

THE ANCIENT HIGHWAYS AND TRACKS OF WORCESTERSHIRE AND THE MIDDLE SEVERN BASIN :

PART I

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A. J.</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal.</i>
B. (with number)			Number of charter in Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum.
br.	..	..	Bridle road.
By.	..	..	boundary.
Co.	..	..	county.
f.	..	..	furlong.
fp.	..	..	footpath.
K. (with number)			Number of charter in Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus.
m.	..	..	mile.
mr.	..	..	main road (modern).
(OM ₁)		..	One-inch Ordnance map.
(OM ₆)		..	Six-inch Ordnance map.
R. rd.	..	..	Roman road.
t.	..	..	track, i.e. bridle path, occupation road, etc.

THE RIDGEWAYS

Those who read the itineraries of the ridgeways of the Worcestershire and Middle Severn district may perhaps wonder that men of any age in the world's history followed paths so tortuous. Those, however, who have had experience of regions where there are no made roads and where the climate is not arid at any time of the year, will understand that the traverse of a dry path two miles long is infinitely less wearisome than that of a deep miry road of half its length. The mire of the ancient trackways of the lowlands of England was such that they were practically untraverseable save for short distances in wet weather. Streams, and still more the swampy land in their neighbourhood, presented difficulties of passage which are hardly conceivable to the user of modern roads. Hence wayfarers for even short distances such as the

passage from a farmhouse to its outlying lands chose the comb of a ridge, where any ridge existed which ran in the required direction. If the parish maps of any fairly hilly region be examined it will be seen that many local roads tend to follow, even at the present day, the combs of ridges ; and these roads are survivals of tracks centuries old.

Nor were these difficulties of traverse confined to the ancient and medieval period in this country. Ogilby wrote his guide to the main roads of England in the latter part of the reign of Charles II ; and he wrote especially for the guidance of those who used wheeled vehicles. Such vehicles could not in many cases face the gradients of, and leading up to, the ridgeways, and therefore had to resort to the trackways of the low lands. Of their nature there is eloquent testimony in his work. The routes recommended are not long stretches of recognised main roads, but patches of local ways either unmetalled, or the metalling of which consisted merely of the casting down of loose stones in the worst places. Even in the description of the route from London to Bath, then one of the most important towns in the kingdom, occur such passages as 'Here follow a plow way two miles.' Anyone who knows what a plough way is like in wet weather even at the present day will understand that those who could resort to dry ridgeways did so so late as the seventeenth century.

It is only a chance reference here and there in medieval tales of the experiences of men of the past which enables a reader of the present day to realise the life of that past, and the greatness of the contrast between it and the life of the present. The railway and the steamboat have revolutionised the life of the world, for it is to rapidity of communication that the contrast between the present and the past is mainly due.

There can be no question that the inhabitants of Roman Britain in the third century after Christ had at least as great facilities for communication as the Englishman of the Stuart period. The made or partially made roads of the Roman period fell into gradual decay because the Saxon of the next period

had neither the knowledge, the financial means, nor the labour to maintain their fabric. The decay of the Roman roads was in some places very slow, for even as late as the end of the seventeenth century the Roman road from Manchester northwards towards Preston was, where the metalling survived, the line most used by travellers towards north Lancashire; and, where the metalling gave out, the wagons, carriages, and pack-horses had to make their way along the fields on either side of it. Wayfarers and traffic from Penrith to Ambleside in the Lake District were using the Roman road called High Street, really a Romanised ridgeway, so late as the end of the eighteenth century, despite the fact that it involved a climb of 2,500 feet.

The great increase of the wealth of the country in the eighteenth century and the invention of the Macadam system of road metalling enabled the government to make through roads on a large scale. Even earlier in that century private enterprise had contributed its share, for the tolls levied on turnpike roads gave a good return for the expenditure of private capital on road making. The wheeled traffic of previous days, though it had in many instances been compelled to resort to the ridgeways, had, as has been said, found the steep gradients which occurred on many of them a serious difficulty. It now took to the new roads. The making of canals had diverted more traffic from the old lines. Yet even up to the time of the making of railways the packhorse and cattle traffic adhered to the ridgeways, partly to avoid the numerous tolls, partly because the wide, grassy margins of those tracks afforded food for the animals.

So the old ridgeways fell into disuse as through lines of communication, though long stretches of them were incorporated in the new road system¹ and rights of way in the form of bridle roads and footpaths continued to mark other parts of their lines. Their survival is all the more striking because they seldom pass through centres of population even as large as

¹ In Cornwall with its steep-sided valleys and deep stream beds the road system even of the present day

is formed for the most part of ancient ridgeways.

hamlets, since men are not disposed, save for defensive purposes, to occupy exposed sites on the tops of ridges.

The pre-Roman population of this country, the Celts, had indeed placed their centres of population on the ridgeways, because it was all important for them to block the only through lines of communication which the indigenous population could use for purposes of combination. The Celtic cities, represented by many of the so-called camps which survive on the ridgeways, are of the same type and designed for the same purposes as those hill cities which Caesar found in Gaul.

How far and how long these hill sites continued to be centres of population during the period in which Britain was a Roman province cannot be said. But the importance of the ridgeways as through roads remained as great as ever, for the trade of the country must have increased, and the Roman roads, built for military purposes, only supplied trade routes by accident, and were in any case quite inadequate for the purposes of trade communications. These Roman roads were guarded by stations and minor forts at intervals along them. It can hardly be due to accident that such stations as those at Winchester, Old Sarum, Marlborough, Nyth near Swindon, Speen, and Silchester were at, or close to, points where ridgeways crossed Roman roads. They must have been placed where they were in order to prevent co-operation between the Britons along the only form of through road the natives could use. But when the Romano-British succumbed to the Saxon attacks these hill sites were no longer used by a people which did its own agricultural work, and did not leave in existence a large indigenous population to act as workers of the soil in the interests of a military minority. Yet, though the camp-cities did not survive, the roads which they guarded continued to be the main lines of communication in the country, because nature had so ordained it. The military tradition of the Saxon conquest, and the records of the Danish invasions, show the unique importance of the ridgeways as lines of communication.

Any one who at the present day traverses those parts of the ancient ridgeways which have not been

incorporated into the modern road system, e.g. the ridgeways of the Berkshire or Sussex downs, will notice that the tracks depart sometimes from the comb of the ridge especially where a large detour would be necessary were the comb strictly adhered to. This was possible when the upmost courses of the streams rising in the ridge were dry. But in such weather as usually prevails in this country for the greater part of the year it was necessary to adhere to the comb of the ridge.

The tendency for centres of population larger than the other centres in their neighbourhood to spring up where great main ridgeways crossed rivers of some size is a marked feature of the map of England.

Within the area dealt with in this paper the following towns are at such passages : Evesham, Banbury, Bath, Stroud, Tewkesbury, Worcester, Bewdley, Bridgnorth, Tenbury. Furthermore, Wolverhampton and Dudley owe their original importance to the fact that, when the coal trade of their region first developed, they, as being on a great ridgeway, were in a better position than other places on the coalfield for the export of the coal to other parts.

Statistics of Surviving Roads and Tracks on some of the Main Ridgeways.

Road.	No. of Road.	MR. Main Road.		Minor Roads & Tracks.		Foot-path.		No. Track.		Per cent. of Mod. Roads.
		m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	
Worc. Ridgeway E. of Severn	35A	12	6	2	6	4	2	3	6	84
Stoke Prior Ridgeway	59	4	2	0	0	1	2	0	4	92
Stow—Dudley Ridgeway	11	39	2	9	4	2	0	6	3	87½
Bridgnorth—Bewdley Ridgeway (within the county)	71	2	1	0	0	1	3	0	4	85½
Bredon—Tewkesbury	16	2	3	0	7	0	0	8	6	32½
Worc.—Tewkesbury—Cheltenham	14	16	1	6	5	2	7	2	1	92½
Bath—Warwick	1	76	2	34	1	2	2	7	7	93
Clent Hills	72	2	4	3	1	0	3	3	2	65
Worcester, W. of Severn. (In Worcestershire)	62	9	5	1	4	3	5	2	5	86
Cotswold—Northleach—Witney	5	20	1	4	4	0	5	1	0	96
Cotswold—Shipston-on-Stour	52	7	7	3	0	0	4	1	1	91

THE ROMANISED ROAD¹

The name Romanised road implies a pre-Roman highway to which some process of making, either by straightening out curves, or by applying the Roman system of construction to parts of it, had been undertaken during the period of Roman rule. At the end of the first century A.D. the number of Roman roads in Gaul was not large; but before the Roman rule came to an end the whole of the three Gauls and Narbonensis was covered by a network of roads. How these later roads were made, whether at the expense of the imperial government, or of local municipalities, or, what is more probable, at the joint expense of both, is not known save in a few instances in Narbonensis. But these were Roman, not Romanised, roads. Also they were, unlike the earlier Roman roads, made for commercial rather than for military purposes. Relative to Gaul, Britain was comparatively poor. Most of the Roman roads of Britain, though not all of them,² were made for military purposes,—for the conquest, and later the defence of the various parts of the province which were acquired by successive stages of advance. Only a few of them can have been of much value for commercial purposes, and such trade as there was must have passed for the most part along the pre-Roman ridgeways, roads as old as time. But it would be strange if the inhabitants of the province of Britain, and the central Roman government which, in the first two centuries A.D., showed a keen desire to promote the welfare of the provinces, had not learned to appreciate the superiority of the made road to the unmade track even as represented by the dry ridgeway. It would be strange therefore if

¹ The name was invented by me and used in an article published in *A.J.* vol. lxxiv (xxiv) on the general types of ancient roads in this country. As far as I know, I was the first to point out that, quite apart from recognised Roman roads, there were other roads, especially ridgeways,

which had been 'made' in places, either by metalling, or by straightening, or by both, in Romano-British times.

