The Peacocks of North-West Lincolnshire: Collectors and Recorders of Lincolnshire Dialect from c. 1850 to 1920

Part I

EDWARD PEACOCK F.S.A.,
LINCOLNSHIRE DIALECTOLOGIST,
SOME ASPECTS OF HIS WORK CONSIDERED

Eileen Elder

For over a century Edward Peacock (1831-1915), (Fig. 1), has been recognized as being the leading authority on the dialect of north-west Lincolnshire. To this day A Glossary of Words used in the Wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire, (Fig. 2) published for the English Dialect Society, (London, 1877, 'revised and considerably enlarged', 1889), remains a memorial to his dedication and tenacity in recording the spoken word of nineteenth century north-west Lincolnshire. Work by the author on Edward Peacock and his family in the last decade, including the discovery and recognition of further collections of Lincolnshire dialect words emanating from within the Peacock family, has led to this re-appraisal of Edward Peacock's influence and standing as a nineteenth century dialectologist.

Edward Peacock was born 22 December 1831, at Hemsworth in Yorkshire. He was the only child of Edward Shaw Peacock of Bottesford, and Catherine daughter of Michael Woodcock of Hemsworth in Yorkshire (Fig. 3). The young Peacock experienced an unusually isolated childhood. His mother died when he was only nine months old. His father never remarried, devoting the remainder of his life to his farm, and to his only son and heir.

Edward Peacock's grandson Thomas Warner Woodruffe-Peacock, known as Tom Peacock, amassed a considerable amount of material concerning the lives of his grandparents and their descendents. Much of the detail which follows is drawn from his accounts.

Partly because young Edward was a delicate child, and partly because of his father's fond attachment to him, the boy Peacock was never sent away to school, with the result that 'apart from his cousin Fanny Walter, later Mrs William Nicholson,' he met few if any children of his own age and class and therefore had no one to measure himself against. The inevitable result was he became an unbalanced character who was vain about his considerable mental gifts... a typical spoiled, only child. A succession of tutors was engaged to educate him. 'As he was a very bright and intelligent child this was successful as far as the actual learning was concerned, but a complete failure from the discipline point of view.' The young Peacock had 'a phenomenal memory'. It was said that 'he never forgot anything that he had read'. Such a memory was to be very helpful in learning languages, and it would prove to be of considerable assistance in the law-cases which lay in the future.
As befitted a youth of his social standing young Edward learned to hunt, and to shoot and fish. Unusually, however, for a child with such a rural upbringing, an interest in antiquarian subjects was enkindled within the boy from an early age. Although few records of these early years have survived, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Edward received encouragement from his godfather Archdeacon W. B. Stonehouse (c.1773-1862), a well-known antiquary. Further encouragement was probably derived from the long-standing, close family friendship which existed, and which would continue to exist for many years, between the Peacock family and the Fowlers of Winterton.

In the preface to the first edition of his Glossary, (1877), Peacock wrote the following: ‘I have been engaged in collecting the materials of which it [i.e. the Glossary] is composed for upwards of a quarter century,’ indicating that he first began to collect c.1850, when aged about twenty years. Unfortunately, he gave no indication of the rationale which lay behind the awakening of this interest. In starting his work twenty years before the foundation of the English Dialect Society, and less than a decade after the foundation of the Philological Society in 1842, Peacock shows himself to have been in the vanguard of philological studies. Although it is always unwise to speculate, in the absence of definite evidence it is conceivable that the Lincolnshire section of J. O. Halliwell’s introduction to A Dictionary of Archate and Provincial Words (1847), may have acted as a stimulus to Peacock’s developing interest:

The river Witham may be considered with tolerable accuracy the boundary line between the Northern and Southern dialects of the county, which differ considerably from each other; the former being more nearly allied to that of Yorkshire, the latter to the speech of East Anglia, but neither are nearly so broad as the Northern dialects. Many singular words are in use. They say, very not well, I used to could, You should n’t have ought, &c. The Lincolnshire words were partially collected by Skinner in the seventeenth century, but no regular glossary has yet appeared.

In October 1853 Edward Peacock married Lucy Ann Wetherell (1823-1887), (Fig. 4), the adopted daughter of her childless aunt Mrs Ousby, wife of the Curate-in-charge of Kirton in Lindsey. Six months later both Peacock and his wife were received into the Roman Catholic Church. In spite of this Lucy remained a practising Anglican for the rest of her life, while her husband stubbornly adhered to the Church of Rome.

On 11 January 1855 their first child, Florence, was born at Bottesford Moor. In May of the same year the young family left the Moor Farm where they had lived with Edward Shaw Peacock and took up residence at Bottesford Manor Farm. At the same time ‘Edward Shaw Peacock made over the estate to Edward Peacock who thus became the young squire.’ The Peacock family grew virtually by the year. Mabel was born in 1856, Edith followed in 1857, Edward Adrian in 1858, Maximilian in 1859, Julian in 1861 and Ralf in 1863.

In 1857, while only twenty five years old Edward Peacock was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Joseph Hunter (1783-1861), author of one of the early regional glossaries, The Hallamshire Glossary, (1829), was a signatory to the proposal for Peacock’s election. How the youthful dialect collector from North-24 Lincolnshire elicited the support of this highly influential figure, who for many years was a vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries, is not known. Perhaps the link was made through the person of Charles Frost (c.1781-1862) of Hull, by whom Peacock was personally known, and whose name heads the list of signatories. It is however, equally arguable that Peacock himself may have ventured correspondence with Hunter, on the subject of the dialect of his own region. If it can be argued that Halliwell’s words may have drawn Peacock’s attention to the paucity of work carried out into the methodical collection and recording the dialect of Lincolnshire, it is equally arguable that Hunter’s Hallamshire Glossary, may have impressed and influenced Peacock’s young and receptive mind in two particular ways. Firstly, the following words written in the introduction to The Hallamshire Glossary would have been of immediate appeal to the budding antiquarian:

The rustic and the mechanic will speak as his father spoke before him, and may be heard using words unknown to the educated classes of society, or words still well known, to express ideas from which in other circles they have been banished from the field of life. In these words and the senses preserved in these ranks of society is not felt only by the professed philologist. Some acquaintance with obsolete words and senses is useful to all who would understand those by common consent are regarded as the great poets of our nation; and an extensive and intimate acquaintance with provincial dialects is quite essential to the critic who attempts the explanation of the dark passages occasionally to be found in our early writers.

