amiss. It will be noticed, however, that the Bishop takes pains to mention that this is the only instance within his knowledge of any example of 13th-century copying from 10th-century workmanship. Certainly, the general characteristics of this particular work are more in line with the later than the earlier date. Dr. Auden gives full particulars of the faint remains of the ornamentation and dimensions, and makes it of the type of the Northumbrian cross of the latter part of the 10th century, but he styles it pre-Norman. We are indebted to him and to the Bishop of Bristol for giving attention to this interesting feature within this County, and for their instructive observations thereupon.
ON SOME ANCIENT SITES IN NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY THE REV. THOMAS BARNS, M.A.

Read February 26th, 1908.

The earliest authority for these sites is the Geography of Ptolemy, written about 120 A.D., the period of Hadrian’s visit to Britain. He mentions the nine towns of the Brigantes of Yorkshire and Lancashire, and the one town of the Parisi on the Humber, and then adds:

“South of these and of the Brigantes, to the extreme west, dwell the Ordovices, among whom are these towns:—Mediolanium, Brannogænum. More eastern than these are the Cornavii, whose town is Deuna, Twentieth Legion, the Victorious, Viriconium. Next after these are the Coritavi, whose towns are Lindum, Rhæge.”¹

Mediolanium, Deuna, Viriconium are the Mediolanum, Deva, and Uroconium of the Antonine Itinerary. The site of Brannogænum is uncertain. There is a station Bravinnium² next to Uroconium on Iter xii., which has been placed at Brandon Camp, near Leintwardine, near the Tame, which was the boundary between the Ordovices and the Silures.³ But the difficulty is this, that the Cornavii lie east of the Ordovices, and that their one town is Deuna (Chester). East and west in Ptolemy are little more than right and left from the point of view of Gaul, and the Cornavii of Deuna would therefore lie east of the Ordovices. Where does Uroconium come in in Ptolemy’s scheme? It stands apart between Deuna and the towns of the Coritavi. It is probable that it was the third city of the Ordovices, and that the Cornavii, or people of the Horn, i.e., the Wirrall between the Mersey and the Dee, in his time had not as yet dispossessed

² Var. readings, Bravineco, Bravenio.
³ The Camp is south of the Tame.
the Ordovices of the western parts of Staffordshire. If this identification of Brannogenium is correct, and Uroconium be assigned to the Ordovices, the road from Mediolanum (Chester-ton) through Uroconium (Wroxeter) to Bravinium (Leintwardine) may be regarded as the great highway of the Ordovices in the early part of the second century.

There is a statement in Pausanias which may have reference to the Staffordshire Moorlands. " Antoninus Pius deprived the Brigantes of a great portion of their land, because with arms they had begun to overrun the territory of the Genuini, who were tributary to the Romans." The name "Genuini" does not occur elsewhere. They must have dwelt south of the Brigantes. Is it a derivative from the Celtic word Gun, which signifies "moorland," the name itself being still applied to Gun, near Leek? This raid is placed about 138 A.D.

The Antonine Itinerary is assigned by Canon Raven to the first ten years of the third century, 200-210. Others regard it as a work of the early part of the fourth century. It may have been re-edited from time to time.

Two Iters only refer to Staffordshire. The Second Iter reads thus: MAMVCIO . . . mpm xviii . . CONDATE . . mpm xviii. DEVA leg. xx. vict. . . mpm xx. BOVIO . . mpm x. MEDIOLOANO . . mpm xx. RVTVNIO . . mpm xii. VIRIOCONIO . . mpm xi. VXACONA . mpm xi. PENNOCRVCIO . . mpm xii. ETOCETO . . mpm xii. MANDVESSEDO . . mpm xvi. The Tenth Iter reads: MANCVNIO . . mpm xvii. CONDATE . . mpm xviii. MEDIOLOANO mpm xviii.7

Justice has not been done to the Staffordshire section of the Itinerary. Neither Mediolanum nor Rutunium appear in the Index to Mr. Codrington’s "Roman Roads in Britain." And yet the identification of Mediolanum is of the first importance. It rests on the identification of CONDATE. This name occurs both in

4 If the element "Ordo" is derived from the Celtic "Ard," they would be the people of the hills as distinguished from the Cornavii of the Cheshire Plain.
7 Gale and the M.H.B. read xviii. The above is Canon Raven’s reading.
the Second and the Tenth Iter. There is no doubt that Manchester represents the MANVCIVM or MANCVNIVM of the Itinerary. The stage from Manchester to CONDATE is eighteen miles in each Iter. The distance between CONDATE and DEVA in the Second Iter is twenty miles, and between CONDATE and MEDIOLANVM in the Tenth Iter is eighteen miles. Condate is therefore about equi-distant from Manchester, Chester (DEVA), and MEDIOLANVM. Horsley's site for CONDATE is certainly the correct one. The name implies the confluence of two rivers, and this Northwich site conjectured by Horsley is at the junction of the Weaver and the Dane. Mr. Codrington accepts it, and Mr. Lynam has satisfied himself as to the remains of an important station at Northwich.

The identification of CONDATE with Northwich carries with it the identification of MEDIOLANVM. The road of the Second Iter from Northwich enters Staffordshire by the Talke entrenchments, perhaps thrown up against the Brigantes in the second century, and passes through Windy Arbor and Red Street to Chesterton. The distance between Northwich and Chesterton more or less corresponds with the numbers in the Iter between CONDATE and MEDIOLANVM.

The Second Iter approaches Chesterton from Chester. There is little doubt that BOVIVM is represented by Bunbury, near Beeston Castle, the word itself being still preserved in the element Bun, a corruption of BOVIVM. This identification of BOVIVM, taken together with that of CONDATE, should remove the last shadow of doubt as to the identification and importance of Chesterton.

The station at Chesterton, like most Staffordshire sites, has been very fruitless of remains, and notwithstanding the building that has taken place, nothing of interest has been reported. The camp still shows traces of its roads, but the south-west fosse has been used as a tip for rubbish.

The name implies some importance as a Celtic centre. The Mediolanum of Italy, now Milan, was the centre of the Celtic clan of the Insubres; the Mediolanum of France, now Saintes, was the centre of the Santoni. Mr. Lynam does not agree with
me as to the antiquity of the circular site on which Chesterton Hall stands. But I think the matter calls for further investigation. The Thorn is of very great age, and certainly was there before the town was built. These venerable trees often witness to a site hallowed by Celtic Heathendom. And Celtic Christendom nearly always possessed itself of these sacred sites of Celtic Heathendom. Milan and Saintes were both amongst the most important centres of early Christianity in North Italy and Gaul. And there is evidence of Celtic Christianity in the near neighbourhood of Chesterton. There is a tradition of Seven Churches at Church Fields, or Dunkirk, on the Wolstanton side of Chesterton, under the Camp, and such a tradition finds no parallel in the organization of the English Church. And again, in the near neighbourhood of Talke, there is another Dunkirk, itself suggestive of Church life in Celtic times. It is probable, on the analogy of the evidence of Church history in Gaul, that at one or other of these sites there was a college of the clergy of St. Martin of Tours, and that the Martinmas traditions in Stoke derived their origin from an early Christian centre at Chesterton.

I.

Three roads entered Staffordshire from Chesterton. One struck east to Wolstanton, crossed the Marsh, probably went down May Bank, and, passing Stoke Church, went through Draycott to Tean. Mr. Lynam came across a portion of the cobble pavement of this road near the Monument at Stoke, and some years ago, when the Wolstanton Marsh was being drained, one of the workmen told me he had struck upon a cobble pavement similar, as he said, to that of a yard. There is little doubt that these were both of them fragments of the paving of the old Roman Road from Chester through Chesterton to Derby and Leicester. The three oldest Churches on this road, in all probability, go back in their origin and site to Celtic times. The double manor of Stoke and the dedication to St. Peter ad Vincula, on August 1st, a red-letter day in Celtic Heathendom; and the

8 Wood Martin. Elder Faiths of Ireland, Vol. ii., p. 156.
9 At Darfield, in Yorkshire, the Rector holds one mediety, the Vicar another, with common rights in the Parish Church. The patronage is in different hands. In 1291, in St. Asaph, it was the exception for the Churches to be held by one man. The Celtic Church in Wales, W. Bund, p. 284.
dedication of both Wolstanton and Draycott to St. Margaret, with the preservation of the Dragon legend at Draycott, all point back to traditions of the early supplanting of Celtic pagan cults by Celtic Christendom.

A word as to Stoke Wakes. This corresponds with the Lugnassad fair of Ireland, which was associated with Lug, the Sun Hero, and, according to tradition, was established by Lug in honour of his foster-mother, Tailtiu. It is the counterpart of the Greek Panathenaia. The fair lasted from a fortnight before Lammas to a fortnight after. These limits are represented in our Calendar by the festivals of St. Margaret of Antioch and St. Lawrence. It is now recognised that many of the festivals of the early Church were established to supersede the festivals of Heathendom. Stoke Wakes therefore represents an ancient Celtic festival associated with the Sun-God, Lug or Lleu. His cult was commemorated in the name Dinlle Ureconn, the Dinlle or Town of Lleu on the Wrekin. If St. Peter has supplanted Lleu, is there not reason to think that St. Margaret has supplanted the goddess Tailtiu? She reappears nearer home as the Lady of the Little Van Lake near Brecon. She was a goddess of the dawn, and on the occasion of the Welsh holiday she occupied the position assigned to Tailtiu in the Lugnassad and to Athene in the Panathenaeae. On August 1st, Welsh pilgrims used to visit this little Lake in the Beacons, in the hope of seeing the Lady of the Lake make her momentary appearance in the early dawn. There is still a relic of the same tradition in the Moorlands, connected with the Mermaid Pool or Blake Meer above Thorncliffe, near Leek. She has been identified with Modron, the mother of Mabon, the Celtic Apollo. It is scarcely an accident that two of the oldest churches in this district are dedicated to St. Margaret, and that the Dragon legend is still alive at Draycott, where the spot is still shown where the last dragon was slain. The dragon would symbolise the power of darkness overcome by the goddess of the dawn.

12 Ibid. Ch., p. 423.
13 There is a circular site near the Mermaid Inn, which has been of sufficient antiquity to bend the parish boundary which needs further examination. It is near the Limi. The name occurs again at Lum Edge.
The site of Totmanslow is important as giving its name to one of the Hundreds of Staffordshire. The strong strain of Celtic tradition already traceable in the neighbourhood of Stoke suggests the view that Totmanslow derives its name from its early associations with the Celtic deity, Toutates. A Hertfordshire inscription, MARTI TOVTATI, identifies him with the War-god. Rhys, however, points out that before the rise of the Celtic Mercury the chief god of the Celts was their God of War, and that he is only an aspect of the Celtic Zeus: "The Celtic Zeus or Mars-Jupiter has been regarded as standing before us in his character of a god of light and the sun, but at a very early stage in his history his attributes expanded themselves to such an extent that he ceased to be in any very strict sense of the term a sun-god."14 This identification of Toutates with the Celtic Zeus is important in reference to the site at Totmanslow. There are faint traces of escarpment on the slopes of the hill-side east of the station. And the hill itself bears the significant name, Oak-Hill; here in all probability was a sanctuary to the Celtic Zeus, hallowed amongst other things by his sacred oak-tree.

