



Examine the value of place-names as evidence for the history, landscape and, especially, language(s) of your chosen area.

Intro

This essay will cover 40 place-names in the historic county of Cheshire, focusing on the east of this county, stretching into more central Cheshire (see appendix for the full list of names). These place-names act as historical evidence, proving highly valuable in the study of the changing landscape, human history and languages of the area which include Old Scandinavian, Brittonic, Medieval Latin and, like most English counties, a high proportion of Old English. This essay hopes to show the value of these names as evidence, when paired with archaeological and geographical findings, of Cheshire's past.

Languages

Brittonic/Pre- Anglo-Saxon

The Brittonic language was spoken by the common people in England from c.500BC to 410AD, and, despite invasion by the Anglo-Saxons in the 5th century, this language can still be found in some Cheshire place-names. Cheshire falls into Cameron's Area 2, where Brittonic names are mainly found in river, hill and woodland names.¹ Significantly, all Brittonic names in this corpus are hybrid names with an Old English element, which Simeon Potter describes as proof that 'the autochthonous Celts were not all exterminated or expelled from the Cheshire countryside by the English invaders'.² This idea of cohabitation is evidenced by tautological place-names such as Cheadle, from Celtic **cēd* and OE *lēah* 'wood'. As the Brittonic element remains in the place-name, it suggests that the OE speakers

¹ Kenneth Cameron, *English Place Names* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1996), p.46

² Simeon Potter, *Cheshire Place Names* (Liverpool: C.Tinling & Co., Ltd, 1955), p.6

had contact with and miscommunicated with the Britons over their naming of the woodland.³

Other hybrid names include Gawsworth, probably 'enclosure of the smith', Welsh *gof* + OE *worth*. This name indicates Welsh settlement with possible neighbouring OE speakers providing the *worth* 'enclosure' but keeping the Welsh name for Smith as it was possibly a well-known name in the area.

The rest of the Brittonic-OE hybrids in the corpus: Davenham, Over Peover, Lower Peover, Weaverham - contain Brittonic river names which commonly remained with their Brittonic name due to the river's significance and widespread knowledge of such names. Whilst Weaverham is contested as OE **wēfer* 'winding' or from ancestor of Welsh *gwefr* 'amber-colodiffured', it should be noted that the Brittonic rivers of the Dane and the Peover Eye are very near or even indirectly feed into the river Weaver (see Fig.1), thus suggesting a cluster of rivers who kept their Brittonic names, either due to their widespread significance/knowledge or from English-British cohabitation in this area, as demonstrated in Cheadle and Gawsworth.

It is noted that there is a lack of Roman Latin names in this corpus, despite Chester being of great Roman significance. Whilst Roman roads ran throughout Cheshire the surviving place-names to the east of Cheshire remained rather unscathed by Roman influence. Middlewich is the exception, thought to have been called *Salinae*, a Roman name meaning 'saltworks' which will be explored later in this essay.⁴

³ All place-name meanings and definitions are taken from A.D Mills., *A Dictionary of British Place-Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) unless specified otherwise.

⁴ Jonathan Lageard and Ian Drew, 'Evaporating Legacies: Industrial Heritage and Salt in Cheshire, UK' in *Industrial Archeological Review*, 37:1 (2015), 48-61, (p.49)

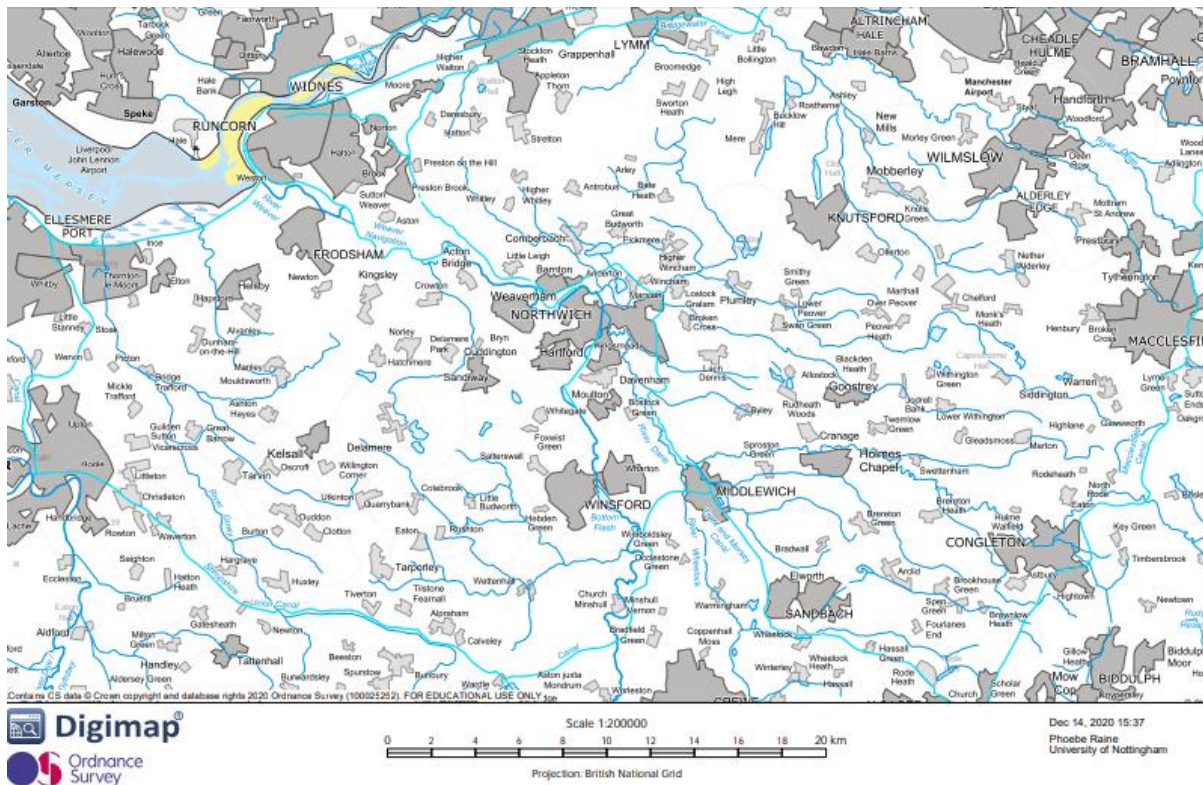


Fig.1 the Rivers Peover, Dane and Weaver

Old Scandinavian

In Cheshire, the majority of Scandinavian invasions occurred in the year 902, later than the rest of England, with Scandinavians in Ireland following the banished Ingimund to Cheshire where they were granted settlement by the Lady of Mercia.⁵ The number of place-names in this corpus containing Old Scandinavian elements is limited, which is understood to be a result of minimal migration inland as the Scandinavians 'retired to the shores of Wirral, where they settled and tilled the land' as a kind of Scandinavian safe-haven.⁶ There are two names, however, in this corpus with either one or potentially both elements being of Scandinavian origin, Knutsford and Rostherne. Knutsford, a hybrid of OS cand. personal name Knútr+ OE *ford*, with strong genitive masculine -es ending still visible as -s shows

