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The distribution and use of mere as a generic in place-names

Ann Cole (pp. 38-50)

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ABBREVIATIONS OF COUNTIES AND EPNS COUNTY SURVEYS

Co Cornwall
Ha Hampshire
He Herefordshire

K Kent

La Lancashire

Nb Northumberland

Sf Suffolk
So Somerset
Wt Isle of Wight

CPNE Cornish Place-Name Elements.

EPNE English Place-Name Elements, Parts 1 and 2.

PN BdHu The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.

PN Brk The Place-Names of Berkshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.

PN Bu The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire.

PN Ca The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.

PN Ch The Place-Names of Cheshire, Parts 1–5.

PN Cu The Place-Names of Cumberland, Parts 1, 2 and 3.

PN D The Place-Names of Devon, Parts 1 and 2.

PN Db The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.

PN Do The Place-Names of Dorset, Parts 1–4.

PN Du The Place-Names of County Durham, Part 1.

PN Ess The Place-Names of Essex.

PN ERY The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York.

PN Gl The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, Parts 1–4.

PN Hrt The Place-Names of Hertfordshire.

PN Le The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Parts 1–6.
PN Li The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Parts 1–7.

PN Mx The Place-Names of Middlesex (apart from the City of London).

PN Nf The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1–3.
PN Nt The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire.

PN NRY The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire.

PN Nth The Place-Names of Northamptonshire.

PN O The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, Parts 1 and 2.

PN R The Place-Names of Rutland.

PN Sa The Place-Names of Shropshire, Parts 1–6.

PN Sr The Place-Names of Surrey.

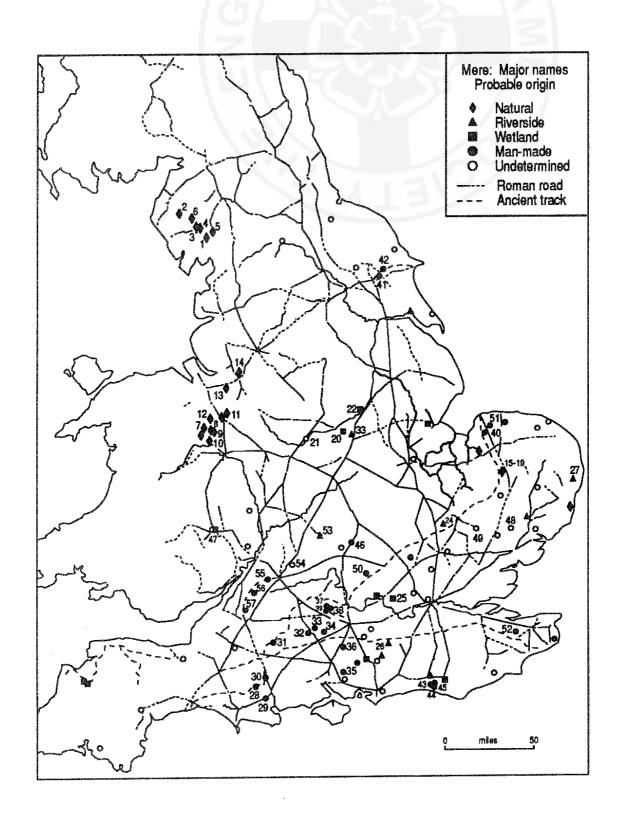
PN St The Place-Names of Staffordshire, Part 1.
PN Sx The Place-Names of Sussex, Parts 1 and 2.

PN W The Place-Names of Wiltshire.
PN Wa The Place-Names of Warwickshire.

PN We The Place-Names of Westmorland, Parts 1 and 2.

PN Wo The Place-Names of Worcestershire.

PN WRY The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Parts 1–8.



The Distribution and Use of mere as a Generic in Place-Names

Ann Cole

A previous article (Cole 1992) described the way in which mere-tūn was used in naming settlements. In those examples mere 'a pond or lake' was used as a qualifying element. It is, however, more frequently used as a generic and the present article attempts to show in what circumstances its use was deemed appropriate. It is convenient to divide the corpus into two groups, firstly major names and names of larger bodies of water (c.90 examples), and secondly, minor names with over 150 evidenced before 1350. Map 1 shows the former group and a few other meres mentioned in the text. Some ridgeways have been omitted.

