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New Influences on Naming Patterns in Victorian Britain

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NEW INFLUENCES ON NAMING PATTERNS
IN VICTORIAN BRITAIN

Amy M. Hasfjord

176 Pages

This thesis examines a major shift in naming patterns that occurred in Victorian Britain, roughly between 1840 and 1900, though with roots dating back to the mid-18th century. Until approximately 1840, most new names in England that achieved wide popularity had their origins in royal and/or religious influence. The upper middle classes changed this pattern during the Victorian era by introducing a number of new names that came from popular print culture. These names are determined based on a study collecting 10,000 men's and 10,000 women's names from marriage announcements in the London *Times*. Many of these new names were inspired by the medieval revival, and that movement is treated in detail. A smaller Celtic revival in names and a few other minor trends are also examined. By century's end, names were changing over a shorter period than ever before, and Britain had made a significant movement from a conservative to a circulating naming pool.

KEYWORDS: Naming, Victorian, Middle Class, Medieval Revival, Celtic Revival

NEW INFLUENCES ON NAMING PATTERNS
IN VICTORIAN BRITAIN

AMY M. HASFJORD

A Thesis Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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A. M. H.

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INTRODUCTION

WHAT'S IN A (VICTORIAN) NAME?

What are the quintessentially Victorian names? Until I began this project, my ideas about Victorian names were largely drawn from royalty and literature, particularly the Brontë sisters. My guess at a list of the most popular women's names would have included Victoria, Alexandra, Charlotte, Emily, Anne, Jane, and Catherine. However, my ideas began to change several years ago after I did some research in the mid-1880s *London Times*. Although that research project was not related to naming, as I scanned through several months of the newspaper looking for articles on my topic, I learned that each day's edition of the newspaper began with columns of Births, Marriages, and Deaths. Having long had an interest in names, I began to notice the names of the newly married couples in the marriage announcements. (The birth listings were not of as much interest because they did not give the name of the child, only the father.) I was persistently struck by the number of brides named Edith or Ethel. These were names that I associated not with the Victorians but with vintage American sitcoms: Edith Bunker of *All in the Family* and Ethel Mertz of *I Love Lucy*. Were my observations truly representative? I continued to be intrigued by this question and devised a study on the popularity of names in 19th-century Britain. I learned that Edith and Ethel were indeed two very prominent names, while the royal names of Victoria and Alexandra were little used, and the Brontë names, excepting Emily, were not as important as I had thought.

A systematic survey of names given to men and women born from 1825 to 1900 (drawn from London *Times* marriage announcements between 1855 and 1924) shows that the Victorian era was one of substantial change in personal naming. For the first time the upper middle classes—that is, the business and professional bourgeoisie, and the lower gentry—took the lead in influencing the naming pool. In previous English history, most new names were introduced by either the church or the royal family. The naming pool only changed significantly at times of major dynastic upheaval (the Norman Conquest), or of substantial religious movements (the medieval push for lay piety through the veneration of saints, and the Protestant Reformation). However, by the mid-19th century, the upper middle classes had gained significant power to shape British culture. They began to use the naming of children to display cultural capital by choosing new names from popular literature. The bourgeoisie retained this influence in naming for only about a century, until the lower middle and working classes began selecting new entries for the naming pool themselves. But the Victorian upper middle classes were pivotal in moving the British from a conservative to a circulating naming pool, or a system where names move rapidly in and out of favor in a generation or less. The circulating naming pool is an important feature of modernity because it is based on the idea that children need new names to prepare them for the future rather than old names to connect them to the past.

Why is this significant? The history of first names has been little researched except by a handful of specialists, and is almost never integrated into larger discussions of social history. The small scope of the field may make it seem as though it is only of antiquarian interest to know what names were popular in Victorian Britain. To negate

this objection, it is important to examine the larger question, what is in a name? Today we often think of the meaning of a name as its etymology, or the history of the word(s) from which the name was derived in its language of origin. However, a closer examination of work on naming practices shows that personal naming is constrained very little by formal etymologies, but is much more influenced by social and cultural factors.¹

The most basic level of the research on naming consists of studies examining the popular connotations of names, ideas that are attached to names in the public opinion based on factors such as sound and their associations with famous people or fictional characters. In *The Name Game*, Christopher P. Andersen presents the compiled results of several studies on these connotations. The heart of the book is a list of “894 Names and What They Really Mean.”² For example, my name, Amy Margaret, has an etymological meaning of “beloved pearl” (from French and Greek, respectively).³ In Andersen’s list, the associated connotations are very different: “active,” for Amy, and “a bit dowdy,” for Margaret.⁴ However, name connotations are unstable over time. Andersen’s book was published in 1977, and some of its statements have held up better than others. For example, people may still agree that Melissa is “passive but graceful,” but the identification of Beverly as “a bombshell—sexy and lively” seems out of date, and not many people today would identify Cassandra as “doleful.”⁵

¹ Barbara Bodenhorn and Gabriele vom Bruck, “‘Entangled in Histories’: An Introduction to the Anthropology of Names and Naming,” in *The Anthropology of Names and Naming*, ed. Gabriele vom Bruck and Barbara Bodenhorn, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5-6; Sarah Chevalier, *Ava to Zac: A Sociolinguistic Study of Given Names and Nicknames in Australia* (Tübingen, GER: Francke Verlag, 2006), 1-2.

² Christopher P. Andersen, *The Name Game*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977), 147-72.

³ Adrian Room, *Cassell’s Dictionary of First Names* (London: Cassell, 2002), 59, 429.

⁴ Andersen, 148, 154.

⁵ Andersen, 149-50, 155.

The connotation for Melissa is based on its sounds. *Mel* evokes the word “melody,” the sibilants of *iss* are quiet, and *a* is a traditional feminine name ending. These sound associations could change, but if they do, it will be slowly. Beverly’s connotation in Andersen is based on the idea of its being a young woman’s name. But Beverly reached its peak of popularity (fourteenth place) in 1937. It left the top one hundred in 1965, and the top one thousand in 1999.⁶ In 1977, there were still plenty of young “bombshell” Beverlys, but today the name identifies as that of an older woman. As for Cassandra, the number of people who can identify the name with the “doleful” daughter of King Priam of Troy, the prophetess cursed never to be believed,⁷ has long been on the decline along with many other touchstones of classical cultural literacy from the Greco-Roman heritage. Popular connotations are very much culturally constructed.

In most societies, these kinds of cultural connotations play a strong role in the choices of names for children. The only competing factor is the range of associations that people attach to names for personal reasons. Parents usually generate these from having a family member or friend with the name, although some use more idiosyncratic subtexts, such as naming a child after the place where they honeymooned. The connotations of a name can be considered personal if they are obvious only to the parents themselves and people who know them well. Cultural connotations are those which are familiar to many people in the child’s society well outside of the parents’ circle. But even the use of personal connotations is still socially conditioned. The use of personal associations can

⁶ Social Security Administration, “Popularity of Female Name Beverly,” Popular Baby Names, <https://www.ssa.gov/OACT/babynames/#&ht=2> [accessed August 28, 2014 - December 8, 2015]. There is no stable URL that will go directly to the results for Beverly, but this URL provides access to the form “Popularity of a Name.” The referenced results were obtained using Beverly, 1900 & later, and Female.

⁷ “Cassandra in Greek Mythology,” Mythography: Exploring Greek, Roman, and Celtic Myth and Art!, <http://www.loggia.com/myth/cassandra.html> [accessed March 7, 2016].

be very traditional if one names one's children after ancestors or relatives in a pattern prescribed by society, or they can be permissive if parents are encouraged to pursue highly individualized choices. Naming is, therefore, primarily a cultural practice.

Being a cultural practice, naming needs to be integrated into the larger study of cultural history. Pierre Bourdieu contends in *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgment of Taste* that the study of “taste and cultural consumption begins with a transgression . . . it has to abolish the sacred frontier which makes legitimate culture a separate universe, in order to discover the intelligible relations which unite apparently incommensurable ‘choices,’ such as preferences in music and food, painting and sport, literature and hairstyle.”⁸ That is, in order to understand a society, it is necessary to break down traditional barriers between the practices of high culture, such as music, painting, and literature, which have always been considered worth studying, and those of everyday life, such as food, sport, and hairstyle—and naming—which were once considered beneath the notice of historians.

For many of the practices of everyday living, that barrier to inclusion in historical study was already being breached by the time Bourdieu made this statement in 1979. As Peter Burke explains in *What Is Cultural History?*, the history of culture was revived in the 1970s and given a much broader, more holistic perspective than ever before. This “cultural turn” was partly inspired by a larger movement within the social sciences toward cultural relativism. Describes Burke, “There has been a shift . . . from the assumption of unchanging rationality . . . to an increasing interest in the values held by

⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgement of Taste*, 1979, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 6.

particular groups in particular places and . . . periods.”⁹ Most historians have felt that these values were best got at and explicated indirectly, through the examination of sets of activities known as practices: “the history of religious practice rather than theology, the history of experiment rather than of scientific theory.”¹⁰ The emphasis is on behaviors rather than on abstract ideas.

Scholars in the field of Victorian studies were early adopters of the cultural turn. Key works founding Victorian studies as an interdisciplinary field in the 1950s and 1960s were already moving in the direction of cultural history, although Martin Hewitt points out that these early authors preferred to discuss abstract values rather than practices. By the late 1960s, under the influence of Raymond Williams, Victorianists were becoming much more receptive to the idea of culture being comprised of practices.¹¹ Michel Foucault’s analyses of the workings of power added a new dimension to Victorian cultural history in the 1980s and 1990s.¹² For some time now, cultural analyses have been the primary approach in Victorian studies, even among scholars in English departments.¹³ Topics in the private sphere are prominent, with historians such as Ellen Ross and Judith Flanders studying practices of mothering and household management.¹⁴

⁹ Peter Burke, *What Is Cultural History?* 2nd ed., (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2008), 1-2. Both quotations are from 2.

¹⁰ Burke, 59. Burke explains that the concept of practices is partly developed out of Bourdieu (58-59).

¹¹ Martin Hewitt, “Culture or Society? Victorian Studies, 1951-64,” in *The Victorians Since 1901: Histories, Representations and Revisions*, ed. Miles Taylor and Michael Wolff (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004), 91, 96-97.

¹² Christopher Kent, “Victorian Studies in North America,” in Taylor and Wolff, 222-23.

¹³ E.g. Elizabeth Langland, *Nobody’s Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), Jennifer Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian Family Literary Magazines and the Cultural Health of the Nation* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2004).

¹⁴ Judith Flanders, *Inside the Victorian Home: A Portrait of Domestic Life in Victorian England* (2003; repr., New York: Norton, 2006); Ellen Ross, *Love & Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

However, naming has not yet been integrated as a part of cultural history, and it should be. Children are or were the future of society in any time period, and we know quite a bit more about a particular society when we know what they were named, and where those names came from. In 19th-century Britain, we can trace the rise of bourgeois cultural influence through the changes in naming. Significant numbers of upper-middle class parents participated in establishing new naming trends distinctive from those in the past that had been driven by the church or royalty and aristocracy. Through 1870, the most popular of these new names were suggested by the medieval revival. A few Victorians were thorough medievalists, but for most, choosing medieval revival names for their children was analogous to building factories and railway stations with Gothic stylings. They rejected the immediate past (its classic names, its neoclassical architecture) in an effort to be progressive, but they brought in elements of a distant, idealized past for reassurance that some continuity with historic tradition still existed. Many medievalist names, especially those from the Anglo-Saxon period, were also solidly English in heritage. This was important at a time when Britain was the foremost European power, and the English British were consolidating their cultural identity. Yet the upper middle classes were strategic in their borrowings and chose names that not only had desirable historical or poetic connotations, but also sounded or could be adapted to sound modern rather than antique.

By 1870, the upper middle classes had a stronger confidence in their cultural authority. They continued to use existing medievalist names, and even to revive a few additional ones, but they no longer had as strong a desire for new names that were self-

consciously English. They also experimented with appropriating names from the Celtic peoples of Britain: the Scottish, Welsh, and even the Irish, whose relations with the English British were otherwise quite hostile. Confidence in the strength of English British culture was so high that, for novelty, it was necessary to look elsewhere. India and Africa were too exotic to be a source for imported names, and Canada and Australia were too new to have their own naming cultures. Names from the Celtic fringe were just different enough to be novel, without being threateningly foreign; especially as any unusual spellings were anglicized. But Celtic borrowing did not dominate late Victorian naming in the way the medieval revival had done at mid-century. Rather, it was one among several trends, the diversity of which shows that parents were increasingly seeking new names for the sake of novelty, as they came to view their children as a path to the ever-changing future rather than as a link to preserve the traditions of the past.

Societies around the world have a wide variety of strategies for selecting children's names. In the late 1980s, Richard D. Alford used data from a large-scale anthropological collection called the Human Relations Area File to do a study on naming practices in sixty cultures. The cultures examined were all traditional, because those were the ones available to him in the HRAF, but all continents were represented. Europe was included via the Highland Scots, Lapps, and Serbs, while the American societies were all Native American groups.¹⁵ Alford was able to analyze name selection strategies from fifty-eight of these cultures. He found that half of them allow name givers a free

¹⁵ Richard D. Alford, *Naming and Identity: A Cross-Cultural Study of Naming Practices* (New Haven, CT: Hraf Press, 1988), 9-13. Alford also did a separate study on American naming practices and compared it with the data from traditional societies (123-68).

hand to choose the child's name. The other half are as follows: "3 (5 percent) typically obtain names from dreams, 7 (12 percent) typically use some sort of divination in selecting names, 4 (7 percent) employ some sort of fixed system . . . , [and] 15 (26 percent) use some kind of variable system" which provides guidelines but also "room for choice."¹⁶ The fixed or variable systems often involve naming children after relatives, either living or deceased, but other methods exist. For example, the Ashanti and Hausa in West Africa have systems whereby they name children partly based on the name of the week on which they were born. The parents are the primary name givers in only forty-seven of the cultures; in the remaining eleven, other people are assigned that role.¹⁷

In the modern Western world, parents are the name givers. Sometimes they will allow others to suggest a name, but the parents have the final say. Until very recently, a high percentage of Western parents chose names for their children from a common pool of names popular in their country at the time of the child's birth. Any society can be said to have a pool system of names if there are a certain set of lexical items that are set aside in its language as proper names. However, some societies have larger numbers of available names than others. A conservative naming pool is one in which a small group of names are used for a large proportion of all people, and where new names do not gain high popularity in the pool unless they are explicitly sanctioned by social authorities—such as, in England before the 19th century, the church and/or the royal family.

By contrast, the modern naming pool has been a circulating one. It is collectively assembled by the choices of individual parents, without much reference to external

¹⁶ Alford, 40.

¹⁷ Alford, 42-45, 49.

authority—most new names come from popular culture. It is also constantly changing. That is, the pool at any one time and place consists of the names recently chosen by other parents. New parents begin with that pool, but then make their own contribution either by selecting an existing popular name, elevating an up-and-coming name, or adding a new name with their own adventurous choice. If parents make a new choice that is too much out of the mainstream, it will be ignored by others and never truly enter the pool, but if other parents make the same selection at roughly the same time, a new name comes into fashion. Older names fall out of favor as they are ignored for newer ones, and are stigmatized as outdated, but if a previously popular name comes back into fashion after some time out, it is awarded the accolade of being a classic. There is significant turnover in names, a little from year to year, more as a decade passes, and a great deal from one generation to the next.

The modern system, as will be demonstrated in this thesis, was launched in Victorian Britain by the upper middle classes. It continued, and intensified, during the 20th century. Britain's Office for National Statistics released in 2011 a study of the top one hundred baby names for England and Wales (combined) for 1904, 1914, 1924, and so forth, for each decade through 1994.¹⁸ Women's names changed significantly every thirty years between 1904 and 1964. Only two names from the top ten in 1904 were still in the top ten for 1934, and there was one hundred percent turnover in the top ten between 1934 and 1964. The pace increased further between 1964 and 1994, with no

¹⁸ Office for National Statistics, "Baby Names, England and Wales, 1904-1994," released July 28, 2011, <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/vsob1/baby-names--england-and-wales/1904-1994/index.html> [accessed August 29, 2014 - December 10, 2015]. At the same time, the ONS released more detailed yearly reports on the names for each year from 1996 to 2010. The next year, they inaugurated a schedule of releasing each August the names from the previous year. See <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/vsob1/baby-names--england-and-wales/index.html> for a full list of available reports.

women's name remaining in the top ten for more than two decades. Men's names showed slightly more conservatism, with only sixty percent different names in the top ten between 1904 and 1934, and seventy percent turnover between 1934 and 1964. By 1994, the pace of change was picking up for men's names; there was a complete replacement of names from 1964, and six of the names were new since 1984. However, the top two names from that decade had been in the 1904 top ten, although one of them had been out of the top ten from 1934 through 1984, and the other had dropped off in 1954 and 1964 before returning.¹⁹

Linda Layne, writing of American parents in the late 20th century, articulates the paradoxical relationship between the ever-shifting pool of communal names and modern individualism in terms which apply equally well to Britain: "Names function in much the same way as consumer goods. . . . Although most goods purchased for infants are mass produced, and therefore . . . many other babies will have similarly furnished nurseries, the selection of things for the nursery and the child's clothing are used to individualize while at the same time marking his/her place in the social order."²⁰ Parents think of their children as distinctive. Their own daughter Rebecca, even if born in 1994 when the name was number one among baby girls in England and Wales,²¹ is very different to them than any other Rebecca. In some ways, she would still be the same person had her parents named her Rowena, but she would have had a very different social experience with her name. Rowena and Rebecca are the two main female characters in Sir Walter Scott's

¹⁹ Office for National Statistics, "Baby Names, England and Wales, 1904-1994."

²⁰ Linda Layne, "Your Child Deserves a Name: Possessive Individualism and the Politics of Memory in Pregnancy Loss," in vom Bruck and Bodenhorn, 48.

²¹ Office for National Statistics, "Baby Names, England and Wales, 1904-1994."

1819 novel *Ivanhoe*,²² but Rowena is very seldom used, and would have marked out a girl born in 1994 as much as a neon green pram with purple polka dots.

Bourdieu's concept of taste helps to connect naming and consumerism, though he does not discuss naming itself. Regarding aesthetic judgments, he writes that "Tastes (i.e., manifested preferences) are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference" between people in a society. This difference is not based solely on personality, but "[b]eing the product of the conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence, it unites all those who are the product of similar conditions while distinguishing them from all others."²³ That is, people are conditioned by upbringing, education, profession, and current social class status to have a certain set of tastes, and those tastes affect a wide range of choices in their life, including both consumer decisions and choice of names for their children. The parents of a Rowena, for instance, would not have purchased a neon green pram—that would have belonged to a little girl named Rain. Rowena's parents would have bought a severely classical pram, while Rebecca's parents likely would have gone with one of the popular models in the baby shop.

Consumerism does not literally entail an approach to naming, but consumerism is part of the modern cultural package, which has a strong tension between encouragement of individual autonomy and choice, and pressure to conform. Marketing for consumer goods exploits both of these factors simultaneously. People are partly guided in their consumer choices by financial considerations, but they also exercise their taste in their purchases. Taste is, as Bourdieu points out, socially constructed. Still, within the range

²² Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 1819, ed. A.N. Wilson (London: Penguin Books, 1986).

²³ Bourdieu, 56.

left open by the constraints of social conditioning, people individualize their taste through constantly using it to make consumer choices, and come to see it as an important part of their identity. Thus, when they make non-consumer decisions such as what to name a baby, personal taste is brought into play.

Until recently, conformity placed fairly tight restrictions on personal taste. For instance, my mother grew up in a religiously conservative family which did not approve of drinking alcohol or dancing. Yet for several years in the late 1960s, all of the women in the family, including my great-grandmother, wore above-the-knee minidresses. That was the style, and longer dresses were almost impossible to find in the stores. Similarly, many people chose popular names for their children. Both consumerism and the ideal of technological progress push the idea that culture must constantly be pursuing novelty, and that is a large factor as to why both fashion in clothes and the pool of names changed fairly rapidly in the 20th century. In the hyper-consumerist society of the 21st century, just as there are more diverse styles of dress, we also have less conformity in names and a larger percentage of parents who ignore the pool and purposefully choose invented or nontraditional names.²⁴

To get from the work of Bourdieu to the theoretical foundation needed for this study, it is necessary to add a historicist dimension. Bourdieu is interested in denying any sort of foundationalist concept of “good taste,” and to do so, he slices and dices the French society of his day into various classes and sub-classes, each having its own distinctive subculture and particular tastes. However, he never discusses how the larger

²⁴ For example, my cousin Joy, an evangelical Christian stay-at-home mother, conservative in most ways, has three young children named Devric, River (a girl), and Kelvin.

culture of France has been shaped by, and will continue to evolve through, history. But tastes in most things, including names, are conditioned by historical factors. Victoria and Alexandra seem today to be elegant, dignified names that would have been perfect for a 19th-century drawing room, yet the Victorians themselves preferred Edith and Ethel. Victoria and Alexandra, as will be discussed in chapter two, were not recognized names at the beginning of the 19th century. These names were introduced when Queen Victoria, named for her German-born mother, came to the throne in 1837, and a generation later her oldest son married Princess Alexandra of Denmark. The Victorians admired their royal family but did not adopt new names from them. Only in the 20th century did these names come to seem English enough to be widely used in Britain.²⁵

The Victorians—at least at mid-century—preferred names that had a strong English heritage, such as the Anglo-Saxon Edith and Ethel. Later on, they broadened their taste in new names, but what remained constant through the end of the century is that literature served as the largest source of new names. It was a common stereotype during the 18th and 19th centuries that mothers would choose romantic names for their daughters out of novels. This idea was most famously represented in Oliver Goldsmith’s 1766 novel *The Vicar of Wakefield*. As one 1870 article puts it, “The British Paterfamilias generally respects the memory of his great-aunt and grandmother, and is willing enough to call [his daughter] Susan or Jane. But the mother is rather like the Vicar of Wakefield’s wife, who read novels when she was laid up and selected the fine

²⁵ Victoria: Leslie Dunkling and William Gosling, *The New American Dictionary of Baby Names* (1983; repr. New York: Signet, 1985), 433-34; Room, 634-35; E. G. Withycombe, *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Names*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 289. Alexandra: Dunkling and Gosling, 11-12; Room, 48-49; Withycombe, 14.

name of the heroine.”²⁶ In actuality, during the Victorian era, the use of literature to spread new names was significantly more complicated. Men’s names as well as women’s were drawn from literary works, and not just from novels but also poetry and history. Evidence is not available to show whether fathers as well as mothers participated in the choice of names out of print culture, but it seems probable that they did.

Literature was the marketplace in which the Victorians “shopped” for new names. (I use the word “literature” in this thesis not to mean merely the works of the literary canon, but in the broader sense of published material.) It was so important because, as Linda K. Hughes explains, the mid- and late 19th century “was the first era of mass media. For the Victorians, that mass medium was print.”²⁷ Steam-powered printing presses were developed in the 1830s and 1840s. By the 1860s, publishing was one of the most thoroughly mechanized industries in Britain. The changes in production, coinciding with reductions in various publishing-related taxes, substantially lowered the price of books, and even more so magazines, newspapers, and the paperbound serial part.

Pioneered by Charles Dickens and used extensively in the mid-19th century, the serial part was an inexpensive installment of a longer work sold on its own. The parts generally appeared monthly, and the book would not be published as a whole until it had been fully released in parts. From about 1740, some light, lowbrow fiction had been run serially in magazines, but it was not until the success of Dickens’ serial parts that people began to take seriously the possibilities of this method of publication. The popularity of

²⁶ “The British Baby,” *London Society: An Illustrated Magazine of Light and Amusing Literature for the Hours of Relaxation*, June 1870, 557, British Periodicals database [accessed October 20, 2014]; Oliver Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, 1766, ed. Arthur Friedman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

²⁷ Linda K. Hughes, *The Cambridge Introduction to Victorian Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1.

serial parts led to the increase of serial publication in magazines and some weekly newspapers. These eventually replaced parts sold on their own, because the reputation of the periodical could ensure a built-in audience for the works it published. These included nonfiction and literary fiction as well as lighter fare, and mid-Victorian readers came to accept what Catherine Delafield describes as “the respectable consumption of fiction and other educational reading material through reading in parts.”²⁸ Poetry, also, was often printed in newspapers and magazines—not specialized literary magazines, but general-interest publications.²⁹

For example, *Cornhill Magazine* was a prominent periodical which began its long run in January 1860 with sales of close to 100,000, though by 1865, circulation was down to about 30,000 copies per issue.³⁰ *Cornhill*'s first volume, comprising the six issues from January through June 1860, includes in serialized form the first eighteen chapters of the novel *Framley Parsonage*, by Anthony Trollope; a short, minor novel by William Makepeace Thackeray titled *Lovel the Widower*, and a serious work on biology, George Henry Lewes' *Studies in Animal Life*. Poetry published in these first issues includes “Tithonus,” by Alfred Tennyson.³¹ Much of the work published in *Cornhill* and other

²⁸ Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*, 2nd ed. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 277-80, 330-47, 356-63; Catherine Delafield, *Serialization and the Novel in Mid-Victorian Magazines* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015), 5-6; K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886*, *The New Oxford History of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 383-84, 388; Hughes, 5-6.

²⁹ Hughes, 91. Hughes clarifies, “Book publication always remained the goal of Victorian poetry [because periodicals] were ephemera profoundly at odds with poetic aspirations toward lasting fame. . . . [M]any poems first found their publics, however, in the pages of periodicals that circulated more widely than books of verse” (91).

³⁰ Altick, 359; Hoppen, 384; Hughes, 1. The statements for the first circulation of *Cornhill* vary; Altick cites 120,000 copies sold, Hoppen 100,000, and Hughes “approaching 100,000” (Altick, 359; Hoppen, 384; Hughes, 1). Hughes' figure is the most recent.

³¹ “Contents of Volume I,” *The Cornhill Magazine*, Vol. 1, January-June 1860, v-vi, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=w2cJAAAAQAAJ&pg> [accessed November 10 - December 14, 2015];

periodicals was only of ephemeral quality, but Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, and sixteen of the sonnets from Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *House of Life* all first reached the reading public through magazines.³²

Many Victorians read books as such, too. In the early 1850s, two developments helped bring the cost of regular book reading down into the financial reach of much of the middle class, certainly far enough down to make reading a light to moderate expense for the middle class readers who will be described in chapter one as the readers of the *London Times*. In 1852, W. H. Smith and Son opened the first in what became a nationwide chain of bookstalls in railway stations, selling inexpensive paperback books for reading on train journeys. The same year saw the beginning of Mudie's Select Library in London. This was the first subscription library to set its rates low enough that middle-class patrons all across the country could afford to join. Mudie's was able to do this not only because the price of books had dropped somewhat, but also due to the even larger decrease in the cost of transporting books made possible by the new railways.³³

Although literacy rates lagged among the working class until late in the century, most of the middle class had enough education to be able to read much of what was available in the magazines or Mudie's Library selections. Middle-class Victorians also read collectively. Often this took place at home, in the family circle, but it might also occur among friends or other groups. Literature was, therefore, not a specialized hobby

Phil Stephensen-Payne, "The Cornhill Magazine v1, #1-v3, #15," The FictionMags Index, <http://www.philsp.com/homeville/FMI/t/t1429.htm> [accessed November 11 - December 14, 2015].

³² Altick, 360-64; Delafield, 7-8; Hughes, 82, 92; Samuel Lipman, "Culture and Anarchy: A Publishing History," in *Culture and Anarchy*, by Matthew Arnold, 1869, ed. Samuel Lipman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), xv.

³³ Altick, 294-96, 301-02; Kate Flint, "The Victorian Novel and Its Readers," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. Deirdre David, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 16-18; Hughes, 5-6.

but a widespread pastime. The broad array of 19th-century literature formed an ideal marketplace from which the upper middle classes could choose new names. It was a marketplace that was simultaneously accessible and elite, since the great thinkers of the day published in the magazines and saw their books added to the Mudie's list along with more ephemeral authors. When middle-class people read books and discussed them, they were participating in a key activity in Victorian culture. As Kate Flint puts it, "becoming excited about these fictions [and other literary works] was a means of asserting one's claim to be modern, to be in the know."³⁴ Therefore, choosing a name from popular literature was a powerful means of displaying what Bourdieu calls cultural capital; that is, showing that one has the cultural knowledge and experiences that one ought to have to validate one's class status.³⁵ However, the upper middle classes were not merely showing off their cultural capital, but making use of it to take over a prerogative of developing new names that had previously been monopolized by royalty and the church.

In this thesis, I examine the names that the Victorian upper middle classes made fashionable and the cultural capital from which they selected these names. The first chapter will introduce the methodology of my study of names from the London *Times*. It will also provide the details about the *Times* and its readership needed to explain how I can conclude that the names from this newspaper constitute a survey of the British upper middle classes. Data will be presented comparing the *Times* rankings of names with popularity lists that cover the entire population of England and Wales, to demonstrate that the trends created by the upper middle classes were later adopted by the lower middle and

³⁴ Flint, 28.

³⁵ Bourdieu, 1-2, 11-12; Flint, 28.

working classes. Finally, chapter one will situate this study within the larger debate on when and how the middle class “rose.” In chapter two, I will trace the history of English naming prior to 1840 through an analysis of the names popular for babies born between 1825 and 1840, many of which had been established names in England for centuries. I will examine the influences of religion and royalty that were so strong in earlier English naming history, and explain when and why they came to an effective end.

Chapter three will cover the medieval revival, the major cultural influence on new names for much of the century. The medieval, in its early years called Gothic, revival began in the mid-18th century as a relatively small-scale rebellion against neoclassicism. Its attractions increased after the unprecedented changes launched by the French and Industrial Revolution. During the early and mid-1800s, medievalism played a key role in using the past to channel both conservative and romantic anxieties regarding these changes. The Victorian upper middle classes were not, for the most part, committed revivalists, but they were happy to make use of the movement for cultural and artistic motifs. Not only was it a source of stability and assurance of Englishness, but it was also more accessible to the middle classes than was neoclassicism, which was ultimately dependent on the study of Greek and Latin literature. By contrast, one had only to read Sir Walter Scott and a few other novels and poems, and know a little bit about neo-Gothic architecture, to be reasonably *au courant* about the medieval revival.

The specific names of the medieval revival will be covered in chapter four. Lists will be provided of all the medievalist names that were trending during the years from 1825 to 1900. This chapter also contains more detailed case studies on nine of the more

popular or otherwise significant names. I will provide history of where these names came from originally and what influences reintroduced them to upper middle class parents. Particular attention will be paid to tracing the names in 19th-century literary sources. However, not all of the important names of the Victorian era were medievalist. In chapter five, I will cover the Celtic revival and a few other minor trends, and will briefly look at the continued use, especially for men, of the classic names that had been so important before 1840.

This thesis will contain much specific information about names. However, the larger historical argument is that the change in naming patterns in Victorian Britain is not an isolated trend, but rather shows a strong increase in middle-class confidence. For the first time, the upper middle classes were taking cultural authority into their own hands and making their own choices of new names for their children. In some ways, the middle classes are always rising but being pushed back down by the elites. But the cultural power to sanction new names is, at least for the foreseeable future, decisively passed out of elite hands. The upper middle classes did not keep hold of that power, which in the 20th century passed to the masses. But they were the first to seize it from royalty and the church, and they were the ones who began to change Britain's naming pool from conservative to a modern, circulating form. Through the entirety of the study, the emphasis will be to draw out how popular Victorian naming practices show the increasing dynamism of the upper middle classes, which becomes much more evident once we learn about their Ediths and Ethels (and Arthurs and Harolds) in place of the Victorias and Alexandras we might imagine for them.

CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY AND SITUATION OF THE ARGUMENT WITHIN THE PROBLEM OF “THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS”

Most research in cultural and social history today is primarily qualitative. For example, Judith Flanders’ 2003 *Inside the Victorian Home* is based on evidence from letters and diaries of the 19th century, as well as periodical articles and books from that era.¹ However, for the popularity of names, it would be a mistake to rely on a small sample of names, which might well be unrepresentative. Fortunately, there are sources from which one can gather names from a wide cross-section of people and put together a much more robust set of quantitative data. For this thesis, I have collected 10,000 men’s and 10,000 women’s names from marriage announcements in the *London Times*. These announcements are not representative of British society as a whole, but only of the people, mostly from the upper middle classes, who could afford to subscribe to the *Times* and to pay to announce their marriages. Singling out the popular names from this group and comparing them to name rankings taken from the population of England and Wales as a whole shows that the upper middle classes were an important influence on name fashions for everyone else. Placed with the larger context of the debate on “the rise of the middle class,” this study supports an argument that the upper middle classes were culturally ascendant during the Victorian era.

¹ Flanders, xiii-xxvi, 4, 14, 451-62.

The names for this study were collected from marriage announcements and not birth announcements because, as mentioned in the introduction, birth announcements in the *Times* did not include the name of the child until well into the 20th century. Marriage announcements almost always included the first as well as last names of both the bride and groom. The sampled names are separated into five groups or collecting periods, representing year ranges of births: 1825-1840, 1840-1855, 1855-1870, 1870-1885, and 1885-1900. (The ending year of each period is the beginning year of the next on purpose; these are general ranges rather than precise calculations.) Five is enough divisions to show a clear movement over the course of the century, without unduly stretching the limits of how precise the conclusions from the data can really be, given the challenge of converting marriage years into birth years.

The following key terms are used in this thesis to discuss the *Times* data:

1. *Popular* names are those which receive a 2.0 percent share or higher in a particular collecting period (forty or more instances of the name in the list for the period).
 2. *Well-used* names are those which have a share of between 0.5 and 1.9 percent (ten to thirty-nine instances) in a collecting period.
 3. The term *wide use* will be used to cover both categories of *popular* and *well used*, when it is helpful to have a joint term comprising both. A name in *light use* in a collecting period is one which has between one and nine instances.
 4. *Trending* names are those which have a percentage share increase of at least 0.5 percent (a minimum of ten additional instances) from one collecting period to the next.
- The benefit of separating out trending names from popular ones is that rising fashions can

be seen more clearly. Many parents in the Victorian era continued to name their children quite conservatively, using the older names. The statistic of trending names shows which were being used in large numbers because they were newly fashionable, versus the ones whose total numbers were even higher, but only because they were established classics. Also, the trending list points out names which only had a moderate usage, but are significant because they were rising quickly and, often, formed part of a larger trend. Further details of the data collection for this study, including the explanation of how marriage years are connected to probable periods of birth, are given in appendix A.

Who were these brides and grooms who were announcing their marriages in the *Times*? In order to answer this question, background on the newspaper is needed. The London *Times*, initially called the *Daily Universal Register*, was launched in January 1785. The paper first came to prominence during the Wars of the French Revolution for its strong foreign reporting. After the defeat of Napoleon, the *Times* turned its attention to domestic politics, becoming known for a pro-reform political stance.² During the Crimean War (1853-1856), the newspaper used both its war reporting expertise and its political advocacy, along with the newly invented telegraph, to dominate British journalism. It was so indispensable that it was read daily not only by Lord Raglan, the British commander-in-chief, but also by his Russian counterpart.³ In 1854, the year in which the *Times* began consistently running a list of Births, Marriages, and Deaths on its front page, the newspaper was at a high point in its influence. There were five other daily papers in London, but the *Times* dwarfed the rest, with an average circulation of over

² Oliver Woods and James Bishop, *The Story of the Times: Bicentenary Edition, 1785-1985* (London: Michael Joseph, 1985), 10, 12-15, 40, 49.

³ Woods and Bishop, 82-83.

