



# Cyril I. Paton's Diaries and the Manx Language (1910–1949)

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Cyril I. Paton (1874–1949) was an English botanist who visited the Isle of Man each summer, having family links with the Island. He was also an enthusiast for the Manx language. His diaries are extant from 1905–1949, and there are numerous entries in passing concerned with Manx. As such, they are a singular source for Manx in the first half of the twentieth century. Paton was interested in finding native speakers of Manx and as a keen walker and naturalist he covered most of the Island. Whilst he was not engaged in a systematic search for speakers, nevertheless, there are names of speakers recorded as well as comments on Manx in the Island.

**Keywords:** Manx; language change; historical sources; Isle of Man; C. I. Paton

## I. Introduction

One hitherto unknown source for references to Manx speakers and the language in the first half of the twentieth century are the diaries of Cyril Ingram Paton (1874–1949). Whilst the relevant entries are short and made only in passing during his annual visits to the Isle of Man, they are nevertheless still of interest, especially as they cover the years between 1910 and 1949 and are the only single source to do so. Due to their importance the relevant entries are presented here in full as an Appendix to allow others ready access for further research as the diaries remain in family hands. To set them in context, first there is a discussion of the numbers of Manx speakers in the early twentieth century and the efforts made by others such as Marstrander to locate and record native speakers. This is followed by an introduction to the diarist and his involvement with the Island, the diaries overall, and some of the issues raised by Paton's comments on Manx. The visit of Charles Loch in 1946 on a search for native speakers is discussed together with Paton's own interaction with him. This part concludes with a listing of the Manx speakers mentioned in the diaries, together with the biographical details that can be found, and a summary on a parish-by-parish basis of what can now be known from Paton's comments of the status of Manx in the first half of the twentieth century.

### *1.1. Manx in the twentieth century*

In 1901, the census in the Isle of Man had a language question for the first time — one requested by the Manx Language Society (newly-founded in 1899) in order to

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ascertain the number of Manx speakers. As background for Manx in the previous century, see Hindley (1984), Broderick (1999), and Miller (2015b). The figure for 1901 was reported as 4,598 (Manx and English) and 59 (Manx only) out of a population of 54,752. In percentage terms this is 8.5% (HM Government 1903, 18, Table 18). The numbers thereafter were in decline and no monolinguals were recorded after 1901 and so the totals are now for bilingual speakers only: 2,382 (1911), 896 (1921) (HM Government 1924, 21, Table 16, with commentary on xv), and 529 (1931) (HM Government 1933, 26, Table 16, with commentary on xxi). The figures for 1911 were not officially published, but they were obtained from the Registrar General's office in the Island by the Manx Language Society in 1913 and published (Anon. 1913). Due to the outbreak of war there was no census held in 1941, and in any case, the language question had been planned to be dropped from that particular census (*Mona's Herald* 10 Feb. 1931).

The responses to the language question were based on self-reported ability, as also commented on by the *Isle of Man Times*, '[m]any people might think themselves entitled to be classed as speaking the language if they but know a few words or phrases, or, more ambitious, can even string together the native words for "How are you?"' (*Isle of Man Times* 6 Apr. 1901). It went on, '[f]rom this cause the returns will be to a great extent illusory, and we fear that the estimate of an English contemporary that 3,000 persons are able to speak Manx will, if it is reached, include a great number of this class of people' (*Isle of Man Times* 6 Apr. 1901). This point was not lost on the census authorities themselves as the commentary to the return for 1921 shows:

No definite rules were laid down as regards the degree of acquaintance with either language which would justify a person to claim or disclaim ability to speak it, and the replies may be expected to vary according to the attitude taken with regard to the assumed subject of the enquiry, e.g., as to whether it was intended to elucidate the extent of the habitual use of one or both languages or whether it was designed from a literary or educational standpoint. (HM Government 1924, 21)

As to those Manx speakers themselves, illusory or not, the ones in Cregneash in 1901 have been studied (Miller 2007), as well as those in the northern parish of Ballaugh (Miller 2016). The 1901 and 1911 censuses still await wider in-depth study. Max Wheeler has compared the returns for Michael and Lezayre parishes, highlighting discrepancies between those declaring themselves as Manx speakers (or not) in 1901 and 1911 (Wheeler 2017; 2018). It should be mentioned that the Island comprises of seventeen parishes. The 1921 census will be available in 2022 to add to this backlog of research, while the one for 1931 was totally destroyed by fire in 1942.

Identifying speakers outside of the censuses (which, in any case, at present will only go as far as to 1921) requires people to have gone to seek them out, such

as Carl Marstrander, who visited the Island in 1929, 1930, and 1933 (Broderick 1999: 203–252; 2018a), and Séamus Kavanagh (briefly) in 1939: ‘Mr Seamus Kavanagh, Professor of Celtic in the University of Cork, had visited the Island to study Manx manuscripts and had travelled round the country talking to Manx speakers old and young’ (*Isle of Man Weekly Times* 23 Dec. 1939). For one result of his trip, see Kavanagh (1947).

It was the visit of Charles Loch (who will be discussed further later) in April 1946, again on the quest for Manx speakers, that had two results: firstly, by their identification, the opportunity for these speakers to be sound recorded by the Irish Folklore Commission in 1948 (O’Sullivan 1957, 456–457; Ó Danachair 1981; Briody 2016, 297–298; for the results, Manx National Heritage 2003), and secondly, the galvanising of a number of members of the Manx Language Society to visit these individuals and to learn Manx from them, as well as to initiate a similar recording programme. Francis Carmody from the University of California at Berkeley turned up in the Island in 1949 to conduct further recordings (Broderick 2018b). He was followed, in turn, by Heinrich Wagner who conducted fieldwork for the Survey of Irish Dialects in 1950, and Kenneth Jackson that same year. George Broderick has published cumulative listings and a comprehensive biographical overview of Manx speakers in this period (Broderick 2017; for a fuller record see also Broderick 2018c).

The Manx language and its speakers in this period drew little attention from the Manx press, save as a mention in an occasional obituary such as with the death of Richard Alfred Cooil in 1939 (*Isle of Man Weekly Times* 20 May 1939), who only received this notice as he was one of the leaders of the Peel Manx Language Class. Any other coverage was confined to the annual meetings of the Manx Language Society and reports of its events held during the year, which were few in number. The Society had fallen into abeyance after the death of its charismatic secretary, Sophia Morrison, in 1917. Even the visit of the Irish Folklore Commission in 1948 remarkably led to no coverage, save for newspapers carrying a notice and a brief mention for a public lecture by Kevin Danaher at the Manx Museum during his time in the Island.