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**Fig. 3** Abbreviated pedigree of the Peacock family.

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to call it, was the church to which Peacock had visualized himself returning at the time of his conversion in 1854. It should be noted that the four hundred 'dictionary' words drawn from 'Church goods' and destined for inclusion in Peacock's Glossary to be published in 1877, are totally separate and independent from the glossarial index which Peacock provided for English Church Furniture. It has been remarked that Peacock's footnotes to English Church Furniture are at least as interesting as the text which they elucidate. These footnotes, coupled with the glossarial indexes to the transcriptions of both English Church Furniture and the slightly later transcription of Instructions for Parish Priests, by John Myrle, edited from Cotton MS. Claudius A. II., published for the Early English Text Society, 1868, serve as examples of the standard and style of Edward Peacock's editorial and glossarial activities at this time.

In the Autumn of 1866 Provincial Words and Expressions Current in Lincolnshire, by J. Ellett Brogden was published. Both Peacock and his friend J. T. Fowler purchased copies. Peacock's heavily annotated copy still survives. In the preface to his Glossary, (1877), Peacock wrote the following:

An interleaved copy of Mr Brogden's book, full of notes by the Rev. Joseph Thomas Fowler, M.A., of Hatfield Hall Durham, has been most kindly lent me by the annotator; from it I have gleaned many words that I should otherwise have missed.

Did Edward Peacock copy Fowler's interleaved notes into his own 'Brogden'? This is a difficult question to answer without knowing something of the nature of the notes in question. There are approximately six hundred annotations written in Peacock's own hand, many attributed to the Winterton area. Out of these, approximately fifty entries are directly attributed to 'Miss F'. In the light of other evidence occurring in the annotation, it would seem reasonable to assume that 'Miss F' was J. T. Fowler's sister Elizabeth (1841-1910). No comparable direct attributions to 'J.T.F.' can be found in the notes.

Study of Peacock's annotations reveals that they were made over a number of years, from well before the first edition of his Glossary in 1877, right up to the publication of his second edition in 1889, and possibly later. A few examples drawn from Peacock's own copy of 'Brogden' will help to illustrate this point. Immediately following Brogden's entry 'Roak—Thick mist like smoke, another definition of the sea-harr', Peacock has written: ROAKY—FOOGY Botterford 1878. This entry was obviously made after the publication of the Glossary (1877), so although it could not have appeared in the first edition, it is to be found in the second. ROAKY, ROAPY. FOOGY, Mishi. Some of his annotations appeared in neither edition. Whether this was because the words in question were not known by Peacock from his own experience, or whether the entries in question were written after the second edition, it is not possible to tell. Certain other handwritten entries such as 'Stick and Stower = moveable and changeable Miss F' appeared only in a modified form in Peacock's published work. Peacock also drew on his own work in the annotations. The word 'Bray—To pound in a mortar' (Brogden) is annotated thus: 'Bray edge or of a bank... Bray to Bray.' Mabel Heron (1872) I. 103: This example appears in both editions of the Glossary, 'Fleckford Beck was full from Bray to Bray'.

The years 1866 to 1877 spanned one of Peacock's busiest and most productive periods. Much of his time and energy was expended on the Beauchamp v. Winn case, which reached the House of Lords in 1873. The case was concerned with the disputed ownership of valuable
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ironstone rights, and the outcome depended upon the
determination of the nature of free warren. Peacock
was involved by virtue of his knowledge of manorial law.
Already well known for his expertise on the history of the
English Civil Wars, Peacock continued to devote much
time to the study of this particular subject, to transcrip-
tions (examples of which have already been mentioned),
and to an ever increasing number of articles for publi-
cation by learned societies.26

Late in the 1860s Peacock embarked on an apparently
new and different literary venture: he tried his hand as
a novelist. His first novel, *Ralf Skirlaugh*, was published
in 1870. *Mabel Horon* followed in 1872 and *John
Markenfield* in 1874. Two further novels would appear in
the more distant future, *Narcissa Brendan* in 1891 and the
mysterious and perplexing *Otherwhere* which was pub-
lished in serial form in *The Month* during 1899 and 1900.

The cut and thrust of the commercially-orientated
world of the novel may at first seem to be incompatible
with the character of a studious academic, but although
Peacock expected a financially profitable outcome to the
venture, his reasons for entering this world were totally
compatible with his antiquarian character. As *Ralf
Skirlaugh* was not only his first novel, but also his first
major dialect work, a short examination of its general
characteristics is fundamental to the re-evaluation of
Edward Peacock’s work as a Lincolnshire dialectologist.

Peacock sent a copy of his newly published book to
his cousin Fanny Nicholson as a personal gift. His
response to her letter of thanks survives. It was dated 7
November 1870. He began by describing a recent visit to
London. He then turned to the subject of his novel:
I am so pleased that you like the novel and especially
John Stuttin for he is a great favourite with the author.
The description of places are almost all accurate though
in some, two or three are put together.

