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THE ETHNOLOGY OF CHESHIRE, TRACED CHIEFLY IN THE LOCAL NAMES.¹

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ARCHÆOLOGY seems to aim at enlarging and improving our historical acquirements by the discovery of new facts and the illustration of old. Her province may be said to comprehend all the extant traces and vestiges of the works of past generations of men. Many portions of this field have been minutely examined and described, but there is still, at least, one region lying in considerable obscurity. There are in Local Names many sources of information which have not yet been drawn forth into the light—many hints as to the race which originally assigned the name, or of the people which supervened and modified that name, or of the tenure of the soil, or of the course of occupation, where lie older and where are the later settlements—these, and many other particulars, quite germane to the pursuit of the archæologist, may be gathered from attention to Local Names.

Men have left their impress upon many kinds of material—upon stone, metal, bone, glass—they have expressed their ideas in many mechanical forms of pottery, of buildings, of encampments. All these are more or less intelligible, in proportion as we have a text to interpret them. We soon learn all that can be learnt from a Roman fibula, and we are soon lost in fruitless dreams if we seek to penetrate into the idea represented by a Druidic stone-circle. These things

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are speechless—and as such are incapable of adding anything to our knowledge of history, however tempting to the imagination as a region fit to be occupied by speculation.

But an ancient fragment of speech is, at once, an archæological relic, and an accompanying text. It tells its own tale, at least in the cases where we have the key to its translation. It may long remain unknown, like the Rosetta stone, but there it is, awaiting the interpreter. Usher told Evelyn that the most fruitful of all studies would ultimately prove to be the study of language. Without taking this remark too rigidly, we can easily see that the praise of philology has been continually on the increase since Usher's day, though it was only lately that it began to yield any historical fruits.

The old antiquarians² felt that a store of history lay couched in names, as is plainly seen by the painful attempts they made to extract it. Their aim was good, but their artillery weak. The progress of philology has improved the means at our command, and invites us to renew the attempt with better hopes of success. Only it must not be supposed, that the principles of philology may be mastered and applied forthwith, without the probation of an apprenticeship. Skill is always requisite for the safe application of scientific principles, and skill can be gained only by practice. If our own day has seen an unprecedented advance in philology, it has not yet witnessed the final extinction of wild and crude etymological speculations.

When the duly trained philological eye traverses the map of any district, it can read at a glance the traces thereon left, and assign each name to the race which gave it birth. The theme of this paper is to apply this process to the county of Cheshire.

It will be perceived, that we are not entering upon a philological, but on an antiquarian inquiry. We seek the marks of ancient races, in the spirit of archæology, for the benefit of ethnology and history. But, as archæology is the handmaid of history; so is philology—in one of her functions—the handmaid of archæology. With the apparatus provided by philology, we set out on our antiquarian pursuit.

² See *Abp. Parker's Pref. to Asser*:—
“ . . . studioso voluptas erit, scire omnium civitatum urbium montium sylvarum fluminum et viarum nomina, et hæc universa unde deriventur, et quo quidque quasi e fonte proflexerit, intelligere.”

rum fluminum et viarum nomina, et hæc universa unde deriventur, et quo quidque quasi e fonte proflexerit, intelligere.”

And, first of all, let us notice the traces of the Romans. Not that these came first in the order of time : some of the British names are certainly older, and probably many are so. But it is by the Roman occupation that British history receives its earliest light ; moreover, the Roman period is definite, and well marked on the table of time, while the British is less so. The British is like a vague external element, which forthwith fills the space that other bodies have left. They advance, and it retires ; they impart impressions, it receives them. A man must be an adherent of the laws of Molmetius, to begin any section of British history with the ancient Britons. The first page of our record is for ever occupied by the Romans. If any prior facts are visible, it is by Roman history that they are brought to light.

Of Roman traces on the map of Cheshire may be quoted the following ; which, though they have little of the Latin element in their composition, are yet monuments of the Roman occupation of the district.

“ Stamford Bridge,” near Tarvin, “ Stretton,” “ Walton,” are all vestiges of a line of Roman road. There is the stone-paved ford of the river ; the town on the old *via strata*, or *street* ; and, thirdly, the town by the wall or embankment.

But the leading Roman feature is its capital city, and the names whereby that city has been designated at different times and by different peoples. In our own day it is CHESTER, a softened modern form of the Saxon CEASTER, as this again was an alteration from the Latin CASTRUM. And not the Saxons only, but the Cambrians also have taken this as the basis of their name for this city. The Welsh at the present day call it CAER-LEON-AR-DWFR-DWY (Castrum Legionum ad Devam), or, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, CAER (*i. e.* Castrum) ; and so, doubtless, did the Cambrians of “Cumber-land,” once a larger designation than it is at present.

Upon the Saxon-Latin name of CHESTER, one or two variations have been played. It was sometimes known as LEGA-CEASTER, which is, like the Welsh CAER-LEON, the same as CASTRUM LEGIONUM. This name of LEGA-CEASTER has been sometimes confounded with the Saxon name of Leicester (Ligora-Ceaster). Another variation, given by Camden,³ but I know not whether it ever had circulation, is

³ Britannia, p. 458, edit. 1607. “ Majores nostri Legea-cester dixerunt, a castris legionis, et nos contractius *West-Chester* ab occidentali situ.”

WEST CHESTER. He supposes the name originated "from its western situation,"—the Chester or stronghold *in the west*. But if, as I think, the cause of this name be traceable in a passage of the Saxon Chronicles, a different account must be given of its meaning.

In the Parker MS., at the close of the Annal 894, we read that the Norsk invaders "marched day and night, till they reached *a waste fortress* in Wirrall, called Legaceaster. The Saxon army could not overtake them, before they were within and had possession of the fortress." The words answering to the Italics are, "on anre westre ceastre"—and this must be the source of the name WEST-CHESTER. We gather from it an historical particular in the history of Chester, that this city was for a time (comparatively or entirely) deserted. Not merely does the above epithet imply this, but the whole current of the narrative agrees with it. The enemy experienced no check on arriving at this ancient Roman fortress; they were not kept at bay even time enough for the Saxons to come up, who were in hot pursuit at their heels; they are no sooner on the spot than they are within, and sustain a siege from the Saxons.

