

MANX GAELIC: THE END GAME*

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Abstract:

This article seeks to assess when the Manx language ceased to be passed on to succeeding generations. Full profiles are given of all speakers known and recorded in the period 1909-1972, based on census data and other record information, as well as the testimony of fieldworkers such as Carl Marstrander. An estimate is made of the date when the English language replaced or came to dominate over Manx in each household, and the roles of such factors as family structures, education and stigmatisation are considered. It emerges that the shift began in earnest from c.1860 and was largely completed in the decades 1880-1900, and that the chronology was similar across the island.

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to seek to assess as precisely as possible when the people of the Isle of Man ceased to pass on to succeeding generations their own community language - Manx Gaelic. Sociolinguistic and sociohistorical considerations leading up to this decision have already been dealt with elsewhere, as have the mechanics of language obsolescence in Manx (cf. Broderick 1999). But a detailed analysis of the processes of this decision has yet to be made, in the absence of which much speculation as to how this decision came to pass has developed over the past fifty or so years, generating in its track a certain amount of folklore as to the nature of the demise of Manx, including a belief that the highland village of Cregneash by Port St. Mary held out to the bitter end. That was the reality (i.e. what people believed), but not necessarily the truth. This article seeks to establish that truth.

During the nineteenth century Manx Gaelic, the everyday community language of the ordinary people of the Isle of Man, found itself more and more in competition with English which for various reasons had over a period of time begun to take a foothold in Man. Towards the end of the same century Manx entered a critical phase of its existence, and as from c.1875 or so onwards, if not before, Manx gradually ceased to be passed on to following generations, with the result that, from an apparent number of 4598 native Manx speakers recorded in the 1901 census only a figure of some twenty such speakers could be announced by A. S. B. Davies in 1946.¹ This noticeable decline in Manx speech began to attract the attention of scholars who sought to elicit examples of Manx from existing native speakers. So far as is known, this exercise began with Prof. Sir John Rhÿs, University of Oxford, whose visits to Man 1886-1893² resulted in interviews with some ninety-

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1 cf. Davies 1946(1948): 89-91.

2 It may be pertinent to mention here the visit to Man of John Strachan (1862-1907, a scholar of Sanskrit, Ancient Greek and the Celtic languages, and Professor at Owens College and the Victoria University of Manchester) in company with Father Henebry (i.e. Richard de Hindeberg 1863-1916, an Irish priest, Irish language activist and musician, who worked in Salford, Manchester) of Co. Waterford in 1883. They interviewed Tom Kermodé (1825-1901) of Bradda RU when Strachan took down from him in his

three informants and the publication of his findings in his *Outlines* (Rhÿs 1893/94, 1895).³ In this pursuit Rhÿs was followed by Dr. Rudolf Trebitsch, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, who made a series of what turned out to be the oldest known surviving sound-recordings⁴ of native Manx speech from four informants in August 1909 (cf. Schüller 2003), then by Prof. Carl J. S. Marstrander, University of Oslo (1929-33), who noted / interviewed some forty-seven informants and sound-recorded six (DLMS/I: 573); his findings were published in Marstrander (1932, 1934, 1937). However, it was seemingly as a result of Marstrander's visits to Man that Manx Gaelic enthusiasts began combing the countryside in search of surviving native Manx speakers and, using their information gathered by Charles Loch (1946), A. S. B. Davies of North Wales was able to publish twenty names in Davies (1946(1948)). This in turn led to sound-recordings being made by the Irish Folklore Commission (1948), by Francis J. Carmody (1949),⁵ the Manx Museum (1950-52), *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* 'the Manx Gaelic Society' (1951-53), and to scientific acquisition of material via questionnaires by Prof. Francis J. Carmody, University of California at Berkeley (1949), Dr. Heinrich Wagner, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (1950)⁶ and Prof. Kenneth H. Jackson, University of Edinburgh (1950/51).⁷ In August 1972 Prof. Jackson sent David Clement on behalf of the Scottish Gaelic Linguistic Survey, University of Edinburgh, to Man, who made use of Jackson's questionnaire of 1950/51 to record what he could from Ned Maddrell,⁸ believed to be the then sole surviving native Manx speaker.⁹ Clement used his visit also to record Ewan Christian of Peel, a semi-speaker.¹⁰ In addition, three known Private Recordings of Manx native speech were made, viz. in 1947, c.1960, and 1962 respectively.¹¹

In order to give as full a picture as possible, all known native Manx speakers recorded from 1909 to 1972 are hereby listed, with details of the collectors and their comments on the informants, as well as the material elicited by them. This serves as a continuum to those native Manx speakers recorded by Prof. John Rhÿs (1886-1893) (qv), thus completing the story. To this end some seventy potential informants were sought out, of whom forty-seven were in fact recorded, either on sound-recordings or via scientific questionnaires, between the years 1909 and 1972.

In order to determine when Manx ceased to be transmitted to the following generation, thereby seeking to pinpoint when Manx became obsolete, it may be pertinent at this point to provide as much personal detail as possible about the last recorded native Manx speakers. To this end I have sought to provide such detail from the various census records relating to the Isle of Man now available to us, namely, those for 1841-1911. These present us with family details which show the position of Manx within the family and the introduction of English into the household. Particular

own phonetic script the Manx traditional song *Ec ny Fiddleryn*, which Strachan again took down from him in September 1896 (cf. Strachan 1897).

3 Rhÿs's material, as found in his eleven notebooks housed in *Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru* the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, is now available online: gaelg-hasht.16mb.com//artyn/george.broderick.

4 Early sound-recordings of native Manx speech and Manx traditional songs, etc., made c.1905-1909 (possibly till 1913) by *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* are not included here, as they have seemingly not survived. For details see Miller (MNFL 175 (2014): 1-9).

5 Carmody arranges his material under the following headings: I Phonetics, II Morphology, thus producing a mini-grammar of spoken Manx (cf. Carmody 1954).

6 The material in Wagner's questionnaire is presented in sentence form, thus giving the realisation of each word as it naturally appears in connected speech. But the individual items need to be marshalled into some sort of order before any phonological study can be made of them (cf. Wagner 1958-69).

7 Jackson worked from a phonological questionnaire, hence his material consists of individual lexical items under various phonological headings, thus enabling easy reference to the Manx form or reflex showing the development of a particular sound in "Common Gaelc" (cf. Jackson 1955). But the shortage of prose pieces makes it difficult to assess the realisation of each word in connected speech, thus the organisation of his material is in fact opposite to that of Wagner.

8 Clement made an abortive visit on Ned Maddrell in August 1973. He told me Maddrell's hearing had deteriorated quite considerably in the interim period with the result that he obtained nothing from him at all.

9 But see now §7.2.1.4. and footnote.

10 Interviewed also by myself later on (1978-83).

11 For full details here, see LDIM/54-76.

attention is given to the census returns for 1901 and 1911 where details of the language(s) (Manx and/or English) known or spoken at home by the informants were asked for.¹² For information concerning the death-dates of the informants Brian Lawson's compilation *An Index to Manx Burials*, an online resource, is mainly used.¹³ Other online resources, such as Isle of Man Parish Registers relating to Manx births, marriages and deaths, census returns for England and Wales, as well as for England, Wales and Scotland, where information for the Isle of Man can also be found, are also made use of. Details of such online resources are given at the end.

Though the census enumerators sought the utmost accuracy in obtaining their information, this aim was not always achieved. One area where anomalies may occur is in the ages given, which may or may not tally from one census to another, or, from a given census to a following burial, suggesting a certain "under reporting"¹⁴ of them, etc.¹⁵ Because of the vagaries of the census records the ages given in the burial registers prove much more reliable and for this reason are assiduously used here.

2. The investigators and their informants

2.1. The investigators: the collecting individuals and bodies

Subjoined is a list of individuals and bodies seeking to obtain Manx linguistic material, either in sound recorded or questionnaire format, for archival or academic use from 1909 to 1972. Each is given an abbreviation consisting of initials and year(s).

- VR** 1909: Vienna Recordings: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna (Dr. Rudolf Trebitsch, 5-8 August 1909).
CM 1929-33: Marstrander: University of Oslo, Norway (Prof. Dr. Carl J. S. Marstrander, June-Sept. 1929, August-Sept. 1930, Jan.-Feb. 1933).
ASBD 1946(1948): A.S.B. Davies, Moelfre, Colwyn Bay, Wales (List of native Manx speakers, 1946(1948)).
PR 1947-1962: Private Recordings: 1 (Gelling, 1947), 2 (Clarke, c.1960), 3 (Stowell / Caine, 1962).
IFC 1948: Irish Folklore Commission Recordings (two weeks, April-May 1948).
FJC 1949: Carmody: University of California at Berkeley (Prof. Francis J. Carmody, July 1949).
HW 1950: Wagner: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dr. Heinrich Wagner, summer 1950, in the company of Miles Dillon for two of the three weeks).
KHJ 1950-51: Jackson: University of Edinburgh (Prof. Kenneth H. Jackson, two weeks over Christmas / New Year 1950/51).
MM 1950-52: Manx Museum Recordings (Early 1950-Autumn 1952).
YCG 1951-53: Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh Recordings (Late 1951-Mid 1953).
LSS 1972: Linguistic Survey of Scotland Recordings, University of Edinburgh (David Clement, August 1972).

2.2. The informants

¹² Here see also Miller (2007, 2015a).

¹³ Since 2015 integrated into the Micro-Site of the Isle of Man Family History Society (IMFHS), accessible, it seems, to members only.

¹⁴ As an example of "under reporting" we have chosen the details of John Kneen (The Gaaue), as even in my time during the 1960s/70s there was much local speculation about his actual age. See Appendix Section 1.

¹⁵ I am reminded by Manx genealogist Nigel G. Crowe that in the 1841 Census ages over 15 were rounded down to the nearest five years, i.e. 44 became 40, etc. This directive evidently applied right across Britain and offshore islands but only for the year 1841, not for later years (p..c. Nigel G. Crowe 30.04.2017).

Attached is a list of potential native Manx speakers that were available for interview by the aforementioned bodies and individuals. Not all potential informants were in fact interviewed. Informants whose names are marked solely (ASBD1946) or solely (CM1929 **Noted**) were not interviewed by anyone at all. For ease of reference such names are hyphen-indented. All the rest were dealt with by those individuals and bodies listed (with initials and year) against the respective informants' names. Those names marked **rec.** in bold type were sound-recorded by Marstrander. Those few names labelled **Rhÿs informant**, also in bold type, refer to those interviewed by Prof. Sir John Rhÿs during his visits to Man (1886-1893).¹⁶

1. **Boyde**, Harry (1870/71-1953), Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA) (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, MM1950, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, YCG1951/1952).
2. **Cain**, Daniel (1860/61-1952), Little London MI (CM1929 **Noted**, YCG1952).
3. **Cain**, John (1850/51-1939), Ballamoar JU (CM1929, 1933 **rec.**).
4. **Cain**, William Joseph (1825/26-1911), Douglas (of Conchan) (VR1909).
5. **Cashen**, Caesar (1856/57-1943), Peel GE (of Patrick) (CM1929, 1933 **rec.**). Younger brother to William Cashen (**Rhÿs informant**).
6. **Christian**, Ewan (1907/08-1985), 58 Patrick Street, Peel GE (LSS1972).
7. **Christian**, John (1844/45-1931), Sulby Glen LE (CM1929).
8. **Christian**, Thomas (1850/51-1930), 4 College Street, Ramsey MA (of Lewaigue MA) (CM1929)
- 9. **Clague**, Mrs. Annie (1868/69-1954), Niarbyl, Dalby PA (ASBD1946).
- 10. **Collister**, Mrs. ?, the Dolly MI ("near the station at Kirk Michael") (CM1929. **Noted**).
- 11. **Corkill**, Mrs. ?, Peel (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 12. **Corlett**, William (1849/50-1932), Kirk Michael (CM1929. **Noted**).
13. **Corrin**, John Joseph (1857/58-1930), Ballachurry JU (of Ballaugh) (CM1929).
14. **Cowley**, William (1842/43-1921), Douglas ON (of Lezayre) (VR1909).
15. **Cowley**, Thomas (1846/47-??), Creggan, Tholt-y-Will LE (CM1929).
- 16. **Craine**, Elizabeth (1872/73-1945), Cooil Bane Cottage, Sulby LE (CM1929 **Noted**).
17. **Crebbin**, Thomas (1847/48-1935), Bradda Village. nr. Port Erin RU (CM1929, 1930).
- 18. **Crebbin**, Thomas, Cregneash RU (ASBD1946).
19. **Crebbin**, Thomas (1853/54-1940), Four Roads, Port St. Mary RU (CM1930).
20. **Faragher**, Thomas Edward (1865/66-1942), Sulby Glen LE (CM1929).
21. **Fayle**, Robert (1852/53-1938), Stauard, Sulby LE (CM1929, 1933 **rec.**).
- 22. **Fayle**, Robert, Ramsey (ASBD1946).
23. **Gawne**, John (1860/61-1934), West Nappin JU (CM1929).
- 24. **Harrison**, Thomas (1845/46-1929), Ballasalla ML (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 25. **Johnson**, Mrs. ?, 90+ (c.1839-??), nr. Grenaby ML (CM1929. **Noted**).
- 26. **Joughin**, Robert (1853/54-1929), Dhoon Church MA (CM1929 **Noted**).
27. **Kaighin**, John Tom (1861/62-1954), Ballagarrett BR (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, MM1950, 1951, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952, 1953).
28. **Karran**, Henry (1859/60-1947), The Howe RU (CM1929).
29. **Karran**, Walter James (1873/74-1939) ("somewhat younger brother [to Henry]"), The Howe RU (CM1929).
30. **Karran**, John (1866/67-1955), Cregneash RU (FJC1949),
31. **Karran**, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/71-1953), (wife of John Karran) Cregneash RU (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, MM 1952).
32. **Karran**, Thomas (1875/76-1959), Douglas (of Cregneash RU) (Mrs. Karran's brother) (MM1950, YCG1952/1953).
- 33. **Kaye**, Miss ?, Onchan ON (of Glen Maye PA) (ASBD1946).
34. **Kelly**, Harry ("Harry Nancy") (1852/53-1935), Cregneash RU (CM1929, 1930, 1933 **rec.**).
- 35. **Kelly**, Mr. J., 80+ (c.1849-??), Laxey ("on the Ramsey side of the glen and at the mines") (CM1929. **Noted**).
36. **Kennah**, Edward (1860/61-1938), Port Erin RU (of Ronague AR) (CM1929 **Noted**, 1930).
37. **Kennah**, William (1867/68-1959), Balladuggan ML (CM1929).
38. **Kewley**, James (1849/50-1939), Maughold MA

¹⁶ For details here see Broderick (forthcoming). Also online: gaelg-hasht.16mb.com/artyn/george.broderick .

- (of Lezayre LE, "brought up in Lonan parish (south of Laxey)") (CM 1929).
39. **Killip**, John (1853/54-1935), Ballaugh Road (nr. Sulby station), Sulby LE (CM1929).
- 40. **Killip**, Mrs. Catherine (1852/53-1934), Lhen AN (CM1929. **Noted**).
- 41. **?Kinrade**, Ben, c.76 (c.1853-??), of Arbory (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 42. **Kinvig**, John Dan (1860/61-1953), Ronague AR (of Garey Mooar AR) (ASBD1946).
43. **Kinvig**, Mrs. Sage Jane (1869/70-1962) (wife), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR (ASBD1946, IFC1948, YCG1952, 1953).
44. **Kissack**, John (1857/58-1947), Ballachrink MI (CM1929).
- 45. **Kneale**, Charles (1856/57-1946), Ballagarrett BR (ASBD1946).
46. **Kneale**, Mrs. Annie (wife of Charles Kneale) (1864/65-1949), Balla-garrett BR (ASBD1946, IFC1948).
47. **Kneen**, John (the Gaaue) (1858/59-1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St. Jude's AN) (CM1929 **Noted**, ASBD 1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, MM1952, YCG1951/52).
- 48. **Kneen**, William (1856/57-1938), Croit-y-Caley RU (CM1929 **Noted**).
49. **Leece**, Thomas (1859/60-1956), Kerroomoar, Kerrookiel ML (CM1929 **Noted**, ASBD1946, IFC1948, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952).
50. **Looney**, Thomas (1852/53-1930), nr. churchyard, Maughold MA (CM1929).
51. **Lowey**, Mrs. Emily (1868/69-1947), Kirkill RU (ASBD1946, PRI1947).
- 52. **Maddrell**, Edmund (1841/42-1935), 36 Athol[] Park, Port Erin RU (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 53. **Maddrell**, John (1879/80-1948), Port St. Mary RU (brother to Ned) (ASBD1946).
54. **Maddrell**, Ned (1877-1974), Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU) (ASBD1946, PRI/1947, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952/53, PR21960, PR31962, LSS1972).
55. **Maddrell**, Thomas (1851/52-1931), Glenchass RU (CM1930).
56. **Moore**, Thomas (1836/37-1923), Brookfield, Port Erin RU (of Ballaglione RU) (VR1909).
57. **Mylechreest**, Mr. ?, 74 (1855-??), ?Ballaskeig Beg MA (CM1929).
58. **Nelson**, John (1839/40-1910), Ramsey MA (of Andreas AN) (VR1909).
- 59. **Preston**, William (1844/46-1934), Grenaby ML (CM1929. **Noted**).
60. **Quane**, William (1849/50-1935), 30 St. Ger-man's Place, Peel GE (of Patrick) (CM1929, 1933 **rec.**).
61. **Quayle**, Thomas "the Gardener" (1848/49-1935), Shore Road, Castletown (of Liverpool) (CM1929 **Noted**, 1930).
62. **Quayle**, John Thomas (1863-1945), Squeen BA (CM1933 **rec.**).
- 63. **Sayle**, John (1849/50-1932), Ballathona AN (CM1929. **Noted**).
64. **Taggart**, Thomas (1846/47-1933), Schoolhouse, Grenaby ML (of Ballagilbert ML) (CM1929, 1930).
- 65. **Taubman**, Catherine (i.e. Mrs. Catherine Jane Kennaugh) (1879-1966), Port Erin RU (of Cregneash RU) (CM 1929 **Noted**).
- 66. **Wade**, Mrs. Mary (1838/39-1933), Barrule Road, Foxdale ML (CM1929 **Noted**).
67. **Wade**, Wilfred (1868/69-1948), Sandygate JU (CM1929, ASBD1946, PRI1947).
68. **Watterson**, William (1863/64-1938), Glenchass RU (CM1929).
69. **Watterson**, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60-1951), Colby RU (of Glenchass RU) (ASBD1946, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51).
70. **Woodworth**, Joseph, 75 (1853/54-1931), Port Erin RU, later at The Smelt, Gansey RU (of Port Erin RU) (CM1929, 1930).

Total number of Informants: **70**.
 Total number of Informants interviewed: **47**.
 Total number of Informants *not* interviewed: **23**.

Subjoined is a list of investigators and the native Manx speakers they each interviewed. Those not interviewed by a particular investigator are marked **not interviewed** and a hyphen indents their names for ease of reference. The following investigators, listed in order of date, either noted, interviewed or sound-recorded the following informants:

2.3. Rudolf Trebitsch, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, August 1909. Sound-recorded.

Sound-recorded here means that the informant was asked to read out a chosen text and was recorded on wax cylinder(s) on an Ediphone recording machine (cf. Schüller 2003).

Cain , William Joseph (1825/26-1911), Douglas (of Conchan).	Nelson , John (1839/40-1910), Ramsey MA (of Andreas AN).
Cowley , William (1842/43-1921), Douglas ON (of Lezayre)..	Total number of informants: 4 .
Moore , Thomas (1836/37-1923), Brookfield, Port Erin RU (of Ballaglionney RU).	Total number recorded: 4 .
	Total number <i>not</i> recorded: 0 .

2.4. Carl J. S. Marstrander, University of Oslo, 1929, 1930, 1933. Noted / Interviewed / Sound-recorded.

Noted here means that the informant was asked personal particulars, e.g. name, when and where born, etc., by the investigator, but that is all.

Interviewed here means that the informant was given sentences in English of varying difficulty to translate Manx or was asked to read out passages in Manx, all of which the investigator took down in phonetic script.

Not interviewed here means that the informant was not visited at all to supply examples of Manx.

Sound-recorded here means that the informant was sound-recorded on wax cylinder(s) on an Ediphone recording machine in January/February 1933 (cf. Marstrander *Dagbok* in LDIM/205-229 (English), 229-252 (original Norwegian)).

- **Cain**, Daniel (1860/61-1952), Little London MI. **Not interviewed.**
- Cain**, John (1850/51-1939), Ballamoar JU.
- Cashen**, Caesar (1856/57-1943), Peel GE (of Patrick). Younger brother to William Cashen.
- Christian**, John (1844/45-1931), Sulby Glen LE.
- Christian**, Thomas (1850/51-1930), 4 College Street, Ramsey MA (of Lewaigue MA).
- **Collister**, Mrs. ?, the Dolly MI ("near the station at Kirk Michael"). **Not interviewed.**
- **Corkill**, Mrs. ?, Peel. **Not interviewed.**
- **Corlett**, William (1849/50-1932), Kirk Michael. **Not interviewed.**
- Corrin**, John Joseph (1857/58-1930), Ballachurry JU (of Ballaugh).
- Cowley**, Thomas (1846/47-??), Creggan, Tholt-y-Will LE.
- **Craine**, Elizabeth (1872/73-1945), Cooil Bane Cottage, Sulby LE. **Not interviewed.**
- Crebbin**, Thomas (1847/48-1935), Bradda Village. nr. Port Erin RU.
- Crebbin**, Thomas (1853/54-1940), Four Roads, Port St. Mary RU.
- Fragher**, Thomas Edward "**Farakel**" (1865/66-1942), Sulby Glen LE.
- Fayle**, Robert (1852/53-1938), Stauard, Sulby LE.
- **Gawne**, John (1860/61-1934), West Nappin JU.
- **Harrison**, Thomas (1845/46-1929), Ballasalla ML. **Not interviewed.**
- **Johnson**, Mrs. ?, 90+ (c.1839-??), nr. Grenaby ML. **Not interviewed.**
- **Joughin**, Robert (1853/54-1929), Dhoon Church MA. **Not interviewed.**
- Karran**, Henry (1859/60-1947), The Howe RU.
- Karran**, Walter James (1873/74-1939) ("somewhat younger brother [to Henry]"), The Howe RU.
- Kelly**, Harry ("Harry Nancy") (1852/53-1935), Cregneash RU.
- **Kelly**, Mr. J., 80+ (c.1849-??), Laxey ("on the Ramsey side of the glen and at the mines"). **Not interviewed.**
- Kennah**, Edward (1860/61-1938), Port Erin RU (of Ronague AR).
- Kennah**, William (1867/68-1959), Balladuggan ML.
- Kewley**, James (1849/50-1939), Maughold MA (of Lezayre LE, "brought up in Lonan parish (south of Laxey)").
- Killip**, John (1853/54-1935), Ballaugh Road (nr. Sulby station), Sulby LE.
- **Killip**, Mrs. Catherine (1852/53-1934), Lhen AN. **Not interviewed.**
- **Kinrade**, Ben, c.76 (c.1853-??) "**Bænöken Regg**",

- of Arbory. **Not interviewed.**
- Kissack**, John (1857/58-1947), Ballachrink MI.
- **Kneen**, John (the Gaue) (1858/59-1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St. Jude's AN). **Not interviewed.**
- **Kneen**, William (1856/57-1938), Croit-y-Caley RU. **Not interviewed.**
- Looney**, Thomas (1852/53-1930), nr. churchyard, Maughold MA.
- **Maddrell**, Edmund (1841/42-1935), 36 Athol[l] Park, Port Erin RU. **Not interviewed.**
- Maddrell**, Thomas (1851/52-1931), Glenchass RU.
- Mylechreest**, Mr. ?, 74 (1855-??), ?Ballaskeig Beg MA.
- **Preston**, William (1844/46-1934), Grenaby ML. **Not interviewed.**
- Quane**, William (1849/50-1935), 30 St. German's Place, Peel GE (of Patrick).
- Quayle**, John Thomas (1863-1945), Squeen BA.
- Quayle**, Thomas "the Gardener" (1848/49-1935), Shore Road, Castletown (of Liverpool).
- **Sayle**, John (1849/50-1932), Ballathona AN. **Not interviewed.**
- Taggart**, Thomas (1846/47-1933), Schoolhouse, Grenaby ML (of Ballagilbert ML).
- **Taubman**, Catherine (i.e. Mrs. Catherine Jane Kennaugh) (1879-1966), Port Erin RU (of Cregneash RU). **Not interviewed.**
- **Wade**, Mrs. Mary (1838/39-1933), 5 Barrule Road, Foxdale ML. **Not interviewed.**
- Wade**, Wilfred (1868/69-1948), Sandygate JU.
- Watterson**, William (1863/64-1938), Glenchass RU.
- Woodworth**, Joseph, 75 (1853/54-1931), Port Erin RU, later at The Smelt, Gansey RU (of Port Erin RU).
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Total number of informants: | 47. |
| Total number interviewed: | 29. |
| Total number <i>not</i> interviewed: | 18. |

2.5. A. S. B. Davies, Colwyn Bay, North Wales, 1946(1948). List of native speakers.¹⁷

Davies simply provides a list of those names of native Manx speakers he had obtained from a list compiled by Charles Loch from field-workers and enthusiasts on a week's visit to Man in April 1946 (Miller 2009: 1-8).

Not interviewed here means that the informant was never interviewed by anyone at all.

- Boyde**, Harry (1870/71-1953), Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA).
- **Clague**, Mrs. Annie (1868/69-1954), Niarbyl, Dalby PA. **Not interviewed.**
- Crebbin**, Thomas, Cregneash RU. **Not interviewed.**
- **Fayle**, Robert, Ramsey. **Not interviewed.** Unless he be CM's Robert Fayle of Sulby?
- Kaighin**, John Tom (1861/62-1954), Ballagarrett BR.
- Karran**, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/71-1953), (wife) Cregneash RU.
- **Kaye**, Miss ?, Onchan ON (of Glen Maye PA). **Not interviewed.**
- Kinvig**, John Dan (1860/61-1953), Ronague AR (of Garey Mooar AR). **Not interviewed.**
- Kinvig**, Mrs. Sage Jane (1869/70-1962) (wife), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR.
- **Kneale**, Charles (1856/57-1946), Ballagarrett BR. **Not interviewed.**
- Kneale**, Mrs. Annie (wife) (1864/65-1949), Ballagarrett BR.
- Kneen**, John (the Gaue) (1858/59-1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St. Jude's AN).
- Leece**, Thomas (1859/60-1956), Kerroomoar, Kerrookiel ML.
- Lowey**, Mrs. Emily (1868/69-1947), Kirkill RU.
- **Maddrell**, John (1879/80-1948), Port St. Mary RU (brother to Ned Maddrell). **Not interviewed.**
- Maddrell**, Ned (1877-1974), Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU) (brother to John Maddrell).
- Wade**, Wilfred (1868/69-1948), Sandygate JU.
- Watterson**, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60-1951), Colby RU (of Glenchass RU).
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Total number of informants: | 18. |
| Total number interviewed: | 13. |
| Total number <i>not</i> interviewed: | 5. |

¹⁷ The two non-native Manx speakers listed by Davies, viz. Capt. James Kinley, Peel, and James Karran, Cregneash, are not listed here.

2.6. Francis J. Carmody, University of California at Berkeley, July 1949. Morphology / Sound-recordings.

Morphology here refers to the sentences asked of the informants by Carmody illustrative of aspects of Manx morphology. He introduces his material with a short exposé on Manx phonology. **Sound-recordings** here refer to four hours of electric tape recordings made by Carmody of his informants (cf. Carmody 1954: 58).¹⁸

Boyd , Harry (1870/71-1953), Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA).	Maddrell , Ned (1877-1974), Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU).
Kaighin , John Tom (1861/62-1954), Ballagarrett BR.	Watterson , Mrs. Catherine (1859/60-1951), Colby RU (of Glenchass RU).
Karran , John (1866/67-1955), Cregneash RU. Husband to Mrs. Eleanor Karran.	
Karran , Mrs. Eleanor (1870/71-1953), (wife of John Karran) Creg-neash RU.	Total number of informants: 7.
Kneen , John (the Gaau) (1858/59-1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St. Jude's AN).	Total number interviewed: 7.
	Total number <i>not</i> interviewed: 0.

2.7. Heinrich Wagner, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Summer 1949. Questionnaire.

Questionnaire here refers to a series of sentences in Manx arranged under English head-words in alphabetical order which the informant provided from English originals (cf. LASID IV: 172-188).

Boyd , Harry (1870/71-1953), Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA).	Corvalley RU).
Kaighin , John Tom (1861/62-1954), Ballagarrett BR.	Watterson , Mrs. Catherine (1859/60-1951), Colby RU (of Glenchass RU).
Kneen , John (the Gaau) (1858/59-1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St. Jude's AN).	
Karran , Mrs. Eleanor (1870/71-1953), (wife of John Karran) Cregneash RU.	Total number of informants: 6.
Maddrell , Ned (1877-1974), Glenchass RU (of	Total number interviewed: 6.
	Total number <i>not</i> interviewed: 0.

2.8. Kenneth H. Jackson, University of Edinburgh, Christmas / New Year 1950-51. Questionnaire.

Questionnaire here refers to the questionnaire Jackson "prepared to cover the phonology of Manx from a historical point of view", i.e. a list of words illustrating a series of aspects of Manx phonology in the context of "Common Gaelic" (Jackson 1955: v).

Boyd , Harry (1870/71-1953), Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA).	- Karran , Tom (1875/76-1959), Cregneash RU. Not interviewed.
Kaighin , John Tom (1861/62-1954), Ballagarrett BR.	- Kinvig , John Dan (1860/61-1953), Ronague AR (of Garey Mooar AR). Not interviewed.
Karran , Mrs. Eleanor (1870/71-1953), (wife of John Karran) Cregneash RU.	- Kinvig , Mrs. Sage Jane (1869/70-1962) (wife of

¹⁸ Their whereabouts are as yet unknown.

John Dan Kinvig), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR. Not interviewed.	Corvalley RU).
Kneen , John (the Gaau) (1858/59-1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St. Jude's AN).	Watterson , Mrs. Catherine (1859/60-1951), Colby RU (of Glenchass RU).
Leece , Thomas (1859/60-1956), Kerroomoar, Kerrookie ML.	Total number of informants: 10.
Maddrell , Ned (1877-1974), Glenchass RU (of	Total number interviewed: 7.
	Total number <i>not</i> interviewed: 3.

2.9. David Clement, Linguistic Survey of Scotland, University of Edinburgh, August 1972. Questionnaire.

Questionnaire here refers to Jackson's questionnaire of 1950/51.

Christian , Ewan (1907/08-1985), 58 Patrick Street, Peel GE.	Total number of informants: 2.
Maddrell , Ned (1877-1974), Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU).	Total number interviewed: 2.
	Total number <i>not</i> interviewed: 0.

3. Profiles of the last native Manx speakers

As noted earlier, detailed family profiles of most of the seventy noted / recorded native Manx speakers have been assembled essentially from the Isle of Man census returns for the years 1841 to 1911¹⁹ in order to assess their connections with the Manx language and to seek to determine as accurately as possible when Manx ceased to be passed on to the following generation in a given household. As the census returns form the basis of our enquiry, some detail as to the workings of the census returns, as well as baptismal, marriage and burial records used, is provided here to facilitate an understanding of how the information is elicited.

As we have seen from the example of John Kneen above, the census returns often involve inconsistencies in the ages of the various informants. As a result, in order to assess the year of birth of each informant, in so far this was possible, this was determined from the informant's age at death, as found in Brian Lawson's *Index of Burials* (LIB) in Man.

With regard to the census enumerations themselves, each is garnished with a reference number:

1841: HO107	1861: RG9	1881: RG11	1901: RG13
1851: HO107	1871: RG10	1891: RG12	1911: RG14

Before 1911 the information contained in the actual Schedules (returns) was bound together with the Enumeration Books. From 1911 when machine methods of processing returns were introduced, the Schedules were compiled separately from the Enumerators' Summary Books. The Register General held the household Schedules and the Enumerator's Summary Books. The 1911 census was

¹⁹ In the censuses for 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831 lists of names were not collected centrally, although some are held in local record offices. See [Local Census Listings](#) or [Pre-1841 censuses and population listings in the British Isles](#) for more information. There is also a Register for 1939: this is similar to, but not the same as, the census. It contains less information, restricting itself to date of birth, name and address, marital status, occupation. The 1939 Register for England and Wales is available online via [findmypast.co.uk](#). For more information on the 1939 Register, see the [guide on the 1939 Register](#) (cf. [www.nationalarchives.gov.uk](#)). The pre-1841 censuses as well as the 1939 Register are not relevant for our purposes here.

the first census where a member of the household, rather than the Enumerator, completed the actual forms (Schedules). The Schedules are completed and signed by the head of the household. They contain an address and a Schedule Number. The Schedules are divided into sixteen columns.

For our purposes here, all census reference numbers comprise four components, as we can see in the following reference number from the 1891 census: RG12/4683 128 34:

1. RG12 (reference number for the 1891 census) (see above).
2. 4683 (district number).
3. 128 (folio number).
4. 34 (schedule / household number).

3.1. The importance of the census years 1901 and 1911 for the assessing the use of Manx in the home

With regard to the census years 1901 and 1911 that make provision for language use²⁰ in the home, the following differences are to be noted:

1. In **1901** all that was required by the census enumerator was "Language Spoken (children under 3 years of age to be excluded)", not the language(s) known, i.e. information on the actual language spoken in the home, in which case English may then have been the case, irrespective of whether Manx was known / used or not.
2. In **1911** the question was more specifically framed: "(1) If able to speak English only, write "English". (2) If able to speak Manx only, write "Manx". (3) If able to speak English and Manx, write "Both". No entry to be made in this column for children under three years of age." Consequently the information in 1911 is more accurate.

Nevertheless, the information for both years often does not tally:

1. An entry for "English" in 1901 may appear as "Both" in 1911 and vice-versa.
2. An entry for "English" in both years for a given person may both be inaccurate when we know from other sources that the individual concerned, e.g. Harry Boyde (§4.2.41), was a known native Manx speaker. This may indicate, say, a decision on the part of the family itself to give only "English" for whatever reason, or it may mean that, even though some of the household members may be native Manx speakers, the everyday language of the household by common consent had come to be English.

3.2. Contents of the profiles

The profiles themselves contain three parts:

- **Part 1** Details of informants whose investigators supply information about them and their Manx are included in this section before the onset of the profile itself. Details restricted simply to name; address and age are omitted.

- **Part 2** (indented) provides the family details as given in the relevant census returns, or supplied

²⁰ The appearance of the language question in the 1901 census schedule is apparently due to the efforts of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* the Manx Language Society, established in 1899, rather than by any official initiative of the Isle of Man Government. For details see Miller (2007: 108-109).

from baptismal, marriage or burial registers, etc. Examples from each register are given here; the various headings in the registers are supplied in **bold type**:

- **Census Return** Ballaugh (Harry Boyde) 1881:

Name John Boyde, **Relation to Head of Family** head, **Condition as to Marriage** M[arried], **Age last birthday** 32, **Rank, Profession or Occupation** "farmer of 70 acres", **Where born** Ballaugh.

- **Baptismal Register** Rushen (Emily Isabel Karran) 1900:

Parish Rushen, **When baptized** February 18, **Child's Christian Name** Emily Isabel, **Parent's Christian / Surname** John Karran / Eleanor (Karran), **Abode** Cregneish, **Quality, Trade, or Profession** mason, **By whom the ceremony was performed** C. H. Leece, Vicar, **Column Number** 42.

- **Marriage Register** Braddan (John Joseph Corrin) 1908:

Parish Braddan, **When married** February 5, **Name and Surname** John Joseph Corrin, **Age** 40, **Condition** Bachelor, **Rank or Profession** Farmer, **Residence at the time of Marriage** Jurby, **Father's Name and Surname** John Joseph Corrin, **Rank or Profession of Father** Shoemaker ~ **Name and Surname** Eva Coole Christian Smith, **Age** 20, **Condition** spinster, **Rank or Profession** [usually no entry],²¹ **Residence at the time of Marriage** Cronkbourne, **Father's Name and Surname** William Smith, **Rank or Profession of Father** Labourer, **Column Number** 257.

I use the symbol ~ to indicate the end of the husband's details and the beginning of the wife's.

- **Burial Register** Arbory (Jane Clarke) 1908:

Parish Arbory, **Name** Jane Clarke, **Abode** Ronague, **When buried** May 7, **Age** 68, **By whom the Ceremony was performed** John Kewley, Vicar, **Burial Number** 1189.

In the Isle of Man Census for 1901 and 1911 details of the language(s) known and / or used at home and by whom are given, where applicable. A final line supplies details of the informant's death, and lastly a final paragraph may contain additional comment concerning the informant and his / her situation.

- **Part 3.** The abbreviation **E>c.** in bold type supplies an approximate date regarding the introduction of English into the household concerned. This date can be arrived at as follows:

1. By looking to see whether both parents are Manx speaking or only one. This is achieved by looking at the census returns for both 1901 and 1911 (but see §3.1. above).
2. If both parents are Manx speaking, but the family becomes English speaking, then the age of the eldest child is taken into consideration and its year of birth would give an indication of the formal introduction of English into the household, even though English may have intervened before then.²²
3. If one parent is English only speaking, then the marriage date of the couple is used as the starting point of the formal use of English in the family, even though English would likely have been used during the period of courting.
4. In some cases the eldest children acquired Manx, but then a conscious decision to introduce English, for whatever reason, to any and all succeeding children was made by the parents. In such cases the year of birth of the first succeeding child is then taken to indicate the formal introduction of English into the household. There are a few examples of this feature (see §7.3 below).

²¹ For female spouses this column is usually left blank.

²² The reasons for such a change may be multifarious and may be initiated either by the parents or by the children owing to outside pressure. Such matters are dealt with below. For convenience the initiative for change is placed here in the hands of the parents.

