

Was Hugh de Whelock a Norman from France?

First appearing in England during the 12th century, Hugh de Whelock may have been a French Norman. This examination looks at the historical context of Hugh de Whelock's arrival in the village of Wheelock, England, and the etymology of his surname. If Hugh de Whelock, the most distant Wheelock ancestor known to date, had ancestors from Normandy, France, this raises the possibility that the Wheelock family tree extends back to Norway.

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2/12/2011

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Introduction

Is it possible that those of us with the English surname “Wheelock” have ancestral roots from Norway? Did our ancestors leave Norway, reside as Normans in France, and then arrive in England during the 11th and 12th centuries? How does this affect the assertion that “Wheelock” is derived from the word “cheval-og” or the Welsh word *chywl-og*?

These possibilities became evident to me in 2001 when I was a navy officer stationed in London, England. A Norwegian acquaintance looked at my business card and asked me to pronounce my last name. “Wheelock,” I responded. “Like a ‘wheel’ and a ‘lock’.”

My friend continued with his inquiry. “Where did your ancestors come from?”

The answer was easy. “From the village of Wheelock in County Cheshire, northwest of London,” I responded with confidence. “Why do you ask?”

“Because,” he explained, “your surname is very similar to that of a former Norwegian Prime Minister, Kåre Willoch, and the pronunciation is almost identical.” My friend then looked at my blue eyes and partly blond hair and continued, “Who knows... maybe your ancestors came from Norway.”

His observation stunned me, and I made a mental note to investigate further.

I discovered that Kåre Willoch was born in Oslo in 1928, and was the Norwegian Prime Minister from 1981 to 1986. Listening to the Norwegian pronunciation of the Prime Minister’s name (go to http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/K%C3%A5re_Willoch and open the audio file [kare_willoch.ogg](#)), I shook my head incredulously. The similarity in pronunciation between the American and Norwegian surnames resonated with me, and led to this re-examination of the facts and circumstances surrounding the most distant Wheelock ancestor in the context of English history.

Without a complete genealogical record to show the relationship between the Norwegian Willocks and the English Wheelocks (or families with other variations of the “Wheelock” surname, including “Wheelocke,” “Wheeloc,” “Whelock,” “Whilock,” “Whillock,” “Willock,” etc.), this research requires some assumptions consistent with the major historical events in medieval Europe. The first assumption is that Norwegian Willocks participated in the Viking settlement of Normandy, residing along the northwest coast of France from 800 to 1153 AD. In the year 1066 AD, William the Duke of Normandy started the Norman Conquest of England with his cross-channel invasion of the British Isles and a decisive victory over King Harold II at the Battle of Hastings. Subsequently, William the Duke of Normandy became known as William the Conqueror. In 1153 AD, Henry II asserted his right to the English throne, and also brought an invading army from France into England. Sometime during the reign of Henry II as King of England, the first known Whelock (Hugh de Whelock) appears in County Cheshire, England. This leads to the second assumption: that either Norman Willocks participated in the invasion of England with William the Conqueror in 1066, came over from France with Henry II in 1153, or migrated to England sometime in-between these two watershed events.

After developing the historical context of 11th and 12th century England, this essay will assert that Hugh de Whelock was a French Norman whose ancestors had the surname of “Willoch,” “Willock” or a close variation thereof. There are two parts to the timeline in this story, and this essay will focus on the near end with the Norman Conquest of England and the arrival of Hugh de Whelock in what is now the

modern village of Wheelock, England. Hopefully, this line of reasoning will convince others to research the far end of this story and connect Hugh de Whelock with his ancestors in Normandy, France, and through the Vikings back to Norway or some other part of Scandinavia.

William the Conqueror and the Norman Conquest of England

The arrival of Hugh de Whelock in Cheshire is a subplot within the greater historical narrative of the Norman invasion and Conquest of England. Other Nordic invasions were minor in comparison and had no significant effect. The Norman Conquest of England, however, fundamentally transformed Anglo-Saxon society, influencing English culture, laws, government and the English language. More importantly, the Conquest of England removed the native ruling class, and replaced it with a “foreign, French-speaking monarchy, aristocracy, and clerical hierarchy.”¹

Since 11th century England was an agrarian society, William the Conqueror could secure his power and authority effectively by transferring ownership of land from the native English aristocracy to French noblemen:

“Whereas in 1066 less than 30% of property owners had non English given names, by 1207 this had risen to more than 80%, with French names such as William, Robert and Richard most common. Furthermore, the original Anglo-Saxon culture of England became mingled with the Norman one; thus, the Anglo-Norman culture came into being.

“William is said to have eliminated the native aristocracy in as little as four years. Systematically, he despoiled those English aristocrats who either opposed the Normans or who died without issue. *Thus, most English estates and titles of nobility were handed to the Norman noblemen.* Many English aristocrats fled to Flanders and Scotland; others may have been sold into slavery overseas.... Although William initially allowed English lords to keep their lands if they offered submission, by 1070, the indigenous nobility had ceased to be an integral part of the English landscape, and by 1086, it maintained control of just 8% of its original land-holdings. More than 4,000 English lords had lost their lands and been replaced, with only two English lords of any significance surviving. *However, to the new Norman noblemen, William handed the English parcels of land piecemeal, dispersing these widely, ensuring nobody would try conspiring against him without jeopardizing their own estates within the still unstable post-invasion England.* Effectively, this strengthened William's political stand as a monarch” [emphasis added].²

During the winter of 1085 AD, William the Conqueror expressed his desire to conduct a survey of England with the stated purpose of establishing the tax base and tax liabilities. William had “deep speech with his counsellors and sent men all over England to each shire to find out what or how much each landholder had in land and livestock, and what it was worth.”³ Completed in 1086 AD, the survey was compiled into the Domesday Book with 913 pages of information describing in detail the towns, landholders and landowners making up much of England. With over 13,000 villages, towns and other entities identified, the Domesday Book has this record for the village of Hoiloch:

*Isdem Rannulfus tenet Hoiloch. Morcar comes tenuit. Ibi III. hidae geldabiles. Terra est IIII. carucatae. In dominio est una & IIII. Servi & II. Radmans cum I. carucatae. Silva ibi III leuvis longa & una lata Tempore Regis Edwardi & post Wasta fuit. Modo valet xx. Solidos.*⁴

Translated into English, this entry reads as follows:

“The same Randle holds Hoiloch. Earl Morcar held it. There are III hides rateable to the gelt [tax]. The land is nu carucates. One is demesne and [there are] nn serfs and n with I carucate. There is a wood III leagues long and I broad. In King Edward [the Confessor's] time and afterwards it was waste. It is now worth xx shillings.”⁵

This entry in the Domesday Book establishes four important facts, a) in the year 1086, a village called Hoiloch existed, b) Earl Morcar had held Hoiloch, c) the village was laid to waste, and d) Randle held Hoiloch at the time of the survey. “Randle” refers to Ranulf Mainwaring, a Norman from Le Mesnil Guerin, now known as Pont-Farcy, St. Sever, France.⁶ The Domesday Book implies that the devastation in Hoiloch occurred in conjunction with the end of the reign of King Edward the Confessor and the start of the Conquest of England. When the reign of King Edward the Confessor ended with his death in 1066, the lack of an heir to the English throne created the opportunity for William Duke of Normandy to invade England and become the king. When the local population resisted or failed to demonstrate the requisite level of loyalty and allegiance, William the Conqueror punished the disloyal subjects, and destroyed their villages and land.