Major names and names of large bodies of water

The first and most obvious use of *mere* is in the names of natural fresh water lakes and pools. Many of these have a settlement of the same name beside them. These tend to come in clusters. Best known are those in the Lake District, which are ribbon lakes resulting from the last glaciation: WINDERMERE (number (1) on the map), BUTTERMERE (2), GRASMERE (3), and ROUGHMERE (4), an earlier name for Rydal Water. KENTMERE (5) was also beside a lake of the same name, but this no longer exists as it was drained to allow diatomite mining to take place, whilst THIRLMERE (6) has been considerably enlarged to act as a reservoir.

In northern Shropshire and Cheshire somewhat smaller lakes occur in the glacial moraines around ELLESMERE and Whitchurch. These are thought to be in kettle holes, which were formed by some surface moraine collapsing into a hollow left by the melting of a huge subsurface block of ice. The hollow then filled with water, forming a kettle lake. Rainwater seeping through the moraine into these lakes is mineral-rich and the meres support plenty of wild life, including migratory wild-fowl in season, and fish, especially perch, eel, roach and pike (there was a fishery valued at £13.6s.8d. at ELLESMERE MANOR in 1309). Around the meres is a zone of phragmites (Norfolk reed) which is valuable for thatching, and then moist, lush meadows. Some examples are ELLESMERE (7), COLEMERE (8),

CROSEMERE (9), and FENEMERE (10), in Shropshire, and COMBERMERE (11), HANMER (12), OAKMERE (13) and PICKMERE (14), in Cheshire.

A third group of natural meres is to be found in the Breckland on the Norfolk-Suffolk border, between Croxton and East Wretham. Their origin is uncertain; they may be solution hollows in the chalk or perhaps pingos (a periglacial landform), or possibly a combination of both. Some of the larger ones have mere names: FOWLMERE (15), RINGMERE (16), LANGMERE (17), MICKLEMERE (18), HOME MERE (19). They have not individually given name to any nearby villages, indeed the area is such poor sandy heath that there are few settlements to name anyway. However, MERTON on the northern edge of the area is very likely to refer to them (Cole 1991-92, p. 35). Unfortunately no early spellings are yet available for these meres.

These three groups consist primarily of names given to water bodies some of which have been transferred to settlements beside them. A less cohesive group of mere names belongs to settlements beside wetlands and rivers, rather than lakes. These are areas which were probably flooded seasonally, but without local knowledge it is hard to judge from the modern map, particularly as drainage and other have occurred in recent centuries. changes environmental BRADMORE (20), WETMOOR (21), GIBSMERE (22)WIDMERPOOL (23), all in the Trent valley, are examples. FOWLMERE (24), Cambs, is even now adjacent to a marshy area designated a nature reserve. FULMER (25), Bucks, a second example of a 'fowl mere', is in a hollow bisected by a road, on one side of which reed beds crossed by a drainage channel still survive, whilst the other side has been deepened to produce a lake for today's wild fowl. HURTMORE (26), Surrey and RUSHMERE (27), Suffolk are other possible examples, but local studies are really needed for safe identification.

A large number of -mere names is to be associated with man-made ponds. These water bodies are much smaller than those previously considered, of the order of 40 to 60 yards in diameter. Many of them occur in areas with a permeable bed-rock, though possibly on superficial deposits, notably on the chalk downlands of Norfolk, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Dorset and Sussex, where it would be impossible to live on the uplands away from the bournes without

