

20 : Cornish Migration patterns

1 : Context

So far much of the work which CASA (though not Kevin Schurer) has presented (in this seminar) has been at a fairly coarse level of geographic resolution, namely the GB postal area.

In this section we wish to consider what additional understanding we can obtain by examining name distributions at a finer level of geographic resolution, for example by going down to the level of parliamentary constituency (of which there are currently 659) in Great Britain), to the level of the post town (around 2000), the postcode sector (of which there are around 9000) and even the half sector (of which there are around 130,000)

The subject of this more detailed analysis is the parliamentary constituency of Falmouth and Camborne in the county of Cornwall (see Map one) which contained 57,837 electors on the 1998 electoral roll.



Map One : Falmouth and Camborne parliamentary constituency

This part of Britain is interesting for a number of reasons. Many of the place names in the constituency originate from the Cornish language. These have given rise to a number of toponymic surnames which are peculiar to Cornwall. Many other surnames in this part of Britain are of Breton origin, reflecting the close cultural and trading connections between the two Celtic regions.

Camborne in particular is the historic centre of the Cornish mining industry. The extraction of tin and copper has been an important source of income in Cornwall since pre-Roman times and by the early nineteenth century Cornwall was Britain's most industrialised county, which is one of the reasons why John Wesley found it such a fertile region for his preaching. Since 1871, with the exhaustion of ores and the emergence of new sources of tin and copper in Australia and the Americas, the region began to lose large numbers of its skilled population to other mining regions, particularly the to United States, Australia and to a lesser extent Cumbria. In the ten years to the 1881 census the county lost 8.9 % of its population and between 1881 until 1971 the county continued to

exhibit high levels of out migration. It is only recently that the constituency has begun to attract significant numbers of in-comers from other parts of Great Britain.

The location of the constituency close to the end of a very long peninsula and lying at some distance from the edge of the postal area to which it belongs (TR : Truro, see Map two) enables us to examine name patterns without hindrance from boundary effects¹.



Map two : TR (Truro) postal area

2 : Key issues for analysis

This analysis of names in Falmouth and Camborne is designed to address a number of related questions. Given that virtually every name is unevenly distributed within Great Britain is it therefore the case that most names are associated with broad cultural regions, such as the South West, or with particular sub regions (such as postal areas) within them? Or is it the case that names are distributed quite unevenly even within individual post areas, being associated with very specific points, varying in frequency even between post towns which are in close proximity to each other or indeed between different suburbs and villages within these post towns?

If it is the case that some names are indicative of broad cultural regions whilst others are indicative of precise localities, one might suppose that names indicative of broad cultural regions are likely to be patronyms, metonyms and topographic names whilst highly localised names are more likely to be found among toponyms. Does evidence support this?

Likewise, among those names that are highly indicative of very specific localities, is there evidence to suggest that these names are distributed randomly within the locality? Or does one tend to find indigenous local names more commonly in certain types of neighbourhood, for example among areas of older housing, in rural areas or in neighbourhoods with lower than average incomes where mobility is lower and where fewer incomers are likely to want to settle? One might suppose that traditional local names would be more highly concentrated in the poorer areas of the constituency, where there has been less mobility, than in the better off areas more likely to attract in migrants from other regions of the country; in the older terraces in the mining towns than among

the retirement bungalows around Falmouth; and among traditional farming communities than areas of young singles surrounding centres of higher education.

A third set of questions relates to the broader geographical distribution of distinctively Cornish names. If we are able to define a set of names which are distinctively Cornish, then it should be possible to map the historic and current distribution of people with Cornish ancestry not just in Cornwall but throughout the Anglophone diaspora. Can such a list of Cornish names be created and how? Is the list best created on the basis of linguistics or on the basis of geography? Or indeed it is more appropriate to describe names as having a 'degree' of Cornishness rather than as being either Cornish or not Cornish.

3 : Name classes common among Cornish electors

The classification of names which was introduced in paper 5 provides a useful summary means of identifying naming practices which are more or less common in 'Cornwall'

Profile of TR (Truro) postal area names : 1998	
Name classifications : All level one + selected level two, three	Deviation from GB average
CELTIC	-2.48
<i>CELTIC;NOUNFIRST;CORNISH</i>	88.23
DIMINUTIVE	2.67
<i>DIMINUTIVE;KIN;FORENAME-KIN</i>	8.57
FEATURE	-0.26
FOREIGN	-5.00
GENITIVE	-0.81
JEWISH	-1.19
METONYM	-0.86
NAME	3.56
<i>NAME;FORENAME;BRETON</i>	10.52
NORMAN	0.32
PATRONYM	1.41
<i>PATRONYM;S</i>	4.46
<i>PATRONYM;S;JONES'</i>	3.16
<i>PATRONYM;S;PERSON(S)</i>	5.78
<i>PATRONYM;SON</i>	-2.77
POSITION	-0.35
REGIONAL	4.28
STATUS	-0.24
TOPONYM	-0.59

Table one : Profile of TR (Truro) postal area by name class, 1998

than elsewhere in Great Britain. **Table one** shows in index form the relative over or under presentation of all the 'level one' name classes and selected level two and level three name classes for the TR (Truro) postal area. This postal area covers only 60% of Cornwall's population so the two geographic units are not coterminous. However the TR postal area does include those parts of the county in which the Cornish language has exerted strongest influence and in which characteristically Cornish names occur most frequently.

