Place-Names and Street-Names at Chester

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IT is not the purpose of this paper to recite all the history of the names of the streets of Chester as recorded in the last 700 years or more. The detailed material for an historical gazetteer will be more concisely presented in my forthcoming *The Place-Names of Chester*.[1] Furthermore, much of the available information is already displayed adequately in the articles by W. E. Brown and G. W. Haswell,[2] and by the countless notes and queries from various contributors scattered about in *The Cheshire Sheaf*; and by the admirable map by Mary E. Finch and F. H. Thompson, No. 51 in *The Historical Atlas of Cheshire* (Chester 1958), which should be compared with Fig. 1.

The present purpose is restricted to the exhibition of some of the more general problems which various local names raise, and to examine some particular aspects of local history which are either illustrated or even further obscured by place-name and street-name evidence.

Although this approach depends upon the safe assumption that the history of the city and its parts is already known to this Society, certain background commonplaces need to be stated at the outset for the sake of convenient reference. We are, at Chester, dealing with a Roman legionary fortress which grew into a medieval city. Archaeology and the town street-plan together exhibit the shape of the Roman town, the rectangle enclosed by the north and east city-walls, by Pepper Street, White Friars, Weaver Street, Linenhall Street and St. Martin's Fields. The name of Chester is a figurative model of the change. It appears first as *Deva*,[3] called by the Romans after the holy river, *Dee* (Lat. *diva* 'the goddess'), on which it stood. It was called *Carlegion* in British, reported by Bede in 734 who translates it *civitas Legionum* in Latin, *Legacæstir* in Old English. The Anglo-Saxon name *Legacæstir* arises from the addition of their word *ceaster* 'a Roman city', to the name *Lleon*, which they took from *Carlegion, Caerlleon*. The English name means 'the Roman city called *Legion*', a translation of *Caerlleon*. In the eleventh century the *Legion* theme, the *Lega-* element of the English name, was dropped. *Legaceaster* gave way to simple *ceaster*, Chester: otherwise the modern form of the city-name would have been something like *Leicester*. There was no need to identify which *chester* this Chester had been in British times, it was to the English *the* chester. Similarly, in Welsh, Chester was *y Gaer* '*the* city'. As the capital of the north-west and of Wales, and as lying more westerly than less distinguished *chesters* elsewhere in the land, it was sometimes called *West-chester* 'the Chester of the west'. It can be estimated from

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[1] Volumes 44–48 in the English Place-Name Society's *A Survey of English Place-Names*.

[2] "Chester Street-Names Past and Present", C.A.S., Vols. X and XII, 1905, 1907.

[3] Δηουα 150 Ptolemy, *Deva* 4 Antonine Itinerary. In the presentation of dates, dating by centuries A.D. is given in simple figures; e.g. 150 here represents the date 150 A.D., and 4 represents the fourth century A.D.

historical record that the Romano-British city *Carlegion* became the English *Legaceaster* during the period 616 to 689, i.e. between the battle of Chester in 616 between Æthelfrith of Northumbria and the forces of Gwynedd, and the foundation in 689 of St. John's church by Æthelræd of Mercia, a period during which Penda's Mercia assumed the political responsibility for containing the Northumbrian power and asserted for itself a status more independent than that of a mere ally of Cadwallon's Welsh power; a period in which began that withdrawal of the Welsh frontier, from a line along R. Gowy between Tarvin and Macefen, back to the line established by Offa's Dyke.[4]

The stages by which the typical legionary fortress plan was expanded into the shape of medieval Chester is one of the most interesting and annoying problems which remain unsettled. It is doubtful whether place-name study will provide the answer to the question of how and when this was done; the spade will be the more likely tool for that task. But it seems likely that some toponymic suggestions, mere straws in the wind, may lead the archaeological investigation. In the course of this paper, a number of archaeological and historical inferences will be drawn from place-name forms and the topographical location of the named places in the city, which may, by accident of phrase, look like assertions of fact: it must be remembered that a place-name etymology is significant only in terms of that human and environmental context which attended the invention of the name, and that philology can at best indicate some possible significances which need the support and proof of historical record or archaeological discovery. The arguments presented in this paper, therefore, will be in some measure inferential as well as deductive: the inferences and deductions drawn will be such as may interest the inferences and deductions drawn from the other kinds of evidence of past time. That sort of philological archaeology provided by place-names eventually requires the control of the other kinds of archaeology, documentary and material. This statement provides a sufficient insurance against any damage to history and archaeology that might be caused by a place-name student running amok along the lanes of Chester.

Berward Street and St. Chad's Church

The first subject for examination is historical. We have to challenge the accuracy of a part of that tradition of our knowledge of the street-names of medieval Chester which depends upon the survey of the city *tempore* Edward III (1327–77) which was copied into the first *Assembly Book* of the Corporation of Chester in Richard Dutton's mayoralty 1573–4.[5] It is upon this Elizabethan tradition of the survey of Edward III's time that all subsequent treatments of the street-names of the city depend: and whereas for the most part it seems accurate enough, there is now some documentary evidence of error in this

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[4] This sequence is described in my paper "The English Arrival in Cheshire", L.C.H.S., Vol. 119, 1967.

[5] Published in Morris (R. H. Morris, *Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns*, Chester, 1894, 254–257.
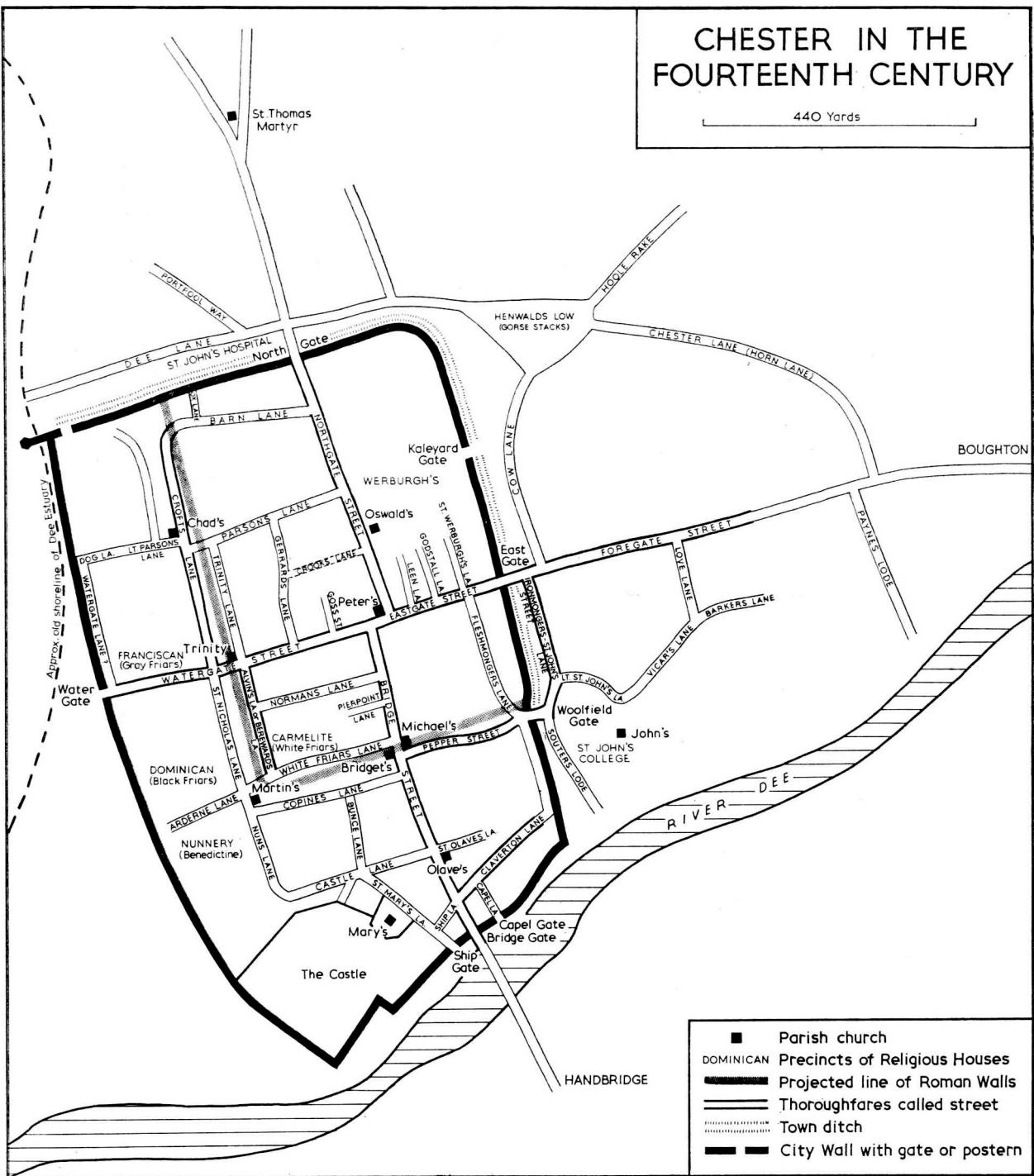
FIG. 1. Plan of Medieval Chester. Thoroughfares known as *streets* are drawn in heavy line.

tradition of the names and layout of the north-west part of the medieval town, in the streets and buildings near *The Crofts*. In particular, there is something wrong with the received tradition of the location of the lost *St. Chad's church* and the identification of *Berward Street* with Linenhall Street.

The Crofts is a name usually associated with the open ground, unoccupied until the old city gaol and the infirmary finally swallowed it, in the north-west corner of the medieval city. But it must originally have applied to the whole extent of the ground inside the west wall of the city, from the castle to the north wall: as if, in expanding beyond the Roman wall, the city had included within its greater circuit allotments of unbuilt ground. The medieval wall is not the result of a necessary inclusion and protection of developed suburbs; it is a project by some authority or other allowing for future and subsequent, perhaps immediate, expansion beyond the Roman town. *The Crofts* in their later extent appear to be referred to, by the middle of the thirteenth century, as *le Croftis*,[6] *le Croftes*.[7] Individual allotments of ground, *the croft, a croft,* are frequently referred to, but all the ground inside the west wall, west of St. Martin's Fields, Linenhall Street, Nicholas Street and Castle Esplanade, from the north wall of the city to the castle, appears to have been occupied by allotments in early medieval times. The site for the foundation of *St. Mary's nunnery* was described in 1128–53 as 'those crofts (*illas croftas*) which Hugh son of Oliver held'.[8] The *Black Friars' chapel* was described in c.1217–26 as 'St. Nicholas's chapel founded in the crofts of Chester (*in croftis Cestrie*)'.[9] These two religious houses occupied the space between the castle and Watergate Street. From the middle of the thirteenth century onwards, *The Crofts* is the name of the ground north of Watergate Street. King Street was formerly *Barn Lane*, called after St. Werburgh's Abbey's barn in the crofts.[10] These northern crofts were called 'the crofts of Northgate Street' in 1348,[11] as though the allotments were appurtenant to a particular part of the town. The encroachment upon this northern part of *The Crofts* was under way by the middle of the thirteenth century, with the establishment of the *Grey Friars'* house. Their east precinct-wall (still standing in 1574) was along Linenhall Place, and Linenhall Street was *Gray Friars Lane* 1480 to 1775, whereas it was *Crofts Lane* or *Street* 1345 to 1574. But north of the *Grey Friars* there seems to have been little permanent building until modern times. The extension of the infirmary in 1963 occupied the last remnant of The

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[6] c.1252–3 Sheaf 3, 33, No. 7453, from a Talbot deed. Sheaf 3, represents *The Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd Series.

[7] 1265–91 (14) Chester II, 617n. Chester represents J. Tait, *The Chartulary of Chester Abbey*, Chetham Society (New Series) Vols. LXXIX, LXXXII. The bracketed date (14) indicates the date or century of the actual document in which a record appears.

[8] 1128–53 (1400) *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, cf. C.A.S. XIII, 91; G. Ormerod (ed. T. Helsby), *History of Cheshire*, 1882, 346, hereafter referred to as Ormerod.

[9] c.1217–26 a charter among the miscellaneous documents in the records of the Corporation of Chester, City Record Office.

[10] *grangia in croftis* 1249–65 (14) Chester II, 617 n1.

[11] *le croftes de Northgatestrete*. Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1. No. 39, in Cheshire County Record Office.

Crofts at their north end, formerly *Lady Barrow's Hey*.[12] South of this was *Kitchen Croft*,[13] part of The Crofts lying in St. Martin's parish, whence the street-name St. Martin's Fields; and also *Gaol Fields*[14] and *Infirmary Field*,[15] named after the *City Gaol* (1706) and the Infirmary (1706). The gaol was south of Bedward Row, contiguous with the *Grey Friars'* site. The Linen Hall was built upon the site of the *Covent Garden*[16] of the Grey Friars. The site of their house was partly occupied by an inn called *The Yacht*,[17] whence *the Grey Friars Close or the Yacht Field*.[18]

Into this area of *The Crofts* we are required by tradition to fit the location of *St. Chad's church* and *Berward Street*. The identification of *Berward Street* with Linenhall Street is suggested by the place of the entry for *Berward Street* in the 1574 Assembly Book copy of the Edward III survey. *Berward Street* there has a paragraph to itself among a list of streets leading off Watergate Street, as if it might well have been a lane off the north side of Watergate Street; but the sixteenth-century scribe was preserving his options by putting it separately because his old text did not clearly inform him. His arrangement certainly indicates that *Berward Street* was a lane off Watergate Street, but it strongly suggests that there might have been some special reservation about it in his mind, requiring a reserved manner of entry. It will appear that by 1574 the location and identity of *Berward Street* had in fact been forgotten, and that the 1574 transcript has been interpreted, wrongly, as identifying *Berward Street* with Linenhall Street because that transcript suggested by its drafting that *Berward Street* was the most westerly lane running northward off Watergate Street in the medieval town-plan.