3.3. Continued use of Manx outside the household

3.3.1. At the place of work or at regular meeting places for older community members

Up until now we have concentrated on the use of Manx within the family household. However, the use or non-use of Manx in a given household does not preclude its use outside the household, for example, at the workplace or in places where (particularly elderly) members of the community regularly meet to exchange "skeet" (spicy gossip) or indulge in reminiscing, etc. Such places may be the smithy which would be regularly visited by farmers wishing to have their horses re-shod, farm implements repaired, etc. John Kneen (The Gaau) relates how the smithy functioned as a focal point within the community where "newses" were exchanged, etc.²³

V'ad mennick dy liooar çheet son dy loayrt dys y cheilley ec yn keirdee; v'eh boayl son dy çhaglagh, son v'ad toiggal ooilley va goll er ec y traas, as va'n keirdee boayl mooar ayns y laghyn shen, son v'ad ooilley yn naightyn yn seihll ayns shen. Va'n gaau toiggal ooilley, ta mee smooïnaghtyn, son v'eh loayrt dys yn sleih ooilley va çheet dys y keirdee (YCG Tape 1, HLSM/I: 232-235).

(they very often used to come for to chat to each other at the smithy; it was the place to meet, for they all knew what was going on at the time, and the smithy was the main (meeting-)place in those days, for all the world's 'newses' were there. The smith knew everything, I'm thinking, for he would be talking to everyone who would come to the smithy').

3.3.2. Between men in a group

An example of this is to be found among Manx speaking fishermen from Rushen, who would talk to each other in Manx whenever they would meet, but would customarily use only English in the home. This practice was noted by Prof. John Rhÿs during a visit to Man in 1890 when he tells of Tom Kermode speaking Manx to his comrade fishermen outside the home, but they would apparently not speak Manx within the home. Rhÿs (Book 6: 121-122) notes the following:

[...] and on my return [from an interview with an informant] I came upon Blind Kermode [Tom Kermode, Bradda] conversing with two of his comrades in Manx and I found that they always did that among themselves, that is to say the fishermen, but never in their houses: there might be 40 or 50 about then they thought who did the same (Rhÿs 6/121-122).

The regular use of Manx in this way would ensure its continuation within the community long after its demise within the home. This may partly explain the ability of some of the very last of the Manx native speakers during the 1950s to produce good Manx until the end.²⁴ In this respect Nancy Dorian, in commenting on the above practice in an email to me dated 25 April 2017, noted a similar practice from her research work on Pennsylvania Dutch (i.e. German) in the USA:

[...] I thought your recognition of male workmates who continued to use the language among themselves (even if their homes had become English-speaking) was [...] realistic, and familiar both in Sutherland and

²³ Cf. HLSM/I: 232-235.

²⁴ But not necessarily on sound-recordings or in questionnaires. For details see Broderick (2017).

Berks County [Pennsylvania]. Workplace use of Dutch also brought about a few unusually young speakers in Berks County, notably a barman who had occasion to talk with plenty of older men in the bar - the younger man's mother was herself surprised by how much Dutch her son ultimately spoke, more than he would have acquired in the home. Another man acquired more Dutch than he had from home by selling insurance to rural families who were much more receptive to him and the insurance policies if he used Dutch with them (Dorian p.c. 25.04.2017).

Nevertheless, as we shall see, there seems to have been a collective decision on the part the Manx people not to transmit Manx to their children, rather than it be a gradual process from one area to the next. Unlike the situation in Ireland and Scotland, where a Gaelic-speaking area (*Gaeltacht*²⁵/*Gàidhealtachd*²⁶) may exist alongside a non-Gaelic-speaking area (*Galltacht* / *Galltachd*), Manx seems to have disappeared everywhere roughly around the same time (c.1880-c.1900),²⁷

4. The profiles

The profiles included here are divided into five categories:

1. Those informants who had children to transmit Manx to. Those informants whose families are affected by possible abrupt transmission failure (cf. §7.3; i.e. the eldest children are in receipt of Manx, but their youngest children are not for whatever reason) are marked with an asterisk (*).
2. Those informants who had no direct offspring to transmit any language to.
3. Those informants regarded as semi-speakers of Manx.
4. Those informants for whom there is insufficient information regarding their Manx.
5. Those informants for whom there is little or no detail at all about their family background.

Since they are very extensive, the full profiles of the native Manx speakers are presented at the end of the article in the Appendix.

For our survey, only those households in Categories 1. and 2. are considered here. The semi-speakers in Category 3 are listed only. Categories 4 and 5 are not considered at all as they provide no relevant information. Mr. Mylechreest in Category 5, even though he was interviewed, although included in the general listings does not feature in the figures, as no further personal details about him (e.g. whether he had children or no) are known to date.

5. List of informants by parish

Three figures are set against each parish name. The first figure gives the total number of informants from each parish, the second the number actually interviewed., the third those not interviewed. As with the above listings, the names of those not interviewed are preceded by a hyphen and indented.

²⁵ Ir. form, also in *Galltacht* below.

²⁶ ScG. form, also in *Galltachd* below.

²⁷ The use of Manx outside the home (or even between Manx-speaking family elders within the home) is possibly responsible for the belief among children not in receipt of Manx that their parents, or whoever, used Manx in order to keep the conversation private; "they didn't want the children to know what they were talking about" was a common reason given. For examples see LDIM/35-36 §2.3.2.3.2.

5.1. The Northern Parishes

ANDREAS (4/2/2)

- **Killip**, Mrs. Catherine, Lhen AN.
- Kneen**, John (the Gaaue), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St. Jude's AN).
- Nelson**, John, Ramsey MA (of Andreas AN).
- **Sayle**, John, Ballathona AN.

BALLAUGH (3/3/0)

- Boyd**, Harry, Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA).
- Corrin**, John Joseph, Ballachurry JU (of Ballacroshey BA).
- Quayle**, John Thomas, Squeen BA.

BRIDE (3/2/1)

- Kaighin**, John Tom, Ballagarrett BR.
- **Kneale**, Charles, Ballagarrett BR.
- Kneale**, Mrs. Annie (wife), Ballagarrett BR.

GERMAN (2/1/1)

- Christian**, Ewan, 58 Patrick Street, Peel GE.
- **Corkill**, Mr. ?, Peel GE.

JURBY (3/3/0)

- Cain**, John, Ballamoar JU.
- Gawne**, Mr. John, West Nappin JU.

5.2. The Southern Parishes

ARBORY (6/4/2)

- Kennah**, Edward, Port Erin RU (of Ronague AR).
- **Kinrade**, Ben, of Arbory.
- **Kinvig**, John Dan, Ronague AR.
- Kinvig**, Mrs. Sage (wife), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR.
- Taggart**, Thomas, Schoolhouse, Grenaby ML (of Ballagilbert AR).
- Woodworth**, Joseph, Port Erin RU, later at The Smelt, Gansey RU (of Ronague AR).

BRADDAN (0/0/0)

Wade, Wilfred, Sandygate JU.

LEZAYRE (7/6/1)

- Christian**, John, Sulby Glen LE (CM1929).
- Cowley**, Thomas, Creggan, Tholt-y-Will LE.
- Cowley**, William, Douglas (of Sulby Glen LE).
- **Craine**, Mrs. Elizabeth, Cooil Bane Cottages, Sulby LE.
- Faragher**, Thomas Edward ("**Farakel**"), Sulby Glen LE.
- Fayle**, Robert, Stauard, Sulby LE.
- Killip**, John, Ballaugh Road (nr. Sulby station), Sulby LE.

MICHAEL (4/2/2)

- Cain**, Daniel, Little London MI.
- **Collister**, Mrs. ? the Dolly MI ("near the station at Kirk Michael").
- **Corlett**, William, carpenter, Kirk Michael MI.
- Kissack**, John, Ballachrink MI.

PATRICK (4/2/2)

- Cashen**, Caesar, Peel GE (of Dalby PA), younger brother to William Cashen (cf. under Rhÿs).
- **Clague**, Mrs. Annie, Niarbyl, Dalby PA.
- **Kaye**, Miss ?, Onchan ON (of Glen Maye PA).
- Quane**, William, 30 St. German's Place, Peel GE (of Ballachrink PA).

none.

CONCHAN (1/1/0)

- Cain**, William Joseph, Douglas (of Onchan). **Rhÿs informant**.

LONAN (2/1/1)

- **Kelly**, Mr. J., Laxey LO ("on the Ramsey side of the glen and at the mines").

Kewley, James, Maughold MA (of Lezayre LE, "brought **Karran**, John, Cregneash RU (Eleanor Karran's husband) up in Lonan parish (south of Laxey)").

MALEW (7/3/4)

- **Harrison**, Thomas, Ballasalla ML.
- **Johnson**, Mrs. ?, nr. Grenaby ML.
- Kennah**, William, Balladuggan ("just south of Grenaby") ML.
- Leece**, Thomas, Kerroomoar, Kerrookie ML.
- **Preston**, William, Grenaby ML.
- Quayle**, Thomas "the Gardener", Shore Road, Castletown (of Liverpool/Malew).
- **Wade**, Mrs. Mary, Barrule, Foxdale ML.

MAROWN (0/0/0)

- none.

MAUGHOLD (5/3/2)

- Christian**, Thomas, 4 College Street, Ramsey MA (of Lewaigue MA).
- **Fayle**, Robert, Ramsey.
- **Joughin**, Robert, Dhoon Church MA.
- Looney**, Thomas, nr. churchyard, Maughold MA.
- Mylechreest**, Mr. ?, ?Ballaskeig Beg MA.

RUSHEN (19/14/5)

- **Crebbin**, Mr. Cregneash RU.
- Crebbin**, Thomas, Bradda Village. nr. Port Erin RU.
- Crebbin**, Thomas, Four Roads, nr. Port Erin RU.
- Karran**, Henry, The Howe RU.
- Karran**, Walter James ("somewhat younger brother [to William]"), The Howe RU.

Karran, Mrs. Eleanor (wife), Cregneash RU.

Karran, Thomas, Douglas (of Cregneash RU) (Mrs. Karran's brother).

Kelly, Harry ("Harry Nancy"), Cregneash RU.

- **Kneen**, William, Croit-y-Caley RU.

Lowey, Mrs. Emily, Kirkill RU.

- **Maddrell**, Edmund, tailor, 36 Athol Park, Port Erin RU.

- **Maddrell**, John, Port St. Mary RU (brother to Ned).

Maddrell, Ned, Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU).

Maddrell, Thomas, Glenchass RU.

Moore, Thomas, Brookfield, Port Erin RU (of Ballaglionney Lhag RU).

- **Taubman**, Mrs. Catherine (i.e. Mrs. Catherine Jane Kennaugh), Port Erin RU (of Cregneash RU).

Watterson, William, Glenchass RU.

Watterson, Mrs. Catherine, Colby RU (of Glenchass RU).

SANTAN (0/0/0)

- none.

Total number of Informants for the **North**: **30**.
Total number of Informants interviewed: **21**.
Total number of Informants *not* interviewed: **9**.

Total number of Informants for the **South**: **40**.
Total number of Informants interviewed: **26**.
Total number of Informants *not* interviewed **14**.

Total number of Informants **North & South**: **70**.
Total number of Informants interviewed: **47**.
Total number of Informants *not* interviewed **23**.

6. Provisional findings

Our provisional findings consider primarily those households which had children to whom Manx could be transmitted (§6.1), and secondarily for comparative purposes by those households who had no children to transmit any Manx to (§6.2). The semi-speakers are listed only for completion (§6.3). As with earlier listings, names bearing an asterisk (*) refer to families affected by transmission failure.

6.1. Informants with children exposed to Manx

6.1.1. By year

<i>Approx. date when Manx given up in the household</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>No. of informants per period</i>
<i>1860-1870</i>			
c.1860/61	Cain, W. J.	Conchan	1
<i>1871-1880</i>			
c.1875	Woodworth, J.	Rushen	9
c.1875/76	Kaighin, J. T.*	Bride	
c.1875/76	Christian, T.	Maughold	
c.1876	Crebbin, T.	Rushen	
c.1877	Kennah, W.*	Malew	
c.1877/78	Christian, J.	Lezayre	
c.1878/79	Cashen, C.	Patrick	
c.1879	Sayle, J.	Andreas	
c.1879/80	Quane, W.	Patrick	
<i>1881-1890</i>			
c.1882	Looney, T.	Maughold	12
c.1882	Cowley, W.	Lezayre	
c.1884	Quayle, T.	Malew	
c.1884/85	Maddrell, J.*	Rushen	
c.1885	Quayle, J. T.	Ballaugh	
c.1885/86	Leece, T.	Malew	
c.1886	Kissack, J. J.	Michael	
c.1886/87	Kneale, Mrs. A.	Bride	
c.1886/87	Kneale, C.	Bride	
c.1888/89	Kneen, W.	Rushen	
c.1888/89	Clague, Mrs. A.	Patrick	
c.1889/90	Kennah, E.	Arbory	
<i>1891-1900</i>			
c.1893/94	Watterson, Mrs. C.	Rushen	
c.1894/95	Maddrell, E.	Rushen	
c.1894/95	Kinvig, J.*	Arbory	
c.1894/95 or 1908	Kinvig, Mrs. S.*	Arbory	
c.1895/96	Lowey, Mrs. E.	Rushen	
c.1897	Nelson, J.	Maughold	
c.1897	Kneen, J.	Andreas	
c.1898	Wade, W.	Jurby	
c.1899	Taubman, Mrs. C. J.	Rushen	
c.1899	Karran, T.	Rushen	
c.1900	Karran, Mrs. E.	Rushen	

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c.1900	Karran, J.	Rushen	12	
<i>1901-1910/11</i>				
c.1901	Karran, H.	Rushen		
c.1901-11	Killip, J.	Lezayre		
c.1901-11	Cowley, T.	Lezayre		
c.1904	Crebbin, T.	Rushen		
c.1906	Maddrell, E. (Ned)	Rushen		
c.1908	Corrin, J. J.	Ballaugh	6	Total 40

6.1.2. Distribution of language obsolescence by parish North and South

6.1.2.1. North

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>When Manx given up approx.</i>	<i>Eng. introd. between</i>	<i>No. of informants per parish</i>
Andreas	Sayle, J.	c.1879		
Andreas	Kneen, J.	c.1897	1879-1897	2
Ballaugh	Quayle, J. T.	c.1885		
Ballaugh	Corrin, J. J.	c.1908	1885-1908	2
Bride	Kaighin, J. T.*	c.1875/76		
Bride	Kneale, Mrs. A.	c.1886/87		
Bride	Kneale, C.	c.1886/87	1875-1887	3
Jurby	Wade, W.	c.1898	1898	1
Lezayre	Christian, J.	c.1877/78		
Lezayre	Cowley, W.	c.1882		
Lezayre	Killip, J.	c.1901-11		
Lezayre	Cowley, T.	c.1901-11	1877-1911	4
Michael	Kissack, J. J.	c.1886	1886-1886	1
Patrick	Cashen, C.	c.1878/79		
Patrick	Clague, Mrs. A.	c.1888/89		
Patrick	Quane, W.	c.1879/80	1878-1889	3 Total 16

6.1.2.2. South

Arbory	Kinvig, Mrs. S.*	c.1894/95 or 1908		
Arbory	Kinvig, J.*	c.1894/95		

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Arbory	Kennah, E.	c.1889/90	1894-1890 or 1908	3
Conchan	Cain, W. J.	c.1860/61	1860-61	1
Lonan	(none)			0
Malew	Kennah, W.*	c.1877		
Malew	Quayle, T.	c.1884		
Malew	Leece, T.	c.1885/86	1884-1886	3
Marown	(none)			0
Maughold	Christian, T.	c.1875/76		
Maughold	Looney, T.	c.1882		
Maughold	Nelson, J.	c.1897	1875-1897	3
Rushen	Woodworth, J.	c.1875		
Rushen	Crebbin, T.	c.1876		
Rushen	Crebbin, T.	c.1904		
Rushen	Karran, H.	c.1901		
Rushen	Karran, J.	c.1900		
Rushen	Karran, Mrs. E.	c.1900		
Rushen	Watterson, Mrs. C.	c.1893/94		
Rushen	Taubman, Mrs. C. J.	c.1899		
Rushen	Maddrell, E. (Ned)	c.1906		
Rushen	Maddrell, E.	c.1894/95		
Rushen	Maddrell, J.*	c.1884/85		
Rushen	Lowey, Mrs. E.	c.1895/96		
Rushen	Kneen, W.	c.1888/89		
Rushen	Karran, T.	c.1899	1875-1906	14
Santan	(none)			0 Total 24
				Total 40

6.2. Informants with no children exposed to Manx

6.2.1. By year

<i>Period of years</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>No. of informants</i>
<i>1881-1900</i>			
c.1900	Cain, D.	Michael	1

1901-1910/11

c.1901	Boyde, H.	Ballaugh	
c.1901	Watterson, W.	Rushen	
c.1902	Cain, J.	Jurby	
c.1909	Taggart, T.	Malew	
c.1910/11	Kelly, H.	Rushen	5

1911-1933

c.1911	Craine, Ms. E.	Lezayre	
c.1912	Kewley, J.	Lonan	
c.1922	Moore, T.	Rushen	
c.1933	Gawne, J.	Jurby	4
			Total 10

As we can see, Manx became obsolete in this category essentially between the years 1901 and 1933.

6.2.2. Distribution of language obsolescence by parish North and South

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Approx. date when Manx given up</i>	<i>No. of informants per Parish</i>
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6.2.2.1. North

Ballaugh	Boyde, H.	c.1900	1
Jurby	Gawne, J.	c.1933	
Jurby	Cain, J.	c.1902	2
Lezayre	Craine, Ms. E.	c.1911	1
Michael	Cain, D.	c.1900	1
			5

6.2.2.2. South

Lonan	Kewley, J.	c.1912	1
Malew	Taggart, T.	c.1909	1
Rushen	Watterson, W.	c.1901	
Rushen	Moore, T.	c.1922	
Rushen	Kelly, H.	c.1910/11	3
			5 Total 10

As can be seen, the distribution of language obsolescence is equal between North and South.

6.3. The semi-speakers

6.3.1. Christian, E.	German
6.3.2. Faragher, T. E.	Lezayre
6.3.3. Karran, W. J.	Rushen
6.3.4. Maddrell, T.	Rushen

6.3.5. Wade, Mrs. M.	Malew	5	Total 5
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6.4. Summary

6.4.1. With regard to the speakers with children, we perhaps learn the following from the above figures:

6.4.1.1. That all forty informants with children in our sample replace Manx with English as the daily language of their household over a period spanning the years c.1860 - c.1908 (§6.1.1). This transition takes place more or less simultaneously right across the board, irrespective of parish, as if by consensus, i.e. the transition does not begin in parish X and move gradually through the other parishes to end up in parish Y. Consequently there is no *Gaeltacht / Gàidhealtachd* as such to be found.

6.4.1.2. According to our sample, the transition starts gradually, from c.1860, gathering speed during the years c.1875-c.1880, building up into a crescendo between 1881 and 1900, and petering out during the first decade of the twentieth century.

6.4.1.3. The distribution of the speakers over the parishes is as follows:

- Yielding the most speakers is Rushen parish, even at the end (14 out of 40) (35%).
- Yielding between three and four speakers are: Arbory (3), Bride (3), Lezayre (4), Malew (3), Maughold (3), Patrick (3).
- Yielding two or fewer speakers are: Andreas (2), Ballaugh (2), Conchan (1), Jurby (1), Michael (1).

6.4.2. With regard to the speakers with no children, we see the following:

6.4.2.1. Unlike their counterparts with children, the ten informants in this section comprise people who continue to speak Manx till a later date (c.1900-1933), seemingly with family members or with outsiders.

1. With family members: Daniel Cain (brother), John Cain (father's sister-in-law), Elizabeth Craine (parents), John Gawne (wife), James Kewley (wife), Thomas Moore (wife), Thomas Taggart (wife), Mary Wade (husband), William Watterson (mother).

2. With outsiders: Harry Boyde (?co-farmers), Harry Kelly (?co-fishermen). Even though we have evidence that Manx continued to be spoken outside the family (cf. §3.3 above), we are not certain whether this was in fact the case here.

7. The decline of Manx Gaelic in Man

The decline of Manx Gaelic in Man was seemingly a relatively slow process, beginning perhaps with discussions in the Manx press between 1821 and 1872²⁸ regarding the use of Manx in everyday

²⁸ In printing details of a Manx reading session in Peel on 3 January 1872, Lewin (2014: 23, fn. 70) notes that the occasion was organised by a certain John Dawson, an ironmonger in Peel and later one of Rhÿs's informants (cf. Broderick, forthcoming) who experienced much discouragement from his own Manx countrymen in his promotion of Manx (making clear that Manx was well

discourse (Lewin 2014: 1-30). Thereafter the situation was seemingly affected by two phenomena: 1) that of stigmatisation, and 2) that of the establishment of formal teaching of English within the Manx school system.

7.1. Stigmatisation

This was a feature of Manx in its end-phase and examples of this can be found in LDIM/26-37. Some examples taken from the Manx Folk-Life Survey²⁹ are give here to illustrate the situation.

7.1.1. Henry Quayle, Ramsey, age 86 [b.c.1873] (MFLS/Q/36c (1959))

My father and mother could all talk Manx, though they weren't encouraging the children to speak it. There weren't all Manx teachers in the schools, and I suppose the parents would be wanting the children to speak English and not Manx. They would not be wanting them to appear backward compared with others [...] (MFLS/Q/36c (1959)).

7.1.2. Mrs. Annie Kneale, Ballagarrett, Bride [c.1864-1949] (cf. §4.1.23 above) (MFLS/E (1949))

In my young days girls were only scoffing at Manx (MFLS/E 1949)).

7.1.3. Edward Christian, Northop, Greeba, Marown (MFLS/C/27E (1962))

[...] Among younger people of my own generation, if the old folk would say anything in Manx there would be a lot of giggling and laughing. That was the attitude of young people in my experience - they thought it was something to laugh at - a funny sound (MFLS/C/27E (1962)).

7.1.4. John Fletcher Kinvig [1893-1986], Spring Valley, Braddan (orig. of Garey Hollin, Ronague, Arbory, son to John Dan and Sage Jane Kinvig, cf. §4.1.19/20 above), age 81 (MFLS/K/127 (1975)).

(reported) He [John Fletcher Kinvig] has a painful recollection of his schooldays. He was the only child from the tops of Ronague who went to Arbory school. Most of the children went to Ballamodha [Malew] or to Rushen, and the children at Arbory in his time [c.1900] were more from the lowlands where there was not much Manx to be heard. He however had Manx-speaking parents and lived with his grandparents³⁰ who had Manx as well. He vowed when he was only seven years old that he would not talk Manx, because the children used to get him in the play ground and ask him the Manx word for various things and then laugh at him when he told them, and in class he was also mocked and laughed at if he used a Manx word. He said that this was the worst thing that ever happened to him and one he has never got over - this sense of inferiority that he was made to feel, because he came from the uplands of Ronague and from a home where Manx was spoken - he was regarded as stupid and backward [...] (MFLS/K/127 (1975)³¹).

on the retreat), but, nevertheless, was resolved to get a series of Manx readings going.

29 The Manx Folk-Life Survey collected Manx folklore and folklife material from the 1940s to the 1970s (MNH Libraray 1997).

30 Probably with his paternal grandfather, viz. Daniel Kinvig (1825-1906) and wife Eleanor (alias Leece) (1834-1892) and daughter Jane Kinvig (36; b.c.1865) at Garey Mooar AR. The wife seems to have died before John Fletcher came to Garey Mooar.

31 John Fletcher Kinvig died, aged 92, and was buried in Douglas Borough Cemetery on 26 March 1986 (LIB). As he was a native Manx speaker, being the eldest son of native Manx speakers John Dan and Sage Jane Kinvig (qv) and living a while, it seems, with his grandfather and daughter (both entered as Manx speakers in the 1901 census), so far as we can now assess, he appears to have in fact been the last reputed native Manx speaker, outliving Ned Maddrell by just over eleven years.

John Fletcher's reported statement continues:

One day Archdeacon [John] Kewley [1860-1941] came into the school when he was being taunted for something he said, and the other children as usual were making fun of him, and he [Kewley] gave the schoolmaster - Teare - a fearful lecture about allowing the class to do this. He of course was himself very interested in the language, and was doing all he could to keep it alive. It was not long after that that Teare (who was Liverpool-Manx) was trying to teach it himself. The Archdeacon had made him see how mistaken he was in allowing the children to think of the Manx language as [a] thing to ridicule (MFLS/K/127 (1975)).³²

7.1.5. Henry Clague, Ballahaven, Ballamodha, Malew (of Balladda, Patrick) (MFLS/C/88 (1965)).

I went to Dalby school till I was thirteen and then I got no more education, but went to work on a farm. There were 60 or 70 scholars. When I was a boy I could speak Manx better than I could English, and I was the only child there who could. I was hearing a lot of it at home. The other children got interested and used to come to me and ask about Manx, and the master didn't like it. He said I had to stop talking Manx and spoke to my mother about it too. Well, one day an inspector came to [the] school and asked the master (his name was Popplewell if any of the children could speak Manx, and Popplewell said there was only one boy who could speak it, and so the inspector asked me to talk in Manx. I said, "The master stopped me from talking Manx before, so I'm not going to talk Manx today." Manx was a native language with me, though, and I can understand a good deal yet [...], but I have forgotten a lot of it now (MFLS/C/88 (1965)).³³

7.2. Formal use of English in Manx schools

So far as is known, the first determined effort to bring in English in a systematic way to the ordinary Manx people was made by Bishop Isaac Barrow (1663-1671). In addition, as the state of the Anglican Church (the Established Church) in Man was considered by Barrow as leaving much to be desired,³⁴ the introduction of English was to form part of his improvement scheme. However, Barrow's scheme met with limited success, until it was revamped by Bishop Thomas Wilson (1698-1755) at the start of the eighteenth century. Wilson's policy, pursued with vigour, enjoined all Manx parents under penalty of fines to send their children to school to learn English,. But owing to difficulties and conflicts with the secular authorities his scheme by 1736 was in a state of virtual collapse (Clamp 1988b: 185-198). Although various private initiatives to provide schooling for Manx children were thereafter set up, nothing much came of them until 1858 when Man came fully within the English education ambit.

In 1872 the Manx authorities adopted the English Elementary Education Act of 1870 which provided for compulsory schooling from 5-13 years. Though the medium of tuition was to be English this was not compulsorily laid down in the Act (the only subject made compulsory by the Act was religious education). However, though there was nothing in the Act providing against the teaching of Manx, in practice the Act facilitated the dissemination of English in Man. However, by the time the Act came into being Manx was already becoming obsolete and any hostile intent towards Manx abetted by the 1872 Act was evidently ineffectual (Bird 1995: 1-43). Nevertheless, children were allegedly actively discouraged from speaking Manx at school (see above) by means of a 'knot' or 'tally' passed from one child to the other till the close of school, when the last recipient

³² It may be that John Fletcher's father John Dan Kinvig called in Archdeacon Kewley to speak to the schoolmaster?

³³ For details of stigmatisation in East Sutherland Gaelic and Pennsylvania German, see Dorian (2014a: 148-149).

³⁴ For details of the "Barrovian Design" see Clamp (1988a: 10-21). Barrow apparently found on his arrival in Man that the local Manx clergy was poorly paid, and to make ends meet resorted to keeping ale houses (*ibid.*).

would be punished.

In addition, the parents of immigrant children, who had only English, demanded the teaching of English as a means of advancement in life, and given that Man was now being drawn more and more into an English-speaking world through commerce and tourism, etc., this attitude gained ground at the expense of Manx. The children of Manx-English families would be predominantly English-speaking, as would those of all Manx families in the course of time (Hindley 1984: 15-17, 26, 32). However, even as late as the 1870s/80s there were still a number of Manx families who were bringing up their children in Manx (see §7 above), and whose children had no English until they went to school. In some cases the school had difficulty in getting some children to learn English. John Tom Kaighin (v. §4.1.11 above), recorded by the Manx Museum's Manx Folk-Life Survey c.1950, tells the story he had learning English at school (MM Tape 22, HLSM/I: 286-287):

Tra ren mee goll dy schoill va mee bunnys hoght vleeaney [sic] as va mee toiggal Gailck foddee share na va mee toiggal Baarle, as ren ad goll dy gynsaghey mee son dy gra...'nane' - they were saying 'one' and I was saying nane, and they were saying 'two' a[s] va mee gra 'jees', as ren ad gra 'three' as ren mee gra strass [sic], as v'ad gra 'four' as va mee gra 'kiare', as ren ad goll dys y mainshter dy geddyn yn fer shoh, 'Cha jarg mee gynsaghey, cha jarg mee gynsaghey, t'eh loayrt Gailck [...]

(‘when I went to school I was almost eight years old, and I was understanding Manx far better than I was understanding English, and they went to teach me for to say ‘one’ - they were saying ‘one’ and I was saying *nane*, and they were saying ‘two’ and I was saying *jees*, and they were saying ‘three’ and I said *strass* (i.e. *trass* [= a third; rect. *tree*], and they were saying ‘four’ and I was saying *kiare*, and they went to the master to get this one (sorted) [and said], ‘I cannot teach him, I cannot teach him’, he’s talking Manx...’) (HLSM/I: 286-287).

From the late nineteenth century to the present day the Manx education system has largely followed that of England and Wales. It is against this background and that of stigmatisation that the phenomenon of the abrupt transmission failure in Manx is perhaps to be seen.

7.3. Transmission failure in Manx within the family

In the course of obsolescence in Manx we have three cases of transmission failure whereby the elder children in a family are in receipt of Manx from their parents, but the younger children apparently not so for whatever reason. They are the families of William Kennah, Balladuggan, Malew, John Dan and Sage Jane Kinvig, Garey Hollin, Arbory, and John Maddrell, Cregneash, Rushen. These families have the following children. Their names and ages are taken individually from either the 1901 or 1911 census returns, whichever is felt to be more appropriate. Their occupations or professions are also entered here, as this can play a role in deciding on the language pursued by the children (see below).

7.3.1. The family of William Kennah, Balladuggan, Malew.

From the 1901 Census:

Speakers of Manx and English: (parents), Jane (WK's mother) widow (66) AR.
(children):

Anne R. Clarke (44), dgt., AR, fisherman's wife.
William (33) AR, farmer.

Speakers of English only: Isaline (24) AR, [no entry].

In the 1911 census all three are entered as English only speakers, viz. William Kennah, 43, farmer, his wife Margaret, 38, and John Crellin, manservant, 19, '[Looking] After Horses'. It would seem that the manservant was English-only speaking, as was Kennah's wife. Although Kennah himself from the 1901 census was a Manx speaker, the home situation seemingly demanded English as the daily language.

The age-gap between William and Isaline is nine years.

7.3.2. The family of John Dan and Sage Jane Kinvig, Garey Hollin, Arbory.

From the 1901 Census:

Speakers of Manx and English: (parents) John (39) and Sage (30) Kinvig AR
(mother-in-law) Jane Clarke (62) AR
(children):
John Fletcher (7) AR, [no entry, probably scholar].
Speakers of English only: Eleanor J. (6) AR, [no entry, probably scholar].
Elizabeth E. (4) AR, [no entry, probably at home].
Gertie M. (3) AR, [no entry, probably at home].
Blanche (1), AR, [under age, language not considered].

From the 1911 Census:

Speakers of Manx and English: (parents) John (49) and Sage (40) Kinvig AR
Speakers of English only (children):
John Fletcher (17) AR, [farm] worker.
William D. (9) AR, school.
Nellie (Eleanor) (16) AR, domestic servant.
Bessie (14) AR, school.
Gertie (13) AR, school.
Blanche (11) AR, school
Elsie (6) AR, [no entry, probably at school].
Myra (1) AR, [under age, language not considered].

John Fletcher Kinvig is entered as a Manx speaker in 1901 but English only in 1911. As noted above (§§4.1.19/20), this may later represent his later developed preference for English. We learn from his reported interview with MFLS in 1975 (cf. §7.2.1.4.) that he apparently refused to speak Manx when seven years old (c.1901/02) as a result of alleged taunting in school by other children owing to his knowledge of Manx. This may in fact be the reason for his entry as an English only speaker in the 1911 Census. With reference to the 1901 Census the age-gap between John Fletcher (7) and Eleanor (6) is just one year.

7.3.3. The family of John Maddrell, Cregneash, Rushen

From the 1901 Census:

Speakers of Manx and English: (parents), Margaret (JM's mother) (47) RU

(children):
John F. (21) RU, mariner, seaman.
Isabella ((18) RU, [no entry, probably 'worker' at home])
Speakers of English only: Sarah (16) RU, worker.
George (13) RU, [no entry, probably scholar].

As can be seen, of the four children the elder two were brought up as fluent Manx speakers, the younger two not so. Here the age-gap between the two groups is two years.

We see here that those children pursuing traditional professions where Manx is generally spoken, e.g. farming, fishing, or are living at home, are by and large Manx speakers. Whether we can speak of "tip" in Dorian's sense (2014b: 169) taking place in this context in Manx is questionable. The evidence at our disposal in the above family cases is too meagre to discern any pattern - we simply do not have the necessary details that are available in the ESG and Penn Dutch cases. Consequently, in the Manx cases it may simply be that the regular schooling, where English was the language of discourse and instruction, was the determining factor.³⁵

7.4. Summary

As can be seen, the size of the age-gap between those children who have fluent Manx and those who do not is seemingly immaterial, though we do not have any hard evidence for a recognition within the family of the competences of their children in Manx, nor do we possess any such evidence regarding the attitude of the children themselves towards their knowledge of Manx, e.g. whether those with imperfect Manx were sensitive about their situation or not.³⁶ But we do have evidence (in one case) of stigmatisation and the role played by English in the community.

As already noted above, stigmatisation and advancement in an acquisition of English were critical factors in the passing on of Manx to children in the above families. As we have seen, children of Manx-speaking families seemingly experienced taunting in school by non-Manx-speaking children because they had Manx (cf. §7.2.1.4), or were actively discouraged from speaking Manx through the 'knot' or 'tally' system (§7.2.2). In addition, there developed a belief among parents that, without a knowledge of English, prospects of career advancement were limited (hence the Manx saying: *Cha jean oo cosney ping lesh y Ghailck* 'you will never earn a penny with the Manx'), and among children that speaking English was "cool" or "hip", and therefore to be encouraged, while a knowledge of Manx, in contradistinction, was felt to be "old hat", and therefore to be discarded.³⁷

35 In addition, Cassie Smith-Christmas (2016: 1-6) provides a detailed account of the current state of research in which, in particular, the various complexities of the position of a minoritised language within a family situation are explored. Nevertheless, Smith-Christmas (2016: 18), in her work in the Isle of Skye, realistically saw that "[w]ith less than half the population being able to even understand Gaelic, it is clear to see that for the most part, Gaelic cannot be used as a community language in Skye. Home generational transmission remains low as well: [17.3%] reported Gaelic as the language they used at home, while [78.6%] [...] reported using only English at home. In many cases, use of Gaelic at home may well not mean that Gaelic is the exclusive or dominant language of the home, but rather, that *some* Gaelic is used in the home." In her conclusion Smith-Christmas (ibid.) observes: "[...] [I]t should be emphasised that just as Gaelic's status as a minority language is a striking reality on a national level despite various revitalisation efforts, so too is this the case in Skye as a whole." In the Manx cases, however, the information provided by them is too meagre for us to come to any meaningful decision on the matter, other than what has been said already.

36 For examples of this in ESG and Penn Dutch see Dorian (2014b: 170-171).

37 For a similar situation in Cape Breton Scottish Gaelic, see Mertz (1989). This article relates to another Gaelic language which experienced significant speaker loss in the region in question at a slightly later period than that in Man. Mertz found a widespread breakdown in transmission in two different Gaelic-speaking communities in Cape Breton at roughly the same time during the inter-war years with particular emphasis on the 1930s.

8. Conclusion

From the above statistics regarding our sample we can observe the following:

8.1. As noted above, the informants at our disposal between c.1875 and c.1908 made a conscious decision right a cross the board, as if in consensus, not to pass on Manx to their children. As noted earlier, the shift starts c.1860³⁸ but gains momentum from c.1875 onwards, reaching its climax between the years 1880 and 1900, and petering out during the first decade of the twentieth century.

8.2. Of the 70 informants at our disposal, ten consist of Manx speaking couples or singles who have no children to pass any language on to, i.e. they continue to speak Manx to each other until their deaths.

8.3. As our figures show, many of the last speakers are to be found in the parish of Rushen in the south of the island, thus contributing to the belief that Manx lingering on in that parish longer, especially in the isolated highland village of Cregneash. This is perhaps demonstrated by the following two reports:

8.3.1. From Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig (1870-1962), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR, in 1953 (YCG Tape 34, HLSM/I: 338-339) referring to a period around 1880:

Ren mee clashtyn y jishig ginsh mygeayrt eh as v'eh goll dys yn skaddan m^rish as v'eh gra...va fer elley goll dys yn skaddan, v'eh woish Cregneash as cha row monney Baarle echey, as v'eh jannoo gamman jeh eshyn. Cha row Gaelg echey as v'eh gra rish yn jishig aym, 'T'eh futile loayrt rishyn. Cha nel eh toiggal Baarle, as cha nel ad toiggal Baarle erbee heose ayns Cregneash', dooyrt eh [...]

(I heard my father telling about him and he used to go to the herring with him and he was saying...there was another one going to the herring, he was from Cregneash and he hadn't any English, and he would make sport of him. He (the first man) had no Manx and he would say to my father. 'It's futile speaking to him. He can't understand English, and they do not understand any English up in Cregneash') (Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig 1953, HLSM/I: 338-339).