In terms of the level one classification the distinguishing features of Cornish naming practice are the high proportions of names with distinct regional associations; of names which are derived directly from first names (such as Gilbert, John) which lack a patronymic suffix; and of diminutive names. There are also above average proportions of people in Cornwall whose names are patronymic.

By contrast this is a part of Britain which, due to remoteness, low wages and poor job opportunities, has attracted relatively very few people with Asian names. Likewise, because the industrialisation of Cornwall occurred well before the Potato Famine and the Highland clearances, there is a well below average occurrence of non Cornish Celtic names. One can also see a somewhat lower propensity of people in Cornwall to have been given names based on their occupation or on where they lived. However one needs to bear in mind when considering the apparently low number of toponyms that the classification system would regard many local toponyms, such as Nancarrow or Trevelyan, as classes of Celtic names as a result of their name structure. This is because the topographic element in Cornish toponyms, such as Pen- (promontory), Pol-(pool), Tre- (farmstead) occur in the form of prefixes rather than name endings.

At this level of classification the naming practices in Falmouth and Camborne are broadly similar to those of West Cornwall as a whole (postal area TR) other than the slightly greater incidence of names of Jewish, Celtic and Foreign origin. These differences are likely to be result of the greater power of the mining industry than of farming and fishing to attract migrants from longer distances.

The benefit of using the more detailed second level in the name classification is evident when one distinguishes different forms of patronym. The slight over-representation of patronyms in Cornwall conceals very distinct naming practices which involve the attribution of patronyms ending in –s rather than –son. Within this class of patronym it is also apparent that the region has much higher proportion of patronyms of a sort which are not prevalent in South Wales (such as Jones, Williams, Roberts). Cornish patronyms tend to be names with smaller national frequencies and may well be genuine patronyms rather than names assigned during adulthood to persons migrating to an urban setting.

As would be expected the region has an exceptionally high concentration of Cornish rather than merely South Western names and, perhaps more interestingly, shows its historic links with Brittany through its large numbers of people with Breton first names (such as Gilbert). Also evident is the spread into West Cornwall of persons with

toponym endings associated with Devon, such as –combe, –cott, -mill, -slade and –worthy (see **table two**).

Toponym endings : Highest deviations from the national average, TR (Truro) postal area; 1998					
Most above GB average		Deviation	Most below GB average		Deviation
TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;WORTHY		13.96	TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;GILL		-2.24
TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;LAKE		4.01	TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;WICK		-1.90
TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;SLADE		2.79	TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;BANKS		-1.83
TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;MILL		2.78	TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;WORTH		-1.70
TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;ING		2.70	TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;ROYD		-1.66
TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;COTT		2.52	TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;SHAW		-1.65
TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;COMBE		2.29	TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;GATE		-1.61
TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;BEER		1.95	TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;HOUGH		-1.61
TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;ELL		1.57	TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;POOL		-1.60
TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;MEAD		1.47	TOPONYM;SETTLEMENT;STOCK		-1.51

Table two : relatively common and uncommon name endings, TR (Truro) postal area, 1998)

Within the generic class of toponyms more detailed analysis of TR names shows that there are considerable differences in the level of more detailed classes constructed from settlement name endings, with strong evidence of Anglo Saxon name endings particularly common in neighbouring parts of the South West region. The high incidence of –ing endings is confusion. Almost certainly many Cornish names ending in –ing are not toponyms, as they are elsewhere, but corruptions of names which otherwise would have ended in –in (such as the practice with Hosking, Tonking). Settlement names ending in –worthy are particularly common in North West Devon and North Cornwall (such as Holsworthy, Beaworthy) and these name types are more common in the PL (Plymouth) postal area and the eastern part of the TR (Truro) postal area than in Falmouth and Camborne.

4 : Names particular to Cornwall

In order to determine the extent to which naming practices are regionalised or localised a comparison was undertaken to compare the extent to which the one hundred names most common in the Falmouth and Camborne constituency were represented elsewhere within the Truro postal area. Overall the constituency contains 40% of the postal area's electorate. Table three ranks these one hundred names by the extent to which they are concentrated within the constituency at the expense of elsewhere within the postal area. This list contains a number of names which, though apparently Cornish, are in fact much more localised in their origin. The names Opie, Toy, Moyle, Dunstan, Uren, Rule and

Names by level of localisation within TR (Truro) postal area (based on most common 100 names in F/C)