### *1.2. Cyril Ingram Paton (1874–1949)*

Cyril Ingram Paton was not Manx-born and his link with the Island was a family one. For notices of his life, see Anon. (1949b; 1950 [for 1946–1950]) and Banks (1950). The Rev. George Paton, the Chaplain of St Paul’s in Ramsey from 1871 until his death in 1900, was his uncle. Paton lived his life in Streatham in south London and worked as a commercial clerk before retiring to the Island. That suburb was also the home of G. W. Wood, a noted Manx bibliophile, whose wife was Manx-born. Wood’s collection of books and manuscripts was so significant that it was later purchased from him to become the nucleus of the Manx Museum Library. As regards interest in Manx, Paton is first mentioned seeing Dr John

Clague's *Cooïnaghtyn Manninagh: Manx Reminiscences* (1911) through the press (Kewley n.d. [but 1911], xi). Entries in the diaries shows Wood and Paton frequently meeting with each other and the pair together later proposed the formation of a Manx Text Society in 1921 (Wood & Paton 1921), which did not come to fruition. He published a paper on the Manx folk song, 'Mylecharaine' in 1924 (Paton 1924), and his interest in carvals led to an article in 1926 (Paton 1926; see also Paton 1946b [for 1945–1946]). Paton's most significant contribution was the taking over the editorship of *Manx Calendar Customs* (1942b) (Miller 2015a), published by the Folklore Society (Paton 1942b). Other pieces on Manx folklore are Paton (1938, 1941, 1946a, 1947a). He later edited a series of short texts in Manx for the *Journal of the Manx Museum* (1942–1944) (Paton 1942a, c, 1943a, b, 1944b), an edition of the Rev. Thomas Christian's *Pargys Caillit* (Paton 1947c), and also made a number of other similar contributions over the years (Paton 1944a; 1957; a miscellaneous piece is 1947b). His extensive personal papers are now held by the Manx National Heritage Library (MNHL) (MS 09505).

## 2. The C. I. Paton Diaries (1905–1949)

Paton's diaries cover the years from 1905 to 1949, with the first entry made on 17 May 1905, and the last one being for 15 May 1949, two days before his death in a traffic accident. He was a regular diarist and the entries record very much the everyday events of his life (Miller 2011). The early years often have very full entries, but these drop off in later years. All quotes from the diaries both here in the text and the appendix are diplomatic ones. However, they remain in family hands and while a full transcript has been made available, it is not possible to check the transcript against the originals should questions about certain readings arise.

Paton made regular yearly visits to the Island, and whilst his interests in Manx have been highlighted above, it was as a botanist that he primarily made these trips and which preoccupied him when there. He disliked the combustion engine and walked on principle. And he could cover the distance as well as one entry shows: '28 miles by map' (9 September 1918). What this allowed for then was the chance to meet people along the way (or on the train for that matter—that was a permitted mode of transport) and at times quiz them about Manx speakers.

From 1910 to 1949, there are entries each year relating to the Manx language, bar the years 1925, 1929–1932, 1934–1936, and 1938–1941. The amount of detail in the individual entries is more often than not brief whilst a few are longer. It should be highlighted that Paton was not on a systematic search for Manx speakers, rather it was seemingly happenstance when coming across them. This leads then to a problem with some of his comments, such as declaring that as regards the parish of Bride, 'No Manks now in Bride parish' (26 July 1937), when John Thomas Kaighin and Annie Kneale were later to be found

in the parish as Manx speakers (Broderick 2017: 25–29 & 34–36; Broderick 2018c: 116–118 & 130–131). Yet he was correct as such as regards Ballaugh, ‘6 people speak Manx here & one young one!’ (31 August 1917), that ‘young one’ taken to being Eliza Quayle, who was the youngest declared speaker of Manx in 1901 in Ballaugh, aged 29 (Census Enumerators’ Book for Ballaugh 1901, RG 13/5300, fol. 43, sch. 12). She was still a Manx speaker in the 1911 census (Census Enumerators’ Book for Ballaugh 1911, RG14 PN34637 RD635 SD2 ED12/2 SN11). In 1943, Paton encountered Philip Knight, ‘who had some Manks’ (10 June 1943). He was enumerated in 1901 as an English speaker only (Census Enumerators’ Book for Andreas 1901, RG 13/5300, fol. 117, sch. 78), and again in 1911 (Census Enumerators’ Book for Andreas 1911, RG14 PN34631 RD635 SD2 ED17/3 SN11), yet his obituary notices make it clear that he was a Manx speaker (*Isle of Man Weekly Times* 5 Aug. 1955; *Ramsey Courier* 5 Aug. 1955; *Mona’s Herald* 9 Aug. 1955). That said, those named in the diary who can be identified in the 1911 census are Manx speakers there and only Knight and Norton remain the exceptions.

‘He liked to speak a few words of Manx to illustrate its connection with Scottish Gaelic,’ was the recollection of M. M. Banks when working with him on *Manx Calendar Customs* (Banks 1950), but that does not answer the question as to how fluent Paton was in Manx. He complained about P. W. Caine’s Manx at a Manx Church Service in 1933, ‘Phonetic Manks [...]—poor’ (8 October 1933), which again still begs the question as to his own competency. He mentioned in a note made in 1946 that he regularly visited Elizabeth and John Edward Costain of Colby in Arbory, Ann and Thomas Moore of Ballafesson near Port Erin in Rushen, and Wilfred Wade of Sandygate in Jurby. Whether he took the opportunity to work on his Manx with them remains unclear. Paton did point out John Costain from amongst those names for praise: ‘John Ned was the most reliable. He understood little differences of meaning, and if he did not know he would say so!’ Every year Paton was in the Island he would make a point of visiting him and the first mention of him is as early as 1910, in the entry for 22 June that year: ‘Arbory & Colby. Train 2d. John Ned as ever’. Costain was to die on 12 March 1928 (*Mona’s Herald* 21 Mar. 1928; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Arbory, C/451), as Paton duly noted in his diary for 15 March. A notice of his death in the *Isle of Man Examiner* described him as being ‘very well-known in the parish of Arbory, and his fame as a Manx linguist and an authority on many subjects extended far beyond the parish boundaries’ (*Isle of Man Examiner* 16 Mar. 1928). The same comment appeared in the *Ramsey Courier* (*Ramsey Courier* 23 Mar. 1928, possibly copied from the *Examiner* report).

### 2.1. The Charles Loch List of Manx Speakers (1946)

It was the visit of Charles Loch (1887–1960) in April 1946, that led to the identification of twenty speakers of Manx (for further on Loch, see Gunderloch

(2000–2002)). Another visitor to the Island that same year, and on a similar quest, was A. Stanley B. Davies, who later published, first under his Bardic name of Arthur Ardudwy (Davies 1948c), and then later under his own a superficial account of his trip (Davies 1948b, with Preface, vii). That said, he did encounter Manx speakers as he recounted, though this was helped by him simply having access to Loch's list. One outcome of Loch's own visit was the drafting of an article intended for the *Journal of the Manx Museum* in 1947 (MNHL), MS 5134 B; Charles W. Loch, 'Some Notes on the Present State of the Manx Language' (1946), together with accompanying letter from Charles W. Loch to B. R. S. Megaw, 5 August 1946). Whilst this never appeared, Davies culled notes from it and published them along with the list in Welsh in 1948 (Davies 1948a).