⁵ Stephen Harding, *Viking Mersey: Scandinavian Wirral, West Lancashire and Chester*, (Chester: Countywise Ltd, 2002), p.33

⁶ Charles Kelsey, *Cheshire*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), p.52

some Scandinavian movement into other parts of Cheshire, as well as a possible seizing and partial renaming of an important English ford by a Scandinavian.⁷ Indeed, Knutsford lies next to Mobberley, an Anglo-Saxon meeting place, and thus the ford, although hard to determine its location nowadays, must have been of great importance to the Anglo-Saxons, and thus is perhaps why the OE name '*ford*' remained despite the Scandinavian owner through OE neighbours naming the place.

Rosterne 'Thorn-tree of a man called Rauthr', OScand. personal name + OE *thorn* or *thyrne*, is located next to Knutsford. Mills suggests this to be another hybrid name, however, when looking at Matthew Townend's discussion of Grimston hybrids, it may be considered that this is instead a wholly Scandinavian name.⁸ The word *thorn* is the same in OE and OScand. Unlike a ford, the thorn tree holds little known significance in this area, and it is not understood to be a hundred boundary marker but may still have been a meeting place, perhaps for the Scandinavian settlers nearby. Thus, Rosterne may have been a previously unsettled site claimed and named by a Scandinavian.

Medieval Latin/Norman

It is noted that this corpus lacks Norman place-names as French was spoken by the ruling class and thus was not heavily involved in the giving of place-names (named usually by locals). This corpus is also focused on the east, away from Chester which was the main source of Norman desire. Although Charles Kelsey mentions Norman interest in the saltworks of Cheshire, this interest is not reflected in the place-names.⁹

⁷ Cameron, *English Place Names*, p.75

⁸ Matthew Townend, 'Scandinavian Place-Names in England' in *Perceptions of Place: Twenty-First-Century Interpretations of English Place-Name Studies*, ed. by J. Carroll and D.N. Parsons, (EPNS, 2013), pp.103-129, (p.119)

⁹ Kelsey, *Cheshire*, p.59

As the language of administration in the Medieval period, Medieval Latin is not uncommon in place-names, especially in affixes, often for taxation purposes. Whilst the affixes of Great Budworth and Over and Lower Peover are now in modern English forms, their earlier attestations show 'magna', 'superior' and 'inferior' respectively.¹⁰ Great Budworth is so named due to its greater size than Little Budworth, and the Peovers originally sat above (superior) and below (inferior) the Peover Eye- they have now expanded their land making this slightly less concrete a description. This shows the influence of Medieval Latin administration on the development of place naming, distinguishing these places from those named solely by the common people who lived nearby.

Old English

In England, the majority of place-names come from the Anglo-Saxon language of Old English following their invasion of Britain in the early 5th century. Cheshire is no exception to this rule. Despite other invading languages, the OE names remain persistent. From now on, the place-names mentioned will be of OE origin, and the size of the following section reflects the number of names in OE.

Landscape

Place-names are often descriptors of the land surrounding them, with many names serving to confirm or even show now non-existent landscape features in often specific terms used by the people who lived near or in these settlements.

Raised Land

Seven raised land names appear in this corpus. Three of these names appear with personal names, Wilmslow 'Mound of a man called Wīghelm', OE personal name + *hlāw*, Church

¹⁰ Dodgson, J.McN, *Part II The Place-Names Of Bucklow Hundred And Northwich Hundred*, ed. by K. Cameron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p.90; P.108

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Minshull 'shelf or ledge of a man called Monn', OE personal name + *scelf*, and the 19th century addition of the transferred topographical element Edge to Alderley Edge, OE personal name + *lēah*. In Church Minshull and Alderley Edge, the ledge/shelf is clearly seen (see Figs.2&3) near the settlement.