Name	Falmouth and Camborne			TR	% of TR occurrences in Falmouth and Camborne
	Count	Rank	Index	Index	
OPIE	114	67	11882	5030	94
WILKES	91	93	633	275	92
TOY	114	68	7845	4088	77
MOYLE	166	35	7293	3944	74
DUNSTAN	220	22	7208	4102	70
UREN	123	58	7363	4324	68
MILLS	129	49	175	104	67
SIMMONS	92	91	338	202	67
HART	116	62	235	148	63
RULE	115	64	4052	2569	63
PELLOW	119	59	13377	8688	62
BRAY	254	16	1415	931	61
BALL	87	97	164	109	60
WEBBER	90	94	593	407	58
YOUNG	124	57	100	69	58
ANDREW	141	44	1018	714	57
JEFFERY	108	77	827	592	56
SYMONS	158	41	2755	2030	54
WILLS	196	27	1261	932	54
MARTIN	412	7	260	193	54
HOCKING	234	19	5437	4070	53
COOPER	126	52	87	66	53
WATTS	87	99	174	133	52
COLLINS	225	20	228	174	52
KEMP	114	66	349	267	52
OLIVER	103	83	231	179	52
JENKIN	222	21	9010	7014	51
BUTLER	86	100	127	100	51
TONKIN	141	45	6629	5236	51
ROWE	413	6	1220	964	51

EVANS	234	18	93	74	50
MITCHELL	385	9	323	258	50
CLARKE	131	47	83	67	50
ROGERS	208	23	270	220	49
REED	107	80	254	208	49
RICHARDSON	96	87	95	78	49
LAITY	116	63	13342	11102	48
MOORE	159	40	116	97	48
PASCOE	329	11	6290	5272	48
JOHNS	252	17	1773	1494	47
CURNOW	184	30	9984	8461	47
FORD	87	98	149	129	46
ROBERTS	407	8	194	169	46
ADAMS	87	96	98	86	46
BENNETT	160	39	148	134	44
MAY	128	50	367	337	44
PALMER	93	90	127	117	43
DAVIS	126	53	115	107	43
PHILLIPS	207	24	175	163	43
CHAPMAN	124	56	154	143	43
HARRIS	313	12	194	181	43
WILSON	161	38	60	56	43
EDDY	113	69	4468	4257	42
WARD	102	85	74	71	42
RICHARDS	558	4	636	611	42
BROWN	297	14	79	76	41
TURNER	128	51	83	80	41
WEBB	118	61	151	147	41
SMITH	541	5	68	66	41
ALLEN	201	25	165	162	41
GEORGE	106	81	313	307	41
CARTER	137	46	137	135	41
MORRIS	130	48	93	92	41
GILBERT	152	43	439	434	40
CLARK	107	79	69	68	40
THOMAS	614	3	274	272	40
BAKER	107	78	83	83	40
LEWIS	102	84	64	64	40
WHITE	181	31	99	100	40
WILLIAMS	869	2	209	211	40
REYNOLDS	119	60	201	203	40
GREEN	163	36	96	97	40
STEPHENS	179	33	590	600	39
JONES	380	10	62	64	39
WALKER	112	75	57	59	39
THOMPSON	113	70	61	63	39
ELLIS	112	71	131	136	39
JAMES	309	13	261	271	39
EDWARDS	169	34	98	104	38
DAVIES	179	32	57	61	37

JACKSON	109	76	69	74	37
COOK	98	86	93	100	37
KING	125	55	93	101	37
TAYLOR	255	15	70	77	36
PEARCE	187	29	332	368	36
MATTHEWS	196	26	272	302	36
ROBINSON	112	74	60	67	36
PETERS	91	92	339	386	35
JOHNSON	126	54	59	67	35
HUGHES	112	73	64	73	35
HARVEY	190	28	277	322	34
HILL	114	65	78	91	34
HICKS	88	95	382	470	32
NICHOLLS	154	42	410	506	32
WOOD	94	88	57	73	31
STEVENS	162	37	243	326	30
HOSKING	105	82	3988	5730	28
HALL	112	72	66	96	28
WRIGHT	94	89	49	71	28

Table three : localisation of names within TR (Truro) postal area

Pellow, which lie close to the top of the list, are names which are particularly associated with Cornwall but which even in 1998 remain highly localised in their distribution. Somewhat contrary to what might imagine this list does not contain any obvious toponyms or indeed any metonyms associated with the mining industry although this might not necessarily be the case if we were to broaden the list to include names ranking lower than the top one hundred. By contrast the names Wilkes, Mills and Simmons are examples of names conforming to wider cultural naming practices which are nevertheless significantly more concentrated in Falmouth and Camborne than elsewhere in Cornwall.

Names which are common in Falmouth and Camborne only on account of their frequency nationally (such as Hill, Johnson, Robinson, Wood and Wright) tend to be relatively more common elsewhere in the postal area than in the constituency, supporting the contention that this part of Cornwall is one which has been least attractive to in-comers from beyond the Tamar. However it is notably that patronymics which are common throughout Devon and Cornwall, such as Hicks, Matthews, Nicholls, Peters and Stevens, are relatively less common within the constituency that elsewhere within the Truro postal area.