Davies called on Paton, visiting him on 24 August 1946, and 'stayed to lunch' as noted in the diary; bizarrely, Paton described him as '[a] Norwegian, a Mr Daviessen'. Davies lived not amongst the fjords but in prosaic Colwyn Bay on the north Wales coast and was not Norwegian. Why Paton took him to be so is unexplained. Nevertheless, Paton took the opportunity to make his own copy of the list which is reproduced in full here (see section 2.2 below) and annotated it with his own comments.

## 2.2. *The Charles Loch List of Manx Speakers (1946): C. I. Paton's Copy*

Names of Speakers of the Gailck, who have spoken it from their childhood.  
Supplied to me by a Norwegian, Mr Daviessen. August 24th 1946.

1. William Wade, of Sandygate \*
2. Charles Kneale of Ballagarrett Bride
3. Mrs {Kneale of Ballagarrett Bride}
4. John Thomas Kaighin Bride
5. John Kneen of the Lhen Mooar
6. Robert Fayle of Ramsey, Lezayre
7. Capt: James Kinley, of Peel. \*
8. Mr Clague of Dalby, (Native of Ballafesson, Rushen)
9. Miss Kaye of Onchan
10. Mr Harry Boyde of Kirk Braddan
11. Edward Maddrell of Glen Chiass \*
12. John Maddrell of Port St Mary
13. Miss Karran of Cregneish, Rushen
14. Mr Crebbin of {Cregneish, Rushen}
15. James Karran of {Cregneish, Rushen} \* 1947 (June)
16. Mrs. Lowey of Kirkill (died Feb 1947)
17. Thomas Leece of the Moaney Mooar, Malew
18. John Kinvig of Ronaigue, Arbory.
19. Mrs Kinvig

20. Mrs Watterson, of Colby.

P.T.O

I have been told at East Baldwin that a Mr Morton speaks Manks. Also I have heard of a Mr Cubbon† in Arbory who was said to be a Manks speaker, but my informant [*interlined* (Mrs Hemingway)] did not seem to be quite sure of the name, and it may have been one of the 18, 19, or 20, on the previous page. Those marked \* I have spoken with.

Some twenty [*interlined* five] years ago the speakers whom I used to visit were Wilfred Wade (Sandy Gate): Mr & Mrs 'John Ned' Costain (of Cubboin's Bridge, Colby): and Mr & Mrs T. Moore of Port Erin.

John Ned, was the most reliable. He understood little differences of meaning, and if he did not know he would say so!

Mr Christian who died a year or two ago, West Craig, Hope Street Castletown spoke northern Manks. He told me that when young he worked for a farmer who always gave orders in Manks.

C. I. Paton.

† = John Cubbon of Ronague (11/3/47) (told to me by Mr H Maddrell of Balla Maddrell)

'Names of Speakers of the Gailck, who have spoken it from their childhood. Supplied to me by a Norwegian, Mr Daviessen. August 24th 1946'. Found inserted into C. I. Paton's personal copy of Cregeen's *Manks Dictionary*, MNHL, MS 09505, C. I. Paton Papers, Box 11.

Of the twenty names on the list, Paton noted that he had visited four of them, namely James Karran of Cregneash, James Kinley of Peel, Ned Maddrell of Glen Chass, and Wilfred Wade of Sandygate. As regards mentions in the diaries, Karran first appeared in 1947 whereas Kinley is not mentioned at all in the diary. Maddrell was visited in 1944 but was out in 1945 when Paton called on him, and Wade was encountered as early as 1921. John and Sage Kinvig of Ronague were on Loch's list, and Sage Kinvig was to turn up later in an entry for 1949, when Paton was at Ronague.

Three names of Manx speakers were added to Loch's list by Paton: a 'Mr Christian' of Castletown, John Cubbon of Ronague, and a 'Mr Morton' of Baldwin (though Paton gives his name as Norton in his diary). The first individual is identifiable as Robert Sayle Christian, who had died 15 June 1945, aged 73 (*Isle of Man Examiner* 22 June 1945; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Marown, 56/3007), while 'Mr Morton' is properly John William Norton, who was 89 years old when he passed away in March 1949 (*Ramsey Courier* 1 Apr. 1949; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Castletown, 256/375). As regards Cubbon, further research is needed; Paton only came to know his full name in March 1947, showing that he was updating the list when and as needed.

### 2.3. *The C. I. Paton diaries (1905–1949): The Manx speakers*

Thirty individuals are named by Paton as being Manx speakers. Of this number, twenty-three can be identified, four of them tentatively rather than definitely. All bar three (Knight, Maddrell, Norton) are found as Manx speakers in the 1911 census. Fuller biographies of some of the speakers here can be found in Broderick (2017, 2018c).

#### Brews of Jurby?

‘The old Jurby woman mentioned above [ie, entry for 5 August] said she had a brother & 2 sisters who spoke Manx better then she did’. (6 August 1916).

#### Brew, Ann?

[1911] Ann Brew was aged 70, unmarried, a sheep farmer, living at Sartfield, Jurby East, with her cousin, Margaret Ann Clarke (32), and Mary Ann Gilray (78), a boarder. She was born in Jurby. Clarke spoke English only, while Gilray was a Manx speaker (Census Enumerators’ Book for Jurby 1911, RG14 PN34695 RD635 SD1 ED3/4 SN6).

#### Brew, Daniel?

[1911] Daniel Brew aged 65 years old, was a farmer at Close Clark, Jurby. Unmarried he lived there alone. Born in Jurby (Census Enumerators’ Book for Jurby 1911, RG14 PN34694 RD635 SD1 ED3/3 SN25).

#### Brew, Elizabeth Jane?

[1911] Elizabeth Jane Brew was 61 years old, unmarried, living at Sandy Gate, Jurby, housekeeper to her brother Robert. Born in Jurby (Census Enumerators’ Book for Jurby 1911, RG14 PN34693 RD635 SD1 ED3/2 SN29).

#### Brew, Robert?

[1911] Robert Brew was aged 54, unmarried, a farmer residing at Sandy Gate, Jurby with his sister, Elizabeth Jane Brew. Born in Jurby (Census Enumerators’ Book for Jurby 1911, RG14 PN34693 RD635 SD1 ED3/2 SN29).

#### Callow, Daniel (1842–1921)

‘Dan Callow [...] who spoke Manx’. (14 August 1916).

[1911] Daniel Robert Callow was aged 69, and a retired farmer living at Ballathona in Andreas, the parish of his birth. His wife, Edith Ann, was 32 years old, born in Derby in England, and spoke English only. There was a son from this marriage, Cyril Robert Callow, aged 2 (Census Enumerators’ Book for Andreas 1911, RG14 PN34630 RD635 SD2 ED17/2 SN45).

Died 1921, aged 79 (Isle of Man Civil Registry, Andreas, C1/243).



Christian, Robert Sayle (1872–1945)

Loch list/CIP copy (1946).

Died 15 June 1945, aged 73 ('[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Deaths,' *Isle of Man Examiner* 22 June 1945, 3b; '[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Deaths,' *Isle of Man Weekly Times* 23 June 1945 6e; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Castletown, 256/375).

Clague, Edward

'Ned Clague (oddjob man)'. (20 June 1913).