Peacock then discussed various topographical details
and the personalities of several of the leading characters.
Finally he revealed the underlying reason for writing his
book:
The broad Lincolnshire is fast dieling out as a spoken
language I am sorry to say and therefore I was anxious
to preserve its forms in a book.27

Many years later Tom Peacock wrote the following
assessment of his grandfather’s first novel:
Allowing for the somewhat prolix style of the period,
it is a good story of North Lincolnshire Tory and Whig
families set in the period when the ‘45’ was a green
memory. It is as one would expect ‘a period piece’ but
the main characters are ‘real people’ especially the
working class characters.28

On another occasion he commented on his grand-
father’s character and writing:
I think that anyone who makes himself familiar with
the life, character, and writings of Edward Peacock can
hardly fail to detect a—possibly unconscious—imitation
of Sir Walter Scott.29

Peacock followed the pattern set by Scott in his
‘Waverley Novels’, in creating the period detail of *Ralf
Skirlaugh*. He drew partly on boyhood memories of times
spent with his aunts and grandmother at Northorpe Old
Hall, and partly on a fund of stories which he had heard
told by the workers and itinerants who regularly fre-
quented his father’s farm at Bottesford Moor during his
childhood days. To these memories he added details drawn
from the manuscripts and documents with which he
increasingly surrounded himself. In direct consequence
of his activity as an antiquary the doors of some of the
greater and wealthier country houses in north Lincoln-
shire, (and elsewhere), which previously would have
remained closed to him were now opened, revealing lif-
estyle and wealth, hitherto unknown to the young Lincoln-
shire farmer. By combining these disparate sources of
inspiration Peacock created an old-fashioned and senti-
mentalised picture, which (to use his own words), por-
trayed ‘a past that never was a present’.30

J. T. Fowler, who collaborated with Peacock in the folk-
song, ‘Two fair maid’s was walkin’ along the Trent side’,
which appears towards the end of the novel, wrote at least
two separate keys to the tale.31 These keys reveal the
biographical nature of the novel. The characters, ranging
from Charlie the Bagpiper who was based on ‘Old John
Hunsley’ of Manton, right up to ‘Lord Burworth’ said to
be based on Lord Yarborough, are all clearly revealed.
Fowler noted that ‘Madame Skirlaugh frequently reminds
the reader of Mrs Peacock; Fowler himself was the model,
for Dr Callis, the chaplain.

In many respects the portrait is taken from J. T. F. who
was often at Bottesford in those days. Having recently
discovered a Runic inscription at Crowle, I was very
keen on that subject and corresponded with Professor
Stephens of Copenhagen and others.

Fowler then added the words:
I was compiling a North Lincolnshire Glossary at the
time.32

In the letter to Fanny, already partially quoted, Peacock
continued his discussion of the dialect passages in *Ralf
Skirlaugh*, by commenting: ‘I think many people will
think there is too much of it. [i.e. dialect] The *Edinburgh
Review* brought the same accusation against Scott’s broad
scotch,’33 thus, somewhat presumptuously, inviting direct
comparison with Sir Walter Scott’s work. There may be
too much dialect for the general reader, but for the
purpose of recording and preserving the spoken language
of north-west Lincolnshire the use of the medium of
the novel was a good idea. Peacock realized that although
his intended ‘dictionary’ would have its merits as a work
of reference, in terms of expressing a living and flowing
language, it would be hardly adequate. Only by placing
his native dialect within the context of an authentic
environment, where its style, imagery, and natural flow
could be recorded, would Peacock be able to demonstrate
it as a spoken language. Given that there was no tech-
nology to allow sound recording, a novel set in north
Lincolnshire was the obvious solution.

Some of the qualities of Peacock’s written dialect,
incorporating traditional folklore and typical rural
imagery, are demonstrated in the following extracts from
*Ralf Skirlaugh*.

‘Well I’ll tell ye the tale just as I heard our Squire tell
it not a week sin’; but I’ve heard it ower and ower again
sin I was a bairn. You know there’s a little square house,
thack’d wi’ reeds, just at Yaltin [Sadlethorpe] Lane
end, where Billy Peart, the mould man, lives. Now, this
Billy... hed a granfather [Nicky].... Well, it was one
Wiviby [Kirton in Lindsey] t’ Andra’ fair, reight t’
middle o’ winter, may be fifty years sin’, an’ Nicky had
been drinkin’ at th’ Black Swan wi’ a lot o’ nor’ country
horsecopperw. Hoo long he would ha’ said I don’t
know, may be a week if his brass had lasted out, but
just when twelve o’clock struck he remembered he hed
to be at Whitton town end next mornin’ about some
smugglin’ concern, an’ may be summith else as well. So
up he jumps, skies aren’t gany body, and off he sets home
along th’ top road. It was strange an’ cowd but leet as
day, for th’ moon was at full. Nicky was used to hevin’
a good mess of drink o’ board, and jogged away all
right, sometimes thinkin' about nowt, sometimes may be laughin' to his sen at the lees he'd been tellin' them. Yorkshire pippers, for Nicky was a strange leenin' chap. Howmswever, just when he got about a hundred yards past Mottle-Esh [Mottle-Ash] turnin' he hears summunts whistlin' in th' dinkin'. "What? that?" thinks he; "may be it's a hare in a snare and he pulls up the galloway to listen, and he hears it agean directly, a sharp, ask squeal, just for all the world like a hare. "I'll hev it," thinks Nick, and off he jumps, and runs to the place where the noise came fra, and there he sees, not a hare, but what do you think? Why, a little man, not six inches high, all dressed i' green, with a little red cap on his head wi' a feather in it, and the poor little feller had got one of his legs fast in a rabbit trap. Nicky wasn't a bad hearted feller at bottom, though he did lee and swear and steal things parlous. So he lowps down into the dinkin' boddon where the little chap was, ...and helps th' little man out o' th' trap!

Needless to say he was rewarded by being invited to make a wish, and he wishes for a 'well o' th' best red wine Squire Skirlaugh hes i' his celler.' Not surprisingly 'when he wakken'd up' he 'fun his sen laid i' th' middle of a snaw reak by the dike side ommust agean Mottle-Esh just at th' place where he'd seen th' little man, wi' his galloway stanin' agean him.'

Lest the reader should construe from this extract that Ralph Skirlaugh is little more than a story of the kind appropriate to the collections of only the more fanciful of students of fairy-tale, he should be assured that it is in fact a fast-moving story of treachery and adventure.

Peacock handled his writing in dialect with ease, and at times his amusement, purchased at the expense of the non-dialect speaker, seems to overflow. In the following extract the hero of the story is trying to make good a dramatic escape. Naturally his faithful groom Bob Drury, ever reliable, cunning, and resourceful, is giving assistance by employing delaying tactics by assuming the role of the country yokel, to the ever increasing frustration of the non-dialect-speaking pursuining gang:

'Damn the Scotchman, never mind him, where do you think your master is now?'