58,000—three times that of the other five papers taken together. Some critics characterized the *Times* as holding a monopoly position in the British press.⁴

The next year, 1855, the British government abolished the last of its stamp duties on newspapers. Within a few years, Britain had a flourishing group of newspapers that only cost 1*d* (one penny) per issue. The *Times*, which had previously sold for 5*d*, lowered its price to 4*d*, then to 3*d* in 1861 after the government ended a paper tax. The *Times* lost its huge predominance in circulation, but it retained a high reputation for quality and continued to attract many readers well off enough not to care if they paid £3 18*s* for a year's worth of the *Times* (six days a week) or £1 6*s* for the same number of penny newspapers.⁵ These readers were unlikely to have come from the lowest ranks of the middle class, clerks making perhaps £100 a year. In the better off sections of the middle class, men making £300 or more might afford the extra expense.⁶ Oliver Woods and James Bishop state, "The paper became established as a high-quality product read by an educated elite. The social structure of Britain proved well able to provide a commercial basis for such a paper for some decades."⁷ In the 1890s and early 1900s, the *Times* faced greater upheaval, with serious financial problems and leadership turnovers. However, the marriage announcements remain consistent in their number and in the types of people placing them. Apparently the upper middle classes continued to announce their

⁴ Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 27; Woods and Bishop, 86.

⁵ Woods and Bishop, 89-90, 96-97. In the currency of the Victorian era, 12*d* made up a shilling, and 20*s* (or 240*d*) constituted one pound (1 £) (Daniel Pool, *What Jane Austen Ate and Charles Dickens Knew* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993], 20).

⁶ Liza Picard, *Victorian London: The Life of a City, 1840-1870* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2005), 95. Lucy Brown notes that the penny newspapers themselves were not as great a bargain as has sometimes been claimed, since the average laborer made only about 21*s* per week (31). A penny newspaper, six days a week, would have required the expenditure of almost 2.5 percent of the laborer's pay.

⁷ Woods and Bishop, 97.

marriage in the *Times* even though some had stopped subscribing. The prestige and readership of the paper picked back up after its 1908 purchase by newspaper magnate Alfred Harmsworth, Lord Northcliffe, and had largely recovered by World War I.⁸

The external evidence, then, shows that the *Times* readers were, for the most part, members of England's *haute bourgeoisie*. Internal evidence from the marriage announcements supports this conclusion. The occupation of the groom, or of the fathers of the groom and/or bride, is sometimes included in the announcement, especially if that occupation gives its holder a special title. Army or navy officers or clergymen, for example, are all common in the announcements. These were all three professions of the middle and upper classes in Victorian times.⁹ Also, the name of the groom or the fathers sometimes include the suffix of "Esq." (Esquire), a self-adopted formula indicating a claim of membership in the upper middle class.¹⁰ Places of residence are often listed, and sometimes include a house that had a name rather than an address. These named houses might be large or small landed estates, or merely villas, but owners who referred to their domicile by a name instead of an address were implying a class status for their house, and by extension themselves, above and beyond that of a basic residence.¹¹

A sample of thirty-seven *Times* marriage announcements from six days in May 1890 shows three grooms, four fathers of the groom, eight fathers of the bride, and one predeceased husband of the bride named with the "Esq." suffix. One father of the groom and four fathers of the bride lived in named houses. Regarding professions, the sample

⁸ Woods and Bishop, 184-93, 198-203, 210-13. A key part of Northcliffe's turn-around was that he finally dropped the price of the paper to 1d (210-11).

⁹ Picard, 99; Pool, 107-11, 115-19.

¹⁰ Pool, 44. The term "esquire" in the Middle Ages meant a young man in training to become a knight. By the 1800s, the term had become "merely a title of indeterminate respectability" (44).

¹¹ Pool, 194-96.

contained three grooms, two fathers of the groom, and two fathers of the bride who were army officers, and one groom and one father of the bride who were naval officers.

Additionally, one groom was a member of the Bengal Staff Corps and another of the Madras Staff Corps, both of India. One father of the groom was an M.P. in Australia, while another couple featured a groom whose father had been a judge in British Guiana, while the bride's father had been a penal superintendent supervisor in the same colony.¹²

The clergy were represented by one groom, two fathers of the bride, and three fathers of the groom. There were also a number of medical men. Three grooms and one father of the bride were M.D.-holding physicians. One groom's and one bride's father were Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons (F.R.C.S.), while both fathers of one couple were Members of the R.C.S. One father of the bride was a non-R.C.S. surgeon.¹³ Although this sample contained no barristers, one groom, one groom's father, and one bride's father were all solicitors. One groom was "one of H.M. [Her Majesty's] Inspectors of Factories," while the predeceased husband of a widowed bride had been "of H.M. Civil Service." One groom and the father of his bride were both listed as "Dr.," which could have been a medical, clerical, or scholarly title. Census information reveals that this groom was a "Professor of Oriental Literature,"¹⁴ while his bride's late father had been the principal of a college (secondary school) in Kent.¹⁵ One groom was

¹² Marriage announcements, London *Times*, May 12, 1890, 1; May 13, 1890, 1; May 14, 1890, 1; May, 15 1890; May 16, 1890, 1; microfilm. These announcements are also referenced in the following paragraphs.

¹³ See Picard, 184; Pool, 250-51.

¹⁴ "Hartwig Hirschfield in the 1891 England Census," Ancestry.co.uk, http://interactive.ancestry.co.uk/6598/KENRG12_731_7330351?pid=25439553&backurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.co.uk%2f%2f%2fcgi-n%2f%2fse.dll%3fdb%3duki1891%26indiv%3dtry%26h%3d25439553&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true [accessed December 17-18, 2015]. Membership required to access Ancestry.co.uk sources.

¹⁵ "Lewis Loewe in the 1881 England Census," Ancestry.co.uk, http://interactive.ancestry.co.uk/7572/KENRG11_991_994-0060?pid=8496184&backurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.co.uk%2f%2f%2fcgi-

identified as “Second Officer P. and O.S.N. Company’s S.S. Massilia,” (a commercial ship)¹⁶ while a father of the groom was stated to be a “Merchant.” Finally, one groom’s father bore the suffix “M.I.C.E.,” for Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers.¹⁷

Some *Times* brides and grooms did come from families belonging to the traditional landed upper class. Two fathers of the bride bore the suffix “J.P.” for justice of the peace, or magistrate, an office in local government which was historically the preserve of the gentry class, held either by landowners or clergymen. One bride’s father was a “D.L.” or Deputy Lieutenant, an assistant to the county Lord Lieutenant.¹⁸ Two fathers of the bride had the title of “Sir,” which could indicate either knighthood (non-hereditary) or baronetcy (hereditary). Baronets were, however, entitled to write “Baronet” or “Bart.” after their names, so both of these were likely knights. One was the Deputy Lieutenant noted above, while the other was a K.C.M.G., or Knight Commander of the Grand Cross, an honor awarded for service to the British Empire.¹⁹

bin%2fsse.dll%3fdb%3duki1881%26indiv%3dtry%6h%3d8496184&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true [accessed December 17-18, 2015].

¹⁶ The P. and O.S.N. Company was the Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company (“Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company / P&O Line,” The Ships List, <http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/lines/pando.shtml> [accessed March 8, 2016].

¹⁷ Institute of Civil Engineers (ICE), “Our History,” ICE website, <https://www.ice.org.uk/about-us/our-history> [accessed December 18, 2015].

¹⁸ Until the passage of the 1888 Local Government Act, which instituted county councils, the justices of the peace were the primary officers of local government, especially in rural areas. Until 1908, there was a property qualification to be named as a justice of the peace. The Lord Lieutenant was, and is, the monarch’s personal representative in each county, though the actual responsibilities of the job had already decreased significantly by 1800 and were further reduced by various reforms of the 19th century.

Nevertheless, during the 19th century, the position of Lord Lieutenant was a high honor reserved in each county for one of its most important landed magnates (Department for Constitutional Affairs, “Lord-Lieutenants,” DCA website, material saved for future reference, on January 17, 2009, by The National Archives, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.dca.gov.uk/constitution/lordsl.htm> [accessed December 18, 2015]; Pool, 168-69; G. R. Searle, *A New England? Peace and War 1886-1918*, The New Oxford History of England [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004], 124-26, 408).

¹⁹ The Royal Household, “Order of St. Michael and St. George,” The Official Website of the British Monarchy, <http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/Honours/OrderofStMichaelandStGeorge.aspx> [accessed December 18, 2015].

One bride and one groom, in different marriages, belonged to the titled British aristocracy. Angela Mary Alice Ryder was the daughter of the Hon. Henry Ryder, a younger son of Dudley Ryder, 2nd Earl of Harrowby. Her uncle Dudley Ryder, 3rd Earl of Harrowby, was Lord Privy Seal in the Marquess of Salisbury's Cabinet in 1885-1886.²⁰ The Hon. Amyas S. Northcote was the youngest son of the 1st Earl of Iddesleigh. Lord Iddesleigh, or Sir Stafford Northcote until he received his peerage in 1885, was an even more prominent Conservative politician. In 1874-1880, he was Chancellor of the Exchequer under Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli. After Disraeli accepted an earldom in August 1876 and moved to the House of Lords, Northcote became Leader of the House of Commons for the rest of the administration.²¹ Angela Ryder and Amyas Northcote both clearly belonged to elite families, not the upper middle classes even in the broadest definition of that term. However, two aristocrats per week were not the norm in the *Times* marriages; checking the month of May 1890 as a whole, there were only two others, or four out of 231 announcements for the month.²² It must be acknowledged that the names of people born into elite families do form a small part of the total names collected for the study, but it can be assumed that these names do not unduly prejudice

²⁰ Hoppen, 723; Darryl Lundy, "Dudley Ryder, 2nd Earl of Harrowby," *The Peerage*, <http://www.thepeerage.com/p1097.htm#i10969>; "Dudley Francis Stuart Ryder, 3rd Earl of Harrowby," *The Peerage*, <http://www.thepeerage.com/p1349.htm#i13490>; "Henry Ryder, 4th Earl of Harrowby," *The Peerage*, <http://www.thepeerage.com/p1330.htm#i13294>; "Lady Angela Mary Alice Ryder," *The Peerage*, <http://www.thepeerage.com/p1858.htm#i18574> [all pages accessed December 18-19, 2015]. Angela's uncle, the 3rd Earl, died childless in 1900, making her father Henry the 4th Earl, and thus making Angela, married to Colin Campbell, Lady Angela Campbell (not Ryder). Her husband, a successful businessman, was later created 1st Baron Colgrain, though after his wife's death ("Colin Frederick Campbell, 1st Baron Colgrain," *The Peerage*, <http://www.thepeerage.com/p4344.htm#i43440> [accessed December 18-19, 2015]).

²¹ Hoppen, 720-23; Lundy, "Hon. Amyas Stafford Northcote," *The Peerage*, <http://thepeerage.com/p33030.htm#i330300>; "Stafford Henry Northcote, 1st Earl of Iddesleigh," *The Peerage* <http://thepeerage.com/p7575.htm#i75742> [both pages accessed December 19, 2015]; Searle, 153, 852-53.

²² One was groom Lord Sempill of Scotland (*Times*, May 2, 1890, 1); the other was groom the Hon. Charles Claude Bertie, son of the Earl of Abingdon (*Times*, May 8, 1890, 1).

the sample.²³ There is no external evidence that the Victorians were following aristocratic leads in naming; for instance, there is no trend for the name Amyas.

As discussed earlier, only those making above £300 a year would have been well off enough to afford regular *Times* reading, and likely, few who could not afford to purchase the paper sought to advertise their marriages in it. At a minimum, their parents are likely to have been in the £300-plus income range, if perhaps not younger newlyweds with the husband still in the earlier stages of his career. A large number of people who never reached earnings of £300 would have considered themselves middle class because they worked in non-manual jobs such as clerkships. However, as K. Theodore Hoppen points out, the lower part of the middle class still had much in common with the upper ranks of the working class, and, moreover, possessed “a nagging sense of insecurity and comparative marginality” that separated them from members of the middle class with higher incomes, more financial stability, and greater career prestige.²⁴ Dudley Baxter’s 1867 class analysis of England, based on the 1861 census, shows 9.7 million people making under £300 a year, and only 200,000 earning above that amount. In one sense, these 200,000 who might conceivably announce their own or their children’s marriage in the *Times* constituted a higher class segment within British society.²⁵

²³ The sample of 37 announcements referenced above also contains two foreign aristocrats: a German baron (*Times*, May 13, 1890, 1), and a Maltese baroness (*Times*, May 17, 1890, 1; The family of D’Amico, Barons of Djar il-Binet and Buqana, Maltagenealogy, <http://www.maltagenealogy.com/libro%20d'Oro/djarilbniet1.html> [accessed December 17-19, 2015]). However, not only are non-British aristocrats significantly rarer in the study as a whole than this small sample implies, but also, as I was collecting the original name lists, I was attempting to exclude to the extent possible anyone from a different country without a British family background. Anyone with a foreign title was automatically omitted from the lists.

²⁴ Hoppen, 46; Picard, 95. For example, in E. M. Forster’s 1910 *Howards End*, just post-Victorian, much of the plot turns on the wide gulf between the well-to-do Schlegel sisters, near the top of the middle class, and the intellectually striving but poor Leonard Bast, a clerk (E.M. Forster, *Howards End*, 1910, ed. Paul B. Armstrong [London: Norton, 1998]).

²⁵ Picard, 95.

Within this “higher class,” there were a number of subdivisions, some based on income and some not. Inheritance or purchase of a landed estate was necessary for full membership in the upper class. Younger sons who grew up on, but did not inherit, an estate might also be considered upper class if they had the money to move in wealthy social circles. Another division was between those eligible to be presented to the queen at court, and those barred from this honor. Anyone in the aristocracy or landed gentry could be presented, unless they had fallen into personal disgrace. But for career men and their wives, there were distinctions based on the husband’s profession. Clergymen, navy and army officers, physicians, bankers, and barristers (lawyers who argued cases in court) were eligible, with their wives, for presentation. Medical general practitioners lacking the physician’s university degree, solicitors (lawyers who worked directly with clients), businessmen, and merchants were not. The general taboo was against being “in trade.” For instance, solicitors took fees from their clients, which made them lower than barristers, who were hired and paid by the solicitors rather than by the clients directly.²⁶

Yet, for the purposes of this study, it is justifiable to set aside these differences and to consider the *Times* brides and grooms and their families as belonging to a broadly coherent class grouping. Even though there were strong social distinctions between businessmen and the landed gentry, the large mass of professionals fell in between the two groups and had things in common with both—they were middle class in many ways, but were generally considered to be gentlemen.²⁷ George Eliot’s novel *Middlemarch* provides an excellent example of interconnections among these three groups. The novel

²⁶ Hoppen, 44; Pool, 49, 71, 131.

²⁷ Hoppen, 40, 46.

has a complex mix of plotlines among the businessmen and their families of Middlemarch town and the gentry of the surrounding villages. Tertius Lydgate, a physician, marries Rosamond Vincy, a manufacturer's daughter. Lydgate and the clergy in the novel bring the plotlines together by serving as connecting characters who have relationships with both the town families and the gentry.²⁸

All three of these groups shared common intellectual and cultural references. Men from not only the British elite but also the gentry and many professional and business families had received a classical education based on Latin and Greek literature. Although some got this education from private tutors, many spent time in the prestigious "public" boarding schools. As Michael Brander explains, these schools accepted not only boys from aristocratic and gentry families, but also "the sons of stockbrokers and other city business men, of brewers and industrial magnates, of lawyers and doctors, even of wealthy tradesmen."²⁹ However, many middle class parents either could not afford to give their sons a classical education, or chose not to because it was impractical for a young man headed to the business world. Women, regardless of class, were not supposed to learn Latin and Greek, which were viewed as unfeminine. Most did not do so.

By contrast, the English-language reading culture described in the introduction was accessible to women as well as men, and the middle as well as the upper classes. Rose Ball, later to become the poet Rosamund Marriott Watson, grew up in the 1860s and 1870s reading the poems of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Christina Rossetti, Algernon Charles Swinburne, and William Morris. These works came from what Marriott Watson

²⁸ George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, 1872, Ed. Bert G. Hornback, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton: 2000).

²⁹ Michael Brander, *The Victorian Gentleman* (London: Gordon Cremonisi, 1975), 43.

later described as the “large and well chosen library” of her father Benjamin, a moderately successful accountant.³⁰ Not all accountants had Benjamin Ball’s advanced literary tastes, but then neither did all barristers or all well-off landowners. Victorian literature offered a wide selection for various tastes, and the works covered in chapters three through five were read by a mix of people in the business, professional, and gentry segments of the upper middle classes.

Besides including a wide array of people from the upper middle classes, the *Times* readers who submitted marriage notices also came from a broad range of locales. Of course many were from London, but many others lived or had lived in places all over Britain, the British Empire, and the world. The thirty-seven sampled announcements contained brides and grooms from various parts of London and Greater London; thirteen additional English counties; Marionethshire, Wales; Dumfriesshire, Scotland; counties Antrim, Cork, and Mayo in Ireland; Malta; Egypt; Durban and Johannesburg in modern-day South Africa; Bengal, Madras, and the Punjab region in India; Adelaide and Victoria in Australia; British Guiana; New York and Kentucky in the United States; and Germany. Some of these marriages involved one British and one foreign spouse, but many others were of British people abroad. By their choice of a *Times* marriage listing, people from outside England signaled that they were not merely interested in Welsh or South African or Australian society, but considered themselves to be also British. The announcements in the *Times* are from a broad sample of British people around the world who not only had the money to pay for their marriage notice but also felt that they had enough status

³⁰ Linda K. Hughes, *Graham R.: Rosamund Marriott Watson, Woman of Letters* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), 6, 9, 12. Quotation comes from a letter written by Watson in 1905 (12).

that it was worthwhile for them to announce their marriage in a fashionable, widely read journal. These were, in fact, the self-selected fashionable classes.

But how can a case be made that these were also the classes primarily influencing changes in British baby naming? Until recently, the only large-scale inquiry into overall Victorian name popularity was a study by C.V. Appleton of the first names of babies born with the last name of Smith. Some of the data from this study is included in Leslie Dunkling's *The Guinness Book of Names* (first edition 1974).³¹ However, in 2005, a group called the Free BMD Project completed a full transcription of the Civil Registration index records for births, marriages, and deaths in England and Wales from 1837 to 1901.³² Eleanor Nickerson has been working since 2012 to use the Free BMD data to compile rankings for the top two hundred men's and women's names in England and Wales for the beginning year of each decade of the Victorian era, starting with 1900. She has currently completed five lists for 1860 through 1900.³³ Comparisons of the data from the *Times* study with that of Nickerson's lists show that the popularity information from the overall England and Wales rankings does, to a great extent, follow at a few years' distance the trends of the *Times* brides and grooms.

³¹ Appleton compiled his data from the Civil Registration indices. He ranked all of the first names of people born with the surname Smith, beginning with the year of 1838 and proceeding at intervals of about 15 years through 1971. Appleton never published his study, but made it available to Dunkling, who includes lists of the top 50 men's and women's names for 1850, 1875, and 1900, as well as two earlier lists from 1700 and 1800, and several for the 20th century (Chevalier, 16-17; Leslie Dunkling, *The Guinness Book of Names*, 7th ed. [Enfield, UK: Guinness, 1995], 47-48, 51-52). Dunkling does not state his source for the 19th-century name charts in the 1995 edition of his book, but Chevalier provides information that Dunkling included in the first edition of 1974.

³² The Trustees of Free UK Genealogy, "Frequently Asked Questions," Free BMD Project. <http://www.freebmd.org.uk/FAQ.html> [accessed March 31 - December 22, 2015].

³³ Eleanor Nickerson, "Name Data: Links to Popularity Ratings," British Baby Names: Trends, Styles, and Quirks, <http://www.britishbabynames.com/blog/links-to-name-data.html> [accessed March 31 - December 22, 2015]. This URL is for a page giving access to all five of Nickerson's lists: 1860 (published April 8, 2015), 1870 (published April 24, 2014), 1880 (April 12, 2013), 1890 (September 14, 2012), and 1900 (August 21, 2012).

To demonstrate that this is the case, I compared the studies in two different ways, one looking at a small group of specific names and how they ranked at different times in both sets of lists, and the other examining the rising names in each of the studies. For the first of these evaluations, I put together line graphs for the twelve names whose stories will be told in chapters four and five: Emma, Alice, Edith, Ethel, Gladys, and Dorothy for women; and Alfred, Arthur, Walter, Harold, Cyril, and Alan for men. The line graphs used three data points from the *Times* popularity rankings (1855-1870, named as “1870”; 1870-1885, named as “1880”; and 1885-1900, named as “1900”) compared to six data points from the overall popularity rankings (1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900 from Nickerson’s lists; and 1904 and 1914 from data reposted by Nickerson, originally released by Britain’s Office for National Statistics).³⁴

These graphs show a substantial tracking effect in which overall popularity rankings tended to follow the movements of the *Times* data. This effect is best examined by considering the names in order of when they peaked in usage in the *Times* study. (The fifteen graphs are included in appendix B.) Emma and Alfred were names that were past

³⁴ Nickerson, “Top 200 Most Popular Names in England and Wales in 1860,” April 8, 2015, <http://www.britishbabynames.com/blog/2015/04/top-200-most-popular-names-in-england-and-wales-in-1860.html>; “Top 200 Most Popular Names in England and Wales in 1870,” April 24, 2014, <http://www.britishbabynames.com/blog/2014/04/top-200-most-popular-names-in-england-and-wales-in-1870.html>; “Top 200 Most Popular Names in England and Wales in 1880,” April 12, 2013, <http://www.britishbabynames.com/blog/2013/04/top-200-most-popular-names-in-england-and-wales-in-1880.html>; “Top 200 Most Popular Names in England and Wales in 1900,” August 21, 2012, <http://www.britishbabynames.com/blog/2012/08/top-200-most-popular-names-in-england-and-wales-1900.html>; “The Top 100 Names in England and Wales 1904,” June 19, 2011, <http://www.britishbabynames.com/blog/2011/06/1904-to-2009.html>; “The Top 100 Names in England and Wales 1904,” June 20, 2011, <http://www.britishbabynames.com/blog/2011/06/1914-to-2009.html> [pages accessed March 31, 2015 - March 10, 2016]. See also Office for National Statistics. A lack of data point for a particular year indicates that the popularity for that year is unknown. For the overall popularity rankings, it means that the name was not in the top 200. For the *Times* rankings, it means that the name did not have at least five instances in the stated period, as I judged that popularity rankings were unreliable below that point.

their height of popularity in the *Times* lists by 1870. Their popularity for 1860 through 1900 was higher overall than in the *Times* rankings, with Emma's sharp decline in the *Times* usage being followed over time by a more gradual decline in the overall numbers. Alfred held relatively steady in both sets of data. Alice was at its peak in 1870 for the *Times* study, and declined consistently thereafter. The overall rankings show Alice rising between 1860 and 1880, but then beginning to fall. Edith, Ethel, Arthur, and Walter reached their high point among future *Times* brides and grooms born around 1880, with Edith and Ethel declining slightly by 1900, Arthur keeping the same rank, and Walter falling substantially. Edith, Ethel, and Arthur each saw their overall popularity rise between 1860 and 1880 and then peak in either 1900 or 1904 (at similar rankings to their *Times* high point of 1880), before beginning to decline by 1914. Walter rose slightly to its overall maximum in 1870 and 1880 (with the same ranking both years), several places below its *Times* high ranking, and declined consistently thereafter.

The remaining five names were all at their high point in the *Times* study in 1900 (1885-1900). It is, of course, impossible to anticipate how popular they would have been among *Times*-reading parents continuing into the 20th century. Gladys and Dorothy were both in the *Times* top ten in that final period. Overall, Gladys peaked in 1904 and 1914 (with the same ranking both years), and Dorothy in 1914. The high points for both Dorothy and Gladys were a few places lower overall than in their 1900 *Times* rankings, but they still rose substantially from 1860 on, and became popular first among the parents of the *Times* couples before the population as a whole. Harold, Cyril, and Alan were all below tenth place but in the top twenty-five for the *Times* study in 1900. Harold and

Cyril peaked in the overall rankings in 1904, slightly below their 1890 *Times* numbers. Alan did not peak until 1944 and 1954 (tied), but eventually reached the overall top ten, well above its 1900 *Times* ranking.³⁵ Again, all three names rose first among the *Times* readers, before later increasing substantially in the general population.

The other test of comparison between the *Times* and the overall data compiled by Nickerson is to look at what were the new names rising on the overall lists, and whether these names also appear in the *Times* data, ideally (for this argument) trending there a few years before they show their rise in overall popularity. To measure the rankings in this way, I have compiled lists showing which names were newly entered to the top twenty-five in the Nickerson lists for 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1900. For each name, I show whether it had been trending in the *Times* list (with an increase of at least ten instances) during a collecting period concluded no later than that year, or up to fifteen years earlier. That is, the 1870 Nickerson list is compared to the 1840-1855 and 1855-1870 *Times* lists, 1880 to 1855-1870, 1890 to 1870-1885, and 1900 to 1870-1885 and 1885-1900.

The results show that the *Times*-reading classes had a strong influence on overall women's names. The impact was smaller on men's names, but these were considerably more conservative. Victorian Britain was a very patriarchal society, and very likely more parents felt with sons than with daughters that it was still important to give names that carried forward the traditions of the past. There was some still change with overall male names, and where new names entered, they did show influence from the upper middle classes. The full lists are provided in Appendix B. The summary is as follows, showing

³⁵ The information for years after 1914 – which is not included in the line graphs – comes from the Office for National Statistics source.

for each decade the number of names newly entered into the top twenty, and how many of these new entries had been previously trending among the *Times* brides and grooms.³⁶

Table 1. Names Previously Trending out of Those Newly Entered into the Top Twenty

Gender	1870 (1840-1855 and 1855-1870)	1880 (1855-1870)	1890 (1870-1885)	1900 (1870-1885 and 1885-1900)
Women	4 out of 4	2 out of 2	6 out of 9	5 out of 6
Men	1 out of 2	0 out of 1	1 out of 1	1 out of 2

To continue from the introduction the analogy of choosing names as a type of shopping, the upper middle classes were often the early adopters, and their taste was influential in shaping the marketplace for everyone else.

In order to show the broader historical implications of these changes in naming, the arguments being made here about names need to be placed in the context of the larger debate over when the middle class arose. The term “middle class” was coined in the late 18th century.³⁷ Early Victorian intellectuals developed the concept that modernity had

³⁶ The results are even stronger if one includes near-trending names from the *Times* with at least a 0.4 percent increase (at least eight additional instances). In that case, the women’s names for 1900 change from five out of six to six out of six, the men’s names for 1880 change from zero out of one to one out of one, and the men’s names for 1900 change from one out of two to two out of two. There are then only three women’s names (Lily, Nellie, and Rose, all from 1890) and one men’s name (Fred, from 1870) that enter the overall top twenty-five without having first been trending or near-trending in the *Times* lists.

³⁷ Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society, and Family Life in London, 1660-1730* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 3; Simon Gunn and Rachel Bell, *Middle Classes: Their Rise and Sprawl* (London: Cassell, 2002), 14-15; Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), 26.

emerged just before their own time, with the first railways and the Great Reform Act of 1832. With a desire to see middle-class dominance as one of the hallmarks of modernity, the ideas of the beginning of modernity and the rise of the middle class have often been conflated to claim that the British middle class arose during this same period. This is said to be due to some combination of political changes surrounding the 1832 Reform Act, which (is claimed to have) led to an increase in middle-class democracy, and the Industrial Revolution (traditionally dated from 1760 to 1840), which led to a gulf between capitalist factory owners and proletarian workers. A classic statement of this argument comes from Harold Perkin in his 1969 *The Origins of Modern English Society*: “At some point between the French Revolution and the Great Reform Act, the vertical antagonism and horizontal solidarities of class emerged on a national scale That moment saw the birth of class. . . . It happened first in the industrial towns.”³⁸

Since the 1980s, this traditional framework has been disrupted by a wide array of arguments for different dates, and for that matter, different meanings, assigned to the concept of the rise of the middle class. As Simon Gunn and Rachel Bell point out, some historians trace the genesis of the middle class even as far back as the later Middle Ages.³⁹ However, the arguments most relevant for the positioning of this thesis date the middle class’s “real” beginnings to a variety of eras between 1680 and 1880. Five representative works will be discussed, organized by the time frames they cover, rather than by their date of composition. Peter Earle argues in *The Making of the English*

³⁸ Perkin, 177-78. Later in the text, Perkin narrows down the range further to argue that “it was in the first five years of peace [at the end of the Napoleonic Wars] . . . that the vertical antagonisms and horizontal solidarities of class came for the first time . . . to supplant the vertical connections and horizontal rivalries of dependency and interest” (209).

³⁹ Gunn and Bell, 16.

Middle Class (1989) that the period of 1660-1730 was one in which the “middling sort of people” in London became the first true middle class. The rise of overseas trade brought an increased prosperity to this class, which in addition to merchants also included the better-off artisans and shopkeepers, and the lower ranks of professionals. With increased wealth, these people were able to purchase a greater number of luxuries such as tea, better clothes, and more elaborate furniture. The final component was what Earle terms their “ambition and thirst for knowledge,” which was met by an increasing number of books on a wide variety of subjects, as well as pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines.⁴⁰

Perkin and others had claimed that 18th-century capitalists never formed a cultural bourgeoisie because their primary concern was emulation, or the attempt to get enough money to buy a landed estate and join the upper class. More recent historians agree that people in the middle class were extremely interested in obtaining luxury consumer goods once limited to the upper class. However, they generally argue that full-scale emulation was very small, with only a few of the most successful capitalists concerning themselves with gentry estates. Earle rejects emulation implicitly but does not address the concept by name. Margaret R. Hunt contends that emulation was only a minor factor, and states that for the most part the middling sort of people found “[t]he world of business to be an absorbing one, with personal rewards that went beyond making money.”⁴¹ Hunt writes in *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1880* (1996) about the role that not only production and consumption, but also family life, played in the development of the middle class. She is reluctant to commit to an overall theory of

⁴⁰ Earle, 3-5, 8-10, 13 (quotations from 3 and 10).

⁴¹ Earle, 6-12; Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 2-5 (quotation from 4); Perkin, 56-62.

middle-class rise, but she certainly believes that the middling people of England had developed into a coherent class by the early 18th century.⁴²

Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb imply in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (1982) that the best dating for the rise of the English middle class is the third quarter of the 18th century. In their view, “at the heart of successful bourgeois society” lie the desires both to make money through trade and production, and to spend money through the “aggressive consumption” of novel goods. The latter is necessary both to create an incentive for more people to want to increase their earnings, and to create a marketplace in which they can do so, because “ever-increasing profit is not made in a world of traditional crafts and stable fashions.”⁴³ Various factors lined up in the 18th century to make this increase in consumption possible: increasing availability of goods, a change in morality to applaud rather than condemn widespread conspicuous consumption, the role of London in helping to cause and diffuse changes in fashion, and, at least for many, a rise in income to be able to afford more goods. Although modern consumer society was not yet fully present by 1800, this period saw “a consumer boom. . . . In the third quarter of the century that boom reached revolutionary proportions.”⁴⁴

Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall state in *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (1987) that the political, economic, and social crises of the late 18th and early 19th centuries “brought out common interests and drew

⁴² Hunt, 5-8, 15.

⁴³ J. H. Plumb, “Commercialization and Society,” *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, by Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 316.

⁴⁴ Neil McKendrick, “Commercialization and the Economy,” *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, 9-24. Quotation is from 9.

[the middle class's] disparate membership together."⁴⁵ However, they believe that it is not sufficient to examine the public aspects of middle-class culture. One of the chief characteristics of middle-class life is the way in which its members draw divisions between public and private, which were long gendered as the male-dominated public and female-dominated private sides of life. Davidoff and Hall examine how this concept of separate spheres developed out the building of residential suburbs separate from commercial districts, made possible by the increasing wealth of businesses. Wives and daughters who had once helped out with the family business came to spend their days dealing with purely domestic or social concerns, or pursuing artistic accomplishments.⁴⁶

Dror Wahrman works with the same period as Davidoff and Hall in his *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representations of Class in Britain, c. 1780-1840* (1995), but makes the very different argument that he is *not* writing an account of the rise of the middle class. In fact, Wahrman believes that the middle class is a linguistic model attempting to represent social reality, rather than an actual coherent category of society. Therefore, his account describes the so-called rise as being only a linguistic alteration in the importance accorded to the middling groups of society. Although Wahrman does not dispute that many economic and social changes took place between the mid-17th and mid-19th centuries, he argues that the concept of the middle class came not out of these large-scale transformations but from the specific political debates that took place between the French Revolution and the Reform Act of 1832. A key moment came immediately after

⁴⁵ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 18.

⁴⁶ Davidoff and Hall, 13, 18, 25, 29-31, 51-69, 195-97. Although Davidoff and Hall are often seen as taking a naïve view of separate spheres, they do theorize the concept: "Public was not really public and private not really private despite the potent imagery of 'separate spheres.' Both were ideological constructs with specific meaning which must be understood as products of a particular historical time" (33).

the 1832 act, when both its proponents and opponents “came to perceive it as a ‘middle-class measure, driven by recent social transformations.”⁴⁷ The very next year, historian John Wade wrote the first account of the rise of the middle class, finding its roots as far back as the 1200s. Soon the middle class also came to be seen as the guardians of domesticity and gendered separate spheres. The language of the importance of the middle class to history and society faded for a time after the 1846 repeal of the Corn Laws, but it returned in the 1880s and remains to this day.⁴⁸

Richard Price’s statements about the rise of the middle class come as part of his larger argument that British history needs to be reperiodized, presented in *British Society, 1680-1880: Dynamism, Containment, and Change* (1999). Price contends that the continuities in British social, political, and economic life between the late 17th and the late 19th centuries are stronger than the changes. He acknowledges that there were significant changes during this period, but in an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary form: “shifts of direction rather than the introduction of new paradigms.”⁴⁹ Only in the 1870s does Price find the true beginnings of the modern industrial economy, and in his view, the most significant parliamentary reform act is not that of 1832 but of 1884, which “made explicit . . . that the removal of barriers to a fully inclusive political nation was clearly in sight.”⁵⁰ Price concedes that the terminology of working and middle classes was widely used in the early 19th century, but unlike Wahrman, he argues that it was only one of several discourses to describe society and was not used in a coherent way at this

⁴⁷ Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-10, 14-18, 328-33. Quotation is from 328.

⁴⁸ Wahrman, 356, 377-79, 408-13.

⁴⁹ Richard Price, *British Society, 1680-1880: Dynamism, Containment, and Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2-9, 11-13. Quotation is from 13.

⁵⁰ Price, 18-20, 84-85, 285-86. Quotation is from 286.

time. The true beginning of “class-based social relations,” and thus of the middle class, came only in the late 19th century, when both paternalistic social authority and the rough folk cultures of rural life finally began to recede.⁵¹

The selection of sources above is far from exhaustive, but it is instructive not only in showing a range of dates for “the rise of the middle class,” but also in demonstrating that there are a variety of ways to define class. These approaches can be grouped into three types: Marxist-influenced, which seeks to show that people within well-defined classes were conscious of their class identity and worked together to advance class interests; lightly theorized, which focuses on functional groupings of people that make sense within a particular study; and linguistic, which contends that class terminology is such a crude method of defining society that it is only worth studying as a rhetorical construct. Within the studies above, Earle is an excellent example of the lightly theorized, Price of the Marxist-influenced, and Wahrman of the linguistic. The other three fall at various points in the intersection of lightly theorized and Marxist-influenced.

