “the (common) back” mentioned by Lawrence (2005: 32) as a rubbish-dump.

Quay Street approaches it. Burd (2004: 63) implies that Back of Avon had an earlier name, *Quay Street South*, and Hannan (1997: 92) says that it shows signs of overlying former arable. The name therefore appears to be late. Note that *le Key* (1487, 1539, 1540) was “a wharf on the south bank of the *Old Avon* [our emph., JS/RC] on the other side of the Mill Avon” (*PN Gl* 2: 63), and that the lost *Quay Lane* led to it.

A late application of the word understood to mean ‘wharf, quay’ in the Bristolian way may be *The Backs* at the end of the Shortwood coal tramroad by Avonside House at Keynsham Lock referred to by Vinter (1964: 9).

86. A.H. Smith mentions the lost **Back Street** from 1537 (*Bakstrete*). The street itself, and in some sense its name, appear to be of earlier origin, however. Neale’s notes pay some attention to Back Street, but in the relevant mentions she emphasizes that Worcestre’s spelling is actually *Baffi strete*, *Baf(f)stret* (§§44, 124). She observes further that these forms clearly do not refer to the lost Back Street (as Smith implies), which was across the river Avon in Redcliff, whilst *Baffi strete*, following Worcestre’s description, must have run roughly parallel with The Back and been physically identical with, or very close to the course of, Back Street as depicted on Millerd’s map (1673). It is pretty clear that, although *Baffi strete* and Back Street may have been one and the same, they were not linguistically identical; *Baffi strete* contains the Middle English adverb and preposition *baft* ‘behind’, as in the derived nautical term *abaft*, and is recorded from 1403 (*Baftestrete*, will of John Palmer, 29 Jan. 1403 (Wadley no. 129)).¹⁴

A serious complication is the fact that Back Street appears as *Bastestrete*, *Baststret*, and similar in several local documents from the early thirteenth to the mid-16th century analysed by Leech (1997b: 4–6), though some of these are transcribed into the *Great Red Book* and it may be that there was already confusion with the street in Redcliff when that was done.

Baft Street must have been rationalized to *Back Street* as the original word became obsolete, either under the formal influence of the name of The Back, or in full knowledge of the dying word’s meaning, or both. A possible lever for the change is provided by the existence of a large property called *Back Hall*, otherwise known as *Spicer’s Hall*, which actually gave onto both The Back and Baft Street (Leech 1997b: xxviii (map 10)).

87. **Bristol Bridge** and *Avenbrigge*. Bristol Bridge was the artery connecting Somerset with Gloucestershire (later the parts of the County of Bristol on both sides of the Avon). It was the structure which contributed to the city’s name, ‘assembly-place by the bridge’ (*PN Gl* 3: 83–4; Watts 2004: 88), as is well known. It was in essentially the same place as the current structure of that name (the third). A.H. Smith mentions a *pontem Abone* in the *Great Red Book of Bristol* (1376) and *Avenbrigge* in the *Little Red Book* (1459), and declares that this is “a bridge further south across the Avon”. This is completely illusory; there was never a bridge downstream of Bristol Bridge, and the entries in the *Red Books* refer to Bristol Bridge by an alternative name. There were “tenauntz apon” this bridge (*LRB*), an unusual state of affairs; the tenements on the medieval (second) Bristol Bridge are well documented. An earlier mention is in the will of John Hornecastel (1348; BRO MS. P.St J/D/1/28f), which includes references to shops “super pontem Abone” and “super ponte Abone”.

87. **Counterslip** (*Contasselupe* 1296, *Contassilupe* 1350, *Contesseslupe* 1350, *Contasselupe* 1382, *Contasselupe* 1466). The second element is suggested by A.H. Smith to be the Middle English (ME) descendant of OE *bliep(e)* ‘a leap’ (? ‘jumping place’ or perhaps ‘steep place’), and the form

14. Note the word still in ordinary use locally more than a hundred years later, in “the paynted clothes in my baft chamber” (will of William Yeman, proved 14 Nov. 1580 (Wadley no. 361)).

of 1296 confirms this.¹⁵ The subsequent development has been influenced by late Middle English *slip* ‘steps leading from a quay down to the water’, a term in effect loosely defined by Worcestre (§110; “Le slepe in Cristmastrete: Gradus anglice a slepe ... ad eundum ad aqua de Frome pro lotura vestimentorum linearum seu laneorum ...” [‘The *slepe* in Cristmastrete: steps, in English a *slepe* ... for going to the river Frome to wash linen or woollen clothes ...’]).¹⁶ The word is illustrated on Millerd’s map (1673) in three names: *Tower slip*, *Lower slip*, *Prior slip*. Today the term often denotes a smooth slope for launching boats rather than steps (usually in the form *slipway*), and in Tudor times they had to be pitched (Vanes 1977: 4, note 7). It is possibly an application of OE *slippe* ‘something slimy, slippery’, or ME *slip(p)e* ‘narrow strip (of, for example, land)’. The first element in the name may be ME *contasse* ‘countess’, and if so presumably for an early countess of Gloucester, as Smith suggests; the forms of 1350 and 1382 appear to show a genitive in *-s*, originally absent from feminine nouns but becoming widespread even in them in the south-west, the most conservative region, in the 14th century (Mossé 1952: 48–9; Brunner 1962: 14–16), and the other forms cited, without *-s*, are consistent with a feminine noun. But some caution is required in view of the mention of one Sir Richard Countasse, chaplain, admitted to a vacant perpetual chantry in the church of St Nicholas on 16 Aug. 1467, according to a note by the editor of the *Great Orphan Book* to the will of William Canynges, 12 Nov. 1474 (Wadley no. 256). Perhaps this rare but geographically widespread surname had been known in Bristol 200 years earlier.¹⁷

Note that while the name *Counterslip* still exists, it was transferred in the 1960s from the earlier Countess Quay to its present location on a new road off Victoria Street.¹⁸

88. *Grape Lane*. As A.H. Smith says, this now-disused name is a familiar variant of the *Grope Lane* found in several larger medieval English towns. This is often a delicate abbreviation of an earlier *Gropecunt Lane* (found in, for example, Oxford, Northampton, the City of London, Reading and York; see Ekwall 1954: 164–5; Room 1992: 49; Briggs 2009: 28–31), and so it is in Bristol, appearing in Worcestre usually as *Gropelane*, but just once as *Gropecount lane* (§46). This mention was apparently unknown to Smith, who did not have access to the full MS. of Worcestre. The lane was later *Hallier’s Lane*,¹⁹ and its course, after Trafalgar, was given the name *Nelson Street* which is still current (V. Smith 2002: 198).

15. The philological detail of Smith’s suggestion has been adjusted without affecting it materially.

16. Worcestre makes the equation *slepe*, *slipp* = *gradus* at several points in his work. In §43, the English word is equated with *Gryse*, which is rendered by Neale as ‘alley’, but it is really ME *grees* ‘stairs’, a word of French origin.

17. Reaney and Wilson (1991) under *Countess*, recorded from 1279. Undoubtedly the most famous Countess of Gloucester was Isabel de Clare (c.1173–1217), later the first wife of King John, but Countess only 1186–9, when John, then Earl of Cornwall, assumed her title in her right; which proves nothing about the place-name in question.

18. The Sperry Group (1982: 41, map) appear to place Counterslip (as “Countess’s Slip”) on the right bank of the Avon, near the Watergate, probably unintentionally, and associate it with a Countess of Salop (1982: 43). The map in Samuel Seyer’s *Memoirs* (1821–3), however, shows it attaching to stairs on the left bank, and this represents the general opinion.

19. *Hallier* is a surname with a local focus in Wickwar, Gloucestershire; see Peter Walker, “Hollyer, Holyer and Hollier One-Name Study” web-site, www.hollyer.info, “Name Variants” page (accessed 15 April 2009). However, local opinion takes this street-name as referring to *hauliers*, specifically the carriers using the sledges often noted as a feature of early Bristol; see, for example, Aughton (2000: 75–6) and the anonymous 18th-century watercolour (in Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery) reproduced on the cover of his book, once ascribed to Peter Monamy. The trade is referred to as that of *hallier* in Sketchley (1775: 82, occupation of the widow Roach). Local opinion may therefore be correct.

No complete account exists of the distinction between this type of name and the widespread *Love Lane*. Many towns have both, and the names are not found interchanged. It has been widely and plausibly suggested (Holt and Baker 2001: 209–11) that *Gropecunt Lane* relates to streets known for organized prostitution, but its supposed useful distinctiveness as a name is undermined by the diarist John Stow's assertion (1603) that one of London's *Love Lanes*, in Cripplegate ward, was "so called of Wantons" (Kingsford 1908). Urban Bristol had its *Louelan(e)* as early as 1371–6 (*PN Gl* 3: 92; later *Baldwicks Lane* and *Rose Lane*, Leech 1997b: 130, 141). A.H. Smith in *PN Gl* suggested that *Love Lanes* were "secluded": in a crowded urban environment perhaps meaning that they had no or few property frontages or windows, which appears to suit the Bristol one as it looked in about 1500 (Leech 1997b), or that they were dark or crooked. But it does not seem to have been suggested previously that there might be some connection between *Love Lane* and the proverbial notion that "love is blind", on record since about 1400 (Chaucer, *Merchant's tale*; Robinson 1957: 118, line 1598). *Blind* has been noted in place-names since before the Conquest with the probable meaning 'concealed', later 'dark', 'closed at one end' (*VEPN* 115; cf. modern *blind alley*),²⁰ and this usage allows creative play involving the proverb. Previous commentators on the name (Ekwall 1954: 165–6; *EPNE* 2: 27; *PN Ch* 5 (1: ii): 272; Room 1992: 48) have been inclined to restrict its range of possible meanings to literal sexual or innocent ones, but the early *Love Lanes* – four appear in London in the period 1336–94 (Ekwall 1954: 165) – may have been blind in one of the known toponymic senses. A witty name offering the possibility of *doubles entendres* may well have been copied from London to other large towns.

No doubt it is possible that some, maybe most, *Love Lanes* had the more literal origin, for two reasons: firstly for its natural appropriateness, and secondly when any initial humour had worn off and the name was simply available "ready-made" (Nicolaisen 1978) for a lane of a certain appearance or use. The suggestion above is offered cautiously, seeking to account for its mainly urban recorded distribution in earlier centuries²¹ and its sudden appearance in the early 14th century and subsequent spread before 1500: in chronological order of documentary appearance (as recorded in *EPNS* volumes) Reading (1306), City of London – four or five instances (1323 in a surname, then 1336, 1339, 1343, 1394), Bristol (1371), Chester St John the Baptist (1397), Shaftesbury (1446), Salisbury (1455). The typically urban distribution of the early names may be an artefact of surviving documentation.

88. *Horse Street*, now **Host Street**, misleadingly treated by A.H. Smith along with **Horsefair**, from which it was distinct and which still exists with its original name. Worcester refers to the street as *Horstrete* (§§35–36, 62, 67, 331, 370), *Hoorstrete* (§62), *Horestrete* (§303) and *Horsstrete* (§§321, 328), usually with minuscule <h>. Precisely what the original form was is a matter of conjecture, but ME *hōr* 'whoring' or *hōre* 'whore' appears the most likely. ME *horz* 'filth' is also possible, but less secure on the evidence and contradicted by the vowel-length indicated by the doubling in the alternative spelling in §62. A connection with the surname of William Hore, mayor in 1312, might be considered (V. Smith 2002: 153); the street-name is first recorded in 1350. A surname in a street-name as early as this would be fairly unusual, and unparalleled in Bristol, but

20. Pritchard (1922: 211), in describing a newly-discovered print of Millerd's map, reminds us that "St Leonard's church 'with the dark and tortuous passage' called Blind gate was demolished in 1771 ...". The gate was amply recorded from 1285 onwards, and was later also known as *St John's Arch* (not to be confused with St John's Gate in Broad Street) till its own demolition in 1911 (see Pritchard 1907: 230–2). Names of the type *Blind Gate*, seen also for example in Gloucester and Coleraine, deserve fuller treatment, for which see Coates (2010).

21. Note, however, the instance in Walton on the Hill, Surrey, in 1301 – perhaps the earliest recorded of all (*PN Sr* 83).

not impossible; it would usually be in the genitive case, i.e. in this instance **Hores strēt*, to judge by comparing the London material in Ekwall (1954: 10–12). But the evidence of Worcestre and the earlier medieval evidence (*PN Gl* 3: 88) offer almost no support for the possibility. It is clearly nothing to do with ME *hors* ‘horse’. It is not lost as A.H. Smith says; it was transmuted into *Host Street*, probably by euphemism if this account of its origin is correct, and that is what it remains. It was severely truncated when Steep Street was obliterated by the construction of Colston Street in 1871, but it still exists.

See next entry for more comment on the transformation of the name.

89. *Knifesmith Street* is also said by A.H. Smith to be lost. This was an earlier name for Christmas Street (Worcestre §§45, 93). It seems quite likely that the new name is a simple alteration by folk-etymology, or rationalization, of the old one. Imagine the latter with its obsolescent word *knifesmith* in its late-medieval pronunciation /'kni:fsmiθ/, i.e. with the [k] audible and the first vowel as in *tea* not as in *tie* (and then probably shortened before three consonants to the vowel-sound in *tip*). This is by no means far from *Christmas*, especially considering that the /f/ and the /θ/ or <th> sound were each liable to be absorbed by the following /s/ in the full street-name, yielding something like /'knismi,stri:t/ in ordinary usage by early-modern times. The “full” pronunciation of the word seen in *Knifesmith Gallery*, for instance, is a revival, not a survival, of the ancient form of the name.

A.H. Smith records a 1491 form *Knightsmyth strete* from Toulmin Smith’s edition of *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*. This is clearly an alternative rationalization which suggests that the original long vowel /i:/ was still audible by that time, and that /x/ (written <gh>) was either already silent or, possibly but very much less likely (cf. Luick 1940: §768, 2 (c), §769, 2), pronounced as /f/.

There is a long history in England of names which have become obscure and which are then reinterpreted in the light of religious vocabulary and names, as in this instance; compare *Abbotsley* in Huntingdonshire whose original association was with a man called *Eadbald* (Watts 2004: 1), the medieval *Antenye* in Eastbourne in Sussex (probably ‘Anta’s island’) which has turned into *St Anthony’s* (*PN Sx* 433), *Barbams* in the marshes of Henbury hundred latterly became *Barlaam’s* (*Gout*) (*PN Gl* 3: 133; cf. the story of Barlaam and Josaphat from the *Golden legend* (Ryan 1993: 355–66), widely known in the Middle Ages), and locally in Bristol also *Host Street* (under *Horse Street*, above).

89. Peter Street, named from St Peter’s church. In this entry, A.H. Smith draws attention to *St Peters Plompe* in a patent roll of 1540 (in or near *Defence Street*; cf. *Seynt Peter’s Plumpe*, Leech 1997b: 67). *Plompe*, i.e. *plump*, is a mainly south-western form of *pump*, probably influenced by *plunge* and/or *plumb(er)*. Rogers (1979: 84) calls it “a common distortion” in Wessex. *OED* (**plump**, *n.*²), or rather its sources, records it from Yatton (Somerset), Chirk (Denbighshire), and unspecified places in Devon and Wessex, and it persists in the modern hamlet-name *Plwmp* in Ceredigion (NGR SN3652; Owen and Morgan 2007: 385). But it is of special interest in the present context that the first record of the new form is in Worcestre’s *Itineraries* (Nasmith’s edition, 1778: 330; Harvey’s, 1969: 331), where he refers to “vnius plumpmaker ville Bristollie” ‘of a pumpmaker of the town of Bristol’.

90. *St Augustine’s Back*. See 86 *The Back*.

91. *St Nicholas’ church, St Nicholas Street and Gate*. The saint’s name sometimes appears in late-medieval times (Worcestre, in an entry in English, §42) in the abbreviated form *Colas*, suggesting the prior existence of a pronunciation of *Nicholas* with the stress on the second syllable

(as in the original Greek *Νικόλαος*), which is also presupposed by the existence of the derived names *Colin*, *Collins*, *Collett*, etc. This name-form is not in *MED*, and only the mentioned derivatives are in Reaney and Wilson's surname dictionary (1991).

91–2. *Winch Street*, said by A.H. Smith to be lost, became **Wine Street** by 1492, perhaps originally by a punning reference to the dominant trade there. That is its current name. There is an outlying early instance of *Wynestrete* in close rolls in 1447, so the two names appear to have coexisted for a while. Worcestre says that it was also known as *Castellstrete* (§345; cf. *in vico castelli* 13th century, *castelstrete* in 1377 in Leech 1997b: 189–192); it led in the general direction of the castle entrance. The precise sense of *winch* here has not been established. In Middle English the word could mean either the common engineering device or a deep water-pit like a well (*MED*, **winche**), the latter sense being of unknown origin unless by ellipsis for *winch-well*, i.e. one where such a device was used; but if that was its origin, the ellipsis took place very early.

