

# MERMAIDS, MERE-MAIDS AND NO MAIDS

## Mermaid place names and folklore in Britain<sup>1</sup>

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**ABSTRACT:** Fifty mermaid place names relating to landscape features have been identified in Britain (including the Isle of Man). The names are attested from the 16th to the 21st Century: some are extremely well documented, while others have only passing written references. Taken together these names allow us to distinguish different folklore traditions in different parts of the island. For instance, there is a freshwater ‘mere-maid’ in eastern England; and a more familiar marine mermaid attested in the southwest of England. There are also – just as interestingly – large areas of Britain for which no mermaid place names are recorded. The article concludes with a reflection on the ‘Archetypal Modern Mermaid’ (AMM) that dominated in British culture by the 1800s.

**KEYWORDS:** Britain, fairies, folklore, mermaids, place names

### Introduction

Mermaid place names come in many forms and can be found all through the English-speaking world. There are, of course, the coastal mermaid sites: for instance, Mermaid Beach on Australia’s Gold Coast (Fleury and Hayward, 2021: 250-253). There are the rarer inland mermaid toponyms, such as Mermaid Gulch in Colorado (USA) with its tellurium deposits (Report, 1883: 245). There are the many mermaid pubs and bars, particularly in coastal locations: Ben Jonson, John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont famously met at the Mermaid Tavern in Cheapside, London (Barleen, 2019: 3-4; for mermaid pubs generally Cox 1994: 20-21, 89; Simpson, 2011: 250-253). There are streets and roads named for mermaids: Woody Guthrie’s family was, for a number of years, based at Mermaid Avenue on Coney Island (USA) – the name of a celebrated retrospective album (by Wilco and Billy Bragg, 1998). Then, there are the fictional mermaid toponyms such as the Mermaid Lagoon in J.M Barrie’s Neverland (in his 1904 novel *Peter Pan*). In what follows I want to focus narrowly on one type of mermaid toponym: British landscape names.

What do I mean by British mermaid landscape names? Well, by ‘British’ I refer to any mermaid place name within Britain and its fringing coastal islands. This does not include the Channel Islands or Ireland or Ireland’s coastal islands, but I have included the Isle of

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<sup>1</sup> All mermaid landscape place names are fully referenced in an online gazetteer (Young, 2021a) also available as a print on demand pamphlet. I have used, as is typical in place name research, the pre-1974 British counties. I would like to thank John Buckingham, Edie Denmark, Davide Ermacora, William Franklin, Gordon Frickers, Philip Hayward, Ron James, Debbi Jones, Najla Kay, Sophia Kingshill, Neil Howlett, John Litton, Stephen Miller, Claire Oram, Sarah Peverley, Carolyn Redmayne, Linda Roper, Lynda Taylor and Chris Woodyard. The article also benefited from the reports of two anonymous peer-reviewers.

Man. By ‘mermaid’ I refer strictly to that word or its ancestors. I have not looked for place names with, in folklore terms, near relatives: sirens or selkies, say, or mermaid words in other languages.<sup>2</sup> By, finally, ‘landscape’ names, I refer to any part of the natural world: caves, cliffs, fields, orchards, pools, streams, rocks and woods to give some of the features that we will encounter. I exclude farms, houses, inns, piers, quays, streets, taverns and the like. The reason for this division is simple. For me mermaid place names are primarily a tool to get a better grip on Britain’s mermaid folklore. As I will argue below mermaid landscape place names can give us insights into folklore traditions: bricks, mortar, and tarmac, at least in the case of mermaids, rarely do.

I have carried out similar studies of other supernatural place names in the last five years (e.g. Young, 2019b; Young, 2021b) and I was greatly looking forward to the hunt for mermaid toponyms. However, as I began to collate the data, I was struck by two aspects of mermaid landscape names from Britain. I set these impressions out because they give some sense of the direction this study will take. First, I was surprised by how few names I found. I expected, thinking of my experience with other supernatural toponyms, to collate between a hundred and two hundred mermaid landscape names. Instead, I struggled to get to fifty-nine. Second, I assumed that almost all mermaid place names would be associated with the coast. But twenty-one of the fifty-nine names are inland sites and often far from the sea. This fact makes the low number of overall mermaid place names even more surprising.

I start this essay by introducing British mermaids and mermaid scholarship; I then also give a brief overview of British place name studies and the problems with supernatural place name collection. In the subsequent sections I will explain my method for finding the fifty-nine mermaid place names and some of the problems associated with these place names: for instance, landscape toponyms named for nearby Mermaid Inns. Once the place names have been adequately grounded, I will offer a folklore analysis of the sites in question. I will look first at the different salt-water mermaid names; and what I will call the ‘mere-maid’ names (i.e. freshwater sites).<sup>3</sup> Crucially, I will also discuss the large parts of Britain where there are no place names with the word ‘mermaid’ (the ‘no maids’ of the title), much of Wales, the west of Scotland and large parts of the midlands and the north of England.

### ‘Mermaid’ in Language and Tradition

Mermaids are popular. Since 1989, the year Disney’s *The Little Mermaid* was released, interest in mermaids has grown steadily around the world, something reflected in mermaid fiction, mermaid films and TV series (Hayward, 2017) and even mermaid lifestyles (e.g. Adams, 2006). There has also been growing interest in the study of mermaid history and folklore. Mermaids, of course, have been discussed for many centuries: Pliny gave some words to the mermaids on the Atlantic seaboard two millennia ago (*Natural History*: 9, 4). Pliny calls them ‘triton’ and ‘nereis’ (and note that this passage should be

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<sup>2</sup> For instance, there is the Manx name Lhiondaig Phollinag (‘Mermaids’ Grassy Area’) in Rushen parish (Broderick, 1994-2005: VI, 456). Another possible Manx mermaid place name is Ooig yn Ven-Marrey (‘Sea-Woman’s Cave’) at Traie Meanagh (Unattributed, 1899b). For English mermaid place names on Man see UKM33 and UKM41. Manx mermaids deserve a longer study.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Mere-maid’ was coined by John Kruse (2021: 51-61). It is particularly useful in English (rather than Scottish) folklore where there is a sharp division between the marine and freshwater mermaids.

read with Burberry 2019). There have also been notable publications on mermaid history and mermaid folklore over the past two centuries, including Georges Kastner's *Les Sirènes* (1858) and Benwell and Waugh's *The Sea Enchantress* (1961). However, the pace of publications has grown in the last decade or so. We have Hayward's *Making a Splash* (2017); an edited volume of world mermaid traditions (Hayward, 2018a); and an edited volume of Indian Ocean traditions (Terramorsi, 2010). Luchs' *The Mermaids of Venice* (2010) is our best introduction to medieval and renaissance mermaid art, and there is another essay collection based largely on mermaid musical traditions (Austern and Naroditskaya, 2006). There is also now Vaughn Scribner's *Merpeople: A Human History* (2020). But, strangely, given the origins of the word, there is little recent writing on the origins of the British mermaid and British mermaid folklore more generally.