This study on Victorian naming uses a lightly theorized perspective on class. I define “upper middle classes” as the most useful descriptor for that sector of British society represented by a selection of people who chose to announce their marriages in the *London Times*. I do not make any argument that these people were acting in deliberate concert as a class; in fact, a shortage of discussion in the periodicals about the rise of new names indicates that most parents probably lacked a consciousness that their decisions

⁵¹ Price, 294-97, 313, 316-18, 329. Quotation is from 329.

about what to name their children was part of a significant change.⁵² However, I contend that these decisions were socially and culturally conditioned, and therefore, looking back from the vantage point of the present, it is reasonable to identify a cultural movement in the works. Since the participants in this movement are identified by a lifestyle choice that also tends to point toward their financial situation, it is useful to identify them using the terminology of class. The upper middle classes are, for this study, situated within a model of society that contrasts them both to a small elite above them and the majority of the country below them. The elite consisted of the royal family, the aristocracy, and such non-aristocrats as had achieved high political leadership or enormous wealth. The majority belonged partly to lower middle classes of clerks and shopkeepers, and in even larger numbers to working classes of craftspeople, factory workers, agricultural laborers, servants, and other manual laborers.

What time period is here argued for as the moment of the rise of these upper middle classes? It would be convenient to contend for a date in the 1840s when they first begin to show their influence in bringing new names into fashion, but examining these

⁵² Of the few articles that were written, a substantial group are humorously conservative pieces in which the parents are troubled with various, often exotic, suggestions and ultimately go with a “sensible” name. For example, L. A. D. Minchin writes in the March 20, 1897 *London Journal* about his wife’s struggle over what to name their daughter. She has a strong concern not to choose a name with a meaning that she considers unsuitable, and is also faced with the suggestions of three different aunts. One wants the baby to be given the family name of Mary Ann (too traditional), one likes “Florence Olga Olympia Letitia” (the initials F.O.O.L. point toward the issue of the name being too elaborate), and the third puts forth “Jubelia Victoria” for the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee that year (too timely). The father states his intentions of going covertly to the government registry office and submitting the baby’s name as Elizabeth. This was still a reasonably common name in 1897, but distinctly conservative, and represents a pushback by the author against changing naming practices. However, the article is little more than a retread of arguments for conservatism in naming that had been around since Goldsmith’s *Vicar of Wakefield*, and does not show a clear understanding of the specifically Victorian developments in naming discussed in this thesis (L. A. D. Minchin, “Naming the Baby,” *The London Journal*, March 20, 1897, 260, British Periodicals database [accessed October 20, 2014]).

other studies and their choice of dates gives pause to any such impulse. These are all reputable works of scholarships, and although their arguments are—deservedly—further debated, all make convincing cases that the middle classes were on the rise in some way during their chosen period of analysis. The key to this apparent paradox is to change the term “the rise” into “a rise”; that is, one of many, rather than a singular event. How can the middle classes always be rising? The answer is that they are usually always also being targeted by the elites with some form of suppression. In no age can the middle classes be truly powerful. Even if people who were born middle class take important roles in the government, the economy, or both, by the time they gain their political power and/or wealth, they cease to be middle class and become elite. They either join the upper class outright, or if the hereditary principle in a society is too strong to allow that, they form their own class of arrivistes. The middle classes as a whole must always be either quiescent or in the process of pushing back against the elites.⁵³ For some centuries now, in Britain, the middle classes have always been pushing back, or as it has traditionally been described, rising.

Yet the balance of power has changed over the centuries. The middle classes of today are in a very different position from that of the 14th century, or the 18th century. Keeping in mind that there is not really a single balance of power, but rather multiple power vectors of various types such as political, economic, social, and cultural, sometimes the middle classes really win a lasting victory against the elites. During the

⁵³ Of course the same may be said of whatever lower and working classes exist in a society, with the difference that the lower down in the society a class group is, the more difficult it is to push back. That does not stop people from trying, and sometimes with organization, there is at least a temporary victory—trade unionism in the 19th and 20th centuries being perhaps the most striking example.

mid-19th century, the upper middle classes effectively claimed for themselves the cultural authority to add new selections to the British naming pool, and to raise those selections to very high levels of popularity without major influence from either the royal family or the church. They were not able to keep this power for themselves, but by the mid-20th century had seen much of it seized by parents from the lower middle and working classes. Yet the elites never regained that naming power, and do not seem likely to do so in the foreseeable future, and it was the Victorian upper middle classes who began the process of taking it away from them. Chapters three through five will explain through what cultural movements the bourgeoisie worked to make this happen, and examine many of the specific names raised to prominence. But first, it is necessary to look at what the popular names were, on the eve of the Victorian era, and how they owed their longstanding usage to the royal and religious influences of previous centuries.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ENGLISH NAMING

As late as the 1820s and 1830s, English naming patterns were still very conservative. In the 1825-1840 period of my *Times* study, the top five names for both women and men had all been extremely popular since at least the 1600s, and in many cases consistently since the Middle Ages. Moreover, all of these names can be clearly shown to have been introduced into English society through religious movements, royal influence, or some combination of the two. Most names in wide use at this time had entered English naming tradition in one of four waves. First, the Norman kings and their aristocracy brought with them a group of names that eventually replaced most of the previous names used by the Anglo-Saxons. In the later Middle Ages, the Catholic church encouraged the use of saints' names from a variety of language backgrounds. Then, the Puritan religious reformers of the 1600s pressed the use of names from the Old Testament of the Bible, which they preferred because these were not associated with Catholic traditions surrounding the veneration of saints. Finally, the Hanoverian royal family of 18th-century Britain brought in a group of names from their German heritage. In order to fully understand the shift that began just after 1840, it is necessary first to examine this earlier history through a discussion of the names that were most popular in 1825-1840, and then to look at the reasons for the breakdown of religious influence and the changing nature of royal impact.

Historical research in the field of naming is slight. Charlotte Mary Yonge pioneered this area of study with her book *History of Christian Names*, first published in 1863 and revised in 1884.¹ However, her work drew on philological sources no longer accepted today, and thus is considered problematic by modern scholars. Yonge is, however, still a useful guide to the 19th century's taste in names.² A handful of name dictionaries with researched conclusions about historical usage of names (as opposed to “baby name books” meant only for new parents) exist and are helpful, though they cover such a large number of names that they can give only brief histories of each one. E. G. Withycombe's *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names* is a foundational work in this field. *The New American Dictionary of Baby Names*, despite its name originally published in England, is authored by long-time British name scholars Leslie Dunkling and William Gosling. A more recent work is Adrian Room's *Dictionary of First Names*.³

Book-length studies and essay collections go more in depth, but only a few have been written. Stephen Wilson's *The Means of Naming: A Social and Cultural History of Personal Naming in Western Europe* gives a broad background on European naming as a whole, though with more attention to the pre-1500 period than later centuries.⁴ *Studies on the Personal Name in Later Medieval England and Wales*, edited by Dave Postles and Joel T. Rosenthal, provides additional information on the medieval period, although only a few essays trace the popularity of specific names.⁵ The most helpful book for this

¹ Charlotte M. Yonge, *History of Christian Names*, 2nd ed. (1884; repr. New York: Gordon Press, 1977).

² Withycombe, vi.

³ Withycombe, Dunkling and Gosling, and Room are all footnoted in the thesis introduction.

⁴ Stephen Wilson, *The Means of Naming: A Social and Cultural History of Personal Naming in Western Europe* (London: UCL Press, 1998).

⁵ Dave Postles and Joel T. Rosenthal, eds., *Studies on the Personal Name in Later Medieval England and Wales* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2006).

project is Scott Smith-Bannister's *Names and Naming Patterns in England, 1538-1700*. Smith-Bannister provides lists of the fifty most popular names for each decade from the 1540s through the 1690s based on data collection in forty parishes and a careful statistical procedure for tabulating results.⁶ Fortunately, although the amount of research available to review is limited, the trends are strong enough that they are easy to demonstrate.

For 1825-1840, the top five women's names from the *Times* sample are Mary, Elizabeth, Jane, Sarah, and Ann(e) (see appendix C for percentage shares). All five had been widely popular since at least the 1600s and were established by religious influence, royal usage, or a combination of both. Mary, the top name in England for close to three centuries, had both.⁷ It is the name of the mother of Christ as well as of several other women in the New Testament, though Mary was seldom used in the early Christian centuries, with many believing it to be, as E.G. Withycombe states, "too sacred for common use."⁸ In England its emergence began in the 12th century. Religious devotion to the Virgin was at its height in the country during the later Middle Ages. Perhaps because of this movement, the use of Mary as a personal name rose only gradually. By the time Smith-Bannister's study begins, in the 1540s, Mary had risen to seventh place. In the 16th and 17th centuries, two queens regnant, Mary I (1553-1558) and Mary II (1689-1694), and one queen consort (James II's second wife, Mary of Modena) bore the name. In the decade containing Mary I's reign, the name briefly ascended to fourth place, before returning to seventh place in the 1560s. By this time the Protestant

⁶ Scott Smith-Bannister, *Names and Naming Patterns in England, 1538-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

⁷ Mary: Dunkling and Gosling, 285; Room, 442; Withycombe, 211.

⁸ Withycombe, 211.

Reformation was taking effect, and the mother of Jesus was only honored, not worshipped, likely making her name seem more accessible. Mary reached fourth place in the 1580s, and this time continued to rise until reaching first place in the 1650s.⁹

Elizabeth also had a combination of religious and royal factors behind its rise to popularity. The Bible mentions Elizabeth, a cousin to the Virgin Mary, as the mother of John the Baptist. But the main impetus for the introduction of the name to England in the later Middle Ages was the cult of two 13th-century saints Elizabeth, royal women who devoted themselves to the poor. In England, the name saw a great increase in use around 1500, likely a result of the popularity of Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York (died 1503).¹⁰ By the 1540s, it was in second place in Smith-Bannister's list, between the great medieval names of Joan and Agnes. In 1558, Elizabeth I, Good Queen Bess, ascended the throne. The name also had its biblical connections to sustain it through the Puritan period. The name was in first place from the 1550s until the 1650s, when it dropped very slightly, changing places with Mary.¹¹

Jane is a feminine form of John, derived through the Old French *Jehane*. Joan was the original English form of the name, in the Middle Ages used widely by all classes.¹² For the 1540s, it still ranks as number one in Smith-Bannister's list.¹³ However, by the 1500s, Joan was considered *déclassé*; Withycombe cites Shakespeare as referencing "greasy Joan."¹⁴ Jane was introduced in the early 16th century, originally as a

⁹ Patrick W. Montague-Smith, *The Royal Line of Succession: The British Monarchy from Cerdic AD 534 to Queen Elizabeth II* (Andover, UK: Pitkin Guides, 1998), 16, 19; Smith-Bannister, 196-201.

¹⁰ Elizabeth: Dunkling and Gosling, 121; Montague-Smith, 16; Room, 210; Withycombe, 99.

¹¹ Montague-Smith, 16; Smith-Bannister, 196-201.

¹² Joan: Dunkling and Gosling, 213; Room, 341; Withycombe, 176-77.

¹³ Smith-Bannister, 196.

¹⁴ Withycombe, 176.

more aristocratic form of the name.¹⁵ Thus, in the 14th century, Edward, Prince of Wales (the Black Prince) was married to Joan of Kent, while in the 1530s, Henry VIII's third wife was Jane Seymour.¹⁶ Jane was at eighth place in the 1540s and 1550s. It briefly dropped to ninth place in the 1560s, but then returned to eighth for the rest of the century. In the 1600s decade, it reached sixth place, crossing the declining Joan. Jane achieved a high of fourth place in the 1650s before settling into fifth place for the rest of the 1600s. Joan was down to tenth place by the 1690s, and was rarely used by the early 1800s.¹⁷

The Puritan influence on English naming is often overstated, but it did exist, and the popularity of the name Sarah is one of its main contributions. The name, originally Hebrew, comes from the wife of Abraham in the Old Testament book of Genesis.¹⁸ It does not appear in Smith-Bannister's top fifty list for the 1540s, but debuted in the next decade as one of a large number of names tied for forty-third place. Thereafter, it rose quickly, reaching sixteen in the 1570s. It was at twelve by the 1620s but jumped again in the 1630s to seventh place. By the time the Restoration brought the Puritan movement to a standstill, Sarah was solidly established, and from the 1660s to the 1690s, it settled in at fourth place.¹⁹ There was never a Sarah in England's royal family, but Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, was Queen Anne's great friend and confidant.²⁰

Ann is the English form of the Hebrew name Hannah, although the spelling Anne, originally French, is also frequently used in English. According to some apocryphal gospels, the Virgin Mary's mother was named Hannah. The name, spelled as Anna, was

¹⁵ Jane: Dunkling and Gosling, 202; Room, 323-24; Withycombe, 176-77.

¹⁶ Montague-Smith, 12, 16.

¹⁷ Smith-Bannister, 196-201. There are no instances of "Joan" for 1825-1840 in the *Times* study.

¹⁸ Sarah: Dunkling and Gosling, 379; Room, 570; Withycombe, 263-64.

¹⁹ Smith-Bannister, 196-201.

²⁰ Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 316.

used in the Byzantine Empire, and through the marriages of princesses, spread first to Russia and then to France. Ann(e) was first used in England in the 13th century and became popular in the 14th century, encouraged by the cult of Mary's mother, venerated as St. Ann or Anne.²¹ It was perhaps also influenced by Richard II's queen, Anne of Bohemia. Henry VIII had two wives with the name, Anne Boleyn and the German-born Anne of Cleves.²² The name was in fifth place in the 1540s. It fluctuated in a range between third and seventh places in the second half of the 1500s before stabilizing at third place in the first decade of the 1600s and remaining there for the rest of the century.²³ England's one regnant Queen Anne was on the throne from 1702 to 1714.²⁴

Thirteen additional women's names fall in the popular category (2.0 percent or above) for the 1825-1840 *Times* sample: Emily, Eliza, Mary Ann(e), Harriet(te), Louisa, Emma, Caroline, Fanny, Ellen, Frances, Catherine, Maria, Margaret. Of these, Ellen, Frances, Catherine, and Margaret have the longest history of popularity. Margaret was consistently in the top ten from the 1540s through the 1690s, and the other three names were always in the top twenty. All four are saints' names. Ellen is a medieval anglicization of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great.²⁵ Frances, though not widely adopted in England until Tudor times, is the feminine form of Francis, after the 13th-century St. Francis of Assisi.²⁶ Catherine was a 3rd-century martyr from Alexandria, famously (but likely only apocryphally) tortured on a spiked wheel for refusing to give up

²¹ Ann(e): Dunkling and Gosling, 24-25; Room, 66, 68; Withycombe, 25.

²² Montague-Smith, 12, 16.

²³ Withycombe, 25.

²⁴; Montague-Smith, 19.

²⁵ Ellen: Dunkling and Gosling, 122; Room, 211; Withycombe, 101.

²⁶ Frances: Dunkling and Gosling, 147-48; Room, 244; Withycombe, 120.

her faith or her virginity. Her cult was imported from Syria by the Crusaders.²⁷ Margaret is a Greek name, introduced in the Middle Ages as the name of a much venerated 3rd-century saint. The name was particularly popular in Scotland, where it was borne by several queens and princesses, including St. Margaret of Scotland, an 11th-century queen. The English royal family also named a number of princesses Margaret from the 11th through 16th centuries.²⁸

The remaining nine names on the popular list first came into wide use in the 18th century. Of these, five were derived from pre-existing names. Eliza is a shortened form of Elizabeth, originally coined by 16th-century poets as an appellation for Queen Elizabeth I.²⁹ Mary Ann(e) is a combination of Mary and Ann(e), first used in the late 1600s to honor Queen Mary II and her sister, who later became Queen Anne.³⁰ Harriet(te) is the English form of Henrietta, a feminine form of Henry brought to England by Henrietta Maria of France, the queen of Charles I. It took its time working into wide use, but finally broke through, likely helped by the popularity of Henry and its anglicized nickname, Harry.³¹ Fanny is a diminutive of Frances.³² Maria (long pronounced “Mariah” in Britain) is the Latin form of Mary, also used in Italy, Spain, and Germany.³³

Of the final four names, three were introduced by the Hanoverians. Emily was an anglicization of the German name Amelia (also imported in its own right). George II and

²⁷ Catherine: Dunkling and Gosling, 66-67; Room, 130-31; Withycombe, 186-87.

²⁸ Margaret: Dunkling and Gosling, 276-77; Montague-Smith, 8, 12, 16; Room, 429; Smith-Bannister, 196-201; Withycombe, 206-07.

²⁹ Eliza: Dunkling and Gosling, 121; Room, 210; Withycombe, 100.

³⁰ Mary Ann(e): Withycombe, xlv.

³¹ Harriet(te): Dunkling and Gosling, 175; Room, 284; Withycombe, 146.

³² Fanny: Dunkling and Gosling, 140; Room, 235; Withycombe, 120.

³³ Maria: Dunkling and Gosling, 278; Room, 431-32; Withycombe, 208.

George III each had daughters named Amelia, both frequently called Princess Emily.³⁴ George II and his oldest son Frederick both had daughters named Louisa, previously a German name.³⁵ Caroline originated in Italy, as a feminine form of Carlo, the Italian version of Charles, and then spread to Germany via the southern German states. In England, it was a Hanoverian name, belonging both to the admired queen of George II and the scandalous wife of George IV.³⁶ Finally, Emma is a medieval name, brought in by the Normans, that dropped out of common use (as represented by Smith-Bannister's top fifty list) around 1620. Its revival in the late 1700s is part of the earliest edge of the medieval revival that will be discussed in chapters three and four. The similarity in sound to Emily and Amelia were probably also factors in its popularity.³⁷

As can be seen from this discussion, the continuity in women's names between the Restoration decade of the 1660s and the 1825-1840 period was considerable. The top ten women's names in Smith-Bannister's list for the 1660s are Mary, Elizabeth, Anne, Sarah, Jane, Margaret, Susanna, Alice, Martha, and Elinor. The first five names, excepting the exchange in places of Anne (from third to fifth) and Jane (from fifth to third), are identical between the 1660s and the 1825-1840 *Times* sample. The remaining five names from the 1660s top ten, however, had been replaced by Emily, Eliza, Mary Ann(e), Harriet, and Louisa in 1825-1840. Margaret was still popular, though, and the names Susanna (by the 1800s generally shortened to Susan), Martha, and Elinor (later

³⁴ Emily: Dunkling and Gosling, 19, 127-28; Room, 58-59, 216-17; Withycombe, 19, 103; Yonge, 141. Emily's origins are technically Latin, while Amelia is from a German root, but the sources agree that the names were long popularly thought to be related.

³⁵ Louisa: Dunkling and Gosling, 19, 127-28, 263; Montague-Smith, 22; Room, 58, 216, 409; Smith-Bannister, 196-201; Withycombe, 19, 103, 198.

³⁶ Caroline: Dunkling and Gosling, 64; Montague-Smith, 22; Room, 126; Withycombe, 59.

³⁷ Emma: Dunkling and Gosling, 128; Room, 216-17; Smith-Bannister, 196-201; Withycombe, xlv, 103. Emma is not related etymologically to either Emily or Amelia.

more often spelled Eleanor) remained well-used. Only the name Alice dropped sharply during the 18th century. As will be discussed in chapter four, Alice would be brought back soon after 1840 as part of the medieval revival.

The top five men's names in the *Times* sample for 1825-1840 are William, John, Henry, Charles, and James (see appendix C for percentage shares). William was the first of these names to enter English. Linguistically Old German, William was one of a stock of names established in France by the Germanic Franks that were adopted by the Normans and later carried to England.³⁸ It is, of course, the name of William the Conqueror, although after his son William II, the name was only borne by two more kings: William III (1689-1702) and William IV (1830-1837).³⁹ The name's popularity was set early. Virginia Davis, making a study of names from 1350 to 1540 from men ordained as priests, finds the name consistently ranked second.⁴⁰ Smith-Bannister finds the name ranked as either second or third from the 1540s through the 1690s.⁴¹

The name John, originally Hebrew, is prominent in the Christian New Testament through John the Baptist, the prophet who preceded Jesus, and John the Apostle, the disciple of Jesus whose name is attached to the fourth Gospel. The name was rarely used in England until the Norman Conquest, but was one of the early saints' names to become widespread in England in the 1200s.⁴² England's one King John (1199-1216)⁴³ was unpopular and likely did not help the spread of the name, but its religious significance

³⁸ William: Dunkling and Gosling, 443; Room, 647-48; Withycombe, 293-94.

³⁹ Montague-Smith, 8, 19.

⁴⁰ Virginia Davis, "The Popularity of Late Medieval Personal Names as Reflected in English Ordination Lists, 1350-1540," in Postles and Rosenthal, 106.

⁴¹ Smith-Bannister, 191-95;

⁴² John: Dunkling and Gosling, 215-16; Room, 346; Wilson, 90; Withycombe, 178-79.

⁴³ Montague-Smith, 8.

was strong enough to overcome any negative connotations from the royal John. Davis' ordinands' list shows the name ranked first from 1350 to 1540.⁴⁴ Smith-Bannister's study shows it to have been the top men's name from the 1540s to the 1690s.⁴⁵

Henry and Charles are important English royal names. Henry is another Old German / Norman name.⁴⁶ William the Conqueror's third son was the first of eight English kings to bear the name between 1100 and 1547.⁴⁷ The name was ranked consistently sixth in Davis' 1350-1540 study.⁴⁸ It was in seventh place at the opening point of Smith-Bannister's study, in the last decade of Henry VIII's reign, and at either sixth or seventh place through the rest of the 1500s. From the 1620s it fell a little, but was still in eleventh place in the 1690s.⁴⁹ George III had a younger brother named Henry, which may have given the name a slight boost in the mid-1700s.⁵⁰

The name Charles, also Old German and best known in the Middle Ages from Charlemagne, was occasionally used from Norman times, but became more popular in the mid-1500s.⁵¹ It does not show up in Davis' list⁵² and first appears in Smith-Bannister's study tied for thirtieth place in the 1560s. At this point there was no royal connection, but then in 1600, James I chose the name for his second son. The original heir, Henry, died in 1612, and Charles I became king in 1625. The name was at twenty-ninth place in the 1590s and stayed solidly at twenty-sixth place from the 1600s through

⁴⁴ Davis, 106-07.

⁴⁵ Smith-Bannister, 191-95.

⁴⁶ Henry: Dunkling and Gosling, 180; Room, 290; Withycombe, 149.

⁴⁷ Montague-Smith, 8, 12, 16.

⁴⁸ Davis, 106-07.

⁴⁹ Smith-Bannister, 191-95.

⁵⁰ Montague-Smith, 22.

⁵¹ Charles: Dunkling and Gosling, 70-71; Room, 136; Withycombe, 62.

⁵² Davis, 106-07.

the 1620s before beginning to rise again. In the 1650s, ostensibly the decade of Cromwell, the name of the executed king and his exiled son stood at fifteenth place. (Oliver was not in the top fifty at any point in Smith-Bannister's study.) Charles II was returned to the throne in 1660, ruling until his death in 1685. The name Charles ranged between twelfth and fourteenth place in the last four decades of the 17th century.⁵³

James has a religious as well as a royal background. Two of Jesus' disciples bore the name, one of whom became the object of a popular pilgrimage to his supposed tomb at Santiago de Compostela in Spain. Jesus also had a brother named James, who is said to have authored one of the Epistles. The name became used both in medieval England and in Scotland, where it became the name of most of the Stewart (later Stuart) kings,⁵⁴ starting with James I in 1406. Through James IV's marriage to a daughter of Henry VII of England, his great-grandson James VI became the heir to the childless Elizabeth I, and took the English throne as James I in 1603. Curiously, the name does not appear in Davis' list, which runs through 1540, but shows up in Smith-Bannister's list already at tenth place as early as the 1540s. If Smith-Bannister's findings are correct, then the name was established more by the religious influence than the royal, but the royal connection may have helped when it came. James was at ninth place in the 1600s decade and rose to a high of sixth place in the 1650s and 1660s, following the 1649 execution of James I's son and the 1660 restoration of his grandson. It was still at seventh place for the 1690s, apparently too well established to suffer serious decline from the unpopularity of James II, who was forced off the throne in 1688. Of course James II, and later his son (James,

⁵³ Montague-Smith, 19; Smith-Bannister, 191-95.

⁵⁴ James: Dunkling and Gosling, 201; Room, 321-22; Withycombe, 170-71.

the Old Pretender) and grandson (Bonnie Prince Charlie) continued to have backers, especially sentimental supporters, well into the 18th century.⁵⁵

The other popular names, standing at 2.0 percent or above, in the *Times* sample for 1825-1840 are George, Thomas, Edward, Robert, Frederick, Alfred, and Arthur. The first four of these were already well established by 1700. The cult of the eastern St. George was brought to England by returning Crusaders. In 1348, Edward III dedicated the Order of the Garter to St. George, who was thereafter considered England's patron saint. The nationalist aspect helped the name to survive the Puritan Reformation, and it ranged between sixth and tenth place from the 1540s to the 1690s. From 1714 to 1830, Britain had four kings named George.⁵⁶ Thomas was the name of one of Jesus' disciples. It became especially popular after Thomas Becket was martyred in 1170, and his shrine at Canterbury became a top pilgrimage site (immortalized by Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*). Although the pilgrimages ended with the destruction of Becket's shrine in 1538, by that point, the name was so widely used that it did not drop in popularity. Thomas was in second or third place through the period of the Smith-Bannister study.⁵⁷

Edward is an Anglo-Saxon name, but maintained its popularity after the Conquest because it was the name of two saints. One of those saints was Edward the Confessor,

⁵⁵ Davis, 106-07; Montague-Smith, 28; Smith-Bannister, 191-95. Far more people were willing to toast "the King over the Water" than to offer military assistance during the 1715 and 1745 Stuart invasions (Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989], 6, 306). Monod states that some prominent Jacobite families chose James, Charles, and other names connected with the exiled Stuarts for their children (272). However, no larger study has been made to show if Stuart admirers were more likely than pro-Hanoverians to name their sons James and Charles.

⁵⁶ George: Dunkling and Gosling, 156-57; Room, 257-58; Smith-Bannister, 191-95; Withycombe, 128-29. Withycombe is inaccurate in saying that the name was little used until the Hanoverian kings "fully acclimatized" it (129).

⁵⁷ Thomas: Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, "Cathedral History: Through the Centuries," Canterbury Cathedral, <http://www.canterbury-cathedral.org/conservation/history/> [accessed January 8, 2016]; Dunkling and Gosling, 414-15; Room, 613; Smith-Bannister, 191-95; Withycombe, 279-80. Edward I, Edward III, and Henry IV all had younger sons named Thomas (Montague-Smith, 8, 12).

the penultimate Anglo-Saxon king before Harold Godwinson lost the throne to William the Conqueror. Later in the Middle Ages, four more kings bore the name. Edward ranged between sixth and eighth places from the 1540s through the 1680s, before dropping to ninth place in the 1690s.⁵⁸ Although, as will be mentioned again in chapter four, it was never in decline and thus cannot be said to have been revived, as the medieval revival movement grew, more people would have been conscious of Edward's strong medieval heritage. This connotation may have helped to support the popularity of the name. Robert is an Old German name introduced by the Normans. It was never used by the royal family after William the Conqueror's oldest son. However, the name and its derivatives remained in strong use by everyone else. Robert varied between fourth and fifth place during the period of the Smith-Bannister study.⁵⁹

Frederick, Alfred, and Arthur were all more recent arrivals to popularity and do not feature in Smith-Bannister's lists. Frederick was a German name brought over by the Hanoverians. It was the name of George II's oldest son, who died before his father but not before siring the future George III. Various Hanoverian younger sons also bore the name, notably Frederick, Duke of York, who served as Commander-in-Chief of the Army during much of the Napoleonic War era.⁶⁰ Alfred and Arthur, the first men's names to become popular with the medieval revival, will be discussed in depth in chapter four.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Edward: Dunkling and Gosling, 116-17; Montague-Smith, 8, 12; Room, 203-04; Smith-Bannister, 191-95; Withycombe, 94-95. Withycombe states that Henry III named his son Edward I after St. Edward the Confessor.

⁵⁹ Robert: Dunkling and Gosling, 359; Montague-Smith, 8; Room, 544; Smith-Bannister, 191-95; Withycombe, 254. William I left Normandy to his oldest son, but England went to his second son, William II (Montague-Smith, 8).

⁶⁰ Frederick: Dunkling and Gosling, 150; Montague-Smith, 22; Room, 248; Smith-Bannister, 194-95; Withycombe, 121-22.

⁶¹ Alfred and Arthur will be footnoted in chapter four.

Despite the rise of these three names, there was considerable continuity in men's naming, even more so than in women's, from the 1660s through the 1830s. The top ten men's names in Smith-Bannister's list for the 1660s are John, William, Thomas, Robert, Richard, James, George, Edward, Henry, and Samuel.⁶² Eight of these, as has been discussed, were still popular in 1825-1840. The other two (Richard and Samuel) had declined out of popularity but were still well used. Richard, an Old German name brought in by the Normans, was the name of three medieval kings.⁶³ Samuel is an Old Testament name which was adopted in the 17th century under Puritan influence.⁶⁴

This analysis of the women's and men's names that were popular in 1825-1840 shows that until around 1840, the British people primarily used a highly conservative pool system for naming. Parents had the choice to use uncommon names, and sometimes they did. In the 1825-1840 list, there are 217 women's names and 247 men's names, each for 2,000 sampled individuals. The list includes Avice, Edrica, Jacintha, and Ursilla (one instance apiece) alongside Mary and Elizabeth; and for men, Berkeley, Draper, Havilland, and Thelwell (also one each) besides William and John. However, 61.1 percent of women and 69.1 percent of men bore one of the eighteen popular women's names and twelve popular men's names. This changed considerably by the 1885-1900 period, when only 24.1 percent of women and 39.0 percent of men had a name shared by 2.0 percent or more of the sample.⁶⁵ New names were, by then, more likely to come from

⁶² Smith-Bannister, 195.

⁶³ Richard: Dunkling and Gosling, 356-57; Montague-Smith, 8, 12; Room, 541; Withycombe, 253-54.

⁶⁴ Samuel: Dunkling and Gosling, 378-79; Room, 567-68; Smith-Bannister, 191-95; Withycombe, 180-81.

⁶⁵ To compare with today, in the United States for 2014, the top girls' name, Emma, was used for 1.07 percent of all females born, while the top boys' name, Noah, got 0.94 percent. The last "popular" name by the definition of the *Times* study, with a 2.0 percent share or higher, was Michael in 1995, with 2.06 percent. The last "popular" girls' name was Ashley, with 2.14 percent in 1991. In 2014, just 12.27 percent

popular literature than church or royal influence. These changes first reveal themselves in the popularity and trending lists for 1840-1855, but the roots of the transition were older. Religious influence was already fairly low well before 1840, and royal influence was changing and declining.

The last period in English history in which the church had a substantial influence on the introduction of new names was the Puritan era, which culminated in the mid-1600s when the Puritans controlled the English government for over a decade. After the Restoration of 1660 brought Charles II to the throne and the Puritan era to an abrupt halt, Old Testament names already brought into wide use continued to be popular, but no new Puritan names entered the charts. Although for 130 years the post-Puritan Anglican church held a near-monopoly religious position in England,⁶⁶ the English church never again led a religious and social movement large scale enough to include the mass introduction of new names, as it had in the later Middle Ages with the encouragement of lay piety centered around the cults of the Virgin and other saints, and then in the Puritan era with a return to a strictly Biblical faith and greater attention to the Old Testament.

If religious influence can be seen anywhere in 18th-century naming, it is found in its conservatism, as represented by the general continuity between the names of the late 1600s in Scott-Bannister and the names of 1825-1840 from this study. Historians of the

of girls and 14.31 percent of boys received names in the top twenty. Only the top ten girls' names would qualify as "well used" by the *Times* study's definition (above 0.5 percent share), although all twenty of the top boys' names would so qualify. (Social Security Administration, "Popular Names in [Year]," *Popular Baby Names*, <<http://www.ssa.gov/cgi-bin/popularnames.cgi>>, accessed October 10, 2015 - January 8, 2016. Enter individual years into "Select another year of birth?" to see 1991, 1995, 2014, and others.)

⁶⁶ Stewart J. Brown contends that as late as "the 1790s, probably 90 per cent of the population of Britain were at least nominal adherents of the established churches [Anglican in England and Wales, Presbyterian in Scotland]" (Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom 1815-1914* [Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2008], 30).

19th and 20th centuries tended to portray the Georgian church as cold and unfeeling, more interested in maintaining the social order than in preaching Christ.⁶⁷ Since the 1970s, historians have discovered more positive aspects. Nigel Yates argues that “[t]here is overwhelming evidence of administrative efficiency, spiritual vitality and a commitment to reform.”⁶⁸ Yet the Georgian church was undoubtedly conservative, and excepting a minority of Evangelical revivalists, “deliberately low-key and hostile to any forms of religious extravagance.”⁶⁹ Until 1836, when the Civil Registration Act was passed, a birth could only be officially recorded by having the child baptized in an Anglican church,⁷⁰ so the Anglican establishment had access to parents and children at the point of naming. However, the names commonly in use already had Christian sanction. If they were not biblical names, then they had been established as names of Christian Englishmen and Englishwomen for a considerable period. The new names of the century came from the royal family, and in a country with a government-supported church, that could not be a source of objection. Therefore, Anglican ministers had no reason to advocate anything but the status quo in naming. Any push to establish new names on religious grounds would have been exactly the sort of enthusiastic extravagance that the Church of England had set itself against.

Religious change was a stronger force in the 19th century. From the 1790s onward, Evangelicals, sometimes called the Low Church set to distinguish them from High Church traditionalists who put a higher priority on the church as an institution, were

⁶⁷ Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6-9; Nigel Yates, *Eighteenth-Century Britain: Religion and Politics, 1714-1815* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2008), 4.

⁶⁸ Yates, 4-5.

⁶⁹ Yates, 5, see also 70.

⁷⁰ Stewart J. Brown, 96.

increasingly prominent in the Anglican church. Tractarianism began in the 1830s as an attempt to further High Church views. However, the Tractarians soon developed into a separate faction, coming to be known as ritualists or Anglo-Catholics for their efforts to bring back pre-Reformation worship practices. High Church traditionalists, Tractarians, and Low Church Evangelicals were further joined by liberals in the mid-century Broad Church movement.⁷¹ And that was only within Anglicanism. In the religious census of 1851, close to half of the churchgoers in England and four-fifths in Wales attended Nonconformist churches, including various sects of Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, as well as Unitarians and a variety of smaller movements. In Scotland, two-thirds of the churchgoers were outside of the established Presbyterian church, though many belonged to breakaway Presbyterian denominations.⁷² Stewart J. Brown explains, “A fervent faith, a ‘vital religion’, would come to infuse most existing Christian denominations and inspire the formation of new denominations” during the Victorian era.⁷³

However, whatever naming trends might have been inspired by the increased enthusiasm of Victorian churchgoers were blunted by the fracturing of 19th-century Christians into so many different denominations and ideological groupings. Withycombe contends that some of the lesser used Old Testament names, such as “Elijah, Amos, Zachary, Ebenezer, [and] Caleb” were used by evangelicals and Methodists until late in the 19th century, while the Tractarians brought back some of the older saints’ names such as “Aidan, Augustine, Alban, Theodore, Benedict, [and] Bernard.”⁷⁴ None of these

⁷¹ Stewart J. Brown, 31, 98-102, 175-76, 232-33; Knight, 1-4; Yates, 8, 94.

⁷² Stewart J. Brown, 4, 187-89.

⁷³ Stewart J. Brown, 2.

