A Natural History of Proper Naming in the Context of Emerging Mass Production: The Case of British Railway Locomotives before 1846

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Abstract

The early history of railway locomotives in Britain is marked by two striking facts. The first is that many were given proper names, even where there was no objective need to distinguish them in such a way. The second is that those names tended strongly to suggest essential attributes of the machines themselves, sometimes real as in the case of *Puffing Billy*, or metaphorical or mythologized as in the cases of *Rocket* and *Vulcan*. However when, before long, locomotives came to be produced to standard types, namegiving remained the norm for at least some types but the names themselves tended to be typed, and naturally in a less constrained way than earlier ones. The later onymic types veered sharply away from being literally or metaphorically descriptive. The sources of these second-order onymic types are of some interest, both culturally and anthropologically, and some types tended to be of very long currency in Britain.

This paper explores the early history of namegiving in an underexplored area, and proposes a general model for the evolution of name-bestowal practices.

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In this paper, I offer an analysis of the names given to steam railway locomotives in Britain between the creation of the first such machine in 1803–4 and the year 1846, chosen semi-arbitrarily as the cut-off date because of the introduction in 1845–6 of the innovative engines designed by Thomas Crampton. In this analysis, I relate their names to the more general practices of naming current at this period. I thought when I started that I was the first to do this, but my attention has been drawn to an article in Swedish by Hugo Karlsson published in 1994 which partly covers the same ground.[1] There are inevitably some points of overlap between his paper and mine. However, I want to go beyond the particularities of the analysis to reflect on what the topic can tell us about the **development of naming systems in general**. The set of names from which I select some for analysis are given in approximately chronological order in appendix A. The dataset is not claimed to be complete, but it has been compiled from a wide range of printed and internet sources[2] and I am confident that the names appearing in it are truly representative, even if some of the historical detail is inaccurate.

There is no compelling reason why locomotives should be named at all. Indeed, quite a few early colliery engines, including the very first, were nameless. As they multiplied, they could simply have been distinguished by numbers. That often happened, but many were given both a name and a number. It soon became normal in Europe and America for at least passenger locomotives to be named, and many early goods (freight) locomotives were named too. This makes sense only in the light of other naming practices current at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Machines as such (e.g., pumps, spinning frames, looms, lathes, drills) did not generally bear individual proper names. But modes of transport did.

The practice of naming locomotives seems to have arisen out of the naming of horse-drawn coaches operating scheduled services between towns, especially post- (mail-) coaches. This system of stagecoaches developed slowly in England in the 17th century. Only six were running in

1672 (Cressett 1672; cf. Macaulay 1849: ch. 3), and the time of their true glory was the 18th century (see images 1 and 2). Most such services eventually bore proper names, and these names generally attached also to the vehicle(s) which performed the service because it was painted on them.[3] A selective list of these appears in appendix B. In France, the famous *Diligence* ran between Paris and Lyon from 1623, with important onomastic consequences, as we shall see. This was originally just one example of a *carrosse de diligence* 'speed carriage', in the terminology of the 17th–18th centuries.[4] By 1669, there was a vehicle travelling between London and Oxford called the *Flying Coach*, which was so called because it did the one-way journey in a single day, averaging a remarkable 5 mph (8 kph) on muddy roads. The *Tally-Ho* ran between London and Birmingham, and the *Red Rover* between Brighton and Bristol. Passenger-carrying mail-coaches first operated in Britain in 1784. They were the main competitor and the most obvious analogue of the early railway passenger services, until the expansion of the railway network killed off almost all the coaches between 1830 and the 1850s (see image 3).

Also tellingly, the source of motive power which the locomotive replaced was the horse, and it was normal (but not universal) practice for horses to bear names. The horse, either for itself or as the source of power to propel coaches, has had a large influence on naming practices for locomotives in Britain.[5]

Image 1: Typical coach, original source unknown

Image 2: A coach on a route in East Anglia (?London-Cambridge)
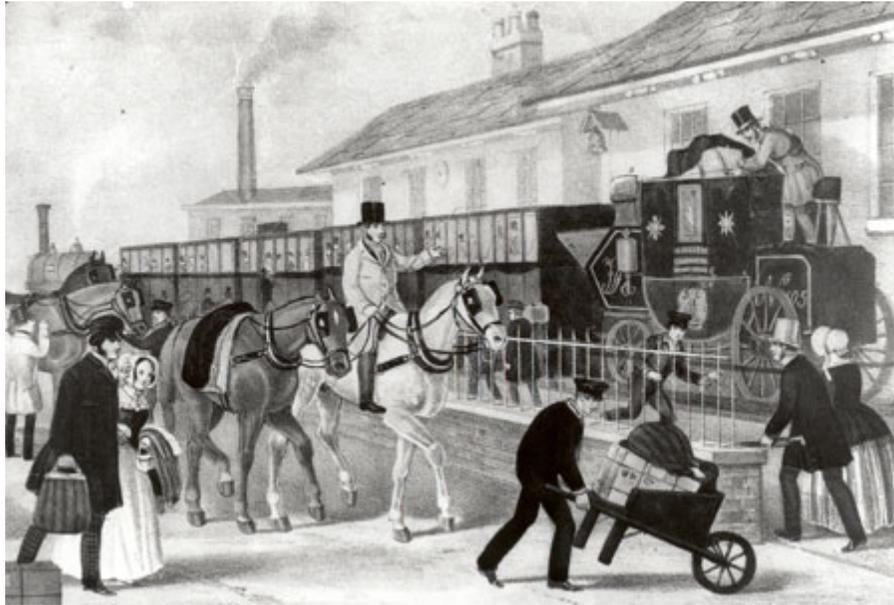
Image 3:
The Louth to London mail, ?1838:
note the historic, and brief, compromise with the railway,
with the coach on board a flat railway wagon.

Analysis of locomotive names

Modern steam locomotives have names which are most often appropriated from something or someone else – usually a proper name, but sometimes a taxonym. Often that original name has no obvious connection with the nature of locomotive power at all. For example, we can find classes of engine named after Scottish lakes/lochs, English country houses, squadrons of the Royal Air Force, Britain's counties and imperial possessions, deer and antelopes, shipping lines of the Merchant Navy, characters in the novels of Sir Walter Scott, English public schools, very small creatures, and football clubs. These names we can call *commemorative* or *appropriated names*. By contrast, among the oldest names, we find a much larger proportion of what might be called *essential* or *descriptive names*. By that, I mean names whose motivation can be found in the nature of the locomotive itself and the technological development which it embodies. I shall return later to the question of the relation between these two broad types, but for the present let us dwell on the nature of the oldest names.