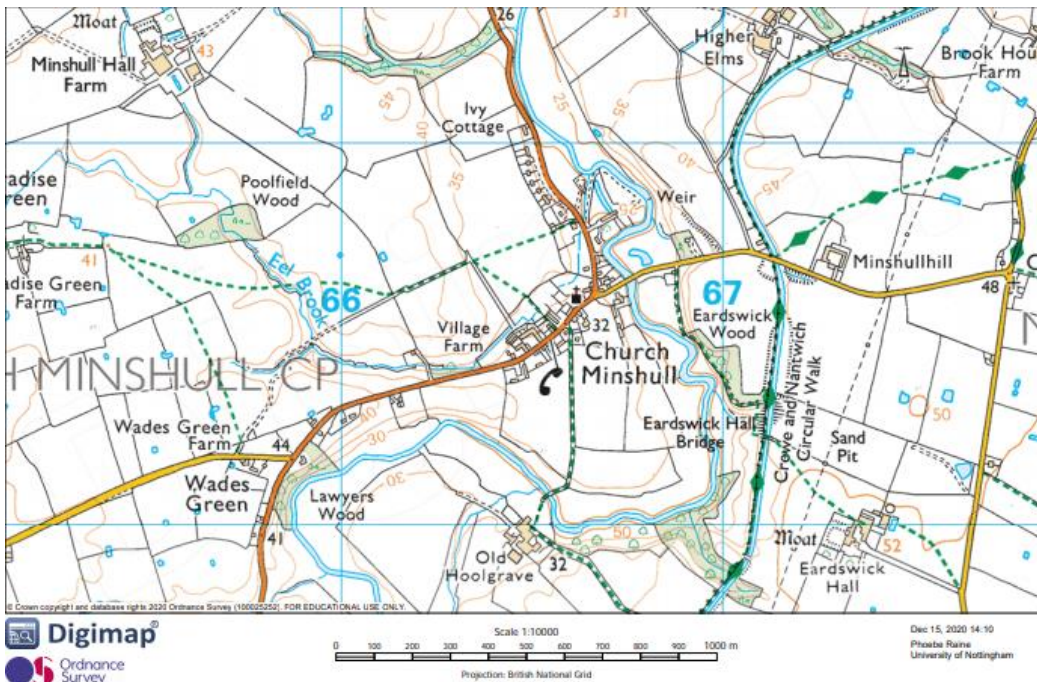


Fig.2 Ledge in Church Minshull

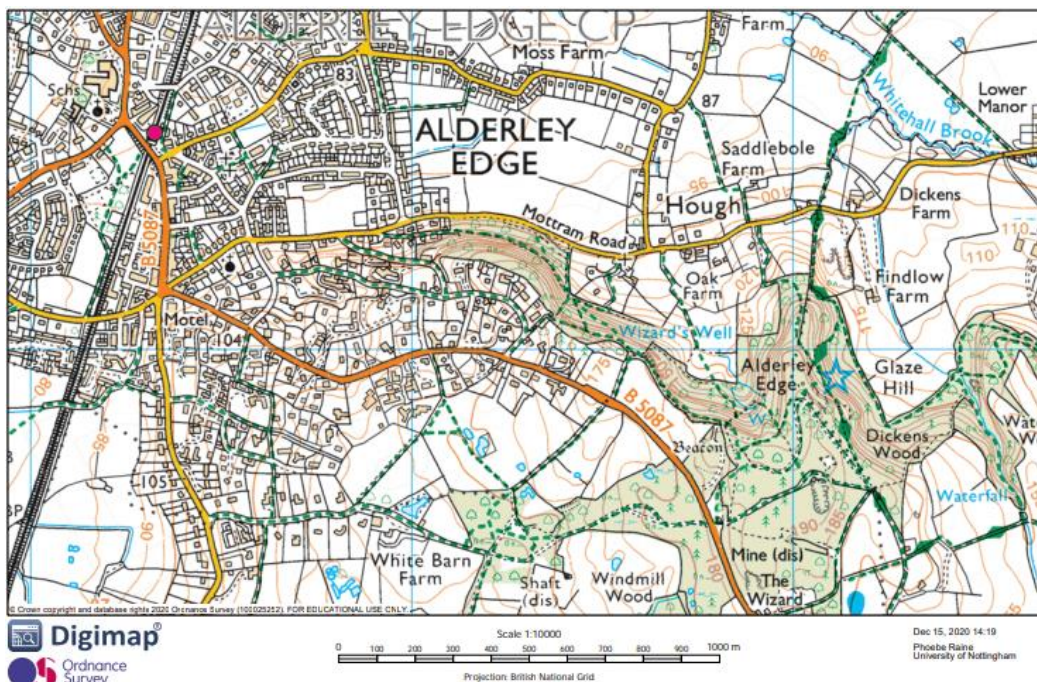


Fig.3 Ledge in Alderley Edge

In Wilmslow, although the modern landscape shows no obvious *hlāw* ('mound'), Howard Hodson suggests that the raised ground to the south of the River Bollin (see Fig.4) could be the site of an Anglo-Saxon settlement, and indeed this is where the church can be found. A loose understanding of 'mound' could refer to this raised area, or this is just the area where A-S people lived, with the mound having been perhaps flattened over the years.¹¹ Often, place-names with *hlāw* 'in which it is combined with pers.ns. are the burial places of the men so named', and thus Wilmslow is potentially the site of an important man named *Wīlghelm*, either in his burial within the mound, or general association with such a mound.¹²

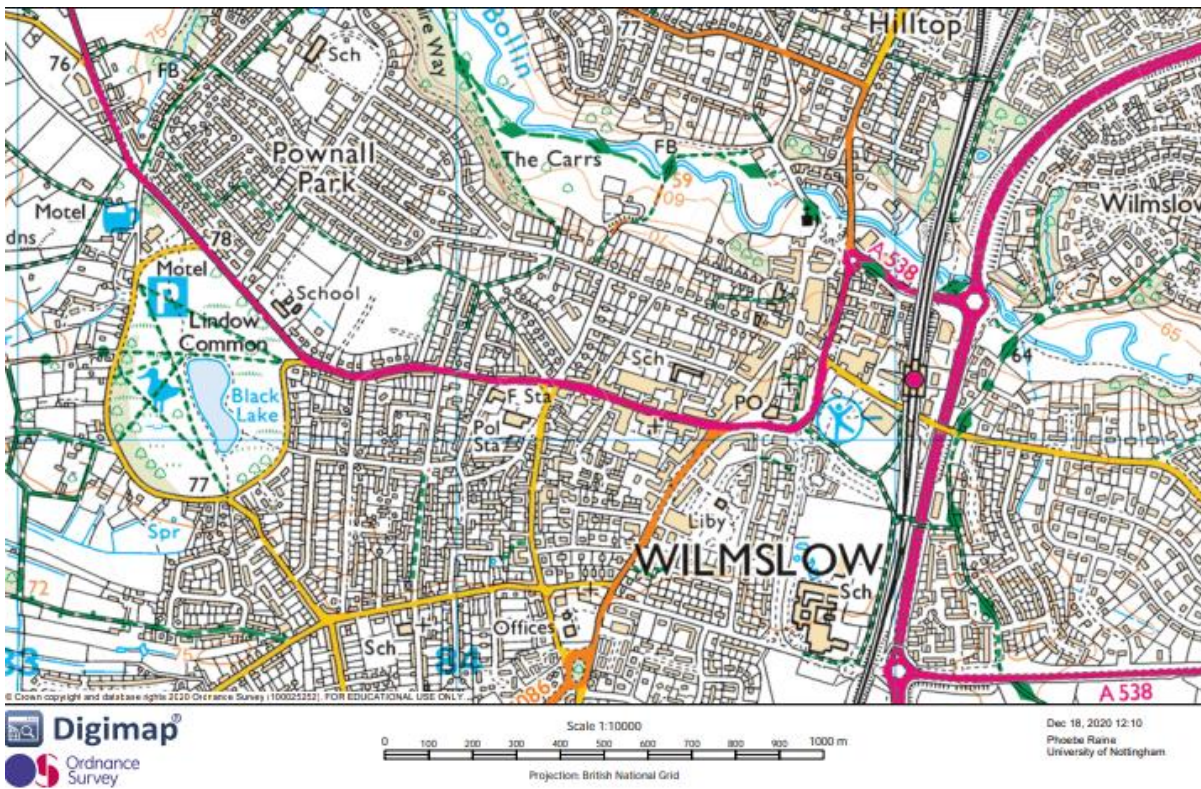


Fig.4 Wilmslow Incline South of River Bollin

¹¹ Howard John Hodson, *The Old Community: A Portrait of Wilmslow*, (Wilmslow: Hampsfell Press, 1974), p.27