⁷⁴ Withycombe, xl, xlv.

names achieved popularity; only one of them, Bernard, was well used. There is a slight Tractarian influence on naming that will be discussed in chapter four (see in particular the discussion of the name Cyril). Whatever influence Evangelicalism may have had on 19th-century naming does not show itself in this study. Possibly it was primarily confined to the lower middle and working classes below the social level of the *Times*' readers.

Royal influence lasted longer than religious impact on bringing in new names, though it too declined sharply in the 19th century. During the 18th century, the royal family was still an important source of names, especially Frederick, Emily, Louisa, and Caroline. The last Hanoverian name was Adelaide, from the popular queen of William IV (reigned 1830-1837). Her name—a French version of the German Adalheid—enjoyed a brief vogue, showing as a well-used name in the 1825 to 1840 *Times* sample. It dropped after 1840, but its short form of Ada became well-used and then briefly popular.⁷⁵ However, by the time of Queen Adelaide, the English were beginning to be anxious about all these European names, particularly the (then) highly unusual name of the young girl who was next in line to inherit William's throne. Princess Victoria was named for her German mother, born Maria Louisa Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfield but always called Victoria or Victoire. Neither name is actually German. Victoire is French, with the Latinized form being Victoria.⁷⁶

Edward, Duke of Kent, and his wife wanted their daughter named Georgiana or Georgina, after her godfather and uncle, the Prince Regent (the future George IV). But

⁷⁵ Adelaide: Dunkling and Gosling, 4; Montague-Smith, 22; Room, 39; Withycombe, 4. Ada: Dunkling and Gosling, 3; Room, 37; Withycombe, 3.

⁷⁶ Victoria: Dunkling and Gosling, 433-34; Montague-Smith, 22; Giles St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria: A Portrait* (New York: Atheneum, 1992), 7; Room, 634-35; Withycombe, 289.

the Regent, as head of the royal family, had to approve the name. He was not on good terms with Edward and hoped that this baby would soon be replaced in the royal succession by a child of William's (the brother in between George and Edward). The Regent showed his spite by refusing to allow the princess to be called Georgiana or any British royal name, but insisted upon her being named Alexandrina, for her other godfather, Tsar Alexander of Russia. He did allow her to have her mother's name in second place.⁷⁷ Edward died the following winter, and never had a son to move ahead of "Drina" in the succession. William and Adelaide had only two daughters who died in infancy, and stillborn twins. By the time he became king in 1830, it was clear that Alexandrina Victoria, now known by her middle name, would succeed him as queen.⁷⁸

In 1830 and 1831 William and his prime minister, Lord Grey, entered into discussions with the Duchess of Kent to change her daughter's name to either Elizabeth or Charlotte. The Duchess of Kent at one point agreed to Charlotte Victoria, but a few months later decided to oppose any change. William wrote a furious letter complaining

⁷⁷ Christopher Hibbert, *Queen Victoria: A Personal History* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 12-13; Elizabeth Longford, *Queen Victoria: Born to Succeed* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 23-24; St. Aubyn, 10-11; Stanley Weintraub, *Victoria: An Intimate Biography* (New York: Truman Talley, 1987), 41-43; Cecil Woodham-Smith, *Queen Victoria: From Her Birth to the Death of the Prince Consort* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 34-35.

Why Alexandrina and not Alexandra? The name Alexander was in use in England at the time of Queen Victoria's birth in 1819; the *Times* sample lists show it as a well-used name throughout the 1825-1900 era. However, the modern feminine form Alexandra was not well-known in England. It had been used a little in the Middle Ages, but it does not appear in the *Times* sample until the 1855-1870 period, at the time of the Prince of Wales' 1861 marriage to Alexandra of Denmark. It did not become well-used until after Victorian times. Both Alexandrina and Alexandra were primarily Russian names at the time of Victoria's birth (Dunkling and Gosling, 11-12; Room, 48; Withycombe, 14). The Duke and Duchess of Kent chose Alexandrina, but intending it as one of several middle names only.

In addition to Georgiana, the Prince Regent also rejected three other names urged by the Duke of Kent: Charlotte, Augusta, and Elizabeth (see references above). By contrast, when William and Adelaide's second daughter lived long enough to be christened, the Regent allowed her to be named Elizabeth Georgina Adelaide (Woodham-Smith, 50).

⁷⁸ Longford, 20-21, 25; Weintraub, 39, 48-49, 53-54; Woodham-Smith, 35-36, 44, 50-51, 80-81.

to Lord Grey that “the name of the future Sovereign of this country should be *English*.”⁷⁹ Victoria, of course, today sounds very English, but during the 19th century it was little used. The name was too foreign for the British people in the early years of her reign, and by its end too iconic.⁸⁰ As will be discussed in chapter four, in her own baby naming, Queen Victoria was a trend-follower rather than a trend-setter, and had only a slight influence on the naming practices of her subjects.

As early as the 1840s, a discernible shift was beginning in the conservative patterns of British baby naming. Although much that was traditional remained even through 1900, the *Times* lists from 1840 on show that a number of upper middle class parents were eschewing established names and instead choosing more recent entries to the naming pool. However, the new names of Victorian Britain were mostly evanescent, such that we have forgotten today that many of them were ever popular during the period. The specific names of the era will be discussed in chapters four and five. However, first, we will examine the first cultural movement to replace religion and royalty as the driving force in creating new names, the medieval revival.

⁷⁹ Woodham-Smith, 82-84. However, Elizabeth Longford writes that he “felt the sailors would like [the name] and would tattoo Victoria’s face on their arms, imagining she was called after Nelson’s flagship [H.M.S. Victory]” (24). Possibly he changed his mind.

⁸⁰ There were non-royal women named Victoria in Victorian England, just not very many: the name was borne by five women in the 1825 to 1840 sample, three in 1840-1855, none in 1855-1870 and 1870-1885, and one woman named Victoria plus one named Victoire in 1885-1900. Flora Thompson wrote in the 1945 novel *Lark Rise to Candleford* that “There was no Victoria in the school, nor was there a Miss Victoria or a Lady Victoria in any of the farmhouses, rectories or mansions in the district That great name was sacred to the Queen and was not copied by her subjects to the extent imagined by period novelists of today” (quoted in Dunkling, 46).

CHAPTER III
THE MEDIEVAL REVIVAL AND ITS INFLUENCE
ON VICTORIAN NAMING

One of the most important cultural movements of the 19th century was an upswell of interest in the Middle Ages. Highlights of this medieval revival include Pugin's designs for the Houses of Parliament, the Pre-Raphaelite movement in art, and Tennyson's epic *Idylls of the King* (1859-85). Medievalism also inspired many of the new names of Victorian Britain, such as Alice, Edith, and Ethel for women, and Walter and Harold for men. Historians of naming are generally aware of this phenomenon, though it has never been explored at length.¹ However, literary and cultural historians of medievalism have ignored naming. This is likely because, as was discussed in the thesis introduction, the history of names is considered to be its own specialized field rather than a topic to be integrated into broader social history. Yet, the adoption of names is one of the areas where the medieval revival had its strongest impact on the popular culture of the 19th century. This chapter will provide a detailed overview of the medieval revival, going back to its mid-18th century origins, and will explain what it meant to the upper middle classes and why it influenced their naming habits, before specific medievalist names are discussed in chapter four.

¹ Charlotte Mary Yonge was the first to make contemporaneous notice of "the archaic influence" at work in the women's names "Alice and Edith, Gertrude, Florence, and Constance . . . and with them the (*sic*) Herbert and Reginald, Wilfrid and Maurice, formerly kept up only in a few old families" (Yonge, 464). Stephen Wilson is an example of a modern names scholar who acknowledges the influence of the medieval revival on 19th century British names (214).

When the medieval revival first began in the mid-18th century, it was actually known as the Gothic revival. The Middle Ages was then dismissively called the Gothic period, after the barbarian Goths who had helped bring down the Roman Empire.² For example, Alexander Pope dismissed the entire medieval era as the destruction of classical greatness in his 1711 “Essay on Criticism”: “A *second* Deluge Learning thus o’er run,
And the *Monks* [that is, the Catholic church] finish’d what the *Goths* begun.”³ However, by the mid-1700s, some intellectuals found themselves stifled by the rationalism and formalism of the neoclassical movement, and turned to the Gothic period for a change. The initial areas of the early Gothic revival (1760s through the 1780s) were literature and architecture. Both were stimulated by an idea popularized by Edmund Burke called the sublime. This concept eschewed formal rules for the creation of an ordered art in favor of irregular compositions which evoked strong aesthetic and emotional responses. Although the sublime was originally derived from a classical theory, it proved to be most easily found in the irregular forms of medieval literature and architecture.⁴

² Michael Alexander, *Medievalism: The Middle Ages in Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), xxv, 10-12; David Matthews, *Medievalism: A Critical History* (Cambridge: D. H. Brewer, 2015), 51; Clare A. Simmons, *Popular Medievalism in Romantic Era Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 146.

³ Alexander, 12; Alexander Pope, “An Essay on Criticism (1711),” Poetry Foundation, <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/learning/essay/237826?page=11> [accessed January 19, 2016].

⁴ Alexander, 9-10; Stephen H. Browne, “Edmund Burke (1729-1797),” in *Eighteenth-Century British and American Rhetorics and Rhetoricians: Critical Studies and Sources*, ed. Michael G. Moran (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 43-48; Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 1757, ed. Adam Phillips (1990; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Rodolphe Gasché, “. . . And the Beautiful? Revisiting Burke’s ‘Double Aesthetics,’” in *The Sublime: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Timothy M. Costelloe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 24-26. The concept of the *sublime* comes from the Greek text *On the Sublime* by an author referred to today as pseudo-Longinus. The text was first published in Greek in 1554, but came to popularity through a 1674 French translation by Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux. Boileau’s translation was a very loose one and was much adapted to fit his own beliefs. Burke was not the first to introduce Longinus’ / Boileau’s ideas on the sublime to an English audience, but his work was particularly influential in Britain (Browne, 43; Barbara Warnick, *The Sixth Canon: Belletristic Rhetorical Theory and Its French Antecedents* [Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993], 75-82).

In architecture, the Gothic revival emerged primarily among the builders and improvers of English country houses.⁵ The most famous of these is Horace Walpole, younger son of the first English prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole. Horace Walpole built what he called “a little Gothic castle” named Strawberry Hill, at Twickenham near London, between 1750 and 1776. He started out inspired by the style as a way to rebel against the neoclassicist insistence on symmetry, and knew little about its history. However, once Walpole began planning his house, he became increasingly interested in learning about medieval buildings and copying their details, albeit in modern materials. For example, Strawberry Hill is well known for its fan-vaulted ceilings, made out of papier-mâché rather than authentic carved stone.⁶

The literary side of the early Gothic revival was a mix of recovery, new creation, and forgery. Thomas Percy’s *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) was an influential anthology of medieval romances and ballads collected from manuscript sources.⁷ New poetry and fiction were stimulated by both literary and architectural research into the past. Thomas Gray, who wrote a number of mediievally inspired poems, was a friend of Walpole, and took a strong interest in the development of Strawberry Hill.⁸ Walpole himself wrote *The Castle of Otranto* (1764). This was a fantastic tale that became the founding work of a genre known as the Gothic novel, which used medieval

⁵ Michael McCarthy, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 2, 27. McCarthy explains that many of the early Gothic revival designs were small garden buildings on larger estates (27).

⁶ Alexander, 4, 17; McCarthy, 63, 68-74, 78-80, 84-86.

⁷ Alexander, 16-21; Alice Chandler, *A Dream of Order: The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 16-17; Matthews, 6, 25, 47, 169-70. Later scholars have criticized Percy for modernizing the poems of *Reliques*, but he was following a common practice of the time.

⁸ Alexander, 1-2; McCarthy, 16-17, 66-67, 79-80.

touches to dress up plots of romantic suspense. Walpole initially claimed that *Otranto* was from an ancient manuscript which a pseudonymous scholar had discovered and edited, but he admitted his authorship in the second edition.⁹ A few writers were so eager to be acclaimed as discoverers rather than creators that they perpetrated full-fledged hoaxes. The most prominent of these was James Macpherson, who passed off works such as *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760) and *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem* (1761) as the writings of an ancient Scottish Gaelic bard named Ossian. Although Macpherson had prominent critics from the beginning, including Samuel Johnson, many others greatly admired his supposed translations.¹⁰

The French Revolution broadened the appeal of the Gothic revival among the upper classes. As Mark Girouard explains, “An age based on the social structure of feudalism, when kingship was revered and the Church at its most powerful, became increasingly attractive to peers, gentlemen, and clergymen whose counterparts were having their heads cut off across the channel.” Many romanticized the Middle Ages as a period of “simple faith and loyalties” and social stability.¹¹ An increasing number of wealthy landowners adopted Gothic revival styles for building new houses or remodeling old ones. The rising popularity of this style was still partly an aesthetic reaction to neoclassicism, but Gothic architecture also provided a reminder of feudal ideals that supported the social and political claims of the gentry, aristocracy, and monarchy. From 1800, George III attempted major Gothic renovations at Windsor Castle and

⁹ Alexander, xxvi-xxvii, 4-5; Chandler, 33; Hilton, 476; Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 21; Matthews, 169-70; Simmons, *Popular Medievalism*, 142-43, 147.

¹⁰ Alexander, 2-4, 16-20; Matthews, 6, 47.

¹¹ Girouard, 23; see also Alexander, 25.

commissioned a new neo-Gothic castle at Kew, although both projects were abandoned after the king was incapacitated in 1810, and his architect James Wyatt died in 1813.¹²

However, middle-class and working-class radicals inspired by the French Revolution to seek reforms in British society also found resources in the Gothic period. Conservatives preferred the later Middle Ages of grand castles and (imagined) feudal stability, while liberals and radicals sought out earlier eras of supposed egalitarianism to recover. Many English radicals of the 1790s favored the theory of the Norman Yoke. This was the idea that the Anglo-Saxons had a folk democracy which had been destroyed in the Norman Conquest but could be recovered by radicals as a basis for modern political reforms.¹³ Others went back even farther and studied the Druids, finding them to be the repository of a truly primitive, and therefore authentic, natural law. Druid-fanciers gave the Celts credit for all pre-Roman British history, and also believed that Druidical traditions had survived well into the Middle Ages.¹⁴

In this era, from the French Revolution through the 1820s, Gothicism continued to influence a variety of literary movements. The 1790s saw a fashion for Gothic novels such as Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and Matthew Lewis' *The Monk* (1796). In 1798, the trend inspired a young Jane Austen to write a satirical response, the novel *Northanger Abbey*, not published until 1817.¹⁵ The Gothic revival also had a

¹² Hilton, 477; Girouard, 20-21, 43-44.

¹³ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1964), 84-88. The Norman Yoke was a revived rather than a new theory in the 1790s; Christopher Hill traces its origins back to a late 13th century text titled *The Mirror of Justices* and argues that it was particularly influential in the early 17th century, the period leading up to the English Civil War (Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution—Revisited*, rev. ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997], 361-65).

¹⁴ Alexander, 1-3; Simmons, *Popular Medievalism*, 20-55. Neither of these claims is accepted by modern historians.

¹⁵ Alexander, xxvi; Hilton, 476.

strong impact on Romantic poetry. For example, William Wordsworth acknowledged in 1815 that Percy's *Reliques* had been an important inspiration for him and other poets of his era. Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Christabel* (1816) and John Keats' "The Eve of St. Agnes" (1820) are two major Romantic poems which are set in castles and involve supernatural plots that draw heavily on medieval romance.¹⁶ A number of writers with Celtic nationalist interests were also inspired by Percy and other collectors of medieval and traditional oral poetry. Beginning with Robert Burns, a variety of authors put their own Scottish, Welsh, or Irish poems to music, often folk tunes, and published them in collections such as Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* (1807-1834) and Felicia Hemans' *Welsh Melodies* (1821). The medieval past featured heavily in these collections.¹⁷

The radical side of the Gothic revival faded in the 1820s. The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 was a relief to everyone in Britain, but the poor economic conditions which followed brought "distress and discontent," explains Boyd Hilton. "Prices and wages fell in all sectors, while discharged soldiers and sailors led to unemployment."¹⁸ Riots and protests followed, most famously the Peterloo Massacre of 1819, when soldiers forcibly dispersed a large crowd who had gathered to hear a radical speech at St. Peter's Fields outside Manchester. Eleven people were killed, and over 400 injured. Although working class radicalism continued in a weakened form, reviving in the late 1830s with Chartism, the mood of the country became more conservative.¹⁹ So also, in response, did medievalism.

¹⁶ Alexander, 23, 55-56, 59-61.

¹⁷ Simmons, 72-79.

¹⁸ Hilton, 251.

¹⁹ Hilton, 251-53, 612-13; E. P. Thompson, 679-689, 693-711; see also Simmons, *Popular Medievalism*, 191-94.

Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819) set the stage for a more sentimental, chivalrous medievalism. This novel is set in England at the end of the 12th century during the period of disputes between King Richard and his brother, Prince John. Scott begins the novel with a theme of conflict between Norman and Saxon, as Cedric of Rotherwood flaunts his Saxon heritage and schemes to marry his ward Rowena to Athelstane of Coningsburgh with the aim of putting the pair—both descended from Saxon royalty—onto the throne of England, undoing the Norman Conquest. But Cedric's estranged son, Wilfred of Ivanhoe, has been fighting with King Richard in the Holy Land. By the end of the novel, Cedric is reconciled with both his son and the king, and all plots toward a Saxon restoration are renounced. Although the main interest of the novel is sentimental, it has a covert politics. Scott subverts the Norman Yoke theory to argue that, in the long term, both the Norman Conquest and monarchical rule were beneficial to England. *Ivanhoe* was tremendously popular both as a novel and in its numerous stage adaptations. Even costume balls were held with an Ivanhoe theme, most famously in Brussels in 1823 and at Buckingham Palace, hosted by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, in 1842.²⁰

Ivanhoe helped to launch a sentimental medievalism centered around finding stability in the past during a period of intense change. The revival finally acquired the name medieval when that word came into common use in the 1830s.²¹ (“Gothic” was, however, retained as a name for the architectural style of the later Middle Ages.) The Latinate term helped make the revival more respectable, and also limited it to the

²⁰ Alexander, 43-49, 107; Matthews, 29; Scott, *Ivanhoe*; Simmons, *Popular Medievalism*, 14, 173-74; Nicola J. Watson, “Afterlives,” in *The Edinburgh Companion to Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Fiona Robertson, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 148-49.

²¹ Alexander, xxv; Matthews, 50-52; Simmons, *Popular Medievalism*, 2. Alexander and Simmons cite the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s first reference date for medievalism of 1827, but Matthews finds an earlier publication from 1817.

Christian centuries following the fall of the Roman Empire—no more Druids. Sentimental medievalism appealed to many middle- and upper-class people as a refuge from change as cities and their slums grew, the number of factories increased, and popular unrest continued.²² Alice Chandler contends, “In contrast to the alienated and divisive atmosphere of an increasingly urbanized and industrialized society, the Middle Ages was seen as familial and patriarchal.”²³ In the Middle Ages, or so the conservative medievalists preached, the social system was secure because master craftsmen took care of their workers, manorial lords looked after their peasants, and in return the masters and lords were respected by their men. Symbols such as neo-Gothic buildings and images of knights were comforting to these critics of modernity because they seemed to point the way backward to a more stable time.

The limits of how literal the attempt to resurrect chivalry would be were established by the Eglinton Tournament of 1839. A group of wealthy young noblemen each spent at least £200, and some upwards of £300 (a good middle-class yearly income) to equip themselves as mounted knights in the style of *Ivanhoe* for a tournament at Eglinton Castle in Scotland. A heavy rainstorm on the planned day of the event turned the knights’ jousting ground to mud, making them look ridiculous. Although the tournament games went off successfully two days later, what everyone remembered was the mud.²⁴ The medieval sport and warfare skill of archery was revived in a modern

²² Rosemary Gill, *God’s Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), 1-2.

²³ Chandler, 3.

²⁴ Alexander, 107-09; Hilton, 482; Matthews, 55, 60; Simmons, 193. Matthews notes, however, that the Eglinton Tournament was re-created in the Cremorne Gardens in Chelsea in 1849; he argues that Eglinton was the beginning of the movement leading to today’s Renaissance Fairs and other medieval re-enactments (60-61). But the larger growth of this movement is more of a 20th- century phenomenon.

format, especially as an upper-class amusement,²⁵ but on the whole, the Victorians preferred to read about the Middle Ages rather than to engage in full-scale playacting. However, by portraying medieval re-creation as a rich man's game, the Eglinton tournament helped to ensure the success of a conservative, sentimental medievalism over what Clare Simmons terms "the vision of medievalism as social equality."²⁶

The government took a major step toward co-opting medievalism for the conservative cause when, in 1836, they chose the neo-Gothic design of Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin for the new Parliament building to replace the one burned in 1834. A few decades earlier, the new building likely would have had a neoclassical design. But during the Napoleonic Wars, Napoleon's fondness for neoclassical architecture had inspired the British to turn to Gothic as their own national style.²⁷ In 1818, Parliament launched a major project to build new churches for the country's growing population. Most of these were built to a Gothic design.²⁸ The Royal Commission judging designs for the new Parliament building decided that they wanted to follow this new trend in order to emphasize Parliament's medieval origins. Their doing so helped elevate the trend into a normative style. For several generations after 1836, Neo-Gothic became the primary architectural mode for churches, civil buildings, and the new railway stations.²⁹

²⁵ Alexander, 109.

²⁶ Simmons, 193-94.

²⁷ Tom Duggett, *Gothic Romanticism: Architecture, Politics, and Literary Form* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 34; Hilton, 480-81. Duggett explains that the British argued away the original French roots of Gothic architecture. The Society of Antiquaries made the statement in 1800 that "if [Gothic style] had not its origin in this country, it certainly arrived at maturity here," and in 1814, John Carter went so far as to claim that English Gothic had evolved directly out of Anglo-Saxon architecture (23-24).

²⁸ Duggett, 61-62; see also Alexander, 80.

²⁹ Alexander, 69-71, 78-79; Charles Dellheim, "Interpreting Victorian Medievalism," in *History and Community: Essays in Victorian Medievalism*, ed. Florence S. Boos, (New York: Garland, 1992), 50-53; Gill, 128-30; 141-52; Girouard, 88-110; Hilton, 477, 479-81; Matthews, 26; Simmons, 191-93.

The Tractarian movement mentioned in in chapter two was actually in large part the Church of England's own medieval revival. Sometimes also called the Oxford Movement for its beginnings in the 1830s at Oxford University, Tractarianism began among a group of Anglican scholars who published their positions in an influential series of short papers called tracts. At first they drew on the work of early theologians to counter both the Evangelicals and traditional High Church leaders who emphasized the interconnections between church and state. The Tractarians increased the amount of ritual in the church to make services more emotionally satisfying for worshippers, and also encouraged renewed attention to medieval and other saints as role models for modern Christians. Critics contended that they were drawing too close to Catholicism. John Henry Newman, did, in fact, leave the Church of England, eventually becoming a Catholic cardinal, but most other prominent Tractarians remained Anglican. By the later Victorian period, the movement involved into Ritualism, or a stance supporting a return to many of the aesthetic elements of Catholicism, such as using incense and decorating the churches with more artwork.³⁰

Although Pugin was never a Tractarian, he shared many of their views, and preceded Newman in converting to Catholicism. While assisting Barry with the design for the new Parliament building, Pugin was also working on his own on a different type of contribution to British architecture: a book titled *Contrasts* (1836, revised 1841). In *Contrasts*, Pugin praises Gothic design, which he calls the pointed or Christian style, and critiques all developments in the building of England's churches since the Protestant

³⁰ Alexander, 99-102; Brown, Stewart J., 100-02, 274-75; Dellheim, 40; Hilton, 468-75; Withycombe, xlv. Tractarianism and Ritualism's emphasis on the saints had a small impact on naming, which will be discussed in the next chapter; see in particular the discussion of the name Cyril.

Reformation, especially anything to do with neoclassicism, which he tendentiously terms “the revived pagan principle.” Pugin ends the book with a series of drawings contrasting various religious and civic scenes of his own day with what he believed would have existed in the 1400s. These drawings contain not only architectural but also social criticism, arguing that 19th-century British society lacked community spirit and an ethos of care for the less fortunate.³¹ *Contrasts* made Pugin many enemies, but it also helped him to find a place among a group whom Rosemary Hill calls “Romantic Catholics,” headed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, who wanted to return England not only to medieval ideals but also to medieval Catholicism. The high point of Pugin’s career came in the Great Exhibition of 1851, in which he was awarded a special display area where he showed medievalist items which he and a group of artists working under his direction had designed and manufactured.³² However, the next year he died, only forty.³³

Pugin’s *Contrasts* formed part of another ideological segment of the medieval revival, a reactionary movement that went beyond seeking solace from change in medieval trappings to using medievalist thought to launch a critique of the problems of the Industrial Revolution. This critique differed from late 18th-century radical medievalism in that it was much less egalitarian and sought to aid the working classes not by empowering the workers but by reviving traditional paternalism.³⁴ For Pugin, architecture played a key role in doing this. Michael Alexander describes Pugin as “the

³¹ A.W.N. Pugin, *Contrasts*, 2nd ed., 1841, introd. H. R. Hitchcock (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969); see also Chandler, 187-88; Hilton, 479-80.

³² Alexander, 127-28; Hill, 445, 454-55, 464; Matthews, 55; Simmons, 194.

³³ Hill, 484-90.

³⁴ Robert Southey was actually the originator of this paternalistic medievalism, which Boyd Hilton refers to as the “organicist tradition.” Kenelm Digby’s *The Broadstone of Honour* (1822-27) was a key early work in this school (Chandler, 156; Girouard, 55-56; Hilton, 478).

first in his generation . . . to see the warping effects of much of England's industrial prosperity upon the lives of her people, to attack it with passion and wit, and to offer a moral critique of architecture as expressing social ideals."³⁵

Philosopher and historian Thomas Carlyle was not primarily a medievalist, but he drew upon the Middle Ages for his influential *Past and Present* (1843), an important work in the paternalistic tradition. In this work, Carlyle contrasts early Victorian industrialized society with the life and leadership found in the medieval monastery of St. Edmund's, arguing forcefully against the exploitation of the poor and workers in his own day. Although he considers St. Edmund's at its best to have been an idyllic place where the monks were well cared for, he does not argue for trying to re-create medieval conditions. Rather, he contends that the industrial capitalists—"captains of industry"—need to learn from medieval ideals of leadership and set themselves to the task of making improvements to society.³⁶

The art critic John Ruskin shared Pugin's belief that architecture reflected and shaped a society's ideals, but he admired neither Pugin personally, nor the new Houses of Parliament. Ruskin believed that the best Gothic architecture was to be found not in England but in Italy, particularly Venice. In 1848-49, he made two long stays in the city to catalogue its architecture. The resulting work, *The Stones of Venice* (1851-53) was not only an exhaustive description of Venice's buildings and a history of its rise and decline as a state, but also a persuasive work on what good architecture means to a society.

³⁵ Alexander, 72.

³⁶ Alexander, 84-87; Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*, 1843, ed. Chris R. Vanden Bossche (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Chandler, 135-51; Andrzej Diniejko, "Thomas Carlyle and the Origin of the 'Condition of England Question,'" *The Victorian Web*, <http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/carlyle/diniejko1.html> [accessed February 3, 2016].

Ruskin, a committed Protestant, explained away the Catholic parts of Gothicism which Pugin and Shrewsbury had emphasized, and made Gothic architecture more about imperial glory than religious renewal. Jan Morris contends that it was Ruskin “above all others, who persuaded the British public that the Gothic style was the proper one . . . to express their greatness as it had expressed the greatness of Venice” in its medieval heyday as an imperial power and commercial state. However, Ruskin valued medieval architecture not only for its grandeur but also for its lack of standardization, which he contrasted with the machine-made products of the Industrial Revolution.³⁷

Ruskin was a critic not only of architecture but also of painting and painters. He wrote enthusiastically about Italian late medieval painters such as Giotto and Fra Angelico, and was a strong supporter of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (founded 1848), a group of artists who were initially inspired by these same painters.³⁸ Although Ruskin was not himself a designer, his ideas helped inspire William Morris, the medievalist founder of the Arts and Crafts movement. Morris was the last of the major Victorian social critics to be inspired by medievalism, and the only one who embraced socialism. He worked at different times in a wide variety of artistic fields including painting, interior decoration, and the printing of books. Also an author, Morris wrote both nonfiction (essays and pamphlets) and poetry, much of it medievalist (*The Defence of Guinevere*, 1858; *The Earthly Paradise*, 1868-1870, and much more). On social thought, Morris began as a disciple of not only Ruskin but also Carlyle. He was disturbed by the

³⁷ Alexander, 88-90; Chandler, 201-02; Jan Morris, “Introduction,” *The Stones of Venice*, by John Ruskin, 1851-53, abridged by Jan Morris (London: Faber & Faber, 1981), 8, 12, 15, 18-20, 22-23, 26-28, quotation from 27.

³⁸ Chandler, 198, 209-12, 215-17; Triggs, 147.

mechanization of many of the old crafts, and he believed that people would be happier if they worked with their hands and lived among handmade items. Beginning in the late 1870s, he decided that socialism was the best way to ensure the dignity of workers, and he became a socialist activist.³⁹ However, his medievalism did not spread among other socialists, doubtless because the medieval revival had by this time been too long part of the ideological and artistic mainstream to enthrone a new generation of radicals.

Medievalism was, however, still inspiring creative authors in the later 19th century. The literature of Victorian medievalism covered a wide array of genres and topics. Medieval themes were popular in Victorian poetry, most famously in Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1859-85), a series of twelve verse narratives retelling stories from the Arthurian legends.⁴⁰ Linda K. Hughes explains that many regarded the *Idylls* as "the great Victorian epic."⁴¹ Algernon Swinburne (*Tristram of Lyonesse*, 1882) and Morris (discussed above) were among other writers who composed important medievalist poetry.⁴² Despite the popularity of *Ivanhoe*, the medieval revival had a much smaller impact on the Victorian novel. There are a few examples, though, including George Eliot's *Romola* (1863) and R.L. Stevenson's *The Black Arrow* (1888).⁴³ Author and politician Benjamin Disraeli wrote a trilogy of novels including *Sybil* (1845), which were set in modern times but based on mediievally influenced social criticism.⁴⁴

³⁹ Oscar Lovell Triggs, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (New York: Parkstone International, 2009), 22-23, 27, 43, 46, 54, 61-62, 69, 74, 79-80, 86, 91.

⁴⁰ Alexander, 114-26; Alfred, Lord Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*, 1859-85, ed. J. M. Gray (1983, repr. London: Penguin, 2004).

⁴¹ Hughes, 62.

⁴² Alexander, 173-77; Dellheim, 40.

⁴³ Alexander, 126, 153. Patrick Brantlinger and Mark Girouard list a few additional titles (Patrick Brantlinger, "Race and the Victorian Novel," in David, 130-31; Girouard, 264-65).

⁴⁴ Alexander, 90-95; Brantlinger, 131; Chandler, 169-80; Girouard, 84.

Literature was the primary vehicle for bringing new names into the public consciousness in the Victorian era, and more medievalist examples will be discussed in chapter four, as part of case studies on specific medieval revival names.

The paradox of the Victorian medieval revival is that it permeated the culture while having little lasting influence on the direction of British society. The government that decided in 1836 to rebuild the Parliament building in neo-Gothic was the same one that had passed the Great Reform Act in 1832.⁴⁵ The Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884 moved Britain in the direction of democracy and an eventual 20th-century universal adult franchise, not back toward feudalism. Industrial capitalism did not give way to a revival of small craftsmen and peasant agriculture, but intensified in the later 19th century. And, although Tractarianism and Ritualism had a significant effect on the Church of England, they were not able to bring back the pervasive religiosity of the Middle Ages. By the end of the Victorian period, church attendance was falling, and, as Stewart J. Brown explains, “there was a sense . . . that the public influence of Christianity was beginning to recede, slowly but perceptibly.”⁴⁶ For a large-scale movement like medievalism to be such a massive failure, it must either be defeated in a culture war by strong opponents, or else the majority of its participants never took it seriously as a force for social change.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ According to British terminology, the “government” changes every time there is a new prime minister and cabinet, so it must be clarified that Lord Grey, the prime minister responsible for the Great Reform Act, was no longer in office by 1836 (Hilton, 658). But there was no major upheaval such as the ones France experienced in the 19th century with its periods of monarchy, republic, and empire.

⁴⁶ Stewart J. Brown, 398-99. Quotation is from 398.

⁴⁷ Hilton provides a third possibility, that medievalism did not succeed because intellectuals could not agree on a version of the past to set up as the national myth but were divided into incompatible intellectual camps (483-85). He is partly right, but I do not believe that even a more united set of idealists could have truly launched a “back to the past” movement in 19th century Britain.

The vast majority of Victorians had no desire to bring back any significant aspect of the Middle Ages. A small number of intellectuals, such as Pugin, Ruskin, and Morris, devoted much of their lives to the movement, and others such as Disraeli (and many less famous people) passed through a romantic medievalist phase as young adults.⁴⁸ For the rest, the revival was mainly a source of cultural motifs to assist them in coping with a period of intense transitions. Medieval culture offered what Charles Dellheim calls “a symbolic language” to help the Victorians process change. For example, contends Dellheim, “the Gothic style of railway stations such as St. Pancras domesticated the new world of the iron horse by framing it in medieval architecture.”⁴⁹ That is, the British adapted to change in part by using the symbols of the Middle Ages to help make new things such as the railway seem culturally more familiar.

The Victorians were not capable of rushing headlong into modernism in fields such as art, architecture, and literature. Intermediate developments had to occur to prepare for modernism, such as Impressionism in painting and Aestheticism in art, interior decoration, and literature. In the meantime, it was natural that they would look backward for a historical influence to steady themselves. As England had remained heavily medieval until the 1500s and 1600s,⁵⁰ and then had developed a culture with strong neoclassical influences, the Victorians had only two options. They could either continue with the Gothic revival begun in the late 18th century, or they could abandon it

⁴⁸ Alexander, 90-96; Girouard, 81-86; Hilton, 487.

⁴⁹ Dellheim, 42-43, 53. Quotation is from 53.

⁵⁰ Strictly speaking, of course, the Middle Ages ended with the Protestant Reformation, but I am arguing generally here that England saw a gradual cultural paradigm shift over the 1500s and 1600s from medievalism to neoclassicism that was not complete until the Restoration. In the early 1800s, many saw the period from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War (mid-15th to mid-17th centuries) as the “Olden Time” era, which they romanticized the same way as they did the Middle Ages proper (Hilton, 481-82).

and return to neoclassicism. Although neoclassicism remained a part of the culture in 19th-century Britain, the Victorians—and the upper middle classes in particular—chose the medieval revival as their dominant historical inspiration.

They had three main reasons for doing so. First, in the 1830s and 1840s, medievalism was still fairly novel, whereas neoclassicism was associated with the 18th century. Returning to neoclassicism would have been trying to resist change rather than creatively adapting to it. Also, the medieval revival was much more English. Britain had no ancient ties to Greece, and during the Roman Empire, it was a colonial backwater. But the country had hundreds of years of medieval history to draw upon. Although for much of the High Middle Ages, England had been ruled by kings who were more French than English, the medieval revival period was not an era of rigorous history. The architectural historians of the Napoleonic Wars era, discussing the origins of Gothic architecture, had begun the process of recasting England's medieval history to elide the French elements and emphasize the English ones.⁵¹ Britain emerged as the greatest military power in Europe after the defeat of Napoleon, and was also a major imperial power again, having gained significant territories during the wars with France that made up for their loss of the American colonies in 1783.⁵² With Britain's greatness established, it made no sense for the country to turn back to European neoclassicism. Rather, the English British set about consolidating their own cultural identity, and the medieval revival was a useful framework within which to do this.