The names of Linenhall Street have been 'Crofts Street' or 'Crofts Lane' 1345 to 1574,[19] 'Gray Friars Lane' 1480 to 1775,[20] 'Manx Lane' 1665–1691,[21] 'Lower Lane' 1714 to 1830,[22] and 'New Linenhall Street' and more shortly

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[12] *the Ladie Barrows Hey* 1620 Sheaf 3, 4, No. 633, an enclosure belonging to the *Barrow* family, said to have been wealthy merchants in Chester in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Sheaf 3, 32, No. 7184, cf. 'the close next unto the New Tower now on the holding of my lord Barro' 1533–4 Sheaf loc. cit.

[13] 1724 NotCestr (F. Gastrell, *Notitia Cestriensis, or Historical Notices of the Diocese of Chester*, Vol. I, Cheshire, ed. F. R. Raines, Chetham Society (Original Series) VIII, 1845), 104.

[14] 1860 White (F. White & Co., *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Cheshire*, Sheffield, 1860).

[15] 1844 Tithe Award, Tithe Redemption Commission No. 5/308; 1848 Tithe Award T.R.C. No. 5/100.

[16] 1540, Ormerod, I, 350.

[17] 1749 Sheaf 3, 10, p. 72, c.1772 Sheaf 1, 1, p. 25.

[18] 1775, C.A.S., XXIV, 63.

[19] *regia strata del Croftes* 1345 Portmote Rolls (MR/42) in Chester City Record Office; 1389 Br. Mus. Additional Charter 50202; *venella vocata le Croftes* 1459 Portmote Rolls MR/98; *Crofts Lane* 1396 C.A.S., XXIV, 61; *lez Croftes Streete or St. Chaddes Streete* 1574 Corp. (= Deeds of the Corporation of Chester, in the City Record Office).

[20] *Gray Fryars Lowne* 1480 C.A.S., XXIV, 61; *le Grayfrerelane* 1510 Sheriffs Books (SB) in City Record Office; *Grey Friars Lane* 1775 C.A.S. op. cit., 45–6.

[21] *Manks Lane* 1665 Sheaf 3, 44, No. 9164; *Mancks Lane* 1691 op. cit., No. 9225.

[22] *Lower Lane* 1714–27 Corp. C/Ch 8A/5, —*formerly called Berwards Street* 1728 Sheaf 3, 45, No. 9238–9, —*or Linenhall Street* 1830 loc. cit.

'Linenhall Street' from 1782.[23] It was first named as the street running along and to *The Crofts* from Watergate Street; then as the lane which ran from the *Grey Friars*; then as the home of a community of Manxmen living in this quarter in the seventeenth century;[24] then as the lane lower down Watergate Street than the other lanes leading northward and as the lower of the only two thoroughfares leading to the north wall of the city (Northgate Street was the other, of course, along the top of the hill on which the Roman city stood); and the modern name is taken from the Linen Hall.[25]

In 1574, coinciding with the Assembly Book transcript, Linenhall Street is called *lez Croftez Streete or St. Chaddes Streete*[26] and in 1728[27] it appears as *Lower Lane formerly called Berwards Street*. The first of these equations indicates a site of *St. Chad's* on Linenhall Street which could cause *Crofts Street* to be called *St. Chad's Street*. The point will be taken up again. The 1728 reference identifies Linenhall Street (as *Lower Lane*) with *Berward Street* because of the 1574 transcript tradition.

This identification, received from, or rather, read into, the 1574 Assembly Book transcript, is incorrect, as is clearly proved by a series of ancient deeds[28] which deal with a property down Watergate Street opposite Holy Trinity Church, in *Alvenis-, Aluineslone. Aluineslone* is Weaver Street, for in 1405[29] property in *Aluineslone* was described as between *Alueneslone* to the east, *le Blakefrerelone* ('Blackfriar Lane', i.e. Nicholas Street) to the west, and Watergate Street to the north. Weaver Street is called *Alban Lane* in the 1574 transcript, and *Albane Lane now Weever Lane near to the Trinity Church* in a sixteenth century reference[30] which locates it at the west end of Watergate Street Row South. In 1656[31] it was called *St. Alban's-lane. Alban* for *Alven* looks like the commonplace confusion and substitution, phonetic as well as orthographic, of *b* and *v*.[32]

From these Vernon deeds and the 1574 transcript we now see Weaver

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[23] Sheaf 3, 45, No. 9238-9.

[24] Sheaf 3, 44, No. 9228.

[25] Built 1774-1778 on *Yacht Field* in *The Crofts*, and the site of *Grey Friars*: a market hall for the Irish linen trade, also used as a cheese-market; *Linen Hall and Cheese Fair* 1848 Tithe **Award Map, Tithe Redemption Commission** No. 5/100; *Cheese Mart* 1860 White. In 1782 it was *New Linenhall* (cf. Linenhall Street *supra*) superseding *the old Linen Hall* 1831 Hemingway (J. Hemingway, *History of the City of Chester*, Chester, 1831,) II, 12, which stood on the east side of Northgate Street near the Cathedral.

[26] See note 19 *supra*.

[27] Sheaf 3, 48, No. 9740.

[28] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, Nos. 5, 3 and 8.

[29] Ibid., Box 3, C2, No. 2.

[30] Sheaf 3, 32, No. 7173, to be dated either 1533-4 or 1556.

[31] Ormerod, I, 188.

[32] Although it is interesting to note that the abbot of St. Albans visited Chester in 1362 to examine tne affairs of Chester Abbey (C.A.S., XIII, 32) it need not be relevant to *Alban Lane*: for that matter, there was a certain *Alban Minur* at Chester in c.1185 witnessing a grant to St. Mary's Nunnery (C.A.S., XIII, 96, 3), and Stephen *de Sancto Albano* (of St. Albans) was Chamberlain of Chester c.1242-3.

Street as *Aluenislone* c.1260, *Aluinislone* 1291, -es- 1292, *Alueneslone* 1405;[33] *Aluenelone*;[34] *Alban Lane* Edward III (1574),[35] *Albane Lane* 16,[36] *St. Alban's-lane*;[37] *Weaver Lane* 16,[38] *Weavers Lane* 1712,[39] *Weaver-street, formerly named St. Alban-lane* 1831.[40]

Now, in the same series of deeds[41] there are documents dealing with the same or an adjoining property, a messuage in Watergate Street, opposite Holy Trinity Church and on the corner of *Berewardeslone*. One of them,[42] dated 1342, conveys a messuage *in Watergatestrete civitatis Cestrie super le corner' de Berewardeslone ex opposito ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis* 'in Watergate Street, city of Chester, upon the corner of Bereward's Lane, opposite the church of Holy Trinity'. Another of them[43] describes *Berewardeslone* in 1294 as *venella que extendit se a domo fratrum Carmelitarum Cestrie usque ad ecclesiam Sancte Trinitatis et que venella vocatur Berwardeslone civitatis Cestrie* 'the lane extending from the house of the Carmelite Friars of Chester to the church of Holy Trinity, and which lane is called *Berwardeslone*, city of Chester'. This lane from White Friars to Holy Trinity is exactly on the site of Weaver Street. Another of these documents,[44] a deed dated 1292, of property in *Aluineslone* (i.e. Weaver Street), bears an endorsement *Berwardislone* which I think is in a fourteenth-century hand. This proves an old identification of *Aluineslone* and *Berward Street*. A document in a different collection[45] records that c.1240 John son of John son of Norman held land in *Bereward Lone*. The family of Norman lived in Commonhall Street[46] which runs into Weaver Street.

It is now obvious that *Berward Street* was Weaver Street. *Berward Street* appears as *Bereward Lone* c.1240,[47] *Berwaselone* 1290,[48] *Berwardeslone* 1294,[49]

[33] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, Nos. 5, 6, 8, and C2, No. 2, respectively.

[34] Ibid., Box 3, C1, 36.

[35] Assembly Book, cf. Morris, 256 (corrigenda), Sheaf 1, 1, p. 239.

[36] v. note 30 *supra*.

[37] v. note 31 *supra*.

[38] 1533-4 Sheaf 3, 32, No. 7173, cf. note 30 *supra*.

[39] Assembly Book of the Corporation of Chester, City Record Office, AB/3, f. 192, 202v.

[40] Hemingway, II, 10.

[41] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, Nos. 2 (date 1290), 30 (date 1342) and 4 (date 1294).

[42] Ibid., Box 3, C1, No. 30.

[43] Ibid., Box 3, C1, No. 4.

[44] Ibid., Box 3, C1, No. 8.

[45] Br. Mus. Add. Charter 49979, cf. C.A.S., X, 23, No. XIII; the correct date may be *ante* 1238.

[46] *Normanslone* 1295 Br. Mus. Add Charter 50058; *Mothal-*, *Mothallelone* 1342 ib. 50149-52; *le Comen Hall Lane* 1468-9 Treasurer's Account Rolls, Chester Record Office, 1/3; the later name was taken from the ancient moot-hall of the city (*communis aula* 1337 Add. Charter 50142) which stood on the south side of Commonhall Street and the north side of Pierpoint Lane, cf. 'a lane anciently called Norman's-lane and many yet call it Common-hall-lane because it was situate at a great hall, where the pleas of the city, and the courts thereof, and meetings of the mayor and his brethren were there holden' 1656 Ormerod, I, 188.

[47] Br. Mus. Add. Charter 49979, v. note 45 *supra*.

[48] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 2.

[49] Ibid., No. 4, v. note 43 *supra*.

Berwardislone 14,[50] *Berewardeslone* 1342,[51] 1351,[52] *Benewardeslone* 1280–1,[53] *Berward Street, -Strete* Edward III (1574),[54] *Berward Street* 1656.[55] The name means 'the bear-keeper's lane', from Middle English *bere-ward* 'a bear-ward, a bear-keeper'. The surname is recorded in Chester as lately as that of Agnes *Berward* t. Edward IV.[56] Bearward Streets existed in medieval London,[57] Nottingham[58] and Northampton.[59] The identification of *Berward Street* with *Alban Lane,* both now Weaver Street, raises an interesting example of a street with two names. What is now Weaver Street would appear to have been *Bereward Lone* down to mid-14, *Alvens Lane* (later *Alban Lane*) from mid-13 to sometime before 1534, *Weaver Lane* from 1534 onwards. By 1574 the name *Bereward Lone* was so ill remembered that its identification was uncertain: the name had been ousted by *Alvens Lane*. It is now only an idle speculation whether the *bere-ward* in the name *Bereward Lone* c.1240, might have been the man *Alvin* (< Old English *Ælfwine*) in the name *Aluenislone* c.1260.

If the transcript is shown by other documents to be imprecise about *Berward Street,* it is not so vague about *St. Chad's Lane* and *Dog Lane*. It allots these now-lost street-names to two lanes touching upon the lost *St. Chad's church*. The 1574 transcript indicates that *St. Chad's Lane* (called *Sant Chadde Layne*) was at the end of *Parson's Lane* (i.e. Princess Street) along *Crofts Lane* (i.e. Linenhall Street); that *St. Chad's church* was on *St. Chad's Lane;* and that, from *St. Chad's Lane* end, a lane called *Dogge Lane* ran westward to the city wall. The 1574 transcript keeps *St. Chad's Lane* and *Dog Lane* distinct; it seems to know its way about the town at this point; we ought to think of two streets, and that, *tempore* Edward III, *St. Chad's Lane* and *Dog Lane* were not identical but both touched *St. Chad's Church*.

The location of St. Chad's Church has been variously stated. In *The Cheshire Sheaf,* 1st series, 2, 116, no doubt of the location is allowed: it was at the bottom of Princess Street, on the north side, opposite the road leading to the City Gaol; it was standing as late as *tempore* Henry VII; a chapel and well in *Little Parson's Lane* was given to Chester Abbey by Richard Fitton *tempore* Henry III (1217–72), no doubt St. Chad's. Of this, we may say that the pre-scribed location is only a street's width off the mark. The *Little Parson's Lane*

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[50] Endorsement on Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 8, of *Aluineslone, v.* note 44 *supra.*

[51] Ibid., Box 3, C1, No. 30.

[52] Ormerod, I, 349.

[53] Miscellaneous deeds, Chester Record Office.

[54] Assembly Book, cf. Morris, 256, 257; Sheaf 1, 1, p. 239.

[55] Ormerod, I, 188.

[56] Morris, 333.

[57] *Berewards Lane* (London, All Hallows Barking by the Tower), *Berewardeslane* 1285; and *Hog Lane* (London, Bishopsgate). *Berewardelane* 1279; see E. Ekwall, *Street-Names of the City of London,* Oxford, 1954, 112–113.

[58] Mount Street (Nottingham), *le Bereworde Gate* c.1240, see J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire,* English Place-Name Society, Vol XVII, 19.

[59] Bearward Street (Northampton), *Berewardstrete* 1281, see J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire,* English Place-Name Society, Vol. X, 7.

location is right enough, but *Little Parson's Lane*[60] is not *Parson's Lane* (i.e. Princess Street). Princess Street was first 'the lane opposite the abbey gate',[61] and then 'Parson's Lane' from mid-13 to 1817[62] because in it was a dwelling-house for the vicars of St. Oswald.[63] *Little Parson's Lane* was connected to *Parson's Lane*: presumably its westward extension across *Crofts Lane* (i.e. Linenhall Street). There is a more or less vague agreement in all historical discussions, that St. Chad's church stood somewhere along the line of Bedward Row.[64] But the location had in fact been lost or forgotten by the seventeenth century.

