

## THE ENGLISH ARRIVAL IN CHESHIRE

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THE subject of this paper has been discussed by K. Jackson,<sup>1</sup> G. Barnes<sup>2</sup> and Dorothy Sylvester.<sup>3</sup> Other relevant statements have been made by E. Ekwall<sup>4</sup> and F. M. Stenton.<sup>5</sup> In this paper an attempt is made to demonstrate the likelihood that the date and manner of the arrival of the English in Cheshire was a sixth century infiltration into a British territory. The exercise will consist of an attempt to synthesise the evidence from place-names and that from documentary history into a coherent sequence of unrecorded events. It will appear that the significance of the recorded history of the English in Cheshire is almost as inferential as that of the place-name forms.

For comparison and contrast with these evidences for the English arrival, it is useful to consider these evidences in respect of that other immigration at a later epoch, the Scandinavian settlements. This later process had a different outcome—whereas the English immigrants took over and henceforth completely controlled the British territory they had entered, the Scandinavian immigrants who settled amongst the English community in Cheshire were absorbed into that community, and did not achieve political control of it or of its territory. This difference is political: the English immigrant formed a government of his own for lack of a strong opposing British establishment, whereas the Scandinavian immigrant found a firm English establishment in control of the territory he entered—even, in fact, controlling his immigration. The evidence for the Scandinavian immigration is well known. It has been spoken

<sup>1</sup> *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 210–15.

<sup>2</sup> 'Early English Settlement and Society in Cheshire from the Evidence of Place-Names', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 71 (1961), p. 43–57.

<sup>3</sup> 'Cheshire in the Dark Ages', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 114 (1962), p. 1–22.

<sup>4</sup> *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), p. 227–33; *English Place-Names in -ing* (Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund VI, 2nd ed., Lund, 1962), p. 79, 99.

<sup>5</sup> *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1947), p. 77–8; cf. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, XXII, p. 21, commented upon by K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, p. 215–16.

of by G. Barnes,<sup>6</sup> S. Potter,<sup>7</sup> A. H. Smith,<sup>8</sup> F. T. Wainwright<sup>9</sup> and me.<sup>10</sup> There is no need to rehearse all this, nor spell out the details of the Norse and Irish place-names in Wirral which are memorials of the age of Ingimund's invasion and the battle of *Brunanburh* (Bromborough)<sup>11</sup> A.D. 937. But although the presence of the Norsemen in Wirral has been reported by history and illustrated by place-names, the Scandinavian presence in Cheshire as a whole is more pervasive than might have appeared from previous studies; it is illustrated in Figure 1. Danes are recognised from their characteristic place-names, in the several places called *Hulme*,<sup>12</sup> and at *Toft*<sup>13</sup> near *Knutsford*,<sup>14</sup> etc., and even at *Denhall*<sup>15</sup> in Wirral; but a Norwegian presence in the county at large tends to be obscured by its testimony appearing only in minor place-names, a number of which have been long

<sup>6</sup> 'The Evidence of Place-Names for the Scandinavian Settlements in Cheshire', *Trans. Lancs. Ches. Antiq. Soc.* 63 (1952-3), p. 131-55.

<sup>7</sup> 'Cheshire Place-Names', *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. Ches.* 106 (1955), p. 16-20.

<sup>8</sup> 'The Site of the Battle of Brunanburh', *London Medieval Studies* I, part 1 (1937), p. 56-59; cf. A. Campbell, *The Battle of Brunanburh* (1938), p. 57-80.

<sup>9</sup> 'The Scandinavians in Lancashire', *Trans. Lancs. Ches. Antiq. Soc.* 58 (1945-6), p. 71-116; 'North-West Mercia, A.D. 871-924', *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. Ches.* 94 (1942), p. 3-55; 'Ingimund's Invasion', *English Historical Review* LXIII (1948), p. 145-69.

<sup>10</sup> 'The Background of Brunanburh', *Saga-Book* (The Viking Society for Northern Research) XIV, part 4 (1956-7), p. 303-16.

<sup>11</sup> In the light of my argument hereafter about the importance of the *-ing*-suffix formations in English place-names, it is of almost ironical interest to note that such a formation appears as clinching evidence for the identification of *Brunanburh* with Bromborough. In the *Saga-Book* review of this historical problem I committed myself to A. H. Smith's identification of the battle-site and the Wirral place-name as against the identification with Burnswark in Dumfriesshire: but there remained a loose end—there was no explanation of the sea-name *Dingesmere* (*Saga-Book loc. cit.* p. 303 note 6), a water across which the defeated Norsemen escaped back to Dublin. I now think that *Dingesmere* is a poetic and figurative invention of a name for the Irish Sea, from OE *mere*, 'a lake, a body of water', here 'the sea', compounded with a form *Dinges* which is the genitive-singular of a name-form *Ding*. This form is not explicable as any known Old English personal-name, but it would be quite easily explicable as a kind of place-name form, *i.e.* as an OE *-ing*-suffix derivative of the river-name *Dee* (OE \**Dēing* > *Ding*), so that *Dingesmere* would mean 'the water of *Ding*', and *Ding* would mean 'that which is named after or is associated with or which belongs to, R. Dee'.

<sup>12</sup> *Cheadle Hulme*, *Kettleshulme*, *Hulme* in Allstock, *Holmes Chapel*, *Hulme* near Kinderton, etc., from ODan *hulm* (as distinct from ON *holmr*), 'a marsh, a water-meadow'.

<sup>13</sup> *Tofte* 12th (17th), 1210; from ODan *toft*, 'a building site, a curtilage, a housestead'.

<sup>14</sup> *Cunetesford* 1086, *Knut(es)ford(e)* 1294, 1332; from the ODan personal-name *Knut* and OE *ford*, 'a ford'.

<sup>15</sup> *Danewell* 1184, 1238, *Danewall* 1302, *Denewell* c1240 (1293) (17th), c1268 (1400), 1308, *Denewale* 1288-90, *Dennewalle* late-13th, *Denewalle* 1343, 'the Danes' spring', from the genitive of OE *Dene*, ON *Danir*, 'the Danes', and OE *wella* (Mercian *wælla*), 'a well-spring'. This may refer to those Danes who helped Ingimund's Norsemen to attack Chester c902-10, v. *Saga-Book* XIV, p. 305, 308 note 23.

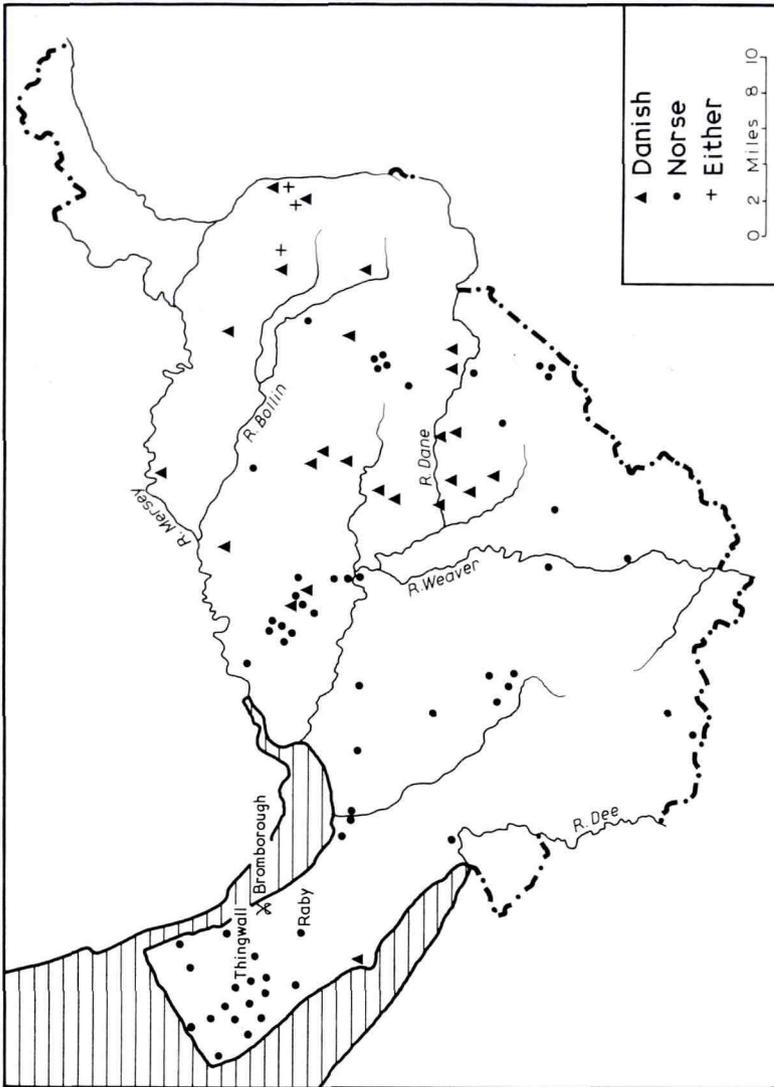


Figure 1.  
SCANDINAVIAN PLACE-NAMES IN CHESHIRE

lost from use. In Bucklow Hundred there is a concentration of Scandinavian place-names: there is a Danish element here, but the Norwegian predominates. Examples are, in Higher Whitley, *Colstonstoke*<sup>16</sup> (from the OSwed personal-name *Kolsten*), *Assheby*<sup>17</sup> and *Storeby*<sup>18</sup> (from ON *býr*, 'a farmstead'; the latter also from ON *storr*, 'great, big', as in *Storeton* in Wirral); in Cogshall, *Colswaynesoke*<sup>19</sup> (from the ON personal-name *Kolsveinn*); in Seven Oaks, *Frandley*<sup>20</sup> (from the personal-name ON *Fráni*, or more obviously ODan *Frændi*); the first element in *Keckwick*<sup>21</sup> is the ON personal-name *Kekkjja*; in Hatton near Daresbury, *Queastybirch*<sup>22</sup> is from ON *kví*, 'a sty', and the equivalent OE *stigu*, 'a sty'; *Pillmoss*<sup>23</sup> is ON *pill*, 'a willow', and *mos*, 'a bog, a moss'; *Steniber*<sup>24</sup> is ON *steinn-berg*, 'stone-hill'; in Newton by Daresbury, *Morphany*<sup>25</sup> contains ON *þveit*, 'a meadow', and *Swaynesruding*<sup>26</sup> is from the ON personal-name *Sveinn*.

This medley of East and West Scandinavian traces is con-

<sup>16</sup> *Colstonstok(e)* 1479, 1504, *Colstonshok* 1481, *Colstansock* 1483, *Colstonsoke* 1484, *Colstanehok* 1486, *Colstansoke* 1556; a surname in the Higher Whitley district derived from a lost place-name, from the OSwed (perhaps also ODan) personal-name *Kolsten* (obviously anglicized *Colstán*) and OE *ác*, 'an oak'.

<sup>17</sup> *Assheby* 1507, 1514 (perhaps the same as *Assebe* 1287 (R. Stewart-Brown, *Calendar of the County Court, City Court and Eyre Rolls of Chester, 1259-1297*, Chetham Society (New Series) 84 (1925), p. 74 no. 178) if this is not in fact Ashley near Bowden), 'ash-tree farm', from ON *askr*, OE *æsc*, and ON *býr*, ODan *bý*, 'a farmstead'.

<sup>18</sup> *Storeby* 1507, a surname from a lost place-name.

<sup>19</sup> *Colswaynesoke* 1397, 1398, a surname from a lost place-name 'Kolsveinn's oak', from OE *ác*, 'an oak'; cf. *Colstonstoke* note 16 *supra*.

<sup>20</sup> *Franley* 1514, *Frandley* 1663; no great confidence is placed upon this derivation however.

<sup>21</sup> *Kekwic* 1154 (1329), *Kekewyc* early 13th, 'Kekkjja's dairy-farm', from OE *wíc*, 'an industrial-, a trading-settlement; a dairy-farm'. The personal-name appears in the place-name *Kekmarsh* (North Riding of Yorkshire); see A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, English Place-Name Society V, p. 84, E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed., s.v. *Keckwick*, *Kenswick*, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, F. T. S. Houghton, *The Place-Names of Worcestershire*, E. P.-N. Soc. IV, p. 147, s.v. *Kenswick*; much of this is now useless.

<sup>22</sup> *Quisty* 1216-72, *Kuysty* 1306.

<sup>23</sup> But this is late in record—*Pill Moss* 1831 (Bryant's Map of Cheshire).

<sup>24</sup> 13th (17th) Tabley MSS, (National Register of Archives Report 3636); only the one recorded instance.

<sup>25</sup> *Mortwayt* 13th (17th), *Morthwayt(e)* late 13th, 1285, *Morfanny* 1673; 'meadow at a marsh or moor', from OE *mōr*, 'a marsh, a moor', and ON *þveit*, 'a meadow', see the placename *Moorthwaite* (Cumberland; A. M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, B. Dickins, *The Place-Names of Cumberland I* (E. P.-N. Soc. XX), p. 79, II (E. P.-N. Soc. XXI), p. 335). The modern form is similar to that of the Thelwall field-name *Marphany Meadow* 1842 (*Little Marfeny* 1748), from OE *mōr* or ON *marr*, 'a marsh', OE *fenn*, 'a fen, a marsh', and OE *ég*, 'a water-meadow, a marsh'.

<sup>26</sup> Late 13th (17th), *Swaynsruding* late 13th, 'Sveinn's cleared-land', from OE *rydding*. It is remarkable how often a Scandinavian personal-name appears in the name of an assart or intake.

sonant with the nearby appearance of the pair of place-names *Anderton*<sup>27</sup> and *Antrobus*<sup>28</sup>, the former from OE *tūn*, 'a farmstead', the latter from ON *buskr* (replaced by the cognate OE *busc*), 'bush, scrub-land; a bush', both having as first element a personal-name ON *Einðriði*, \**Andriði*, or ODan \**Endrithi*, as in *Enderby* (Leicestershire, Lincolnshire) and *Ainderby* (North Riding of Yorkshire). It is possible that the one man gave his name to *Anderton* and *Antrobus*.