⁵¹ Ruskin brought Italian Gothic into the Gothic revival, but only in the early 1850s when medievalism was well established. I will argue in chapter four that the preponderance of specifically English medieval names shows that in the popular consciousness, the medieval revival was very much about Englishness.

⁵² Hilton, 237-38, 241.

Finally, the medieval revival was a beneficial cultural movement for the upper middle classes because it was intellectually more accessible, especially for women, than neoclassicism with its ultimate dependence on classical Latin and Greek literature. As discussed in chapter one, Latin and Greek education was widely available throughout the Victorian era, but only to boys whose parents had the money to pay for it and thought it fitting for their and their sons' proposed future station in life. Not all men in the upper middle classes, especially businessmen, had such an education, and even if they did, most probably did not have the time to keep up with their classical reading after they left school and embarked upon a career. Language skills left unpracticed weaken considerably over time. And of course the classics was primarily a male dominion in the 19th century; women were discouraged from studying Latin or Greek, and most did not, especially before women were admitted to Oxford and Cambridge in the 1870s.

Serious study of the medieval era is quite as rigorous a pursuit as that of the classical period, and requires just as much Latin (though not necessarily Greek). But the popular reading for the medieval revival was all in English. Mark Girouard, discussing how a Victorian young man acquired the knowledge of chivalry necessary to be considered a gentleman, explains that he need not have read the difficult books such as Carlyle's *Past and Present*, but there were a number of easier works "which inculcated the principles of chivalrous behaviour by means of memorable poetry or gripping stories." These included historical novels by Scott, Charlotte M. Yonge, and Arthur Conan Doyle, and poetry by Tennyson, William Ernest Henley, and Henry Newbolt.⁵³ The usual medievalist reading for girls and women probably differed somewhat, but

⁵³ Girouard, 263-65. Quotation is from 264.

would not have been substantially more rigorous. The medieval revival was, for the average member of the upper middle class, a form of popular culture, and well within the reach of the average reader of *Cornhill* and other middle-class magazines, and the selections of Mudie's Library.

The Victorian upper middle classes found the medieval revival to be a useful source of names for reasons that were similar to those for why they found the movement attractive in the first place. Very likely their search for new names was in the first place an attempt to distinguish themselves as a rising and modern class, by moving away both from names associated with the 18th-century aristocracy (Hanoverian names such as Charlotte and Sophia, or Latinate names like Julia and Isabella) and from the classic names such as Mary and Elizabeth that had been borne by so many women in so many generations that they were common in a class sense as well. For people newly arrived into the upper middle classes, the classic names were probably also ones that would bring back memories of previous generations of family members in less desirable circumstances. To assert their identity as a class, they needed new names for their children. 19th-century parents were culturally no more capable of going straight from Mary and Elizabeth to coining brand-new names such as Hailey and Brooklyn than were painters able to jump directly from the styles of Gainsborough and Reynolds into abstract art. If the Victorians were going to have new names, those names had to come from somewhere. The medieval revival was at hand and accessible, with plenty of literary characters to suggest new names. In the next chapter, we will examine the specific choices these parents made from the medieval revival.

CHAPTER IV

NAMES OF THE MEDIEVAL REVIVAL

The medieval revival probably began to inspire new names around the 1790s, and as noted in chapter two, it had created a few popular names by 1825-1840. It became key to British naming trends in 1840-1855, with five out of ten trending names for women, and five out of nine for men, being linked to the revival. For women, medievalism peaked as a source of new names in 1855-1870, while total usage was at its height, 31.2 percent, in 1870-1885. By 1885-1900, medievalism in women's naming had declined significantly, down to 16.5 percent. For men, the influence of the revival also peaked in 1870-1885, at 27.6 percent, but there were still new men's medieval revival names in 1885-1900, and the total share was only reduced to 26.0 percent. Names of the medieval revival are those which were popular at some point in the Middle Ages, fell out of wide use, and were brought back during the revival. A few names will also be labeled medievalist, even if they had never dropped out of wide use, if they were strongly trending at some point in the 19th century for reasons that can be linked to the medieval revival.¹ Some link to the medieval revival is key, because, as was discussed in chapter two, most traditional English names were actually introduced during the Middle Ages.

¹ For most of the medieval revival names, the evidence that they had dropped out of fashion is that they were not in wide use for the 1825-1840 period. However, names that were in wide use for 1825-1840 can still be said to be early revival names if they do not appear in Smith-Bannister's top fifty for the 1690s, and if the name dictionaries indicate that they were out of favor during the 18th century. There is, unfortunately, no list of names for the 1700s comparable to the data from Smith-Bannister for the 1500s and 1600s.

There are two common themes among these names that help to explain why many among the upper middle classes of late Georgian and Victorian Britain chose them for their children. First, many of these names have solid roots in English history (such as the royal names Alfred and Edith) and/or national legends (Marian, from the Robin Hood story, and Arthur). As I discussed in chapter three, one of the reasons why the bourgeoisie were interested in the medieval revival is that it helped them consolidate an English British cultural identity. This was important because Britain had become a greatly more important power after the Napoleonic Wars, and the British needed a strong culture at home to match their status abroad. Reviving historic English names was a way to help form this identity. This need for Englishness does much to explain why the fondness for Venice sparked by Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* did not lead to new Italianate names. The British at that time were not ready for the foreign influence.

Additionally, many of the names came out of, or were spread to a broader audience through, literary works such as novels, poetry, and history books. As I covered in the thesis introduction, the upper middle classes were great readers during this period, especially of periodicals and books obtained through circulating libraries. To return to Linda K. Hughes' statement, the 19th century was "the first era of mass media. For the Victorians, that mass medium was print."² That is, the Victorians spread ideas among the people more extensively than ever before via a broadly circulating medium, print, as opposed to through methods of personal communication such as ministers preaching from the pulpit, or a wealthy landowner influencing his tenants. As Peter Earle points out, print culture was accessible to the middle classes of London at least by the late

² Hughes, 1.

1600s.³ However, they were not culturally prepared to adopt their own new names yet. When the British bourgeoisie were ready, print culture was expanding, and it was a natural resource, or “marketplace” (as analogized in the introduction), for them to select new names. It must be noted that the favored authors were not necessarily those studied today in literature classes such as the Brontë sisters, Charles Dickens, George Eliot, and Elizabeth Gaskell. The “high” medievalists such as Carlyle and Ruskin were also not the ones influencing names. Rather, the choice of authors—various, but Scott and Edward Bulwer-Lytton were among the most important—shows that, as was discussed in chapter three, popular culture had its own medievalism, primarily consisting of romantic works.

It will be noted that four of the medievalist names (Alice, Alfred, Arthur, and Beatrice) were used for various of Queen Victoria’s children. Since it has been stressed in the introduction and chapter two that royal influence was not significant at this time period, I must digress to clarify this point. My argument is that the queen was a follower rather than a leader in naming trends. The main evidence for this is that Victoria had a total of nine children, the other four being Victoria, Albert “Bertie” (later Edward VI), Helena, Louise, and Leopold. The first two were named for their parents, and the remaining three for other relatives. None of these five names was fashionably popular when she chose it, and none became so afterward, as one would expect if large numbers of people were choosing baby names to honor the royal family.⁴

³ Earle, 10.

⁴ The only name brought into real prominence by Victoria’s family was that of her husband, Albert, and that not among the *Times* classes but in the lower middle and working classes. The name Albert shows up in the *Times* lists as consistently well used, but never rises to popularity. Yet Leslie Dunkling’s list of top fifty first names for boys in England and Wales shows Albert jumping dramatically in popularity between 1800 but debuted in twentieth place in 1850, rose to eleventh place in 1875, and peaked at ninth place in 1900 (Dunkling, 47). I have used this source rather than the lists from Nickerson because her data only

Victoria chose medievalist names for four of her children because they were historically English. Her former prime minister and close adviser Lord Melbourne tried to persuade her to name her oldest son Edward Albert instead of Albert Edward, because Edward was a more typically English name. She ignored the hint then, but when her next child, Alice, was born, Victoria wrote to her uncle that she had chosen not only the baby's first name but also Maud, one of her two middle names, because each was "an old English name."⁵ After the birth of Beatrice, her last child, the queen wrote in her journal that "[It] is a lovely name meaning *Blessed*, & has been borne by 3 English Princesses."⁶ Arthur, as will be discussed below, was for the Duke of Wellington, while Alfred was almost certainly after Alfred the Great. Biographer Dorothy Thompson writes that Queen Victoria and those who handled what would be today called her public image cultivated the idea that "an atmosphere of middle-class family virtue surrounded the throne."

Thompson points out that much of Victoria's life had no relation to that of the

goes back as far as 1860. Heavy use among the working classes not represented in the *Times* study is the most likely hypothesis for the discrepancy between the two sets of lists. If Dunkling's popularity figures are accurate, working-class parents must have admired the name from the time Prince Albert first married the queen. But after the Prince Consort's death, Victoria's bombardment of the country, particularly London, with the Albert Hall, the Albert Memorial, and numerous statues of Albert, may have continued to raise the name's profile. A factor giving the name working-class appeal would be its easy shortening to Bert, which fits in with older working-class names such as Tom, Dick, and Harry.

⁵ Queen Victoria to King Leopold, 16 May 1843, *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. 1, 480. See also Reginald Pound, *Albert: A Biography of the Prince Consort* (London: Michael Joseph, 1973), 114; Woodham-Smith, 233. Alice's biographer claims that the specific choice of Alice was due to its being a favorite name of Lord Melbourne, but gives no primary source reference to back up this contention (Gerard Noel, *Princess Alice: Queen Victoria's Forgotten Daughter*, [London: Constable, 1974], 22-23; see also Jerrold M. Packard, *Victoria's Daughters*, [New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998], 26).

⁶ Queen Victoria, entry for 29 April 1857, *Journals*, edited by Princess Beatrice, ProQuest [accessed September 27, 2012]. Patrick W. Montague-Smith's *The Royal Line of Succession* includes one prior Princess Beatrice: in the mid-13th century, Henry III and Eleanor of Provence gave their youngest daughter the name. It is unclear whether Victoria was mistaken about the other two princesses or was counting additional women not listed in Montague-Smith. Beatrice, daughter of William de Fauquemont, Count of Mountjoye, was the third wife of Richard, Earl of Cornwall – Henry III's younger brother, who was elected "King of the Romans" in 1256 and died 1272. She might have been one of Victoria's Beatrices, but she was not actually English (Montague-Smith, 8).

bourgeoisie; for instance, she ate her meals off solid gold plates.⁷ But in the matter of naming her children, the queen was right in the mix of the upper-middle class trend. It is possible, especially with Alice and Beatrice, that her choice might have given a boost to names already on the way up. But even if this is case, Victoria's legacy in naming is far smaller than that of her Hanoverian predecessors. She was a participant, not a leader, in the medieval revival in naming.

The 1825-1840 period shows three popular and four well-used medieval revival names. The women's names were Emma (popular) and Marian/Marion (well used), while the men's names were Alfred and Arthur (popular), and Albert, Edwin, and Herbert (well used). Emma is significant because it was the first of the medieval revival names for either gender, rising in the late 18th century. It was originally a Frankish Old German name, and dates back at least as far as Emma of Altdorf (d. 876), wife of Charlemagne's grandson Louis the German. The western Franks, or French, passed the name on to the Normans. Duke Richard I of Normandy's daughter Emma (985-1052) married King Æthelred II (the Unready) of England. She was later the wife of King Canute, and the mother, by Æthelred, of Edward the Confessor. Less famous Norman wives and daughters also brought the name to England following the Conquest. Emma became much used in Anglo-Norman England, though it did not reappear in the royal family. It remained popular through the Middle Ages, but by the 1500s, it was beginning to decline.⁸ In Smith-Bannister's lists, it is one of several names tied for thirtieth place for

⁷ Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power*, (London: Virago, 1990), 42, 124. Quotation from 42.

⁸ Dunkling and Gosling, 128; Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 97-98, 107-12; Room, 216-17; Wilson, 107; Withycombe, 103.

the 1540s. Emma remained in fairly common use through the early 1600s, but dropped out of the top fifty from the 1650s.⁹

Emma's revival was launched by a 1709 poem by Matthew Prior, *Henry and Emma*, based on the medieval ballad "The Nut-Brown Maid." The poem was popular for over a century, as is clear from a reference in Jane Austen's *Persuasion* (1818).¹⁰ It is unclear exactly when the name took off, but its similarity to the Hanoverian names Amelia and Emily likely helped it achieve popularity. Emma Hamilton (1761-1815) was famous for being the mistress of British naval hero Admiral Horatio Nelson. Although the glamor of their affair faded as the Evangelical movement pressed stricter morals on society,¹¹ the name was by then common enough not to be exclusively associated with Hamilton. Austen, a respectable clergyman's daughter, would otherwise hardly have chosen Emma as the name of her protagonist, and the title, for her 1815 fourth novel.¹²

The first men's name of the medieval revival was Alfred. It was originally Anglo-Saxon and was most famously borne by King Alfred of Wessex (r. 871-899), who prevented his kingdom from falling to the Viking warlords who had already conquered Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia. He then reorganized his army and began to retake territory from the Vikings. His son and grandson completed the task of unifying England for the first time since the Romans. Alfred was a Christian king, and he used

⁹ Smith-Bannister, 196-201.

¹⁰ Jane Austen, *Persuasion: An Annotated Edition*, 1818, ed. Robert Morrison (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 164 n27; Paula R. Backscheider, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets and Their Poetry: Inventing Agency, Inventing Genre* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 35.

¹¹ Dunkling and Gosling, 128; Room, 216-17; Kate Williams, *England's Mistress: The Infamous Life of Emma Hamilton* (London: Hutchinson, 2006), 328, 355, 366; Withycombe, 103. If using Hamilton to date the emergence of the name, it must be noted that she was born Amy Lyon, and only took the name Emma (originally Emma Hart) in 1782 at the request of her lover Charles Greville (Williams, 77-78).

¹² Jane Austen, *Emma*, 1815, ed. Fiona Stafford (London: Penguin, 2003).

religion as an argument for bringing territory beyond Wessex under his rule, contending for Christian unity against the pagan Vikings. However, there was never enough support to get Alfred a sainthood, even though he was also a scholar, collecting Christian books and translating some of them from Latin into Anglo-Saxon.¹³ After the Norman Conquest, when the English began to use Norman names, the handful of Anglo-Saxon names that stayed in favor were all saints' names. Alfred became rare, and remained so through the early modern period.¹⁴ It does not appear in Smith-Bannister's top fifty lists for any of the decades between the 1540s and the 1690s.¹⁵ Yet the early modern English were rethinking Alfred's reputation, even if they were not naming their sons for him. His lack of a sainthood became an advantage after the Reformation. As Barbara Yorke explains, "As a pious king with an interest in promoting the use of English, Alfred was an ideal figurehead for the emerging Protestant church." It was in the 16th century, not in Anglo-Saxon times, when he became known as Alfred the Great.¹⁶

King Alfred caught more of the public imagination when he was again revived by Sharon Turner in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1799-1805), one of the early historical works of the medieval revival and a well-read book which went through at least six editions by 1850. Alfred was a key figure in the Norman Yoke political theory discussed in chapter three. Through the constant propagandizing of activists such as Major John Cartwright, Alfred gained a popular reputation as an early exemplar of limited constitutional monarchy, though this view is based on an extremely tendentious reading

¹³ Montague-Smith, 6; Barbara Yorke, "The Most Perfect Man in History?" *History Today*, October 1999, 8-9, MasterFile Premier database [accessed August 2, 2015].

¹⁴ Dunkling and Gosling, 12-13; Room, 49-50; Wilson, 90-91; Withycombe, 14.

¹⁵ Smith-Bannister, 191-96.

¹⁶ Clare A. Simmons, *Reversing the Conquest: History and Myth in Nineteenth-Century British Literature*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 25; Yorke, 9-10.

of the evidence for Anglo-Saxon government.¹⁷ But neither Alfred the Great nor the name Alfred was limited to the radicals. The name was popular by 1825-1840 and still trending in 1840-1855, during which it peaked at a 2.8 percent share. As mentioned above, Queen Victoria chose the name for her second son in 1844, likely indicating that she believed that Alfred was a king worth taking as a model.¹⁸

In the second half of the century, Alfred was well known as the first name of the poet laureates Tennyson (in the post from 1850-1892; his *Idylls of the King* are discussed in chapter three) and Austin (1896-1913). Although Austin published the long dramatic poem *England's Darling* about Alfred the Great in 1896, the king survived into the later Victorian era primarily as a moral exemplar, for instance in Charles Dickens' *Child's History of England*, rather than as a political hero or a romantic figure for poetry. The king's millenary was celebrated in 1901 to stress the continuity of England's dynastic rule and the contemporary glory of the British Empire.¹⁹ But the name Alfred was well past its peak by the end of the century. It held steady in 1855-1870, losing only 0.1 percentage share. In 1870-1885, Alfred fell out of popularity to a 1.7 percent share, though it remained roughly constant (with a 0.1 percent increase) for 1885-1900.

The other popular medievalist name of 1825-1840, Arthur, is probably of Irish Gaelic origins. It has been known since the early Middle Ages as the name of the great king of the Celts in Britain, or in a later and more romantic context as the husband of Guinevere and the patron of the Knights of the Round Table. By the time William the

¹⁷ Hilton, 483; Simmons, *Reversing the Conquest*, 31-41.

¹⁸ Simmons, *Reversing the Conquest*, 175; see also Yorke, 13. Prince Alfred was, and was intended from birth to be, the heir of his father's childless older brother Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

¹⁹ Simmons, *Reversing the Conquest*, 40, 175, 185-90; Yorke, 13. Yorke explains that the millenary was celebrated in 1901 because the Victorians misunderstood Alfred's year of death as 901, instead of 899.

Conqueror's government surveyed England for the Domesday Book (1086), Arthur was in general use as an English name. It remained common through the mid-1600s. Near the end of the Middle Ages, it was given a fresh boost through Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (1485) and Henry VII's choice of the name for his oldest son, born in 1486. (Prince Arthur died in 1502, predeceasing his father by seven years.)²⁰ Arthur was never in the top twenty for any of Smith-Bannister's lists, but varied up and down in the lower ranks of the top fifty for each decade from the 1540s through the 1630s. During the 1640s, it dropped out of the top fifty, and reappeared only once, in forty-sixth place for the 1680s.²¹ This decrease in the use of the name likely reflects a loss of interest in the Arthurian legend, which is also demonstrated by the *Morte d'Arthur*'s being allowed to go out of print for nearly two centuries after its last early modern edition of 1634.²²

The name Arthur was already popular by 1825-1840, and had likely started to be revived in the 1810s. The initial spur for the name Arthur to be used again was not from an ancient king but a modern war hero: Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington (1769-1852), victorious general of the Peninsular Wars and the Battle of Waterloo.²³ Wellington lived until 1852 and was widely remembered and revered as a British hero for several decades after his death.²⁴ Queen Victoria much admired the duke, and named her

²⁰ Alexander, 36-37; Dunkling and Gosling, 32; Montague-Smith, 16; Room, 77-78; Withycombe, 32-33; Yonge, *Christian Names*, 266-68.

²¹ Smith-Bannister, 191-96.

²² Alexander, 34.

²³ Despite the decline of the name Arthur in the late 17th century, it was maintained in certain families, including an Anglo-Irish family named Hill, later Hill-Trevor. The future duke was named for his maternal grandfather, Arthur Hill-Trevor, 1st Viscount Dungannon (Darryl Lundy, "Hon. Anne Hill," *The Peerage*, <http://thepeerage.com/p10256.htm#i102558> [accessed August 2, 2015 - February 18, 2016].

²⁴ Both Yonge and Edward Whitaker, writing an article for *Cornhill* in 1871, attribute the name Arthur's popularity to the Duke of Wellington (Edward Whitaker, "Christian Names in England and Wales," *The Cornhill Magazine*, March 1871, 346, British Periodicals database [accessed October 20, 2014]; Yonge,

third son in his honor. (The young prince was born on Wellington's birthday, and Victoria took advantage of the coincidence to ask the duke to be her son's godfather.)²⁵ The *Morte d'Arthur* was not reprinted until 1816, and it is clear from a lack of references in Romantic poetry that the Arthurian legend was little known at that time.²⁶

However, in 1816 and 1817, important new editions of Malory were released, and in 1824, Sir Walter Scott much praised the *Morte d'Arthur* in an essay for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. From the 1830s, English poets, starting with Tennyson, began to use Arthurian subjects. Although the first part of *Idylls of the King* did not come out until 1859, Tennyson was writing poems about Arthur much earlier, and included some in his published collections of 1832 and 1842. These works, in turn, influenced Dante Gabriel Rossetti and others of the Pre-Raphaelites to include Arthurian subjects in their painting repertoire. Finally, the general public was beginning to be widely exposed to King Arthur.²⁷ From the 1830s, therefore, Arthur can be said to be partly a medieval revival name. It was trending in 1840-1855 and 1855-1870. During the latter period—the era of the publication of much of *Idylls of the King*—it reached the height of its popularity with a 4.4 percent share. The name declined in both 1870-1885 and 1885-1900, but only slightly, and still held a 3.5 percent share in 1885-1900. Although Arthur was only in sixth place at its actual peak of usage, due to declines by other names, it was in fifth place for both 1870-1885 and 1885-1900. It was the only men's medieval revival name to enter the top five.

Christian Names, 268; see also Phil Stephensen-Payne, "The Cornhill Magazine v23, #135," The FictionMags Index, <http://www.philsp.com/homeville/FMI/t/t1437.htm> [accessed February 18, 2016].

²⁵ Michael De-la-Noy, *Queen Victoria at Home*, (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003), 151; Packard, 41; St. Aubyn, 182-83, Weintraub, 215; Woodham-Smith, 310.

²⁶ Alexander, 34.

²⁷ Alexander, 111-26; Hilton, 483; Matthews 78-79.

Of the well-used medieval revival names for 1825-1840, Marian/Marion's medieval connection is Maid Marian from the Robin Hood tales.²⁸ Edwin is, like Alfred, an Anglo-Saxon name, best known in history from the 7th-century king Edwin of Northumbria.²⁹ Although Albert was after 1840 best known as the name of Queen Victoria's husband, well before their marriage, Scott had already used it for at least three characters in his works.³⁰ Herbert is an Anglo-Norman name, not much used as a first name after the 13th century. In the 15th and 16th century it was also the surname of the Earls of Pembroke. It is unclear why it should have begun to come back into fashion in the early 19th century.³¹

For the remainder of the study, the most relevant set of names to examine is the list of trending names, or those that had a rise in percentage share of at least 0.5 percent (ten additional instances) from one tabulating period to the next. Once into the second period of the study, where it is possible to have a trending list, such a list is more valuable than looking at popular and well used names. Popular names had to have at least a 2.0 percentage share; there are many names that should be included which did not reach that

²⁸ Marian/Marion: Dunkling and Gosling, 278, 280; Room, 432, 436; Withycombe, 209. Robin Hood was a character in Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819), and in 1820 a reprint appeared of Joseph Ritson's 1795 collection of Robin Hood ballads, mentioning *Ivanhoe* in its preface. Thomas Love Peacock published the Robin Hood novel *Maid Marian* in 1822 (Thomas Love Peacock, *Maid Marian* [London: T. Hookham, 1822], Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=2QtgAAAaAAJ&> [accessed March 1, 2016]; Joseph Ritson, *Robin Hood: A Collection of All the Ancient Poems, Songs, and Ballads* [1795; repr. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820], vii, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=w7YDAAAAQAAJ&pg> [accessed March 1, 2016]; Scott, *Ivanhoe*).

²⁹ Edwin: Dunkling and Gosling, 117; Room, 204; Withycombe, 95.

³⁰ Albert: Dunkling and Gosling, 9; Room, 46; Withycombe, 9. Scott has characters named Albert in the medievalist poems "The Fire King" (1801) and *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), and the novel *Anne of Geierstein* (1829) (Sir Walter Scott, *Anne of Geierstein* [1829, repr. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1871], Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=Rz1TAAAaAAJ&pg> [accessed March 3, 2016]; "The Fire King," in *Tales of Wonder*, ed. Matthew Gregory Lewis [Dublin: Nicholas Kelly, 1801], Vol. I, 59-66, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=qX0OAAAAQAAJ&> [accessed March 3, 2016]; *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* [Edinburgh: James Ballantyne, 1805], Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=jA4OAAAAQAAJ&> [accessed March 3, 2016]).

³¹ Herbert: Dunkling and Gosling, 181; Room, 291-92; Withycombe, 150.

high level of usage. The problem with well used names is that a name can rise into that category by simply adding one instance from one period to the next (if it had nine instances before, and goes up to ten). A rise of one instance in 2,000 names is hardly significant, but a rise of ten instances surely is. Only medieval revival trending names will be discussed below; the remainder will be covered in chapter five. From 1840 onward, there are too many names to cover the origins of each of them, but several more detailed case studies will be presented on the most important names.

For 1840-1855, there were nine trending names, and five of them are medievalist: Alice, Edith, Amy, Florence, and Constance.³² Alice was the most popular of these names, in fourth place. Edith was also popular; the other three were well used. Alice and Edith were the two most widely used medievalist names for the 19th century, each being given to a total of 2.6 percent of women across the *Times* study sample, and both will therefore be analyzed in detail. Alice is an old French name derived from the Old German Adalheit, brought to England by the Normans. For example, the second Norman abbess of the convent at Barking was named Alice. The name was never used in the English royal family, but Alice Perrers was mistress to Edward III. Chaucer chose the name for his Wife of Bath. Alice appears in fourth place in the 1540s, the first decade in Smith-Bannister's study.³³ For the rest of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th, it ranged between third and seventh places. From the 1660s, it began a slight drop, falling

³² Amy: Dunkling and Gosling, 20; Room, 59-60; Withycombe, 20-21. Florence: Dunkling and Gosling, 145-46; Room, 242-43; Withycombe, 119. Constance: Dunkling and Gosling, 83; Room, 157-58; Withycombe, 72.

³³ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, trans. into Modern English by Nevill Coghill (London: Penguin, 1977), 267; Dunkling and Gosling, 13; Edmund King, *Medieval England: From Hastings to Bosworth* (Stroud, UK: Tempus, 2005), 218-19; Room, 51; Wilson, 90; Withycombe, 15-16.

to twelfth place in the 1690s.³⁴ However, at some point in the 18th century, it went into a sharp decline, with the *Times* list for 1825-1840 showing only three instances of Alice. It revived dramatically in 1840-1855, as noted.

The resurgence of Alice apparently began with the leading female character in Edward Bulwer-Lytton's novel *Ernest Maltravers* (1837) and its sequel *Alice, or The Mysteries* (1838).³⁵ These novels have a contemporary setting, but there are still clear links to the medieval revival. First, Scott wrote a medieval-style ballad called "Alice Brand," which he included in his 1810 *The Lady of the Lake*. His works continued to be well read into the Victorian era, and "Alice Brand" may have had a delayed influence on the name's popularity.³⁶ It may also have inspired Bulwer-Lytton to use the name. Additionally, Alice was such a common medieval name that the Victorians were likely to have had some knowledge of its history. One piece of evidence for this comes from Queen Victoria, who as noted above gave the name to her second daughter in 1843. As the queen's comment to her uncle about Maud being a form of Matilda is historically accurate, she was probably aware that both Alice and Maud were medieval.³⁷ Charlotte Mary Yonge later identified Alice as one of the names brought in by the "archaic influence."³⁸ Alice rose to second place in 1855-1870, with a 4.7 percent share. This

³⁴ Smith-Bannister, 196-201.

³⁵ Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Alice, or the Mysteries* (1838, repr. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1842), Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=pn7UfUtoKQUC&pg> [accessed August 10, 2015 - February 11, 2016]; Bulwer-Lytton, *Ernest Maltravers* (1837, repr. Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1837), Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=TCMPAAAAQAAJ&> [accessed August 10, 2015 - February 11, 2016].

³⁶ Sir Walter Scott, "Alice Brand," *The Lady of the Lake: A Poem* (Edinburgh: John Ballantyne and Co., 1810), 158-65, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=Ag8UAAAAQAAJ&pg> [accessed August 12, 2015 - February 12, 2016].

³⁷ Queen Victoria to King Leopold, 16 May 1843, *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. 1, 480.

³⁸ Yonge, *Christian Names*, 464.

was Alice's peak; it declined substantially in both 1870-1885 and 1885-1900, falling out of popularity in this last period, though still maintaining a 1.6 percent share.

Edith was a well-established name in Anglo-Saxon times, used for many royal women. Edith, sister of Athelstan (r. 924-940), became the first wife of Otto the Great of Germany. According to the hagiographical tradition, St. Edith, daughter of Edgar (r. 957-975), spent her short but holy life in the convent at Wilton, where she had been placed as a baby. Edith, daughter of Earl Godwin, was the wife of Edward the Confessor (r. 1042-1066), and sister of Harold II (r. 1066). The name was eclipsed for a time during the first decades of Norman rule, and Edith of Scotland changed her name to Matilda when she married Henry I. Later in the Middle Ages, Edith made a comeback; it helped that there was a St. Edith for the church to support.³⁹ The name was in tenth place in the 1540s per Smith-Bannister's list. It began to drop in the 1550s, but was consistently in the top fifty until the 1610s. From the 1620s to the 1690s, it fluctuated in and out of the lower ranks of the top fifty, ending as one of several names tied for forty-sixth place in the 1690s.⁴⁰ Edith apparently remained a little used during the 18th century; there are six instances of the name in the *Times* list for 1825-1840.

Scott used Edith for the heroines of his 1815 *Lord of the Isles*, a narrative poem of medieval Scotland and his 1816 novel *Old Mortality*, set in 17th-century Scotland.⁴¹ But

³⁹ Frank Barlow, *The Godwins: The Rise and Fall of a Noble Dynasty* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 2002), 35; Dunkling and Gosling, 115; Earenfight, 132; King, 44-45; Emma Mason, *The House of Godwine: The History of a Dynasty*, (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 35, 45; Montague-Smith, 6, 8; Susan J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 37; Room, 202; Frank M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed., (1947, repr. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 341-42, 553; Withycombe, 93.

⁴⁰ Smith-Bannister, 196-201.

⁴¹ Sir Walter Scott, *The Lord of the Isles: A Poem* (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co., 1815), Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=OiwHAAAAMAAJ&> [accessed August 18, 2015 - February 12,

most people viewed the name as Anglo-Saxon rather than Scottish, as an 1833 poem by Charles Lamb, dedicated to his friend's wife Edith Southey, shows. Lamb runs through a variety of women's names, discussing their merits or faults, before concluding, "Yet by faith in numbers, I profess, / These all, than Saxon EDITH, please me less."⁴² The most famous historical Edith in Victorian times was the shadowy but romantic figure Edith the Fair, the beloved of Harold II, the last Anglo-Saxon king. When it was unclear after the carnage at Hastings which body belonged to the late king, it was Edith, not Harold's wife, who was sent for to identify him. The earliest version of this story that I have located is in Sir Francis Palgrave's *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1831). Palgrave contends that although Harold married the Dowager Queen of Wales, "his affections were placed upon Editha the Fair—the Swan's Neck—as she was called from her beauty."⁴³

Edith was either Harold's concubine or, some modern historians believe, his first wife, but married in a handfasting ritual retained from pagan days rather than in a church ceremony. Upon becoming king in 1066, he set Edith aside and attempted to gain allies by marrying Ealdgyth, daughter of the Earl of Mercia and widow of the King of Wales.⁴⁴ Early Victorian popularizers of the story, such as Edward Bulwer-Lytton, bowdlerized it by asserting that the attachment between Edith and Harold was sentimental only.

Bulwer-Lytton claimed in his 1848 novel *Harold: The Last of the Anglo-Saxon Kings* that

2016]; Scott, *Old Mortality* (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co., 1816), Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=8wcOAAAAQAAJ&> [accessed August 18, 2015 - February 12, 2016].

⁴² Charles Lamb, "Christian Names of Women. (To Edith S--)," *The Athenæum*, March 9, 1833, 153, British Periodicals database [accessed October 20, 2014].

⁴³ Sir Francis Palgrave, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, (London: John Murray, 1831), 372, 388-89, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=iVJjAAAAMAAJ&> [accessed August 17, 2015 - February 12, 2016]. Palgrave confusingly refers to Harold's sister also as Editha the Fair (330, 333, 342), but he must have viewed them as separate persons, as he does not hint at incest being involved.

⁴⁴ Barlow, 55-56, 89, 92, 120; Mason, 139-41, 177-78. Mason accepts the story of Edith's identifying Harold as real, though Barlow states that likely none of the stories told about Harold's body are true (112).

the two were first cousins and could not marry under Catholic canon law.⁴⁵ Edith the Fair was still being memorialized in the late 19th century, as in William Stewart Ross' poem "Edith," included in his collection *Lays of Romance and Chivalry* (1884).⁴⁶ Edith was trending and popular in 1840-1855, with a 2.1 percent share. Its most dramatic rise occurred in 1855-1870, when it reached third place with a 4.0 percent share. Edith increased more slightly in 1870-1885, to 4.3 percent and second place. It declined substantially thereafter, though remaining popular in 1885-1900 (fifth place, 2.5 percent).

For 1855-1870, there were fourteen women's trending names, and ten were medievalist. Florence, Edith, Alice, Constance, and Amy continued trending from 1840-1855. Ethel, Mabel, Gertrude, Marian/Marion, and Maud(e) were new to the trending list.⁴⁷ Alice and Edith, as already noted, were in second and third places for the period. Florence was also popular; the other names were well used. It must be noted that Florence's considerable rise in this period was due in large part to the popularity of Florence Nightingale. When the Crimean War began in 1854, British military forces were very poorly prepared to deal with disease and casualties. Nightingale, who used a personal friendship with secretary of war Sidney Herbert to gain a position at the military hospital at Scutari, was able partially to relieve the poor conditions at the hospital. In the process, she became legendary for her compassionate reputation as "The Lady with the

⁴⁵ Barlow, 56; Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Harold: The Last of the Saxon Kings* (1848, repr. New York: P.F. Collier and Son, 1901), 7, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=4YUnAQAAAJ&pg> [accessed August 17, 2015 - February 12, 2016].

⁴⁶ William Stewart Ross, "Edith," *Lays of Romance and Chivalry* (London: W. Stewart & Co., 1884), 25-26, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=IM8IAAAAQAAJ&> [accessed August 17, 2015 - February 12, 2016].

⁴⁷ Mabel: Dunkling and Gosling, 269; Room, 418; Withycombe, 202. Gertrude: Dunkling and Gosling, 159; Room, 262; Withycombe, 132. Marian/Marion is footnoted earlier in the chapter. Maud(e): Dunkling and Gosling, 287; Room, 445; Withycombe, 212-13.

Lamp.” Although the British eventually won, the war revealed so much inefficiency and even incompetence in the British army that Nightingale was more fondly remembered than the generals. She came back from the war personally shattered, but although an invalid for the rest of her life, she continued to lobby for the importance of nurses’ training and good medical care during wartime.⁴⁸ The floral connotations of the name Florence, which suggests flowering, also helped its popularity. (As will be discussed in chapter five, there was a minor vogue for flower names just at this time.)⁴⁹

The last period in which there were medieval revival trending names for women was 1870-1885. There were seventeen trending names, and seven of them were medievalist. Ethel, Maud(e), Mabel, Florence, and Gertrude all continued trending from 1855-1870, while Beatrice and Hilda were new to the trending list.⁵⁰ For the first and only time, four of the top five names were from the medieval revival. Mary was still on top, but below it were Edith, Florence, Alice, and Ethel. Mabel and Maud(e) were also popular, while the remaining three were well used. Ethel deserves further discussion as the most used medievalist name from 1870 to 1900, and it has the particular interest of being an adapted rather than a pure borrowing. Ethel comes out of the Anglo-Saxon naming tradition; it was a common prefix used for both men’s and women’s names.