[1911] Edward Clague was a shopkeeper at Ballabeg in Arbory, 69 years old, married to Margaret aged 50, who was not a Manx speaker. Both were born in Arbory and had no children (Census Enumerators' Book for Arbory 1911, RG14 PN34633 RD635 SD1 ED7/1 SN49).

Costain, Elizabeth (1831–1923)

Loch list/CIP copy (1946).

Costain, John Edward (1840–1928).

'John Ned as ever'. (22 June 1910).

Manx speaking people (June 1912) John Ned Costain Colby.

[1911] John Edward Costain lived at Colby in Arbory and worked as a joiner. Aged 72, married to Elizabeth, 70 years old, the pair were born in the parish and both were speakers of Manx. They had no children (Census Enumerators' Book for Arbory 1911, RG14 PN34634 RD635 SD1 ED7/2 SN27).

Elizabeth Costain died 4 May 1923, aged 92 ('[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Deaths,' *Isle of Man Examiner* 4 May 1923 4a; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Arbory, C/415). John Edward Costain died 12 March 1928, aged 88 ('[Births, Marriages, and Deaths] Deaths'; *Mona's Herald* 21 March 1928, 8f; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Arbory, C/451). For obituary notices, see 'Arbory,' *Isle of Man Examiner* 16 March 1928, 12f; and 'Mr John Costain . . .', *Ramsey Courier* 23 March 1928, 4e.

Cormack, Mrs

'Mrs. Cormack, a northerner who spoke the language well'. (9 June 1913).

Cannot be identified.

Cubbon, John

Loch list/CIP copy (1946 & 1947).

Cannot be identified.

Faragher, Thomas

Tom Farraker (17 October 1938).

Cannot be identified.

Gell, ?

‘Mr Gell (Miss Watterson’s cousin) a Mks. speaking Mksman’. (5 July 1944).

Cannot be identified.

Karran, John (1867–1955)

‘A Mr Karran spoke Manks’. (2 July 1947).

[1911] Not present in the household (Census Enumerators’ Book for Rushen 1911, RG14 PN34746 RD635 SD2 ED11/5 SN41).

[1901] John Karran was aged 40, a stone mason, married to Eleanor Karran (29), and living at Cregneash with their one-year old daughter, Emily. Both were Manx speakers (Census Enumerators’ Book for Rushen 1901, RG 13/5301, fol. 108, sch. 150).

Died in 1955, aged 88 (Isle of Man Civil Registry, Rushen, 183/679; Broderick 2017: 27–28).

Kennaugh, ?

‘Manx speaking people June 1912 Kennaugh Arbory’.

Cannot be identified.

Kinley, James (1870–1950)

Loch list/CIP copy (1946).

[1911] Not enumerated.

[1901] Onboard of the ‘Graceful’ at Plymouth, England (Census for England & Wales, Vessels, RG 13/2097, fol. 187).

Died 8 June 1950, aged 80 (‘Obituary,’ *Peel City Guardian* 10 June 1950, 1c; ‘[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Acknowledgments,’ *Isle of Man Examiner* 16 June 1950, 3b; ‘[News from Out-Towns and the Country] [Peel] Harbour master at ...,’ *Isle of Man Examiner* 16 June 1950, 9e. Isle of Man Civil Registry, Peel, 11/694).

Kinvig, Sage (1870–1962)

‘A Mrs Kinvig still speaks & reads Manks’. (16 February 1949).

[1911] Sage Kinvig was aged 40, married to John Kinvig, a farmer, living with their eight children at Gahelen, Arbory. Both were Manx speakers but with no family transmission of Manx (Census Enumerators’ Book for Arbory 1911, RG14 PN34635 RD635 SD1 ED7/3 SN14).

Died 13 April 1962, aged 91 (‘Deaths,’ *Manx Green Final*, 14 April 1962, 3a; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Arbory, 468/735; Broderick 2017: 32–34).

Knight, Philip (1859–1955)

‘P. Knight (who had some Manks)’. (10 June 1943).

[1911] Philip Knight was aged 52, a horseman living at Ballasteen in Andreas with his wife and family. Born in Michael. Enumerated as an English speaker only (Census Enumerators' Book for Andreas 1911, RG14 PN34631 RD635 SD2 ED17/3 SN11).

'This was told to me by Philip Knight, gardener, Andreas, Isle of Man. He had been told it by one of the men in the yawl many years ago. (I heard it in July, 1936.)' (Paton 1938: 50).

Died 1 August 1955, aged 96 ('[Births, Marriages and Deaths] Deaths,' *Ramsey Courier* 5 August 1955, 1g; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Andreas, 403/455). Obituary notices mention him as a Manx speaker ('[Northside News] Veteran Manxman dies at Andreas,' *Isle of Man Examiner* 5 August 1955, 10c; '[News from the Out-Towns] Death at 96,' *Isle of Man Weekly Times* 5 August 1955, 10f; 'Oldest Andreas Parishioner Dies,' *Ramsey Courier* 5 August 1955, 5d).

#### Lowey, Emily Jane

'Mrs Lowey (E.J.) of Kirkle Farm, Colby'. (28 February 1947).

[1911] Emily Jane Lowey, aged 42, farmer's wife, living at Kirkle, Colby, Arbory. Spoke Manx as did her husband, Henry (50). Both born in Rushen. No family transmission of the language (Census Enumerators' Book for Rushen 1911, RG14 PN34748 RD635 SD2 ED11/7 SN83).

Died 26 February 1947, aged 79 ('[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Deaths,' *Isle of Man Examiner* 28 February 1947, 3c; '[Births, Marriages, & Deaths] Deaths,' *Mona's Herald* 4 March 1947, 8f; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Rushen, 208/606). For Obituary notices, see ('[Rushen] Death of Fluent Manx Speaker,' *Isle of Man Examiner* 28 February 1947, 8e; '[News from the Out-Towns] [South] Mrs Emily Jane ...,' *Isle of Man Weekly Times* 1 March 1947, 7d; 'Death of Manx Linguist,' *Mona's Herald* 4 March 1947, 5b; Broderick 2017: 41–42).

#### Maddrell, Edward (1877–1974)

'Mr Madderel of Pt. St. Mary spoke Manks still'. (26 June 1944).

[1911] Onboard of the 'Prince of Wales' at Barrow-in-Furness, England (Census for England & Wales, Vessels, RG14 PN25702 RG78PN1473 RD482 SD1 ED52 SN9).

[1901] Edward Maddrell was aged 23, a fisherman onboard CT21 'Annie Jane'. English speaker (Census for the Isle of Man, Vessels, RG 13/5308, fol. 159; Broderick 2017: 42–45).

#### Moore, Thomas (1826–1912)

Moore, Anne\* (1840–1922).

Loch list/CIP copy (1946).

[1911] Thomas Moore was 74 years old, a retired farmer who lived with his wife, Anne (69), at 'Brookfield,' Ballafesson, Rushen. Both were Manx speakers (Census Enumerators' Book for Rushen 1911, RG14 PN34747 RD635 SD2 ED11/6 SN70).