There is another concentration of Norse nomenclature, with the familiar Irish connexion, in south-east Cheshire. The well-known *Scholar Green*<sup>29</sup> in Odd Rode (from ON *skáli*, 'a herdsman's shed; an out-pasture settlement', and OE *halc*, *halh*, 'a nook, a corner, a side-valley'), is accompanied by *Mekenisley*<sup>30</sup> (from the OIrish personal-name *Maicín* and OE *lēah*, 'a woodland'); in Somerford Radnor there was *Eycanecroft*<sup>31</sup> (from OIrish *Eachán* and OE *croft*, 'a croft'); there was another OIrish personal-name, *Gillurán*, in the place-name *Kelerondesweye*<sup>32</sup> in Aston-iuxta-Mondrum.

This same pervasive Scandinavian element is seen in the place-names *Scows*<sup>33</sup> in Tiverton (from ON *skáli*); perhaps also *Tiresford*<sup>34</sup> in Tiverton; *Wivercote*<sup>35</sup> in Macefen (which, despite E. Ekwall's analysis, is from OE *cot*, 'a cottage', with the ON personal-name *Viðfari*); *Blake Hereye*<sup>36</sup> in Wigland (from ON

<sup>27</sup> *Andrelton* 1182, *Aldreton* 1183, *Anderton* 1184, *Henderton*, *Enderton* 1185, 1186.

<sup>28</sup> *Entrebus* 1086, 1281, *Anterbos* c1247 (17th), *-bus* c1250, *Anderbusk(e)* 1295, 1306, *Andrebusk(e)* 1305, 1307, *Antrobus* 1457.

<sup>29</sup> *Scolehalc*, *-haleth* (for *-halech*) 1272-1307, *Scol(e)halg(h)* 1286, 1300, 1307.

<sup>30</sup> *Meken(en)isley* c1300, *Mekenaslegh* 1327, *Mekenesleg(h)* c1330, 1340, 1350.

<sup>31</sup> 13th; only one mention.

<sup>32</sup> 1297, *Kele-*, *Kilerondiswei* late 13th, *Kelrondesweye* 1297, *le Kelerondeswey* c1300, 'Gillurán's road', from OE *weg*, 'a way, a road'.

<sup>33</sup> A field-name in the Tithe Award of 1839; taken to be the same as *Scales* 13th (14th).

<sup>34</sup> *Tirisford* 1180-1220, *Tyrefford* early 13th, *Tireford* 13th (14th), *Teyresforth* 1351; OE *ford*, 'a ford', and either the ON form *Týrr*, or the rare OE form *Tīr*, of the god-name usually appearing as OE *Tīw* as in the day-name *Tuesday*.

<sup>35</sup> A lost place; *Wyercote* 1289, *Wyvercote*, *Wevercote* 1290, *Wi-*, *Wyvercote* c1300. A document in the Cholmondeley MSS, Box J, (Cheshire Record Office), locates the c1300 reference in Macefen. The other references, presumably also relating to this parcel of the St Pierre family's share of the Malpas Barony (see R. Stewart-Brown, *op. cit.* note 17 supra, p. 150, no. 306; G. Ormerod, *History of Cheshire* (ed. Helsby, 1882), II, p. 254 (lit. *Wyner-*); *Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* XXVI, p. 41 (lit. *Wyner-*); *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* II, p. 463, 459) are identified by E. Ekwall (*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed., s.v. *Weavercote*; followed by A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* II (E.P.-N. Soc. XXVI), s.v. *wāfrefre*) as a place-name *Weavercote* associated with the place-names *Weaverham*, *Weaver*, and derived from the river-name *Weaver*. This *Weavercote* does not exist, that form of the place-name is not known to my collections, and Macefen, hence *Wivercote*, is not near R. Weaver.

<sup>36</sup> 1312, 'the black or dark out-pasture or herdsman's shed', from OE *blæc*.

*erg* (< OIrish *airidh*), 'a shieling', as in *Arrowe* in Wirral); *Tarporley*<sup>37</sup> (from OE *lĕāh*, 'a woodland glade', added to an OE word \**þorpere*, 'one who lives in a hamlet', a loan-word from ON *þorpari*, comparable with the term OE \**bōthere*, 'one who lives at a *bōth*', based upon ODan *bōth*, 'a herdsman's shelter', which is likely in *Bootherston*<sup>38</sup> in Monks Coppenhall.

This passing review of the less obvious Scandinavian element among the place-names of Cheshire<sup>39</sup> indicates a complexity which is not historically recorded. First, it evidences an infiltration of English territory by Scandinavian settlers in areas and to an extent which historical record does not indicate; second, by the appearance of hybrid place-names in which Scandinavian

<sup>37</sup> *Torpelei* 1086, *Torperley* 1198–1216, *Torperleye* 1307; a difficult place-name by previous derivations. E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed., s.v., flounders about to suggest this place-name is 'pear-wood near a hill called the *Torr*', from an original English place-name *Perley* (OE *peru*, 'a pear (tree)', or *pyrige*, 'a pear-tree', and OE *lĕāh*, 'a wood') modified by a prefixed hill-name from the OE Celtic loan-word *torr*, 'a tor; a rocky hill'. He compares *Tormarton* (Gloucestershire), cf. *op. cit.* s.v. *Didmarton* (Gloucestershire). This is not a well-attested type of place-name, and A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements I* (E. P.-N. Soc. XXV), p. xxiii, and *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire III* (E. P.-N. Soc. XL), p. 56, undermines and demolishes Ekwall's explanation. The explanation which I now suggest for *Tarporley* avoids the formal difficulties, but raises one as to the historical significance of the place-name. The spellings suggest OE \**þorpera-lĕāh*, ME \**thorpere-legh*, from OE *lĕāh*, 'a woodland', and the genitive-plural of an OE word \**þorpere*, 'a man who lives in a hamlet'; this would be borrowing from ON *þorpari*, 'a peasant, a cottager', the basis being ON *þorp*, 'a hamlet, a dependant settlement'. The Scandinavian basis of this place-name suggests that in the *Tarporley* district at some juncture there may have been an ethnic minority of Scandinavians to whom their English neighbours had given the nickname 'the Thorpers'.

<sup>38</sup> A field-name in the Tithe Award 1840; probably from an earlier unrecorded place-name \**Bootherston* (cf. the *-s-ton* > *-son* development in the place-names *Austerson*, *Snelson*, etc.), from OE \**bōtheres-tūn*, ME \**botheres-ton*.

<sup>39</sup> One or two further notes of interest may well be inserted here, to add to these observations upon the Scandinavian element. It explains the affix *Dennis* in *Lach Dennis*, and possibly also the affix *Andrew* in *Mottram St Andrew*. Correctly, neither place-name should have a *Saint*, but even *Lach Dennis* gets one by courtesy from time to time. *Lach Dennis* is part of the Domesday Book manor of *Lece* (DB f 267b). Another part of this manor was the lost *Lache Maubanc* (DB *Lece* f 266). The *Dennis* part was held in 1066 by one *Colben*, a personal-name representing ON *Kolbeinn* or ODan *Kolben*. If this *Colben* were a Danish *Kolben*, his part of the manor could have been distinguished from the other one by the adjective 'Danish', OE *Denisc*, ME *denshe*, *danais*, *denez*, *deneys*, which would easily be confused with the ME personal-name *Denis*. At *Mottram Andrew* there is no record of a manorial family or a manorial lord called *Andrew*; and there is no record of a notable church dedication; so this is not a straightforward affix. It can be explained if it is taken to be a descriptive or allusive affix, referring to some distinctive feature which would set this *Mottram* apart from the other place of that name, and which was called by a noun which could be confused with the personal-name *Andrew*. This elusive word appears first in the form *Motromandreus* 1351, and as *-andrew(e)*, *-andreu* 1362. A form *-andreu* has been interpreted by popular usage as the genitive of the personal-name *Andrew*. Such a form could be derived from a compound of ON *anddyri*, 'a porch' and ON *hús*, OE *hūs*, 'a house', meaning 'a house with a porch', referring to some architectural feature of *Mottram* long ago.

and English elements are combined, and by the distribution of these Scandinavian name-types in amongst the English place-names, it indicates a social relationship between the two populations in which the infiltration of Scandinavians into an English society created an Anglo-Scandinavian society and language, or, rather, an English society and language with a Scandinavian complexion. This reflects the political history of the ninth and tenth centuries in Cheshire, during which the English government did not lose control of the north-west Midlands. It also reflects the ethnic and linguistic relationship of the English and the Scandinavians which made the fusion possible. This contrasts with the ethnic and linguistic distance between Briton and Angle, and with the opposite political history resulting from the English arrival—that the British did not retain a government control of the area, and the social status of the two elements of the population at that epoch, immigrant English and resident Welsh, was opposite to that of the two elements of the population in the later period, immigrant Scandinavian and resident English. We must also remember that the evidence of place-names is valid evidence of social relationship and territorial settlement not recorded in documentary history: the Scandinavian settlement in Cheshire is shown by the place-names to be a more subtle and complex process, 'chronic' rather than 'critical' in effect, than is recorded by the chronicles. Similarly, the social relationships, the historical processes, and the long-drawn-out effects, of the English settlement in Cheshire among the resident Britons, can be expected to be more complex than the simple narrative of the records would describe: it can be expected, confidently, that the place-names relating to the arrival period will provide evidence from which inferences may be drawn which are both independent of and supplementary to the inferences which may be drawn from the record of history.

The use of both kinds of evidence, recorded history and the meaning of place-names, requires a reconstruction of the context in which the political events of history and the philological form and the social significance of place-names are not only intelligible in themselves but also consonant with each other. In this examination of the English arrival, the place-name material under consideration will consist of the Welsh place-names and the early stratum of English place-names in Cheshire. The recorded history under consideration will consist of the known series of political events which mark the establishment of English kingdom and authority in various directions by various parties at various times in the district of Cheshire. This

kind of history is that of kings and battles, *i.e.* of politics in contemporary terms, but not necessarily that of populations; but its inferences as to the social scene are usable if they are controlled by the inferences which may be drawn from the English and Welsh place-names. The relationship between the early English place-names of Cheshire and the surviving or recorded British and Welsh place-names in the county can be used as an image of the relationship between the English settlers and the indigenous Britons. The philological form of the place-names, related to the history of the two languages, English and Welsh, can be used to define epoch and era in the history of politics and society. This delicate balancing of evidence and inference about social, political and linguistic history has to be adjusted to the further pressures of geography and archaeology if the whole exercise is to form a place-name study of the requisite integrity. All these matters will be entered into the case. But the balance most particularly sought in this essay will be, essentially, no more than that which can be struck by a particular application to Cheshire of the general thesis proposed in K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, poised against an analysis of the early English place-name types. My observations upon the Welsh place-names are guided by Jackson. Particular references will be made to this work, but there would seem to be no need of a general rehearsal here, for G. Barnes and Dorothy Sylvester have already covered the principal necessary allusions.<sup>40</sup> It is sufficient, but important, to note again, that in Jackson's work, at p. 220-24, Cheshire is found to lie in Area II and Area III (map, *op. cit.* p. 221) of a zoned increasing-frequency diagram of British river-name distribution, in which Area II 'appears to agree pretty well with the movement of expansion of the Anglo-Saxon occupation which took place in the second half of the sixth century in the South and the first half of the seventh in the North', and Area III is identified with 'the third and final stage of the Anglo-Saxon conquest; in the middle or third quarter of the seventh century in the North, the middle and second half of the seventh century in the Welsh Marches, and the middle of the seventh to the earlier part of the eighth century in the South-West'. The boundary between Area II and the more westerly Area III, in Cheshire, is drawn approximately along the line of R. Gowy, or, as alternatively identified, along a line from Tarvin to Macefen which will be noticed hereafter.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.* under notes 2 and 3 above.

<sup>41</sup> See pp. 32, 35 below.

## I THE EARLY ENGLISH STRATUM IN THE PLACE-NAMES OF CHESHIRE

The phase of relationship between the English and the Welsh place-names in Cheshire which would be the most relevant to the business in hand, is that which reflects a phase of social relationship at which a point of equilibrium was reached between the English and the Welsh as influential elements in society. Before this epoch, one would expect English place-names to be less numerous in use, and after it more numerous in occurrence and general usage, and respectively less and more widespread in distribution. The converse will be held for the Welsh place-names.

There is a very interesting and special, if difficult (even dangerous), combination of exquisite scholarship and sweeping speculation required in the definition of the earliest stratum of English place-names in Cheshire as illustrated in Figure 2. The county does not produce simple examples of the place-name types in OE *-ingas*, *-ingahām*,<sup>42</sup> 'the folk of-', 'the folk named after-', and 'the village of the folk of-', '-the folk named after-', which are usually sought out as marking the territorial location and the identity of the primitive English communities in a newly taken country. The problem of this phenomenal deficiency can be evaded by the resolution of another problem, as will be seen hereafter; and the absence of OE *-ingas*, *-inga-*, place-names may be a false embarrassment anyway, for such place-names are not necessarily relevant to the first stage of English settlement in any one area,<sup>43</sup> but rather to some secondary stage.<sup>44</sup> But serious problems remain, which arise from the lack in the county area of any considerable corpus of English pagan burial archaeology—that other prime evidence of Dark Age English settlement.<sup>45</sup> The absence of archaeological material may be due to any one or more of several causes: that the English were already Christian when they reached Cheshire so that instead of creating pagan burial sites they used Christian churchyard burials; that they were still pagan when they arrived and did indeed create pagan burial sites, but these have by accident escaped discovery or recognition because they were few in number and small in size or content.

It is historically unlikely that the first English in Cheshire

<sup>42</sup> See A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, I (E. P-N. Soc. XXV), s.v. E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed., s.v. *-ing*; *English Place-Names in -ing*, 2nd ed., *passim*.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, p. 216.

<sup>44</sup> The case is outlined in J. McN. Dodgson, 'The Significance of the Distribution of the English Place-Name in *-ingas*, *-inga-*, in South-East England', *Medieval Archaeology* X (1966), p. 1-29.

<sup>45</sup> There is no entry for Cheshire in Audrey Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London, 1964).

