

# THE NORMAN FOREST OF KINVER: AN ANALYSIS OF THE FOREST'S EXTENT AND PLACE-NAMES RECORDED IN THE GREAT PERAMBULATION OF 1300

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## SUMMARY

*Over the last century or so attempts have been made to map many of the Norman forests of England. This is a time-consuming and difficult undertaking, not just because approximately one hundred forests are known,<sup>1</sup> but also because the process may rely upon detailed and, in some cases, unpublished local knowledge. It is unsurprising, therefore, that nationwide mapping is sometimes lacking in detail. With this in mind, the present article sets out to examine the boundary of Kinver forest as recorded in the Great Perambulation of 1300. The forest is demonstrated to have been considerably more extensive than depicted on previously published maps; and several potentially informative observations have been made with regard to the place-names referenced in the perambulation.*

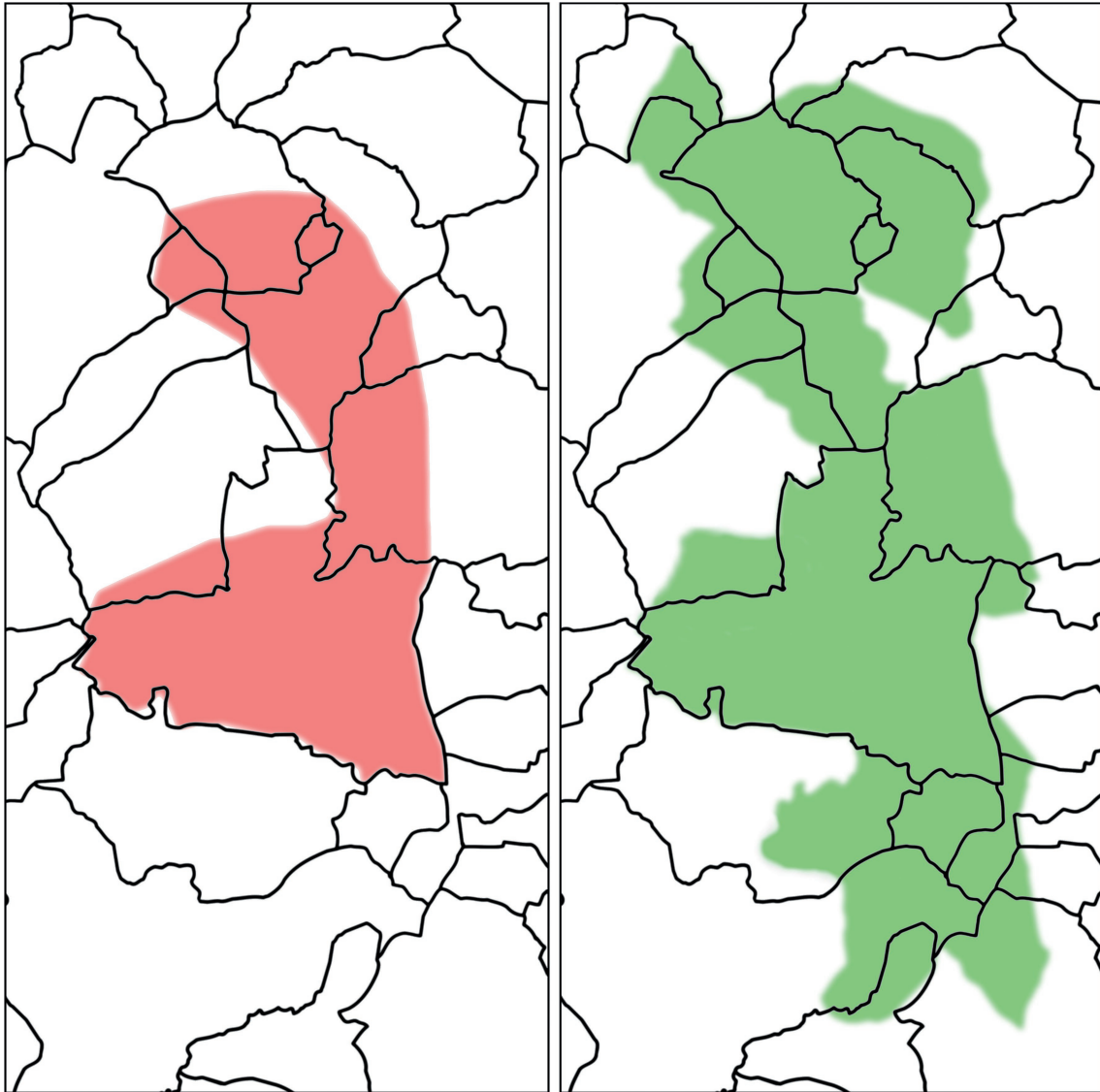
## INTRODUCTION

The term 'forest' should not be confused with 'wood'. Whilst it is certainly true that tracts of the Norman forests were heavily wooded, there were also large clearings and significant areas of heathland within them. 'Forest' was a legal, rather than a topographical, term signifying land set aside for the benefit of the king and, with royal permission, his nobles. Although forestry had its roots in Anglo-Saxon land-management practices, it took the Normans to develop it into a widespread, formal system of legally reserved areas. Very many forests were established, and expanded, after the Conquest causing some settlements – such as *Haswic* (Ashwood) near Kingswinford – to be deserted after being subsumed within the forest.<sup>2</sup>