It has been suggested that there was a winch which operated a pillory or the castle drawbridge (see V. Smith 2002: 290).²² The pillory said to have been operated by a winch allegedly existed until 1887 at the junction with The Pithay (Bye 2003: 109), but no reliable description of such a contraption is known, and it is hard to imagine the need for a winch to lift a plank a few inches. Worcestre (§96) refers to the *domus justicie & officii Collistrigij* in *Wynchstrete*; the house of correction had a timber pillory on top. It has been suggested that the supposed winch (which Worcestre does not mention) was used to haul prisoners up and down from that (ex inf. James Lee); Neale (2000: 5, note 2) implies that the winch and the pillory were the same thing. A direct or indirect reference to the pillory must be acknowledged as a possibility, but it would be curious if a winch rather than the pillory itself was commemorated in the street-name. Turning to the second idea: a winch, along with a counterweight, was part of the normal mechanism for raising a drawbridge. But the drawbridge of the castle would have needed raising by a device on the east bank of the moat, and Winch Street was the wrong side of it. If such a device was meant, perhaps some connection with the Newgate to which Winch Street led directly (see Millerd's map) could be envisaged. But no winch would have been required there; the gate can have had no drawbridge, because it faced directly onto neither the Frome nor the castle moat, as W. Smith's map of 1568 makes plain. There seems to be no warrant, therefore, for *winch* in this name in the sense of 'engineering device', unless one was used as early as 1192 to haul things up the steep slope to Wine Street, a slope still to be experienced between the office buildings that have replaced the ancient Pithay. But there is no hard evidence for one.

If the 'water-pit' sense was intended, it should probably be associated with the *pit* (OE *pytt* or Anglo-Norman French *put* 'well') referred to in the name of the adjacent *Pithay*, mentioned specifically in local sources in 1285 and 1296 (*le Putte*, *le Put*; *PN Gl* 3: 90), and described by Worcestre (§97). The fact that Winch Street is on record two centuries before the Newgate was first recorded (1192: c.1373 (but built earlier than that)) weights the odds still more in favour of a connection with The Pithay, and of an interpretation connected with the 'pit' sense of *winch*.

The later name *Wine Street* provides a very clear example of the regional influence of distinctive urban naming. There are at present only six other *Wine Streets*, all in Wiltshire, Somerset and Glamorgan.

22. The opinion may originate with Pritchard (1926: 251, n. 2), who says that *Wynch* was "[t]he name of the pillory that formerly stood in the middle of this thoroughfare".

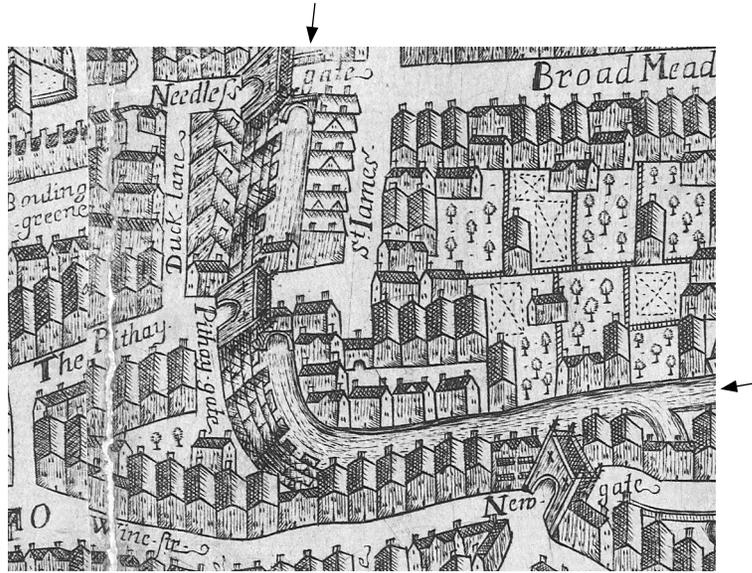


Fig. 1. Part of Millerd's map, showing the relation of Winch/Wine Street to Newgate, the river Frome (indicated by arrowheads), and The Pithay.

92. *Worship Street*, said by A.H. Smith to be lost, later (about 1400–1540) alternatively *The Shambles*, in its turn disused, and then, and in its now-truncated form, **Bridge Street**. The earliest records are *Wrpeslippstret*, probably representing *Wrpeslippstret*, where <þ> is a medieval symbol for the modern <th> which is often confused with <p>, c.1180; and *Worchesloprestete*, where <ch> is probably due to a common manuscript error for <th>, c.1230. It appears as *Wortheslupestret* in 1309 (BRO MS. P.AS/D/WSS/1), *Worschipstret* in 1391 (Leech 1997b: 202) and *Worschippe strete* (Leech 1997b: 201). These suggest a name originally containing *slip* (like the eventual, but not the original, form of **Counterslip**, above), but the spellings in <u> and <o> suggest an original form in OE <y>, such as *shypp* 'something slimy, slippery'. Possibly against that is the fact that by Millerd's time the street did not abut directly onto the waterfront, though later the basements of properties in Bridge Street gave onto the narrow *Back of Bridge Street*, which was a waterfront, but not a regular quay for seagoing vessels, being upstream of Bristol Bridge.

One might suggest, against this interpretation, that the first two forms, taken from deeds of St Nicholas parish and cited in *PN Gl* from a secondary source (Way 1922: 123, 124), could show mistranscription of medieval <h> as <l>, and that the name has therefore always been "Worship". Way describes the deeds as "beautifully written", but says that the earliest, of about 1180, is "less careful than most of the series". However, Neale (1974) gives good palaeographical grounds for rejecting this idea, preferring an original <lu> read and transcribed as <hi> in a later hand. Against it too is the fact that <sh> as a spelling for the sound which begins *ship* in Middle English before 1200 is relatively rare (as compared with <sc>, <s>, <sch>),²³ and the MS form of 1309 looks secure; thus the balance of probability strongly favours the solution that early <sl> is correct, and that the

23. This statement is based on the medieval spellings of major Gloucestershire place-names beginning with modern <Sh-> presented in *PN Gl*. The claim is reinforced by the fact that Robert of Gloucester, in his mid-13th century *Metrical chronicle*, typically uses <sss> in relevant words (text as published by Wright 1887).

forms in *-ship* are indeed later reinterpretations of an older name with <sl>. Other records possibly relevant for names in *slip* are of the lost street *Slipestrete* and *le Slippe* (both 1484; *PN Gl* 3: 92).²⁴

On the balance of evidence, the first element of the earliest name seems more likely to contain original <th> than <ch>. It might be the OE adjective *w(e)orð*, *wyrð* [etc.] ‘worth, worthy, honourable’, but that would be an unusual type of early name, or the noun *w(e)orð*, *wyrð* ‘smallholding, enclosure, curtilage’ – ‘Enclosure Slip’ – as suggested to Frances Neale by Kenneth Cameron (Neale 1974). The latter seems inappropriate in urban Bristol where the word does not seem to have been used in any other names, though Neale is able to point to some possible archaeological support for an enclosure here (a dig by Philip Rahtz in 1963, published as Watts and Rahtz 1985), and this seems the best suggestion available at present.²⁵ In Old English, *w(e)orð*, *wyrð* is sometimes used to gloss Latin *atrium* ‘hall, enclosed entrance space’ (cf. Bosworth-Toller, **worþ**, sense III; *EPNE* 2: 273, **worð** (etc.), para. (2)), and it is possible, alternatively, that something like that was intended here. A related possibility is that the element appears here as a recorded surname. Thomas le Wyrthe and Joan his wife granted away a tenement on the south side of Baldwin Street in 1300 (Leech 1997b: 23; though NB the same tenement was granted and quitclaimed ten years later by one John le *Wytbe*).

Neale’s discarded suggestion is that the first element derives from OE *waroð* ‘wharf’ (actually ‘shore’; the origin of *wharf* is distinct). This word is frequent in both old and more recent names in the Severn area, but almost always has <a> (for example, *Nywarth*’ in Henbury hundred in c.1275, *PN Gl* 3: 136; modern *Chittening Warth*) rather than the consistent <o> or implicit <u> found in the Bristol name.

The name is in early times (already by 1391) altered by analogy with *worship* (ME *worship(e)*); note the transitional *Worchshipestrete* [= really *Worthshipestrete*?] in 1285. Worcester takes this at face value: “eo quod fuit vicus honoris, propter mercandisas lanarum veniencium et ad portum navium oneratarum” [‘from the fact that it was a street of distinction, on account of the woollen goods arriving and being loaded onto ships in the port’ (trl. RC)] (§298). It is curious that a few more modern sources, including abstracts of deeds in the BRO and Rocque’s map of 1742, go further than mere interpretation and actually render the lost name as *Worshipful Street*, for which there is no medieval warrant at all. The first such record appears to be from 1542, *Wurshipfull Street otherwise the Shamollis* (Leech 1997b: 203).

92. *Defence Street* (sometimes *Lane*), from the mid-18th century called *Dolphin Lane*, then *Street*. This name is recorded as [*in*] *vico de defenc(?)* in a feoffment of 1391 (BRO MS. P/St T/D/291), as [*in*] *vico de Defence* in 1409 (*Great Red Book*), and as *Stretedefence* in 1434 (Leech 1997b: 67–8). It is of more historical-linguistic interest than meets the eye. It comes from the fact that the street lay on the town side of a cross-wall that was an outwork of the castle (Leech 1997a: 22; Neale 2000: 57, note 1). Leech interprets the defensive line as being originally that of the late Saxon fortification, though it is reasonable to assume that a French word was first applied to post-Conquest fortifications irrespective of what had been there previously. The actual wall

24. There are two other *Worship Streets* in old cities, both later than Bristol’s. That in Shoreditch (now the London Boroughs of Hackney and Islington) was apparently *Hog Lane* on the so-called Ralph Agas map of London (c.1561–70); it takes its name from a 16th-century tailor surnamed *Worsop* [i.e. probably from Warsop or Worksop, Nottinghamshire] (*PN Mx* 148). That in Hull was previously *Conduit Street*, and was developed during the Regency (Barnard 2000: 1). The reason for the name is not known; it may simply reflect the general religious revivalism of the era.

25. The word is found nearby but outside the urban area in *Blackswarth* (St George parish; *PN Gl* 3: 100), and there are modern fields called *Brinkworth* and *Littleworth* in Stapleton (*PN Gl* 3: 102).

alongside which the street ran has been interpreted as a defence against the castle garrison erected by the townspeople during the insurrection of 1312, which is not inconsistent with the use of the French language or with the date of first mention (Fuller 1894–5, for a full account of the rebellion; Cronne 1946: 47–50; Ponsford 1979: 206–14). *Defense* is Anglo-Norman French, and is found in that language in the required sense ‘defensive object or structure’ (*AND*). According to *OED* (**defence**, **defense**, *n.*, sense 5.a.), *defence* does not appear in English in that sense till 1600, except as applied to pieces of armour, or, in what we might today consider a metaphorical way, to something protective laid on a wound. Worcesterre in 1480 refers to the street using the Latin phrases *vicus defensorius* (§80) and *via defensiua* (§296), obviously translating the variable name *deffendstrete* (written at first *Defenstrete* then corrected; §296) and *defenciffestrete* (§299). *Defensive* is not recorded at all as an English noun in a concrete sense except a medical one, i.e. denoting poultices and the like. *Defence Street* must therefore contain AN *defense* used as a word, effectively a proper name, for the cross-wall; AN *defensif* has not been recorded as a noun, but Worcesterre’s mention of it (§299) seems to suggest that it was in fact used in that way, late in the language’s history, as an alternant of *defense*.

Defence Street is found as *Silver Street* in 1593 (Leech 1997b: 67). This is a very familiar medieval urban street-name whose precise significance is still disputed (Ekwall 1954: 76–7; Room 1992: 95–6), and it may be accidentally duplicated from the present Silver Street. It is also found in beheaded form as *Fence Street* (1663; BRO MS. 19835/5/h). *Dolphin Lane/Street* is from a well-recorded inn.

92. *Howenebrugg*’ (1285) is explained by A.H. Smith as “probably ‘bridge which was raised’ from ME *hoven* pa[st] pa[rticiple] of *heave*”. It is not known with which later bridge he proposed to identify such a structure; there would have been no call for a drawbridge above the head of navigation, which was the Frome Bridge or the later St Giles Bridge, and it could not have been the former Drawbridge across the Frome opposite the end of modern Clare Street, because that did not exist in medieval times. There was no bridge across the (original course of the) Avon below Bristol Bridge till the early 19th century. If Smith is right to take <w> as representing /v/, and given the nature of urban rivers in medieval times, it seems possible that the name is from the local genitive plural of the noun *hōve* ‘floating impurities, scum, froth’ (*MED* **hōve** (n.(2))), although this is rare and only attested in 1440. In either case, it may have denoted one of the minor bridges across the Frome, the castle moat or the Weir.

But neither of these suggestions actually respects the spelling as transmitted. If the <w> is taken seriously, and not treated as a variant of the letter <v>, the first element might be *hoven* as a western-dialect past participle of ME *heuen* ‘to hew’ (from a hypothetical OE **hēowen*, a form influenced by the OE preterite forms of this verb, *hēow*, plural *hēowon*). A very suggestive parallel is provided by *Lowenesmede* ‘Lēofwine’s mead’ (i.e. Lewin’s Mead) in 1285 (*PN Gl* 3: 89). A ‘hewn bridge’ might be one made of planks (i.e. as opposed to logs), and the name might be compared with the lost *Elbrugge*, *Ellebrugge* (1382), interpreted by Smith as ‘plank bridge’ (*PN Gl* 3: 92). A reference to “hewen stones” is found in one first-generation Wycliffite bible (Bodleian 959 E (1380–90), Exodus 20:25; *MED* **heuen** (v.(1), sense (2 (b))))). If Nicholas Hereford, who certainly had or maintained connections with Hereford (Forde 2004), was responsible for this manuscript, that would place it in the right Middle English dialectal area to support the place-name form in Bristol.

93. *Mone(c)kbrug*’, *Munkebrigge*, *Munkebrigge* in records from the 13th to the 15th century is interpreted by A.H. Smith as ‘monks’ bridge’. Worcesterre gives spellings which confirm the ME genitive plural of the word in the late south-western form *-ene*: *monken()**brygge* (§§46, 70, 91);

monkynbrygge (§91), and others. These spellings are late, and the original name must either have contained the singular, thus ‘monk bridge’, as the earliest form suggests, or the ME reflex of an original OE strong genitive plural in *-a*. Whatever the linguistic facts, it must have been so called because it led from the town to the Benedictines’ St James’ Priory.

93. *Ivehouse*, recorded in 1492 and 1512, is said by A.H. Smith to be “doubtless ‘ivy-covered house’”, but the surname *Ivy(e)* is recorded in the city in 1567 (Leech 1997b: 5–6), is known elsewhere in Gloucestershire in the late-medieval and Tudor periods (indices of *Trans. BGAS*), and is at least as likely to be responsible for the house-name. Note also *Ivie lane* off Redcliff Street on Millerd’s map, which is equally undecidable.

94. *Castel of Croydon*. The only documentary mention of this tavern is in an inquisition post mortem of 1484. The most plausible referent is Croydon Palace, the medieval summer residence of the archbishops of Canterbury. Possible excuses for the appearance of the name in Bristol are the translations of two local 15th-century bishops to Canterbury (in the second case via Ely): John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells from 1424 to 1443 (whose writ would not have run in Bristol north of the Avon), and Thomas Bourchier, a descendant of the Woodstock dukes of Gloucester, bishop of Worcester from 1434 to 1443 (whose writ would). But no precise reason can be given. However, there is another inn of this name in Gloucester recorded much earlier, in 1331 (*the Castel of Croydone in Herlone* ‘Hare Lane’; *PN Gl* 2: 135). If the type of argument just offered is correct, the archbishop referred to in Gloucester may be the influential and often denigrated Walter Reynolds, Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer to Edward II and archbishop from 1313–27, who was translated from Worcester in 1313; but again no precise reason can be given since his connection with Worcester may have been little more than nominal. Perhaps the Bristol inn-name was copied from Gloucester. Nothing truly newsworthy is known about the medieval palace that might account for its being commemorated.