The location of St. Chad's can now be recovered from a series of allusions: upon the premise that St. Chad's stood on *Little Parson's Lane* and that this was off the west end of *Parson's Lane* (i.e. Princess Street). In c.1252–3 we find mention[65] of land near *The Crofts* and the lane towards St. Chad's church. In 1336 we find mention[66] of a plot of land *between* St. Chad's lane (leading to the town wall towards Bonewaldesthorne) and the land of Hugh Mody; here also we note the emergence of a lane behind the church of St. Chad. In 1448 we have a deed[67] for 'a garden in the Crofts at the end of the lane leading from the church of St. Chad as far as the stone wall of the city'. But most precisely, we find a deed[68] dated 1389 which describes a garden upon The Crofts, bounded on one side by the lane extending from The Crofts to St. Chad's church, on the next side by the land of Richard Geve, on the third side by *regia strata del Croftez* (i.e. *Crofts Lane* now Linenhall Street and St. Martin's Fields), and on the fourth side by St. Chad's church. This shows that St. Chad's church in *Little Parson's Lane* (i.e. the east end of Bedward Row) was one boundary of a garden between *Crofts Lane* (Linenhall Street–St. Martin's Fields) and *the lane from The Crofts to St. Chad's church*. Thus, St. Chad's stood at the north-west angle of the intersection of Linenhall Street and Bedward Row opposite the end of Princess Street, directly across the road from the location proposed years ago in *The Cheshire Sheaf*. The plan suggested in this construction is represented by Fig. 2, which is a diagram of the situation in 1389 (Add. Ch. 50202).

[60] *petit Parsone lone* 1242 (17) Br. Mus. Harleian MS. 7568, f. 119, cf. Sheaf 3, 19, No. 4643; *vicus qui vocatur Petit Personeslone* 1291–1323 (14) Chester II, 877.

[61] early 13 (no date) Sheaf 3, 36, No. 7962; c.1284 (14) Chester II, 463.

[62] *Personeslone* c.1249–65 Chester II, 614 to *Princes Street* 1817 Ormerod, I, 180.

[63] R. V. H. Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, S.P.C.K., 1962, 46.

[64] 1724 NotCestr notes that there was formerly a chapel in *Little Parson's Lane*, almost as if he knew and used that street-name, *v.* Chetham Society (Original Series), Vol. VIII, 95. Gastrell also cites (op. cit., 122), as does Ormerod, I, 354, the location given in the Shakerly of Hulm MS. 95, i, 11, 'St. Chad-Chapell in the field near Watergate on the north side, now ruinated, anno 1662', cf. also Br. Mus. Harleian MS. 2125, f. 267b, 'it stood in the croft over against the Black Friers, on the north side the Watergate Street, next the Watergate'.

[65] Sheaf 3, 33, No. 7435.

[66] Ibid., No. 7504.

[67] Vernon MSS., Box 3., C2, No. 36.

[68] Br. Mus. Add. Charter 50202.

This plan shows St. Chad's church abutting upon three thoroughfares, 1. the continuation of *Parson's Lane* (Princess Street), i.e. *Little Parson's Lane*, 2. *Crofts Lane* (Linenhall Street–St. Martin's Fields),[69] 3. a lane behind the church.[70] It would seem quite possible that the name *St. Chad's Lane* might be applied to any of these thoroughfares. Certainly it seems to have been applied to *Little Parson's Lane*[71] and to *Crofts Lane*.[72] It seems fairly certain that *Dog Lane*[73]
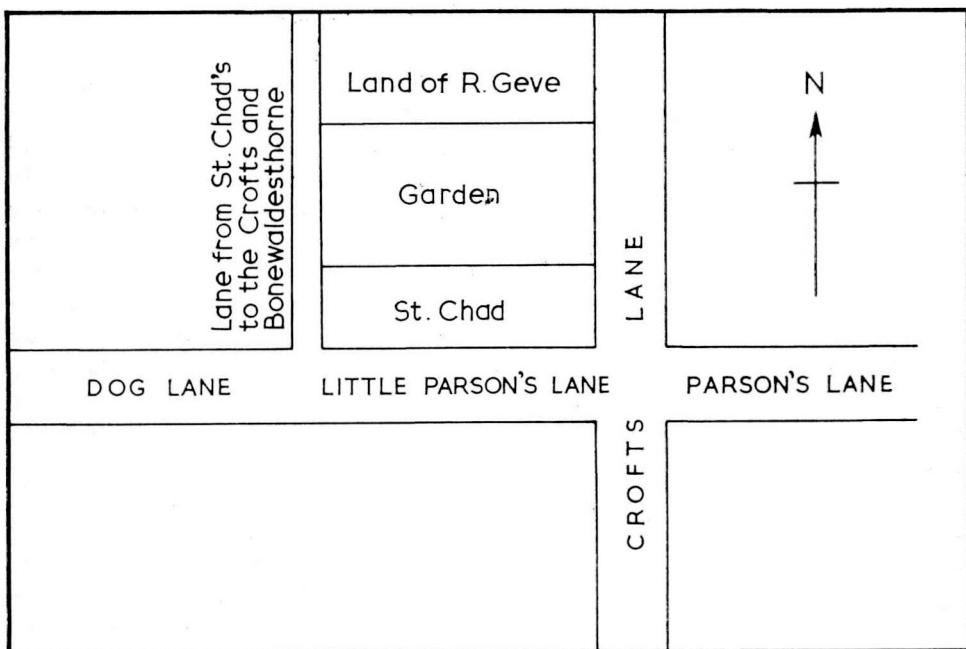

FIG. 2. The site of St. Chad's Church in 1389, as indicated by Br. Mus. Additional Charter 50202.

[69] Mistakenly identified with *Berward Street* by the 1574 transcript.

[70] This was *the lane extending from The Crofts to St. Chad's church* in 1389 (Add. Ch. 50202). It ran northwards from the west end of St. Chad's. Presumably this was the lane which is mentioned in 1336 (Sheaf 3, 33, No. 7504) and 1343 (Sheaf 3, 40, No. 8491) as 'St. Chad's lane leading to the town wall towards Bonewaldesthorne'. Hemingway (I, 357) noted in 1831 a blocked-up arch in the north wall of the city in the north-west angle near Bonewaldesthorne's Tower west of the postern leading to the canal wharf. He thought it was 'probably of ancient date', to give access to ships in the old haven. Such a postern would have been approached by the little lane behind St. Chad's.

[71] In 1656, Ormerod, I, 188: 'out of Berward Street in ancient time went a lane to St. Cedd's church now ruined and gone called Chadd's Lane'. This follows the implications of the 1574 transcript which gave *Crofts Lane* the name *Berward Street*.

[72] *Croftez Streete* or *St. Chaddes Streete* 1574 Corp., see note 19 *supra*, cf. Sheaf 3, 19, No. 4574. The same identification should be made for *alta via que ducit ad ecclesiam Sancti Cedde* 1505–6 Morris, 167.

[73] *Dogge Lane* Edward III (1574) Assembly Book (cf. Morris, 254–7, Sheaf 1, 1, 239); *(le) Doglone* 1413 Portmote Rolls MR/75; Morris, 351.

ran to the west wall[74] from the end of *St. Chad's Lane*, i.e. *Little Parson's Lane*, i.e. the east end of Bedward Row.

Street-name types in Chester

The names of the medieval thoroughfares of Chester fall into types, in many respects similar to the types distinguished for medieval London in E. Ekwall, *The Street-Names of the City of London*, Oxford, 1954. The medieval thoroughfares are named after a building standing upon them or to which they gave access, or after a person or a family to whose residence or property they led, or after some trade or activity followed at the place.

Named after buildings were Bridge Street, Eastgate Street, Watergate Street and Northgate Street;[75] these were principal thoroughfares; minor lanes also appear in this type, e.g. Castle Esplanade (*Nones Lane* Edw. III (1574) Assembly Book (cf. Morris, 256), 'Nun's Lane', named from St. Mary's Nunnery); Castle Street (*Casteleslone* 13 (14) Chester I, 407, 'lane to the castle'); Commonhall Street (*v.* note 46); King Street (*Bernelone* 1265–91 (14) Chester II, 618, 'the lane near the abbot of Chester's barn' 1238 Br. Mus. Add. Charter 49985, *v.* note 10); Linenhall Street (*v.* p.33 *supra*); Nicholas Street (*viculus Sancti Nicholai* 1297 Portmote Rolls (MR/3), Chester Record Office, 'the lane of St. Nicholas'; *Blakeffrer Lane* 1398 Sheaf 3, 43, No. 8974, *le Blakefrerelone* 1405 Vernon MSS., Box 3, C2, No. 2, 'the Black Friars' lane'; named from the Black Friars and their chapel of St. Nicholas); St. Mary's Hill (*Sant Marye Lane* Edw. III (1574), after St. Mary's on the Hill); St. Olave Street (*venella Sancti Olavi* 1216–72 Ancient Deed C3659 in Public Record Office; 'the lane which leads to the church of St. Olavus the king' 1321 Portmote Rolls, MR/24); St. Werburgh Street (*vicus Sancte Werburge* 1265–91 (14) Chester II, 607); Trinity Street (*venellum Sancte Trinitatis* 1281 Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 50013); and so forth.

The lanes of the city are in many instances named after a person. Black Friars was *Arderne Lane* Edw. III (1574),[76] from the surname *de Arderne*, cf 'tenements which sometime belonged to Katherine de Arderne in the lane which leads from Watergate Street towards the Friars Preachers' 1345,[77] i.e. houses in Nicholas Street. Bunce Street was *Buncelone* in 1328,[78] from the surname *Bunte, Bunce*; Andrew *Bunte* c.1260 gave Dieulacres Abbey land in Castle Street which had belonged to Richard his brother.[79] Richard *Bounz* was sheriff of the city 1243–4.[80] Commonhall Street was *Normanslone* 1295.[81]

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[74] At the west wall *tempore* Edward III it may have met another lane coming up from the Watergate, but this is not mentioned or named until *venella vocata Watergate Lane* 1547 (Public Record Office, Ministers Accounts, S.C.6/Edw. VI/61) and 1554 (ib., S.C.6/P&M/45), and the actual location of this *Watergate Lane* is not known to me.

[75] Also Foregate Street which means 'the street before, i.e. outside, the gate'.

[76] Assembly Book, *v.* Morris, 256.

[77] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 37.   [78] Ibid., No. 20.   [79] Morris, 568.

[80] His nieces Agnes and Alice inherited his land in *Parson's Lane* (Princess Street) *v.* C.A.S., X, 50, LXVIII and note.

[81] *v.* note 46. *Norman* is a Middle English pers.n. from Old English *Northman* 'The Norwegian'.

Crook Street is the site of both *Gerardislon* c.1230[82] and *Crokeslone* c.1220–50.[83] These names are taken from the Middle English personal-names *Gerard* (from Old German *Gerard*, Old French *Gerart*) and *Crok* (from Old Norse *Krókr*). *Crokeslone* led off Northgate Street, *Gerardislon* led off Watergate Street. Presumably they met, and the name of *Crokeslone* was extended to both of them. Cuppin Street was *Copineslone* 13,[84] from the Middle English personal-name *Copin*, a pet-form of *Jacob* (cf. Old French *Jacobin*), subsequently anglicized by analogy with the Old English personal-name *Cupping*.[85] Godstall Lane was *Sant Goddestall Lane* Edw. III (1574). This name has been rationalized to *god-stall*, as it were *god-stow*, 'God's place'. Its original form appears in *Goddescalles Lane* 1574,[86] *Godscall-Lane* (lit. *Inodscall-*) 1656,[87] *Godescalk's-Lane* 1706.[88] It contains the Old French personal-name *Godescal* (Old German *Godasscalc*, *Godescalcus*, appearing in Old English as *Godesscalc* 931),[89] which means 'the warrior of God'. Only the north end of this lane survives as a street, the south end being covered by Eastgate Street Row North since at least 1574.[90] The prefix 'Saint' in the Edward III survey alludes to the Chester legend of *Godescal* the hermit of Chester,[91] supposed to have been Henry, emperor of Germany, who retired to Chester to end his days as a hermit. This Henry is supposed by the medieval tradition to have been that emperor who in 1114 married Matilda daughter of Henry I of England. That emperor was Henry V (1106–1125) and he died at Nimegen. It was the emperor Henry IV (1056–1106) who assumed the name *Godescallus*; he died at Liege. The origin of this legend cannot be ascertained: it is likely that a recluse called *Godescalc*, installed near St. Werburgh's churchyard in the twelfth century, became the subject of romantic speculation and a majestic rumour has associated his name with an emperor of the same name. A similar glorification attended a hermitage at St. Johns, to which Harold Godwinsson is supposed to have retreated after Hastings. Leen Lane was *viculus Hugonis le Lene* 1325,[92] *Hulone* 1396,[93] *Leen Lane* Edw. III (1574).[94] This is 'Hugh de Lene's lane'. Hugh de *Len* granted his wife land in Eastgate Street c.1240.[95] His son Robert de *Lene* renewed the

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[82] C.A.S., X, 20, IX.

[83] (14) Chester II, 866.

[84] (c.1311) Chester II, 311; 1286 C.A.S., X, 40, XLVI.

[85] Hemingway, II, 31 (cf. Morris, 255) speculates needlessly about 'licensed bagnios or cupping houses'.