Essential names contain descriptions of, or more usually allusions to, characteristics of the individual thing named. For instance, the first named English railway locomotive was *Catch me who can* (1808), with an obvious allusion to its unprecedented speed. Another early one was *Puffing Billy* (1813), with its allusion to the sight and sound of the exhaust high-pressure steam (cf. Briggs 1982: 108). There may be more than one such allusion in a single name. *The Steam Horse* (1813; see image 4) was a contraption which achieved forward movement not using steam-driven wheels but with the steam driving two devices like horse's legs.
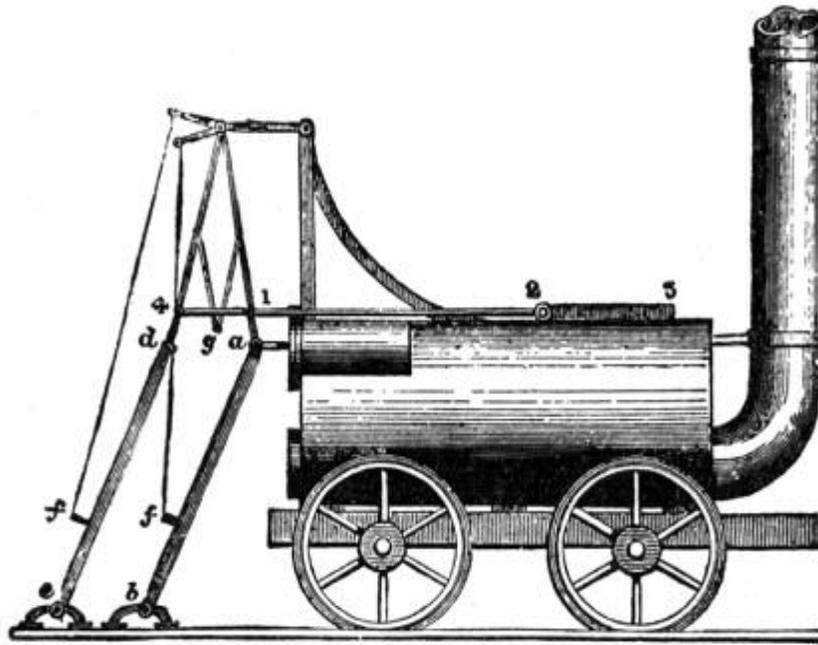
Image 4: James Brunton's *Steam Horse* (1813): Public domain image.

Its name enshrines the source of power, steam, a literal allusion to the action of the mechanical horse-leg (or at least of the thing metaphorically called a leg), and a metaphorical allusion to the horse as the standard of comparison for its role as motive power. Such essential names are, as I shall demonstrate, common, probably even typical, during the first 40 years of railway development in England.

The key ideas expressed in the naming of these innovatory machines seem to fall into five categories. Alternative ways of grouping the elements in them might be suggested by other analysts, but the most important point is that the five taken together, which motivate essential names, are distinct in nature from the commemorative or appropriated ones typical of later practice. The five categories can be summed up in the keywords **new**; **mechanical**; **powerful**; **quick**; and **excellent**.[6]

NEW:
- Names which designate a (perhaps "fiendishly") clever device of a particular kind, created by technological advance, producing **novelty** and (therefore) **progress** and **superiority**. Steam locomotives were named in recognition of this progress.
- By allusion to physical and perceptual characteristics:

The Steam Horse (1813) and *Steam Elephant* (1815) where the collocations rather than the lexis express the novelty; *"Chittapratt"* (1826; unusually, onomatopoeic from the noise it made), *Cycloped* ('wheel foot', 1829; not powered by steam at all, a walking horse driving the mechanism – see image 5), *Twin Sisters* (1829; having two vertical boilers), *Mountaineer* (1834; a rack-and-pinion locomotive, i.e., one built to be capable of climbing)
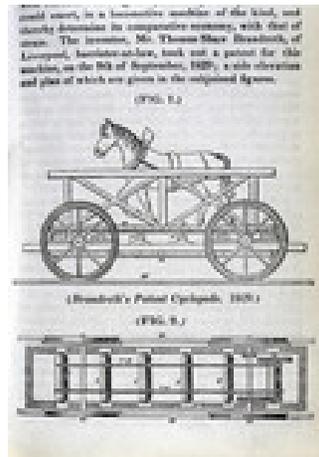
Image 5: Brandreth's *Cycloped*: Public domain image.

- By allusion to innovation:

Experiment (1828 and 1833), *Novelty* (1829), *Phoenix* (1830, *c.*1831, 1835 and 1840–1 – in at least one case actually constructed out of the parts of another engine, + allusion to fire), *Success* (1832), *Patentee* (1833), *Pioneer* (1837), *Surprise* (1838)

- By metonymic allusion to industry in the widest sense:

Agenoria (1829), *Perseverance* (1829), *Industry* (1832), *Yn Barod Etto* (1832 – Welsh translation of familiar tag *Semper paratus* (motto of the Clifford family and others) /*Ever Ready*)

- By allusion to the idea that novelty in the guise of mystery can be produced by the black arts (sorcery):

Lancashire Witch (1828), *Hecate* (1829)

MECHANICAL:
- Names which allude to the literal outward signs of the new **mechanical** motive power, **fire** and **steam**, with **coal** as the source of the power, which also symbolized the mining environment in which many early locomotives were used. Steam locomotives were named from these visible signs.
- Directly:

[*Puffing Devil* (1801) and *London Steam Carriage* (1803) – both steam *road* engines], *Puffing Billy* (1813–14), *The Steam Horse* (1813), *Steam Elephant* (1815), *Locomotion No. 1* (1825),[7] *Black Diamond* (1826; an epithet of coal), *Firefly* and many others alluding to fire, including *Spit Fire* (1832–)

- By metaphorical allusion to generators of fire or noise, whether natural phenomena or a supposed supernatural cause of these:

Wildfire (1829), *Vulcan* (1831), *Lightning* (1837), *Vesuvius* (*c.*1837), *Thunderer* (1837) – as an epithet of Jupiter, *Sun* (*c.*1837), *Vesta* (*c.*1837)

POWERFUL:
- Names which designate a device which is **powerful**. The prototypes of power were **natural** and **dangerous**: meteorological and animal. Steam locomotives were named metaphorically after those things which they recalled by the noises they made (e.g., by roaring, thundering, hissing) but which they outperformed in power. The adoption of

names in this category might suggest the harnessing or taming of danger and hint at a claim for status as the new prototype of power.