¹² A.H Smith, *English Place-Name Elements Part I*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p.249

Over is a simplex example of raised land, '(place at) the ridge or slope', OE **ofer*, with the current town located on top of the slope referred to (see Fig.5). A more specific hill name is Rainow, 'hill-spur frequented by ravens', OE *hræfn + hōh*, located near the peak district boundary. The exact location of this *hōh* (heel) with its 'spur or a sharply projecting piece of land', which commonly have a concave end and the settlement sitting atop them, is hard to determine from the many ridges that project in the landscape.¹³ The *hræfn* element may suggest a desolate area, as indeed Charles Kelsey suggests 'The hilly country of the east [of Cheshire] consists mostly of bleak and barren moorland... used mainly for the preservation of game. Such names as Wildboarclough, Wolf's Edge, Cat's Tor, Eagle's Crag, and many others, show clearly the wild and desolate character of this district'. And thus, in a similar name format, Rainow could have raven activity atop potentially Rainow Low which loosely fits Cameron's description of a *hōh* (see Fig.6).¹⁴ Alternatively, Yearns Low has a tumulus at its peak, which may have had ruins which ravens could potentially have frequented. Whilst the location of such a hill is up for speculation, the evidence is clear that a specific type of hill with feasible raven activity was known to the people of the area.

¹³ Cameron, *English Place Names*, p.184

¹⁴ Kelsey, *Cheshire*, p.15

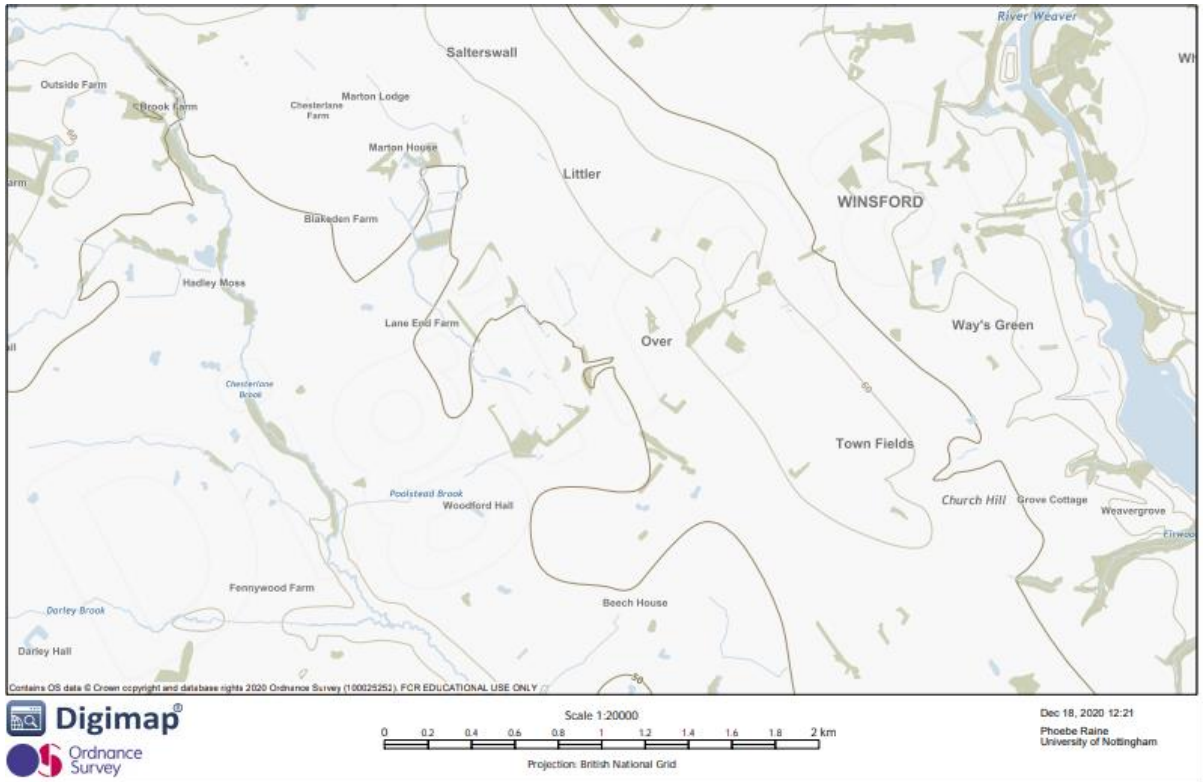


Fig.5 Contour Slope Lines in Over



Fig.6 Photo of Rainow Low from Billinge Side

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Bowdon and Siddington both contain the common element *dūn*, which is a wide hill with a flat top, often with the settlement on top resembling a “whale back”.¹⁵ In the case of Bowdon, the first element, 'a bow, an arch', has the sense of 'an arch or arched bridge'... 'a curving hill or headland, a circular hill, a curving hill-side' which you can see in the hill on top of which Bowdon sits (see Fig.7).¹⁶ Siddington lies south of several hills many of which could be the *dūn* referred to, it is hard to determine from the map. From the earliest attestation, *Sudendune* 1086 (db), it can be seen that Siddington has undergone a large amount of language change, including the epenthesis of 'g' potentially for easier pronunciation and a devoicing from 'd' to 't' to misleadingly resemble an *-ing-tūn* name. Thus, the place-names can reveal the significant land features of the time that are no longer present in the modern attestation or even the landscape itself.