8.3.2. Karl Roeder, Introduction to Edward Faragher's *Skealyn Æsop* (Æsop's Fables) (1901): 9, in a section giving brief details of Faragher's *vita* (which he would have obtained from Faragher himself):

[...] There was little English taught and known in Cregneish [c.1840], his mother being the only person who could converse with strangers. His father was a fair scholar, and wrote all the letters [in English] for the Cregneish people, and that was a great thing then[...] (Roeder, in Faragher 1901: 9).

8.4. However, in a recent article Stephen Miller (2007: 108-121) seeks to show that the truth of the matter is different from the perceived reality. In his analysis of the 1901 census figures in the context of Cregneash Miller (2007: 111-112) first of all gives a breakdown of the inhabitants and their background and occupations to set the language question in context. He then points out the importance of the visiting industry for Port Erin and Port St. Mary, and also for Cregneash which was reachable on foot from both resorts. Miller (2007: 113-115) then turns to the language question which first featured in the Isle of Man Census of 1901, outlining the transfer from Manx to English

38 From c.1853/54 if we include Thomas Crebbin Sr. (§4.1.10a).

in Cregneash in the following table:

[...] The Manx speakers numbered 44, those speaking English [...] 45. The breakdown by age groups is followed in brackets by the male / female split:

		Manx (44)	English (45)
1 to 20	39	3 (1/2)	36 (18/18)
20 to 40	17	8 (2/6)	9 (6/3)
40 to 60	23	23 (12/11)	-
60+	10	10 (5/5)	-
		(Oldest = 75)	(Oldest = 38) (Miller 2007: 113).

As we can see, the transfer from Manx to English evidently begins with those in the age-group 20-40 and accelerates in the youngest age-group 1-20. This, along with other factors, contributed to the introduction of English into Cregneash at around the same time as in other parts of the Isle of Man. In this context Miller (2007: 115) was able to come to the following conclusion:

Taking these 16 [out of 24] households with children for whom returns were made, only one was entirely Manx speaking, the Karran household. Just five households had Manx speaking children, and only one had more than one child speaking Manx, again the same Karran household. However, this is a child in the wider sense of the word and not children of school age or under; for instance, Lina Faragher, 29, spoke Manx but resided with her father, Edward Faragher, who was 70. Looking at the remaining four households, all the Manx speakers there had siblings. These households show the following age differences (Manx / English): 18/16, 19/2, 27/23, 28/14. These children, of course, are not necessarily the eldest sibling but simply the eldest child now remaining at Cregneash. Those present in 1891 remain to be traced in the 1901 census. Nevertheless, what can be clearly seen is Manx not being transmitted to children in Cregneash at all during the 1880s; 36 of those aged under 20 remaining in the village spoke only English. (Miller 2007: 115).

If we accept the foregoing, Miller's analysis clearly belies the belief that Manx in Cregneash lingered on longer than in other parts of the island. In other words, Cregneash was just as much affected by the onset of English as elsewhere in Man. In this context the testimony of Stanley Karran regarding Manx in Cregneash in his time is perhaps pertinent (see §8.8.2. below).

8.5. By the beginning of the twentieth century, as the 1901 Census makes clear, English had established itself even in Cregneash. The evidence adduced above shows that between 1880 and 1900 the Manx people, as if by consensus, did not pass on Manx to their children for various reasons, but probably in the belief that any career advancement would require a knowledge of English. The nineteenth century saw a period of upheaval in Manx society, brought on, it may be argued, by Revestment (1765): emigration of many from the Manx speaking heartlands, immigration of a lower-middle class cadre of entrepreneur, mainly from Lancashire, developments in various industries (mining, manufacturing, tourist, etc.) requiring additional skills and management, economic rises and collapses, etc. (cf. Kinvig 1975: 139-155). Such a scenario lay outwith the scope of Manx Gaelic with its emphasis on the traditional industries of farming and fishing. Given these developments the Manx people perhaps had no other choice but to opt for English.

8.6. Nevertheless, the Manx that the people learned and produced in their writings during the first half of the nineteenth century makes clear that they had a firm command of the language (cf. Broderick 1981, 1982, Lewin 2014). Even in the last years of its life during the twentieth century Manx was able to sustain an effective *Abwehrkampf*, in spite of heavy pressure from English. Even the

numerical system of Manx, counting as it does by twenties (e.g. (*ta mee*) *kiare feed as queig jeig son yn Doonagh* [(tha mi) k'e:ə fid as kwæg dʒæg sɔnən dunax] '(I am) 95 on Sunday' (lit. '...four score and fifteen...'),³⁹ is kept intact to the last, without any resort to English (cf. HLSM/I: 47-52).

8.7. It may be interesting to note that in a letter from Wales dated 16.02.1872 printed in the *Mona's Herald* of 21 February 1872⁴⁰ Rev. John Thomas Clarke (1799-1888) (here *Juan Thomaase Mac y Chlerree*), one time chaplain of St. Mark's, Malew (1827-1864),⁴¹ tells of an occasion c.1849 when he spoke to a few young boys in Cregneash, first in English, then in Manx when they apparently could not understand him in English. Finally resorting to Manx Clarke said:

[...] *Smooinee mee çhelleeragh er y Ghaelg* [...]. *Cha Leah's cheayll ad yn Ghaelg heillagh peiagh dy row spyrryd noa sheidit stiagh ayndoo* [...]. *Fey-yerrey, roish daag shin ad, vrie mee jeu row thie scoill syn naboonys oc dy ynsagh yn Vaarle. "Oh va", dooyrt ad, "agh cha vel tra a ain goll huggey. Ta un yuilley beg ayns shid ta goll, as ta Baarle echey agh ta Gaelg share echey", dooyrt eh. Tra va mee goll roym dy aagail ad, yeeagh yn fer shinney jeu feer yennal seose ayns my eddin as lesh sooill feer vitçhooragh vrie eh jeem kys nagh loayr mee roo hoshiaght ooilley ayns Gaelg. Agh roish va tra aym freggyrt eh, dooyrt eh roosyn va mygeayrt-y-mysh lesh lane yindys, "Agh quoi heillagh", dooyrt eh, "dy beagh Gaelg ec mwannal bane?"* (Rev. J.T. Clarke *Mona's Herald* 21.02.1872).

(('...') Then I quickly thought of (asking in) Manx (...). As soon as they heard the Manx you would have thought that a new spirit had blown into them (...). At last, just before I left them, I asked them if they had a school in the neighbourhood where they could learn English. "Oh, yes," they said, "but we've no time to go to it. There's one young lad there who goes to it, and he can speak some English but his Manx is much better", he said. As I was about to leave them, the oldest of them looked up very gleefully into my face and with a mischievous look asked me why I had not spoken to them all in Manx at the start. Before I could reply to him he said to those around him quite surprised, "But who would have thought", he said, "that a "white neck"⁴² would have Manx?"⁴³).⁴⁴

If we take the Rev. J. T. Clarke at his word, then it seems that there were a number of young monoglot Manx speakers in the area of Cregneash c.1849.⁴⁵

But he also had this to say (*ibid.*):

[...] [*T*]a sleih coontey beg jeh'n ghlare oc hene; [...]. [*T*]a ard-reiltee Ellan Vannin noi'n Ghaelg. Ta shirveishee yn Ghoo jeh dy chooilley chedjue noi eck; ta briwynyn as leighderyn noi eck.

(The people (of Man) set little store by their own language. The rulers of the Isle of Man are against Manx. The church services of every religion are against it; the judges and lawyers are against it').

There might be a slight exaggeration here, but it perhaps shows that even by 1872 Manx was thought little of by the Manx people at large. This is perhaps reinforced by the comment in the

39 Ned Maddrell, Thursday 18 August.1972, interviewed by the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, University of Edinburgh.

40 I am grateful to Christopher Lewin, University of Edinburgh, for drawing my attention to this letter; cf. Lewin (2014: 28-29). Also partly cited after Kneen (1931: 14) in LDIM/26-27.

41 cf. Gelling (1998: 225).

42 A minister with a "dog-collar".

43 Seemingly young Manx-speaking boys do not see "men of the cloth" as supporters of Manx?!

44 For details of the circumstances of this and other letters, see Wood (1919: 272-281). For the Clarke letter see also Paton (1957: 28-32)

45 Nevertheless, as Lewin (2014: iii) notes, even Clarke's enthusiasm for Manx had its limits, accepting that Manx in reality had no future in Man, except perhaps in matters of religion: *Shoh yn ynrican vondeish, choud's ta mish abyil dh ghoiill tastej jeh, yinnagh girree ass gynsagh ooilley adsyn nagh vel scoill oc 'syn ellan dy ve ynsit dy thaih Goo Yee ayns çhengey ny mayrey, yinnagh leeideil dys saualtys nyn anmeenyn* 'this is the only advantage, as far as I am abyil to see, that would arise from teaching all those who do not go to school in the island to be taught to read the Word of God in the mother tongue, which would lead them to the salvation of their souls'.

Mona's Herald of 10.01.1872, reporting on a Manx reading in Peel held on Wednesday 3 January 1872, that the organiser, a certain John Dawson, an ironmonger in Peel, later to become one of Rhÿs's informants, "met with much discouragement" but nevertheless "resolved to *try* at all events. He was not to be so easily beaten." But by 1872 at any rate the way had been prepared by the Manx people themselves for Manx and the *Untergang* of Manx.

8.8. With regard to whether Manx was heard spoken or not by Manx people in the early years of the twentieth century, whether they could speak it themselves or not, the following comments from the Manx Place-Name Survey (1988-2006) may perhaps be relevant:

8.8.1. While making tape-recordings of some 150 informants throughout the Isle of Man for the Manx Place-Name Survey (1989-92), I would on occasion ask the informants after the recording work whether they would ever remember Manx being spoken or knew of people who spoke Manx in their area when they were young. For the northern area of Man, i.e. Bride, Andreas, Lezayre, the replies were largely negative, i.e. they said they did not remember any Manx being spoken in their area in their younger days (1900-1920), though they knew of people who had Manx. Few said that they remembered any of their relations, e.g. grandfather/grandmother, speaking Manx. However, in the South (Arbory, Rushen) many said that their grandparents could speak Manx, or even their parents. Replies of Manx speaking grandparents from the South were not a rarity. But to my recollection, only two informants (from the South) told me that their parents spoke Manx. One was Stanley Karran, Cregneash, whose parents John & Eleanor Karran were two of the last native speakers, the other was Lewis Carron, Port Erin (of the Whallag, Arbory) - GB.

8.8.2. Mrs. Eleanor Karran's son, Stanley Karran (then living in the Karran household in Cregneash still), told me during an interview with him for the Manx Place-Name Survey on 21 January 1991 that, although he was born in 1910, he said, he does not remember Manx ever having been spoken at all in Cregneash. He said that known speakers, such as Harry Kelly, would speak English, not Manx, to other known native Manx speakers in the village as their normal everyday language. He said that the only time he remembers Manx ever having been spoken was by his mother to a neighbour when accompanying her back home to the Corvalley (Howe) after a Christmas visit, and she would bring her son Stanley along with her for company on the way back. That was the only Manx I ever heard, he said. The young people in Cregneash in my time spoke only English, he said - GB.

8.9. As Harry Boyde would have it, faced with such a situation: *Shen yn red t'eh!* 'that's how it is!'

9. Abbreviations

9.1. Manx parish abbreviations

AN - Andreas.	CO - Conchan.	MA - Maughold.	RU - Rushen.
AR - Arbory.	GE - German.	MI - Michael.	SA - Santan.
BA - Ballaugh.	JU - Jurby.	ML - Malew.	
BN - Braddan.	LE - Lezayre.	MR - Marown.	
BR - Bride.	LO - Lonan.	PA - Patrick.	

9.2. General abbreviations and clarification of terms used in the profiles below.

CM - Carl Marstrander.	M - married.
CT - Castletown (fishing boats registered in).	MBMD - Manx Births, Marriages, Deaths (online resource).
E - English.	MFS - Manx Folklife Survey (Manx National Heritage).
E > - Introduction of English into the household.	MN - Manx Notes (cf. Miller 1993-2016).
ESG - East Sutherland Gaelic (Dorian 2014).	MPNS - Manx Place-Name Survey.
FEMD - Fargher's English- Manx Dictionary (Fargher 1979).	own account = self-employed.
GB - George Broderick.	PD - Pennsylvania Dutch (i.e. German).
gf. - grandfather.	Penn Dutch - Pennsylvania German (Dorian 2014a).
IB - Index of Births (IMFHS).	rec. - recorded.
IMC - Isle of Man Census 1841-1911.	<i>rect.</i> = <i>rectius</i> 'more correctly'.
IMFHS - Isle of Man Family History Society (online resource).	S - unmarried, single.
IMPR - Isle of Man Parish Registers, 1598-2009 (online resource).	ScG. - Scottish Gaelic.
Ir. - Irish.	scholar = attending school.
Jr. - junior.	SM - Stephen Miller.
LIB - Lawson's Index of Burials (IMFHS online resource).	Sr. - senior.
LDIM - Language Death in the Isle of Man (Broderick 1999).	St. - steamer (Isle of Man Steam Packet Co. Ltd).
LSS - Linguistic Survey of Scotland.	VR - Vienna Recordings of Manx Gaelic speech, August 1909 (Schüller 2003).
	worker = employee.
	YCG - Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh (Manx Language Soc.).

10. Archive sources and bibliography

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Lawson's Index of Burials (Isle of Man). Online resource via IMFHS: <http://www.iomfhs.im/library.html>
Manx Births Marriages Deaths. Online resource: <http://www.rootschat.com/forum/index.php?topic=406540.0>
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Appendix A

1. "Under reporting" in the census figures: the case of John Kneen (The Gaaue)

As an example of "under reporting" in the Manx census figures, the case of John Kneen ('The Gaaue' (G *gobha* 'blacksmith') (§4.1.24 below) has been chosen. He first turns up in the Isle of Man Census for 1861 where his age is given as 1 year. In the subsequent census enumerations Kneen's age is given as follows: 1871: 10, 1881: 21, 1891: 31, 1901: 42, 1911: 49. As can be seen, there is a

certain amount of irregularity between the censuses. Such irregularity at that time was not uncommon, as people sometimes forgot their precise age, since, until the introduction of birth certificates in Man in 1879,⁴⁶ a person's age, if he did not have it fixed in his own mind already, was generally calculated from the date of his baptism as found in the parish registers. In Kneen's case this took place in St. Jude's, Kirk Andreas, on 22 February 1860.⁴⁷ From information supplied by field-workers and those who knew Kneen personally his birthday took place on 12 November. There was some discussion during the 1970s among Manx field-workers and enthusiasts about Kneen's actual age, one of whom, the late Walter Clarke of Ramsey, told me that

independent deductions were made concerning the Gaue's age, relating it to the ages of those who were connected with him, and it was estimated that he was about 104 or so when he died (Walter Clarke, p. c., c.1975).

Carmody (1954: 60) notes that Kneen was 96, Jackson (1955: 3) 97, when they interviewed him. However, as we know from death and burial records that Kneen died on 6 June 1958 and was buried two days later on 8 June 1958 (cf. §4.1.24), the estimation of 104, if correct, would put Kneen's year of birth around 1853-54 or thereabouts. Some believe that he was even older, something like 105 when he died. This included a photographer for the *Isle of Man Times* who took a picture of Kneen on his alleged 100th birthday on 12 November 1952.⁴⁸

The various census returns were made on the following dates in their respective years:⁴⁹

1841: 6 June 1841.	1881: 3 April 1881.
1851: 30 March 1851.	1891: 5 April 1891.
1861: 7 April 1861.	1901: 31 March 1901.
1871: 2 April 1871	1911: 2 April 1911.

And as we are advised that Kneen's birthday fell on 12 November, the following calculations can perhaps be made:

Year	Age given	Calculated date of birth
1861 (07.04)	1	12.11.1859.
1871 (02.04)	10	12.11.1860.
1881 (03.04)	21	12.11.1859.
1891 (05.04)	31	12.11.1859.
1901 (31.03)	42	12.11.1858.
1911 (02.04)	49	12.11.1861.

As we have gleaned from the baptismal records that Kneen was baptised on 22 February 1860 (above), this would exclude the years 1860 and 1861 from our calculations. The residuum would suggest a birth-year of either 1858 or 1859. If the former (1858), given his death-date above as 6 June 1958, Kneen would have been 99 (just short of 100) when he died. If the latter (1859), he would have been 98 on his passing. Given that his gravestone in Kirk Andreas churchyard tells us that he was 100 when he died, this would speak for 1858 as his year of birth. The census records,

⁴⁶ courtesy of Ms. Jane Salter, Central Registry, Douglas, p.c. 21 October 2016.

⁴⁷ IMPR Andreas, St. Jude's, Baptism, 22.02.1860, 624.

⁴⁸ cf. Manx National Heritage - iMuseum - People - John Kneen.

⁴⁹ cf. www.nationalarchives.gov.uk

however, suggest the year 1859 on three occasions, in which case 1859 may be more likely.⁵⁰

Appendix B

Each profile entry has a unique number. They begin with (4) to mark their relationship to §4 above.

4. The profiles

The profiles included here are divided into five categories:

1. Those informants who had children to transmit Manx to. Those informants whose families are affected by possible abrupt transmission failure (cf. §7.3; i.e. the eldest children are in receipt of Manx, but their youngest children are not for whatever reason) are marked with an asterisk (*).
2. Those informants who had no direct offspring to transmit any language to.
3. Those informants regarded as semi-speakers of Manx.
4. Those informants for whom there is insufficient information regarding their Manx.
5. Those informants for whom there is little or no detail at all about their family background.

4.1. Informants with children⁵¹

4.1.1. William Joseph CAIN (1825/26-1911), Douglas (of Mullen-e-Corran, Conchan).

"The Gospel according to St. Luke XV, 1-10 spoken by William Joseph Cain, 83 years old, retired landowner" (VR63, rec. 05.08.1909 Douglas).

1841: So far as is known, William Joseph Caine (WJC) first appears in the 1841 census as William Cain, 14, agricultural labourer, of [Onchan] Isle of Man,⁵² working for Robert Lewin, 59, miller, and his wife Ann Lewin, 50, both from Man, in Mullen-e-corrán [Mwyllin y Corran], Onchan. Living and working with them was Helen Quiggin, 49, dress maker, John Quilliam, 20, miller, James Callow, 20, agricultural labourer, as well as William Garrett, 14, agricultural labourer, Jane Grandin, 20, female servant, and Eliza Cain, 11, female servant, all of Man (HO107/1465 1 4).

1851: WJC is here entered as William Cain, S, 25, miller, of Onchan, nephew to Robert

50 In a similar situation, but concerning Scottish Gaelic, Kenneth Mackinnon (1895, 1986) also experienced difficulties with the Scottish census returns. In the Scottish cases the returns for 1971 and 1981 at any rate were vague on details of pupil ability in Gaelic. Though the Scottish census returns concerning Gaelic come seventy years after their Manx counterparts, there is nevertheless a certain amount of imprecision common to both censuses, even though the details of the imprecision relate to different topics. This suggests that imprecision of one sort or another is seemingly endemic in census enumerations generally.

51 This section also includes details on informants who were not interviewed. But the documentation is such that it provides sufficient detail on these informants to indicate the position of Manx within the family.

52 At this date the birthplace asked for was either "in same Island" (i.e. Man) in one column, or "whether born in England, Scotland, Ireland or Foreign Parts" in a separate column. A 'Y' (= 'Yes') was entered in the appropriate column. As from 1851 the parish is specified.

Lewin, M, 69, miller, and his wife Ann, M, 62, both of Onchan, living in Mullen e Corrin. Also entered are Isabella Quine, S, 92, family nurse, Matthew Corrin, S, 15, nephew, cart man, Helen Quiggin, sister-in-law, S, 59, dress-maker, all of Onchan. Also there was Jane Grandin, niece, S, 34, house-keeper, of "the I. of Man", Eliza Gawne, niece, M, 26, visitor, of Braddan, Ellin Clarke, S, 17, house servant, also of Braddan, Andrew Kissack, 12, scholar, of Onchan, and John Lewin-Gawne, 1, of Onchan (HO107/2525 93-94 15).

1858: Marriage Braddan, 25 Dec. 1858: **Will. Jos. Cain**, full age [33], bachelor, miller, Mullin Corran, f. Will. Cain, paper manager ~ **Jane Creer**, full age [32], spinster, - , Church St., Douglas, f. Matthew Creer, cooper (IMPR Braddan 25.12.1858, 240).

1861: WJC here as William Joseph Cain, head, M, 35, grocer, here enumerated as of Braddan, living at 23 Church Street, St. George's, Douglas, with his wife, Jane, M, 33, of Malew, and their daughter Eliza G. 6 months, of Douglas. Living with them is Jane Creer, mother-in-law, widow, 59, of Malew, and Thomas Creer, brother-in-law, 32, baker, also of Malew (RG9/4416 54 48).

1871: WJC here as William J. Cain, head, 45, miller land owner, of Onchan, living in Lark Hill ON, with his wife Jane, M, 43, of Malew, and their sons William, S, 10, scholar, and Robert, 3, scholar (*sic*), both of Onchan. Also in the same household are Jane Creer, mother-in-law, widow, 70, annuitant, of Malew, Thomas Sayle, servant, S, 49, farm servant indoor, of Michael, James Bridson, servant, S, 18, miller, of Douglas, James Killey, servant, 12, assistant to miller, of Onchan (RG10/5774 141 46).

1881: WJC here as William J. Cain, head, M, 55, retired miller, of the "Parish of Braddan", living at 16 Woodbourne Square, St. George's, Douglas, along with his wife Jane, M, 53, of Malew, and their children William J., S, 20, banker's clerk, of Douglas, Robert, S, 13, scholar, of Onchan, and nephew Herbert Lindop, S, 14, scholar, of Douglas (RG11/5605 26 4).

1891: WJC here as William J. Cain, head, M, 65, Parish Clerk of Braddan, of Onchan,⁵³ living at 18 Woodbourne Square, St. George's, Douglas, along with his wife Jane, M, 64, of Malew, and their two sons William J., S, 30, also a Parish Clerk (parish not stated), of Douglas, and Robert L., S, 23, assistant clerk in the Douglas Iron Foundry, of Onchan, and Ellen Sandford, lodger, S, 80, living on her own means, of England (RG12/4688 83 32).

1901: WJC here as William J. Cain, head, widower, 75, retired miller, of Onchan, living on his own at 8 Woodbourne Square, St. George's, Douglas, of Onchan, but seemingly no longer Parish Clerk of Braddan.

- **Manx:** William Joseph Cain is enumerated here as a Manx speaker (RG13/5303 85 29).

William Joseph Cain died, aged 85, and was buried 21 March 1911 in Braddan (LIB).

Jane M. Cain, died, aged 65, and was buried 7 March 1892 in Braddan (LIB).

E>c.1860/61? As we do not know whether WJC's wife was a Manx speaker or not, I have taken the introduction of English into the household as from the birth, not of Eliza G. (1861), who seems to have died early, but of their eldest son William (b. 1860/61) (cf. 1871 Census).

4.1.2. Caesar CASHEN (1856/57-1943), Peel GE (of Ballacain, Patrick).

"Together with [William] Quane I walked down to the Market Place and here met Caesar Cashen (ca. 70 yrs.) He remembered Rhÿs quite well whom he had often spoken to when he came to consult his [Cashen's] older brother [William Cashen]. Cashen seems to speak quite good Manx. The

⁵³ The William J. Cain noted above from Onchan is probably the William Joseph Cain, of Glendhoo, Onchan, who was sound-recorded by Rudolf Trebitsch of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in August 1909. His dates are 1825/26-1911. For details of his contributions see LDIM/54.

sentence 'I would like to go to Douglas' he repeated immediately like Woodworth, but Quane used a different expression: *ta mee bwooish...* 'I am wishing' which doesn't appear to be very idiomatic. Both Quane and Cashen were extremely pleasant. It is very likely that with help from them it should be possible to outline the main features of the Peel dialect - phonetic and grammatical" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 32), "Cashen spoke Manx from the cradle" (CM MNHL MS 05357 B Vol. IV: 2564 (24.09.1930)).

1861: So far as is known, Caesar Cashen (CC) is first noticed in the 1861 census as Ceaser Cashen, 4, of Patrick, youngest son of Thomas Cashen, head, M, 59, fisherman, of Patrick, and his wife Mary, 52, of Patrick, living in Ballacain, Patrick, along with their other sons Thomas, 28, fisherman, John, 18, fisherman, Edward, 16, fisherman, and Joseph, 8, and their two daughters Jane, 15, and Margaret, 11, all of Patrick (RG9/4427 6 25).

1881: CC next turns up in the census of 1881 as Ceaser Cashin, head, M, 24, fisherman, of Patrick, living in 14 Glaenfaba Road, Peel, along with his wife Elizabeth Cashin, 27, and their nephew Ceaser Quirk, 4, both of Patrick (RG11/5597 77 102).

1901: CC next turns up in the 1901 census as Caesar Cashin, head, 42, green grocer, own account (i.e. self-employed), of Patrick, living now in 1 Castle Street, Peel, along with his wife Elizabeth, listed here as of Peel, and their niece Tamar Craine, 10, of Peel.

- **Manx:** Caesar Cashen is entered as a Manx speaker, his wife and niece English only (RG13/5306 50 44).

1911: CC here as Caesar Cashin, head, 53, mariner, of Patrick, now living in 8-9 Market Place, Peel, along with his wife Elizabeth, 53, both married 32 years [c.1878/79], fruiterer, of Peel, and their niece Tamar Craine, 20, S, shop assistant, also of Peel.

- **Manx:** As in 1901 Caesar Cashin is entered as a Manx speaker, his wife and niece as English only (RG14/34741 0391 40).

Caesar Cashen died, aged 86, and was buried in German on 2 June 1943 (LIB).

E>c.1878/79. As Caesar Cashen's wife was a non-Manx speaker, English would have been the regular language between them, almost certainly in the family since their marriage in 1878/79, and since the arrival of their niece in 1911 at the latest. Caesar Cashen seemingly had no children of his own; his niece would serve as a child in lieu.

4.1.3. John CHRISTIAN (1844/45-1931), Sulby Glen, Lezayre.

"John Christian, carpenter, 84 yrs. old (several years older than his brother). He lives a short distance from the chapel near the Sulby Glen road. Faragher also recommended him and he seems really to be one of the best" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 45-46 (20.06.1929)).⁵⁴

1851: So far as we are aware, John Christian (JC) first appears in the 1851 census as John Christian, 6, joiner's son at home, of Lezayre, son to John Christian, head, 39, joiner master, of Lezayre. Living with them in Old Sulby LE is John senior's mother Isabell Christian, 68, house keeper, of Lezayre, and John senior's brother Robert, 29, shoe maker master, also of Lezayre (HO107/2523 244 39).

1861: JC here as John Christian, 17, son of John Christian, head, 49, head, joiner & farmer, living on Sulby Old Road LE along with his wife, Mary, 37, and the remaining children: Thomas, 9, Henry, 5, and Margaret 3. The place of birth for all of them is simply "Isle of

⁵⁴ For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 318-319.

Man" (RG9/4422 33 63).

1871: JC here as John Christian, 25, joiner, of Lezayre, son to John Christian, head, 59, joiner, farmer of 11 acres, living in Glenmore [Sulby Glen] LE, along with his wife Mary Anne, 46, and the remaining children: Frederick, 21, labourer, Henry, 15, scholar, Elizabeth, 9, scholar, Francis, 6, scholar, and Mary Ann, 4, all of Lezayre (RG10/5773 33 10).

1881: JC here as John Christian, head, married, 36, joiner employing 2 labourers, living in Starch Mill House [Sulby Glen] LE along with his two sons: John C., 5, scholar, and Alfred E., 3, all of Lezayre (RG11/5599 81 3). JC's wife Margaret, then 32, was clearly absent when the census was taken.

1891: JC here as John Christian, head, 45, joiner, along with his wife, Margaret, 42, living in Old Sulby along with their children: John C., 15, joiner's apprentice, Alfred E., 13, scholar, Margaret E., 12, scholar, and Alice M., 10, scholar (RG12/4684 116 19). As in 1861 only "Isle of Man" is given for all their birth-places.

1901: JC here as John Christian, head, 56, joiner & carpenter, employer working at home, of Lezayre, living in Sulby Glen along with his wife Margaret, 52, also of Lezayre, and their children: Alfred E., 23, carpenter & joiner, Margaret E., 22, and Alice M., 20.

- **Manx:** John Christian and his wife Margaret are enumerated as Manx speakers, the rest as English only (RG13/5300 63 15).

1911: JC here as John Christian, head, 64, joiner, builder, own account, of Lezayre, living in Sulby Glen, Lezayre, along with his wife Margaret, 62, of Lezayre, both married 36 years [c.1874/75], along with their son Alfred Edward, 31, single, farmer, of Lezayre.

- **Manx:** Both John and Margaret, as in 1901, are enumerated as Manx speakers, Alfred Edward as English only (RG14/34696 0031 16).

John Christian died, aged 87, and was buried in Lezayre on 10 December 1931 (LIB).

E>c.1877/78. Although both John and Margaret Christian are enumerated as native Manx speakers, nevertheless, they decided not to pass on Manx to their children. This would likely have started at the birth of their first child Alfred in 1877/78.

4.1.4. Thomas CHRISTIAN ("The Carter") (1850/51-1930), 4 College Street, Ramsey, Maughold (of Lewaigue, Maughold).

"Thomas Christian whom I visited today lives in College Street quite near the [Saddle] hotel. He is an excellent old man, a Nordic type through and through. Here I seem finally to have found the man to work with. His pronunciation is clear; the man is intelligent, patient, and understands that he can be of great service to scholarship by making himself available. He answers small test examples quickly and idiomatically (CM1929 *Dagbok* 47-48 (21.06.1929)).

25th June [1929]: Had my first lesson with Christian today. Manx is going to be a complicated study when it comes to phonetics. It is not possible at this stage to make detailed phonetic notes. I'll have to work my way into the language first and then check details later on when my ear is more attuned to it. The phonetic system is much different from Irish, and I will have to orientate myself from scratch (CM1929 *Dagbok* 53).

31st [sic] June [1929]: Have now worked with Christian for appr. a week (from ca. 10-12 and from 2-4), and beginning to get the hang of the system. Chr. without doubt knows a lot of Manx. But it is quite clear that even he is a long time without practice at speaking the language. He often neglects

the ordinary rules of mutation (aspiration [i.e. lenition], eclipsis), but maybe that is part of the development of the dialect he is speaking" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 53-54).⁵⁵

1851: So far as is known, Thomas Christian (TC) first appears in the 1851 census as Thomas Christian, 1, of Maughold, son to William Christian, head, M, 43, agricultural labourer, of Lonan, living in Lewaigue, Maughold, along with his wife Eliza, M, 32, dressmaker, of Maughold, and their remaining children: Eliza, 10, scholar, Elizabeth, 8, scholar, Ann, 5, scholar, and Margaret, 4, all of Maughold (HO107/2524 277 56).

1871: TC next appears in the 1871 census as Thomas Christian, 20, carter,⁵⁶ son to William Christian, head, M, 60, carter, of Lonan, living in 6 Dale Street, Ramsey, Maughold, along with his wife Margaret, 48, carter's wife, of Maughold, and their remaining children: William, 18, saddler, of Maughold, and Robert, 12, scholar, also of Maughold (RG10/5773 194 179).

1881: TC here as Thomas Christian, head, M, 29, carter, living now in 16 Dale Street, Ramsey, Maughold, along with his wife, Margaret, 28, carter's wife, and their children: Eliza Ann, 5, scholar, and Margaret Ellen, 3, the birth-place of all given simply as "Isle of Man" (RG11/5600 115, 29).

1891: TC here as Thomas Christian, head, M, 44, carter, local preacher, of Maughold, living in 1 Barrack Yard, Ramsey MA with his wife Margaret Ann, 39, of Kirk Bride, and their children: Eliza Ann, 14, scholar, Margaret Ellen, 13, scholar, Thomas, 6, scholar, Annie, 9, scholar, William, 4, scholar, and Catherine Jane, 2, all of Ramsey (RG12/4685 66 19).

1901: TC here as Thomas Christian, head, M, 53, master carter, own account, of Maughold, living in 8 College Street, Ramsey, along with his wife Margaret, 46, of Bride, and their children: Margaret E., 32, baker's assistant, worker, Thomas, 17, dressmaker, own account, William, 15, grocer's assistant, Catherine J., 12, Robert, 9, John, 7, Edward, 4, all of Ramsey.

- **Manx:** Only Thomas Sr. is entered as a Manx speaker, his wife and children as English only (RG13/5307 174 87).

1911: TC here as Thomas Christian, head, 60, general carter, own account, of Maughold, living at 4 College Street, Ramsey, along with his wife Margaret Ann, 58, both married 35 years [**c.1875/76**], here of Andreas, and their children: Margaret Ellen Cubbin, 30, married 2 years [**c.1908/09**], dressmaker, own account, at home, William, 24, S, general carter's assistant, worker, Robert, 20, S, carpenter, house, worker, John, 16, S, assistant butcher, worker, Edward, 14, S, message boy, worker, all of Ramsey.

- **Manx:** Both Thomas Sr. and his wife Margaret Ann are entered as Manx speakers, the children English only (RG14/34726 0231 116).

Thomas Christian died, aged, 79, and was buried in Maughold on 24 February 1930 (LIB).

E>c.1875/76. Though Thomas is entered as a Manx speaker in both the 1901 and 1911 censuses, his wife Margaret Ann only in the 1911 census, as English only in that of 1901. Nevertheless, both had decided not to pass on Manx to their children, probably on the birth of their first child Eliza in 1875/76.

4.1.5. Mrs. Annie CLAGUE (1868/69-1954), Niarbyl, Patrick.

1888: Marriage, Patrick, 07.07.1888, Henry Clague, 25, bachelor, mariner, Ballada [Patrick], f. James Clague, labourer ~ Annie Cretney, 21, spinster, [no entry], Niarbyl [Niarbyl]

⁵⁵ For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 168-229.

⁵⁶ Thomas Christian was known locally as 'The Carter', from his profession, according to the late J. F. (Freddie) Cowle (1984), Ramsey,, a great nephew to Thomas Christian.

[Patrick], f. William Cretney, mariner (IMPR Marriage, Patrick, 07.07.1888, 310).

1901: So far as is known, Mrs. Annie Clague (AC) first appears in the 1901 census as Annie Clague, M, 32, of Patrick, wife of Henry Clague, head, M, 37, mariner, also of Patrick, both living at Niarbyl, Patrick, along with their children: William H., 12, Edith, 6, and Frederick 1, all of Patrick.

- **Manx:** All are entered as English only speakers (RG13/5306 107 14).

1911: AC here as Annie Clague, 42, M, of Patrick, wife of Henry Clague, head, 47, M, fisherman, also of Patrick, both married 24 years [**1888**] living in Niarbyl Cottage, Dalby, Patrick, along with their son Frederick, 11, school, of Patrick. Also living with them is Ann Watterson, mother-in-law, 68, S, also of Patrick.

- **Manx:** Only Annie and her mother Ms. Ann Watterson are entered as Manx speakers, her husband and son as English only (RG14/34732 0047 24). **Not interviewed.**

Mrs. Annie Clague died, aged 87, and was buried in Rushen on 1 February 1954 (LIB).⁵⁷

Henry Clague died, aged 73, and was buried in Patrick on 9 June 1937 (LIB).

Ms. Ann Watterson died, aged 70, and was buried in Patrick on 30 November 1913 (LIB).

E>c.1888/89. Again we witness the vagaries of the 1901 census where all (i.e. Annie Clague, her husband Henry, and their children) are entered as English only speakers, probably representing the actual language (English) spoken at home. In the 1911 census both Annie and her mother Ann Watterson are entered as Manx speakers, suggesting that Manx was used only between these two, but English with the whole family. If so, English would likely have been formally introduced into the family on her marriage in 1888 or on the birth of her first child William H. in c.1888/89. If she spoke Manx at all with her mother in the household, then this would have ended on her mother's death in 1913.

4.1.6. John Joseph CORRIN (1857/58-1930), Ballachurry, Jurby (of Ballacroshey, BA).

"On the Jurby Road some miles or so from Ramsey I had a chat with John Joseph Corrin, 71 yrs. old, born in Ballaugh parish in Ballacroshey, now lives in Jurby in Ballachurry (on Jurby Road). Fifty years ago when he came to Jurby Manx was in extensive use. He appears to have quite some proficiency in spoken Manx. The test sentence 'if you don't come at once, I shall beat you' he managed quite well (with the exception of 'at once' which he did not translate); the weekdays he rattled off at a surprising rate (Christian got stuck on 'Tuesday' which can be attributed to his lack of memory in general. Even in English he seemed sometimes to hesitate). I'll have to call on him [Corrin] later. He is more than willing to receive me again" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 55-56 (30.06.1929)).

1881: So far as is known, John Joseph Corrin (JJC) is first enumerated in the 1881 census as John J. Corrin, S, 21, farmer's son, of Ballaugh, living in Ballachurry Quaye's House along with Mary A. Quaye, head, widow, 56, farmer of 56 acres, of Jurby, Robert Teare, visitor, S, 32, farmer labourer (indoor), of Jurby, and Robert Kneen, servant, S, 11, also of Jurby (RG11/5598 115 25).

1901: JJC next turns up in the 1901 census as John J. Corrin, son, S, 41, car-driver / carman, own account, of Ballaugh, living in Kerrookneale, Jurby, along with Mary A. Quaye, head, widow, 78, farmer, own account, at home, of Jurby, and Gertrude Pilling, S, 17, general servant, domestic, of England.

- **Manx:** Mary Quaye and John J. Corrin are entered as Manx speakers, Gertrude Pilling as

⁵⁷ Annie Clague was an informant for Mona Douglas regarding Manx traditional songs (cf. Broderick 2008, Miller *Manx Notes* 233 (2016): 1-2).

English only (RG13/5302 66 4).

1908: Marriage, Braddan, 05.02.1908, John Josph Corrin, 40, bachelor, farmer, Jurby, f. John Josph Corrin, shoemaker ~ Eva Coole Christian Smith, 20, spinster, [no entry], Cronkbourne, f. William Smith, labourer (IMPR Braddan 05.02.1908, 257).