Within Falmouth and Camborne there is evidence that regional names are distributed fairly evenly by post town whereas names which are specific to the constituency do have significantly different local distributions. **Table four** shows that whereas the Dunstons and the Opies are associated in particular with Redruth and neighbouring Feock, Camborne is still the home of the Urens and the Rules whilst the Pellows and Toys are concentrated in Penryn. A more recent settlement, Falmouth has no concentration of any of the most important local names.

Geographical distribution of Cornish names within Falmouth and Camborne						
Post Town	Feock	Penryn	Falmouth	Camborne	Redruth	Illogan
Postal District	TR3	TR10	TR11	TR14	TR15	TR16
% of F/C names	4.4	8.9	29.8	25.9	18.0	13.0
	Relative Incidence of names (average incidence of the constituency =100)					
DUNSTAN	175	51	57	100	169	112
MOYLE	109	41	38	133	97	218
UREN	0	0	30	239	81	113
PELLOW	95	245	88	75	121	52
RULE	39	49	20	195	145	87
TOY	40	276	94	105	68	47
OPIE	179	30	50	54	238	135

Table four : geographical distribution of names associated with Falmouth and Camborne by post town

In general therefore, at least on the basis of evidence from this part of the country, names which reflect cultural naming practices tend to operate at a relatively coarse level of geographic resolution whilst lower frequency names, and not necessarily toponyms, can often have high levels of localisation. This distinction is very important for analyses seeking to define 'zones of transition' between regions of different cultural history, since the patterns generated from the use of more common names will throw up quite different patterns to those generated from the use of less common names.

Of the 26034 individual names with over 100 occurrences in Great Britain in 1998, there are 334 where the deviation above the national average is more significant in TR than in any other of Britain's 120 postal areas. Taking into account the number of names and postal areas, one would expect a postal area on average to have 217 such names. So TR contains a rather larger than average proportion of what might be described as 'sub regional' names.

Ranking of names by deviation from GB average in 1881 and in 1998 : TR (Truro) postal area						
1881				1998		
Name	Deviation from GB average	Rank		Name	Deviation from GB average	Rank
ANGOVE	147.38	12		ANDREWARTHA	67.80	62
ANGWIN	134.41	21		ANGOVE	100.27	17
ANNEAR	109.45	84		ANGWIN	53.01	99
BARNICOAT	119.43	59		ANNEAR	121.39	5
BAWDEN	110.19	82		BARNICOAT	77.33	37
BECKERLEG	130.18	31		BASHER	64.82	71
BENNETTS	157.50	6		BECKERLEG	72.04	51
BLAMEY	109.15	86		BENNETTS	115.02	12
BOLITHO	107.72	89		BENNEY	57.88	87
BOSANKO	113.90	70		BLEWETT	58.04	86
CARLYON	113.73	71		BOLITHO	77.26	38
CHEGWIDDEN	108.42	88		BUZZA	78.30	35
CHELLEW	111.50	80		CHRISTOPHERS	88.46	26
CHIRGWIN	108.78	87		COCK	54.68	94
COMBELLACK	127.68	42		COMBELLACK	54.79	93
CURNOW	169.92	2		CORIN	68.76	58
DOWRICK	115.61	65		CREWES	68.18	60
DUNSTAN	129.44	35		CURNOW	131.52	3
EATHORNE	132.46	25		DUNSTAN	69.42	56
EDDY	128.63	39		EDDY	69.53	55
EUSTICE	129.60	33		EUSTICE	115.69	10
EVA	105.71	92		GENDALL	115.93	9
FRIGGENS	116.71	61		HENDRA	59.15	81
GENDALL	112.80	74		HICHENS	75.54	42
GLASSON	119.57	57		HOCKING	73.62	47
GRENFELL	117.62	60		HOLLOW	77.22	39
HICHENS	120.12	54		HOSKEN	57.06	89
HOCKING	124.57	45		HOSKING	94.91	22
HOLLOW	128.74	38		JACKA	57.38	88
HOSKING	137.68	19		JELBERT	126.70	4