the supply of water provided by a pond. Before discussing the placenames it may be helpful to say something about their history and construction. H. S. Toms, a Sussex archaeologist, investigated a number of ponds in Sussex and Dorset and published his findings in the 1920s and 30s (see references). A good site for a pond is in a slight hollow adjacent to a track or at a meeting of tracks so that rainwater will run down this compressed ground and can be guided into the pond. This increases its catchment area because a pond on its own cannot catch sufficient water to maintain itself throughout the year. The pond's hollow would be cut into the slope on the uphill side and embanked with the spoil on the downhill side to increase its It is possible to puddle chalk sufficiently to make it watertight, particularly if it contains some clayey impurities. Trampling by cattle aids the puddling. The pond will slowly be filled up with chalk mud by rain-water running off the track so that when, in an exceptionally dry year, the pond dries up, the chalk mud will need to be removed and either used to reinforce the banks or else spread on the fields. The floor of the pond can then be re-puddled. At ASHMORE, Dorset, and nearby Tollard Royal, Wiltshire, great feasting traditionally accompanied the refurbishment of the ponds. For instance in 1887, which happened also to be jubilee year, a great bonfire was lit on the floor of the pond, puddings and apple dumplings were cooked on it and served with ale and other drinks to the accompaniment of fiddle music. At a subsequent cleaning of the pond in 1922 old charcoal layers were discovered. Charcoal layers have also been found in a pond on nearby Chettle Down.

Excavations of a pond near Cissbury Rings, Sussex, yielded a thick layer of chalk mud on top of which were found sherds of Roman amphorae and fragments of Romano-British pottery and several late Roman coins suggesting that the pond pre-dated the artefacts. Toms' excavations showed that many ponds date back at least to Roman times. On Turnworth Down, Dorset, a pond called RINGMERE (28) beside the Harroway survives. It is linked by a slight hollow way still clearly visible to the centre of the adjacent Romano-British settlement. O.G.S. Crawford (1953) suggested that some of the villages named -mere and centred on downland ponds went back to Romano-British times and perhaps survived as enclaves of Romano-British populations whilst the Anglo-Saxons were settling in the well-watered valleys —

but even if they did survive as Romano-British enclaves they did not preserve their Romano-British names. Of course ponds were still being created in more recent centuries. There was a family of itinerant dew-pond makers based, appropriately, in IMBER in the early years of this century (see reference). Their technology was different in that they lined the hollow with beaten clay which was then covered with lime, slaked and beaten in, producing, in effect, a cement This had to be covered with straw and earth or stone to prevent animals' hooves puncturing the watertight layer. One could envisage the men of IMBER carrying on a craft which originated in Roman or pre-Roman times and the people of ASHMORE and Tollard Royal perpetuating the memory of ancient ceremonies associated with the life-sustaining ponds. Be that as it may, the point is that ponds were an established and important feature of the landscape when the Anglo-Saxons began colonising and naming the features and settlements they saw around them. The Romans and the Anglo-Saxons, when they arrived, found a well established network of routeways across the country, and although it is notoriously difficult to date routes there are a good number, particularly along ridges and across the Downs, which are thought to have been in use in those Any traveller on a long-distance route will need water especially overnight, and on these uplands natural sources were in short supply. It is worth bearing in mind the needs not only of local inhabitants but also travellers when looking at the major names in -mere which occur by man-made ponds adjacent to routeways over downland.

Starting in the south-west, there are two major place-names in -mere in Dorset. ALMER (29) has a good-sized pond by the church, but it is in the valley of the North Winterbourne and has an alternative water supply nearby at least seasonally. It is only half a mile from the Badbury Rings to Dorchester Roman road. ASHMORE (30) is high on the Downs at 700 feet centred on a large pond and lying about one mile from the point where the Great Ridgeway, the Salisbury Way (an Anglo-Saxon herepath) and another ridgeway called Ox Drove converge, and half a mile from the Roman road from Bath to Badbury Rings. IMBER (31) in the dry heart of Salisbury Plain and 3¼ miles from any other village lies on the Great Ridgeway. A branch from the Great Ridgeway runs eastwards through Collingbourne Kingstone,

Wiltshire, and crosses the Chute Causeway near LIMMER (32) pond; six miles further east it passes within half a mile of BUTTERMERE (33), a tiny upland parish sustained by a small pond 10 by 35 yards. A further six miles south-east beyond Inkpen Hill the traveller would have found the ash mere which gave its name to ASHMANSWORTH (34). Another old route, the South Hampshire Ridgeway, leading south-east from Winchester, passes through LOMER (35), a very much shrunken *mere* settlement. DUMMER (36), Hampshire, is one and a half miles from the Harroway and only half a mile from the Silchester to Winchester Roman road.