What is the background for the word 'mermaid'? *Mermin* (a sea-girl) appears in Old English in the early 8th Century, under the form *meremenin*, glossing Latin *sirena* (Hessels, 2011 [1890]: 108). *Mermin* has cognates in the wider Germanic languages and there is the comparable form *merewif* (translations of this *hapax* from *Beowulf* include 'water-witch', 'tarn-hag', 'mere wife' and 'lake wife', see Lees and Overing, 2019: 44; and Gunnell, 2020 for the wider Germanic background of 'goddesses in the dark water'). No masculine form from the Anglo-Saxon period has survived. In Middle English, *mermin* and *merewif* were replaced with *mermayde*, which first turns up in Chaucer in the 1390s: "Chauntecleer so free Song merier than the mermayde in the see" (Chaucer, 2012: 355, 'Nun's Priest Tale' VII, 3269-3270). 'Merman', meanwhile, only appeared in the 17th Century (e.g. Holland, 1634 [1601]: 236, "they have seen a Mere-man, in every respect resembling a man"): prior to this we have awkward phrases like *man mermayde* (E.L., 1808: 318). 14th Century forms like *mermynnys*, are almost certainly descendants of *mermin*, a sea girl, e.g. "mermyns in liknes of men and of women," Lumby, 1865-1886: V 397). 'Mermaid' has left its mark on British toponymy: to the best of my knowledge the others forms have not. But it is important to acknowledge that 'mermaid' and its ancestors have a long history in British folklore dating back to before the Vikings.

Linguistic continuity does not, of course, guarantee folklore continuity. A stable supernatural name can change radically through the centuries in terms of meaning. A pertinent instance of this from nearby Ireland is the way that early medieval leprechauns seem to have been aquatic creatures, not the miserly shoemakers we today imagine them to be (Winberry, 1976; Bisagni, 2012). What then were these early English mermaids like? I would make two points for the Anglo-Saxon names, points that might help us further below. First, we should not interpret 'mere' or 'mer' to be 'sea' (though this is how the *Oxford English Dictionary* takes the word and I conformed above). 'Mere' in these compounds refers to water (fresh- and salt-) and so we have water-girls, water-maids and water-women. Second, we should not think of these Anglo-Saxon mermaids as being what might be called the Archetypal Modern Mermaid (henceforth AMM; mirror, comb, good singing voice...). Grendel's mother, for instance, who had nothing seductive about her, is described as a *merewif* "Ongeat þa se goda grundwyrgegne, merewif mihti," 1518-1519 – "The good one saw then the abyssal she-wolf, the mighty water-woman"). They are perhaps close cousins of the *nicor*, another Old English word for water-demons (Harte, 2018: 34-35).

A point to make about 'mermaid' more generally is that this word was taken by English conquests in the Middle Ages, and then by English colonists in the early modern and modern period, far outside the English-speaking homelands. The word spread within the island – English became the language of Cornwall and, via Scots, of much of the north of

Britain – and, then, around the world. Today ‘mermaid’ is an international supernatural and marketing term understood to refer to the AMM mermaid: half fish and half woman, beautiful and alluring (Hayward, 2017: 5-10). It is clear that the arrival of ‘mermaid’ can drive out local reflexes of ‘sea enchantress’ in other countries, a process that has been referred to as “mermaidisation” (Hayward, 2018b). But the internationalisation of the term means, too, that nuances in the word’s own history are obscured. Today, certainly, it is very difficult for a native English-speaker to break the AMM’s spell. This is the mermaid that we have grown up with and the one that we are presented with on page and on screen. As we will see, though, it gets in the way of at least part of British folklore tradition.

### British Place Name Studies and the Supernatural

English place names have been studied systematically since 1923 when the English Place-Name Society was founded. Over the last century the EPNS has published a series of county guides to place names. Earlier counties are single-volume works: e.g. the volume dedicated to Essex (Reaney, 1935). These necessarily concentrate on the more important county names and other toponyms that the relevant editor found interesting, particularly words with their roots in the early Middle Ages. However, as time went by the county-by-county approach broadened out into something more comprehensive. For instance, there are eight volumes dedicated to the West Riding of Yorkshire (Smith, 1961-1963) and there are seven volumes dedicated to Lincolnshire, with more still to come (Cameron et al, 1985-2010). Here editors look not just at major place names but also at micro-toponyms including the tythe records for individual parishes. Other counties – notably Kent, Lancashire and Suffolk – have not yet EPNS volumes. As such, coverage of the English counties is rather uneven.

Scotland and Wales have lacked (at least until recently) the organised study of place names represented by the EPNS and its county volumes. In 2011 the Welsh Place-Name Society was founded. The Scottish Place-Name Society was launched in 1998. But there have been notable individual contributions relating to the place names of both countries. Wales, for instance, has the work of Melville Richards (e.g. Richards and Jones, 1998), including a notable piece on Welsh supernatural place names (Richards, 1969). Scotland is a much less homogenous country than Wales or England: the division between Highland and Lowland Scotland marks the biggest cultural break in Britain, one that has also, historically, been partly linguistic and one that certainly makes itself felt in folklore. Scottish scholars, like their Welsh colleagues, benefit from several important place name works: e.g. Watson’s *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (1973) and Nicolaisen’s *Scottish Place-Names* (1976).

Supernatural place names are often, in the EPNS volumes, conspicuous by their absence, and this is true of Scottish and Welsh gazetteers, too. Supernatural names are almost always micro-toponyms: the name of a field or a lane or, in the case of mermaids, the name of a cave or a pool. Their obscurity is, then, compounded by the fact that they are also sometimes by-names: unofficial names used in a locality orally, but not in official records. The Mermaid’s Pool at Leek (UKM51), for instance, is also known as the Black Mere, the name that appears on maps (Young, 2021a). With, say, a boggart or a hob, or with fairies, this makes collection of related toponyms difficult. However, with mermaids there is still another difficulty. Mermaid place names are frequently given to coastal rocks or caves (e.g. Mermaid’s Baa in Shetland [UKM25]). These do not appear in tythe records

and they are far less likely to appear in property records than inland sites, particularly if they are below the low tide mark. They can be passed from generation to generation without ever being written down.

### Trawling for Mermaid Place names

I have managed to collect fifty-nine mermaid landscape names from Britain: thirty-four English (a third of which are Cornish), sixteen Scottish, seven Welsh, two Manx and one from Shetland. This, for the reasons given above, proved a difficult, time-consuming task. I want to outline here how I went about my search to allow others to criticise and improve upon my method. Over the last five years I had kept a modest list of mermaid place names, which I had found in my folklore reading. I added these to the names that had appeared in the EPNS survey using the relevant online catalogue. Only six of the thirty-four English names were picked up there. Using the dozen names I now had I began to jot down the most probable mermaid combinations. For instance, there were three Mermaid's Pool in a short list (UKM549-51): there would likely be others. I then thought of all the landscape features that could conceivably, in a British context, be combined with a 'mermaid' and wrote down about thirty possibilities ranging from 'Mermaid's Rock' to 'Mermaid's Hill' (adjectival or genitival).

I took this list and ran every name combination through a number of databases, where I had previously found supernatural place names. In the case of relatively small databases, e.g. the Cheshire Archives, I used 'mermaid' alone. In the case of larger databases like the British National Archive's online catalogue, with 2,329 results for 'mermaid', I ran word combinations e.g. 'Mermaid's Pond'. Some databases proved useful: by far the most important was the *British Newspaper Archive* with its extraordinary 19th Century holdings. Google Books with its frustrating but productive algorithms, also turned up Victorian and Edwardian material. Others proved disappointing. For instance, targeted searches in the British census returns have previously brought supernatural place names to light but, perhaps because of the special nature of mermaid toponyms, not a single mermaid landscape name came up there. Of course, this approach works well with names like 'Mermaid's Pool', which are relatively common. It does not work with (probably) unique names like 'Mermaid's Cradle' (UKM40). As I was hunting, I began to get a feel for the material and added new landscape elements into targeted searches. For instance, on discovering the Mermaid's Kirk at Arbroath (UKM45), and remembering similar fairy names, I ran 'Mermaid's Church' and 'Mermaid's Chapel' through the databases. I found nothing. On finding that an alternative name for the Mermaid's Pool in Derbyshire (UKM51) was 'Mermaid Bath,' I looked for that form and found a Mermaid's Bath near Newquay in Cornwall (UKM26). Some names were well documented: for instance, it would be possible to provide tens of records for Mermaid's Pits in Suffolk (UKM46) (Young, 2021a). However, many names appeared just once in records. Mermaid's Pond on Thanet (UKM48) was mentioned in a single public highway meeting in 1864 (Unattributed, 1864). If it had not proved necessary to fence said pond we would have no idea that it existed.