JACKA	124.63	44	JENKIN	115.06	11
JELBERT	135.81	20	JORY	53.76	97
JENKIN	131.01	30	JOSE	97.01	19
JENKYN	104.61	93	KEAST	54.88	92
JOSE	111.97	77	KESSELL	72.29	50
KELYNACK	133.49	22	KEVERN	73.93	45
KEVERN	102.20	97	KNEEBONE	74.90	43
KEVERNE	131.61	29	KNUCKEY	63.48	74
KNUCKEY	132.68	24	LADNER	63.81	73
LAITY	168.27	3	LAITY	149.59	2
LAMPSHIRE	119.45	58	LAWRY	84.40	29
LANYON	114.24	69	MADDERN	77.46	36
LAWRY	114.54	67	MEDLIN	71.72	52
LETCHER	122.44	50	MOYLE	62.99	76
MADDERN	152.17	10	NANKERVIS	87.11	27
MEDLIN	129.79	32	NINNIS	59.45	80
MEDLYN	146.30	13	NOALL	72.41	48
MICHELL	112.01	76	OLDS	55.06	91
MOYLE	133.43	23	OPIE	68.32	59
MURRISH	121.59	52	PASCOE	99.60	18
NANKERVIS	139.86	18	PELLOW	117.29	7
NOALL	101.95	99	PELLOWE	63.12	75
OATS	111.69	79	PENALUNA	70.02	54
ODGERS	115.70	64	PENHALIGON	116.02	8
OPIE	131.65	28	PENNA	58.04	85
OPPY	128.86	36	POLGLASE	103.45	15
PASCOE	141.72	16	POLKINGHORNE	74.64	44
PENALUNA	120.30	53	PRISK	112.23	13
PENBERTHY	128.31	40	RASHLEIGH	67.78	63
PENNA	120.10	55	RETALLACK	60.46	77
POLGLASE	122.55	49	RODDA	58.99	82
POLKINGHORNE	116.18	63	ROSEVEAR	66.63	66
PRISK	151.22	11	ROSKILLY	65.16	70
RESEIGH	115.20	66	SARA	65.69	67
RETALLACK	113.32	73	SEDGEMAN	102.99	16
RODDA	119.83	56	SEMMENS	80.23	34
SANDOW	116.45	62	SHERRIS	53.48	98
SARA	122.38	51	SKEWES	151.58	1
SEMMENS	156.49	7	SMITHERAM	106.72	14
SKEWES	132.23	26	SPARGO	58.24	84
SPARGO	140.48	17	STRIBLEY	81.00	33
TEMBY	129.56	34	STRICK	92.63	24
TIDDY	107.24	91	TEMBY	68.83	57
TONKIN	123.47	47	TIDDY	56.10	90
TREGEAR	114.32	68	TONKIN	83.07	31
TREGENZA	102.20	98	TONKINS	54.61	95
TREGLOWN	125.92	43	TOY	59.90	79
TREGONING	122.73	48	TRATHEN	73.79	46
TREGUNNA	102.94	95	TREBILCOCK	76.80	40
TRELOAR	164.96	4	TREDINNICK	54.27	96

TREMBATH	144.69	14	TREGEAR	67.82	61
TRENEAR	102.89	96	TREGENZA	89.75	25
TRENERRY	110.88	81	TREGONING	64.29	72
TRENGOVE	107.65	90	TREGUNNA	94.66	23
TRESIDDER	163.90	5	TRELOAR	70.38	53
TRESTRAIL	104.23	94	TREMAYNE	65.41	68
TRETHOWAN	128.85	37	TREMBATH	76.73	41
TREVARTHEN	128.18	41	TRENGOVE	66.73	65
TREVASKIS	124.56	46	TRESIDDER	120.89	6
TREVENA	109.51	83	TREVASKIS	72.36	49
TREVORROW	152.97	9	TREVENA	82.80	32
TREWHELLA	153.02	8	TREVORROW	60.00	78
TREZISE	112.61	75	TREWERN	96.13	21
TROUNSON	109.26	85	TREWHELLA	96.57	20
TRURAN	113.64	72	UREN	65.19	69
UREN	173.56	1	VERRAN	84.50	28
WEARNE	141.89	15	WEARNE	83.83	30
WHEAR	131.92	27	WHEAR	67.31	64
WOOLCOCK	111.75	78	WOOLCOCK	58.51	83

Table five : names most significantly over-represented in TR (Truro) postal area, 1881 and 1998

The hundred names which were most significantly over-represented in Truro in 1881 and in 1998 are listed in **table five**. Of the hundred names most significantly over-represented in 1881, six of these names have over 1000 occurrences in Great Britain. One of these is the old Cornish name for Cornwall, Curnow. Four others, Hocking, Hosking, Jenkin or Tonkin are either diminutives or derivatives of diminutives exemplifying the practice in West Cornwall of adding a ‘-g’ to a ‘-kin’ ending. Of the top fifty names, thirteen are ‘nonfirst’ toponyms (such as names starting with Nan-, Pen, Pol, Tre). Indeed nine of the fifty names start with Tre-. It is notable that all but two of these names are positively associated with the Plymouth (PL) postal area immediately to the east of TR.

Names that are particularly associated with all levels of geography are toponyms from the Cornish language. There are a few religious references (Manuell, which is common in Camborne, Pascoe and Salamone) but in general, other than toponyms, there are very few names which are local to the area which appear to fit within any obvious classifications (see tables six and seven). Surprisingly few names appear to have any association with the mining industry. It would seem that most names had been acquired before the industry industrialised itself. Nor does the list of names which are peculiar to the area support the hypothesis that highly localised names tend to be relatively recent variants of more widely used names. Such an argument could be put for the name Tonkins, which elsewhere in Britain is more likely to be spelt Tomkins. The names Pellow and Pellowe are clearly variants of each other but neither is extensive outside this area. Otherwise all other names which are local to the area seem to be names in their own right.

Whilst the list of 100 most localised names in TR (Truro) postal area in 1881 is quite similar to the list of 100 most localised names in TR in 1998, it is evident from the

coefficients of deviation that each of these predominantly Cornish names has become significantly more dispersed between 1881 and 1998.