² e.g. the Roman road of the Mendip Hills was made for the exploitation of the lead mines.

they did not apply the Roman system to such an extent as they could afford to the unmade native tracks. The labour was at hand, those legionary soldiers in the garrison of the province whom it was so desirable to keep employed in times of peace. In the British province, there not being enough money to make the new, the old was tinkered.

The making of through roads is an expense which only a rich country can afford ; and Saxon England was poor. The Saxons also had neither legionaries nor others who could be spared for road making. Such through roads as they developed were formed merely of connected patches of local tracks ; and what is true of the Saxon period is true also in Britain till the eighteenth century. From Romano-British times till that date road making, such as it was, merely meant casting down stones in peculiarly bad places. Consequently the Saxons recognised a made or partially made road when they saw it, and applied to it, and to no other form of road, the word *straet*.¹

Their generic term for a through road was *herepath*, which means, literally, 'military way,' but really means 'highway' or 'through road.' In the Worcestershire charters this term is very rarely used, whereas *straet* is very common :² so much so that it might be supposed that the dialectic usage of the Severn basin employed it as a generic term for through roads, without implying that a road designated *straet* was 'made' in any way.³

But when this term is applied to roads in the Worcestershire charters the roads so-called are in the

¹ See my account of the roads of Hampshire, Berkshire, and Wiltshire in *A. J.* vol. lxxv (xxv).

² The statistics of the use of different terms for roads in the various groups of charters are :—

County	Weg	Straet	Herepath	Hrycgweg
Hants. ..	46	30	25	3
Berks. ..	75	10	8	8
Wilts. ..	92	23	40	6
Dorset. ..	39	2	20	2
Worcs. ..	44	29	1	5

³ Certain spellings of terms in the Worcestershire charters indicate slight variations from the Wessex dialect.

vast majority of cases demonstrably either Roman, ridgeways, or saltways, and in the few remaining cases almost certainly saltways.¹

¹ The application of the term *Straet* in the Saxon Charters of Worcestershire and the Four Shire Region.

	Charter	No. of Road	Nature of Road*
<i>Portstraet</i>	B.299	1	RW. & SW.
<i>Sealt Straet</i>	B.1238, K.554	1	RW. & SW.
<i>Straet</i>	B.165, K.90	6	RW.
<i>Buggilde Straet</i>	B.125, K.61	8	RR.
<i>Straet</i>	B.482, K.274	8	RR.
<i>Buggilde Straet</i>	K.1368	8	RR.
<i>Buggild Stret</i>	B.125, K.61	8	RR.
<i>Buggilde Stret</i>	B.125, K.61	8	RR.
<i>Buggan Stret</i>	K.289	8	RR.
<i>Brad Stret</i>	K.289	8	RR.
<i>Cynges Fyrd Straet</i>	K.623	9	RR ? & RW.
<i>Straet</i>	K.963	9	RR ? & RW.
<i>Heah Straet</i>	B.229, K.136	11	RR.
<i>Straet</i>	K.675	12	RW. & SW.
<i>Sealt Straet</i>	B.229, K.136	12	RW. & SW.
<i>Sealt Straet</i>	B.1282, K.570	12	RW. & SW.
<i>Fyrd Straet</i>	K.1368	12	RW. & SW.
<i>Straet</i>	K.675	12	RW. & SW.
<i>Heah Straet</i>	K.670	15	RW.
<i>Stratford</i>	—	16	RR.
<i>Fildene Straet</i>	K.1229	20	?
<i>Wudu Straet</i>	K.1358		
<i>Sealt Stret</i>	K.p.395	22	RW. partly SW.
<i>Eald Straet</i>	K.764	23	SW.
<i>Straet</i>	K.963	26	SW.
<i>Straet</i>	B.1282, K.570	30	SW.
<i>Straet</i>	K.683	30	SW.
<i>Salt Straet</i>	K.683	30	SW.
<i>Straet</i>	K.612	30	SW.
<i>Haehstraet</i>	K.670	31	RR ?
<i>Straet</i>	B.1298, K.586	31	RR ?
<i>Straet</i>	B.1110, K.511	31	RR ?
<i>Straet</i>	B.1106, K.508	33	SW.
<i>Stratford-on-Avon</i>	—	40	RR. & SW.
<i>Sealt Straet</i>	B.946, K.1205	40	SW.
<i>Brad Straet</i>	Earle's Charters,	44	RR.
	p. 239		
<i>Portstraet</i>	Earle's Charters,	44	RR ?
	p. 239		
<i>Straet</i>	K.714	46	RW.
<i>Straet</i>	K.714	46	RW.
<i>Sandiht Straet</i>	Earle's Charters,	49	RW. & ?RR.
	p. 239		
<i>Micel Straet</i>	B.513, K.292	65	RW.
<i>Stretton Sugwas</i>	—	72	RR.
<i>Stretton Grandison</i>	—	72	RR.
<i>Straet the sceot to</i>			
<i>Heortlabyrig</i>	B.361	74	SW.
<i>Portstraet</i>	B.361	74	SW.
<i>Ald Straet</i>	K.653	74	SW.
<i>Straet</i>	B.1241, K.560	75	SW.

* Abbreviations : RW. ridgeway ; SW. saltway ; RR. Roman road.

So it would seem that the term *straet* is used in the Worcestershire charters in the same sense in which it is used in those of the Wessex regions, namely of roads which the Saxons recognised as having undergone a process of making. Furthermore, though the 'making' did not, as it would seem, always include straightening, yet any one who notes the nature of those parts of ridgeways and saltways to which the term *straet* is applied cannot fail to be struck by the frequency with which that part of an otherwise winding track tends to run for some distance in a straight line.

Summing up the evidence, it is quite clear from the Wessex charters that *herepath* is the generic term for a through road. As a specific term it is used of one of Saxon date. Its application to through roads of pre-Saxon date is spasmodic, depending on the characteristic of the road which happened to strike the mind of the surveyor responsible for the survey. A ridgeway, for instance, might present to his mind various characteristics: that it ran along a ridge: that it was a through road: that it had been 'made' in some part or parts: also, in Worcestershire, that it was used by salt carriers. Therefore he might apply to it almost indifferently the terms *hrycweg*, *herepath*, *straet*, or, in Worcestershire, *sealt straet*. But the evidence shows that the characteristic which, when present, most impressed him was any sign of human handiwork, i.e. of road-making. When this was present it tended to take the first place in the ideas impressed on his mind in relation to the nature of a road; and thus, though the road may be a ridgeway, a through road, or a saltway, if it shows signs of making he tends to call it *straet*.

The road system which the Saxon settler found in Worcestershire on his arrival must have been much more elaborated than in the region S. of the Thames. There the ridgeway, and, to a certain extent, the Roman road, constituted practically the sole highways of the pre-Saxon period. There may have been a few saltways running inland from the tidal harbours of

the south coast ;¹ but the amount of salt produced by the ' salterns ' of the estuaries must in any individual case have been very small in proportion to that which the Droitwich area produced. Also many of the saltways must have followed the ridgeways which in the chalk districts tend to take more direct, and therefore more convenient, lines than on the complicated watersheds of the Midlands.

But in Worcestershire it was different. The salt trade of the Droitwich area was on a great scale relative to the trade of the time. It followed a network of tracks radiating, and, if a term may be invented, sub-radiating, in every direction from that salt area. Thus the Saxons when they settled in this region found a type of through track hardly represented at all to the S. of the Thames.

The evolution of the Saxon *herepath*, a type of road brought into existence by the necessity of communication between the areas of lowland and valley cultivation which was the essence of Saxon economic life, was practically unnecessary in a region traversed already by a network of through roads, the saltways, which, though they did follow ridgeways when they could, were used by traders who had to penetrate to localities which were not on or near any of the great ridgeways of the country. Thus the saltway had to develop in many cases, like the *herepath*, regardless of watersheds. Hence the fact that the term *herepath*, a term which, as has been said, was used specifically for through roads of Saxon formation, a term so common in the charters of the region S. of the Thames, is only once used in those of Worcestershire. Still the Saxons might, indeed they probably would, have called such through roads *sealt-herepaths* had they been of the ordinary type of the *herepath*, i.e. unmade tracks.