This eastern road forked at Tean. The northern branch crossed the Dove at Rocester. It is known as the Longford or Longlane, near Cubley. This is about nineteen miles from Chesterton, and represents one of the usual distances between the stations on the Antonine Itinerary. The distance to Little Chester, near Derby, is about fifteen miles. Rocester, therefore, is the site of the chief "mansio" between Chesterton and Little Chester. Its position at the junction of the Churnet and the Dove was important.15 In Roman times it would not only hold in check any disturbances among the moorland tribes, the Genuini (?), at the headwaters of the two rivers, but it would also be the centre where tribute would be payable. The stronghold of Bunbury, on the site of Alton Towers, was the key to the Churnet valley, one of the border outposts of the moorland Celts. Opposite this stronghold, behind the Castle, there is a Toot-hill, probably sacred to Zeus; and there is another to the south of Hollington.

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15 Roman remains have been discovered at Rocester. Redfern's History of Uttoxeter.
There is a site in the Staffordshire Moorlands which is of interest because it seems to imply traces of the primitive Goidelic Celts. "The word for sun is in Irish *grian*, genitive *greine* of the feminine gender, as it is also in the Gaelic of Scotland and of the Isle of Man. The term is unknown to the Brythonic branch of the Celtic languages, but it probably means that which shines."  

The name enters into Goidelic mythology. "After Lug's death, the husband of Erinn is represented bearing the significant name of Mac Greine, or the Son of the Sun." In the Irish mythology the Tuatha Dé Danann, *i.e.*, the ancient Gods of Erinn, are described as under the rule of three chiefs called Mac Gréine, "Son of the Sun"; Mac Cuill, "Son of Destruction"; and Mac Cecht, "Son of the Plough"; a three-fold arrangement which in some measure recalls the three departments of Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto in Greek mythology. The supernatural being, styled Grian, who in Irish folk-lore is represented as buried in various localities, may probably be identified also with the Sun-god of the Goidels. It is more probable that the name Grindon is to be linked with this Goidelic god, than to be explained merely as the "green-hill." The name occurs again at Grin Low, near Buxton. Thor's Cave, near Grindon, has also its mythological associations. The early Engle settlers would assign to their own deities rites which were sacred to the Celtic gods. Rhys connects Thor with the Celtic Esus, who was one of the forms of the Celtic Zeus or Jupiter. Esus was not only the Thunderer but the friend of the farmer. He was, therefore, probably among the gods worshipped by the Moorlanders at Grindon. The same root Esus occurs in A. S. Oslac, Osbeorn, in Norse Asbiörn, in English Osborne. Is not Ossom's hill by Grindon another link with the cult of Esus? The Grindon wakes are at All Saints, the New Year Festival of Celtic Heathendom, and specially associated with the Sun God, the Feast known in Ireland as

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Samhain. Midsummer Day was another great Festival. The Celts, in honour of the Sun God, kindled fires on St. John's Day, and cast into the flames not only flowers such as the St. John's Wort, Hypericum perforatum, but dogs and cats, as offerings to the god. Again, it cannot be an accident that the old chapels of Warslow and Elkstone are both dedicated to St. John Baptist, and that the wakes of the Mother-Church at Alstonfield are now fixed on the Sunday after St. Peter's Day, practically within the octave of St. John Baptist. It is probable that further enquiry in the Moorlands would bring to light many other links with Celtic religious rites.

To return to Tean. A Roman road struck south-east through Checkley and Uttoxeter, and across Needwood Forest straight for Leicester. It was traceable across the Forest at the end of the eighteenth century. It is known as the Portway at Uttoxeter. Roman coins have been found at Newborough and Hanbury, and a piece of Roman pottery at Toot Hill on the High Wood at Uttoxeter. Checkley is probably an old Celtic site, for by the side of the Church an old Celtic track crosses the main road. It is to be connected with the old track which strikes north from Sandon Church. The old Dedication of Checkley was All Saints', though the wakes of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin have supplanted the old Celtic Festival.

The Roman origin of Uttoxeter is a vexed question. The probability is greatly in its favour, whether the name denotes a camp or not. It certainly is not the Etocetum of the Antonine Itinerary, as suggested by Camden. But its position on what must at one time been an important road from Leicester to Chester, the great highway from the capital of the Coritani at Ratae to that of the Cornavii at Deva suggests at least a "mansio" or "mutatio," as at Rocester. This road crossed the so-called Rikneild Street and the Trent, either at Branston, or at Burton. The Forest Land between the Dove and the Trent was probably the seat of a Celtic clan distinct from that of the

22 Rhys., p. 514.
23 Grupp. Cultur der alten Kelten und Germanen.
24 Redfern's Uttoxeter.
Moorlands. Here, again, a careful comparison of types and a systematic measurement of heads, as has been done in Yorkshire, with so much gain for local ethnography and ethnology, would help conjecture and theory. There is reason for associating Toot-hill, Tutbury, and Tatenhill with the Celtic Deity Toutates. Sir Oswald Mosley inclined to a Saxon deity Tuisto. Tuisto, though regarded as the father of the German tribes, does not rank among the greater gods of the Saxons, unless he be the same as Tiw, the counterpart of Mars. And the name and rank of Toutates, combined with the strong current of Celtic tradition in Staffordshire, gives him a greater claim. The prefix in Hanbury is the Celtic "hen," old, rather than A, S. hean, high. The same prefix occurs in Hanford, which equals the Henffordd, or old Road. It was a custom in heathen times in the ceremonial worship associated with the cult of a deity that the worshippers should clothe themselves either in the skin or with some other token of the animal sacred to the Deity. In the Lupercalia, youths, smeared with goats' blood, naked but for an apron of goat-skin, ran round the Palatine in honour of the goat-god Faunus. Some such origin may be assigned to the Horn-dance at Abbots Bromley. One of the most familiar figures amongst the gods of Gaul is Cernunnos, a principal deity with stags' horns, who was also in Roman times associated with Zeus. He was probably a Forest deity, and his cult may be the origin of the Horn-dance in the Forest, and of the legend of Hern the Hunter in Windsor Forest. A horned figure is also found amongst the dancers at Mohacs on the Danube, where the cult of Cernunnos has also been traced.

II.

A second road from Chesterton struck south-west through Newcastle. It was originally the road from the Celtic site at Chesterton to the great Celtic stronghold at Bury Bank, near Stone. And it is traceable further along the Trent Valley. It touches the Trent first at Hanford, which takes its name from

25 Grupp., p. 301.
27 Mr. Duignan gives "Tutt's burgh" as meaning of Tutbury, and Tate's Hill for Tattenhill—both as proper names.
this old road. Near Barlaston the Celtic Henffordd appears in the present name Old Road. Across the Trent, near Trentham, on the edge of Swynnerton Old Park, is the site of the Hanchurch Yews. This, like the Church sites of Stoke and Draycott, is rectangular, and the Hanchurch Wakes point to an old Celtic Church dedicated to All Saints. The Swan legend, which records the tradition that the Church was removed from Hanchurch to Trentham by four swans, suggests a survival of the swan myths associated with the transformation of the Children of Lir into swans. They correspond to the Irish Tuatha dé Danann, or Folk of the Goddess Danu, of whom Lir, the Irish sea-god, is an important member. Other myths of this transformation into swans are associated with the Ultonian hero Cuchulainn. This swan legend, combined with the All Saints' dedication, make it probable that Hanchurch—the Old Church—was a site hallowed by Celtic Heathendom before it was consecrated by Celtic Christianity. All Saints' Day was the New Year's Festival amongst the ancient Celts. The Old Road followed the Trent Valley to Sandon.

The Church at Sandon is a site of some interest. It is like those of Stoke, Draycott, and Hanchurch, rectangular. It lies above the valley at the crossing of two ancient tracks, the Old Road along the Trent Valley, and a track which may be traced still by road and field from Stafford to Milwich, and then by Sherratt's Wood and Leigh Lane and across by the old entrenched position at Blythewood Moat and by Blythe House to Tean. It may also have connected by way of Leigh Lane with the old track already noticed at Checkley. Milwich Churchyard, the only Church site on this track between Sandon and the Blythe, has also the same characteristic rectangular character, and is dedicated to All Saints'. It lies also above the village. It may claim to be an ancient site of Celtic heathenism and of Celtic Christianity.

The Sandon site challenges further discussion. The Church, like that of Hanchurch and Milwich, is dedicated to All Saints',

29 The Mabinogion, with notes by Alfred Nutt, p. 331.
and this points to the early religious associations of the New Year's fires of Celtic heathendom. There is in the "Chorography" of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna,\(^31\) whose work is assigned to the seventh century, a group of cities which belong more or less to this part of Britain. They are as follows:— “Utriconion Cornoninorum, Lavobrinta, Mediomano, Seguntio, Canubio, Mediolano, Sandonio, Dena victrix, Veratino, Lutudarum, Derbentione, Salinis, Condate.”

There are thirteen in all, and one of them is a city called Sandonium. Uriconium, Mediolanum, Deva, Condate in this group are identified with Wroxeter, Chesterton, Chester, and Northwich. For “Sandonio” the Vat. MS. reads “Saudonio.” Lutudarum was a mining centre, and has been identified with Chesterfield in Derbyshire.\(^32\) Derbentione in this place has been identified with Little Chester, near Derby.\(^33\) “Seguntium” and “Canubium” are to be identified with the “Segoncio” and “Conovio” of the Eleventh Iter.\(^34\) This leaves only Lavobrinta, Mediolanum, Veratinum, and Salinae to be identified. The name “Salinae” and its juxtaposition to Condate points to the salt district of Cheshire, and it has been identified with Nantwich on the road between Mediolanum (Chesterton) and Bovium (Bunbury) near Beeston Castle. Veratinum has been identified with Warrington on the Roman road between Condate (Northwich) and Manchester. No suggestion has been made for Lavobrinta. It may be traceable anywhere within reach of Chester, either in Cheshire or Staffordshire or Derbyshire or North Wales. Is it the old name of Rocester?

To return to Sandon. The old track across the fields from the stocks is cut out of the rock just before reaching the Church, and at the corner, at what would have been the entrance to the old station of Sandonium, there is a semicircular cutting in the rock by the road-side, about a yard wide and a foot deep. It is not natural, but artificial, and occupies the position taken near the entrance to old Roman stations by the shrine to the patron

\(^{32}\) M.H.B., p. cxx. Four pigs of lead have the inscr. MET. LVT. OF METAL. LVTVD.
\(^{33}\) Anon. Rav. ed. Gale. 27.
\(^{34}\) Carnarvon and Caerhun, nr. Conway.
deity. The niche on the right of the Porta Marina at Pompeii had a statue of Minerva, as protectress of the gate. There is a rude shrine in the cliff by the entrance to Terracina. It is possible that this niche at Sandon may have the same origin. But, again, there is no record of any Roman remains being found about Sandon. It is to be hoped that the School Museums throughout the country may do something to bring in pottery and coins which are turned up from time to time by the plough. The old road passed down by the moat and through the Park to Weston. At Colwich it probably left the river. On the south of the Trent at Colwich, a track called South Street leads straight over the Chase to Cannock; the Rugeley road must represent another old track to Lichfield. Both Cannock and Lichfield were in touch with the great highway of the Watling Street. Colwich has puzzled the etymologist. Mr. Duignan states, on the authority of a friend, that it is impossible to regard the Col as a Celtic survival. But why? Colchester is a survival of Colonia. May not Colwich be derived from the Celtic river root "gil," "giol," Gaelic "cuil," and "uig," an enclosure?

