

## Who spoke Manx in Lezayre at the beginning of the 20th century?

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February 2018

In an earlier article, I identified those in Kirk Michael Parish who were recorded in the 1901 and 1911 censuses as speakers of Manx.<sup>1</sup> Here I attempt to do something similar for the parish of Lezayre, including those parts of Ramsey town lying in Lezayre Civil Parish. I focus now more specifically on the *households* that contained one or more Manx speakers. And in such households in which members of more than one generation were present, we may observe, and to some degree date, the break in intergenerational transmission of the Manx language.

In 1901 there were 285 Manx speakers (strictly, speakers of Manx and English) recorded in Lezayre, out of a total population of 2801, that is, 10.17% Manx speakers. (In Michael, the proportion was 14.44%). Just over half of the total population of Lezayre CP was living in Ramsey (1412 people); by population, the proportion of Ramsey that was in Lezayre CP was just under 30%.

There is good evidence that the 1901 census record for Lezayre understates the real number of Manx speakers. There were 41 people recorded as Manx speakers in the 1911 census (27% of all 1911 Lezayre Manx speakers) who can be found also in the 1901 census but are recorded there as English-only speakers. The inconsistency in the record works in the other direction as well, just as was found in Kirk Michael. Of the Lezayre Manx speakers of 1901 who can be traced in the 1911 census, 48 (16.84%) are recorded there as speaking English only.

Table 1 sets out the numbers of Lezayre Manx speakers in the 1901 census by age cohort, and by gender. There is no evidence that gender is a significant factor in the retention, or recording, or Manx speech. Just as in Kirk Michael, the highest number of speakers is in the 1832-41 cohort. And, just like there, the numbers drop off sharply after the 1842-51 cohort, while after 1871 the numbers are negligible.

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<sup>1</sup> Manx language in the Census: Kirk Michael, 1901 and 1911.  
[https://www.academia.edu/33177216/Manx\\_language\\_in\\_the\\_Census\\_Kirk\\_Michael\\_1901\\_and\\_1911](https://www.academia.edu/33177216/Manx_language_in_the_Census_Kirk_Michael_1901_and_1911). May 2017

Table 1. Manx in Lezayre parish in 1901

Manx and English				Of which recorded as 'English' in Lezayre 1911			Of which recorded as 'English' outside Lezayre 1911			'English' 1911 %
born	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	
1802-11	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0		
1812-21	9	7	16	0	0	0	0	0		
1822-31	31	22	53	0	1	1	0	0		
1832-41	47	37	84	3	2	5	2	0	2	
1842-51	38	38	76	7	9	16	0	2	2	
1852-61	17	16	33	5	6	11	1	1	2	
1862-71	5	9	14	1	4	5	1	1	2	
1872-81	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0		
1882-91	1	2	3	2	0	2	0	0		
1892-1901	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Total	152	133	285	18	22	40	4	4	8	16.84

However, while only one in ten individuals in Lezayre was a Manx speaker in 1901, almost one third of households contained one or more Manx speakers. Of 631 households, 193 did so, that is, 30.58%. But these households with a Manx speaker or speakers were not evenly distributed through the parish. They were predominantly to be found in Sulby Glen, Old Sulby Village, and the North-west corner of the parish, north of the main road and west of St Jude's Road. The distribution of households with Manx speakers is set out in Table 2, after which I give the boundaries of the enumeration districts as set out in the enumeration schedules (except for Ramsey 2 and 3 (L), where I paraphrase to make the description clear).

Table 2. Lezayre 1901. Households with Manx speakers

Enumeration district	A All households	B Manx- speaking households	B/A %	Speakers	speakers per Manx- speaking household
Lezayre 1	36	24	67	46	1.92
Lezayre 2	46	24	52	38	1.58
Lezayre 3	51	21	41	31	1.48
Lezayre 4	38	17	45	21	1.24
Lezayre 5	57	20	35	33	1.65
Lezayre 6	95	28	29	38	1.36
Ramsey 1 (L)	226	43	19	59	1.37
Ramsey 2 (L)	28	6	21	6	1
Ramsey 3 (L)	54	10	18	13	1.3
Total	631	193	31	285	1.48