From the evidence of **tables three, four and five** it would seem that within this part of Britain that whilst naming practices tend to be common across regions of a fairly large size, individual towns tend to have a stock of highly localised and unique names which are not necessarily related to the naming practices which tend to be over-represented in the regions in which they occur. This would lead to the conclusion that regionalised name types are potentially very useful in understanding the boundaries of linguistic and cultural areas whilst the limited stock of names that are associated with specific local areas can play a much more useful role in tracing longer distance migration patterns.

5 : The geography of Cornwall's genetic heritage

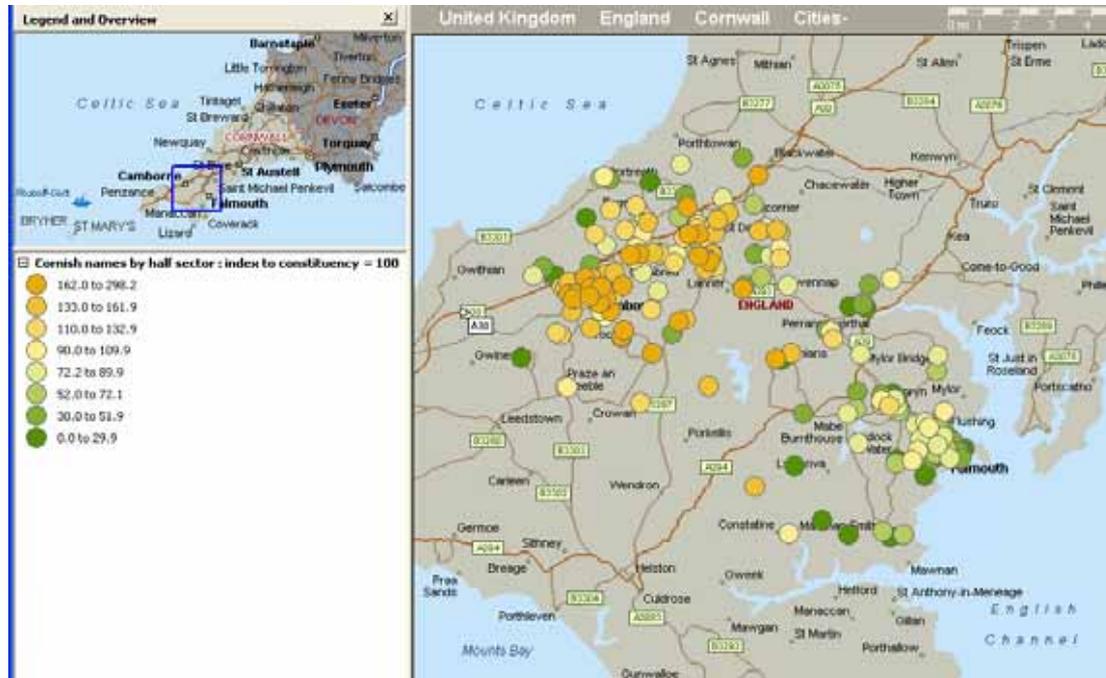
Putting this in a quantitative perspective we can see that of the names with more than a hundred occurrences in GB there are fifty that are peculiar to Falmouth and Camborne that account for just over 5% of the area's electors. If we add another fifty names which are peculiar to Falmouth and Camborne but which have fewer than a hundred occurrences in GB, this proportion will rise to around 7% of the constituency's electors. Although this represents a small proportion of the electorate, nearly 18% of all GB electors with these names still live in the constituency. People with these names are approximately 100 times more likely to live in the constituency than in other parts of the country. If we extend the list to include another 250 names that are also likely to have originated in the area we increase the proportion of the local population from 7% to around 20%. But as we widen the name pool we find a much smaller proportion of the national population with these names, just over 2%, still living in the constituency. People with this broader pool of names are only 15 (rather than 100) more likely to be living in the constituency than outside it.

In summary therefore it may be useful to think of seven per cent of the population of this particular part of the country as having what might be considered as indigenous local names and carriers of Cornish genetic inheritance whilst another thirteen per cent can be considered as having names that conform to naming practices of a broader regional field and which, though particularly common in Cornwall, are not necessarily specific to it.

If we define as 'Cornish names' the hundred names which most significant positive deviations with the postal area TR it is possible to examine the variation in the Cornish genetic heritage across space.

Map three shows the variation in the concentration of these Cornish names across the constituency as a whole in 1998. This map has been created by accumulating names to the level of the postcode 'half sector'. A half sector is that part of the postcode which contains all but the final character. For example the postcode N6 4AN would belong to the half sector N6 4A*. Within the constituency of Falmouth and Camborne there are 226 half sectors and the map shows the extent to which the proportion of the electors in

each of these units with Cornish names is above or below the average for the constituency as a whole.