III.

The third road from Chesterton struck south to Wroxeter, and corresponds with the road in the Second Iter of the Antonine Itinerary. It presents one great difficulty in the discrepancy of the milage. From Mediolanum to Rutunium is a distance of twelve miles on the Itinerary, from Rutunium to Uriconium a distance of eleven mles. In a paper published in The Staffordshire Advertiser on November, 19th, 1904, it was suggested that a station had dropped out, and that the Itinerary should read Mediolano mpm xx., Mediomano mpm xii., Rutvno mpm xi., Uriconio mpm ix. There is little doubt that Shawbury on the Roden is the site of Rutunium. There is a fine moated enclosure commanding the ford or bridge, the village is quadrilateral in plan, as if based on the old lines of a Celtic Roman station, and the old road to Wroxeter is traceable in a direct line by means of roads, paths, and parish boundaries.

The suggested station of Mediomanum is either at Little Manchester or at Arbor Farm in the near neighbourhood of
Mucklestone. I have not yet been able to ascertain the antiquity of the name Little Manchester. Any documentary evidence for it previous to 1854 would disprove a local story, and would give a place-name which would once for all settle the question of the site. But in the absence of this there is a good deal in the neighbourhood which suggests the identification. The element MAN in Mediomanum suggests some prominent stone or menhir in Celtic times; and within a hundred yards of Arbor Farm is the group of the Devil's Ring and Finger, consisting of a large standing stone with a holed stone alongside of it. The Bradley Stone is a fine cromlech in the village of Norton-in-Hales. Mucklestone and Bearstone both recall some special stone. It would seem that there was here some centre of sacrificial worship in Celtic times, and that the station took its name of Mediomanum from some menhir in the neighbourhood. The name itself is in the group of stations already quoted from the Ravenna compilation. Its close similarity to Mediolanum would account for its slipping out of the MSS. and leaving the discrepancy in the mileage. It is after all only a conjecture, but it is a conjecture which has much in its favour, and has a good deal of local evidence to support it. It should be stated that on the occasion of a visit to the place, an old man working on the Arbor Farm, who had lived there for nearly fifty years, said that he had always known the homestead by the name of Little Manchester, and had heard it called by that name by those older than himself. It would be well if some further effort could be made to secure evidence from the papers of the Crewe Estate as to the name of this site, which is in a sense, not only a "lost" Staffordshire station on the Watling Street, but a new Roman site in the County.

Watling Street, on passing through Mediomanum, crossed the Tern and entered Shropshire. The following stations of Rutunium, Uronium, and Uxacona are in Shropshire. It enters the County again within a short distance west of Weston-under-Lizard. At Weston a Roman road left the Watling Street in a direct course for Chester through Newport and Whitchurch. It is probably of later origin than the route of the Antonine Itinerary, and its construction is the reason for the disuse of the road by way of Wroxeter, Shawbury, and Mucklestone to Chesterton.
The next station on the Iter is Pennocrucium. What is the site of the Roman station of Pennocrucium? This is one of the vexed questions in the archaeology of Staffordshire? Canon Raven in his notes on the British Section of the Antonine Itinerary passes the question over. He says: “Pennocrucium, hardly altered in the modern Penkridge, where the Roman name suggests the meeting of cross-roads.” But Penkridge is not on the line of the Watling Street. Mr. Tildesley says: “Camden held firmly to the belief that Penkridge was the ancient Pennocrucium of the Romans. . . . Almost all other authorities award to Stretton the distinction of having been the site of Pennocrucium, but they agree that Penkridge is a place of great antiquity.” Mr. Codrington adds nothing to the previous discussions. He traces the road from Wall near Lichfield to the river Penk, and then says: “Hereabouts, 12 m.p. from Wall, and two miles to the south of Penkridge, must have been the station Pennocrucium.” There is a very adequate statement of the Gailey site and the Stretton site in the Introduction of Shaw's Staffordshire.

There is reason to think that the Roman station was at Stretton, but that the ancient Celtic site was at Penkridge. The Roman station would probably be on the western side of the Penk, so as to be in touch not only with Penkridge on the north, but with Brewood, also an ancient British site on the south. There are roads touching Watling Street at right angles near the inn at Stretton which probably represent part of the rectangular plan of the Roman station; and nearly parallel with them another road on the east, which on the south side of Watling Street is represented by a footpath towards Horsebrook Hall. Somewhere on the lines of these roads was in all probability the Roman station or camp. South of the main road is a parallelogram represented by the footpath from the Crown Inn to Horsebrook Hall, the road running just above the brook, the old Brewood road leading up to the Road Farm, and the Watling Street. It is possible that the Brewood track and the footpath from the Crown, which was once a roadway, represent the western and eastern

36 Codrington, Rom. Roads in Britain, p. 76.
fosse respectively. This is a space of 1100 feet. The Chesterton Camp is about 1000 feet by 1300 feet. The original Rcester site was a space of about 900 feet. Stretton itself lies on the northern side of the station.

Penkridge itself is one of the most interesting sites in Staffordshire. Its name commemorates the cult of the Celtic Zeus. Rhys, in his Hibbert Lectures on Celtic Heathendom, draws attention to this fact. He is dealing with the subject of stone circles, and quotes from a version of St. Patrick’s Life attributed to St. Eleranus, a writer of the seventh century: “Thereafter went Patrick over the water to Mag Slecht, a place wherein was the chief idol of Ireland, to wit, Cenn Cruaich, covered with gold and silver, and twelve other idols about it, covered with brass. When Patrick saw the idol . . . he raised his hand to put Jesus’ crozier upon it, and did not reach it, but it bowed westward to turn on its right side, for its face was from the south, to wit, to Tara. And the trace of the crozier abides on its left side still, and yet the crozier moved not from Patrick’s hand. And the earth swallowed the twelve other images as far as their heads, and they are thus in sign of the miracle, and he cursed the demon and banished him to hell.” Rhys infers from this that “the pagan sanctuary had been so long falling into decay, that of the lesser idols only their heads were to be then seen above ground, and that the idol of Cenn Cruaich, which meant the Head or Chief of the Mound, was slowly hastening to its fall, whence the story of it having had an invisible blow dealt it by St. Patrick.”

Such a sanctuary existed formerly at Penkridge. Rhys says: “There is on record a place-name which bears evidence to the worship of the heathen god in the centre of ancient Britain. For if we turn the Irish Cenn Cruaich, ‘Chief of the Mound,’ into its etymological equivalent, in modern Welsh we have Pen Crug, which was written formerly Penn Cruc, while at a much earlier date, when the language still retained its case-endings, it must have had the form Pennos Cruci, or also that of a compound Pennocruci. This last, as the basis of an adjective relating to the god so-called, would yield the forms Pennocrucjo-s, Penno-

crucja, Pennocrucjo-n, and the last-mentioned, the neuter actually occurs, Latinized into Pennocrucium, which would accordingly seem to have meant a place associated with the god who was called Chief of the Mound, that is to say, a spot devoted to his worship. The Station called Pennocrucion in the Itinerary of Antoninus has been variously identified with Stretton and Penkridge, in Staffordshire; and the name Penkridge, written Pencrik, in an eighth-century charter of Ethilheard of Wessex, is beyond all doubt a continuation of that of the Itinerary. That, however, does not quite decide the question of site, as there may have been not a few localities entitled to the same interesting appellation.”

Penkridge is the site of a sanctuary to the Celtic Zeus, whom Rhys also speaks of as the Celtic Mars-Jupiter, combining as the chief of the ancient deities of the Celts of Britain the attribute both of Mars and Jupiter. He is represented sometimes as Esus, as perhaps in the moorlands of Grindon, sometimes as Toutates, as in Needwood Forest. He is also the equivalent of Thor, whose name occurs at Thor’s Cave and at Thursfield near Newchapel.

The triumph of Christianity would be represented by the consecration of the pagan sanctuary to the worship of Christ, under the name of St. Michael. The Llanfihangel Churches of Wales are thought by Mr. Willis Bund to mark the final conquest of the most sacred sites to Christian worship. The Church of St. Michael at Penkridge may also commemorate the same conquest of Christ over Zeus. Was the stone idol of Penn Cruc at the same time shaped into a stone Cross? This would be quite in the spirit of early Christianity.

Does Penkridge itself show any traces of the ancient sanctuary? The plan of Penkridge has been broken up by the railway and the comparatively new roads to Cannock and Wolverhampton. The churchyard site is square. In the middle of it is the remains of a fourteenth-century cross, the shaft of which is fixed in a large square stone, with its corners bevelled and worked at the time the cross was erected. But the stone itself may have been older.

38 Ibid., pp. 203-204.
39 Willis Bund. The Celtic Church in Wales, p. 332.
As a central sanctuary, it would in ancient days be the gathering-place of the clan or tribe. The sanctuary would itself be the Gorsedd or Judgment-seat of the district. These gorsedds were long regarded as the seats of supernatural power. The Gorsedd of Totmanslow, with its traditional oak, the tree sacred to the Celtic Zeus, still gives its name to the hundred of Totmanslow. And the Cuddlestone Hundred, which takes its name more or less from Cuttlestone Bridge over the Penk at Penkridge, points to the gathering of the clan in ancient time at the Stone of the Gorsedd of Penkridge. The Hundreds of Staffordshire, like those of Warwickshire, are of very wide area contrasted with those in the eastern counties of England. The Stafford evidence would point to their being of British origin. Totmanslow and Cuddlestone both appear to have ancient associations. Pire-hill is a prominent site above the Trent; near the summit is a place formerly known as Elmstone. There is a very ancient track to the summit of Pirehill from Aston, and another track passing through Whitgreave from Stafford to Stone. Seisdon lies close to the Penn district which may commemorate another of the Penn Cruc sanctuaries to which Rhys refers. Offlow is an ancient tumulus, and perhaps an ancient Gorsedd, near Lichfield.

There is a road known as "King Street" leading from Cuttlestone Bridge to Newport. It crosses the Onn district, a word which in Celtic signifies Rock or Mountain. From this road a track must have crossed the stream at Whiston and led direct by Mitton and Bradley to the Celtic stronghold of Berry Ring. It would pass by the Webb Stone at Bradley, and would leave only a little to the right the interesting double-ringed moated site at Littywood. Another ancient track from Penkridge would pass by Stafford and by Red Hill Farm and Pirehill to the Celtic stronghold of Bury Bank near Stone, and so link Penkridge with Chesterton. Another track will have branched off at Stafford for Sandon, Milwich, and the cities of the Moorlands. Thus Stafford, near the junction of the Sow and the Penk, would of necessity be a site of some importance in Celtic times.