Once I had my list of names I made local inquiries. In some cases I wanted to know whether or not a name was really used in a given place. Mermaid's Cave at Hayle (UKM30), for instance, was the subject of a mid-20th Century postcard (Figure 1). I had no other record. Was this a Hayle name, which has escaped notice; or did we have, as I suspected, an opportunistic Hayle photographer who wanted to sell his pictures to

tourists? Inquiries in the Hayle area, on a local Facebook group were able to pinpoint the location of the cave and to show that the name *is* used today by some residents (Young, 2021a). In other cases, I wrote to see whether there were local publications or local folklore available. Correspondence included emails to an irascible village historian, an unresponsive hotel in Devon and an artist who had painted a Cornish Mermaid's Pool in the early 2000s. Locals frequently proved generous with their time and knowledge.

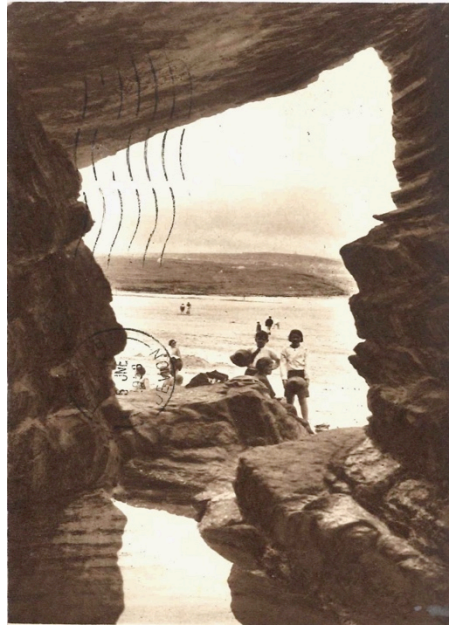


Figure 1 – Mermaids' Cave Hayle postcard (c1955).

### Dating Mermaid Toponyms

The fifty-nine names were recorded across five hundred years: from the 1500s to the 2010s. Mermaid's Pits in Suffolk (UKM46) appears in 1540 as Marmayden (UKM01) (Lilian, 1909: 320). Marmaydes Hole in Essex is noticed in 1563 in a judicial case (*Reports*, 1865: 13) – a miller had been illegally fishing there. We are not sure where exactly the Hole was to be found, but it seems to have been on the River Colne (Reaney, 1935: 599). I wonder whether there are not other late medieval or early modern mermaid names in plain sight. For instance, Marmansgrave in Suffolk in Elveden has a good number of folklore associations and might have a mermaid form somewhere in its letters (Unattributed, 1899a; and Unattributed, 1904 for Mar the gamekeeper, a later folklore etymology). I can see, though, no body of water in the immediate area. Most other mermaid landscape names appear in the 19th Century. One outlier is Mermaid Rock at Easton on the Isle of Wight (UKM18). This is a coastal stack created by a 1968 rockfall (Young 2021a; Fisher, 2019: 146). Mermaid Rock is unusual because we can *demonstrate* that it is a late arrival.

In three cases, we have only very recent attestations. I cannot trace Mermaid Pool, on Burgh Island, Devon (UKM16) back beyond 1988 (Young, 2021a). The pool is enjoyed by guests at a luxury hotel there. Likewise, I have been unable to find the name Mermaid

Beach (Folkestone) (UKM05) prior to 2015 (Unattributed, 2015). Mermaid Pool at Pendeen in Cornwall is attested for the first time in 2019 in a newspaper story about “wild swimming” (UKM15; Unattributed, 2019). One swimmer claimed that the pool was created with dynamite in the 1960s, something a photojournalist was apparently able to verify (Unattributed, 2020). Mermaid Pool seems to be a modern name. Whether it was the dynamiter or the wild swimmers who introduced the mermaid we do not know. Of course, just because a mermaid name has been recently coined does not make it uninteresting. But it is important to be able to sort new names from old in making deductions about the development of British folklore.

One possible clue in dating mermaid names might be the use of the Saxon genitive (the possessive case) as opposed to an adjectival form: i.e. ‘Mermaid’s Pool’ as against ‘Mermaid Pool’. Looking at the list of names the Saxon genitive seems to be used in southern England in most names that certainly date back beyond 1900, with the exception of the mysterious mermaid field names (more of which below). When ‘mermaid’ is used as an adjective we have, I would suggest, a pointer, in southern England, to a more recent name: e.g. Mermaid Rock at Easton (UKM18; which did not, as noted above, exist before 1968). By their form alone the Burgh Island (UKM16) and Pendeen names (UKM15) should be dated to the 20th or to the 21st Century. In northern England and Scotland note this rule does not seem to hold. There is more variation, including in 19th Century names. For instance, the Hayfield Mermaid’s Pool was also called Mermaid Pool: in fact, Mermaid Pool may have been the older form (UKM49; Young 2021a).

### Problem 1: Ornamental Mermaid Toponyms

As the present article is a folklore study it is important to be able to distinguish traditional folklore names from confected mermaid names. We know of examples from elsewhere in the world (including, in this issue, from Australia, Fleury and Hayward 2021) where mermaid names were given ornamentally, very possibly with tourists in mind. A British parallel to this is the way that fairy toponyms were used in the 19th Century to beautify an area: Fairy Glens began to appear in Wales and Fairy Villas were built on elegant streets (Young, 2019b: 41-42). However, this does not appear to have happened with British mermaid place names. Names either demonstrably date back to before such Victorian trends, are attached to unlikely inland sites or the names are just not particularly alluring. On that last point, if Mermaid’s Hole on Lundy (UKM44) had been invented by Victorians in an effort to make the island’s southern coast more attractive to day-trippers, it would almost certainly have been called Mermaid’s Cave.

Before gathering together the fifty-nine mermaid names, I had expected that attempts to beautify coastal locations, in particular, would mean that British beaches and holiday resorts were littered with these invented mermaid names. I had seen in my fairy studies how many fairy place names were created by what were effectively Victorian marketing campaigns and pushes for supernatural gentrification. However, of the pre-Great War names only one can reasonably be put into this category. This is the Mermaid Pond in the grounds of Forde Abbey, Chard (UKM13) – a stately home). Here a monastic pool was, at some point in the 18th or 19th Century, given a statue of a mermaid (Young, 2021a). The earliest reference I have found to the name is on a 1904 Ordnance Survey map (OS, six inch, Dorset 19SW). Were perhaps mermaid names too sexual for ornamental names? The *OED* reports that ‘Mermaid’ had been used for a prostitute in the 16th and 17th centuries. It seemed still to have an erotic buzz in the 19th Century (see, for instance, Figure 2; note

that ‘mermaid’ was frequently used, in the English-speaking world, to refer to female swimmers, e.g. Fleury and Hayward, 2021: 253).