The Domesday Book also mentions that Hoiloch had been held by Earl Morcar, an Anglo-Saxon who was “at the very centre of the resistance movement that failed to prevent or reverse the Norman Conquest of Anglo-Saxon England.”⁷ Earl Morcar had great influence, and held estates throughout England, including Cheshire and Northumbria. He was a charismatic leader, “nobly connected with kinsfolk whose power and influence were widespread, and well-loved by the people at large.”⁸ However, Earl Morcar’s leadership role in the resistance movement would cost him his land and his life:

“[William the Conqueror’s] original plans to govern northern England through the Saxon aristocracy now changed, as he believed Edwin and Morcar had forfeited their rights. From then on *William redistributed the lands of the Saxons amongst the Norman and French aristocracy*. The native English were not simply conquered, they were dispossessed. William was hated and despised by the English, but any attempt to display this feeling was countered by ruthless retaliation” [emphasis added].⁹

The failure of the resistance movement and Earl Morcar’s subsequent imprisonment caused him to forfeit all of his land, including the village of Hoiloch. It is believed that Morcar died in prison.

William the Conqueror was not satisfied with the mere seizure of estates and villages. He pursued a scorched-earth policy throughout England to undermine the influence of the resistance movement and its leaders, including Earl Morcar. “Proof of the devastation can be seen from the Domesday survey of 1086; most of the lands in Cheshire were recorded as ‘wasta’, or wasteland, as abandoned or useless lands. Prior to the conquest the lands had been fertile.”¹⁰ In order to compel obedience in Northumbria through the winter of 1069-1070, William’s troops burned and destroyed homes, crops and farm tools, and poured salt on the land to make it unusable for decades. The destruction was so devastating during this Harrying of the North that even the pope protested William’s tactics.¹¹

The Plantagenet Henry II

While seeking the political stability that eluded William the Conqueror, Henry II used both violent and non-violent means to achieve greater control and influence throughout England. After

deploying an army from France and wresting the English throne away from Stephen of England, he strengthened the power and authority of the crown at the expense of the barons. He tore down those castles that the barons constructed without proper authority, and imposed a scutage tax for nobles to pay in lieu of military service. Henry II introduced legal reforms (creating the basis of English Common law), strengthened royal control of the Catholic Church (leading to the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Beckett), and tried to incorporate Wales, Scotland and Ireland into the Angevin empire. More importantly, he created a clerical hierarchy to administer and control the shires, to enforce the laws and to collect taxes.

Continuing the practice that William the Conqueror started in the 11th century, Henry II transferred land to loyal Norman noblemen. During the reign of William the Conqueror, the village of Hoiloch passed from the Anglo-Saxon Earl Morcar to the Norman Randle Mainwaring. During Henry II's reign, Randle's descendants released the village of Hoiloch to Hugh de Whelock:

“This Randle was the ancestor of the Mainwarings of Warmincham, co. Chester, and, according to Williamson's *Villare Cestriense*, ‘Roger Mainwaring, about Henry the Second's time [1154 to 1189 AD] released to Hugh de Whelock all his claim to the vill of Whelock, which he [the said Hugh] held of Richard de Moston knight and [also released him] from suit of mill and court of Warmincham.’”¹²

This property transaction begs several questions. Why did Roger Mainwaring “release... his claim” to the village?¹³ No cash or other consideration was mentioned, as one would expect in a sale with a transfer of title. Does a release of property mean that Hugh de Whelock was a landholder, and not a landowner? If Hugh de Whelock was a landholder, does this indicate that he was a member of the clerical hierarchy, or assumed an obligation to be one? Did Henry II, a lord or a baron have a role in this transaction? Did Henry II follow the strategy of William the Conqueror and dilute power by dispersing land piecemeal? Did the Mainwaring family fall out of favor with Henry II and lose their property? Additional research on this transaction in the context of feudal land ownership is required to answer these questions and to determine Hugh de Whelock's background and status within the Norman hierarchy.

Changing the Name of the Village from Hoiloch to Whelock

Coinciding with the arrival of Hugh de Whelock between 1154 and 1189, the name of the village was changed from the native Hoiloch to the Norman name of Whelock. A change in the name was not unusual; after land was transferred, the new occupants were known to change the name of manors and the surrounding village to the family name. “The adoption of the surname was an emphatic way of asserting the family's manorial rights over the area.”^{14 15}

Local events may have persuaded Hugh de Whelock to impose his surname on the village. On or about the time of his arrival in Hoiloch, Hugh had an immediate problem. Adjacent to County Cheshire in Wales, the Welsh were rebelling against Norman rule, and Henry II had a personal interest in suppressing the resistance movement:

“The Welsh princes had always enjoyed a somewhat ambivalent relationship with their technical Norman overlords. During Stephen's reign, they had been able to regain some of the territory they had lost to the Norman barons in Wales, who had been carving out private empires since the days of King William I. Henry set out to stop the rot. He mounted three punitive campaigns into Wales between 1157 and 1163, which reasserted

royal authority over the princes of Gwynedd and Deheubarth, the major principalities in Wales.

“Then he overreached himself. In 1163, he attempted to firmly define his rights as feudal overlord of the Welsh princes by demanding oaths of vassalage from them at the Council of Woodstock. The Welsh rebelled and Henry responded in 1165 with a major campaign. After that, Wales was never a high enough priority for Henry to bother again. He left the Welsh to their own devices, and only paid any real attention when the Welsh themselves rebelled in 1183 (in response to the technical defaulting of Glamorgan into royal hands on the death of its lord). The Welsh meanwhile continued to encroach onto the lands of the Norman barons, even overrunning the royal castles of Cardigan and Rhuddlan.”¹⁶

This conflict was close in proximity to Hugh de Whelock; Rhuddlan Castle, for example, is only 46 miles from the village where Hugh de Whelock would live.