1911: JJC here as John J. Corrin, head, 50, M, farmer, employer, of Ballaugh, living in Ballacurry, Summer Hill, Jurby, along with his wife Eva, 23, M, both married 3 years [**1908**], of Douglas, and their daughters Annie, 12, of Braddan, and Mary, 11 months, Jurby.

- **Manx:** John J. Corrin alone is entered as a Manx speaker, the others as English only (RG14/34694 0059 35).

John Joseph Corrin died, aged 72, and was buried in Jurby on 17 April 1930 (LIB).

E>c.1908. It is clear from the 1901 and 1911 censuses that John Josph Corrin at any rate was a Manx speaker. He married late in life, marrying a much younger woman, Eva Coole Christian Smith, 20, of Cronkbourne, Braddan, an English only speaker. As Eva's daughter Annie (b.1898/99) would also be living with them English would be the language of the household, formally at any rate, as from John Joseph's marriage to Eva in 1908.

4.1.7. William COWLEY (1842/43-1921), Douglas (of Sulby Glen, Lezayre).

"Two old folk-songs spoken by William Cowley, 66 years old, shoemaker" (VR63-64, rec. 06.08.1909 in Douglas).⁵⁸

1851: So far as is known, William Cowley (WC) is first noticed in the 1851 census as William Cowley, 8, scholar, of Lezayre, son to Thomas Cowley, head, M, 50, shoemaker, farmer of 35 acres, of Braddan, living in Glenmoar [Sulby Glen], Lezayre, along with his wife, Catharine, M, 46, of Lezayre, and their remaining children: Elizabeth, 15, "employed in house and on farm", Catharine, 12, Elizabeth, Ann, 10, scholar, William, 8, scholar, Margaret, 5, scholar, Eliza, 11 months, at home, all of Lezayre. Living with them is James Clague, servant, S, 18, farm labourer, of Braddan (HO107/2524 240 9).

1861: WC here as William Cowley, S, 18, shoemaker's son, of Lezayre, son to Thomas Cowley, head, 60, shoemaker, of Braddan and his wife Catharine, M, 54, living now in Ballaskella, Sulby Glen LE, along with their remaining children: Elizabeth, S, 25, dressmaker, Catharine, S, 22, Margaret, S, 15, Eliza, 11, all of Lezayre, and their granddaughter Catharine A. Mylecraine, 5 months, of Lezayre. Living with them is Mary Joughin, visitor, 61, and Margaret Kneale, visitor, 23, dressmaker, both of Lezayre (RG9/4422 5 15).

1871: WC here as William Cowley, S, 27, son to Thomas Cowley, head, M, 70, farmer of 70 acres, and his wife, Catharine, M, 65, still living and farming in Ballaskella, Sulby Glen LE, along with their remaining children: Margaret, 24, Eliza, S, 20, all of "Isle of Mann". Living with them is their granddaughter Alice Mylechraine, 10, scholar, and John Thomas Mylechraine, grandson, 7, scholar, also of "Isle of Mann" (RG10/5773 34 26).

1881: WC here as William Cowley, S, 37, now living in 10 Back Stanley Terrace, St. Thomas's, Douglas ON, along with his mother Catharine, widow, 78, of Lezayre, and his sister Margaret, S, 34, house-keeper, all three of Lezayre (RG11/5605 82 50).

1882: Marriage, Braddan, 21.01.1882 William Cowley, full age [37/38], bachelor, shoemaker, Back Stanley Terrace, Douglas, f. Thomas Cowley, shoemaker ~ Charlotte Corkish, full age [26/27], spinster, [no entry], Kewaique, Braddan, f. William Corkish, farmer (IMPR

⁵⁸ For details of his recorded contributions, see also HLSM/I: 316-319.

Marriage, Braddan, 21.01.1882, 95).

1891: WC here as William Cowley, head, M,47, shoemaker, now living at 64 Allan Street, Douglas, of Lezayre, along with his wife, M, Charlotte, 35, of Braddan, and their children: Florence, 8, scholar, William H., 4, scholar, Catharine, 2, and Eleanor M., 3 months, all of Douglas (RG12/4688 53 148).

1911: WC appears next in the 1911 census as William Cowley, head, 67, M, shoemaker, boot and shoe shop, worker, of Lezayre, now living in 62 Allan Street, Douglas, along with is wife Charlotte, 55, M, both married 29 years [c.1881/82], of Braddan, and their children: William Henry, 24, S, draper's assistant, worker, Elleanor, 20, S, Edith A. 17, S, shop assistant, worker, and Mona A., 15, S, all of Douglas.

- **Manx:** William Cowley Sr. only is entered as a Manx speaker, the rest English only (RG14/34665 0167 85).

William Cowley died, aged 75, and was buried in Douglas Borough Cemetery on 10 March 1921 (LIB).

E>c.1882. As William Cowley is the only Manx speaker in the household, English is naturally the daily language. English is likely to have been formally introduced into the household on his marriage to his wife Charlotte in 1882.

4.1.8a. John COWLEY (1843/44-1935), Druidale, Michael, OR

4.1.8b. Thomas COWLEY (1846/47-??), Creggan, Tholt-y-Will, Lezayre.

"Lunch in Tholt y Will. From there up a steep road to the south; ca. 1 mile up there is a side-road to the left. It leads to Creggan [...] where Cowley [...] lives. He is now 85 yrs. old, almost blind and rather rheumatic, but his pronunciation is quite clear. His memory seems somewhat weakened. Even when he speaks English he hesitates and seems to be rooting for the words. It was impossible for him to remember what 'head' was in Manx. It wasn't until I mentioned the southern Manx [kjɔ:n] [*kione*] that he gave me his pronunciation of it as [kjɔun]. He also had problems differentiating between 'with him' and 'with her', but things like that will hopefully diminish fairly naturally in more connected speech" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 42 (20.06.1929)).

As it is uncertain which "Cowley" Marstrander interviewed in Creggan, both possibilites are entered here. For comment see end of section.

1851a: So far as is known, **John Cowley** (JC) is first noticed in the 1851 census as John Cowley, 7, scholar, of Michael, son to John Cowley, head, M, 49, farmer of 100 acres; employs 1 man, of Lezayre and his wife Elizabeth, M, 39, of Michael, living in Crammag, Lezayre, along with their remaining children: Ann, 13, scholar, of Lezayre, Elizabeth, 9, scholar, of Michael, Thomas, 4, at home, of Michael, Elinor Margaret, 1, at home, of Michael. Also living with them was John Kermeen, servant, S, 22, farm labourer, of Patrick, and Margaret Quayle, servant, house servant, of Andreas (HO107/2524 239 1).

1851b: So far as is known, **Thomas Cowley** (TC) is first noticed in the 1851 census as Thomas Cowley, 4, at home, of Michael, son to John Cowley, head, M, 49, farmer of 100 acres; employs 1 man, of Lezayre and his wife Elizabeth, M, 39, of Michael, living in Crammag LE, along with their remaining children: Ann, 13, scholar, of Lezayre, Elizabeth, 9, scholar, of Michael, John, 7, scholar, of Michael, Elinor Margaret, 1, at home, of Michael. Also living with them was John Kermeen, servant, S, 22, farm labourer, of Patrick, and

Margaret Quayle, servant, house servant, of Andreas (HO107/2524 239 1).

1861a: JC here as **John Cowley**, S, 16, farmer, of Michael, son to John Cowley, head, M, 59, farmer of 100 acres; local preacher, of Lezayre, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 49, of Michael, living in Crammag LE, along with their remaining children: Ann, S, 23, of Lezayre, Elizabeth, S, 19, of Michael, Thomas, 14, farmer, of Lezayre, Margaret, 11, scholar, of Michael, and William, 4, scholar, also of Michael (RG9/4422 6 18).

1861b: TC is entered here as **Thomas Cowley**, 14, farmer, of Michael, son to John Cowley, head, M, 59, farmer of 100 acres; local preacher, of Lezayre, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 49, of Michael, living in Crammag LE, along with their remaining children: Ann, S, 23, of Lezayre, Elizabeth, S, 19, of Michael, John, 16, farmer, of Michael, Margaret, 11, scholar, of Michael, and William, 4, scholar, also of Michael (RG9/4422 6 18).

1871a: JC here as **John Cowley**, S, 27, of Michael, son to John Cowley, head, widower, 69, farmer of 162 acres; local preacher, of Lezayre, living still in Crammag LE, along with his remaining children: Thomas, S, 24, of Lezayre, Margaret, S, 21, of Lezayre, William, S, 17, joiner, of Lezayre. Living with them is Robert Quayle, servant, S, 13, farm servant in-door, of Lezayre, as well as Elizabeth Christian, servant, S, 40, domestic servant, of Andreas (RG10/5773 34 22).

1871b: TC here as **Thomas Cowley**, S, 24, of Lezayre, son to John Cowley, head, widower, 69, farmer of 162 acres; local preacher, of Lezayre, living still in Crammag LE, along with his remaining children: John, S, 27, of Michael, Margaret, S, 21, of Lezayre, William, S, 17, joiner, of Lezayre. Living with them is Robert Quayle, servant, S, 13, farm servant indoor, of Lezayre, as well as Elizabeth Christian, servant, S, 40, domestic servant, of Andreas (RG10/5773 34 22).

1881a: JC here as **John Cowley**, head, M, 37, farmer of 167 acres, of Michael, living in Crammag LE but now with his wife Jane, M, 30, of Lezayre, along with their son John C. 11 months, of Lezayre, as well as John Sr's brother Thomas, S, 35, farmer, of Lezayre. Also living with them is John Bridson, servant, S, 19, agricultural labourer, of Lezayre, and Elizabeth E. Quayle, niece, 7, scholar, of Lezayre (RG11/5599 82 12).

1881b: TC here as **Thomas Cowley**, S, 35, farmer, of Lezayre, brother to John, head, M, 37, farmer of 167 acres, of Michael, living in Crammag LE with John and his wife Jane, M, 30, of Lezayre, and their son John C., 11 months, of Lezayre. Also living with them is John Bridson, servant, S, 19, agricultural labourer, of Lezayre, and Elizabeth E. Quayle, niece, 7, scholar, of Lezayre (RG11/5599 82 12).

1891a: JC here as **John Cowley**, head, now a widower,⁵⁹ 47, farmer, living still in Crammag LE with his children: John C., 10, Thomas C., 9, and Jane, 8. Living with them is Isabella Fargher, servant, S, 49, general servant, domestic, all of "Isle of Man" (RG12/4684 116 27).

1891b: TC here as **Thomas Cowley**, head, S, 44, farmer, now living in Creggan, Tholt-y-Will, Lezayre, along with his sister Ann Quayle, widow, 51, retired, his nieces Eliza E., S, 17, dressmaker, Julia F., S, 15, scholar, Eleanor J., S, 15, scholar, and his nephew Francis H., S, 10, scholar, all of "Isle of Man" (RG12/4684 117 30).

1901a: JC here as **John Cowley**, head, M, 57, farmer, employer, of Michael, living and farming now in Druidale, Michael, along with his wife Judith, M, 32, of Maughold, and his son by his first wife Jane, John Cashin Cowley, S, 20, farmer's son, worker, of Lezayre, Jane, S, 15, worker, of Lezayre, and the children of his second wife Judith, William, 5, of Lezayre, and Elizabeth, 4, of Lezayre.

- **Manx:** John Cowley Sr. alone is entered as a Manx speaker, the rest as English only (RG13/5300 18 67).

⁵⁹ His first wife Jane died, aged 33, and was buried in Lezayre on 26 August 1884 (LIB).

1901b: TC here as **Thomas Cowley**, head, S, 54, farmer, own account, of Lezayre, living now in Corrody, Lezayre, along with his sister Ann Quayle, widow, 61, house keeper, also of Lezayre.

- **Manx:** Both Thomas and Ann are listed as Manx speakers (RG13/5300 65 33).

1911a: JC here as **John Cowley**, head, 67, M, farmer, employer, of Michael, still living in Druidale MI long with his wife Judith M, 43, M, both married 16 years [c.1894/95] and their son William, 15, S, farmer's son working on farm, worker, of Lezayre, and their daughter Elizabeth, 14, scholar, of Lezayre. Living with them is John E. Coole, servant, 18, S, horse-man on farm, worker, also of Lezayre.

- **Manx:** Both John and Judith are enumerated as Manx speakers, the rest as English only (RG14/34729 0029 15).

1911b: TC here as **Thomas Cowley**, head, 64, S, farmer, own account, at home, [of Lezayre], living now back in Creggan, Tholt-y-Will LE along with his nephew Francis Henry Quayle, 30, S, sheep farmer, own account, of Lezayre, and Eleanor Terasa Quayle, niece, 34, S, Lezayre.

- **Manx:** Thomas Cowley alone is listed as a Manx speaker, the others English only (RG14/34696 0047 24).

John Cowley died, aged 91, and was buried in Lezayre on 26 March 1935 (LIB).

Thomas Cowley. So far as is known, there is no record of his death in Man (LIB, MBMD).

E(JC)>c.1895/96. From LIB we learn that John Cowley's first wife Jane died, aged 33, and was buried in Lezayre on 26.08.1884 (b.1850/51). She is likely to have been Manx speaking and with her husband would probably have brought up their children also Manx speaking, though we have no confirmatory evidence for this. Ten years later, in 1894/95, John married again, viz. Judith, according to the 1901 Census also a Manx speaker along with her husband. That their children are listed in 1901 as English only speakers makes clear that their parents decided not to pass on Manx to their offspring. This would likely happen on the birth of their first child William (b.1895/96) born soon after their marriage.

E(TC)>c.1901-11. Thomas, on the other hand, did not marry or have children at all, so far as we can assess, but lived with family (either with his brother John and his wife and family (1881) or with his sister Ann Quayle and his nieces and nephew (1891)). By 1901 he was living solely with his sister as house-keeper, and in 1911 solely with his nephew and niece, both English only speakers. In 1901 we are told that both Thomas and his sister Ann Quayle were entered as Manx speakers - and so in 1891 when they lived with their seemingly English only speaking nieces and nephew. Whether Thomas spoke Manx or English in John's household 1881-1891 is not clear. But what is clear is that by 1911 his English only speaking nephew had accompanied him back into Creggan. All this would imply that Thomas and his sister Ann Quayle may have passed on Manx to his sister's children when living with them 1881-91; this we do not know. But by 1911 at the latest he would almost certainly be speaking English to his non-Manx speaking nephew Francis Henry Quayle.

Comment:

Marstrander (*Dagbok* 42, 44-45) records interviewing a Mr. Cowley, Creggan, Tholt-y-Will on 21 June 1929, adding that he was then 85 years of age. If so, then he would have interviewed John Cowley, then living in Druidale MI. The occupant of Creggan on Marstrander's visit was John's slightly younger brother Thomas Cowley, then 82 years of age. The fact that Marstrander was specific about the age would suggest that he had interviewed John. If so, then

Thomas may have asked him to come over, or he may have been there when Marstrander visited. But I get the feeling that Marstrander mixed up the ages and interviewed the actual occupant of Creggan, namely Thomas.

4.1.9. Thomas CREBBIN (1847/48-1935), Bradda, Port Erin, Rushen.

"Called on Thomas Crebbin in Bradda Village today, and am going to meet him tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. He appears to have a clear pronunciation. A palatal *n* came very clearly from him. He was born in Port Erin (half way between P. Er. and Bradda Village). Like his father and grandfather he has spoken Manx from early childhood. He appears to pronounce *laa* 'day' with a broad fronted *l*. In other words [Joseph] Woodw[orth] and [Harry] Kelly's pronunciation is flavoured by the dialect from which they learned Manx" (CM1930 *Dagbok* 73-74 (01.09.1930)).⁶⁰

1861: So far as is known, Thomas Crebbin (TC) is first noticed in the 1861 census, 12, of Rushen, son to Thomas Crebbin, head, M, 45, fisherman and 3 acres of land, of Rushen, and his wife Cathrine, M, 45, of Rushen, living in Rowany, Bradda, Rushen, along with their remaining children: Cathrine, 15, John, 9, scholar, Edward, 5, Jane, 2, and William, 6 months, all of Rushen (RG9/4430 44 45).

1871: TC here as Thomas, 21, fisherman, of Be Carick [Baie Carrick, Carrick Bay] RU, on the fishing boat *Harry* CT82, Vessels sailing from Port St. Mary to Kinsale Fishery (RG10/5778 132 *Harry* CT82).

1873: Marriage, Rushen, 18.09.1873 Thomas Crebbin, full age [34], bachelor, fisherman, Spaldrick, f. Thomas Crebbin, fisherman ~ Elizabeth Crebbin, full age [36], spinster, [no entry], Fleshwick, f. Thomas Crebbin, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 18.09.1873, 500).

1881: TC here as Thomas Crebbin, M, 31, fisherman, of Rushen, Fishing boat *Cedar* (RG11/5609 83 9).

1901: TC next turns up in the 1901 census as Thomas Crebbin, head, M, 52, mariner, of Rushen, living in Ballaglonney, Rushen, along with his wife Elizabeth, M, 54, of Rushen, and their children: Catherine, S, 25, Lottie, S, 19, Edith, S, 18, all of Rushen. Living with them was their nephew Thomas E. Corkill, S, 33, naval reservist, of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Thomas Crebbin and his wife Elizabeth are listed as Manx speakers, the rest English only (RG13/5301 118 42).

1911: TC here as Thomas Crebbin, head, 62, M, mariner, worker, of Rushen, living in Bradda, Port Erin RU, along with his wife Elizabeth, 47, M, both married 37 years [c.1873/74], of Rushen, and daughter Ida, 28, S of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Thomas and his wife Elizabeth are both listed as Manx speakers, Ida as English only (RG14/34744 0015 8).

Thomas Crebbin died, aged 87, and was buried in Rushen on 6 December 1935 (LIB).

E>c.1876. In 1901 we learn that Thomas Crebbin and his wife Elizabeth were both Manx speaking, but not their children. They were both married in Rushen on 18 September 1873, but evidently decided not to pass on Manx to their children. English would likely be introduced into the household on the birth of their first child Catherine, b.1876.

4.1.10a. Thomas CREBBIN Jr. (1853/54-1940), Hillberry, Four Roads, Port St. Mary RU.

4.1.10b. Thomas CREBBIN Sr. (1823/24-1904), 'Mona Cottage', Bradda, Rushen.

⁶⁰ For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 398-401.

"T. Crebbin at Four Roads near Port Erin. He is an old man of around 80. His knowledge of Manx is rather limited from several angles. I did not miss much by not visiting him earlier" (CM1930 *Dagbok* 76 (30.09.1930)).

1861: So far as is known, Thomas Crebbin [Jr.] (TC) first appears in the 1861 census as Thomas Crebbin, 8, scholar, of Rushen, son to Thomas Crebbin [Sr.], head, M, 36, fisherman, of Rushen and his wife Eleanor, M, 41, also of Rushen, living in "Brada" [Bradda] RU, also with their remaining children: John, 10, scholar, William, 1, all of Rushen. Living with them is Elenor Clague, servant, S, 18, house servant, of Rushen, and Jane Crebbin, daughter, S, 15, also of Rushen (RG9/4430 40-41 12).

1871: TC Jr. here as Thomas Cribbin, S, 18, of Rushen, son to Eleanor Cribbin, wife, M, 51, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living at Four Roads, Port St. Mary RU, along with the remaining children: Jane, 15, and William, 11, both of Rushen (RG10/5778 79 81).

1881: TC Sr. here as Thomas Crebbin, head, M, 57, fisherman, of Rushen, living in Bradda with his wife Eleanor, 61, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, along with their daughter Jane, S, 25, dressmaker, also of Rushen (RG11/5608 120 115).

1901: TC Jr. turns up next in the 1901 census as Thomas, S, 46, shoemaker, worker, of Rushen, son to Thomas Crebbin [Sr.], head, widower, 76, fisherman, own account, of Rushen, living in "Mona Cottage", Bradda RU, along with daughter Jane, S, 44, house keeper, also of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Both Thomas Sr. and Thomas Jr. are listed as Manx speakers, Jane as English only (RG13/5301 117 20).

1905: Marriage, Rushen, 1 February 1905, Thomas Crebbin, full, bachelor, shoemaker Bradda, f. Thomas Crebbin, Bradda, fisherman ~ Emily Gawne, full, spinster, [no entry], Four Roads, f. William Gawne, tailor (IMPR Marriage, Rushen 01.02.1905, 34).

1911: TC Jr. here as Thomas Crebbin, head, 57, M, mariner, home, of Rushen, living at Hillberry, Four Roads, Port St. Mary, Rushen, along with his wife Emily, 53, M, both married 6 years [1905], of Liverpool, and Thomas's sister Jane Crebbin, 55, S, of Rushen, his nephews John Gawne, 7, and Tommy Gawne, 3, both of Liverpool.

- **Manx:** Only Thomas Crebbin Jr. is listed as a Manx speaker, the rest English only (RG14/34742 0249 123).

Thomas Crebbin Jr. died, aged 87, and was buried in Rushen on 8 May 1940 (LIB).

Thomas Crebbin Sr. died, aged 81, and was buried in Rushen on 25 December 1904 (LIB).

E(TC Sr.)>c.1856/57. In 1901 we learn that Thomas Crebbin Jr. (57) and his father Thomas Crebbin Sr. (76) are both entered as Manx speakers, but not Thomas Sr's daughter (Thomas Jr's sister) Jane (44) (b.c.1856/57). That is to say, that Thomas Sr. and his wife Eleanor had already decided not to pass on Manx to their children after Thomas Jr., i.e. as from Jane born c.1856/57. **Not interviewed.**

E(TC Jr.)>c.1904. In 1911 only Thomas Crebbin Jr. is listed as a Manx speaker, the rest (i.e. his wife, his sister, and his nephews) English only. As his wife Emily, of Liverpool, was an English only speaker, Thomas would speak English to her when they first met; they married in 1905 and they both continued with English with Thomas's sister Jane and his two nephews John and Tommy Gawne. Thomas Jr. may have spoken Manx to his father Thomas Sr. alone till the latter's death in 1904, thereafter English only, at least within the household.

4.1.11. John Tom KAIGHIN (1862/63-1954), Ballagarrett, Bride.

"John Tom Kaighin [Jr.], then 88, was born in and lives at Ballagarrett, was awhile at Ballaugh with his grandfather, spent his life as a farmer and used Gaelic regularly at the market. His fluency returned quickly when he was discovered in 1946 [*rect.* c.1936]. His speech is careless and his articulation often obscure; but he was eager to propose interesting words and constructions and to translate key sentences from English" (Carmody 1954: 59).⁶¹

1871: So far as is known, John Tom Kaighin (JTK) is first noticed in the 1871 census as John T. Kaighin, 8, scholar, grandson to Thomas Kaighin, head, widower, 74, farmer, and son to John Thomas Kaighin Sr., M, 27, both of Ballagarrett Farm House, Bride. Living with them is Jane Kaighin, S, 30, and Eliza Alice Kaighin, 23, daughters to Thomas and sisters to John Thomas Sr., as well as Thomas's remaining grandchildren: William, 5, scholar, Ann Jane, 7, Cathrine, 8 months, all of "Isle of Man". Also living with them is Thomas Martin, servant, S, 16, farm servant indoor, also of "Isle of Man" (RG10/5773 16 65).

1881: JTK here as John Thos. Kaighin, S, 18, farmer's son, of Bride, son to John Thos. Kaighin, head, M, 38, farmer of 53 acres, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 41, of Andreas, living in Ballagarrett BR along with their remaining children: Ann Jane, S, 17, farmer's daughter, William, 15, scholar, Catharine, 10 scholar, Elizabeth, 9, scholar, Sophia A., 7, scholar, Esther M., 5, scholar, Elenor, 3, and Isabella, 1, all of Bride. Living with them is John Thomas Sr's father Thomas Kaighin, widower, 84, farmer, here entered of Jurby, and Elizabeth Kaighin, John Thomas Sr's sister, S, 33, farmer's daughter, of Lezayre (RG11/5599 64 14).

1891: JTK here as John T. Kaighin, 28, S, farm labourer, employed, of Bride, son to John T. Kaighin Sr., head, M, 49, farmer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 54, of Andreas, living now in Ballamin, Bride, along with their remaining children: Margaret E., S, 23, dressmaker, Elizabeth, S, 19, dressmaker, Sophia A., S, 17, scholar, Esther M., S, 15, scholar, Eleanor, S, 13, scholar, and James J. S, 6, scholar, all of Bride. Living with them is William B. W. Lawson, S, 16 farm servant, of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 102 10).

1901: JTK here as John Thos. Kaighin, S, 38 farmers son, worker, at home, of Bride, son to John T. Kaighin Sr., head, M, 59, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 61, farmers wife, of Andreas, living still in Ballamin along with their other children: Henry, S, 18, farmers son, worker, at home, James J., S, 17, farmers son, worker, at home, Esther M, S, 24, worker, at home, Eleanor, S, 22, worker, at home, Annie, gdr. 9, and Alice J., gdr. 6, all of Bride. Living with them is Thomas Crennell, S, 18, cattleman, worker of Bride.

- **Manx:** entered here as Manx speakers are John T. Kaighin Sr, his wife Anne, and the following children: John Thomas, Henry, James J., Esther M, and Eleanor. Entered as English only speakers are the granddaughters Annie and Alice J. and the cattleman Thomas Crennell (RG13/5302 39 10).

1911: JTK turns up next in the 1911 census as John Thomas Kaighin, 48, S, farmer's son working on farm, worker, of Bride, son to John Thomas Kaighin Sr., head, 69, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, 71, of Andreas, both married 49 years [**c.1861/62**]. Living with them in Ballagarrett BR are their other children: William, 44, M, farmer's son working on farm, worker, of Bride, Eleanor, 33, S, farmer's daughter, worker, of Bride, Jane Alice Kaighin, granddaughter, 16, S, milliner, of Bride, John William Kaighin, grandson, 14, S, school, of Douglas, and Thomas Ernest Kaighin, grandson, 2, of Douglas. Also living with them is William Cannell, 15, working indoor, of Douglas.

⁶¹ For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 284-305.

- **Manx**: entered here as Manx speakers are John Thomas Sr., his wife Jane, John Thomas Jr., and his brother William. The rest, viz. Eleanor, and the grandchildren Jane Alice, 16, and Thomas Ernest, 2, and the servant William Cannell, are entered as English only speakers. (RG14/34648 0049 25).

John Thomas Kaighin Jr. died, aged 91, and was buried in Bride on 12 June 1954 (LIB).

John Thomas Kaighin Sr. b. Bride 1842/43. died, aged 71, and was buried in Bride on 27 September 1914 (LIB).

Thomas Kaighin gf. b. Jurby 1797, died, aged 85, and was buried in Bride on 17 April 1882 (LIB).

E>c.1884/85. From the 1901 census we learn that the parents and all six children, from John Thomas downwards to Eleanor, are entered as Manx speakers. Only the two granddaughters Annie and Alice J. are entered as English only speakers. From the 1911 census, however, we learn that only the parents and the two eldest children John Thomas and his brother William are entered as Manx speakers, Eleanor as an English only speaker along with the three grandchildren. But from the 1901 census Eleanor is, as noted above, entered as a Manx speaker. It may be that in the meantime she had chosen to speak English. The situation seems to be that Manx was the language of the household as far as the parents and children were concerned, but that English was spoken to the grandchildren. If this is the case, then the parents made a conscious decision not to pass on Manx to the grandchildren, the eldest of whom, James J. was born c.1884/ 85. That is to say, that English was formally introduced into the Kaighin household in that year, in which case John Tom Kaighin had over 20 years' experience of Manx in the home. In addition, Carmody comments that he lived for a time with his grandfather Thomas Kaighin (1791-1863) (in Close Rhenney, Ballaugh), which would suggest that he was in receipt of good Manx there. The sound-recordings make clear that John Tom Kaighin was competent in Manx.

John Tom Kaighin neither married nor had children, so far as is known.

4.1.12. Henry KARRAN (1860/61-1938), The Howe, Rushen.

- "17th June [1929]: Glorious weather. Started walking to the south [from the Falcon's Nest Hotel, Port Erin] to get a glimpse of the Calf of Man. In the village of Cregneish I had a chat with a 69 yr. old man (Karran). He was from [the] Howe (on the map Howe) just north of Cregneish, but his father was born in Cregneish. He was able to express himself in Manx, as long as the sentence wasn't too complicated. A sentence like 'I would not have beaten him if he were not a bad man' neither he nor another older man could translate. But a sentence like 'I shall go to the fair tomorrow', 'I went to the fair yesterday, but bought nothing' they both managed without any difficulty [...]" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 17 (17.06.1929)).

1871: So far as is known, Henry Karran (HK) is first noticed in the 1871 census as Henry Karran, 11, scholar, of Rushen, "relative" of William Karran, head, M, 70, farmer of 23 acres, of Rushen, and his wife Isabella, M, 73, also of Rushen, living in Figert [Fistard] Road [by Port St. Mary], Rushen, along with William Curk [Quirk], border, 68, fisherman, of Rushen, and Ann Karran "relative", S, 9 scholar, of Rushen (RG10/5778 89 11).

1881: HK here as Henry Karran, S, 21, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Ellan Vannin* (RG11/5609 85 75).

1891: HK here as Henry Karran, S, 32, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Harvest Home* CT115

(RG12 4692 84).

1901: HK here as Henry Karran, head, M, 40, fisherman, of Rushen, living in Cregneash with his wife Isabella, M, 36, of Rushen, and their children: William, 2, of Rushen, Robina, 6 months, Isabel, S, 19, dressmaker, worker, of Rushen.

- **Manx:** entered as Manx speakers are Henry Karran and his wife Isabella, and their eldest daughter Isabel. As William and Robina are under age (younger than 3) no entry is made (RG13/5301 109 152).

Henry Karran died, aged 77, and was buried in Rushen on 12 May 1938 (LIB).

E>1901. According to the 1901 census Henry Karran, his wife Isabella, and their eldest daughter Isabel are enumerated as Manx speakers. Although their youngest children are not enumerated because of their age, there is no reason to believe that they would not have had Manx passed on to them also, though we cannot be certain. But we can be certain that until 1901 Manx was the language of the Karran household.

4.1.13. John KARRAN (1866/67-1955), Cregneash, Rushen.

"I note[d] several constructions used by Mr. Karran [...]" (Carmody 1954: 60).

1881: So far as is known, John Karran (JK) is first noticed in the 1881 census as John Karran, 15, fisherman, of Rushen, aboard the fishing-boat *Seek* CT50 (RG11/5609 88 31).

1901: JK here as John Karran, head, M, 34, stone mason, worker, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, with his wife Eleanor C. (qv), M 29, of Rushen, along with their daughter Emily, J., 1, of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Both John and Eleanor are entered as Manx speakers; no entry is made for the daughter, as under-aged (RG13/5301 108 149).

John Karran died, aged 88, and was buried in Rushen on 16 July 1955.

E>c.1900. See next.

4.1.14. Mrs. Eleanor C. KARRAN (1870/71-1953), Cregneash, Rushen.

"[...] and have excellent Bible readings by his wife [Mrs. Eleanor Karran] [...]" (Carmody 1954: 60).

"Mrs. Eleanor Karran, of Cregneish. About 80. She was my chief source, with whom I worked right through the questionnaire (Jackson 1955: 2).⁶²

1881: So far as is known, Mrs. Eleanor Karran (EK) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Eleanor Karran, 9, of Rushen, daughter of of Isabella Karran, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash RU, with her other children: Jane, 7, Thomas, 5, James, 3, all of Rushen (RG11/5609 8 55).

1891: EK here as Eleanor Karran, S, 20, of Rushen, daughter of Thomas Karran, head, M, 51, farmer, of Rushen, and his wife Isabella, M, 46, also of Rushen, living in Cregneash Farm, Cregneash RU, along with their other children: William, 12, scholar, John F., 9, scholar, Isabella, 4, Margaret A., 1, all of Rushen (RG12/4692 48 97).

⁶² For details of her recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 382-383.

1899: Marriage, Rushen, 22.04.1899 John Karran, 32, bachelor, mason, Cregneish, f. Henry Karran, farmer ~ Eleanor Catharine Karran, 27, spinster, [no entry], Cregneish, f. Thomas Karran, fisherman and farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 22.04.1899, 942). So far as we know, there seems to be no direct or indirect relationship between the two families sharing the same surname.

1900: Baptism, Rushen, 18.02.1900 Emily Isabel, John Karran / Eleanor (Karran), Cregneish, mason, C. H. Leece, Vicar (IMPR Baptism, Rushen, 18.02.1900, 42).

1901: EK here as Eleanor Karran, M, 29, of Rushen, wife of John Karran (qv), head, M, 34, stone mason, of Rushen, living in Cregneash along with their daughter Emily J., 1, of Rushen.
- **Manx:** Both John and Eleanor Karran are entered as Manx speakers (RG13/5301 108 149).

1911: EK here as Eleanor Karran, wife, 40 M, of Rushen, married 12 years [c.1898/99], living in Cregneash, Port St. Mary, with her three children: Emily Isabel, 11, Catharine Millicent, 7, Stanley James Maddrell, 8, all of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Only Eleanor Karran is here entered as a Manx speaker; the rest English only (RG14/34746 0089 41).

Mrs. Eleanor Karran died, aged 83, and was buried in Rushen on 11 October 1953 (LIB).

E>c.1900. Given that John and Eleanor Karran (1901) and Eleanor alone (1911) are only listed as Manx speakers, it is clear that they had decided not to pass on Manx to their children. English would have likely been introduced into the household, as elsewhere, on the birth of their first child Emily Isabel (c.1899/1900) (baptism 18.02.1900), if not earlier.

4.1.15. Thomas KARRAN (1875/76-1959), Douglas (of Cregneash, Rushen).

"Mr. Thomas Karran, her [Eleanor Karran's] brother, now of 30 Peel Street, Douglas. About 75. I had no opportunity of using him" (Jackson 1955: 2).⁶³

1881: So far as is known, Thomas Karran (TC) is first attested in the census for 1881 as Thomas Karran, 5, of Rushen, son to Mrs. Isabella Karran, M, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, along with her other children: Eleanor, 9, Jane, 7, and James, 3, all of Rushen (RG11/5609 8 55).

1891: TC here as Thomas Karran, S, 15, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Sylph* CT 59 (RG12/4692 78).

1899: Marriage, Rushen, 03.03.1899 Thomas Karran, 23, bachelor, mariner, Cregneish, f. Thomas Karran, farmer ~ Annie Louisa Collister, 20, spinster, [no entry], Port Erin, f. William Collister, boatsman (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 03.03.1899, 939).

1911: TC turns up next in the 1911 census as Thomas Karran, head, 35, M, mariner, of Rushen with his wife Annie, 32, also of Rushen, both married 12 years [c.1898/99], living on Dandy Hill, Port Erin, Rushen, along with their children: Wilfrid, 10, school, Lena, 9, William, 8, James, 6, Emily Jane, 3, and Edith, 1, all of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Only Thomas Karran is entered as a Manx speaker, the rest English only (RG14/34745 0123 109). **Not interviewed.**

Thomas Karran died, aged 83, and was buried in Rushen on 17 March 1959 (LIB).

E>c.1899. English would have been introduced formally into the family when Thomas mar-

⁶³ For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 384-385.

ried his wife Annie (03.03.1899), as Annie was an English only speaker.

4.1.16. Edward KENNAH (1860/61-1938), Port Erin, Rushen (of Ronague, Arbory).

"Edward Kennah from Ballaclery, a short distance from Grenaby, is better [than Taggart]. The man is from the Port Erin area. He is an absolutely trustworthy man. But he doesn't speak Manx with ease" (CM1930 *Dagbok* 68 (27.08.1930)).⁶⁴

1871: So far as we are aware, Edward Kennah (EK) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Edward Kennah, 11, scholar, of Arbory, son to James Kennah, head, M, 47, shoemaker, of Arbory, and his wife Jane, M, 37, of Arbory, living in Ronague with their remaining children: Ann K., S, 14, shoemaker's daughter, Margaret J, 9, scholar, Elizabeth, 7, scholar, and William, 3, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 32 58).

1891: EK turns up next in the 1891 census as Edward Kannah, head, M, 33, farmer [of Arbory], living now in Kerrow Moar [Kerrow Mooar], Malew, with his wife Jane M, M, 27, farmer's wife, of "Isle of Man" and daughter: Eleanor J., 2, of "Isle of Man". Also living with them is EK' s mother-in-law Eleanor Gale, widow, 69, living on her own means, also of "Isle of Man" (RG12/4690 120 21).

1901: EK here as Edward Kennah, head, M, 41, farmer, employer, of Arbory, living in Ballayelse, Arbory, along with his wife Jane, M, 38, of Rushen, and daughter Eleanor J., 12, of Malew.

- **Manx:** Both Edward Kennah and his wife Jane are entered as Manx speakers, the daughter Eleanor English only (RG13/5301 168 24).

1911: EK here as Edward Kennah, head, 51, M, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living in Ballamaddrell, Arbory, along with his wife Jane, 47, M, of Rushen, both married 23 years [c.1887/88], and their daughter Eleanor, 22, S, at home, of Malew. Also living with them is Stanley Gell, servant, 17, S, horseman on farm, worker of Malew, and Alfred Wise, servant, 20, single, cowman on farm, worker, of London, Poplar.

- **Manx:** Edward Kennah and his wife Jane are entered as Manx speakers, the rest English only (RG14/34634 0013 76).

Edward Kennah died, aged 78, and was buried in Arbory on 7 May 1938 (LIB).

E>c.1889/90. Edward Kennah and his wife Jane are entered both in 1901 and 1911 as Manx speakers. They ceased to pass on Manx to their children probably on the birth of their first child Eleanor (c.1889/90).