[86] Corp., C/Ch/3. 7., Chester Record Office.

[87] Ormerod, I, 188.

[88] Hemingway, I, 344.

[89] W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* Nos. 680, 681, cf. T. Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal-Names in England*, Uppsala, 1916, 121.

[90] Cf. "land where Goddescalles Lane crossed from Eastgate Street to the churchyard of St. Werburgh's" 1574 Corp., C/Ch/3. 7. Chester Record Office.

[91] Rehearsed in Hemingway, I, 343, 48, cf. Morris, 255; Ormerod, I, 188; Sheaf 3, 48, Nos. 9711, 9703, 8935, 8939.

[92] *Portmote Rolls* (MR/25), Chester Record Office.

[93] Sheaf 3, 44, No. 9211.

[94] Assembly Book, cf. Morris, 255.

[95] C.A.S., X, 26.

grant c.1270.[96] Reginald de *Leen(e)* owned land in Newgate Street in 1292[97] and 1295[98] and in *le Cokesrowe* (Pepper Alley Row) in 1330.[99] Reginald's surname is written *de Lene* 1300,[100] *de Thlen* 1315,[101] *de Thlene* 1330.[102] This surname, occasionally confused with Middle English *le Lene* 'the lean, the thin', is almost certainly derived from the Welsh place-name, Lleyn, of the district of Caernarvonshire. Leen Lane was originally a thoroughfare from the north side of Eastgate Street to St. Oswald's churchyard. The northern end of Leen Lane exists behind the St. Nicholas Chapel grocer's-shop. The southern end is built over and the name Leen Lane has been extended to the passage leading from Leen Lane into Northgate Street.[103] Pierpoint Lane, *Perpoynts Lane* Edw. III (1574),[104] contains the surname *Pierpoint*. Richard Pierpoint was sheriff of Cheshire early-13,[105] Alice de Pierpoint was abbess of St. Mary's Nunnery late-13.[106] Shipgate Street was *Rabyeslone* 1420,[107] named after the *Raby* family —from Raby in Wirral—who were sergeants of Bridgegate from c.1300 onwards.[108] Weaver Street was called after a certain *Alvin* and someone called 'the bear-keeper'.[109] White Friars was *Fulchardeslone* c.1200,[110] from the Old German personal-name *Fulcard*. It was *vicus Alexandri Harre* 1258 to 1291,[111] named after Alexander Harre c.1258[112] who owned land in Bridge Street. Members of the same family, Roger and Hamo Herre, took part in the transaction of land in St. Olave's 1230–34 mentioned *infra*. It was subsequently *viculus Sancte Brigide* 1286,[113] and *Whytefryers Lone* 1286,[114] after St. Bridget's and the White Friars. Dee Lane at The Bars was 'a gayte that goythe downe to the water of Dee that is namyd *Paynes Loode*' Edw. III (1574).[115] Hugh Payn was sheriff of Chester 1287–8, 1288–9, 1292–3, Nicholas Payn was sheriff of Chester 1289–90, 1293–4.[116]

[96] C.A.S., X, 31; No. XXIX wrongly dated 1274.

[97] C.A.S., X, 48.

[98] Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 50057.

[99] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 22.

[100] C.A.S., II, 161, 166.

[101] Loc. cit.

[102] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 22.

[103] Cf. Sheaf 3, 43, No. 8952, which states that what was known as *Smith's Passage* in 1892 was misnamed *Leen Lane* in 1948.

[104] But *Dirty Lane* 1831 Hemingway, I, 25.

[105] *Tempore* Philip de Orreby, Justiciar of Cheshire 1209–28.

[106] *Tempore* Edward I, 1272–1307.

[107] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C2, No. 16.

[108] Ormerod, I, 356.   [109] *v.* p.36 *supra*.   [110] (14) Chester II, 475.

[111] 1258 Sheaf 3, 13, p. 6, c.1260 Sheaf 3, 33, No. 7449; *Alysaundres Lone harre* 1291 Sheaf 3, 43, No. 8971; *Alexander lone Harre, Alexandreslone harre, —endres—*, C.A.S., II, 154, X, 47, Sheaf 3, 34, No. 7641; *Alexandreslone* 1291 Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 50036.

[112] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 13.

[113] Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 50025.

[114] Morris, 254, but I have not seen the original of this. There is *Whitefrerelone* 1351 Ormerod, I 349, *Whytefrerelone* 1393 Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 50.

[115] Assembly Book; cf. Morris, 255. *Gayte* here is Middle English *gate* (Old Norse *gata*) 'a road'. *Loode* (from Old English *(ge)lād*) is 'a passage, a river-passage, a right of way'.

[116] Cf. Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 2.

The normal range of medieval customs and trades is represented in the names of the streets and Rows.[117] Goss Street,[118] Pemberton Street,[119] and Frodsham Street[120] refer to the townsmen's livestock, herding, stalling and droving. Goss Street would be a goose pen or market, *Oxe Lane* would be a stall for draught or plough oxen, Frodsham Street would be the way for the citizens' cattle to be driven from town to *Chester Field*, out past Gorse Stacks towards Flookers Brook. Lower Bridge Street was 'the beastmarket' in 1533.[121] *The Cornmarket* was Eastgate Street from 1279 to 1439[122] and Northgate Street from 1533 to 1610.[123] Newgate Street was 'flesh-mongers' lane', 'butchers' lane', from the twelfth to the eighteenth century,[124] becoming Newgate Street in 1745.[125] Love Street, off Foregate Street, was *Love Lane* Edw. III (1574)[126] and hardly needs explaining, unless we should put it at the head of our list as referring to the oldest trade of all. White Friars was written *Foster's Lane* and *Fustard's Lane* Edw. III (1574),[127] which is reported as *Forster's Lane*, *Forster Lane*, in 1656,[128] rather as an antiquarian allusion than as a living street-name. This 1574 transcript form is probably an attempt to make sense of an illegible version in the Edw. III original, of the old name of White Friars, *Fulchardeslone* c. 1200,[129] written *Folcardes-* and *Fulcardes-*, but there was a Middle English surname *Fuster* meaning 'a saddle-tree maker'. St. John Street was *Irnmonger Strete* 1228–40,[130] 'ironmongers' street'; it settled down as 'St. John's Lane' after *vicus Sancti Johannis* 1238.[131] Souters Lane appears as *Souterlode* 1272,[132] apparently 'the shoemakers' river-passage', from Old English

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[117] *v.* p. 54 *infra.*

[118] *Goselone* 13 (14) Whalley II, 339 (*The Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey* ed. W. A. Hulton, Chetham Society (Original Series) X, XI, XVI, XX, 1847–1849); *Goselane* c.1230–40 Bunbury MSS., E18/710/13/2, West Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds.

[119] Or some thoroughfare near it from King Street to the north wall—*Oxe Lane* Edw. III (1574) Assembly Book, cf. Morris, 257, 570, Ormerod, I, 188, Sheaf 1, 1, p. 240, C.A.S., XIII, 36.

[120] 'Cow Lane' from 1290 (*Qu Lone* Court (R. Stewart–Brown, *Calendar of County Court, City Court and Eyre Rolls of Chester 1259–1297* Chetham Society (New Series) LXXXIV (1925) 165) to 1817 (*Cow Lane* 1817 Assembly Book AB/5/378, Chester Record Office). I am obliged to the Hon. Editor for the latter reference.

[121] Sheaf 1, 1, p. 191, cf. Sheaf 1, 2, p. 147, Sheaf 3, 43, No. 8983, and Morris, 258.

[122] c.1279 (n.d.) Sheaf 3, 36, No. 7940; 1288 (18) Sheaf 3, 40, No. 4812; 1289 (17) National Register of Archives Report 3636; 1439 C.A.S., II, 182.

[123] Sheaf 1, 2, p. 147, Morris, 257, 262, 267, 299, 300. Speed's Map (1610) shows it here; C.A.S., XIII, 36 locates it at the end of Princess Street; Morris, 298 describes the history in the sixteenth century.

[124] *Flesmongerlone* 1100–60 (14) Chester I, 371, to *Newgate Street or Fleshmonger's Lane* 1747 Land Revenue Office Miscellaneous Books (Public Record Office) Vol. 257, ff. 33–39, and *Fleshmongers Lane* 1781 Sheaf 3, 15, p.11.

[125] Sheaf 3, 15, p. 11.

[126] Assembly Book; *v.* Morris 255.

[127] Assembly Book, *v.* Morris 256.

[128] Ormerod, I, 188.

[129] (14) Chester II, 475.

[130] Chester II, 458.

[131] Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 49988.

[132] Morris, 254.

sutere (cf. Modern English dialect _sowter_), Old Norse _sútari_, 'a shoemaker'. Castle Drive is the site of _Mustardhouses_ 1415[133] to 1597.[134] Mustard makers at Chester are mentioned in 1392-3.[135] In 1544 this property was called _Glover-houses_,[136] a name persisting until 1713[137] and alternating with the name _Skinners Lane_[138] and _Skinners Houses_.[139]

The glovers and skinners were important craftsmen in medieval Chester. They may well be the reason for the curious place-name _Gloverstone_. This is first noted as _Gloueriston_ 13 Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 49971; it means 'the glover's stone' or 'the glovers' stone'. It was the name of an irregular polygon of ground outside the castle gate and north-west of St. Mary on the Hill churchyard, containing part of the top end of St. Mary's Hill, and a short street which led from Castle Street opposite Bunce Street to the Castle Ditch and the Outer Gate of the castle. Most of the area is now occupied by the castle barracks block. This patch of ground enjoyed the status of a manor, township and village in 1678.[140] It was a township of Broxton Hundred. It was named from a large stone which stood in front of the castle gate and which marked the limit of the city jurisdiction down to at least 1879.[141]

This stone is no longer to be seen. It was described in 1625 as 'a (greate) stone called Glovers' Sto(u)ne, . . . a grey stone of marble standing in the street, . . . a blewe marble stone, . . . the meere(stone) called Glovers Stone'.[142] Other _Gloverstones_ at Chester are recorded.[143] _Glouerstan_ 1194-1211, _Glouerston_ 14,[144] appears in the context 'a messuage between ∿ and Eastgate'. _Glouerstanes_ 1194-1211[145] appears in the context 'that part of a messuage next to St. Michael's church which is farther away from the church towards ∿ '. _Le Gloverestones_ 1345[146] appears in 'two adjoining messuages in Watergate Street next to ∿ '. Other instances are _Glouerstanes_ 13[147] and _le Gloverstones_ 1302-3,[148] which have not been identified but are probably those in Watergate

[133] Chester Recognizance Rolls, Public Record Office (Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records XXXVII, p. 370).

[134] Morris, 297.

[135] Crownmote Rolls, QC/R10, Chester Record Office; Sheaf 3, 20, No. 4945, and Br. Mus. Harleian MS. 7568, f. 165a, report that one Robert _Mustard_ lived here and gave name to the property.

[136] Corp., C/Ch/2/8, Chester Record Office.

[137] _the Glovers Houses_ 1713 Assembly Book, AB/3, f. 208.

[138] 1545 Corp., C/Ch/2/10, to 1801 Corp., C/Ch/2/88, 1831 Hemingway, I, 366 —he calls it _Skinner Street_ in II, 267.

[139] 1685 Assembly Book AB/3, f. 2v., to 1712 ibid., f. 196.

[140] Ormerod, III, 581.

[141] Sheaf 1, 1, 268.

[142] Morris, 108-110; C.A.S., V, 175-206.

[143] Morris, 111.

[144] Whalley I (Chetham Society (Original Series) X), xviii. This seems to be the same as _Gloverstone_ 1190-1211 (17) Ormerod, II, 401.

[145] Whalley I (Chetham Society (Original Series) X), xvii.

[146] Morris, 226, C.A.S., II, 176, cf. Morris, 111.

[147] Whalley II (Chetham Society (Original Series) XI), 343.

[148] Portmote Rolls MR/7, cf. Morris, 254.

Street. It can be seen that there were *Gloverstones* in Watergate Street, and near the Eastgate, and near St. Michael's in Bridge Street, as well as that at the castle-gate.