In the Berkshire Downs a similar picture emerges. An ancient route, later Romanised and known as Old Street, runs across the Downs, It can be picked up three miles east of Wantage at Ginge. From the strong spring (æwylm) there it follows the parish boundary south along a here-path, climbing up to the crest of the Downs where it crosses the Great Ridgeway and makes its way south. Four miles from Ginge it passes close by CATMORE (37) whose pond is in a hollow where five routes converge providing good run-off to replenish it — even in the drought of 1989 the pond still had some water in it. CATMORE's tiny church is dwarfed by modern barns but there are few dwellings in the parish since a small pond could not support very many people and their stock. The hamlet of STANMORE (38) is half a mile east of Old Street near a route that leads off past Woolvers Barn. Old Street then passes within half a mile of PEASEMORE (39) before dividing into Gidley Lane leading to Speen near Newbury through the Winterbourne valley where water is again available, and a branch which leads past Oare and eventually follows a ridge east towards Reading. CATMORE, PEASEMORE and STANMORE are at about the half-way point on the waterless stretch of Old Street over the Downs. Minor mere names occur on the Berkshire Downs but they are well away from this important route.

On the Norfolk end of the chalk outcrop there are apparently more *mere* names but only for a few are spellings yet available to confirm this. ANMER (40) for instance, lies between the Ridgeway and Peddars Way and could have served both.

The Yorkshire Wolds are crossed by two west-to-east routes leading to Bridlington. One is a Roman road the other an old ridgeway later Romanised, curving round in a shallow arc to the north. This road passes through FIMBER (41) whose pond is at a road junction on the green just below the church at the centre of the village, and through SLEDMERE (42) whose pond was incorporated into the park and has now almost vanished. Place-name evidence suggests that the Wolds suffered depopulation at the end of the Roman period and were reoccupied after the time of the Viking invasions (Gelling, article forthcoming in the Wharram Percy excavation report). If there was a small population lingering on then FIMBER and SLEDMERE would be among the likely places for it.

There is a cluster of three *mere* villages on the South Downs: STANMER (43), FALMER (44) and BALMER (45), all in the vicinity of Patchway, a wayside shrine, which suggests passing traffic, although there is no obvious old route shown on modern maps.

Not all man-made ponds on routeways were on chalk. There is a good example at FINMERE (46), Oxfordshire, where the Roman road going north to Towcester from Alchester crosses an old route which has come across the north Cotswolds, perhaps ultimately from Droitwich, and is heading for Buckingham. This pond belongs half to the village and half to the farmer whose land it abuts. HOLMER (47), just north of Hereford, is beside the Roman road which is heading west to Kenchester four miles away, SEMER (48) Suffolk, is about half a mile south of a probable Roman road and STURMER (49) in Essex is also not far from the supposed route of a Roman road. The nature of the *meres* in East Anglia and their relationship to routeways would repay further study.

Of course, there are man-made ponds commemorated in major settlement names which, as far as is known, were not on major routeways (ILMER (50) Buckinghamshire, BARMER (51) Norfolk and BADLESMERE (52), Kent are possible examples) just as there are minor names in -mere along routes, LIMMER Pond for example. The point is that on a route in waterless country a place which did have a source of water would become well known beyond its immediate locality and would assume a greater importance than neighbouring places with ponds which were not on routes. Hence the numbers of major names in -mere along routeways. As it has been shown that many places called mere-tūn are beside Roman roads but not ancient tracks and since -mere places with man-made ponds beside routes are as likely to be beside ancient tracks as Roman roads it is suggested

that a deliberate, though not rigorous, naming system was in operation, the *mere* names replacing earlier aboriginal or even very early Anglo-Saxon ones.