Lezayre district 1. Enumerator: John Killip

All that part of the parish lying west of the road leading from Sulby Methodist Chapel through Sulby Old Village up to but not including Southward's house and Woollen Mills thence all west of the river up to a point opposite Ballaskella stream and thence crossing the river all south of Ballaskella stream up to its source and of a line from its source to Clagh Ouyr west of the boundary

with Lonan North and East of the Boundary of Braddan and East of the boundaries of Michael and Ballaugh as far as the Main Road and south of the Main road as far as Sulby Methodist Chapel. 36 households

Lezayre district 2. Enumerator: H. D. Quarrie.

Sulby, part of.

All that portion of the parish lying North of the Main Road from Sulby Bridge to Ballaugh, and West of the Main Road from Sulby Bridge to the Craig as far as the boundary of Andreas and south of this boundary. South and east of the boundary of Jurby, and east of the boundary of Ballaugh as far as the Main Road from Ballaugh to Sulby. 46 households.

Lezayre district 3. Enumerator: James Quayle, Close-ny-Mona.

All that portion of the parish lying west of the Narradale Road to Ginger Hall and of the Main Road from Ginger Hall as far as Sulby Bridge. Thence all South of the Main Rd. as far as Sulby Methodist Chapel. Thence all East of the Road leading from Sulby Methodist Chapel through Sulby Old Village up to and including Southward's <House and> Woollen Mills and House (sic) thence all east of the river up to the mouth of the stream from Ballaskella Glen and all north of this stream up to its source and north of a line from Clagh Ouyr to the upper end of Narradale Road. 51 households.

Lezayre district 4. Enumerator: John Corlett.

All that portion of the parish lying East of a line from Clagh Ouyr to the upper end of Narradale Road, and of Narradale Road as far as Ginger Hall and South of the Main Road as far as Milntown Bridge thence all west of this road leading from Milntown Bridge up Glen Auldyn and of a line running South from the upper end of the Road (near the Old Mill and Slate Quarry) to the boundary of the Parish. 38 households.

Lezayre district 5. Enumerator: Robert Corlett Cottier

All that portion of the parish lying South of the River from Sulby Bridge to the Boundary of the town of Ramsey all east of the Main Road from Sulby Bridge to Ginger Hall, All South of the Main Road from Ginger Hall to Milntown Bridge. And all East of the road leading from Milntown Bridge up Glen Auldyn and of a line running south from the upper end of the road (near the Old Mill and Slate Quarry) to the boundary of the parish, thence all North and West of the boundary of Maughold and West of the boundary of the town of Ramsey as far as the south bank of the Sulby River. 57 households.

Lezayre district 6. Enumerator: John Cowin

All that portion of the parish lying north of the river from Sulby Bridge to the boundary of the Town of Ramsey and all north of this boundary, South of the boundary of Bride all East and South of the boundary of Andreas as far as the Main Road from the Craig and all East of this Road as far as Sulby Bridge. 95 households.

Ramsey district 1. Enumerator: Walter Craine

From Sulby River (Ramsey Harbour) to the Northern Boundary of the town of Ramsey.

All that portion of the town of Ramsey lying to the North of Sulby River including the Shipyard, the Mooragh, Bowring Road, Riverside and all roads streets lanes and houses within the boundary of the town and North of the said River. 226 households.

Ramsey district 2. Enumerator: Thomas Charles Kneale

[South west Ramsey. South side of Lezayre Rd, and Brookfield.] 28 households.

Ramsey district 3. Enumerator: William Cannell

[Bowring Rd south of the Sulby River, and the part of Ramsey town west of Bowring Rd and from and including the north side of Lezayre Rd.] 54 households [Nos. 203-256] in Lezayre. (Households nos. 1-202 in Maughold).