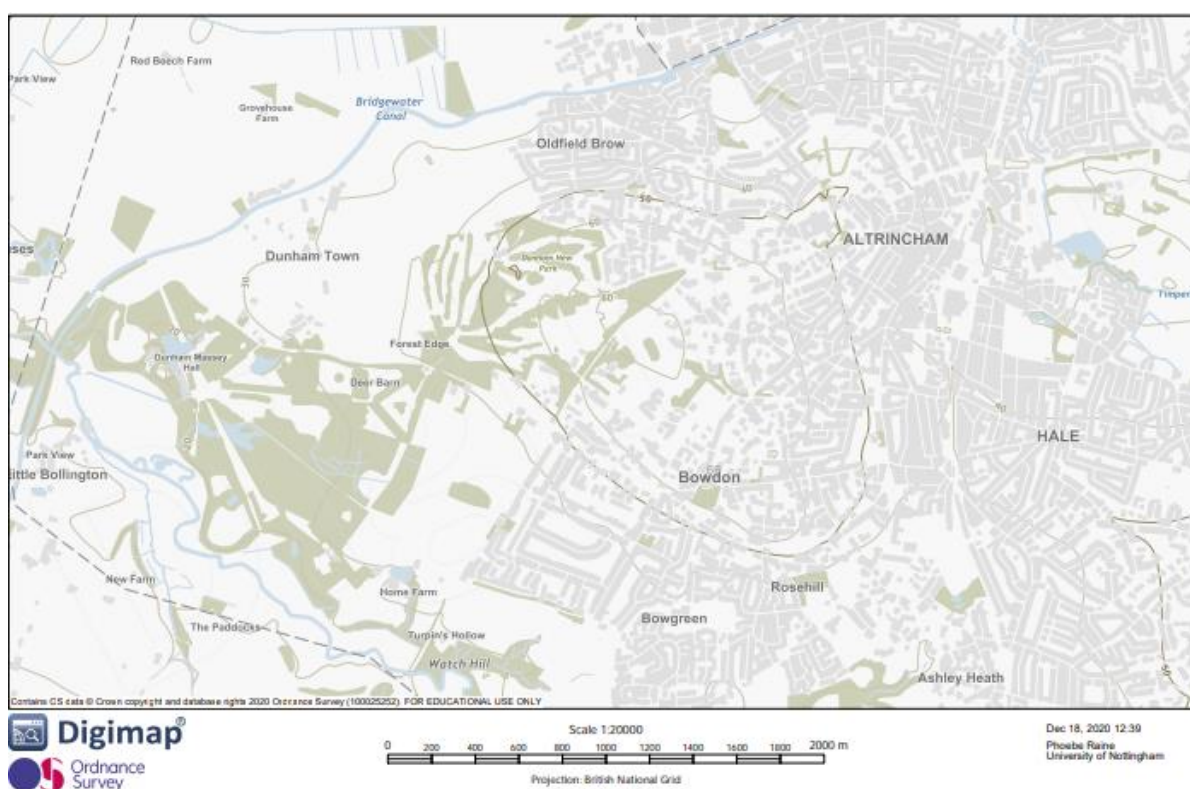


Fig.7 Contour Lines in Bowdon

¹⁵ 'Gelling-Cole photographs', *Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland*, <http://www.snsbi.org.uk/Gelling-Cole_photos.html> [Accessed 19/12/2020]

¹⁶ Smith, *English Place-Name Elements Part I*, p.40

Water Features

Water features and crossing were of great importance to the Anglo-Saxons and their methods of transportation, with many settlements situated near water. Carrington is a largely debated name, with Mills suggesting the first element to be *Cāra', OE personal Name, OE **caring* 'tending, herding' or an OE **cæring* 'river-bend'. With the unusualness of this personal name, the first element would logically be 'river-bend' as Carrington itself sits by a set of distinct bends in the River Mersey (see Fig.8). It would also not be the first to be named due to its vicinity to the Mersey (Ashton-upon-Mersey) and the naming of location in bends can be seen in the debated *hamm* element in many names. Another contested water name is that of Chelford, probably 'ford of a man called Cēola'. OE personal name + *ford*, or the first element could be OE *ceole* 'throat', used in a topographical sense 'channel, gorge'. As Cameron states, fords were 'routes by which villagers communicated with their neighbours' and thus this ford was clearly of great infrastructural importance and many fords in the area are attached to personal names.¹⁷ Two names refer in more obvious terms to streams: the simplex name Lymm 'the noisy stream or torrent', OE *hlimme*, and the compound name Sandbach 'sandy valley-stream'. Lymm sits on Slitten Brook, which most likely will have been fast-flowing (and thus noisy) as it was later used in the 18th century to turn waterwheels for iron slitting.¹⁸ Sandbach is defined by the Alluvium deposits of the stream, denoting the sandy description.

¹⁷ Cameron, *English Place Names*, p.175

¹⁸ *The Industrial Revolution in West Cheshire* (2007)

<http://www.cheshirearchaeology.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Archaeology_News_Spring_2007_part2.pdf> [accessed 18/12/2020]

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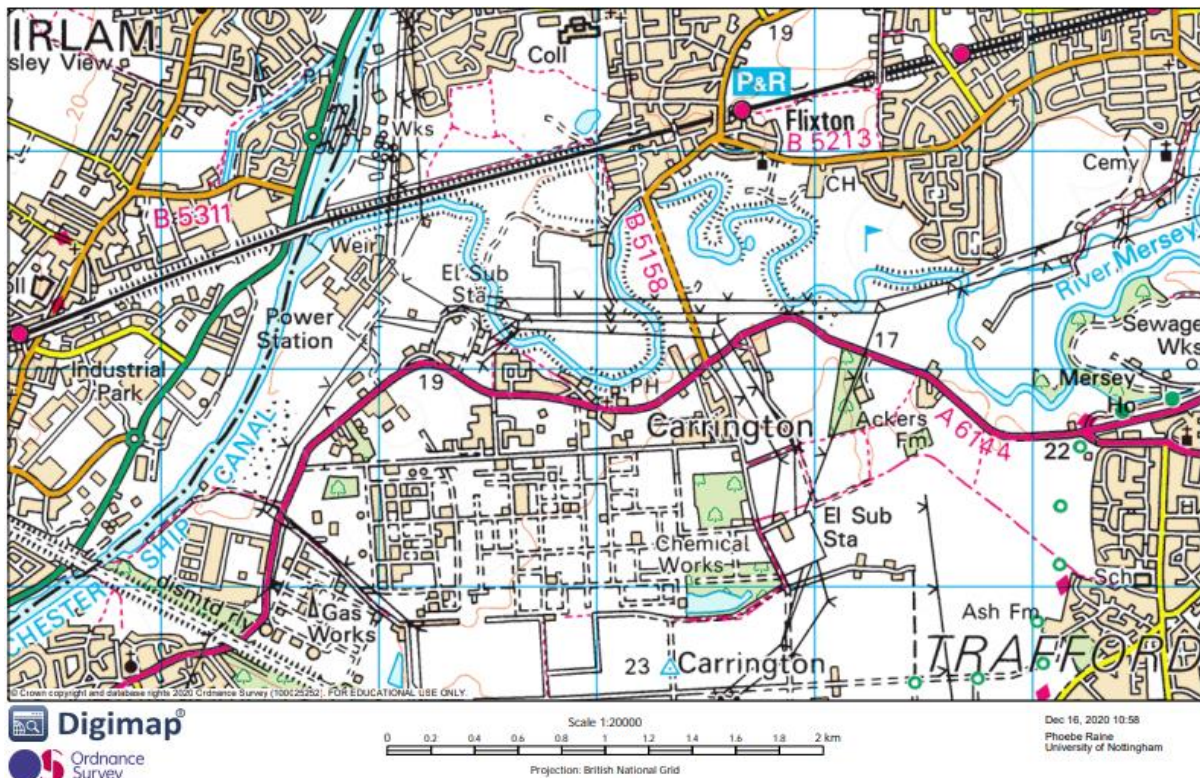