⁴⁸ Dunkling and Gosling, 145; Hoppen, 178-79; John Plowright, *The Routledge Dictionary of Modern British History* (London: Routledge, 2006), 179-80; Room, 242-43; Withycombe, 119.

⁴⁹ In the original Latin, *Florentia*, though actually meaning “to flourish,” comes from the same verb *florēre*, which gives us the English words flower and floral. Evidence that the Victorians made the connection between Florence and flowers comes from the novelist Elizabeth Gaskell, who wrote in an 1852 letter to Florence Nightingale’s sister that workers in Manchester were giving the name to their daughters: “poor little factory babies whose grimed, stunted parents brighten up at the name” (Withycombe, 119; see also Dunkling and Gosling, 145; Room, 242.) Flowers are not directly mentioned but seem implied. This letter was written two years before the beginning of the Crimean War and therefore cannot have referenced Nightingale’s personal rise to popularity.

⁵⁰ Beatrice: Dunkling and Gosling, 42; Room, 91-92; Withycombe, 44-45. Hilda: Dunkling and Gosling, 183; Room, 295-96; Withycombe, 152.

Historian Sharon Turner covered naming in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1799-1805), listing a variety of names, including several beginning with “Ethel-.” Each of the various prefixes and suffixes had a specific meaning, and Ethel’s was “noble.”⁵¹

The most famous of the female Ethels of Anglo-Saxon times was St. Etheldreda, the daughter of a 7th-century king of East Anglia. Although she wanted to remain celibate for religious reasons, her family compelled her to marry twice. Her first husband agreed not to consummate the marriage, and died three years later. Her second husband, after twelve years of marriage, attempted to compel Etheldreda to grant him his conjugal rights. She refused, and backed up by Wilfrid, Bishop of Northumbria, left her husband and became a nun. She founded a convent on an estate she had received as part of the marriage settlement from her first husband; this later became the cathedral of Ely.⁵² The Ethel- names dropped completely out of use after the Norman Conquest, and remained out of the English naming pool. St. Etheldreda came to be known as St. Audrey, and the name Audrey survived in occasional use, though by the 16th century it had become rare enough that it does not appear in any of Smith-Bannister’s top fifty lists.⁵³

The first step toward the coinage of Ethel was returning St. Audrey to her original name. Thomas Warton did this in his early medieval revival work *The History of English*

⁵¹ Dunkling and Gosling, 134; Room, 202; Sharon Turner, *The History of the Anglo-Saxons: Comprising the History of England from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest*, Vol. III, (1805, repr. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820), 9-10, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=IBg3AQAAMAAJ&> [accessed August 18, 2015 - February 12, 2016; Withycombe, 93; Yonge, *Christian Names*, 411. The Ethel- names listed in Turner include Æthelswytha, Ethelfritha, Æthelgifa, and Æthelild for women, and Æthelwulf, Æthelwyn, Æthelred, and Æthelbald for men. Etheldreda, interestingly, was not included.

⁵² David Nash Ford, “St. Etheldreda, Abbess of Ely,” edited from Agnes Dunbar’s *A Dictionary of Saintly Women* (1904), Early British Kingdoms, <http://www.earlybritishkingdoms.com/adversaries/bios/etheldreda.html> [accessed August 18, 2015 - February 12, 2016].

⁵³ Dunkling and Gosling, 35; Room, 81; Smith-Bannister, 196-200; Withycombe, 36.

Poetry, as part of a discussion of Henry Bradshaw's late 15th-century verse *Life of Saint Werburgh*. Bradshaw also included an account of St. "Audry," which Warton sampled. In his own commentary, Warton names her as "Saint Etheldred."⁵⁴ As already noted, Turner, and likely other historians of the Anglo-Saxon period, continued the process of making the Ethel- names familiar. A few of them began to come into select use, although from an early period, there seems to have been a consensus that Ethel itself was more suitable for 19th-century usage than any of the longer Anglo-Saxon names. As early as the 1830s, two novels appear with characters named Ethel in a non-Anglo-Saxon context: Lady Charlotte Bury's *The Devoted* (1836), with a contemporary setting, and Letitia Landon's *Ethel Churchill, or, The Two Brides* (1837), set in the early 18th century.⁵⁵

The bestowal of Ethel on real-life baby girls came a little more slowly. Leslie Dunkling and William Gosling contend that the first girl christened as Ethel, in the shortened form, was an Ethel Smith in 1842. The *Times* study shows no instances of Ethel (or any of the longer Ethel- names) for the 1825-1840 period, and only one Ethel in 1840-1855. From the mid-1850s, the name took off rapidly, apparently launched by the popularity of two novels with characters named Ethel: William Makepeace Thackeray's *The Newcomes* (1853-1855), and Charlotte Mary Yonge's *The Daisy Chain* (1856).⁵⁶ Though Yonge's novel is little read today, its heroine Etheldred "Ethel" May was much loved in Victorian times, and was probably the more important influence. Yonge was a

⁵⁴ Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry: From the Twelfth to the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, 1774-1781, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt (London: Reeves and Turner, 1871), Vol. 3, 140-42, 145, 149-50, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=1AkyAQAAMAAJ&pg> [accessed August 18, 2015 – February 12, 2016].

⁵⁵ Edward Copeland, *The Silver Fork Novel: Fashionable Fiction in the Age of Reform*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 189-90, 216-17.

⁵⁶ Dunkling and Gosling, 134; Room, 225; Withycombe, 108.

devout Anglo-Catholic trained in her faith by the Tractarian John Keble. Her Ethel is clearly patterned after St. Etheldreda. She involves herself in planting a church, and she eschews romance and marriage in part to concentrate on her religious and educational work, though in a typically Victorian twist, she is also devoted to her widowed father and her siblings.⁵⁷ Ethel was the fourth highest trending name of 1855-1870, rising to a 1.3 percentage share. It was the top trending name of 1870 to 1885, and reached popularity with 3.3 percent, as well as the already noted ranking of fifth place. That was Ethel's peak, and it declined somewhat in 1885-1900, to 2.4 percent and sixth place.

Men's names were more conservative than women's in the Victorian period, as briefly discussed in chapter one, but many of the new names for men were medievalist. In 1840-1855, there were nine trending names, and five of them were medievalist: Walter, Arthur, Alfred, Herbert, and Edward. All but Herbert were popular. Edward and Walter were not actually revived names. Edward had been popular and Walter well used in 1825-1840, and unlike with other names discussed above as having been early medieval revival names used in that period, the available evidence suggests that they had been consistently popular through the eighteenth century, as well as long before. However, they are here counted as medievalist names because they were trending, and it is likely that many Victorians would have been aware of their medievalist connections.

⁵⁷ Shirley Foster, *Victorian Women's Fiction: Marriage, Freedom, and the Individual*, (1985, repr. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2012), 25-26; "Heroines and Their Grandmothers," *The Cornhill Magazine*, May 1865, 630, British Periodicals database [accessed October 20, 2014]; June Sturrock, "Heaven and Home": *Charlotte M. Yonge's Domestic Fiction and the Victorian Debate over Women* (Victoria, Canada: English Literary Studies University of Victoria, 1995), 21-23; Teresa Huffman Traver, "The Ship That Bears Through the Waves," in *Charlotte Yonge: Rereading Domestic Religious Fiction*, ed. Tamara S. Wagner (London: Routledge, 2012), 48-50; Charlotte M. Yonge, *The Daisy Chain, or Aspirations: A Family Chronicle*, 1856, ed. Rea Berg (Sandwich, MA: Beautiful Feet Books, 2004).

Edward is discussed in chapter two. As noted there, it was the name of one Tudor and five medieval kings, and anyone who studied even the most basic outline of British history would have been aware of their reigns.

Walter is an Old German name dating back to the early Middle Ages. Walter of Aquitaine was a legendary hero of the Age of Migrations as the western Roman empire was collapsing. He was said to have been held hostage in the court of Attila the Hun and escaped with the princess Hiltgunt of Burgundy, whom he subsequently married. Walter's story survives in two works, a Latin poem called *Waltharius*, written in Germany in the 9th or 10th century, and two fragments of an Old English poem titled *Waldere*, written sometime before 1000.⁵⁸ Walter was brought to England by the Normans.⁵⁹ There were no royal Walters in England, but Walter de Lacy was a Norman knight who fought for William the Conqueror in his invasion of England. De Lacy was awarded some land in the immediate aftermath of the conquest, and later on he was given more land along the Welsh border and became an important Marcher Lord, or one of those barons who assisted the king in controlling the troublesome Welsh frontier.⁶⁰

Walter was extremely popular for about 250 years after the Conquest, but began to decline in the early 1300s. According to Virginia Davis' compilation of names of priests ordained in the English Catholic church, Walter was in eighth place for 1350-99, but had dropped to seventeenth place by 1500-1540.⁶¹ Smith-Bannister finds the name

⁵⁸ Claudia Bornholdt, *Engaging Moments: The Origins of Medieval Bride-Quest Narrative* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 42-45.

⁵⁹ Dunkling and Gosling, 438-39; Room, 641; Withycombe, 291.

⁶⁰ Jonathan Mark Eaton, *An Archaeological History of Britain: Continuity and Change from Prehistory to the Present*, (Barnsley, UK: Pen & Sword, 2014), 150, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=p3uuCAAQBAJ&pg=> [accessed August 19, 2015 - February 19, 2016].

⁶¹ Davis, 106-110.

ranked slightly higher, in a tie for twelfth place, in the 1540s. Walter was dropping in use, but erratically, and had periods of small increase as well. It remained in the top fifty through the 1650s, dropped out for the 1660s through 1680s, but then recovered to thirty-fourth place in the 1690s.⁶² Walter evidently continued in modest usage through the 18th century, because there are fifteen instances in the *Times* list for 1825-1840 (an 0.8 percent share). The story of Walter of Aquitaine was known in England from 1822, when an article was published in *Edinburgh's Blackwood Magazine* providing a prose retelling of the Walter story based on a German translation of *Waltharius*.⁶³ However, the Victorian novelists and poets did not take up Walter, and his story never found a mass audience.

The more likely impetus for the increase in Walter's usage was the popularity of the poems and novels of Sir Walter Scott. Although Scott died in 1832, his literary legacy remained strong throughout the 19th century. The Victorians read Scott's works not only in whole but also in collections of extracts. They played and sang songs derived from his poetry, attended plays based on his stories, viewed paintings of scenes from his books, read his biography, and even made a tourist attraction out of his home at Abbotsford, Scotland. In 1871, the one hundredth anniversary of Scott's birth was celebrated in Edinburgh with a Scott Centenary Exhibition lasting several weeks.⁶⁴ Walter E. Houghton finds a connection between admiration for Scott and Tory politics, citing a statement of John Ruskin: "I am, and my father was before me, a violent Tory of

⁶² Smith-Bannister, 191-96.

⁶³ "Walter of Aquitaine.—An Historic Romance," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, May 1822, 569-78, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=MLwCAAAAIAAJ&> [accessed August 19, 2015 - February 19, 2016].

⁶⁴ Annika Bautz, *The Reception of Jane Austen and Walter Scott: A Comparative Longitudinal Study*, (London: Continuum, 2007), 93, 100; Marriott Watson, 143-47.

the old school; —Walter Scott’s school, that is to say . . .”⁶⁵ The name came to popularity in the 1840-1855 period, with a 2.3 percent share. It stayed nearly constant through 1855-1870 (2.1 percent) and 1870-1885 (2.2 percent), but dropped significantly in 1885-1900, down to 1.0 percent.

For 1855-1870, there were thirteen trending names. Four of them were medievalist. Arthur, Herbert, and Edward continued trending from 1840-1855, while Harold was new. Edward was in fifth place, and Arthur and Herbert were also popular. The other two were well used. A secondary fashion stemming out of the medieval revival for surname names contributed two other names: Sidney/Sydney and Cecil.⁶⁶ These were derived from aristocratic surnames of the Tudor periods. Sidney is from a prominent Tudor family whose most famous member was the Elizabethan poet and courtier Sir Philip Sidney. Sir Philip’s brother Robert Sidney, or as it is also spelled, Sydney, became the 1st Earl of Leicester in 1618.⁶⁷ William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, was Elizabeth I’s Principal Secretary and then Lord Treasurer until his death in 1598. His second son Robert Cecil, created 1st Earl of Salisbury, was Secretary of State under both Elizabeth and James I from 1590 to 1612.⁶⁸ Aristocratic surname names such as

⁶⁵ Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 326.

⁶⁶ Sidney/Sydney: Dunkling and Gosling, 391-92; Room, 583; Withycombe, 268. Cecil: Dunkling and Gosling, 68; Room, 132; Withycombe, 60. Percy: Dunkling and Gosling, 336-37; Room, 514; Withycombe, 241-42.

⁶⁷ Lundy, “Robert Sydney, 1st Earl of Leicester,” The Peerage.com, <http://thepeerage.com/p17558.htm#i175572> [accessed March 16, 2016]. Robert Sidney is not to be confused with Robert Dudley, an earlier Earl of Leicester—favorite and possibly lover of Elizabeth I. Dudley was granted his earldom by Elizabeth in 1564, but died in 1588 with no son to inherit the title (Lundy, “Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester,” The Peerage.com, <http://thepeerage.com/p10296.htm#i102955> [accessed March 16, 2016]. When Robert Sidney was granted the title, it was a new creation, and thus the numbering started over.

⁶⁸ Susan Brigden, *New Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485-1603* (New York: Penguin, 2000), 214-15; Lundy, “Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury,” The Peerage.com, <http://www.thepeerage.com/p1183.htm#i11825>; “William Cecil, 1st Baron of Burghley,” <http://www.thepeerage.com/p205.htm#i2050> [both pages

these show that there was a certain amount of emulation in upper-middle class naming strategies. However, parents chose these names for an air of prestige rather than in an attempt to actually link themselves to elite families, so it was a creative, not a subservient, emulation.

For 1870-1885, there were only four trending names, all of them medievalist. Harold continued trending from 1855-1870, while Percy, Hugh, and Reginald were new. Harold was popular, and the others were well used. Percy is another surname name, this time from a family best known for its medieval heritage. It references the great noble family who controlled much of the far north of England in the Middle Ages. Henry Percy was created 1st Earl of Northumberland at the beginning of Richard II's reign, though he and his son Henry "Hotspur" Percy later rebelled together, first against Richard II and then, less successfully, against Henry IV (both Percy men were killed in battle).⁶⁹

Harold is the most significant medievalist name to emerge in the mid-Victorian period. It is, as already noted, the name of the last Anglo-Saxon king of England, who died fighting William the Conqueror in 1066. Harold can be traced back to both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian roots, but was more common among the Scandinavians. King Harold was half Danish and was named from the Scandinavian side. His English father Earl Godwin had become a particular counselor to the Anglo-Danish King Cnut (Canute),

accessed March 16, 2016]. The 7th Earl was raised to be 1st Marquess of Salisbury in 1789. The family then took the surname of Gascoyne-Cecil in 1821 after the 2nd Marquess married Frances Mary Gascoyne. Late in Victoria's reign, the 3rd Marquess became prime minister, serving from 1895-1902 (Lundy, "James Brownlow William Gascoyne-Cecil, 2nd Marquess of Salisbury," *The Peerage.com*, <http://www.thepeerage.com/p1392.htm#i13917>; "James Cecil, 1st Marquess of Salisbury," <http://www.thepeerage.com/p1634.htm#i16332>; "Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury," <http://www.thepeerage.com/p1634.htm#i16334> [all pages accessed March 16, 2016]).

⁶⁹ King, 233, 240-42; Lundy, "Henry de Percy, 1st Earl of Northumberland," *The Peerage.com* <http://www.thepeerage.com/p10692.htm#i106912>; "Sir Henry Percy, Lord Percy," <http://www.thepeerage.com/p10726.htm#i107251> [both pages accessed March 16, 2016].

and had married Cnut's Danish sister-in-law.⁷⁰ After the Norman Conquest, Anglo-Danish names faded along with Anglo-Saxon ones. Of course Harold fell out favor; who wanted to signal disloyalty to the Normans by naming their son for a defeated king? There was no impetus later in the Middle Ages or early modern period to revive the name. Harold does not appear in Davis' chart of names from the late medieval priesthood, nor is it in Smith-Bannister's top fifty lists for the 1540s through the 1690s.⁷¹

King Harold's reputation was revived in the 19th century, primarily through a romantic portrayal in various literary works. In Scott's *Ivanhoe*, Cedric the Saxon recounts having heard a story of how his ancestor was present at a feast where "the valiant and unfortunate" Harold was also a guest as he traveled north to fight his rebellious brother Tosti and an invading Norwegian army, his first battle before he was forced to turn south again to meet Duke William at Hastings.⁷² More important than Scott's brief mention was Bulwer-Lytton's 1848 novel *Harold: The Last of the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, which has been discussed for its role in the buildup of the name Edith.⁷³ The historian E. A. Freeman also helped Harold's reputation by declaring decisively in his *The History of the Norman Conquest of England* (1867-1879) that Harold was no usurper but Edward the Confessor's chosen and legitimate successor.⁷⁴ Charles Dickens

⁷⁰ Harold: Barlow, 22-24; Dunkling and Gosling, 174-75; Room, 284; Withycombe, 146. Harold, born while his father was still under Cnut's patronage, was likely named for the king's brother and grandfather (Barlow 22-24).

⁷¹ Davis, 110-14; Smith-Bannister, 191-96; Wilson, 90.

⁷² Barlow, 96-100; Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 220-21. Cedric tells the story as his "father" having been at this feast, but if this is the meaning Scott intended, he was being even more unhistorical than usual, as *Ivanhoe* apparently takes place in 1194, the year in which Richard was released from his Austrian captivity—128 years after the battles of Stamford Bridge and Hastings (564 n3).

⁷³ See Barlow, 10.

⁷⁴ Edward A. Freeman, *Norman Conquest of England, Its Causes and Its Results*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875), Vol. III, *The Reign of Harold and the Interregnum*, 13, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=qkoJAAAAQAAJ&> [accessed August 17, 2015 - February 21, 2016].

was familiar with the name by 1852, when he created the character Harold Skimpole in *Bleak House*. Harold was also used by Anthony Trollope in *Framley Parsonage* (1860) and by George Eliot in *Felix Holt* (1866).⁷⁵ It does not appear in the *Times* list for 1825-1840, and only once in 1840-1855. However, by 1855-1870, Harold had come into wide use with a 0.9 percent share. It just brushed the edge of popularity in 1870-1885 with a 2.1 percent share, before dropping slightly to 2.0 percent in 1885-1900. It was, according to the author of “The Art of Nomenclature” (1896), a very strong middle-class name.⁷⁶

For 1885-1900, there were ten trending names, four of them medievalist: Eric, Cyril, Geoffrey, and Maurice. All of these were new to the trending list in this period, and all were well used. Of these names, the most important to consider in detail is Cyril, because it is one of the rare names in this period that was apparently introduced mainly through religious influence. Hilda, from St. Hilda, a 7th-century abbess of Whitby in Northumbria, England,⁷⁷ is the other successful Christian name. As already discussed, Ethel had a religious history from St. Etheldreda, but it was introduced mainly for its Anglo-Saxon connections. The religious influence was secondary, and came mainly through Yonge’s *The Daisy Chain*. Cyril was brought in more directly as a religious name. It is Greek in origin, and there are several early saints with the name. The most important of these are the Church Fathers St. Cyril of Jerusalem, a mid-4th century

⁷⁵ Charles Dickens, *Bleak House*, 1853, ed. Nicola Bradbury (London: Penguin, 1996); George Eliot, *Felix Holt, The Radical*, 1866, ed. Lynda Mugglestone (London: Penguin, 1995); Anthony Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, 1860, ed. Peter Miles (London: Penguin, 1985).

⁷⁶ “The Art of Nomenclature,” 527. The author contends that Harold has “for the last decade” been the most popular men’s middle-class name, roughly equal to Dorothy for women. My research shows that Harold was rather less widely used than Dorothy (see the discussion of this name in chapter five), but still a significant name.

⁷⁷ “St. Hilda,” Catholic Online, http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=661 [accessed February 23, 2016].

bishop, and St. Cyril of Alexander, an early 5th-century bishop. Each was involved in controversies over the nature of Christ: was he primarily human or primarily divine, or did he have both natures in equal parts, and if so, how were they combined? Both took positions considered by later historians to be orthodox, or within the line of thinking eventually settled upon by the established church.⁷⁸

The Tractarian scholar Edward Bouverie Pusey included writings from both Sts. Cyril in the series *A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*, which he edited between 1838 and 1881. A set of lectures by Cyril of Jerusalem appeared as one of the first two volumes of the series in 1838, and Cyril of Alexandria's commentary on the gospel of John was printed in 1874.⁷⁹ Some of the anti-Tractarians also looked back to the Church Fathers—the key theologians from the early centuries of Christianity—for quotations that supported the doctrines of traditional Anglicanism. Cyril of Jerusalem, though not Cyril of Alexandria, was popular among such thinkers. For example, William Simcox Bricknell cited Cyril of Jerusalem as supporting the Bible as the sole foundation of Christian belief, in opposition to the Tractarian and Catholic doctrine of relying upon a mix of the Bible and later tradition.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Steven A. McKinion, "Cyril of Alexandria," *The New Westminster Dictionary of Church History*, Volume One: The Early, Medieval, and Reformation Eras, ed. Robert Benedetto, et al. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 186-87; Joseph G. Mueller, SJ, "Cyril of Jerusalem," *The New Westminster Dictionary*, 187.

⁷⁹ Roger Pearse, "A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church: Anterior to the Division of East and West (1838-1881): List of Titles," Early Church Fathers: Additional Texts. http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/lfc_list.htm [accessed September 17, 2015 - February 23, 2016]. Cyril of Jerusalem's work was translated by R. W. Church, and that of Cyril of Alexandria by P. E. Pusey.

⁸⁰ William Simcox Bricknell, *The Judgment of the Bishops Upon Tractarian Theology*, (Oxford: J. Vincent, 1845), 227, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=J1hiAAAACAAJ&pg=> [accessed September 17, 2015 - February 23, 2016]. For another anti-Tractarian source referencing St. Cyril of Jerusalem, see George Stanley Faber, *Letters on Tractarian Secession to Popery*, (London: W.H. Dalton, 1846), 139-40, 170, Google Books, https://books.google.com/books?id=_eJhAAAACAAJ& [accessed September 17, 2015 - February 23, 2016].

In Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* (1849), which is partly an anti-Tractarian novel, the moderate clergyman "who exemplifies the true apostolic Christianity, in contrast to the misguided exemplars of Catholic revivalism," is named Cyril. It is unclear whether Brontë was familiar with St. Cyril of Jerusalem or not, but obviously she knew the name and did not consider that it had disagreeably Tractarian connotations.⁸¹ Cyril was an unusual name when Brontë's novel came out. There were no instances of it in the 1825-1840 *Times* list, only one in 1840-1855, and just two in 1855-1870. However, it picked up a bit with eight uses in 1870-1885, and was finally trending in 1885-1890, with a 1.15 percentage share. Charles Rathbone Low published an adventure novel about the Indian Mutiny titled *Cyril Hamilton, His Adventures by Sea and Land* (1885) that added to the secular interest of the name.⁸² From Emma to Cyril, these are the primary names of the medieval revival. The remaining new names of the Victorian era, and the fate of the older names so popular in 1825-1840, will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁸¹ Charlotte Brontë, *Shirley*, 1849, ed. Sally Minogue (Ware, UK: Wordsworth Editions, 1993); J. Russell Perkin, *Theology and the Victorian Novel* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 63. Quotation is from Perkin.

⁸² Charles Rathbone Low, *Cyril Hamilton, His Adventures by Sea and Land* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1885), Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=dw4GAAAAQAAJ&> [accessed February 25, 2016].

CHAPTER V

OTHER VICTORIAN NAMES

Although medievalism was the most important trend for Victorian naming, it was by no means the only one. The Celtic revival stands in second place in importance, and then there are a smattering of minor trends to be discussed. Finally, the classic names from 1825-1840 need to be examined again, this time to see how they fared over the course of the century. The Celtic revival is in many ways an offshoot of the medieval revival. It has already been noted in chapter three that James Macpherson's fraudulent epics of Ossian, the supposed ancient Scottish bard, formed a significant element of the early Gothic revival. The Gothic movement of the French Revolutionary era and early 19th centuries included interest in the ancient Celtic priestly class of Druids, as well as slightly later the National Song movement in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. This early Celtic Gothicism was put aside, at least by the English, for a time after medievalism became more conservative, and more focused on English British identity, in the 1830s.

However, in 1867, Matthew Arnold's *On the Study of Celtic Literature* helped to revive interest in this area. In this work, based on lectures he had given at Oxford, where he was professor of poetry, Arnold defends the study of Celtic, particularly Welsh, literature. (However, he also contends for the necessity for all Welsh people to speak English in the modern world.) He delves into a controversy as to whether there are any true pre-Christian survivals of Welsh poetry in the medieval manuscripts, arguing that many did preserve 6th-century pagan writing, even if somewhat altered by Christian

copyists. Arnold concludes with a discussion of the different temperaments of the Celtic, Germanic, and Norman races, explaining how all three have contributed to the English national character. He admires the spirit and creativity of the Welsh and Irish (the Scots are mentioned only in passing), while marginalizing them as lacking the full maturity of good sense found in the practical English.¹ For the Highland Scots, Welsh, and Irish, the study and revival of Celtic-language literature was a serious nationalist endeavor. For example, William Butler Yeats' Irish theater movement played a significant role in the development of the struggle for Irish independence.² However, for the English British, the Celtic revival remained primarily an exotic development from medievalism. The English were always concerned to keep the Celtic groups sufficiently marginalized so as to be able to claim that they were not able to govern themselves, but they were still willing to include the Celts, as Murray G. H. Pittock states, as "having left a kind of hereditary cultural imprint on British society" that made British culture more interesting.³

Naming played a role in the Celtic revival. By the end of the 19th century, the English British had firmly established their nationalist identity, and a solidly English naming pool to go with that identity. However, the spirit of modernity was on them. Every time before in English history that there had been a major naming upheaval, it lasted for at least a couple of centuries. But the British upper middle classes of the late 19th century were not content to settle Edith and Ethel as the long-term replacements for

¹ Matthew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1867), Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=9E8AAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=matthew+arnold+on+the+study+of+celtic+literature+1867&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CBwQ6AEwAGoVChMI8jro9ySyAIVA5oeCh0UTQfa#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed February 4, 2016]; Murray G.H. Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 64-65.

² Pittock, 78-82

³ Pittock, 70-73.

Jane and Sarah in the naming pool. The bourgeoisie were becoming used to using print culture as a marketplace to select new names that both displayed their cultural capital and their individual taste. In the Celtic revival, they found a new source for different types of names. Only a few of these, mostly Welsh, were actually derived from Celtic-language names. Others were names long used in Scotland and Ireland, that had originally been adapted from English-language names. Either way, they provided the larger British community an opportunity to appropriate these pieces of the cultures of the Celtic fringe areas in order to further diversify their own naming pool.

The first Scottish name, Archibald, appears in the men's trending list for 1855-1870. This was originally an Old German name which the Normans brought to England. Adrian Room explains that English-speaking Lowland Scots "took 'arch' to imply *archbishop* and 'bald' to refer to a monk's tonsure," and adopted Archibald as an equivalent to the Scots Gaelic name Gillespie, which meant "bishop's servant." The name was extremely popular in southern Scotland.⁴ However, the name was also lightly but consistently used in England, and its vogue in 1855-1870 appears to be linked to the character Archibald Carlyle, an Englishman, in Ellen Wood's enormously popular sensation novel *East Lynne* (1861).⁵

The real beginning of the Celtic revival was in 1870-1885, with the trending women's names Winifred, Muriel, Gladys, and Nora(h). All four were well used. Winifred, Muriel, and Gladys are all Welsh names, doubtless inspired by the same

⁴ Archibald: Dunkling and Gosling, 30; Room, 74; Withycombe, 30-31.

⁵ Sutherland, 204; Ellen Wood, *East Lynne* (1861, repr. London: Macmillan and Co., 1901), Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=S61BAAAAYAAJ&> [accessed March 17, 2016].

interest in Welsh literature that sparked Arnold's book.⁶ Nora(h) is an Irish name, though not Celtic. The Anglo-Normans brought the name Honora to Ireland, and the Irish first borrowed the name and then shortened it to Nora.⁷ Thomas Moore's "Nora Creina," one of his *Irish Melodies* (mentioned in chapter three as one of the of the National Melody movement) was probably largely responsible for introducing the name to England.⁸ There were no Celtic names in the men's trending list for 1870-1885.

For 1885-1900, the trending list for women contained seven Celtic revival names. Gladys, Muriel, and Nora(h) continued trending from 1870-1885, while Marjorie, Kathleen, Eileen, and Enid were new to the list. Marjorie is a Scottish name (Anglo-Scottish), Kathleen and Eileen are Irish, and Enid is Welsh.⁹ Marjorie was in fourth place for the period, while Gladys and Kathleen were also popular. The others were well used. Although Marjorie was the most popular of these names, since it is Anglo-Scottish, and also seems to have been partly influenced by American fiction, I will instead use the Welsh Gladys as a name for a representative case study.

The best known early Gladys, or Gwladys as the name was originally spelled, was Gwladys Ddu (the Dark-Eyed), a daughter of the Welsh prince Llewelyn the Great (r. 1194-1240). She married Ralph Mortimer, of an English family who had settled along the Welsh border to keep the area under English control. In 1461, a descendant of theirs

⁶ Winifred: Dunkling and Gosling, 446; Room, 649; Withycombe, 294. Muriel: Dunkling and Gosling; 307; Room, 473; Withycombe, 224. Gladys will be discussed and footnoted later in the chapter.

⁷ Nora(h): Dunkling and Gosling, 319; Room, 489-90; Withycombe, 230.

⁸ Thomas Moore, "Lesbia Hath a Beaming Eye," *Irish Melodies* (1808-34, repr. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849), 43-44, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=eRr1iUJ8DRMC&pg=>. [accessed March 17, 2016]. Nora Creina is the speaker's beloved in the song.

⁹ Marjorie: Dunkling and Gosling, 281, 277; Room, 436-47; Withycombe, 207. Kathleen: Dunkling and Gosling, 227; Room, 365; Withycombe, 187. Eileen: Dunkling and Gosling, 117; Room, 206; Withycombe, 96. Enid: Dunkling and Gosling, 129; Room, 218; Withycombe, 104.

became King Edward IV of England. Edward was a usurper, seizing the throne from his distant cousin Henry VI, but he claimed that he was the rightful king by inheritance. Edward's primary claim rested on his lineage from Edward III being stronger than that of Henry VI's. However, he also traded on being a descendent of Gwladys to stress the legitimacy of his rule over Wales, and to claim a connection to King Arthur, then generally believed to be the ancestor of the Welsh princes. But Edward's pride in his ancestress did not extend to introducing her name into his family, and it remained exclusively Welsh until well into the 19th century.¹⁰

In 1854, the Welsh author T.J. Llewelyn Prichard published *The Heroines of Welsh History*. Prichard's heroines included Gwladys Ddu and several other women from Welsh history who bore the name Gwladys. Apparently by the mid-19th century, it was no longer a common name even within Wales, for Prichard remarks that "most of the original Welsh names of women, such as . . . Gwladys, . . . have grown out of usage with our modern race, except in such rare instances as where a revival of Welsh nationality has encouraged a taste for their restoration among the 'literary few' in our land."¹¹ Four years later, the Welsh novelist Louisa Matilda Spooner anglicized the name slightly for her *Gladys of Harlech* (1858), set in the 1400s. The title character is a young Welsh woman who helps the partly Welsh-descended Henry Tudor to gain the throne of

¹⁰ Jonathan Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV*, (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 2002), 118, 131, 136; Montague-Smith, 12, 31.

¹¹ T. J. Llewelyn Prichard, *The Heroines of Welsh History: Comprising Memoirs and Biographical Notices of the Celebrated Women of Wales* (London: W. and F. G. Cash, 1854), 175-78, 321, 405-414, 416-441, Google Books, https://books.google.com/books?id=_lgJAAAIAAJ& [accessed September 24, 2015 - February 15, 2016]. Quotation is from 321.

England, and then pressures him into righting some injustices in Wales.¹² In 1864, another Welsh novel called *Gladys, the Reaper* (1860) sparked a question in the periodical *Notes and Queries* as to the origins of the name. The questioner, identified only as “J.,” states that he or she had never heard of the name until reading this novel.¹³

Gladys does, not, in fact, appear in the *Times* study for any of the first three periods. However, by 1870, the name was becoming better known through books such as the three referenced above, and there were twelve instances in 1870-1885, followed by forty-four (a 2.2 percentage share) in the 1885-1900 period. Thomas Wemyss Reid’s popular novel *Gladys Fane, A Story of Two Lives* (1884) probably did much to enhance its popularity in the latter period.¹⁴

Men’s names were also influenced by the Celtic revival in 1885-1900, including five of the names on the trending list: Leslie, Al(l)an, Douglas, Kenneth, and Norman. All were well used, and all were Scottish or Anglo-Scottish. Leslie and Douglas were also surname names, continuing the trend begun in earlier periods with Sidney/Sydney, Cecil, and Percy. The most used of these names was Alan. Traditionally the name Alan has been understood to be of Celtic and Breton origin, although some modern scholars contend that it actually originates with the Alans, an Iranian people who invaded Gaul in

¹² Jane Aaron, *Nineteenth-Century Women’s Writing in Wales: Nation, Gender and Identity*, 2nd ed. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 115-16; Louisa Matilda Spooner, *Gladys of Harlech; An Historical Romance*, (London: Charles J. Skeet, 1858), Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=dc4BAAAQAAJ&> [accessed September 24, 2015 - February 15, 2016]. Google Books misattributes *Gladys of Harlech* as authored by Anne Beale.

¹³ Anne Beale, *Gladys, the Reaper* (London: Richard Bentley, 1860), Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=WNEBAAAQAAJ&> [accessed September 24, 2015 - February 15, 2016]; J., “Gladys,” *Notes and Queries*, October 1, 1864, 267, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=Y6AgAAAAMAAJ&> [accessed September 24, 2015 - February 15, 2015].

¹⁴ John Sutherland, *The Stanford Companion to Victorian Fiction* (1988, repr. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 528.

the 5th century.¹⁵ The name's early fame comes from two Celtic British saints Alan, or Alain, one of whom crossed the English Channel to establish the 7th-century Abbey of Lavour in Brittany. Breton knights who came over with William the Conqueror established the name in England.¹⁶ The minstrel Alan á Dale plays an important role in the Robin Hood legends, though he was not part of the early tales but made his first appearance in the corpus in the 17th-century ballad *Robin Hood and Allin á Dale*.¹⁷ The name, with the spelling Allen, appears in the bottom half of Smith-Bannister's top fifty lists during several decades of the 16th and early 17th centuries, though never higher than twenty-ninth place (in the 1550s). After a final appearance in the 1620s at forty-first place, it dropped out of the top fifty for the remainder of the century.¹⁸

Alan survived better in Scotland, where it had been of particular prominence during the Middle Ages. The founder of the family of Hereditary High Stewards of Scotland, later the Stuart dynasty, was a 12th-century Breton named Walter fitz Alan, and his son, the second Steward, was Alan fitz Walter. Although the Stewards/Stewarts subsequently dropped the use of the name, there were other prominent Alans in medieval Scotland, particularly Alan, Lord of Galloway in the 13th-century.¹⁹ Yonge describes Walter fitz Alan as “the original of the host of Alans and Allens, who have ever since filled Scotland. That country has taken much more kindly to this Breton name than has

¹⁵ C. Scott Littleton and Linda A. Malcor, *From Scythia to Camelot: A Radical Reassessment of the Legends of King Arthur, the Knights of the Round Table, and the Holy Grail*, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 25

¹⁶ Alan: Dunkling and Gosling, 8; Room, 45; Withycombe, 7-8; Yonge, *Christian Names*, 280.