## Households and generations

Of the 193 Lezayre households with one or more Manx speakers in 1901, 57 do not contain different generations of the same family. Mostly we have here elderly people whose children (if any) have left home, but 7 of these households are of English-only families with a Manx-speaking servant or visitor. In most of the remaining ‘single generation with Manx’ all the speakers have Manx. But there are 9 households where members of the same generation have different language competence. For example, in 2.06<sup>2</sup> (Claddagh View, Sulby) Thomas Radcliffe, aged 51, has Manx, but his wife Belle, aged 45, has not. In household 2.28 (Clanagh Rd) John Killip, 48, has Manx, while his wife Isabella, 37, has not. They have a son, John, aged 1, too young to be assigned a language, though there is no doubt he is destined to acquire only English. In household 5.03 (Sulby Claddagh), Thomas D Craine, 53, has only English, while his wife Mary Ann has Manx; a similar case is R2.06 (9 Lezayre Rd, Ramsey), where Mary Blair, 32, has Manx, but her husband, William, 35, has not. Mary is recorded as ‘English only’ in Ramsey in 1911. At 6.76 (Bolivia Mount), John W Vondy, 52, was actually originally entered as having Manx only; this is corrected to ‘Manx and English’ (the usual expected expression is ‘Both’). In 1911 he is living in Glentramman, and is recorded then as ‘English only’. His wife Margaret, in 1901, has only English. (Hence it is not at all likely that the original entry of ‘Manx’ for John W is anything other than a simple slip of the pen. If it were otherwise, husband and wife would not share a language.)

There are 127 2-generation (or more) households with Manx in just one generation (the older) —the great majority of households with any Manx speaker and more than one generation. In 33 such households, both parents are present, but only one of them has Manx. Unsurprisingly, in all of these, the younger generation(s) have English only.

Only 16 households have Manx speakers in more than one generation. Just a few of these have a split in the younger generation, of which some have Manx and some have not. In the Kneale family (3.16) of Ballabrooie, Sulby, William, 71, and his wife Catherine, 77, have Manx. Their son William H, 50, has Manx, but their daughter, Sophia Kinrade, 45, has not, nor has their son Thomas W, 37. In this family, then, we see a shift in home language from Manx to English between 1851 and 1856. Sophia Kinrade’s husband Robert, 65, does have Manx, but unsurprisingly their children Esther J Kinrade, 17, and Nathaniel A Kinrade, 4, have not.

In Coolbane, Sulby (2.18), Jane Boyde, 68, has Manx, as has also her daughter Elizabeth, 45, but the younger daughters present —Anne Jane, 43, Isabella, 40, and Eliza H, 37, have not. In this family the change of home language apparently comes between 1856 (Elizabeth) and 1858 (Anne Jane).

At Milntown (5.29) is the family of Manx-speaker Mary Lord. Her son Thomas Cowin, 45, has Manx, but her daughter Fanny Lord, 33, has not —again, family language shift after 1856. In 1911, still at Milntown, Thomas Cowin is recorded as English only, though his mother has Manx. This family is unusual for another reason. Mary (Anne) Lord was the daughter of James and Ann Lord, baptized in Lezayre 21 Jun 1829. In 1841 the family were living at Vormey (that I haven’t identified, but it must be between the Ginger Hall and Churchtown). Mary never married, but she had five children: Thomas Lord, also known as Thomas Cowin, b. 1856, William (Henry) Lord, also known as William Cowin, b. 1858.<sup>3</sup> (May their father

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<sup>2</sup> In this paper, households are distinguished with a first figure that corresponds to the enumeration district as just listed (R= Ramsey), and a second which is the number of the household in sequential order within each district as recorded by the enumerator.

<sup>3</sup> William Henry Lord of Glenduff, illegitimate son of Mary Lord, was baptized in Lezayre on 19 September 1858. Of her other children, I have located a baptism record only for Emily Ellen Lord (= Amelia?), illegitimate daughter of Mary Ann Lord, bapt. Lezayre 25 Jan 1867.

possibly have been John Cowin, b. abt. 1832, who in 1871 was a single farmer's son living at the Geary, next door to Mary Lord and four of her children?) Mary Lord's younger children were Amelia Lord, also known as Corlett, b. 1864, Frances (Fanny) Lord, also known as Corlett, b. 1868-9, and Cathrine Corlett, b. 1872. Mary passed on Manx only to her eldest son, Thomas. Again we see family language shift shortly after 1856.