Fig.8 River Bend in Carrington

Woodland

Through the place-names of Cheshire, it becomes obvious that much of the county was covered in woodland and woodland clearings, found in the 55 cases of *lēah* elements in the county, 6 of which are found in this corpus. Disley, High Legh, Lower Whitley, Mobberley, Cheadle and Alderley Edge are all distinguishable only by their first element or affix. Lower Whitley the 'white wood or clearing' may refer to a specific white tree grown in the area, assumedly silver birches which grows best on dry acidic soil, meaning the Diamicton in parts of Lower Whitley would have been ideal for these trees to have grown.¹⁹

Disley has an uncertain first element, Mills suggests OE **dystels* 'mound or heap' and A.H Smith suggests 'OE adj.,

¹⁹ 'Birch, Silver', *The Woodland Trust* <<https://www.woodlandtrust.org.uk/trees-woods-and-wildlife/british-trees/a-z-of-british-trees/silver-birch/>> [accessed 18/12/2020]

'dusty'.²⁰ Topographically, there is still woodland to be found on an incline in Disley, perhaps denoting the mound, or alternatively, the dust may be a reference to the dry dusty glacial till of the area. In High Legh, farm names in the area such as Woodside Farm and Broad Oak Farm preserve a lost woodland heritage denoted by the generic *lēah*.

Human History

As well as identifying features within the landscape, the Anglo-Saxons also named their settlements with clues to the activity that occurred around them. It should be noted that Whitegate is the one exception as this was named in relation to Vale Royal Abbey, built in the late 13th century, thus showing a Middle English naming. Whitegate replaced the OE name *Holdgore* the 'old gore', most likely a sort of stopgap between major two places and probably an easy name to replace.²¹

Personal Names

OE personal names are extremely common in the place-names of England, and indeed many occupy those of Cheshire too. Personal names are found in Adlington, Alderley Edge, Altrincham, Chelford, Church Minshull, Great Budworth, Poynton, Prestbury, Swettenham, Warburton, Warmingham and Wilmslow. There are more monothematic names in this corpus, suggesting a potential lower class of peoples in the area, with dithematic names potentially resembling those of a higher class, including *Wīghelm* from Wilmslow. There are two female names, *Wærburh* from Warburton, and *Althryth* from Alderley Edge, both with genitive strong feminine endings found as *-e* in earlier attestations *Alrelie* 1086 and *Wareburgetune* 1086. These places were most likely named later on in the Anglo-Saxon period due to their association with the generics *tūn* and *lēah* respectively; the land was

²⁰ Smith, *English Place-Name Elements Part I*, p.141

²¹ J. McN Dodgson, *Part III The Place-Names Of Nantwich Hundred And Eddisbury Hundred*, ed. by K. Cameron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p.178

perhaps gifted to these women through family inheritance.²²

Most other personal names are paired with the generic *-ing + tūn* with *-ing-* acting as a connective, leaving no need for genitive endings, such as in Adlington 'estate associated with a man called Ēadwulf', OE personal name + *-ing- + tūn*. Only Swettenham and Wilmslow are not part of this *-ing + tūn* format and retain their genitive endings, strong masculine *-es* for Wilmslow and weak masculine *-an* in Swettenham, showing possession or at least a strong association with the land. Poynton contains an unknown personal name *Pofa and follows the same structure as the other *-ing + tūn* names, possibly a personal name that had no reason to be written down and only survives in place-names.

Group names

Warmingham, OE personal name + *inga-* or *-ing + hām*, and Altrincham, OE personal name + *inga* or *-ing + hām*, potentially contain the genitive plural element *-ingas* denoting a group of people. When looking at the earlier attestations, Altrincham probably does stem from *-ingas* as the "as" survives as "e" in *Aldringeham* 1290. Thus, Altrincham was the place of Aldhere's followers or family. Warmingham holds no evidence of the genitive plural in its present form or earlier attestations bar one, *Warmincham alias Warming(e)ham* 1574, which does not survive before or past this date. Thus, Warmingham is most likely a singular, and not a group name.

Prestbury although not a personal name has its origins in OE *prēost + burh* (dative *byrig*) 'manor of the priests'. From the genitive ending *-a* seen as *-e-* in the 1181 attestation *Presteberi*, it seems this was a group of religious individuals probably living in some form of ecclesiastical retreat, or perhaps meeting there regularly, with its location on the River Bollin providing good contact routes to various parts of the parish. Smith suggests *prēosta* 'may denote places set aside for the endowment of

²² Carole Hough, 'Women in Place-Names', in *Perceptions of Place: Twenty-First-Century interpretations of English Place-Name Studies*, ed. by J. Carroll and D.N. Parsons, (EPNS, 2013), pp.251-283, (p.266)

priests or monks', and thus financial gain may also be the reasoning for the priestly occupation of this area.²³

Industry, Trade and Farmland

There are many *-tūn* names in this corpus, denoting an enclosure or farmstead, and two reference a *type* of farming that was pursued in these areas. One exception is potentially Ashton Upon Mersey, with Ashton commonly meaning 'farmstead where ash-trees grow', OE *æsc* + *tūn*. The uses of ash trees in Anglo-Saxon times vary from the planting of Ash for religious/superstitious purposes and the more practical link with timber for tool making. In Ashton Upon Mersey the trees may act as a flood barrier between the River Mersey and the farmstead. Ash was clearly important in this area for it to be attached to not only this place-name, but also two others in the county. Brereton Cum

Smethwick is another farm name, Brereton meaning 'farmstead amongst the briars'. These briars could have been used for animal grazing as plant growth may have been limited due to poor soil which allowed the briars to grow. These plants can grow very tall, so the name could just as well refer to a visible briar border around the farm.