41 Duignan. Staffordshire Place Names, p. 48.
42 Krausse. Die Keltische Urbevolkerung Deutschlands.
The Watling Street was deflected southward after crossing the Penk at Gailey so as to skirt the Chase. It resumes its eastern course a mile beyond Norton Canes. Cannock is also one of the old cities of Staffordshire. The name has long been a matter of dispute. It is a name common to the whole Chase, and is preserved in the Cank Thorn which marks the boundaries of Teddesley, Baswich, and Cannock. In the thirteenth century it is called Canokbury, and in the fifteenth century Cank. Mr. Duignan regards it as a Celtic survival, and thinks the form Chnoc (c. 1130) the correct one. He connects it with Irish and Gaelic Cnoc, a hill or high place; in Welsh, cnwc. He compares it with Knockin in Salop, and suggests also Knockholt in Kent.

Without questioning Mr. Duignan's derivation of the words Cank and Cannock, there is still some reason to think that the name may be associated with the Cangi, the people whose lands were devastated by Ostorius Scapula about 50. The passage in Tacitus\(^4\) reads as follows: "Ceterum clade Icenorum compositi, qui bellum inter et pacem dubitabant; et ductus in Cangos exercitus. Vastati agri, praeda passim actae. . . . Jam ventum haud procul mari, quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat; cum ortae apud Brigantas discordiae retraxere ducem . . . ." The Medicean MS. reads: "Et ductus inde Cangos exercitus." Orelli turns this into "ductus in Decangos exercitus." Pichena recognises that the copyist would more likely omit the "inde" before the "in" than mistake the reading Cangi, and reads: "ductus inde in Cangos." Lipsius, in the Plantin edition of 1607, and the Brotier Edition used by the Editor of the M.H.B., read "ductus in Cangos." On the whole, the reading "Cangos" is to be preferred, though Rhys\(^4\) reads "Decangos." The word appears in the following inscription on a pig of lead found at Great Broughton, Cheshire:

IMP. VESP. V. IMP. III. COS.

DE CEANGI.\(^4\)

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43 Duignan. *Staffordshire Place Names*, pp. 31-32.
44 Tac. Ann. xii. 35-40.
45 Rhys. *Celtic Britain*.
46 *M.H.B.*, p. 135.
The *de* in this inscription is probably the preposition, as in the following:

\[ \text{TI. CLAVDIVS. CAESAR. AVG. P.M.} \]
\[ \text{TRIB. P. VIII. IMP. XVI. DE. BRITAN.} \]

Rhys relies on an inscription from Hagshaw Moor, Yorkshire, where the *de* is omitted in reference to the Brigantes:

\[ \text{IMP. CAES. DOMITIANO. AVG. COS. VII. BRIG.} \]

In the inscriptions from the mines of Lutudarum, the word *ex* appears. On the whole, it would appear that where the *ex* or *de* appear it is to be read as such, and where it is omitted it is for the sake of abbreviation. This points to Ceangi or Cangi as the name in the earliest days of the hill-folk of Staffordshire and Derbyshire. Scapula, having made peace in the east, pushed on along the line of the Watling Street, driving the hill-people, the Cangi, before him to the sea, where, in Ptolemy’s time, their name was commemorated in the headland of the Cangani, probably the Wirral between the Dee and the Mersey. Then, taking their name from this Horn, and known as the Cornavii, they recovered their territory, with their chief city, Deva or Chester.

As the allies of the Romans, they would be the frontier tribes against the Brigantes and the Ordovices of Powys, from whom they would recover the city of Mediolanum. The name Cannock, therefore, probably preserves the ancient name of the Staffordshire hill-folk, the Cangi, while that of the Cornavii the fact of their having for a while been driven westward to the promontory of the Wirral.

One more site of importance alone remains north of the Watling Street, that of Lichfield. There is no doubt that the remains of Wall represent the station of Etocetum in the Antonine Itinerary. And Wall is still within the old parish of St. Michael’s, Lichfield. There is in the Ravenna Chorography a city called Lectoceto, which Horsley regards as identical with the Etoceto

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47 *M.H.B.*, p. 133.
50 There are variant readings, Etoreto, Eroceto, Otoceto.
51 The Vat. MS. reads Lecto, Ceto.
of the Itinerary. Nennius, among the cities of Britain, gives the
name Cair Luitcoith. Mr. Henry Bradley identified Lichfield
with this Cair Luitcoit of Nennius and with a Caer Lwydgoed
mentioned in an ancient Welsh poem entitled “Marwnad Cynddy-
lan” in the Myvyrian Archaeology. Mr. Bradley reads Letoceto
for Lectoceto in the Chorography of Ravenna. Mr. McClure,
in his valuable notes on “British Place Names” in the Dawn of
Day, says that Bede gives the shortened form Lycid in his
Lyccidfelth, and refers to an original charter in the British
Museum of 803, in which the name is written Licidfeld. Mr.
Harold Peake, who identifies Lichfield with the Caelichyth of the
Mercian Councils of 799-802 and the Celchyth of 788, gives the
following examples:—“Ut Archiepiscopalis sedes in Liccidfel-
densi monasterio,” “Ego Adulfus Licchetfeldensis Episcopus
consensi,” “Ego Adulfus Liccifeldensis ecclesiae episc.” and
“Ad episcopalem sedem electus Licetfeldensis ecclesie.” The
d and t fell out after the Norman Conquest. Domesday reads
Lecifelle and Licefelle. Mr. Duignan, notwithstanding this
evidence, considers the etymology wholly A.-S., and understands
it as the “wet field,” but he admits he cannot account for the
d and t of the earlier forms. Mr. Bradley’s case is a strong one,
and he explains the form in Nennius as the stronghold of the
Greywood. Mr. McClure thinks the “Let” is broad, and under-
stands it as the Broadwood. The “cetum” is certainly the
Celtic coed, wood, which appears in the word Chetwood.

Lichfield being thus identified with Lectocetum and Caer
Luitcoit, the stronghold of the Greywood, is the site that
occupied by the present close, or the station two miles off on the
Watling Street? The Roman Stations on this portion of the
Itinerary appear to take their names in certain cases from the
British sites adjacent, Pennocrucium from the old site of Penk-

52 M.H.B., p. 77. There are the var. readings, Luitcoyt and Luitcoit.
53 Duignan, Staffordshire Place Names, p. 92.
55 Concilia, iii., 543.
56 Ibid., 549.
57 Kemble, Cod. Diplom., No. mxxiv.
ridge, Uriconium from the old stronghold on the Wrekin, Uxacona perhaps from the ancient site of the Walls near Kinnersley. There is, therefore, some reason for thinking that the Close of Lichfield is itself the ancient Celtic site, and that the old Celtic Roman fosse was deepened by Walter de Langton. Of Roger de Clinton (1128-1153) it is only said: “castrum Lichesfeldense muniendo, villam vallo vallando,” which refers to some outer fortification of the city. 59 Harwood says of Walter de Langton: “He cleansed the ditch around the Close, and surrounded it with a stone wall.” 60 Leland says: “The whole Close was newly dyked and walled by Bishop Langton,” and this is not inconsistent with the existence of an earlier fosse. Harwood relates that in digging a well within a malthouse upon the causeway leading from Bird Street to the Close in August, 1802, “a Roman cyathus, or small earthen goblet, containing nearly a quart, was found about twelve feet under the surface of the ground, and many human bones, in a decayed state were discovered near it.” 61 This, at least, is strong evidence of the occupation of the site in Roman times; nor is it altogether unreasonable to think that the Close of Lichfield was a hallowed site of Celtic Christendom before the coming of St. Chad.

The continuity of ecclesiastical traditions in Staffordshire is a subject deserving of separate treatment. Jaruman or Germanus, the predecessor of St. Chad, who is said to have laid the foundation of the Cathedral Church, was in all probability the Celtic Bishop of this district under Wulfere. Diuma, Ceollach, and Trumhere had their see among the Middle Engles or men of Leicester. 62 It was in the episcopate of Trumhere that the rebellion of the Mercians took place, which led to the election of Wulfere as King. He had been kept in hiding, 63 probably among the British allies of his father Penda at Wulferesceaster or Bury Bank near Stone. If this were so, Wulfere would inherit the policy of a defensive alliance with the British against the Northumbrians. 64

60 Ibid., p. 10.
61 Harwood. Lichfield, p. 511.
63 Ibid., iii., 24.
This alliance between Cadwallon of Gwynedd and the house of Penda has not had sufficient attention given to it. It not only affected North Wales, but the Yorkshire and Staffordshire hill-country as far as the district of Elmete. The British tribes of these hills were subject to the King of Gwynedd. And this alliance with Penda gives strong reason for thinking that not only the old British language but the organisation of the old British Church was preserved in these parts into the middle of the seventh century. It is on this ground that the enquiry as to the ancient sites of North Staffordshire is of importance. The oldest Churches in this part of the county occupy the sites already held by Celtic Christianity, and in many cases consecrated in still earlier times by the religious customs of Celtic Heathendom. Eccleshall is specially an example of this continuity. Harwood says of Eccleshall: "It had been held by St. Chad in the seventh century, . . . . and is supposed to have been part of the original endowment of the see." It is difficult in the face of such a venerable history to resist the identification of the element "Eccles" with the Welsh "Eglwys" and the Latin "ecclesia." Exhall near Coventry is a corruption of the same name, Eccleshall, and like that of Staffordshire, has certain rectangular features in its ground plan which point to a Celtic Roman origin. The Saint Germanus, of whom St. Rufin of Burston speaks, and to whom he attributes his early knowledge of Christianity, is almost certainly to be identified with Jaruman of Lichfield. Whether he had his see at Eccleshall in Celtic times, and transferred it to Lichfield under Wulfere, or whether Eccleshall was only one of his centres of work among the British tribes in North Staffordshire, it is impossible to determine. But the British associations of the name Germanus or Jaruman, his association with the tradition of St. Rufin at Stone and Burston, and the venerable antiquity of Eccleshall itself are a very strong argument for the continuity of British Christianity in North Staffordshire as late as 669. And there is some evidence that the British language was still spoken

65 Green makes Elmete extend "to the fastnesses of the Peak." It probably reached the Trent.
67 Warne. Life and Legend of Saint Chad, p. 82.
in these hills in the seventh century. St. Guthlac, of noble Mercian origin, was born in the time of Æthelred of Mercia (675-704). His early life was spent in hunting and fighting in our own hill-country. It was at Repton that he laid aside his sword and took the vows of a hermit. In a MS. lately published in a vision, to have heard a multitude speaking in the British language: "audit quasi populum innumerabilem lingua loquendi, quam intelligebat ex parte—quandoque enim inter Britones exulavit, linguam quam non nowerat audivit et didicit." He slightly understood the language, which the author explains by saying he had been exiled among the British and had learnt their language. But it is more likely that it lingered on among the hills of Staffordshire. There is, indeed, an interesting example of its persistency in a deed of Henry III. referring to the honours of the house of Audley: "ex dono Petri Norton subtus Caermuned," which is almost exactly the Welsh Caer mynydd. To-day it is still Carmount. The form Caversmound links it on with Caverswall, and implies that here at least the old language had not altogether lost its meaning. Is there not reason, therefore, in the study of the ancient sites and place-names of North Staffordshire to have a very open mind to all traces of Celtic traditions, Celtic words, and Celtic folk-lore?