On the other hand, it is possible that the origin of the name is quite different, and that it refers to a well-known seamount in Brittany now called *le Château de Dinan*, at Crozon, a rocky headland attached to the mainland by a natural arch.²⁶ Crozon (Modern Breton *Kraozon*) figures as *Croyden* in 16th-century Bristol port books (Flavin and Jones (2009: 968)). This may reflect a very conservative spelling-tradition in Breton where <d> continues, under certain conditions, to represent the early Breton [ð] (as in English *the*). This sound had become [z] in the medieval period (Jackson 1953: 424–5; 1967: 645–7), generally written <z> or <s>. In certain early-medieval manuscripts the [ð] is spelt <th> in this place-name (Dauzat and Rostaing 1989: 232), but the most usual conservative spelling of this [z] is <d>, as Jackson notes (1953: 425, following Joseph Loth and François Falc’hun; 1967: 646–7). The Breton perspective offers two possibilities. (1) This letter in Breton spellings of the name may have been read in the English way by users of English. (2) Perhaps the spoken form of the name simply became associated with a familiar English Croydon: perhaps not originally that in Surrey, but the prominent hill and seamount rising behind Dunster in Somerset (not the crag on which Dunster Castle sits). The Somerset name is ‘crow hill’, *Craudon* (1243), *Croudon* (1331; both forms in Ekwall 1960: 134), whose medieval vowel is much closer to the Breton name than its current pronunciation is. The names of both the Somerset Croydon and Croydon in Cambridgeshire have clearly been affected by an abnormal late- or post-medieval vowel development which suggests the influence of the Surrey name, as does the form of *Croyde*

26. This is a name copied from the imposing real keep in Dinan near St.-Malo, some 115 miles away, which is also known as *le Donjon de la duchesse Anne*.

in Devon (cfrst earlier *Cridenbo*, 1307; *PN D* 43). All things considered, it is not unreasonable to suggest that a conservative Breton form of the name of Crozon has been used in that of inns in Gloucester and Bristol and subjected to the influence of first one, then like some similar names to that of another, English place-name.

95. **Redcliff**. This is described in *PN Gl* as being “the area between the Avon and the old course of the Frome (now the Floating Harbour)”, and that is essentially repeated by V. Smith (2002: 13). This is a mistake for “the area on the left bank of the original course of the Avon (now the Floating Harbour), opposite **Welsh Back**”. The name, with or without a sometimes controversial final <e>, alludes to the conspicuous red sandstone of Redcliff Hill, and the nature of the terrain is alluded to also in the disused name *Addercliff*, once applied where Redcliffe Parade is now.

97. *Crutewellemede*, a field-name recorded only in 1394, presumably contains a reference to Crudwell (north Wiltshire), probably through a surname deriving from it, though the place-name always has <d>, not <t> (*PN W* 56).

97. *Fockynggroue*. This difficult minor name is recorded as a boundary point in the perambulation which constitutes the bulk of the Bristol charter of 1373. This document was drawn up when Bristol was granted county status (Harding 1930, vol. 1 [document no. 156, on pp. 146–65]; for the name see p. 154 (Latin), p. 157 and note 1 (English)).²⁷ The place was in the region north of Brandon Hill between locations identifiable in modern times as Woodwell Lane and Crescent (names now lost; they were near and in St George’s Road) and Cantock’s Close.²⁸ G. Parker (1929: 136) enables us to be a little more precise about its location. He describes how Thomas Tyndall “got a lease of the King’s orchard from the Corporation and bought the plantation called Puckings [sic] grove where the Promenade and Elmdale house now stand” (presumably by “the Promenade” is meant Royal Promenade, in what is now Queen’s Road; and cf. Elmdale Road to the north of this). He goes on to note “the club in Berkeley square” where there was “a window-pane drilled through by the beak of a pheasant which flew across from Pucking Grove nearly opposite” (1929: 125). It is definitively located by Leech (2000: 35–6, and cf. esp. fig. 9 showing boundary-marks of 1373 on a map of the area in its later state) in what became the south-west corner of Tyndall’s Park. Later deeds and similar documents distinguish Hither from Inner Puckinggrove (Leech 2000: maps and plans throughout).

A.H. Smith offered no explanation of the name, though he had obviously reflected on it because he classified it in his element-index as containing a “significant word” (i.e. not a personal name), but without further elaboration (cf. also *PN Gl* 4: 131). Perhaps he thought it too risqué to dwell on or too obvious to deserve comment. He did not cite the additional forms given in *Bristol charters*. These are taken from perambulations of the city boundaries performed between the granting of county status and 1901: “Fukkyngroue, Pocking, Fokeing, Foking or Pucking Grove”. The name

27. The vector in the original is “*ad lapidem fixum in cornerio cuiusdam clausi vocati Fockynggroue*” ‘to the stone fixed in the/a corner of a certain close called *F*’

28. The relevant part of the 1373 circuit includes clockwise the points called *Wodewilleslane*, *Langcrofteswall*, *Bartholomeu is clos* [sic], *Fockynggroue* and *Cantockes clos*. The name *Cantock’s Close* has been revived as the name of a thoroughfare in the precincts of the University of Bristol (Everett 1974, repeated in Everett 1994), and the name *Woodwell Crescent* (in St George’s Road), commemorating the now-culverted stream called *Woodwell Lake*, existed in the 19th and lasted till the early 20th centuries.

certainly lasted till around 1900, when a printed abstract of title for *Hither & Inner Pucking Grove* from 1707–1842 and a sale agreement of 1899 for the place were in existence.²⁹

The suspicion must arise that the name originates as ‘fucking grove’,³⁰ and its spellings in later perambulations tend to support this. There is ample evidence for a Middle English short back vowel, and enough for /u/ specifically; and euphemism must have been at work on the initial consonant to produce forms with <p>.³¹ If that is the case, the name in the charter contains by far the earliest record of this verbal noun, which, according to *OED* (**fucking**, *n.*, sense 1.), is otherwise first found in 1568. Arguably against the suggested origin is the <o> in the first syllable in four of the six records, because <u> is generally expected for ME /u/. <o> is regularly used to represent /u/ adjacent to a minim-letter such as <m> or <n>, a condition which is not fulfilled in the Bristol name. However, *OED* (**buck**, *n.*, sense 1) records *buck* with <o> from the 13th to the 15th centuries and *suck* (**suck**, *v.*) from the 14th to the 17th, presumably written by scribes who had an imperfect understanding of the letter-sequence convention; so the appearance of <o> in spellings of this name would hardly be a major surprise. Of course, euphemism may eventually have played a role in the choice of vowel-letter <o> too.

All things considered, there is no obvious obstacle to seeing this lost Bristol place-name as containing the earliest known attestation, by a full century, of one of the most discussed words of English, and the balance of probabilities suggests that this is the best interpretation of the spellings in the record. The general linguistic and philological questions raised by the name are dealt with more fully in Coates (2007), and the whole set of online *OED* entries for the word and its kin (including dates of earliest recording) has recently been revised.

98. **White Ladies Gate & Ho[use]** [and modern **Whiteladies Road**], Clifton. A.H. Smith traces these names to 1830, but there is evidence pushing the base name back much further. Wilkins (1920: 18–19) presents evidence (citing Latimer 1893: 279–80) that there was a public house called the *White Ladies* in 1749, but his argument about its origin in the presence of Carmelite nuns is weak. A hostelry called *White Ladies Inn* appears in *White Ladies Road*, a little south of its junction with Cotham Hill, on “A Survey of The Manor of Clifton” by G.H. Hammersley (1746), reproduced in Goldthorpe (2006: 6). The field behind it appears as *The White Ladyes*, *One* (numbered Uxxvii) in the index to de Wilstar’s map of the same year (D. Jones 1992: 166). A clue to its actual origin may be found in the name of White Ladies Priory, a convent of Augustinian canonesses³² in modern Boscobel civil parish (formerly extraparochial), Shropshire, on the border with Staffordshire (see *PN Sa* 1: 53 and Horovitz 2005: 137–8).³³ The house which had been built

29. Sale catalogue of Cavendish Auctions, June 2005, lot 187, www.cavendish-auctions.com/sale/672_16_17jun05/a161_240.html (accessed 28 Nov. 2006). The place is also mentioned as *Pucking Grove* in TNA E134/1656–57/Hil14 (1656–7).

30. Structurally paralleled by such field-names as *Justing Furlong* ‘jousting furlong’, *Playing Close*, *Cricketing Field*, *The Camping Pigbtel* ‘football field’, *Racing Field*, *Wrestling Close* and *Dancing Plain*, and semantically related to them as meaning ‘place for an activity’. The first and fourth of these are found in medieval sources (see Field 1993: 243–4 and 245).

31. Note the telling additional form *the foaking grove* in a document of 1619 (Leech 2000: 38).

32. “Nothing is known of the foundation of St. Leonard’s priory, Brewood, commonly called ‘White Ladies’, but a community of Augustinian canonesses was certainly fully established there before the end of Henry II’s reign” (*VCH Shropshire* 2: 83). The bleached habit of the Augustinians has sometimes led to the nuns of White Ladies being mistakenly referred to as Cistercians.

33. This priory was paired nominally with Black Ladies in adjacent Brewood, Staffordshire, a Benedictine house (Horovitz 2005: 126).

on the land of the dissolved priory was the first refuge of Charles II during his flight after the battle of Worcester in 1651 before he more famously hid in the nearby Boscobel Oak. It was demolished in the 18th century, at an undetermined date. The date of the Hammersley and de Wilstar maps may be entirely coincidental, and the name on them may of course be older, but 1746 was the year of the final defeat of the Stuarts' aspirations at the battle of Culloden. Nothing definite can be offered to link these historical facts with each other or with Clifton. But the southern end of Whiteladies Road is separated only by the short length of Queen's Road from the junction of Park Row and Park Street; that is the renowned spot once called *Washington's Breach* (thus already on Millerd's map, 1673) where the royalist colonel Henry Washington entered and took Bristol in 1643, an event more widely remembered and reputed than the city's fall to Parliament in 1645. All this is enough to keep suspicion smouldering about local allegiances from about 1660 to 1750, rather than to prove anything. But *White Ladies* was clearly a name of significance in the annals of Stuart history, and it was perhaps applied to a house or inn in about 1746 with a delicate ambiguity between blandness and discreet anti-Hanoverianism.

Many have thought that the proximity of Whiteladies Road to the site of the former Blackboy Inn is not coincidental.³⁴ Blackboy Hill, which takes its name from the inn demolished in 1874, at present forms the northern end of Whiteladies Road. The idea of such a connection is peddled in many popular books and publicity materials, and on the web. The supposed connection usually takes the form of a contrast or an association between young black slaves and their local owners; it seems to be a work of the imagination, and has nothing to commend it. But another local story identifies the Black Boy in question with Charles II. This is often said to have been a family nickname bestowed on the infant Charles because of the swarthy complexion and hair colour he inherited from the de' Medicis. No trace has been discovered of any authentic early source for this tale. Actually, the same royal story is told about practically every Black Boy Inn in England,³⁵ and there are many of them, but there is no mention of it at the relevant place in the authoritative works on inn-signs by Larwood and Hotten (1907: 252–3) or Cox (1994: 24). It sounds like a popular rationalization in the light of political developments after 1660; it may be suspected that the pre-existing name of the inn was drafted in for service in a packet of nebulous and mildly risky Stuart allusions in Clifton sometime in the mid-18th century.³⁶ It is even thinkable that the name of the possibly older inn³⁷ may have recalled that of White Ladies Priory to the namer of the newer one, but we shall probably never know.

2. Names in Resources other than *PN GI*

Arno's Vale (now usually **Arnos Vale**) municipal cemetery, Brislington, was established in 1837 (Friends of Arnos Vale Cemetery 2007). There is evidence from south of the Avon in the 18th

34. As of 2009 Blackboy Inn is the former Elephant and Castle, renamed in the 1990s.

35. The oldest mentioned in Larwood and Hotten (1907: 252), in *The Cheap*, City of London, dates back to 1562, as recorded in Henry Machyn's diary. This means that the name itself has nothing to do with Charles II (born 1630), and that fact is underlined by the existence of the Blackboy in Baldwin Street in 1627/8 and the Black Boy in St Nicholas Street in 1650 (Leech 1997b: 151 and 12), unless the latter was new in that year and named as a (dangerous) political gesture.

36. For the little it is worth: there was also a *Royal Oak* in Clifton in the mid-19th century (not the same as the one trading in the 20th).

37. This may be marked, but is not named, in a group of buildings at Redland (on the Clifton/Westbury boundary) on the two plans made in 1746 by de Wilstar and by Hammersley (reproduced in Goldthorpe 2006: 5, 6). There is a photo of it in 1850 at bristolstlostopubs.eu/page79.html, accessed 28 Sep. 2009, showing a plain building of early-mid 18th-century appearance, but closer dating is difficult.

century for a family by the name of *Arno* (kindly drawn to my attention by Dave Napier), which almost certainly represents the fairly uncommon Italian surname *Arnò*, with stress on the second syllable, but presumably anglicized so that the name coincided with that of the Tuscan river, on which more below. Manuscript historical notes in the Bristol Reference Library's Braikenridge Collection, vol. 4, 561, mention "an Italian named Arno, who kept one of the two Public Houses, which stood by the side of the Bath Road, on the site of the present Cemetery ... Arno was a very facetious fellow & a great favorite with the Public & in compliment to him the Vale obtained its name." Latimer (1893: 359) records that an Arno ran an inn in High Street in 1773, but declines to connect him with the origin of the estate's name. The same Braikenridge MS. 562, informs us that his given name was Peter, that he married at Temple Church in April 1774 and "at last he died in extreme poverty in St Peter's Hospital." This cannot, however, be the whole story of how the place got the name *Arno's Vale*. We have no evidence for the existence of Peter Arno before 1760, the start-date of the building of the mansion now known as *Arno's Court*, but there seems no reason to doubt the basic accuracy of the account just given and its implication that Peter lived there before that date. But even allowing for his local fame and accepting that his name underlies that of Arno's Vale, we need to understand that the modern name probably arises from a happy combination of circumstances: the presence of Peter Arno, and a literary conceit.

The name as it stands alludes to the river Arno in Tuscany, and it is therefore a metonym for (a term denoting the same, by association, as) *Florence*, and thus also a metaphor for the Italian Renaissance and civilization in general, understood as an Arcadian idyll. That is what motivated the title of John Ruskin's series of lectures on the Renaissance, *Val d'Arno* (1879). Arno's Vale had acquired literary associations with death early on. In 1737, the Earl of Middlesex had written an elegy with this as its title on the death of the last de' Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany; this was set to music by Henry Holcombe in about 1740, and became popular. But it is Middlesex's conception of the place as a paradise which is of more lasting importance:

All look'd as joy could never fail
Among the sweets of Arnos vale.

It is not hard to find the same conceit of Arcadia (but also literal references to Tuscany) using or alluding to this phrase in 19th-century poetry or memoirs by poets (by, for example, Matthew Arnold, A.L. Barbauld, Ambrose Bierce, John Bowdler, William Brodie, Thomas William Parsons, Samuel Rogers, Henry Van Dyke, W.G. Whittier, Oscar Wilde and William Wordsworth). *Arno's Vale* must therefore represent local homage to the innkeeper Peter Arno, happily chiming with the existence of a ready-made name for a civilized paradise.

Judging by the dates involved, the name of the cemetery apparently played on the previous existence of Arno's Court, a mansion built for the brassfounder William Reeve in 1760, in whose grounds it was consecrated.³⁸ But there is reason to suspect that the actual chronology is the reverse. Part of the grounds – probably even all – was known as *Arno's Vale* long before the cemetery was built (Donn's map, 1769; deeds, BRO MSS. 17896, from 1803 onwards). The house or whole estate seems to have been known as *Arnos Vale* when the Maxse family owned it (deed, 1803, BRO MS. 17896/1; ephemera, 1804, WSRO MS. MAXSE/15: "John Maxse of Arnos Vale"). Since there is no other significance in the phrase *Arno's Court*, the natural inference to be drawn is that Reeve knew of the fame and popularity of Peter Arno (though he may not have joined in the general approval since Arno kept an inn and Reeve was at first a Quaker, later falling out with them), that he then playfully selected *Arno's Vale* as the stereotypical name of his estate in the first instance, around 1760, exploiting his knowledge of then-recent extinction of Medici Tuscany and

38. As of 2011 it is the Arnos Manor Hotel.

of Holcombe's popular song, and that he then called the house *Arno's Court* in allusion to this. The content of a conveyance in BRO dating from his bankruptcy (1775; BRO MS. 17570/1) might be helpful in this respect, but the document is unfit for production.

The name *Arno's Vale* is found attached to two sugar plantations in the West Indies, on the islands of Tobago (1768) and St Vincent (c. or before 1795; the site of the modern sports stadium), no doubt because of a business connection with sugar-rich Bristol, though the former predates the purchase of the Arno's Vale estate by the sugar merchant Tonge in 1775. It rings true as a plantation-name, because there were also sugar estates called *Arcadia*, *Golden Grove*, *Paradise* and *Parnassus* on Jamaica. The same "Arcadian" significance probably lies behind the transformation by 1826 of the Nottinghamshire parish-name *Arnold* into the local name *Arno Vale* (PN Nt 114), and that in the mid-19th century of *Arnold's Grove* in Edmonton (PN Mx 98) into *Arno's Grove*, best known now as a London Underground station without the apostrophe.