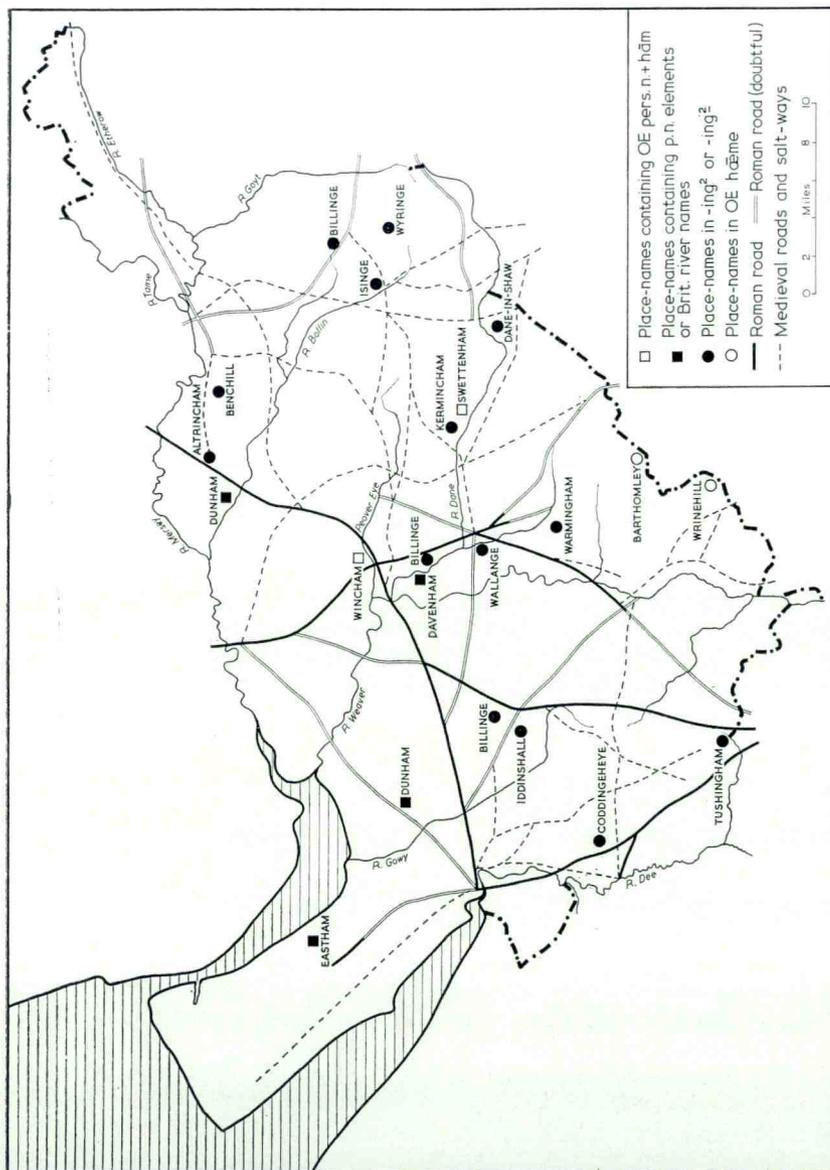


Figure 2.  
EARLY ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES IN CHESHIRE

were Christian—it was necessary to send missionaries to Mercia in 653, Peada, the son of the heathen king Penda of Mercia, having married a daughter of the Christian king of Northumbria, Oswiu. This suggests that the first English in Cheshire, though probably pagan and likely to create heathen burials, did not leave detected burial sites. This supposes not many sites, and those not large (which supposes sites not long in use); or no sites at all. If the pagan English immigrants were few in number amongst a Christian Welsh population, it might be expected that the English pagan burial sites would be small and few. Further, the cultural minority represented by such a pagan-burying English community might quickly find itself adopting the customs of the majority in such matters—certainly, after the first generation in the new land, one might expect an assimilation of burial custom by the minority to that of the majority in a society in which English and Welsh lived side by side. If the pagan burial sites contained few burials they would be hardly noticeable under the plough or the spade of later ages. By the time that the pagan burials in Cheshire might have reached the large extent attained by some sites in south east England, the custom had been abandoned in favour of Christian (church-yard) burial. The lack of archaeology, in short, is the result of an historical sequence in which a minority population of pagan English did not persist in their distinctive burial customs for long enough for their pagan cemeteries to become noticeable. This lack of persistence is due to either or both of two causes—their rapid assimilation to the custom of their majority neighbours the Christian Welsh, or to their being overtaken by conversion to Christianity not long after their arrival in Cheshire, a conversion either at the hands of their Welsh neighbours or the hands of English missionaries. From the contemplation of these possibilities it might appear likely that the first English immigrants in Cheshire soon found themselves part of an Anglo-Welsh population, adopting certain Christian Welsh social customs quite quickly. If the balance of status between the Welsh and English elements in this Anglo-Welsh population shifted in favour of the English before their conversion to Christian practice, one would expect at least some trace of pagan procedure. Perhaps in the days of Penda there would be an English custom of pagan burial. The politically dominant Englishman, if pagan, would feel no need to accommodate himself to Welsh custom even if he had begun to do so during the era of his numerical and social inferiority. Moreover, one suspects that, when *The Place-Names of Cheshire*<sup>46</sup> is finally

<sup>46</sup> J. McN. Dodgson, E. P.-N. Soc. XLIV *et seq.*

available for the inspection of the archaeologist, he might discover, in place-names like *Wilmslow* (OE \**Wighelmes-hlāw*, 'Wighelm's mound') or *Gorse Stacks* (at Chester) formerly *Hunwaldeslowe* (OE \**Hunwaldes-hlāw*, 'Hunwald's mound'), and in allusions like the place-names *Deadman's Suck* (Frodsham Lordship),<sup>47</sup> or *Dedemonnes Greue* (Storeton),<sup>48</sup> and even in references to discoveries such as those at Bartomly Farm (Wincle) and Saxfield (Northenden) reported in G. Ormerod, *History of Cheshire* (ed. Helsby, 1882), III, p. 769, 611—grounds for suspicion that some traces of the pagan burials of the first English in Cheshire may have been discovered indeed, but not recognised. The archaeological situation can be argued in different ways; it need hardly be weighed against the place-name evidence further than the necessary reservation about the short period in which pagan burial may have been used in Cheshire, and the social implications of this in respect of the relations between English and Welsh. The point may be deferred until the conclusions of the study are drawn.

After the remark upon the lack of *-ingas*, *-ingahām*, place-names, it might seem that the only ostensibly early English place-names—denoting that group- or communal-entity which has been supposed to represent the pioneering English settlement—in Cheshire, would be *Barthomley*<sup>49</sup> and *Wrinehill*,<sup>50</sup> which contain OE *hāme*,<sup>51</sup> 'the dwellers at-; those who are at

<sup>47</sup> 1740, *Deadmans Such* 1677, 'dead man's watercourse', from ME *dede-man*, 'a corpse, a dead man' and OE *sic*, 'a watercourse'.

<sup>48</sup> 1323, 'dead man's wood', from ME *dede-man* and OE *grāfe*, 'a grove, a wood'.

<sup>49</sup> *Bertemeleu* 1086, *Bertamelegh* 13th, *Berthoneleg'* 1287, *Bertonelegh* 1289, a difficult place-name for which A. H. Smith, (*The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* I (E. P.-N. Soc. XXX), p. 248, discussing *Mortomley* (West Riding) and *Marchamley* (Staffordshire), which is analogous with *Marchington* (Staffordshire)), suggests 'woodland of the dwellers at a *bere-tūn*', from OE *lēah*, 'woodland, a woodland glade', with a composition of OE *hāme* with a lost place-name *Berton* (< OE *bere-tūn*, 'a barley-farm; a dependant farmstead').

<sup>50</sup> *Wrynehull* 1225, from OE *hyll*, 'a hill', and a name *Wryme* which appears in *Wriman ford* 975 (W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 1312), *Wrimford* 1240–50, *Wryneford* 1322, *Wryneford* 1686, with OE *ford*, 'a ford'; in *Wryme* 1299, *the Wryme* 1563, *the Rimes* (a field-name) 1842; and in *Wryme Syche* 1429, with OE *sic*, 'a watercourse'. *Wryme* 1249 was the name of the district of Wrinehill in Cheshire and Staffordshire. W. H. Duignan, *Notes on Staffordshire Place-Names*, (London, 1902), p. 176, proposes a personal-name OE *Wrim(a)* for the first component of *Wriman ford*. However, the spellings and forms of this series of place-names suggest analogy with *Wryoheme* (W. de G. Birch, *op. cit.* No. 606); v. A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, II (E. P.-N. Soc. XXVI) s.v. *wrēō*; E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed., s.v. *Wrington* (Somerset), which is from OE *hāme* and the river-name *Wring*. This river-name *Wring* represents OE \**wriō-ing*, 'that which is characterized by a *wriō* (i.e. by a twist or turn); that which is awry'. The Cheshire-Staffordshire place-name *Wryme* would, without difficulty of phonology, represent an OE \**Wriō-hāme*, (locative-dative \**Wriō-hāmun* > \**Wriō-hāman*), 'dwellers at the (river-) bend(s), -at the twisting river'.

<sup>51</sup> See A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, I (E. P.-N. Soc. XXV), s.v.

home at'. These place-names, *Barthomley*, 'the woodland of the dwellers at *Berton*', and *Wrinehill*, 'the hill at the place called after the dwellers at the river-bend(s)', are at the Staffordshire boundary, and may belong rather to the settlement of that inner region of Mercia than to that of Cheshire. It is also noticeable that *Barthomley* is a derivative place-name, based upon and representing colonisation from another place and place-name. Perhaps *Wrinehill* is no more reliable as an evidence of initial-phase immigration. Unless that immigration were supposed to be a matter of the colonisation of Cheshire from older settlement in Staffordshire.

The place-names in OE *hāme* are of questionable value for our purpose. Nor can the Cheshire place-names in *-ington* be used as evidence of early English immigrant groups. They are not OE *-ingatūn* types, in which OE *tūn* is compounded with the genitive of a plural OE *-ingas* folk-name. They are OE *-ingtūn* types.<sup>52</sup> The original and the analogical *-ington* place-name can appear any time, even quite late, in the Anglo-Saxon period. These names cannot be used as a chronological determinant. They and the place-names in OE *wordǫgn*, 'a curtilage, a (private) enclosed site', that characteristic Mercian element, such as *Northenden*,<sup>53</sup> *Kenworthy*,<sup>54</sup> in Northenden, *Arden*<sup>55</sup> in Bredbury, *Larden*<sup>56</sup> in Faddiley—*Carden* is a special case<sup>57</sup>—seem more likely to belong to an era in which Cheshire had been completely taken over by Mercian colonisation. They are the place-names of the Mercian establishment rather than of the English arrival.

It is evident that the English place-names of Cheshire are of the Mercian dialect of Old English. The characteristics of that dialect are illustrated in terms of south Lancashire place-names

<sup>52</sup> *The Historical Atlas of Cheshire*, ed. Dorothy Sylvester and G. Nulty (Chester, 1958), map on p. 17. *Place-Names*, by A. Oakes, puts OE *-ingatūn*, being misled in this point by E. Ekwall's traditional analysis—*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed., s.v. *-ing*—which is to be rejected in view of A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements I* (E. P.-N. Soc. XXV, 1956) s.v. *-ing-<sup>4</sup>*, *-ingtūn*, and even of E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -ing*, 2nd ed., p. 223.

<sup>53</sup> *Norwordine* 1086, 'the north settlement', from OE *norð* and *wordǫgn*.

<sup>54</sup> *Kenworthin* 13th (17th), 1286, *Keneworthei* 1287, 'kingly, or royal, settlement', from OE *cýne-* and *wordǫgn*, *wordǫg* (see A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements II* (E. P.-N. Soc. XXVI), s.v. *wordǫg*, *wordǫgn*).

<sup>55</sup> *Hawardene* 1286, *Haurthyn* 1337, 'the high settlement', from OE *hāh*, 'high' (as an adj.), 'high up' (as an adv.), 'a high place' (as a noun), and *wordǫgn*.

<sup>56</sup> *Laurthyn* 1341, 'the low enclosure', from ME *lah*, ModE *low* (< ON *lágr*.) adj., 'low', and *wordǫgn*; a place-name which may date from the tenth century or after—the adjective *low* for English *nether* is a Scandinavian loan-word in English—although it is possible that the form recorded is a later modification of an older simplex usage \**Worthin* < OE *wordǫgn*.

<sup>57</sup> See p. 26 below.

in E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, p. 227–30. In Cheshire, the form OE (Mercian) *wælla*, in place-names like *Bradwall*, *Heswall*, *Denhall*, etc., instead of or alternative to common Anglian OE *wella*, ‘a well-spring’, is clear enough;<sup>58</sup> as also is the form *ol-* (> later dialect *owl-*) in such place-names as *Ollerton* (compare Lancashire *Allerton*) from OE *alor*, ‘an alder tree’, for this is a ME dialect characteristic of the Mercian area and supposes some distinctive characteristic in the OE Mercian pronunciation of the OE word. With these we may take the palatalized *ċ* of OE *æcer*, ‘an acre, a plough-land’ preserved in *Alsager* (compare Lancashire *Cliviger*) where the *g* is pronounced *-dg-* by voicing of the pronunciation *-tch-* from OE *ċ*; also the maintenance of the sound and spelling *ch-*, not *c-* (*k*) in the place-name *Chester* (compare Lancashire *Ribchester*, *Lancaster*); and numerous ME spellings in *u* in place-names in *-brugge*, *-bruche*, from OE *brycg*, ‘a bridge’, *bryce*, ‘an intake; land broken-in from the waste’. Again, the appearance of the characteristic Mercian place-name element *wordign* in Cheshire is matched by that of the characteristic Mercian element-form *bold*,<sup>59</sup> ‘a house, a dwelling’, as in the place-names *Newbold* in Astbury and *Lea Newbold* and the lost places *Newbold* near Handbridge and *Newbold* near Nantwich.

There is no evidence of specifically Northumbrian dialect features in Cheshire place-names; if there was a Northumbrian Anglian settlement in the county, all traces of that particular dialect have been erased by Mercian form. It is inferred from this that the Northumbrians did not settle in Cheshire, or that any Northumbrian settlement was transitory or of impermanent identity. The English place-names of south Lancashire between Ribble and Mersey, on the other hand, show both Mercian and Northumbrian dialect features. E. Ekwall<sup>60</sup> interprets this as evidence of an original Northumbrian settlement as far south as R. Mersey with a later Mercian overlay as far north as R. Ribble. He ascribes the Northumbrian settlement to a time at or before the battle of Chester (613–616), and the Mercian intrusion to the days of Penda, king of Mercia (c626–54). The Mercian expansion under Penda carried Merican power into Yorkshire in

<sup>58</sup> The fact that there are numerous instances of ME *-welle* spellings for the Cheshire place-names in *-wall* (< OE *wælla* Mercian) does not imply a Mercian overlay upon an original Northumbrian Anglian *wella*. It is rather to be explained as the interference of a common English tradition in OE *-wella* > ME *-welle* with the local dialect tradition in OE *-wælla* > ME *-wall*—an interference almost commonplace in the recorded spellings of official documents. Bureaucratic method is not new.