Figure 2 - ‘English Mermaids’ from the tabloid *Illustrated Police News*, 7 August 1897: 12.

Of course, to a folklorist it doesn’t matter whether the Forde Mermaid Pool was a centuries-old name, or whether it was a recent invention. What matters is the ability of a place name to spark supernatural associations or even to attract traditions to itself. A mermaid name does not have to have specific legends. Nor need a name derive from supernatural belief. “A supernatural place-name does not necessarily pinpoint a belief in particular beings,” but it does demonstrate “a readiness to talk about them” (Harte, 2018: 37). However, a local might have called, at some point, legendary mermaids to mind when hearing the invented name. It may be useful to remember this when looking at our several Mermaid Fields.

## Problem 2: Mermaid Fields

The most confusing names to emerge from the search for mermaid toponyms are six inland sites in the west of Britain. These are: Mermaid Field at Camarthen (UKM07); Mermaid Field at Christian Malford in Wiltshire (UKM09); Mermaid Ground at Clyffe Pypard in the same county (UKM10); Mermaid Field at Wells in Somerset (UKM08); Mermaid Orchard at Netherbury in Dorset (UKM12); and Mermaid, a field, at Stockland, on the Devon-Dorset border (UKM03). Four are straightforwardly fields. Mermaid Ground (UKM10) sounds like an area rather than a residence: though the name was later applied to a house, a house that is known, today, simply as ‘Mermaid’ and which is surrounded by farm land. Then Mermaid Orchard (UKM12) may not be an open space, but it was, at least



to judge by its name, cultivated. There are two questions that need to be asked here. First, how did mermaids come to be associated with fields or orchards; and second why are Mermaid Field names limited to this relatively small part of Britain (with the exception of the Carmarthen Mermaid Field (UKMo7)?

In three cases we can credibly explain a name with reference to local taverns. The Mermaid Field in Christian Malford (UKMo9) was used from the late 19th Century for village fairs. The major tavern in the village was the Mermaid Inn (Young, 2021a). It is a reasonable presumption that the field was the one next to the Inn, which stood on the northern edge of the village. We can be still more definite in the case of Mermaid Field in Wells (UKMo8). This field we know, from various sales notices, was on the western edge of the town where, on Tucker Street, the Mermaid Inn stood (Young, 2021a). Here not only do we have a Mermaid Field and a Mermaid Inn in the same community, but positive proof that they were adjacent to one another. A Mermaid Inn in Carmarthen was likewise close to the Carmarthen Mermaid Field (UKMo7) (Young, 2021). These three field names are nice examples of how a building name can seep down into landscape names. Having said this, I know of no other landscape name likely based on a Mermaid Tavern (or some such) but for one possible example see Mermaid's Pool at Leek (UKM51) (Young, 2021a).

The Mermaid Ground at Clyffe Pypard (UKM10) "is locally called 'Meremaid' but there is no tradition or likelihood of an inn here" (Gover, Mawer and Stenton, 1939: 267). This lack of an inn is true equally of the Stockland Mermaid field (UKMo3) and the Mermaid Orchard at Netherbury (UKM12). Of the Orchard, Mills wrote "a curious name, allusion uncertain," the place name equivalent of throwing your hands up in the air (1977-2020: IV: 330). How, then, can we explain them? John Litton suggests to me that one possibility would be some form of confusion with local place name elements: 'moor' and 'mead' becoming, for instance Moremaid and then Mermaid;<sup>4</sup> or perhaps 'mere' and 'mead'? Other possibilities might include a piece of land that was shaped like a mermaid or, perhaps, very wet land. We might, alternatively, have local folklore about a resident mermaid (see further below). The Mermaid Ground (UKM10) has dew pools in the vicinity. The Mermaid Orchard (UKM12) (which no longer exists) ran alongside the River Brit on a steep incline.



Figure 3 - Mermaid Spinney (UKM19) (OS six-inch map, Cambridgeshire 39NW, 1886)

<sup>4</sup> P.c. 8th January 2021: "I noticed in Somerset, on the parish bound of Creech St. Michael and W. Monkton, at about ST 264 256, a number of fields named 'Mermead', and, adjacent to these, one plot named 'Moor Mead Acre'".

There are two other instances in the list where a 'dry' mermaid name possibly refers to a nearby piece of water and a spirit that dwelt there. There is Mermaid Tree at Methven (UKM23), which stood on a slope above Methven Burn. The other example is Mermaid Spinney at Boxworth in Cambridgeshire (UKM19). The 'spinney' here denotes a small wood. The earliest reference I can find to this wood is an OS map from 1886 where there is a pool on its southeast corner (Figure 3): this seems, judging by Google Maps, to have vanished. My guess would be that this pool was either called Mermaid's Pool (or some such) or that a mermaid tradition was attached to it. There would be an exact parallel for this at Mermaid Pool at Thirlestane (UKM14) where the pool is in a Mermaid's Wood (UKM14) (Young, 2021a and see Figure 5). I personally am sceptical that any of the six mermaid field names referred originally to a folklore mermaid: not least because of the lack of a Saxon genitive. Of course, folklore associations may have followed on once a mermaid name was established.

### Gaps on Maps

In Figure 4 I have placed fifty-nine mermaid toponyms on the map (Shetland is not included). I have used four different symbols: coastal names; inland names; late names; and field names. I have dealt with the field names in the previous section; the recent names refer to mermaid toponyms that are certainly (or probably) not much more than a century old. I will deal at more length with the fresh-water and salt-names in the following pages, but the 'silences' on the map are quite as important. These can be usefully broken down into two different areas. First, traditionally non-English-speaking areas: Wales and much of western Scotland where there were 'mermaids', but where they went by non-English names and in the Gaelic-speaking world there was the selkie tradition (Darwin, 2019). Second, the areas where mermaid place names were not used in English-speaking areas: the English Midlands, much of the northern England and parts of the Scottish Lowlands.

The empty spaces in the English north and the English Midlands and the southern coast cannot be explained with a nod to Celtic tongues. In all these cases English (or a dialect of English) has been the native language for well over a thousand years. What is the explanation here? Before beginning this article, I would have made the point that many of these names are far from the coast. Mermaids need the sea. But that logic rather falls apart when you have an absence of mermaid landscape names along the coast from Ravenscar, in northern Yorkshire (UKM22), to the Isle of Wight (UKM18) and when you have mermaid place names in landlocked Bedfordshire (UKM47) and Cambridgeshire (UKM19). In the English Midlands and over much of the north we must conclude that mermaid toponyms were not generally used either inland or on the coast. There were mermaid legends and there were mermaid sightings, but mermaids seem often not to have made it through to naming traditions.

Of course, just because a given population tells stories about a given bogey does not necessarily mean that place names will result. An example from Ireland: there are many Irish fairy place names (in English and in Gaelic), but I know of no leprechaun place names and, I think that I am right in saying that there are very few banshee place names (Lysaght, 1996 [1986]: e.g. 125-129). In the northwest of England there is much 19th Century chatter about the child-scarer Jenny Greenteeth, but I know of only three place names (Young 2019a: 36 n. 22), compared to almost two hundred names for boggarts (Young, 2021b: 51-55). Mermaids seem likewise not to have been particularly prolific in place name

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terms. Only in the southwest have we something like the number of mermaid place names that I anticipated. I am particularly surprised by the lack of coastal toponyms. After all, a coastal population has to name marine features in their area and, as any glance at an Ordnance Survey map will show, these names are often extravagant and fantastical. Were mermaid landscape names perhaps considered unlucky?