'Well, if I was to guess, its nobut a guess now mind, I should say he would likely gallop like mad down the Warps to the ness, get on a pink and go up wi' th' Ager apiece, and then hide his sen a bit in a clow or a howle till he thought you'd gone by like, and then ride straight off to Derbyshire. Misses hes some 'lations, great pot folks,' said Bob, who had before observed by their dialect that not only his questioner, but also the whole of his following, were south born men. Although, to the general reader, the style of the novel may seem amusing and quaint, Peacock's approach to his writing was that of a serious academic. His dialect passages flow naturally and freely, and it is arguable that never again, would he better demonstrate the old-style north-west Lincolnshire dialect.

By the early 1870s, recording English dialects had become a respectable pursuit for the amateur-gentleman-historian. In 1873 the English Dialect Society was founded. The first annual report of the society recorded that both J. T. Fowler and Edward Peacock were members. Two other people with Lincolnshire connections were listed, namely, the Bishop of Lincoln, Christopher Wordsworth.
(1807-1885), and Mrs Gutch (1841-1931) who was a Grantham-born lady married to a successful York solicitor. Both Peacock and J. T. Fowler were listed as 'correspondents' for Lincolnshire. Fowler was recorded as having 'a collection of Lincolnshire words'. Two packets of words, many of which related to Lincolnshire had been received from Mrs Gutch.

The second annual report listed Peacock as sole correspondent for the county, although Fowler still remained a member. It also stated 'a Glossary of words used in the Isle of Axholme, which occupies the N.W. corner of the county is being prepared by Mr Peacock'. Mr Brogden, author of the Lincolnshire Glossary, is most kindly lending his assistance. A donation of more 'Lincolnshire words, by Mrs Gutch' was also noted.

Tom Peacock suggests that by the year 1874 Edward Peacock believed himself to be firmly established as a writer. He decided to give up active farming, apparently anticipating no difficulty in supporting himself and his family on the product of his investigations and the by now well established use of his pen. As the years went by, progress on the Glossary was steadily maintained and Peacock's diary for the summer of 1876, recorded that the work was almost finished. By 6 December of the same year, all the work with the exception of the preface which would be dated 22 December 1876, was complete.

Comparison of the dialect material included in the Glossary with that recorded in Ralf Skirlaugh, underlines the fact that Peacock continued to distance himself from living the life of a Lincolnshire farmer, with its continuous contact with the dialect speakers of the area, and increasingly worked within the four walls of his study. This in itself does not automatically devalue his work as a dialectologist; it can be argued that in certain particulars it may have enhanced it, but Peacock was no longer in the situation of being able to listen to the dialect spoken in its natural setting, and this would give rise to considerable problems when attempting to record with accuracy the subtle characteristics and the phonetics of the spoken word.

The reader will recall that Peacock had been collecting for 'upwards of twenty years'. It is not known how long he took to standardize his system of phonetics; it may have been until he wrote Ralf Skirlaugh. At the time of the publication of Ralf Skirlaugh there was no nationally-standardized system in use. Providing that the phonetic spelling of words was consistent throughout each individual novel, that was all that had been necessary; but times had changed. The founding of the English Dialect Society provided Peacock with an ideal opportunity to publish his Glossary, but it brought with it the problem which must now be considered. The 'Rules and Directions for Word-Collectors' adopted by the Society stated that a standardized system of phonetics, should be employed to render an 'exact pronunciation' of words. To this end, the Society had adopted A. J. Ellis's 'glossic system'.

If Peacock's work was to conform with Ellis's system a substantial revision of the content of the forthcoming Glossary was called for.

The preface of a book, though carefully prepared by its author is often given scant attention by the reader. Such a reader would neither appreciate the problem which confronted Peacock and W. W. Skeat in 1835-1912, the Honorary Secretary to the English Dialect Society, nor their joint attempt to resolve it. Peacock wrote:

I am indebted to the Rev. W. W. Skeat M.A. for examining the manuscript before it went to press, and for many important notes and additions on almost every page. Mr Skeat has also looked over the proofs as the book has gone through the press, and added the 'glossic'.

Skeat himself added the following footnote:

By this is meant that I have in some cases, indicated the pronunciation of words by inserting between square brackets, the indication of that pronunciation according to the 'glossic notion' explained... by A. J. Ellis Esq.

In such cases I have endeavoured to write down the sounds as described by Mr Peacock... In most cases where the pronunciation is not indicated, it is because it approximates to that of standard English.

Two words, 'dikin' and 'cleu', selected from the extracts from Ralf Skirlaugh (R. S.), quoted above, will be used as examples to demonstrate the kind of difficulties confronting Peacock and Skeat. Dikin (R. S.) appears in the Glossary as Dyking showing that Peacock adopted a standard form of spelling from the headword (the term used for the first item or word of an entry in a dictionary). Skeat added the phonetic pronunciation [dek 'in]. The word cleu (R. S.) was rendered Clough (headword) by Peacock in his Glossary. Skeat phonetically rendered it [klo]. These examples demonstrate the fact that Peacock having phonetically rendered dyking as dikin in Ralf Skirlaugh was now obliged to write deik in his attempt to conform to Ellis's system, likewise cleu (phonetically rendered Ralf Skirlaugh) now had to be phonetically rendered klu, to conform to the new system. A check on the form of these two words in the revised and enlarged second edition of the Glossary (1889), shows the headword Dyking unchanged, but the spelling of the headword Clough replaced by three options. Cleu (which was the original phonetic spelling in Ralf Skirlaugh) has become acceptable as a headword, which along with Clow, is referred to Clough, shown as the prime spelling. This evidence suggests that Peacock and Skeat may have been less than perfectly satisfied with the standard achieved at the time of publication of the Glossary in 1877. It must, however, be remembered that Peacock and Skeat had already devoted many years to the work. He and Skeat, and the English Dialect Society were anxious to publish. It seems therefore that it was reasonable for Peacock and Skeat to attempt to resolve their problems as they did. The value of the Glossary as a whole is unquestioned, and its merits far outweigh its imperfections.