In household R3.213 (Albion Terrace, Ramsey) are two single siblings of the older generation with Manx —Christian M Kelly, 69, and her brother Thomas, 64, a retired farmer; together with three single nieces and nephews (children of Christian and Thomas's brother John) —William Kelly, 39, who has Manx, and Catherine, 40, and Christiana, 35, who have not. That is, the presence of Manx or not in the younger generation of this family reflects sex (man with Manx, women without) rather than age, as is found in other families.

The Christian family (1.25) of Sulby Glen, is particularly unusual, not so much in that the older children have Manx while the younger ones have not, as in the fact that the any of the younger generation were acquiring Manx in the 1880s. Frederick Christian, 50, is a lead miner; his wife, Margaret (nee Fayle or Fell), is 49. They married in Lezayre on 3 August 1878. In 1901 their four eldest children are recorded as Manx speakers: William, 21, (b. 1880), a stone quarrier, Eleanor (Margaret), 19, (b. 1882), Robert, 17, (b. 1884), and Thomas F(ell), 14, (b. 1887). The two youngest, Alice, 9, (b. 1892), and Arthur, 5, (b. 1896), have English only. By 1911, when the family are at Slieau Menaugh House, Sulby Glen, only the parents have Manx, and Robert and Thomas Fell are recorded as English only. (Frederick has become a farmer, but Robert and Thomas Fell are quarry men, as their brother William was in 1901.) The four older Christian siblings will have been among the very last on the island to acquire Manx natively, in the 1880s and 1890s.

There are in 1901 in Lezayre just 11 households with two generations, in which the parent(s) and child(ren) present are Manx speakers. All these have only one son/daughter present, some with a Manx-speaking son/daughter-in-law also. To these we should add the household of John Caesar Cowley (2.29), of Clanagh Rd, Sulby. In 1901 John Caesar, 45, (b. 1856), a butcher, and his wife Margaret, 43, (b. 1858) are recorded as English speakers, though Margaret's mother, Ann Killip, 82, has Manx and English. But in 1911, John Caesar records himself and his wife Margaret as Manx speakers, which implies that they were also in 1901, in fact.

In the tables that follow, B = Both Manx and English, E = English only. G1 = generation 1, G2 = generation 2.

Table 3 gives, for those two-generation (or more) households with a Manx speaker in the younger generation, the birth-year of the younger Manx speaker of the older generation (G1 B), the birth-year of the youngest Manx speaker of the younger generation (G2 B), and the birth-year of the oldest English-only member of the second generation.

Table 3. Households with two generations of Manx speakers (ordered by youngest G2 B)<sup>4</sup>

	Younger G1 B	Youngest G2 B	Oldest G2 E
R1.74	1813	1841	
6.72	1810	1842	
2.40	1814	1845	
R1.96	1814	1846	
1.26	1825	1847	
3.16	1830	1851	1856
2.24	1825	1854	
6.15	1826	1856	
2.18	1833	1856	1858
5.29	1828	1856	1868
2.29	1819	1858	
2.25	1832	1859	
2.41	1825	1861	
1.34	1825	1869	
1.03	1842	1873	
1.25	1852	1887	1892

From table 3, we can see that, leaving aside the outlier household 1.25 (the Christians of Sulby Glen), a few families were passing on Manx up to the 1870s, but even in such families, switching to English only might take place from 1856 onwards.

In two-generation households with both Manx-speaking parents present in 1901, but only English-speaking children, we can see the break in transmission starting in the 1850s and 1860s, becoming the norm after 1870 (table 4).

Table 4. 1901 Households with two Manx speaking parents but only English-speaking children (ordered by oldest G2 E)

2 Older B+B	Younger G1 B	Oldest G2 E
5.16	1825	1853
5.51	1833	1860
R1.140	1831	1862
5.34	1837	1871
2.42(3g)	1841	1871
2.26	1844	1871
3.27	1845	1872
2.40(3g)	1848	1872
4.23	1850	1872
2.15	1836	1873
3.06	1845	1873
6.25	1838	1875
1.01	1834	1876
5.41	1842	1876

<sup>4</sup> Household R3.213, discussed above, is excluded, as the family is not a nuclear one.