Figure 4 - Mermaid Place Names Map (excluding Shetland) (author's map, 2021).

The failure of mermaids to spawn place names contrasts, in a peculiar way, with the keenness of Regency, Victorian and Edwardian authors to use mermaid toponyms in their fiction. While trawling for supernatural place names in databases it is common to come across occasional invented examples in novels and poems. What self-respecting author could resist a 'Fairy Valley' or a 'Boggart Hole' to give atmosphere to a provincial scene? However, with mermaids alone, I have come across more examples in fiction than real-world instances.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, fictional mermaid toponyms would make for an interesting study because they reveal a good many earlier ideas about mermaid folklore among the educated. Here again we glimpse the gap between our AMM expectations of mermaids – coasts stuffed with mermaid caves and coves – and the reality: a very few names spread over inland *and* coastal areas, denoting different kinds of spirits.

### The Saltwater Mermaid

The thirty-nine saltwater names break down into three groups. Working clockwise around Britain we have first eleven Scottish salt-water names. It is very possible, of course, that there were regional differences in Scotland. For instance, Caithness and Orkney was arguably the part of Britain with the liveliest 19th Century mermaid folklore (e.g. the capture of a mermaid on Orkney, Unattributed, 1928) and these two counties had strong links to Scandinavian culture. Were their mermaids the same as the mermaids of Montrose and Arbroath on the 'Pictish' east coast? Second, we have the 14 names in Cornwall and western Devon (for more on Cornish mermaids, James, 2018: 93-106; see also Figure 5). The southwestern cluster was strong enough for the mermaid to become part of Cornish identity. As early as 1910 a Cornish tourist body used a mermaid in its publicity campaign (Unattributed, 1910),<sup>6</sup> and the 'new' mermaid place names in the south- west

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<sup>5</sup> The most famous of these fictional toponyms is the Mermaid's Well in *The Bride of Lammermoor* by Sir Walter Scott, the scene of a love tryst and a supernatural encounter (Scott 1836 [1819]: passim). There are many, many examples in minor fiction works, though, too. So in Lady Georgiana Chatterton's *The Heiress and Her Lovers* the Mermaid's Cave represent an important plot device, it links the castle to the sea (1863: III, 195-196). In *Greatheart*, by George Walter Thornbury, Arthur walks by the Mermaid's Throne on a Cornish beach (1866: III, 153); a credible name in a Cornish context, but I have found no trace of it. In Lydia Sigourney's *The Lily of the Valley* Lora escapes to be alone in the Mermaid Cave to think (1856: 214). In James Payn's *The Clyffards of Clyffe*, a family romance with an improbable plot (Payn, 1866), the Mermaid Cave, the scene of a terrible drowning, becomes the Mermaid Cavern half way through the book! The list could be greatly extended...

<sup>6</sup> I can't resist quoting a description of this poster (which seems not to survive):

*At the mouth of a typical Cornish cavern, deep and rich in colouring, its upper portion glowing with the warm light reflected from the golden sand below, sits a mermaid gazing into the sunlight. One hand grasps the weed-green rock beside her, while with the other she toys with the looking glass which completes the toilet of every respectable mermaid. She is not engaged in the occupation of self-contemplation, however, for upon her sight there has fallen the vision of Falmouth fishing smack, its sails bellying to the fresh breeze which bears her away from the treacherous rocks and foam-flecked breakers which girt the deep blue waters. Out beyond stretches the headland of Pendennis Point with its castle perched upon its summit, and farther still the rounded head of St. Anthony with the lighthouse at its foot that tells the storm-tossed mariner of home and safety, and up and beyond all reaches the deep, deep blue of the Cornish sky, shut in only by the narrowing ceiling of the mermaid's cave.* (Unattributed, 1910).

Tourism became a factor in some of the other British coastal names. Tourists jumped on the Mermaid Stone at Conway (UKM20) as a way of wishing that they would be able to return for another summer. My one source states that "over the years, some millions [!] of holidaymakers have joyfully stamped on this stone" (Unattributed, 1944, in a Liverpool newspaper). At Leasowe (UKM57) there was a placard celebrating the mermaid "Some twenty years ago [c. 1900] there was a board about 4 ft. by 3 ft. fixed to

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(UKM<sub>15</sub> and UKM<sub>16</sub>) can perhaps best be seen as the continuance of a regional tradition. Then we have the coastal names in Wales (Blind, 1882: 476-477; and Rhys, 1901: I, 116-125 and other scattered references for Welsh mermaids), though the southern Welsh names could be equally associated with the Cornish and Devon names; there are links between southwestern English and southern Welsh folklore (e.g. Merrick, 1904: 196). We might perhaps associate to the Welsh names the Leasowe name (UKM<sub>57</sub>) from Cheshire, just outside Wales.

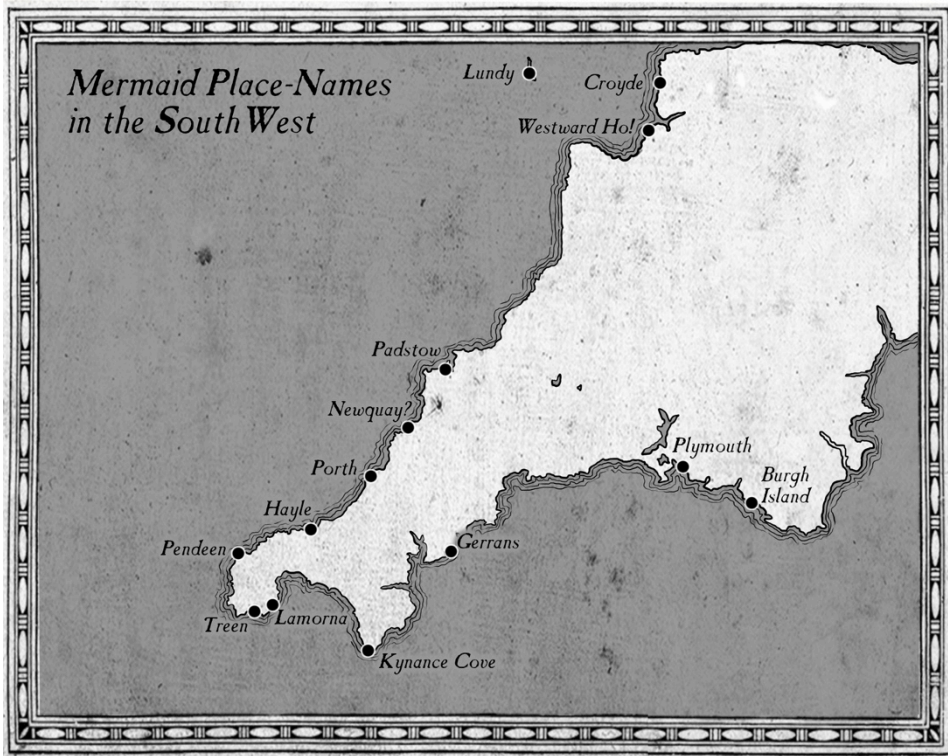


Figure 5 - Mermaid Place Names in the South West (author's map)

What do we learn about the salt-water mermaid from these British coastal place names? Well, all the marine place names concern, in one way or another, rocks and often spaces within rocks, be they caves or pools. For instance, we have the two saline Mermaid's Holes (UKM<sub>43</sub> and UKM<sub>44</sub>). The word 'hole' is frequently to be found coupled with supernatural beings in English naming traditions: we have Boggle Holes, Hob Holes and many Fairy Holes. The name suggests a being's lair and an unromantic and fearful attitude to the place on the part of locals. One of these Mermaid Holes is to be found on the southern edge of Lundy (UKM<sub>44</sub>) next to the Devil's Cauldron (supernatural place names often come together) and, apparently, includes a Mermaid's Pool and a cave (Young, 2021a). Mermaid's Hole in Gerrans, Cornwall is a tidal cave (UKM<sub>43</sub>). An adult can walk some 35-

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the wall close by, which (as well as I remember) went on to say that when the tide was at flood and the moon at full at midnight, the lady was to be seen here, combing her hair in the manner adopted by her kind" (Woods, 1921: 136).