(\* Whilst a Manx speaker, her name is not mentioned by Paton in his diary.) Anne Moore died in 1922, aged 82 (Isle of Man Civil Registry, Rushen, C/412). Thomas Moore died 3 January 1912, aged 86 ('[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Deaths,' *Isle of Man Examiner* 5 January 1923, 4b; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Jurby, 267/395).

Norton, John William (1860–1949)

'The man there said that a Norton—an old man—still spoke Manks'. (27 June 1946); 'Mr Morton' Loch list/CIP copy (1946).

[1911] John William Norton was 50 years old, farming at Barregarrow in Michael, married to Mariam and with three children present. All were English speakers (Census Enumerators' Book for Michael 1911, RG14 PN34730 RD635 SD2 ED15/4 SN25).

Similar return as to language made in 1901 (Census Enumerators' Book for Michael 1901, RG 13/5300, fol. 23, sch. 14).

Buried 28 March 1949, aged 89 ('[Michael News] The funeral of ...'. *Ramsey Courier* 1 April 1949, 5d; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Marown, 56/3007).

Pollitt, Catherine (1855/56–1947)

'Mrs Pollett tells me that at Dalby some old people yet use Manx daily'. (9 June 1913).

[1911] Catherine Pollit was aged 52, a widow, living at Thornburn Villa, Tynwald Road, Peel, with her two sons. Born in Patrick. No family transmission of the language (Census Enumerators' Book for Peel 1911, RG14 PN34739 RD635 SD3 ED20/1 SN243).

Died 5 March 1947, aged 91 or 92 ('[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Deaths,' *Isle of Man Examiner* 7 March 1947, 3c; '[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Deaths,' *Peel City Guardian* 8 March 1947, 2a; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Peel, 333/668). For obituary notices, '[Peel] One of Peel's ...,' *Isle of Man Examiner* 7 March 1947, 8e; 'Accident Hastened Death,' *Mona's Herald* 11 March 1947, 3b).

Quane, William (1850–1935)

'He is about 85 yrs. old & is one of the few Manx speakers left in Peel'. (1 October 1933).

[1911] Not present in the census.

[1901] William Quane, aged 51, joiner and builder, living with his sister-in-law, Ellen Clucas (44) and household, at 30 St German Place,

Peel. Enumerated as a Manx speaker as was Ellen Clucas. Both born in Patrick. No family transmission of the language (Census Enumerators' Book for Peel 1901, RG 13/5306, fol. 63, sch. 229).

Died on 29 December 1935, aged 85 ('[Births, Marriages & Deaths] Deaths,' *Mona's Herald*, 31 December 1935, 8g; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Peel, A/568).

Quay/Kay

'Met a man named Quay or Kay'. (8 October 1933).

Cannot be identified.

Quayle, William

'Manx speaking people June 1912 William Quayle of Ronaigue'.

[1911] William Quayle was 49 years old, his wife, Christian Quayle, 54. He farmed Ballaquayle in Arbory and living with them was one of their children, Anna, 14 years old, and James Quayle, his father, aged 77. All were born in Arbory and the whole household was enumerated as Manx speakers (Census Enumerators' Book for Arbory 1911, RG14 PN34635 RD635 SD1 ED7/3 SN9).

Quayle, ?

'Mr Quayle (the Castletown gardener)'. (20 June 1913).

'Manx speaking people June 1912 Quayle of Castletown'.

Cannot be identified.

Shimmin, John (1833–1924)

'Met John Shimmin talked a little Manx'. (23 June 1915).

[1911] John Shimmin was a retired farmer, aged 81, born in Andreas, married to Elizabeth, 71, who was born in Ballaugh. Living with them at Ballacottier in Andreas was their widowed son-in-law, 47, born in Arbory, a police constable, and his son, Thomas Wilfred, 12 years old, born in Andreas. John and Elizabeth Shimmin were Manx speakers, the others not (Census Enumerators' Book for Andreas 1911, RG14 PN34632 RD635 SD2 ED17/4 SN4).

Died 1924, aged 91 (Isle of Man Civil Registry, Douglas, A/2029).

Wade, Wilfred (1869–1948)

'Wilfred Wade of Jurby (Sandy Gate) speaks Manx well'. (19 June 1921).

[1911] Wilfred Wade was 42 years old, a joiner, living with his wife, Sophia (41), and family at the Lough, Sandy Gate, Jurby. He was the only Manx speaker enumerated (Census Enumerators' Book for Jurby 1911, RG14 PN34693 RD635 SD1 ED3/2 SN30).

Died 12 March 1948, aged 79 ([Births, Marriages, Deaths] Deaths,' *Ramsey Courier* 12 March 1948, 1f; '[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Deaths,' *Isle of Man Examiner* 19 March 1948, 3b; '[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Deaths,' *Isle of Man Weekly Times* 20 March 1948, 6d. Also, '[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Acknowledgments,' *Isle of Man Examiner* 19 March 1948, 3b; '[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Thanks for Sympathy,' *Ramsey Courier* 19 March 1948, 1f; '[Births, Marriages, Deaths] Thanks for Sympathy,' *Isle of Man Weekly Times* 20 March 1948, 6d–e, see 6e; Isle of Man Civil Registry, Jurby, 267/395). For an obituary notice, 'Death of Manx Linguist,' *Ramsey Courier* 19 March 1948, 7c; Broderick 2017: 46–47).

'Wade, Mrs'

'Mrs. Wade (not much Manx)'. (27 June 1923).

Cannot be identified (unless Sophia Wade is meant).

#### 2.4. *The C. I. Paton diaries (1905–1949): The Manx language*

Paton's diaries have comments on Manx for thirteen of the Island's seventeen parishes. These are grouped into six sheadings, which are divided into Northside and Southside. Administratively, the order begins with Glenfaba sheading on the Northside, and this sequence is used here. The four parishes missing are Lonan (in Garff sheading), Onchan, Santan (Middle), and Malew (Rushen); put simply, his botanical wanderings did not take him to those parishes. In any case, language shift was well advanced in the central and eastern parishes due to the Anglicising shadow of Douglas such that any search would have been considered fruitless from the start. Castletown in Malew parish was the former capital, though in the nineteenth century that status moved to Douglas (Onchan), long the commercial centre due to its better harbour, and which in the late Victorian period had rapidly developed as a working class tourist resort for the north of England. Lonan's only settlement was Laxey, a village that had grown around the lead mines in its vicinity during the same period and which had seen an influx of outsiders as a result.

##### 2.4.1. *C. I. Paton's comments on Manx speakers and the usage of Manx (I)*

Extracted here are Paton's mentions of his encounters with Manx speakers as well as the usage of the language.

Glenfaba Sheading

Patrick

(1) Mrs Pollett tells me that at Dalby some old people yet use Manx daily (Dalby, 1913); (2) Foxdale miner, Manx spoken in Foxdale by old people & by one girl aged 8. [...] (Foxdale, 1913); (3) One old woman at

least speaks Manx. Near Knockaloe (Knockaloe, 1917); (4) A little Manx still spoken (Foxdale, 1919); (5) Old Manx woman, a little Manx talk (her husband speaks it well but she only a little) (Foxdale, 1920).