But, though these names of Chester, Lega-Ceaster, West-Chester, Caer-Leon, seem to rest upon Latin antecedents in the form of *Castrum Legionum*, or *Civitas Legionum*; yet it does not appear that the place was ever known to the Romans themselves by this name. These names are, in fact, but Latin renderings of the British and Saxon forms. It is true, the Saxon CEASTER had been derived from *CASTRUM* or *CASTRA*, but not from either of these words as the *name* of this city or that, but in its general character. This is so well known, that it would be idle to cite the long list of English cities which end in *-caster*, or *-cester*, or *-ceter*, or *-chester*. It is no truer of Chester than of many others, that—

"Cestria de castris nomen quasi Castria sumpsit."

For many other places are called "Chester," only they happen to have besides a distinguishing prefix. Winchester, for example, is found actually spoken of as "Chester," in the tenth century, in the following passage:—

964. Her dræfde Eadgar cyng ða preostas on CEASTRE of Ealdan mynstre and of Niwan mynstre. . . .

i. e. 964. This year King Edgar expelled the (secular)

priests at [*Win*]Chester out of the Old Minster and out of the New Minster.

This quotation is from a southern Chronicle, and in the eyes of Southrons, at that date, Winchester was the *κατ' ἐξοχήν* "Chester." If, however, we turn to a northern historian, we find the city of York rejoicing in the same unqualified appellation.

685. Syððan feng Johannes to Caestre biscop dome, forðan Bosa biscop wæs forðfaren, ða wæs Wilferd his preost syððan gehalgod Cæstre to biscope *i.e.*, 685. Then John succeeded to the Bishopric of Chester (*i.e.* York), because Bishop Bosa was dead, &c.

There are moreover scattered over the kingdom many instances of the name of Caistor, Castor, &c., of places more or less obscure, but whose name is etymologically identical with that of the city of CHESTER. In short, this name is of Roman metal, but of Saxon coinage and of Saxon assignment. And it is observable that so ancient a city should have got a new name in times so comparatively recent. This phenomenon agrees well with the circumstance that it appears to have lain waste for a long space after the Roman evacuation.⁴ Its name and former celebrity had alike expired from living tradition, and the place was designated only by its present character, "a fortress" (Ceaster), or, "a deserted fortress" (West-Chester), or, "a military fortress" (Legaceaster), of which the *Castrum* and *Civitas Legionum* was a mediæval Latin translation. The true old Roman name had been *DIVA* (Antoninus), and *COLONIA DIVANA* (on a coin of Septimius Geta), and it was while these names were buried in forgetfulness, after the Roman evacuation, and during the presumed desertion of *DIVA*, that the modern name took its rise.

I am informed by Mr. Albert Way that there is in Chester a "Pepper Street." This odd name, which is of rather frequent occurrence, has not, as far as I know, ever been conclusively explained, but yet it is attended with a suspicion of Roman neighbourhood. Such a notion may be correct and yet not militate against what has

⁴ Unless it should appear more probable that its desolation was due to the early Danish incursions. Apropos of Carlisle, we read in Florence, A. D. 1092: "Hæc enim civitas, ut illis in partibus

aliæ nonnullæ, a Danis paganis ante annos diruta, et usque ad id tempus mansit deserta." But the loss of the old name seems to me decisive for the view taken in the text.

been advanced concerning the desert interval of Chester. Many names are due to Roman vestiges, which yet sprung up after a long break in the thread of Roman tradition.

There is a "Pepper Street" near Stretton, which sounds like a Roman connection. Yet it is not upon the line of Roman road, or otherwise apparently connected with Roman antiquities. Others occur near Tatton Park, near Lymm, and near Macclesfield.

Passing from the Roman to the Barbarian vestiges which meet the eye, we find the following list of very obvious British examples :—

DEE ; this river-name appears twice in Scotland, viz., in Aberdeenshire and Kircudbrightshire. This is enough to fix its Celtic nature. It was Latinised "Deva," and is called in modern Welsh, "Dwfr-Dwy," *i.e.*, the water of Deva.

DANE (=Daven), another British river-name, whose earlier form is preserved in the names of places on its banks, Davenport and Davenham. It also recurs in Scotland, in the river "Devon" in Perthshire. Possibly the similarity between it and the county-name "Devon" is more than accidental. If Dumnonia was originally in British "Dyf-nant"=*deep-ravine, deep-glen'd*, the compound would suit the county and the river with equal appropriateness.

WEVER, a third river-name, explained by Wilbraham, as "Gwy-fawr," = *large-stream*. This "Gwy" is the name which we call "Wye" in South-Wales ; and "Wey" in Hampshire and Dorsetshire, upon which are situated Wey-bridge, and Wey-mouth.

WIRRAL, (A.S., WIR-heal). The first part only of this name is British, the second is Saxon, being the same word as the "heel" of the foot, *calx*. The name means "Wir-promontory or -peninsula." The first syllable remains untranslated, but is doubtless Celtic, as are so many obscure first elements of names whose termination is well understood ; *e. g.*—*Salis-bury, Ciren-cester, Glou-cester, Wor-cester, Win-chester, Lich-field, Lin-coln, Man-chester, &c.*

WALLASEY, LISCARD, POOLE, all three in Wirral. *Wallasey* looks much like "the lake of the Welsh or British." Liscard and Poole, whatever their derivation, are well known as familiar sounds in connection with British localities ; *e. g.* Liskeard in Cornwall, while the name of Poole occurs in Wilts, Dorset, Devon, and Scotland. Probably it is the

Welsh "Pwll," whence we have borrowed our common word "pool"—a standing water. Compare, in Wales, Pont-y-Pwll, Pwllheli: "The Pill," a deep part of the Avon below Bristol, and Pilton in Somersetshire.

INCE is in Domesday "Inise." It is identical with the Welsh "Ynys," and means "an Island." The situation of Ince will at once be seen to justify this. In Scotch names this word has taken the orthography "Inch," e.g., "Inch Keith," i.e., "Keith Island."

TRAFFORD is spelt in Domesday "TREFORD." It may possibly be Tref-fordd; in the sense of Town-road, highway to the town; but it is much to be doubted whether the usage of the British dialect would bear out this compound.