<sup>59</sup> See A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, I (E. P.-N. Soc. XXV), s.v.

<sup>60</sup> *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, p. 231–232.

633, whence the Mercian element in the place-names south of R. Wharfe in the West Riding.<sup>61</sup> This matter of Mercian characteristics in Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire is relevant to the recorded course of Mercian history. On the face of it, the evidence of the *-ingtūn*, *-wordign*, place-names of Cheshire is part of the evidence of a wider distribution of these types, *i.e.* of a wider distribution of Mercian colonists and their nomenclature, in south Lancashire, south-west Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Salop, Flintshire and Denbighshire. This would represent the era of the eighth century Mercian supremacy under Offa just as well as the seventh century Mercian expansion under Penda.

If, as it seems, it is advisable to reject the foregoing name-types as candidates for inclusion in the earliest stratum of English place-names in Cheshire, there are nevertheless two kinds of Cheshire place-names capable of being classified as that ancient. The first is the type of place-name in which OE *hām*, 'a village, a homestead', appears in composition, with a personal-name or a simple modifier. In *Swettenham*<sup>62</sup> and *Frodsham*<sup>63</sup> it appears in composition with an OE monothematic personal-name. It appears in *Eastham* (*Estham* 1086, 'homestead or village in the east (of Wirral); the east village') with OE *ēast*, 'east' (either as adj. or adv.); and in *Dunham on the Hill* (*Doneham* 1086) and *Dunham Massey* (*Doneham* 1086), both of which mean 'hill-village; homestead or village on a hill', it appears with OE *dūn* (dative-singular *dūne*), 'a hill'. In *Davenham* it appears with the British river-name *Dane*.<sup>64</sup> Such place-names can be among the earliest English place-names in the county. The simple construction of element or personal-name or river-name + *hām* would appear to be, in many counties, in geographical and archaeological contexts which suggest that such names belong to an epoch marked by the emergence of a recognition of social permanence in a territorial possession by the English community.<sup>65</sup> Certainly, in south east England, such a place-name formation seems to be more frequently incident in districts which would have been attractive to early English settlement than do the *-ingas*, *-ingahām* types.

More significant than these, however, is the second type of

<sup>61</sup> See A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* VII (E. P.-N. Soc. XXXVI), p. 33-36, 39-42.

<sup>62</sup> *Suetenham* late 12th (14th), 1220-30, 'Swēta's homestead or village', from the OE personal-name *Swēta*.

<sup>63</sup> *Frotesham* 1086, *Frodesham* 1096-1101 (1280), 1150 (14th), *Frodessam* 1175, 'Frōd's homestead or village', from the OE personal-name *Frōd*.

<sup>64</sup> See p. 26 below.

<sup>65</sup> See J. McN. Dodgson, 'The Significance of the Distribution of the English Place-Name in *-ingas*, *-inga-*, etc.', *Medieval Archaeology* X (1966), p. 5.

Cheshire place-name which may (indeed) be early; the place-name in which the OE noun-forming suffix *-ing*<sup>66</sup> appears in a specialised form, a palatalised and assibilated form with the pronunciation *-indge*, *-inch*, which represents an archaic locative-inflected form of a common-noun or place-name containing the *-ing* suffix.<sup>67</sup> In the place-names *Altrincham*,<sup>68</sup> *Benchill*<sup>69</sup> (in Northen Etchells near Northenden), *Wincham*,<sup>70</sup> *Kermincham*,<sup>71</sup> *Dane-in-Shaw*<sup>72</sup> (near Congleton), *Warmingham*,<sup>73</sup> *Tushing-*

<sup>66</sup> See A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, I (E. P.-N. Soc. XXV), s.v. *-ing*, *-ing<sup>1</sup>*, *-ing<sup>2</sup>*, *-ing<sup>3</sup>*, *-ing<sup>4</sup>*, *-ingas*, *-ingahām*.

<sup>67</sup> This special form is discussed by A. H. Smith, *op. cit.* s.v. *-ing<sup>2</sup>*, and by E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -ing*, 2nd ed., p. 174–223 (Chapter III, 'Names in *-ing* (sing.) and *-inge*'), who do not quite see the point; and it is very thoroughly and industriously (and tediously) shaken out in J. McN. Dodgson, 'The *-ing* in English Place-Names like *Birmingham* and *Altrincham*', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, Neue Folge 2 (1967), Heft 3, p. 221–45; 'Various Forms of Old English *-ing* in English Place-Names', *op. cit.* Heft 4, p. 325–96, 'Various English Place-Name Formations containing Old English *-ing*', *op. cit.* 3 (1968), Heft 2, p. 141–89.

<sup>68</sup> *Aldringeham* 1290, *Altrincham* 1321, *Altringham* 1547; OE *hām*, 'a village, a homestead', with an assibilated OE *-ing*-suffix formation upon the OE personal-name *Aldhere*. It means 'the *hām* (called *Aldheringe*', in which *Aldheringe*, which is a locative form and should be pronounced *-indge*, means 'at *Aldhering*', and *Aldhering*, which is a nominative form and should be pronounced *-ing*, means 'that (thing, place, or, for that matter, where relevant, that person) which is called after, or associated with the name of, the man *Aldhere*'.

<sup>69</sup> *Baginchul* 13th (17th), *Bangengehull* 1289, *Baynchull* 1302 (17th), *Benshall* 1669; OE *hyll*, 'a hill', with an assibilated OE *-ing*-suffix formation upon the OE feminine personal-name *Bēāga*. It means 'the hill (called) *Bēāginge*', with the same evolution as in *Altrincham supra*, from a proper-noun *Bēāging*, 'that which is called after the woman *Bēāga*'.

<sup>70</sup> *Wimundisham* 1086, *Wymundham* 1281; *Wy-*, *Wimingham* late 12th (17th), 1209 (17th); *Wymminchama* c1270, *Wymincham* 1306, *Wymyngham* 1353; *Wemecham* early 13th (17th), *Wimesham* 1234 (17th), *Wymmycham* 1501 (17th); *Wyningham*, *Wynincham* 1281; *Wyncham* 1435, *Winsham* 1651; OE *hām* with the genitive-singular and the uninflected form of the Old English personal-name *Wigmund*, and with an assibilated *-ing*-suffix formation upon that personal-name. The spellings represent three forms of name for this one place, 1. OE *\*Wigmundes-hām*, 'Wigmund's village', 2. OE *\*Wigmund-hām*, 'the Wigmund village' (as one might nowadays say 'the Dodgson house'), 3. OE *\*Wigmundinge-hām*, 'the *hām* (called) *Wigmundinge*', in which *Wigmundinge*, a locative form, evolves similarly to *Altrincham supra* from a proper-noun *Wigmunding*, 'that which is called after the man *Wigmund*'.

<sup>71</sup> *Cerdingham* 1086, *Cherdingham* 1278, *Kerthyngam*, *-ing-* 1275, 1288, *Kerthincham*, *-ynch-* 1345, 1350; *Kermincham*, *-ynch-* 1286, 1341, *Kermyngam* 1312, *-ing-* 1564, *Kyrmingham* 1451; *Kerincham* 1286, *-yngham* 1310, *Kernycham* 1307, *Kernicham* 1422; *Kerincham*, *-yn-* 1353, *Keryngam* 1394, *Karingham* 1520; *Keryngam* 1401; OE *hām* with an assibilated OE *-ing*-suffix formation upon an OE personal-name *\*Cēnfrīd*. *Kermincham* means 'the *hām* (called) *Cēnfrīdinge*', in which *Cēnfrīdinge*, a locative form which leads to the pronunciation *-indge*, means 'at *Cēnfrīding*', where *Cēnfrīding*, a nominative form with the pronunciation *-ing*, means 'that which is called after the man *Cēnfrīd*'.

<sup>72</sup> *Danehynchill* 1407, *Davenynsale*, *Daveninsale* 1593, *Daningschow* c1610, *Dane Inch* 1610, 1621 (1656), *Dane-in-Shaw* 1843, *Dane Henshaw* 1831, *Dane-en-Shaw* 1842; of these, the forms dated 1593, c1610, refer to *Dane-in-Shaw Brook* and may represent a stream-name derived by back-formation from the place-name *Dane-in-Shaw*. The place-name *Dane-in-Shaw* is OE *hyll*, 'a hill', OE *hōh*, 'a promontory, an eminence', and OE *halh* (dative-singular *hale*), 'a nook, a

*ham*,<sup>74</sup> and *Iddinshall*,<sup>75</sup> the medial *-ing-* component is, or was formerly, pronounced *-indge-*, *-idge-* (often becoming *-insh-*, *-ish-*). Such place-names belong to what may well be called the 'Brummagem' type, after the true and ancient pronunciation of the place-name *Birmingham*. In this kind of place-name the ME spellings in *-insh-*, *-inch-*, and a frequently surviving pronunciation *-indge-*, *-insh-*, reveal the assibilation of the medial *-ing-* element. This same phenomenon may also have occurred

corner, a valley, land in a confluence', added to an OE assibilated *-ing-* suffix formation upon the river-name *Dane*. The basic formation appears as the name of *Dane-in-Shaw Brook* in *Dane Inch* 1610, 1621 (1656), and no doubt *Dane-in-Shaw* as a place-name means 'the hill etc., at (the stream called) the *Dane-Inch*'. The original form of *Dane-Inch* would be OE \**Dæfeninge*, a locative form leading to the pronunciation *-indge* > *-inch*, and meaning 'at \**Dæfening*'; at the \**Dæfening*', where \**Dæfening*, a nominative form with the pronunciation *-ing*, means 'that which is called after R. Dane'.

<sup>73</sup> *Warmincham* 1259, *Wermincham* late 13th, *-yncham* 1315; *Wermingham* 1260, *Warmingham* 1488; *Werringham*, *-yng(e)*- 1290, 1291; *Wernycham* 1478; *Warmengeham* 1306, *Wermynge*- 1342, *Warmynge*- 1492, *-inge*- 1574; *Werminsham* 1489; *Warringham* 1554; *Warmisham* 1629; *Warmincham* 1656; *Warminckham* 1669; OE *hām* with an OE *-ing-* suffix formation, both assibilated and non-assibilated, upon the OE personal-name *Wærmund* or its short-form *Wærma*. The *-insh-*, *-ish-*, spellings represent the assibilated pronunciation (*-ing* > *-indge* > *-inch-*) and the ME *-inc-*, *-ing-*, spellings represent the uninflected unpalatalized (so non-assibilated) OE *-ing*, pronounced *-ing* > *-ink* by ME north-west-midland dialect. A compromise between the two forms is represented by *Warmincham* 1656. The ME spellings *-inge-*, *-ynge-*, *-enge-*, can represent either the assibilated pronunciation *-indge* from the locative form, or the non-assibilated pronunciation *-inge-* from OE dative-singular *-inge* or genitive-plural *-inga-*. This place-name has undergone a partial assimilation to the OE *-ingahām* type of place-name. It is basically OE \**Wærminge-hām* and \**Wærming-hām*, in which OE \**Wærminge*, a locative form leading to the pronunciation *-indge*, means 'at \**Wærming*', and \**Wærming*, the uninflected nominative form, with the pronunciation *-ing*, means 'that which is called after the man *Wærma* (*Wærmund*)'.

<sup>74</sup> *Tusigeham* 1086; *Tussingham* 1260; *Tussinham* 1272-1307; *Tussingham* 1288, *Tusshyngham* 1543, *Tushingham(e)* 1632, 1633; *Tussinham* 1311; *Tussigham* 1314; *Tussigeham* 1315, *Tussicham* 1316; *Tussingham* 1315, *-yngcham* 1492; *Tussingeham* 1383, *-ynge*- 1392; *Tussyncam* 1416; *Tussynsham* 1472; OE *hām* with an alternatively assibilated and non-assibilated OE *-ing-* suffix formation upon an OE personal-name \**Tünsige*. *Tushingham* represents OE \**Tünsingehām* and \**Tünsiging-hām*, in which \**Tünsinginge*, a locative form leading to the pronunciation *-indge*, means 'at \**Tünsiging*', and \**Tünsiging*, the nominative form with the pronunciation *-ing*, means 'that which is called after the man *Tünsige*'.

<sup>75</sup> *Etingehalle* 1086; *Hedinchale*, *Edinchale* 1096-1101 (14th), 1150 (14th), *Idighala* c1150 (1285); *Idinchale* 1188-9 (14th); *Idinghale* 1233-7 (14th), *Ydinghall* 1270-1 (14th), *Idinghall(I)* 1287, 1288; *Idingham* 1270 (17th); *Idingehalle* 1272-90, *-hale* 1287; *Ydonehale*, *Ydonekale* 1291; *Idynshaw* 1535; *Idenshall* 1583; OE *halh*, (dat. sg. *hale*), 'a nook, a corner', with an assibilated OE *-ing-* suffix formation upon the OE verb *ettan*, 'to graze, to pasture'. The basis is an OE noun \**etting*, 'a pasturage, a grazing; a grazing-place', which appears also in the place-name *Ettingshall* (Staffordshire). In the Staffordshire name the *-ing-* formation is compounded in the genitive-singular form of the non-assibilated *-ing*. The assibilated form in the Cheshire place-name demonstrates that *Iddinshall* contains the locative form of the OE noun \**etting*, i.e. \**ettinge* (leading to the pronunciation *-indge*). *Iddinshall* means 'the halh (called) *Ettinge*', in which *Ettinge* means 'at *Etting*', and *Etting* means '(the place called) the *etting* or pasturage; that which has to do with pasturing or grazing'.

in the lost place-name *Codingey*<sup>76</sup> in Coddington. All of these Cheshire place-names consist of an *-ing*-suffix formation with assibilated *-ing* (*-indge*), to which a further element has been added. The basic type of assibilated-*ing*-formation place-name without the addition of a further element, would appear as a place-name ending in *-inge*, *-indge*. Such a form is observed in the Cheshire place-names *Billinge*,<sup>77</sup> *Wallange*<sup>78</sup> (near Stan-

<sup>76</sup> *le Codyngeheye* 1284-7, *Codyncheheye* 1284, *Codingey* 1296, 1300-7, *Codinygeye* c1300; OE (*ge*)*hæg*, 'a fenced-in enclosure', and an *-ing*-suffix formation upon the OE personal-name *Cotta* which also forms the first component of the place-name *Coddington* of the township within which this lost place-name occurred. The ME *-ynche-* spelling suggests that the assibilated OE *-ing*-suffix formation was alternative to the non-assibilated *-ing* form, even if not the basic one.