- By allusion to natural power and its implicit danger:

Steam Elephant (1815), *Stourbridge Lion* (1828), *Elephant* (1834), *L'Éléphant* (1836), *Shark* (1837), *Lightning* (1837), *Lion* (1838), *Tiger* (1838), *Eagle* (1838), *Snake* (1838), *Viper* (1838), *De Arend*, *De Leeuw* (1839–40)[8]

- By classical or biblical allusion to powerful characters:[9]

Hecate (1829), *Fury* (1831 and 1838), *Vulcan* (1831–2), *Ajax* (1832), *Goliath* (1833), *Atlas* (1833/4), *Hector* (1834), *Samson* (1837), *Cyclops* (*c.*1837), *Hercules* (*c.*1838)

QUICK:
- Names which designate a device which **moves rapidly**, remembering that the expectations of the early 19th century were much more modest than today's. The prototype of speed was flight, and the available prototypes of speedy transport were the (race)horse and the mail-coach, themselves often named from speedy weapons such as the arrow. Steam locomotives were named after those things which they outperformed in speed. Such naming represented a hint at a claim for status as the new prototype of speed.[10]
- Directly:

Catch me who can (1808), *Active* (1825), *Swiftsure* (*c.*1836 – also the name of a ship of the line serving at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1812), *Alert* (1837)

- Indirectly, by metaphorical allusion to speedy objects, including the wind (cf. "like the wind") and the mail-coach:

Wylam Dilly[11] (1813–14), **Dart** (1822), **Star** (1822), **Tallyho** (1822), *Diligence* (1826), *Wildfire* (1829),[12] *Meteor* (1829), *Arrow* (1829), *Rocket* (1829), *Perseverance* (1829 – belongs here if a pun on the primary literal meaning of *Diligence*), *Red Rover* (1833 – from the Bristol-Brighton stagecoach), *Hurricane* (1837 and 1845), *Lightning* (1837), *Zephyr* (1841–2), *Sirocco* (1841–2), *Swallow* (1841)

The **emboldened** names are interesting because we know that they were given to commemorate well-known local racehorses,[13] but they might equally have been given following other principles, such as the perpetuation of stagecoach names or the use of names themselves conveying speed or excellence (on which see next section). *Eclipse* (1829) probably commemorates the famous undefeated late-18th century racehorse rather than the celestial event.

EXCELLENT:
- Names which designate a device which is **excellent**. Excellence permits pride, the conventional sources of which were in the family pride deriving from nobility (the wealth of nobility allowing industrial patronage), and in the national pride deriving from the successes of military heroes. Royalty encapsulated both sources of excellence in the discourse of the early 19th century: **nobility** and **nationality**. Arguably, locomotive names of this type were metonymic pride-names, though the case for their being merely commemorative will be broached below. Other excellence-names reflected the newer notion of pride developing in the form of the local civic pride of the new industrial cities, and also pride in individual foundries and engineers; and pride expressed through the use of such names in locomotive names is not materially different from the simplest form of advertising. A recent useful conventional symbol/metaphor for excellence was the **star**, and use of this word in names followed a lexical trend which had begun in the discourse of the theatre in the 1820s.[14]

- By description or allusion to accepted standards, including moral ones:

Sans Pareil (1829),[15] *Perseverance* (1829), *Success* (1832), *Premier* (late 1830s), *Alpha* (1835), and possibly *Great A* (1845)

- By allusion to royalty and nobility:

Prince Regent (1812), *Lady Mary* (1813–14), ?*The Duke* (1817), *Royal George* (1827), *Earl of Airlie* (1833), *Victoria* (1838 and 1840)

- By allusion to military power and prowess:

Salamanca (1812; after Wellington's victory in the Peninsular War), *Lord Wellington* (1813–14), *Blücher* (1814), *The Duke* (1817; = Wellington), *Victory* (1828; or after the flagship of Trafalgar?), possibly *Invicta* (1829; on one level: Latin 'unconquered'; for the other, see next subsection), *Dreadnought* (1830; after an early-19th century ship of the line involved at Trafalgar, but also literal allusion to heroism), *Belted Will* (1839 – after a heroic historical figure of the English-Scottish border region)[16]

- By allusion to the place of manufacture (or to their engineers or foundries) or to the place of deployment, expressing local pride:

Wylam Dilly (1813–14), *Killingworth* (1816), *Pride of Newcastle* (1827), *Stourbridge Lion* (1828), *Invicta* (1829 – reference to the county motto of Kent), *Liverpool* (1830), *Manchester* (1830), *Northumbrian* (1830), *Union* (1831), *Stephenson* (1832), *Warrington* (1832), *Newton* (1832), *Vulcan* (1832), *Caledonian* (1832), *Dowlais* and others (1832–), *Jacob Perkins* (?1836), *Charles Jordan* (1838), *Soho* (1839), *Trevithick* (1841); this type was extended to symbols of national pride with *Britannia* (1829) and *John Bull* (1831; the personification of English yeoman virtues – see images 6a, 6b)
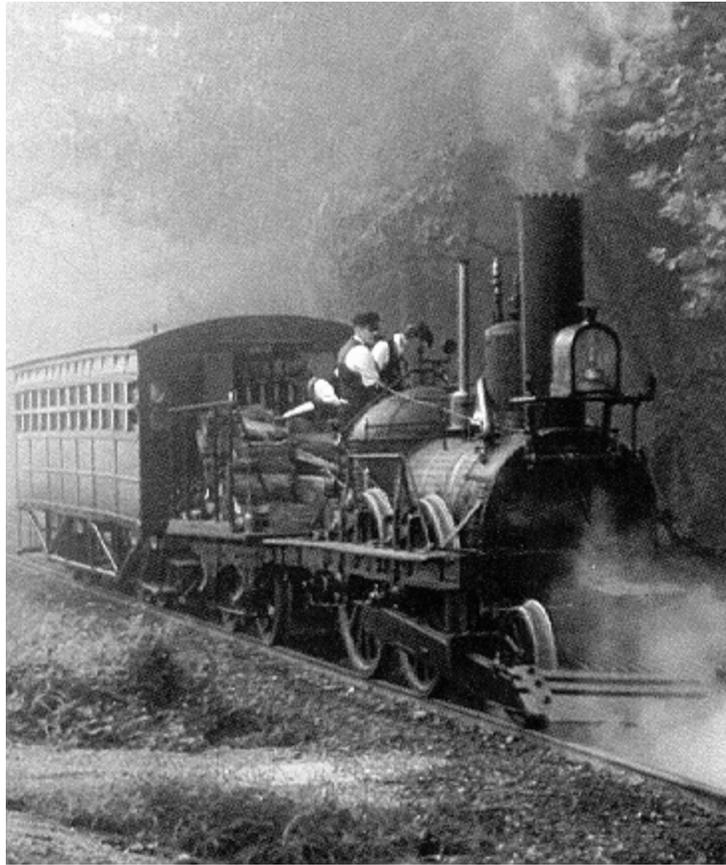
Images 6a, 6b: John Bull, the 1831 locomotive made for the Camden and Amboy Rlrd (USA; image: Smithsonian Institute, www.150.si.edu/images/4bull.jpg), and John Bull in a WW1 recruiting poster.