Map three : Cornish names by postcode half sector, Falmouth and Camborne, 1998

The map shows how very divided the constituency is. People with historic Cornish names are today far more common in the northern ex tin mining towns of Camborne and Redruth whilst retirement communities in the south of the constituency contain more names characteristic of English and Scottish in-comers. The concentration of non Cornish names is particularly strong along the scenic Helford River – a favourite haunt of the seriously rich – and along the shoreline of the Fal estuary in and around Falmouth whilst people with Cornish names have been relegated to the inland suburbs of Penryn as well as Falmouth. It is also evident in the north of the constituency that the older historic cores of Camborne and Redruth has a much higher concentration of Cornish names than newer settlements close to the A30 by-pass or accessible to the north Cornish coast. In summary the proportion of people with Cornish names is closely correlated with climate, landscape and amenity value and hence with house prices.

This is confirmed when the mix of Cornish and non Cornish names is examined by the geodemographic classification system ‘Mosaic’. Mosaic, a proprietary product of the information company Experian, classified each of the United Kingdom’s 1.6 million full postcodes into one of 61 different types of residential neighbourhood according to the demographics of their residents. These 61 types are further grouped into a set of eleven broader neighbourhood groups ranging from ‘Symbols of Success’, which is the most affluent, to ‘Welfare Borderline’ which is the least.

Coding the 57,837 electors in Falmouth and Camborne according to the Mosaic code of the full postcode provides further evidence that people with ancestral Cornish names

continue to live disproportionately in the lower status neighbourhoods within the constituency. Of the eleven groupings the four with the highest proportions of Cornish names are the four groupings which are dominated by local authority housing (see **table six**). The other category of neighbourhood with higher than average proportions of Cornish names are areas of older terraced housing. By contrast summary groups such as ‘Symbols of Success’ and ‘Urban Intelligence’ (which contains a significant student population in Falmouth) are neighbourhoods with comparatively few people of Cornish descent.

Mosaic UK Group	Cornish names	Other names	Total names	% Cornish	Index
A Symbols of Success	15	465	480	3.13	45
B Happy Families	244	3629	3873	6.30	90
C Suburban Comfort	498	7528	8026	6.20	89
D Ties of Community	1156	13471	14627	7.90	113
E Urban Intelligence	23	1008	1031	2.23	32
F Welfare Borderline	32	311	343	9.33	134
G Municipal Dependency	428	4138	4566	9.37	134
H Blue Collar Enterprise	438	4768	5206	8.41	121
I Twilight Subsistence	116	1296	1412	8.22	118
J Grey Perspectives	810	12276	13086	6.19	89
K Rural Isolation	273	4842	5115	5.34	77
(blank)	2	69	71	2.82	40
Grand Total	4035	53801	57836	6.98	100

Table six : Incidence of Cornish names by Mosaic neighbourhood group; Falmouth and Camborne; 1998

Table seven shows equivalent information at the level of the 61 Mosaic types. Neighbourhoods with most Cornish names are the very poorest ones, such as ‘Families on Benefit’, ‘Ex-industrial Legacy’, ‘Older Right to Buy’ and ‘Industrial Grit’, neighbourhoods associated with manual occupations, poorer and older property, council houses and unsophisticated lifestyles.

The maps and tables support the contention that this is a constituency is highly polarised on genetic as well as political terms and as a highly marginal constituency it is one where the Labour party, to be successful, must appeal to the emotions of an indigenous native population against in-coming colonisers from beyond the river Tamar.

Falmouth and Camborne 1998 : Neighbourhood types with highest and lowest proportions of Cornish names					
Mosaic UK Type	Cornish names	Other names	Total names	% Cornish	Index
G41 Families on Benefits	619	76	695	11.43	164
G43 Ex-industrial Legacy	1975	214	2189	10.08	144
H45 Older Right to Buy	1732	180	1912	9.67	139
D23 Industrial Grit	5983	597	6580	9.29	133
I50 Cared for Pensioners	718	70	788	9.07	130
D22 Affluent Blue Collar	2749	268	3017	9.07	130
D24 Coronation Street	1848	175	2023	8.81	126
C15 Close to Retirement	316	29	345	8.54	122
G42 Low Horizons	1544	138	1682	8.32	119
H44 Rustbelt Resilience	1057	94	1151	8.28	119
A05 Provincial Privilege	122	5	127	3.81	55
J56 Tourist Attendants	1241	50	1291	3.75	54
D25 Town Centre Refuge	2184	86	2270	3.66	53
A07 Semi-Rural Seclusion	155	6	161	3.60	52
K58 Greenbelt Guardians	823	29	852	3.28	47
A04 Golden Empty Nesters	144	4	148	2.59	37
E31 Caring Professionals	830	19	849	2.13	31
E33 Town Gown Transition	178	4	182	2.09	30
J52 Childfree Serenity	161	3	164	1.73	25
C19 Original Suburbs	102	1	103	0.91	13
Grand Total	4035	53801	57836	6.98	100

Table seven : Mosaic types with highest and lowest incidence of Cornish names; Falmouth and Camborne; 1998

6 : The Cornish Diaspora

When the Cornish mining reached its apogee and went into decline, which it did from 1871 onwards, Cornish miners took their particular skills to newly emerging areas of mining. A very large number emigrated to California and to Southern Australia but within Britain it has always been believed that Cornish miners were more attracted to mining communities which dug for hard ores rather than for coal. In particular it has been noted that many Cornish people emigrated to the new haematite mining communities which sprung up in West Cumbria, the Furness peninsula and Cleveland.