#### German

(1) After tea she [ie, Sophia Morrison] took me to see a Mrs. Cormack, a northerner who spoke the language well. We read two chapters of the bible, one reading the verse aloud and the other reading the same verse (Peel, 1913); (2) He said that Manx was still used a good deal at the fishing but that he did not know much about it ([Peel] 1918); (3) He [ie, William Quane] is about 85 yrs. old & is one of the few Manx speakers left in Peel (Peel, 1933).

#### Michael Sheading

##### Michael

(1) He [ie, the Vicar or Curate] said there were a few old people who could talk Manx in the parish but it was not in everyday use even by them. [...] On my way this evening to church an old woman at a cottage door wished me good evening & said it was very showery. I talked with her a little & she said that the Manx was rapidly dying, only a few old people could still speak it (Cronk-y-Voddy, 1918).

##### Ballaugh

(1) 6 people speak Manx here & one young one! (Ballaugh Curraghs, 1917).

##### Jurby

(1) There was an old Manx woman in the carriage who talked of (or sometimes in) Manx all the way. [Next entry] The old Jurby woman mentioned above said she had a brother & 2 sisters who spoke Manx better than she did ([Jurby], 1916); (2) Talked with organist (Wm. Teare) he tells me [...] that Wilfred Wade of Jurby (Sandy Gate) speaks Manx well (Sandygate, 1921); (3) Wilfred Wade. [...] Good Manx (Sandygate, 1921); (4) Sandy Gate. [...] Wilfred Wade (Manks) (Sandygate, 1945).

#### Lezayre Sheading

##### Andreas

(1) Met John Shimmin talked a little Manx (St Jude's, 1915); (2) There was an old man Dan Callow who lived in a house just past the mission at the Lhane Mooar who spoke Manx & he had given her the book (Lhane Mooar, 1916); (3) [...] said that many old people in Andreas could talk it—which I doubt (Andreas, 1918); (4) Regaby Gate, Croit-yn-ushag, (an old man with a few words of Manks—Tom Farraker) Ohio [...] (Andreas, 1938).

### Bride

(1) There were two men nearby (coastguardsmen?) they spoke Manx a little but could not read it (Cranstal Point, 1916); (2) He told us, which interested me more, that there were two families which still spoke Manx every day amongst themselves, in the parish, though they never spoke it to strangers (Bride, 1924); (3) No Manks now in Bride parish (Bride 1937).

### Lezayre

Old man by roadside (his wife understands Manx but does not speak it) (Sulby, 1926).

### Garff Sheading

#### Maughold

(1) An old man told me that there were a few old people in the district who could speak Manx but that they had but little practice nowadays (Maughold, 1915); (2) Farm on W. side of road—a little Manx & a glass of butter milk (Maughold, 1927).

### Middle Sheading

#### Braddan

(1) Manx extinct or nearly so there (Baldwin, 1919); (2) The man there said that a Norton—an old man—still spoke Manks (Baldwin, 1946).

#### Marown

(1) Manx little spoken (Crosby, 1918); (2) He said that little Manx was spoken here, but that his grandfather speaks it better than English (Crosby, 1918).

### Rushen Sheading

#### Arbory

(1) [...] we all went on to the Colum Killey. Met Shimmin & Quayle & another Manx speaker there (Arbory, 1914); (2) I had tried to get food at the Round-table Inn on my way to the Ballabeg but they had none [a woman told me, not far from the latter Inn, that there were still many who could speak the ‘rale ould Manx’ in the district. I fear that the word many is an exaggeration.] (Round Table, 1918); (3) Mrs Lowey (E.J.) of Kirkle Farm, Colby, one of the last speakers of Mks from childhood has died (Feb. 26th.) (Colby, 1947); (4) Ronaigue—man with pails of water. Kennaugh. Manks talk. A Mrs Kinvig still speaks & reads Manks (Ronague, 1949).



### Rushen

(1) Cregneish with the Downeys. A Mr Karran spoke Manks (Cregneash, 1947); (2) She said that a Mr Madderel of Pt. St. Mary spoke Manks still (Glen Chass, 1944); (3) Met Edward Maddrell of Glen Chass & was introduced to Mr Gell (Miss Watterson's cousin) a Mks. speaking Mksman (Glen Chass, 1944); (4) Aft. by train to Purt le Moirrey, Glen Ghass—could make no one hear at Ed. Madderell's. Walked to Fistard & Pt. le Moirrey—had tea & back to Maddrell's—Again failed to make any one hear (Glen Chass, 1945).

### 2.4.2. *C. I. Paton's comments on Manx speakers and the usage of Manx (2)*

Drawing on the diary entries the following are summaries for each parish of the status of the Manx language as found by Paton.

#### Northside

##### Glenfaba: Patrick & German

In Patrick, Manx was still spoken, though by aged individuals only, and then few in number (1913). The mining village of Foxdale provided a surprise in an eight-year-old child speaking the language (1913). As regards Peel, the home of the Manx Language Revival, whose fortunes had waned after the death of Sophia Morrison in 1917, William Quane was said to be one of the last native speakers left, and he was in his mid-eighties (1933). Paton had met Morrison in 1913, and after tea the pair visited a Mrs Cormack, where she and Morrison read aloud two chapters from the Bible. This recalls Morrison learning Manx from William Cashen in similar fashion.

##### Michael: Michael, Ballaugh, Jurby

Michael was the same as Patrick, the incumbent there reporting that Manx was known but even those with the language did not use it, and again they were aged individuals (1918). Six people alone were able to speak Manx in Ballaugh. How Paton came to this figure is unclear and has the feel of a guess. There was a surprise that amongst this supposed number there was 'one young one' (1917). Jurby had a group of Manx-speaking siblings, the Brew family (1916). Wilfred Wade of Sandygate was named as a speaker in the parish (1921, 1945).

##### Lezayre: Andreas, Bride, Lezayre

In Andreas, there were a number of speakers named by Paton, John Shimmin (1915), Daniel Callow (1916), and Thomas Faragher, though he had only a 'few words of Manx' (1938). He cast doubt on there being a wider pool of speakers in the parish (1918). Bride had two families (not

named by Paton) who spoke Manx amongst themselves, but never to strangers (1924). He declared in 1937, that there were no Manx speakers now to be found in the parish. As commented on earlier here, this was not the case, as later John Thomas Kaighin and Annie Kneale were found to speak the language. This can also be used to question his assertion as regards Andreas. Lezayre figures just once, Paton meeting a man in Sulby who told him that his wife can follow Manx, but who does not speak the language herself (1926).

### Southside

Garff: Maughold & Lonan

Maughold as with the other parishes had speakers, but the language was little used (1915). No entries for Lonan.

Middle: Braddan, Onchan, Marown, Santan

In Braddan, Manx was largely gone (1919), though a native speaker (John William Norton) was much later to be found in the parish (1946). Marown was in the same situation (1918). No entries for Onchan or Santan.