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The next matter for consideration is the response of those who used the newly-published Glossary. This point will be dealt with by looking at the reactions of four different individuals. The first three, namely E. S. Wilson (c.1835-1898), R. E. G. Cole (c.1831-1921), and G. S. Streatfeild (born c.1844), will be considered very briefly; the fourth and by far the most important, A. J. Ellis (1814-1890), will be considered at some length.

In the preface to the first edition of his Glossary Peacock acknowledged the help given by E. S. Wilson, who had 'rendered... service by looking over the greater part of the proofs and making several additions and corrections.' Wilson's response to receiving the complete work in print, was that he 'at once undertook the task of annotating and making additions'. Eventually the product of these labours would be incorporated into the revised and enlarged second edition.

It is often said that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery; if that be true, Peacock could only be flattered by the response of R. E. G. Cole. In 1878 Cole published a plan to collect lists of Lincolnshire dialect words from his own area and invited contributions. The material received was printed in the Deaneoty of Graffco Parish Magazine,
beginning in January 1879. It was from these lists that Cole eventually compiled *A Glossary of Words used in South-West Lincolnshire*, *Wapentake of Grafton*, E.D.S., (1886). Although Cole's glossary failed to measure up to the standard of Peacock's work, it remains an authoritative and useful work.

G. S. Streetfeild, responded to the publication of Peacock's *Glossary* in yet another way. In his book *Lincolnshire and the Danes*, (London, 1884), Streetfeild, perhaps somewhat unwisely, entered the minefield of etymological studies, relying on Peacock's *Glossary* for 'supplying more valuable provincialisms than could be obtained from any other source'. In the glossary to *Lincolnshire and the Danes*, Streetfeild enlarged on the etymological aspects of a selection of words drawn from Peacock's *Glossary* in his endeavour to draw popular attention to the influence of Scandinavian languages on Lincolnshire dialect. In view of Peacock's own natural diligence in his studies, the reader may find it surprising that Peacock himself had not explored this area of study. The reason for this was simple. In the *Rules and Directions for Word Collectors*, the English Dialect Society stated that 'etymologies are best avoided'. In 'Notes on the Rules for Word-Collectors', the matter was explained thus; the priority of the members of the society must be to 'collect'; etymologies could 'be left to a later period... Good faithful observers... contribute sound knowledge in place of brilliant speculation' and thus 'do work which is humbler in appearance, but nobler and more unselfish in reality'.

Alexander J. Ellis, F.S.A., was without doubt the foremost philologist of his time. His 'glossic system' had been adopted by the English Dialect Society as its standard system of written phonetics. At the time of the publication of Peacock's *Glossary*, Ellis was engaged in writing his monumental treatise *On Early English Pronunciation*, (1869-1889). In it he would state that he had studied Peacock's work with particular reference to the pronunciation of the dialect of north-west Lincolnshire. In consequence of this study, Ellis submitted to Peacock a list of words which he thought to have been mis-written in terms of phonetics. Peacock was forced to admit 'that they had been so written inadvertently'.

It is not known how Peacock reacted to this criticism, nor is it known whether he had formulated any plans for a revision of his *Glossary* prior to this time. Bearing in mind the problems which had given rise to Skeat's work, it could be argued that Peacock may never have been fully satisfied with the first edition. In the light of his increasing knowledge, and the comments and contributions already mentioned he may have been considering the possibility of a revision and enlargement of his *Glossary* for some time.

Was A. J. Ellis's criticism the final impetus to begin a revision or were there yet further factors involved? Ellis's book *On Early English Pronunciation* records that both Edward Peacock and J. T. Fowler were among the many (including the poet Tennyson), who rendered assistance in its composition. Ellis noted, that 'Mr Edward Peacock... has fully illustrated the north Lincolnshire form, and he and his daughter [Mabel] also most kindly went... through a word list for me,' thus indicating the existence of a two-way working relationship. If it is reasonable to suggest that Peacock was forced to accept the need for the emendation of his *Glossary* as a direct consequence of his correspondence with Ellis on the 'inadvertently
written' words, it may also be reasonable to suggest that it was the two-way working relationship which had developed between Peacock and Ellis that gave Peacock practical experience in using the 'glossic system' and hence the requisite confidence to embark on the total revision of the Glossary.

There remains one further factor which may or may not have played a part in Peacock's decision to begin the revision. In the light of the knowledge that the second edition of Peacock's Glossary would be used as a primary source for The English Dialect Dictionary, (1898 to 1905), it is reasonable to ask whether the revision was a necessary prerequisite for the inclusion of Peacock's work in this dictionary of national importance.

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How did the 'revised and considerably enlarged' second edition, published in 1889, vary from the first edition? The first and most obvious difference lies in the fact that it was increased in size from 281 to 638 pages. This was a considerable enlargement in terms of paper, but in terms of content not as great as it might seem, owing to a change in format. There was also an obvious change in the typography of the headwords which were now printed in upper-case letters. Definite changes were made in terms of content. Peacock explained these in the preface to the second edition. Place-names and that which might be considered folklore, both deemed to be 'quite out of harmony with the objects which the English Dialect Society proposes to accomplish', were omitted. Peacock also omitted certain words which he no longer considered to be dialectical, for example 'coffer-dam', 'filly', 'knowledge-box'. Bird-names previously listed in their naturally occurring alphabetical order were now to be found under the headword 'BIRDS'. All this might be simply described as general 'tidying up', bringing the work into line with the standards of the English Dialect Society.

What changes of significance are there to be found in the second edition? Firstly, Peacock introduced a number of newly recorded words; secondly he introduced a number of additional illustrative phrases. More recently recorded phrases sometimes replaced those included in the first edition, while others were of a supplementary nature. Peacock also up-dated by re-writing a number of his original illustrative phrases, adding to or actually changing the words or spelling of the words in the quotations, thus:

Owd Standard... 'Owd standards used to call th' place 'i' Bottesford cheek, where Mrs Peacock sits, th' Paapist quere, on account o' it belonging i' former time to th' Morleys o' Holme. (1877).

became:

OHD STANDARDS... Owd standards eswt to call th' place e' Bottesford cheek, where are your laadies sits, th' Paapist quere, on account o' it belonging e' former times to th' Morla's o' Holme. (1889).