¹ The area of Hampshire is better ' chartered ' than that of any other county in England ; and it would be difficult to mention any through road in the county which does not at some point or points on its course pass through a chartered area. Yet there is not a single mention of a saltway in any one of its charters. Nor have

I come across the name saltway in the medieval evidence with regard to the place names of the county. In field names there is one reference to a saltway somewhat E. of Winchester which must have run N. from either Southampton Water or one of the harbours near Portsmouth ; and that is the only reference.

The fact that they did not do so shows that they differed in some way from that type ; and the further fact that they applied to them the term *straet*, a name applied to the 'made' Roman road, shows that the difference in type was that, whereas the *herepath* was a mere track, a process of 'making' had, in various parts and to various degrees, been applied to the roads they called *straets*.

SALTWAYS

The road system of Worcestershire and the middle Severn basin is to a certain extent dominated by the saltways. At the same time it is plain from the evidence which will be given later in relation to individual roads that the salters, or salt carriers, like other traders in England at any time up to 1700, made use of the ridgeways where they could. But salt was a commodity in such universal demand that it had to be carried to villages which lay off the line of any ridgeway.¹

Still the saltways which have either retained their name or can be identified by names on them implying the salt traffic are not the by-roads which the salters took for the purpose of distribution to any individual village, but rather the through roads which they employed in order to get from Droitwich to some *region* with which they were dealing. The distributing area from Droitwich as a centre must have extended over a great part of the Midlands to such limits as brought it into unprofitable competition with the products of the saltmakers on the various estuaries² and with those of the Cheshire salt field. If a series of radii be drawn on the map from Droitwich to the Cheshire salt field and to the various great estuaries

¹ The main saltways are for the most part traceable at the present day from information furnished by the Saxon charters, and from names surviving on the present map. But Mr. F. T. S. Houghton has made a most interesting list, compiled from Domesday, of the places in the middle and lower Severn region which had salt rights, and deduced therefrom

the lines of minor roads which must have been used by the salters.

² Salt was so important and so difficult to obtain in necessary quantities that saltmakers must have set up their salt-making stations (*salterns*) on every estuary which presented a fair area of sand at low tide.

round the coast, it may be assumed that the frontiers of the area exploited by the Droitwich salters passed more or less about half way through these respective radii. The method of calculation is rough, for the area was no doubt modified in detail by local topography; but it probably supplies an approximately correct idea of the bounds of the Droitwich trade. To the extremities of this area the great saltways ran. Very minute inquiries into local names, especially field names, might possibly supply information such as does not now exist as to the lines those ways followed, especially in the regions more remote from Droitwich. At present it is only here and there that the remoter parts of these lines can be traced.

It is most difficult for the modern world to realise the circumstances under which the ancient world lived. But primitive wants as evidenced by the life of existent races tend to throw light on the lives of those ancestors of our own who lived in an age when communications anywhere beyond a limited horizon were difficult or even impossible.

Of all the adjuncts to the foods necessary to sustain life salt is perhaps that most sought after, not merely by man, but by the mammalia generally. To dwellers on or near a coast it was an easily obtainable product; to those inland it was an all but necessary luxury. As a mineral deposit it has always been rare in distribution, though, where found, usually present in large quantities; and therefore it has always been eagerly sought for by those who have been in a position to obtain it from any region in which it has been found. The mammalia of Britain must have discovered the brine of Droitwich and Cheshire almost as soon as they discovered anything; and the exploitation of the springs of these two regions must go back to a time long before history began. It may be taken as quite certain that the Romans when they came to the region of Droitwich found what was, relative to the trade of the then world, a flourishing trade in salt existent. They must have found in existence also regular trackways along which the trade was carried on.

Under the Principate the Roman government

showed itself keen to promote the welfare of the provinces. Would it then be strange if in the province of Britain it did all it could to encourage the development of this important and probably lucrative trade? The Romans knew, too, that nothing was more effective in promoting trade and prosperity than the making or improving of lines of communication. Would it then be strange if they improved the old saltways radiating from Droitwich by metalling bad places and straightening out circuitous curves? That they actually did this seems to be plainly indicated in the evidence of the Saxon charters.¹

(See further the note on the Romanised Road.)

LOCAL TRACKS

The local tracks of the Saxon period were those of the individual land-units (parishes).

They were of two types.

The first consisted of the tracks which followed the broad balks which separated one group (later called furlong) of strips of ploughland from another. Roads in modern parishes which tend to run in a series of straight lines and to turn at right angles are descendants of this type of track.

The second type consists of tracks, following the wavy lines of least resistance, over the uncultivated land (*leah*) of the land-unit. In modern times they have developed into roads or footpaths. When a modern road runs in curves without angles it is fairly certain that it originated from a track of this type.

¹ The saltways described in this paper and noted on the map are obviously main lines of the salt traffic. But, as Mr. F. T. S. Houghton has pointed out, every community in this Severn region which had salt rights in Droitwich and its neighbourhood must have had a line of communication with that centre. This line would lead in the first instance along one of the main lines described in this article, and then branch off by some brief local way to the village which possessed the rights. Those local ways would be merely unmade

tracks the identity of which may be guessed but seldom determined. Mr. Houghton has, as has been said, made from the Domesday record a list of all the village communities which have rights in the salt region; but it would add enormously to the already large size of this paper to cite all of them; and any attempt to indicate the special local road leading to the community from one of the main saltways would add to the paper matter for which there would be little or no evidence either literary or topographical.

Both types of track would follow the comb of a ridge, if there happened to be a ridge running in the right direction. Any one who examines the parish maps of England will be able to distinguish thousands of instances of such local ridgeways.

In the charters the term used for such local tracks is *weg*. In that instance the term is used in a specific sense. In a generic sense it may be used of any track or road.

It was natural that, when the tracks came to the boundary of a land-unit, they should, for the sake of local intercommunication, meet similar tracks in the neighbouring land-units, and thus form through roads in a district. It is of these fragmentary through roads that the term *herepath* is used in a specific sense. In its generic sense it may be applied to any through road such as a ridgeway or even a Roman road.

But, save in peculiarly dry weather, it is certain that these specific *herepaths* were not in Saxon times used for through communication except over very short distances between land-units (parishes) separated from one another by at most a few miles.

Though they were called *herepaths*, 'army ways,' the records of Saxon and later warfare make it quite plain that the armies of the period used the ridgeways. When in post-Saxon times wheeled vehicles were, for reasons which need not be discussed here, substituted to a certain extent for horses as a means for the conveyance of travellers, then the through roads formed by the linking up of parish tracks formed to a certain, but probably very limited, extent the lines of through communication between various parts of the country, because in some cases the carriages could not ascend the heavy gradients leading up to some of the ridgeways.

But, as old wheel tracks show, even carriages used the ridgeways where the gradients were not too steep. The desperate conditions which had sometimes to be faced by those who took wheeled vehicles along low-lying roads are well evidenced by travellers' tales of long delays caused by the sinking of the carriage into deep miry places, and are implied in Ogilby's account

of the main carriage roads so late as the latter part of the seventeenth century.

In dealing with the Severn roads only those local ways have been cited which are actually mentioned in the charters, with the exception of one or two rather remarkable local ridgeways.

ROAD I

The Great Cotswold Ridgeway (Pl. i)

Follows for a short distance the watershed between the Severn and the Bristol Avon, and then that between the Thames and Severn basins.

Starts at Bath,¹ in two branches: (1) a W. branch over Lansdown² (OM1) and Log Hill (OM1); (2) an E. branch over Charmy Down and $\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of Cold Ashton to where it meets the E. branch (6 m. 6 f.) The western of these two branches is called *Sealthther Poth*, 'Salt Carriers' Way' and *Herepath* 'highway,' in a charter of Cold Ashton, B.670, K.354. In a Pucklechurch charter (B.887) it is called *straet*, 'made road.' On Lansdown Hill (2 m. it) passes a tumulus; and later (1 m. 5 f.) it passes through a camp; and later (1 m.) through another camp.³ Goes N. along ridge (mr.) leaving Dyrham village⁴ $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. (2 m.). Goes N. along mr. to Tormarton (2 m.) where a branch ridgeway (road 2) turns away ENE. Goes N. along mr. (1 m. 2 f.) where a camp $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. of the road, close to Little Sodbury. Goes N. along

¹ S. of Bath a ridgeway runs down S.W. to the great Mendip ridgeway. See road 50, *Wilts. A.ſ.* lxxv [xxv], p. 103.