<sup>77</sup> There are several instances of this name in the county: 1. *Billinge Hill*, *Billinge Head* and *Billinge Side* in Rainow, *le Belyng*' 1503, *Bellendge*, *Bellendge* (*Carr*), *Billinge(s) Carr(e)*, *Billinge* 1611, 1620, *Billinge Head*, *Billinge Side* 1831; OE *hyll*, 'a hill', *side*, 'the side of-; a hillside', ON *sker*, 'a rocky cliff', with a hill-name *Billinge* (pronounced *-indge*); 2. a place in Romiley (at Ordnance Survey Grid Ref. 942913 near Top o'th Hill at Werneth Low), latterly called *Werneth Farm*, *Werneth House* (old O.S. 6-inch maps), was *Billings Green* in 1831 Bryant's map; 3. *Billinge Green* (pronounced *-indge*) in Rudheath, *Bellynge* (lit. *Mell-*) 1534-47 (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, p. 242), 16th (Public Record Office, *Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books*, Vol. 397, f. 32: this volume and *Land Revenue Office Miscellaneous Books*, Vol. 200 deserve the attention of local historians and topographers in Cheshire), *Billings Greene* 1650, *Billin(e) Greene* 1650 (18th), *Billin Green* 1831, from OE *grêne*, 'a grassy space; a village-green', added to a place-name *Billinge* (pronounced *-indge*); 4. *High Billinge* (pronounced *-indge*) in Utkinton, *Belynge* 1503, *High Billinge* 1831; 5. *Billinge Meadow* 1839, a field-name in Acton near Weaverham; 6. *The Billings* 1838, a field-name in Harthill. This series should be taken with such place-names as *Billin Hill* (West Riding of Yorkshire), *Billinge* (Lancashire), *Billingshurst* (Sussex), *High Billingham* (Surrey), *Billings Hill* (East Riding of Yorkshire), *Billington* (Bedfordshire, Lancashire), *Bellington Hill* (Derbyshire), *Billin* (Northamptonshire), *Billinbank* (West Riding of Yorkshire). In this type of place-name (more minutely scrutinized in my 'Various Forms of Old English *-ing* in English Place-Names', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, Neue Folge 2 (1967), Heft 4 pp. 326-32) an OE *-ing*-suffix formation *\*billin*, based upon OE *bill*, 'a sword; an edge; a bill; a prominent hill', appears sometimes assibilated (pronounced *-indge*) and sometimes non-assibilated (*-ing*). In the Cheshire examples the assibilated is clearly marked by *-inge* spellings for the pronunciation *-indge* and by *-ings* spellings for the pronunciation *-ingz* < *-inz* < *-indz* < *-indge*. The name-type OE *\*Billinge*, a locative form leading to the assibilated pronunciation *-indge*, would mean 'at *\*Billin*'; at the *\*billin*', in which OE *\*Billin*, a nominative form with the pronunciation *-ing*, would represent the proper-noun use of OE *\*billin*, nominative, 'that which is named from or looks like or is associated with a *bill*'. G. Barnes, 'Early English Settlement and Society in Cheshire from the Evidence of Place-Names', *Trans. Lanc. Ches. Antiq. Soc.* 71 (1961), p. 45-47, erroneously analyses the type, and his deductions therefrom, *op. cit.* p. 45, need qualification since *Billinge* is not an OE *-ingas* folk-name type of place-name; also, *Bullingham* 1560 *Cheshire Sheaf* 3rd series, XXIII, No. 5392, is a hopelessly botched form, probably for *Bollington* near Macclesfield, and is not an OE *-ingaham* place-name.

<sup>78</sup> *Walleng Bridge* 1619, *Wall-inch-bridge* 1643, *Wallange Farm* 1842, *Wall Inch* 1883; perhaps 'well-bank', from OE (Mercian) *wælla*, 'a well, a well-spring', and OE *hlinc*, *hlenc*, 'a hill-slope, a bank', but far more likely to be an OE *-ing*-suffix formation upon OE (Mercian) *wælla*. *i.e.* OE (Mercian) *\*wælling*, equivalent to standard OE *\*welling*, 'a well-place, a place where water wells up', as in the place-name *Welling* (Kent). In the Cheshire place-name the *-ing* is assibilated; the origin is OE *\*Wællinge*, a locative form meaning 'at *\*Wælling*'; at the *\*wælling*'.

thorne and Middlewich), *Wyryng*<sup>79</sup> (a lost place-name in Macclesfield Hundred, location unknown), and *Isinge*<sup>80</sup> (a lost place-name near Macclesfield). To these we might add *Collinge*<sup>81</sup> in Backford, but the history of this name eludes the record.

In the examination of the 'Brummadgem'-type place-names to which reference has been made,<sup>82</sup> it has been observed that the assibilated medial or final *-ing-*, *-ing(e)* (pronounced *-idge-*, *-indge*, etc.) represents an archaic OE locative-singular-inflected form (< Primitive OE *-ingī*) of the commonplace OE noun-forming suffix *-ing*. Here the locative-singular inflexion *-ī* has prevented the normal reversion of OE palatalized *ġ* to velar *g*, with the consequence that the OE palatalized *ġ* has undergone assibilation to *ġ* (pronounced *-dg*).<sup>83</sup> It is to be supposed that in the oldest form of English the distinctive locative inflexion in *-ī* would be used by routine in the conversion of a noun into a place-name. The place-names *Tiverton*<sup>84</sup> (Devon) and *Silverton*<sup>85</sup> (Devon) contain a form OE *\*fyrd* for OE *ford*, 'a ford', which can only be the result of a mutation of the stem-vowel caused by an old inflexional *-ī*, so that beside the OE noun *ford* (< Primitive OE *\*furd*, cf. OHG *furt* (and place-names like *Frankfurt* (Germany), etc.) < West-Germanic *\*furdu-z*), there was a specifically toponymic form, the locative-singular-based OE *\*fyrd* (< Primitive OE *\*furdī*), 'at the ford'.<sup>86</sup> So, OE *twī-ford* would mean 'the double ford', and the locative of this, which would be the grammatical form used (so long as the distinctive locative inflexion persisted in use) when *twī-ford* was used as a

<sup>79</sup> *boscus de Wyryng* 1357 (1620), probably 'place where the bog-myrtle grows', from an OE *-ing*-suffix formation upon OE *wir*, 'bog-myrtle'—the word which appears as first element in the name *Wirral*.

<sup>80</sup> *Esyng* 1274, 1467, *Hesyng* 1467, 1471, *Hesyng*, *-inge* 1508, 1560, *Eselyng* 1471, *Esynger* 1508, *Esingar* 1560, *The Isinge* 1620; from ME *ker* (< ON *kjarr*), 'brushwood, marsh', and an *-ing*-suffix formation upon an unidentified first element, perhaps OE *hæs*, 'brushwood, heath'. The assibilation of the *-ing*-formation is obscured by the *k* of the suffixed *-ker*, but it emerges in the *-inge* spelling of the simple unsuffixed form *Isinge* 1620.

<sup>81</sup> *Collinge Farm* and *Wood* old O.S. 6-inch map, *Big* and *Little Collinge* 1839 Tithe Award field-names; perhaps an assibilated OE *-ing*-suffix formation upon OE *coll*, 'a hill', *col*, 'charcoal', or the OE personal-name *Col(l)a*.

<sup>82</sup> The *-ing* in English Place-Names like *Birmingham* and *Altrincham*, note 67 above.

<sup>83</sup> See A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, (Oxford, 1959), §§ 426–42.

<sup>84</sup> J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Devon II* (E. P.-N. Soc. IX), p. 541; *æt Twyfyrd* 880–5 (c1100), *Tuuertone*, *Tovretone* 1086, *Tuiverton* 1141–55; OE *tūn*, 'a farmstead', added to an OE locative form *\*twīfyrd*.

<sup>85</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 569, xiv (addenda), and J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire* (E. P.-N. Soc. XVII), p. xxxvii (addenda); *Sulfretone*, *Suffertone* 1086, *Seluerton* 1179, *Silfretone* 1246; OE *tūn* added to a locative form OE *\*sulh-fyrd*.

<sup>86</sup> The locative-inflected toponymic form may also explain the mutation in OE *wyrð* for OE *word*, 'a curtilage', see A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements II* (E. P.-N. Soc. XXVI), s.v. *word*.

place-name or when a location at a *twī-ford* or at a place called *Twī-ford* was to be denoted, would be OE \**twī-fyrd*, 'at the *twī-ford*; at *Twī-ford*'. Similarly, the *Billinge* place-names commemorate an ancient locative-singular \**Billingī*, 'at the *billing*; at *Billing*'.

Now, the distinctive locative in *-i* is an archaic feature in Old English.<sup>87</sup> The idiom of classical Old English as seen in the literary and inscriptional remains of that language from the late seventh century onwards, expresses location not by a simple locative inflexion but by a paraphrase—by the use of a preposition with the dative inflexion, which, by the gradual elision of the preposition, led to the locative use of the simple dative inflexion! Modern English follows this usage. So, in Bede's works, early eighth century, we find place-names which consist of a prepositional phrase, OE *æt*, 'at', or *on*, 'in', with the dative-inflected form of a proper-noun or a name.<sup>88</sup> It looks as if the distinctive locative inflexion was being ousted from current use by the dative inflexion as the grammatical locative form from about 650 onwards—a process which may well have begun to operate even earlier than this, although there is no documentation for the beginning of it. The inflexional *-ī* of the locative is written in the runic inscriptions *on rodi* (Ruthwell Cross), 'on the Cross', and *in Romæcaestri* (Franks Casket), 'in Rome-city'. These are poetic texts and may embody an archaism. But in these instances, and in such a form as Bede's *in loco qui dicitur Adtuifyrde id est ad duplex vadum* ('in the place which is called *Adtuifyrde*, that is to say at the double ford') in *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, chapter 28, the idiom using the distinctive locative with a preposition may be seen as a transition from simple locative place-name-formation to prepositional-dative place-name-formation.<sup>89</sup> This transitional phase is recorded in texts from the late seventh century Ruthwell Cross and the early eighth century History. By Bede's time it is already formulaic—his *Adtuifyrde*<sup>90</sup> already shows a dative-singular inflexion in *-e*, a re-inflexion, after the OE preposition

<sup>87</sup> This *-ī* locative (< Indo-European \**-ei*) is well authenticated and attested in Old English and Primitive Germanic; see O. Ritter, *Vermischte Beiträge zur englischen Sprachgeschichte, Etymologie, Ortsnamenkunde, Lautlehre* (Halle, 1922), p. 117–118; K. Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers neuarbeitet* (Halle, 1942), § 237:2; A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), §§ 571, 572; E. Prokosch, *A Comparative Germanic Grammar* (Philadelphia, 1939), § 79:f; E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -ing*, 2nd ed., (Lund, 1962), p. 214–216; A. Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude des Langues Indo-Européennes*, 8th ed., (Paris, 1937), p. 322 f.

<sup>88</sup> See A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* I (E. P.-N. Soc. XXV), s.v. *æt*.

<sup>89</sup> See A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, § 587.

<sup>90</sup> Some unidentified place on R. Alne in Northumberland.

*æt* (which he renders by Latin *ad*), of the already locative-singular toponymic form OE \**fyrð*, as if the locative \**fyrð* were a basic nominative. The runic inscriptions reveal a confusion between a new idiom and an old grammatical form. The dative inflexion has not quite ousted the locative inflexion, but the locative form is to be seen here rather as a persisting obsolescent form than as a living and self-sufficient inflexion—it is not effective without the preposition. In Bede the locative form is not seen as a locative but as a toponymic nominative. So one might estimate that by 700 the distinctive locative-inflected form was a fossil, and that a place-name in the locative-inflected form is rather more likely to belong to a phase of the English language current before 650 than to have been formed after that time. Allowance must be made, of course, for the chance that an archaic inflexional form may have had a persistent effect on place-name formation down to a time after its loss in the language at large. It would be hard to draw a measure of the rate of obsolescence here. The habit of assibilating a consonant or mutating a vowel in order to create the specifically toponymic form of a noun may have outlived any memory of the grammatical *-i* inflexion which originally justified such a change. Allowance must also be made, when considering the distribution of such forms about the country, for the chance of differing degrees of conservatism in the idiom of the various dialect-regions of the Anglo-Saxons. But these commonplace bugbears of place-name study only limit, they do not invalidate, a general proposition that place-name forms which embody the effects of locative-singular inflexion in Primitive OE *-i* ought in the first instance to be thought of as examples of a type of place-name which would be current pre-650. They could be much earlier than this; and some could be analogical constructions from a later date.

Place-names of the *Billinge* and 'Brummadgem' types are archaic in form. Indeed, save for the controlling facts of history and archaeology and geography, such forms might reach back to the age of the earliest English speakers in Britain, for the *-i* locative inflexion appears in the more archaic strata of continental Germanic place-names (e.g. *Groningen* (Holland) has a 'Brummadgem' pronunciation *Grinz* < \**Groningē* < \**Groningi*) as may be seen from, say, the lists in E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -ing*, 1st ed. (Lund, 1923), p. 174–77, or C. I. Ståhle, *Studier över de Svenska Ortnamnen på -inge* (Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien 16, Lund, 1946), p. 156–61, 558–9.

The 'Brummadgem' type of place-name has been identified, in

a review of only the more obvious place-names in the material available for study,<sup>91</sup> in fifty-odd instances of place-names with assibilated medial *-ing-*.<sup>92</sup> The distribution of these names appear haphazard. It may be incompletely discerned on account of the varied degree of detailed examination to which the place-names of the several counties have been subjected; more such names may come to light as the Survey of English Place-Names proceeds. But it would seem to be significant that the West Midlands (from Lancashire down to Herefordshire) contain 22, Cumberland, Northumberland and Durham contain 10 (Northumberland 8 of these), and south east England (below a line from The Wash to the mouth of Severn) contains 23—Norfolk, Suffolk and Ely 3, Essex and Hertfordshire 3, Kent, Surrey and Sussex 6, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire 8, Wight 3. This suggests a currency of the type all over England, with a preponderance as we move away from the south-east. But it is in that quarter that the unsuffixed *-inge* type of name is prevalent (e.g. *Ruckinge*, *Sellinge* in Kent), and, significantly, the OE *-ingas*, *-inga-*, folk-name types which appear to mark a secondary phase of the English settlement history. There has probably been a fairly thorough conversion of the assibilated singular *-ing* locative type of place-name to the pattern of the more modern plural *-ingas*, *-inga-*, type, in the south-eastern parts of the country, which accounts for the apparent unbalance of the distribution of the assibilated type. From the distribution of the surviving 'Brummadgem'-type place-names, it can be argued that such a pre-650

<sup>91</sup> In my 'The Various Forms of Old English *-ing* in English Place-Names', note 67 above; see also E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -ing*, 2nd ed., p. 169-73.