At this point it is appropriate to consider five names which do not fall easily into either category, namely TADMARTON FARMINGTON (54), RODMARTON Oxfordshire. DIDMARTON (56) and TORMARTON (57), all Gloucestershire. TADMARTON is beside a stream with a very wet valley floor, flooded after periods of very heavy rain in spite of the farmer having improved the drainage. A Roman road approaches from the northwest leading to a large Romano-British settlement at Lower Lea Farm half a mile away. Doubt has been expressed as to whether or not the middle element really is mere, but the valley floor would be an ideal 'frog pool' (OE *tade 'a frog or toad') and the site fits the overall pattern of mere-tūn, so it may well be. FARMINGTON (*porn-mere $t\bar{u}n$), is a mile from the Fosse Way, and a white way, probably a salt way, occurs in the parish. There is no old pond at the present day, but there is an ill-drained area at Bittam Copse half a mile below the As the Fosse Way crosses three small streams near FARMINGTON it would seem unnecessary to divert so far off the road for water, so maybe the mere just served the salt route in addition to the inhabitants. There is a Romanised trackway between Bath and Cirencester west of, and roughly parallel to, the Fosse Way. It passes through dry limestone uplands. Water supply was a problem here; for instance the monks of Hazelton in the 12th century were so short of water that they eventually abandoned the place. In the 18th century water had to be collected in pools puddled with clay. RODMARTON is in this area at a point where the trackway is crossed by the Portway, possibly a saltway. The pond near the village church could thus serve two groups of travellers. DIDMARTON is less well placed as it is a mile east of the track. There is a good pond where the roads from Oldbury and Leighterton converge on the A433 at the lower end of the village, and another near Oldbury. TORMARTON is less than half a mile from the track and is also associated with a saltway. roadside pond became obsolete in 1855 when a fountain drawing water from Bidwell spring was installed nearby. The site is now used as a small children's playground. Two other ponds survive, one in the village and one near the A 46.

Smith, in The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, suggests that RODMARTON, TORMARTON and DIDMARTON are examples of (ge) mære-tūn because they are all close to the Wiltshire boundary. However the spellings would allow them to be mere-tūns, and in the case of RODMARTON 'reed-pool-village' makes much better sense than 'reed-boundary-village': in such a dry area a pond is the only place where reeds are likely to occur. Moreover mere place-names are typically beside routes crossing dry uplands, as has been seen. Possibly this is just a local fashion in naming, but it might also reflect a slight confusion over the status of the route which parallels the Fosse Way between Bath and Cirencester. Perhaps the names started off using mere as the generic as was usual on ancient trackways and if the track became a well established alternative to the Foss Way had the tūn added on to conform with the other mere-tūns on Roman roads.

Minor names

The full extent of minor names in *mere* is as yet unknown because of the incomplete coverage of England by the EPNS volumes, but it is apparent that the distribution is very uneven. They occur only sparsely in the Weald, Devon, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Warwickshire and north of the Mersey-Humber line although major names and the compound *mere-tūn* occur. In most of these areas water is easily available from streams, so that water from a stagnant pool was not a valuable commodity and rarely worthy of mention in a place-name. Only when the body of water was large enough to provide other resources was it likely to appear in a place-name.

Minor names in *mere* occur most frequently in the Fens, where they refer to pools, drains and droves in the partly drained marshland rather than to settlements, and in a belt on the chalk country of the Chilterns, Berkshire Downs and south-west into the Dorset Downs. Another concentration occurs on the North Downs in Kent. There is good reason for the high incidence on the chalk downland: surface water is usually confined to the bournes in the valleys; however there are extensive superficial deposits such as the Clay-with-Flints on the interfluves and here moist ditches and damp patches in the woodland occur and it is relatively easy to construct a pond and channel water into it, so it could then sustain a small settlement.

Map 2 shows the distribution of mere names in the Vale of

Aylesbury and southern Chilterns. The contrast between the clay vale and chalk uplands is very evident: the three major and one minor names occurring in the clay vale are MERTON on seasonally flooded land, ILMER on a slight rise with a series of small ponds along the village street and MARLOW adjacent to swampy Thames-side land and FENEMORE'S Farm near Oakley. On the Chilterns are shown thirteen minor -mere names representing farms or small hamlets. They are below the 600-foot contour line and on the interfluves between long dip-slope valleys. Only one pond, COLMORE, is on Plateau Gravel (now called Older River Gravel) which produces a difficult, infertile soil. Two, GREENMOOR HILL and BOSMORE, are on the Reading Beds which have a limited outcrop, and the rest are at least partly on Clay-with-Flints where it is easier to construct a watertight pond and where there is likely to be more surface run-off to sustain it. These ponds will only support a farm or small hamlet. The difficulty of water supply is illustrated by the story of Stoke Row, where, in summer, pond water was in such short supply that children were rationed to one mugful a day and beaten if they took more. problem was solved in 1864 when the Maharajah of Benares paid for a well 368 feet deep to be sunk and a special winding mechanism to be installed. Stoke Row began to expand from that time. UXMORE FARM, a quarter of a mile up the road, a homestead centred on a pond, and numerous other small settlements presumably shared Stoke Row's problems in the past. Thus it was that these small sources of water allowed numerous settlements called -mere to grow up in the Chilterns but prevented any of them becoming large.