If the hypothesis, that this revision was the direct result of Ellis's influence, is to be retained, it is necessary to consider whether the spelling used in the second edition gave a more accurate representation of the dialect, when compared with the spelling used in the first edition.

It is reasonable to suppose that since his contact with Ellis, Peacock would have been making regular use of the 'glossic system' whenever he heard and recorded a new piece of spoken dialect. Theoretically speaking, examples recorded since his contact with Ellis should have been noted with accuracy according to the 'glossic system', however, by far the greater part of Peacock's dialect collection had been recorded prior to his contact with Ellis. To record dialect with accuracy while in the presence of the speaker is difficult enough, but to remember accurately the phonetics of a phrase spoken over thirty years ago is impossible. It could be argued, however, that so long as Peacock remained familiar with the spoken dialect of his area, the difficulties associated with the revision of his earlier dialect collection would not have been insurmountable. Bearing in mind the fact that over these thirty or more years, Peacock had steadily withdrawn from the company of 'common man', the question must be raised as to how much of his collecting was, by this time, having been carried out among the dialect-speaking people of the neighbourhood. In the spring of 1983 the writer of this article discussed point with the late Mrs E. H. Rudkin, the eminent Lincolnshire historian and folklorist, whose family had been associated with the Peacock family during her youth. She stated that, as she understood it, in these later years of collecting dialect, Peacock largely recorded from the words of dialect speakers who were invited, cap in hand, and behaving in a suitably respectful fashion, into his study. There is little reason to doubt this. A. J. Ellis himself, revealed a surprising ignorance and insularity on the part of Peacock in terms of his knowledge of the dialect spoken in areas only a few miles away from his home. In the following extract Ellis is describing 'Line six', one of his 'Ten Transverse Lines' or 'isolosses' by which he delineated areas of specific pronunciation. "Line six" (Fig. 2), Ellis's 'house/house line' had been plotted as passing through north Lincolnshire as follows:

The line probably enters Lincolnshire about three miles north of Gainsborough... The line going east passes north of Blyton, ... house, and south of Scottby, ... house, and then passes south of Redbourne, ... house, and north of Waddingham, ... house, the last two being adjoining parishes. Then it suddenly turns north-east and passes to the north of Kelsey, ... house, and to the south of Howsham, ... house, the last two also being adjoining parishes. Moreover the North Kelsey folk look down on the Howsham folk for saying 'kut' for a 'cow' (kóu) and probably conversely. After this the line proceeds in the north-easterly direction south of Ucleby, ... and south of Killingholme, ... both house, but north of Brocklesby, ... and of Stallingborough, ... both house, to the sea six miles north-west of Great Grimsby.

I am indebted for the Lincolnshire information to a large number of persons, especially clerergymen, whose livings were in the neighbourhood. Most Lincolnshire people hardly believe that in any part of Lincolnshire house is now said, while Mr Peacock of Brigg, author of the Manley and Corringham Glossary, did not seem to know that any other pronunciation other than house was current in Lincolnshire.

In another passage Ellis specifically drew attention to the fact that since line six 'cuts off' only a small portion of North Lincolnshire, it is very necessary to bear the distinction [i.e. the difference in pronunciation on either side of the line] carefully in mind. Ellis also noted that the course of line six was less clearly defined 'in the north-west of Lincolnshire between the Old Don and the Trent Rivers, [where] both house and house... are heard.' Bearing in mind the fact that Peacock 'did not seem to know that any other pronunciation but house was current in Lincolnshire, these observations are of some significance.

Once again the reader must return to considering the revised Glossary. One example of a minor change in wording has already been observed in the revision of 'OHD STANDARDS', but such a small change is arguably of little significance, and further examples will be
considered. These are drawn from the illustrative phrases to the headwords ‘Cart-gum’ and ‘Converted’. The first is quoted in full:

Cart-gum... When I was a lad, I liv'd servant wi’ Dook on Motton Car, an’ there was a chap wi’ me who wanted strange an’ bad to hev whiskers graw; so I tell’d him if he rubb’d his cheeks wi’ cart-gum over next he’d find ’em grawin’ i’ th’ mornin’. Th’ chap hed no more sense then to do what I tell’d him, an’ he hed to scrub th’ skin away afore th’ cart-gum wound come off. (1877).

CART-GUM... When I was a lad I liv’d servant wi’ Dook up on Motton Car, an’ ther’ was a chap wi’ me what wanted strange an’ bad to hev sum whiskers graw; so I tell’d him if he nobbut rubb’d his cheeks wi’ cart-gum ower neet he’d find ’em grawin’ e’ th’ mornin’, an’ th’ skin over neet hed no more sense then to do as I tell’d him, an’ he hed to scrub th’ skin away afore th’ cart-gum wound cum off.—Th’ Stocks, Yaddlethorpe. (1889).

The illustrative phrase pertaining to the headword ‘converted’ concludes thus:

Converted... Then I’ll go next prayer meetin’ as there is, an’ get converted, for Mr Halifax she has a pair o’ cottages to build, an’ if I’m brot in I’m sewer to get th’ job. (1877).

CONVERTED... Then I’ll go next prayer meetin’ as ther’ is, an’ get converted, for Mr Wakefield she has a pair of cottages to build, an’ if nobbut I’m brot in, I’m sewer to get th’ job. (1889).

In both entries Peacock stated that the phrase was recorded in Messingham c.1859.

It is immediately obvious that in these examples, the wording of the story has been elaborated. The first about cart-gum is an anecdote, typical of many repeated by farm workers. In the second edition only, Peacock attributed the words to Thomas Stocks of Yaddlethorpe. Since the Stocks family are known to have lived and worked ‘under the Peacocks’ for many years, it could be argued that the tale may have been elaborated upon in retelling, and that the second variant was recorded from a later narration. The second story was specifically dated as having been told in Messingham in 1859, therefore in this particular case the second version cannot be said to have been a later and more elaborate retelling; so it seems likely that Peacock was not in these cases endeavouring to produce the most accurate reproduction of the original words, but was attempting to produce that which might be described as, ‘a piece of typical Lincolnshire dialect’. The reader will observe that in so doing, Peacock not only added to the words used, but also generally ‘broadened’ the accent, so that it became more pronounced. Was this a direct result of Peacock attempting to rewrite his dialect more accurately according to his interpretation of Ellis’s ‘rules’? Whatever the answer may be, the implications are disturbing since these particular changes suggest that Peacock was producing that which can only be described as ‘improvement’ of an unscientific nature.