The decisive Battle of Crogen of 1164 AD was only 50 miles away from the village of Whelock. After a defeat to the Welsh, Henry II in frustration “ordered Welsh hostages to be brought to him at Shrewsbury, and there oversaw the mutilation of twenty-two prisoners, two of whom were Owain's sons. Forced to abandon the conquest of Wales, Henry returned to his court at Anjou, while retaliation for the twenty-two tortured hostages was carried out on Normans throughout the Welsh lands.”¹⁷

These were the circumstances that confronted Hugh de Whelock when he arrived in Hoiloch. As a rising member of the new Norman hierarchy during the Plantagenet dynasty, Hugh de Whelock would be prudent to assert his authority and control by changing the name of the village to reflect the surname of its new caretaker, Whelock.¹⁸ Hugh may have been persuaded by the legacy of the charismatic Earl Morcar, which could provide the inspiration for disgruntled locals to organize their own resistance movement. After the Norman invaders devastated their fertile land and undermined their livelihood, the local Hoiloch populace resented the king and especially those noble men who were rewarded for their loyalty to the crown with the most precious of all assets, land. This insult was not lost upon the locals. Clearly benefiting from his relationship with the Norman and Plantagenet nobility, Hugh de Whelock lived close to a local population with divided loyalties, and was a natural target for their hostility. Given his proximity to the resistance movement in neighboring Wales, Hugh de Whelock could not ignore that conflict, especially if Henry II was involved. Nor could he discount the tensions among the multiple cultures in the area and the impact of the Welsh conflict on local sympathies. Whether he changed the name of the village by his own accord or was following directions from the king, a lord or a baron, Hugh de Whelock did so to assert control, to demonstrate strength and loyalty to the Plantagenet king, and to deter local resistance, both Welsh and Anglo-Saxon.

Why Hugh de Whelock was a Norman

While little is known about Hugh de Whelock, we can deduce that he was a Norman and not an Anglo-Saxon. First, the fact that Hugh de Whelock became a landholder or landowner during the reign of Henry II is of great significance. The granting of land to loyal subjects solidified Henry II's control over England, and instilled a sense of allegiance. While there is no evidence that Hugh de Whelock was a member of the aristocracy, a baron or a sheriff, he possibly was a member of the clerical hierarchy that Henry II developed to administer the shires (e.g., collecting taxes from the local population or administering the legal system). Hugh de Whelock's status may have been important enough that a lord or baron loyal to the crown recommended, endorsed and approved the release of land from the Mainwarings

to the Wheelocks. After all, the Mainwarings had been in Hoiloch for 80 years, and at the time of the release of the village a male heir (Roger Mainwaring) was living and could provide continuity in managing the village. Strategic reasons may have prompted this transaction; the village may have had some military value that Hugh de Whelock was entrusted to maintain. The most direct route between Rhuddlan Castle and London runs through the area close to Hoiloch, and the village is adjacent to waterways with access to northern Wales. Regardless of the reasons to change the stewardship over the village Whelock, all indications from this transaction suggest that the Norman and Plantagenet hierarchy perceived Hugh de Whelock to be a trusted Norman with loyalties to the crown.

Second, the given name “Hugh” is derived from the Old French names “Hugues” or “Hugo,” both of which are of Germanic/Frankish origin.¹⁹ “Hugh” was very popular with French nobility and clergymen, especially after the Norman Conquest.²⁰ Over a three hundred year period, there were no less than 44 French or Frankish noblemen with the given name of “Hugh”; on the other hand, prior to the Norman invasion, there were no English noblemen named “Hugh.”²¹ In addition, the prefix “de” is distinctly French, translates to the word “of,” and is found in patronymic and geographical French surnames prior to the Conquest of England.²² The prefix “de” may indicate that Hugh de Whelock was the “son of Whelock” (patronymic) or had a manor named Whelock in France (geographical). Based upon the etymology for his given name, Hugh and his descendants would have been included in the 80% of property owners who by 1207 AD had French names.²³

Third, Hugh de Whelock and his descendants acted as if they were Normans. Since the Anglo-Saxons adopted the use of surnames from the Normans, assume for a moment that “Hugh” was an Anglo-Saxon without a surname. This “Hugh” could have derived his surname from the name of the nearby village or from a prominent feature of the local geography. If Hugh followed this convention when he arrived in County Cheshire, he would have assumed the name of the village and become “Hugh Hoiloch.” However, Hugh did not do this. Assume that the village Hoiloch changed its name to Whelock, then Hugh arrived and assumed the name of the village to become “Hugh Whelock.” Again, Hugh did not do this. Instead, he retains the entire surname of “de Whelock,” and appears in the record as “Hugh de Whelock.” An Anglo-Saxon would not have used the French prefix “de” in his name, nor would an Anglo-Saxon have passed this surname with the French prefix “de” along to his descendants. By maintaining the French prefix “de” in their surname, Hugh de Whelock and his immediate descendants seem to be preserving their Norman heritage.

Previous genealogical research provides the strongest evidence that Hugh de Whelock or his ancestors originated from Normandy, France. Published in 1874, *The Norman People and Their Existing Descendants in the British Dominions and the United States of America* suggests a connection among the three surnames “Willock,” “Wheelock” and “Whellock,” and a Roger Walloche (1180-1195 AD) from Normandy.²⁴ The citation “M.R.S.” next to this entry refers to a French source document, the “Magn. Rotul. Scaccarii Normanniae” found in the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy. See Research Documents #1 through #5 (pp. 11-15). In addition, *The Quest for the Lost Race* also lists “Willock” as a surname with Norman, Anglo-Norman or Non-Saxon origins.²⁵ See Research Documents #6 through #8 (p 16-18).

If Hugh de Whelock or his ancestors arrived in England with the Norman surname “Willoch” or “Willock,” the Anglo-Saxons anglicized the family name into “Whelock”:

“ ‘Anglicisation’ or ‘anglicization’ refers to the process of altering the pronunciation or spelling of a foreign word when it is borrowed into English. Personal names have been

anglicised, a common practice for names of antiquity or of foreign heads of state, and *it was also common among immigrants to English-speaking countries* (e.g., Battenberg became Mountbatten)” (emphasis added).²⁶

The largely illiterate Anglo-Saxon population identified with tangible objects, and could understand “Willoch” or “Willock” better if the name was broken down into the two nouns “wheel” and “lock.” In that context, it is understandable that the Norman surnames “Willoch” or “Willock” were anglicized into “Whelock” and later into “Wheelock.” The pronunciation of Prime Minister Kåre Willoch’s surname and its similarity to “Wheelock” makes this a very credible possibility.