¹⁷ Nigel Cawthorne, *A Brief History of Robin Hood*, (London: Constable & Robinson, 2010), 63.

¹⁸ Smith-Bannister, 191-96.

¹⁹ A.D.M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 24, 30, 36, 38, 86, 89.

England.”²⁰ The name, spelled variously Alan, Allan, and Allen, appears in the *Times* list twice each for 1825-1840 and 1840-1855, and five times each in 1855-1870. There are enough Scottish announcements in the *Times* marriage list that some of these Alans could have been Scottish, though the name was likely never completely dropped in England.

Alan began to come back into wider use in Britain in 1870-1885, when there were twelve instances. It was a trending name in 1885-1900, probably sparked by Robert Louis Stevenson’s popular *Kidnapped* (1886). The novel features a Scottish Jacobite character named Alan Breck Stewart, who is escaping to France in the aftermath of the failed 1745 rebellion to put the Stuart dynasty back on the British throne.²¹ Allan Quartermaine was a popular character in a series of novels by H. Rider Haggard, beginning with *King Solomon’s Mines* (1885).²² But of the twenty-seven instances of the name in 1885-1900, twenty-three are spelled Alan, compared with two uses of Allan and two of Allen. *Kidnapped*, therefore, appears to have been the larger influence, particularly as Allan had been the top spelling of the name in 1870-1885.

A little needs to be said about the remaining trending names that were not part of the medieval or Celtic revivals. For women, in 1840-1855, these were Emily, Ada, Annie, Kate, and Helen. Emily and Ada were introduced during the Hanoverian period, as covered in chapter two.²³ The other three were derived from existing classic names. Annie is the diminutive of Ann(e), while Kate is a short form of Catherine.²⁴ Helen is the Greek version of the classic Ellen—actually, Helen is the original Greek form, and Ellen

²⁰ Yonge, *Christian Names*, 280.

²¹ Robert Louis Stevenson, *Kidnapped*, 1886, ed. Ian Duncan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

²² H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon’s Mines*, 1885, ed. Robert Hampson (London: Penguin Classics, 2007).

²³ Emily and Ada were footnoted in chapter two.

²⁴ Annie: Dunkling and Gosling, 26; Room, 70; Withycombe, 25-26. Kate: Dunkling and Gosling, 227; Room, 363-64; Withycombe, 187.

is the longstanding Anglicized version, as discussed in chapter two.²⁵ Annie and Ada continued trending in 1855-1870, joined by Evelyn and May. Evelyn was originally a man's name, derived in the 17th century from a surname. At some point it was adopted for women as well, based on its similarity to Evelina, made famous by Fanny Burney's 1778 novel with that title.²⁶ May was first a short form of Mary and Margaret, later associated with the month of the year.²⁷

The non-medievalist, non-Celtic trending names for 1870-1885 were Evelyn and May, continuing from 1855-1870, and the new names Dorothy, Violet, Lilian, Margaret, Elsie, Dora, Eva, and May. Dorothy is a special case and will be discussed at the end of the chapter, along with Dora. Violet and Lilian (a variant of Lily) were the most common of the floral names²⁸—Lily and Rose were also well used.²⁹ The growth in Celtic names may have had some influence toward the increasing popularity of the classic name Margaret. This, though not Celtic, was a name that had long been much used in Scotland, partly due to the historical remembrance of St. Margaret, an 11th-century Scottish queen.³⁰ The British began reading more American literature in the later 19th century,³¹ and Elsie and Eva were influenced by American novels: Martha Finley's children's series beginning with *Elsie Dinsmore* (1867), and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

²⁵ Helen: Dunkling and Gosling, 178-79; Room, 288-89; Withycombe, 148. Ellen is footnoted in chapter two.

²⁶ Evelyn: Dunkling and Gosling, 138; Room, 231; Withycombe, 113.

²⁷ May: Dunkling and Gosling, 289; Room, 448; Withycombe, 215.

²⁸ Violet: Dunkling and Gosling, 435; Room, 636; Withycombe, 289-90. Lilian: Dunkling and Gosling, 255; Room, 399; Withycombe, 196.

²⁹ Lily and Rose were more popular among the lower middle and working classes than the *Times*-reading upper middle classes, probably due to the simplicity and beauty of the trend for floral names. Both names were only well used in the *Times* lists, but entered the overall top twenty in 1890 (Nickerson, "Top 200 Most Popular Names in England and Wales in 1890"; see also footnote 36 in chapter one of this thesis).

³⁰ Margaret: Dunkling and Gosling, 276; Room, 429-30; Withycombe, 206.

³¹ Altick, 300-01.

(1852), with its famous character Little Eva.³² For 1885-1900, the remaining trending names were Dorothy, Phyllis, Doris, Vera, Irene, and Olive. The previously trending Dorothy had been joined by the similar-sounding Doris, which had ancient Greek origins.³³ Phyllis and Irene are also from Greek roots.³⁴ Olive, after the tree, is Latin rather than Greek, but olive trees have always been prominently connected with Greece, and were an important part of classical Athens' prosperity.³⁵ The Russian name Vera was popularized by two English novels, Ouida's *Moths* (1860) and Marion Crawford's *A Cigarette-Maker's Romance* (1890).³⁶

For men, the rest of the trending names for 1840-1855 were Frederick, Ernest, Frank, and Harry. Frederick and Ernest were Hanoverian-introduced names, while Frank and Harry are short forms of the previously established names Francis and Henry.³⁷ Ernest, Frank, and Harry continued trending in 1855-1870, joined by George, Robert, and Alexander. George and Robert were classic names, and there is no clear-cut reason for their new rise.³⁸ Finally, Alexander, although also a name popular among the Scots, was more likely trending at this time due to its original Greek heritage, particularly its

³² Elsie: Dunkling and Gosling, 124; "Finley, Martha (1828-1909)," *Famous American Women: A Biographical Dictionary from Colonial Times to the Present*, ed. Robert McHenry, (New York: Dover Publications, 1980), 131; Room, 213; Withycombe, 102. Eva: Dunkling and Gosling, 137; Room, 229; "Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811-1896)," *Famous American Women*, 397-98; Withycombe, 112.

³³ Doris: Dunkling and Gosling, 108-09; Room, 192; Withycombe, 87.

³⁴ Phyllis: Dunkling and Gosling, 341-42; Room, 521; Withycombe, 246. Irene: Dunkling and Gosling, 194; Room, 309; Withycombe, 163.

³⁵ Olive: Dunkling and Gosling, 322-23; Thomas R. Martin, *Ancient Greece: From Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times*, 2nd ed., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 12, 31, 213; Room, 494; Withycombe, 232.

³⁶ Vera: Dunkling and Gosling, 431; Room, 631; Withycombe, 287.

³⁷ Frederick: Dunkling and Gosling, 150; Room, 248; Withycombe, 121-22. Ernest: Dunkling and Gosling, 131; Room, 221-22; Withycombe, 105-06. Frank: Dunkling and Gosling, 148; Room, 245; Withycombe, 121. Harry: Dunkling and Gosling, 175-76; Room, 285; Withycombe, 146, 149.

³⁸ George and Robert were footnoted in chapter two.

connection to the heroic conqueror Alexander the Great.³⁹ There are no further trending names to discuss for 1870-1885, and for 1885-1900, only the classic John.

For women, most of the names that were popular in 1825-1840 did not hold up well over the Victorian era. Mary did stay on top for most of the century, only dropping to second place in 1885-1900. However, it decreased in percentage share significantly, going down from 9.2 percent in 1825-1840 to a mere 3.7 percent in 1885-1900. None of the rest of the top five names for 1825-1840, Elizabeth, Jane, Sarah, and Ann(e), remained popular by the century's end. Jane and Ann(e) lost popularity in 1855-1870, while Elizabeth and Sarah dropped below the 2.0 percent mark in 1870-1885. Elizabeth and Ann(e) were still well used in 1885-1900, but Jane and Sarah had fallen completely out of wide use. The classic names Eliza, Mary Ann(e), Harriet, Fanny, Ellen, and Maria also all dropped below the level of being well used in 1885-1900. Catherine and Frances were two that dropped somewhat, but were still solidly well used at century's end. Margaret was the one classic name that rose during the Victorian era; it increased in use during every period, even if only slightly, and was in third place for 1885-1900. The Hanoverian names Caroline and Emily remained well used in 1885-1900, though the other Georgian name, Louisa, did not. Nor did the first medieval revival name, Emma.

The popular names of 1825-1900 held up much better for men than they had for women in 1885-1900, although the percentages of men bearing these names dropped considerably. William, the top name in 1825-1840, slipped in the rankings only as far as second place by century's end, but its percentages dropped from 12.2 to 5.6 (over half). Thanks to its final rise in 1885-1900, John was the top name at the end of the Victorian

³⁹ Alexander: Dunkling and Gosling, 11; Room, 47-48; Withycombe, 13.

era, though its percentages too had decreased from 11.0 to 7.5. Henry slipped from third to eighth places, while Charles rose from fourth to third (though still decreasing in terms of percentage share). James dropped from fifth to seventh place. The replacements for Henry and James in the 1885-1900 top five were George, in fourth place, and Arthur, in fifth. Thomas, Edward, Robert, and Frederick all remained popular in 1885-1900. Only Alfred had dropped out of popularity, and it was still high on the well used list with 1.7 percent. Very likely this conservatism in names for men was due to the fact that even though feminism was beginning to emerge in the mid- and late 1800s, British society was still very much male-dominated, and parents still saw their sons as much more the repositories of tradition than were their daughters, with whom they felt freer to innovate. However, even for sons, there was some change. The top ten names from 1825-1840 (all of the popular names above except for Alfred and Arthur) were used for 64.9 percent of men in that sample. The same ten names only accounted for 35.6 percent of men in the 1885-1900 sample.

The name that replaced Mary at the top of the women's rankings in the 1885-1900 period was Dorothy. This was a revived name, though neither Celtic nor very much medieval. It is an anglicized version of the Greek Dorothea, which belonged to an early 4th-century Christian martyr, and was one of the last saints' names introduced into England by the late medieval Catholic church, in the late 1400s. Dorothy was, however, well established by the 1540s, appearing in thirteenth place for that decade in Smith-Bannister's list. It did not suffer under the Puritan Reformation but ranged between tenth and fifteenth places from the 1550s through the 1690s. Dorothy acquired a pair of

prominent nicknames, Doll and Dolly, which according to Withycombe “came to be used as a generic name for a loose woman” by the mid-1500s, and then around 1700 were attached to the child’s toy. Dorothy dropped considerably during the 18th century, mostly replaced by its nickname Dolly, which in turn fell out of wide use in the late 1700s.

Although William Wordsworth’s sister, born in 1771, was named Dorothy after her aunt, by the late 18th century, the name was not much used.⁴⁰ In the first three periods of the *Times* study, the name only appears four times.

In the 1870-1885 period, the name began a comeback, probably sparked by a revival of interest in Dorothy Wordsworth. This was launched in 1874 by the publication of her work *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland A.D. 1803*.⁴¹ Reviewers of the book gave biographical background on Wordsworth, stressing her devotion to her brother. William Chambers, for example, writes that “Dorothy Wordsworth was about as poetical as her brother, but aspired only to advise and almost worship him.”⁴² A reviewer from *The London Quarterly Review* praised Dorothy’s “exquisite sensibility” and admired the published work as being “of exceptional interest and beauty.” Yet the reviewer also described her primarily as a “woman of wonderful devotedness to whom the world owes so much in regard to her influence on her brother’s life and works.”⁴³ In

⁴⁰ Dunkling and Gosling, 109; Smith-Bannister, 196-200; Room, 192-93; Withycombe, 87-88. Quotation is from Withycombe; she cites Shakespeare’s character Doll Tearsheet as an example (87).

⁴¹ Dorothy Wordsworth, *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland A.D. 1803*, ed. J.C. Shairp (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874), Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=gTFWMwEACAAJ&dq=> [accessed February 15-16, 2016].

⁴² William Chambers, “William and Dorothy Wordsworth,” *Chambers’s Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art*, August 15, 1874, 513, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=9UAFAAAAQAAJ&> [accessed February 15-16, 2016].

⁴³ Review of *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland, A.D. 1803*, *The London Quarterly Review*, October 1875, 248, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=RnJAAQAAMAAJ&> [accessed February 16, 2016].

1886, Edmund Lee published a biography titled *Dorothy Wordsworth: The Story of A Sister's Love*, while William Knight edited a two-volume collection of excerpts from various journals that Dorothy had kept. This was released in 1897.⁴⁴

The Victorians viewed Dorothy Wordsworth as a woman who possessed a delightful artistic taste, yet devoted her life to her family and domestic concerns. Today Wordsworth is much admired by feminist critics such as Susan M. Levin, who sees her as expressing “an equipoise of self and the phenomenal world that challenges the notion of the assertive self advanced by so many romantic writers.”⁴⁵ But for the Victorians, she was a reassuring role model for conservatives working to maintain what essayist Eliza Lynn Linton famously called “the old English ideal” of traditional womanliness in the face of the profound changes of the later 19th century. Women of that time were finally gaining improved opportunities for education and employment, rights in marriage, or an independent life if unmarried. The last was a particularly vexing issue for the Victorians, especially as there were a high number of unmarried women – the 1891 census, for instance, reveals nearly 2.5 million single women, and an imbalance of 900,000 more women than men.⁴⁶ The never married Dorothy Wordsworth had lived a quiet life with her brother and his family rather than attempting to establish herself on her own.

⁴⁴ Susan M. Levin, *Dorothy Wordsworth and Romanticism*, rev. ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009), 219; Review of *Dorothy Wordsworth: The Story of a Sister's Love*, *The Athenæum*, August 28, 1886, 266, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=wGNIAAAAYAAJ&> [accessed February 16, 2016].

⁴⁵ Levin, 6.

⁴⁶ Christina Boufis, “‘Of Home Birth and Breeding’: Eliza Lynn Linton and the Girl of the Period,” in *The Girl's Own: Cultural Histories of the Anglo-American Girl, 1830-1915*, ed. Claudia Nelson and Lynne Vallone (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994), 98-99, 106; Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 4-5, 10-11; Eliza Lynn Linton, “The Girl of the Period,” in *Prose by Victorian Women: An Anthology*, ed. Andrea Broomfield and Sally Mitchell (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 360.

The propaganda surrounding Wordsworth was implicit rather than overtly polemical, and it is doubtful that the Victorians would have identified her explicitly with anti-feminism. However, the attention paid to her likely helped the name Dorothy acquire a new connotation of sweet, demure femininity. Certainly it came back into wide use. Dorothy was a trending name in 1870-1885, and it became wildly popular in 1885-1900, as noted, outstripping Mary to top the women's list with a 5.0 percent share. Its change in percentage share of 3.7 percent from its 1870-1885 usage is the highest jump in percentage share of any name in the *Times* study. An unnamed author remarked in the May 1896 issue of *Cornhill Magazine* that “*Dorothy* has hardly descended yet to the lower strata of the conglomerate called Society, but she is positively rampant in the middle classes. . . . The semi-fashionable and aesthetic mother now, therefore strives after something equally *recherché*, but a little less hackneyed.”⁴⁷ Dorothy probably helped to inspire trends for the related names Dora in 1870-1885, and Doris in 1885-1900.⁴⁸

Dorothy is a very Victorian name with its ties to Dorothy Wordsworth and her sweetly feminine image. But it also points forward to the 20th century with its sudden rise to popularity, without being connected to a larger movement in names in the way that Alice, Edith, and Ethel were part of the medieval revival. The later 20th century, particularly, is well known for its generational names such as Susan and Linda for women of the 1950s, Sarah and Claire for those of the 1970s, and Rebecca and Lauren in

⁴⁷ “The Art of Nomenclature,” *Cornhill Magazine*, May 1896, 527, British Periodicals database [accessed October 20, 2014]. The author’s comment that Dorothy has “for the last decade” been the most popular middle-class woman’s name is a welcome confirmation that the name’s place in this study is not an aberration but reflects a true burst of popularity for the name.

⁴⁸ Dora: Dunkling and Gosling, 107; Room, 190; Withycombe, 88. Doris: Dunkling and Gosling, 108-09; Room, 192; Withycombe, 87.

the 1990s.⁴⁹ These are English names, with the American equivalents being Linda and Patricia in the 1950s, Jennifer and Amy in the 1970s, and Jessica and Ashley in the 1990s.⁵⁰ The primary difference is that Dorothy was identified specifically as a middle-class name, while the others were the most popular across class lines. Dorothy was only number twenty for the overall popularity lists in 1890, and number eight in 1900.⁵¹ The changes in the naming pool would continue to intensify after 1900, but the upper middle classes of Victorian Britain had gotten the movement started.

⁴⁹ Office of National Statistics, “Baby Names, England and Wales, 1904-1994,” [accessed February 16, 2016]. Susan and Linda were the top two girls’ names for 1954, Sarah and Claire for 1974, and Rebecca and Lauren for 1994.

⁵⁰ Social Security Administration, “Top Names of the 1950s,” Popular Baby Names, <https://www.socialsecurity.gov/OACT/babynames/decades/names1950s.html>; “Top Names of the 1970s,” <https://www.socialsecurity.gov/OACT/babynames/decades/names1970s.html>; “Top Names of the 1990s,” <https://www.socialsecurity.gov/OACT/babynames/decades/names1990s.html> [all pages accessed February 16, 2016]. Linda and Patricia were actually the number two and three names for girls in the U.S. for the 1950s, as Mary was still the number one girl’s name in the 1950s, though that was its final decade. Jennifer and Amy were the top two girls’ names for the 1970s, and Jessica and Ashley for the 1990s.

⁵¹ Nickerson, “Top 200 Most Popular Names in England and Wales in 1890” ; “Top 200 Most Popular Names in England and Wales in 1900” [both accessed February 16, 2016].

CONCLUSION

During the mid- and late 19th century, roughly between 1840 and 1900, the upper middle classes of Britain made major alterations to the cultural conventions governing the baby naming process. Before 1840, most new names were introduced by royalty or the church, and large-scale changes in the naming pool came only every few centuries. After 1900, new names were introduced by the masses, often from sources in popular culture, and the naming pool began to evolve considerably every few decades. The shift began around 1840 when the Victorian bourgeoisie, after centuries of middle-class rise (and elite challenges to that rise), finally gained the confidence to seek new names for their children that would be specifically middle class rather than aristocratic or commonplace. The most important of these new names came from the medieval revival movement, not because middle-class parents wanted to bring back the Middle Ages but because these names were reassuringly English. They also allowed the bourgeoisie to display and use cultural capital by drawing names from the fashionable, but accessible, romantic popular literature of the revival. By 1870, and especially after 1885, adventurous parents were tiring of medievalism, but they had grown accustomed to the idea of new names. Coming to believe that new generations of children needed new names for the future, they sought further novelty from a Celtic revival and from other minor trends. By the end of the century, a new name such as Dorothy did not have to be part of a large-scale cultural movement to achieve widespread popularity in a short period of time.

The history of naming is often seen as a small specialty area, its own small field not important enough to integrate into larger cultural history. But this study shows that understanding what children are named in a society, where those names came from, and especially how changes in naming in that society occur, is important to interpreting the broader culture. Children are or were the future of their society in any time period, and names tell us quite a bit about how people in the society conceptualized their children at birth. The Victorian upper middle classes first rejected much of the previous naming tradition to meet an aspiration to give their children a specifically English and bourgeois identity, and ended up, two generations later, focused on making sure that the children facing the 20th century would have modern names to go into a modern future. They used print culture, the mass media of the day, as a marketplace from which to “shop” for these new names. In the next century, the masses would take over the process of choosing new names, and they would find broader sources of culture from the new media and entertainment forms developing in the 20th century. But it was the 19th-century upper middle classes who took the key steps to move Britain from a conservative pool system to a circulating one.

This movement has been demonstrated qualitatively in chapters two, four, and five of this thesis. However, it needs a final quantitative summary. To do this, we can examine, for all five periods from 1825-1840 to 1885-1900, the percentages of women’s and men’s names in four categories. These are as follows: 1) top five names; 2) names in wide use (all popular and well-used names—the number in parentheses beside the percentage is the number of names in wide use for the period); 3) classic names (any

name in the top fifty for the 1690s that was still popular or well used in 1825-1840)³⁵⁵; and 4) significant new names (any new or revived name in the period during which it first reached a 1.0 percent share).³⁵⁶

Table 2. Movement from a Conservative to a Circulating Naming Pool

Women's Names	Top Five	Wide Use	Classic	Significant New
1825-1840	27.2%	84.0% (41)	41.3%	7.7%
1840-1855	24.3%	81.8% (48)	32.4%	9.9%
1855-1870	24.8%	78.2% (48)	27.7%	11.0%
1870-1885	20.5%	76.2% (55)	19.4%	11.6%
1885-1900	17.5%	67.7% (54)	14.9%	13.2%

³⁵⁵ The "classic" women's names counted here are Agnes, Ann(e), Catherine, Eleanor, Elizabeth, Ellen, Frances, Hannah, Jane, Lucy, Margaret, Martha, Mary, Sarah, and Susan, while the "classic" men's names are Alexander, Benjamin, Charles, David, Edmund, Edward, Francis, George, Henry, James, John, Joseph, Richard, Robert, Samuel, Thomas, Walter, and William.

³⁵⁶ The women's names counted as "significant new" here are (for 1825-1840) Annie, Emily, and Emma; (for 1840-1855) Ada, Alice, Edith, Florence, Helen, and Kate; (for 1855-1870), Amy, Constance, Ethel, Evelyn, Gertrude, Jessie, Mabel, and Marian/Marion; (for 1870-1885) Beatrice, Dorothy, Hilda, Lilian, Maud(e), May, Violet, and Winifred; and (for 1885-1900) Doris, Gladys, Kathleen, Marjorie, Muriel, Nora(h), and Phyllis. For 1825-1840, inferences had to be made as to which names likely qualified, based on the information in Dunkling and Gosling, Room, and Withycombe. For the other periods, a 1.0 percent share was chosen as a midpoint between the 2.0 percent share requirement of "popular" status, which would have been too restrictive, and the 0.5 percent share requirement of "well used" status, which would have let in too many names that perhaps were not that important. Statistics cited elsewhere in the study on which names were "trending" are ignored here because, although useful for many other purposes, they do not single out names that have crossed a particular threshold of usage.

Using the same criteria, the men's names signified as "significant new" here are (for 1825-1840) Alfred and Arthur; (for 1840-1855) Frank, Herbert, and Walter; (for 1855-1870) Ernest and Sidney/Sydney; (for 1870-1885) Harold, Hugh, Percy, and Reginald; and (for 1885-1900) Alan, Cyril, Douglas, Eric, Gerald, Leslie, and Philip.

Table 2-Continued

Men's Names	Top Five	Wide Use	Classic	Significant New
1825-1840	43.6%	82.2% (25)	73.1%	4.2%
1840-1855	39.1%	83.2% (30)	65.3%	4.6%
1855-1870	33.3%	81.4% (34)	57.2%	2.9%
1870-1885	26.9%	76.1% (37)	47.3%	6.9%
1885-1900	24.5%	75.7% (49)	40.4%	7.9%

Conservative versus circulating naming pool systems³⁵⁷ are ideal types rather than clearly defined categories, and thus there are no statistical definitions of the two forms. However, examining these figures, it becomes clear that Britain still had a fairly conservative naming pool system in 1825-1840, though less so for women than for men. (Names were more conservative for men than for women, throughout the century, because in Britain's patriarchal society, sons were still considered to carry more of the weight of tradition than were daughters.) By 1885-1900, the system was far more circulating. The pool of names in wide use was larger, and the percentages from the top five and wide use show that conformity in naming was decreasing, though still extensive. The percentages, dropping for traditional names and rising for significant new names, show that names in the pool were changing. Finally, we know from the qualitative

³⁵⁷ As discussed in the introduction, a conservative naming pool is one in which a small group of names are used for a high percentage of all people, and where new names do not gain high popularity in the pool unless they are explicitly sanctioned by societal authorities. A circulating naming pool is one with a larger group of names and more change among names over time, and where names come in and out of fashion based on the collective decisions of parents without requiring approval by authority figures for new names to become highly used. Although the term *naming pool* is widely used in the literature, *conservative* versus *circulating* naming pools is my own coinage.

research that new names were entering the pool because they were being suggested by cultural stimuli (such as being used by the authors of popular novels) and not because of top-down social pressure to name children to follow royalty or religious priorities.

This study contributes to the history of the rise of the British middle classes by showing when and how they took the cultural authority to choose new names for children away from royal and religious elites. Additionally, the thesis makes a contribution to the theoretical discussion of what is modernity by arguing that the rise of the circulating name pool is an important part of modernity, demonstrating that parents were naming their children while looking forward to the future instead of backward to tradition. Finally, this project also furthers the study of the Victorian medieval revival, and Victorian literature as a whole, by using names to give a new insight into the reading interests of the upper middle classes. There are no names from drawn from Carlyle or Ruskin, but Scott and Bulwer-Lytton were clear favorites. (To be fair, there are few names to borrow in the medievalist works of Carlyle and Ruskin, though there were some possibilities in Carlyle's history books.) Even the canonical Victorian novelists do not fare well here, although this does not mean that the bourgeoisie were not reading such authors. They just did not borrow names from the major Victorian realistic novels, possibly because they found it easier to take characters from romantic novels as role models for their children. Who, after all, would want to identify their son with the brutal Heathcliff from Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, or their daughter after either priggish Dorothea or vain, selfish Rosamond in George Eliot's *Middlemarch*?

However, it is important to understand that the borrowing of a name from literature was only the beginning of the process of adding it to the naming pool. In this first step, some people read a novel or history book, admired a fictional character or a historical personage, and then at some point in the future, named their child after that character or personage. However, there were almost certainly many characters who gave rise to a few namesakes without ever having their names enter the naming pool. For instance, as popular as was the novel *Ivanhoe*, it is very likely that there were some parents who admired the heroine Rowena and gave that name to their daughter. Yet Rowena never became a popular name, and the eventual rise of Rebecca came long after *Ivanhoe* ceased to be a widely read novel. Names such as Edith and Ethel were introduced through literary references, but they truly entered the naming pool because they acquired desirable popular connotations. They became a particular kind of consumer good—one “purchased” without any economic activity, but through the expenditure of taste.

For example, in chapter four, I made the case that the name Dorothy was probably revived in the upper middle classes because of the new attention to Dorothy Wordsworth from the mid-1870s through 1890s. However, likely only a small proportion of the parents who used the name ever read any of Wordsworth’s journals, or even the magazine reviews and articles discussing her. Once it had been used a certain number of times, it became a cultural object independent of Dorothy Wordsworth. However, the name probably carried with it the connotations of demure femininity that it had originally picked up due to its association with Wordsworth. Probably parents who used the name

described it as sweet and pretty. The 1896 critic of the name in *Cornhill* magazine referred to it “*recherché*” and “hackneyed,” which is a negative view of the same set of connotations. By that time, Dorothy was *too* popular for this connoisseur of naming. In the conservative naming pool, names never got too popular until one literally ran into the problem of not being able to distinguish people from one another because too many of them had the same names. But as names became objects of fashion, then some people became connoisseurs of names just as some are of clothes. Parents demonstrate their tastes through discrimination among the names in the pool, and ceasing to use those that become too common, just as a fashionable woman clears old trends out of her closet.

There is still much left to learn about Victorian naming practices. In chapters three and four, I have drawn strong correlations between various historical figures or literary characters and popular names, but I have been able to make few full arguments of causation. The reason for this is lack of evidence as to what people in 19th-century Britain thought about naming. Despite in-depth searches, I found few useful articles and even fewer books discussing “what to name the baby” or analyzing particular names. There were occasional helpful pieces, but not many. Although I will not rule out my having missed possible sources, it does seem that the Victorians did not write nearly as much on this topic as one might have guessed given the innovations they were making in naming. I was able to make use of the journals and letters of Queen Victoria to learn why she chose the names that she did for several of her children. However, it would be extremely useful to have correspondence and diaries from more ordinary people to see what they had to say on the subject of the names of their children, or names in general.

Correspondence or notes from authors such as Scott and Bulwer-Lytton, indicating why they chose certain names for their characters, and more reviews of some of the works from which popular names were drawn giving more evidence on why the Victorians were drawn to these works, would also be illuminating. Finally, I have used shopping as a metaphor for choosing names, hinting at a link between naming and consumerism. I believe that such a link exists, but it has proved beyond the scope of this thesis to make a more detailed argument for how it might work.

If a reader takes away one thing from my thesis, it should be this: if you are trying to conceptualize the life of a typical young woman in the Victorian period, know that she is highly unlikely to have been named Victoria or Alexandra. Also, do not imagine that she has the name of the protagonist of your favorite Victorian novel. Mary is always a possibility, though because of its broad popularity over centuries, it does not speak specifically to the Victorian era. Instead, if this young woman was born in the 1840s, she might have been Emily or Alice. But later on in the century, if she was born in the 1870s, the quintessential names really are Edith and Ethel.

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APPENDIX A

FURTHER DETAILS ON METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

As discussed in previous chapters, the collection of *Times* data for this study is analyzed according to five periods of approximate births: 1825-1840, 1840-1855, 1855-1870, 1870-1885, and 1885-1900. For each fifteen-year period, I collected names from five years of marriages. For women, this period began thirty years and concluded thirty-four years after the first year of the births period. For example, for women estimated to be born between 1825 to 1840, I gathered names from marriage announcements from 1855 through 1859. In 1855, any bride between fifteen and thirty years old was born in the 1825-1840 period, while in 1859, brides born in those years were between nineteen and thirty-four years old. The average age of a woman at first marriage was twenty-five to twenty-six in the second half of the 19th century, and it was unusual for a woman, particularly in the middle class or higher, to marry before entering her twenties.¹ It is highly unlikely that any significant number of brides were born later than the end of the births period assigned to them.

Some brides were, of course, past their early thirties, especially since not all *Times*-recorded marriages were first marriages. Widowed brides generally stated their status in the marriage announcements, but I did not exclude them from the names sample partly because grooms who were widowers did not state that fact in their marriage

¹ Penny Kane, *Victorian Families in Fact and Fiction* (Houndmills, UK: Macmillan, 1995), 93; Jennifer Phegley, *Courtship and Marriage in Victorian England* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012), 14, 36, 61; Ellen Ross, 60-63.

announcements and thus could not be excluded. Additionally, widows who remarried may well have still been in their twenties or early thirties. However, there will have been a number of brides born before their assigned birth period, which may cause the study to over-estimate the persistence of names from earlier periods that were actually borne by older brides. Given that the goal of the study is to show novelty, a conservative slant to the interpretive framework is actually a useful precaution. Still, to skew the pool toward brides in the target demographic, I chose all names from the months of May through August, encompassing the fashionable summer wedding season.²

For men's names, I also collected names of marriages from May through August for five years per fifteen-year birth period, though beginning thirty-five instead of thirty years after the first year of the birth period. Victorian men were generally older than their wives, especially in the upper-middle class marriages typically recorded in the *Times*. A single man might with perfect respectability live cheaply in rented rooms, but a groom of good social status was supposed to bring his bride home to a house. Although the house itself was often rented, the groom generally spent six months' to a year's worth of his income furnishing the house for his new wife.³ In 1886, the average professional man did not marry until he was past thirty-one, which implies a gap of five or six years between himself and a bride of twenty-five or twenty-six.⁴ For men's names for the birth period 1825-1840, I sampled grooms married between 1860 and 1864. A man who married in 1860 was in the target birth period if his age on marriage was anywhere

² Phegley, *Courtship and Marriage*, 117. Of these four sampled months, June and July typically have the highest numbers of marriages, followed by August, with May the lowest numbers of the four.

³ Flanders, 170-71, 229; Phegley, *Courtship and Marriage*, 14.

⁴ Kane, 93; Phegley, *Courtship and Marriage*, 36.

between twenty and thirty-five, as was a man who married in 1864 whose age was somewhere between twenty-four and thirty-nine. As with the women, some men would have been older, but few younger, than these ranges.

To test these assumptions, I researched the ages of the brides and grooms in a sample of thirty-seven marriage announcements from May 1890. (These are the same announcements referenced in chapter one.)⁵ I was able to find ages for thirty-one of the brides and thirty of the grooms. The youngest bride was eighteen, and the oldest, a widow, was forty-nine. The youngest two grooms were twenty-three, while the oldest, marrying the forty-nine year old widow, was fifty-six. Discounting this oldest couple, the average age of brides was twenty-eight, and that of grooms, thirty-two.⁶

Table A-1. Age of Brides and Grooms in May 1890 Sample

Age Range	Brides	Grooms
19 and under	1	0
20-24	5	3

⁵ Marriage announcements, London *Times*, May 12, 1890, 1; May 13, 1890, 1; May 14, 1890, 1; May, 15 1890; May 16, 1890, 1; microfilm.

⁶ 1891 England and Wales census results for William and Maria Pepys, Charles and Frances Tempest, Colin and Angela Campbell, John and Florence Wills, John and Blanche Paice, Henry and Elizabeth Cameron, Arthur and Janet Nance, Arthur and Emily Legge, Hartwig and Pauline Hirschfeld, Oscar and Margaret Hintze, Sidney and Elizabeth Wildish, Thomas and Beatrice Bartlett, John and Kate Thomas, Herbert and Emma Cane, Nicholas and Sophie Preston, Herbert and Alice Howes, Walter and Charlotte Letts, Ernest and Emily Beck, George and Mary Larkman, William and Edith Morgan, Charles and Rosa Wegscheider, and Edwin and Caroline Perry; 1881 England and Wales census results for Edith Bernand Doherty (traced through her father Lewis B. Bernand); 1911 Channel Islands census results for Nicholas and Esther Robin; London marriage records for Herbert Lawson and Marguerita Hirsch, Charles Williams and Clara Blackman; and Ancestry.co.uk user family trees for David and Agnes Duirs, Edward and Mary Hawker, and Amyas and Helen Northcote. All records from Ancestry.co.uk [accessed December 17-18, 2015].

Table A-1 *Continued*

Age Range	Brides	Grooms
25-29	17	10
30-34	2	5
35-39	4	8
40-44	1	1
45 and older	1	3

This sample is too small to be a conclusive representation of the totality of the *Times* study, but it does suggest that few grooms and even fewer brides were born after the period assigned to their names. Some were born earlier, but most are accurately placed within the stated birth period.

Within each collecting period, I gathered two thousand names, or four hundred names per year for five years. (The collecting periods for men's and women's names never overlapped, but were five years apart for each period of births.) I began by writing down two hundred names for each year, or fifty names each from the months of May, June, July, and August. I started with the first day of the month,⁷ and wrote down all the names of the brides if it was a collecting period for women, or grooms if it was a collecting period for men. Because wedding announcements were often run for two days in a row, but rarely longer, I skipped every other issue so as to avoid duplicates. I continued writing down brides or grooms until I had a list of fifty names. A few wedding

⁷ The *Times* has always been published Monday through Saturday. Therefore, if the first of the month was on a Sunday, I began instead with the issue of Monday the second.

announcements did not have a first name to use. Also, as I was working from microfilm, I had to omit announcements where the first name was not legible. I tried as best as possible to exclude the names of brides or grooms who were apparently born to non-English speaking parents (French, German, Spanish, etc.), or to American parents, as by the 19th century, American had become a separate ethnicity from British.