4.1.17. William KENNAH* (1867/68-1939), Balladuggan, Malew.

"William Kennah from Balladuggan just south of Grenaby, 62 yrs. old; he says he can express himself using ordinary sentences in Manx. A random sample 'I am going to Castletown' he translated correctly. His father and mother both spoke Manx, but also a bit of English. When they spoke to each other they used Manx in preference, and especially when there was something they did not wish the children to understand (this trait I have heard emphasised from many other quarters)" (CM 1929 *Dagbok* 15 (16.06.1929)).

1871: So far as is known, William Kennah (WK) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as

⁶⁴ For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 396-397.

William Kennah (younger brother to Edward Kennah (above)), 3, of Arbory, son to James Kennah, head, M, 47, shoemaker of Arbory, and his wife Jane, M, 37, shoemaker's wife, of Arbory, living in Ronague, Arbory, also with their remaining children: Ann R, S, 14, shoemaker's daughter, Edward, 11, scholar, Margaret, 9, scholar, and Elizabeth, 7, scholar, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 32 58).

1901: WK next appears in the census for 1901 as William Kennah, S, 33, farmer, own account, of Arbory, son to Jane, head, widow, 66, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living in Ronague, Arbory, along with her two daughters: Isaline J., S, 24, of Arbory, Ann R. Clarke, M, 44, fisherman's wife, of Arbory, and grandson Ernest Clarke, 12, also of Arbory.

- **Manx:** Both Jane Kennah and William Kennah, as well as Ann Clarke are entered as Manx speakers, the other two, Isaline Kennah and Ernest Clarke, English only (RG13/5301 168 32).

1911: WK here as William Kennah, head, 43, M, farmer, employer, of Arbory, living in Kerrow Moar [Kerrow Mooar], Malew, with his wife Margaret, 38, M, of Arbory, both married 4 years [c.1906/07], and John Crellin, servant, 19, S, after horses, worker, of Marown.

- **Manx:** All are entered here as English only speakers. This would be an error in the case of William Kennah from the 1901 entry (RG14/34714 0013 7).

William Kennah died, aged 90, and was buried in Arbory on 11 July 1958 (LIB).

E>c.1877. In 1901 we are told that entered as Manx speakers are William Kennah's mother Jane (66), William Kennah himself (33) and his elder sister Anne R. (44), but not his younger sister Isaline (24) and his nephew Ernest (12). That would suggest that WK's parents ceased to pass on Manx to their youngest daughter Isaline on her birth (c.1877). But see §8 below.

4.1.18. John KILLIP (1853/54-1935), Ballaugh Road, Sulby, Lezayre.

"21st June [1929]: Ramsey, Saddle Hotel. I called on Mr. Killip before I left Sulby. He lives on the Ballaugh road a couple of hundred metres from Sulby railway station. He turned out to be identical with a man I had stopped the previous night and asked directions to the Sulby Glen Hotel. The man was quite sure of himself and spoke a little about his knowledge of Manx, which in fact was deficient. He couldn't even recite the Our Father and naturally got stuck rather quickly when I gave him the ordinary test sentences" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 46 (20.06.1929)).

"1933 Mr. Killip, Sulby, has forgotten everything. His parents spoke Manx" (CM1933 *Dagbok* 41 (02.02.1933)).

1861: So far as is known, John Killip (JK) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as John Killip, 7, scholar, of Lezayre, son to William Killip, head, M, 40, farmer of 50 acres, of Lezayre, living in Curragh Farm with his wife Margaret, M, 35, farmer's wife, also of Lezayre, and also their other children: Catharine, 13, scholar, Elizabeth, 11, scholar, William, 9, scholar, Christian, daughter, 4, Sophia, 2, all of Lezayre. Living with them is Jane Cowley, servant, 23, house servant, of Lezayre (RG9/4422 18 29).

1871: JK here as John Killip, S, 17, joiner, of Lezayre, son to William Killip, head, M, 50, farmer of 50 acres, of Lezayre, living in Curragh Farm with his wife Margaret, M, 46, also of Lezayre also with their other children: Catharine, S, 22, Eliza J., S, 20, William, S, 19, Christian, 14 scholar, Sophia, 12, scholar, Eliza, 4, and Esther, 1, all of Lezayre (RG10/5773 37-38, 10).

1901: JK turns up next in the census for 1901 as John Killip, S, 47, worker, at home, of Lezayre, living still in Curragh Farm with his father William Killip, M, 80, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, and his wife Margaret, M, 76, of Lezayre, and their servant Isabel Faragher, S, 18, general servant, worker, at home, of Ballaugh.

- **Manx:** All three Killips, viz. William, Margaret and John are entered as Manx speakers, Isabel Faragher English only (RG13/5300 71 24).

1911: JK here as John Killip, head, 57, S, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, living in Curragh Farm still with his sister Sophia Quayle, 52, widow, of Lezayre, and his niece Sophia Mona Quayle, 16, S. of Lezayre, and their servant William Alfred Kneale, 27, S, farm labourer, worker, also of Lezayre.

- **Manx:** All four are entered as English only speakers, though this probably reflects the language spoken at home. We know from the 1901 census (qv) that John Killip was a Manx speaker (RG14/34697 0045 23).

John Killip died, aged 81, and was buried in Ballaugh on 27 February 1935 (LIB). Ballaugh church and churchyard is in fact nearer to the Curragh Farm than is Lezayre church.

E>c.1901-11. In 1901 both John Killip's parents, William and Margaret Killip, as well as John himself are listed as Manx speakers. They would likely converse in Manx between themselves, but speak English to their servant Isabel Faragher. In 1911 John is living with his younger sister Sophia Quayle, probably also a Manx speaker (cf. 1871, as with his then other sisters and brothers), but probably not his niece Sophia Mona Quayle and possibly not the servant William Alfred Kneale. This would suggest that English was introduced into the household when Sophia Mona and William Alfred came to live with them, sometime between 1901 and 1911. In this regard, the fact that Marstrander was able to comment on the poor state of John Killip's Manx, and that the 1911 census reports all four as being English speakers (but entered as Manx speakers in 1901), would support the view that between 1901 and 1911 a decision had been made to introduce English as the daily language of the household. If so, this would explain John's poor Manx, as reported by Marstrander in 1929.

4.1.19. John Dan KINVIG* (1860/61-1953), Ronague, Arbory (of Garey Mooar AR).

"Mr. and Mrs. Kinvig, of Garee Hollin, Ronague. Aged about 90 and 80. Mrs. Kinvig can read Manx. I was unable to visit them at all" (Jackson 1955: 3).

1871: So far as is known, John Dan Kinvig (JDK) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as John Kinvig, 9, scholar, of Arbory, son to Elenor Kinvig, M, 35, fisherman's wife, of Patrick, living in Garey Mooar, Arbory,⁶⁵ also with her other children: Jane, 7, William, 5, Ann, 3, Robert, 1, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 32 59).

1881: JDK here as John Kinvig, S, 19, agricultural labourer, of Arbory, son to Eleanor Kinvig, M, 47, fisherman's wife, farming 10 acres, of Patrick, living still in Garey Mooar AR, also with her other children: Ann, 13, fisherman's daughter, Robert, 12, scholar, George, 8, scholar, Alfred, 4, all of Arbory (RG11/5608 79 54).

1891: JDK here as John Kinvig, S, 29, stonemason, employed, of Arbory, son to Daniel Kinvig, head, M, 66, farmer, employer, of Arbory, and Eleanor Kinvig, wife, M, 58, of Patrick, living in Ronague AR also with their other children: George, S, 17, farm servant, employed, and Alfred, 14, employed, both of Arbory (RG12/4691 82 27).

⁶⁵ The father was Daniel Kinvig (1835-1916) (IMPR Arbory, Baptisms 1834-1883, MS.10356-2).

1892: Marriage, Arbory, 01.11.1892 John Kinvig, full [31/32], bachelor, farmer, Gearey Moar [Garey Mooar], f. Daniel Kinvig, farmer ~ Sage Jane Clarke, full [22/23], spinster, [no entry], Ronague, f. William Clarke, farmer (IMPR Arbory, 01.11.1892, 378).

1901: JDK turns up next in the 1901 Census as John Kinvig, head, M, 39, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living now in Gaa helen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with his wife Sage Kinvig (qv), M, 30 of Arbory, and their children: John F[lletcher], 7, Eleanor J., 6, Elizabeth E., 4, Gertie M., 3, all of Arbory. Living with them is Jane Clarke, mother-in-law, widow, 62, retired farmer's wife, of Arbory.

- **Manx:** The following are entered as Manx speakers: John and Sage Kinvig, John F[lletcher] Kinvig, and Mrs. Jane Clarke; the rest are English only (RG13/5301 169 37).

1911: JDK here as John Kinvig, head, 49, M, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living still in Gahelen [Garey Hollin] AR, along with his wife Sage Kinvig, 40, M, assisting, of Arbory, both married 18 years [1892], and their children: John F[lletcher], 17, worker, William D, 9, school, Nellie, 16, domestic servier, Bessie, 14, school, Gertie, 13, school, Blanche, 11, school, Elsie, 6, at home, and Myra, 1, at home, all of Arbory.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are John and Sage Kinvig, the rest English only. Note that John F[lletcher] was entered as a Manx speaker in 1901, but English only in 1911. The latter may represent his later developed preference for English? (RG14/34635 0027 14), perhaps as a result of his bad experience in school at having been taunted because he had Manx when seven years old (in 1900-01) (cf. §8.2.1.4 below). **Not interviewed.**

John Dan Kinvig died, aged 92, and was buried in Arbory on 28 April 1953 (LIB).⁶⁶

Daniel Kinvig f. died, aged 81, and was buried in Arbory on 5 December 1906⁶⁷ (LIB).

E>c.1895. In 1901 we learn that the Manx speakers comprise John Dan Kinvig, his wife Sage Jane, their eldest son John F[lletcher] (7), and Sage Jane's mother Mrs. Jane Clarke. This suggests that John Dan and his wife Sage Jane ceased to pass on Manx after their first born, introducing English after the birth of their second child Eleanor (c.1895). We learned c. 1975 from field-worker, lexicographer the late Douglas C. Faragher who knew John Dan Kinvig personally, that he had very good Manx.

4.1.20. Mrs. Sage Jane KINVIG* (1869/70-1962), Garey Hollin, Arbory.

"Mr. and Mrs. Kinvig, of Garey Hollin, Ronague. Aged about 90 and 80. Mrs. Kinvig can read Manx. I was unable to visit them at all" (Jackson 1955: 3).⁶⁸

1870: Baptism, Arbory, 6 November 1870: Sage Jane daughter, f. William Clarke and m. Jane (Kelly), Ronnag, farmer, J. Qualtrough, Vicar (IMPR Baptism, Arbory, 06.11.1870, 1860).

1871: So far as is known, Sage Jane Kinvig (SJK) is first notice in the census for 1871 as Sage J. Clarke, 6 months, daughter to William Clarke, head, M, 47, farmer of 10 acres, employing 1 man, of Malew, living in Gar helen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with his wife Jane, M, 30, farmer's wife, of Arbory. Also living with them is Elizabeth Kelly, sister-in-law, S, 28, general servant, of Arbory, and Edward Kelly, brother-in-law, S, 20, farm servant indoor, also of Arbory (RG10/5778 30 35).

1881: SJK here as Sage Clarke, 10, scholar, of Arbory, daughter to William Clarke, head, M,

⁶⁶ Although JDK is regularly entered in the censuses as 'John Kinvig', he was apparently known locally, according to the field-workers, as 'John Dan Kinvig' (from his father's name Daniel) and 'The Contractor', from his later occupation as a stone mason.

⁶⁷ 1916 in LIB, probably a msprint for 1906 (cf. MBMD Death, Daniel Kinvig, 81, Arbory, 1906, C1, 279).

⁶⁸ For details of her recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 376-381.

57, farmer (13 acres), of Malew, living in Ballaquinney, Arbory, along with his wife Jane, M, 42, farmer's wife, of Arbory. Living with them is Elizabeth Kelly, sister-in-law, S, 40, general servant domestic, of Arbory, and Esther Clarke, mother, widow, 85, farmer's widow, of Patrick (RG11/5608 76 31).

1891: SJK here as Sage Clarke, S, 20, dressmaker, of Arbory, daughter to William Clarke, head, M, 69, farmer, of Patrick, living still in Ballaquinney AR along with his wife Jane, M, 57, farmer's wife, of Arbory (RG12/4691 84 38).

1892: Marriage, Arbory, 01.11.1892 John Kinvig, full [31-32], bachelor, farmer, Gearey Moar, f. Daniel Kinvig, farmer ~ Sage Jane Clarke, full [22/23], spinster, [no entry], Ronague, f. William Clarke, farmer (IMPR Arbory, 01.11.1892, 378).

1901: SJK here as Sage Kinvig, M, 30, of Arbory, wife to John Kinvig (qv), head, M, 39, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living in Gar helen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with their children: John F[letcher], 7, Eleanor J., 6, Elizabeth E., 4, Gertie M., 3, and Blanche, 1, all of Arbory. Living with them is Mrs. Jane Clarke, mother-in-law, 62, widow, retired farmer's wife, of Arbory.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are John and Sage Kinvig, their eldest son John F[letcher], and the mother-in-law Mrs. Jane Clarke, the rest English only (RG13/5301 169 37).

1908: Burial, Arbory, 07.05.1908 Jane Clarke, Ronague, 1908 May 7, 68, John Kewly (IMPR Burial, Arbory, 07.05.1908, 1189).

1911: SJK here as Sage Kinvig, 40, M, assisting, of Arbory, wife to John Kinvig, head, 49, M, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living still in Gahelen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, both married 18 years [**1892**] and their children: John F[letcher], 17, worker, William, 9, school, Nellie, 16, domestic servier, Bessie, 14, school, Gertie, 13, school, Blanche, 11, school, Elsie, 6, at home, and Myra, 1, at home, all of Arbory.

- **Manx :** Entered as Manx speakers are John and Sage Kinvig alone, the rest English only. As noted under John Dan Kinvig above, John F[letcher]. is entered as a Manx speaker in 1901, but English only in 1911 (but see foregoing). **Not interviewed** by Jackson but recorded by the Irish Folklore Commission (1948) and *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* the Manx Language Society (1952, 1953).

Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig died on 13 April 1962, aged 91, and was buried in Arbory of 17 April 1962 (GR, LIB).

Mrs. Jane Clarke, mother, died, aged 68, and was buried in Arbory on 7 May 1908 (IMPR Burial, Arbory, 07.05.1908, 1189).

E>c.1895 or 1908. As noted under John Dan above, in 1901 we learn that the Manx speakers comprise John Dan Kinvig, his wife Sage Jane, their eldest son John F[letcher] (7), and Sage Jane's mother Mrs. Jane Clarke. This suggests that John Dan and his wife Sage Jane ceased to pass on Manx after their first born, introducing English after the birth of their second child Eleanor (c.1895), though they would likely continue speaking Manx to Sage Jane's mother, Jane Clarke till her death in 1908. Or that Manx continued to be spoken by everyone in the household till Jane Clarke's death in 1908.

4.1.21. John James KISSACK (1857/58-1947), Ballachrink, Michael.

"P.S. Kirk Michael: John Kissack in Ballachrink on the Douglas road just on the outskirts of Kirk Michael; he is a man of over 70 yrs. He knows amongst other things the Our Father [Lord's Prayer] in Manx - but appears strangely enough not to be able to count to 10" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 37 top but

indicated to be placed on p. 35 (19.06.1929)).

1861: So far as is known, John James Kissack (JJK) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as John James Kissack, 5, scholar, of Michael, son to William Kissack, head, M, 41, agricultural labourer, of German, living in Lhergydhoo (Curragh), German, along with his wife Margaret, M, 32, of Braddan, also their other children: William, 12, scholar, of German, Jane Kissack, 14, scholar, of Michael, Ann, 7, scholar, of German, and Thomas, 2, infant, also of German (RG9/4420 45 52).

1881: JJK turns up next in the census for 1881 as John James Kissack, servant, S, 24, farm servant, of Michael, living in and working for the Cannells in Ballacarnane Beg, Michael (RG11/5598 55 22).

1901: JJK turns up next in the 1901 census as John Kissack, head, M, 46, stoker on steam ship, worker, of Michael, living in Ballagawne, Michael, along with his wife Isabella, M, 51, of Rushen, and their three daughters: Margaret J., 15, Emely A, 13, and Christian, 11, all of Michael.

- **Manx:** All are entered as English only speakers (but see next) (RG13/5300 30 26).

1911: JJK here as John Jas. Kissick, head, 55, M, farm labourer, of Michael, living in Ballagawne, Michael, with his wife Isabella, 61, M, of Rushen, both married for 28 years [c.1882/83].

- **Manx:** Both John James and Isabella Kissack are entered here as Manx speakers (RG14/34731 0011 6).

John James Kissack died, aged 76, and was buried in Michael on 6 June 1933 (LIB).

E>c.1886. In 1911 we learn that both John James Kissack and his wife Isabella are entered as Manx speakers. If we take it that this also applied in 1901 then they, too, did not wish to pass on Manx to their children. They would likely introduce English formally into the household on the birth of their eldest child Margaret (c.1886).

4.1.22. Charles KNEALE (1856/57-1946), Ballagarrett, Bride.

1861: So far as is known, Charles Kneale (CN) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as Charles Kneale, 4, of Bride, son to John Kneale, head, M, 43, farmer of 60 acres, of Andreas, living in Ballagarrett, Bride, along with his wife Margaret, M, 40, as well as their remaining children: John, S, 19, Katherine, S, 17, Thomas, S, 16, Daniel, 3, Mary, 8, scholar, Robert, 6, scholar, Esther, 5, scholar, Ellen, 3, James, 2, all of Bride (RG9/4413 30 28).

1871: CK here as Chas. Kneale, S, 14, labouring boy, son to John Kneale, head, M, 54, living in Ballagarrett Farm House, Bride, along with his wife Margaret, M, 46, and their other children: Robert, S, 16, labouring boy, Ellen Jane, 13, scholar, James, 11, scholar, Joseph, 10, scholar, Eliza, 8, scholar, Isabella, 7, scholar, all of "Isle of Man". Living with them are their grandchildren John J., 3, grandson, and Polly, 2, granddaughter, both of "Isle of Man" (RG10/5773 16 64).

1881: CK here as Charles Kneale, 24, farmer's son, of Bride, son to John Kneale, head, M, 64, of Andreas, living now in Ballacregga, Bride, along with his wife Margaret, M, 61, of Bride, and their other children: Thomas, S, 36, Robert, S, 27, James, S, 21, Joseph, S, 19, all farmer's sons, all of Bride, Ellenor, S, 22, Eliza, S, 17, and Isabella, S, 16, all farmer's daughters, all of Bride. Living with them is John Kerruish, grandson, 13, "blind from birth", and Thomas Carran, 1, grandson, both of Bride (RG11/5599 64 10).

1891: CK here as Charles Kneale, S, 34, agricultural labourer, of Bride, son to John Kneale, head, widower, 74, farmer, of Andreas, living still in Ballacregga, Bride, along with his other children: James, S, 31, agricultural labourer, Joseph, S, 30, agricultural labourer, all of Bride. Living with them is his grandson John Kerruish, S, 23, "blind from birth", here of Ballaugh, Thomas Cowle, servant, S, 20, agricultural labourer, of Ballaugh. As well there are his two daughters Ellin, S, 38, house-keeper domestic, and Isabella, S, 26, dressmaker, both of Bride, and his granddaughter Sarah A. Kerruish, 14, servant (domestic), of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 102 5).

1901: CK here as Charles Kneale, head, M, 44, farmer, own account, of Bride, living once again in Ballagarrett, Bride, along with his wife Ann J. M, 36, also of Bride, along with their children: Hilda, 14, Wilfred, 9, Louise, 4, John C., 3, Willie A., 1, and Bertha J., 4 months, all of Bride.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Ann J., the rest English only. No entry for those children under 3 years (RG13/5302 46 1).

1911: CK here as Charles Kneale, head, 53, M, farmer, here of Bride, living in Ballagarrett, Bride, along with his wife Annie, 46, M, of Bride, both married 15 years [c.1895/96], and their children: Wilfred, 18, S, farmer's son working on farm, Louise, 14, farmer's daughter, dairy work, John-Chas, 12, school, William Allen, 11, school, Bertha, 10, school, Margaret A., 8, Eva Edith, 6, Robert, 4, and Fred[r]ick Edward, 1, all of Bride.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Annie, the rest English only (RG14/34649 0001 1). **Not interviewed.**

Charles Kneale died, aged 89, and was buried in Bride on 29 December 1946 (LIB).

E>c.1886/87. In both 1901 and 1911 Charles Kneale and his wife Annie are entered as Manx speakers. Nevertheless, they chose not to pass on Manx to their offspring. This would likely start from the birth of their eldest child Hilda (c.1886/87). Hilda's non-appearance in the 1911 census may be for various reasons, e.g. she may have died in the meantime, or gone to live elsewhere. Nonetheless, the decision of Charles and Annie Kneale to introduce English into the household is in my view to be taken from Hilda's birth. See also next.

4.1.23. Mrs. Annie KNEALE (1864-1949), Ballagarrett, Bride.⁶⁹

1901: So far as is known, Mrs. Annie Kneale (AK) is first noticed in the 1901 census as Ann J. Kneale, M, 36, of Bride, wife to Charles Kneale, head, M, 44, farmer, own account, here of Bride, living in Ballagarrett, Bride, with their children: Hilda, 14, Wilfred, 9, Louise, 4, John C., 3, Willie A., 1, and Bertha J., 4 months, all of Bride.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Ann J., the rest English only. No entry for those children under 3 years (RG13/5302 46 1).

1911: AK here as Annie Kneale, 46, M, of Bride, wife to Charles Kneale, head, 56, M, farmer, of Bride, living in Ballagarrett, Bride, both married 15 years [c.1895/96] along with their children: Wilfred, 18, S, farmer's son working on farm, Louise, 14, farmer's daughter, dairy work, John-Chas, 12, school, William Allen, 11, school, Bertha, 10, school, Margaret A., 8, Eva Edith, 6, Robert, 4, and Fred[r]ick Edward, 1, all of Bride.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Annie, the rest English only (RG14/34649 0001 1).

⁶⁹ For details of her recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 306-309.

Mrs. Annie Kneale died, aged 85, and was buried in Bride on 4 May 1949 (LIB).

E>c.1886/87. For comment see foregoing.

4.1.24. John KNEEN ("The Gaaue") (1858/59-1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St. Jude's, Andreas).

"Furthermore [a man from Sartfield gave me as a good Manx speaker] Mr. Kneen, Lhen (a short distance from Sartfield)" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 57 (30.06.1929)).⁷⁰

"Jackie Kneen, then 96, was born at Kirk Andreas of local parents and spent his active days as a blacksmith in Jurby East, in constant contact with Gaelic speaking farmers. He speaks clearly, converses with enthusiasm, describes old-time situations and tells anecdotes of his early life; none of his stories show[s] traces of fixed wording or narrative techniques. He was able to propose Gaelic translations for English sentences submitted to him orally, and gave these with conviction. His speech, hesitant in 1948, was completely free in 1949 (Carmody 1954: 59).⁷¹

1860: Baptism, Andreas, 22 February 1860, John, son of John Kneen & Eleanor Margaret (Cannan), St. Judes, Andreas, Blacksmith, G. Bishop (IMPR Baptism, Andreas, 22.02.1860, 624).

1861: So far as is known, John Kneen (The Gaaue) (JK) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as John Kneen, 1, of Andreas, son to John Kneen, head, M, 42, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Eleanor K., M, 33, of Kirk German, living at Cross Four Ways, Andreas, along with their other children: Esther A, 14, agricultural labourer, of Kirk German, William, 13, scholar, also of Kirk German, Eleanor, 10 scholar, of Andreas, Catherine, 7, scholar, of Andreas, and Elizabeth, 4, also of Andreas (RG9/4410 45 91).

1871: JK here as John Kneen, 10, scholar, son to John Kneen, head, M, 53, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Ellen, M, 48, of Michael, living in Lheaney Voar House, Jurby, along with their children: William, S, 22, blacksmith's son, of German, Catharine, S, 16, blacksmith's daughter, of Lezayre, Elizabeth, S, 13, blacksmith's daughter, of Andreas, Thomas, 4, and Robert, 1, both of Andreas (RG10/5772 138 49).

1873: Baptism, Andreas, 2 November 1873, Esther, daughter of Caesar Kennish & Ann (Cormode), Andreas, Labourer, Jos. C. Moore (IMPR Baptism, Andreas, 02.11.1873, 618).

1881: JK here as John Kneen, S, 21, blacksmith, of Andreas, son to John Kneen, head, M, 62, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Eleanor M, 58, blacksmith's wife, of German, living still in Lheaney Voar, Jurby, along with their other son Robert, 11, scholar, of Jurby (RG11/5598 113 4).

1891: JK here as John Kneen, S, 31, blacksmith, of Andreas, son to Ellan Kneen, head, widow, 67, of German, living still in Lheney Voar, Jurby, along with her daughter: Ellan, S, 40, farmer's daughter, of Andreas, as well as her granddaughter Florence, 7, scholar, of

⁷⁰ Although recommended to Marstrander, Kneen was for some reason not visited by him and thereby passed temporarily into oblivion. He was "rediscovered" seven years later, in 1936, as John Kneen (The Gaaue) (1859-1958), Ballaugh Curragh, by Manx field-worker, the late Chalse Craine, Mwyllin Squeen, Ballaugh, then a counter clerk in the Isle of Man Bank, Ramsey (later its manager). Craine told me in July 1974 that around the same time he also "discovered" John Tom Kaighin (1862-1954), Ballagarrett, Bride, and Harry Boyde (c.1870-1953), Ballaugh, as all three used to come into his bank every Saturday morning to deposit their week's takings. He said they all looked old enough to be Manx speakers and one Saturday, he said, he plucked up enough courage to speak to them in Manx when they came to his counter. They each replied in Manx, Craine said, and he then introduced himself to them, and thereafter spoke to them in Manx whenever they would come to his counter.

⁷¹ John Kneen was better known by his contemporaries as 'The Gaaue' (blacksmith). Most of the material we have of him is folklife in character, along with a number of stories, mostly of his younger days (cf. HLSM/I: 230-269). His articulation on the sound-recordings presents some problems of interpretation, and he is one of the more difficult of informants to understand (GB).

Liverpool, and her two grandsons: John A. Pooley, 5, of Liverpool, and John R. Corlett, 17, blacksmith apprentice, of Jurby (RG12/4684 4 13).

1897: Marriage, Jurby, 21 August 1897 John Kneen, full, bachelor, blacksmith, Jurby, f. John Kneen, blacksmith ~ Esther Kennish, full, spinster, [no entry], Jurby, Caesar Kennish (IMPR Marriage, Jurby, 21.08.1897, 127).

1901: JK here as John Kneen, head, M, 42, blacksmith, of Andreas, living in Lheaney Voar with his wife Esther, M,⁷² 26, of Andreas, along with their two children: Ethel M, 2, of Jurby, and John F. 9 months, of Liverpool, and their nephew John A, Pooley, 15, blacksmith's apprentice [of Liverpool].

- **Manx**: Entered as a Manx speaker is solely John Kneen, the rest English only (RG13/5302 67 12).

1911: JK here as John Kneen, head, 49, M, blacksmith, own account, of Andreas, living now in Loughan, Jurby, along with his wife Esther, 36, M, also of Andreas, both married 13 years [c.1897], and their children: Ethel May, 12, John Francis, 10, school, Edward, 9, school, Esther Mildred, 6, and Emily Florence, 2, all of Jurby.

- **Manx**: Entered as a Manx speaker is solely John Kneen, the rest English only (RG14/34694 0021 13).

John Kneen (The Gaau) died, aged 100, and was buried in Andreas on 8 June 1958 (LIB).

Esther Kneen died, aged 58, and was buried in Andreas on 16 July 1931 (LIB).

E>c.1897. As John Kneen's wife had no Manx, it was clear that English would be the language of the household. This would likely be introduced formally into their household on their marriage on 21 August 1897.

In 1891 JK would likely continue to speak Manx to his mother Ellan (Eleanor) on her own but English when his mother's granddaughter Florence (of Liverpool) and grandson John A. Pooley (Liverpool) at any rate were present, probably also with the other grandson John Corlett (Jurby) when he was present.

4.1.25. William KNEEN (1856/57-1938), Croit-y-Caley, Rushen.

"It was this man [from Ballasalla], however, who told me about William Kneen as a good speaker. This Kneen is over 70 yrs., born in Croit-e-Caley (somewhat south-west of Colby) where he now lives" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 14-15 (16.06.1929)).

1871: So far as is known, William Kneen (WK) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as William Kneen, 14, scholar, of Arbory, son to William Kneen, head, M, 40, farmer of 112 acres employing 1 man and 2 lads, of Rushen, living in Belleby, Patrick, along with his wife Elizabeth, M, 48, farmer's wife, of Arbory, and other children: Eleanor, S, 16, farmer's daughter, of Arbory, Elizabeth Ann, 11, scholar, of Arbory, Richard Thomas, 8, scholar, of Arbory, John Henry, 5, scholar, of Patrick. Living with them is Catherine Kneen, servant, 33, general servant domestic, of Patrick, John Kannaugh, servant, 24, farmservant, indoor, of German, and Evan Kannaugh, 17, farm servant indoor, also of Patrick (RG10/5771 14-15 10).

1881: WK here as William Kneen, S, 24, farmer's son working on farm, of Arbory, son to William Kneen, head, M, 50, farmer of 111 acres, employs 1 labourer 1 boy, of Rushen, living still in Belleby, Patrick, along with his wife Elizabeth, M, 57, farmer's wife, of Arbory, and their other children: Elizabeth, S, 21, farmer's daughter, of Arbory, Richard Thomas, S, 18,

⁷² Esther Kneen (alias Kennish), f. Caesar Kennish, m. Ann Cormode, was christened on 2 November 1873 in St. Jude's Church, Kirk Andreas (IMPR Baptisms, Andreas, St Jude's, 02.11.1873, 618).

farmer's son work on farm, of Arbory, John Henry, S, 15, farmer's son, scholar, of Kirk Patrick. Living with them is Sophia Christian, servant, S, 21, house servant (do.), of Patrick, and Thomas Kneale, servant, S, 15, farm servant indoor, of Michael (RG11/5596 15 6).

1901: WK turns up next in the census for 1901 as William Kneen, head, M, 44, farmer, employer, of Arbory, living now in Croit-y-Caley, Rushen, along with his wife Eva, M, 44, of German, and their two sons William, 11, of German, and Alfred G., 6, also of German. Living with them is Thomas Maddrell, servant, S, 46, horseman on farm, worker, of Patrick, and Mary Corlett, servant, S, 18, servant domestic, of Rushen.

- **Manx:** All are entered as English only speakers (RG13/5301 135 86).

1911: WK here as William Kneen, head, 54, M, farmer, employer, at home, of Arbory, living in Croit-y-Caley, Rushen, along with his wife Eva, 54, M, of German, both married 22 years [c.1888/89], and their son Alfred G., 16, S, articled accountant, worker, of German. Living with them is William Kneen Sr. boarder, 80, widower, retired farmer, of Rushen, Herbert McFee, servant, 32, widower, labourer on farm, worker, of Santon, and Margaret Duke, servant, 25, S, general servant (domestic), worker, of Malew.

- **Manx:** Entered as a Manx speaker is solely William Kneen Sr. (1831-1913), the rest English only. William Kneen Jr. is likely to have had Manx to be recommended to Marstrander (RG14/34748 0173 22). **Not interviewed.**

William Kneen Sr. died, aged 82, and was buried in Rushen on 15 January 1913 (LIB).

William Kneen Jr. died, aged 81, and was buried in Rushen on 8 August 1938 (LIB).

E>c.1888/89. As William Kneen Sr. is the only Manx speaker entered in the 1911 census, it is clear that English would be the language of the household. This would likely take place formally on his marriage to Eva, seemingly an English only speaker, in 1888/89.

4.1.26. Thomas ("Tommy") LEECE (1859/60-1956), Kerroomoar, Kerrookeil, Malew.

"[...] Aged 91. A very good speaker, from whom I got some valuable material [...]" (Jackson 1955: 3).⁷³

1861: So far as is known Thomas (Tommy) Leece (TL) is first noticed in the 1861 census as Thos. Leece, 1, of Arbory, son to Samuel Leece, head, M, 35, lead ore washer, of Arbory, living on the Ronague Road AR with his wife Margaret, M, 26, of Patrick, and their other children: Edna, 5, and Louisa, 3, both of Arbory (RG9/4409 41 13).

1871: TL here as Thomas Leece, 11, scholar, of Arbory, son to Samuel Leece, head, M, 46, lead miner, of Arbory, living in Ronague, Arbory, with his wife Mary Ann, M, 36, lead miner's wife, of Patrick, and their other children: Louisa, 13, scholar, Edward, 10, scholar, and Robert, 8, scholar, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 31 51).

1881: TL here as Thomas Leece, S, 21, labourer, of Arbory, living in Malew, boat *Hope* (fishing boat based in Castletown) (RG11/5609 101 103).
(fishing boat based in Castletown) (RG11/5609 101 103).

1901: TL here as Thomas Leece, M, 41, farmer, employer, of Malew, living in Ballarobbin AR/ML with his father-in-law William Watterson, head, M, 67, farmer, own account, of Malew, and his wife, M, 66, of Malew, along with his (TL's) wife Elizabeth Leece, 34, of Malew, and the Watterson children: William E., S, 27, general farm servant, worker, at home, of Malew, and Elenor J., S, 24, also of Malew, as well as their grandchildren (Thomas Leece's

⁷³ For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 374-375.

children): Annie, gdr., 10, Florie, 7, Bertha, 3, and Thomas H., 4, all of Malew.

- **Manx**: Entered as Manx speakers are: William Watterson and his wife Ann, and Thomas Leece, the rest English only (RG13/5308 68 18).

1911: TL turns up next in the census for 1911 as Thomas Leece, head, 50, M, farmer, employer, of Arbory, living in Moaney Moar, Malew, along with his wife Elizabeth Ann, 45, M, of Patrick, both married 25 years [**c.1885/86**], and their children: Florence, 17, S, dairy worker, Thomas Henry, 11, Isabel, 7, and Alfred, 5, all of Malew.

- **Manx**: Entered as a Manx speaker is solely Thomas Leece Sr., the rest English only (RG14/34714 0017 9).

Thomas Leece died, aged, 96, and was buried in Arbory on 15 April 1956 (LIB).

E>c.1885/86. In 1901 Thomas Leece along with his parents-in-law are entered as Manx speakers. Thomas Leece is entered as the sole Manx speaker in his household in 1911. As his wife and their children are entered as English only speakers, English is likely to have been introduced formally into the family on TL's marriage to his wife Elizabeth Ann in 1885/86.

4.1.27. Thomas LOONEY (1852/53-1930), Glebe Farm, Maughold.

"A digger at the churchyard [Maughold] gave me Tom Looney, ca. 75 yrs., as one who spoke Manx. He lives quite close to the churchyard. He was not at home when I came, but his brother's son said he had only heard "an odd word of Manx" from him. So he can probably be erased from my list of Manx speakers" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 48-50 (22.06.1929)).

1861: So far as is known, Thomas Looney (TL) is first noticed in the 1861 census as Thomas Looney, 7, scholar, of Maughold, son to Thomas Looney Sr., head, M, 45, farmer of 40 acres, of Maughold, living in the Village of Maughold along with his wife Catherine, M, 46, of Kirk Bride, and their other children: Annie, 11, scholar, John, 9, scholar, Edward, 4, scholar, and Catherine, 4, scholar, all of Maughold. Living with them is Thomas Lockel, man servant, 18, carter, also of Maughold (RG9/4425 5 13).

1871: TL here as Thomas Looney, S, 17, farmer's son, of Maughold, son to Thomas Looney Sr., head, M, 54, farmer (50 acres), of Maughold, living now in Ballakillee, Maughold, along with his wife Catherine, M, 53, of Bride, and their other children: John, S, 19, farmer's son, Edward, 14, farmer's son, and Catherine, 14, farmer's daughter, all of Maughold (RG10/5773 87 70).

1881: TL here as Thomas Looney, servant, S, 26, farm servant indoor, of Maughold, living and working in Ballaterson House, Maughold (RG11/5600 18 33).

1882: Marriage, Maughold, 02.02.1882 Thomas Looney, full [26/27], bachelor, labourer, Maughold, f. Thomas Looney, labourer ~ Sarah Corkill, full [30/31], spinster, [no entry], Maughold, f. John Corkill, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Maughold, 02.02.1882, 220).

1891: TL here as Thomas Looney, head, M, 37, farmer, of Maughold, living in Ballaterson, Maughold, along with his wife Sarah, M, 41, of Maughold, along with their two sons Reuben, 12, scholar, and John T., 8, scholar, both of Maughold (RG12 4684 160 33).

1901: TL here as Thomas Looney, widower, 46, farmer, of Maughold, son to Thomas Looney Sr, head, widower, 83, retired farmer, of Maughold, living in Maughold Village along with the latter's daughter Catherine, S, 43, of Maughold, and his grandson John Thomas Looney, S, 18, agricultural labourer, also of Maughold.

- **Manx**: Entered as a Manx speaker is Thomas Looney Sr. only, the rest English only (RG13/

5302 8 47).

1911: TL here as Thomas Looney, head, 57, widower, farmer, employer, of Maughold, living in Glebe Farm, Maughold, along with his sister Catherine Jane, 54, S, house keeper, worker, at home, of Maughold, his niece Annie Looney Vickers, 19, S, general servant domestic, worker, at home, of Frizington, Cumberland. Living with them is boarder John Robert Looney, 20, S, parish clerk and sexton, worker, of Maughold.

- **Manx:** Entered here as a Manx speaker is solely Thomas Looney Jr., the rest English only, though it is likely that his sister Catherine Jane, younger only by three years, also had Manx (RG14/34721 0069 35).

Thomas Looney Jr. died, aged 77, and was buried in Maughold on 22 September 1930 (LIB).