Rushen: Malew, Arbory, Rushen

No entries for Malew. In Arbory, Paton was told that ‘rale ould Manx’ (‘real old Manx’) was spoken by many in Ronague. He was, however, sceptical about the word ‘many’ (1918). Much later, he was to learn of Sage Kinvig who lived there (1949), who not only spoke Manx but also read it. She was one of the last native speakers who came to prominence with the recording program in 1948 undertaken by the Irish Folklore Commission. At Glenchass in Rushen, Paton also came across Edward ‘Ned’ Maddrell, the last reputed native speaker of Manx and so another individual whose name came to be wider known (1944). A visit the next year was unsuccessful (1945): ‘failed to make anyone hear’ was Paton’s comment in his diary. Ironically, towards the end of his days, Maddrell suffered from increasing deafness, eventually dying on 27 December 1974, some thirty years after Paton first met him.

Paton’s diaries are a chance find and provide a view of Manx in the first half of the twentieth century. His comments point to a language in decline, matching the official picture from the reported numbers of speakers in the censuses. Rejecting the combustion engine meant that he walked and he did largely cover the Island. He found that there was no parish noted for its retention of the language, and so, at the end of the day, no ‘stronghold’ of Manx. Speakers were still to be found, but those encountered by Paton were now not only elderly, but also few in number, and these Manx speakers had little chance to use the language.

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## APPENDIX

### Cyril I. Paton's diaries (1910–1949)

#### 1910

22 June 1910

Arbory & Colby. Train 2d. John Ned as ever.

#### 1911

22 June 1911

Wed. Arbory & Colby. Train 2d. John Ned as ever.

#### 1912

12 June 1912

Saw John Ned.

13 June 1912

John Ned's in evening.

20 June 1912

Laa Cholum Killy. Manx talk. Pleigniers, further Manx. Quayle, Moores, John Ned etc.

**1913**

9 June 1913

Then passing along the road [Atholl Street, Peel] I saw Mrs Brideson at her shop window. Stepping in to speak to her, she introduced me to her son, a grown man. As we were talking Miss Morrison came in & asked me to tea. After tea she took me to see a Mrs. Cormack, a northerner who spoke the language well. We read two chapters of the bible, one reading the verse aloud and the other reading the same verse. A Dr Lyon, a music man, came to tea—somewhat bumptious, as music men are apt to be. He was setting some Manx air or other. Mrs Pollett tells me that at Dalby some old people yet use Manx daily.

10 June 1913

St. John's. Foxdale. Castletown. Arbory. Colby. Rushen. Bradda. Dalby. Peel. Foxdale miner, Manx spoken in Foxdale by old people & by one girl aged 8. [...] Colby John Ned & Mrs. Ned.

20 June 1913

Train Ramsey to Ballabeg return. Colum Killey. John Ned, Mrs Ned, Ned Clague (oddjob man) Mr Stubbs, Mr Quayle (the Castletown gardener), Mr Gale Moore. Manx dy lioar. Manx enough.

Note made on rear of notebook:

Manx speaking people June 1912

William Quayle of Ronaigue      John Ned Costain Colby

Quayle of Castletown Kennaugh Arbory

**1914**

18 June 1914

Hurried towards Colby, overtook John Ned went into house & saw Mrs J. N. & we all went on to the Colum Killey. Met Shimmin & Quayle & another Manx speaker there.

21 June 1914

Wrote to Miss Kewley, Mr John Quirk of Dalby, Mr T. Moore & John Ned.

**1915**

20 June 1915

John Ned & Mrs. Costain. Manx.

23 June 1915

[St Jude's] Met John Shimmin talked a little Manx.

24 June 1915

[Maughold] An old man told me that there were a few old people in the district who could speak Manx but that they had but little practice nowadays.

1916

5 August 1916

[Train from Douglas to Ramsey?] There was an old Manx woman in the carriage who talked of (or sometimes in) Manx all the way. She told me that her grandfather took her grandmother to Liverpool to get a doctor about 100 years ago—that the journey took between 2 & 3 days & his wife died. I used the word 'corkey' for the growing oats wh. she immediately corrected to 'plaggad'.

6 August 1916

The old Jurby woman mentioned above [ie, entry for 5 August] said she had a brother & 2 sisters who spoke Manx better than she did.

9 August 1916

Lastly I called at John Ned's (On the way looking in at Colby chapel of ease). He was reading the Manx bible. Mrs Ned was absent but came in from 'Town' (where she had not been for three years past) whilst I was there.

14 August 1916

There was an old man Dan Callow who lived in a house just past the mission at the Lhane Mooar who spoke Manx & he had given her the book. He would be pleased if I called & got him to speak Manx. I did call. I found him at home weeding a carrot-bed in his garden. An old man, bearded, lame. On my introducing myself & saying that I wished to hear the Manx spoken he asked me in Manx (struck I suppose, by the fact that I carried a large parcel of books—a satchel & a plant box) if I were wanting to sell anything. There was a small boy there & I asked in Manx if he spoke the Gaelic. No, but he could count, & did so. The old man then sent the boy into the house for a hymn book. He was a nice well mannered boy about 8 years old & I asked if he were his grandson. No, his son, he had married late in life. On the boy's return Mr Callow shewed me the hymn book, the 1799 edition, though the title page was gone. He sang one of the hymns, & to my surprise the boy joined in, his pronunciation was good & he evidently understood the separate words. [...] [at Cranstal Point] There were two men nearby (coastguardsmen?) they spoke Manx a little but could not read it.

16 August 1916

[At the Mooragh] Met Mr Radcliff (Balham) & Mr Lamothe—who had been curate at Andreas at one time but was now living off the Island—he knows Manx & we talked chiefly about that.

1917

19 August 1917

[Dalby] T. Teare of Ballada. School master formerly here discouraged Manx. [...] One old woman at least speaks Manx. Near Knockaloe.

31 August 1917

[Ballaugh Curraghs] 6 people speak Manx here & one young one!

1918

7 September 1918

[Train from Douglas to Peel] I then found that the Peel carriages were further up the train & got into another carriage with two fishermen. [...] At last one asked if the next moon were the harvest-moon. The other did not know. I said that it was & that the moon after that used to be called the horse-moon. They had never heard of that, or of the Manx name for it, but one asked me what the Manx name of the harvest-moon was. I told him & he seemed to recognise it. He said that Manx was still used a good deal at the fishing but that he did not know much about it. They both seemed interested & said that many old people in Andreas could talk it—which I doubt.

8 September 1918

[Cronk-y-Voddy, Kirk Michael] He [ie, the Vicar or Curate] said there were a few old people who could talk Manx in the parish but it was not in everyday use even by them. [...] On my way this evening to church an old woman at a cottage door wished me good evening & said it was very showery. I talked with her a little & she said that the Manx was rapidly dying, only a few old people could still speak it.