45 metres into this aperture before the tunnel contracts. After that it is crawling room only: “[a] boy some years since... ventured a few yards further up; but he returned in a fright, having been terrified at the sight of two otters” (Hitchins and Drew, 1824: II, 287-288). The tunnel is supposed to lead to a nearby early medieval stronghold (compare similar legends for the Hayle Mermaid’s Cave [UKM28]; and the Mermaid’s Cave at Croyde [UKM30], respectively, Young, 2021a).

A unique mermaid name is the Mermaid’s Kirk (i.e. Church) near Arbroath in Scotland (UKM45). There are many fairy place names bonded with ‘kirk’, ‘church’ or ‘chapel’ in this way: for instance, the Fairy Chapel at Allithwaite in Cumbria (Stockdale, 1872: 591) or Ponden Kirk at Haworth (Alexander and Smith, 2003: 393). The interesting thing about the Arbroath name is that it suggests some kind of mermaid community in popular tradition, something we also sometimes glimpse in British mermaid legends. Another unique name, again from Scotland, is the Mermaid’s Cradle in Fifeshire (UKM40), a rock platform on the edge of the sea. There are two Scottish Mermaid’s Chairs, one near Kirkcudbright (UKM38) and one in Orkney (UKM39) and the Mermaid Tables at Ravenescar (UKM22). Here too there are parallels with fairy place names where landscape features become domestic objects: e.g. Fairy Kettle (for a pool of bubbling water) or Fairy Tables for a flat stone surface (Young, 2019b: 45).<sup>7</sup>

Another type are the Mermaid’s Rocks. Frequently when mermaids are seen by witnesses on the shore they are described as lying on a rock somewhere just out of reach. For instance, c. 1797 one William Munro was walking in Sandside Bay (Caithness) when his attention “was arrested by the appearance of a figure resembling an unclothed female, sitting upon a rock extended into the sea, and apparently in the action of combing its hair” (A Naturalist: 1809: 4). It would make sense then that rocks would be named for mermaids: in the same way that rocks on land are sometimes made into the seats of supernatural beings (e.g. Young, 2021b). At the Mermaid’s Rock at Lemorna (UKM53), Robert Hunt reported that there was in his time: “the popular fancy of a lady showing herself here previous to a storm – with, of course, the invariable comb and glass” (1865: 159). The large cliff stack Mermaid Rock at Easton on the Isle of Wight (UKM18) – a recent invention, remember – is quite different. Here not even an athletic mermaid could struggle to the top. The idea apparently was that the rock *resembled* a mermaid (Young 2021c). This may also have been the case with two older names from Scotland: the Mermaid at Pittulie (UKMo2) and the Mermaid at Huntly (UKMo4), both in Aberdeenshire. They seem to have been rocks and are unusual in having no generic (i.e. hole, rock, cave, etc.).

## Introducing the Mere-Maid

Thus far we have a British mermaid who is entirely compatible with the AMM. I want now to look at the implications of the freshwater sites on the map (Figure 4) and the ‘mere-maid’. Here we have three geographical groups. First there are the five inland Scottish names: Mermaid’s Stone at Old Cambus (UKM56); Mermaid’s Stone at Drumlanrig (UKM58); Mermaid Tree at Methven (UKM23); Mermaid Pool, Thirlestane (UKM14) and

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<sup>7</sup> This kind of landscape appropriation is not typical of solitary supernatural spirits like the boggart or the boggle or even the hob. The Mermaid Hole is a home; the Mermaid’s Kirk hints at mermaid social life; Mermaid’s Cradle a mermaid family. The mere-maid (see the next section) seems to belong, unlike the mermaid, to the solitary tradition in the British supernatural.

the Mermaid at Huntly (UKM04). Second, there are the Hayfield (UKM49) and the Leek (UKM51) Mermaid's Pools, which relate to a series of mere-maid legends often involving a sunken bell and Easter appearances found in Welsh Marches (Simpson, 1976: 24-25). The Mermaid Stones at Countersett in the North Riding of Yorkshire (UKM21) may belong either to the Scottish or to the Leek-Hayfield family (there is a tradition, note, of a sunken town in the lake there, Parkinson, 1888: 215-216). Third, we have the six eastern names associated particularly with East Anglia and stretching from Bedfordshire to Kent (see Figure 4).

With most inland mermaid toponyms we have some kind of body of water in the name. Usually this is a pool: called a 'pit', a 'pool' or a 'pond'; I imagine that the 'hole' on the Colne was likewise a pool, as a man was caught fishing there (*Report* 1865, 13; we have other examples from British naming tradition, note, where a supernatural hole referred to water, e.g. Longstaffe, 1854: 15 for Hob's Hole on the Tees); then there is Mermaid Head at Aylsham (UKM42) and an associated stream named The Mermaid (UKM50). The exceptions to this rule go some way to confirm the association of mere-maids and bodies of water. They include the field names discussed above, which I would disregard; the Mermaid Tree over Methven Burn (UKM23); the Mermaid Stones by the side of a lake at Countersett (UKM21); and Mermaid Spinney at Boxworth (UKM19), which is associated with a pool. The mere-maids seem to come with water and in several cases the body of water is next to trees or woods. These pools and ponds, note, would give little inspiration to any cryptozoologist intent on proving the physical existence of the mere-maid. The pool at Aspley Guisely (UKM47), for instance, is barely large enough to swim in.

Very little is written about freshwater mermaids in Scotland and there is only one legend about the named sites. However, what we have suggests a mere-maid that is – unlike the English mere-maids – similar to her seawater cousin. The Thirlestane mere-maid, for instance, sat on a rock by her pool (UKM14) and sang, until a shepherd killed her (Unattributed, 1931; Figure 6). There are no other legends related to the Scottish freshwater place names (Young, 2021a), but we learn that once, on the Tweed, a beautiful woman combed her hair on a rock and asked a young man to give her a ride on his horse across the river. He only saw her fish tail when she was behind him on his saddle and he escaped with some difficulty (Parsons, 1933: 298-299). The ballad the 'Mermaid of Galloway', involved a mermaid who liked to swim in from the sea and to lounge in an inland pool where all the young men fell in love with her (Cromek, 1880: 185-199). The ballad's precise antecedents are cloudy (Read, 1987: 180), but, given the Thirlestane and Tweed legends it is likely based on a local tradition or at least on a local idea of mermaids.