2 Older B+B	Younger G1 B	Oldest G2 E
R1.28	1845	1876
6.84	1848	1876
1.23	1851	1876
3.51	1842	1877
5.19	1835	1878
4.36	1844	1878
1.15	1849	1878
R1.205	1845	1879
R1.150	1847	1879
4.33	1841	1880
6.87	1837	1881
5.08	1846	1881
1.27	1848	1882
1.16	1857	1882
5.44	1846	1885
3.45	1841	1886
R1.137	1850	1889
5.27	1855	1890
1.21	1856	1895

A similar picture emerges in two-generation households in which only one older-generation Manx-speaker is present. There are more younger-generation English-only speakers from the 1860s, but that could well be due to the other parent (not present in 1901) having had only English, thereby imposing English as the family language.

### Manx around the *chiollagh*

In order to envisage where Manx might have been heard at home in Lezayre in 1901, we need to focus on those households in which there was more than one Manx speaker present. There were 72 such households, or 37 per cent of all those with any Manx speaker. To these we should add 14 households recorded with two or more Manx speakers in 1911 but with one or fewer in the 1901 census. As already suggested, the Lezayre households with potential for Manx to be heard at home in 1901 were to be found particularly in Sulby —Sulby Glen, Old Sulby, Sulby Village/Sulby Bridge, and on the Clanagh Road (32 households). There are a few other small clusters, where something like a Manx-speaking community could still have been found: five homes around Milntown, and six in North Lezayre —Grest farm, Clarke Villa, Bolivia Mount, Dhoor, and Aust. Of course, we have no way of knowing whether any of this potential to make use of knowledge of Manx was in fact being exploited in 1901, but we may reasonably guess that some of it was.

### Manx speakers from across

A handful (five) of Lezayre Manx speakers of 1901 are of interest because they were born across. I have tried to investigate in a bit more detail their particular circumstances, tracking them across the censuses, and with some information from baptism and marriage records.

Jane Kneale, b. 1822-31, Whitehaven, Cumberland. Her ‘date of birth’ differs in the individual census returns.

1841 in Ballacaley, Lezayre, (b. abt 1826, recorded as born Isle of Man), with father Patrick Kneale (agricultural labourer), and mother Esther [Crow] (married Lezayre 26 Dec. 1818), and siblings Esther [Elizabeth], (bapt. 24 Feb. 1819), Ann, b. 1832, Margaret

[Elizabeth] (bapt. 1 Jun. 1834, mother's maiden name given as Cleator), and [John] James (bapt. 5 Feb. 1837).

1851 in Ballakarrick, Lezayre, 24, (b. 1827), general servant, with sister Margaret, 16, also a general servant, father Patrick Kneale, 58, (b. 1793), farm labourer, and mother Esther, 53, (b. 1798), farm labourer; and their grandchildren Thomas Caley, 7, (b. 1844), Eliza Cannell 4, (b. 1847), Henry Caley, 2 months, (b. Jan 1851). (Jane is the mother of the three grandchildren.)

1861 in Sulby Old Village, 30, (b. 1831), Jane, washerwoman, is the head, with her son Henry Caley, 10, daughter Anne J. Lord, 8, (b. 1853), son William Carran, 5, (b. 1856), and infant daughter, < 1 month (b. Mar 1861).

1871 in Sulby Village, 38, (b. 1833), labourer woman, with son Henry Joseph Caley, 20, labourer, daughter Ann Jane Lord, 18, labourer, son William Carran, 15, son Charles Caley, 8, (b. 1863), and daughter Mary Ann Caley, 4, (b. 1867).

1881 [in Lezayre district 1, William Carran, head, 23, (b. 1858), weaver, his brother Charles Caley, weaver, 18, their sister Mary Ann Caley, 13, (b. 1868), brother John Cuddlithy (sic), 6, (b. 1875), and a boarder, Tho. Kaighen, 16, labourer, are all together, but the siblings' mother is absent.]