Over time the de Whelock family dropped the French prefix “*de*.” If, prior to anglicization, their ancestors had the French prefix “*de*” in front of the Norman surname “Willoch,” this would indicate that a French male with the surname “de Willoch” either was the “son of Willoch” (patronymic) or had a manor or village named Willoch in France (geographical). The same meanings would be derived from “de Willock.” To answer these questions, additional research is required to determine a) if Hugh de Whelock is related to any Norman Willochs or Willocks in France, and b) if the surnames “Willoch” or “Willock” have French patronymic or geographic origins.

Wheelock was not derived from “cheval-og” or *chywl-og*

Collectively, these arguments cast doubt on the generally accepted notion that the village of Wheelock derives its name from the local native language. Cyril Massey, a member of the Sandbach (U.K.) History Society and author of the 1958 monograph “History of Sandbach and District,” wrote this oft-quoted statement about the village Wheelock:

“The name of the village comes from the old word ‘cheval-og’, which means winding – which the river does in its course.”²⁷

Regrettably, Mr. Massey did not identify the language for “cheval-og” nor did he cite the source of this information. See Research Documents # 9 and 10 (pp. 19-20). In fact, his entire 96-page monograph lacks the references one would normally expect in such a publication, and Mr. Massey only remarks briefly about the sources that he did use. He even admits, “I have been advised to write down the history as I know it, and now I have done so.”²⁸ Thus, much of the information in his monograph is difficult to verify in the current century.

The absence of verifiable sources complicates the research into the origins and meaning of “cheval-og.” Some researchers have asserted that “cheval-og” is a Welsh word. However, “cheval-og” does not fit the pattern of the Welsh language, which is so dependent upon combinations of vowels and consonants that are uncommon to Old English, such as –ff, -ll, –wy and -hwy. When a Welsh-English dictionary was consulted, neither “cheval-og” nor “cheval” could be found. After expanding the search through dictionaries for eight languages (English, Anglo-Saxon, Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, Welsh, Norwegian, Dutch/German and French), only the following translations were found:

“Cheval” in French means “horse”
“og” in Norwegian means “and”
“òg” in Irish Gaelic and Scottish Gaelic means “young”

This casts doubt on the origins and authenticity of the word “cheval-og.”

Since he did not identify the language and did not know the actual word for “winding,” Mr. Massey instead wrote the phonetic spelling as “cheval-og.” By modern conventions, a word from a foreign language would be italicized in an English document. Since “cheval-og” cannot be found in a dictionary and the author did not use italics to indicate the use of a foreign language, the only reasonable conclusion is that a) “cheval-og” is not a word, and b) the author used quotation marks to indicate a phonetic spelling.

I contend that, in 1970, J. McN. Dodgson correctly identified the Old Welsh word *chwyl-og* to be what the Welsh used for the proper noun of “Whelock” and “Wheelock.”²⁹ *Chwyl-og* translates to “winding river” and is based on the Old Welsh word *chwyl*, part of which means “a turn, a rotation, a course,” with an adjective suffix of *og*.³⁰ Unlike “cheval-og,” *chwyl* can be found in the Welsh-English dictionary. In addition, the pronunciation of *chwyl-og* is similar to “Wheelock.” The Welsh pronounce **ch** as in the Scottish *loch* or German *bach*, **wy** is usually “oo-ee” and **l-og** would sound like “log” in English. *Chwyl-og* would be pronounced as “ka oo-ee log.” If said fast enough, it starts to sound like “ka-wheel-log.”

Towns close to the English-Welsh border frequently have both English and Welsh names, and the dominance of one name over the other reflects the cultural tensions between the two entities. “In some cases, such as Ross-on-Wye (*Rhosan-ar-Wy*) and probably Leominster (*Llanllieni*), the English name seems to have derived from the Welsh name. In other cases, such as *Llwydlo* (Ludlow) and *Henffordd* (Hereford), the Welsh name derived from the English name of the settlement.”³¹ The village of Wheelock was no exception, and the Welsh used their word *chwyl-og* to pronounce, as best as they could, the Norman name of this English village. In addition, the use of the Welsh **ch** with its hard consonant pronunciation in *chwyl-og* could explain why the village changed its spelling from “Whelock” to “Quelok” and “Qwelok” during the 1300s.

While I credit J. McN. Dodgson for identifying the correct Welsh word, I disagree with any notion that the phonetically-spelled word “cheval-og” or the Old Welsh word *chwyl-og* was anglicized into “Whelock” and became the name for the family, the village and the river Wheelock. There are two opposing questions in this debate: Did “Wheelock” derive from the Welsh adjective *chwyl-og*? Or did the Norman surname “Willoch” or “Willock” become anglicized into “Whelock” and then “Wheelock”? To answer this question, one must consider the origins of all surnames similar to Wheelock (including “Wheelocke,” “Wheeloc,” “Whelock,” “Whilock,” “Whillock,” “Willock,” etc.). Since these surnames appear throughout England, are all of these surnames connected? And how?

The most credible argument is that over the centuries an unknown number of Norman Willocks or Willocks (or people with similar surnames) arrived at different places in England over a long period of time. Through the anglicization process, the surnames “Willoch” and “Willock” became “Wheelocke,” “Wheeloc,” “Whelock,” “Whilock,” “Whillock,” etc. Given the fact that these families migrated to diverse places over a long period of time, one would expect the genealogical record to show that some of these families with similar surnames came from a similar geographical area, such as France. This scenario is supported by the data provided in *The Norman People and Their Existing Descendants in the British Dominions and the United States of America*, suggesting that the three surnames “Willock,” “Wheelock” and “Whelock” originated from Normandy, France, and are related to each other.

The least likely scenario is that the Welsh word *chwyl-og* led to “Whelock” and “Wheelock.” This scenario implies that, as the first Whelocks and Wheelocks migrated out of County Cheshire across all of England, their names were anglicized into “Wheelocke,” “Wheeloc,” “Whelock,” “Whilock,”

“Whillock,” etc. If this migration had actually happened, one would expect the genealogical record to show how the first Wheelock, Hugh de Wheelock, was the ancestor for all of these families. However, the genealogical record does not show that that Hugh de Wheelock is the ancestor for all families with similar surnames. Therefore, insufficient evidence exists to support any claim that the surname “Wheelock” is derived from the Welsh language and from the words “cheval-og” or *chwyl-og*.³²