Without any question the richest traditions for mere-maids relate to the Leek and Hayfield Mermaid Pools in the northwest of England. In the case of Leek (UKM51) the mermaid is related in some way to the murder (or the attempted murder) of a young woman in the area (W.B., 1862-1863 for Leek; see also Gage, 1838: 255 for Mermaid's Pits [UKM46], in Suffolk). British saltwater mermaids are never explained as the spirits of the dead. In the case of Hayfield (UKM49) there is the tradition that the mermaid bathes once a day nude in the pool. Is there the sense that she does not actually live in the water (an alternative name is the Mermaid's Bath, Young, 2021a)? Note that any man who glimpses her becomes immortal (Harropdale, 1878). There is with several of the north England mermaid pools the claim that the pool is bottomless and that it leads to the Mersey or the Irish Sea or even the Red Sea (e.g. Unattributed, 1936 for Leek [UKM51]). My guess would be that this



is a *post-hoc* justification by baffled inlanders to explain the presence of a mermaid in the interior.<sup>8</sup>



Figure 6 - The Mermaid Pool at Thirlestane (UKM14), Ordnance Survey, six-inch map, Berwickshire 20 (1862)

I have found only one mermaid tradition connected to the sites in south-eastern England and East Anglia (Gage, 1838: 255), a remarkable state of affairs given that there are six and that these names must have invited comment. However, in 1901 Charles Partridge collected three East Anglian references to freshwater mermaids more generally. The first was to be found in *Vocabulary of East Anglia* by Robert Forby (1759–1825) “the mermaid is only remembered as a bugbear to frighten children from the water” (1830: 387 - a throwaway line discussing the decline in popular supernatural belief). A Suffolk poet, James Bird, recalled his childhood at Earl Stonham: “Make haste and do your errand. Go not nigh/ The river’s brink, for there the mermaid’s lie” (1837: 7). Then, finally, a Cambridgeshire poet, J. R. Withers of Fordham, picks up a similar theme: ‘Play not, my dear boys, near the pond in the meadow;/ The mermaid is waiting to pull you beneath:/ Climb not for a bird’s nest, the bough it may sliver/ And the mermaid will drag you to darkness and death’ (Withers, 1854: 117). Mermaids take on this bugbear role in many other cultures (e.g. Widdowson, 1977: 149–150; Kreutz, 2014: 106) but not, that I know of, elsewhere in Britain (for British water-spirit bogies see Young, 2019a).

There are other East Anglian references, some picked up by Westwood and Simpson (2005: 696–7), some collected here for the first time. A boy who had grown up at Rendlesham in the 1810s remembers warnings to stay away from the local pool “lest the mermaid should come and crome [hook] us in” (Senex, 1877: 7). This expression was clearly established as one Suffolk child when asked about mermaids replied: “them nasty things what crome... you into the water” (C.W.J, 1863; republished by or as G, 1880: 129).

<sup>8</sup> There are, though, other British lakes that allegedly lead to the sea (Simpson 1976, 25); and a cryptozoological staple (in the UK and the US) are the subterranean passages connecting certain lakes to the ocean (used to explain the presence of improbably large cryptids in freshwater), e.g. Robinson (2016: 538) for Loch Ness. Grendel’s mere is, the Beowulf poet tells us, impossibly deep (1363–1365 - “No þæs frod leofað/ gumena bearna, þæt þone grund wite” (“There is no one alive of the children of men so wise who may know the bottom”); see also Hardwick, 1872: 190–191).



C.W. J, who calls mermaids “bugbears to prevent little children going too near the water” (C.W.J, 1863: 678), had met another child who had *seen* a mermaid: “I see one wunst, that was a grit big thing loike a feesh”; C.W.J. considered it likely that she had seen a pike (ibid). A man in the Ipswich area remembered, meanwhile, in a local newspaper, that a “well in the village was said to contain a mermaid,” presumably in his childhood (A.W, 1877: 1); unfortunately, neither the correspondent nor the editor informs us which village.

On this evidence, the East Anglian mermaids were child-scarers, fen kin of Jenny Greenteeth (Young, 2019a). The mermaids of the northwest were rarefied entities, who rang bells and sometimes sang. The Scottish mere-maids were, meanwhile, almost identical to their salt-water cousins. However, all types of mere-maids were solitary beings: there is no sense of a community as we sometimes find with mermaids, no references to husbands or children. Another point to tease out is the relationship to water. The salt-water mermaids operate in or *just* out of the water while the mere-maids seem to be properly amphibious, happy in the water, but also wide-ranging on land. The mermaid lives in the sea, it is her habitat. The pool or pond or stream is the mere-maid’s lair (or thinking of Hayfield [UKM49], her “bath”). She is tied to the location, but she also the potential to leave its confines, even if only to drag a child below. Mermaids on land are shown to be out of their element. Indeed, many mermaid stories begin with a man finding a stranded mermaid. She was bathing in a pool and the tide went out etc. (e.g. Bottrell, 1870: I, 61-68).

## Conclusion

I will end this study with a nod to fairy-lore. In British tradition an important transition takes place in the late 19th Century. The un-winged, child-sized, social fairy of Elizabethan folklore becomes a winged, butterfly-sized, plant spirit (Sugg, 2018: 204-264). It would be misguided to argue that the child-sized fairy is authentic and that the butterfly-sized fairy is fake. Supernatural traditions evolve. In one century ghosts clink chains in another they do not; in one generation ghosts hop along in tightly bound winding sheets, in another they carry a loose sheet over their heads (Finucane, 1996 on the evolution of ghosts). But it is certainly true that the butterfly-sized Tinker Bell type fairy has taken over the fairy world. Indeed, so dominant has this new fairy become that the non-conforming traditions of earlier fairies have been forgotten thanks to her homogenising ways. In writing the previous pages I came to appreciate how a similar process has taken place with mermaids: “mermaidisation” (Hayward: 2018b). What I’ve termed the AMM (fish-tailed and seductive) has slowly, and on a much longer timetable, inched out other versions of the ‘water-maid’.

The AMM seems to have coalesced as an idea much earlier, in the 13th and 14th centuries: a key moment came when the fishtail became part of the mermaid dress-code. Perhaps she was created by European sailors, who travelled from country to country with men of different nationalities working side by side on different ships, perhaps there was also some input from European intellectuals (Scribner, 2020: 29-57 for an overview). Certainly, by the modern period any Western writer who decided to describe a mermaid had a clear idea in his or her head as to what a mermaid was. “Few eyes have escaped the pictures of Mermaids,” wrote Sir Thomas Browne in his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, published in 1646 (1852: 59). This idea came down into popular culture and by the end of Victoria’s reign we have apparently cloned mermaids in newspaper adverts, on the stage, in children’s stories, in film, at costume parties, on postcards and in erotica. If the winged Barbie-doll type fairy

had started to triumph over her rivals by the Great War, the AMM had, by then, almost complete dominance.

British mermaid place names allow us to look past AMM's victory parade. Yes, in the south-west of England and the Scottish sites we see names that are compatible with the triumphant sea mermaid. However, in the English freshwater place names we are reminded that mermaids could be something quite different. The small often rather miserable ponds that contained these spirits have no room for mermaid churches or mermaid chairs: one Bedfordshire reporter wrote uncharitably of Mermaid's Pool at Aspley that it is not "as picturesque as it sounds" (Unattributed, 2012: online). They are the homes of threatening solitary spirits, familiar, in British folklore in many different forms. The lack of folklore about these spirits in the later 1800s probably reflects embarrassment on the part of authors and perhaps on the part of locals. This was not, goodness, what mermaids were supposed to be! Victorians had seen them in *Chambers Magazine* and on soapboxes. The mere-maids fled before mass production and lithographic presses, and the ponds and pools lost their presiding spirits.