These various stones, it is supposed, derived their name from their use by glovers to dress their leather upon. It has been suggested that they may have been used especially by glovers not guilded in the city.[149] Glovemaking was an important business in medieval Chester, the Glovers and Skinners holding the staple trade of the city down to the eighteenth century.[150] The *Gloverstone* near Eastgate may well have been associated with Walter son of Gerard *Cirotecarius* ('Glover; glove-maker') c.1253, and Ameria daughter of Gerard Cirotecarius c.1267–8, landowners in Eastgate Street and Foregate Street.[151] Another interpretation might be that these stones in the principal streets may have marked the limits of the medieval fairs of the city, the duration of which was marked by the elevation of an effigy of a gloved hand on a pole at St. Peter's church, and that 'glover' in *Gloverstone* may not mean 'a glove-maker' so much as 'one who is associated with The Glove', i.e. 'a Glover—one who comes to The Glove Fair'.[152] There are two aspects of these stones which require emphasis. The stone at the castle gate was described as a 'blue' stone. There were other stones about the city which were 'blue' and which were boundary marks. In Handbridge township there was a field called Blue Stone Field in 1839.[153] There was a 'blue stone' in St. John's parish near Boughton, *the Blewe Stone by Spittle* 1620,[154] which marked the boundary between Cheshire and the city, and another, *the Blewe Stonne at Blacon* 1671,[155] was the boundary mark of the rights of Great Saughall manor to fish in R. Dee from this point to Woodbank. The *Blewe Stone by Spittle* in 1620 may be the very stone referred to in an early form of the place-name Boughton, i.e. *Bochtunestan* 1096–1101 (1280), 1150,[156] *Bochtuneston* 1096–1101 (1280),[157] 'the stone at Boughton, the Boughton stone', i.e. a stone marking the boundary between the Cheshire manor of Great Boughton, which belonged to St. Werburgh's since before Domesday Book, and the Chester hundred part of Boughton, Spital Boughton. In this

149 Sheaf 1, 1, 153; C.A.S., X, 53–66, V, 175–206; Morris, 111.
150 Morris, 111.
151 Sheaf 3, 33, No. 7454.
152 This would be a variant of the type of surname discussed in G. Fransson, *Middle English Surnames of Occupation 1100–1350*, Lund, 1935, 190–202.
153 Tithe Award, Tithe Redemption Commission No. 5/103. The field-name is also recorded in 1779 Sheaf 3, 32, No. 7191, as *the Jeffreys Faugh now the Blue Stone Field*. The older name was *Geffreishale* 1259 Chester Plea Rolls, Public Record Office (Deputy Keeper's Report XXVI, p. 37); 1260 Court 16 (written *Geffeishale* Ormerod, II, 821); *Gefreis Halc* c.1150 (1353, 1383, 1400 inspeximi) C.A.S., XIII, 93 and Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1400, cf. Sheaf 3, 7, No. 1205, 'Geoffrey's nook'. This was part of Claverton manor's holdings of Saltney, in Marlston cum Lache, and belonged to the Nuns of Chester. The blue stone probably marked a manorial boundary.
154 Sheaf 3, 4, No. 619.
155 Sheaf 3, 22, No. 5183.
156 Chester I, 3 and 56.
157 Chester I, 3, n39.

connection, 'blue-stones' and boundaries, it may be noted that J. Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, s.v. *blue* (adj.) quotes only R. O. Heslop, *Northumberland Words. A Glossary of Words used in the County of Northumberland,* English Dialect Society, 1892–4, 'Blue Stone, a long stone of granite placed on the east footpath of the old Tyne Bridge, to mark the division between the Durham and Northumberland portions of the structure'.

'Blue' in these constructions has its ancient Old English and Old Norse meaning 'dark-coloured, dark grey, slate-coloured'. The Chester ones would probably be Welsh slate stones. A blue or slate-coloured stone would be very distinctive against the local red sandstones of the Chester district, and so very suitable for a boundary-marker. The principal *Gloverstone* at the Castle-Gate was a blue-stone and marked a limit of jurisdiction. It is possible that the other *Gloverstones* were blue-stones too, marking some kind of limit, but this supposition leads to no useful extrapolation. What would be more probable, would be to suggest that a slate-stone would make a better and more convenient leather-dressing block than would a sandstone, and that a series of blue-stones standing in the town might well have been taken into use by the glove-makers as a matter of convenience. The questions raised by these references are whether these *Gloverstones* were all 'blue-stones', whether they were all boundary marks, whether they were all *in situ* before the glovers began to use them as work-blocks.

This digression around the *Gloverstones* led from *Skinners Houses*. From the same street in its older name *Mustard Houses*, a further digression might be made, to contemplate the name Pepper Street. This appears as *Peperstrate* 1251–5 (17)[158] and *Peperstrete* c. 1258,[159] and has never changed its name. Adjacent to it, if not identical with it, was *venella de Pepurstreete* 1374,[160] *the lane of Peper Street* 1458 (17).[161] The name *Pepper Street* probably means what it says and indicates a thoroughfare redolent of pepper, a street where spicers did their trade. It is very likely that of all their spices, only pepper would be pungent enough to be discernible through the stench of a medieval thoroughfare.

Other medieval towns have Pepper Streets: there is one at Middlewich[162] another at Nantwich,[163] there is one at Nottingham,[164] and there is Pepper Alley

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[158] Dieul (*The Chartulary of Dieulacres Abbey,* ed. G. Wrottesley, William Salt Society's Collections (New Series) IX, 1906), 325.

[159] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 13.

[160] Portmote Rolls MR/48, Chester Record Office.

[161] Sheaf 3, 20, No. 4764, citing Br. Mus. Harleian MS. 7568, f. 141. Here it is also called *Peper Alley or Lane* (17th century), and appears to be a footpath from Bridge Street to Newgate over the open ground south of Pepper Street. The *Pepper Alley* 1781 Sheaf loc. cit. may be that at Pepper Alley Row.

[162] *Pepperstreete* 1463 (17) MidCh (J. Varley, *A Middlewich Chartulary,* Chetham Society (New Series) CV, CVIII, 1941–1944) II, 304; *Peper Lane* 1487 (17) op. cit., I, 151.

[163] *Peper Strete* 15 National Register of Archives Report No. 1085, 287.

[164] *Pepirstrete* 1315, *Peperlane* 1395, J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, *The Place Names of Nottinghamshire,* English Place-Name Society, Vol. XIX, 19.

in Southwark.[165] This sort of name is credible in a medieval town. But the name-type Pepper Street also appears as a road-name in the countryside. For instance, Pepper Street, a road in Appleton, Pepper Street Farm in Hatton near Daresbury, Pepper Street Farm in Bramhall near Stockport,[166] Pepperstreet Moss in Hunsterson;[167] *Pepper Street* was a road in Ince in 1584[168] and 1671;[169] *Pepper Street* was the name in 1831 (Bryant's Map) of Pickmere Lane, in Pickmere and Wincham; *Pepper Street* was the name in 1842 (Ordnance Survey Map) of Hawthorne Street in Wilmslow; *Pepper Street* was the name in 1842 (Ord. Surv.) of the main road through Henbury, that from Northwich to Macclesfield.

In such place-names, which seem in almost every instance to be associated with a road, there is a choice between two explanations. J. K. Wallenberg suggested[170] that Pepperness[171] near Sandwich, Kent, contained Old English *pipor* 'pepper, peppercorn', by allusion to the nature of the sand or fine gravel here. On this basis, a 'Pepper Street' would be a dusty or gritty road. The other possibility, which would only apply to modern names, i.e. those not given before about 1700, would be to construe 'pepper' in its figurative modern slang and dialect sense, as 'a hot-tempered, fiery, rowdy fellow; a brawler'. Some dialects use this of an itinerant pedlar or horse coper as if these were all rowdies. Then a *Pepper Street* would be the sort of road used by rowdy pedlars and such-like travelling folk. One may note here the slang use of the Southwark street-name *Pepper Alley* cited in the Oxford English Dictionary, for any rowdy alley, or for any pugilistic affray. One of the Rows of Chester was called *Pepper Alley Row*, perhaps a hot spot in the town.

Street-Names and the Medieval Town-Plan

It has been observed[172] that until 1800 there were only five or six *streets* so called in Chester: Bridge Street, Watergate Street, Northgate Street, Eastgate Street and Pepper Street within the walls, Foregate Street without. The lesser

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[165] *Peper Alley* 1439, J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, A. Bonner, *The Place-Names of Surrey*, English Place-Name Society, Vol. XI, 31.

[166] On an old road thought to be Roman (Ormerod, III, 536n.) first named as *Bramhall Pepper Street* 1649 (J. P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, London, 1877, I, 455 and note). The Appleton and Hatton instances are also on an ancient line of road, associated with sections of a Roman road exposed during the construction of motorway M6 and examined by the Lymm Historical Society.

[167] First noted in 1842 O.S.; probably commemmorating an ancient road from Nantwich to Woore in Salop, by way of Bridgemere and Doddington. The surname *le Streteward* 'street-keeper' appears at Doddington nearby, in 1312 (Chester Plea Rolls, Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records XXXVII, 10).

[168] Rental in Public Record Office, S.C.12/26/65.

[169] Sheaf 3, 49, No. 9873 : here it is apparently a hamlet.

[170] J. K. Wallenberg, *The Place-Names of Kent*, Uppsala, 1934, 593.

[171] *pipernæsse* 1023, J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, London, 1839–48, No. 737; *pepernessa* 1016–35 op. cit., No. 1328.

[172] Cf. Morris, 254–5.

thoroughfares were lanes. However, a survey in 1728[173] states 'the number of the streets in this city are ten . . . Lanes there are thirty-four . . .'' In 1831 Hemingway[174] complained that a few years previously the city authorities had dignified all the *lane*-names out of existence and there was only Dee Lane left.

If we ignore the commonplace snob-effect which marks social pretension in street-names, King Street for *Barn Lane*, Princess Street for Prince's Street for *Parson's Lane*, Park Street for *The Nine Houses*, and so forth, we find that a *street* in medieval Chester was something different from a *lane*, and that the terminology of medieval street-names appears to be exact. Some thoroughfares do in fact come to notice as *streets* and then degenerate into *lanes*. In this category are Linenhall Street and St. John's Street. Linenhall Street was *Crofts Lane*, but it is first recorded as *regia strata del Croftes* 1345.[175] St. John's Street was *Irnmonger Strete* 1228–40[176] and *vicus Sancti Johannis* 1238,[177] *Sent Johans Stret, Sent Jones Street* Edw. III (1574),[178] but *Sent Joneslone* 1337[179] to *St. John's Lane* 1880.[180] Conversely, *Bereward Lane* c.1240 had been dignified to *Bereward Strete* by Edw. III (1574).[181] Duke Street was 'Claverton Lane' from early-13 to 1782,[182] but is named *Clavirton-, Claverton Street* in 1288 and 1289.[183] If allowance is made for various kinds of evolution, it is found that those thoroughfares in medieval Chester to which such terms as *alta via, alta strata, regia strata, regia via, vicus, magnus vicus*, and the term *street*, have traditionally or originally been applied, are distributed in an interesting way. Bridge Street, Watergate Street, Northgate Street, Eastgate Street, and Foregate Street are especially dignified, as the principal axes of the city. This is not unexpected. The other thoroughfares which were dignified by the style *street* were those at Linenhall Street (*Crofts Lane* originally 'Crofts Street'), and Weaver Street (*Bereward Strete* originally *Bereward Lone* and *Aluineslone*). Pepper Street has been a *street* throughout its recorded history, as befits the street leading to a wall-gate, Newgate. St. John's Street is outside the medieval wall, but it deserved its original dignity of *street* as an approach to the same wall-gate, to St. John's and to the river-side landing-place at *Souter's Lode*. *Claverton Lane* (Duke Street) may have deserved its occasional promotion into a *street* because it led from Bridge Gate to Newgate, and because it had an originally distinctive status as a city colony of a manor of the county, i.e. it was a manorial hamlet as well as a thoroughfare. In general, the medieval *streets* are the main public

[173] Sheaf 3, 48, No. 9774.
[174] II, 410–11, note.
[175] *v.* note 19 *supra.*
[176] (14) Chester II, 458.
[177] Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 49988.
[178] Assembly Book, cf. Morris, 255, 256.
[179] Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 50143.
[180] Sheaf 1, 2, p. 139.
[181] *v.* p. 36 *supra.*
[182] *Clauertunel'* 1202–14 *Facsimiles of Early Cheshire Charters* ed. G. Barraclough, Oxford, 1957, No. 12; *Clavertonelane* 1208–29 (17) Dieul 333; *Clauertunelane* c.1217–32 Miscellaneous deeds in Chester Record Office; *Clayton Lane* 1782 Sheaf 3, 37, No. 8117.
[183] Court 155, 158.

thoroughfares. The *lanes* were rather more private in nature, as if in theory these were accommodation-roads leading to, and belonging to the property which they served. *Lanes* may even have originated as access-ways over private ground; distinguished from *streets* which were public. If the medieval *streets* are drawn upon a plan of Chester, (as indicated by heavy line in Fig. 1), it is found that they are approximately relative to the plan of the Roman town. The principal *streets* of the Roman town meet at The Cross, by St. Peter's, and they have remained *streets* down to this day. But it will be seen that the term *street* was also applied to the thoroughfares lying along the site of the Roman west wall and of the Roman south-east wall.

Now, if we plot the limit of the Roman city circuit against the sites of the medieval parish churches, we note that whereas St. Chad and St. Martin stand a few yards outside the line but quite near it, Holy Trinity, St. Bridget (original site) and St. Michael stand upon it. It was long ago suggested[184] that the three latter might have been sited as they are, in some real archaeological relationship with the Roman wall, because *The Two Churches*, the name in 1831 for that part of Bridge Street at St. Michael's and St. Bridget's, was the approximate site of the Roman south gate. Holy Trinity should then mark the site of the Roman west gate. St. Peter's occupies a prætorian site as befits its maternal and senior status. St. Oswald is a special case as the abbey parish church. St. Mary's is really the parish church of a parish in Broxton Hundred. St. John's is not a city parish either, being the focus of a distinct episcopal enclave as far back as Domesday Book. St. Olave's is quite extraordinary.

It would be possible to construe the Roman-wall sites of Holy Trinity, St. Bridget's and St. Michael's, and the sites of St. Chad's and St. Martin's near to the Roman-wall site, in a certain way: that Holy Trinity, St. Bridget's and St. Michael's were built where and while a wall-site was available, and that St. Martin's and St. Chad's came a little too late for this and had to be placed outside that line because it was all occupied by the date of their foundation. The relationship between the sites of these churches and the expansion of the city walls from the Roman line to the medieval one cannot be discerned with accuracy or assurance. It would be of great interest to know whether there is archaeology or co-incidence in this relationship. And, of course, such a supposition of relationship brings up the further problem of the degree of difference to be supposed between the date of actual foundation and the date of first record. Holy Trinity emerges in 1188, St. Bridget's in 1224, St. Michael's in 1178–82, St. Martin's in 1195, St. Chad's in 1252–3, yet St. Olave's in 1119! It may well be that by some accident of documentation, the emergence of these churches into exact record during the twelfth century does not relate to archaeological fact. They and their priests are not mentioned in Domesday Book, and it is to be supposed they were not then built. Perhaps this means that sites in the place of the Roman wall were free for development in the twelfth century.