<sup>92</sup> They are: *Abinger* (Surrey), *Altrincham* (Cheshire), *Atcham* or *Attingham* (Salop), *Atchen Hill* (Worcestershire), *Ballinger* (Buckinghamshire), *Ballingham* (Bedfordshire), *Bellingham* (Northumberland), *Benchill* (Cheshire), *Bengeo* (Hertfordshire), *Bengeworth* (Worcestershire), *Billingham* (Durham), *Birmingham* (Warwickshire), *Bobbingworth* or *Bovinger* (Essex), *Brangehill* (Ely), *Bullingham* or *Bullinghope* (Herefordshire), *Corringales* (Essex), *Cressingham* (Norfolk: a doubtful example), *Dane-in-Shaw* (Cheshire), *Dinchope* (Salop), *Drungewick* (Sussex), *Dungee* (Bedfordshire), *Dungewood* (Wight), *Ealingham*, *Edlingham*, *Eglingham*, *Ellingham* and *Eltringham* (Northumberland), *Fingest* (Buckinghamshire), *French Hay* and *Frenchhurst* (Kent), *Fringford* (Oxfordshire), *Habergham* (Lancashire), *Horningsheath* or *Horringer* (Suffolk), *Iddinshall* (Cheshire), *Kensham Green* (Kent), *Kenswick* (Worcestershire), *Kermincham* (Cheshire), *Millichope* (Salop), *Mongeham* (Kent), *Mongewell* (Oxfordshire), *Ovingham* (Northumberland), *Pattingham* (Staffordshire), *Peckingell* (Wiltshire), *Ratlinghope* (Salop), *Tetchwick* and *Tingewick* (Buckinghamshire), *Tushingham* (Cheshire), *Uckinghall* (Worcestershire), *Warmingham* (Cheshire), *Watchingwell* (Wight), *Whicham* (Cumberland), *Whittingham* (Northumberland), *Wiggins Hill* (Warwickshire), *Wilmington* (Wight), *Wincham* (Cheshire). This list takes no account of similar names in Scotland and the Welsh Marches in Wales, e.g. *Burlingjobb* (Radnorshire), *Berchelincope* 1086, OE *hop* with an assibilated *-ing-* suffix formation, a place-name in an area which Offa's Dyke excluded; see also F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed., (Oxford, 1947), p. 212-13.

form in such a distribution indicates a pre-seventh century or early seventh century context in which the English had appeared in small or great numbers, powerfully or in a socially insignificant degree, at places all over south Britain. This is not unlikely. But it requires the assumption of English arrivals at the north west coast and the Welsh Marches earlier than history records and without the (as yet) traceable pagan burial clue.

The Cheshire region offers a suitable laboratory for the investigation of this situation. For it will be seen that whereas the history of the English in Cheshire begins early seventh century, the early English place-name forms could be pre-seventh century. The list of Cheshire place-names which may be supposed eligible to belong to an era ending c650 is not long. The Cheshire *-ingham*s are distributed in relation to the Roman road system, except for Kermincham, Benchill and Dane-in-Shaw, which, like the *-inge* types lie near or upon salt-ways or other medieval routes. These non-Roman routes are not recorded before medieval times, but there is no evidence against their being ancient: they could well be at least as old as the Roman roads, for people travelled before the Romans came, and salt from the Cheshire field must have travelled somehow in very ancient days. The Cheshire *-ingham*, *-inge*, place-names lie in land which might have attracted early English settlement, as may well be observed from the excellent survey in Dorothy Sylvester's 'Cheshire in the Dark Ages',<sup>93</sup> in districts relatively free of dense woodland, *i.e.* either in non-forested places or in clear, or cleared, patches in the woodland. The Roman road context of the *-ingham* place-names is of importance here. Some of these early English *-ingham* place-names may lie in ground opened up in Roman times. The Roman road system in Cheshire appears to be the organic structure which dictates the pattern of distribution of these early English place-names, hence of the settlements which bear them. Thus we arrive at the conjecture, from the form and the distribution of these OE *-hām*, *-inge-hām* and *-inge* place-names, that the English arrival in Cheshire was made along Roman roads and before 650 at latest, and that on formal grounds the place-names are sufficiently archaic in style to have been coined in the sixth century.

## II THE WELSH PLACE-NAMES IN CHESHIRE

The clues necessary for the solution of the chronological uncertainty about the earliest English place-names in Cheshire are

<sup>93</sup> See note 3 above.

not yet all in hand. The next ones will be sought in another kind of evidence, from the Welsh place-names in the county, which will show the state of the Welsh language in use at the time when the English population adopted the current Welsh name-forms in use by the Celtic population. In the compilation of this body of evidence, it has not been found necessary to invent putative Welsh etymologies for ordinary-seeming English place-names;<sup>94</sup> only such place-names as have unmistakable Welsh elements or allusions have been brought forward. They are illustrated in Figure 3. Nor has it been thought necessary, in an essay already attaining tedious length, to recite the numerous instances of medieval field-names *etc.*, which contain Welsh personal-names, *e.g.* *Howelisclotht* 1287 (an unidentified place in Macclesfield Hundred, from the OWelsh personal-name *Houel* and OE *clōh*, 'a clough, a dell'), *Brangaynland* c1295 (a selion in Chorlton near Wyburnbury, from the OWelsh personal-name *Brangwain* and OE *land*, 'a land, a selion, a strip of plough-land'), *Ouwanis Ruding* 1271 (in Faddiley; OWelsh personal-name *Oue(i)n* and OE *rydding*, 'cleared-ground'), *Maleres rudyng* 1339 (Tarporley; OWelsh *Meilyr*, OE *rydding*). Such place-names as this, and the Modern Welsh field-names commonplace in the nineteenth century Tithe Award lists for south west Cheshire—extending as far east as the Tithe Award field-name *Cae Hyn*, 'the old(er) enclosure', in Weston near Barthomley—may be taken by allusion as evidence of a persistent if unemphatic and subordinate Welsh influence upon and within Cheshire society through medieval and modern times, an extension of that Celtic substratum which Dorothy Sylvester<sup>95</sup> rightly and clearly realises.

The more important Welsh place-names in Cheshire are listed hereunder:

1. *Barhill* (Tushingham); *Barellesgreue* 1394, *Barrel* 1397, *Barhull* 1513. Welsh *bar*, 'a top, a summit', and OE *hyll*, 'a hill', with OE *grāfe*, 'a wood, a grove'. The English word *hill* has been added as an explanatory suffix (a kind of translation added) to a Welsh hill-name *Bar*.

2. *Beam Heath* (Nantwich); *Creche* c1130, from OE *\*crylic* or *\*cric* < Primitive Welsh *\*craig* < British *cruc*, 'a hill, a mound, a tumulus'. With this place-name should be taken *Church Leys* (a lost place-name in or near Hankelow; *Chircheleges* 13th, *-leghe* 1293) and *Churton* (near Aldford and Farndon; *Churton* c1170), which would appear to be OE *leāh*, 'a woodland, a glade in a wood', and *tūn*, 'a farmstead, and enclosure', with the same English borrowing from Primitive Welsh—OE *\*cric*, *\*crylic* 'a hill, a mound'. There is neither trace nor record of an ancient church (OE *cirice*) at either place. The interest in these place-names lies in the nature of the English form used to express the original Celtic one. The substitution of OE *y* for the PrWelsh *ū* to produce OE *\*crylic*, would be a seventh-to-eighth century feature, whereas the substitution of OE *i* as in OE *\*cric* for PrWelsh *craig* would be a sixth-to-seventh

<sup>94</sup> A fault in Dorothy Sylvester's paper, note 3 above.

<sup>95</sup> *Op. cit.*

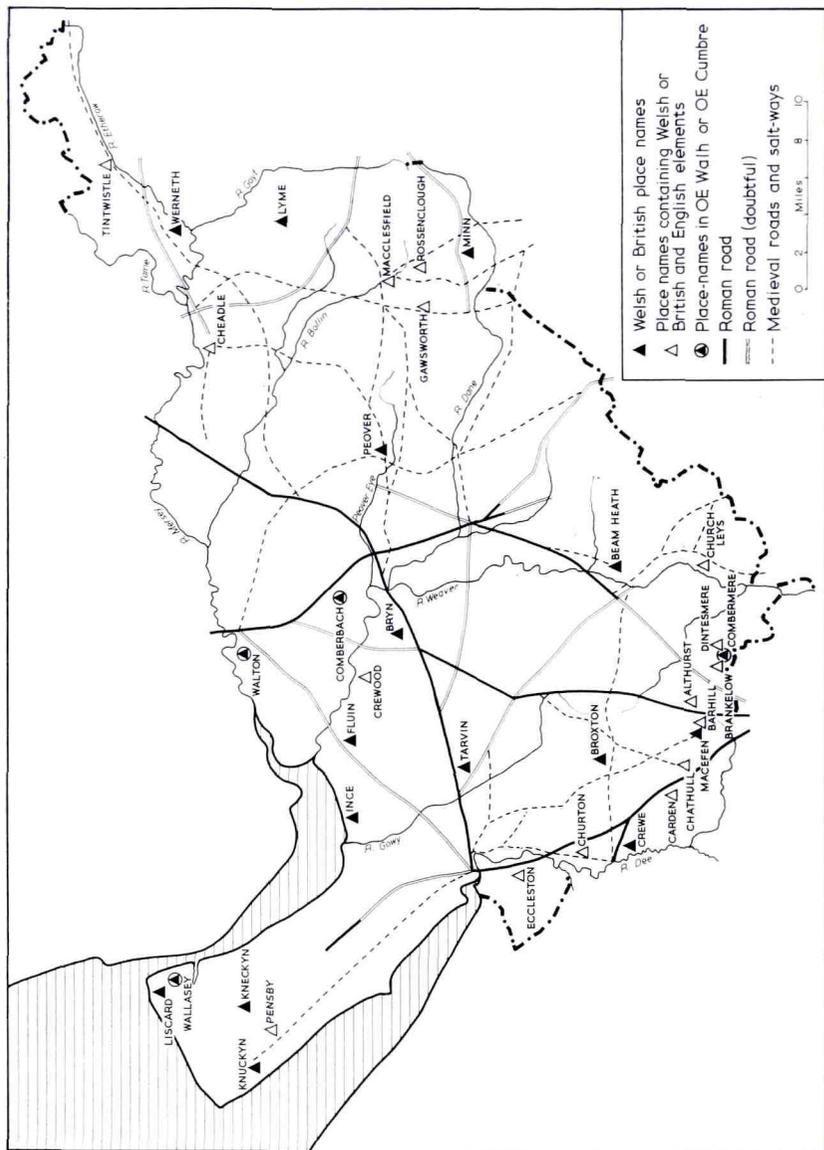


Figure 3.  
BRITISH AND WELSH PLACE-NAMES IN CHESHIRE

century feature.<sup>96</sup> It is not possible, from the forms recorded in the Cheshire names, to decide which OE form, \**cric* or \**cryc*, should be taken as the basis. In fact, there may have been an alternation, but it would seem as though the OE \**cric* form, with *i* substitution, is the more obvious choice for these Cheshire place-names.

3. *Brankelow* (Dodcott cum Wilkesley); *Bromkelawa* c1130 (1479), *Branke-low* 1133 (18th), *Bronchelau* 12th, *Branchehillaue* 1540; related to this is the adjacent lost place-name *Branch of Wood* 1831. In these the elements OE *hlāw*, 'a hill, a mound, a tumulus', and OE *wudu*, 'a wood', have been added to a Welsh formation. The alternating *-ch-*, *-k-* spellings suggest that *k* replaced an earlier *ch*, and that the Welsh component in *Brankelow* and *Branch of Wood* would be PrWelsh \**bron-cēd*, from *bron* (*n*), 'a hill', and *cēd* (< British *cēto-*, cf. Welsh *coed*), 'a wood'. The process *ch* > *k* may even reflect a continuous Welsh speech tradition here down to the time of the Welsh sound-change which converted PrWelsh *cēd* to OWelsh *coid*, an evolution which took effect early- to mid-eighth century.<sup>97</sup> The PrWelsh *cēd* form of British *cēto-* appears in *Cheadle* and *Chathull*, below.

4. *Brynn* (Cuddington); *le Brynne* 1391, Welsh *bryn*, 'a hill'.

5. *Carden*;<sup>98</sup> *Kauerthin* 1230, *Kaurdin* mid 13th, *Caerden* 1462; OE *carr*, 'a rock', and *worðign*, 'a private curtilage'. OE *carr* is an early loan-word from Welsh, from Welsh *carn* or *carrec*, 'a rock'.

6. *Chathull*; see under *Cheadle* below.

7. *Cheadle*; *Cedde* 1086, *Chedle* 12th; from PrWelsh \**cēd* (British *cēto-*, cf. Welsh *coed*), 'a wood', and OE *lēāh*, 'a woodland'.<sup>99</sup> There is another *Cheadle* in Staffordshire. A similar compound is *Chathull* (a lost place-name in Malpas), *Chathull*, *Nant Chathull* 1333, from PrWelsh \**cēd* and OE *hyll*, 'a hill', with the further modification of Welsh *nant*, 'a wood'. This is an interesting stratification of elements: a PrWelsh place-name form is modified by an English element, and this fossilised into an English place-name then needs an explanatory affix to make it intelligible to the Welsh. The element PrWelsh *cēd* is also supposed for *Brankelow*, above.

8. *Church Leys*; see under *Beam Heath* above.

9. *Churton*; see also under *Beam Heath* above.