- By use of the topos *star*; in the 1820s the term *star* acquired the theatrical application which is well known today, and the many locomotives named after stars in the literal sense probably play on this new sense:

North Star (1830), and many others (1838 onwards); the allusion in *North Star*, the first, is to accurate direction-finding through magnetism; the theme is picked up in *Lode Star* and *Polar Star*, and seen also in stagecoach name *The Magnet*; then *Dog Star*, *Bright Star*, *Evening Star*, *Red Star*, *Rising Star*, *Royal Star*, *Shooting Star*, *Western Star* (1839–41)

Arguably the last of these five, the broad judgemental category of excellence, could be seen as including the content of the others. Some names in this category, as we shall see, literally claim the locomotive to be excellent, e.g., *Sans Pareil*, French for 'unmatched',[17] whereas most of them claim excellence for the locomotive by metonymy: by association with, for example, royalty or military achievements. Literal claims for excellence are essential, as I defined it earlier (*Majestic*, *Premier*), but the subcategory of metonymic naming is not really essential; rather, it is a "bridge" by which, later, commemorative naming comes to be the norm.

These five categories form a nexus of related ideas. Fire and steam could be said to be both **powerful**, and **new** as sources of locomotion. Some names could fit readily into more than one category. *Wildfire* is a byword for speed *(spread like wildfire)* and makes literal reference to fire; *Vulcan* is a mythical embodiment of a particular kind of power, and has fire as his attribute; *Dart* is an arrow-like rapid weapon and the name of a stagecoach so named because of its speed, as well as the name of a racehorse so named for the same reason; *Invicta* means literally 'unconquered' and therefore expresses the excellence embodied in military prowess, but it is also the proud local motto of the county of Kent in which the locomotive operated.

All of these categories are sets of positive attributes for locomotives when viewed (a) functionally, as enabling more rapid movement of goods and people between places, and (b) aesthetically, as doing so in an impressive or pride-generating way. It is significant, but not surprising, that no locomotive names at all allude to the competing technology of canals and their boats. This suggests that canal technology was viewed as an inappropriate standard of comparison despite the great commercial success and obvious material benefits (such as cheaper coal) brought by the canals constructed between 1760 and 1830. In one way, the lack of reference to canals is curious, since the railways killed off both the canals and the mail-coaches, and both of them relied on horse-power. But the prime function of canals was not to transport goods or passengers at speed but to transport goods at lower unit cost; and the distinctive vehicles of the canals, namely barges, were not sources of motive power – that is what their slow horses were. That is why the canals had no worthwhile analogies to offer the namers of locomotives. Early locomotive names are grounded literally in the features of the new technology; metaphorically in the best exemplars of the old standards of speed and power, including the old motive power, namely horses bred for speed; and (arguably) metonymically by relation to certain exemplars of excellence.

My claim is, then, that the dominant early strategy was to give essential names. New naming strategies can be shown to emerge from seeds in the old one, and these new strategies can be seen to result in the commemorative class-naming which later became dominant. We can call the process involved *refocusing*, defined as licensing of classes as name-sources through salience switching. For instance, FIRE is clearly a salient aspect essentially relevant for each individual steam locomotive. This may give rise to a fire-related name, such as *Vulcan* (1832), from the Roman smith-god. However *Vulcan* is also representative of another class, namely SUPERNATURAL POWER,[18] and refocusing or switching attention from one salient attribute of Vulcan to the more general one permits the exploitation of this second attribute in the use of the names of other (demi-)gods not primarily associated with fire, such as *Hecate* and *Fury*. The first of the divinity-names used was the obscure *Agenoria* (1829), who appears on a locomotive in an

allusive but essential kind of way by being the Roman goddess of industry. Other divinities followed, whether industrial, industrious, or neither. Charles Tayleur's foundry exploited the overlap between astronomy and classical mythology with their *Vulcan*, *Bacchus*, *Æolus*, *Apollo*, *Neptune*, and *Venus* (1838). The maker of *Thunderer* (1837) bestowed a familiar epithet of Jupiter/Jove, but the name had arguably more than a hint of essentiality about it because of the noise made by the locomotive. In a similar way, the feature SPEED allows the essential use of the name *Swallow* (1841) and POWER the use of *Eagle* (1838), but both are also simply BIRDs, and we find a salience shift licensing the use of the names of other birds which are not proverbially rapid or powerful, e.g., *Kingfisher* (1829), *Stork* (1841). A final example is the early use of *Star* in locomotive names. The first is *North Star* (1830 and 1838), which clearly alludes to accurate direction-finding and therefore indirectly to SPEED. The North Star is of course also just a STAR, and refocusing or a shift in salience to the more general attribute allows the use of other star-names which have nothing to do with speed (*Red Star*, *Evening Star*, etc.), and a further generalization to HEAVENLY BODY allows *Planet*, *Globe*, *Comet*, etc.

A less systematic but nakedly analogical example of this kind of naming by extension or association is the case of *Belted Will* (1839). This commemorates a character in Scott's *Lay of the last minstrel* (1805) who is a military hero of sorts; the use of his name licenses in an even-handed way the later use of *Mosstrooper*, the generic term for the wild border cattle thieves who were Belted Will's opponents, on the same railway.