² A sketch map of the roads accompanies this article. But I have in all cases where possible referred to places mentioned in the one-inch Ordnance map. I have further given such minute directions as to distance and orientation that a reader might follow the information given on the maps of Bartholomew's half-inch series. The one-inch sheets which cover the area dealt with are:—in the 'Coloured Edition' the Large Sheet Series, 61, 62, 71, 72, 81, 82, 83, 93, 94, 95, 104, 105, 112.

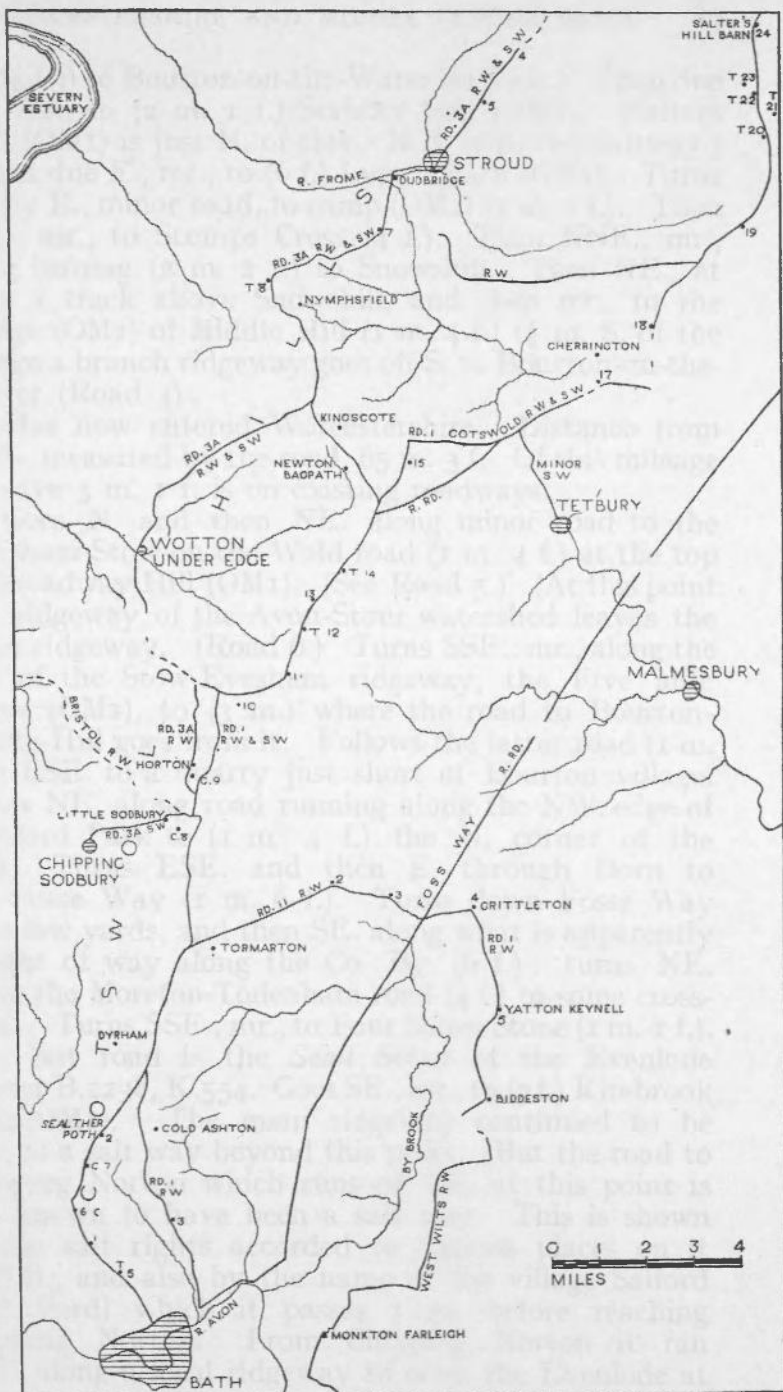
³ Camps, so called, probably places of permanent habitation, are noticeable features of the great ridgeways, placed there partly to guard the road, partly for the purpose of through communication. These camps are nearly all pre-Roman. Tumuli are also very frequent near the great ridgeways.

⁴ The battlefield where the Saxons won the lower Severn valley. They must have advanced along this ridgeway. For ridgeways and Saxon battlefields see *A.ſ.* lxxv (xxv), (Grundy). It will be seen later that Tewkesbury and Evesham, battles of much later date, were fought on ridgeways.

mr. (4 f.). Turns W. along minor road (3 f.). Goes N. along minor road to a camp (6 f.) just S. of Horton. Goes N. along minor road (2 m.) to a point just NW. of Hawkesbury Upton. Goes E. by N., by mr., to Starveall (1 m. 4 f.). Goes N. by E. by mr. to a tumulus (1 m.). Goes N. by E. along mr. (1 m. 1 f.) to an entrenchment 3 f. W. of the road. Goes N. by E. by mr. to a tumulus (7 f.) which stands E. of the road. Goes N. by E. (3 m. 1 f.) by mr. to a road meeting $\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of Calcot Farm (OM1). 1 m. E. of Newton Bagpath. (Here is the beginning of a great easterly bend to get round the Nailsworth and Stroud branches of the River Frome.) About 1 m. S. of Calcot Farm (OM1) there branches off from the ridgeway a road running ENE. which joins the line of the ridgeway at Chavenage Green (OM1). This road is noticeably straight, and the line of the ridgeway continues for $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. along this same straight line ENE. from Chavenage Green. In the OM. this road is marked as a Roman road. Whether it shows any 'agger' or signs of ancient metalling I do not know. It is not a Roman road in the sense that e.g. the Foss Way or the Ryknield Street are Roman roads; but it is quite likely that it is a Romanised part of this great ridgeway, and that occasion has been taken to cut off the corner which the ridgeway makes near Calcot Farm (OM1).

[About 7 f. S. of Calcot Farm a road runs off NW. This is a ridgeway, a branch of Road 3A.]. The Cotswold ridgeway goes E. by mr. to Chavenage Green (OM1) (1 m. 6 f.) $\frac{1}{2}$ m. NW. of Chavenage House. Goes ENE. by mr. along the line of the reputed Roman road to the S. corner of Cherrington Park (2 m. 5 f.). [From Broadway, many miles N. of this, right down to Bath this ridgeway was a saltway. Tetbury, 2 m. S. of the road at this point, had salt rights. The road running S. by Tetbury Upton to Tetbury was probably the local saltway to that town. Goes E. by S. mr. (1 m.).] Goes N., no modern road, (1 m. 3 f.) to Lowsmoor Farm, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. NE. of Cherrington. Goes N., mr. (4 f.). Goes NE., mr. (1 m. 1 f.) to SE. angle of Sapperton Park. Goes N., mr., to (2 m.) tumuli $1\frac{1}{2}$ f. W. of road and tumuli and standing stones

$\frac{1}{2}$ m. NNE. of this point. Goes N. by W., mr., to tumulus (6 f.) 150 yards W. of road, and tumulus $\frac{1}{4}$ m. NNW. of this point. Goes N., mr., passing, 3 f. N. of Winstone, Salters Hill Barn, to Roman road from Cirencester to Gloucester (2 m. 6 f.). Goes along Roman road (4 f.). Probably continued to follow the Roman road (4 f.) and further along it to (1 m. 6 f.) to Birdlip. [Here the Chipping Sodbury saltway meets it (Road 3A)]. The Cotswold ridgeway may have gone N. by minor road (5 f.) $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. of Highgate (OM1) to the S. end of Cowley Wood (OM1), and then turned WNW. via Stockwell (OM1), bridle road and track, to (near) Birdlip (2 m. 1 f.). Turning NNE., mr., to tumuli on road (1 m. 1 f.), and then, mr., to Salterley (1 m. 2 f.), a name indicating that the ridgeway was in this part a saltway. Goes ENE. on minor road to Hartley Farm (OM1) (6 f.). Then E. by S. on minor road (5 f.). Then E. by S., no track (4 f.) to the Gloucester-Stow-on-the-Wold road, where it is called *Portstraet* in a Gloucestershire charter. Goes along this road (2 m. 7 f.) to Kilkenny (OM1). Then N. along lane to the Andoversford-Cheltenham road at the NW. corner of Sandiwell Park (OM1) (1 m. 1 f.). Near the short stretch of the ridgeway between the Gloucester-Stow-on-the-Wold road and the NW. corner of Sandywell Park (OM1) are three camps, one at Upper Dowdeswell (OM1) 100 yards W. of the road: another $\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of Upper Dowdeswell and about 5 f. W. of the road: another at Lower Dowdeswell (OM1) about 3 f. W. of the road. Crossed latter road and went NW. (4 f.), no modern road, to near Whalley Farm (OM1). Went NW. along minor road (6 f.). Then N., minor road (4 f.) to where the Worcester-Tewkesbury-Cheltenham ridgeway meets it from the W. Thence N. along minor road to Upper Hill (OM1) (1 m. 2 f.). Then E. by minor road to Wontley Farm (OM1) (7 f.). Then NE by minor road to Belas Knap (tumulus) (7 f.). Then S. along ridge, no modern road, to the Winchcombe-Andoversford road $\frac{1}{4}$ m. S. of Charlton Abbots (1 m. 2 f.). Then turns W. by N., mr., to a camp (1 m. 2 f.). Still W. by N., mr., to Roel Gate (OM1) (3 f.). (Here a branch ridgeway



(Road 3) to Bourton-on-the-Water leaves it.) Then due N., mr., to (2 m. 1 f.) Sudeley Hill (OM1). (Salters Hill (OM1) is just N. of this. N.B. indicates saltway.) Turns due E., mr., to (6 f.) Lyne's Barn (OM1). Turns N. by E., minor road, to camp (OM1) (1 m. 1 f.). Then NE., mr., to Stumps Cross (4 f.). Then NNE., mr., to a turning (2 m. 2 f.) to Snowhill. Then NE., at first a track above Snowhill, and then mr., to the Lodge (OM1) of Middle Hill (1 m. 4 f.) ($\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of the Lodge a branch ridgeway goes off S. to Bourton-on-the-Water (Road 4)).