The example; ‘Down: ‘He’s down agoen wi’ féawer’ (1877), and its counterpart ‘He’s down agoen wi th’ féawer’ (1889) exhibits similar basic characteristics. It also draws the attention of the reader to one further point, Peacock’s use of the diæresis, which is the accent used to direct that two immediately adjacent vowel sounds are to be pronounced separately as in ‘agoen’ and ‘féawer’. Firstly it must be observed that Peacock used this accent more frequently in the revised edition than in the 1877 version. This is compatible with the general ‘broadening’ already mentioned. He also took up the practice of using it on the second syllable (as opposed to the first syllable in the 1877 version). The increased use of the diæresis is of some consequence as it signifies a changed pronunciation, but the transposition of the accent does not appear to imply any change in pronunciation nor of emphasis.

It now seems reasonable to conclude that Ellis provided Peacock with the incentive, knowledge, and confidence to embark on the task of preparing a revised Glossary, however, in the light of the changes made during revision it is necessary to question, whether the result was a more accurate representation of the dialect. On Early English Pronunciation shows Ellis to have been a prodigious and meticulous worker. His experience of the study and recording of dialect far exceeded that of Edward Peacock. In seeking to apply Ellis’s principles within Ellis’s level of experience, Peacock may have attempted to exceed his own abilities. Ellis himself gave warning of the situation in which Peacock seems to have found himself, ‘I have an idea that professèd men of letters are the worst sources of noting peculiarities of pronunciations; they think so much about speech, that they nurse all manner of fancies and their speech is apt to reflect individual theories!’

Lacking an in-depth study of Peacock’s work the question still stands: Does the general ‘broadening’ and the elaboration of the dialect as written in the second edition, when compared with the simpler style of the first edition more accurately reflect the dialect of north-west Lincolnshire, through an unerring application of Ellis’s rules, or did Peacock think so much about speech, that the speech recorded in the second edition reflects his own theories devised during a period of thirty to forty years of collecting?

Publication of the second edition of the Glossary in 1889 seems to have brought to an end Edward Peacock’s years as an active dialect collector. Although Peacock had already collected the base material, in the form of 25,000 slips, for a ‘Place-Name’ dictionary c.1884 to 1885, he was never able to convert them into a manuscript fit for publication. The death of his wife in 1887, may have had some bearing on this. In 1891 the novel Narcissa Brendon was published. It may have been written in the hope that it would help to swell the by now severely depleted family coffers. A combination of the effects of agricultural depression and Peacock’s over-lavish style of living would shortly force Edward Peacock and his family to bow to the inevitable. On 3 May 1892 Squire Peacock, with his daughters Florence and Mabel, left Bottesford Manor and moved to a smaller residence in Kirton in Lindsey. Tom Peacock later explained the matter thus:

The reason for this was that the financial position had become impossible, so it was decided to sell the contents of the Manor House, except for such things as were necessary, to furnish the Kirton house. The arrangement seems to have been that Max should be left at Bottesford Manor to farm some of the land on behalf of his father and sisters using the capital produced by the sale which took place on June 1st 1892. To all intents and purposes the old squire had retired from active work. It was in the capacity of a revered consultant that he would now complete his life as a dialectologist.

By the mid 1890s the preparatory work for The English Dialect Dictionary, was well in hand. This was the natural successor to the numerous regional glossaries published by the English Dialect Society since its inception in 1873. Its publication remains a landmark in the study of English dialect, it remains the most important work of reference in its field to this day. Both Edward Peacock and his daughter Mabel were involved in the preparation of this work. The second edition of Edward Peacock’s Glossary became the prime source of north-west Lincolnshire words.
Mabel Peacock submitted her own ‘unprinted collection’ of north Lincolnshire dialect, for inclusion in the dictionary and like her father also worked as a ‘voluntary reader’ for the editor of the dictionary, Professor Joseph Wright. 

Although Edward Peacock continued writing articles, and functioning as a consultant for a number of years, he produced no further sizeable work of significance. Following the death in 1900 of his daughter Florence, Edward Peacock and his sole surviving daughter Mabel moved to a yet smaller home, Wickentrete House in Kirton in Lindsey. Peacock became increasingly afflicted by infirmities associated with old age. He died in his eighty-fourth year, 31 March 1915.

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In this account the writer has endeavoured to return to the threadbare fabric of the narrative, some of the detail which has, almost inevitably, been overlooked during a century of re-telling. This detail has an importance of its own, in that it is only in the knowledge of it that the user of either or both editions of Peacock’s Glossary is able to assess the characteristics of the contents of each volume and so to use the material contained therein with judgement. The problems which confronted Peacock in the composition, and the revision of his Glossaries were, without doubt, considerable; nevertheless The Glossaries of Words used in the Wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire, remain of outstanding merit and value in the study of the language of Lincolnshire, and are also an essential source for any study of the area.

As early as the mid 1880s, Edward Peacock’s daughter Mabel had been recognized as being a competent dialectologist in her own right. The discovery and recognition at Scunthorpe in 1881, of ‘The Peacock Lincolnshire Word Collection (1884-1903)’, now proven to be the work of Mabel and two of her brothers, and a later collection of Mabel’s work amongst the Peacock family papers, has revealed that Peacock’s influence, in producing a second generation of collectors and recorders of Lincolnshire’s language, was significantly greater than previously recognized. ‘The Peacock Lincolnshire Word Collection (1884-1903)’, and ‘Mabel Peacock’s Final Lincolnshire Word Collection’ (c.1903 to 1920), when used alongside Edward Peacock’s Glossaries, embody a continuity of north–Lincolnshire’s spoken dialect spanning seventy years in all. These later collections and their compilers will be discussed in the second part of this paper.