Avenprevey – a named public convenience by or over the river Avon: "also two messuages on the bridge of Avon, situate between a messuage of Isabel, late wife of Sir John Seymour knt., on the north, and a lane where one goes to a certain draught called *Avenprevey*, on the south" (will of William Canynges, 12 Nov. 1474 (Wadley no. 258)). *Draught* is an obsolete word for 'privy' (OED, **draught**, *n.*, sense 46.a.).³⁹ The facility is referred to earlier, around 1350, in "venella iuxta latrinam iuxta Pontem Abbone" (Bickley 1900, 1: 3).

Cupilo. This name appears on Hammersley's "A Survey of the Manor of Clifton" (1746) just downriver of the Rownham ferry, on the Somerset bank. D. Jones (1992: 13) speculates that it was an early brassworks. In fact, it is on record as a lead smeltery established by Sir Clement Clerke in about 1680 using a coal-fired reverberatory furnace (Thomas 1993: 107, and ref. there; King 1997). The word is a well-known variant of *cupola* (see OED, **cupola**, *n.*), and *cupola furnace* was an alternative term for a reverberatory furnace (Willies 1990: 5–6).

The Dings, in modern times an industrial and residential district south-east of the medieval city centre, in the angle formed by The Feeder as it enters the Floating Harbour, opposite Temple Meads. This must relate in some way to the group of names which are linked in *PN Gl* (3: 97) with OE *dyncge* 'dunged place' (which also translates *novalia* 'new-ploughed land') or its ME reflex. In *PN Gl* we find *le Dynuge* c.1245 [perhaps better to be read as *Dyunge*, RC], *le Dunge* 1299, *Est-* and *Southdunge* and *Westdunge* 1413, *Kyngesdonge* 1394, and *le Mersdunge* ['marsh'] 1299. In Gloucestershire, the medieval reflex of OE /y/ tends to be written <i>, <y>, <u>, or occasionally <o>, with <u> most frequent in ME, giving way to dominant <i> and <y> later (*PN Gl* 4: 71). The spellings found are consistent with the early centuries of this general pattern, as therefore is the modern pronunciation with /i/. However, one would expect the final consonant to be IPA /dʒ/ ("soft g"), and if the etymology is indeed the one just suggested, we must assume that the final consonant of the modern name has been influenced by the word *dung* itself, otherwise the name would be (*The*) *Dinges* with two syllables (cf. *Dinge* ... *Quarter* in Kingham, Oxfordshire (Field 1993: 82)). The 15th-century spellings in the above list, without final <e>, support this. The area was beginning to be developed from the early decades of the 19th century onwards, with housing for instance around Kingsland Road, and the industrial area is named *The Dings* on Plumley and

39. This record may antedate by some decades OED's earliest record of the word *draught* in the required sense (said to be "before 1500"), and it is at least definitely dated.

Ashmead's map of 1828. It is shown by name east of Cooks Lane, bisected by the Great Western Railway, on the map in Chilcott's guide (1844).

There is no problem with the sense of the name as suggested. The area was well outside the medieval walls (and outside the castle and the whole built-up area), and it was therefore convenient for the deposit and/or storage of city night-soil; there was "no dunghill in all the city", according to William Smith in 1568, and the city paid a raker or scavenger. At least in part and originally, it was royal land (*Kyngesdonge*, and cf. Kingsland Road), just as the hundred itself, Barton Regis, had been. The suite of names above suggests that this depositing was done in an organized way, and the land-divisions presumably account for the modern plural form of the place-name. The area remained a dump for all kinds of waste for centuries, including animal and latterly industrial waste. The first postmedieval record of the name so far discovered is "Close of Pasture ground called the Dings" (1739; indenture of lease, BRO MS. 37941/4), so at that time not all the ground was contaminated beyond use. It is not marked as such on Rocque's map (1742).⁴⁰

Trayers and Lawlor (2005: 885) appear to say that the name (as opposed to the place) is "derived from old railway sidings", but the range of medieval forms cited above make it clear that this idea is modern folklore. Folk-etymology has, however, had an impact on crystallizing *The Dings* as the official name of this area; Harris (1969: 5) reported that "[w]hen the original [council housing] scheme was submitted to the Ministry of Health in the late 1920's they suggested that it should have a name that would suitably describe the dingy area. They considered the original appellation singularly appropriate!" The intrusion of government departments into local naming at that time is not widely known, and the fact that it could be patronizing should cause no surprise.

The Dutch House, sometimes *The Old Dutch House* (Fig. 2a), was a famous building at the corner of Wine Street and High Street, destroyed in the Blitz of 24 Nov. 1940. It had a date-board "1676", implying (the belief) that it was built during the leasehold of Robert Winstone, glover (Leech 1997b: 73). It is said to have borne its name from the second half of the 19th century, probably at the whim of Mr T.W. Tilly the hatter who occupied it from 1860–84 (Winstone 1970: caption to photo 50, and other local sources) and who installed various other bizarre adornments such as wooden battlements and a pair of cannon. The name was visible on a signboard over the door from the first part of the 20th century till it was bombed, though not during Tilly's occupancy.

Several houses in England have borne this name, notably, until 1827, what is now called (the fourth) *Kew Palace* in Kew Gardens, but there is no obvious connection between any of them and Bristol. The only durable local tradition about why it was so called is that the frame may have been made in the Netherlands (Latimer 1890–1: 37; Bye 2003: 63); this is now generally discounted. A much simpler idea is that it got the name with questionable appropriateness (this not being Mr Tilly's *forte*), simply because it recalled to its occupant the narrow four- or five-storey houses well known in some older Dutch towns, like the harbour- or canalside groups in Amsterdam, of various styles, depicted in Figs. 2b and 2c. The staggered bays of the Dutch House might have suggested structurally distinct adjacent houses, and the presence of the balustrade on the roofline could have accentuated the perceived "Dutchness" (see 2b again), irrespective of the very non-Dutch half-

40. Harrison (2002: 68) reports that Benjamin Price had discovered a document of 1610 referring to this place as the *Bengs*, and that writing in *Bristol Times* he interpreted it as "either a grazing meadow or the place where osiers or withies (used in basket-making) grew". The source of this opinion is unknown, but indefensible.



Fig. 2a. The Dutch House in the early 20th century. Copyright of image unknown; downloaded from the photo-sharing site flickr ([flickr.com/photos/brizzlebornandbred/2034634194/](https://www.flickr.com/photos/brizzlebornandbred/2034634194/)) on 15 May 2009. The image was uploaded there on 15 Nov. 2007 by “brizzle born and bred”.



Fig. 2b. Tall houses in Amsterdam (stock image, no known copyright).



Fig. 2c. Photograph by George H. Breitner (c. 1895): Oudezijds Achterburgwal, Amsterdam (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, object no. RP-F-00-565; public domain, see larger reproduction at [commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Hendrik_Breitner_-_Oudezijds_Achterburgwal,_Amsterdam_\(Het_Kolkje\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Hendrik_Breitner_-_Oudezijds_Achterburgwal,_Amsterdam_(Het_Kolkje).jpg)).

timbering. We are at the limit of “explanation” when speculation about a personal impression may lead towards a justifiable solution.⁴¹

Ellbroad Street, with *Ellbroad Passage* – traced to 1791 (BRO Plan Books/B/93 and /A/140), but the name has an earlier “feel”; obliterated in the 1960s for Broadmead shopping centre. This name has not been discussed before specifically, but it is clearly a name for a street unusually narrow even by the standards of medieval towns: one which was supposed to have a breadth of one ell, i.e. 3’ 9” (1.14m). Late in its existence, maps show a significant widening along part of its course. Elsewhere in Bristol, in 1703, there is a reference to an “ancient passage 4ft wide for ‘foot people’ to go down from Wine Street to a slip beside the Frome” (Leech 1997b: 184), which must have been almost opposite Ellbroad Street. *OED* records the term *ell-broad* in 1476 and 1696. The relation of this name to the bridge-name *Elbrugg*’ 1350, *Ellebrugge* 1382 (*PN Gl* 3: 92) needs scrutiny. In late documents (c.1888 onwards), what appears to be historic Ellbroad Street/Passage is alternatively referred to as *Ellsbridge* (see, for example, BRO P.St P&J/D/11, no date), as if reviving the (slightly altered) bridge-name or confusing the historic name with the prominent Bristol surname that probably derives from the bridge. It is once found inexplicably as *Hillsbridge Passage* (site of The Three Horseshoes). It is of minor interest that *passage* is used here in its more general sense, and not in the typically West of England sense ‘ferry’.

Ghyston in Clifton is mentioned numerous times by Worcestre (§§52, 54–56, 63–66, 69, 193, 240, 328–9, 405–6, 437, 455, where it is usually spelt *Ghyston*, but also *Giston*, *Gyston*); it is recorded in no other early source, so far as is known. *Ghyston* appears mainly in the name of the precipitous cliff which itself gives rise to the name *Clifton*, and the cliff-name is usually in the form *Ghyston clyff* or the like. Worcestre attributes the name, in a folk-etymological tale of a familiar type, to a giant called *Ghyst*, the supposed founder of the hillfort on St Vincent’s Hill, whose image was “in terra portraiat[um]”, ‘portrayed on the ground’ (§56).⁴²

Worcestre describes the dangerously rocky course of the Avon on the approach to Bristol harbour (§69). He draws attention to *Breke Faucet*, “a certain rock at *Ghystonclyff*, a dangerous place obstructing incoming ships whether great or small and of whatever weight or size in the depth of the rivers Frome and Avon coming from Bristol; a ship has to wait at the said *brekefaucet* at every flood tide flowing to the port of Bristol [trl. RC]”. He goes on to describe *ledes*, “jagged rocks [*rupes fracte*] deep down in the bottom of the rivers Avon and Frome flowing from Bristol. And the said jagged rocks, when the tide is not flowing [? *not flowing* = ‘ebbing’, RC], cause ships, when there is no [more] water, to drop suddenly into a deep place called in English *a Depe Falle*, and the

41. Latimer’s article (1890–1) contains what seems to be the earliest secure record of the name. There appear to be no references to it that can be securely dated to before about 1900 in the titles of documents in the BRO online catalogue. That leaves open the possibility that the mid-19th century date is a myth, and that the name was copied, for whatever reason, from the older name of Kew Palace, though this was long obsolete. Confirmation or otherwise of this absence of mentions before about 1890 would be welcome.

A watercolour by James Johnson in the G.W. Braikenridge Collection of the City of Bristol Museum and Gallery (no. M2390) is presently titled “The Dutch House, corner of High Street and Wine Street, 1821”. The title may have been supplied by Braikenridge (who died in 1856) or the museum curators, and the evidence for dating that it seems to supply, far earlier than anything considered here (even folklore) has been discounted.

42. “Ghyston” is subsequently confused with role of Vincent in various of the legends of the Bristol giants. For these, see *Wikipedia*, “Goram and Vincent” (entry started by RC, 10 May 2007). The name of “Ghyston” is also sometimes associated with the cave mentioned below.

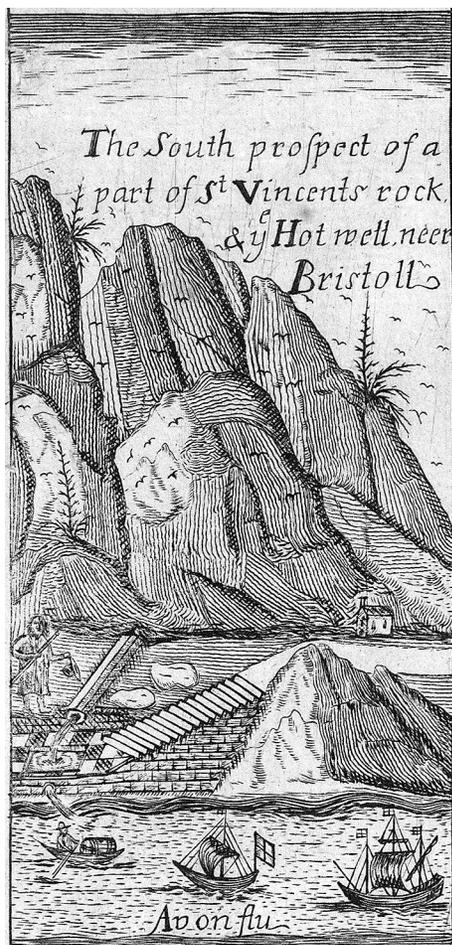


Fig. 3. Could this image from the margin of Millerd's map depict Breke Faucet Rock, shown above the ships, with a suggestion of a jag running out rightwards into the river? Note the pipe from the hot spring to the left of the steps.

said jagged rocks occupy the width of the whole water of the *Chanelle* from the place called *Ghyston Clyff* one side to the other, called the rock in the lordship of the vill of *Ashton-Lye* [trl. RC]".

Since *faucet* is a word of French, and therefore post-Conquest, origin, it seems likely that *Breke Faucet* replaced an earlier name. Given the information that the rock was "at Ghystonclyff", it is tempting to suggest that the rock was previously called *Ghyston*, and that the source of the supposed older name is OE *gyte-stān* 'flood-stone' or '(out)pouring-stone'. If so, the name then came to be used by association in the name of the adjacent cliff. As to identifying the rock in question, heavy suspicion must fall on the promontory which was later called Hotwell House Point, illustrated in Fig. 3, clearly delineated but not named on "A Survey of The Manor of Clifton" (1746) by G. H. Hammersley, reproduced in Goldthorpe (2006: 6), and pointed to also by S.J. Jones (1946: 73). The "flood" or "pouring" in question in *gyte-stān* might not be anything to do with the behaviour of water in the river at all, but with the twin discharges of cold and warm water from the adjacent cliff, the latter of which gives its name to Hotwells (Worcestre §§64, 240). The springs are also described by the painter Schellinks (diary for 1662), whose account is quoted by Aughton (2000: 93). This promontory was one of the great rocky outcrops at five bends

in and at the Bristol end of the Avon Gorge which were blown up in 1864 to improve access to the harbour. The widening work is described meticulously by Chatham (1889); A.J. Parker (1999: 339) also refers to it briefly.⁴³

The name *Breke faucet* seems to mean ‘break-spigot’ or ‘break-tap’. This might be interpreted as a somewhat unclear hint that this rock was capable of breaking the bung of a barrel, one with a tap in it, so that the liquid ran out: perhaps a metaphor for sinking a ship by displacing a bung near or below the waterline. But considering the discharges at Hotwells allows *Breke faucet* to be taken instead as an allusion to the springs which run constantly and so strongly that a bung or tap cannot retain them, rather than to the navigational hazard formed by the rock itself.⁴⁴

A case could be made from Worcestre’s topographical description that the rock originally bearing this name was one of *The Leads* (a name of obscure origin; see also below), but it seems more plausible to take it as the name of a free-standing rock. On the other hand, *Ledes* is described as “vnus Rokk” ‘a rock (singular)’ elsewhere (§240), so the exact identification of the “flood-stone” is perhaps best left slightly open.

The name of the cave, rock(s) and chapel of St Vincent in and atop the cliff is also worth some discussion. The Christian name *Vincent* is first found in England in the 13th century (Withycombe 1977: 289), suggesting a minor cult of St Vincent the Deacon (i.e. of Zaragoza) around that time; it would be consistent with the newsworthy translation of the supposed bones of St Vincent from Cape St Vincent to Lisbon by king Afonso Henriques in 1173. That suggests a possible 13th-century origin for the Bristol name, but there is no certainty. It is not known whether the reputed Clifton hermit who lived in the cave was himself called *Vincent* and later became associated with the famous saint, or whether St Vincent the Deacon might also have become known in Bristol through the city’s wine trade with Portugal and Spain. Since he was born in Huesca, lived and worked in Zaragoza, and is patron saint of Lisbon and of vintners (in Spain locally also of vinedressers), the latter seems a distinct possibility.

Gib Taylor. To the best of our knowledge, there has been no previous discussion of this unusual name for the point of the former Marsh at which the medieval diversion of the Frome falls into the Avon. It is recorded as early as 1480, by Worcestre (§267), who makes it clear the original bearer of the name was a wooden object, presumably a marker of some kind (“Gybtayllour ab extremitate banci coram arbore vocate Gybtayllor”, ‘from the end of the bank before a tree called *Gybtayllo(u)r*’, trl. RC). The name surfaces from time to time in town records, sometimes as two words, and with occasional minor spelling variants, until the reduced form with the definite article appears in a report of the sham fight put on to entertain Anne of Denmark during her visit to Bristol in 1612 (*[on] the Gibb*; Corry 1816: 392) and on Millerd’s map (*ſ^r Gibb*), where no post is marked. An unnamed two-storey building with a red pitched roof is depicted at the relevant place on W. Smith’s map of 1568 and Braun and Hogenberg’s derived one of 1581.