69 Erdeswick, p. 98.
APPENDIX.

CELTIC SURVIVALS IN THE PLACE- NAMES OF NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE.

I.

THE RIVER- NAMES OF STAFFORDSHIRE.

These names, more than any other names, preserve the memory of the earliest races, and throughout Europe are a testimony to the wide-spread settlement of the Celtic races. "Throughout the whole of England there is hardly a river-name which is not Celtic."1

Isaac Taylor divides them into two classes, the substantival group, based upon such roots as Avon, Dur, Esk, Rie, and Don, and the adjectival group formed from roots such as "all," white, "ban," white, "dhu," black, "tam," quiet. Krausse, in his study of the place-names in Thuringia and the Harz Mts, also gives a large number of Celtic roots which enter into the formation of the river-names of Europe.2

The Dane represents the root "Don," probably the Goidelic "tain," water, which occurs in the Danube, the Don, and in the Latin forms of other rivers in Europe.3

The Dove represents the Celtic "dob," "doub," the Welsh "dwfr," and is identical with the name of the river Doubs at Besançon.

The Tern is recognised by Mr. Duignan as a Celtic survival. It is written Tirne, Tyrne, and Turne. He suggests that the old river-name was Tir, which is preserved in Tirley Castle, on the Terne, at Market Drayton. It is probably a corruption of the root "Dor," the Welsh "dwr," which is preserved in the River Dore in Hereford, and the Douro in Spain.4

1 Isaac Taylor, "Words and Places," p. 130.
2 W. Krausse, "Die Keltische Urbevölkerung Deutschlands," ch. xxv., p. 54.
4 Words and Places, pp. 134, 139.
The *Trent* occurs in Bede as the *Treonta*.\(^5\) The river *Trisan-ton* of Ptolemy was identified by Mr. Henry Bradley in the Academy for April 28th, 1883, with the Arun of Sussex, the older name of which was the Tarent, a name similar to Darent in Kent. He then from the corrupt passage of Tacitus:\(^6\) "cunctosque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios," gives the name *Trisantona* to the Trent. Mr. Duignan shows how this might be rubbed down to *Triantona* and *Treonta*, but confesses that he is unable to find any meaning for *Trisantona*. Isaac Taylor mentions the Darwen in Lancashire, the Derwen in Derbyshire, the Darent in Kent as variant forms of the Derwent in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Cumberland, and Durham. He says: "The name Derwent is probably from dwr-gwyn, the clear water."\(^7\) It is possible that Trent, like Tarent in Sussex, is another variation of the same form. It is unfortunate that at Stoke this derivation of Trent is based on the principle: "lucus a non lucendo."

The *Tean* represents the river root "tain," already mentioned. The form occurs in the Teign and the Tane in Devonshire, and the Tain in Scotland.\(^8\)

The *Hamps* presents some difficulty. Mr. Duignan connects it with the M.E. word "hamper," a word of unknown origin, which occurs first in 1350.\(^9\) Krausse states as a common feature of the passing of the Celtic forms into Teutonic names the addition of the aspirate. Thus, Hamps with the addition of the aspirate would be similar to the Ems, which Krausse derives from "an," a Celtic root for water, and the diminutive "si," small, forming am-si, the small river.\(^10\) This, on the whole, is a more probable origin.

The *Manifold*, the name of the sister river, is almost certainly of English origin, like the various Black Brooks of the County. But as these Black Brooks represent the "Dulas" rivers of Wales,

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7 Words and Places, p. 133.
8 Duignan, Staff. Place-names, p. 150.
9 Ibid., p. 72.
10 Krausse, p. 56.
Scotland, and Dorset, so the name "manifold" may represent the word "cam," "crooked," which occurs in the Cam of Gloucester and Cambridge, the Camil in Cornwall, and the Camlad in Shropshire. The Camddwr is a tributary stream of the Ithon.

The Churnet is associated in name by Mr. Duignan with the Churn in Gloucestershire, and the Cerne in Dorset. Krausse discusses the similar names, Kirnitz and Querne, under the Celtic root "caor," Welsh "garw." He states that one of the features of corruption is the change of the hard Celtic c or k to s, sch, or z, which would correspond to the English ch. He explains Querne as "caor," "quaor," and the diminutive "in," small; the Kirnitz he analyses into caor-in, with the Slavonic terminal, itz. The Kirnitz is another variant of the same name. The Scherkonde he gives as an example of the sibilation of the initial c. The root appears in the French river, Cher.

The Blythe or Blithe is a name which frequently recurs. The Blyth is the name of two rivers in Northumberland; there is a Blyth in Nottinghamshire and in Suffolk; and a Blithe in Warwickshire. Mr. Duignan derives the name from A.S. blithe, but there is a Gaelic word blaith, blaith (from mlaith, mlaith) which means smooth, soft.

The Swarbourn in Needwood Forest has probably a Celtic root as its first syllable. It may be identical with the Soar, and with the Saarwasser, and the Sauer mentioned by Krausse. The sibilation of the root "caor" yields "saor," which would be the source of all these river-names.

The Pur Brook is another of these Needwood streams. The name appears identical with the Pyre of Saxy, which Krausse derives from the root "bior," "feor." The river Perry in Shropshire has the same origin.

11 Isaac Taylor, p. 143.
12 Duignan, p. 40.
13 Staff. Place-names, p. 18.
15 Krausse, p. 58.
16 Ibid., p. 57.
The Tad Brook is an old parish boundary of Bagot's Park and Abbots Bromley. There is in the Martyrology of Oengus a word "tade" which means "stealth" or "concealment,"\(^{17}\) which may represent the root from which the Tad Brook takes its name. There is a Dad Brook running into the Thame in Buckinghamshire and a Toddbrook near Goytsbridge. But this derivation is open to doubt.

The Eland Brook may be compared with the Allen in Leitrim, Denbigh, Northumberland, and Dorset, the Allan in Perthshire and Roxburgh, the Allwen in Merioneth, and the Ellen in Cumberland. Isaac Taylor derives all these from the Gaelic "all" white, and "afon," "avon," water.\(^{18}\) These river-names in the Forest point to a Goidelic element having maintained its stand in this district after the inroads of the Brythons. There is a River Alyn in Flintshire and a Nant Alan near Llanfillin.

The Sherbrook, which runs from the Chase through Shugborough, may perhaps be derived from the sibilation of the root \(\text{caor}\). Krausse derives the Scherkonde by Buttstädt from this "\(\text{saor}\)" form of "\(\text{caor}\)."\(^{19}\) It is difficult to see that it is a corruption of Shirebrook. There is a Sarebrook in Saredon near Cannock.

The Lyme Brook, near Newcastle, is a name which recurs in the Dorset Lyme at Lyme Regis. Mr. Duignan derives it from the A.-S. Llimme, a stream, but he compares the name Lyme with the Lyne in Northumberland and in Scotland, and with the Lyn in Somerset. "Lyme and Lyne are probably allied words, but Lyne is not A.-S."\(^{20}\) Isaac Taylor derives the Lyne, the Lyn in Inverness, the Loin in Banff, and the Lane in Galloway from the root "\(\text{lleven}\)," smooth.\(^{21}\)

The Meece Brook gives its name to Millmeece and Coldmeece. Mr. Duignan compares it with the Meuse, and thinks the root lies in some lost language. Isaac Taylor does not discuss the

\(^{19}\) Krausse, p. 58.
\(^{20}\) Duignan, p. 98.
\(^{21}\) Isaac Taylor, p. 143.
derivation of Meuse. Krausse, in examining the derivation of the Meisse, traces it to the root "uisge" in Gaelic and Erse, and Welsh "wysg" with the diminutive "mi." There is much to be said for this derivation, for the Meuse would receive its name in contrast to the Rhine, and the name in Staffordshire is generally given to smaller streams. The root "uisge" is the source of many river-names, such as the Usk, the Exe, the Axe, the Ashbourne in Sussex, and the Ash in Hertfordshire and Wiltshire. The Meece is a tributary of the Sow.

The Meese rises in Staffordshire and flows into the Tern. The same derivation may be given to it as to the Meece Brook.

The Mease rises in Leicestershire and flows into the Tame near Alrewas. It may also be derived in the same way.

The Ash Brook, near Abbots Bromley, another of the Needwood streams, like the Ashbourne in Sussex, and the Ash previously referred to in Hertfordshire and Wiltshire, is to be derived from the same prolific root "uisge."

The Lonco Brook, which forms the County boundary near Chetwynd, presents some difficulty. There is a root "loa," "lua," "lia," the Welsh "lli," which Krausse considers to be the source of the Lungwitz, and of the Lonau in the Hartz. He derives the "Lon" in Lonau from the root "loa" with the diminutive "in." The difficulty lies in the "co" of Lonco. Is it a corruption of the Welsh "coch," "red," a very common term in Welsh place-names? The same ending occurs in the River Croco, which flows into the Dane at Middlewich. The "coch" occurs in the Afon-goch behind Llanfairfechan, the Afon-goch near Llanberis, and is translated into the Red Brook in the Peak. The Gogbatch in the Church Stretton Hills may be derived from the same source.

The River Sow has a wide kinship. There is a Sowe in Warwickshire, and another in Ireland. Krausse mentions the Sau and the Saubach in the districts which fall within his investigations. He derives it rightly from the Celtic root "sab," "sa."

22 Isaac Taylor, p. 135.
23 Krausse, p. 62.
or "sua," water. There is a Save which runs into the Garonne below Toulouse, and most important of all the Save which runs into the Danube at Belgrade. These are all forms of the same primary Celtic root.

The River Penk runs into the Sow below Stafford. In the thirteenth century it is "the river called Pencriz, the river of Pencriz." In the fourteenth century it is corrupted to "the river Penk," in the sixteenth century to "the water of Penck."\(^{24}\) Like the Weston Brook, the Gayton Brook, the Whiston Brook, etc., it derives its name from the chief place-name on its bank. There is no authority for regarding Penkridge as being the "ridge on the Penk."

The River Tame appears in the forms Thame, Tame, and Teme.\(^{25}\) The name recurs in Cornwall, Cheshire, Lancashire, and Bucks, and the root in the word Thames. Isaac Taylor traces it to a root "tam," which means "spreading," "still."\(^{26}\) Krausse, in reference to the Tambach of Thuringia, derives it from the root "taom," "tain," "tonn,"\(^{27}\) the same root from which the word Tean is derived.