Summary

Any explanation for the origins of the Wheelock family and its surname cannot ignore one of the most significant events in English history, the Norman Conquest of England and the rippling political, social and economic changes to Anglo-Saxon society. Historians have documented the resulting land transfer to Norman noblemen (e.g., Hugh de Wheelock) loyal to English kings from William the Conqueror to Henry II. It is true that many families derived their surname from the name of the village near their manor, and numerous examples exist to demonstrate the influence of local geography on family names. It is also true that many English towns near the Wales-England border derived their name from either the Welsh or English languages. However, Hugh de Wheelock did not follow these conventions. Instead, he arrived in Hoiloch under a set of circumstances that compelled him to re-name the village in his family surname, an action that would demonstrate the loyalty and allegiance that Henry II was seeking. Even if only symbolic, a change in name was essential to establish control in an area with a known history for dissention. If they allowed the name of the family, the village and the nearby river to be derived from the Welsh *chwyl-og*, Hugh de Wheelock and his family would be disloyal to Henry II at a time when the king was fighting a Welsh rebellion so close to their village. In addition, the de Wheelocks would be validating the Welsh culture and influence at a time when the Normans were trying to impose their culture, laws and mores forcefully, if not violently, upon the Welsh. As landholders in the area, the de Wheelocks would have risked the wrath of the king, loss of their property and their status within the Norman and Plantagenet hierarchy. Consequently, in the absence of credible source documents to the contrary, any notion that derives the name of the family Wheelock, the village Wheelock, and the river Wheelock from the Welsh language or any other native language has to be dismissed as inconsistent with the historical events of that time.

In order to establish a credible link from the Norwegian Willocks to French Norman Willocks or Willocks, and to the English Wheelocks, this research has described a sequence of events within the context of the Norman Conquest of England and up to the start of the Plantagenet dynasty. Assuming that Norwegian Willocks settled in Normandy, France, and assimilated into Norman culture and society, these Norman Willocks or Willocks emigrated from France and arrived in England, either as part of the Norman invasion with William the Conqueror in 1066 or as part of Henry II’s efforts to capture the throne in 1153. Starting on or about their arrival in England, the family surname was anglicized from “Willock” or “Willoch” to “Wheelock.” The village of Hoiloch was released from the family of one Norman (Roger Mainwaring, descendant of Randle Mainwaring) to another Norman, Hugh de Wheelock. This transaction occurred at a time when Henry II was dispersing land to loyal Norman noblemen in order to achieve political stability. Since the population around Hoiloch and northern Wales had a history of rebelling against Norman kings, including Henry II, Hugh changed the name of the village to Wheelock to assert control over the area and to win favor with the king and his court. The name “Hugh de Wheelock” has a distinct French etymology, and the use of the French prefix “*de*” by Hugh de Wheelock and his immediate descendants does not follow Anglo-Saxon conventions for surnames. Over the next few centuries, the French prefix “*de*” was eventually dropped. The anglicization process continued and transformed the surname “Wheelock” into “Wheelock.” While further research is needed to determine whether these names are either patronymic or geographical in origin, the answer to this question may lie in the archives of

France. The context of the Norman Conquest of England supports the possibility of ancestral relationships among Norwegian Willocks, Norman Willocks or Willocks, and English Wheelocks, and those areas identified for future research will assist to determine if such a relationship exists.

It is possible that future research will fail to connect Hugh de Whelock with any ancestors from Normandy, France, with any Viking expeditions from Norway, or even with an ancient Willoch or Willock family from Norway; the genealogical record simply may not support such an endeavor. On the other hand, research may determine that the reverse actually happened: that the modern Norwegian Willocks (e.g., Prime Minister Kåre Willoch) descended from a Willoch, a Wheelock, a Whelock or a person with some other variation of the name who immigrated to Norway from England, or from some other country. That possibility cannot be ruled out at this time either. Regardless if no relationship is discovered between the Norwegian Willocks and the English Wheelocks, the comment from my Norwegian friend has caused a review of the facts and circumstances surrounding the oldest known Wheelock ancestor, Hugh de Whelock. This historical analysis has produced conclusions that clearly lead to France, ancestral roots with the Norman “Willoch” or “Willock” families, and possibly with the Norwegians.

I thank my Norwegian friend Arne for suggesting a genealogical connection between the Norwegian Willocks and the English Wheelocks.

Kevin Wheelock

Research Documents

Research Document #1

THE NORMAN PEOPLE

AND THEIR EXISTING DESCENDANTS IN
THE BRITISH DOMINIONS AND THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

'The very concurrence and coincidence of so many evidences
that contribute to the proof, carries a great weight'

SIR MATTHEW HALE'



SECOND EDITION

HENRY S. KING & Co.
65 CORNHILL & 12 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
1874

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Kevin R. Wheelock
Prince William County, Virginia
February 12, 2011

Research Document #2

ALPHABETICAL SERIES

OF

NORMAN NAMES AND FAMILIES FROM THE
LONDON POST-OFFICE DIRECTORY.

Research Document #3

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS FREQUENTLY EMPLOYED IN THE ALPHABETICAL SERIES.

- Des Bois . . Aubert Des Bois, Dict. de la Noblesse.
Eyton . . . Eyton's History of Salop.
Fuller . . . Fuller, Worthies of England.
Lib. Nig. . . Liber Niger, Ed. Hearne.
Mon. . . . Monasticon Anglicanum (First Ed.)
M. R. S. . . Magn. Rotul. Scaccarii Normanniæ in the Mémoires de la
Société des Antiquaires de la Normandie, t. 15-17.
M. S. A. N. Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires de la Normandie.
P. P. W. . . Palgrave, Parliamentary Writs (Record Publication).
R. H. . . . Rotuli Hundredorum (Record Publication).
R. C. R. . . Palgrave, Rotuli Curie Regis (Record Publication).
Rot. Canc. . Rotulus Cancellarii (Record Publication).
Testa . . . Testa de Neville (Record Publication).

Research Document #4

WES

was summoned by writ as a Baron 1342. From him descend the Earls Delaware and Barons Buckhurst.

Westacott, or Westcote. *See* LYTTTELTON.

Westale, for WESTALL.

Westall, for WASTELL.

Westcoatt, for Westcote. *See* LYTTTELTON.

Westcott. *See* WESTCOAT.

Westell, for WASTELL.

Westfall. *See* WESTPHAL.

Westle, for WESTELL.

Westley. Walter Wasteleie, Normandy 1180-95 (MRS); Roger Wastelai, 1198 (Ib.); William de Westle, Engl. c. 1272 (RH).

Westphal. *See* WAPLE or Was-pail.

Wever. *See* WEAVER.

Whait, for WAITE.

Whaite, for WAITE.

Whale, for WALE.

Whales, for WHALE.

Whall, for WALL.

Whealler, for WHEELER.

Wheals, for WEALE.

Wheat, for WAITE.

Wheate, for WAITE.