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[184] Sheaf 3, 24, No. 5468 (March 1927), cf. Hemingway II, 26 (1831).

Perhaps that would mean that the Roman wall had been dismantled then, or by then.

The fate of the Roman circuit cannot be speculated upon. But there are some circumstances in the place-names of the city which might be relevant to the problem of the development of the south-east corner of the medieval city outside the Roman circuit, and so to the date and process of this development. The names to be discussed in this connection are those of Newgate and of Duke Street.

Duke Street is so named in 1795[185] after Thomas Duke, sheriff of Chester 1722–3, mayor 1740–1, died 1764, who lived in Lower Bridge Street nearly opposite this lane. Its name before that was 'Claverton Lane' which appears early-13,[186] and occasionally 'Claverton Street' in late-13.[187] Claverton is a township of St. Mary's parish in Broxton Hundred south of the city liberties. The only obvious reason for calling this street after Claverton is that it probably alludes to land belonging to Claverton. The Domesday Book entry for Claverton records that to this manor appurtained eight burgages in the city and four across the river. It is important to note that these eight burgages were 'in the city', *in civitate*. It is a fair inference that by 1086, and probably by 1066, *Claverton Lane* was *in civitate*, within the city, and that by that time the city limits were those of the medieval city wall not those contained by the Roman wall. In Domesday Book the manor of *Redcliff*, which contained St. John's, was not *in civitate* but is entered as in the *hundred* of Chester. Between *Claverton Lane* and St. John's, by 1086 or 1066, lay the boundary between the city proper and its liberties : i.e. the line of the medieval wall at the south-east of the town was already the boundary of the city by Domesday Book.

Obviously there is something anomalous in the history of the south end of Chester. Perhaps here, as at *The Crofts*, we observe the result of an inclusion into the city of ground originally outside it. There is here, as at *The Crofts* to the west side, some evidence of open ground within the medieval wall. Apart from Pepper Street, St. Olave's Lane, Bridge Street and *Claverton Lane* (Duke Street), there was no development of building until modern times. In fact, Park Street, until the Nine Houses appear there in 1690,[188] was only a lane joining Duke Street and Newgate,[189] and it had not a name of its own. It is *Nine Houses* from 1690 to 1789, *Newgate Street* by mistake of Lavaux's map in 1745,[190] *Park Street* and *Mr Hamilton's Park* 1789,[191] being the edge of a large garden behind the east side of Bridge Street. The site of this park was occupied by

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[185] Sheaf 3, 37, No. 8117.

[186] *v.* note 182 *supra.*

[187] *v.* note 183 *supra.*

[188] Assembly Book, AB/3, f. 27, City Record Office.

[189] *Venella que ducit de Wolfeyette usque ad Clavertonlone* 1387–8 Portmote Rolls, MR/58; *a lane leading out of Pepper Street towards Clayton Lane* 1760 Corp., C/Ch/2A/28.

[190] Sheaf 3, 43, No. 8980 : Lavaux took it to be a continuation of Newgate Street whereas it is a continuation of *Claverton Lane.*

[191] Corp., C/Ch/2A/33, and James Hunter's map of Chester, 1789.

Albion Street, Steel Street and Volunteer Street.[192] The area west of Lower Bridge Street appears to have been more developed in medieval times. Cupping Street, Castle Street, Bunce Street and Castle Esplanade (*Nun's Lane*) were all built upon by the thirteenth century. Yet here it is to be observed that the Castle and Gloverstone were never part of the city nor even of the Hundred of the city. Chester Castle was, and is, a parish of Broxton Hundred; Gloverstone was a township of St. Mary on the Hill parish, and part of Broxton Hundred; and St. Mary's church although standing geographically within the medieval city, was nonetheless the mother church of a parish which lies in Broxton Hundred.

It would seem that the medieval walls include territory originally not inside the city: they appear to have been deliberately thrown out to the river to west and south so as to expand the city at the expense of those jurisdictions and manors whose territorial disposition antedates the new line of wall. The date of the expansion is now up for debate. It looks as if the new boundary of the city reached to the river, between *Claverton Lane* (Duke Street) and St. John's, by Domesday Book. Was this boundary marked by rampart or wall?

The city walls are not specifically recorded until the thirteenth century.[193] The gates of the city begin to appear regularly in record at about the same time, e.g. Bridgegate in 1288,[194] Newgate in 1258,[195] Shipgate in 1270,[196] Watergate c. 1270.[197] Earlier than this we find only the unidentified *Clippe Gate*, recorded only as *porta Clippe* 1121–9 (1285),[198] probably derived from an Old Norse by-name *Klyppr*;[199] Eastgate in 1153,[200] Northgate in 1096.[201] These evidences do not prove what date the southward extended walls were built. But some light may be thrown upon this by the name of one of the gates in the southward-extended wall, i.e. of a gate in that part of the medieval wall which stands outside the Roman circuit, and a gate, furthermore, in that very stretch of wall which runs between *Claverton Lane* and St. John's. The important name here is that of Newgate.

Newgate appears as *porta de Wlfild* c.1258[202] and the name *Wolfeld Gate*, *Woolfield Gate*, was regular until the fourteenth century and continued in use until the seventeenth. In the fourteenth century a contracted form of *Wolfeldyate*

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[192] Sheaf 3, 43, No. 8980.

[193] *murus Cestrie* is mentioned 1217–32, Miscellaneous deeds in Chester Record Office, in the context dealing with land 'sub muro ad exitum de *Clauertunelane*', i.e. land against the wall at the end of Duke Street; c.1225 C.A.S., X, 18; and c.1240 Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 49984.

[194] *le Briggegate* Court 154, 166.

[195] *porta de Wlfild* c.1258 Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 13.

[196] *le Schipjete* 1270–3 Sheaf 3, 33, No. 7459.

[197] *porta aque* 1268–71 Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 40001.

[198] Chester I, 49.

[199] *v.* E. H. Lind, *Norsk–Isländska Personbinamn fran medeltiden*, Uppsala, 1920–21, 205, s.n.

[200] *porta orientalis* 1153–81 (14) Chester I, 50.

[201] *porta de North* 1096–1101 (1280) Chester I, 3.

[202] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, 13.

came in, i.e. *Wolfeyette*,[203] and this form, *Wolf Gate*, is quite regular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1553 the old gate was rebuilt and called *Newegatt*,[204] and this name, *Newgate*, persists although the gate was occasionally called *the Pepper Gate*[205] and *St. John's Gate*[206] because it was at the end of Pepper Street and led to St. John's.

The etymology of this gate-name has to be derived from the form *Wolfeldeyate* 1294,[207] *porta de Wlfild* c.1258,[208] *Wolfuldegate* 1304.[209] This looks like 'wool-field' or 'wolf-field'. But there is evidence that *Wolfelde-* is a rationalisation of a form of name which had become unintelligible by the thirteenth century, i.e. the origin and meaning of the name were by then forgotten. An older form appears as *porta Wlfadi* late-13.[210] *Wlfadi* here is the genitive-singular of a latinised personal-name *Wlfadus*. The name 'Wlfadus's gate' would seem to be a monkish dedication to the prince and martyr *Wulf(h)ad*, St. Werburgh's brother, son of Wulfhere king of Mercia (657–74), whose edifying legend is told in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1673, II, 119–126. This dedication is, itself, an attempt to make sense of an unintelligible name. The initial *W-* in *Wlfadus*, represented doubled *u*, i.e. *uu* (< long *u*) with dipthongisation and stress shifting; and the persistent *-l-* in the second syllable of the other forms, indicate that *Wlfadus* and *Wolfeld* are representations of an original form *Ulfaldi*. The name of the gate is 'Ulfaldi's gate', from the Old Norse nickname *Ulfaldi*[211] 'the hump-back', from Old Norse *úlfaldi* 'a camel'. This nickname appears again at Claughton near Birkenhead in the lost place-name *Vlfeldesgreue* 1340,[212] 'Ulfaldi's grove' (from Old English *græfe*, 'a wood, a grove' as in numerous place-names ending in *-greave*, *-grave*). A suggestion in this direction was made in 1939 by a contributor to *The Cheshire Sheaf*[213] signing himself "V. L.", who said that the gate might have been named after a man called *Wolfeld*. Wolfeld is a quite credible anglicisation of the Old-Norse nickname in this place-name.

The derivation of the old name of Newgate as 'Ulfaldi's gate' would be significant. Like the unidentified *Clippe Gate* it contains a Scandinavian nickname, and must have been named after a Scandinavian. What is more, the name-forms are not originally anglicised, these men are named in Norse, not in Anglo-Norse. At Newgate it is significant that the personal-name form is

[203] 1387–8 Portmote Rolls, MR/58.

[204] Morris, 237.

[205] 1656 Morris, 237.

[206] 1656 Ormerod, I, 134.

[207] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 14.

[208] Note 202 *supra*.

[209] Chamb (R. Stewart-Brown, *The Accounts of Chamberlains and Other Officers of the County of Chester*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire LIX, 1910), 73.

[210] Chester II, 599.

[211] *v.* E. H. Lind, op. cit. 390, s.v.; cf. R. Cleasby & G. Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1874, s.v. *úlfaldi*.

[212] Palatinate of Chester, Forest Proceedings, in Public Record Office, Chester 33/3/m.1. But the final el. may be OE *grēne*, 'a green'.

[213] 3, 34, No. 7556.

Old Norse *úlfaldi* not the equivalent Old English *olfend* 'a camel' (later 'an elephant'); and that the meaning of *Ulfaldi* was so completely lost by the thirteenth century that the form was rationalised to *Wolfeld*, rather than translated into English *Olfend*. The name 'Ulfaldi's gate' was given to Newgate when Norse speakers with Scandinavian names were about the town, at a time when such a name as *Ulfaldi* was intelligible, and before the Scandinavian language was so lost to use as to produce the English rationalisations shown by the thirteenth-century spellings of this name.

Now, it is not hard to find Scandinavians in Chester. Domesday Book tells us that a man with the Danish name *Gunnwor* held half of *Redcliff* in 1066. Coins struck at the Chester mint in the tenth and eleventh century bear moneyers' names which are of Norse-Irish origin. In Bridge Street is St. Olave's church.[214] The dedication is to St. Olaf the King (of Norway; killed 1030). The earliest recorded dedications to St. Olaf elsewhere in England[215] are at York 1055, Exeter 1063, Southwark a.1085, Chichester late 11, Grimsby 1100–35, and London c.1100. The Chester church, not mentioned in DB (1066 or 1086), was already in existence in 1119, the date of the *confirmation* of a grant of this church to St. Werburgh's abbey: the grant being confirmed in 1119 was made by Robert Pincerna ('the Butler') in the time of Richard earl of Chester (1102–1120). This church of St. Olaf in Chester was presumably built sometime between 1086 and 1119. It was parochial. The medieval parish was entirely within the city (the area approximately bounded by Duke Street, Park Street, Albion Street and Bridge Street) and looks as if it were an enclave taken out of St. Michael's parish which adjoins it to north and south. This may be taken as evidence of the prior existence of St. Michael's parish.

It is interesting to note that in a grant of land adjoining this church in 1230–34[216] the tenants named are Hugo and Nicholas *Ulf* and a witness is John son of *Ulfkell*[217]. These surnames are the Old Norse personal-names *Ulfr* and *Ulfkell*. We see here the persisting traces of a Scandinavian community: Scandinavian personal-names and surnames persisting, modified by English forms, among the landowners and tenants of the St. Olaf parish. It might easily be supposed that this church had been founded especially to serve the needs of a Scandinavian community in Chester;[218] and being extra and superfluous to the ordinary parochial needs of the city, it fell upon hard times when the Scandinavian community was so absorbed into the general population that it lost its distinctive identity. Perhaps this decline of a distinctive Scandinavian community was already measurable early in the twelfth century: the endowment of St. Olaf's may have been handed over to St. Werburgh's by Robert Pincerna before 1119

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214 *ecclesia Sancti Olafi* 1119 (1150) Chester I, 41, n16.
215 *v.* Bruce Dickins, 'The Cult of St. Olaf in the British Isles', *Saga Book* XII, 53–80.
216 Hemingway II, 126.
217 This John son of *Ulfkell* may be that John *Ulkel* who was a sheriff of the city 1245–6 and 1256–7.
218 The Irish connexions of such a community in the tenth century would probably be reflected by the dedication of St. Bridget's church.

because the place could no longer be easily supported. Certainly this church's history is a tale of poverty, neglect and calamity. In 1393 its poverty caused it to be united with St. Mary on the Hill. In 1414 and 1459 Papal dispensations make allowance for its poor endowment. In 1722 there was no minister, the minister of St. Michael's had been taking care of it for the past twenty years, and the church was unfit for services other than baptism and burial. In 1841 the church was closed and its parish was merged into St. Michael's.

This tale of woe is an ironic commentary. St. Olave's is the most powerful historical monument of the medieval city. It commemorates the importance of this tired old city when she was in the vigour of her second magnificence.[219] St. Olave's is a proof that Chester was a place with a position in that wide Scandinavian common-market of the Northern world in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Its presence and its antiquity put Chester upon a par with York and London just as clearly as does the presence and antiquity of the fortress of the Twentieth Legion.