The empty spaces on the map are interesting as well. They show us the areas where the mermaids did not break through into naming conventions. I have noted above that in some cases this is, likely, because of the presence of Gaelic and Welsh. *But in all the empty spaces the problem was, in an important sense, linguistic.* Let us take for granted that every part of Britain had traditional water spirits (freshwater and, in coastal areas, saltwater and freshwater). These will have gone by different names in different parts. Sometimes they will have been classed together into types (e.g. Water Horses, Watson, 2011); sometimes they were just individual local bogies connected to this river or that stagnant tarn (e.g. Peg Powler on the Tees, Brockie, 1886: 61-62). In some parts of the country 'mermaid' became the term of choice for describing these spirits: e.g. in East Anglia or in Cornwall (though with very different meanings, see also for Somerset, Quinn, 1999: 66 and 195). In other places other terms were used, e.g. Nelly Longarms in parts of Cheshire (Holland, 1886: 238). The list of mermaid place names that have formed the backbone of this article (see Appendix and Young 2021a) are a result not just of the evolution of folklore, but also of the evolution of language and dialect.

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## Appendix – Mermaid place names in Britain (and ID numbers used in article)

ID	Location name	Shire	Coordinates/approximate location
UKMo1	Marmaydes Hole	Essex	“on the Colne,” exact location unknown
UKMo2	Mermaid, The	Aberdeenshire	57° 41' 59" N – 2° 04' 05" W
UKMo3	Mermaid	Dorset	51° 11' 16" N – 3° 05' 03" W (approx.)
UKMo4	Mermaid, The	Aberdeenshire	57° 27' 18" N – 2° 48' 21" W
UKMo5	Mermaid Beach	Kent	51° 04' 27" N – 1° 10' 15" E
UKMo6	Mermaid Cove	Anglesey	53° 08' 22" N – 4° 24' 46" W (approx.)
UKMo7	Mermaid Field	Carmarthenshire	51° 51' 27" N – 4° 18' 44" W
UKMo8	Mermaid Field	Somerset	51° 12' 26" N – 2° 39' 12" W
UKMo9	Mermaid Field	Wiltshire	51° 30' 40" N – 2° 03' 28" W (approx.)
UKMo10	Mermaid Ground	Wiltshire,	51° 30' 10" N – 1° 54' 55" W
UKMo11	Mermaid Hill	Forfarshire	56° 42' 17" N – 2° 27' 12" W (approx.)
UKMo12	Mermaid Orchard	Dorset	50° 47' 34" N – 2° 45' 07" W
UKMo13	Mermaid Pond	Dorset	50° 50' 28" N – 2° 54' 43" W
UKMo14	Mermaid Pool	Berwickshire	55° 43' 22" N – 2° 40' 07" W
UKMo15	Mermaid Pool	Cornwall	50° 10' 01" N – 5° 40' 14" W
UKMo16	Mermaid Pool	Devon	50° 16' 45" N – 3° 53' 56" W
UKMo17	Mermaid Pools	Devon	50° 18' 57" N – 4° 06' 48" W
UKMo18	Mermaid Rock	Hampshire	50° 40' 07" N – 1° 30' 18" W
UKMo19	Mermaid Spinney	Cambridgeshire	52° 15' 36" N – 0° 01' 37" W
UKMo20	Mermaid Stone	Caernarvonshire	53° 16' 52" N – 3° 49' 35" W (approx.)
UKMo21	Mermaid Stones	Yorkshire	54° 16' 53" N – 2° 07' 17" W
UKMo22	Mermaid Tables	Yorkshire	54° 24' 33" N – 0° 29' 42" W (approx.)
UKMo23	Mermaid Tree	Perthshire	56° 25' 13" N – 3° 35' 07" W
UKMo24	Mermaid Wall	Glamorgan	51° 34' 07" N – 4° 17' 52" W
UKMo25	Mermaid's Baa	Shetland	60° 38' "N – 0° 52' 01" W (approx.)
UKMo26	Mermaids Bath	Cornwall	(between Newquay and Portreath)
UKMo27	Mermaid's Cave	Ayrshire	55° 14' 54" N – 5° 07' 24" W
UKMo28	Mermaid's Cave	Cornwall	50° 03' 03" N – 5° 37' 07" W
UKMo29	Mermaids' Cave	Cornwall	50° 25' 34" N – 5° 03' 42" W
UKMo30	Mermaid's Cave	Cornwall	50° 11' 50" N – 5° 25' 48" W



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UKM31	Mermaid's Cave	("the West of England" - Cornwall or Devon?)
UKM32	Mermaid's Cave	Devon 51° 08' 34" N - 4° 15' 40" W
UKM33	Mermaid's Cave	Isle of Man 54° 13' 19" N - 4° 23' 45" W (approx.)
UKM34	Mermaid's Cave	Merionethshire 52° 54' 42" N - 4° 08' 24" W (approx.)
UKM35	Mermaid's Cave	Pembrokeshire 51° 40' 16" N - 4° 41' 44" W
UKM36	Mermaid's Cave	Sutherland 58° 31' 53" N - 4° 14' 22" W (approx.)
UKM37	Mermaids' Caves	Cornwall 50° 32' 23" N - 4° 56' 10" W (approx.)
UKM38	Mermaid's Chair	Kirkcudbrights. 50° 10' 43" N 4° 58' 17" W
UKM39	Mermaid's Chair	Orkney 59° 07' 20" N - 2° 36' 18" W
UKM40	Mermaid's Cradle	Fifeshire 56° 15' 38" N - 2° 37' 15" W
UKM41	Mermaid's Grotto	Isle of Man 54° 03' 36" N - 4° 46' 59" W
UKM42	Mermaid's Head	Norfolk 52° 46' 39" N - 1° 12' 59" E
UKM43	Mermaid's Hole	Cornwall 50° 11' 39" N - 4° 57' 56" W (approx.)
UKM44	Mermaid's Hole	Devon 51° 09' 38" N 4° 39' 37" W
UKM45	Mermaid's Kirk	Forfarshire 56° 33' 47" N - 2° 32' 47" W
UKM46	Mermaid's Pits	Suffolk 56° 33' 47" N - 2° 32' 47" W
UKM47	Mermaid's Pond	Bedfordshire 52° 00' 11" N - 0° 38' 02" W
UKM48	Mermaid's Pond	Kent 51° 20' 11" N - 1° 18' 16" W (approx.)
UKM49	Mermaid's Pool	Derbyshire 53° 23' 41" N - 1° 53' 22" W
UKM50	Mermaid's Pool	Devon 51° 02' 21" N - 4° 15' 16" W
UKM51	Mermaid's Pool	Staffordshire 53° 08' 54" N - 1° 56' 30" W
UKM52	Mermaid's Rock	Cornwall 49° 58' 27" N - 5° 13' 55" W
UKM53	Mermaid's Rock	Cornwall 50° 03' 42" N - 5° 33' 49" W (approx.)
UKM54	Mermaid's Rock	Forfarshire 56° 37' 02" N - 2° 29' 11" W
UKM55	Mermaid's Rock	Pembrokeshire 56° 37' 02" N - 2° 29' 11" W (approx.)
UKM56	Mermaid's Stone	Berwickshire 56° 55' 13" N - 2° 19' 14" W
UKM57	Mermaid's Stone	Cheshire 53° 25' 10" N - 3° 06' 31" W
UKM58	Mermaid's Stone	Dumbartonshire 55° 16' 48" N - 3° 47' 52" W
UKM59	Mermaid's Well	Forfarshire 56° 34' 22" N - 2° 32' 21" W (approx.)
UKM60	The Mermaid	Norfolk 52° 46' 39" N - 1° 12' 59" E