Later I decided I wanted an additional two hundred names per year, so I went back through the same months, but beginning with the fifteenth of each month,⁸ and wrote down fifty more names. I went back after I had collected all the names and checked for any overlaps between the first and second batches of names, correcting the few instances that had arisen. For some months, most often May, I had to draw names from adjacent days' announcements to get fifty names within half a month, but where I needed to do that, I scrutinized the list carefully to avoid repeating the names from duplicate announcements.

After I had all two thousand names for a period of births written down, and then entered into a spreadsheet, I combined totals from names that have different spellings but the same pronunciations (such as Ann / Anne, Marian / Marion, Frederic / Frederick, etc.). Then I listed all names that were used at least ten times (0.5 percentage share) in the collecting period, whether with the same or variant spellings. These are the names classified as being in wide use, with names being termed well used if they had a percentage share between 0.5 and 1.9, or popular if their percentage share was 2.0 or

⁸ Or Monday the sixteenth, if the fifteenth was a Sunday.

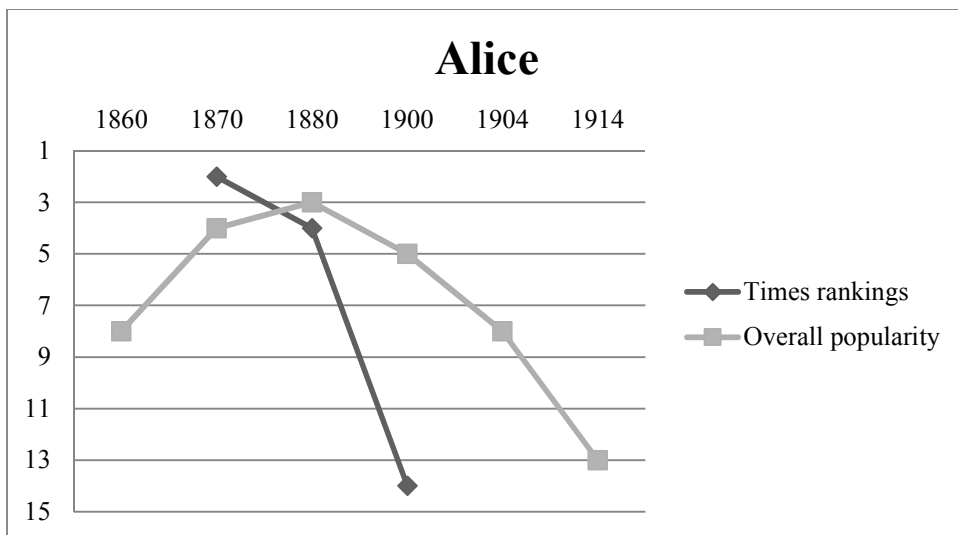
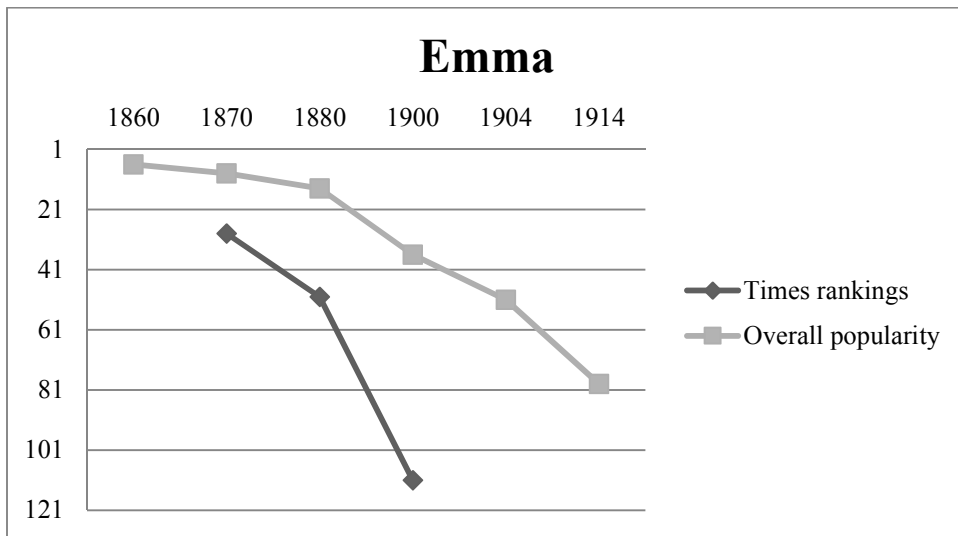
above.⁹ I ranked the names in order from highest to lowest number of instances, also including the percentage share for each name. For the second and subsequent periods, I also created a list showing the increase or decrease in instances from the prior period for all names that were well used in that or the prior period. This list was ranked by the change in percentage share, with an increase in percentage share of at least 0.5 percent (nine or more additional instances) qualifying the name as trending for that period. A complete set of the top five, other popular, well-used, and trending names for women and men for all periods of the study follows in Appendix B.

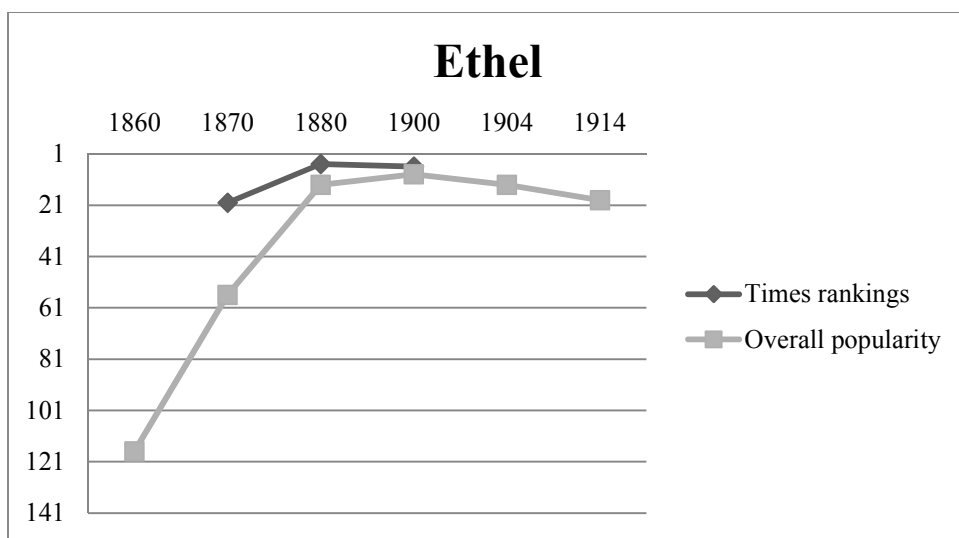
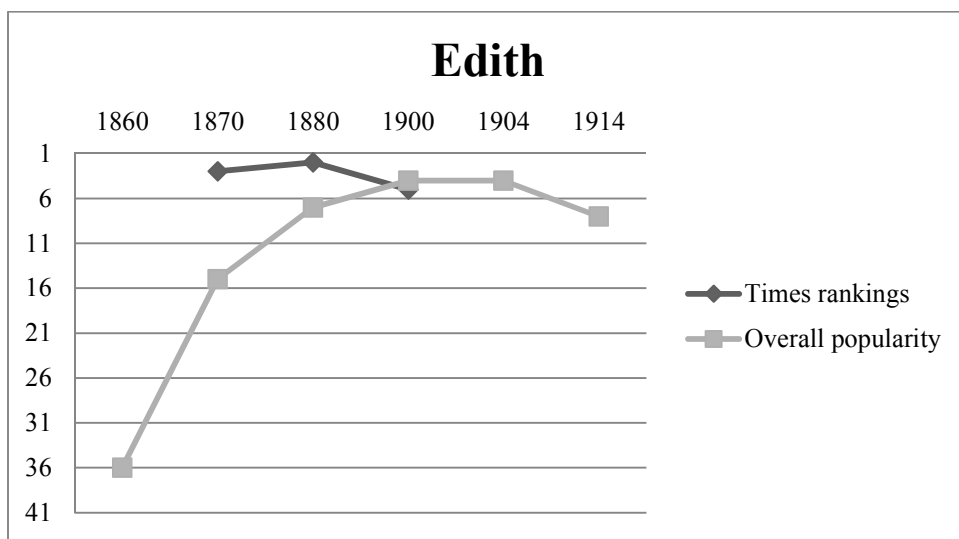
⁹ Names must have at least forty instances to be counted as popular; those with only thirty-nine instances are counted as well used, although their percentage share rounds up to 2.0 percent.

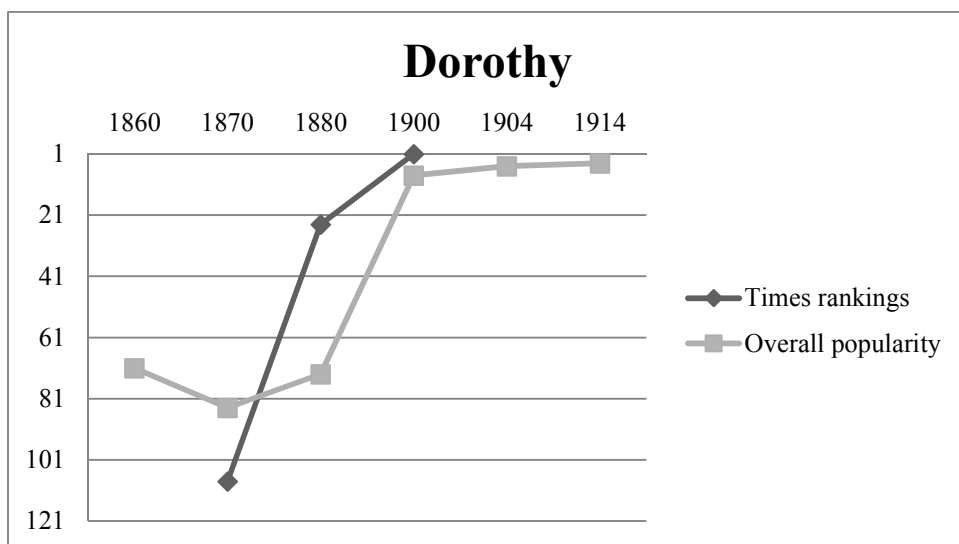
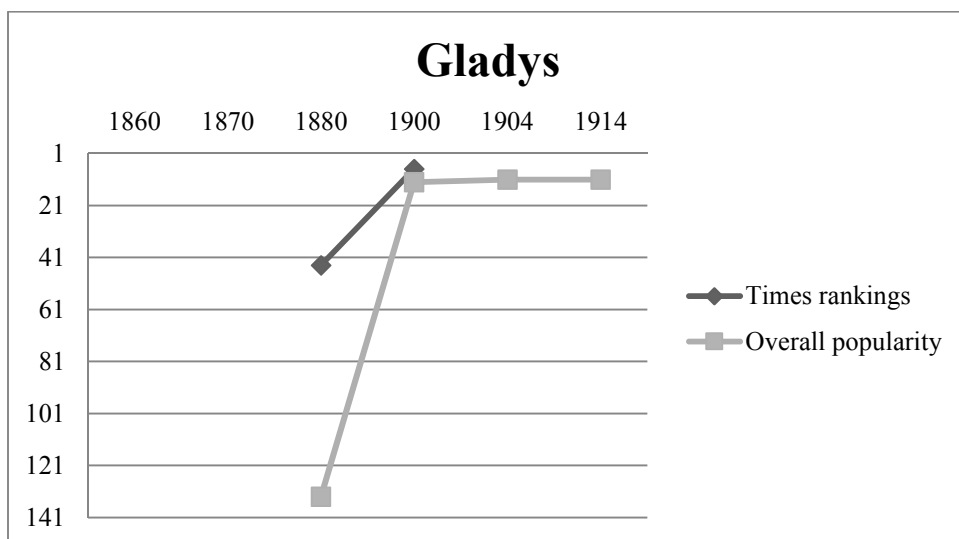
APPENDIX B

COMPARING POPULARITY IN *TIMES* DATA AND NICKERSON LISTS

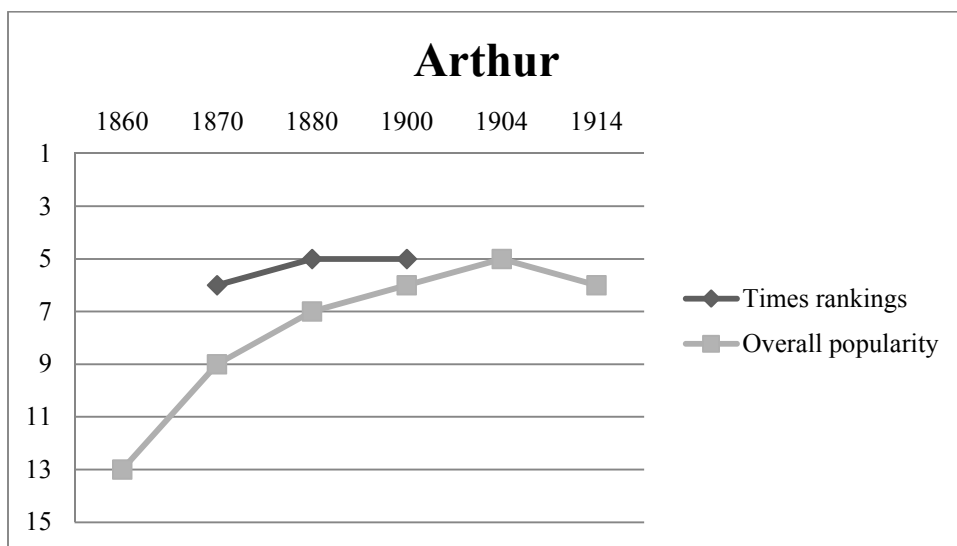
WOMEN'S NAMES

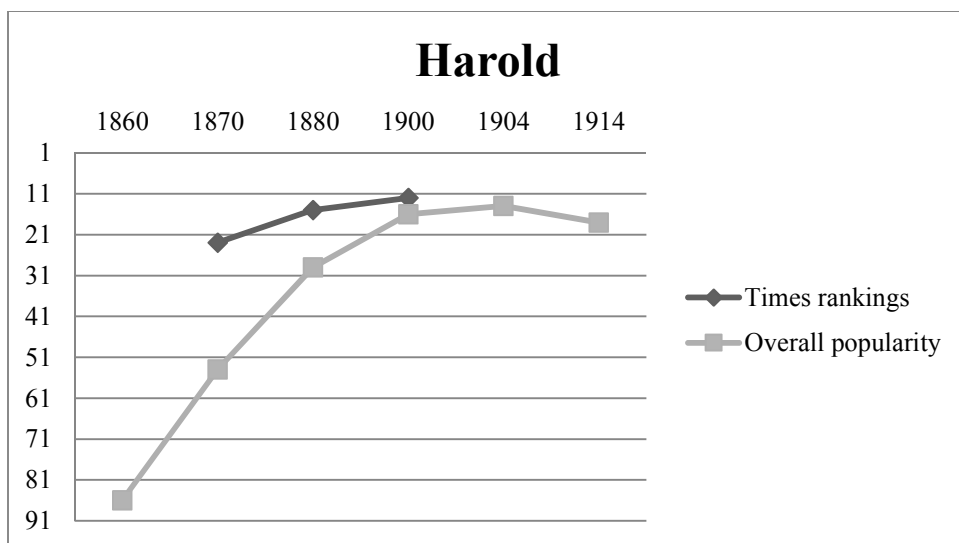
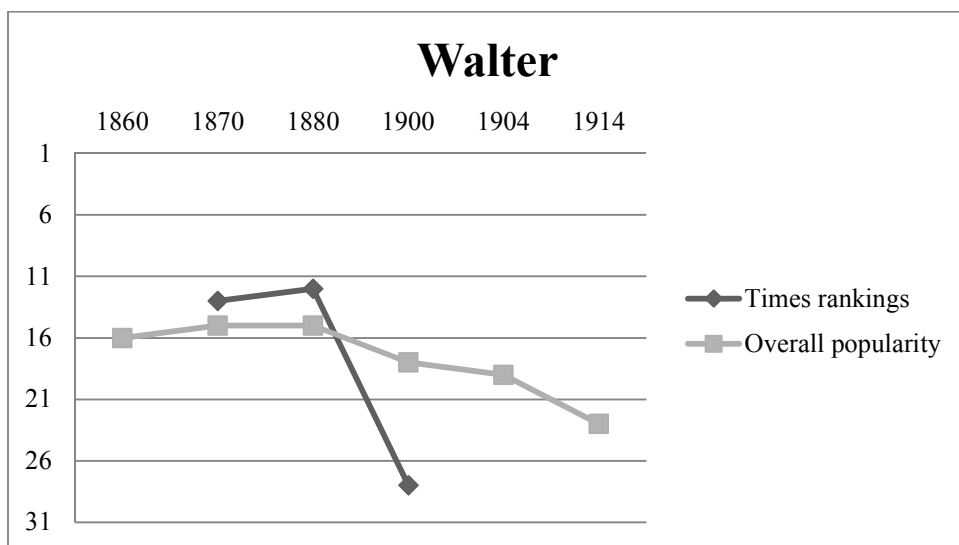


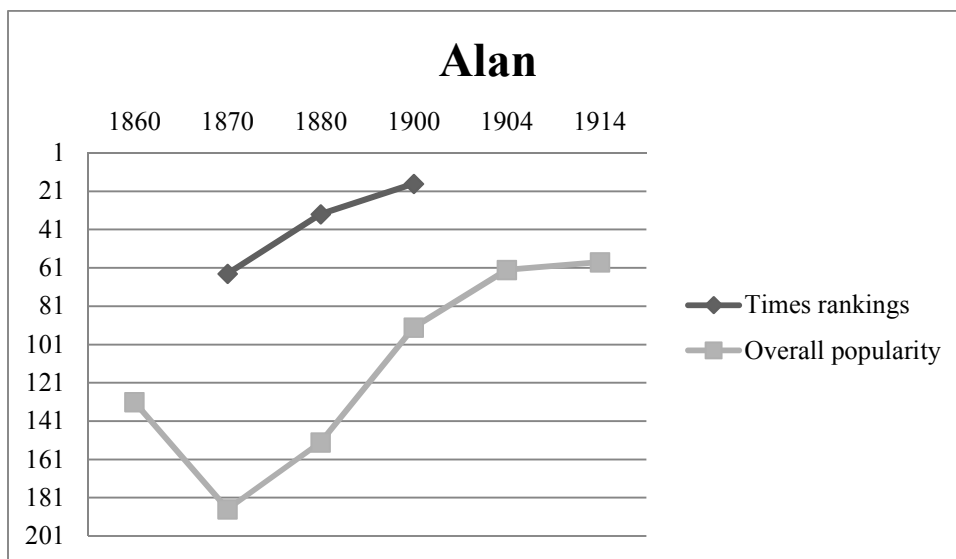
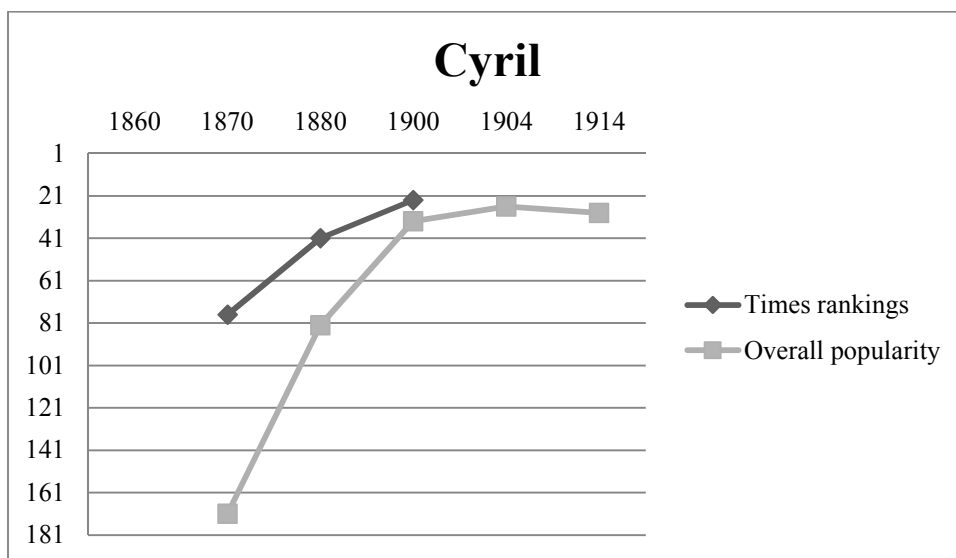




MEN'S NAMES







NAMES NEWLY ENTERED TO THE OVERALL TOP TWENTY-FIVE: WOMEN

(date ranges given are the periods the name was trending in the *Times* study)

1870

Ada	1840-1855, 1855-1870
Florence	1840-1855, 1855-1870
Edith	1840-1855, 1855-1870
Kate	1840-1855

1880

Ethel	1855-1870, 1870-1885
Gertrude	1855-1870, 1870-1885

1890

Lily	---
Elsie	1870-1885
Mabel	1870-1885
Lilian	1870-1885
Beatrice	1870-1885
Dorothy	1870-1885
Nellie	---
Rose	---
Maud	1855-1870, 1870-1885

1900

Doris	1885-1900
Gladys	1885-1900
Hilda	1870-1885
Winifred	1870-1885
Violet	1870-1885
May	near trending with 0.45% increase in 1870-1885

NAMES NEWLY ENTERED TO THE OVERALL TOP TWENTY-FIVE: MEN

(date ranges given are the periods the name was trending in the *Times* study)

1870

Ernest	1840-1855
Fred	---

1880

Percy	1870-1885, and near-trending with 0.45% increase in 1855-1870
-------	---

1890

Harold	1870-1885
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1900

Reginald	1870-1885
Leonard	near trending with 0.4% increase in 1885-1900

APPENDIX C

LISTS OF NAMES IN WIDE USE AND TRENDING

WOMEN'S NAMES

1825 to 1840 (births period—collected from marriages between 1855 and 1859)

Top Five Names

Mary	9.2%
Elizabeth	7.3%
Jane	3.8%
Sarah	3.7%
Ann(e)	3.2%

Other Popular Names

Emily	3.1%
Eliza	3.1%
Mary Ann(e)	3.1%
Harriet(te)	2.9%
Louisa	2.8%
Emma	2.7%
Caroline	2.6%
Fanny	2.6%
Ellen	2.5%
Frances	2.4%
Catherine	2.3%
Maria	2.2%
Margaret	2.0%

Well-Used Names

Annie (1.9%), Charlotte (1.8%), Julia (1.6%), Sophia (1.4%), Henrietta (1.2%), Isabella (1.2%), Agnes (1.2%), Anna (1.2%), Susan(nah) (1.2%), Hannah (1.0%), Matilda (0.9%), Clara (0.9%), Helen (0.9%), Marian / Marion (0.9%), Eleanor (0.8%), Georgiana (0.8%), Martha (0.8%), Laura (0.7%), Georgina (0.7%), Lucy (0.7%), Augusta (0.6%), Adelaide (0.6%), Amelia (0.6%)

1840 to 1855 (births period—collected from marriages between 1870 and 1874)

Top Five Names

Mary	8.2%
Elizabeth	5.4%
Emily	4.7%
Alice	3.4%
Annie	2.7%

Other Popular Names

Ellen	2.5%
Emma	2.5%
Harriet(te)	2.3%
Jane	2.3%
Sarah	2.3%
Mary Ann(e)	2.2%
Margaret	2.2%
Ann(e)	2.1%
Edith	2.1%
Louisa	2.1%
Frances	2.0%

Well-Used Names

Caroline (2.0%)*, Eliza (2.0%)*, Agnes (1.5%), Helen (1.3%), Julia (1.2%), Eleanor (1.1%), Kate (1.1%), Maria (1.1%), Ada (1.1%), Charlotte (1.1%), Clara (1.0%), Florence (1.0%), Isabella (1.0%), Amy (1.0%), Lucy (1.0%), Anna (0.8%), Georgina (0.8%), Jessie (0.8%), Martha (0.8%), Henrietta (0.7%), Blanche (0.7%), Constance (0.7%), Laura (0.7%), Marian / Marion (0.7%), Matilda (0.6%), Sophia (0.6%), Rose (0.6%), Esther (0.5%), Grace (0.5%), Marie (0.5%)

*39 instances; 40 is required for “popular” status

Trending Names

Alice	+3.2%
Edith	+1.8%
Emily	+1.6%
Ada	+0.9%
Amy	+0.8%
Annie	+0.8%
Florence	+0.8%
Kate	+0.7%
Constance	+0.5%

1855 to 1870 (births period—collected from marriages between 1885 and 1889)

Top Five Names

Mary	8.6%
Alice	4.7%
Edith	4.0%
Annie	3.8%
Emily	3.7%

Other Popular Names

Florence	3.0%
Elizabeth	2.6%
Margaret	2.4%
Ada	2.1%
Ellen	2.1%
Sarah	2.0%

Well-Used Names

Catherine (2.0%)*, Agnes (1.8%), Constance (1.8%), Frances (1.8%), Marion / Marian (1.6%), Amy (1.6%), Jane (1.6%), Helen (1.5%), Ethel (1.4%), Gertrude (1.3%), Kate (1.2%), Mabel (1.2%), Charlotte (1.2%), Clara (1.2%), Evelyn (1.2%), Jessie (1.1%), Louisa (1.1%), Emma (1.1%), Laura (1.0%), Caroline (1.0%), Fanny (1.0%), Maud(e) (1.0%), Eleanor (0.9%), Lucy (0.9%), Harriet (0.8%), Beatrice (0.8%), Isabel (0.7%), Julia (0.7%), Mary Ann(e) (0.7%), Rose (0.7%), Bertha (0.7%), Blanche (0.7%), Minnie (0.7%), Ann(e) (0.6%), Eliza (0.6%), Maria (0.6%), May (0.6%)

*39 instances; 40 is required for “popular” status

Trending Names

Florence	+2.0%
Edith	+1.9%
Alice	+1.4%
Ethel	+1.3%
Constance	+1.2%
Mabel	+1.2%
Annie	+1.1%
Ada	+1.0%
Gertrude	+1.0%
Marian/Marion	+1.0%
Evelyn	+0.9%
Maud(e)	+0.9%
Amy	+0.6%
May	+0.5%

1870 to 1885 (births period—collected from marriages between 1900 and 1904)

Top Five Names

Mary	5.6%
Edith	4.3%
Florence	4.0%
Alice	3.4%
Ethel	3.3%

Other Popular Names

Margaret	3.2%
Mabel	2.6%
Maud(e)	2.4%

Well-Used Names

Helen (1.9%), Evelyn (1.9%), Beatrice (1.9%), Gertrude (1.9%), Emily (1.7%), Elizabeth (1.7%), Catherine (1.6%), Constance (1.5%), Marion / Marian (1.5%), Amy (1.5%), Winifred (1.5%), Violet (1.4%), Frances (1.4%), Agnes (1.3%), Lilian (1.3%), Ellen (1.3%), Annie (1.3%), Dorothy (1.3%), Lucy (1.1%), Ada (1.1%), Kate (1.0%), Hilda (1.0%), May (1.0%), Jessie (0.9%), Eleanor (0.9%), Kathleen (0.8%), Muriel (0.8%), Elsie (0.8%), Nora(h) (0.8%), Eva (0.7%), Isabel (0.7%), Charlotte (0.7%), Minnie (0.7%), Caroline (0.7%), Mildred (0.7%), Dora (0.6%), Gladys (0.6%), Louisa (0.6%), Lily (0.6%), Clara (0.6%), Jane (0.6%), Blanche (0.5%), Ann(e) (0.5%), Anna (0.5%), Isabella (0.5%), Rose (0.5%), Emma (0.5%)

Trending Names

Ethel	+1.9%
Maud(e)	+1.4%
Mabel	+1.4%
Winifred	+1.2%
Dorothy	+1.2%
Beatrice	+1.1%
Violet	+1.1%
Florence	+1.0%
Hilda	+1.0%
Lilian	+1.0%
Margaret	+0.9%
Evelyn	+0.7%
Muriel	+0.7%
Elsie	+0.6%
Gladys	+0.6%
Gertrude	+0.6%
Nora(h)	+0.6%

1885 to 1900 (births period—collected from marriages between 1915 and 1919)

Top Five Names

Dorothy	5.0%
Mary	3.7%
Margaret	3.6%
Marjorie	2.9%
Edith	2.5%

Other Popular Names

Ethel	2.4%
Gladys	2.2%
Kathleen	2.1%

Well-Used Names

Phyllis (1.9%), Helen (1.8%), Florence (1.8%), Evelyn (1.7%), Catherine (1.7%), Alice (1.6%), Elizabeth (1.6%), Muriel (1.5%), Frances (1.5%), Winifred (1.5%), Doris (1.4%), Nora(h) (1.3%), Mabel (1.2%), Violet (1.2%), Gertrude (1.1%), Hilda (1.1%), Annie (1.0%), Vera (1.0%), Constance (0.9%), Olive (0.9%), Agnes (0.9%), Irene (0.9%), Elsie (0.8%), Grace (0.8%), Lilian (0.8%), Eileen (0.8%), Emily (0.8%), Beatrice (0.7%), Maud(e) (0.7%), Ada (0.7%), Eleanor (0.7%), Ella (0.6%), Gwendoline (0.6%), Janet (0.6%), Jean (0.6%), May (0.6%), Nancy (0.6%), Barbara (0.5%), Bertha (0.5%), Bessie (0.5%), Caroline (0.5%), Enid (0.5%), Marguerite (0.5%), Marion / Marian (0.5%), Mildred (0.5%), Ruth (0.5%)

Trending Names

Dorothy	+3.7%
Marjorie	+2.6%
Gladys	+1.6%
Phyllis	+1.5%
Doris	+1.4%
Kathleen	+1.3%
Vera	+0.9%
Muriel	+0.8%
Eileen	+0.7%
Irene	+0.6%
Nora(h)	+0.6%
Enid	+0.5%
Olive	+0.5%

MEN'S NAMES

1825 to 1840 (births period—collected from marriages between 1860 and 1864)

Top Five Names

William	12.2%
John	11.0%
Henry	7.1%
Charles	6.8%
James	6.5%

Other Popular Names

George	6.4%
Thomas	6.1%
Edward	3.3%
Robert	3.3%
Frederick	2.4%
Alfred	2.2%
Arthur	2.1%

Well-Used Names

Richard (1.9%), Joseph (1.7%), Francis (1.7%), Samuel (1.3%), Edmund (1.0%), Alexander (0.9%), David (0.8%), Walter (0.8%), Augustus (0.7%), Herbert (0.7%), Benjamin (0.7%), Albert (0.6%), Edwin (0.6%)

1840 to 1855 (births period—collected from marriages between 1875 and 1879)

Top Five Names

John	10.4%
William	9.6%
Charles	7.2%
Henry	6.4%
George	5.6%

Other Popular Names

James	5.2%
Thomas	4.8%
Frederick	4.2%
Edward	3.9%
Arthur	3.5%
Alfred	2.8%
Robert	2.4%
Walter	2.3%

Well-Used Names

Francis (1.8%), Richard (1.6%), Herbert (1.3%), Joseph (1.3%), Frank (1.1%), Samuel (1.1%), Albert (0.8%), Ernest (0.8%), Harry (0.8%), Alexander (0.7%), Edmund (0.7%), Edwin (0.7%), Philip (0.7%), Augustus (0.6%), David (0.6%), Lewis / Louis (0.5%), Percy (0.5%)

Trending Names

Frederick	+1.8%
Walter	+1.5%
Arthur	+1.5%
Alfred	+0.7%
Ernest	+0.7%
Frank	+0.7%
Harry	+0.7%
Herbert	+0.6%
Edward	+0.6%

1855 to 1870 (births period—collected from marriages between 1890 and 1894)

Top Five Names

William	8.3%
John	7.4%
Charles	6.7%
George	6.5%
Edward	4.5%

Other Popular Names

Arthur	4.4%
Henry	4.4%
James	3.3%
Thomas	3.3%
Robert	3.2%
Frederick	2.8%
Alfred	2.7%
Walter	2.1%
Francis	2.1%
Herbert	2.1%

Well-Used Names

Ernest (1.8%), Frank (1.7%), Harry (1.4%), Richard (1.3%), Alexander (1.2%), Sidney / Sydney (1.2%), Percy (1.0%), Albert (0.9%), Harold (0.9%), David (0.8%), Joseph (0.8%), Reginald (0.8%), Edwin (0.7%), Cecil (0.7%), Philip (0.7%), Samuel (0.7%), Edmund (0.6%), Archibald (0.6%), Hugh (0.6%)

Trending Names

Ernest	+1.0%
George	+0.9%
Arthur	+0.9%
Harold	+0.9%
Herbert	+0.8%
Robert	+0.8%
Sidney / Sydney	+0.8%
Edward	+0.7%
Frank	+0.6%
Harry	+0.6%
Alexander	+0.5%
Archibald	+0.5%
Cecil	+0.5%

1870 to 1885 (births period—collected from marriages between 1905 and 1909)

Top Five

John	6.5%
William	6.4%
Charles	5.6%
George	4.3%
Arthur	4.2%

Other Popular Names

Henry	3.9%
Edward	3.0%
James	2.9%
Frederick	2.8%
Robert	2.8%
Herbert	2.4%
Walter	2.2%
Francis	2.2%
Thomas	2.1%
Harold	2.1%

Well-Used Names

Percy (1.9%), Frank (1.8%), Alfred (1.7%), Ernest (1.6%), Reginald (1.6%), Richard (1.5%), Hugh (1.4%), Sidney / Sydney (1.2%), Alexander (1.2%), Harry (1.2%), David (1.0%), Joseph (1.0%), Philip (0.8%), Albert (0.8%), Bernard (0.7%), Gerald (0.7%), Cecil (0.7%), Allan (0.6%), Stanley (0.6%), Edmund (0.6%), Howard (0.6%), Edwin (0.5%)

Trending Names

Harold	+1.2%
Percy	+1.0%
Hugh	+0.8%
Reginald	+0.8%

1885 to 1900 (births period—collected from marriages between 1920 and 1924)

Top Five

John	7.5%
William	5.6%
Charles	4.3%
George	3.7%
Arthur	3.5%

Other Popular Names

Robert	3.1%
James	2.6%
Henry	2.4%
Frederick	2.3%
Edward	2.2%
Thomas	2.1%

Well-Used Names

Harold (2.0%)*, Alfred (1.7%), Reginald (1.6%), Richard (1.6%), Frank (1.5%), Alan (1.4%), Ernest (1.4%), Francis (1.3%), Herbert (1.3%), Eric (1.3%), Hugh (1.3%), Cyril (1.2%), Douglas (1.1%), Philip (1.1%), Gerald (1.0%), Leslie (1.0%), Alexander (1.0%), Kenneth (1.0%), Walter (1.0%), Geoffrey (0.9%), Norman (0.9%), Cecil (0.9%), David (0.9%), Leonard (0.8%), Edgar (0.7%), Joseph (0.7%), Lawrence / Laurence (0.7%), Maurice (0.7%), Percy (0.7%), Sydney / Sidney (0.7%), Wilfrid / Wilfred (0.7%), Lewis / Louis (0.6%), Ronald (0.6%), Stanley (0.6%), Bernard (0.6%), Albert (0.5%), Edmund (0.5%), Ralph (0.5%)

*39 instances; 40 is required for “popular” status

Trending Names

Eric	+1.1%
John	+1.0%
Leslie	+0.9%
Al(l)an	+0.8%
Cyril	+0.8%
Geoffrey	+0.8%
Douglas	+0.6%
Kenneth	+0.6%
Norman	+0.5%
Maurice	+0.5%