1891 in Sulby Village, 61, (b. 1830), living on own means, with son Charles Caley, 28, woollen weaver, and daughter Mary A[nn] Caley, 23, woollen warper, John P. Cuddihy, 16, grandson (sic), woollen carder, and William Kneale, 6, (b. 1885), great-nephew.

1901 household 1.22 in Sulby Glen, 79, (b. 1822) (Manx and English); w. son Charles Caley, head, 36, (b. 1865), weaver of wool, self-employed, (English), daughter Mary A[nn] Caley, 32, (b. 1869), a hand in the woollen mills, (English), and William A Kneale, cousin of Charles, 16, a gardener, (English).

1911 [Mary Ann Caley is living alone, in Sulby Glen, working at the woollen mills; Charles Caley is living alone, farming at Ballacubberagh, Sulby Glen;]

Jane Kneale's birth in Whitehaven, then, is not particularly significant in connection with her being a Manx speaker. Her parents were both Lezayre-born. Her family, however, is even more unusual than that of Mary Lord, mentioned previously. Unmarried, Jane had nine children, by five different partners: John Caley, father of Thomas Caley (b. c. 1844), Henry Joseph (Caley) Kneale (bapt. Sulby, 16 Feb. 1851, died Sulby, 21 Jun 1888, buried 24 Jun.), Mary Ann (Caley) Kneale (bapt. Lezayre, 22 Dec. 1868), Charles (Caley) Kneale, (bapt. Lezayre 13 Jun. 1872), and John Caley Kneale (bapt. Lezayre, 13 Jun. 1872, buried 30 June 1872); William Cannell, father of Eliza Hannah (Cannell) Kneale (bapt. Sulby, 22 Nov. 1846); Thomas Lord of Jurby, father of Ann Jane Lord (formally affiliated to him in the Book of Presentments, 10 June 1853); John Carran, father of William Carran (bapt. Ramsey, 23 Mar 1856), and of the infant daughter b. Mar. 1861; and the otherwise unknown father of John P[atrick] Cuddihy (though for some reason John P. is entered as Jane Kneale's grandson on the 1891 census). Jane Kneale's significance in world history is that she was a great-great-grandmother of George Harrison (1943-2001), the Beatle, through her daughter Ann Jane Lord. If there is one fact about George Harrison that not many people know, it will be that he had a Manx-speaking great-great-grandmother.

Joseph McCormick, born 1835/6, County Down, Ireland.

1851 at Ballacollom [Ballacallum], Andreas, 15, labourer, in household of William Teare, landed proprietor, and his wife Catharine.

1861 at Knockean, Andreas, 25, manservant/ploughman, in the household of John and Ann Quayle;

on 2 Jan 1868, Joseph McCormick, son of Joseph McCormick, married Ann Jane, daughter of Alexander Cummings, at Maughold, [Alexander Cummings, b. Ireland 1807; in 1851



at Sandy Road, Ramsey (L), with wife Elizabeth, b. 1813, Ireland, and daughter Ann J. b. 1840 [sic]; in 1861 at Beach Cottage, Maughold St, Ramsey];

1871 at 18 King St, Ramsey, 32, (b. 1839), butcher, employs 1 boy, with his wife Ann J[ane], 28, (b. 1843), and daughter Elizabeth, 2, (bapt. 12 Feb 1869 Maughold, residing in King St), and Mary J[ane], 1, (= Mary Jane, bapt. 20 May 1870, residing in King St).

1881 at 14 King St, Ramsey, recorded as James [sic] McCormack, butcher, with his wife A[nn] J[ane], and children Etty b. 1867 [= Elizabeth b. 1869], Mary [Jane], 11, Joseph, 9, (bapt. 28 Apr. 1872), and A[lexander], 5, (bapt. 6 Feb. 1876, Maughold, residing in King St, Ramsey; buried 16 May 1913, Onchan).

1891 at 16 King St, Ramsey, butcher, with wife Ann Jane, 48, b. County Down, and daughter Lilly, 22, [= Elizabeth, Etty], Mary, 20, and sons Joseph, 18, butcher, and Alexander, 15.