In Ray or Rea Hall, Great Barr, Mr. Duignan finds traces of the river-name Ree, Ray, Rhee, which occurs in Shropshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herts, Oxfordshire. He doubts the Celtic origin of the word.\(^{28}\) Isaac Taylor regards "Rhe" as one of the five primary river-roots, and connects it with the Gaelic "rea," rapid, and the Welsh "rhe," swift. It occurs also in the word Rhine. The same root occurs in the Ridwares.

The Anker flows into the Tame at Tamworth. The first portion of the word is probably some corruption of the root "avon," "an." Krausse, in his study of the similar name Angerbach, derives it from "an" and the Celtic adj. root "gair" or "gerr," short.\(^{29}\) There is not much distinction between the words Anker and Anger.

\(^{24}\) Duignan, p. 115.  
\(^{25}\) Ibid., p. 148.  
\(^{26}\) Taylor, Words and Places, p. 144.  
\(^{27}\) Krausse, p. 100.  
\(^{28}\) Duignan, p. 126.  
The Stour, the headwaters of which are in the county, is a common river-name in England. The Kentish Stour is recorded in the seventh century as Sturia. In North Germany it occurs in the form "Stör," the old form of which is also Sturia. Isaac Taylor allows that the etymology of the word is uncertain. He suggests its derivation from "dwr" with the intensive augment "ys." Better perhaps is his further suggestion of a Gaelic root "sturr," rough, uneven. Krausse traces it to the root "dur" with the diminutive prefix "si."

The Filley Brook at Stone has some interesting analogies. It does not stand alone among the brook-names of the district. There is a Philley Brook near Enville, a Full Brook near Great Barr, and a Foul Brook east of Crewe. In Wales there is Nant Fyllin near Llanfyllin. The "f" in this case is the middle mutation of "b" after Nant and Llan. In the same class, therefore, may be taken the name Bilbrook, N.-W. of Wolverhampton and the Bilbatch in the Church Stretton Hills. Krausse derives the kindred Fell in Hesse and the Füll from the root "bial," "bual."

Fulford is probably from the same root.

The Severn can scarcely be called a Staffordshire river, though Upper Arley lies on it. The old form is Sabrina, which rests on the two roots "sab" and "rhe" or "rhin."

The Black Brooks are very numerous. They are noted near Weeford, Ipstones, Gradbach, and under the form Blake Brook at Fawfieldhead. On the Welsh border the name occurs near Ruabon and Caergwrle. It represents the Afon ddu rivers and brooks of Wales. There is a Cwm Nant ddu running into the Ithon, a Nant Ddu and an Afon ddu in the mountains behind Llanfairfechan, and a Dulas running into the sea at Dulas Bay. Like the Manifold, it is an English translation of the old Celtic name.

The word "sytch" corresponds with the Celtic word "Sych," dry, and is a name frequently applied in Staffordshire to a more or less dry watercourse. Whitesytch and Horesych occur in Hilder-
stone, Feltysitch at the source of the Hamps, Bircumsych near Ipstones, the Sych Farm near Market Drayton. A curious translation of the old Celtic root is the Waterless Brook near Duddon in Cheshire.

The Coal Brook near Market Drayton may be a corruption from the root "gil," "giol," "cuil." The same root may perhaps be the source of the "col" in Colwich.

It may not be that all these derivations are equally certain, but they sufficiently show the strength of the Celtic element in the County. Mr. Duignan, whose work on Staffordshire Place Names is of very great value in giving the earliest forms, has recorded one or two other river-names which may or may not always have yielded to his treatment. The Crane Brook, south of Lichfield, is the heron’s brook. The Flash Brook, north of Newport, appears as Fletesbroc and Flotesbroc in early records. He regards the first element as A.-S. The Ford Brook on the boundary of Pelsall has in 994 the form Ordesiege. Great Bridge is on a stream formerly called the Greet, which divides West Bromwich from Tipton. He thinks it possible that the name, which occurs in Scotland, may be of Celtic origin.

II.

THE HILL-NAMES OF STAFFORDSHIRE.

Barr Beacon is from the root "bar," "barr," "bre," "bri," a mountain, the Welsh "ber," "pyr." Krausse gives examples from his own district, the Barberg, Barrstein, Beerberg. There is also the modern Welsh "bar," a summit. Mr. Duignan gives as examples Barravore in Wicklow, great top, and Barmeen in Antrim, smooth top; and mentions a Barre in Lancashire and a Barre-juxta-Barnstaple in Devonshire.

Brewood is derived from the same root, in its form "bre." Its high position as viewed from the Watling Street gives some justification for the derivation.

Cannock appears in the twelfth century as Cnot, Canot, Chenot, Chnot, Canhot, Canock, and c. 1130 as Chnoc. Mr. Duignan

33 Krausse, p. 42.
traces it to the Irish and Gaelic "Cnoc," and the Welsh "cnwc."
"Knock" is a common mountain name in Ireland, such as Knocknatulla, Knockbrack in the Killarney district. In Scotland it is represented by the Knock of Crieff. It occurs in a diminutive form as Knockin in Shropshire.

*Carmounthead* is near Milton. In a deed temp. Hy. III. it occurs as Caer Muned, which suggests the Welsh Caer Mynydd. The element "car" in this case seems to be a corruption of "caer," a stronghold.

The word "Cloud," which occurs in Congleton Cloud, Cloud End, Thorp Cloud, and Hen Cloud, is traced by Mr. Duignan to the A.-S. "clud." But it is more likely to be a corruption of the Celtic root "cleith," a steep hill, from the old Celtic "cletis."³⁴

The word "Clough," is another hill-word, in such words as Hollinsclough, Ravensclough, Clough Head. Mr. Duignan considers it to be probably of Norse origin; Isaac Taylor as the Erse "cloch," a stone. Krausse gives this root "cloch," "clach," in Welsh "clwch," a crag. This seems to agree with the old pronunciation of "clough," as in "bough," which is still preserved in the name Colclough. A clough is generally a rocky hill valley.

*Endon* appears in the thirteenth century as Henedun or Enedun. The latter part of the word is the root "dun," in Welsh "din" and "dinas," a hill fort. The meaning is probably the "old fort."

*Gun* is the name of the high moorland above Leek. Mr. Duignan has overlooked the word. In Cornish the word "Gun" is equivalent to "heath" or "moorland." The word still lives in the Goonhilly Downs near the Lizard.

*Gunstone* near Brewood may perhaps be derived from the same word "gun."

*Kinver* occurs in the oldest record of 736, "the wood called Cynibre," which Mr. Duignan translates "royal hill." The Celtic element "bro," a hill, is frequent on the Welsh border, as in Bredon, Brehall, Bray, Brewood.

³⁴ Krausse, p. 45.
Knutton, on the high land above Newcastle-under-Lyme, is represented in the thirteenth century by Cnoton, Cnotton, and Knotton. Mr. Duignan derives it from A.-S. cnotta, a knot, but recognises the difficulty. He notes the use of the word as a mountain name in Hardknot, Scald Knot, and School Knot in Westmoreland. Is it an early irregular variation of the word Knock? It is to be noted that among the old forms of Cannock are Cnot, Canot, Chnot, which are almost identical with the earlier forms of Knutton.

Leek is recognised by Mr. Duignan as the equivalent of the Irish prefix Lick, as Lickmolassey, Lickeen, Lickfinn. The word is derived from the old Irish liac, liag, a stone, a rocky slope. The name suits the situation of Leek. The name occurs in the Lickey Rock, Lickey End, and Lickey near Bromsgrove. It is the modern Welsh “llech.”

The Lizard hill is just on the borders of the County; Weston-under-Lizard is within the County. There is no reason to find a different derivation from that of the Lizard in Cornwall, and to see in it a M.E. fish-pond. Isaac Taylor says briefly: “The Lizard Point is the ‘high fort.” The word “lis” is Gaelic for an “earthen fort,” as in Lismore, Listowel, and other names in Ireland. Whitley Stokes gives the word “less,” a garth or fort, and adds : Cymric “llys.” The Irish adj. and subst. “ard,” “high,” “height,” is related to the Latin arduus. It occurs in Scotland in such words as Ardnamurchan, in Ireland in such names as Ardbraccan, Ardfinnan, the Ards. The Hardknot in Westmoreland has the same root.

Monmore, near Wolverhampton, with Monmore Lane near Willenhall, and Monway Fields near Wednesbury, are all regarded by Mr. Duignan as Celtic survivals. They represent the Irish “moin,” a bog, the Welsh “mawn,” peat. The word occurs frequently in Ireland in Monmore, Moanmore, Moneen. The early forms do not suggest that the “more” is the Gaelic “great,” but the English “mere.”

35 Words and Places, p. 151.
36 Martyr. of Oengus., p. 341.
37 Ibid., 299, 374.
Ocker Hill, in Tipton, is derived by Mr. Duignan from the Welsh "ochr," a side. But he derives Hockley Hill, in Hands-worth, from the same root. There is, however, a more likely root, "aighe," "ag," a height, which would more easily produce Hockley by means of an aspirate. There are no early forms to explain the "r" in Ocker or Hockerhill.

High Onn and Little Onn represent the Celtic root "onn," "unn," rock or mountain. Mr. Duignan has missed this root, and derives the word from the Welsh "onen," an ash-tree.

Onneley, near Madeley, is probably from the same root as "Onn." Mr. Duignan brings under the "ash" root "onen," the Onny Rivers in Salop and Herefordshire. These, however, are to be connected with one or other of the Celtic river-roots.

Penn lies to the west of Wolverhampton. It is probably an old name belonging to the high ground in this district, from the root "beann," "benn," mountain, the Welsh "pen."

Perry Barr is in old records Pivio, Piric, Piri, Pyrie. The Barr is a late mediæval addition. The name occurs again in Perry Hall in Wednesfield. Krausse gives the words "ber," "pyr," as Welsh forms of the Gaelic "bar," "barr," "bre," It would seem, therefore, that Perry Barr is merely a duplication of the same root. This seems preferable to A.-S. pirige, pear tree.

Pichill, near Stone, the old centre of a hundred, is derived by Mr. Duignan from the A.-S. pirige, a pear-tree. In Domesday it is Pirehel, in later records Pirulle, Pyrhelle. It is probably from the same root as Barr and Perry Barr.

Talke-o'-lh'-Hill is on the high land near the County boundary, on the old highway from Manchester to Chesterton. It is the Irish "tulach," a hill, which appears in the names Tullow. The Welsh is "twlch," a knoll.

The name Tor occurs in Dovedale. It represents the Celtic root "torr," a rock, which occurs frequently on Dartmoor. There is a Drabber Tor in Dovedale.

38 Krausse, p. 51.
40 Whitley Stokes, Mar. of Gorman, p. 326.
III.

THE FOREST-NAMES IN STAFFORDSHIRE.

Ashwood and Ashwood Lodge near Kingswinford appears in the thirteenth century as Aswode as well as Ashwode. Ashwood was one of the hays of Kinver Forest. Mr. Duignan thinks it clearly means the ash wood. And perhaps this is the origin of the word, though ashes are not usually found massed together in woodlands. There is, however, a Celtic root "aos," "os," a forest, which calls for some recognition in the forest-names. This root may perhaps be the origin of the form Aswood.