Wheeler. Osmondus Huielor, Normandy 1198; William and Roger Huielor, 1180-95 (MRS); Hugh le Welere, Engl. c. 1272 (RH).

Wheeller. *See* WHEELER.

Wheelright. Alexander Fitz-Huielrat, Normandy 1180-95 (MRS); William Walraed, Engl. c. 1272 (RH).

Wheeley, for WILLY.

Wheelock. *See* WILLOCK.

Wheen, for WANE.

Wheller, for WHEELER.

Whellock, for WILLOCK.

Whenn, for WAYNE.

Whewell, for Hewel, Huel, or Hoel. *See* HOILE. Hence the emi-

WHI

nent philosopher, Whewell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Whickar, for WHICKER.

Whicker, for VICAR.

Whillier, for Huilör, or WHEELER.

Whiskard, or Wiscard, for GUISCARD. Garinus Guischart, Normandy 1198 (MRS); Nicholas Wiscard, Engl. c. 1272 (RH).

Whisker, for Guiscard or WHISCARD.

Whisler. *See* WHISTLER.

Whistier, or Whisler, for OSLER or Oiselur.

Whitbread. The English form of Blancpain, a foreign name, which, however, does not appear in the Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy, and may have come from another province. Hugo Blancpain and William de Reini agreed regarding lands in Bucks 1202 (Rot. Canc.). In 1268 Ralph Fitz-Walter Whitbread paid a fine in Bedfordshire (Roberts, Excerpta, ii.).

Whitby. Ernaldus Kitebue, Normandy 1180-95 (MRS); William Withbid, Engl. c. 1272 (RH).

Whitcher. *See* WHICHER.

White. Matthew and Hubert le Blanc, Normandy 1180-95; Richard and Robert L., 1198 (MRS); Godefrid Albus, Engl. 1189 (Rot. Pip.); Dionysia, Gilbert, &c., le Wite; Henry Blanche, Engl. c. 1272 (RH). The name doubtless includes families not of Norman origin.

Whitefoot. Richard Blancpie, Engl. 1202 (Rot. Canc.). Evidently a foreign name, translated into Whitefoot.

Whitehand. Robert Blanchemains, Normandy 1180-95 (MRS) and 1198; Stephen Blanmong, Engl. c. 1272 (RH).

Research Document #5

WIL

brene and Ranulph, Normandy 1180 (MRS); Thomas de Wellbrun, Engl. 1194 (RCR).

Wilbraham, descends from Odo, Chamberlain to Alan, Earl of Richmond, whose son Robert gave lands at Wilbraham to Denny Abbey, Cambridge, witnessed by Walter Pilet (Mon. ii. 883). Picot and Peter Pilet had grants at Wilbraham 1157 (Rot. Pip.). It seems probable that this was the Norman name of the lords of Wilbraham, usually styled Camerarius or De Wilburgham. Conan, son of Peter Pilet, of Rouen, 1090 supported the cause of Duke Robert (Ord. Vit. 689), and Raimond Pilate was a chief leader in the Crusade 1096 (Roger Wend., ii. 120, 136).

Wild, or Le Sauvage. Unfrid Salvage and Walter S., Normandy 1180-95 (MRS); Ralph, Ranulph Sauvage 1198 (Ib.); Geoffrey Salvage, Engl. 1189 (Rot. Pip.); Walter, William le Wilde, Engl. c. 1272 (RH): hence the Lords Truro and Penzance.

Wildbore, for WELBORE.

Wilde. See WILD.

Wilding, for WALDING, WALDEN.

Wiles, for Wailes, or WALE.

Wiley, for WILLY.

Will, for Waile, or WALE.

Willan. Hamelin Willan, Normandy 1180 (MRS); Bernard, Hamelin de Willon 1198 (Ib.); Richard Willam, Engl. c. 1272.

Willans, for WILLAN.

Willard. Robert le Guillart, Normandy 1198 (MRS); Ranulph and Ralph Wislart, 1180-95 (Ib.).

Willats, for WILLETT.

Willborn. See WILBOURN.

Willement. See WILMIN.

Willemite, for WILMOT.

WIL

Willer. See WILLARD.

Willes, or Welles. Gislebert, Hugh, Robert de Wellis, Normandy 1198 (MRS); Effric de Welles, and the fief of Wellis, Normandy 1180 (Ib.); John de Welles, Richard Wellis, Eng. c. 1272 (RH).

Willott. See GILLETT.

Williey, for WILLY.

Willies. See WILLES.

Willimott. See WILMOT.

Willin. See WELLING.

Willing. See WILLIN.

Willings, for WILLAN.

Willings. See WILLING.

Willion, for WILLAN.

Willis, for WILLES.

Willits, for WILLETT.

Willman, for WILMIN.

Willmott, for WILMOT.

Willmote. See WILMOT.

Willmott, for WILMOT.

Willock. Eliche, Roger Walloche, Normandy 1180-95 (MRS).

Willomatt, for WILMOT.

Willott, for WILLETT.

Willoughby, or De Muscamp, from Muscamp, Normandy, which was held by a branch of DE TELLY (MSAN, xv. 175). This family settled at the Conquest in the north of England. In 1180 Reginald was of Northumberland (Rot. Pip.). Hugh de M., t. Henry I., gave lands to Nostel Priory, York (Mon. ii. 35) and 1165 Thomas was of Notts, and Hugh of Lincoln and York (Lib. Niger). Roger held Wilgebi, Lincoln, 1086. Robert de Muscam, his son, Seneschal to Gilbert de Gand, had issue Robert (Mon. i. 963), whose son Hugh de M. has been mentioned. His nephew, Ralph de Wilebi, occurs 1199 and 1208 (RCR, Hardy, Obl. et fin. 408). His great grandson, Sir William de

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February 12, 2011

Research Document #6

FILSON CLUB PUBLICATION No. 22

**THE QUEST FOR A
LOST RACE**

Supporting the Theory of
PAUL B. DU CHAILLU
An Eminent Ethnologist and Explorer, that the English-speaking People of To-day
are Descended from the Scandinavians rather than the Teutons—
from the Normans rather than the Germans

BY
THOMAS E. PICKETT, M.D., LL.D.
MEMBER OF THE FILSON CLUB

READ BEFORE THE CLUB OCTOBER 1, 1906

Illustrated

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
JOHN P. MORTON & COMPANY
PRINTERS TO THE FILSON CLUB
1907

Research Document #7

ALPHABETICAL SERIES
OF
NORSE, NORMAN, AND ANGLO-NORMAN,
OR NON-SAXON, SURNAMES.

Derived from
English Official Records
and from other Authentic
Sources.