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NOTES


Throughout these notes, Edward Peacock, A Glossary of Words used in the Wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire, is referred to as ‘Glossary (1877)’, or ‘Glossary (1889)’, or ‘Glossaries’, as appropriate.

3. Fanny was the daughter of J. C. Walter of the Grange, Willoughton. She married into the Nicholson family who were farmers in the Anholme valley and on the Cliff south of Kirton in Lindsey. As friends of the Peacocks, several different members of this family made contributions to various ‘Peacock’ works.
5. Ibid., pp. 7, 8.
6. Ibid., p. 10.
7. Ibid., p. 10.
8. William Brooklehurst Stonehouse, was Vicar of Ouston, Lincs. from 1821, and Archdeacon of Stow from 1844, to his death, aged 89 years, in December 1862. The History and Topography of the Isle of Axholme (London and Gainsborough, 1839), remains a lasting memorial to his antiquarian activities.
9. The Fowler family are known to have been resident in Winterton since c.1600.
12. Wilhelmina M. E. (born 1867), daughter of James, contributor to E.D.D., and various of Mabel and Adrian Peacock’s works, author of Songs from Liphook and Lindsey (Louth, 1913, revised 1917).
15. L.A.O. II Binnall, Edward Peacock; Tom Peacock, p. 11. Lucy Ann Wetherell was the daughter of John Swift Wetherell a captain in the United States Merchant Marine. She was born in the Port of London during the course of a voyage. Since her parents considered it inadvisable for the infant to risk the Atlantic crossing she was sent to Kirton in Lindsey to be brought up by her father’s sister, Lucy Ousby.
18. Charles Frost (c.1781-1862) F.S.A., was born in Kingston upon Hull, the son of a solicitor. He had the reputation of being an expert black-letter lawyer, and was solicitor to the Hull Dock Company for more than thirty years. He was an expert genealogist, and historian of the city of Hull. Frost held presidential office in the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society, and the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society, both prior to, and after their amalgamation, and was a vice-president of the Hull meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1853.
21. J. Ellett Broden was the son of T. J. N. Broden (1814-1869), bookseller, printer, and publisher for the Lincoln Gazette. He followed his father's trade, a situation which facilitated the publication of Provincial Words and Expressions used in Lincolnshire (1866). He predeceased his father at Addlethorpe during the mid 1870s.
22. See note 9.
23. Private collection, kindly loaned by the late Dr Michael Eminson.
25. Diaries, March 1873.
28. Ibid., p. 37.
32. Unsigned ms. key, attributed to J. T. Fowler, contained within copy of Ralf Skirraugh, formerly the property of Alfred Lord Tennyson, private collection, information courtesy of Christopher Sturman. Scunthorpe Museum, 'Notes by the late Dr J. T. Fowler, Canon of Durham, on Ralf Skirraugh, the Lincolnshire Squire, by Edward Peacock', unsigned, undated ms. copy.
33. Ibid., p. 5.
36. Ibid., II, 86-87.
37. English Dialect Society (hereinafter E.D.S.), First Report for the year 1873 (January 1874), pp. 16-18. Christopher Wordsworth (1807-1885), was Bishop of Lincoln from 1868 to 1885. Eliza Cutch (1841-1911), known as 'Mrs Cutch', was the eldest daughter of Simon Hutchinson, land agent, of Little Georgery, later of Manthorpe Lodge, Grantham. She married James Cutch who was a partner in the York firm of solicitors, Richardson, Cutch and Company in 1868, and was widowed in 1881. She was a founder member of the E.D.S. In Lincolnshire she is chiefly remembered as being a co-complier (with Mabel Peacock) of County Folk-Lore, Vol V. Examples of printed Folk-Lore concerning Lincolnshire (1890). See also Elder, '...but who was Mrs Cutch?' in S.L.H.A. Newsletter, 55 (January 1988), pp. 23-26, and, Elder, 'E. P.: an introduction'.
39. It is not known if this signified the full extent of Peacock's original intention, or if there was some misunderstanding on the part of the E.D.S.
41. Ibid., p. 11.
42. Tom Peacock, Lecture 1968, p. 5.
43. Diaries, 1876.
44. E.D.S., Rules and Directions for Word-Collectors (1873), p. i. Alexander John Ellis (1814-1890), F.S.A., mathematician, musicologist, and philologist, was born 'Sharpe'. In 1825, his surname was changed to 'Ellis' so that he might benefit from a bequest which was to enable him to devote his life to study and research. As an advocate of the reform of the orthography of the English language, he associated himself with Isaac Pitman in devising a system of printing called 'phonotypy' by which the phonetics of the spoken word could be accurately represented. Out of this system he developed two further and different phonetic systems, the more accurate of the two named 'palaeotype', and the more easily used, and therefore more popular 'glossic'. Ellis, whose published work covered a wide range of subjects, is chiefly remembered for On Early English Pronunciation, the first part of which appeared in 1869. The fifth part, concerning the existing phonology of the English language, in which Peacock's work was commented upon, was not completed until 1889.
45. The Revd Professor Walter W. Skeat (1835-1912), was a founder member and benefactor of the E.D.S. He became its Director and Honorary Secretary, and as such he was responsible for organizing and collating the collection of English regional dialects. He undertook the fund-raising associated with the preparation and publication of the E.D.D., and was personally responsible for securing a substantial part of the publishing costs.
47. Edward Syngue Wilson, F.S.A., was Vicar of Winterton from 1873, until his death in 1898, aged 63 years.
48. Robert Eden George Cole, Canon of Lincoln cathedral, and Rural dean of Grimsby was Rector of Doddington, Lincs., (having served as curate in the same parish), for 48 years, retiring in 1909. Following the death of Mr George Eden Jarvis, Cole succeeded to the Doddington estate. He died aged 89 years in January 1921.
49. George Sidney Streaffeld (born c.1844), was Curate at Boston Lincs., 1872-1874, and Vicar of Holy Trinity, Louth, Lincs., 1874-1883 (not to be confused with his younger brother, Henry Bartram Streaffeld, Curate of the same parish, 1876-1880, and vicar of the same, 1883-1900). G. S. Streaffeld also wrote several books on religious subjects.