Askew Bridge, in Sedgley, is represented by Mr. Duignan as having been originally "a skew bridge," and gives the authority of the Century Dictionary for "skew bridge, a bridge placed at any angle." Askew Hill, near Repton, is for the same reason regarded as "a crooked hill." There is, however, a forest-root "sceach," "sgeach," in Irish "sce," which may be the source of both names.

Aston is a common place-name. It occurs near Stone, in Seighford, and Little Aston occurs in thirteenth-century deeds as "Little Aston upon Colefield, Little Aston upon le Colefield, Aston on Colefield." The Domesday form Estone for the two former disappears in the thirteenth century.

Mr. Duignan regards it as equivalent of the A.-S. Eastun, East town. But he recognises the difficulty both in this case and in that of the numerous Nortons, Suttons, and Westons by saying: "That they are east, south, north, or west of it would now be difficult to say." May not the suggestion again be made that the "as" represents the root "aos," a forest, and that the early Engles adopted the word "as" for a wood as they adopted the word "bre" for a hill, from the prevalence with which it was used by the British among whom they settled.

41 Duignan, p. 6.
42 Krausse, p. 51.
43 Ibid, p. 53.
44 Duignan, p. 7.
The word Coldfield in the name Sutton Coldfield, as quoted above, is the Colefield. This form disposes of the derivation "cold field." There is a forest root "coill, caill," in old Irish "coll," "call," which Krauss regards as the source of the names Kohlberg, Kohlhieb, Kühberg, and which is the ground for Isaac Taylor's statement that the Caledonians are probably the "men of the woods." It appears also in the name Caludon near Coventry. The Coldfield would thus be the forest field.

The name Cold Harbour appears near Madeley in its common variant form Windy Harbour. The word Harbour has been derived in these cases from the Celtic "arrrber," a fortress, and the "cold," if from the Celtic root "coll," would give the meaning forest fortress. Isaac Taylor states that there are no less than seventy Cold Harbours along the line of the ancient roads. He regards the name Caldecot as analogous, and considers both of them to mean "cold." But the English, having forgotten the original sense of "col," would easily corrupt it into "cold."

Colton, near Rugeley, may be traced to the same forest-root "coll." Mr. Duignan recognises the difficulty of the word.

Chell, near Burslem, appears in 1313 as Ceolegh, and like the German forms Kielforst, Kealberg, Keulenber, may be also traced to the forest-root "coill" or "coll."

Cheadle appears in Domesday as Celle, in 1166 as Chelle. This again may perhaps be derived from the same root.

Chatcull, N.-W. of Eccleshall, has given considerable difficulty. Domesday has Ceterville, a form which will only stand good, according to Mr. Duignan, for the first element. In the twelfth century it is Chatculne, Chatkull; in the thirteenth century, Chachull, Chatchull, Chatculne. The "chat" of the modern form and the "cet" of Domesday represent the old forest-root "coid," "coed," the Welsh "gywdd," the Latin "cetum" in

46 Krauss, p. 52.
47 Taylor, p. 56.
48 Ibid, p. 171.
49 Duignan, p. 43.
50 Krauss, p. 52.
51 Ibid, p. 52.
the words Etocetum or Lectocetum. It is represented in the name Chetwood in Bucks and in the Chetwynd in Salop.

Chartley represents the forest-root "ceirt." It appears in Domesday as Certelie, in the following centuries Certelea, Certely.

Cotwalton is regarded by Mr. Duignan as a double name, the position of "cot" as a prefix being unusual. In 1004 it is Cotehalfuntune. In Domesday, Coteswoldestun or Codewalle; in the twelfth century, Codewalton. It is possible that the first element in this name may be the Celtic root "coed."

Draycott-in-the-Moors appears in the thirteenth century as Dracote or Draycote. There is a forest-root "droigheann," Welsh "draen," with other forms "draigen," "dragino," which might well supply a root without having recourse to a drag net.

Drayton Bassett and Drayton in Penkridge are other examples of the survival of the same root. In A.-S. charters the name is always Dragegetun, which is very close to the Celtic forest-root form draigen.

Drointon, near Abbots Bromley, is in Domesday, Dregetone; in the thirteenth century, Drengeton. Is the "n" in this case a survival of the "n" in the Welsh "draen," a thicket?

Druid Heath may also be traced to an old Celtic forest-root. The name in deeds of the thirteenth and fourteenth century is written Drawood, Drewood. Mr. Duignan says of it that it was formerly heath-land in Cannock Forest adjoining Sutton Chase. He traces it to the family of Dru, who were lords of Aldridge. It may, however, be a corruption of the root "doire," "duire," "deru," forest, and particularly oak-forest. Krausse gives examples of the name in Dürrkopf, Dürrberg, Dörenberg.

Leckfrith contains the element "frith," the Welsh "ffridd," forest or park. It occurs frequently in Wales in the name Pen-y-ffridd.

52 Krausse, p. 52.
53 Duignan, p. 53.
54 Krausse, p. 52.
Gaia Lane, Lichfield, is the lane leading to the land which is called in the vernacular Gayfields. It is dressed out in Latin because of the Prebendal Stalls of Gaia Major and Gaia Minor. It is to be traced to the Welsh "cae," enclosure, and corresponds to the A.-S. forest-word Hay. In the Appendix to Nennius, the last fight of Penda was at Gay Field: "Et ipse occidit Pantha in Campo Gai." The entry in the "Annales Cambriae" reads under 656: 'Strages Gaii Campi.' This takes the place of the battle of Winwoedfield recorded by Bede. This derivation seems preferable to "Jay" Lane from N.F. "gai."

Gailey was one of the hays of the Forest of Cannock. In 1004 it is written Gageleaye, in Domesday Gragelie, in the thirteenth century Galewey, Gaule, Gauleye. Mr. Duignan explains it as "the hay of the wild myrtle," from the sweet gale which used to grow near Four Crosses. It may be. But it seems more likely that it is the Celtic root "cae," enclosure.

Helegh Castle, near Madeley, occurs in Domesday as Heolla, in the thirteenth century as Helley, Helegh. Mr. Duignan traces it to the Welsh "heol," a road. Krausse shows how the aspirate corruption of the forest-root "coill," "coll," produces in his district "Hölle," which in pronunciation is identical almost with Heleigh.

Pipe is a name frequently met with in Staffordshire. It is a township, Pipe Hill, near Lichfield. There is a Pipe Ridware. There is also Pipe Gate near Woore. The word has long been a puzzle in Staffordshire place-names. The accident that pipes have for centuries brought water to Lichfield is not sufficient reason for deriving it from the A.-S. "pipe." Pipe Gate and Pipe Ridware will not yield to the same treatment. Krausse gives the solution to the puzzle in tracing the similar word Pfeiffenkrug to the Celtic forest-root "feabh," a forest. This would easily be corrupted into Pipe. Isaac Taylor must have the same root "feabh" in view when he says: "Fife is the forest."

56 Ibid., p. 832.
57 Duignan, p. 65.
58 Ibid., p. 78.
59 Taylor, p. 56.
Oscot, near Perry Barr, is to be traced to the Celtic forest-root 'aos,' 'os,' a wood.

Rudyard, near Leek, does not yield kindly to A.-S. treatment. It is possible to connect it with the Celtic root "rithead," old Irish "roed," "rud," "rus," a wood, with the adjective "ard," high? In 1004 it is written Rudegeard, in Domesday Rudierd. Rudyard Hall lies high on the slopes of Gun.

IV.

SOME OTHER PLACE-NAMES IN STAFFORDSHIRE.

Bottomhouse, near Ipstones, may be a relic of the Welsh "bod," a house, with the English meaning affixed, as in Chetwood. There is a moated site in Haughton called Booden Farm, and Boothen in Stoke Parish may have the same origin. Bothen in Saxony is from the same root.60

Calf Heath, in Hatherton Parish, was written in 994 Calfre heie. It was one of the hays of the Forest of Cannock. The root "calb," Gaelic "calbh," signifies a slope. It is the source of the Kälberstein, the Kälbesbruch, the Kälbertal in the district examined by Krausse. He regards the "er" as an affix signifying "large."

Charnes does not yield to A.-S. treatment. Krausse61 examines the derivation of the word Zshorna in Saxony, and traces it to the sibilation of the root "caor," brook, "schaor," "scher," under Slavonic influence "zschor," and the diminutive "in," the "small brook." This does not account for the "s" in Charnes which appears in early records as Cervernest, Chavernesse, Chaunes, Chavernes.62 But, again, to quote Mr. Duignan, "the name, with present materials, must be considered unsettled."

Cheslyn Hay lies S.-W. of Cannock, across the Watling Street. It is written in the thirteenth century Chistlyn, Chistling, Cheslin, Cheslyn. Again, the A.-S. "cist" does not give a satisfactory derivation. More probable is the derivation from the Irish

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60 Krausse, p. 44.
62 Duignan, p. 35.
“caisel,” a stone-fort, which is preserved in such a place-name as Cashel co. Tipperary. There is a prominent hill near Cheslyn Hay Farm.

Chestells is the hamlet near Gentleshaw, adjacent to the great camp of “Castle Ring” in Beaudesert. The position in this case gives special force to the derivation from the root “caisel.”

Crank Hill, E. of Wednesbury, is a name which has a wide kinship. Mr. Duignan gives Cronk Hill, near Emstrey, Salop; Cronk Hill and Cronkwall, Tettenhall; Cronkstone Low, near Longnor, North Staffordshire; Cronk Hill, near Butterton; Cronk Wood, near Derby; Cronk Hill, near Atcham, Salop. Krausse derives the name Krannichfeld from “garann,” “crann,” forest, and “uig,” “wig,” old Celtic viko-s, Latin “vicens,” house or enclosure, and understands it “forest-house” or forest-enclosure. The strong “k” occurs in Zuickau, which he traces to the same root. This would be easily corrupted into Crank and Cronk.

Curborough, near Lichfield, does not suit the derivation from Curda or Creoda, suggested by Mr. Duignan. It may be traced to the root “caor,” brook, the reference being to a walled enclosure on the Curborough Brook.

Creighton, near Uttoxeter, is written in 1241 Cratton. Mr. Duignan suggests cart-house. Krausse traces the names Krauthansen and Krautheim to the Gaelic “crott,” the old Irish “crode,” “cuaid,” a stronghold. Is this the root of Creighton?

Fanlizard Lane runs west from the Manorhouse Farm at Cowley, near Gnosall. The name is a curiosity. The lizard has reference to some old fort on the high ground stretching south to High Onn. The name has already been traced to the Celtic “lis,” “less,” a fort, and “ard,” high, in reference to the Lizard Hill near Weston. The word “fan,” slope, declivity, occurs in an Irish Hymn in praise of St. Brigit. The name refers to the slope leading up to some old fortified enclosure on these hills.