Has now entered Worcestershire. Distance from Bath, measured by the road, 65 m. 3 f. Of this mileage all save 3 m. 1 f. is on existing roadways.

Goes N. and then NE. along minor road to the Evesham-Stow-on-the-Wold road (1 m. 4 f.) at the top of Broadway Hill (OM1). (See Road 5.) (At this point the ridgeway of the Avon-Stour watershed leaves the main ridgeway. (Road 6.) Turns SSE., mr., along the line of the Stow-Evesham ridgeway, the Five Mile Drive (OM1), to (3 m.) where the road to Bourton-on-the-Hill goes from it. Follows the latter road (1 m. 1 f.) ESE. to a quarry just short of Bourton village. Turns NE. along road running along the NW. edge of Batsford Park to (1 m. 4 f.) the N. corner of the park. Turns ESE. and then E. through Dorn to the Fosse Way (1 m. 6 f.). Turns down Fosse Way for a few yards, and then SE. along what is apparently a right of way along the Co. By. (6 f.): turns NE. along the Moreton-Todenham road (4 f.) to some cross-roads. Turns SSE., mr., to Four Shires Stone (1 m. 1 f.). This last road is the *Sealt Straet* of the Evenlode charter B.1238, K.554. Goes SE., mr., to (7 f.) Kitebrook Farm (OM1). The main ridgeway continued to be used as a salt way beyond this point. [But the road to Chipping Norton which runs off SE. at this point is also known to have been a salt way. This is shown by the salt rights accorded to various places on it in D.B., and also by the name of the village Salford (Salt Ford) which it passes 1 m. before reaching Chipping Norton. From Chipping Norton it ran SSW. along a local ridgeway to cross the Evenlode at

Shipton under Wychwood, and then ran S. to cross the Windrush at Widford 1 m. below Burford.^{1]} Turned ESE. from main road, no modern track, to (4 f.) a spring (OM6). Continues along the same line, along a track past Salter's Well Farm (OM1)² to Neakings (OM1) (1 m. 1 f.). Thence ESE., no track, to (2 f.) the Co. By. Thence ESE. along Co. By. and a piece of mr. (1 m. 3 f.), till it meets the Stow-on-the-Wold Banbury road. (For the road from Stow to this point see Road 9.) Then ENE. along the latter road to the Rollright Stones (OM1) (4 f.). Then same road and same direction to (1 m. 5 f.) a point just N. of Great Rollright. Thence NNE., and later N. of E., same road (3 m. 4 f.), to Wigginton Heath (OM1). (Camp 3 f. NNE. of this point.) [From a point on the road about 1 m. N. of Great Rollright another ridgeway which runs eventually to the ford over the Thames at Oxford branches off SE. This must have been an important line of communication in early times.^{3]} Thence turns NNW. along a road running eventually to Shipston-on-Stour, to a road meeting (4 m. 2 f.) at the S. end of Edge Hill, $\frac{1}{2}$ m. NW. of Epwell. Then along a minor road along the comb of Edgehill NNE. (5 m. 4 f.) to Knowle End (OM1). Then due E., mr. (3 f.) to Radbury Camp (OM1). (Branch Ridgeway to Banbury from the camp.) Then N. along fp. to Arlescote (OM1) (2 f.). Then NE., no modern road, to Splashleys Farm (OM1) (5 f.). Then due E., fp., to Avon Dassett (1 m. 2 f.). Then mr., NE., to (6 f.) Fenny Compton Hill (OM1). (Here a local ridgeway meets it.) Then to Northend (OM1) (1 m. 5 f.) by patches of modern roadway. Then mr. N. (3 f.) to the Fenny Compton-Gaydon road. Then WNW. over Thornhill (OM1), no track, to (2 m.) the modern Warwick-Banbury road. Then NW. along the latter road to (1 m.) where it reaches the top of a ridge $\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of Castle Farm (OM1).⁴ Hence

¹ The information with regard to this saltway I got from Mr. E. T. S. Houghton, of Edgbaston.

² Probably owes its name to the Spring just mentioned. Indicates that the road was a saltway in this part.

³ For description see *Ancient*

Highways of Oxfordshire, road 2, in Oxford Record Series, xv.)

⁴ Close to this point it crossed a very remarkable saltway called *Sealt Straet*, 'Salt Street,' in the Radbourne, Warwickshire, charter. (Crawford Charters, no. 8.)

by tracks and minor road first NNE. and then N. by W. to Harbury (3 m. 4 f.). Hence W. by N. mr. to the Fosse Way 3 f. N. of Chesterton Camp (OM1) (2 m.). Hence NW. by mr. to a crossing of the Avon at Warwick (4 m. 4 f.).

Length of the road from the top of Broadway Hill to Warwick 49 m. 1 f., of which about $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. is unmarked by modern tracks. Total length from Bath to Warwick 114 m.

ROAD 2

Link between the Cotswold Ridgeway and the great ridgeway of W. Wiltshire (Pl. i)

This is really the N. end of the W. Wilts. ridgeway. Leaves the Cotswold ridgeway (Rd. 1) at Tormarton, and passes via Acton Turville, Littleton Drew, and Grittleton to Yatton Keynell. (Vide A.J. lxxv. (xxv.) *Roads of Wilts.*, Road 79.)

ROAD 3

Branch Ridgeway to Banbury (Pl. ii)

A branch ridgeway leaves the Cotswold ridgeway (Road 1) at the N. end of Edgehill, close to Arlescote, and runs SE. to Banbury. The present Kineton-Banbury road is on its line. It was continued beyond Banbury by a ridgeway running first along the Cherwell-Ouse watershed, and then along the watershed between the Ouse and the Nene towards, and probably to, Northampton. It must have been part of that Regia Strata de *Norhamtun* of the Adlestrop charter K.1367. (See Road 9.)

ROAD 3A

*A Ridgeway and Saltway*¹ (Pl. iii)

This road branches off from the great Cotswold ridgeway (Road 1) at Birdlip and as far as Wotton-under-

¹ Though, strictly speaking, this road is in the Lower rather than the Middle Severn region, I have included it in this series because it is a saltway, and it is perhaps desirable that all the main saltways radiating from Droitwich should be included in the same series. The fact that it was a saltway was communicated to me by

Mr. F. T. S. Houghton of Edgbaston, whose knowledge of the Droitwich saltways is, as I have said elsewhere, unique. So I have, on his information, included it as an important addition to those ancient roads the description of which I had written before I received Mr. Houghton's communication.

Edge follows a well-marked ridgeway which survives throughout the greater part of its length in the form of modern main roads. From Wotton it makes its way to Chipping Sodbury, which is known from D.B. to have had salt rights. How it went from Wotton to Sodbury is a matter for detailed discussion later.