Some of the salience switches just illustrated are "bridges" to the systematic naming which typifies commemoration or appropriation (as defined earlier).[19] As noted, the arrival of *North Star* (1830) on the Great Western Railway licensed the use of other star-names on locomotives built to the chief engineer I.K. Brunel's own specifications (1838–41), and whilst not all the locomotives in the class were named after stars, enough were for the strategy to be unmistakable: *Dog Star*, *Bright Star*, *Evening Star*, *Lode Star*, *Polar Star*, *Red Star*, *Rising Star*, *Royal Star*, *Shooting Star*, and *Western Star*. Here is the seed of the idea that sets of names for classes of objects, places or persons can be reapplied as names of locomotives, and this became the dominant naming strategy of later years. Some of these later sets may be viewed as having loose connections with earlier themes such as the excellence of heroism (knights of the Round Table, English admirals, warships)[20] or the excellence of family (kings, dukes),[21] but the things that are lost are the direct connections of literal appropriateness, topicality or local significance. Some sets have only the faintest connection, or none at all, with earlier themes (packs of foxhounds; flower taxonyms; First World War battles, few of which were glorious decisive victories; and English country houses, by no means all of which were in the territory served by the relevant railway company).[22] Only very occasionally were essential names applied in the 20th century; one instance is the names containing the word *silver* to LNER locomotives which were at first actually painted silver.[23] Paint colour is essential in a notably more superficial way than rapid and powerful steam propulsion![24]

What can these observations suggest about naming practices in general? I would like to propose the general principle that, whenever a new category of nameables is created, naming strategies for members of that category are likely to develop in the same way. The names of the first examples, the unique or experimental prototypes, will strongly tend to have names playing on essential characteristics of the objects themselves. Often this will involve transferring names from other categories of nameable seen to provide analogies, in the shape of metaphors and metonyms, of some kind. Eventually, successful prototypes[25] give way to mass-produced instances, as a result of which the classical essential features are no longer salient or remarkable. Then, individualization is necessary for successful reference, but there can be advantages in thematic naming (including for public relations); as a result, name-classes emerge which are licensed by salience switching. This opens the floodgates to class-naming with no essential

allusions, in keeping with the notion securely established in philosophy and linguistics since J.S. Mill's *System of logic* that, to function as a successful name, a name-form does not need to be interpretable. Names can come to be applied which are examples of types having little, or indeed nothing at all, to do with essential attributes of the relevant objects. We introduced this paper by remarking on the kinds of thing that locomotives could later be named after: country houses, football clubs, antelopes, and so on. Certainly the more obscure antelope-names applied to Thompson's B1 class locomotives of the LNER were unlikely to be anything more than arbitrary labels for most English-speakers (*Bongo*, *Oribi*, *Sassaby*, *Inyala*, *Puku*, *Hirola*, ….), and not all the antelopes whose names were appropriated are fleet of foot (*nilgai*, *eland* ….).

Let us briefly test this idea on other categories of nameable. The names of rock music bands seem to have undergone a partly similar evolution. The earliest ones had names which were grammatically plural or collective definite noun phrases suitable to a plurality of musicians, and they often had musically relevant lexical content* (The Crickets, The Jordanaires, The Drifters, The Shadows, The Rolling Stones, The Four Tops, The Doors, The Herd; The Band*, The Blue Notes*, The Merseybeats*, The Yardbirds*), but rapidly towards the end of the 1960s evolved in the direction of grammatically and lexically arbitrary labels (Amen Corner, Humble Pie, Canned Heat, The Lovin' Spoonful, The Who, Mott the Hoople, Procol Harum), and this has remained the norm into the 21st century. Notice how many were proper names appropriated from other things or persons (Amen Corner, Jethro Tull, The Ivy League, Union Gap, The Flower Pot Men, Steppenwolf).

I have not yet done the desirable relevant studies, but my life-experience suggests that something broadly similar is true of business names. When I was young, the majority of high-street retail businesses were small, and were named either from their founder or proprietor, or in a way which evoked directly the kind of trade they were engaged in (The Great Grimsby Coal, Salt and Tanning Co.; County Fishery; The Rubber Man; The Dumpsie[26]). More recent business names – especially the supermarkets which have displaced many of the smaller businesses – have had names which, from an English and synchronic perspective at least, are arbitrary: Waitrose, Wavy Line, Somerfield, Asda, Tesco, Londis, Spar, Aldi, Lidl.

Taking the long view, we can see that the same has happened with place-names in general. I surmise, possibly recklessly, that original toponomastics was always practical (essential) and that names were topographically descriptive of the locality they named.[27] As permanently inhabited places developed, their naming proceeded from metonymically-used topographical names of the earlier kind to names with habitative toponymic elements, the set of which did not necessarily coincide exactly with the current lexical words of the relevant language (e.g., *-burg* and *-ville* in English, *-grad* in Russian). Later still, names were given which were applications of names for individuals in other categories (e.g., personal names: *Lafayette*, *Washington* and many hundreds of others in the USA and the Empire), and the culmination of the process is when names could be given essentially arbitrarily, as we see in some instances in the USA: *Adam-Ondi-Ahman* MO named by Joseph Smith in 1838, or *Fact* and *Jingo* KS allegedly from exclamations at public meetings, or *Pencer* MN (< *Spencer*) and most notoriously *Nome* AK (< *name*) which have arisen through mistaken transmission.[28]

These examples suggest that there is a general, if not really surprising, law of naming which can be expressed as follows:

> **As examples of similar nameable entities multiply, the strategy of name-bestowal shifts from** *essential (descriptive)* **to** *commemorative (appropriated)***, and therefore bestowed names become increasingly arbitrary for that category of nameables.**

Appendix A:

Named steam locomotives built in Britain before 1846

This list does not pretend to completeness, but it is offered in the hope that it is representative. Manufacturers are listed where known; in some cases it is unclear who was the designer and who the manufacturer; the railway company for whom a locomotive was built is given as a default where known in cases of uncertainty. Note that quite a few early colliery engines were unnamed. ">>>" means 'renamed as'.

[*Puffing Devil* (Trevithick, 1801) – road engine]

[*London Steam Carriage* (Trevithick, 1803) – road engine]

unnamed engine (Trevithick, 1802??; Coalbrookdale)

unnamed Pen-y-Darren engine (Trevithick, 1804; Merthyr Tramroad)

unnamed (Trevithick, 1804??; Wylam Colliery)

Catch me who can (Trevithick, 1808; special track, Bloomsbury)

unnamed (J. Blenkinsop(p), 1811 – cogwheel-driven)

Prince Regent, *Salamanca* (Matthew Murray, 1812; Middleton Railway) – also 1813–14 *Lord Willington/Marquis Wellington* – some confusion in sources

Puffing Billy, *Wylam Dilly* and *Lady Mary* (William Hedley, 1813–14; Wylam colliery); see *dilly*, n.1 in *OED* (prob. < *diligence*, but note specific usage in Northumberland, see note 11); Lady Mary after Mary Anne, wife of 5th baronet Blackett of Matfen Hall, relative of Blackett of Wylam?