The name must have migrated from what it originally denoted to the location itself, which then in turn gave its (shortened) name to the Gibb Ferry. The ferry was discontinued when Prince

43. Something of the rocky nature of the banks and bed of the river before its widening can be deduced from an engraving of the grounding of the paddle-steamer *Demerara* by the quay of Egelstaff’s quarry in the Avon Gorge in 1851 (Bristol Industrial Museum, reproduced Aughton 2000: 201). There is little other evidence for these rocks in the pictorial record, since the many local painters and early photographers preferred for Picturesque reasons to depict the river at high tide.

44. It is possible, but by no means certain, that the word *faucet* appears in the otherwise unexplained description or name *ſawſed howſe* found in a 16th-century rental (*PN Gl 3: 93*).

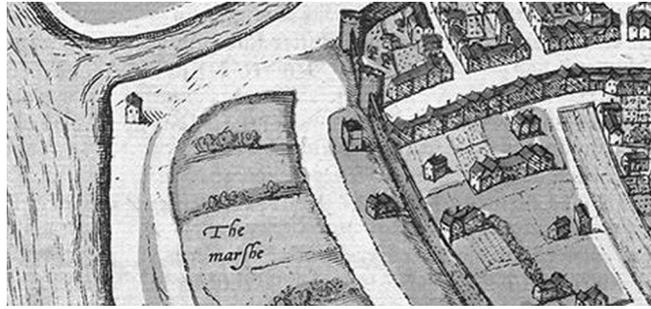


Fig. 4. Part of Braun and Hogenberg's map showing the building at Gib Taylor, top left (downloaded from historic-cities.huji.ac.il).

Street Bridge over the Floating Harbour was built close by in 1809. It is believed locally by some⁴⁵ that the Gibb alluded to by this name was a large crane, but no evidence has been produced that the 15th-century object was in fact a crane. Barrett depicts *The Great Crain* nearby in his Bristol history of 1793,⁴⁶ but it is not at exactly the same place and any connection is illusory.

The name seems to have fallen out of use after 1809, but it is occasionally revived in modern allusions to the area. We are therefore hampered by not knowing for sure whether the <g> is to be understood as “soft” (IPA /dʒ/) or “hard” (IPA /g/). The first word (if the two-word solution is correct) never appears as *gibbet*, despite the association of the place with the execution of malefactors, which in popular lore at least, seems to have consisted of the judicial drowning of convicted pirates.⁴⁷

The simplest explanation is that the object was called in English **Gib Taylor Tree*, i.e. the tree called after Gilbert Taylor. *Arbor* is Latin for ‘tree’, and in Classical Latin this sense could be extended to include wooden objects like masts and gallows. No evidence of a medieval sense ‘post’ has been found, but that is a not impossible meaning-extension. Such a name, without a marker of the genitive case on the embedded personal name, would be exactly paralleled by *Simwhite Brig* or *Bridge* in medieval Grimsby (the bridge called after Simon White; *PN L 5*: 67–8) and *a messuage and lands called Tombeckworth* in Rushlake Green, Warbleton, Sussex (the farm called after Thomas Beckworth; initial information and interpretation kindly supplied by Christopher Whittick, building described by Martin and Martin 2004).

Hyacinth Point, Clifton. This name appears only in the title of an ink-wash of 1789 by Samuel Hieronymus Grimm (1733–94), “St Vincent’s Rock and Hyacinth Point”, where it clearly denotes the limestone outcrop south of St Vincent’s Rock. It has proved mysterious. The solution rests in the following remarks of John Mitchell, Bridge Master, quoted from the BBC Bristol web-site

45. For example, “brizzlebornandbred” at www.flickr.com/photos/brizzlebornandbred/3352720619/, accessed 27 April 2009.

46. “A view of the Great Crain and Slip at the Lower end of Princess Street”.

47. This view may be a distorted recollection of a report like the one that some individuals’ “daring piracy proved unsuccessful, and they abandoned the vessel on the coast of Wales, where four of them were taken and brought to this city. On the 25th of Sep., they were arraigned and condemned; one of them was pardoned, but the others were executed on a gibbet in Cannon’s Marsh [sic, RC], opposite Gib-Taylor, at the point near the river” (Corry 1816: 359).

(www.bbc.co.uk/bristol/content/articles/2006/04/24/brunelgarden_feature.shtml, accessed 29 Sep. 2009), about events preceding the construction of the Clifton Suspension Bridge:

“In 1831, the Bridge was due to be built on a site where the autumn squill grew. Mrs Glennie (the wife of Brunel’s assistant) warned the great engineer that the construction would destroy these rare plants, and as a result Brunel instructed that the bulbs should be dug up and replanted further along the Gorge.”⁴⁸

The site referred to is precisely that in Grimm’s picture, which enables us to equate his hyacinth with Glennie’s squill, recalling that the genus *Scilla* is still currently classified within the family *Hyacinthaceae*. The autumn squill (*Scilla autumnalis*) remains one of the several British rarities represented in the Avon Gorge.

The Leads, Ledes (rocks in the Avon mentioned under *Ghyston*) are a difficult philological problem. The name may be from Old English *lēad* ‘[the metal] lead’ in one of two recorded extended senses:

- ‘kettle’ (from the shape of the hollows between the rocks? or from whirlpools or eddies of “boiling” water? Words for vessels are applied elsewhere to river-features, for example, famously Romano-British *Cilurnum* ‘cauldron’ for a whirlpool in the North Tyne (Rivet and Smith 1979: 307), and perhaps OE *cetel* ‘kettle’ in such names as *Chittleford* (Devon; *PN D* 527)); or:
- ‘plumb’ (suggested by the need to check depths frequently with a plumb-line? cf. the 19th-century word *leadsman* ‘plumbline-user’ (*OED*, **leadsman**²))

But that is all doubtful. A.J. Parker (1999: 339) suggests that it may be a manuscript error for *Ledges*, but this word was apparently still used only for woodworking structures in the 15th century (*OED*), so it is better to trust the manuscript spelling. Formally, it could also be a new Middle English plural form of the Old English word *blid* ‘lid’, perhaps implying concealment of the problems which lay behind, or blocking the “gateway” represented by the entry to the Avon Gorge.

Whatever the origin of *The Leads*, this name might also be relevant for the Clifton field-name *Lydfield* (pasture in 1596; D. Jones 1992: 26 & ch. 2 n. 79), *Lide field* (1625; *PN Gl* 3: 98), modern *Litfields*, and also probably *Littlefields* on de Wilstar’s map (1746). There is no stream at Litfields as required by A.H. Smith’s solution in *PN Gl*, so a new suggestion is necessary. This area is nearest, but on the landward side of, St Vincent’s Rock, the cliff above the location of The Leads. A Clifton survey of 1689 (D. Jones 1992: 35) mentions “Three grounds called Lydfields lying under Vincents Rocks cont. quarries”, and also the fact that it came “with the coppice”. The location of the present Litfield Place is separated from the river and its cliffs by about 300 metres. Whilst the suggestion is therefore not deeply convincing, a case could be made for its being ‘open land associated with (perhaps overlooking) The Leads’; however the first element might be OE/ME *lēod(e)* ‘people’.

Llandoger Trow (sometimes *Tavern*). This famous 17th-century inn in King Street is interesting in that its name is the sole surviving representative of a type often met in Bristol in the 18th century. In Sketchley (1775) we find it as the *Landoger Trow*, and in addition to offering this reference to Llandogo, Monmouthshire, the directory lists other inn-names alluding to places in the Wye valley: the *Brockwar Boat* (i.e. Brockweir; also *Brockway*, Leech 1997b: 95) and the *Chepstow Boat*; in the Usk valley: the *Newport Boat*;⁴⁹ to the inland trade: the *Bath Barge*; and

48. The original report is in White’s *Flora of Bristol* (1912).

49. The Severn Trow appears briefly in Host Street in the mid-19th century (www.bristolstlospubs.com, accessed 28 April 2009).

more exotically: the *Dublin Yatch* [sic] and the *Venice Frigate*. Given that the first four were on or very close to Welsh Back, we can assume they were named to appeal to boatmen from the places mentioned; the same is probably true for all except the Venice Frigate, recorded only by Sketchley, which must commemorate one of the famed 18th-century naval vessels for unknown reasons. A Capt. George Davidson was apparently captain of “ye Venice frigate” which plied to England, port uncertain, in 1764 with some goods of Dr John Morgan (Morgan and Watson 1907: 238), and it may have been known in Bristol.

Merrie Hill. A reference to a prospect over a place with this name is found in 1649 (Leech 1997b: 202; also 200). The relevant property is on the south side of *Worshipfull Street* (i.e. the pre-war Bridge Street; see *Worship Street* above), at the eastern end. Although Leech acknowledges that there are difficulties with the identification of individual tenements, that must place it somewhere between the western end of St Peter’s Church and the Avon. There was a stable abutting Merrie Hill on the west. In medieval Bristol there can have been nothing worth calling a hill, except in the sense that the whole town was raised above the marshes: Leech (1997b: 19) writes of the “low cliff” on which the town wall was situated on all sides except the east, and the low “ridge to the east of High Street” where St Mary le Port and St Peter’s stand.⁵⁰ The spellings preclude an association with St Mary.

It is a recurrent name, found for example in the 14th century in Brierley Hill and Wolverhampton (Horovitz 2005: 387), in 1425 in Bushey (*PN Hrt* 65), in Newbury in 1548–9 (*PN Brk* 1: 258), in 1603–4 in Winnersh (*PN Brk* 1: 138), in 1658 in Enfield (*PN Mx* 75), and in the court rolls of Ecchinswell, Hampshire. It might be viewed as an early antecedent of the *Mount Pleasant* which became hugely popular from the 1720s onwards, and which is widely believed to have originated ironically for the site of a rubbish-dump or “laystall” (*PN Mx* 96, 118). But as for dumps, it was stated as a commonplace that Bristol had none within the walls (from the legend of W. Smith’s map of 1568), and any irony perceived in London probably did not apply in Bristol.

The Nails. These four famous brass posts or pedestal tables, now outside the Exchange in Corn Street, are generally agreed to date from the 16th and 17th centuries; but there are unclariities in their supposed history, as we shall see. It is likely that their present form continues an earlier tradition, because in 1463/4 there is a reference to *the Brasyn Stokke* ‘the brass post or stump’ and in 1758 to *the Brazen Post* (Leech 1997b: 124–5). This post, of unknown appearance or purpose, was where the Quay opened out onto the west corner of the Fish Market, near the Key Pipe. There seems to have been more than one; there is a reference to “the lower brass post upon the Quay” in 1654 (Nicholls and Taylor 1882, 3: 32), and at least one on The Back (see also below).

The Nails have not always been as they are. Latimer reports that an anonymous visitor published in 1727 a description of the Exchange [meaning the Tolzey, since the current Exchange dates from 1740–3, RC] as being “planted round with stone pillars, which have broad boss [brass ? (Latimer’s emendation)] plates on them, like sundials ...” (1893: 162). Latimer also provides an insight into the later history of these pillars. In 1732, one John Mason was paid £6 for “turning six large posts for the brass heads to be put on at the Tolzey, near All Saints Church”; six are clearly shown in the “north prospect of the Tolzey” in the upper margin of Millerd’s map and three in the “south

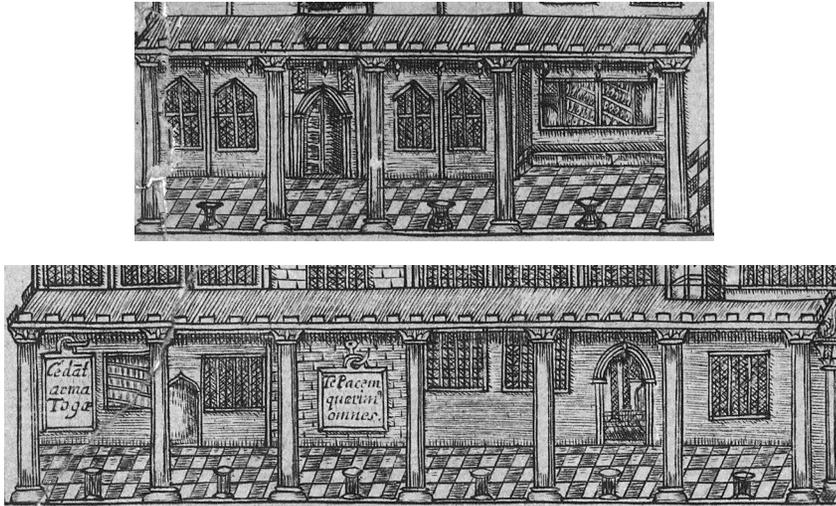
50. Celia Fiennes noted in 1698 that “Bristol Lyes Low in a bottom the Greatest part of the town, tho’ one End of it you have a pretty rise of ground” (Griffiths 1888; online at www.visionofbritain.org.uk/text/chap_page.jsp?t_id=Fiennes&c_id=26&p_id=15, accessed 6 Oct. 2009); she presumably meant the area around St Mary le Port, unless she took Brandon Hill, on the opposite side of the Frome, into account.

prospect". Latimer's opinion (1893: 183) was that "[t]hese articles were similar to the brazen pillars now standing in front of the Exchange", i.e. the present building. But a more natural reading of the available information is that the items turned in 1732 *are*, or include, the present Nails, that their new shafts replaced the stone pillars mentioned in 1727, and that the name was bestowed on them then because in their new form they were, for the first time, made entirely of metal. The tops of the present Nails are certain to date from before 1731, one because it is attributable to the 16th century on stylistic grounds, and the others because they are actually inscribed with a date (1594, 1625, 1631). In 1783, as Latimer also notes (1893: 455), the "metal tops of the ancient pillars removed from All Saints' Penthouse [i.e. the Tolsey, RC], and the Bridgwater slip on the back" were disposed of, and similar transactions took place in 1784 and 1795; that confirms the former existence of a larger number of tops than the present four. But the existence of a fifth *wholly* brass item is clearly indicated by the report of 1784, which refers to the disposal of "a pot metal pillar and cap". That there were other Nails is confirmed indirectly by Shephard (1799: 1039–40), who recorded that one of the "small brazen pillar tablets" he observed outside the Exchange bore the inscription "Nemo sibi nascitur" ("No-one is born for himself"). Either this has worn off an existing Nail, which does not seem at all likely, or it was on a post or a top which is no longer there.

It was speculated above that the existing objects were first called *The Nails* in or after 1732. But that is by no means certain. They are never so called in Latimer's *Annals*. The words *pillar* and *post* appear in the inscriptions on them, but not *nail*. The earliest use of the word *nail* to refer to something like them seems to involve the similar object in the Exchange at Limerick. According to Brewer (see note 54), it is called *The Nail* by the dramatist John O'Keeffe, but in fact O'Keeffe writes *the naily* (1826: 240). Is it possible that when all four present ones had been assembled (i.e. after 1631, if the accepted understanding is accurate, but more likely after 1732, as we have seen)⁵¹ they were referred to using a word for an easily-recalled set of four broad-topped things, in this case the nails of the Crucifixion as illustrated in much medieval religious art,⁵² in the same way that sets of seven things might be called *The Seven Sisters* or *Seven Stars*, or sets of twelve things *The Apostles*? Or is this date too late for such a motivation deriving from early religious iconography? This suggestion depends on their being four in number at the time of naming; but as established above, six are clearly shown in the "north prospect of the Tolzey" in the upper margin of Millerd's map and three in the "south prospect". Millerd is normally reliable; however, his marginal images may predate the time of naming.

51. The exact significance of the date of the supposed completion of the set, 1631, is unknown, but we know that brass was being produced in Bristol and Cheddar without the necessary royal licence in 1629 (Day 1973: 22), i.e. before the city became well-known for this industry. Brassware produced before this operation was presumably made out of imported materials.

52. St Helena is said by Gregory of Tours to have recovered all four of the nails, and this is repeated (if not exactly endorsed) in the 13th century by Giacompo de Voragine in some versions of *The golden legend* (Ryan 1993: 282–3). The notion that four nails were used was asserted infallibly by Pope Innocent III in the 1190s, and the three-nail theory ("Triclavianism") was thereby declared heretical. The stigmata of St Francis of Assisi are commonly asserted to have resembled the imprint of four nail-heads on the limbs of Jesus. Such considerations are likely to have influenced popular, as opposed to official, piety, and therefore also everyday language. Later European art challenged Innocent's prejudice. It must be said that later medieval English literature contains references to "three nails", and, balanced against that, oaths sworn by God's nails in general, for example, in Chaucer's *Pardoner's tale*: "'By Goddes precious herte', and 'By his nayles'" ... (line 651; Robinson 1957: 151). The later the origin of the name of The Nails, the less plausible this suggestion becomes, and if that origin is as late as 1732, the suggestion probably fails altogether.