ITINERARY

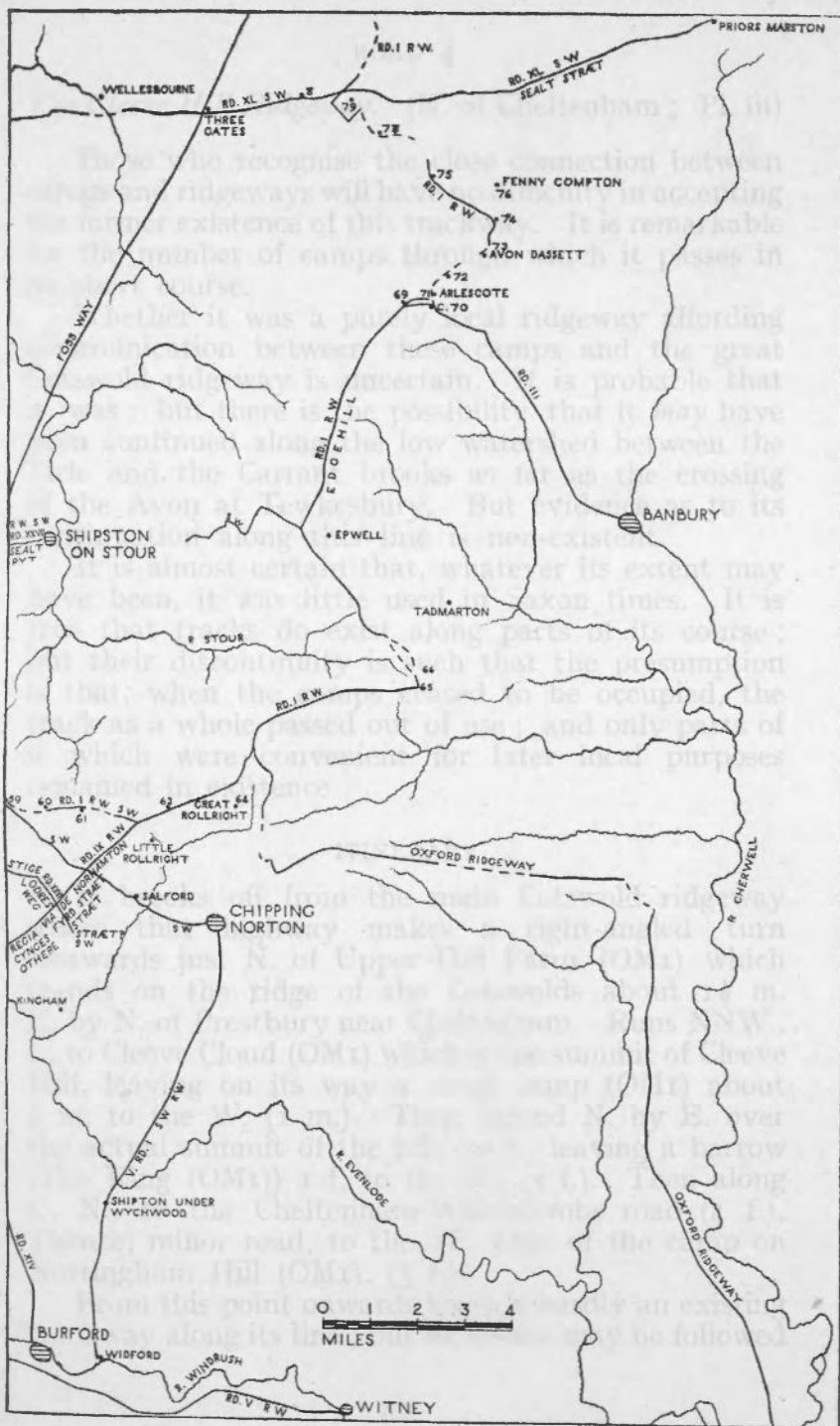
From Birdlip SW., mr., to Buckle Wood (OM1), 1 m., S., mr., to inn near Wateredge (OM1), 2 m. 1 f., SSW., mr., to near Bunnage (OM1), 3 m. 2 f., WSW., probably on line of mr., to Bull Cross (OM1), 4 m. 7 f., along the ridge of Wickridge Hill, tracks and lane, to Stroud, 7 m. 5 f.,¹ W., mr., to Dudbridge (OM1), 8 m. 5 f., S., mr. crossing the Frome to Selsey Common (OM1), 9 m., WSW., mr., to tumulus (OM1), 11 m. 4 f., S., mr., to a point W. of Nymphsfield village, 12 m. 1 f., SE., mr., to point S. of that village, 12 m. 6 f., generally S., mr., to crossroads 7 f. NW. of Kingscote village, 14 m. (Here a branch ridgeway runs off SE. to join the great Cotswold ridgeway about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. SE. of Lasborough (OM1).) SW., mr., to Wotton under Edge, 18 m. (here it ceased, for a time at least, to follow a ridgeway), S., by mr. to Kingswood, and then by a track to Inglestone Farm (OM1), passing about 4 f. N. of the farm Salt Moor (OM6), 21 m., SE. by track to the Hillesley-Hawkesbury road 21 m. 7 f.,² or SE. by track and mr. to the great Cotswold ridgeway $\frac{1}{2}$ m. NE. of Hawkesbury village, 22 m. 5 f.,³ S. along the foot of the ridge through Hawkesbury and Horton to Little Sodbury, 25 m.,³ or S. along the great Cotswold ridgeway to a point $\frac{1}{2}$ m. E. of Little Sodbury, 25 m. 2 f., W., track and mr. to Chipping Sodbury, 27 m. 1 f. or 27 m. 4 f.

¹ It is impossible to say with certainty where it crossed the River Frome; but I think that Dudbridge is the most likely place, as it is unlikely that it would cross both the Frome and the large brook coming from

Nailsworth when the stream of the Frome after the junction of the two could be negotiated.

² Houghton.

³ Grundy.



ROAD 4

The Cleeve Hill Ridgeway. (N. of Cheltenham ; Pl. iii)

Those who recognise the close connection between camps and ridgeways will have no difficulty in accepting the former existence of this trackway. It is remarkable for the number of camps through which it passes in its short course.

Whether it was a purely local ridgeway affording communication between these camps and the great Cotswold ridgeway is uncertain. It is probable that it was ; but there is the possibility that it *may* have been continued along the low watershed between the Tirlle and the Carrant brooks as far as the crossing of the Avon at Tewkesbury. But evidence as to its continuation along this line is non-existent.

It is almost certain that, whatever its extent may have been, it was little used in Saxon times. It is true that tracks do exist along parts of its course ; but their discontinuity is such that the presumption is that, when the camps ceased to be occupied, the track as a whole passed out of use ; and only parts of it which were convenient for later local purposes remained in existence

ITINERARY

It breaks off from the main Cotswold ridgeway where that highway makes a right-angled turn eastwards just N. of Upper Hill Farm (OM1) which stands on the ridge of the Cotswolds about $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. E. by N. of Prestbury near Cheltenham. Runs NNW., t., to Cleeve Cloud (OM1) which is the summit of Cleeve Hill, leaving on its way a small camp (OM1) about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. to the W. (1 m.). Then turned N. by E. over the actual summit of the hill, no t., leaving a barrow (The Ring (OM1)) 1 f. to the W. (3 f.). Then along t., N., to the Cheltenham-Winchcombe road (4 f.). Thence, minor road, to the SE. edge of the camp on Nottingham Hill (OM1). (3 f.)

From this point onwards there is hardly an existing trackway along its line ; but its course may be followed

along the watershed, first between the Isbourne and the Tirlle, and then between the Tirlle and the Carrant.

From Nottingham Camp NE., passing just N. of Rushbarn (OM6) to the top of Stanley Mount (OM1) (1 m. 1 f.). Hence NW., t., (4 f.). Hence WNW., no t., to the Prescott-Stanley Pontlarge By. (3 f.). Hence N. by W., no t., to the earthworks (OM1) on Dixon Hill (OM1) (6 f.). Hence generally NW., no t., to the camp on Woolstone Hill (OM1) (7 f.).

Total length of road 5 m. 7 f.

ROAD 5

*The Northleach-Witney Ridgeway, etc. A Branch Ridgeway, which was also in part a Saltway*¹
(Pls. ii and iii)

It leaves the great Cotswold ridgeway (Road 1) at Roel Gate (OM1), which is about 1 m. NNW. of Hawling village, and runs S., t., about 3 f. W. of that village, to a point about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. WSW. of it. In this part the OM. marks it as a Saltway. It was evidently a continuation of the saltway which ran along the Cotswold ridgeway (1 m. 1 f.). Hence SW., fp., to the road from Brockhampton to Bourton-on-the-Water (5 f.). Hence in a general SSE. direction along minor road to where a road from Andoversford comes up to the W. edge of Salperton Park (OM1) from the W. Again in this part of its course called Saltway in OM. Tumulus and Earthwork (OM1) close to the road where it passes along W. edge of Salperton Park (2 m. 1 f.). Continues SSE., mr. (circ. 3 f.), to where tumulus (OM1) called The Long Barrow stands 1 f. E. of the road. Then S. by W., mr. (circ. 6 f.), to where it meets the Cheltenham-Northleach road. Then SE. along that mr. (6 f.) to the Passdown Inn (OM1). Then ESE. along an old mr. to a point about 3 f. N. of Hampnett village (circ. 1 m. 5 f.). Continues, no t., but straight line of hedge, to meet the Northleach-Stow road, ESE. the Fosse Way, about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of Northleach (1 m.).

Here the road branched. First, it continued as a

¹ This road is really in the upper Thames basin; but as a saltway it is included in the present series.

ridgeway, and *possibly* as a saltway, to Burford and Witney. Secondly, it went S. as a saltway.

The First Branch. This may be easily described. It continues ESE. along minor road (1 m. 2 f.) till it joins the modern main road from Northleach to Burford. This last road is on the line of the old ridgeway till it arrives just above and S. of Burford (8 m. 5 f.).