NANTWICH.⁵ Here we seem plainly to have a British first syllable in "Nant"—a valley, a glen. But the second part passes so universally for a Saxon word, and I have so little to say to the contrary, however strongly I may suspect that the word is all British, that it seems more regular to defer speaking of "wich" till we come to the Teutonic element.

HALTON. Here we have probably a hybrid, made up of the British *Halen*—salt, and the Saxon *ton*, a town or village. We know that there was a salt-work here, by the presence of the magic "Wich" in the Domesday account of HELETUNE which we identify with this place. "In Wich i. dom' wasta." The old form "Heletune" seems more remote from the required orthography than the present form Halton. But as the neighbourhood of the other places in the Hundred of Tunendune points to Halton as the representative of Heletune, the orthography need hardly stop our conclusions. It must be recollected in dealing with the spelling in Domesday, that the Norman record bears throughout those marks of inaccuracy which are always found where foreigners are spelling local names.

MERE, though so familiar to our English ears, must be regarded as a British word, identical with their "môr" = *mare* = the sea. We find, Delamere (*olim* Mara), Merton, Marbury, Hanmer, Bagmere Lake; which by association carries us northwards to Westmorland and Cumberland. But we also find—

⁵ "Nantwich—a very old town, full of houses, built with brick noggen."—*Sir C. J. Napier's Life*, in October 11, 1839.

CUMBERMERE, in the South,
COMBERBACH, near Great Badworth,
CUMBERLAND, near Forest Chapel,

have the British *-mere*, and the Englisc *-bach-land*, attached to the genitive plural CUMBRA = *of the Cymry*, the well-known native designation of the present Welsh.

WALGHERTON (WALCRETUNE, Domesday), in the South East; and

WILKESLEY, preserve the Englisc name for the Britons—"Walgher," is "Walhra;" and "Wilkes," is probably "Wealhes;" being genitives plural and singular respectively of Wealh = *Welshman, foreigner*.

The Danish traces appear very circumscribed. We meet with none that are very obvious, except in the low and maritime hundred of Wirrall. And there we find a respectable list: Whitby, Frankby, Kirby, Irby, Greasby, Pennesby, Denhall. So it seems as if the Danes were confined to this part, and never penetrated into the heart of Cheshire. Apparently, when the Lady Æthelflæd in 914, fortified Eadesbyrig in Delamere Forest, and Rumcofa⁶ (Runcorn), in the following year, it was more for security against the Stræcedwalas than against the Danes, or merely perhaps to secure the general peace of the country. Eadweard's progress in fortifying Thelwæl (Thelwall), and Mameceaster (Manchester), in 923, must be considered as in continuation of Æthelflæd's policy, whether it had a foreign or a domestic meaning.

The paucity of Danish names is compensated by the abundance of Anglian designations; for such are the early English names in Cheshire. They are not Saxon, but Anglian. This county was part of the Anglian kingdom of Mercia, and first came under the Saxon dominion in the person of Eadweard mentioned above.

A ready illustration of this offers itself in the presence of the word "low" in the sense of an eminence or rising ground. These are discovered in all parts of Anglian-England, from North Berwick Law⁷ off the Scotch coast, to Thurlow in Suffolk, or Winslow and Warlow (Bucks).

⁶ = roomy coffer, or box, or cavern. Cf. landcofa, a cavern.—*Psalm* lx. 6.

⁷ This term runs up as far as the Tay. In East Lothian there is, besides North Berwick Law, another called Traprain

Law. In Fife there are Largo Law, Norries Law, and Kelly Law. This agrees well with the Northern limits of the Angle race.

But in this county of Cheshire they seem to be particularly at home. I have culled the following list from the Map :—

Seven Lows	.	.	in	.	.	Delamere Forest.
Twemlow	.	.	near	.	.	Sandbach.
Swanlow	.	.	"	.	.	Middlewich.
Oulton Lowe	.	.	"	.	.	Wettenhall.
Sandlow	.	.	"	.	.	Church Hulme.
Drakelow	.	.	"	.	.	Davenham.
Hankilow	.	.	"	.	.	Audlem.
Bandilow	.	.	"	.	.	"
Wilmslow	.	.	"	.	.	Knutsford.
Alcumlow	.	.	"	.	.	Congleton.
Mutlow	.	.	"	.	.	"
Stanlaw	.	.	"	.	.	"

This last is on the estuary of the Mersey, where John Lacy, Constable of Chester, founded a monastery in 1172, which was afterwards removed because of inundations to Whalley in Lancashire. The Stanlow, or *stony-rise*, proved too *low* in the modern acceptance of the word. For, odd as it may seem, this "low," which meant an eminence in its substantial signification, is no other than the "low" which means the very opposite in its adjectival development. At least I see no other account that can be given for our modern representative of "humilis." This derivation is in strict analogy with the history of the modern adverb "down." There is no question that this and the substantive a "down," = high-common, are the same word. Going down-hill was expressed in classic Saxon by the preposition and substantive "of dune," *i. e.*, off the down. "Of dune," became "adown," and curtly, "down," as now in use.

But when we speak of the formatives which are prevalent in the local names of Cheshire, there is one which has a claim to be dwelt upon more than any other. It is the terminative "wick," or "wich."

Not indeed that this form is numerically the most conspicuous. We cannot muster as many "wicks" as "lows." But from the coincidence between this name and the chief salt-works, it has been brought into peculiar prominence; and it has been supposed that there was something in "wich" expressive as well as indicative of salt. But no such a connection (radically) can be made out. This was observed long ago by Pennant. He says, in his "Tour from Chester to London," p. 24,—“Notwithstanding the word (wych)

does not appear to have anything to do with salt, yet it is always applied to places where salt is found ; as Droitwich, Nantwich, &c., and the houses in which it is made are called wych houses." He also observes that Nantwich was formerly called Wych. And this seems true, for Nantwich does not appear to be in Domesday.

Of these forms, we find Nantwich, Northwich, Middlewich, Dirtwich (obscure name on the south margin of the county) : and of wicks, there is Shotwick, a royal castle commanding the Frith ; Smethwick, near Congleton ; and Moor Kekewick, in the north-west.