Figs. 5a and 5b. The Tolsey on Millerd's map (top border), showing (the precursors of?) The Nails. Upper image: south prospect; lower image: north prospect.

An alternative possibility is that the name may contain an allusion to the practice of studding the side of a ship with nails to indicate a loading line (*OED*, **nail**, *n.*, sense II,4.b., and *v.*, sense 2.c.; from the 17th century), a precursor of the Plimsoll line. Perhaps the row of posts recalled a row of such studs. The fact that the practice was to some degree associated with Newcastle coal-boats does not mean it would be unfamiliar in Bristol.

Contrary to popular belief, the expression *to pay on the nail* definitely, absolutely, did not originate in trading at The Nails. An exact Anglo-Norman equivalent, *payer sur le ungle* 'to pay immediately and in full', is on record from before 1350 (*AND*; also *OED*, **nail**, *n.*, phrases, P3), and the English expression must be a word-for-word translation of it, though note that *ungle* means 'nail of a limb, claw' and not 'metal peg'.⁵³

Needless Gate. It is beyond doubt that this striking name (seen on the section of Millerd's map in Fig. 1) has the origin which is generally ascribed to it. The gate was built in 1657 and charged to the parishioners of St James who disputed the need for it (*[Bristol] Bargain Book*, 30 June 1657; Latimer 1900: 256). What is unusual is that an evidently unofficial name for the new gate stuck with everyone, "the corporate scribes included" according to Latimer, and no alternative official name is ever recorded. In this respect it is rather like *Spaghetti Junction*, the name for the M6/A38(M) interchange in north Birmingham, whose official name of *Gravelly Hill Interchange* is not widely

53. This opinion about *pay on the nail* is also expressed in a fuller account by Quinion (undated). He credits E. Cobham Brewer with inventing the connection with Bristol in the first edition of his *Dictionary of phrase and fable* (1870), and it is Brewer who misquotes O'Keeffe's *Recollections*. *Sur le ungle* must be an adapted continuation of the Latin phrase *ad unguem* 'nicely, perfectly, to a T' (Horace, *Satires*, 1.5.32); this means literally 'to a (finger)nail', now believed to originate in an allusion to the great care required to furnish cast-bronze statues with fine anatomical features, as argued in exquisite detail by D'Angour (1999).

used in ordinary conversation, though unlike *Needless Gate* the popular name did not supplant (or has not yet completely supplanted) the official one.⁵⁴ The Bristol name was later applied to the adjacent *Needless Bridge*, marked on Rocque's map (1742); this structure was replaced in 1796, but the river Frome is now conduited here.⁵⁵

Pitch and Pay Lane, Stoke Bishop, Westbury on Trym. The name of this old track is widely believed to be an event-name. The most popular accounts of this event involve country people bringing food at a time of plague to an agreed point in the lane and throwing it to the beleaguered townsfolk in exchange for cash left there, or the latter throwing cash for the food, or both doing the throwing (V. Smith 2002: 218, with a note of caution stating that the theory has been disputed).⁵⁶ It is unlikely that a story which makes such seemingly obvious sense will ever fade away. It was apparently invented by Joseph Leech (1884: 89–96, reprinting a newspaper article from a series which appeared in *Felix Farley's Journal* or its successors between 1839 and 1883), and he places the events in the plague year of 1645. The author is candid in his preface: "Not a few of these entries are quite fragmentary or legendary" (1884: vi), so later readers should have been more cautious when embracing the story.

Apart from the improbability of charitable people systematically throwing food rather than putting it down nicely, there is a real linguistic and historical difficulty. *Pitch* as a transitive verb in the generalized sense of 'throw' is rare. There is hardly anything early in *OED* which would lead one to suspect that *pitch* had ever meant simply 'throw'. The examples of usage which come nearest to supporting the idea are mainly about a horse throwing a person or a person throwing a weapon. Its early meanings are specialized: 'to cast, throw, or fling forward [the examples are specifically the usages just mentioned, RC]; to hurl (a lance, javelin, etc.); to throw (a flat object) so as to land horizontally' (*OED*, **pitch** *v.*², sense 13.a.), or 'to throw (sheaves, hay, etc.) with a pitchfork, esp. onto a cart or stack' (sense 13.b.); it also occurs in some set phrases (senses 13.c.–d.). Most other uses of the word are to do with sporting activities (senses 13.e.–h.), and senses b. and e.–h. can be seen as deriving from the original core notion of throwing weapons.

Leech's fable also ignores the fact that *pitch and pay* was a fixed expression in the 15th, 16th and early 17th centuries (*OED*, **pitch**, *v.*², phrases, P1): it meant 'pay cash at the time of purchase', i.e. 'pay without credit', 'pay like a person who doesn't need credit': strikingly reminiscent of *pay on the nail* (see **The Nails**, p. 182). Most famously, in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (act 2, scene 3), Pistol says "The word is pitch and pay: trust none". At first sight, this does not help us towards a definitive explanation of the street-name, but it allows us to forget picturesque charity performed at a hygienic distance. There is no evidence, either, for the lane being subject to toll-payments, and it is impossible that it was, because the turnpikes to Westbury and Shirehampton did not include its course.

The name may have lost some subtleties of allusion. Both *pitch* and *pay* could mean 'make [a ship] watertight using tar, pitch' (see *OED*, **pitch** *v.*², and **pay** *v.*²), a concept familiar enough in Bristol. Both *pitch* and *pave* could mean 'set stones to make a road surface' (respectively vertically and horizontally), and Bristol had its Commissioners for Pitching and Paving from at least 1806–11 (some records in BRO: see, for example, F/PPR/...), though that seems unlikely to be relevant in this particular case, the narrow track being unmetalled till relatively recently (see Winstone

54. A similar case reported from Birmingham is that of *Pigeon Park*, analysed by Pires (2007).

55. There are other street- and minor locality-names including *Needless*, mainly in the North Country and southern Scotland, but note *Needless Alley* in Birmingham, known from 1731 (*PN Wa* 38).

56. Another early version is in Ellacombe (1893: 209), but he implies that there is a "qualm-stone" or plague-stone here which is otherwise unreported.

1968: plate 45) and still with only a thin, narrow veneer of tarmac in part. It was once believed to have been part of the Roman Via Julia, and therefore to have been a paved road, but this belief is no longer held.⁵⁷

Myth-making is easy and pleasant, which is why it is often done when evidence is short. We now need to examine the local evidence, which exists in reasonable quantities. There was an isolated big house called *Pitch and Pay* on 19th-century maps (OS 25" Gloucestershire, 1881) at the northern end of the lane; it was still there in 1938 (OS 6"), now replaced by denser housing, and Pitch and Pay Cottage is still there in 2009. It is pretty clear that the lane took its name from the former house, not *vice versa*. In the Westbury on Trym poor book, we find in 1675 a payment "for haling of William Cary from pitch and pay" and one in 1698 for the "Child which was left neare pitch and pay" (Wilkins 1910: 109, 276). A deed dated 1719 in the Cann-Lippincott papers in Gloucestershire Archives (GA MS. D44465/4) concerns "the Pitch and Pay and other houses", and the "tenement called Pitch and Pay in the parish of Westbury" is leased in the same year (Aitchison, no date, catalogue 85, no. 17). Rudge (1803: li) muddled the matter by referring to "another house, called Pigeon house (*Pitch and pay house*)", but by this time the original house-name is secured beyond reasonable doubt. It seems to be one of a type first met in London about 1500 and popular in the 17th century, namely one with a more or less oblique allusion to trade. Lord Mayor of London Thomas Bradbery, a mercer who died in 1509, lived at *Bay Hall* where cloth called by that name was sold, the house-name possibly being created after his death (Miles 2000: 12). Others who grew rich on trades lived at *Tart Hall* (St James' Street, Westminster) and *Piccadilly* (with its allusion to the making of piccadils or ruffs) in the 17th century. Since *pitch and pay* denotes a principle of honest trading, the suspicion must be that the house was owned by a merchant who subscribed to this principle. The finger points directly at Sir Robert Cann, master of the Merchant Venturers in 1658, in whose lifetime the first record appears. He had bought the entire manor of Stoke Bishop from the estate of the rapacious Sir Ralph Sadleir in 1656. He was a man who was "prone to speak his mind with little regard for the feelings of others" according to his relative Roger North (1744, 2: 26, and cf. 3: 119–20, 137); he was expelled from the House of Commons in 1680 for an impolitic remark, and told by the Speaker: "You are a man of passion much above your understanding" (Grey's *Debates*, 28 Oct.);⁵⁸ he became the richest man in well-heeled Stoke Bishop (Wilkins 1910: *passim* years 1656–1685); and he had strong opinions about a suitably-sized marriage settlement for his daughter (North 1744: 3, 119–20): just the kind of man to have outspoken views on credit and to nail them to his tenant's front door.

As a final irony, it seems to be Leech, the inventor of the legend to explain the name of the lane, who first records it: "a rustic lane ... which, with the farm to which it formerly led, was called '*Pitch and Pay*'" (1884: 89).

Pylle Street (not to be confused with ***Pile Street*** in St Mary Redcliffe parish or ***Pylle Hill*** in Temple parish). This street is described extensively by Worcestre (§§48–9), who makes it clear that it represents the old course of the Frome before its diversion southwards across the Marsh and mentions its name four times (§§32, 48–9, 420; the last being in *le pylle enede* 'the pill end').

57. The first record of the expression *pitch and pay* is in the perhaps early-15th century poem "Mum and the Sothsegger", whose author is unknown (*OED*), but it has been attributed to William Langland, associated with Malvern, which would put it in the right area to share some ME dialect features with Bristol.

58. Grey's *Debates of the House of Commons*, vol. 7 (1769), 366–393, debates in 1680: Oct. 27th–30th, online at www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=40460, accessed 08 Oct. 2009.

Since the term *pill* usually means ‘saltwater creek’ in this area of the south-west, this name must have been given to the old course after it had become a backwater, i.e. not long after 1240–7 (S.J. Jones 1946: 67; Leech 1997a: 26–8). The date of its supposed filling-in to make a street has not been definitely suggested. The line assumed by most historians until recently is below the oldest town walls, and part of that line was occupied by *Fish lane* on Millerd’s map. Houses were built on it requiring difficult foundation works (Worcestre §420). Worcestre says that (implicitly) south of *Pylle Strete* “there of old days renne [ran] the water called Frome by Baldwynestrete”. *By* must mean ‘beside’, as his editor Neale accepts, because Baldwin Street existed at least as early as 1242 (*PN Gl* 3: 86), and must have been created before the filling-in of the old Frome, whilst the Frome was not finally diverted till the completion of the cut across the Marsh in 1247. Aughton (2000: 13, and map on 4) also accepts something like this traditional position; the Frome flowed “around the west wall of Bristol”. Leech (1997a: 26–7 and fig. 2), on the other hand, argues plausibly, on both archaeological and tenement-historical grounds, that the original course of the Frome was in fact south of the Marsh Wall, and that Baldwin Street and its alignment had nothing to do with the river. It is true that the outer edge of a bend in a river meandering across a marsh tends to migrate further outwards, which means that a presumed initial position at or near Baldwin Street, nearly lapping the oldest town walls and therefore close to the rise on which the core of the medieval city stood, is open to question. Leech is therefore led to dismiss the evidence on W. Smith’s map (1568) for a pool or ditch along the previously-conjectured old course of the river (1997a: 27). But his new view also does not settle why the northern end of Marsh Street, right up near the western end of Baldwin Street, “was still known as Pylle End in the 16th century” (1997a: 28; *le Pill yende* in 1473, 1997b: 83). The medieval name of the rest of the course of Marsh Street, *Scadepullestrete*, *Skatepulstrete* (c.1180–1400), could be construed as a reference to its destination, namely a pill or a pool – either is a possible interpretation of these spellings in this area (cf. the dialect data in *PN Gl* 4: 71) – representing the old course of the Frome in the Marsh.⁵⁹ But the same “destination” argument can hardly account for *Pylle End* if the truncated old course of the river did not form a pill exactly there. Taking all this into account, the question of the identity of the pill referred to by the street-name is best left open for the present.

The information deriving from Worcestre seems to make it clear that the name does not contain OE *pīl* ‘pile, stake’, as A.H. Smith suggested. Nevertheless, all the six pre-1550 spellings outside the work of Worcestre contain the single <l> that would be expected if Smith were right.

Sea Banks. A minor curiosity is that the river frontage of Canon’s Marsh was known in the 19th century as *Sea Banks*. The name was left over from before the creation of the Floating Harbour (1804–9), when this reach was tidal; Nicholas Pocock had painted and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1782 “A View of Redcliff Church from the Sea Banks”. The name suggests that the

59. *Scad* in this name might be taken as an ancestor of one of two much later-attested words: a word for the horse-mackerel (*Caranx trachurus*), widely used as bait, or the word for a peat-slab used by the Devon author Frances Peard (see *OED*, **scad**³ and **scad**⁶). “Skadpull” does not mean ‘stagnant pools of water’, as Aughton (2000: 256) appears to imply, at least not as it stands. But despite the phonological difference, it is fair to wonder whether this name involves a very early mention of the word *scud*, a technical term of the tanning industry for ‘dirt, lime, fat, and fragments of hair which must be removed from a hide’ (*OED*, **scud** n.², sense 3). This is a word of unknown origin which is the probable source of the modern local word *scud* meaning ‘scab’; it is, however, not on record until the 19th century. There are tanneries aplenty in the history of the city centre, noisome tannery pools were a fact of life, and indigenous words beginning with /sk/ are rare.

Avon was counted as sea for some undetermined purposes, perhaps to do with the rights and responsibilities of navigation or excise.⁶⁰

This impression is reinforced to some degree by another fairly recent local name. In the Avon Gorge, the main high rock-face below Durdham Downs, in Westbury on Trym parish, is Black Rock, which is sometimes loosely known as *Sea Walls*. *Sea Wall* appears on the OS 6" map of Gloucestershire (1888) in a position corresponding to the actual wall built on the cliff edge by John Wallis in 1746 (Goldthorpe 2006: 38), and the name originally given to this structure, *Wallis's Wall*, was replaced at an uncertain date by the present non-obvious one. Given that the term *sea-wall* is a usual one in the Severn area for the artificial sea-banks protecting the saltmarshes (as in *the See Walles* in Henbury parish in 1550; *PN Gl* 3: 136), it is strange that it should have been adopted for this inland cliff-edge structure. The earliest record so far found is also in the title of a painting, an early work by Francis Danby, "The Avon Gorge from the Stop Gate below Sea Walls" of c.1815.

Sea Mills on the river Trym, further downriver in Henbury parish, has a demonstrably different origin, though the account given in *PN Gl* (3: 132), that it is 'saye-cloth mill', is incorrect (because you don't need a water-mill to make saye-cloth). It occurs as *Semmille* in 1411, and Coates (2009) suggests that this was originally *Seam Mill*, where the first word means 'single-packhorse load'.

Serlesmyte (Worcestre §423). Neale (2000: 241, note 2) suggests, following Harvey (1969), this is an error for *Earlsmead*, a place well to the east of the city centre. However, Worcestre renders the name of Earlsmead correctly as *Erlesmede* or *Erlysmede* (§§70–71, 91, etc.), and the name in question is interpretable as it stands. The full context is "Serlesmyte vbi Mundford tendebatur", 'S. where M. was cared for' (an anglicism from *to tend*, presumably, rather than literally 'where M. was stretched out'). The wording suggests a charitable institution, in which case it is possible to take it as 'Serle's mite', where *Serle* is a given name or surname, and *mite* a small amount of money, especially one given for charitable purposes (cf. the parable of the widow's mites, Bible, King James version (1611), Mark 12:42).⁶¹ The name may then have been applied by metonymy to an institution, though no other record of such an institution in Bristol has been discovered. *Serle*, in the 1881 census, was a surname still especially well represented in the Bristol area as a proportion of the population;⁶² and if the name is judged likely to have much earlier beginnings, there is a 13th-century record of the house in Small Street of one Serlo the butler, held of Bath Priory (Leech 1997b: 156). A good parallel for this interpretation is offered by Nappers Mite, an almshouse in South Street, Dorchester, named after Sir Robert Napper, although this was built and named as late as 1615/6.⁶³

60. It seems most unlikely that this involves the unusual surname *Cee*; Peter Cee held a "cotage" on the "east side" of Welsh Back close to its junction with Baldwin Street in the 16th century (Leech 1997b: 164).