10. *Crewe* (near Barthomley); *Creu* 1086;

11. *Crewe* (near Farndon); *Creuhalle* 1086, *Cryu* late 11th;

12. *Crewood* (in Crowton); *Crewode* c1240; from Welsh *cryw*, 'a ford', with OE *hall*, 'a hall', and *wudu*, 'a wood'.

13. *R. Dane*; *Dauene* 12th; whence *Davenham*<sup>100</sup> (*Deveneham* 1086, *Davenham* 1178) and *Davenport* (*Deneport* 1086, *Devennport* c1130, *Daven(e)port(e)* 1188, early 13th); derived by E. Ekwall<sup>101</sup> from MWelsh *dafn*, 'a trickle', but by A. G. C. Turner<sup>102</sup> from PrWelsh *Dāven* < British \**Daminā*, 'the river of the ox-goddess'. Here we would see a PrWelsh nasal bilabial consonant *b*, *v* or *μ* (the transitional form between British *m* and Welsh *f* by lenition), rendered by English *f*, *v*, rather than by *m*.

14. *R. Dee*; British *Deva* 4th, English *Dee* 1043, *De* 1086, Welsh *Duiu* 10th, *Dwy* 14th, 'the holy one, the goddess' (cf. Welsh *Ærfen*, 'war-goddess'). Here the English form is evidence of the adoption of the river-name into English

<sup>96</sup> K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, p. 310.

<sup>97</sup> K. Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 328–30.

<sup>98</sup> See p. 13 above.

<sup>99</sup> See K. Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 327.

<sup>100</sup> See p. 15 above. Also here should be mentioned *Dane-in-Shaw*, p. 16 above.

<sup>101</sup> *English River-Names*, (Oxford, 1928), p. 112.

<sup>102</sup> *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* XXII, part 2, p. 111–114.

from PrWelsh prior to the development in Welsh of the diphthong *ui* in the second half of the seventh century.<sup>103</sup>

15. *Dintesmere* (a lost name at Combermere in Dodcott cum Wilkesley); *Dintesmere* 12th (18th century copy), *Duntsmere* 12th; OE *mere*, 'a mere, a lake', added to the anglicised genitive-singular of an form *Dint*, *Dunt*, which could represent the PrWelsh personal-name \**Dānod* (< British Latin *Donatus*) —the same personal-name as that borne by the abbot of Bangor Iscoed whose name Bede spells *Dīnooth*, who was leader of the British delegation at the conference with St Augustine in 603. The personal-name form in Bede is discussed by K. Jackson.<sup>104</sup> It is a pre or early seventh century form, probably contemporary with the historical date 603. The form in the Cheshire place-name (which probably refers to an arm of Combermere lake or to the lake itself) is identical.

16 *R. Duckow*; *Douclesbrooke* early 12th; OE *brōc*, 'a brook', affixed to a British river-name anglicised *Doucles-*, from Brit \**Duboglassio-*, 'black water, black stream', i.e. a *Douglas* type of river-name. The English form here shows the retention of Welsh *g* as English *k*, a retention of *g* here is a relative archaism, for Welsh *g* was steadily weakened during the seventh century,<sup>105</sup> so this is a seventh century borrowing at latest.

17. *Eccleston*; *Eclestone* 1086, *Ecclestona* c1188; PrWelsh \**eglēs* (< Brit *eclēsia*), 'a church', and OE *tūn*, 'a farmstead, an enclosure'.

18. *Fluin Lane* (Frodsham); *Fluhen* c1290; Welsh *llwyn*, 'a bush'. This name is a Middle English borrowing from some thirteenth century Welshman; at any rate, Welsh *ll-*, expressed as English *fl-*, *thl-*, is unlikely before about 1050.<sup>106</sup>

19. *Gawsworth*; *Govesurde* 1086; OE *word*, 'an enclosure', with the anglicised genitive-singular of PrWelsh or OWelsh *gof*, 'a smith', perhaps used here as a personal-name.

20. *R. Gowy*; 1577; a late Welsh name for the river anciently called *Tarvin*.

21. *R. Goyt*; *Guit* early 13th, *Gwid*, *Gwyth* 1285, *Goyt* c1251. Probably OE *gyte*, 'a rush of water', but A. G. C. Turner<sup>107</sup> derives it from PrWelsh \**Gwuið* (cf. Modern *gwydd*, 'wild'). He observes<sup>108</sup> that PrWelsh *-ui-* was developed by the second half of the seventh century<sup>109</sup> and PrWelsh *gw-* was fully developed by c700. This could be a seventh century borrowing from Welsh into English.

22. *Holtridge* (Norbury near Marbury); *Althurst* 1380; Old Welsh *alt* (> Welsh *allt*), 'a hill', and OE *hyrst*, 'a wooded hill'. Here again an English element of similar meaning is affixed to a Welsh place-name.

23. *Ince*; *Inise* 1086; PrWelsh *inis* (> Welsh *ynys*), 'an island'.

24. *Knukyn* 1307–23 (a lost place-name in Irby); *Kne(c)kyn* 1454 (a lost place-name in Caldby); and *Knight Mosse* (a lost place-name near Macclesfield towards Sutton and Gawsworth), *Knuche* 1286; these are related, the latter being from Welsh *cnwc*, 'a hill', the two former from Welsh *cyncyn*, diminutive of *cnwc*, meaning 'little hill'.

25. *Landican*; *Landechene* 1086; OWelsh *lann* and an OWelsh personal-name *Tegan*. The *d* in *Landican* indicates that the original personal-name form was *Tegan* not *Degan*, which rules out an identification of this *Degan* with the Irish saint *Dagan*, bishop of *Inverdaile* (i.e. Ennereilly, co. Wicklow) c600,

<sup>103</sup> K. Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 334.

<sup>104</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 295.

<sup>105</sup> K. Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 438.

<sup>106</sup> K. Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 479.

<sup>107</sup> *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XXII, part 2, p. 114–16.

<sup>108</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 115.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *R. Dee* above.

died 640. The place-name *Landican* is an inversion-compound, a type which develops in Welsh in mid- to late sixth century.<sup>110</sup>

26. *Liscard*; *Lisnekarke* 13th, *Lisnecaryc* late 13th, *Lisnecark* 1260, 'house at the rock', Primitive Cumbrian \**liss-en-carrec* as distinct from PrWelsh \**liss-yr-carrec*.

27. *The Lyme*; *-lime* 1086 (in the place-name *Audlem*), *Lima* 1121. Probably 'the district named from an elm-grove', OE \**Lim*, \**Līn*, < Pr Welsh \**Liv*, \**Livn* < Brit \**lemo-*, \**lemano-*; but A. G. C. Turner<sup>111</sup> takes it to mean 'bare place', OE \**Lim* < Pr Welsh \**Līm(m)* > Brit \**Lum̃jo-*, although this involves some fancy phonology. The significance of the form of the place-name, regardless of the meaning, is that it shows English *m* substituted for PrWelsh lenited *m*, as contrasted with the substituted English *v* in *R. Dane* (*Davenport*, *Davenham*) and *Tarvin*.

28. *Macclesfield*; *Maclesfeld* 1086; OE *feld*, 'open country', with an OE personal-name *Maccel*, probably an *-el* diminutive from a Celtic personal-name theme *Mag-*, *Macc-*, but this is problematical.

29. *Macefen*; *Masefen* 1170, *le Masefen* 1260; Welsh *maes-y-ffin*, 'the field at the boundary'.

30. *The Mimm* (in Bosley and Wincle); *le Miyen* 1363, *le Mynde* 1471; OWelsh *minid*, 'a mountain'.

31. *R. Peover* or *Peover Eye*; *Peuerhee* 13th; OE *ēā*, 'a river', suffixed to a river-name *Pever*, whence *Peover Superior* (*Pevre* 1086), *Nether Peover* (*Pevre* 1086) and *Peover Inferior* (*Pefria* c1200), representing a PrWelsh form \**Pebr* (< Brit \**Pebro*, cf. Welsh *Pefr*), 'bright; bright river; the bright one'. English *v* here represents PrWelsh *b*, the lenition-form of Brit *b* developed fifth century and later.

32. *Rossen Clough* (Sutton Downes near Macclesfield); *Rossyndale* 1360; from OE *dāl*, 'a dale, a valley', and an OWelsh \**rosim*, *-enn*, diminutive of OWelsh *ros* (ModWelsh *rhös*), 'a moor, a heath', as in *Rossendale* (Lancashire) *Rossington* (West Riding).

33. *R. Tame*; *Tome* 1292; British \**Tāma*, 'dark water'. Here the form with English *m* indicates that this river-name was adopted from British \**Tāma* or from a PrWelsh form \**Tamu-* in which the lenited *-m-* was heard as *m* rather than as *v*.

34. *Tarvin*; *Terve* 1086, 1239, *Teruin* 1222, *Teruen* 1185, *Terne* 1152; PrWelsh *teruin* (< British Latin *terminum*) cf. the Welsh place-name *Terfyn* (Flintshire); 'a boundary'. The English *v* for Primitive Welsh *μ* indicates that this Primitive Welsh sound was heard as *b* rather than as *μ*.

35. *Tintwistle*; *Tengestuisie* 1086, *Tengetuesile* mid 13th; from OE *twisla*, 'a fork (in a river, etc.)', added to a British river-name of the type *Teign*.

36. *Werneth*; *Warnet* 1086; a type discussed by K. Jackson,<sup>112</sup> from British *verneto-*, 'a place growing with alders'; similarly *Werneth* in Lancashire.

37. *R. Wheelock*; *Quelok* c1300, whence the place-name *Wheelock* (*Hoilock* 1086, *Weloc* early 13th, *Quelok* late 13th); OWelsh \**Chwelog*, \**Chwylog* (cf. Welsh *chwel*, *chwyl*, 'a turn, a rotation') < British \**Suilāco*. The name was adopted by the English in a late sixth or a seventh century Welsh form, for British *su-* became OWelsh *hw-* in mid- to late sixth century.<sup>113</sup>

If we take the date-schemes proposed by K. Jackson in *Language and History in Early Britain*, it will be found that

<sup>110</sup> K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, p. 226, note 2.

<sup>111</sup> *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* XXII, part 2, p. 116-19.

<sup>112</sup> *Language and History in Early Britain*, p. 555.

<sup>113</sup> K. Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 526.

*Beam Heath*, *Church Leys* and *Churton* contain a Welsh element which has achieved a seventh century form; that *Brankelow*, *Cheadle* and *Chathull* contain a Welsh element in a form which has not undergone an eighth century Welsh change; that *Wheelock* contains a Welsh form which developed in the late sixth century; that *Duckow* contains a Welsh form rather more unlikely after the seventh century; that *Dintesmere* contains a Welsh personal-name with a sixth century development which would become less likely after the seventh century; that *Dane* and *Tarvin* show English *v*, whereas *Tame* and *Lyme* show English *m*, for a Welsh sound which was proceeding from *m* to *v* over a long period, sixth to tenth centuries, being heard by the English as *m* down to the tenth century, and as *v* as early as the late sixth century, with an overlap and alternation of English *m*, *v*, sound-substitution in the seventh century;<sup>114</sup> that *Dee* is a form which did not undergo a seventh century Welsh change; that *Goyt* may contain Welsh sounds developed in the seventh century; that *Landican*, *Liscard* and *Macefen* are compositions of a type developed in the sixth century.

In general, it may be seen that these names were finally fossilised as English place-names in a form which indicates a continuous tradition of Welsh speech and sound-change down to the seventh century. These place-names are, for the most part, borrowed in a seventh century Welsh form. There arises here a question of dates. If the date of evolution of the Welsh philological forms is to be measured by the sound-substitutions used by the English immigrant who adopted the Welsh place-names, the date of the English immigration needs to be known first. Professor Jackson works on the basis of an English arrival in Cheshire in the seventh century—the date suggested by the documentary history—and uses this in his formal chronology. But it ought to be considered, that some of the place-names listed above could possibly be ascribed, on formal grounds, to a somewhat earlier—late sixth century—date, *i.e.* *Brankelow*, *Cheadle*, *Chathull*, *Duckow*, *Dintesmere*, *Dee*, *Dane*, *Tarvin*, *Tame*, *Lyme*, could, as a series, be late sixth century adoptions into English. There is a significant possibility here. Some aspects of the Welsh element in Cheshire place-names could indicate a late sixth century date of adoption, others a seventh century and later adoption: and there is evidence of Welsh place-names subject to Welsh language changes down into the seventh century, in Cheshire, before these names were fossilised by the English adopters. It is thus possible to suppose that the

<sup>114</sup> K. Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 491-3.

Welsh place-names were being borrowed by English speakers over a period late sixth to seventh centuries: that some forms represent sixth century adoptions—place-names borrowed at that stage and, upon being taken into English, immunized against Welsh speech changes—while some others were not finally removed into English usage until they had been subjected to the changes taking place in the Welsh language down to the end of the seventh century. The picture thus drawn would show a progressive borrowing of Welsh place-names by the English in Cheshire from the late sixth to the late seventh century; but a persistence in the county area of an active and living Welsh vernacular throughout that period, and possibly later.