This terminative is found so widely scattered, and in situations so various, that it is difficult to fix upon a sense to which they will all subscribe. There is Sandwich, Dulwich, Harwich, Woolwich, Ipswich, Norwich ; and Warwick, Wickham, Alnwick, Berwick, besides a host of obscure places. I do not discover it in Germany, unless Braunschweig is an example, which we call Brunswick. But in Holland there are instances, Kattwick, Bardwick ; and also in Denmark. Johnson's Gazetteer gives seven small places in France called "Vic," and several "Vicq." But it is in Sweden that they are most frequent, and there they are considered to mark an inlet of water running up into a cove. And this is one of the meanings given by Dufresne, whose explanations of this word it is interesting to notice, if only as a proof how he was puzzled to decide on its leading signification.

Wic, *lucus* ; unde Germanis *wicgreve* — forestarius.

Wic, *fluminis ostium* Saxonibus significare docet Rhenanus, vel *stationem securam*, ut Hadrianus Junius, vel denique *Castellum*.
Wicha, *silva*, ut videtur, idem quod *wic*.

Such is Dufresne's information, drawn plainly from continental sources. It seems hard to reduce these widely diverse senses to one common idea, but it would not be difficult to justify them from examples. There are still woods and copses in England known as "wicks ;" the sense "*fluminis ostium*" is perhaps the most adaptable to the Scandinavian "Wyk" and "Vik," as also to some of our own, *e. g.* Sandwich. The "*statio securam*," or, in English, "harbour," would be quite as well for the places ; but this is only a variation of the idea expressed in *creek, inlet, fluminis ostium*. From this idea of "harbour, shelter, refuge, &c.,"

springs the sense of "*Castellum*, camp, village, hamlet:" in which series of senses the word figures in Saxon literature. Passages are too numerous to be quoted. In military history, "they encamped," is "wicodon;" and when they quit the camp, it is "of wicum" = *è castris*. In Wright's Vocabularies, p. 94, the Latin "*Castellum*" is thus Englished:—"wic vel *lutel-port*," *i. e.* *Castellum* means a "wick," or a little town (fortified). Now the "wic," or "lutel-port" was a group of houses fenced round with a slight attempt at Roman camp-work, *i. e.*, with a ditch and mound stockaded a-top.

It is plain that the idea of a fenced or fortified place, a place of security, is the prevalent idea of "wic" in Saxon literature. Now we have textual proof that the salt-works in Cheshire generally were fenced places of this kind, and had an internal law of their own. In Domesday, under War-mundestrov Hundred, there is the following explicit note:—

"Omnes istæ salinæ et communes et dominicæ cingebantur ex unâ parte quodam flumine et quodam fossato ex aliâ parte. Qui infra hanc metam forisfecisset, poterat emendare per ii. solidos aut per xxx. bulliones salis. Excepto homicidio vel furto de quo ad mortem iudicabatur latro."

Here seems to be the solution of the Cheshire "wicks." The saltworks were all of them fenced and secured like a "wic" of those days, and within them dwelt the salt-making community, with customs and privileges of their own as to fineable offences, but amenable to the law of the land as concerned capital crimes. We cannot wonder that a distinction so practical should have tended to swell the significance of the word "wic," and to ensure its perpetuity. Durably as this word is stamped on the map of north-western Europe, and wide as its vogue must once have been, it is no longer current. After the Conquest its military sense was forgotten, and it retained only the sense of "residence." In Layamon (about A. D. 1200) *wikien*, to dwell, abide; and *wickeninge*, or *wickinge*, a dwelling: whereas *wician* had meant "to encamp;" *wician*, *wicode*, *gewicod*. This seems like a faint and expiring use of the word, and so it proved to be. And it may seem astonishing that the word is found in the Gothic Gospels in a sense very near to this seemingly late and degenerate use. It translates *κώμη*. Cf. Diefenbach v. Veih. But this interesting word will not be appreciated

unless a high antiquity and an immense area be attributed to it. It is the Greek *oikos*, Latin *vicus*, on the one hand; and the Celtic, *gwic* (Gaelic, *fic*), on the other: and there is no appearance of priority on either side. It has doubtless gone through its ramifications in many different scenes, and it would be futile to attempt a serial connection of all its extant meanings.

It is generally assumed that these terminations "wick," "wych," &c., are Saxon. They may be so; but there is no impossibility in their being British, and Nantwich (as above hinted) may possibly be a perfect piece of British. In Florence of Worcester, Anno 635, we read of Dorchester as "civitatem Dorcice," which may be a compound of *Dwr* and *gwic*, of which the corresponding Saxon is *Ea-ton*.

But we now pass to another great source of information concerning local names, Domesday Book. Through the little knowledge which the surveyors had of the English language, these names are now involved in greater obscurity than they would have been if they had been taken down correctly.

In Domesday this county is divided into the following twelve hundreds:

	Partially identifiable with the present
ATISCROS	?
BOCHELAV	E. half of Hundred of Bucklow.
CESTRE	? Chester.
DUDESTAN	Hundred of Broxton.
EXESTAN	?
HAMESTAN	Parts of the Hundreds of Macclesfield and Northwich.
MILDESTVIC	Hundred of Northwich.
RISEDONE	S. half of Eddisbury Hundred.
ROELAV	N. half of Eddisbury Hundred.
TUNENDUNE	W. half of Bucklow Hundred.
WARMUNDESTROV	Hundred of Wirrall.
WILAVESTON	Hundred of Nantwich.

The places mentioned within each of these Hundreds may perhaps be for the most part recognisable by persons familiar with the localities, but there are many which are not easy for a stranger to identify through mere reference to the modern map. Enough, however, may be made out to throw some light on the formation of the old Hundreds. Since that time the Hundreds have been geographically recast, and the old local agglomerations have been obliterated. Were these agglomerations originally spontaneous,

or were they parts of a systematic division? Even if the latter could be supposed, the division must have been made in such a manner as to be liable to alterations. The irregularity of their form seems to testify to this. The assertion of Ingulph and Malmesbury that Alfred instituted the Hundreds, might possibly be brought to a test by a closer examination of Domesday.

The following lists of names occurring in Domesday Book under the several Hundreds, will enable the local enquirer to determine for himself how far the above observation is of any significance. Supposed identifications stand in a separate column opposite the Domesday form of the name. Here and there an extract which seemed to contain matter of note has been inserted in the lists.