1901 at Armadale House, [North Shore Rd,] Mooragh, 65, retired butcher, (Manx and English), with wife Ann J[ane], 57, (English), and son Alexandra (sic), 24 (English).

1911 a widower, 76, boarder at Roddington, Mooragh Promenade, Ramsey (English).

Provided the 1901 language entry is not an error, this looks like a genuine case of an Irishman acquiring Manx as a second language after coming to live and work in the Island. I have not found any record of his parents or any siblings on the Island. As he is apparently not on the Island in the 1841 census, he seems to have arrived after the age of six or so.

William Corlett, born 1863-7, Manchester.

1871 he seems to be living in Ellan Rhennee ("Allan Rhenney"), Curragh, Ballaugh, aged 8, (b. 1863) with his grandparents John Corlett, 55, (b. 1816) of Lezayre and Elizabeth [Sayle], 57, (b. 1818) of Jurby, and their unmarried daughter, also Elizabeth, 30, (bapt. Jurby 27 Sep 1840), probably William's mother.

4 Jan 1887, he married, in Maughold, Alice Margaret Oates, daughter of Robert Oates; his father is recorded as John Corlett, but this is no doubt his grandfather.

1891 he is at Mountain View, Jurby Rd, 26, (b. 1865), a market gardener, with his wife Alice M[argaret], 23, (b. 1868), from Michael, their daughter Lottie, 1, (bapt. Lezayre 12 Jun. 1889), three young English lodgers, and two young servants.

1901, he is at Beach View, Windsor Mount, Ramsey, 34, (b. 1867), a tram conductor, (Manx and English). His wife, Alice Margaret, 32, (b. 1869), Michael, has English only, but his mother-in-law, Louisa Oates, a widow, 66, (b. 1835), Ballaugh, has Manx. Their children, Lottie, 11, Ruby, 8, and John R[obert], 10 months, are recorded as having English only (which is no doubt a prediction rather than an observation in the case of baby John R.).

1911, still at Beach View, Windsor Mount, William, 44, (b. 1867) now a grocery warehouseman, is recorded as having English only; Alice Margaret is now a boarding house keeper (presumably at Beach View, which has 16 rooms), assisted by Lottie and Ruby, who now have a sister Olive Louisa, aged 8.

William Corlett, born c. 1865, is relatively young to be a Manx speaker. However, it looks as if, after going to Manchester for his birth, his unmarried mother returned to her parents home, so that William will have grown up in a household in the Ballaugh Curraghs with grandparents born c. 1816-1818, almost certainly both Manx speakers.

Robert Bruce, born 1853, Woolton, Lancashire, master mariner.

Robert Bruce, son of William, stonemason, and Margaret, born 18 Sep 1852, was baptized on 3 Oct 1852 in the Chapelry of Woolton, Lancashire. [He has siblings: John, b. 7 May 1850, Ann Jane, b. 9 Jun 1855, James, b. 17 Dec 1856, Elizabeth b. 25 May 1859, all baptized in Woolton];

William Bruce, son of William, married Margaret Quayle, daughter of Philip, 26 Apr. 1847, St Peter, Liverpool. Margaret Quayle, daughter of Philip and Eleanor, is at Ballasalla, Jurby, in 1841.

1861, age 9, is visiting with William Cowley, 52, of Jurby, farmer of 23 acres, and his wife Ann, 47, also of Jurby, at Kerroogarroo, Andreas. William Cowley is his uncle [mother's sister's husband], as appears in 1871. Also there is Eleanor Quayle, 82, mother[-in-law], b. Jurby, who will be Robert's grandmother.

1871, again with William and Ann Cowley, at no 14 on the road from Andreas to St Jude's, aged 18, now a farm servant. [In 1871, Robert's mother, Margaret Bruce, 48, (born Jurby) is at Dock Cottage Lezayre, with son James, 14, son Alexander, 9, (b. 1862), and daughter Margaret, 6, (b. 1865), (all born in England).]

1881, on St Judes Rd, Andreas, no occupation stated, with mother Margaret, widow, 57, annuitant, and with brother Alexander, mason, 19, and sister Margaret, 16.