We can suppose such a continuous Welsh speech-community in Cheshire from this construction upon the seventh century place-name evidence. We can put this supposition against that which we draw from the evidence of the early English name-forms, that there is an English element which is pre-650 and could well be much earlier. We should then find that we are dealing with a set of name-forms which, both English and Welsh, belongs to a late sixth century to seventh century formal sequence, and requires a mixed population of English and Welsh speakers in the population of Cheshire down to a period c650, and possibly from an epoch in the sixth century. This period would be that during which Cheshire was changing from a predominantly Welsh area to a predominantly English area. The place-names listed above exhibit two other manifestations of this Welsh > English overlap. First, a large proportion of them<sup>115</sup> are hybrid place-names, in mixed language, in which an English element qualifies, or explains, a Welsh element, or in which a Welsh personal-name appears with an English element. One does not find English personal-names with a Welsh element added. These features indicate the adaptation by the English of existing Welsh names, or recognitions by the English of a surviving Welsh social personality. It is important to recognise in these place-names an English emphasis: they are English place-names with a Welsh basis. They bespeak a time at which the English have taken over a Welsh country, with whose nomenclature and population they are not unfamiliar. The second manifestation of the Welsh > English social overlap to be seen from the place-names of Cheshire may be introduced from the place-names *Landican*, *Liscard*, *Brankelow* and *Dintesmere*, with

<sup>115</sup> e.g. *Barhill*, *Church Leys*, *Churton*, *Brankelow*, *Carden*, *Cheadle*, *Crewe* (near Farndon), *Crewood*, *Dintesmere*, *Duckow*, *Eccleston*, *Gawsworth*, *Holtridge*, *Macclesfield*, *Rossen Clough*, *Tintwistle*.

which we should associate the place-names *Combermere*,<sup>116</sup> *Comberbach*,<sup>117</sup> *Walton*<sup>118</sup> and *Wallasey*<sup>119</sup>. These four names are 'Indian Reservation' types. *Combermere* and *Comberbach* are 'the lake' and 'the valley' of the *Cumbre*, i.e. of the OE equivalent of Welsh *Cymry*: *Walton* and *Wallasey* are 'the farmstead or village' and 'the island' of the *Walas*, i.e. of the OE word for 'the foreigners; the inferior race; the serfs', which was applied to the Welsh. The significance of such place-names is social: these were places recognised by an English community as especially associated with, even reserved for, a Welsh population. They are names given at a time when the identification of a Welsh element in the population with a particular district is distinctive, not commonplace; i.e. when a predominantly Welsh district in Cheshire has become a remarkable survival. With *Combermere* one takes the place-names *Dintesmere* and *Brankelow*. In this Welsh enclave the Welsh names show evidence of seventh century Welsh survival. It is noteworthy that in *Combermere* and *Comberbach* the English use their version of the Welsh national name, *Cumbre* for *Cymry*. There is in this recognition of a proper and not necessarily inferior social status. But in *Walton* and in *Wallasey*—with which we might take not only *Liscard*, which is in *Wallasey*, but also *Landican* nearby in north Wirral—the national name, the Welshmen's own word for the Welsh nation, is not used. Here the English name is not quite so respectful of Welsh sentiment. There is a social degeneration implied. In the *Comber-* place-names the Welsh are accorded a polite recognition of their personality as a race: in the *Wal-* names the recognition is less polite. The *Combermere* enclave is most interesting: it suggests an enclave of Welshmen speaking their own language down into the seventh century, with a certain amount of respectful recognition from the predominant English population.

In summary, then, it can be said that the Welsh place-names in Cheshire, and the English place-names which refer to the Welsh, show forms and meanings which refer to a state of the Welsh language which had been evolved by the sixth and seventh centuries, and which belong to a period in which the English and

<sup>116</sup> *Cumbermere* 1119–1128 (1285), *Combermere* c1130, *Cumbremara* 1181; 'the Welshmen's lake', from OE *Cumbre* (genitive-plural *Cumbra*) and OE *mêre*, 'a lake, a mere'.

<sup>117</sup> *Cambrebech* 1172–81, *Combrebeche* 1190; 'the Welshmen's valley-stream', from OE *Cumbre* and OE *bece*, 'a stream in a valley, a valley with a stream in it'.

<sup>118</sup> *Waletun* 12th; 'the Welshmen's-, the serfs' farm', from OE *walh* (genitive plural *wala*) and OE *tūn*.

<sup>119</sup> *Walea* 1086; *Waleyesegh* 1351; 'the isle of *Waleye*', from OE *ēg*, 'an island', suffixed to the place-name *Waleye* which is itself OE *ēg* with the genitive-plural, *wala*, of OE *walh*, 'a Welshman; a serf'.

Welsh languages and nationalities existed side by side in Cheshire. The varieties of place-name under observation illustrate a change from a purely Welsh population, with place-names in Welsh, through a mixed population, with English adoption of Welsh place-names in a progressive and active state of Welsh phonology, with English modification of Welsh place-names; and then with an English distinction of the Welsh as 'different' or special groups in the community, which marks a point at which the established existence of a confident and predominant English community is probable.

### III THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH IN CHESHIRE

The framework of documented historical events in which the English arrival in Cheshire has been seen is really the fragmentary and episodic record of political events in a period c603 to c780. It has much to do with the emergence of an English establishment in Cheshire: it is only inferential about the English arrival. In 603 Dinooth (=Donatus), abbot of Bangor Iscoed, was president of a synod of British bishops which handled the negotiations with St Augustine. In 613-616 king Æðelfrið of Northumbria attacked the Welsh at Chester in a battle which visited an awful and proper divine revenge upon the monastery of Bangor. At this juncture, in the first decade of the seventh century, it looks as if Chester was in Welsh territory. It may well be that the Primitive Welsh place-name *Tarvin*, 'the boundary', on R. Gowy, is a true parallel with the Welsh place-name *Terfyn*, 'the boundary', near *Prestatyn* in Flintshire, at the north end of Offa's Dyke, and that it may be taken with the Welsh place-name *Macefen*, 'field at the boundary', near Malpas, as commemorating a line along R. Gowy and the Broxton Hills which formed a sixth or seventh century boundary line between the Welsh and their eastern neighbours, just as *Terfyn* in Flintshire commemorates the eighth century and later boundary at Offa's Dyke. The Tarvin-Macefen line may even have been the Welsh frontier which Æðelfrið penetrated in 613-616.

In 689, according to a lost annal recited by Henry Bradshaw, monk of St Werburgh's Chester, in his *Life of St Werburge*,<sup>120</sup> Book I, ll. 2317-2324, Æþelræd king of Mercia (674-704), Penda's son, founded a church at St John's Chester.<sup>121</sup> By 689

<sup>120</sup> *The Life of St Werburge of Chester, translated into English by Henry Bradshaw*, ed. C. Horstmann, *Early English Text Society LXXXVIII*, (1887).

<sup>121</sup> There is neither need nor reason to query this tradition: it is unnecessary to suppose with Helsby, in his edition of G. Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, I, p. 306-7, 192, that this should in truth be a reference to Æþelræd, ealdorman of Mercia (died 911), Æþelflæd's husband, Ælfred's son-in-law.

we might thus discern Chester as within the English sphere of influence. Æþelbald king of Mercia (716–757) is thought to have built Wat's Dyke, and Offa king of Mercia and the English (757–796) is known to have built Offa's Dyke. Wat's Dyke firmly seals the English domination of Cheshire by 757. The endowment of a church in Chester by a Mercian king in 689 shows the accomplishment of some sort of effective take-over, as far as R. Dee at least, by that date. It can be said, then, that the English took over Cheshire between 613–6 and 689.

In the interval between 613 and 689 lie the reigns of Penda, king of Mercia (626–654), the rule over Mercia of Oswiu king of Northumbria (654–657), and the reign of Wulfhere, king of Mercia (657–674). Of these periods, it is the reign of Penda which is most significant. Penda was the founder of English political domination in the midland empire of Mercia. He is seen in alliance with Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd, in 633, to defeat Eadwine, king of Northumbria (616–633), Æðelfrið's successor. Here, he is bearing a hand in the feud between the Northumbrians and the Welsh, first noticed in the battle of Chester, and doubtless exacerbated by Eadwine's reduction of the kingdom of Cerdic of Elmet (near Leeds) c616–620.<sup>122</sup> In 642 the Northumbrians struck into Mercia, and their king Oswald (633–642) was killed by Penda's folk at *Maserfeld* (Oswestry). This location suggests that the invasion was directed into the Welsh Marches area of Mercia, and that it might have been aimed against the same English-Welsh alliance. Again, in 654, Penda with Welsh allies attacked Oswiu, king of Northumbria (642 (Bernicia), 645 (Deira)–670), who defeated Penda, killed him, and ruled Mercia until 657. The subsequent history is a process of recovery and consolidation and expansion of the Mercian power in southern England, and a holding operation by Mercia against the Northumbrians. The period 603–689 shows a shift of Welsh influence away from Chester and the extension of English influence as far as Chester. The part of this period occupied by the reign of Penda shows the emergence<sup>123</sup> of Mercian English military-political power as an ally of the Welsh against the Northumbrian English, and then as the enemy

<sup>122</sup> The whole business of the feud between Northumbria and the Welsh should be seen as a result of the friction between the northern English and the British, caused by the Northumbrian political expansion in the late sixth and early seventh centuries across the north country, into territory formerly controlled by the Welsh of Cumbria, Elmet, Gwynedd and Powis. The battle of Chester should be seen as a major operation by the Northumbrians to make by war a political situation which could relieve their settlement of Lancashire from interference.

<sup>123</sup> The process of this emergence is carefully described in F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed., p. 81–82: Penda's kingship effectively dates from the death of Edwin and of Cadwallon, 633.

of the Northumbrian English with Welsh allies assisting. There is no English record of strife between Welsh and Mercian English in these years.

#### IV CONCLUSIONS

Inferences which may be drawn from three bodies of evidence—early English place-names, Welsh place-names, and early English history, in Cheshire—can now be collated. Certain English place-names of a potentially pre-seventh century type appear sporadically all over the county, but along Roman roads and similar ancient ways. Welsh place-names appear sporadically all over the county, some of which could have been adopted by the English in a pre-seventh century form, others in a later form. Certain types of hybrid place-name, and the English place-names which embody a social and racial distinction (especially when taken with the early English and the Welsh place-names), show a continuous juxtaposition of Welsh and English populations. It is also seen that there appears to be evidence of a Welsh frontier along R. Gowy down to the seventh century; that the Mercian English and the Welsh are in political harmony, and in alliance or co-operation against the Northumbrians, during a period in which English political influence is replacing Welsh political influence at Chester and in Cheshire.

This collation of inferences implies that the English take-over from the Welsh in Cheshire was accomplished between 613–616 and 689 without political strife—that it was only a reflection in political organisation of a change in the balance of society which had already taken place. The emergence of Penda and the political power of the Mercian English in Cheshire would thus be seen as the result of a social situation which had already been created. The English take-over made his career possible: his accession to power did not precipitate, although doubtless it confirmed and gave impetus to, that take-over.

It is quite possible to construe events in this way. At first one may suppose the infiltration of British Cheshire by small groups of Mercian Englishmen in the latter part of the sixth century, settling in scattered sites along Roman roads, *i.e.* settlement of English immigrants in a British context, unobtrusively. These English would either assimilate their customs quickly to those of their neighbours or they would remain numerically negligible for so long that, by the time they had multiplied to noticeable numbers, they had gradually or by conversion adopted Christian funeral habits, and so we do not find (or recognise) their pagan burial sites. In the Welsh-English population created by this

quiet immigration, a gradual build-up of the numbers of the English element would pass unnoticed by history or even place-names, until a point was reached at which the English achieved numbers sufficient to give them a social preponderance over the Welsh, and the Welsh became a minority which eventually lost its social status of parity. This shift from a Welsh-English to an English-Welsh weighted society is marked in the place-names, and in the political events of the seventh century. But the absence of any record of political strife between Mercians and Welshmen at this period, and the converse record of Anglo-Welsh alliance—beginning with a Mercian involvement in a Northumbrian *v.* Welsh feud—suggests that the political change marked by the obsolescence of the Tarvin-Macefen frontier, the ascendancy of Penda, and the English foundation at St John's Chester in 689, was an inexorable but quiet and uncontested transition. These historical events occurred in a society whose English complexion had been peaceable and steadily intensified as its Welsh complexion waned. It is necessary, I think, for us to allow a generation, perhaps more, before Penda's day, in which the English element of the population of British Cheshire could develop enough weight and status to sustain a take-over bid and the assumption of the Welsh feud against the Northumbrians. The fact that this social take-over was associated with the assumption by Penda of the military leadership of the war against Northumbria need not be taken as evidence that English mercenaries arriving at that juncture made the first English settlements. No doubt, in Penda's time, new English population would be attracted into Cheshire. But Penda's assumption of the leading role after the death of the Welsh king Cadwallon, asserting the political supremacy of the English over the Welsh in Cheshire (in common with that of the Mercians over the other English of the midlands), is just as likely to indicate the political realisation and expression of a social situation already existing.

Again, there is an inference—no more, but unavoidable—that the English arrival must antedate the Mercian establishment. This inference requires an English arrival in Cheshire before the seventh century, while the region was still Welsh; *i.e.* in the sixth century. Here the possible significance of a Welsh frontier at Tarvin-Macefen is important. If this were an *ethnic* boundary—and it is almost (if not exactly?) co-incident with the boundary between K. Jackson's zones II and III<sup>124</sup>—there should be no early English place-names west of it. *Tushingham* and

<sup>124</sup> See p. 8 above.

*Dunham on the Hill* adjoin it, *Eastham* and *Codingey* are within it. If it were a Welsh *political* frontier, and if the initial English settlement were, as it seems indeed to be, a peaceful and scattered immigration, then early English place-names might well appear west of the line and adjacent to it. These would represent a process of settlement by leave and allowance (a parallel, maybe, with *Æþelflæd's* handling of the Norse immigration into *Wirral*).<sup>125</sup> *i.e.* a social and ethnic minority not affecting the political arrangements of the Welsh majority. The probable explanation of the *Tarvin* boundary is that it represents a determination, by a Welsh political entity in *Chester* and west *Cheshire*, of a line up to which its jurisdiction was either effective or supposed or claimed, at a time when the power of disposition in the rest of *Cheshire* had been resigned to some other power. At a guess, it might be said that down to about 613–616 the Welsh were politically and socially dominant west of this line, but east of it by that time they were not predominant in a mixed English-Welsh population. The *Tarvin* boundary would become obsolete upon a political change, since it appears to have been a political rather than an ethnic boundary. This boundary had already been infiltrated, by the English immigrants who created the early place-name settlements, by the time that the Welsh political frontier shifted to *R. Dee* and westward.

To sum up, the evidence indicates that the English would arrive in British *Cheshire* by peaceful infiltration as a minority element of the population in the latter part of the sixth century; they would multiply as part of a mixed Welsh and English population until they became the preponderant element in that population; at this point, and hardly before this point, this preponderance would be converted into a predominance expressed politically by the *Mercian* assumption under *Penda* of the war between the Welsh and the *Northumbrians*—a predominantly English mixed population assuming political liabilities previously contracted by that predominantly Welsh population out of which it had developed. The tradition of the place-names suggests the gradual emergence of English *Cheshire* out of British *Cheshire* by a quiet social progression in which the social status of the Welsh diminished as that of the English magnified—a social progression whose culmination is the basis of the political events recorded in seventh century history. Here the historical record and event provide a kind of rear-view mirror, in which we see the image of a scene farther back along

<sup>125</sup> See *J. McN. Dodgson*, 'The Background of *Brunanburh*', *Saga-Book* XIV, p. 305–6.

the road. It is the place-names which enable us to reconstruct the significance of that image, with its mirror-like inversion of the status of the Welsh and the English by the time the seventh century English history opens.



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