The Steam Horse = Mechanical Traveller (William Brunton, 1813; Butterley's Crich limeworks; utilized horse-leg action)

unidentified similar engine (1814–5; Newbottle colliery)

      after this point, no unnamed locomotives are listed

Blücher[29] (George Stephenson, 1814; Killingworth colliery) – Gen. Blücher visited England in 1814 after his victory over Napoleon at Leipzig in 1813

Steam Elephant (Buddle and Chapman, 1815; Wallsend colliery; some uncertainties; see Wikipedia entry & refs there)

Killingworth (Stephenson, 1816)

The Duke (Stephenson, 1817)

Dart, *Tallyho*, *Star* (Stephenson, 1822) [after local racehorses]

Active >>> *Locomotion no. 1* (Stephenson, 1825; Stockton & Darlington Rly); possibly named after *L'Actif*, a famous captured privateer of the Napoleonic Wars (1811)

Hope (1825), *Black Diamond*, *Diligence* (1826)

"Chittapratt" (Robert Smith, 1826) – unofficial name after the characteristic beat of its exhaust

Stockton (Robert Wilson, 1826)

Royal George (Hackworth, 1827)

Pride of Newcastle (Stephenson, 1828)

Lancashire Witch (Stephenson, 1828)

?*The Maniac* (no details; cf. Sekon 1899: ch. 2)

Experiment (Stephenson, 1828) + *Victory* + 2 locos for US, *America* and *Whistler*, the latter, named after Boston & Providence Rlrd engineer, lost at sea – for Boston & Providence Rlrd

Stourbridge Lion (Foster Rastrick, 1828; Delaware & Hudson Rlrd; lion's face painted on front) + 2 others, *Delaware* and *Hudson*

Agenoria (Foster, Rastrick, 1829; Shutt End Colliery)

Hecate, *Kingfisher* (1829)

Twin Sisters (1829; twin vertical boilers)

Eclipse (Stephenson, 1829; Pen-y-Darren); possibly became *Dudley* (Stephenson, ?1846; for Earl of Dudley)

Invicta (Stephenson, 1829; Canterbury and Whitstable Rly)

Britannia (Stephenson, 1829); Tredegar

Speedwell (Neath Abbey, ?1829)

Rocket (Stephenson, 1829; Rainhill Trials)

Novelty (Ericsson & Braithwaite; 1829; Rainhill Trials)

Cycloped (T.S. Brandreth, 1829; spectator at Rainhill Trials; not steam: horse operating a drive-belt)

Sans Pareil (Timothy Hackworth, 1829; Rainhill Trials)

Perseverance (Timothy Burstall, 1829; Rainhill Trials) – took many days to get ready

Wildfire >>> Meteor (Stephenson, ?1830)

Dreadnought (Bury, 1830 – not ready for Rainhill)

Arrow, *Comet* (Stephenson, ?1830; Liverpool and Manchester Rly (L&MR) Procession)

Dart (Stephenson, 1830; L&MR Procession)

North Star (Stephenson, 1830; L&MR Procession)

Phoenix (Stephenson, 1830; L&MR Procession)

Northumbrian (Stephenson, 1830; L&MR Procession)

Liverpool, *Liver* (Bury, 1830)

9 *Planet* (Stephenson, 1830; prototype)

Majestic (1830)

Manchester (Galloway Bowman, 1831) – possibly later rebuilt as *Caledonian Roderick* (????)

Globe (Hackworth, 1830)

Mödling (Hawthorn, 1831) – for Austria

Union (Rothwell, Hick & Rothwell, 1831) – Bolton & Leigh Rly – after foundry

19 *Vulcan*, 21 *Fury* (Murray & Wood, 1831)

John Bull (Stephenson, 1831; Camden & Amboy Rlrd)

Salamander, *Veteran*, *Phoenix* (Crook & Deans, *c*.1831)

Wilberforce [class] (Hackworth, 1831–2)

Warrington, *Vulcan*, *Newton* (Tayleur [Vulcan Foundry], 1831–2) Warrington & Newton Rly

Tayleur, *Stephenson* (Tayleur, 1831/3) – North Union Rly/??Bolton & Leigh Rly

St Rollox, *George Stephenson*, *Garnhill*, *Gartkirk*, *Jenny*, *Frew* (for Glasgow, Gartkirk and Coatbridge Rly, 1831–6)

Success >>> Perseverance (Neath Abbey, 1832)

Dowlais (Neath Abbey, ?1832)

Yn Barod Etto (Neath Abbey, 1832) [= 'Ever Ready']

Industry (? >>> *Perseverance*) (Harford, Davies, 1832)

28 *Caledonian* (Galloway, Bowman & Glasgow, 1832; L&MR – vertical cylinders)

27 *Pluto*, 29 *Ajax*, 31 *Firefly* (Stephenson, 1832)

30 *Leeds* (Murray & Wood, 1832)

Bee (Bury, 1832; for Bolton & Leigh Rly)

New York, *Philadelphia*, *Petersburg* (Mather Dixon, early 1830s) – for Petersburg Rlrd, USA

Glasgow (Johnson & McNab, 1832) – Garnkirk & Glasgow Rly

52 *Comet* (Kirtley & Co, 1832) – for Stockton & Darlington Rly

Comet (Stephenson, 1832) – Leicester & Swannington Rly

Fire Fly, *Red Rover* (Tayleur, 1833) – exported to America

13 *Samson*, 15 *Goliath* (Stephenson, 1833) – similarly named (?same) locos for Leicester & Swannington Rly

Patentee (Stephenson, 1833; prototype)

William IV, *Queen Adelaide* (Ericsson & Braithwaite)

32 *Experiment* (Richard Roberts, J. & C. Carmichael, 1833 – bell-crank), also similar *Earl of Airlie* (Dundee and Newtyle Rly), *Lord Wharncliffe* (1833)

Harvey Combe (Stephenson, ?1833)

Trotter (Carmichael, 1834)

Camel, *Elephant* (Neath Abbey, 1834) – Bodmin & Wadebridge Rly

Liverpool (Bury, 1834) – Leicester & Swannington Rly

Atlas (Stephenson, 1834) – Leicester & Swannington Rly

Mountaineer, *Dowlais* (Neath Abbey, 1834–6) [rack locomotives]

Swiftsure (Forrester, early 1830s)

Ajax, *Hector* (Haigh Foundry, ?1835) – Leicester & Swannington Rly

Alpha (Thomas Banks, 1835) – London & Southampton Rly

40 *Eclipse*, 42 *York*, 47 *Milo*, 49 *Phoenix* (Tayleur, 1835–??)