Robert Bruce, son of William, marries Mary Ann Cain, daughter of Robert, in Andreas, 30 Oct 1884.

[1891, at 3 Shipyard Rd, Ramsey, are only Mary Ann Bruce, no occupation stated, and the children, Mary Ann, 3, and Robert, 1. Robert is presumably at sea.]

1901, at 7 Bowring Rd, Ramsey, 48, master mariner, with wife Mary A[nn], 46, (b. 1855), Malew, grocer/shopkeeper, and 2 children, Mary A[nn], 13, and Robert, 11, both born Ramsey, + 2 domestic servants. Only Robert Sr. has Manx.

[1901 and 1911 Margaret Bruce, widow, is at St Judes, Both Manx and English, with granddaughter Hilda A. Christian (1901)/ Hilda Bruce (1911), b. Andreas.]

1911, at Ridgway House, Bowring Rd, 58, timber merchant, with family as in 1901. Robert Bruce Jr. is a traction engine driver. Robert Sr has Manx.

Though born in Woolton, Lancs, as were his siblings, Robert will have acquired Manx from his mother Margaret, nee Quayle, born about 1820, and his grandmother Eleanor Quayle, born about 1779, and quite probably also his uncle and aunt Cowley with whom he was staying in 1861. I have not been able to trace any of Robert's siblings in the 1901 or 1911 Isle of Man censuses, to see whether any of them were Manx speakers, as well as Robert.

Janet Dow, born 1845, Inveravon, Banffshire, Scotland; she apparently came to live in Mann 1851/2.

1851, age 6, living with parents John, 50 (b. 1801), and Jane, 41, (b. 1810), and 7 siblings, Jane, 19, David, 16, Ann, 13, Hugh, 11, Margaret, 9, Mary, 4, and John, 2, in Mary Park, Inveravon, Banffshire. [Her father John was buried in Jurby 29 Aug 1867, and her mother Jane, of Ramsey, was buried in Jurby 17 Dec 1891.]

1861, 16, an invalid ("invalide"), living at Ballamoare farmhouse, Jurby, with her parents John Dow, 61, b. Auchterderran [Fife], land steward, and wife Jane (nee Young), 51, b. Marykirk [Aberdeenshire], with 7 siblings: Jane, 29, b. Ceres [Fife] (1832), a housemaid, Ann, 23, b. Marycoulter [Aberdeenshire] (1838), a housemaid, Hugh, 21, b. Marycoulter (1840), a carter, Margaret, 19, b. Marycoulter (1842), Mary, 14, b. Inveravon (1847), farm worker, John, 12, b. Inveravon (1849), and Hellen, 9, b. Jurby (1852).

1871, seamstress, 25, living at 23 Bowring Rd, Ramsey with her mother Jane, 61, farm bailiff's widow, and sister Jane, 39, also a seamstress.

1881, seamstress, living at 9 Templar Terrace, Ramsey, with the same relatives as in 1871; her sister Jane's profession is now given as dressmaker. [Her sisters Margaret and Helen are lodging at 46 Stanford Rd, Kensington, London, a housekeeper and a domestic servant, respectively. Her brother Hugh, who married Elizabeth Anne Cretney in

Patrick, 30 May 1861, is a coachman, living in Ramsey with his wife, two sons and two daughters. He continues to live in Ramsey, but has no Manx in 1901.]

1891, at 5 Loch Villas, Ramsey, her name given as Jessie, age 35, with mother Jane (80), living on own means, sister Jane (58), and Mary written as Neary, (30); all the sisters have profession: dressmaker.

1901, at 5 Loch Villas, Ramsey, dressmaker on own account, 57, with sister Mary, 55, both with English only.

1911, 5 Loch Villas, Ramsey, 66, living on own means, with her sister Mary, 64, dressmaker. In the language column 'English' has been amended to 'Both' and initialled by the enumerator.

Janet Dow's Manx is hard to explain; she was born in Scotland, of a Scottish family. Can she be a rare example of a non-native who decided to learn Manx in later life, apparently after 1901 when she was already 57 years old?