St. Olave's church may serve as the focus of a speculation which gives significance to the old name of Newgate. We may see in St. Olave's an evidence for a distinctively Scandinavian community in Chester in the eleventh century: a community with a Norse (and Irish) bias rather than a Danish one, as would be expected from the Irish Sea geography of the city, and from the influence of the Wirral Norsemen about the district.[220] This community had lost its distinct identity and social viability by the thirteenth century. Even by the twelfth the management of its church is being put into the hands of St. Werburgh's. The vestiges of the Norse community in the thirteenth century are seen in the personal-nomenclature of some landholding citizens, but their names are hybridized; they are already Anglo-Scandinavian by name, and if we are to judge by the townsmen's inability to comprehend the meaning of the name 'Ulfaldi's gate' in the thirteenth century, it looks as though the *Ulfs* and *Ulfkells* of that age had all but forgotten their Scandinavian ancestral tongue. The form of the name *Wolfeld-gate* (Newgate) indicates that a gate in the post-Roman—the medieval—line of wall was given its name in an age when nicknames in the Norse linguistic form were used in Chester, and when a man with such a name figured sufficiently in local affairs to have a town-gate called after him. Either this gate was already there when this Norse speech and its users arrived, or it was built in their day. The name *Wolfeld-gate* would appear to belong to an era which ended in the twelfth century. It is likely to belong to that period when the Scandinavian influence would be strongest in the town, the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Such speculation as this is a legitimate extension from the place-name evidence: but it cannot be proved by these rules of art. From the inferences

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[219] Chester was a great city at three ages: once in Roman times, again in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman times from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, and finally under Edward I and III. The agony of the Civil War seige, the last spasm of importance, happened almost by accident.

[220] See my 'The Background of Brunanburh', *Saga Book* XIV, 303-316.

of the name-forms, there would be no objection to the projection of a wall with Newgate in it, from the Roman wall to the river, before Domesday Book when this line was the boundary between the city and *Redcliff*, at a time when the city was under strong Norse influence: such a line of wall as might well have been drawn at the time of the refortification of Chester by Æpelflæd Alfred's daughter in 907.

The Rows

The exercise in speculation just now performed might be repeated with regard to another peculiarity of the city, the Rows. The names of the rows are more intricate than, and just as interesting as, the names of the streets of the city. Bridge Street Row East was the site of *le Coruyserrowe* 1356,[221] *Corvisor's Row* 1651,[222] 'the shoemakers' row'[223] and *Mercers Row* 1656,[224] *le Mercerrowe* 1503,[225] 'the mercers' row'.[226] Bridge Street Row West does not seem to have had any distinctive name in medieval times (unless it be the location of *le Sadelererowe*, *Sadelerisrowe* 1342,[227] *Sadelesrowe* 1304,[228] 'the saddlers' row'[229]). At the north end of this row, on the corner of Bridge Street and Water-gate Street, stood the *Seldes*—'the stalls'; *le Seldez* c.1540,[230] *undecim selde vocat' selde sutorum in Bruggestrete* 1278[231] 'eleven stalls called the shoemakers' shops'. In 1425[232] there is a conveyance of 'two cellars with their appurtenances built under a certain shop called *Stonesseldes*, lying in Bridge Street, Chester, i.e. upon the corner of Watergate Street'. *Stonesseldes* means 'shops or stalls made of stone or built of stone'. By contrast with these stone-built jobs, we find, just round the same corner in Watergate Street but adjoining Bridge Street, *le Staven Sildes*, *le Stavyn Seldes* 1508,[233] two cellars and vacant ground on the south side of Watergate Street near the west side of Bridge Street; 'stalls built of, or furnished with, staves or poles'.

Watergate Street Row South appears as *le Fleshrewe* Edward III,[234]

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[221] Corp., C/Ch/2/1.

[222] Sheaf 3, 26, No. 5898.

[223] From Middle English *corviser* 'a shoe-maker'. One Richard *le Corueiser* of Chester is named c.1258 (Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 13). *Corvisor's Row* was said in 1356 (Corp., C/Ch/2/1) to be in Bridge Street, but in 1651 (Sheaf 3, 26, No. 5898) it was said to be in Eastgate Street: it was therefore probably on the corner.

[224] Ormerod, I, 135.

[225] Sheriffs Books, Chester Record Office; cf. Morris, 294.

[226] From Middle English *mercer* 'a cloth-seller'. One Robert *le Mercer* was sheriff of Chester 1248–52, he is called *le Prudmercer* in 1250, 'the proud mercer'!

[227] Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 50152–4.

[228] Chamb 74.

[229] From Middle English *sadelere* 'a saddler'. Add. Ch. 50152 seems to place it in Bridge Street near White Friars street, and the Crownmote Rolls for 1392–3 (QC/R10) show saddlers in business in Bridge Street.

[230] Sheaf 3, 11, p. 1.

[231] Ancient Deeds in Public Record Office, No. B.3474, cf. Ormerod, II, 169, Sheaf 3, 34, No. 7513.

[232] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C11, No. 21.

[233] Corp., C/Ch/2.7. Morris, 251, reads *Stabyn Seldys* but I have not seen this form.

[234] Morris, 294.

Flessherowe 1356,[235] *le Fles(s)heuer Rowe* 1420,[236] and so on until *The Flesher's Row* 1578,[237] 'the butcher's row'.[238] Watergate Street Row North does not appear to have a distinctive name in medieval times. Northgate Street Row West was the site of *Iremonger Rowe* 1550,[239] *le Irnemongerrowe* 1330,[240] 'iron-mongers' row'.[241] This row housed *Shoemakers Row* 1860,[242] *the Shoemakers Row* 1704,[243] which adjoined St. Peter's churchyard. Eastgate Street Row South was *le Cornmarketrowe* 1343.[244]

It is the row on the north side of Eastgate Street and the east side of Northgate Street which is most heavily recorded. It was called *Pepper Alley Row* in 1894,[245] *Pepper Alley* in 1831,[246] from the name of the alleyway towards St. Werburgh's churchyard, probably an instance of the modern use of 'pepper' for a rowdy person, a hooligan. The row has had many names given it. It was the site of *The Butter Shops* from 1280 to 1591;[247] it was *Baxter Row* or *Baker's Row* from 1293 to 1502;[248] here also was *le Cokesrowe* 'the cook's row' from 1330 to 1449.[249] In 1330 the Pepper Alley Row belonged to Reginald *de Thlene* of Leen Lane. Another name at the row alludes specifically to its rows-passage, perhaps not unconnected with its 'Pepper-Alley' reputation, and invites com-parison with Northgate Street Row East which was called *Broken Shin Row* in 1817[250] and 1831,[251] and is still an uneven walk. This name for Pepper Alley Row is *The Dark(e) Row* 1591[252] to 1650.[253] The earlier form of this name was *le Dirke Loftez* 1488,[254] *le Darke Loftes* 1541.[255] Pepper Alley Row was also

[235] Chester Plea Rolls (Reports of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records XXVIII, 58).
[236] Morris, 251, lit. *Flesh-, Flesshener Rowe*.
[237] Morris, 294.
[238] From Middle English *flesh-hewere* 'one who hews flesh; a butcher'.
[239] Ministers Accounts, Public Record Office, S.C.6/Edw. VI/65.
[240] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, 22.
[241] From Middle English *iren-mongere* 'an ironmonger'. Raynold *le Yrenmonger* owned land in Northgate Street in 1285 (C.A.S., X, 45). He may even have given name to the Row.
[242] White.
[243] Assembly Books, AB/3, f. 124v.
[244] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 32.
[245] Morris, 295.
[246] Hemingway, I, 386; cf. note 161 *supra*.
[247] *le Botershoppes* 1280 (n.d.) Sheaf 3, 36, No. 7959. *le Butterscoppes* 1293 Chester Indictment Rolls, Public Record Office, Chester 25/1/m.3.
[248] *le Bakersrawe* 1293 Chester Indictment Rolls. Chester 25/1/m.3, *le Baxterrowe* 1330 Portmote Rolls, MR/30, *Baxter Row* 1502 Sheaf 3, 26, No. 5845. In 1330 (Vernon MSS., Box 3 C1, No. 22) this row was between Eastgate Street and St. Werburgh's churchyard and was probably associated with St. Giles's bakehouse, belonging to Boughton Spital, first mentioned in 1313 as 'a house with a furnace and a plot of land at *le Wodefen* which house is called St. Giles's bakehouse' (C.A.S., II, 166–168; Morris, 157) when it was leased to Roger le Kylwe, baker.
[249] 1330 Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 22; 1449 Vernon MSS., Box 3, C2, 37.
[250] J. H. Hanshall, *History of the County Palatine of Chester*, 289.
[251] Hemingway, I, 386, cf. Sheaf 3, 43, No. 8958.
[252] Morris, 294.
[253] Parliamentary Surveys, Public Record Office, Cheshire 13 A, B.
[254] Corp., C/Ch/ 10. An eighteenth-century quotation in Sheaf 3, 19, No. 4552, seems incorrect to date this 1448.
[255] Corp., C/Ch 13.

known as *The New Buildings* 1635[256] and 1688[257] because it was completely rebuilt in 1592.[258]

As can be seen from the selection of notes presented here, the Rows teem with names left upon them by the doings of Chester's inhabitants. One may speculate whether these rows have a connection with an older age of the city than that of their emergence into record. The word *row* (Old English *rāw*) in these names means 'a row of buildings, a row of houses'. A distinctive feature of the rows or ranges of buildings along the principal streets of Chester is the first-floor gallery passageway. The rows fronting the main streets from the Cross have public footways along them, inside their first-floor fronts, lined with shops and chambers, and above the street-level frontage which is level with their cellarage. The rows-passages in front at the centre of the town are at the same level as the ground at the back of the buildings. It is this distinctive gallery feature which is now called, by transference or metonymy, a *Row*. The proper term for these passages, referring to them specifically rather than to the range of buildings they traverse, is now obsolete. It is found in *communis via vocata Lofts* 'the public thoroughfare called *Lofts*' 1492 (17),[259] referring to the Eastgate Street Rows, and in the name 'Dark Lofts' given to Pepper Alley Row.[260] This is the word *loft* from Old Norse *lopt*.

The origin and purpose of the style of building found in the Rows, a range with a public thoroughfare along it inside the first-floor front, is not known, although much considered.[261] The most familiar analogy might be the galleried yard of a medieval inn. But the use of the word *lofts* for the rows-passages suggests that the origin of this peculiar facility may have been in a row of loft-houses (Old Norse *lopt-hús*), each with a sub-structure at ground level on the street frontage, with a stall on the ground in front of it, and a 'cellarage' inside the sub-structure; and with a dwelling in the loft, perhaps with a shop in its front part, reached by a flight of steps from the street. For the convenience of trade and passengers, such lofts would have been connected by board-walks along the outside of the building at loft-level, probably standing over the stall-structures. Such an arrangement would have tended to become permanent, and architecturally integral, when bigger superstructures were needed and developed in the cramped space available along the streets, so that the board-walks, originally external and over the front-stall, would be under the overhang of the next higher storey, whose supporting pillars would now form the outer wall of the loft-passage and the ground-floor frontage stall. The occurrence of loft-houses in Chester would have been a possibility in the tenth and eleventh centuries, in an age of marked Scandinavian influence.

[256] Sheaf 1, 1, p. 276.
[257] Assembly Book, AB/3/f. 16v.
[258] Sheaf 1, 1, p. 276.
[259] Sheaf 3, 30, No. 4917; Br. Mus. Harleian MS. 7568, f. 158.
[260] *v.* supra.
[261] *v.* C.A.S., VI, 57–9, VIII, 48–66; Morris, 288–294; Ormerod, I, 386–9; there is a good specimen diagram in *Medieval Archaeology* VI–VII, 1962–3, 230, fig. 74.

The last stages in the evolution of the Rows, the incorporation of the loft-level passage-ways and the street-level stalls into the advanced frontages of the rows of houses, leaves its echo in the terminology of later contexts such as 'a waste part of the Roe or ground before a messuage on the west side of Bridge Street' in 1643;[262] or 'a shop on the north side of Watergate Streete . . . together with the row and stall before the shop' in 1670;[263] or 'part of the row enclosed by him into a chamber in the row before his house in Bridge Street, being eight feet, and also eight feet in the street by him lately enclosed and taken into his cellar or shop under his said house' in 1675;[264] or 'a passage called the Rowe on the west-side of Bridge Street' in 1692;[265] or 'a house in Foregate Street on the north side of the row or passage there' in 1699;[266] or 'a row or parcel of ground ten yards long by two and a half in breadth before a certain piece of ground lately purchased by . . . whereupon a messuage or dwelling house formerly stood, in the Foregate Street, with liberty to enclose and build upon the same so as to range even in front with the messuage now or late in the holding of . . .' in 1703;[267] or 'a shop in or adjoining the row on the east side of Bridge Street . . . and all that shop lying under the said shop' in 1706;[268] or 'a shop or stall or row at a house called the Harp and Crown in Bridge Street' in 1707.[269]

Handbridge and Heronbridge

To round out this series of exercises in archaeological extrapolation from place-name etymologies, the place-names Handbridge and Heronbridge offer examples of more simple difficulty, where the form and meaning of a place-name are on the one hand obscure and on the other hand misleading.