Sarah Looney died, aged 44, and was buried in Maughold on 17 October 1893 (LIB).

E>c.1882. In 1901 and 1911 Thomas Looney is entered as the sole Manx speaker in his family. However, as his wife Sarah died in 1893, it is not known whether she was a Manx speaker or not, or whether English was introduced into the household on Thomas's marriage with Sarah (02.02.1882) or on the birth of their first child Reuben (c.1882). Although the 1911 census enters Thomas Looney as a Manx speaker (he was listed as English only in 1901, probably reflecting his preferred language), Marstrander reported that he allegedly only had "an odd word of Manx". He had seemingly ceased to speak Manx, as we suspect, in 1882, and if so by 1929 he would not have spoken it for some forty-seven years, and so would largely have forgotten it, hence the foregoing comment.⁷⁴

4.1.28. Mrs. Emily LOWEY (1867-1947), Kirkill, Rushen.⁷⁵

1867: Baptism, Rushen, 29.09.1867 Emily Jane Taylor, Lingague RU, m. Margaret Taylor, illegitimate (iMuseum Baptisms, Rushen, 29.09.1867; http://imuseum.im/search/agent_record/view?from=0&id=mnh-age...).

1871: So far as is known Mrs. Emily Lowey (EL) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Emily Taylor, 3, scholar, of Rushen, granddaughter to Henry Taylor, head, M, 66, labourer, of Rushen and his wife Elizabeth, M, 63, of Rushen, living on the Lengage [Lingague] Road RU, along with their children: Richard, S, 22, miner, and Margaret, S, 25, general servant, both of Rushen.

1881: EL here as Emily Taylor, 13, of Rushen, granddaughter to Henry Taylor, head, M, 76, formerly farm labourer, living in Lingague with his wife Elizabeth, M, 72, of Rushen, and their daughter Margaret, S, 35, also of Rushen (RG11/5608 85 29).

1896: Marriage Rushen, 22.02.1896 Henry Lowey, full [34/35], bachelor, farmer, Kirkill, f. William Lowey, farmer ~ Emily Jane Taylor, full [28/29], [no entry], Lingague, [father unknown] (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 22.02.1896, 887).

1901: So far as is known, Mrs. Emily Lowey (EL) is first noticed in the census for 1901 as Emily Lowey, M, 35, of Rushen, wife to Henry Lowey, head, M, 40, farmer, own account, of Rushen, living in Kirkill, Rushen. with their two sons William, 5, and John, 4 both of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx speakers, their sons English only (RG13/5301 128 9).

1911: EL here as Emily Lowey, 42, M, of Rushen, wife to Henry Lowey, head, 50, M, farmer,

⁷⁴ Either that, or he could speak Manx, as reported in 1901 and 1911, but didn't wish to, either through shame or possibly through downright cussedness, a known Manx trait, even today!

⁷⁵ For details of her recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 386-387.

worker, of Rushen, both married 15 years [c.1895/96], living in Kirkill, Colby, Rushen, along with their children: William H., 15, S, working on farm, John, 14, school, Margaret A., 6, Elenor, 5, Richard W., 8, and Thomas E., 1 [?all of Rushen]. Living with them is Henry Taylor, boarder, 72.

- **Manx:** Both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx speakers, William and the rest English only (RG14/34748 0047 83).

Mrs. Emily Lowey died, aged 79, and was buried in Rushen in 1947 (MBMD 208, 606).

E>c.1895/96. In 1901 and 1911 both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx speakers, their children English only. English would likely have been formally introduced into the household on the birth of their eldest child William H. c. 1895/96.

4.1.29. Edmund MADDRELL (1841/42-1935), 36 Athol Park, Port Erin, Rushen.

"As a good Manx speaker in Port Erin he [J. J. Kneen] mentioned Edmond Maddrell, a tailor, ca. 80 yrs. old, Athol (*sic*) Park" (CM1930 *Dagbok* 63 (14.07.1929)).

1851: So far as is known, Edmund Maddrell (EM) is first noticed in the census for 1851 as Edmund Maddrell, 1, of Rushen, son to Ann Maddrell, head, widow, 45, of Rushen, living in the Corvalley, Rushen, with her other children: Isabella, S, 17, William, 11, scholar, and John, 9 scholar, all of Rushen (HO107/2526 325-326 44).

1871: EM here as Edmund Maddrell, S, 27, fisherman, Howe, Rushen, boat *Victor* CT34. Vessels sailing from Port St. Mary to Kinsale Fishery (RG10/5778 133 CT34).

1881: EM here as Edmund Maddrell, S, 33, fisherman of Rushen, boat *Otter* (RG11/5609 89 62).

1891: EM here as Edmund Maddrell, boarder, S, 43, dock labourer, of "Rushin" [Rushen], Isle of Man, living at 38 Juriss Street, Toxteth Park, Liverpool, with Edward Quayle, head, M, 43, police constable, of "Rushin", Isle of Man, and his family (RG12/2934 21 201).

1901: EM turns up next in the 1901 census as Edmund Maddrell. head, M, 51, fisherman, of Rushen, living in Glenchass, Rushen, with his wife Helen, M, 37, of Shetland, and their two daughters: Helena, 6, of Rushen, Emma, 3, also of Rushen.

- **Manx:** All entered as English only speakers, probably reflecting the language spoken at home (RG13/5301 104 93).

1911: EM here as Edmund Maddrell, head, 67, M, mariner, of Rushen, living in Strathroy, 8 Glen View Terrace, Port Erin, Rushen, with is wife, Hellen (*sic*), 41, M, boarding house keeper, at home, of Shetland, Scotland, both married 18 years [c.1892/93]. Living with them is Harry Conrich, boarder, 28, S, house painter, of Malta.

- **Manx:** Only Edmund Maddrell is entered as a Manx speaker, the others English only (RG14/34745 0197 72). **Not interviewed.**

Edmund Maddrell died, aged, 93, and was buried in Rushen on 22 December 1935.

E>c.1894/95. As Edmund is entered as the sole Manx speaker in the household, the introduction of English as the family language would formally have taken place on his marriage to his Shetland wife Helen in 1892/93 in Shetland, and back in Man (1901) on the birth of their first child Helena c.1894/95.

4.1.30. Edward (Ned) MADDRELL (1877-1974), Glenchass, Rushen. Brother to John.

"Ned Maddrell, then 71, of Glen Chass, was born at Corvalley (The Howe) and lived with his grand-parents⁷⁶ at Cregneash. He was at sea for many years with a Scottish engineer, and claims to have learned something of his language. He landed in Southern Ireland frequently and spoke Gaelic with the Irish. I cannot believe that any part of his usage shows foreign influence" (Carmody 1954: 60).⁷⁷

"Mr. Ned Maddrell, of Glenchass, near Cregneish. Aged 72 [...]. He learned his Manx when he went at the age of five to live with an aunt [*rect.* a great aunt] who knew no English" (Jackson 1955: 2).⁷⁸ Unluckily the youngest and much the most fluent and alert of the surviving speakers, Mr. Maddrell, was in hospital until the last day of my stay, when I got some very valuable material from him (Jackson 1955: v, vi).

1881: So far as is known, Edward (Ned) Maddrell (NM) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Edward Maddrell, 3, of Rushen, son to Margaret Maddrell, wife, M, 27, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Rushen with her other son: John T., 1, of Rushen. Also living with them was her aunt Margaret Taubman [Paaie Humman], widow, 72, of Rushen, and Ann Kelly, S, 21, servant, of Rushen (RG11/5609 9 67).

1891: NM here as Edward Maddrell, 13, scholar, of Rushen, son to Margaret Maddrell, wife, M, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Port Erin, Rushen, along with her other children: John, 11, scholar, Isabella, 8, Sarah, 6, William, 4, George, 2, and James, 6 months, all of Rushen (RG12/4692 45 50).

1906: Marriage, Rushen 03.01.1906 Edward Maddrell, 28, bachelor, mariner, Cregneish, f. Thomas Maddrell, mariner ~ Mary Margaret Skelly, 24, spinster, [no entry], Croit e Caley, f. John Skelly, mariner (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 03.01.1906, 49).

1911: (Census for England and Wales, Barrow in Furness, hence no reference to language(s) known / spoken) NM here as Edward Maddrell, crew, 33, M, AB seaman, Isle of Man Steam Packet, worker, of Rushen .

- **Manx:** not requested on the form (RG14, PN25702 RD 482 SD1 ED52 SN0).

1911: NM's wife is entered as Mary M. Maddrell, wife, 29, M, of Rushen, married 5 years [1906], living in Howe, Port St. Mary, with her two children Emily M., 5, and Stanley, 3, both

76 Apparently not so. According to Maddrell himself, he was reared by a great-aunt (see fn. 62).

77 Edward (Ned) Maddrell was born in the Corvalley, near Cregneash, RU on 20.08.1877, son of Thomas Maddrell and Margaret Watterson, both of Cregneash. Because of the size of the family Ned was farmed out at an early age to be reared by a great-aunt (Paie Humman / Margaret Taubman, 1809-1890), who had little or no English. After 1962 (when Sage Kinvig died) he was regarded as the last reputed native speaker of Manx Gaelic (Catherine Taubman (1879-1966), Cregneash, later of Port Erin RU, a native Manx speaker, was at that time unknown; see above). For details of Maddrell's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 342-381.

78 cf. HLSM/I: 361: *Tra va mee queig bleeantyn dy eash va mee goit son sheshaght da my chenn naunt, as tra veagh shin ayns y lhiabbee cooidjagh yinnagh ee gra rhym: 'My bee uss guilley mie as my nee uss fuirraghtyn aynsh sho son shesh-aght dooys, yiw oo yn thie shoh as ooilley ny t'ayn tra ta shynyn marroo'. As tra va mish tree bleeantyn jeig ren ee geddyn baase, as hoght bleeantyn lurg shen yn vac (sic) eck geddyn baase as hooar mee [...] yn thie as [...] ooilley ny va ayn, as ta ny reddyn er cooid aym ayns y thie aym nish. Shen v'ad gyllagh ree, Paaie Humman. V'ee naunt da my yummig as naunt vooar dooys* (Ned Maddrell YCG13: 18.02.1953).

('when I was five years old I was taken for company for my old aunt. And when we would be in bed together she would say to me, 'if you are a good boy and stay here to keep me company, you will get this house and everything in it when we are dead'. And when I was thirteen she died [17.07.1890, aged 82], and eight years after that her son [Thomas (1836-1898)] died [25.05.1898, aged 62], and I got the house and everything in it, and this is what I have now in my house. That is what they were calling her, Paaie Humman. She was an aunt of my mother's and a great aunt of mine').

Ned Maddrell, the last reputed native speaker of Manx, died on 27 December 1974 (cf. IMFHS Burials Index Vol. 187, page 689). The Isle of Man Census for 1881 records Margaret Taubman as living in the Maddrell household and as an aunt to Margaret Maddrell, Ned's mother. Ned Maddrell himself is entered as her three-year-old son (RG11/5609 9 67).

of Rushen.

- **Manx**: All are entered as English only speakers (RG14/34746 0037 15).

Ned Maddrell died, aged, 97, on Friday 27 December 1974 and was buried in Rushen on Monday 30 December 1974 (Burial Register for Rushen 1926, no. 365).

Mary Margaret Maddrell died, aged 78, and was buried in Rushen on 26 June 1960 (LIB).

E>c.1906. Ned Maddrell seems to have been the only Manx speaker in the household. This would suggest that English was introduced formally into the household on his marriage to Mary Margaret Skelly in 1906.

4.1.31. John MADDRELL* (1879/80-1948), Cregneash, Rushen. Brother to Ned (next).

1881: So far as is known, John Maddrell (JM) is first noticed in the 1881 census as John Maddrell, 1, of Rushen son to Margaret Maddrell, M, 27, fishermans's wife, living in Rushen with her other son Edward, 3, of Rushen (RG11/5609 9 67).

1891: JM here as John Maddrell, 11, scholar, of Rushen, son to Margaret Maddrell, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Port Erin, Rushen, with her other children: Edward, 13, scholar, Isabella, 8, scholar, Sarah, 6, William, 4, George, 2, and James, 6 months, all of Rushen (RG12/4692 45 50).

1901: JM here as John F. Maddrell, S, 21, mariner, worker, of Rushen, son to Margaret Maddrell, M, 47, [fisherman's] wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, with her other children: Isabella, S, 18, Sarah, S, 16, and George, 13, all of Rushen.

- **Manx**: Entered as Manx speakers are Margaret Maddrell, and the children John and Isabella Maddrell, the remaining two children English only (RG13/5301 108 144). **Not interviewed**.

John Maddrell died, aged 68, and was buried in Rushen on 17 September 1948 (LIB).

E>c.1884/85. We learn from the 1901 census that some of the children have Manx while younger ones do not. This may indicate that English was introduced into the household between Isabella (18) (1882/83) and Sarah (16) (1884/85), probably on Sarah's birth c.1884/85. But see §8 below.

4.1.32. John NELSON (1839/40-1910), 73 Waterloo Road, Ramsey, Maughold.

"Old story, spoken by John Nelson, 69 years old, hotel proprietor" (VR67, 06.08.1909 Douglas).⁷⁹

1851: So far as we are aware, JohnNelson (JN) is first noticed in the census for 1851 as John Nelson, 11, scholar, of Jurby, son to Thomas Nelson, head, M, 57, joiner & farmer of 20 acres employing 1 man, of Jurby, living in Ballayockey, Andreas, with his wife Ann, M, 40, of Andreas, also with their other children: Thomas, 9, scholar, of Lezayre, Mary, 8, scholar, of Maughold, Elizabeth, 7, of Jurby, Robert, 5, of Andreas, Jane, 3, of Andreas, and Catherine, 1, also of Andreas. Living with them are Thomas Sr. his father William, M, 80, of Michael, and his mother Mary, M, 82, of Jurby, as well as Charlotte Cavendish, servant, S, 19, general servant, of Bride (HO107/2524 56 9).

1861: JN here as John Nelson, S, 21, farming son, of Jurby, son to Thomas Nelson, head, M, 67, farming 20 acres employing 2 men, of Jurby, living still in Ballayockey, Andreas, along

⁷⁹ For details of his recorded contributions, see also HLSM/I: 320-323.

with his wife Ann, M, 51, also with their other children: Ann, S, 18, dressmaker, of Ramsey, Elizabeth, S, 16, house maid, of Jurby, Robert, 15, watch maker's apprentice, of Andreas, Jane, 13, scholar, also of Andreas. Living with them is William Christian, brother-in-law, widower, 58, agricultural labourer, of Andreas (RG9/4410 54 23).

1871: JN here as John Nelson, head, M, 31, farmer & courier, here of Andreas, living now in 7 Bark Lane, Ramsey, Maughold, with his wife Mary, M, 25, tanner's wife, of Liverpool, and their son Thomas, 6 weeks, of Ramsey (RG10/5773 187 92).

1881: JN here as John Nelson, head, widower, 41, farmer currier and dealer, of "Isle of Man", living still in 7 Bark Lane, Ramsey, Maughold, along with his son Percy, 8, scholar, of England, and two daughters Louisa, 6, scholar, of England, Annie Gertrude, 2, of "Isle of Man". Living with them is Ellenor Cowle, servant, 19, general servant, of "Isle of Man" (RG11/5600 21 88).

1887: Marriage, Maughold, 23.11.1887 John Nelson, full age [46/47], widower, tanner, Ramsey, Maughold, f. Thomas Nelson, carpenter ~ Eliza Mc Combe, full age [36/37], spinster, [no entry], Ramsey, Maughold, f. William McCombe, cabinet maker (IMPR Marriage, Maughold, 23.11. 1887, 323).

1891: JN here as John Nelson, head, M, 51, victualler and licensee, living now in Ballure House, Ramsey, Maughold, along with his wife Eliza, 40, [illegible], of England, and his two daughters Louisa, 16, shop assistant, of England, Annie, 6, scholar, of "Isle of Man", Thomas, 7, of "Isle of Man2" and Robert, 1, of "Isle of Man" (RG12/4685 7 118).

1901: JN here as John Nelson, head, M, 61, victualler pub, employer, of Jurby, now living at 73 Waterloo Road "Albion Hotel", Ramsey, Maughold, along with his wife Eliza, M, 50, of England, and his children: Annie, S, 21, Thomas H., 17, Robert C., 11, and Frank J., 9, all of Ramsey. Living with them are Adalaid Johnson, servant, S, 31, general servant domestic, of England, and Catherine Nelson, aunt, widow, 74, living on her own means, of Ramsey.

- **Manx:** Entered as speakers of Manx are John Nelson and his aunt Catherine Nelson, the rest English only (RG13/5307 170 30).

John Nelson died, aged 70, and was buried in Andreas on 10 August 1910 (LIB).

E>c.1887. John Nelson would be the sole Manx speaker responsible for the household. As his wife Eliza was not a Manx speaker, English would be formally introduced into the household on their marriage in 1887, though he would likely speak Manx with his aunt Catherine Nelson, 74 (b.1826/27), until her death, whenever that may have been (her death in Man is evidently not recorded), or until his death in 1910.

4.1.33. William QUANE (1849/50-1935), 30 St. German's Place, Peel GE (of Patrick).

"Quane lives in St. German's Place [Peel] together with his sister. He is 79 yrs. old (born 1850) and gives the impression of being able to speak Manx quite well. He quite often speaks it with Caesar Cashen at the Market Place. But I notice he doesn't get much practice, which is understandable. His pronunciation was quite clear [...].⁸⁰ But Quane in fast speech doesn't seem to distinguish between *aige* and *aice*, as in Irish. However, more examples would obviously make clearer the Manx forms [...]" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 27-28; 31-32).⁸¹ "Quane did not understand or speak Manx until he was 16. Cashen spoke Manx from the cradle" (CM MNHL MS 05357 B Vol. IV: 2564 (24.09.1930)).

"29/1/33. Visited Quane yesterday. Recorded the Lord's Prayer, some verses of a hymn (see Peel

⁸⁰ There now follows two pages of examples (cf. LDIM/29-31).

⁸¹ For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 322-323.

material) together with a couple of small sentences. Quane's voice didn't turn out to be very good either for the recordings, and his knowledge of Manx is probably rather limited. He is not like Kelly and Cashen born with Manx, but has learned it, as he says himself, by listening to the old people when he was a boy. His pronunciation often varies for the same words, it seems to me" (CM1933 *Dagbok* 83-84).⁸²

1861: So far as is known, William Quane (WQ) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as William Quane, 11, scholar, of Patrick, son to Philip Quane, head, M, 53, farmer of 31 acres, of Patrick, and his wife Margaret, M, 48, farmer's wife, also of Patrick, living in Ballacrink [Ballachrink], Dalby, Patrick, also with their other children: John, 15, scholar, Thomas, 9, scholar, Charles J., 7, scholar, Eleanor M., 4, scholar, all of Patrick. Living with them are Edward Clague, servant, S, 19, carter, of Patrick, and Margaret Hedghin, servant, S, 21, maid servant, also of Patrick (RG9/4427 25 48).

1871: WQ here as Wm. Quane, M, 21, mariner, of Peel, boat *Sarah Ann* 31. "Enumeration of Fishermen from Peel to Kinsale Fishing" (RG10/5771 201 31).

1879: Marriage, Patrick, 02.01.1879: Evan Clucas, full age, bachelor, mariner, Kirk Patrick, f. Henry Clucas, shoemaker ~ Eleanor Margaret Quane, full age [22/23], spinster, [no entry], Kirk Patrick, f. Philip Quane, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Patrick, 02.01.1879, 279).

1891: WQ here as William Quane, S, 40, joiner & builder, of Patrick, brother to Ellen Clucas, wife, M, 34, of Patrick, living at 68 Patrick Street, Peel, with her children: John, 11, scholar, Margaret, 8, scholar, Lilly, 7, scholar, Elizabeth, 4, scholar, Annie, 2, Evan, 5 months, all of Peel (RG12/4683 60 84).

1901: WQ here as William Quane, S, 51, joiner & builder, own account, of Patrick, brother to Ellen Clucas, wife, M, 44, of Patrick, living now at 30 St. Germans Place, Peel, along with her children: Elizabeth, 14, Annie, 12, Evan, 10, Emily, 7, Joseph, 4, and James, 1, all of Peel.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are Ellen Clucas and William Quane, the rest English only (RG13/5306 63 229).

William Quane died, aged, 85, and was buried in Patrick on 1 January 1936 (LIB).

Eleanor Margaret ("Ellen") Clucas died, aged 91, and was buried in German on 9 November 1947 (LIB).

E<1879/80 Marstrander's comments suggest that William Quane was a semi-speaker, but as he was seven years older than his sister Eleanor Margaret ("Ellen") Clucas, seemingly a full speaker, it is likely that he, too, was also a full speaker, but later became "rusty" in his Manx due to lack of use. William Quane, unmarried with no children, had gone to live with Ellen Clucas and her children in Peel by 1891. His sister evidently decided not to pass on Manx to her children. Her eldest child then (1891) was John (11), implying c.1879/80 as his birth-year from which time she formally decided to use English only with the children.

As the children were brought up in Peel (German), William Quane with Ellen Clucas and her family for purposes of language use in the household are sectioned under the parish of German, not Patrick. William Quane is not entered in the 1911 census.

4.1.34. Thomas QUAYLE ("the Gardner") (1848/49-1935), Shore Road, Castletown (of Liverpool).

⁸² According to Marstrander (MNHL 05357 B Vol. IV: 2564), Quane said that he did not understand or speak Manx until he was sixteen years of age, whereas Caesar Cashen could speak Manx from the cradle (CM 24.09.1930). There seems to be some discrepancy of age here. See my comments below.

"Someone who spoke good Manx, according to him [man from Derbyhaven], was "Quayle the Gardener". He is a man of over 80 yrs. born in Arbory⁸³ and he lives just north of Castletown" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 11 (16.06.1929)).

"Without being asked Cashen mentioned as a good speaker 'Quayle the Gardener', the same as I'd heard mentioned in Castletown, and the same one as Mr. Cubbon in a later letter from Castletown had brought to my attention (Quayle's address is Shore Road [Castletown]; he is, writes, Cubbon, the "most fluent speaker in the town" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 32-33 (18.06.1929)).

"25.08.1930. Qua[y]le born and grown up at Ronnag [Arbory] above Ballabeg" (CM1930 MNHL MS 05357 B, Vol. IV: 2621).

1851: So far as is known, Thomas Quayle (TQ) is first noticed in the 1851 census for Liverpool (Lancashire) as Thomas Quayle, 2, of Liverpool, son to Thomas Quayle, head, M, 35, tailor master, of Isle of Man, and his wife Jane, M, 33, also of Isle of Man, living at 1 Upper Stanhope Street, Toxteth Park, Liverpool, also with their other children: Anne, 10, scholar, of Isle of Man, William, 9, scholar, of Liverpool, Eleanor, 4, of Liverpool, Charles, 8 months, also of Liverpool. Living with them are Mary Cain, sister-in-law, S, 28, milliner, of Isle of Man, William Hill, lodger, S, 24, skip ironmonger journeyman, of Derbyshire, George Hill, lodger, seedsman journeyman, also of Derbyshire, Henry Hill, lodger, S, 17, ironmonger apprentice, of Isle of Man, and Elizabeth Seyde, S, 17, house servant, of Dublin, Ireland (HO 107/2168 421 1).

1861: TQ here as Thomas Quayle, boarder, 12, scholar, of England, living with Robert Shimmin, head, M, 66, farmer of 31 acres employing 1 man, of Michael, and his wife Catharine, M, 64, of Malew, as well as Thomas Harper, visitor, S, 53, also of England (RG9 4424 58 22).

1871: TQ here as Thomas Quayle, servant, S, 22, farm servant, of Liverpool, living with John Shimmin, head, M, 48, farmer of 150 acres land owner employing 4 labourers, of Malew (RG10/5777 131 63).

1881: TQ here as Thomas H. Quayle, servant, S, 39, farm servant, indoor, of England, living in 5 Ballagary (by the Wesleyan Chapel) [St. Mark's, Malew] with John Shimmin, head, M, 58, farmer, of Malew, and his wife Catherine, M, 56, also of Malew. Also living with them are Rebecca Taggart, servant, S, 18, house maid, of Malew, Ann Preston, servant, S, 17, general servant, of Malew, William M. Taggart, S, 17, farm servant indoor, of Malew, Samuel Taggart, lodger, 12, scholar, of Malew, William Cringle, servant, S, 21, farm servant, indoor, of Braddan, and James K. Christian, servant, S, 35, farm servant indoor, of Rushen (RG11/5608 9 57).

1884: Marriage, Malew, 10.06.1884 Thomas Henry Quayle, 35, bachelor, farmer, Ballagarey [ML], f. Thomas Quayle, farmer ~ Elizabeth Jane Kennaugh, 28, spinster, [no entry], Moaney Moar [ML], f. Robert Kennaugh, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Malew, 10.06.1884, 129).

1901: TQ next turns up in the 1901 census as Thomas Quayle, head, M, 51, farmer, employer, of England, living in Mary Veg [Meary Veg], Santan, along with his wife Elizabeth, M, 43, of Arbory, and their children: Thomas, S, 16, farmer's son, worker, at home, of Malew, William A, S, 14, farmer's son, worker, at home, of Malew. Living with them are Anna Gawne, S, 18, general servant domestic, worker, of Arbory, Hugh Moore, servant, S, 25, carter on farm, Ag. Horse, of Marown, and John Bridson, servant, S, 41, carter on farm Ag. Horse, of Malew.

- **Manx:** All are entered as English speakers (RG13/5307 14 17).

1911: TQ here as Thos. Hy. Quayle, head, 61, M, farmer, employer, of Liverpool, living in

83 Marstrander's note: "approx. 3 km east of Colby on the road to Port Erin" (CM *Dagbok* 11).

Ballagrangey [older Balla Juan Vark], St. Mark's [Malew], along with his wife Elizabeth J., 54, M, of Arbory, both married 27 years [c.1883/84], and their son: Thomas, 6, S, farmer son on farm, own account, at home, of Malew. Living with them are Catherine Kennaugh, servant, 30, S, general servant, of German, and Thomas Lace, servant, 43, S, cowman on farm, farming, worker, of Douglas.

- **Manx:** Entered as a Manx speaker is solely Thomas Henry Quayle Sr., the rest English only (RG14/34713 0055 28).

Thomas Quayle died, aged 86, and was buried in Michael on 14 May 1935 (LIB).

E>c.1884. Although Thomas Quayle was born to a Manx family in Liverpool, he was seemingly taught Manx, suggesting that Manx was the language of the Quayle family household in Liverpool.⁸⁴ But by 1861 he was back in Man, presumably because his parents had died in the meantime, as he was put to live as a scholar with a Robert Shimmin in Malew, still living in the same household in 1871 but this time as a servant. By 1881 we find him in Ballagarey (now St.Mark's), Malew, still as a servant with the same family. In 1884 he marries. Later on we learn from the 1911 census that Thomas Henry Quayle was the sole Manx speaker in the household. As his wife Elizabeth was not a Manx speaker, English would likely have been introduced formally into the household on their marriage (10.06.1884), but whether he spoke Manx in the Shimmin household after his coming to Man in or before 1861 is not known.

Note. So far as we can gather, this is the only Quayle that fits. All others are either too old or too young, or in another profession.

4.1.35. John Thomas QUAYLE (1863-1945), Squeen, Ballaugh.

"67 years old, 68 years 22 May. Qua[y]le is completely steady in numerals; that part of the material is therefore reliable. [He] was recommended [to me] in Ballaugh as a Manx speaker, but proved to have forgotten practically everything: Lord's Prayer and *yn kirrey fo sneaghta* [*Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* - Manx trad. song]. I managed to get one roll [cylinder] [of him]; valuable here are the numbers 1-60 (and later again 1-20). Apart from that some simple sentences and words, some [of which] had to be put into his mouth [i.e. suggested to him]. How weak he is in Manx can be seen from his use of "enn" after a comparative he used Eng. *than* (in the local pronunciation I think he said *dan*) [...]"⁸⁵ (CM1933, MNHL 05357 B, Vol. IV: 2618).

1871: So far as is known, John Thomas Quayle (JTQ) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as John T. Quayle, 7, scholar, of Ballaugh, son to Edward Quayle, head, M, 37, tailor, of Ballaugh, and his wife Catharine, M, 30, of Michael, living in Squeen, Ballaugh, along with their other son Edward, 9, scholar, also of Michael (RG10/5772 78 4).

1881: JTQ here as John Quayle, S, 17, apprentice tailor, of Ballaugh, son to Edward Quayle, head, M, 47, tailor, of Ballaugh, and his wife Cath[arine], M, 41, of Michael, living now in Cronkbreck, Ballaugh (RG11/5598 72 3).

1885: Marriage, Braddan 02.08.1885 John Thomas Quayle, full age, bachelor, tailor, of Ballaugh, f. Edward Quayle, tailor ~ Cath[erine] Jane Cringle, "Maior", spinster, [no entry], of Ballamona, Braddan, f. William Cringle, lab[ourer] (IMPR Marriage, Braddan, 02.08.1885, 30).

⁸⁴ Unless his acquisition of Manx was linked to possible revival activity?

⁸⁵ I am grateful to Lars Ivar Widerøe, Oslo, for the provision of the Norwegian text and English translation of Marstrander Vol. IV: 2618-22 concerning "Quale Ballaugh".

1891: JTQ here as John T. Quayle, head, M, 27, tailor, of Ballaugh, living back in Squeen, this time with his wife Catherine, M, 26, also of Ballaugh, along with their children: Florence M., S, 3, of Ballaugh, and Catherine J., 1 month, of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 16 35).

1901: JS here as John T. Quayle, head, M, 38, tailor, worker, at home, of Ballaugh, living again in Cronk Breck, Ballacrosha, Ballaugh, but along with his wife Catherine J., M, 37, of Braddan, along with their children: Florence, S, 13, Catherine, S, 10, Emily, S, 5, all of Ballaugh. Living with them was JTQ's father Edward Quayle, widower, 67, tailor, worker, at home, also of Ballaugh.

- **Manx:** Entered as a Manx speaker is solely Edward Quayle, the rest English only (RG13/5300 43 3).

1911: JTQ here as John Thomas Quayle, head, 48, M, farmer, employer, of Ballaugh, living back in Squeen, Ballaugh, along with his wife Catherine Jane, 47, M, also of Ballaugh, both married 26 years [**1885**], and their children: Florence Maud, 23, S, dressmaker, own account, Catherine Theresa, 20, S, dressmaker, worker, Emily Gertrude, 15, S, dairy worker, all of Ballaugh. Living with them is JTQ's father Edward Quayle, 78, widower, retired tailor, also of Ballaugh.

- **Manx:** Entered as a Manx speaker is solely Edward Quayle, the rest English only (RG14/34637 0003 13).

John Thomas Quayle died, aged 82, and was buried in Ballaugh on 27 July 1945 (LIB).

Catherine Quayle (wife) died, aged 60, and was buried in Ballaugh on 31 December 1924 (LIB).

E>c.1885. J. T. Quayle is entered in both the 1901 and 1911 census as a speaker of English only, which implies that he had not spoken Manx for quite some time. Marstrander's comments (above) would suggest as much. I suspect that the decision to have himself entered on both occasions (1901 and 1911) as a speaker of English only was probably his. Marstrander's note that his knowledge of numerals was reliable would bear witness to the probability that Quayle was initially a native Manx speaker but began to speak English at an early age. Whether he spoke much Manx at all in the family home when growing up is not known. But we may take it that, as his wife was not a Manx speaker, English was introduced formally into his household, at the latest on his marriage to his wife Catherine, i.e. c.1885.

4.1.36. John SAYLE (1849/50-1932), Ballathona, Andreas.

"North of Jurby Church I got some more information from Sartfield farm from a man in his 50s. He gave me as a good Manx speaker John Sayle in Ballathona [AN] about 3 miles north of Jurby, North Road (Shore-road), ca. 70-80 yrs. old" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 56-57 (30.06.1929)).

1851: So far as we are aware, John Sayle (JS) is first noticed in the census for 1851 as John Sayle, 5 months, joiner's son, of Andreas, son to William Sayle, head, M, 30, joiner, of Andreas, and his wife Mary, M, 32, joiner's wife, also of Andreas, living in Ballavastan, Andreas, along with his daughter Jane M., 3, also of Andreas (HO107/2524 88 51).

1861: JS here as John Sayle, 10, of Andreas, son to William Sayle, head, M, 40 farmer of 16 acres, of Andreas, and his wife Maria, M, 42, also of Andreas, living now in Ballathona, Andreas, also with their three daughters: Jane Maria, 13, Eleanor, 6, and Ann, 1 month, all of Andreas (RG9/4410 20 5).

1871: JS here as John Sayle, S, 20, son to William Sayle, head, M, 50, land owner farmer of

30 acres, of Andreas, and his wife Maria, M, 52, also of Andreas, living still in Ballathona, Andreas, also with their three daughters: Jane M., S, 28, Ellenor, S, 16, and Ann C., 11, all of Andreas (RG10/5772 165 6).

1878: Marriage, Andreas, 25.05.1878 John Sayle, full [26/27], bachelor, farmer, Andreas m f. William Sayle, farmer ~ Eliza Ann Gale, full [24/25], spinster, [no entry], Andreas, f. William Gael, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Andreas, 25.05.1878, 286).

1881: JS here as John Sayle, head, M, 30, agricultural labourer, of Andreas, living now in Ballalhane [Ballalhen], Andreas, with his wife Eliza, M, 28, grocer, also of Andreas, along with their son John E., 2, of Andreas (RG11/5599 22 15).

1891: JS here as John Sayle, head, M, 40, farmer, now living in Ardonan, Andreas, with his wife Eliza, M, 37, also of Andreas, along with their two sons John E., 12, and William H., 6, both of Andreas (RG12/4684 90 44).

1911: JS turns up next in the census for 1911 as John Sayle, head, 60, M, farmer, at home, of Andreas, living in Ballalhen, Andreas, with his wife Eliza A., 56, of Andreas, both married 32 years [1878], along with their daughter Lillian M, 15, S, farmer's daughter, at home, of Andreas.

- **Manx**: All entered as English only speakers, though this may well represent the actual language that had come to be used in the household by the time of the 1911 census. However, as is the case elsewhere, John Sayle would likely have had some Manx, if he had been recommended to Marstrander (RG14/36430 0085 43). **Not interviewed**.

John Sayle died, aged 82, and was buried in Andreas on 14 September 1932 (LIB).

E>c.1879? As John Sayle was born into a farming family in c.1849/50 it is almost certain that he and his siblings at that date were brought up Manx speaking. His wife Eliza, born c.1852/53 also in Andreas, would also likely have been brought up speaking Manx. However, as we are told in the 1911 census that all the family were entered as English only speakers, i.e. that English had become the language of the household, this may likely have taken place on the birth of their eldest child John E. c.1879.

4.1.37. Catherine Jane TAUBMAN-KENNAUGH (1879-1966), Port Erin, Rushen.

"[...] was not at home, neither was Mrs. Taubman (c/o Mr. Kennaugh, grocer), Port Erin (she is, of course, mentioned by Rhys)"⁸⁶ (CM1929 *Dagbok* 34 (18.06.1929)).

1881: So far as is known, Catherine Jane Taubman (CJT) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Catherine J. Taubman, 3, of Rushen, daughter to John Taubman, head, M, 45, farmer of 25 acres, of Rushen, and his wife Ann, M, 35, farmer's wife, also of Rushen, all living in [the Cregneash peninsula of] Rushen (RG11/5609 8 60).

1891: CJT here as Catherine Taubman, 12, daughter to John Taubman, head, M, 56, farmer, of Rushen, and his wife Ann, M, 44, also of Rushen, all living in Cregneish, Rushen (RG12/4692 48 85).

1899: Marriage: Rushen 18.10.1899 Richard Henry Kennaugh, 24, bachelor, grocer, Port Erin, f. William Kennaugh, farmer ~ Catherine Jane Taubman, 21, spinster, [no entry], Cregneish, f. John Taubman, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 18.10.1899, 953).

1901: CJT here as Catherine Kennaugh, M, 22, of Rushen, wife to Richard Kennaugh, head,

⁸⁶ cf. Rhys (1895: ix). He notes that he "knew of only one family where Manx appeared to be more talked than English and that was Mrs. Keggins's [Cregneash Farm]. She was an octogenarian who had two sons living with her [Thomas & John], together with a granddaughter in her teens. That girl was the only Manx-speaking child that I recollect meeting with in the whole island."

M, 27, grocer shop keeper, own account, of Arbory, living in Station Road, Port Erin, Rushen, with their 10-month-old daughter Annie, of Port Erin [Rushen].

- **Manx:** Catherine Kennaugh is entered here as an English only speaker, as she was then living with her husband (an English only speaker) and their daughter Annie, 10 months (RG13/5301 87 43).

1911: CJT here as Catherine Kennaugh, 32, M, Cregneish [Rushen], wife to Richard Kennaugh, head, 37, M, licensed grocer, employer, of Arbory, living in Savier, Station Road, Port Erin, Rushen, both married 12 years [**1899**] with their two daughters Annie, 10, S, school, and Olive, 8, S, both of Port Erin [Rushen].

- **Manx:** Entered as a Manx speaker is Catherine Kennaugh alone, the rest English only (RG14/34745 0281 30). **Not interviewed.**

Catherine Jane Taubman-Kennaugh⁸⁷ died, aged 87, and was buried in Rushen on 9 February 1966 (LIB).

E>c.1899. As Catherine Taubman's husband Richard Henry Kennaugh was not a Manx speaker, it was clear that the language of the household would be English. This would likely have been introduced formally on their marriage in 1899, but likely before during their period of courting.

4.1.38. Wilfred WADE (1868/69-1948), Sandygate, Jurby.

"From there [West Nappin] I called on carpenter Wilfred Wade, Sandygate, Jurby, who is hardly much of a number. His pronunciation seems quite clear. He can read quite a lot of the Manx Bible (which he has at least one copy of), which one notices in all his conversation. Provided I can manage to work with Gawne, Wade might be useful [some exx.]. Wade was extremely dissatisfied with my pronunciation" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 38-39 (19.06.1929)).