In conclusion, there are a great many villages with ponds which do not bear *mere* names, other factors such as more dramatic topographical features or a statement of ownership being overriding in the choice of name. The use of *mere* was, however, thought appropriate in a variety of circumstances:

- (1) As a qualifier of $t\bar{u}n$ where there was a pond yielding a useful source of income or of use to travellers on a Roman road.
- (2) As a generic to describe a natural lake, the name being transferred to a settlement in many cases.

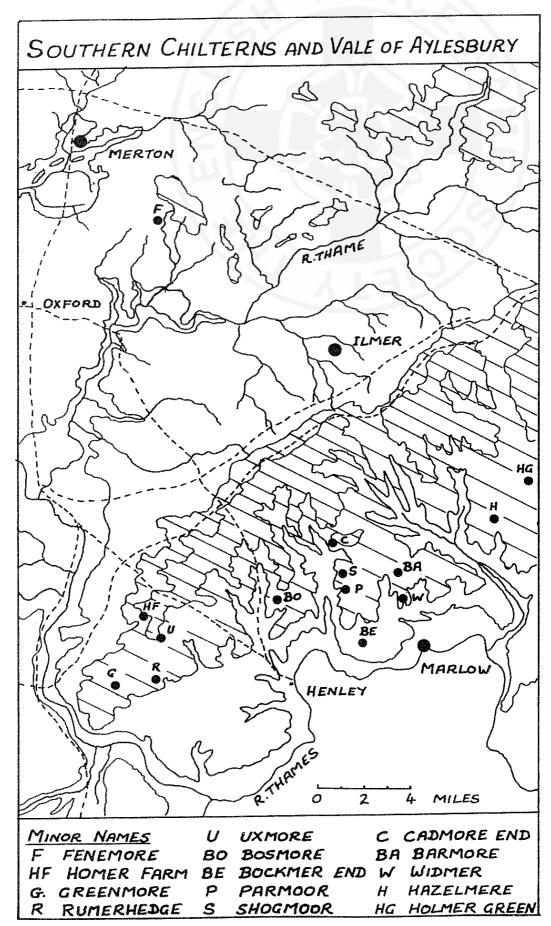


Fig. 2. Distribution of mere in the Chilterns.

- (3) As a generic to describe seasonally flooded river valleys or marshland, perhaps of limited extent.
- (4) As a generic to describe man-made ponds.

In some cases of categories (2) and (3) the mere might be adjacent to an ancient track or Roman road purely by chance, and would benefit the traveller incidentally. In category (4) a life-sustaining pond in dry uplands could be the feature of greatest importance in the lives of the people, and it would be natural to name the settlement after it. Although a lot of these settlements were off the beaten track and remained very small, a few were on long-distance routes, and because of their value to travellers became more widely known and of greater importance and prosperity, some achieving parish status. Some of these settlements were in existence when the Anglo-Saxons arrived, and bore pre-Saxon names. It may be that when they were renamed the Anglo-Saxons had in mind the need of the traveller for information about his route and used the name -mere particularly along ancient trackways but also along Roman roads to indicate that water was available.

POSTSCRIPT

George Morris has kindly drawn my attention to *The Parisi* by H. Ramm, in which it is suggested that one would logically expect that a Roman road ran north from York to cross the R. Foss near Stillington, i.e., within about half a mile of Marton in the Forest (B6 in Cole, 1992). Ramm also suggests that a road ran from York to Cawthorn, passing near Marton near Sinnington (B5). It is likely therefore that there are two more *mere-tūns* adjacent to Roman roads than previously suggested.

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