Handbridge is a curious name. The place is called *Bruge* 1086,[270] and the simple name 'Bridge', meaning 'place at a bridge', representing Old English *brycge* dative singular (i.e. locative) of *brycg* 'a bridge', persists in occasional use down to 1527.[271] The modern form begins to emerge in *Honebrugge* c.1150 (1400),[272] early 13,[273] and down to 1450,[274] *Hondbrigg* 1285,[275] *Hondbrugge*

[262] Corp., C/Ch/2. 27.
[263] Corp. C/Ch 647.
[264] Corp., C/Ch/2/33.
[265] Corp., C/Ch/2/38.
[266] Corp., C/Ch/4/69.
[267] Corp., C/Ch/4/70.
[268] Corp., C/Ch/2/46.
[269] Corp., C/Ch/2/49.
[270] Domesday Book, 3 times, ff. 266, 266b.
[271] *manerium de Brygge* 1527 Chester Recognizance Rolls, Reports of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records XXXIX, 232, cf. *manerium de Bryge* 1528 (17) Cholmondeley MSS., Cheshire Record Office, H/79.
[272] Calendar of Patent Rolls, cf. C.A.S., XIII, 93.
[273] 1202–29 Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 43969.
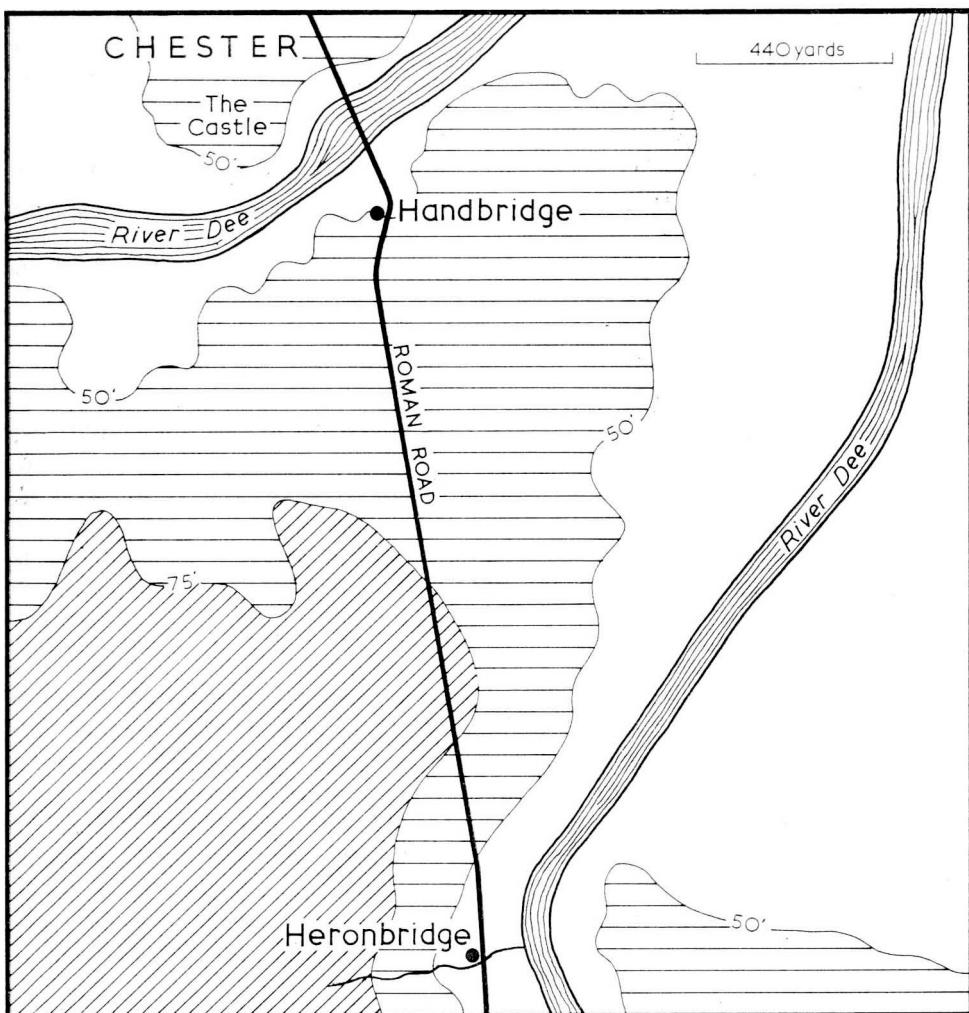[274] Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 43518.
[275] Vernon MSS., Box 3, C1, No. 27.

FIG. 3. The site of Heronbridge.

1386[276] and down to *Hondbridge* 1656,[277] *Hondebrigg* 1361[278] and down to 1516,[279] *Honbrugge* 1334[280] and down to *Honbrigge* 1616,[281] *Hande-* 1511 (1571),[282] *Han-* 1541[283] *et seq., Hand-* 1544[284] *et seq.* Many other variant forms of the prefix occur, e.g. *Hune-* 1289, *Howne-* 1315, *Hun-* 1327, 1471, *Horne-*

[276] Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 50201.
[277] Ormerod, I, 134.
[278] *Black Prince's Register,* III, 409.
[279] Chester Exchequer Appearance Rolls, Public Record Office, Chester 5/1/8 Hen. VIII.
[280] Chester Recognizance Rolls, Public Record Office, (Deputy Keeper's Reports XXXVI, 522).
[281] Sheaf 1, 1, 255.
[282] Chester Recognizance Rolls, Public Record Office, (Deputy Keeper's Reports XXXIX, 108).
[283] W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (1817–30), IV, 316.
[284] Br. Mus. Add. Ch. 50248.

1350, *Honder-* 1369, *Hony-* 1369 (1551), *Honse-* 1391, *Hound-* 1482, *Hunde-* 1488, 1506; and all the forms of the prefix can be accounted for as effects of that rounding and over-rounding of *a* to *o* to *ow* in the north-west-midland dialect of Middle English, and the insertion of an epenthetic *d* between *n* and *b* which has been reinforced by a popular identification of Middle English *hon-*, *hun-* with forms of Old English *hand, hond,* 'a hand' and Old English *hund* 'a hound, a dog'.

For the place-name Handbridge, E. Ekwall[285] supposed the Old English personal-name *Hana* (from Old English *hana* 'a cock'). This would serve the formal transmission well enough, for Old English *Hanan-brycg* would lead to Middle English *Hane-, Honebrugge* in this dialect. But Handbridge is not so named until the twelfth century, and it is recorded as *Bruge* in 1086 : we are dealing with a Middle English modification of the place-name. Again, Ekwall proposes Old English *hana* 'a cock', in the place-name Handforth (near Stockport)[286] and etymologizes it 'cock's, or Hana's ford'. He takes Handforth and Handbridge, and Handford in Staffordshire, together as being all 'cock-ford, cock-bridge' or 'Hana's ford, Hana's bridge'.[287] However, for Hanford in Dorset he admits[288] the Old English word *hān* 'a rock' (cf. Modern English *hone* 'a grindstone, a hone').

It looks as though we ought to reckon *Han(d)ford, -forth,* as a type of place-name, i.e. a commonplace description which would recur with the recurrent juxtaposition of a ford and a rock (*hān, hone*). Hanford and Handforth would denote a ford marked by a rock or stone, either because they lie on a river at a rocky place, or because their course was marked by a stone, in the way that, say, a Stapleford would be marked by a *stapol* (Old English), 'a pillar). The word *hān* is not unheard-of in English place-names. For example, it is a major affix in the place-name Sutton at Hone, Kent. On this argument, Handbridge would mean 'the place called Bridge which is at a *hone,* a rock, and is thus called *Rock Bridge*'. There is a prominent outcrop of rock at Handbridge, and the place could well be called '*Rock*' *Bridge*. A deed of 1736[289] describes *Paradise Croft* in Handbridge as belonging to five houses 'standing on the Rock in Handbridge', Paradise being a row of cottages between Percy Road and the main street of Handbridge, off Bottoms Lane. Alternatively, the *hone* at Handbridge may have been artificial, i.e. a standing-stone of some kind at some significant point in the hamlet. The solution of the formal problem in this place-name creates the possibility of an archaeological problem.

[285] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names,* 4th ed., s.v.

[286] Handforth appears as *Haneford* 1153–81 (1285) (Calendar of Charter Rolls), *Honeford* late 12 (Facsimiles of Early Cheshire Charters, No. 14), *Hondford* 1238 (17) (Chester Recognizance Rolls, Deputy Keeper's Reports XXXVI, 382), 1371 (Bromley-Davenport MSS, John Rylands Library, Box 6/14), *Handforde* 1536 (J. Leland, *Itinerary,* ed. L. Toulmin Smith, V, 26).

[287] See E. Ekwall *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names,* 4th ed., s.nn.

[288] Op. cit., s.n.; setting aside the etymology offered by A. Fägersten, *The Place-Names of Dorset,* Uppsala, 1933, 9, Old English *hēan-forde,* 'at the high (i.e. deep) ford'.

[289] Sheaf 3, 31, No. 6779.

The place-name Heronbridge has been *made* to look difficult. Popular etymology has given it a significance it does not deserve. Heronbridge appears as *pons ferreus* 1354 (1379),[290] translated as *the Iron Bridge* in fifteenth–sixteenth-century documents,[291] and also appearing as *le Irenbrigge* 1506,[292] *the Irne Brige* 1540,[293] *the Yorne Brige* 1547,[294] *the Yern Bridge* c.1574,[295] *Heron Bridge* 1831.[296] All these forms testify to a popular tradition that there was at this place a bridge of iron, as if the place-name contained Old English *iren,* Middle English *yrne, irne, iren,* 'iron'. This association with *iron,* which begins with the *pons ferreus* form in the 1354 charter of the city, has been improved upon and accounted for in various ways. In 1574[297] the name *Yern Bridge* was explained as because the Romans built a wooden bridge here with 'a grate of Iern', a portcullis, in the middle. It was discussed by R. S. B. (R. Stewart Brown) in *The Cheshire Sheaf,* 3rd Series, 31, No. 7035 and by W. F. I. (W. Fergusson Irvine) in op. cit., No. 7044. R. S. B. supposed Heronbridge a Roman ford and discussed the possibility of ironwork here. W. F. I. observed traces of iron slag close to the place where the road from Chester to Eccleston crossed a water-course which runs into R. Dee, the crossing being at the house called Heron-bridge. The place is on a Roman road, and it is possible that there was a ford here in Roman times. But the bridge here need not be so ancient as that, and the association with *iron* is accidental.

The accident by which Heronbridge is associated with iron, is phonetic and etymological. The same sort of accident is seen in the Latin form *oculus crucis* 1394, 1403,[298] for Roodee. There the Latin text translates the English place-name Roodee in its Middle English form *Rood-eye,* 'the island of the Rood; Rood-island'.[299] But the latiniser has taken Middle English *eye* to be from Old English *ēage* (Latin *oculus*) 'an eye', instead of from Old English *ēg* (Latin *insula*) 'an island; a water-meadow'. So he gives us *Rood-eye* as *oculus crucis* instead of *insula crucis.* The *pons ferreus* form for Heronbridge would appear to be such a latinisation of a place-name *hyrne-brycg* 'bridge at a nook or corner'. The place-name element Old English *hyrne* appears in numerous instances throughout Cheshire, to have been pronounced *yrne* or *hyrne* [(h)irn] in the Middle English dialect of the county. This would sound and look and develop like Middle English *yrne* the Cheshire form for Old English *iren* 'iron'. The words *hyrne* 'a nook, a corner a secluded place' and *yrne* 'iron', both develop an alter-native disyllabic form *hyren, hyryn* or *yren.* Thus we find the element *hyrne,* most frequently noted in minor place-names by the very nature of its meaning,

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[290] Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1379, p. 259.
[291] Sheaf 1, 1, 189; Morris, 210–218, 537.
[292] Ministers Accounts, Public Record Office, S.C.6/Hen. VIII/1520.
[293] Morris, 210–218.
[294] Ministers Accounts, Public Record Office, S.C.6/Edw. VI/61.
[295] Sheaf 3, 22, No. 5232.
[296] Bryant's Map of Cheshire.
[297] Sheaf 3, 22, No. 5232.
[298] Morris, 261, 302
[299] From Old English *rōd* 'a cross, a rood', and *ēg* 'an island, a water-meadow'.

in the field-names Deyhiren (lost, in Hurdsfield), Stubborn Oryon (Kinderton), Irons (Great Warford and Edge), Irons Lane (Barrow), Tom Irons (Stretton), Iron Field (Dodcott cum Wilkesley), Iron Dish (Frodsham Lordship and Helsby), Big and Little Irons (Tattenhall), Hyron Yate (lost, in Eccleston), Little Highon (Dunham on the Hill). There was even a lane-name in Chester *a certain way called le Hyryn* in 1510,[300] which contains this element *hyrne*. The place-name Heronbridge means 'bridge at a *hyrne*; bridge at a secluded corner'. Heronbridge would indeed be at a *hyrne,* see Fig. 3. The situation is over a hill from Heronbridge, down in a hollow. The bridge from which the place is named would have carried the Chester–Eccleston Roman road over the watercourse running from a recess in the high bank overlooking the Dee meadows towards the pronounced bend in the river at this point. So far as the place-name is concerned we can forget about *iron*. Perhaps this will simplify the archaeological problems which the place-name's misconstruction has created: the supposed iron bridge here is a product of the latinity of an indifferent toponymist long ago.

The place-names of the city and its environs have not all been presented here: there is much more to see and say. But it is sufficient at this time to throw light upon the problems solved and created by a name-study. Perhaps even the failure to solve a problem by name-study methods can be seen to be a provocation of discussion and review. This would serve scholarship and possibly also clarify our vision of the history of Chester.[301]

John McNeal Dodgson