The modern road to Witney from the last point is also on the line of the ridgeway. It passes Asthall Barrow (3 m.) and then goes on to Witney (5 m.).¹

The Second Branch. From the point on the ridgeway above Northleach it followed the Fosse Way SW. (1 m. 3 f.) till it met a road which comes down from the N.W. from that Passdown Inn which has already been mentioned in connection with the ridgeway. That this piece of road from the inn was in historic times part of the saltway is certainly the case. But it is almost equally certainly the case that these saltways, which are far older than history, adhered at first as much as possible to the ridgeways which, in this country at any rate, are the oldest through roads that ever man travelled.

From this point the saltway is of that remarkable character which is so noticeable in the great Eastern Saltway when passing through Warwickshire—a lonely track without a village and almost without a house on it for many miles. It runs SSE. from the Fosse Way along what is sometimes a road, sometimes no more than a track, to Coln St. Aldwyn (6 m. 2 f.). The old use of the road is recorded in the names Saltway Inn (OM1) and Saltway Barn which occur on this stretch of it. It is also called Saltway on the OM. Critchley Barrow stands by the side of it about 5 f. NNW. of the inn; and about 1 m. 3 f. after passing the inn it leaves a barrow about 250 yards to the SW. Its passage beyond Coln is not recorded.

¹ At Witney its ridgeway character seems to give out. But it is obvious that there did exist at some time, which cannot, of course, be dated, a road on to Oxford via Eynsham and a ford over the Thames at Swinford,

close to the present Eynsham Bridge, and by a short stretch of ridgeway over Witham Hill along a track still marked, to another ford over the Thames either near Botley, or, perhaps more probably, at North Hinksey.

Total length (1) of ridgeway, 26 m. 2 f.; (2) of saltway, 16 m.

ROAD 6

The First Bourton-on-the-Water Branch Ridgeway (Pl. iii)

This branches off E. from the Cotswold-Northleach ridgeway (Road 5) about 3 f. SSW. of Oxlease (OM1), which stands about $\frac{3}{4}$ m. WSW. of the village of Hawling. Hence it went due E., mr., to the Stow-Cheltenham road, along which it passed for about 200 yards (1 m. 6 f.). Thence still E., t., to Westfield (OM1) (6 f.). Hence E. by S. mr., (4 f.) to a point where the Long Barrow (OM1) stands beside the road. Hence in a generally E. direction, mr., to Bourton Bridge (OM1) (4 m. 5 f.) where was the *Buruhforda*, 'Ford of the Camp' [a reference to the camp at Bourton], of the Notgrove and Aston Blank charter. In that same charter it is called *Straet*, 'Made Way,' in this part of its course.

Total length of road 6 m. 6 f.

ROAD 7

Local Ridgeway in Upper Slaughter, near Bourton-on-the-Water (Pl. iii)

The short stretch of road, about 1 m. long, which runs due W. past Hill Farm (OM1) seems to be the road called *Hrycgweg*, 'ridgeway,' in the Harford charter. It is one of the numerous instances of what was no more than a local road being carried along the line of a ridge. It is now part of a mr.

ROAD 8

The so-called Ryknield Street (Pl. iii)

This road has been so often described that it is not necessary to do more than give the evidence of the charters in relation to it and to impart certain

information with regard to it which has not been so far published in books dealing with the Roman roads of Britain.¹

The name Rykniel as applied to it has sometimes been regarded as an antiquarian invention. It is certainly no modern invention, for, had it been so, it would have taken the form Ickniel Street. That the name Ickniel was applied to it at an early age is shown by the all but certain fact that Rykniel was derived from that name. The beginnings of various place-names are due to the combination of the definite article with a noun ; e.g. the Worcestershire pl. n. Rock represents the Saxon *aet thaere Ac(e)*, 'at the Oak-tree.' In the same way it is fairly certain the Rykniel represents an original *aet thaere Ichenilde Straet*, and that in the modern name the 'r' sound of the definite article *thaere* has become attached to the name *Ichenilde*. This must go back to the days before middle English, that is to say it must date, at latest, from not long after the conquest. It is a confessed fact that very little is known, and a good deal has been guessed, about the application and origin of the well-known names applied by the Saxons to the Roman roads, Watling Street, Ickniel Street, Ermine Street, etc., to give the modern forms of the names. But it is noticeable that the name Watling is applied to various Roman roads which have no direct connection with one another, and the name Ickniel was, as is known from a perambulation of Clarendon Forest in Wiltshire, applied not merely to the well-known road running up the Chilterns from Berkshire to Norfolk, but also to the Roman road from Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum) to Silchester.² This road has no direct connection with the well-known Ickniel Street. May not this promiscuous employment of the name have been extended to the Rykniel Street also? In the charters, however, it is always called *Buggilde Straet*, which has survived in modern times in the form Buckle

¹ For a full and, as it seems to me, an excellent and accurate summary of the evidence relating to it in the works of investigators of the past, Codrington, *Roman Roads of Britain*: S.P.C.K. 1903.

² See 'Ancient Highways, etc., of Wiltshire,' Grundy, *Arch. Journ.* vol. lxxv (xxv), p. 98.

Street.¹ The road was probably one of those frontier roads which the Romans constructed for the strategic purpose of providing a means of the rapid concentration of the troops guarding the frontier at any special point at which it might be assailed. They also served as a definite frontier line over which the *nationes externae* might not pass without permission. The Fosse Way and the Akeman Street are similar roads representing the Roman frontier at earlier stages of the conquest of the island.

ITINERARY

Starts on the Fosse Way where the modern road from Lower Slaughter meets that way. Runs NNW., no t., to the road from Upper Slaughter to Lower Swell, which it crosses about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. of Kirkham (OM1) (1 m. 1 f.). Thence NNW., minor road, to Condicote (2 m. 5 f.). Passes just W. of Condicote, no t., camp $\frac{1}{4}$ m. E., and Enbury Camp $\frac{1}{2}$ m. NE. (2 f.). Thence NNW. to Hinchwick (OM1), minor road (7 f.). Thence NNW, no t., but the *Grene Weg*, 'Green Way' of the Cutsdean charter B.1299, K. 596, refers to it in its passage through the extreme E. end of that parish. To the SE. corner of the grounds of Springhill House (OM1) (2 m. 2 f.) Thence NNW., private road, to the Snowhill-Chipping Campden road² (1 m. 1 f.). The *Eald Dic*, 'Old Dyke' of the landmarks 25 and 26 of the Broadway survey B.1282, K. 570, refers to the 'agger' of the road in this part. Runs NNW. (6 f.) along farm road. 'Agger' very marked at this part. Meets the Stow-Evesham road and the Cotswold ridgeway. The *Eald Dic aet Nannes Mannes Lande*, 'Old Dyke at No Man's Land,' of the Broadway

¹ At the summit of Broadway Hill (OM1) where the Roman road and the Cotswold ridgeway cross one another the OM. applies the name Buckle Street to the wrong road.

² The 'agger' of the road is just distinguishable running through the line of the belt of trees at the side of the private road. I cut a section of it here and also another a little further N. The material of the road had been very much cut up, possibly

by medieval traffic; but what was there was sufficient to show that in this part the road had never been made in the elaborate form in which the Akeman Street at the point of its passage through Blenheim Park had been made. The late Prof. Haverfield and I had taken sections of that some years before. I printed a report on the sections of this part of the Ryknield Street in Proceedings Soc. Antiq., May 14th, 1914.

survey B.1282, K.570, may be a reference to the 'agger' of the road at this point of meeting; and in the first Evesham charter B.125, K.61 (landmark 41), it is here called *Buggilde Stret*, 'Buggild's Street.'¹ At the last point it reaches the top of a ridge which forms what may be called a local horizon. When Roman roads reach such a point they are apt, probably owing to surveying difficulties in laying out their line, to make a slight change in direction, amounting only to a few degrees, in order, no doubt, to correct the general line. This road does so at this point, and from it runs slightly W. of N. along the Willersey By., mr. (1 m. 3 f.) to where it meets the road from Chipping Campden to Saintbury. In this part of its course it is called *Straet* in the Willersey charter B.482, K.274. There was also a camp (OM1) on it at this part of its course, and the fact that its rampart is called in the Willersey charter (*loc. cit.*) *Burhwall* and in the Evesham charter B.125, K.61, *Bureg Wall*, suggests that its rampart was of stone, not earth. If so, it was probably a small Roman station on the road.²

From this point the course of the road as far as Weston-sub-Edge is not certain. It is possible that it followed the *general* line of the modern road. It is quite certain that it did *not* follow its windings. It is quite likely, for instance, that it changed its direction to NNE. to go down the comb of the ridge, and so ease the gradient; and the road from the bottom of the hill to a point just W. of Weston may mark its general line (1 m. 2 f.). From this point by Weston runs slightly W. of N., mr. and parish By., to the Co. By. about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. NW. of Bickmarsh Lodge (4 m. 1 f.). In this part of its course it is called *Buggilde Straet*

¹ It is noticeable that three of the names applied by the Saxons to Roman roads, *Ichenild*, *Buggild*, and *Seuene*, are female names. I am inclined to wonder whether they may not be names of goddesses who were supposed to protect the roads and the wayfarers on them. The names *burnstow* and *hegestow*, which are common in the charters, suggest the possibility that the Saxons conceived,

like some other ancient peoples, of gods or goddesses of streams and boundaries. *Stow* is applied to sacred places.