The Hundred of ATISCROS (unidentified) :—

Wepre.
Leche . . . ? Leek, in Staffordshire.

Haordine.
Radintone.
Brochetune.
Ulfemiltone.
Latbroc.
Bachelie.
Coleselt.
Merlestone.
Claventone.
Edritone.
Dodestune.
Estone.

Castretone.
Sutone.
Roelend.

Ibi T. R. E. jacebat Englefield. Modo habent in dominio $\frac{1}{2}$ castelli quod Roelent vocatur . . . et $\frac{1}{2}$ mine-riæ ferri, ubicunque in hoc Manerio inventa fuerit : et $\frac{1}{2}$ Aquæ de Cloit : et $\frac{1}{2}$ villæ que vocatur Bren. Ad hoc Manerium Roelent, jacent hæ Bereuuichæ ; Dissaren, Bodugan, Chiluen, Mainueal.

Biscopestrev.

The Hundred of BOCHELAY (Bucklow Hundred) :—

Wareburgstane. Warburton.
Mulintune.
Cvnetesford . . Knutsford.
Stabelei . . . Tabley(?Stablach).
Pevre . . . Peover.
Tatvne . . . Tatton Park.
Doneham.
Bogedone . . . Bowdon.
Mera Mere.
Rodestone.
Wareford . . Warford.
Cepmundewiche.
Senelestvne.
Alretune . . Ollerton.

Motburlege . . Mobberley.
Lege
Wimundisham . Wincham.

Ibi una acra siluæ et aira accipi- tris, et una domus in Wich. et j. bordarius. Valebat X. solidos. Wasta fuit et sic inventa.

Hale Hale.
Ascclie.
Lime Lymm.
Norwordi
Sundreland.

The Hundred of CESTRE (? Chester) :—

Newentone	? Newton.
Lee	? Over Leigh Hall.
Brvge	? Handbridge.

The Hundred of DUDESTAN (? Doddleston, on the verge of the Hundred.)

Ferentone . . Farndon.	Lavorchedone . Larkton.
Terve.	Dochintone.
Cavelea.	Celelea.
Hunditone.	Brosse.
Bocstone . . ? Broxton Hall.	Ovretone.
Etone.	Cuittitone.
Lai Lea Hall.	Socheliche . . Shocklach.
Cotintone . . Coddington.	Tusigeham.
Rusitone.	Bichelei . . . Bickley.
Opetone.	Bicretone.
Bodvrde.	Burwardeslei . Burwardsley.
Alretone.	Crevhalle.
Ovre.	Tidulstane.
Estham.	Tatenale . . . Tattenhall.
Beddesfield.	Colburne . . . Golbourn Bridge.
Burwardestone.	Clytone . . . Clutton.
Hurdingberie.	Caldecote . . . Caldecote.
Depenbech.	
Tillestone . . . Tilston.	T. R. E. fuit wasta, tamen redde-
Cristetone . . Christleton.	bat ii. solidos ; modo xv. solidos.
Lai.	
Torentune (Gislebertus de Venables tenet de Hugone comite).	Pulford . . . Pulford.
Ecelestone . . Eccleston.	Ferentone.
Alburgham.	Stapleford.
Calmundelai . Cholmondley Hall.	Wavretone . . . Waverton.
Eghe.	Etone . . . Eaton.
Hentone.	Hanlei . . . Handley.
	Colborne.

The Hundred of EXESTAN OR EXTAN (unidentified) :—

Eitune.	Osbearn habet molinum annonam
Odeslei.	suæ curiæ molentem . . . De hac
Pulford.	terrâ hujus Manerii jacuit i. hida
Alentvne.	T. R. E. in ecclesia S. Cedde : di-
Eitune.	midium in Chespuic et dimidium in
Sutone.	Radenoure. Hoc testatur comitatus,
Hope.	sed nescit quomodo ecclesia per-
Erpestoch.	diderit.
Gretford.	

The Hundred of HAMESTAN :—

Edlvintune.	Aldredelic . . Nether Alderley, Ardley Hall.
Govesvrde . . Gawsworth.	Boselega . . . Bosley.
Mervtvne . . . Marton.	Meretone (Wasta fuit semper i. bereuuih).
Hvngrewenitvne.	Cerdingham.
Celeford . . . Chelford.	Svmreford . . Sumerford.
Hameteberie.	Bramale . . . ? Bramhall.
Copestor . . . ? Capesthorn.	Nordberie.
Hofinchel . . . ? Wincle.	Botelege.
Tengestuisie.	Cedde.
Holisvrde.	Motre.
Warnet.	
Croeneche . . Cranage.	
Bretberie.	

The Hundred of MILDESTVIC (Middlewich) :—

Eleacier.	Cinbretvne.
Sanbec . . . Sandbach.	Deneport . . Davenport Hall.
Clive.	Witvne.
Sutone . . . Sutton.	Nevtone.
Wibaldelai . . Wimboldsley.	Crostvne.
Wevre . . . Wever Hall.	Hoiloch . . . Wheelock.
Aculvestune.	Tadetvne.
Survelec.	Lege.
Wice.	Rode ? Red Hall.
Moletune . . Moulton.	In eodem Mildestvic Hd. erat tercium Wich quod vocatur Norvich : et erat ad firmam pro viij. libris. Ipsæ leges et consuetudines erant ibi quæ erant in aliis Wichis ; et rex et comes partiebantur reddi- tiones.
Wanetune.	Omnes teini qui in isto Wich habebant salinas, per totum annum non dabant in die veneris bulliones salis.
Devenham.	Then follows the toll paid by those who fetcht salt.
Botestoch . . Bostock.	
Aldelime.	
Eteshale.	
Manessele . . Church Minshall.	
Maneshale . . ? Id.	
Sprostune.	
Lece.	
Lavtvne . . . Leighton.	
Bevelei . . . Byley Hall.	
Gostrel.	
Bryge.	
Cogeltone . . ? Congleton.	
Nevbold.	
Bretone.	