9 September 1918

I had tried to get food at the Round-table Inn on my way to the Ballabeg but they had none [a woman told me, not far from the latter Inn, that there were still many who could speak the 'rale ould Manx' in the district. I fear that the word many is an exaggeration.] thence to Colby Bridge to see 'John Ned' Costain. Had a hearty welcome there. John Ned's sight getting bad. He is 80 years old. Mrs Ned did not have a good winter (bronchitis) but seems fairly well for her age which must be nearing 80. On leaving (after a little Gailck talk, about carpenter's tools etc) J. N. walked with me as far as the smithy. [...] John Ned is really critical & possesses large powers of discrimination between shades of meaning which is really wonderful in one of his station.

12 September 1918

By train to Crosby. Old church locked up. On enquiry at a cottage I find that the key is at the Vicarage a considerable distance away, the ch. has windows on



one side only. Manx little spoken. The woman who spoke with me, said that her grandparents spoke it well, but that they did not like the children to know it as they wished to be able to talk without the children knowing what was said. 'My mother often said when they would be talkin' Manx, why don't you talk rale talk?' I could find no monument to Thomas Christian in the churchyard. A mile further on met a boy leading a frisky colt. Asked him the way to Patrick's chair. He shewed me the way across a couple of fields. He said that little Manx was spoken here, but that his grandfather speaks it better than English.

### *1919*

16 June 1919

Foxdale, a village a mile or two N. of Ballasalla. A little Manx still spoken. [...] Colby, John Ned, repairs to rubber sole of boot, a little Manx—a kindly couple.

20 June 1919

Baldwin. Manx extinct or nearly so there.

### *1920*

15 June 1920

Path to Colby. Tea. John Ned & Mrs. Ned.

16 June 1920

Foxdale. Rain which was very heavy for ½ hour or more stopped. Old Manx woman, a little Manx talk (her husband speaks it well but she only a little. Regrets its decay.

### *1921*

19 June 1921

[Jurby] Talked with organist (Wm. Teare) he tells me he has carval books & that Wilfred Wade of Jurby (Sandy Gate) speaks Manx well.

21 June 1921

Wilfred Wade. [...] Good Manx.

### *1922*

26 June 1922

Colby. John Ned, Mrs. J. N., a Miss Qualtrough there. J. N. looked well (a little Manx). Mrs. J. N. not so well (feet bad).

**1923**

27 June 1923

Mrs. Wade (not much Manx).

28 June 1923

John Ned's.

**1924**

19 June 1924

Bride. Hurried to get there but had to wait 1½ half hours. Rain but I sheltered in the porch of the Church & talked with the parish clerk. (Harry Sayle, whose mother—though I did not know this at the time—supplied information as to the Manx speaking people (to Mr Jenner which he embodied in his letter now in the British Museum). He told me a ghastly tale about ‘Bobby the Bull’ & ‘Beat the Bull-croagan,’ two resurrection men. [...] At last the society [ie, IOMNHAS] turned up in motor cars. Mr Caine gave us an address & shewed us the church plate (at a distance!). He told us, which interested me more, that there were two families which still spoke Manx every day amongst themselves, in the parish, though they never spoke it to strangers. A man named Cleator told me of a song which used to be sung by the fishermen, called ‘Ushag mooar Kione Mael’ in which there was a chorus imitating the cry of the gannet, & the singers dug each other in the ribs, as if pecking. He had forgotten the words, however.

**1925**

Nothing Relevant.

**1926**

26 June 1926

[near Sulby Church] Old man by roadside (his wife understands Manx but does not speak it).

**1927**

24 June 1927

Aft. Maughold. Farm on W. side of road—a little Manx & a glass of butter milk. Kiown (= head) bàdn (= white) shan van (old woman) dou (= black) Northern pronunciation therefore is in force as far S. as Maughold.

30 June 1927

Saw John Ned, talked Mx., stronger than last year. ‘Meayl-creean’ is good Mx for ‘woodlouse’.

*1928*

15 March 1928

Heard from Kewley 'John Ned died 12/3/28'.

*1929–32*

Nothing Relevant.

*1933*

1 October 1933

An old man (?Wm. Quane) was at the funeral. The Archdeacon addressed him in Manks & he suddenly fell down in a faint. Later he revived—much to our relief. He is about 85 yrs. old & is one of the few Manx speakers left in Peel.

8 October 1933

Met a man named Quay or Kay. He said that he spoke Mx. but the few words he remembered were awful. Duney manck for Manxman, for instance; and 'veldu tiggie Gulk' for 'vel oo toiggie Gailck'. He did not know the Mx for 'must' or 'speak' or any but a few stock phrases, yet he probably at one time spoke Manks & had since lost it by disuse.

*1934–36*

Nothing Relevant.

*1937*

26 July 1937

No Manks now in Bride parish.

*1938*

17 October 1938

Regaby Gate, Croit-yn-ushag, (an old man with a few words of Manks—Tom Farraker) Ohio [..].

*1938–41*

Nothing Relevant.

*1942*

16 April 1942

Letter from Megaw. He is in correspondence with a Mr Willie Radcliffe of Ramsey about a Mx conversation with a fisherman for the next Journal. I think

that he might have left the matter in my hands! He wants me to edit it, but I had already selected several pieces to choose from. Answered the letter.

**1943**

10 June 1943

10. Aft. Cowin did not turn up at Ballayugh, Clementson & I found the Holly Cottage (near which the Frog orchid is said to grow) after some search which included questioning a man very like P. Knight (who had some Manks).

**1944**

26 June 1944

Douglas. Woman with children in train, I think her name was Kewish, said she had a table (with chess board top) wh. belonged to Tom y Vondy. She said that a Mr Madderel of Pt. St. Mary spoke Manks still.

5 July 1944

Met Edward Maddrell of Glen Chass & was introduced to Mr Gell (Miss Watterson's cousin) a Mks. speaking Mksman.

**1945**

19 May 1945

Aft. by train to Purt le Moirrey, Glen Ghass—could make no one hear at Ed. Madderell's. Walked to Fistard & Pt. le Moirrey—had tea & back to Maddrell's—Again failed to make any one hear.

9 June 1945

Sandy Gate. [...] Wilfred Wade (Manks).

12 June 1945

I was also hailed in Manks from a motor car by Mr Gell (of Castletown).

**1946**

27 June 1946

I called at the school [at Baldwin] to ask the way to the footbridge. The man there said that a Norton—an old man—still spoke Manks.

24 August 1946

A Norwegian, a Mr Daviessen came with Mr Backwell to see my books & stayed to lunch. He is most keen about the language & gave me a list of 22 people who spoke Manks from the cradle. I shewed him a number of my books and gave him Dr Clague's 'Cooinaghtyn'.

*1947*

28 February 1947

Mrs Lowey (E. J.) of Kirkle Farm, Colby, one of the last speakers of Mks from childhood has died (Feb. 26th.).

2 July 1947

Cregneish with the Downeys. A Mr Karran spoke Manks.

*1948*

15 March 1948

In the 'Courier' I see the death of Wilfred Wade—one of the last speakers of Manks in the north of the Island. I had known him for well over 30 years. He was aged 79 years and was buried on Sunday in Lezayre Churchyard.

*1949*

16 February 1949

Ronaigue—man with pails of water. Kennaugh. Manks talk. A Mrs Kinvig still speaks & reads Manks.