[The learned Canon of Carlisle assures us that not only has Normandy supplied us with many of our family names, but it enjoys the distinction of having been the first to establish an hereditary surname. Few stop to consider that a surname thus conceived is not merely an heraldic vanity or device to give social dignity and distinction to those who bear it, but is in reality a scientific advance in the working nomenclature of a race. If to "name" is but to classify, the addition or introduction of the surname simply adds completeness and precision to the racial classification. Here, then, we have in the following list a large body of surnames coming almost directly from the land in which surnames are said to have originated. If a name, therefore, be merely that by which a thing is

Research Document #8

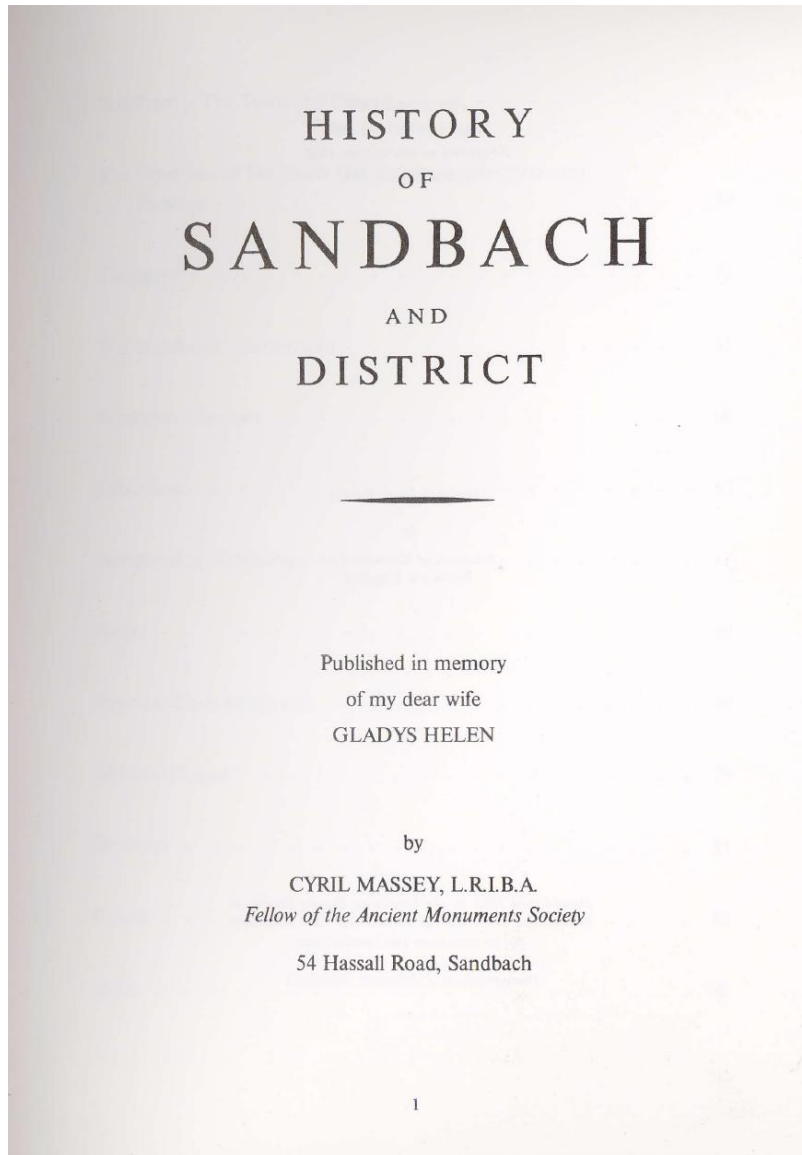
Appendix

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- Ward.* From Gar or Garde, near Corbell, Isle of France; John de Warde, Norfolk, 1194. John Ward, Kirby Beadon, Fourteenth Century. Captain James Ward, a contemporary of Boone, was High Sheriff of Mason County for thirty years, and was practically "warden" of the marches from Bracken to the Virginian line. He was a man of high character and of unquestioned courage and capacity. His granddaughter, Mrs. Mary Ward Holton, is now a resident of Indianapolis. The late Judge Quincy Ward, of Harrison, and Quincy Ward, the famous sculptor, were scions of the same distinguished stock.
- Washington.* The President of the last Constitutional Convention in Kentucky was George Washington (a native of the State), who was connected by blood with George Washington of Mt. Vernon, General of the Continental armies, President of the United States, and sole proprietor of the famous Mt. Vernon Mills, which produced a brand of flour known as far south as the West Indies, and popular wherever known. The proprietor had an Anglo-Norman eye for trade, and nothing, it is said, interested him more than "the prices of flour and the operations of his mill." He naturally became the leader of a "commercial aristocracy" in Virginia. Miss Mary Johnson, in her charming description of early colonial life in the Old Dominion, notes the same commercial predilections in the Elizabethan pioneers. They were merchants as well as planters.
- Watterson.* (Norman.) Walter, Walters, Waterson, Henry Watterson, a journalist distinguished for Norman cleverness, buoyancy, spontaneity, enthusiasm, versatility, and absorptiveness.
- Welles.*
- Willet.*
- Willis,* from Wellis, a fief in Normandy.
- Willis.*
- Willis.* (Walloche).
- Wingfield* (Norman).
- Winn.*
- Winstor.*
- Winstor,* for Vinter.
- Wise* and Wiseman (Normandy).
- Withers,* Normandy, 1180.
- Wolf.*
- Woodward,* Woodard. Oudard, Oudart (French).
- Worrell.* William Werle, Normandy, 1180. H. Werle, English, 1272.

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Research Document #9



Research Document #10

Elworth and Elton. It is well to remember the great work that had to be accomplished in the construction of these railways, without the mechanical aids of to-day. One cannot but be impressed by the viaduct across the Dane Valley at Holmes Chapel with its 23 arches, each arch having a span of 63 feet and an elevation of 105 feet.

Bradwall is a truly rural area. The Hall, which has lately been demolished, was the manor house. The estate passed from the family of Oldfield, Jervis and Latham to its present owner, Sir John Barlow through his father.

Wheelock. The name of the village is derived from the old word, "chevel-og", which means winding – which the small river does in its course.

In 1810 the Rev. Daniel Lyson, A.M., F.R.S., in his book, "Magna Britannia", Vol. 2, Part 2, records:–

The house "Whitehall is inhabited by the Rev. Richard Lowndes Salmon, the Vicar of Sandbach". It was described as modern in 1810. Mr. Salmon was Vicar from 1787 to 1828, a period of forty-one years. His mother was Anne, daughter and co-heir of Richard Lowndes, of Bostock House, Hassall, and his father was Edward Salmon, of Nantwich. Whitehall was later the home of James Blackwell – salt manufacturer.