	If of same shire.	Of other shire.
Carrus cum ij. bobus, ij. denarios	iiij. denar.	iiij. denar.
de summâ caballi, j. minutam	i „	i „

Homo manens in ipso hundredo si carro ducebat sal ad vendendum per eundem comitatum, de unoquoque carro dabat i. denarium, quotquot vicibus oneraret eum. Si equo portabat sal ad vendendum, ad festum Martini dabat i. denarium. Cætera omnia in his Wichis sunt similia.

The Hundred of Risetone or Risedon (? Rushton Hall) :—

Sudtone.	Pichetone.
Burtone . . . Burton.	Winfletone.
Redeclive.	Bero.
Etingehalle.	Warhelle . . . Wardle.
Buistane . . . Beeston (Camp.)	Cocle.
Boleberie . . . ? Bunbury.	Torpelei . . . Tarporley.
Tevretone.	Watenhale . . . Wettenhall.
Spuretone . . . ? Spurstow.	Clotone . . . Clotton.
Pevretone.	Altetone . . . ? Oulton.
Estone.	

The Hundred of Roelav (? Ruloe near Waverham) :—

Inise Ince.	Doneham . . . Dunham.
Midestune.	Eltone.
Wivreham . . . Waverham.	Troford . . . Trafford.
	Menlie . . . Manley.
In Wich fuerunt vij. salinæ huic Manerio pertinentes. Una ex his modo reddit sal aulæ: aliæ sunt wastæ. De alio Hundredo j. virga terræ Entrebus dicta huic Manerio pertinet et wasta est.	Helesbe.
	Frotesham . . . Frodsham.
	Aldredelie.
	Done.
	Edesberie . . . [Eddisbury.]
	Herford . . . Hartford.
	Wenitone.
Kenardeslie.	Chingeslie . . . Kingsley.

The Hundred of TVNENDVNE :—

Clistune.	Lege.
Ibi i. virga terræ et $\frac{1}{2}$ geldat.	Estone . . . Aston.
Terra est i. carucæ. Wasta fuit et est. Silua ibi i. leuua long. et $\frac{1}{2}$ lat.	Budewvde . . . Budworth.
TRE valebat iiiii. solidos.	Witelei . . . Whitley.
Sibroc.	Cocheshalle . . . Cogs Hall.
Heletvne . . . Halton.	Epletvne . . . Appleton.
	Gropenhale . . . Groppenhall.
	Bertintune . . . Bartington.
In Wich i. domus wasta.	Unus seruiens comitis tenet unam terram in hoc Hundredo Tenendune. Hec terra nunquam fuit hidata. Ibi habet i. carucatam cum i. bovario. Valet iiiii. solidos.
Westone . . . Weston.	
Nortvne . . . Norton.	
Enelelei.	
Dvntvne . . . ? Dutton.	

The Hundred of WARMUNDESTROV :—

Wimeberie.
 Crev . . . Crewe.
 Pontone.
 Calvintone.
 Actone . . . Acton.
 Estune.
 Wilavestune.
 Wareneberie . Wrenbury.
 Cerletune.
 Merberie . . . Marbury.
 Norberie.
 Wireswelle . . Wirswall.
 Westone.
 Steple.
 Wistetestune.
 Brumhala . . Bromhall.
 Tereth.
 Cerlere.
 Bedelei . . . Baddiley.
 Stanlev . . . ? Stoneley Green,
 near Acton.
 Copenhale . . . Coppenhall.
 Estone . . . Aston.
 Chelmundestone Cholmondeston.
 Potitone.

Walcretune . . Walgherton.
 Santune.
 Burtuue.

Ibi Siluua $\frac{1}{2}$ leuam long. et tantundem lat. et iij. haia^e et aira Accipitris. Valebat x. solidos.

Haretone.
 Wistanestune . Wistaston.
 Berchesford.
 Berdeltune.
 Werblestune.
 Bertemelev . . Barthomley.
 Essetune.
 Wivelesde.
 Titesle.
 Blachenhale . Blakenhall.

Ibi Haia et aira Aceipitris.

T R E erat in WARMUNDESTROV
 H^a unum Wich, in quo erat puteus ad sal faciendum, et ibi erant viij salinae inter regem et comitem Eduuinum . . .

Omnes istae salinae et communes et dominicae, &c. (as above, p. 103).

The Hundred of WILAVESTON (Willaston) :—

Wivevrene . . Wervin.
 Crostone.
 Wisdelea.
 Sudtone . . . The Suttons.
 Salhare.
 Sotowiche . . Shotwick.
 Nestone . . . Neston.
 Rabie . . . Raby.
 Trosford.
 Traford.
 Edelave.
 Maclesfeld . . Macclesfield.
 Optone . . . Upton.
 Stanci . . . Stanney.
 Entrebus.
 Butelege . . . Betley.
 Molintone . . Mollington.
 Lestone.
 Bernestone.
 Blachehol.
 Pontone.
 Gravesberie.
 Stortone . . . Storeton.

Torintone.
 Gaiton . . . Gayton.
 Eswelle . . . Haswell.
 Turstanetone . Thurstaston.
 Calders . . . ? Caldey.
 Melas . . . Meols.
 Walea . . . ? Wallasey.
 Haregrave . . Hargrave.
 Hotone . . . Hooton.
 Cocheshalle . . Coghull, near
 Wervin.

Levetesham . . ? Ledsham.
 Prestune.
 Wivrevene . . (? = Wivevrene
 above.)

Pol Poole.
 Salhale.
 Landechene . . Landican.
 Tvigvelle . . . ? Thingwall.
 Chenoterie.
 Capeles.
 Sumreford.

Whatever may be determined as to the local grouping of these places, there can be no doubt about the race that generated them. On their geographical relations the investigator may find himself baffled, especially if his only guide be the modern map; but on the philological question there is hardly room for error. They are emphatically Anglo-Saxon. A more precise enquiry would probably bring out the result that they are Anglian and not Saxon, but these are minutiae, into which we do not enter. What strikes the eye is, the utter absence of Danish forms, and the deep obscurity which overlays the British elements that may be there. The terminations are, with scarcely an exception, unequivocally Anglo-Saxon. They are the well-known,—

-berie	-bury = fenced-work.		'grove,' sometimes 'quarry.'
-burne	-bourn = brook (<i>e.g.</i> Sherbourn).	-hala or -hale ^s or -halle or	-hill or -hall = col- lis.
-cote	-cot. cottage.	-ale	
-delie	-dell (<i>e.g.</i> Aldredelie = Alderdell, now corruptly Alderley.)	-ham	-ham = home.
		-land	-land.
		-lave or lev	-low = hill.
-ei	-ey = island.	-lega or -lege, or lei	-lea.
-feld	-field (<i>i.e.</i> unenclosed).	-stane	-stone.
		-tone or -tune	-ton.
-ford	German, -furt, <i>e.g.</i> Erfurt.	-torne	-thorn.
		-vrde	-worth.
-grave	-grave; = sometimes	-wiche	-wick or -wich.