Tennessee (Rothwell, Hick & Rothwell, 1836) – Sth Carolina Rlrd

L'Éléphant (Tayleur, ?1836) – for Belgian rly

Jacob Perkins (Tayleur, ?1836) – Stanhope & Tyne Rly

Wildfire, *Shark* (Stephenson, 1837) – Grand Junction Rly

Tyne (Stephenson, ????)

Michael Longridge (R.B. Longridge, 1837) – Stanhope & Tyne Rly

44 *Vesuvius*, 45 *Lightning*, 46 *Cyclops* (Haigh Foundry)

48 *Dart* (Matthew Dixon)

53 *Sun*, 56 *Vesta* (Hawthorn)

Vulture (Murdoch Aitken, 1836) – London & Southampton Rly

Thunderer (Harrison &/or Hawthorn, 1837)

Jefferson (Summers, Grove & Day, 1837) – for USA

Samson (Hackworth, 1837) Albion Mines Rly, Nova Scotia

Alert >>> *Pioneer* (Baldwin, 1837) – Utica & Schenectady Rlrd

North Star (Stephenson, 1838)

Lightning, *Carlisle*, *Victoria* (Hawks & Thompson, 1837–8) – first two for Newcastle & Carlisle Rly

Premier, *Ariel*, *Ajax*, *Mars, Planet*, *Mercury* (Mather Dixon, late 1830s) – for GWR

Cornubia [+ Carn Brea ???] (Sandys, Carne & Vivian, 1838) – for Hayle Rly

Charles Jordan (Neath Abbey, 1838) – after the engineer of Neath Abbey

John Watt (Neath Abbey, 1838) – another engineer

57 *Lion*, 58 *Tiger* (Todd Kitson & Laird, 1838)

Princess, *Victoria*, *Britannia* (James Stirling 1838–9)

Prince George of Cambridge, *Duke of Sussex*, *Cory[?n]don*, *Chanter* (John Chanter, 1838–9)

Victoria >>> *Surprise* (Church, 1838)

Wallace, *Rapid*, *Dart*, *Queen*, *Griffen*, *Fury* (Kinmond, Hutton & Steel, 1838–41)

Morning Star, *Bright Star*, *Dog Star*, *Evening Star*, *Lode Star*, *Polar Star*, *Red Star*,

Rising Star, *Royal Star*, *Shooting Star*, *Western Star* (Stephenson for GWR, 1839)

Belted Will (1839; Brampton Railway) [16th century Lord William Howard, Lord Warden of the Marches; persecuted the Mosstroopers; see below]

Cleland (Rowan, ? late 1830s) [?after James Cleland who wrote an early history of the steam engine (1825)]

Snake, *Viper*, *Hector* (Haigh Foundry, 1839)

Soho (Peel, Williams & Peel, 1839) – after their foundry

Fly, *Southampton* (Summers, Grove & Day, 1839) – London & Southampton Rly

De Snelheid, *De Hoop*, *De Arend*, *De Leeuw* (Longridge, 1839–40) – Hollandsche IJzeren Spoorweg-Maatschappij

Victoria (St Rollox, 1840)

Atlas (George Lish, 1840)

Sheffield (Davy Bros, 1840)

Boanerges, *Borealis* (Rowan, before 1840) – Slamannan Rly

Firefly class (Naysmyth Gaskell for GWR, 1840–2) [list of names – largely but not only classical; NB fire theme *Fire Ball*, *Fire Brand*, *Fire Fly*, *Fire King* and *Spit Fire*]

Wasp, *Trevithick* (Caird, 1841)

69 *Swallow*, *Stork*, *Condor* (Dewrance, 1841)

Phoenix, *Prince Albert*, *Garnock*, *Kyle* (Thomas Edington, 1840–1)

Zephyr, *Sirocco* (George Lish, 1841–2)

Tityos, *Hercules*, *Goliath*, *Sampson* (Naysmyth Gaskell for GWR, 1842)

Hornet (Dewrance, 1842)

Mosstrooper (1842–3; Brampton Railway) [see *Belted Will* above]

Meteor (Rowan, 1843)

Derwent (Kitching for Stockton & Darlington Rly, 1845)

Hurricane (Harrison, 1845; GWR)

Great A (Stephenson, 1845; York, Newcastle & Berwick Rly)

Nemesis (Rayne and Burn, 1845) – Great Grimsby & Sheffield Junction Rly

Columbine, *Harlequin* (Crewe Works (Buddicom), 1845; Grand Junction Rly)

Oberon, *Prospero*, *Lucifer*, *Medusa*, *Medea*, *Basilisk*, *Vampire*, *Lynx*, *Eagle*, *Sunbeam*, *Talisman* (other GJR, some probably also Crewe Works, by 1845)

Appendix B:

Examples of stage- and mail-coach names (not always clear whether proper)

Stow's list of carriages and waggons operating regular services from London in 1721 can be viewed at http://www.londonancestor.com/stow/stow-coaches.htm; none of them has a proper name

The Flying Coach (London–Oxford, 1669)

The Irish Post (London–Holyhead, 1670s?)

The Edinburgh and Glasgow Caravan (Edinburgh–Glasgow, 1749)

The Exeter Fly (London–Exeter, 1773)

Quicksilver (London–Devonport, 1784, only <u>mail</u>-coach with its own proper name)

The Telegraph (London–Manchester, 1828)

Tallyho, Highflier (mentioned in Thomas de Quincey, *The English mail-coach*, 1849, Blackwood's)

Peveril of the Peak (Manchester–London) [Scott literary connection; novel of 1823]

The Times (Worthing–Portsmouth, 1828)

The Dart (Brighton–Worthing, 1828)

The Red Rover (Brighton–Bath–Bristol, 1831)

Nimrod (Brighton–Portsmouth, 1830s)

Taglioni (London–Windsor *c.*1837), after Italian ballerina Marie Taglioni

The Wonder, The Greyhound, The Salopian (Shrewsbury–Birmingham, 1844)

The Stag (Shrewsbury–Wolverhampton, 1844)

The Magnet (London–Norwich, 1871)

The Times (London–Cambridge, 1871)

Notes

1. My thanks to Katharina Leibring for this. The matter is also touched on briefly by Wahlberg (2006: 472). My gratitude also goes to Geoffrey Ford for comments that saved me from mistakes about dates of early engines.