1871: So far as is known, Wilfred Wade (WW) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Wilfred Wade, 8, scholar, of Jurby, grandson to Isabella Cottier, head, widow, 71, domestic servant, of Ballaugh, son to her daughter Sophia Wade, widow, 31, domestic servant, of Jurby, living in Ballaworrey Cottage, Jurby, also with her (Isabella's) other grandchildren: Sophia Cottier, granddaughter, 8, scholar, of Maughold, James, grandson, 11, scholar, of Jurby, and Frederick, grandson, 8, scholar, also of Jurby (RG10/5772 126 19).

1881: WW here as Wilfred Wade, 12, scholar, of Jurby, grandson to Isabella Cottier, head, widow, 81, annuitant, of Ballaugh, son to Sophia Wade, widow, 44, annuitant, of Ballaugh, living in Ballavarran Cottage, Jurby, along with Thomas Cottier, son to above Isabella, widower, 56, agricultural labourer, of Ballaugh, and Frederick Wade, grandson, S, 18, joiner, of Jurby (RG11/5598 107 27).

1891: WW here as Wilfred Wade, S, 22, joiner & builder, of Jurby, nephew to Thomas Cottier, head, widower, 66, gardener, of Ballaugh, living in Ballavarran, Jurby, with Sophia Wade, sister, widow, 54, housekeeper, also of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 44 25).

1898: Marriage, Jurby, 15.10.1898 Wilfred Wade, 30, bachelor, joiner, Ballavarran [JU], f. Robert Wade, farmer ~ Sophia Kewin, 29, spinster, [no entry], [Jurby], f. John Kewin, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Jurby, 15.10.1898, 179).

1901: WW here as Wilfred Wade, M, 32, joiner, own account, at home, of Jurby, son-in-law to

⁸⁷ William J. C. Kelly of Ballaqueeney, Rushen, who knew some of the younger members of the family, told me (16.09.2016) that the family was known as 'Taubman-Kennaugh' and that their grocer's shop in Station Road was where the Co-op shop now is. The family also had the nearby Allandale Café, now Manton's, he said.

Ann Kewin, head, widow, 73, living on own means, of Patrick, living at Sandy Gate, Jurby, along with Frederick Kewin, son, S, 36, of Jurby, Sophia Wade, daughter, M, 31, of Jurby, Sophia M. Wade, granddaughter, 2, of Jurby, and Lillian I. A. Wade, granddaughter, 5 months, of Jurby.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are Ann Kewin and Wilfred Wade, as English only Frederick Kewin and Sophia Wade. No entry for the very young children (RG13/5302 62 25).

1911: WW here as W. Wade, head, 42, M, joiner, worker, at home, of Jurby, living at Lough, Sandy-gate, Jurby along with his wife Sophia Wade, 41, M., assisting in the business, of Jurby, both married 12 years [**c.1898/99**] their daughter Sophia M., 12, S, school, Lillian I, A, 10, school, Mona E., 8, school, Elizabeth M. B., 6, at home, and Esther A. C., 4, at home, all of Jurby.

- **Manx:** Entered as a Manx speaker is Wilfred Wade, the rest English only (RG14/34693 0063 30).

Wilfred Wade died, aged, 79, and was buried in Lezayre on 14 March 1948 (LIB).⁸⁸

E>c.1898. As Wilfred Wade alone is entered as a Manx speaker, it is clear that English would be the language of the household. This would likely be introduced formally on his marriage to Sophia Kewin in 1898.

4.1.39. Mrs. Catherine WATTERSON (1859/60-1951), Colby, Rushen (of Glenchass RU).

"Mrs. (Catherine Kinley) Watterson, then 89, living at Colby, was born in Glen Chass and brought up with her grandparents in Port-Erin;⁸⁹ they refused to use English. She speaks readily and with enthusiasm, tells stories and experiences of former times, but with no trace of fixed wording. I made no attempt to have her translate from English; she had spoken very little before 1949 (Carmody 1954: 60).

1890: Marriage: Rushen, 06.03.1890 James Watterson, full [32/33], bachelor, mariner, the Howe, f. James Watterson, mariner ~ Catherine Ann Kinley, full [28/29], spinster, -, Glenchass, f. William Kinley, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen 06.03.1890, 805).

1891: So far as is known, Catherine Watterson (CW) is first noticed in the census for 1891 as Catherine Watterson, M, 30, lodger, of Rushen, daughter to Ann Kinley, head, widow, 57, living on own means, of Rushen, living in Glensast [Glenchass], Rushen, along with her two sons Thomas, S, 19, farmer's son, and John, S, 16, shoemaker's apprentice, both of Rushen (RG12/4692 51 136).

1901: CW here as Catherine Watterson, 40, wife to James Watterson, head, M, 44, mariner, of Rushen, living in Glenchass, Rushen, along with their three daughters: Edith A., 7, Janet C., 5, and Marion, 1, all of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are James and Catherine Watterson, their daughters English only RG13/5301 105 101).

Mrs. Catherine Watterson died, aged 91, and was buried in Rushen on 5 August 1951 (LIB).

E>c.1893/94. As Catherine Watterson and her husband James were enumerated as Manx

⁸⁸ According to local field-worker the late William Radcliffe, Ramsey, Wil Wade was a known carval (Manx religious folksong) singer. For details about the Manx carval tradition, see Broderick (2007: 42).

⁸⁹ In fact in Fistard Road in nearby Port St. Mary.

speakers, but not their daughters, this would indicate that a conscious decision was taken not to pass on Manx to their offspring. As in other similar cases (qv), English was likely introduced into the household on the birth of their first child Edith A., c.1893/94.

4.1.40. Joseph WOODWORTH (1853/54-1931), Port Erin, Rushen.

"Before I left Port Erin I went to see Jospheh Woodworth, an old fisherman whose name was mentioned to me in Douglas as one who was a good Manx speaker. He was out fishing and his daughter said that he was not expected back before 3 o'clock, I spent the time walking all over the [Cregneash] peninsula south of Port Erin" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 19-20 (16.06.1929)).

"Jospheh Woodworth is 75 yrs. old and appears really to know a good deal of Manx. He is a fisherman and his day much depends on the weather. 'I would like to go to Douglas tomorrow' he translates *liack lhiam dy gholl gys Doolish mairagh*. 'If he hadn't been a bad man...' he translates: *mannagh beagh eh er ve drogh ghooinne*. He was willing to talk Manx with me if I came back to Port Erin" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 23 (16.06.1929)).

"The best is Jos. Woodworth, Port Erin, with whom I am now writing down the story of Joseph. He is clear and certain, and his Manx seems to be with him something more than just memories" (CM1930 *Dagbok* 68 (27.08.1930)).⁹⁰

1861: So far as is known, Joseph Woodworth (JW) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as Joseph Woodworth, 7, scholar, of Rushen son to Elizabeth Woodworth, head, M, 35, mariner's wife,⁹¹ of Castletown, living in Cross e Caley [Croit y Caley], Rushen, also with her other children: Elizabeth, 13, scholar, Charlotte, 12, scholar, Emily, 9, scholar, Sarah Jane, 5, Rebecca, 3, and George, 1, all of Rushen (RG9/4430 17 135).

1875: Marriage: Rushen, 06.03.1875 Joseph Woodworth, full, bachelor, fisherman, Smelt, Rushen, f. Matthew Woodworth, fisherman ~ Margaret Callister, full, -, -, Port Erin, f. William Callister, fisherman (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 06.03.1875, 533).

1881: JW turns up next in the 1881 census as Joseph Woodworth, M, 27, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Alert* (RG11/5609 84 58).

1891: JW here as Joseph Woodworth, head, M, 37, fisherman, of Rushen, living in Port Erin, Rushen, with his wife Margaret, M, 38, also of Rushen, and their children: Elizabeth, 14, Sarah Ann, 12, scholar, Joseph, 11, scholar, Thomas, 9, scholar, Catherine, 8, scholar, Matthew, 7, scholar, Dorales, 5, Charles, 3, William, 1, Violet, 2 months, all of Rushen (RG12/4692 45 52).

1901: JW here as Joseph Woodworth, head, M, 46, fishing, of Rushen, living in Shore Road, Port Erin, with his wife Margaret, M, 48, of Port Erin, Rushen, and their children: Elizabeth, S, 24, Joseph, S, 21, fishing, Norah, 15, Mories, daughter, 13, William, 11, Violet, 9, and Ivy, 3, all of Port Erin.

- **Manx:** Only Joseph Woodworth is entered as a Manx speaker, the rest English only (RG13/5301 91 94).

1911: JW here as Jospheh Woodworth, head, 57, M, fisherman, of Rushen, living on the Shore Road, Port Erin, along with his wife Margaret, 59, M, also of Rushen, both married 36 years [1875] and their children: Joseph, 31, S, fisherman, William, 21, S, mariner, Norah, 24, S, assisting at home, Violet, 20, S, assisting at home, and Ivy, granddaughter, 13, school, all of Rushen.

⁹⁰ For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 392-395.

⁹¹ Husband: Matthew Woodworth, head, M, 29, fisherman, of Rushen (cf. 1851 Census HO107 2526 301 26).

- **Manx:** As in 1901, only Joseph Woodworth is entered as a Manx speaker, the rest English only (RG14/34745 0153 94).

Joseph Woodworth died, aged 77, and was buried in Rushen on 4 September 1931 (LIB).

E>c.1875. As Joseph Woodworth is noted both in 1901 and 1911 as sole Manx speaker in the household, it is clear that English would be the spoken language of the same. As in other similar cases (qv), English would be introduced formally on the marriage of Joseph Woodworth with his wife Margaret in 1875.

Total number of informants with children: 40 (1-40).

4.2. Informants with no children

4.2.41. Harry BOYDE (1870/71-1953), Bishop's Demesne, Ballaugh.

"Harry Boyd, about 80, recounted his stock of short yarns with fixed end-formulae or "punch-lines", mi[l]dly amusing but not autobiographical; when retold, these stories vary slightly in wording except for the end-formula, in which appear certain definite archaisms. He has been speaking Gaelic actively since 1935; his fund of lexical knowledge, notably of names of plants and animals, is very extensive"⁹² (Carmody 1954: 59-60).

"Mr. Harry Boyde, of Ballaugh, now in the [Mannin] Infirmary, Douglas. Aged 82. Blind. Another very good speaker, who was most useful"⁹³ (Jackson 1955: 3).⁹⁴

1881: So far as is known, Harry Boyde (HB) first appears in the 1881 census as William H. Boyde, 11, scholar, of Ballaugh, grandson to John Boyde, head, M[arried], 74, "farmer of 70 acres", of Ballaugh, and his wife Isabella, 72, living in Bishop Court farm, Ballaugh. Also living there were William Cottier, 54, John Boyde's brother-in-law, of Ballaugh, and Margaret Cottier, 61, his sister-in-law, also of Ballaugh (RG11/5598 74 28).

1891: HB next appears in the 1891 census as Harry Boyde, 22, "farmer's grandson", along with his grandfather John, 85, and John's daughter Jane, 45, of Ballaugh, as well as Isabella Wade, John's grand daughter, 13, and William, 5, another grandson, of Ballaugh, and his brother-in-law William Cottier, all living in "Bishops Domain" (i.e. Bishop's Demesne) farm (RG12/4684 14 14).

1901: HB here as Henry Boyde, 30, agricultural labourer, and nephew to John J. Boyde, head, M, 54, farmer, own account, and his wife Catherine, M, 48, both of Ballaugh, living in Bishops Domain along with their children Robert, 13, Thomas, 11, Anne, 17, and John Js's sister Jane, 53, and his niece Bella, 23, all of Ballaugh.

- **Manx:** All, including Harry, are entered here as English only speakers (but see Note below) (RG13/5300 44 20).

⁹² This was confirmed to me by Manx field-worker, the late Chalse Craine, at his home at Mwyllin Squeen, Ballaugh, on 8 July 1974. It was on the same occasion that he also told me he had "discovered" Harry Boyde, along with the Gaue and John Tom Kaighin in 1936. For details see below. Of the three, he said, he got on best with Harry Boyde, from whom he learned much of his Manx and obtained a number of Manx traditional songs, including *Hie mee stiagh* (cf. Broderick 1982: 20-21).

⁹³ Thus confirming Wagner's view, related to myself 1983, of Harry Boyde. See Broderick (forthcoming II).

⁹⁴ For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 270-283.

1911: HB here as Harry Boyde, 40, nephew, single, farm labourer, of Ballaugh, living in Bishop's Domain along with his uncle John J. Boyde, head, 60, M, farmer of 100 acres, employer, of Ballaugh, and his wife Catherine, 56, M, of Ballaugh, along with their children William H., 26, S, Thomas D., 21, S, John J.'s sister Jane, 64, S, all of Ballaugh. Also living with them were John J.'s other nephew's and nieces, viz. Isabella, niece, 33, S, Florence Wade, niece 9, and Bertie Wade, 5, nephew, all of Ballaugh. The parents of Harry Boyde are to date unknown.⁹⁵

- **Manx:** As in 1901 all are entered as English speakers (s.v. 1901), though we know from later interviews and recordings (see above) that Harry Boyde could also speak Manx, and no doubt his grandparents (and his parents), and probably his uncle John J. Boyde, but not necessarily his uncle's wife or children (RG14/34637 0035 18).

Harry Boyde died, aged 82, in the Mannin Infirmary, Braddan, on 2 February 1953, and was buried in Ballaugh on 6 February 1953 (GR, LIB).

E>c.1901. I have taken it that HB's grandparents spoke Manx, as did his parents (though they are to date unknown), as well as his uncle John J., but not necessarily his uncle's wife or their children. It may be, of course, that English was introduced into the household when HB's grandfather John and his daughter Isabella Wade, 13 (1891), came on the scene c. 1878 (ie. some seven years or so after HB's birth), but we just do not know. I have therefore taken E > to start from 1901 when we know for certain that English was the language of the household, though it may well have started much earlier. Harry Boyde never married and had no children. His Manx would then die with him (1953).

4.2.42. Daniel ("Danny") CAIN (1861/62-1952), Little London, Michael (of Eary, Michael).

"As a good Manx speaker he [John Kisack MI] mentioned Daniel Cain⁹⁶ in Little London, 2-3 miles further south on the Douglas road (the place is marked on the map). But the place was too far off my route" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 37 top (19.06.1929)).⁹⁷

1871: So far as we are aware, Daniel Cain (DC) first appears in the 1871 census as Daniel H. Cain, 9, scholar, of Braddan, son to William Cain [1811-1895],⁹⁸ M, 59, labourer, of Braddan, and his wife Ellen, M, 55, labourer's wife, also of Braddan. They lived in Pisco House (SC3683), Baldwin, Braddan, with their other sons William, S, 29, farmer of 5 acres, Philip, S, 21, tailor, and James, S, 14, labourer, all of Braddan (RG10/5777 52 32).

1881: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 18, farmer's son, of Braddan, living now in Eary farm, Michael with his parents William Caine, head, M, 69, farmer of 130 acres, and wife Ellen, M, 62, also of Braddan, and his elder brother William, S, 35, farmer's son, and sister Eleanor, S, 30, both of Braddan (RG11/5598 46 13).

1891: DC here as Daniel H. Caine, S, 28, farmer's son, of Braddan, still living in Eary farm MI along with his parents William, head, M, 80, of Braddan, and Eleanor (*sic*), M, 74, also of Braddan, as well as his sister Eleanor, S, 42, farmer's daughter, and brother James, S, 31, farmer's son, both of Braddan (RG12/4683 128 34).

1901: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 38, of Braddan, still living in Eary farm MI, but now with

⁹⁵ Former field-worker the late Chalse Craine, Ballaugh, told me privately in July 1974 that Harry Boyde was born illegitimately.

⁹⁶ Daniel Cain, noted but not visited by Marstrander, but recorded briefly by YCG in ?April 1952 (YCG21). For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 310-311.

⁹⁷ For details of Marstrander's visits to Man, see Oftedal (1982: 11-19), Broderick (1999: 54-61, 67-69).

⁹⁸ Also an informant interviewed by Prof. John Rhÿs during his visit to Man in 1887 (cf. Broderick forthcoming I).

his mother Eleanor, head, widow, 83, of Braddan (his father William having died in 1895). Also living in the same household were Daniel's sister Eleanor, S, 52, and brother James, S, 42, "farmer's son farm relief", both of Braddan.

- **Manx:** All four are entered as Manx speakers (RG13/5300 22 4).

1911: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 49, farmer, is entered as born in Michael. He is still living and working in Eary farm MI, but now with his older brother James, head, M, 53, and his wife Elizabeth, 34, of German, both married 10 years [c.1900/01]. Also living with them were their children William, 9, "school", Eleanor, 7, "school", Maggie, 5, Annie, 3, and Fanny, 1, all of Michael.

- **Manx:** Listed as a speaker of Manx is Daniel alone; his brother James and his wife English only. No entry is made for the children. We know from the 1901 census (above) that James was also a Manx speaker, but his much younger wife Elizabeth (of German) probably was not, and also their children (RG14/34730 0057 29).

Daniel Cain died, aged 84, and was buried in Michael on 19 August 1952 (LIB).

E>c.1900. For the reasons given above, and considering the date of marriage of James and his wife c.1900) I would estimate that English was introduced into the household around that time. Nevertheless, it is likely that Daniel and his brother James continued to speak Manx together when on their own, as was the case, noted by Rhÿs (1890) §3.3.2 above, of Manx speaking fishermen of Rushen speaking Manx among themselves when others were not present. Daniel Cain never married and evidently had no children to transmit Manx to. His Manx would therefore die with him (1952).

4.2.43. John CAIN (1843/44-1935), Ballamoar, Jurby.

"As a good speaker he [Wilfred Wade] mentioned to me John Cain, Ballamoar [JU]" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 38-39 (19.06.1929)).

"He [Wade] gave me Cain's age as 80-odd yrs., but he [Cain] didn't give me the impression of being more than 70-odd. He unfortunately had visitors when I came [...], but I got the impression that he knew a bit of Manx [...]. Nevertheless, he recited *stante pede* a good deal of Manx poems.⁹⁹ His pronunciation seemed to be clear and correct. He would probably be of some help if I settled down here to work with Gawne (CM1929 *Dagbok* 40 (19.06.1929)).

"4/2[1933]. To Jurby. John Cain confirmed completely the good impression I got of him in 1929. Used the two last cylinders on him. It is a pity I hadn't met him before. He would have been one of my main informants together with Christian, Woodworth, and Kelly" (CM1933 *Dagbok* 84-85).¹⁰⁰

1851: So far as is known, John Cain (JC) is first noticed in the 1851 census as John Caine, 5, grandson of Thomas Corlett, head, 60, agricultural labourer, of Jurby, living in the Curragh with his wife Jane Corlett, 60, labourer's wife, of Braddan, their son-in-law John Caine, 29, agricultural labourer, of Jurby, their daughter, Catharine Caine, 25, labourer's wife, also of Jurby, and their son, Thomas's grandson, John Caine (HO107/2524/20/27).

1861: JC here as John Caine, 15, scholar, of Jurby, grandson to Thomas Corlett, widower, 75, farmer of 8 acres, of Jurby, all living in Ballamoare Cottage, Jurby. Living with them are Thomas's daughters Jane Corlett, unmarried, 39, of Jurby and Catharine Caine, 33, and her

⁹⁹ Some of these can be found in HLSM/II: 312-315.

¹⁰⁰For details of John Cain's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 312-315.

husband John Caine, 40, agricultural labourer, both of Jurby. John Caine, the scholar, would be their son (RG9/4421 15 24).

1881: JC is next noticed in the 1881 census as John Caine, 34, farmer's son, of Jurby, living now in Croit Earick, Jurby, along with John Caine, head, widower, 50, farmer of 38 acres, of Jurby, and Jane Corlett, sister-in-law, 39, also of Jurby (RG11/5598 108 31).

1891: JC here as John Caine, 40, farmer's son, of Jurby, son of John Caine, 71, head, farmer, of Jurby, living in Lhenny Earick [Lheeanee Earick], Jurby, with his sister-in-law Jane Corlett, 70, also of Jurby, who was serving as his domestic house-keeper (RG12/4684 42 9).

1901: JC here as John Caine, 50, head, farmer, living in Ballamoar, Jurby, along with his wife Eliza J. Caine, 40, also of Jurby, and his father's sister-in-law Jane Corlett, 83.

- **Manx:** Both John Caine and Jane Corlett are enumerated as Manx speakers; John Caine's wife Eliza is listed solely as an English speaker (RG13/5302 61 16).

1911: In 1901 John Caine, 60, and his wife Eliza J., 50, both married 17 years [c.1893/94], are listed as the sole occupiers of Ballamoar, Jurby.

- **Manx:** John Caine is enumerated as a Manx speaker, Eliza solely as an English speaker (RG14/34693 0051 24).

John Cain died, aged, 92, and was buried in Jurby on 18 May 1935 (LIB).

Jane Corlett died, aged 83, and was buried in Jurby in 1902 (MBMD C1 149).

E>1902 As John Cain's wife Eliza is an English only speaker, John Cain would have spoken English to her when they first met. He would speak English to her and Manx to his father's sister-in-law on their own, but when they were altogether, then English. In this regard we cannot say that English became the daily language of the household, since there were no children involved about whom, as elsewhere, we would likely have ascertained from the census record whether the children were all English only speaking or not. But as John Cain's father's sister-in-law Jane Corlett died in 1902, aged 83, his use of daily Manx in the home would likely end then.

4.2.44. Ms. Elizabeth CRAINE (1872/73-1945), Cooil Bane Cottage, Sulby, Lezayre.

"He [Mr. Faragher] recommended as a good speaker Mrs. Craine, ca. 55 yrs. old (whose grandfather spoke only Manx); she lives on the road to Ballaugh (Cooilbane Cottage)" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 41 (19.06.1929)).

1881: So far as is known, Elizabeth Craine (EC) is first noticed in the 1881 census as Elizabeth Craine, 8, scholar, of Lezayre, daughter to Daniel J. Craine, head, M, 40, labourer, of Lezayre, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 39, of Jurby, living in Glenway Cottage, Sulby, Lezayre, also with their two sons: John C, S, 15, of Lezayre, and William, 12, scholar, also of Lezayre (RG11/5599 84 35).

1891: EC here as Elizabeth Craine, S, 18, dressmaker, daughter to Daniel Craine, head, M, 48, highway labourer, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 48, living in Cooilbane, Sulby LE, with also their son John, S, 25, woollen dyer, all of "Isle of Man" (RG12/4684 115A 4).

1901: EC here as Elizabeth Craine, S, 28, dressmaker, own account, at home, of Lezayre, daughter to Daniel J. Craine, head M, 59, road man, worker, of Lezayre, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 59, of Jurby, all living in Cooilbane, Sulby LE.

- **Manx:** All three are listed as Manx speakers (RG13/5300 63 3).

1911: EC here as Elizabeth C. Craine, 38, S, dressmaker, own account, at home, of Lezayre, daughter to Daniel Craine, head 70, M, retired roadman, of Lezayre, and his wife Elizabeth C.,

69, M, both married 50 years [c.1860/61], of Jurby, all living in Cooilbane, Sulby LE.

- **Manx:** As in 1901 all three are listed here as Manx speakers (RG14/34696 0005 3). **Not interviewed.**

Daniel James Craine died, aged 70, and was buried in Lezayre in 1911 (MBMD B1, 127).

Elizabeth Charlotte Craine died, aged 70, and was buried in Lezayre in 1911 (MBMD B1, 127).

John S. Craine died, aged 45, and was buried in Ramsey in 1910 (MBMD A, 410).

Ms. Elizabeth Craine died, aged 72, and was buried in Lezayre on 13 June 1945 (LIB).

E> 1911. In 1901 we learn that Daniel Craine, his wife and daughter were all Manx speaking. This was confirmed in the 1911 census, i.e. Manx was the language of the household. The daughter would likely cease speaking Manx at home on the death of her parents in 1911. She had no issue.

4.2.45. John GAWNE (1860/61-1934), West Nappin, Jurby

"A good speaker is Mr. Gawne, W. Nappin, just south of Jurby Church" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 35-36 (19.06.1929)).

"He [Mr. Gawne] is about 70 yrs. old and has quite a good pronunciation. The man gives you the impression of being somewhat older [...]. I think Gawne is fairly usable and given some time would be able to squeeze the complete Manx system out of him. He is extremely willing to co-operate. Here are a couple of words and expressions which I noted (in sufficient phonetic script) [...]" (CM 1929 *Dagbok* 36-37 (19.06.1929)).

1861: So far as is known, John Gawne (JG) is first attested in the census for 1861 as John Gawne, 7 months, of Andreas, son to William Gawne, head, M, 38, agricultural labourer, of Andreas, and his wife Ann, 36, also of Andreas, living in Ballavarey [Ballavarry] AN along with their remaining children: Ann, 6, and William M., 3 (RG9/4410 40 41).

1871: JG here as John Gawne, 10 scholar, of Andreas, son to William Gawne, head, M, 49, farm labourer, of Andreas, and his wife Ann, 46, labourer's wife, also of Andreas, now living in Maughold on the Cornaa Road along with their remaining children: William, 13, scholar, Thomas, 2, Ellen, 7, all of Andreas, and Elizabeth, 5, of Maughold (RG10/5773 95 25).

1891: JG turns up next in the 1891 census as John Gawne, head, M, 31, farmer, of Andreas, with his wife Annie, M, 43, of Jurby, living in Ballasalla Cottage, Jurby, along with Hugh Forsythe, stepson, S, 20, farmer's stepson, of Jurby, and Annie Forsythe, stepdaughter, 18, farmer's stepdaughter, (?of Jurby) (RG12/4684 36 7).

1901: JG here as John Gawne, head, M, 40, farmer, employer, entered as of Lezayre, still living in Ballasalla Cottage, Jurby, along with his wife Ann, 54, of Jurby. Living also with them is Thomas Gale, servant, S, 19, horseman, worker, of Douglas, John Redpath, servant, S, 17, cattleman, of Lezayre, and Catherine Cowell, servant, 16, general servant domestic, of Andreas.

- **Manx:** Both John Gawne and his wife Ann are entered as Manx speakers, the remaining three persons English only (RG13/5302 54 5).

1911: JG here as John Gawne, head, 47, farmer & dealer, at home, of Andreas, living in Ballaholly, Ballasalla, Jurby, with his wife A[nn] J. 60, of Jurby, both married 24 years [c.1886/87]. Living with them is Reggie Quaye, servant, 15, S, of Douglas.

- **Manx:** Both John Gawne and his wife Ann are entered as Manx speakers, Reggie Quaye as English only (RG14/34692 0011 6).

John Gawne died, aged 73, and was buried in Jurby on 20 March 1934 (LIB).

Ann Gawne died, aged 86, and was buried in Ballaugh in 1933 (MBMD D 213).

E>1901/1933. Since c. 1901 John Gawne and his wife have had only servants in the household with whom they would have spoken English, though they would likely have spoken Manx with each other. John's wife Ann, who was much older than her husband by c.12-14 years, died in 1933, which would likely mark the end of Manx speech in the Gawne household.

4.2.46. Harry KELLY ("Harry Nancy"¹⁰¹) (1852/53-1935), Cregneash, Rushen.

"Harry Kelly, 77 yrs. old who lives at the bottom of the village on the right hand (south) side of the road. A nice old man with a clear pronunciation. The few sentences I gave him to translate - they were quite simple - he managed without any difficulty. His father spoke practically only Manx [...]. Kelly can be used without doubt" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 18 (17.06.1929)).

"Woodw. sick today; for that reason I took a trip to Cregneish and met old Kelly. He makes a very good impression. He grew up in a home where the parents spoke Manx to each other. He has always understood Manx himself - even as a small boy he was able to speak a little. He only achieved complete mastery of the language when, as with Woodw., he went fishing with the older men when he was around 15 yrs. old. It was most interesting to observe that K. did not have a broad fronted / [viz. [L]], as in *laa* 'day'. There is a question here whether we are up against a change in the old Manx dialect in the Port Erin district, or the loss of this feature could be that W. and K. grew up with English as their main language. The problem will have to be solved. It is of considerable general interest" (CM1930 *Dagbok* 71 (28.08.1930)).

"30/8 [1930]. Took a trip to Cregneish yesterday evening and paid a visit to Harry Kelly. Arranged to meet him tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock and have just arrived back from my first session with him. He will be 79 next year. He appears to have an extraordinarily good knowledge of Manx. I've still not been able to get to know him well at all, but it would not surprise me that of all the speakers I have met he is the one who speaks best and most idiomatically. Made him tell me his "Life" in English; I'll take it down in Manx tomorrow morning about 9 o'clock. Kelly is supposed to be very unapproachable - a fish-monger who passed by was surprised that I ever got Kelly to speak Manx" (CM1930 *Dagbok* 72 (30.08.1930)).

"1/9/30. My impression of Kelly is confirmed. He appears to be an excellent speaker considering the position of Manx. I noted down his *vita* yesterday, which contained many interesting pieces of information about manners and customs in the old days. But he is a difficult man to handle. When I called in this morning at 9 o'clock as we had agreed he had no time to spare. I'll have to come to a permanent arrangement with him" (CM1930 *Dagbok* 73).

"I tried to get in contact with Kelly on 24th Jan; walked over the hill from Port Erin (Station Hotel as in 1930), and started the recordings here in the hotel on 25th. My impression is that the

¹⁰¹ According to the late Mrs. Doris Maddrell, a native of Cregneash. Harry Kelly was known in Cregneash as "Harry Nancy", from his mother Ann, known as Nancy, to differentiate him from another Cregneash inhabitant "Harry Kelly the Tailor". See MPNS Tapes 54, 55, 71, 72, 76.

recordings are rather uneven. Kelly's voice is somewhat hoarse, is a bit squeaky and not very sonorous, but the result improves when he speaks relatively softly and has his mouth well close to the horn. Have worked with him for four days now; will probably finish tomorrow morning the 30th Jan. [1933]" (CM1933 *Dagbok* 81-82 (24-25.01.1933)).

"30/1/33. Finished my work with Harry Kelly today, 29 cylinders for "metalisation". I also tried the other apparatus on him. The oscillations were more visible when I used a *short* [M's italics] arm. The main result: faintly voiced media χ [x] ζ [ʒ] in *dorcha* are voiced; *p, t, k* considerably weaker aspiration than in Norwegian; [aun´] 'river', [daun´] 'deep' have a non-nasal vowel" (CM1933 *Dagbok* 81-83).¹⁰²

1861: So far as is known, Harry Kelly (HC) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as Henry Kelley, 8, scholar, of Rushen, son to Thomas Kelley, head, M, 47, fisherman, of Rushen, and his wife Ann, M, 35, also of Rushen, living in Cregneash [Cregneash], Rushen, along with their remaining children: Thomas, 12, scholar, James, 10, scholar, and Margaret, 1, all of Rushen (RG9/4430 68 97).

1871: HC here as H[enr]y. Kelly, 28 [*rect.* 18], fisherman, of the Howe RU, boat *Ospray* CT30, "Vessels sailing from Port St. Mary to Kinsale Fishery" (RG10/5778 131 CT30).

1881: HC here as Henry Kelly, M, 28, fisherman, boat *Queen* [of Rushen] (RG11/5609 54 102). Sailing out of Peel.

1891: HC here as Henry Kelly, S, 35, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Harvest Home* CT115 (RG12/4692 84 CT115).

1901: HC here as Henry Kelly, S, 48, fisherman, of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Entered here as a Manx speaker (RG13/5301 107 137).

1911: HC here as Henry Kelly, head, 58, S, mariner, worker, of Rushen, living alone in Cregneash, Port St. Mary.

- **Manx:** Entered here as a Manx speaker (RG14/34746 0101 47).

Harry Kelly died, aged 82, and was buried in Rushen on 4 April 1935 (LIB).

E>c.1910/11. Harry Kelly had no children to transmit Manx (or English) to. He was living on his own in 1911, according to the census, and apparently thereafter till his death in 1935. Stanley Karran (1910-2009), Cregneash, son to Prof. Jackson's chief informant Mrs. Eleanor Karran, Cregneash, told me (21.01.1991) that he remembers that Harry Kelly and his contemporaries, although they were native Manx speakers, would speak English to each other whenever they met (see §9.8.2 below). Nevertheless, it is clear from the sound-recordings that Harry Kelly had good Manx.

4.2.47. James KEWLEY (1849/50-1939), Ballig, Maughold / Grawe, Lonan (of Lezayre).

"My next victim was James Kewley, 79 yrs. old (b. 1850) the youngest and only surviving one of 10 brothers. Born in Lezayre, but brought up in Lonan parish (south of Laxey). He had also lived for some time in Maughold. Met him on the island somewhat south of Laxey and had a long chat with him. He certainly knows a lot of Manx [several exx. follow]. He recites some verses he had heard from an older brother: [re Castle Mona].¹⁰³ There were several verses, but I only remember

¹⁰²For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 324-341.

¹⁰³A satirical song on the building of the Castle Mona in 1804, formerly the residence of John Murray, Fourth Duke of Atholl and Governor of Man (1793-1830). For a fuller text (4 stanzas) see Broderick (1982: 11-12).

this one. A nice man and quite informative" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 51-52 (22.06.1929)).¹⁰⁴

1881: So far as is known, James Kewley (JK) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as James Kewley, S, 31, farmer's son, of Lezayre, son to Cathrine Kewley, head, widow, 74, farmer of 104 acres, of German, living in Grawe, Lonan also with her eldest son Robert, S, 35, farmer's son, of Bride. Also living with them is Alfred Cain, servant, S, 14, in door servant, of Lonan, and Jane Crennell, S, 16, general servant, also of Lonan (RG11/5601 65 26).

1891: JK here as James Kewley, S, 41, mariner, of Lezayre, brother to Robert Kewley, head, S, 43, auctioneer, of Bride, living in North Grawe, Lonan along with Julia Crebbin, servant, S, 27, domestic house keeper, of Lonan, and William H. Crebbin, servant, S, 16, general labourer, also of Lonan (RG12/4686 64 132).

1901: JK here as James Kewley, S, 51, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, living in Grawe, Lonan, along with his elder brother, Robert Kewley, head, S, 53, farmer & auctioneer, employer, of Bride. Also living with them is Julia Crebbin, servant, S, 37, house keeper domestic, and George H. Redpath, servant, S, 18, horseman on farm, both of Lonan.

- **Manx:** Both Robert and James Kewley are entered as Manx speakers, Julia Crebbin and George Redpath English only (RG13/5307 40 41).

1911: JK here as James Kewley, head, 61, M, farm labourer (cattleman), worker, of Lezayre, now living in Ballig, Maughold, along with his wife Rebecca Kewley, 52, M, dressmaker, worker, of Lonan, both married 3 years [c.1907/08].

- **Manx:** Both James and Rebecca Kewley are entered as Manx speakers (RG14/34724 0027 14).

James Kewley died, aged 89, and was buried in Lonan in 1939 (MBMD).

Rebecca Kewley died, aged 53, and was buried in Lonan on 10 September 1912 (LIB).

E>c.1912. As James Kewley and his wife Rebecca, both Manx speakers, had no children, there was no one to transmit Manx (or English) to. Manx would likely continue to be the language of the household until Rebecca died (1912).

4.2.48. Thomas MOORE (1836/37-1923), Brookfield, Port Erin, Rushen.

"Description of a popular custom (x2) / Description of Port Erin, about fairies, about a well / Translation of the English hymn of the Isle of Man [Manx National Anthem], spoken by Thomas Moore, 73 years old, landowner" (VR64-67 06.08.1909, Douglas).¹⁰⁵

1841: So far as is known, Thomas Moore (TM) is first noticed in the census for 1841 as Thomas Moore, 4, grandson to Thomas Moore Sr., 60, farmer, and his wife Catherine, 56, living in Bradda, Rushen, also with their other children: Robert, 31, agricultural labourer, Margaret, 32, Jane 2, all of the Isle of Man. Living with them is Jane Moore, 17, female servant, and Jane Corrin, female servant, also of the Isle of Man (HO107/1465 40 16).

1851: TM here as Thomas Moore, 14, farmer's son, of Rushen, grandson to Thomas Moore, head M, 71, farmer of 13 acres, of Rushen, living in Moore House, Rushen, with his wife Cathrine, M, 66, farmer's wife, of Rushen, and Margaret, daughter-in-law, 42, farmer's son's wife, of Rushen, also Thomas Sr. his other grandchildren: Jane, 11, scholar., Robert, 9, scholar, John, 7, scholar, and William, 5, all of Rushen. Living with them are James Watter-son, servant, S, 46, farm labourer, and Tho-mas Corrin, servant, S, 16, farm labourer, both of

¹⁰⁴For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 318-319.

¹⁰⁵For details of his recorded contributions, see also HLSM/I: 402-405.

Rushen (HO107/2526 314 118).

1861: TM here as Thomas Moore, head, S, 24, farmer of 60 acres, of Rushen, living with his grandmother Catherine, widow, 76, of Rushen, his mother Margaret, widow, 50, of Rushen, his sister Jane, S, 21, employed at home, of Rushen, his brother John, S, 17, carpenter at tread, of Rushen, his other brother William, S, 13, blacksmith apprentice, of Rushen. Living with them is William Gale, man servant, S, 20, carter, of Rushen (RG9/4430 40 4).

1881: TM turns up next in the 1881 census as Thomas Moore, head, M, 44, farmer of 35 acres, employing 1 man, of Rushen, living now in Ballaglonney, Rushen, with is wife Ann, M, 39, farmer's wife, of Rushen. Living with them is Jane Corrin, servant, S, 17, general servant, of Rushen, and Edward Crebbin, servant, S, 15, farm servant, also of Rushen (RG11/5608 122 142).