And if the forefront of the name bears the unmistakable Anglo-Saxon stamp, the stock or basement (with which the name begins), is generally of the same extraction.

This member is usually formed, either of,—

1. An Anglo-Saxon proper name (masculine) in the genitive case, as in "Wilaveston," which would be in correct book-Saxon, "Wiglafes-tun," *i.e.*, the town of Wiglaf.

"Warmundes-trov" is the tree of Warmund.

Wistanes-tune is the town of Wistan, *i.e.*, Wigstan.

Aculfes-tune is the town of Aculf, probably Ecgwulf.

Wimundisham is the home of Wigmund.

Burwardes-lei is the lea of Burgward.

^s This may be counted one of the prevalent terminations of this county: *e.g.* Tattenhall, Wettenhall, Bidenhall-Hall near Sandbach, Coppenthal, Gropenthal, Cogshall, Bromhall, Blackenhall

near Audlem, Darnhall, Marthall, Henhall near Nantwich, Rushall-Hall near Tattenhall, Iddenshall near Tarporley, Bramhall, Henshall-Hall.

Many other places of this name-form are based upon less familiar personal appellations, but are just as certainly of this class, as may be known from the presence of the the genitival s—before the termination, e.g., Merlestone, Senelestone, Tillestone, Tidulstane, Wistetestune, Govesurde, Copestor, &c.

2. An Anglo-Saxon feminine proper name, as Warburgstane, the stone of Warburg, (here the s might mislead anyone who did not know that Warburg, being a feminine name, is incapable of a genitive in s), Motburlege, the lea of Motburg (or? the *burg* where met the scir-*mot*).

3. A Saxon animal-name, as in Haregrave, Haretone, Ulfemiltone, Hunditone, Bocstone.

4. The name of a tree or other plant, as from the—

Alder ;—Aldredelie, Alretune.

Ash ;—Essentune, Ascelie.

Beech ;—Bichelei.

Birch ;—Berchesford.

Oak ;—Actune.

Fern ;—Ferentone.

These details may suffice to illustrate the general Anglo-Saxon character of the names taken out of Domesday Book. We can hardly err in concluding from them that this county had received no great intermixture of foreign blood for centuries before the Conquest, and that the Teutonic element had quite lived down the British, which was the prior tenant of the soil, and which though living on alongside of the dominant race, was always in a state of obscurity and nullity, if not of dependence.

When we consider the interval of time, and the incorrectness which can often be proved against the surveyors, it is matter of wonder that the names are so largely identifiable at the present day. Often the name is still found to denote a village or a parish, but in several cases where it has lost hold on the community it is perpetuated in the name of the Manor House. The continuity with which the upper class of society has sustained itself from the Conquest downwards, while it has given stability to our central institutions, has also given permanence to local designations. And often in running over the map for names to identify with those in Domesday, the *ἔνρηκα* has been elicited by some old manor, or the village which retains the name has been found to

share that name with the house of the Squire hard by. A few examples of this are,—Weever Hall, near Middlewich ; Lea Hall, near Aldford ; Davenport Hall, near Sandbach ; Byley Hall, near Middlewich ; and Tatton Park, in Bochelav Hundred.

And not only the names of residences, but names of families that reside, or may be presumed at some time to have resided in those houses, may be pressed into the illustration of our subject. Such well-known family names as Acton, Alderley, Antrobus, Bramhall, Bunbury, (*e.g.*, Sir Joshua Reynolds, his Master Bunbury), Caldecote, Cholmondeley, Crewe, Delamere, Dutton, Eaton, Elton, Hargave, Hulme, Ince, Kingsley, Manley, Merton, Moberley, Romilly, Sutton, Twemlow, Walton, Warburton, Wilbraham—all these may be derived from residences in Cheshire. Some of them, it is true, are rather generic, and may easily be found beyond this county—others are so strongly characteristic that none other than a Cheshire origin can be supposed.

But of the names of the twelve Hundreds, one only is found among the seven Hundreds that now divide the county. The present Hundreds are Wirrall, Bucklow, Macclesfield, Northwich, Nantwich, Eddisbury, Broxton. The only name that can be identified with any on the Domesday list, is that of Bucklow, “Bochelav.”

Before we pass from this subject of Domesday, there are one or two curious particulars touching the City of Chester that deserve to be extracted. We read that Chester “reddebat x. mark arg.,” that is, paid ten marks of silver as its taxes, and of this revenue two-thirds went to the king, and one-third to the Earl of Chester (Comes).

As to the shipping dues, we read :—“iiii. denarios de unoquoque Lesth habebant rex et comes,” the king and earl had 4 pence for each Lesth. Whether this word means the whole or some subdivision of the cargo, the word is plainly the Saxon hlæst, a load, in German, Last. If they imported “martrinas pelles,” *i.e.*, ermines, and did not declare them on the demand of the king’s officer, the fine was 40*s.* The fine for false measures was 4*s.* And their method of protecting the poor from the dangers of worthless beer, though well known to many readers, yet deserves to be recalled to the notice of our generation. “Similiter malam cerevisiam faciens aut in cathedra ponebatur stercoris, aut iiij. solidos

dabat præposito.”⁹ Were it not for the unworthy alternative, this formidable *cathedra* would command our admiration and regret.

The borders of the county may now claim a brief attention. I do not know whether any changes are known to have taken place in the boundaries at any part, but along the southern half from S.E. to S.W., there are occasional names which suggest an old border-line. Along the south may be found the following significant expressions. “Grindley Brook” and “Grindley Green,” *i.e.*, the boundary brook, connected with German *Grenze*—a boundary, and also with that much discussed name of “Grendel,” the Gnome in the *Beowulf*.