2. The online sources are listed with the printed ones in the reference-list.

3. It follows, of course, that if more than one vehicle operated the service, the same name attached to them all.

4. The online ninth edition of the dictionary of the Académie Française
(http://atilf.atilf.fr/dendien/scripts/generic/cherche.exe?15;s=3342354360;
accessed 31 July 2008) defines *diligence* as '[z]èle, empressement, promptitude', with the extended sense found from the 17th century of '[g]rande voiture hippomobile qui transportait les voyageurs à des jours et à des heures fixes'.

5. The express passenger locomotives of the London and North Eastern Railway (LNER), from 1923, especially classes A3 and A2, were typically named after famous racehorses of the 19th and early 20th centuries (e.g., *Brown Jack*, *Hermit*, *Blink Bonny*, *Victor Wild*, *Hyperion*, *Airborne*). As we shall see, this continued an early tradition.

6. Readers will note the overlap of this set with the concepts most often found expressed in typical consumer advertising, as established long ago by Leech (1966: 52).

7. The word *locomotion* had rarely been used of anything but living beings before the railway age (see *Oxford English dictionary* (OED), *s.v.*).

8. These locomotives built in England for Dutch railways have names translating some already given to British locomotives by this date: 'Eagle' and 'Lion'.

9. It is perhaps surprising that there are no early examples of locomotives called *Leviathan* or *Behemoth* after the biblical beasts (e.g., Isaiah 27:1; Job 40:15). In fact, the lack of religiously motivated names is very striking. Only *Samson* and *Goliath* seem to fit the description, and they are used surely because of their bearers' secular characteristic of physical strength. This is why the otherwise isolated *Hope* (1826) might be better viewed as of commercial rather than religious or moral significance. The word by this date was not yet associated with the Temperance (anti-alcohol) movement. However, there must be some connection with Hopetown works, Darlington, where the locomotive was built. I have not been able to ascertain the origin of this place-name, but it may be suggested by *Hopetoun*, South Queensferry, West Lothian, the seat of the earls of that title, from their original surname *Hope*.

10. This category is not just a matter of naming, but something built into the perceptions and discourse of the period. Not surprisingly, early commentators were inclined to compare locomotives with animals, and the experience of travel with flying. For many years trains (as opposed to locomotives) could bear such names as *The Cheltenham Flyer* or *The Flying Scotsman*, and note *L'Oiseau bleu* from Paris to Antwerp in the early 20th century (after the title of Maurice Maeterlinck's play of 1908 involving this symbol of happiness). Early locomotives whose names are not otherwise easily classifiable were *Bee* and *Hornet*, after flying creatures.

11. The OED records the following definition of *dilly* (no doubt an abbreviation of *diligence*) from an English Dialect Society glossary for Northumberland: "The counter-balance mounted upon two pairs of tramwheels, by means of which the empty tubs in a pit are carried up an incline, is called a dilly." But this record is very late (Heslop 1892: *s.v.*), and it is not clear whether the word is simply an adaptation of the name of the famous 1813 engine.

12. But for this, cf. also the character Madge Wildfire in Sir Walter Scott's *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818). Many of Scott's charactonyms were later used for locomotives; see also note 16.

13. Science and Society Picture Library (2004), commentary to image 10307231,
http://www.scienceandsociety.co.uk/results.asp?image=10307231; accessed 4 August 2008.

14. See the entry in the OED.

15. Curiously, *sanspareil* was used lexically in 18th-century England for a (French) perfume (OED). A French ship of this name was famously captured by the British fleet in 1794 at the Third Battle of Ushant, and used as a hulk at Sheerness, Kent, from 1810–42. This, as well as the literal meaning of the French expression, may be a proximate source.

16. Lord William Howard, as immortalized in Sir Walter Scott's *Lay of the last minstrel* (1805), canto 5, stanza 16: "Hence, in rude phrase, the Borderers still / Call'd noble Howard, Belted Will."

17. Note however that this name might be proximately a commemoration of the name of the French third-rate ship of the line captured by Lord Howe during the Battle of the First of June in 1794. It was also the name of a London theatre founded in 1806.

18. There is also local reference in at least one instance of this name, as the locomotive in question was built at the Vulcan Foundry of Charles Tayleur's company at Newton-le-Willows, Lancashire.

19. For recent works on systematic naming in general, see Andersson (1994) and Wahlberg (2006), and other works referenced in the latter.

20. The classes alluded to in this parenthesis are respectively Southern Railway (SR) "King Arthur", SR "Lord Nelson" class, and some of the London Midland & Scottish Railway (LMS) "Jubilee" class.

21. Great Western Railway (GWR) "King" and "Duke" classes.

22. LNER class D49/2, GWR "Flower" (4101) class, LNER classes D11/1 and J36, GWR "Grange", "Manor", "Hall" and "Modified Hall" classes.

23. Certain members of LNER class A4. One of these was *Quicksilver*: compare Appendix B.

24. It is interesting that the brand new replica LNER A1-class steam locomotive completed just over two weeks before this paper was delivered is called *Tornado*, which seems to hark back to the metaphorical essentialist naming typical of the earliest period. Martyn Bane has stated
(http://www.martynbane.co.uk/modernsteam/ldp/60163/60163.htm; accessed 7 August 2008)
that the name commemorates the heroism of pilots of Tornado fighter-planes in the Gulf War of 1990–1. Nevertheless, it could be a paradigm example of the earliest type of name.

25. Notably, later prototype locomotives often carried essential names, like *Petrolea* and *Decapod*. I recall especially the diesel locomotives *Lion*, *Falcon* and *Deltic* (the latter name referring to a feature of its engine, the opposed-piston system), though the first two may of course commemorate classic early steam locomotives (see appendix A). The prototype "tilting train" was simply called the *Advanced Passenger Train*.

26. The Rubber Man sold protective clothing for deep-sea fishermen. The Dumpsie was a baker's shop, named with reference to the Worcestershire delicacy *high dumpsie dearie* jam or jelly.

27. This is in keeping with the idea now generally accepted in English place-name studies that topographical names for inhabited places preceded strictly habitative names (Cox 1976; Gelling and Cole 2000: xii–xiii).

28. Examples taken from Stewart (1970).

29. It is not clear whether the name as borne by the locomotive actually displayed an umlauted letter.

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