1891: TM here as Thomas Moore, head, M, 54, living on own means, of Rushen, living still in Ballaglonney, with his wife Ann, M, 49, living on own means, of Rushen (RG12/4692 38 167).

1901: TM here as Thomas Moore, head, M, 64, living on own means, of Rushen, living now in Ballafesson, Rushen, along with his wife Anny, M, 59, living on own means, of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are both Thomas and his wife Anny (RG13/5301 122 100).

1911: TM here as Thomas Moore, head, 74, M, retired farmer, of Rushen, living now in Brookfield, Port Erin, along with his wife Anne, 69, M, of Rushen, both married 45 years [c.1865/66].

- **Manx:** Both Thomas and Anne are entered here as speakers of "English and Manx" (RG14/34747 0139 70).

Anne Moore died, aged 82, and was buried in Rushen on 8 December 1922 (LIB).

Thomas Moore died, aged 86, and was buried in Rushen on 6 January 1923 (LIB).

E>1922. As can be seen from the 1901 and 1911 census returns both Thomas Moore and his wife Anne are entered as Manx speakers, since 1891 living on their own. In looking through the census returns as from 1861 when Thomas Moore became the head of the household, they seem not to have had any children. Thomas may likely have continued speaking Manx to contemporaries after his wife's death in 1922, but even there we are uncertain. All we can say is that Manx ceased to be spoken in the Moore household on his wife's death in 1922.

4.2.49. Thomas TAGGART ("the Tailor") (1846/47- 1933), Schoolhouse, Grenaby, Malew.

"Thomas Taggart turned out to be a jolly old man with a great apostolic beard, and quite a talkative man with a brilliant sense of humour. His pronunciation appears to me to be inarticulate, not only in Manx but also in English (which, however, doesn't say much, because my knowledge of Manx is practically nil). He lisps a little bit; certainly he doesn't have all his teeth, and some of the words appear to stick in his beard. But as far as I can see his Manx is impeccable [...]. I'm quite sure I can use the man; I have to keep him in mind [...]" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 16 (16.06.1929)).

"Now [1930] working with Taggart in Grenaby. He is a bit of a disappointment; he is very over-rated. He has forgotten most of his Manx; he does not remember the most ordinary of words like 'shoulder', 'knee', etc., and this is probably not because of his great age. I will probably give him up shortly" (CM1930 *Dagbok* 67-68 (27.08.1930)).

"Taggart is a very difficult subject to put it mildly. First of all he's deaf and a continuous conversation with him is almost impossible. His memory is also weakened to a considerable degree. All his information will have to be checked and used with the greatest care. False associations with synonymous or similar sounding English or Manx words would often lead him to produce completely mad forms, such as [æ:-kəl] 'lime-kiln' (under the influence of Eng. 'kiln') for [i:l] = [G] *aoil*!! I'll have to arrange some phonetic system of what he has explained. Yesterday [27.08.30] we were shouting for a full 4½ hours, which I'm sure could be heard all over the parish - and we were both completely knackered when we were finished" (CM1930 *Dagbok* 70-71 (28.08.1930)).¹⁰⁶

1851: So far as is known, Thomas Taggart (TT) is first noticed in the census for 1851 as Thomas Taggart, 4, of Malew, son to Thomas Taggart Sr., head, M, 32, tailor master, employing apprentice, of Malew, and his wife Jane, M, 38, tailor's wife, of German, living in Ballagilbert, Malew, also with their other children: Jane, 9, scholar, William, 7, at home, Ann, 2, Ceasar, 1 month, all of Malew. Living with them is Sarah Quayle, lodger, 1, also of Malew (HO107/2526 88 55).

1861: TT here as Thomas Taggart, 14, scholar, of Malew, son to Thomas Taggart Sr., head, M, 42, tailor, of Malew, and his wife Jane, M, 49, of German, living in Ballagilbert Beg, Malew, also with their two other sons William, S, 17, pupil-teacher, and Ceasar, 11, scholar, both of Malew (RG9/4424 72 6).

1869: Marriage, Malew, 02.01.1869 Thomas Taggart, full [age] [21/22], bachelor, tailor, Kerroo Keiyl [Kerrookeil], f. Thomas Taggart, tailor ~ Isabella Watterson, full [30/31], spinster, [no entry], Kerroo Keiyl, f. William Watterson, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Malew, 02.01.1869, 150).

1871: TT here as Thomas Taggart, 24, tailor, of Malew, son-in-law to William Watterson, head, M, 77, farmer of 45 acres, living in 1 Ballarobin, Malew, with his wife Jane, M, 70, of Malew, and their children: Elizabeth, S, 39, Robert, S, 29, and Isabella Taggart, S, 33, all of Malew. Living with them are the two granddaughters Ann Wallace, 14, scholar, and Martha Wallace, 10, scholar, both of Malew, and the two grandsons Archibald Wallace, 6, scholar, and William Watterson, 7, scholar, both of Malew (RG10/5777 140 33).

1881: TT here as Thomas Taggart, head, M, 34, tailor, employing 1 man, of [Malew] "Isle of Man", living in Ballarobin, Malew, with his wife Isabella, M, 43, of Malew (RG11/5608 16 19).

1891: TT here as Thomas Taggart, head, M, 44, taylor [*sic*], of Malew, living on the Kerrowkeil Road, Arbory, with his wife Isabella, M, 53, of Malew, and along with Thomas Watterson, nephew, S, 23, taylor, of Rushen, Martha Rug, visitor, M, 30, of Malew, Robert Rug, visitor, 8 scholar, of Malew, and William Rug, visitor, 3, of Peel (RG12/4690 120 19).

1901: TT here as Thomas Taggart, head, M, 54, tailor, own account, at home, of Malew, living in Kerrowkeil, Malew, with his wife Isabella, M, 63, also of Malew.

- **Manx:** Entered as speakers of Manx are both Thomas Taggart and his wife Isabella (RG13/5308 66 19).

1911: TT here as Thomas Taggart, visitor, 64, widower, tailor, own account, at home, "Isle of Man", both. Then in Manx: *Jeeagheyder, Three feed as Kiare, Dooiney troghe, Tailleur, er ney coontey hene, ec-y-thie, Mannin, yn jees.* Leading the group is Robert Keig, head, 51, mason, worker, Martha Keig, wife, 50, both married 29 years [c.1881/82], Annie Elizabeth, daughter, 16, S, worker, all of "Isle of Man", living together in Colenso House, Palace Road, Douglas, Isle of Man.

- **Manx:** Only Thomas Taggart is entered as a Manx speaker, the others English only (RG14/

¹⁰⁶For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I: 388-391.

34675 0015 8).¹⁰⁷

Thomas Taggart died, aged 87, and was buried in Arbory on 6 December 1933 (LIB).

Isabella Taggart died, aged 73, and was buried in Arbory on 23 May 1909 (LIB).

E>1909. Thomas Taggart and his wife Isabella were seemingly childless, and as such headed no household. Since their marriage in 1869 they first (1871) lived with his wife's family in Ballarobin, Malew, then (1881) on their own but still in Ballarobin, then (1891) on the Kerrookeil Road but along with their nephew Thomas Watterson and three visitors, then (1901) once again on their own, this time in Kerrookeil. In 1909 Isabella died and Thomas then went to live with Robert Keig and his family in Douglas. As the Schedule for the 1911 census was to be filled out and signed by the head of the household Tom Taggart clearly took the opportunity of inserting a Manx translation of his details, suggesting that Taggart was, or had been, involved in Revival activity. As Thomas and his wife were both entered as Manx speakers in the 1901 census, Manx would cease to be the language of his household when his wife died (1909) and when he moved into Douglas. By the time Taggart was visited by Mars-trander (1929) he was living in the old schoolhouse in Grenaby, Malew.

4.2.50. William WATTERSON (1863/64-1938), Glenchass, Rushen.

"An old man in the village of Fistard who was about 70 told me that his father spoke only Manx; his mother, however, spoke both. He was himself only able to manage a simple sentence in Manx. As a good speaker he mentioned Watterson in Glenchass near Howe, c.65 yrs. I called on this man [...]. Watterson gave me the impression that he was able to hold a conversation in Manx, although his knowledge of the language probably wasn't perfect judging from several examples. He gave me several forms of numerals which I noted in a hurry [exx. 1-100]. Watterson was, however, not quite certain when he exceeded 40. He mentioned 60 as *tree keead* which has to be 300, but he corrected himself later [exx. of several words] [su:l'] 'eye (which he, however, couldn't remember immediately, and it was only after I mentioned the Irish word for it that he did remember it) [...]. Manx speakers one could find at Ballakilpheric and in Lingague, both near Colby, says Watterson" (CM 1929 *Dagbok* 20-22 (16.06.1929)).

1871: So far as we are aware, William Watterson (WW) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as William Watterson, 7, scholar, of Rushen, son to Jane Watterson, head, M, 46, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living on the Cregneish Road, Rushen, also with her two daughters: Catherine, S, 15, farm labourer, and Sarah J., 10, scholar, both of Rushen (RG10/5778 95 70).

1881: WW here as William Watterson, S, 18, fisherman, boat *Venture* (RG11 5609 60 129). His mother Jane Watterson, wife, head, 56, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Rushen with her daughter Darah, S, 20, also of Rushen (RG11/5609 12 107).

1891: WW's mother Jane Watterson, wife, M, 66, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Glensast [Glenchass], Rushen, with her daughter Sarah J., S, 30, also of Rushen (RG12/4692 51 140).

1901: WW here as William Watterson, S, 35, of Rushen, son to Jane Watterson, head, widow, 77, of Rushen, living in Fistard, Port St. Mary, Rushen, also with her daughter Sarah J., S, 35, also of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are all three, i.e Jane Watterson, her son William and

¹⁰⁷Manx revivalist the late Mona Douglas (1898-1987), who knew Thomas Taggart personally, told me c.1975 he was known locally as 'Tom the Tailor' from his profession.

daughter Sarah J. (RG13/5301 104 89).

1911: WW here as sole entry William Watterson, head, 47, S, mason's labourer, worker, of Rushen.

- **Manx:** William Watterson is entered here as a Manx speaker (RG14/34746 0009 1).

William Watterson died, aged, 73, and was buried in Rushen on 23 February 1938 (LIB).

Jane Watterson (mother) died, aged 77, and was buried in Rushen on 11 August 1901 (LIB).

E>1901. William Watterson, although a Manx speaker, had no children, and so no household to transmit any language to. Nevertheless, he would likely speak Manx to his mother until her death in 1901, thereafter with outside contemporaries, but that is not known. Even so Mars-trander was able to detect uncertainties in his Manx, suggesting a long while without speaking it.

Total number of informants with no children: 10 (41-50).

4.3. Informants regarded as semi-speakers

4.3.51. Ewan CHRISTIAN (1907/08-1985), 58 Patrick Street, Peel GE.

"Ewan Christian told us that he first learned Manx from two old ladies in the same street when he was about five years old, and later from farmers and fishermen in and around Peel. He admitted to us that he had also attended Caesar Cashen's Manx classes that were held in Peel before the Second World War [...]. Nevertheless, it was quite clear from his pronunciation that he had had contact with native Manx speakers at an early date in his life, and in that respect his contribution is valuable. Christian was apparently great friends with Ned Maddrell, and he told us that they would visit each other fairly regularly to talk Manx together" (GB, LDIM/75).

Ewan Christian was born Philip Ewan Christian in Peel in 1907 (MBMD A 501), f. Philip Daniel Christian, m. Geraldine Cowell (IB, IMFHS).

1911: So far as census returns are concerned, Ewan Christian is first noted in the census for 1911 as Ewan Christian, 3, of Peel, son to Philip Christian, head, 33, M, of Peel, and his wife Geraldine, 31, M, also of Peel, both married 8 years [**c.1902-03**] all three living at 32 Patrick Street, Peel. Philip Christian's name and details have for some reason been deleted from the census return,¹⁰⁸ which bears his wife Geraldine Christian's signature.

- **Manx:** Geraldine Christian is entered solely as an English only speaker; no entry is made for her son Ewan owing to his young age (RG14/34741 0165 153).

Ewan Christian died [aged, 77] in Douglas in 1985¹⁰⁹ (MBMD 10211 115).

A semi-speaker.

4.3.52. Thomas Edward FARAGHER ("Farakel") (1865/66-1942), Sulby, Lezayre.

¹⁰⁸Philip Daniel Christian, according to LIB, died, aged 89, and was buried in German on 5 December 1967; Geraldine died, aged 83, and was buried in German on 17 November 1962 (LIB).

¹⁰⁹According to his family doctor, Dr. Malcolm Hannan, Peel, Ewan Christian died in Nobles Hospital, Douglas, in January 1985 (pc. March 1985).

"Up Sulby Glen. A man of 64 (his name was Farakel [?Faragher]) born "at the bottom of the glen" said that his father spoke Manx and his grandfather only Manx. But his own knowledge of the language was rather fragmentary" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 41 (19.06.1929)).

Marstrander (CM1929 *Dagbok* 41) writes "Farakel" which has been interpreted here as a possible mishearing of the Manx surname Faragher. If so, the only candidate which fits the requirements here is Thomas Edward Faragher. His abodes of Cooilbane, Holly Farm and Clanagh Veg all lie in the vicinity of the entrance to Sulby Glen. For this reason his family details are given.

1871: So far as is known, Thomas Edward Faragher (TEF) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Thomas E. Fargher, 5, of Lezayre, son to William C. Fargher, Head, M, 36, carpenter employing 1 man, of Lezayre, living in Cooilbane, Sulby, Lezayre, with his wife Ann, M, 37, of German, also their other children: Anna M., 7, and William, 1, both of Lezayre (RG10/5773 35 37).

1881: TEF here as Thos. E. Fargher, 15, joiner's son, of Lezayre, son to William C. Fargher, head, M, 47, joiner, of Lezayre, living in Cooilbane Cottage, Sulby, Lezayre, along with his wife Ann, M, 47, formerly dress maker, here of Michael, also with their other children: Anna M., 17, William H., 11, scholar, Robert, 9, scholar, Amelia J., 7, scholar, and Isabella, 5, scholar, all of Lezayre (RG11/5599 84 36).

1901: TEF turns up next in the census for 1901 as Thomas E. Fargher, head, M, 35, carpenter & joiner, own account, at home, of Lezayre, living now in Holly Farm, Lezayre, along with his wife Catherine A., M, 34, of Maughold, and their son Robert W., 4 months, of Lezayre.

- **Manx:** All three are entered as English only speakers (RG13/5300 71 23).

1911: TEF is here Thomas Edward Faragher, head, 45, widower,¹¹⁰ joiner, worker, at home, of Lezayre, living in Clanagh Veg, Sulby, Lezayre, with his son Robert William, 10, and his house keeper Mary Ellen Corkish, 34, S, of Liverpool, Fairy St.

- **Manx:** Entered as a Manx speaker is Mary Ellen Corkish alone, Thomas Edward and his son Robert William English only, though he is likely to have had some Manx to be recommended to Marstrander? (RG14/34697 0055 28).

Thomas Edward Faragher died, aged 76, and was buried in Lezayre on 21 January 1942 (LIB).

A semi-speaker. In 1901 and in 1911 Thomas Edward Faragher is entered as an English only speaker, probably on his own initiative, thus confirming Marstrander's statements about his Manx.

4.3.53. Walter James KARRAN (1873/74-1939), Cregneash, Rushen.

"Also met Karran's somewhat younger brother (55 yrs.), a sailor. His father spoke good Manx; he even preferred it to English and was well able to read it" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 18 (16.06.1929)).

1881: So far as is known, Walter James Karran (WJK) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Walter Karran, 8, scholar, of Rushen, son to Catherine Karran, M, 50, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, also with her two daughters Ann, S, 23, and Emily, 11, scholar, both of Rushen (RG11/5609 9 64).

¹¹⁰His wife Catherine A. died, aged 35, and was buried in Lezayre on 23 September 1900 [*rect.* 1902] (LIB).

1891: WJK here as Walter Karran, S, 18, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Bonnie Lass* CT11 (RG12/4692 74 CT11).

1901: WJK here as Walter J. Karran, S, 28, farmer, son of Catherine Karran, head, widow, 70, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, also with her sister-in-law Catherine Karran, S, 66, of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Entered as Manx speakers are Catherine Karran, 70, and Catherine Karran, 66, Walter James as English only (RG13/5301 107 134).

1911: WJK here as Walter James Karran, head, 38, M, farmer, employer, of Rushen, living in Cregneish, Port. St. Mary, Rushen, along with his wife Annie Margaret, 38, M, also of Rushen, both married 8 years [c.1902/03], and their children: Margaret Edith, 9, George Henry, 6, John Edward, 3, Annie Esther, 11 months, all of Rushen. Living with them is Walter James's mother Catherine Karran, 80, also of Rushen.

- **Manx:** Entered as a Manx speaker is Catherine Karran only, the rest English only (RG14/34746 0095 44). **Not interviewed.**

Walter James Karran died, aged 66, and was buried in Rushen on 26 September 1939 (LIB).

He may have had some Manx, a semi-speaker? But essentially an English only speaker.

As can be seen above, Marstrander is quite definite about Karran's age of 55, implying a birth-year of 1873-74. If this is the case the only Karran from Rushen and "a sailor" to fit the bill is Walter James Karran, of Rushen, earlier a fisherman. His name and details appear here tentatively. Marstrander did not interview him, as he likely guessed that Karran had little or no Manx, as can perhaps be read between the lines in Marstrander's comment above.

4.3.54. Thomas MADDRELL (1851/52-1931), Glenchass, Rushen.

"T. Maddrell in Glenchass was an uncongenial man between 70 and 80 and did not appear to be much worthwhile as a subject. He told me himself that he could not speak Manx before he was 18, when from that time he learned it from the old people. But he couldn't keep up a conversation nor speak it fluently" (CM1930 *Dagbok* 75-76 (26.09.1930)).

1861: So far as is known, Thomas Maddrell (TM) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as Thomas Maddrell, 9, scholar, of Rushen, son to John Maddrell, head, M, 36, agricultural labourer, of Rushen, living in Brada [Bradda], along with his wife Isabela, M, 34, agricultural labourer, of Rushen, and their other children: Isabela, 11, agricultural labourer, John, 7, scholar, Ann, 5, and Elenor, 3, all of Rushen (RG9/4430 41 16).

1881: TM here as Thomas Maddrell, M, 28, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Cruiser* (RG11/5609 84 10).

1901: TM here as Thomas Maddrell, AB, S, 48, AB Seaman, worker, Rushen IOM, boat *Prince of Wales*. Vessel moored at West Float, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

- **Manx:** not asked for (RG13/3394 5).

1911: TM here as Thomas Maddrell, crew, 58, M, AB Seaman, Isle of Man Steam Packet, worker, of Rushen.

- **Manx:** not asked for (RG14 PN25702 RD482 SD1 ED52 SN0 Barrow-in-Furness census).

Thomas Maddrell died, aged, 79, and was buried in Rushen on 20 August 1931 (LIB).

A semi-speaker in view of Marstrander's comment that Maddrell told him "that he could not speak Manx before he was 18." In 1861 it is almost certain that Manx was the language of the Maddrell household in Bradda, and as Thomas by 1881 was pursuing the career of a fisherman, the language even then on the fishing boats, according to Ned Maddrell (who was talking about a time around 1890) (HLSM/I: 372-73), was Manx.¹¹¹ If so he would likely have been using Manx even then. But Thomas never married and does not seem to have had any children to transmit to.

4.3.55a. Mrs. Mary WADE (1838/39-1933), 5 Barrule Road, Foxdale, Malew.

4.3.55b. John Joseph WADE (1834-1913), 5 Barrule Road, Foxdale, Malew.

"As good Manx speakers he [the man from Ballasalla] mentioned two old women Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Johnson, both ca. 90 yrs. and living quite near [Cross Four Ways, Ballasalla]" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 13 (16.06.1929)).

1891: So far as is known, Mrs. Mary Wade (MW) is first noticed in the census for 1891 as Mary Wade, M, 50, wife to John Wade, head, M, 55, sawyer (Foxdale mines), both of "Isle of Man" (RG12/4690 106 96).

1911: MW here as Mary Wade, 74, M, of Port Erin, Rushen, wife to John Wade, head, 77, M, wood-sa[w]yer, Foxdale mines, of Peel, German, both married 56 years [c.1854/55].

- **Manx:** Entered as a Manx speaker is John Wade alone, Mary Wade is entered as English only. (RG14/34712 0011 6). **Not interviewed.**

Mrs. Mary Wade died, aged 94, and was buried in Foxdale, Malew, on 7 February 1933 (LIB).

John Joseph Wade died, aged 79, and was buried in Foxdale, Malew, on 26 February 1913.

E>1854/55 A semi-speaker? Although not entered as a Manx speaker in 1911, she is likely to have had some Manx if she had been recommended to Marstrander, but it may have turned out that she had very little, or had forgotten most of it (particularly after her husband's death in 1913), and for that reason was not interviewed. As John and Mary Wade had no family, no language (whether Manx or English) could be transmitted.

Total number of informants regarded as semi-speakers: 5 (51-55).

4.4. Informants whose language details are uncertain

4.4.56. William CORLETT (1849/50-1932), Ballaugh Village (of Michael).

"The carpenter William Corlett, ca. 80 yrs. old, from what I've heard was from Kirk Michael. He was not at home when I enquired about him" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 36 (19.06.1929)).

¹¹¹ *Tra va mee guilley veg hie mee magh gys y skaddan un oie ayns baatey enmyssit yn "Puffin". Hie shin woish Purt Chiarn. Va shiaght deiney aynjee as cha row un ockle dy Baarle loayrt, ooilley Gaelg 'when I was a small boy I went out to the herring (fishing) one night in a boat called the "Puffin". We went from Port Erin. There were seven men in her (the boat) and there was not a word of English spoken - all Manx' (cf. HLSM/I: 373).*

1901: So far as is known, William Corlett (WC) is first noticed in the 1901 census as William Corlett, head, M, 51, joiner, employer, of Michael, living in the village of Ballaugh along with his wife Ann E., M, 56, of Ballaugh, and their daughters Eliza A. J., S, 26, dressmaker, own account, at home, of England, and Dora, J., S, 22, of Ballaugh.

- **Manx:** All are entered as English only speakers (RG13/5300 36 23), though in view of his being recommended to Marstrander, William Corlett is likely to have been a Manx speaker.

1911: WC here as William Corlett, head, 61, widower, joiner, employer, of Michael, living in Laurel Villa, Ballaugh, along with his daughter Eliza Ann Teare Corlett, 36, S, of Birkenhead, Cheshire, his niece, Matilda Jane Teare, 17, S, of Ballaugh, and boarder Joseph Cook Hornall, 20, S, railway porter, Isle of Man Railway, worker, of Ramsey.

- **Manx:** All are entered as English only speakers (see 1901 above) (RG14/34636 0051 22).
Not interviewed.

William Corlett died, aged, 82, and was buried in Ballaugh on 10 January 1932 (LIB).

E>c.1874? It may be that William Corlett was not interviewed as it had been found out that he had little Manx, if any at all. If he had, then the decision not to transmit Manx would have formally taken place when he married (c.1874). Given that his daughter Eliza was evidently born in Birkenhead, however, it may be that William Corlett was working for a while in England. There is insufficient evidence here that Corlett had any Manx at all.

4.4.57. Robert FAYLE (1852/53-1938), Stauard Farm, Sulby, Lezayre

"Mr Fayle [...], Stauard [...], is 76 yrs. old. He lives a few hundred metres from the [Sulby Glen] hotel on a line which goes from it and across to the chapel or a little bit to the right of it. His father spoke only Manx and spoke in a thick accent when speaking English. His mother spoke both Manx and English. He gives the impression of being quite knowledgable in Manx, but lacks practice. The sentence 'I would not have beaten him, if he hadn't been a bad man' he hesitated for a while; for 'beat' he used [betaɫ] [*beatal*] or something like it, which has to be the English word. He did not know any Manx for Sulby. *Glen* is here pronounced with *dn*. Without doubt he would be quite useful, but I think rather difficult to work with (CM1929 *Dagbok* 40-41 (19.06.1929)).

"3/2[1933]. To Sulby where I used a couple of cylinders on Fayle. He was an impossible subject, hoarse and had a squeaky voice, and barked the words into the horn - and his memory of Manx was rather limited" (CM1933 *Dagbok* 84).

"1933: 2/2 took two cylinders with me to Fayle; almost impossible. But the man was very careful and told me that his pronunciation was not quite idiomatic" (CM1933 *Dagbok* 41-42).

1871: So far as we are aware, Robert Fayle (RF) is first noticed in the 1881 census as Robert Fayle, 16, labourer, of Lezayre, son to John Fayle, head, M, 64, farmer of 60 acres, of Lezayre and his wife Jane, 54, of Ballaugh, living in Ballacuberagh, Sulby Glen Lezayre along with their remaining children: William, S, 23, labourer, Margaret, 19, and Ellen, 10, all of Lezayre (RG10/5773 35 31).

1881: RF turns up next as Robert Fayle, S, 25, farmer's son, of Lezayre, son to John Fayle, head, widower, 74, farmer of 160 acres, living in Sulby Village LE along with his remaining children: William, S, 34, farmer's son, Ellen, S, 20 house keeper, both of "Isle of Man". Living with them is John Kaighen, servant, 72, servant domestic, and Isabella Watterson,

niece, S, 22, visitor, both of "Isle of Man" (RG11/5599 89 10).

Robert Fayle died, aged 84, and was buried in Lezayre on 12 March 1938 (LIB).

Robert Fayle is not enumerated in the census returns for 1891-1911. But he is the only likely candidate. His presumed descendant Jimmy Fayle (1896-1990), of Stauard Farm, Sulby LE, was interviewed by the Manx Place-Name Survey on 12 Febraury and again on 1 March 1990.

As we do not know the details of language use within the Fayle household we are unable to offer any suggestion here. Nevertheless, Marstrander regarded him as a full speaker but lacked practice when Fayle spoke Manx to him.

4.4.58. Thomas HARRISON (1845/46-1929), Ballasalla, Malew.

"Further they [2 younger and 1 older Manxman by Derbyhaven] mentioned Tom Harrison in Ballasalla; he was well over 80 yrs. old" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 12 (16.06.1929)).

1901: So far as is known, Thomas Harrison (TH) is first noticed in the 1901 census as Thomas Harrison, head, M, 55, employed in timber yard, worker, of Arbory, living on St. Mark's Road, Ballasalla, Malew along with his wife Martha, M, 44, also of Arbory, and their children: Thomas, S, 20, gardner, worker, William, S, 18, draper's apprentice, worker, Emily, S, 16, employed in jam factory, Eva, 10, John, 11, Richard, 9, and Arthur, 6, all of Malew.

- **Manx:** All are entered as English only speakers (RG13/5308 36 45).

1911: TH here as Thomas Harrison, head, 67, M, worker in timber yard, worker, of Arbory, living in Willow Cottage, Crossag Road, Ballasalla ML, along with his wife Martha, 55, also of Arbory, both married 32 years [**c.1878/79**]. Also living with them are their children: William, 29, S, farm labourer, general, worker, Eva, 23, S, milliner, worker, John, 21, S, clerk in Railway Co., and Arthur, 16, S, gardener (market), worker, all of Malew.

- **Manx:** As in 1901 all are entered as English only speakers, though Thomas Harrison at any rate is likely to have had Manx to be recommended to Marstrander (RG14/34711 0141 71). **Not interviewed.**

Thomas Harrison died, aged 83, and was buried in Arbory on 17 October 1929 (LIB).

E>c.1880? If Harrison had had any Manx at all he would by 1901 have likely spoken English to his children from the time the eldest, Thomas, was born (c.1881). Uncertain.

4.4.59. Robert JOUGHIN (1853/54-1929), Dhoon Church, Maughold.

"As a Manx speaker he [Mylechreest] gave me a Robert Joughin, Dhoon Church, a man over 70; but I didn't manage to get a hold of him" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 51 (21.06.1929)).

1861: So far as is known, Robert Joughin (RJ) is first noticed in the 1861 census as Robert Joughin, 7, of Maughold, son to Robert Joughin Sr., head, M, 59, labourer, of Maughold, and his wife Jane, M; 52, of Maughold, living in Ballalin [Ballellin], Maughold, with their other children: William, 12, Margaret, 9, both of Maughold (RG9/4425 43 32).

1871: RJ here as Robert Joughin, 22, farmer's son, of Maughold, son to Robert Joughin Sr.,

head, M, 68, farmer of 60 acres, of Maughold, and his wife Jane, M, 61, also of Maughold, living on the Barony, 2nd Farm House, along with their other son William, S, 22, farmer's son, of Maughold (RG10/5773 117 139).

Robert Joughin died, aged 75, and was buried in Maughold on 17 September 1929 (LIB).

Both Ballellin and the Barony lie near the Dhoon Church, and although Robert Joughin does not feature in any later censuses he is almost certainly our candidate here. He would very likely have spoken Manx to his children 1861 and 1871 (though we have no confirmatory evidence for that), and have had Manx himself to have been recommended to Marstrander. However, as we do not know the details of language use within the Joughin household, we are unable to offer any suggestion here.

4.4.60. Mrs. Catherine KILLIP (1852/53-1934), Lhen, Andreas.

"Further [the man from Sartfield gave me as a good Manx speaker] [...] and Mrs. Killip (also in Lhen judging from my notes). Her husband died more than 40 yrs. ago. She is different from the Mrs. Killip I met in Sulby whose husband is still alive" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 57 (19.06.1929)).

1901: So far as we can see, Catherine Killip (CK) is first noticed in the census for 1901 as Catherine Killip, head, widow, 47, farming, own account, of Jurby, living in Ballacallum (nr. Lhen), Andreas, with her son John William Killip, 14, of Andreas.

- **Manx:** Both are entered as English speakers, probably reflecting the language actually spoken in the home; whether either or both had Manx or not is not certain (RG13/5300 122, 20).

1911: CK here as Catharine Killip, head, 58, S, widow, farmer, employer, of Jurby, living still in Balla-callum, Andreas, with her granddaughter Violet Hare, 6, of Andreas.

- **Manx:** Both are entered here as English only speakers, though Catherine is likely to have had some Manx, if she had been recommended to Marstrander (RG14/34630 0059 30). **Not interviewed.**

Mrs. Catharine Killip died, aged 81, and was buried in Andreas 18 September 1934 (LIB).

E>c.1886/87? If Catherine alone had Manx but did not wish to pass it on to her son John William, then she would likely have done so on his birth (c.1886/87). But this is pure speculation, as neither census notes her as a Manx speaker nor was she ever interviewed.

4.4.61. William PRESTON (1845/46-1934), Grenaby, Malew.

"In addition, he [a man from Ballasalla] mentioned [...] a shoemaker in the same place [Grenaby] William Preston who was over 80; he thought it was useless to go to him, as he would probably "slam the door in my face if I called on him" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 13-14 (16.06.1929)).

1851: So far as is known, William Preston (WP) is first noticed in the census of 1851 as William Preston, 7, of Malew, son to John Preston head, M, 51, farmer of 20 acres, of Malew, living in Cronkvrack [Cronk Breck], Malew, along with his wife Elizabeth, M, 44, farmer's wife, of Malew, and also their other children: Ann, S, 16, farmer's daughter, Margaret, 13, Sunday scholar, Elizabeth, 11, Sunday scholar, Charles, 7, and John, 2, all of Malew (HO107/

2526 81 7).

1861: WP here as William Preston, 14, carter, son to John Preston, head, M, 62, farmer of 20 acres employing 1 man, of Malew, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 55, also of Malew, living still in Cronk Vrack also along with their other children: Elizabeth, S, 20, general servant, and Charles, S, 17, ploughboy, both of Malew (RG9/4424 79 66).

1871: WP here as William Preston, S, 24, shoemaker, of Malew, son to John Preston, head, M, 72, farmer of 20 acres, of Malew, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 65, of Malew, living in Knock Breck, Malew, also with their other children: Elizabeth, S, 28, Charles, S, 26, and Robert, S, 17, all of Malew (RG10/5777 137 15).

1881: WP here as William Preston, S, 32, shoe maker, of Malew, son to John Preston, head, M, 80, farming employing 1 man, of Malew, and his wife Elizabeth, M, 75, also of Malew, living in Grenaby [?Cronk Breck], Malew, also with their other children: Elizabeth, S, 39, general servant, and Charles, S, 35, agricultural labourer, both of Malew. Living with them is their granddaughter Margaret Cain, 6, scholar, of Douglas (RG11/5608 19 41).

1891: WP here as William Preston, S, 44, of Malew, son to Elizabeth Preston, head, widow, 84, farmer, of "Isle of Man", living on the Grenaby Road [?Cronk Breck] along with her son Charles, S, 48, farmer, and daughter Elizabeth, Nankwell, M, 50, house keeper, all of Malew (RG12/4690 119 2).

1901: WP here as William Preston, S, 55, living in Cronk Brack with his brother Charles, head, S, 58, farmer, own account, at home, of Malew, and his sister Elizabeth Nankwell, M, 61, house keeper, of Malew.

- **Manx:** All are entered as English only speakers (RG13/5308 65 12).

1911: WP here as William Preston, brother, 60 [65], S, shoe maker, at home, of Malew, living in Cronk Breck, Malew, with his brother Charles, head, 67, S, farmer, own account, of Malew, and his sister Elizabeth Nankwell, M, 70, M, of Malew.

- **Manx:** All are entered as English only speakers, though William at least would likely have had some Manx to be recommended to Marstrander (RG14/34714 0001 1). **Not interviewed.**

William Preston died, aged 88, and was buried in Malew on 16 December 1934 (LIB).

John Preston (William's father) died, aged, 84, and was buried in Malew on 1 April 1883 (LIB).

In both 1901 and 1911 the entire family is entered as English only speaking. It may be that Marstrander found out that Preston knew little or no Manx, and so did not interview him. William Preston, it seems, was never head of the family. But to judge from his age, and that of his siblings (see under 1851), it is very likely that they all would have been brought up with Manx, and that Manx continued to be the family language until the death of William's father John on 1 April 1883, after which date English was introduced. All this, of course, is mere speculation. But what is certain is that English, if we accept the entry for 1901, had become the language of the Preston household by that year (1901), but probably some time before then. Given the insufficient information regarding the situation of Manx within the Preston family, William Preston is hereby placed here.

Total number of informants whose language details are uncertain: 6: (56-61).

4.5. Informants for whom no personal details are known

4.5.62. Mrs. COLLISTER, The Dolly,¹¹² Kirk Michael, Michael.

"I did not visit Mrs. Collister, the Dolly, near the station at Kirk Michael" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 36 (18.06.1929)).

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed.**

4.5.63. Mrs. CORKILL, Peel, German.

"Mrs. Corkill, Peel, who Cubbon told me was a good speaker, was not at home" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 34 (18.06.1929)).

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed.**

4.5.64. Mr. CREBBIN, Cregneash, Rushen.

"Mr. Crebbin, Cregneash" (Davies 1946(1948)).

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed.**

4.5.65. Robert FAYLE, Ramsey, Maughold.

"Robert Fayle, Ramsey" (Davies 1946(1948)).

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed.** Unless the Robert Fayle here is the same as CM's in Sulby?

4.5.66. Mrs. JOHNSON, 90+ (c.1838/39-??), nr. Grenaby, Malew.

"As good Manx speakers he [a man from Ballasalla] mentioned two old women Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Johnson, both ca. 90 yrs. and living quite near [Cross Four Ways, Ballasalla]" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 13 (16.06.1929)).

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed.**

4.5.67. Ms. KAYE, Onchan Village CO (of Glen Maye, Patrick)

"Miss Kaye, Onchan (of Glen Maye, Patrick)" (Davies 1946(1948)).

To date no further information is available. **Not interviewed.**

4.5.68. Mr. J. KELLY, 80+ (c.1846/47-??), Laxey, Lonan.

"As a good Manx speaker he [William Cubbon] mentioned Mr. J. Kelly, Laxey, on the Ramsey side of the glen and at the mines. He is over 80 yrs. old" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 62 (11.07.1929)).

¹¹²The reference to 'The Dolly' here probably refers to Ballaugh, as there is no known place of that name in Michael parish.

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed.**

4.5.69. Ben KINRADE, c.76, (c.1852/53-??), of Arbory.

"Another speaker is [Bænðken Regg] ?Ben Kinrade, ca. 76 yrs. probably born in Arbory. But I cannot remember from whom I got this information" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 15 (16.06.1929)).

To date no further information available. **Not interviewed.**

4.5.70. Mr. MYLECHREEST, 74 (1854/55-??), ?Ballaskeig Beg, Maughold.

"In Ballaskeig Beg on the road from Maughold to Ballaglass I met a man of 74 yrs. with the well-known name Mylechreest. His father and mother spoke only Manx. He appeared to have a good grasp of the language. "Good subject" my notes tell me. Words and expressions from him [several exx. follow]. Mylechreest lives alone; his wife has a bed and breakfast place in Douglas. He seems to be excellent and I think it would be useful to have a chat with him later on when I've got a better grasp of the language" (CM1929 *Dagbok* 50-51 (22.06.1929)).

To date no further information available. **Interviewed.**

Total number of informants for whom no personal details are known: 9 (62-70).

4.6. Commentary

As indicated above, the seventy informants noted all told are divided into four categories:

1. Forty households (1-40) have families to whom they could transmit Manx. Of these possibly three households have families affected by possible transmission failure (see §7).
2. Ten households have no family to whom any language at all can be transmitted (41-50).
3. Five informants are regarded as semi-speakers (51-55), i.e. they seemingly did not learn Manx thoroughly in their formative years, thereby failing to have gained full command of the language.
4. Six informants (56-61) appear here, for whom insufficient detail about the position of Manx in their household is available.
5. Nine informants (62-70) appear here about whom little or no personal information is known.

The above seventy informants represent that last generation of Manx speakers, of whom forty-seven were interviewed, either on sound-recordings or via scientific questionnaires, or both, etc., between the years 1909 and 1972.¹¹³

113 For details of these recordings, see LDIM/54-76.