It was also recorded that at this time "William Whitehead established extensive salt works, and built an inn, several houses, besides a mansion for his own residence, which is now the property and residence of his heir-at-law, the Rev. Weston Bayley.

"Salt works, a large cotton factory, a brewery, and several dwelling houses have lately been erected on the south side of the river".

The mansion, "Wheelock House", was demolished about 1921.

The Manor of Wheelock was released to Hugh de Wheelock about the years 1160–1180 from Roger Mainwaring. It passed through generations of Wheelock's until 1459. Then it passed to the Leversage family of whom Richard was the first.

Mr. James Blackwell made the road from Wheelock to Malkins Bank for use in transporting salt from his works at the latter place. He called one of his works, "Whitehall Works".

The Forge Company previously mentioned was known as The Wheelock Iron & Salt Co. It was the owner of the Wheelock Salt Works on the south side of the canal near the Forge. Originally the power needed for their works was provided by a waterwheel in the river. Carts collected salt and carried it to the farms for cheese making, and as far as Nantwich.

The soap company was known as the Wheelock Chrystaline Dry Soap Company, and was situated in the old Foundry on the north side of the canal. Their product was a soap powder much used when hard water was supplied by the new water mains.

Mr. Samuel Cockbain, a local bricklayer, built the schoolroom section of the Baptist Church and worked on the Wheelock and Hassall Churches.

Wheelock Church was opened 30th August, 1837.

Endnotes

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- ¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman_conquest_of_England
- ² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_the_Conqueror
- ³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Domesday_Book
- ⁴ *The History of the Ancient Parish of Sandbach, Co. Chester. Including The two Chapelries Of Holmes Chapel and Goostrey.* By J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A. p. 118.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ <http://mainegenie.cwahi.net/MAINWRNG.htm>
- ⁷ http://www.battleoffulford.org.uk/book_unconquered.htm
- ⁸ [Ordericus Vitalis, *Eccl. hist.*](#), vol. 2 · F. Barlow, ed. and trans., *The life of King Edward who rests at Westminster* (1962), 2.217.
- ⁹ Michael Ashley, *A Brief History of British Kings and Queens: British Royal History from Alfred the Great to the Present*, p. 57.
- ¹⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Cheshire
- ¹¹ What tactics William used to ravage the land in Hoiloch and the surrounding region are not known. However, salt mines are known to have existed in and around the village of Wheelock. The use of salt to devastate the land in and around Hoiloch back in the 11th century to quell a resistance movement against the crown cannot be dismissed.
- ¹² Earwaker, p. 115.
- ¹³ In 358 pages of text describing land transactions in Cheshire, J. P. Earwaker used the word “released” less than a dozen times.
- ¹⁴ http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/norman_place_names_england.htm
- ¹⁵ It may be no coincidence that Wheelock and Moston are two villages in Cheshire located four miles from each other. After Richard de Moston was released from “suit of mill and court of Warmincham,” did he relocate to this village, follow the example of Hugh de Whelock and name the village of Moston after his family surname?
- ¹⁶ http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/middle_ages/henryii_empire_01.shtml
- ¹⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Crogen#cite_note-Owain-3
- ¹⁸ This scenario makes more sense than other assertions that this English village derived its name from the Old Welsh word *chwyl-og* or “cheval-og.” See below.
- ¹⁹ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugh_\(given_name\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugh_(given_name))
- ²⁰ <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=Hugh>
- ²¹ These are my conclusions based on the data at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugh>.
- ²² http://genealogy.about.com/cs/surname/a/french_surnames.htm
- ²³ These figures come from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_the_Conqueror.
- ²⁴ *The Norman People and Their Existing Descendants in the British Dominions and the United States of America*, 2nd. Edition, Henry S. King & Co., London 1874, p. 445 and p. 447. The dates associated with Roger Walloche (1180-1195) are well after the arrival of Hugh de Whelock in County Cheshire. While interesting, both the dates and the obscure spelling of Walloche’s surname are not relevant to this discussion and will be ignored.
- ²⁵ Thomas E. Pickett, M.D., LL.D., *The Quest for the Lost Race*, John P. Morton & Co., Louisville, KY, 1907, p. 20.
- ²⁶ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglicisation>
- ²⁷ Cyril Massey, “History of Sandbach and District” p. 17. Johnsons of Nantwich, Ltd., Nantwich, Cheshire U.K. Republished, 1982. Mr Massey writes in the preface, “Several times I have been advised to write down the history as I know it, and now I have done so. I have tried to record concisely all the interesting history and information that I know regarding Sandbach and District. . . . In 1890, J.P. Earwaker, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., wrote his history of Sandbach. It is a fine comprehensive work, suitable to its time and for reference regarding memorial inscriptions, registers, genealogical tables, and church records. Details are also given of the Ancient Crosses in a manner different from this history. Mr. W.J. Harper (1894) and Mr. R.W. Tomlinson (1899) also wrote histories which have been very helpful to me. I have also received helpful information from old friends for which I tender my sincere thanks.”
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ J. McN. Dodgson. (1970a). *The place-names of Cheshire. Part one: Country name, regional and forest names, river names, road names, the place-names of Macclesfield hundred.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ³⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/River_Wheelock

³¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welsh_place_names. Specialists in Welsh toponymy assert that towns near the Welsh-English border derive their names from either the Welsh or the English, and that there is no clear overall preference for either the Welsh or the English names. “A final set of Welsh placenames are those for settlements in England which lie close to the modern border with Wales. In some cases, such as [Ross-on-Wye](#) (*Rhosan-ar-Wy*) and probably [Leominster](#) (*Llanllieni*), the English name seems to have derived from the Welsh name. In other cases, such as *Llwydlo* ([Ludlow](#)) and *Henffordd* ([Hereford](#)), *the Welsh name derived from the English name of the settlement* (emphasis added).”

³² There is a possible explanation for this perception that the family surname, the village and the river Wheelock all derived their name from the Welsh language. Such a sequence of events would go as follows: First, the de Whelock family established itself and changed the name of the village to Whelock. Since many towns along the English-Welsh border have both English and a Welsh names, the Welsh used their word *chwyl-og* to pronounce, as best as they could, the name of this English village. When this Welsh oral tradition was lost, researchers assumed that “Wheelock” derived from the Welsh language and speculated that the phonetic spelling for this lost word was “cheval-og.” In a subsequent publication, researchers determined that the Old Welsh word *chwyl-og* was the correct word for “Wheelock,” and not “cheval-og.” Regardless, since the evidence is overwhelming that “Wheelock” did not derive from the Welsh language, the actual sequence of events is irrelevant.