“Cheshire Fields,” which must have been so called with reference to other fields, not far off, yet *out of* Cheshire.

“Inglesey Brook” is one of those compounds so frequent in our island, in which an obsolete description is interpreted by a newer word. Ingles-ey Brook = Angles’-stream-brook. The old “ey,” or classically “ea,” had ceased to be understood. This looks like a name, descriptive of a boundary between Angles and some cognate population: could it be a “Saxon” colony? In the first half of the tenth century, the south-western counties having now almost admitted their complement of the West Saxon emigration, the whole of Mercia was added to the Wessex dominion, and opened to Saxon enterprise.

“Dane brook”—probably not connected with the Danes—but the old British river-name, touched upon above.

“The Mere,” exactly on the line of boundary where it is crossed by the road from Audlem to Norton. (“Mere” is common in these parts in the more familiar sense of “lake” or “pool,” in which sense it is sometimes curiously duplicated; *e.g.* Combermere Mere, Hanmer Mere, the first “mere” having become so much absorbed into and enclitic upon its base, that its descriptiveness escaped notice, and it had to be re-edited.) But this “Mere” is quoted under the probability of its being a different word, the Saxon “gemæro,” “mare,” “mer” = boundary. Very common in the *Codex Diplomaticus*.

On the S.W. the line of division between the English and

⁹ In regard to the cucking-stool, the ancient engine of punishment for fraudulent brewers, who are usually spoken of as

females, see Mr. Way’s notes on the words Cuckstoke and Kukstole, *Promptorium Parvulorum*, pp. 107, 281.

Welsh names is clear and sharply defined, indicating a long-established line of demarcation.

To touch a moment, before I close, on the more recent names exhibited by the map of Cheshire. These are specially frequent in the uplands about Macclesfield, showing that to a comparatively late date they were still open. Now of all the names that belong to the Early English period, that is, the new English language which sprung up out of the trampled roots of the old Saxon, and some sprinklings of foreign seed, the language of Gower, Chaucer, Wiclif—of all the names that belong here, none has been more talked of than “Cold Harbour.” The Rev. W. Monkhouse, Vicar of Goldington, has reviewed the whole subject, in a paper which he read to the Bedfordshire Archæological Society in 1856.¹⁰ He comes to the conclusion that they were outlying sheds and hovels in which the sheep were penned when grazing at a distance from the homestead, in the days when there were wolves. He compares the Swiss *chalet*. I see no objection to this explanation, except that it is hardly comprehensive enough. The “*hereberwe*” of that day, the French “*auberge*” of the present day, is a lodging-place. The “harbinger” was the *courier* who went forward to provide such (cf. *um Herberge bitten*, &c.; often in Grimm’s Tales).

Such a “harbour” should properly be a *home*, and have a hearth, which was continually *warm*. The domestic fire-side was always held in early times, when men dwelt sparse, as the symbol of home, and the smoke was a beacon for the wanderer. How dear this feeling was, may be seen in such expressions as “*pro aris et focis*”—and in the obnoxious *hearth-tax*. In very open parts of the country, where the distance from one habitation to another was more than a day’s journey, there were hovels set up for travellers to pass the night in. Such may yet be met with on Exmoor. An empty shed, the door on the latch, and a rude notice on the wall—“When you go, latch the door.”

Such places of entertainment, where the reception was *not* a warm one, I should suppose have a right to be included with the sheep-cotes in the explanation of the term Cold

¹⁰ Reports and Papers read at the meetings of the Architectural Societies of Lincoln, Bedford, and Worcester, during the year 1856, p. 28. The various

opinions on this *vexata questio* may be found in the memoirs cited in this Journal, vol. xv. p. 293.

Harbour. Also cattle-houses of whatever sort, reared on out-of-the-way lone places, for shelter of beast and man during the months of the summer pasturage. And if it be true, as has been asserted, that the term Cold Harbour seems to attach itself to the neighbourhood of Roman remains (whence some have been led far away from the simple meaning to think of *Calidus* and warm baths, &c.), it is not difficult to imagine that old Roman ruins may often have been used for the purposes described ; and have, therefore, obtained the name of Cold harbours. An older term, with much the same sense, was Caldecote ; this is pure English, whereas in the former compound, the second word is Norman-French. There is a Caldecote on the Dee. As a little further illustration of the use of the word "harbour," we have a "Windy Harbour" near Alderley, and another near Winkle.

Coming down a stage lower in history we may notice some "Intacks." There is, on the extreme east of the county, "Knife Intack," and, in Delamere Forest, "Jenions Intack." This signifies the "intaking," or taking in hand, soil which had never been tilled before, and may belong to the date of the extensive enclosures under Queen Elizabeth. In Wilbraham's Cheshire Glossary v. Tack, we read that "a lease is called a *Tack*, a legal term in Scotland, where a farmer is called a Tacksman." And, on Dartmoor, new enclosures made in our own day are commonly called "Newtakes."

More such words of the Early English period might be found, especially in the neighbourhood of Macclesfield ; but I will only particularise one, for its union of a simple and unambitious sense with melodious sound, viz., Thorneycroft Hall.

Akin to the subject of this paper would be a notice of the peculiarities of the Cheshire Dialect. But there is not space now for its adequate treatment. One observation must, however, not be omitted. It has a likeness to the East Anglian Dialect, spoken in Norfolk and Suffolk. This has been noticed by Wilbraham in his Glossary, and he uses it merely as a proof that all provincialisms are specimens of old and obsolete language, left here and there surviving. This is far too general. The similarity is really to be explained by the common Anglian parentage of Cheshire and East Anglia, and their comparative immunity from the Danish scourge.

I have thus slightly run through the Local Names and the Provincial Dialect of this county. These are the antiquities of language, or the forms of language which are most capable of ministering to the pursuit of Archæology. If these outlines were graven with the firmer hand of one who wrote with local knowledge, and if the details were adequately filled in, there might result a picture worthy of being called historical. The present must be accounted as only an essay, the value of which must depend not so much upon the degree of its accuracy, as on the utility and workableness of the method which is here indicated. To have waited until I could be sure of accuracy, would have been to forego the pleasure of ever submitting it to the notice of fellow-archæologists.