Smethwick, 'the smiths' hamlet', OE *smith* (gen.pl. *smeoþa*) + *wīc* along with Gawsorth, both reference Smiths, showing the importance of Smithery in Anglo-Saxon (and Brittonic) life.²⁴ Smethwick's name was probably instructive for nearby users of the Smith, and its vicinity to Astbury, 'a manor or stronghold', may suggest a reason for this Smith's location.

A more ambiguous place-name is Northenden, 'Northern enclosure', OE *north* + *worthign*. *Worthign* could denote a 'small enclosure in which a single dwelling stood in the settlement', thus suggesting a solitary life

²³ Smith, *English Place-Name Elements Part II*, p.73

²⁴ 'Smethwick Green, Smethwick Hall & Smethwick Lane', *Survey of English Place Names* <
<http://epns.nottingham.ac.uk/browse/Cheshire/Brereton/53283640b47fc40856000675-Smethwick+Green%2C+Smethwick+Hall+%26+Smethwick+Lane>> [accessed 10/11/2020]

for the occupant of this area, perhaps a single farming family.²⁵ The location-determining first element links it potentially with one of the many Suttons (south farmstead or village) in the area, all of which lie south of Northenden. Alternatively, this enclosure is notably at the Cheshire-Lancashire border, and thus is to the general north of Cheshire as a whole.

Cheshire was largely known for its salt industry, with salt occurring as Halite (rock salt) 30-50m below Cheshire, sometimes appearing in brine springs on the surface.²⁶ This can be evidenced in the place-names of Middlewich and Witton from this corpus, both with the element OE *wīc* which in this case means 'salt-works'. Both Witton (now incorporated as part of Northwich, another salt-related name) and Middlewich lie near each other, with Middlewich bordering Nantwich (yet another salt name). The importance of salt to Anglo-Saxons is evident as salt was a highly prized commodity for meat preservation and was even payment in Roman times. It is assumed the Roman name of Middlewich (*Salinae*) was lost to the Anglo-Saxon name due to the significance of the commodity in the place and likely consistent local OE speech about the area. Commodities like salt were sold at markets, one of which, Stockport 'market-place at an outlying hamlet', OE *stoc + port*, can be seen in this corpus. Smith states '*port*' to mean 'a town with market rights' with its location on the River Mersey making it useful for transportation.²⁷ As the first attestation of this name is not in Domesday unlike most of the parishes it borders, this market town may have been part of a bigger estate and not surveyed separately, despite the place-name suggesting it was a hub for local trade.

Administration and Boundary Markers

Several place-names mark areas for meetings, administration between hundreds, or the marking of boundaries between counties and/or hundreds. Mobberley, 'clearing at the fortification where meetings are held'. OE *mōt + burh + lēah*, can be found at the boundary

²⁵ Smith, *English Place-Name Elements Part II*, pp.273-4

²⁶ Lageard and Drew, 'Evaporating Legacies', p.48

²⁷ Smith, *English Place-Name Elements Part II*, p.70

between the Bucklow and Macclesfield hundreds, possibly for judicial matters (as *mōt* can mean 'an assembly of people, esp. one concerned with judicial matters') in a neutral area or place of dual-significance, and was clearly a place of great importance.²⁸ Lying next to Knutsford, a significant river-crossing, Mobberley is in a well-connected area for people to travel to.

Marple, 'Pool or stream at the boundary', OE (*ge*)*mære* + *pyll*, is thought by the EPNS that this possibly refers to the River Goyt, which Marple sits next to, a known boundary between the counties of Cheshire and Derbyshire.²⁹ This was perhaps a meeting place of the counties or a now lost crossing place of sorts between the two, perhaps near where Marple Bridge now connects the counties.

Gelling has stated that meeting place markers were often a 'tumulus... a stone or a tree' and were 'as far away as possible from the settlements of the community it served and on the boundary between two or more estates'.³⁰ A potential meeting place is Goostrey 'the gorse bush', OE **gorst-trēow*, which sits on the boundary between the Macclesfield and Northwich hundreds. Gorse bushes have bright yellow flowers when in bloom, which may have served as a useful marker for a meeting place and/or boundary marker, as well as its ideal location bordering several parishes within the Northwich hundred.

Conclusion

It is seen in this essay that these 40 place-names hold priceless evidence in showing how the past peoples of Cheshire viewed the world around them. These names show communication between and development of different languages from Brittonic to Middle English, evidence of lost personal names and landmarks, proof of human interaction with the landscape and the significance to Anglo-Saxons of various areas for administration and

²⁸ Smith, *Part II*, p.44

²⁹ J.McN Dodgson, *Part I County Names, Regional- & Forest- Names, River-Names, Road-Names, The Place-Names Of Macclesfield Hundred*, ed. by K. Cameron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p.282

³⁰ Margaret Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (Sussex: Phillimore & Co. LTD., 1988), p.210

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farming. They are thus exceptionally important in helping to determine the landscape, languages, and history of Cheshire, showing it to be a diverse area with a rich past.

A Note on Abbreviations

OE= Old English

OScand = Old Scandinavian

db = Domesday Book

Appendix

All names, etymologies and definitions come from A.D Mills, *A Dictionary of British Place-Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) unless indicated otherwise.

Adlington - Ches. *Eduuintune* 1086 (db). 'estate associated with a man called Ēadwulf'. OE

pers. name + *-ing-* + *tūn*.

Alderley Edge – Ches. *Aldredelie* 1086 (db). 'Woodland clearing of a woman called

Althryth'. OE personal name + *lēah*. The 19th cent. Addition *Edge* is taken from the abrupt

escarpment here, itself called Alderley Edge (from OE *ecg*).

Altrincham- Traffd. *Aldringeham* 1290. 'Homestead of the family or followers of a man

called Aldhere', or 'homestead at the place associated with Aldhere'. OE pers. name + *-inga-*

or *-ing* + *hām*.

Ashton Upon Mersey - Traffd. *Asshton* 1408. a common name, usually 'farmstead where

ash-trees grow', OE *æsc* + *tūn*, On the River Mersey, 'boundary river' from OE *mære*

(genitive *-s*) + *ēa*.

Bowdon – Traffd. *Bogedone* 1086 (db). ‘Curved hill’. OE *boga* + *dūn*.