² I do not know whether this camp has been explored by excavation; but, if it has not, some excavation made with a view to determining its date might lead to very interesting results. If the walls *were* of stone, then it was almost certainly Roman.

in the Evesham charter K.1368 at a point within a few yards of Honeybourne station: *Buggildstret* in the Evesham charter B.125, K.61, at a point about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of the last: and in the same charter it is called *Buggildstret* at the point where it crosses the Pebworth-N. Littleton road. At this same point it is called *Buggan Stret* in the Evesham charter K.289. In the Poden survey attached to K.289 it is called *Brad Stret*, 'Broad Street,' at a point near Church Honeybourne village. The Evesham charters B.125, K.61 and K. 1368 mention a *Staniht Forda*, 'Stony Ford,' on it where Honeybourne Bridge, close to Church Honeybourne village, now stands. From the Co. By. it runs W. of N., minor road, to a crossing of the Avon at Bidford (3 m. 1 f.).

(From this point merely the main line of it will be given.)

Hence W. of N., no t. (1 m. 2 f.), to where it again meets a line of mr. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. NNE. of Broom. Hence, minor road, or t., to (2 m. 2 f.) Alcester. Hence W. of N. (4 m. 4 f.), mr., to a point about $\frac{3}{4}$ m. N. of Studley village. Hence (1 m.), no t., to a point close to Ipsley Court (OM1). Hence W. of N., mr. or minor roads, to (6 m.) where it enters King's Norton parish a long $\frac{1}{2}$ m. ESE. of Redhill (OM1). Here there was a pond called *Straet Mere*, 'Street Pond,' in the *Coftun* charter B.455, K.250.

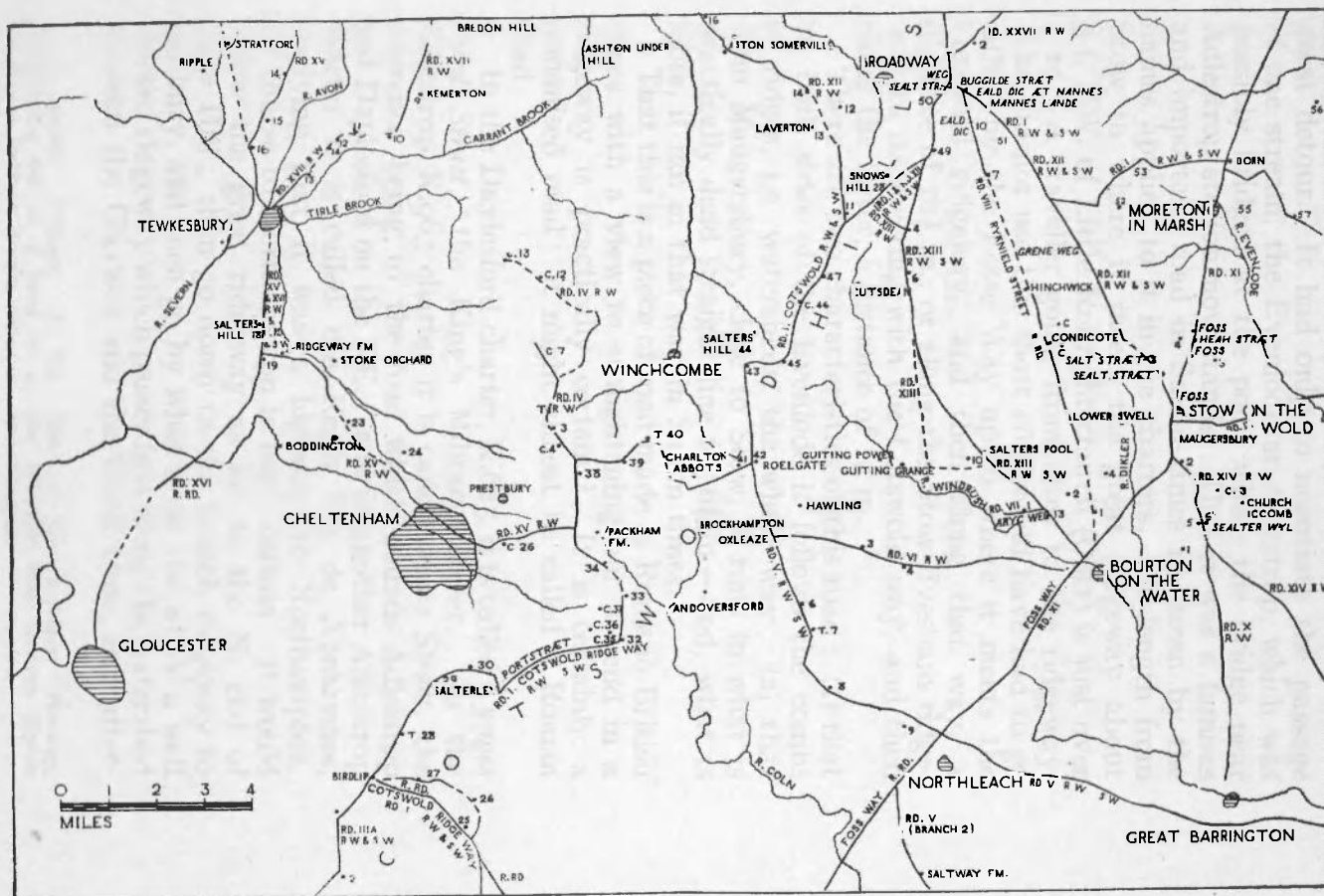
From here northwards it passed, according to evidence cited by Codrington (*loc. cit.*), by Stirchley Street, Selly Oak, Sandpits, along Worstone Lane, and in Moseley on the E. side of the river Rea.

(For its course N. to Yorkshire see Codrington, p. 275 ff.)

ROAD 9

A Link Road from Stow-on-the-Wold (Pl. iii)

The *raison d'être* of this road is quite obvious. It was made in order to link up the great road-meeting at Stow with the N. part of the great Cotswold ridgeway (Road 1) in order to avoid what would have been a



Correction : for Packham Farm read Puckham Farm

great detour. It had only to negotiate the passage of one stream, the Evenlode at Adlestrop, which was possibly bridged at the point where the bridge near Adlestrop station now stands. That it was a famous and important road in Saxon times is shown by the names applied to it in the charters. Its length from Stow to where it meets the great ridgeway about 3 f. NW. of Little Rollright church (OM1) is just over 7 m. A traveller going from Stow to the ridgeway, if he did not use this short cut, would have had to go either by the Fosse Way up to where it meets the Cotswold ridgeway, and then along that way, a distance of $10\frac{1}{4}$ m., or along the Stow-Evesham ridgeway to its meeting with the Cotswold way, and then along the latter, a distance of 14 m.

There are two characteristics of this road : (1) that on both sides of the Evenlode it follows the combs of ridges, i.e. watersheds, the whole way ; (2) that from Maugersbury, close to Stow, it runs in what is practically dead straight line for $6\frac{1}{2}$ m.—and, what is more, it ran in that way in Saxon times.

That this is a piece of road made in Romano-British times with a view to straightening out a bend in a ridgeway is practically certain.¹ It is certainly a romanised road ; it might almost be called a Roman road.

In the Daylesford charter, K.623, it is called *Cynges Fyrd Straet*, 'the King's Military Street.' In the Adlestrop K.963 charter it is called *othere Straet*, the reference being to the road which bounds Adlestrop and Daylesford on the NE. ; and in another Adlestrop charter it is called the *Regia Via de Norhamtun*, implying that it was a highway to Northampton. Its course to Northampton is fairly certain. It would follow the great ridgeway as far as the N. end of Edge Hill ; then go down to the branch ridgeway to Banbury, and then go by what is on the whole a well marked ridgeway which passes first along the watershed between the Cherwell and the Great Ouse, and after-

¹ A similar instance of the straightening out of a bend in a pre-Roman track in Roman times is that of the Berkshire Portway, the *Ichenilde Weg*, between Upton and Wantage.

wards along the watershed between the latter and the Nen. At the junction of the NW. boundaries of Adlestrop and Daylesford it is crossed by what was obviously an important road. (See Road 26.) About 500 yards NW. of that point is a camp. (See Worcester Charters, Trans. Birm. Arch. Soc. vol. lii, p. 71.)

NOTE.—A key to the numbered sites on the maps illustrating this and the subsequent Parts will be appended to Part II.

(To be continued)