61. The word *mite* is not used in Wycliffe's English bible (he uses *mynutis*), but the incident in Mark's gospel is alluded to by Langland in *Piers Plowman* using the relevant word (Bodleian Library Laud MS. B. XIII. 196 (c.1378, MS c.1400)): "Haued nouzt ...þe pore widwe [more] for a peire of mytes, þan alle þo that offreden?" This shows that the relevant word was available in the relevant sense by the relevant time to be used in this name, even though the mention predates the Authorized Version. (Cf. also *MED* under *mīte* (noun, 2) for other early mentions.)

62. Surname Profiler, www.nationaltrustnames.org.uk, accessed 10 March 2009.

63. We are indebted to Dr Joseph Bettey for the Dorchester information; see also *PN Do* (1: 355). This place was referred to in the curious multilingual inscription there, recorded by William Barnes in a letter to the editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine* (May 1833, 423), in French as *La mite Nappeir* and also in latinized

Sbitelane. The “venella vocata Shitelane” ‘lane called S.’ mentioned in a rental of c.1350 in the *Little Red Book* (Bickley 1900, 1: 7) is unaccountably omitted from the list of medieval names in *PN Gl*.

“*le Thoroughows*” in St Mary’s Street is recorded thus:

... the messuage called “le Thorowhowse,” with three shops, &c., situate in St. Mary’s street ... (will of James Cokkes, 21 May 1423 (Wadley no. 217))

... and another [messuage] in “le Thoroughows,” between the aforesaid street [= St Nicholas Street, RC] and Baldewynestrete, held by Edward Bery, baker; another messuage in Baldewynestrete, “in Occidentali p’te dict’ Thoroughous” (‘on the west side of the said Th.’; trl. RC), with a large cellar lying next to the said messuage of the said Edward, held by John Janyns; and another messuage in the same street, with two cellars situate in the “Thorowehous” aforesaid, held by Robert Megges; and a large cellar in the east part of the same Thorowe-hous: the aforesaid Elizabeth Canynges to hold this property, for her life only, of the chief lords of that fee; ... (will of William Canynges, 12 Nov. 1474 (Wadley no. 258))

According to *MED*, **thurgh-hōus** may mean “(a) ?A building constructed over a passageway or street; ?a gatehouse; (b) a passageway, thoroughfare”; *MED* has three mentions (1378–1421, all from London documents). The first element cannot be dialectal *thorough* ‘drain, trench’, which appears to be a Hertfordshire- and Essex-area variant of *furrow* (cf. Orton *et al.* 1978: map Ph214), but must be *through*. *MED*’s definitions are not quite right, as the descriptions of several tenements in Leech (1997b: 12, 50–2, 100 and 199, 145–6) make clear. One in Cock Lane is described both as a “lane” and as a “property” (Leech 52; similarly one in Corn Street, Leech 64), and the way in which a place could be both is spelt out as follows: “from time out of mind a common highway leading through the middle of his house ...” (Leech 145–6) from one street to another. This seems a recipe for inconvenience; in practice it might have been dealt with by an arched passage on the ground floor, but there are records of action being taken to extinguish such ancient rights. Other through-houses appear in later records as a pair of tenements with an actual passage between them. There are several possible candidates depicted on Millerd’s map, both with passages through and passages between (see Fig. 6). The term is still used in records as late as 1799 of a tenement on the east side of Broad Street (Leech 45).



Fig. 6. Excerpt from Millerd’s map, showing the through-house at the northern end of Cock Lane where it meets Corn Street.

Greek as *xenodochium* ‘house for strangers or pilgrims’. Dr Betty also points out in correspondence (22 March 2009) that there were many late-15th-century bequests of small pieces of land [? = *mites*, RC] in Bristol to support existing charitable institutions. One such piece might have been associated with, for example, Thomas Serle, a priest at All Saints’ in 1457–8.

There were through-houses in at least the following locations: the “throughhouse” in (or in the long run forming part of) Cock Lane, connecting St Nicholas Street and Corn Street (Leech 50–2); “le thurghous” in Adam and Eve Lane, connecting Wine Street and St Mary le Port Street (mentioned above; Leech 199); and “le thoroughhouse” (also mentioned above) once belonging to William Canynges, connecting the north side of Baldwin Street and St Nicholas Street (Leech 12).

Tower Harratz. A tower of the former city defences in Temple parish, at the eastern end of the Portwall. The earliest mention found so far is 1287 “Tower Arras” [modernized], in an assize roll (Fuller 1899: 174), then *c.*1350 in the *Little Red Book* (Bickley 1900, 1: 3): “pro turri vocata Touraras” ‘for the tower called *T.*’. It occurs a century later in the expression “in tota illa Turre vocat’ Towreharratz” ‘in all that tower called *T.*’ (will of Thomas Blount, 26 May 1441 (Wadley no. 232)), as *Tower Harriots* on Millerd’s map, and as *Tower Harratz* on Rocque’s of 1742–50, whose spelling remains the one most used currently in historical work. The difficulty of squaring the earliest form with the others is not insuperable in terms of the spelling conventions of the time, and the name is therefore probably from the surname *Herriot(s)*: cf. Elianor Heriottes, mentioned – much later – in the will of Joan Stone (30 April 1590 (Wadley no. 428); Joan Stone lived, suitably, in Temple parish).

It is curious that in this name the qualifying word or name always follows the generic *tower*, though this regularly happens in place-names with other generics of French origin such as *lake*, *river* and *mount*, and cf. *Back Avon*, above and note 9.

The Whitstry appears on Millerd’s map off Newfoundland Lane and just west of Earls Mead. A *whitster* was a bleacher (late ME *whitester*), but there appears to be no other record of an English word *whitst(e)ry* meaning a bleaching establishment. The land of this building, as would be expected, fronts the river (Frome).

3. A Millerd Mystery

On Millerd’s map (1673), there is a street going north-west from the junction of Frog Lane and Trencher Lane, then curving up clockwise as far as Red Lodge (see Fig. 7). Off to the west of it, roughly where Culver Street and the mid-section of Park Street are now mapped, is what looks like a walled or fenced roughly oblong area free of buildings, in which we find the Latin words: “Rudis Indigestaq’ Rupes”: ‘Crude and unorganized rock’, but no depiction of a rock, and no idea about what this was can be formed. Worcestre occasionally mentions boundary stones, but none of the ones he mentions is here. It corresponds to nothing decipherable on Rocque’s map (1742). The most interesting point about the map-mention (which is clearly not a name) is that it is a true product of Renaissance learning: it must allude to Ovid’s description of the primal chaos as “rudis indigestaque moles”, ‘a crude and unorganized mass’ (*Metamorphoses* 1, 7), a notion appropriated to Christian ideas of the universe before the Creation.⁶⁴ Perhaps Millerd meant it was a limestone outcrop, or a standing stone, rather than one subjected to the mason’s art, but the point is lost, as is the relation of these words, if any, to the actual name of the street marked to the north-east, *Stony Hill* (now the lower end of Park Row).

64. The phrase even recurs in the material from the front of Isaac Newton’s theological notebook, King’s College Library, Cambridge, Keynes MS. 2, online at www.newtonproject.sussex.ac.uk/view/texts/normalized/THEM00181, accessed 7 Sep. 2009.

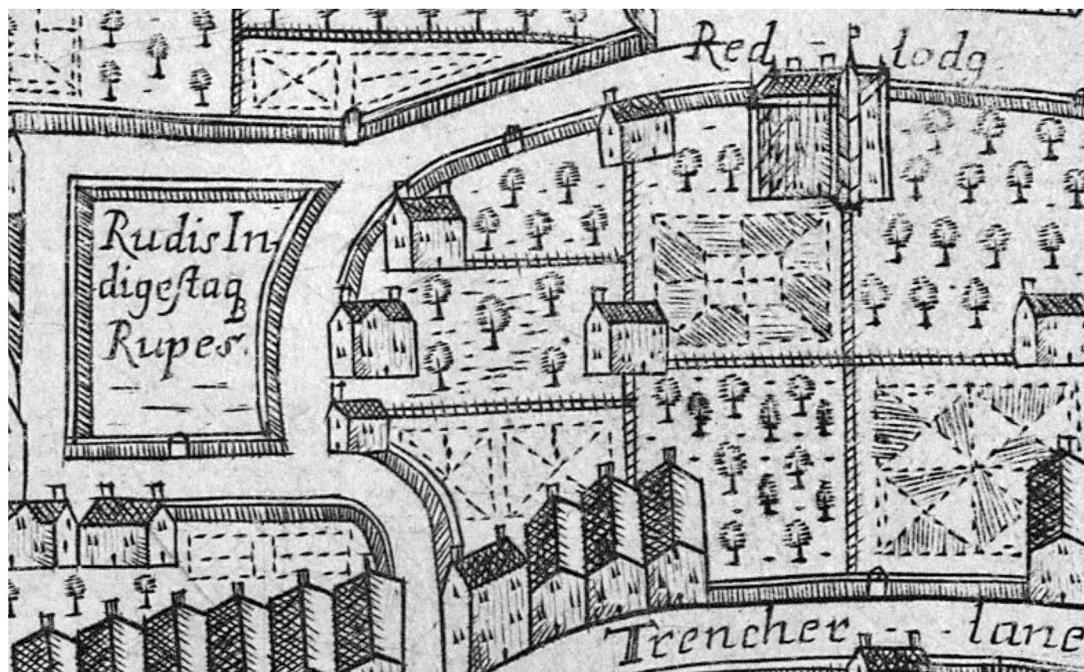


Fig. 7. Rudis Indigesta' Rupes.

References and abbreviations

- Aitchison, Lesley, dealer in maps, manuscripts and ephemera (no date) Catalogue 85, online at www.localhistory.co.uk/la/cats/sopwith.htm#BRISTOL, accessed 8 Oct. 2009.
- Allen, J.R.L., and M.G. Fulford (1990) Romano-British and later reclamations on the Severn salt marshes in the Elmore area, Gloucestershire. *Trans. BGAS* 108, 17–32.
- AND = William Rothwell *et al.*, eds, *Anglo-Norman dictionary*, 2nd edn. Online at <http://anglo-norman.net>, accessed March–Oct. 2009.
- Aughton, Peter (2000) *Bristol: a people's history*. Lancaster: Carnegie.
- Baker, Nigel, and Richard Holt (2000) Towards a geography of sexual encounter: prostitution in English medieval towns. In Lynne Bevan, ed., *Indecent exposure: sexuality, society and the archaeological record*. Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 187–98.
- Barnard, Robert (2000) The Albion Hotel, 19/20 Caroline Street [Hull]: the development of a beerhouse. Hull: Hull College Local History Unit. Online at www.rbarnard.karoo.net/Albion.pdf, accessed 1 Oct. 2009.
- Barnes, William (1833) Letter to the editor. *The Gentleman's Magazine* (May), 423.
- Barrett, William (1793) *The history and antiquities of the city of Bristol*. Bristol: privately printed.
- Bickley, Francis B., ed. (1900) *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 2 vols. Bristol: W. Crofton Hemmons and London: Henry Sotheran & Co.
- BL = British Library (St Pancras), 96 Euston Road, London NW1 2DB.
- Bosworth, Joseph, ed. T. Northcote Toller (1898) *An Anglo-Saxon dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Braikenridge, George Weare [possible author] (after 1840) Bristol Reference Library MS. HB/X/1–29 in 36 vols, vol. IV.
- Braun, Georg, and Frans Hogenberg (1581) Brightstowe, vulgo; quondam venta, florentissimum Angliae Emporium. In *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. III₂, Cologne. [Based on William Smith's picture-map

- of 1568, engraved by Joris Hoefnagel. Copy in Cambridge University Library, shelfmark L*.7.12-. Available online at historic-cities.huji.ac.il/british_isles/Bristol/maps/braun_hogenberg_III_2_b.jpg, as detailed in note 1, and accessed frequently July–Sep. 2009.]
- Brewer, E. Cobham, ed. (1870) *A dictionary of phrase and fable*, 1st edn. London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin.
- Briggs, Keith (2009) OE and ME *cunte* in place-names. *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 41, 26–39.
- BRO = Bristol Record Office, ‘B’ Bond Warehouse, Smeaton Road, Bristol BS1 6XN.
- Brunner, Karl (1962) *Die englische Sprache*, vol. 2. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Burd, Cliff (2004) *The lost alleys of Tewkesbury*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing.
- Bye, Maurice (2003) *Castle Park before the Blitz*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing.
- Charles, B.G. (1937) *Non-Celtic place-names in Wales*. London: University College, London (London Mediaeval Studies monograph 1).
- Chatham, William (1889) The improvement of the River Avon below Bristol. *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers* 98.4 (paper no. 2374), 280–91.
- Chilcott, John (1844) *Descriptive history of Bristol, ancient and modern*, 6th edn. Bristol: John Chilcott.
- Coates, Richard (2007) *Fockynggroue* in Bristol. *Notes and Queries* 252.4, 373–6.
- Coates, Richard (2008) Correction to *The place-names of Gloucestershire*, vol. 3 (EPNS Survey vol. 40). *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 40, 129–30.
- Coates, Richard (2009) Sea Mills. *Shire* 453 (Sep.), 20; also online at www.shire.org.uk/shire.php?edition=452 (scroll to end).
- Coates, Richard (2010) Hidden gates. *Nomina* 33, 139–68.
- Corry, John (1816) *The history of Bristol, civil and ecclesiastical*. London: W. Sheppard.
- Cox, Barrie (1994) *English inn and tavern names*. Nottingham: Centre for English Name Studies.
- Cronne, H.A., ed. (1946) *Bristol charters, 1378–1499*. Bristol: Bristol Record Society (publication 11).
- D’Angour, Armand J. (1999) *Ad unguem*. *American Journal of Philology* 120.3, 411–27.
- Dauzat, Albert (1989) *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieu en France*, 2nd, rev., edn by Charles Rostaing. Paris: Guénégaud.
- Day, Joan (1973) *Bristol brass: a history of the industry*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles.
- Donn, Benjamin (1769) *Map of the country 11 miles round the city of Bristol*. Privately published.
- Dowling, Rod (2009) Three centuries of ceramic art in Bristol – the story of Bristol pottery and porcelain. Online at www.kalendar.demon.co.uk, dated 31 Aug. 2009, accessed 11 Sep. 2009.
- Ekwall, Eilert (1954) *Street-names of the City of London*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ekwall, Eilert (1960) *The concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names*, 4th edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ellacombe, Rev. Canon [Henry N.] (1892) Old field-names. *Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club* 7.3, 200–12.
- EPNE = A.H. Smith, ed. (1956) *English place-names elements*, 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Survey of English Place-Names vols 25, 26).
- EPNS = English Place-Name Society or Survey.
- Everett, Douglas (1994) Closing argument [letter]. *Nonesuch* [University of Bristol alumni magazine] 4.2, 9 [incorporating material repeated from the *University of Bristol Newsletter* (1974).]
- Field, John (1993) *A history of English field-names*. Harlow: Longmans.
- Flavin, Susan, and Evan T. Jones, eds (2009) *Bristol’s trade with Ireland and the continent 1503–1601: the evidence of the exchequer customs accounts*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, for Bristol Record Society (publication 61).
- Forde, Simon (2004/2008) Hereford, Nicholas (b. c.1345, d. after 1417). In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, online at www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20092, accessed 30 April 2009.
- Friends of Arnos Vale Cemetery (2007) *Arnos Vale – a Victorian cemetery*. Bristol: FAVC.
- Fuller, E.A. (1894–5) On the tallage of 6 Edward II, and the Bristol Rebellion. *Trans. BGAS* 19, 171–278.
- Fuller, E.A. (1899) Pleas of the Crown at Bristol in 1287. *Trans. BGAS* 22, 150–78.
- Goldthorpe, Richard J. (2006) *Clifton and Durdbam Downs: a landscape history. Final report*. Bristol: Bristol City Council (Dept of Planning, Transport and Sustainable Development), online at www.bristol.gov.uk/ccm/cms-service/stream/asset/?asset_id=31220033, accessed 22 Sep. 2009.
- Grey, Anchtell, ed. (1769) *Debates of the House of Commons*, vol. 7. London.