Brereton Cum Smethwick - Ches. *Bretone* [sic] 1086 (db), *Brereton* c.1100. ‘Farmstead amongst the briars’. OE *brē* + *tūn*.

Smethwick - Ches. *Smethewik(e)* 1312. ‘The smiths’ hamlet’. OE *smith* (gen.pl.

smeoþa) + *wīc*. From ‘*Smethwick Green, Smethwick Hall & Smethwick Lane*’,

Survey of English Place Names <

<http://epns.nottingham.ac.uk/browse/Cheshire/Brereton/53283640b47fc40856000675>

-*Smethwick+Green%2C+Smethwick+Hall+%26+Smethwick+Lane*> [accessed

10/11/2020]

Carrington- Traffd. *Carringtona* 12th cent. Possibly ‘estate associated with a man called *Cāra’. OE pers. name + *-ing-* + *tūn*. Alternatively the first element may be an OE **caring* ‘tending, herding’ or an OE **cæring* ‘river-bend’.

Cheadle - Stockp. *Cedde* 1086 (db), *Chedle* c.1165. from Celtic **cēd* ‘wood’ to which an explanatory OE *lēah* ‘wood’ has been added.

Chelford – Ches. *Celeford* 1086 (db). Probably ‘ford of a man called Cēola’. OE pers. name + *ford*. Alternatively the first element could be OE *ceole* ‘throat’, used in a topographical sense ‘channel, gorge’.

Church Minshull- Ches. *Maneshale* [sic] 1086 (db), *Chirchemunsulf* late 13th cent. ‘Shelf or ledge of a man called Monn’. OE pers. name + *scelf*. Affix is OE *cirice* ‘church’.

Davenham - Ches. *Devenham* 1086 (db). ‘Homestead or village on the River Dane’. Celtic river-name (meaning ‘trickling stream’) + OE *hām*.

Disley – Ches. *Destesleg* c.1251. OE *lēah* ‘wood, woodland clearing’ with an obscure first element, possibly an OE **dystels* ‘mound or heap’.

Gawsworth – Ches. *Govesurde* 1086 (db). Probably ‘enclosure of the smith’. Welsh *gof* + OE *worth*.

Goostrey – Ches. *Gostrel* [sic] 1086 (db), *Gorestre* c.1200. ‘The gorse bush’. OE **gorst-trēow*.

Great Budworth- Ches. *Budewrde* 1086 (db), ‘enclosure of a man called Budda’, OE pers. name + *worth*.

High Legh – Ches. *Lege* 1086 (db). '(Place at) the wood or woodland clearing'. OE *lēah*, with the addition of *High* from the 15th cent.

Knutsford – Ches. *Cunetesford* 1086 (db). Probably 'ford of a man called Knútr'. OScand. pers. name + OE *ford*.

Lower Peover – Ches. *Pevre* 1086 (db). Named from the River Peover, a Celtic river-name meaning 'the bright one'.

Lower Whitley - Ches. *Witelei* 1086 (db). 'white wood or clearing', OE *hwīt* + *lēah*.

Lymm – Warrtn. *Lime* 1086 (db). 'The noisy stream or torrent'. OE *hlimme*.

Marple - Stockp. *Merpille* early 13th cent. 'Pool or stream at the boundary'. OE (ge)*mære* + *pyll*.

Middlewich- Ches. *Wich*, *Mildestuich* 1086 (db). 'Middlemost salt-works'. OE *midlest* + *wīc*.

Mobberley – Ches. *Motburlege* 1086 (db). 'Clearing at the fortification where meetings are held'. OE *mōt* + *burh* + *lēah*.

Northenden – Manch. *Norwordine* 1086 (db). 'Northern enclosure'. OE *north* + *worthign*.

Over- Ches. *Ovre* 1086 (db). '(place at) the ridge or slope', OE **ofer*.

Over Peover - Ches. *Pevre* 1086, (db). Named from the River Peover, a Celtic river-name meaning 'the bright one'.

Poynton – Ches. *Povinton* 1249. 'Estate associated with a man called *Pofa'. OE pers. name + *-ing-* + *tūn*.

Prestbury - Ches. *Presteberi* 1181. 'manor of the priests', OE *prēost* + *burh* (dative *byrig*).

Rainow – Ches. *Rauenouh* 1285. 'Hill-spur frequented by ravens'. OE *hræfn* + *hōh*.

Rostherne – Ches. *Rodestorne* 1086 (db). 'Thorn-tree of a man called Rauthr'. OScand. pers. name + OE *thorn* or *thyrne*.

Sandbach- Ches. *Sanbec* 1086 (db). 'Sandy valley-stream'. OE *sand* + *bæce*.

Siddington- Ches. *Sudendune* 1086 (db). '(Place) south of the hill'. OE *sūthan* + *dūn*.

Stockport- Stockp. *Stokeport* c.1170. 'Market-place at an outlying hamlet'. OE *stoc* + *port*.

Swettenham – Ches. *Suetenham* late 12th cent. 'Homestead or enclosure of a man called Swēta'. OE pers. name (genitive *-n*) + *hām* or *hamm*.

Warburton – Traffd. *Wareburgetune* 1086 (db). 'Farmstead or village of a woman called Wærburh'. OE pers. name + *tūn*.

Warmingham- Ches. *Warmincham* 1259. 'Homestead of the family or followers of a man called *Wæрма* or *Wærmund*', or 'homestead at *Wæрма*'s or *Wærmund*'s place'. OE pers. name + *-inga-* or *-ing* + *hām*.

Weaverham- Ches. *Wivreham* 1086 (db). River-name (from OE **wēfer* 'winding' or from ancestor of Welsh *gwefr* 'amber-coloured') + OE *hām*.

Whitegate- Ches. *Whytegate* 1540. 'The white gate'. OE *hwīt* + *geat*, referring to the outer gate of Vale Royal Abbey.

Wilmslow – Ches. *Wilmesloe* c.1250. 'Mound of a man called *Wīghelm*'. OE pers. name + *hlāw*.

Witton- Ches. *Witune* 1086 (db). 'Estate with a salt-works'. OE *wīc* + *tūn*.

A Note on the Illustrations

Figures 1,2,3,4,5,7&8 all come from <<https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>>

Figure 6 'Rainow Low from Billinge Side' is courtesy of *Welcome to Rainow*<
<http://www.rainow.org/>> [accessed 19/12/2020]

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