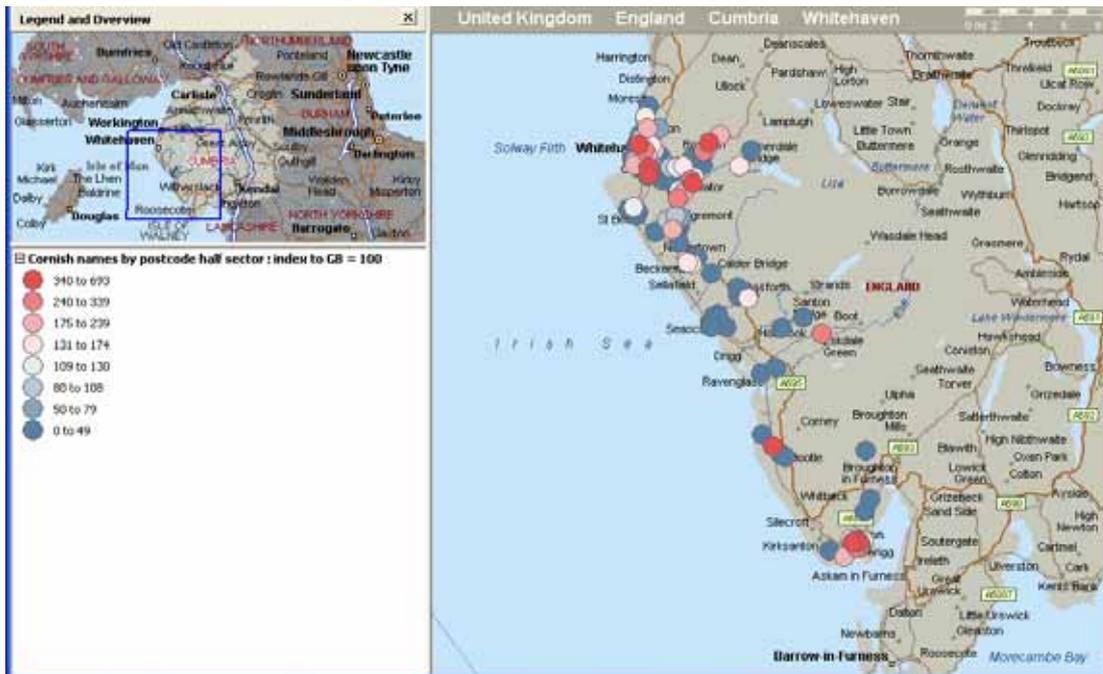
Maps showing the distribution of Cornish names in 1998 show some evidence of this trend but this is masked by the high proportion of more recent Cornish emigrants attracted to areas of Southern England which are closest to the county. However **map four**, which shows the distribution of Cornish names by postal area in 1881, provides a

very clear indication of how these early migrant movements were directed to areas whose employment opportunities matched the skills of the redundant Cornish tin miners.



Map four : Cornish names by postal area, 1881

After Truro itself and neighbouring PL (Plymouth) the highest concentrations are located in far away postal areas CA (Carlisle), which includes west Cumbria, LA (Lancaster), which includes Barrow in Furness and TS (Teesside) which includes many ore mining communities in what was then North Yorkshire. The map shows clearly the high levels of movement across the Bristol Channel to South Wales but, by contrast, very low levels of movement to inland coalfield postal areas in the East Midlands such as LE (Leicester) and NG (Nottingham) and in Yorkshire, such as LS (Leeds) and HD (Huddersfield) whose workforce was recruited more locally. In the south of England popular destinations were the Southampton area and the outer suburbs of London.



Map five : Cornish names by postcode half sector, Copeland, 1998

Today the remnants of the Cornish migration to the Cumbrian and Furness mines are still evident. **Map five** shows the geographical location within the parliamentary constituency of Copeland of people with ancestral Cornish names. Altogether in 1998 there were 174 electors in Copeland with Cornish names (as defined above). These were particularly concentrated in the older parts of the iron ore mining and steel making communities of Cleator Moor, Egremont and Millom. The streets of Millom have the highest concentrations of all, particularly those around Glasson Dock, 'Glasson' interestingly being the only apparent '-son' type patronym which is more associated with Cornwall than any other part of Great Britain.

When the postcodes of these descendants of late 19th century emigration are analysed by Mosaic neighbourhoods, it would appear that though they are often concentrated in small towns relatively few of these people live either in postcodes characterised by 'Rural Isolation' or in 'Symbols of Success', most living either in older terraces or in relatively cheap modern housing estates.

In a subsequent session we will show how the definition of specifically Cornish names can be used to trace the geographic distribution of the descendants of those who emigrated to work in the Australian mining industry.

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