- Griffiths, Emily W., ed. (1888) *Through England on a side saddle in the time of William and Mary, being the diary of Celia Fiennes*. London: Leadenhall Press.
- Hannan, Alan, with contributions by others (1997) *Tewkesbury and the Earls of Gloucester: excavations at Holm Hill, 1974–5*. *Trans. BGAS* 115, 79–231.
- Harding, N[orah] Dermott, ed. (1930) *Bristol charters 1155–1373*, vol. 1. Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, for the Bristol Record Society (publication 1).
- Harris, H.C.W. (1969) *Housing nomenclature in Bristol (being the origin of road and flat names used in Municipal Housing in Bristol – 1919/1967)*. Bristol: City and County of Bristol.
- Harrison, David (2002) *Bristol remembered. The best of Bristol Times*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Harvey, John H., ed. (1969) *William Worcester: itineraries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Horace, *Satires*, edition *ad libitum*.
- Horovitz, David (2005) *The place-names of Staffordshire*. Privately published.
- Jackson, Kenneth Hurlstone (1953) *Language and history in early Britain*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Jackson, Kenneth Hurlstone (1967) *A historical phonology of Breton*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Jones, Donald (1992) *A history of Clifton*. Chichester: Phillimore.
- Jones, Evan T. (2003) Bristol Port Survey, 21 May 1565. Online at www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/Sources/1565bristol.htm, accessed 24 May 2010.
- Jones, S.J. (1946) The growth of Bristol: the regional aspect of city development. *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)* 11, 57–83.
- King, P[eter] W. (1997) The Cupola, near Bristol (smelting lead with pitcoal). *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 140, 37–51.
- Kingsford, C.L., ed. (1908) Cripplegate warde, in *A survey of London, by John Stow: reprinted from the text of 1603* [2nd edn]. London, 290–303, online at www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=60047, accessed 20 Oct. 2009.
- Larwood, Jacob, and John Camden Hotten (1907) *The history of signboards*, 12th edn. London: Chatto and Windus. [New edn under title *English inn signs*, with a chapter by Gerald Millar, New York: Arco (1985). Page-refs are to this edition.]
- Latimer, John (1890–1) Civil and military history of Bristol [in *Transactions at Bristol*]. *Trans. BGAS* 15, 7–42.
- Latimer, John (1893) *The annals of Bristol in the eighteenth century*. Frome: privately published. [Facsimile reprint Bath: Kingsmead Publishers (1970).]
- Latimer, John (1900) *The annals of Bristol in the seventeenth century*. Bristol: William George's Sons. [Facsimile reprint Bath: Kingsmead Publishers (1970).]
- Lawrence, J[ohn] F. (2005) *A history of Bridgwater*. Chichester: Phillimore.
- Leech, Joseph (1884) A tale of the plague in Bristol in 1645. In *Brief romances from Bristol history, with a few other papers, by J.L.* Bristol: privately published, 89–96.
- Leech, Roger H. (1997a) The medieval defences of Bristol revisited. In Laurence Keen, ed., *'Almost the richest city': Bristol in the Middle Ages*. British Archaeological Association (Conference Transactions XIX), 18–30.
- Leech, Roger H. (1997b) *The topography of medieval and early modern Bristol*, part 1: *Property holdings in the early walled town and Marsh suburb north of the Avon*. Bristol: Bristol Record Society (publication 48).
- Leech, Roger H. (2000) *The topography of medieval and early modern Bristol*, part 2: *The St Michael's Hill precinct of the University of Bristol*. Bristol: Bristol Record Society (publication 52) and University of Bristol.
- Luick, Karl, ed. Friedrich Wild and Herbert Koziol (1940) *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, vol. 1, part 2. Stuttgart: Tauchnitz. [Reprinted Oxford: Blackwell (1964).]
- Martin, David, and Barbara Martin (2004) *An archaeological interpretative survey of Tombeckworth, Rusblake Green, Warbleton, East Sussex*. Ditchling: Archaeology South-East.
- MED = Hans Kurath *et al.*, eds (1951–2001) *Middle English dictionary*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. [Now online at quod.lib.umich.edu, scroll to find *Middle English dictionary*; accessed frequently March–Oct. 2009.]
- Miles, Joyce (2000) *Owl's Hoot: how people name their houses*. London: John Murray

- Millerd, James (1671, published 1673) "An exact delineation of the famous cittie of Bristoll and suburbs." [BRO 33040/35 (1671) and /37 (1673), slides; copy also in Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery.]
- Morgan, Algernon S.M., and David T. Watson, eds. (1907) *The journal of Dr John Morgan of Philadelphia, from the city of Rome to the city of London, 1764, together with a fragment of a journal*. Privately printed. Available online at www.archive.org/stream/journalofdrjohnm00morguoft/journalofdrjohnm00morguoft_djvu.txt, accessed June–July 2009.
- Mossé, Fernand, trl. James A. Walker (1952) *A handbook of Middle English*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
- Nasmith, James, ed. (1778) *Itineraria Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre*. Cambridge.
- Neale, Frances (1974) Worship Street Bristol: a puzzle street-name. *Bristol Archaeological Research Group [BARG] Bulletin* 5.1, 6.
- Neale, Frances, ed. (2000) *William Worcestre: the topography of medieval Bristol*. Bristol: Bristol Record Society (publication 51).
- NGR = National Grid Reference.
- Nicholls, F.J., and John Taylor (1882) *Bristol past and present*, vol. 3: *Civil and modern history*. Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith.
- Nicolaisen, W.F.H. (1978) Are there connotative names? *Names* 26, 40–7.
- North, Roger (1744) *The life of the honourable sir Dudley North, knt.* [etc.]. London: privately published. [References to the edn published London: Henry Colburn (1826).]
- Nott, H.E., and Elizabeth Ralph, eds (1948) *The deposition books of Bristol, vol. 2 (1650–1654)*. Bristol: Bristol Record Society (publication 13).
- OED* = J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, eds (1991) *Oxford English dictionary*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press. [Updated version of this edition available online, accessed frequently March–Oct. 2009.]
- O’Keeffe, John (1826) *Recollections of the life of John O’Keeffe, written by himself*. London.
- Orton, Harold, Stewart Sanderson and John [D.A.] Widdowson, eds (1978) *The linguistic atlas of England*. Beckenham: Croom Helm, and elsewhere.
- OS = Ordnance Survey; coverage, date and scale of maps consulted is specified in the text.
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, edition *ad libitum*.
- Owen, Hywel Wyn, and Richard Morgan (2007) *Dictionary of the place-names of Wales*. Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer.
- Parker, A.J. (1999) A maritime cultural landscape: the port of Bristol in the Middle Ages. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 28.4, 323–42.
- Parker, G. (1929) Tyndall’s Park, Bristol, Fort Royal, and the Fort House therein. *Trans. BGAS* 51, 123–41.
- Pires, Matthew (2007) Investigating non-universal popular urban toponyms: Birmingham’s *Pigeon Park*. *Onoma* 42, 131–54.
- Plumley, John, and George C. Ashmead (1828) *Plan of the City of Bristol and its suburbs*. Bristol. [Consulted as BRO 04481. Available online in six sections, of which the bottom-left, containing publication details, is at www.bristol.gov.uk/ccm/cms-service/stream/asset/?asset_id=516012, accessed frequently Sep. 2009.]
- PN Brk* = Margaret Gelling (1973–6) *The place-names of Berkshire*, 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Survey of English Place-Names vols 49–51).
- PN Ch* = John McNeal Dodgson (1970–97) *The place-names of Cheshire*, 5 vols (the last in 2 parts, the first of which subdivided). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, and Nottingham: English Place-Name Society (Survey of English Place-Names vols 44–7, 48/54/74).
- PN D* = J.E.B. Gover, A.H. Mawer and F.M. Stenton (1931–2) *The place-names of Devon*, 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Survey of English Place-Names vols 8–9).
- PN Do* = A.D. Mills (1986–) *The place-names of Dorset*, 4 vols so far. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, and Nottingham: English Place-Name Society (Survey of English Place-Names vols 52, 53, 59/60, 86/7).
- PN Gl* = A.H. Smith (1964–5) *The place-names of Gloucestershire*, 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Survey of English Place-Names vols 38–41).
- PN Hrt* = J.E.B. Gover, Allen Mawer and F.M. Stenton (1938) *The place-names of Hertfordshire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Survey of English Place-Names vol. 15).
- PN L* = Kenneth Cameron, with John Field and John Insley (1985) *The place-names of Lincolnshire*, 7 vols so far. Nottingham: English Place-Name Society (Survey of English Place-Names vols 58, 64/5, 66, 71, 73, 77).

- PN Mx = J.E.B. Gover, Allen Mawer and F.M. Stenton, with S.J. Madge (1942) *The place-names of Middlesex apart from the City of London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Survey of English Place-Names vol. 18).
- PN Nt = J.E.B. Gover, Allen Mawer and F.M. Stenton (1940) *The place-names of Nottinghamshire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Survey of English Place-Names vol. 17).
- PN Sr = J.E.B. Gover, Allen Mawer and F.M. Stenton, with Arthur Bonner (1934) *The place-names of Surrey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Survey of English Place-Names vol. 11).
- PN Sx = Allen Mawer and F.M. Stenton, with J.E.B. Gover (1929–30) *The place-names of Sussex*, 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Survey of English Place-Names vols 6–7).
- PN W = J.E.B. Gover, Allen Mawer and F.M. Stenton (1939) *The place-names of Wiltshire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Survey of English Place-Names vol. 16).
- PN Wa = J.E.B. Gover, Allen Mawer and F.M. Stenton (1936) *The place-names of Warwickshire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Survey of English Place-Names vol. 13).
- Ponsford, Michael W. (1979) Bristol Castle: archaeology and the history of a royal fortress. Dissertation for the degree of MLitt, University of Bristol, unpublished.
- Poole, R[ussell] G. (1991) *Viking poems on war and peace*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Powell, A.C. (1925) Glass-making in Bristol. *Trans. BGAS* 47, 211–57.
- Pritchard, J.E. (1907) Bristol archaeological notes for 1907. *Trans. BGAS* 30, 212–32.
- Pritchard, J.E. (1922) A hitherto unknown original print of the Great Plan of Bristol by Jacobus Millerd, 1673. *Trans. BGAS* 44, 203–20.
- Pritchard, J.E. (1926) The Pithay, Bristol. *Trans. BGAS* 48, 251–73.
- Quinion, Michael (undated) Cash on the nail. *World Wide Words*, online at www.worldwidewords.org/qa/qa-cas3.htm, accessed 15 Oct. 2009.
- Ralph, Elizabeth (1981) *The streets of Bristol*. Bristol: Bristol branch of the Historical Association.
- Reaney, P.H., and R.M. Wilson, eds (1991) *A dictionary of English surnames*, 3rd edn. London: Routledge.
- Rivet, A.L.F., and Colin Smith (1979) *The place-names of Roman Britain*. London: Batsford.
- Robinson, F.N., ed. (1957) *The complete works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rocque, John (1742, published 1750) *A geometrical plan of the city and suburbs of Bristol*. London: B. Hickey. [Also available online at www.bristolreads.com/downloads/readers_guide/mapping_the_city.pdf, accessed frequently July–Sep. 2009.]
- Rogers, Norman (1979) *Wessex dialect*. Bradford on Avon: Moonraker Press.
- Room, Adrian (1992) *The street names of England*. Stamford: Paul Watkins.
- Rudge, Thomas (1803) *The history of the county of Gloucester; compressed, and brought down to the year 1803*, 2 vols. Gloucester: privately published.
- Ryan, William Granger, ed. and trl. (1993) *Jacobus de Voragine: The Golden Legend: readings on the saints*. Princeton and Chichester: Princeton University Press.
- Schellinks, Willem, ed. and trl. Maurice Exwood and H.L. Lehmann (1993) *The journal of William Schellinks' travels in England, 1661–1663*. London: Royal Historical Society (Camden series 5, no. 1).
- Seyer, Samuel, ed. (1812) *The charters and letters patent, granted by the kings and queens of England to the town and city of Bristol*. Bristol: J.M. Gutch.
- Seyer, Samuel (1821–3) *Memoirs historical and topographical of Bristol*, 2 vols. Bristol: privately printed.
- Shakespeare, William (1600) *Henry V* [*The cronicle history of Henry the fift*], edition *ad libitum*.
- Shepard, Charles, jr (1799) A tour through Wales and the central parts of England. *Gentleman's Magazine* 69, 1036–40.
- Sherborne, J.W. (1965) *The port of Bristol in the Middle Ages*. Bristol: Bristol branch of the Historical Association (pamphlet 13).
- Sketchley, James (1775) *Sketchley's Bristol directory*. Bristol: Sketchley. [Reprinted with intro. by Bryan Little, Bath: Kingsmead Reprints (1971).]
- Smith, Veronica (2002) *The street-names of Bristol*, 2nd edn. Bristol: Broadcast Books.
- Smith, William (1568) Brightstowe. First published (1588) in his *The Particular Description of England with the portraitures of Certaine of the Chieffest Citties and Townes*. [BL Sloane 2596; available online at www.bristolreads.com/downloads/readers_guide/mapping_the_city.pdf, accessed frequently July–Sep. 2009.]
- Sperry Local History Group (1982) Bristol's underground waterways. Section 11 of *Bristol past, revisited with Sperry Local History Group*, 2nd edn. Bristol.

- Thomas, Brinley (1993) Henry Cort and the primacy of Britain. In *The Industrial Revolution and the Atlantic economy: selected essays*. London: Routledge, 100–20.
- TNA = The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, TW9 4DU, formerly the Public Record Office, also incorporating certain other archives.
- Toulmin Smith, Lucy, ed. (1872) *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar, by Robert Ricart*. [London]: Camden Society (publication 5). [The MS is BRO 04720.]
- Trayers, Tanya, and Debbie A. Lawlor (2005) An environmental face lift: the Dings Home-Zone project. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 59, 885.
- Vanes, Jean (1977) *The Port of Bristol in the sixteenth century*. Bristol: Bristol branch of the Historical Association (pamphlet 39).
- VCH Gloucestershire = C.R. Elrington, ed. (1968) *A history of the county of Gloucester*, vol. 8. Entries “Tewkesbury: Introduction” and “Growth of the town”, 110–22, online at www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=535, accessed frequently Sep.–Oct. 2009.
- VCH Shropshire = A.T. Gaydon, ed. (1973) *A history of the county of Shropshire*, vol. 2. Entry “House of Augustinian canonesses: Priory of St Leonard, Brewood”, 83–4, online at www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=39931, accessed 23 Sep. 2009.
- VCH Somerset = R.W. Dunning, ed. (1992) *A history of the county of Somerset*, vol. 6: *Andersfield, Cannington, and North Petherton Hundreds (Bridgwater and neighbouring parishes)*. Entry “Bridgwater”, by A.P. Baggs and M.C. Siraut, 192–206, online at www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=18640, accessed 22 Sep. 2009.
- Veale, E.W.W., ed. (1931–53) *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, 5 vols. Bristol: Bristol Record Society (publications 2, 4, 8, 16, 18).
- VEPN = David Parsons and Tania Styles, eds, with Carole Hough (1997) *The vocabulary of English place-names, á-box*. Nottingham: Centre for English Name Studies.
- Vinter, Dorothy (1964) *Some coalpits in the neighbourhood of Bristol and Kingswood*. ?Bristol: F. Bailey and sons.
- Wadley, T.P., ed. (1886) *Notes or abstracts of the wills contained in the volume entitled The Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills in the Council House at Bristol*. Bristol: C.T. Jefferies and Sons, for the Bristol and Gloucestershire Society. [Numbers in references in the present article refer to wills, not pages. The text quoted has been modernized by the editor.]
- Waters, Ivor (1984) *The town of Chepstow: Riverside*. Chepstow: Moss Rose Press (Chepstow series 1).
- Watts, Lorna, and Philip Rahtz (1985) *Mary-le Port, Bristol: excavations 1962–1963*. Bristol: City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery.
- Watts, Victor (2004) *The Cambridge dictionary of English place-names*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Way, L.J.U. (1922) Early charters of St Nicholas church, Bristol. *Trans. BGAS* 44, 121–44.
- White, James W. (1912) *The flora of Bristol*. Bristol: John Wright and Sons.
- Wilkins, H.J., ed. (1910) *Transcription of the “Poor Book” of the tithings of Westbury-on-Trym, Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton from A.D. 1656–1698*. Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith.
- Wilkins, H.J. (1920) An enquiry concerning two Bristol place-names – Whiteladies Road and Durdham Down. Notes appended to *The perambulation of the boundaries of the ancient parish of Westbury-on-Trym in May, 1803 A.D.* Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, 17–22.
- Williams, E. Watson (1960) The bakke of Bristowe. *Trans. BGAS* 79, 287–92.
- Willies, Lynn (1990) Derbyshire lead smelting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *Bulletin of the Peak District Mines Historical Society* 11.1, 1–19.
- Winstone, Reece (1968) *Bristol fashion*. Bristol: privately published.
- Winstone, Reece (1970) *Bristol’s earliest photographs*. Bristol: privately published.
- Withycombe, E.G. (1977) *The Oxford dictionary of English Christian names*, 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wright, Joseph, ed. (1898–1903) *The English dialect dictionary*, 5 vols. Oxford: Henry Frowde.
- Wright, William Aldis, ed. (1887) *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, 2 vols. London: Public Record Office (Rolls Series 86).
- WSRO = West Sussex Record Office, Orchard Street, Chichester PO19 1DD.