64 Krausse pp. 83, 106.
Flash is a name which has caused Isaac Taylor to give way to one of the delightful flashes of ingenuity which lighten the solid substance of his work. The village lies between Axe-edge and Morridge; near it is the name Flash-head at the source of the Manifold and Flash-bottom near the source of the Dane. There is a Flach-brook Manor near Knighton, and the name Flash is given to the little dip between Oulton and Oulton Cross. In the Martyrology of Oengus there is mention of a river Flese, with a legendary derivation. Dun-bleisce was a fort named after the river. There is also a word "fliauchaine," wet land, mentioned by Whitley Stokes, which may belong to a root from which Flash is derived.

Gornall. In examining the name Gôhren, formerly Goren, Gorn in Thuringia, Krausse derives it from "caor," Breton "goer," a stream, with the diminutive "in." This may also be the source of the first part of Gornall. Mr. Duignan derives it from A.-S. cweorn, a quern or hand-mill.

Hints, on the Watling Street, is recognised by Mr. Duignan as the Welsh "hynt," a way.

Jelpel Lane is given in the ordnance as Jol Pool, wrongly according to the pronunciation in the neighbourhood. It is named after a little brook which runs down from Hardewick. It is probable that it is to be traced to the Celtic adjective "gel," bright, white, often affixed, but sometimes prefixed, as in gel-lam, a white hand. The element "pel" is the river-root "bial," "bual," already suggested as the root of Filly Brook, Full Brook, etc.

Jug Bank lies on Ashley Heath, a little S.-W. of Ashley. Krausse, in discussing the origin of the names Zschagast and Zschocher, derives them both from the root "sceach," bush or forest, under the influence of Slavonic sibilation. Under a
similar sibilation the word may in this case have become corrupted into Jug. Like Pipe and Crank, it is a name which would tend to take a familiar form in writing.

Keele, in the twelfth century Kiel, is traced by Mr. Duignan to the Celtic "cell," Lat. "celle," a church. It occurs largely in Irish place-names, as Cell mor, now Kilmore, Cell dara, now Kildare. Mr. Duignan mentions a Keel in Montgomery.

Landywood, in Great Wyrley, is derived by Mr. Duignan from the M.E. word Launde, the modern English lawn. There is a Laund Farm near Ipstones, a Landers-ith'-wood near Sandon, and others in Staffordshire and the adjoining counties. Whitley Stokes, in his Glossarial Index to the Martyrology of Oengus, gives the word "land," old Cymric "lann," now "llan," as area, church, and gives several instances of place-names, Land Tara, Land Mocholmoc. The Welsh forms Llanfairfechan, Llangefny, are usually associated with a church, but the name primarily has reference to the enclosure.

Madeley. It seems clear that this, like Madeley in Shropshire, is derived from a river name. The latter is on the Mad Brook. Krausse derives the river-name Mattig from mi-ad, i.e., the river-root "ad," "aud," water, and the diminutive prefix "mi." A brook runs through the Staffordshire Madeley. Madeley Park and Madeley Farm, to the N.-W. of Uttoxeter, are both on a little stream. In both cases in Domesday it is written Madelie. But there is an earlier form, Madanlieg, which suggests a proper name to Mr. Duignan.

Meaford in Domesday is written Mepford, Metford, but in the twelfth and thirteenth century it is Medford. It is from the same root "mi-ad."

Mixon Hay and Mixon lie on high ground above Onecote near Leek. There is nothing of a dung-hill about it. It is written Mixne in 1219. In examining into the derivation of Meissen in Saxony, which in old records reads Misna, Misni, Misine, Missena, Krausse traces it to the root "ais," "as," a mountain, with the

72 Whitley Stokes, 
73 Ibid., p. 389.
diminutive prefix "mi," and the root "ion," "ainne," an enclosure. It is very probable that this is the source of the name Mixon.

Morse, in Enville, is traced by Mr. Duignan to the Welsh "morfa," a marsh.

Upper Nobut and Lower Nobut, in Leigh Parish, are a puzzle. Mr. Duignan has omitted them. Whitley Stokes gives several examples of the Irish "noeb," holy, used as an adjective before the noun; noeb-fer, a holy man; noeb-nem, holy heaven; noeb-oc, holy warrior; noeb-Thuir, a holy tower. The root "uath," "ut," a thicket, is traced by Krausse in the names Ottstedt, Ottewig in Thuringia and Saxony. The word Nobut is therefore a good Celtic word for a holy grove, a sacred wood. Close by is the name Dagdale. Is this a clue to the Irish Dagda, the good god, to whom the grove was sacred in the times of Celtic Heathendom?

Naychurch is on high ground near the Buxton Road, east of Hen Cloud and the Roches. The first element in the word is a corruption of the Celtic "niath," "nid," strong, used of a fortress. It occurs in the names Nieda, Neudeck, Neidberg in Saxony.

Pennard House, near Druids Heath, Aldridge, if an old place-name, is from the root beann, benn, Welsh, pen, a mountain, and "ard," high.

Penkhull, near Stoke, in Domesday Pinchetel, in the twelfth century Pencul, may be compared with the name Penig, written in old records Penigk, Penig, Penyg, in Saxony. Krausse derives it from "benn," a mountain, and "uig," an enclosure. This derivation may bear comparison with the A.-S. name Pinca, which, after all, is but a suggestion. The name suits the site and its great antiquity.

Pillaton Hall, near Penkridge, occurs in 1185 as Pilatehale. There is a Pillaton in East Cornwall, so that the presumption is in favour of a Celtic source. Mr. Duignan has proved that the
Warwickshire Pillerton will not bear comparison. Its connection with Pilate is legendary. Krausse's derivation of the Pilatus near Lucerne is no help, for his roots "bile," a height, and "ath," a mountain, will not suit the position of Pillaton. Mr. Duignan says: "It lies low, on a small stream, and is so boggy that a chapel, a portion of the old hall, is built on piles." But he rejects the A.-S. pil, a pile. Is it from the Irish "poll," Welsh "pwll," "pyllau," Gaelic "poll," swamp, swampy, and the root "aite," house? Such houses were common in Celtic times. The word "hale" is a later addition. This seems to be a probable source of the name.

The Romer Farm, near Burston, lies on the hill-side above the Trent. There is also a Romer Hill at Cannock. Krausse, in discussing Meerane in Saxony, derives the first element from "mir," a hill. The word "ro," strong, is frequently used in place-names, and is recognised as an intensive prefix by Whitley Stokes. The word thus analysed would correspond to the situation in each case.

Shutlgreen, near Brewood, the High Shutt above Cheadle, Cockshut, may be compared with the name Schöten in Thuringia, written in old deeds Scoeten. This is traced by Krausse to the sibilation of the root "coid," "coed," forest. The High Shutt would be therefore in English the "High Forest," a name still given to a farm in Hilderstone Parish.

Shusions, five miles west of Penkridge, written in Domesday Sceotestan, in the thirteenth century Shustan, may be derived from the same form of the root "coed." It is an old moated homestead.

Shustoke, a similar homestead in Great Barr, may also be traced to the same root.

The Scotch Brook, at Stone, probably has the same origin.

Shugborough, sometimes in old deeds Shukborough, Shuchborow, Shukesborow, sometimes Shutborrow, might, from the

77 Krausse, p.p. 93, 67.
78 Martyr. of Oengus, p. 357. e.g., romuir is a great sea, or a spring-tide.
latter form, be also traced to the same root "coid." But, like Jug Bank, it should be referred rather to the root "Sceach," "sgeach," thicket, forest.

Seisdon, the name of one of the Hundreds of Staffordshire, is to be compared with the German names Zeissigwald, Zeissigstein, which Krausse derives by the sibilation of the first letter from the mountain-root "caid," "ceide," "cais," Welsh "cas," a height, especially a woody height. It appears in Domesday as Seisdone, Saisdone. Mr. Duignan recognises the Celtic "dun," a hill, but traces the first element to Welsh "seis," a Saxon, though he recognises the difficulty. According to Krausse, the name would mean the "hill-fort." "Zeissig" is the hill-enclosure from the root "uig." 79

Solomon's Hollow, near Leek, does not stand alone. There is in Thuringia a Salomons-born near Erfurt, which is derived by Krausse 80 from "siol," a river root, followed by the diminutive "min." The hollow at Leek is deep, but the stream is small.

Trysull, near Seisdon, is written in 994 and 1006 Tresel, in Domesday Treslei, in the twelfth century. The student of Staffordshire place-names owes an immense debt of gratitude to Mr. Duignan for the labour he has bestowed in tracing out the older form of the names, and also for his Anglo-Saxon work. But the connection in this case with the word trestle is unsatisfactory. The first element is probably the Irish "treb," a homestead, 81 the Cymric "trev," modern Welsh "tre"; the latter element may be traced to the river-root "sil," "siol," water. The word thus means the homestead on the water, now the Smestow Brook.

Trescot, a short distance north, on the same stream, is written in 1006 Treselcote. It may be traced to the same roots, with the English translation "cote."

Windy Arbour, near Madeley, is to be compared with the Cold-Harbours so frequently to be found on old roads. There are the traces of an old road from Madeley to the North-West.

79 Krausse, p. 44.
80 Krausse, p. 97.
The word arbor has already been traced to a Celtic word for fort. Is the "windy," a corruption of the Celtic "gwent," a plain, Latinized into "Venta," and corrupted in the case of Venta Belgarum into Winchester?\footnote{Isaac Taylor, p. 154.}

\textbf{Thomas Barns.}
H. AND I.—PHOTOGRAPHIC AND SKETCHING SECTIONS.

CHAIRMEN—MESSRS. E. B. WAIN AND W. H. RIDER.

At the General Evening Meeting of the Club, at Stoke, on March 21st, photographs were exhibited by Mrs. Hind, Miss Meigh, Rev. C. F. L. Barnwell, and Mr. Wain. Also sketches by Mr. Rider and Mr. Beckett.

The first excursion of the combined Sections was that to Moss Lea, which took place on April 20th, under the leadership of Mr. Rider. This was well attended, five sketchers and six photographers being present. After tea—most hospitably supplied by Mrs. Rider—a meeting was held for the purpose of arranging a programme for the year's work. Among other things, the tour to Holland was fixed for Whitsuntide. This subsequently took place, and will be referred to later.

The next outing was to Draycott on May 11th. This, under the leadership of Mr. Hartley, was quite a success, eight photographers and five sketchers attending.

The excursions arranged for June and July, under the leadership respectively of Mr. Wain and Rev. C. F. L. Barnwell, had to be abandoned on account of bad weather.

On July 20th, Mr. J. T. Brealey was leader in an excursion to Rudyard and Leek. This was a successful outing, six sketchers and one photographer appearing.

The excursion to Alton, on August 17th, under the leadership of Mr. Warner, was rendered hopeless by the weather. Mr. Warner and Mr. Adams, however, persevered and kept up the reputation of their respective Sections.

The outing fixed for September 21st had to be given up on account of Mr. Wenger not being able to lead.

On October 12th, an excursion, this time to Lichfield, took place. It was not altogether a failure, although, in addition to the leader, Mr. Beckett, only Mr. Barnwell and Mr. Adams, were able to be present.