Very specific forest laws were overseen by a dedicated system of courts and officers. This legal and administrative framework was designed to protect royal privileges over forest land, as well as the income from it; and, within a short period of time, it came to encapsulate the king's exclusive entitlement to hunt deer and boar. Although local communities were eventually granted limited rights within the forest (e.g. rights of pasture and certain types of wood-cutting), onerous legal regimes remained. Stringent restrictions were placed upon commoners with regard to hunting and felling of trees for timber. Those infringing forest law faced punishments ranging from fines (sometimes no more than a token sum or the value of the asset taken) to mutilation or death, the penalties becoming much more severe under William II (1087–1100). The forest system clearly disadvantaged many of those living under its shadow but forest management and administration provided an income for some. From the late 13th century forest land began to be released from the restrictions imposed by the Crown, and the importance of the forests gradually diminished over subsequent centuries. The growth, operation, and decline of England's forests is a complex story into which it is not practicable to delve in the present article. More information on the subject can be found in a number of specialist publications.<sup>3</sup>

Kinver forest extended for a considerable distance around its core settlement at Kinver in Staffordshire, spanning both the Shropshire county boundary in the west and the Worcestershire boundary in the south and south-east. Along its eastern edge lay the manors of Kingswinford, Amblecote, Oldswinford, Pedmore, Hagley, and Clent which appear to have been royal land during the late Anglo-Saxon period and thereafter. The Swinford charter of the mid 10th century details a gift of royal land, occupying parts of what later became Oldswinford and Pedmore manors, to Burhelm,

- 1 Estimates vary widely; the reasons for this variance are complex but are outlined in G. Jones, 'Medieval Forests and Chases: Another Realm?', in J. Langton and G. Jones (eds), *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000– c.1500* (2010), 20–2.
- 2 J. Morris, C. Thorn, and F. Thorn, *Phillimore County Notes: Notes, version 1a* (2011), University of Hull, RTF file accessible via <<https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:554>>, paragraphs 1,27 and 7,6.
- 3 For example, Langton and Jones (eds), *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales* (2010); D. Jørgensen, 'The Roots of the English Royal Forest', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 32 (*Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 2009*, ed. Chris Lewis; 2010), 114–128; D. Hooke, *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England* (2010); R. Muir, *Ancient Trees, Living Landscapes* (2006).



**Fig. 1** Comparison of the outlines of Kinver forest as determined by Langton and Jones (red) and in the present study (green). Both are shown against the local pattern of Ancient Parish boundaries; and both omit the detached portion of the forest at Tettenhall.

the king's minister.<sup>4</sup> And, just over a century later, Domesday Book records Kinver and Clent (the latter then being in Worcestershire, though fiscally administered in Staffordshire) as paying their renders in Kingswinford, which was then still a royal manor. Kinver may also have been a royal estate before 1066; and it was not until some time between 1086 and 1254 that Kingswinford was gifted away by the Crown, ending up, along with Clent, in the hands of Roger de Somery.<sup>5</sup> It is not known exactly when this transfer took place but, as Clent remained royal land in the 12th century,<sup>6</sup> it may be that Kingswinford was also still owned by the Crown at that date. As Oliver Rackham, the respected historical ecologist and woodland specialist, has noted, 'The sites of forests were decided

4 The Electronic Sawyer, 'Charter S 579, King Eadred (? for Eadwig or Edgar) to Burhelm, his minister; grant of 6 hides (mansae) at Old Swinford, Worcs. A.D. 951 x 955 (or 957 x 959)', <<https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/charter/579.html>>; K. James, 'The Swinford Charter (S 579): A more complex origin for Oldswinford?', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, third series, 24 (2014), 121–40; K. James, 'The Swinford Charter (S579) of AD 951–9: A new interpretation of the boundary clause and thoughts on the origin of Oldswinford and Pedmore parishes' (2017), PDF article available from the author's personal website <[http://www.swinfordcharter.kjdocs.co.uk/Swinford Charter AD 951-9 rev\\_17\\_07\\_17 Optimised.pdf](http://www.swinfordcharter.kjdocs.co.uk/Swinford%20Charter%20AD%20951-9%20rev_17_07_17%20Optimised.pdf)>

5 Morris, Thorn, and Thorn, *Phillimore County Notes*, <<https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:554>> paragraph 1,1.

6 C. K. Currie, 'Clent Hills, Worcestershire: An archaeological and historical survey', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, third series, 16 (1998), 187.

not by the terrain but by where the king had lands or palaces’;<sup>7</sup> and, given the proximity of royal land to Kinver, it is perhaps not surprising that a forest became established in the immediate vicinity.

The present investigation assesses the bounds of Kinver forest as described in the Great Perambulation of 1300. It examines the place-names referenced therein and considers what they reveal about the historical geography of the forest as well as of the region in general.

The most recent and extensive studies of forest boundaries in England have been undertaken by John Langton and Graham Jones of Oxford University; their composite maps, which are said to represent the forests’ maximum extent, are available online.<sup>8</sup> Map 130 displays the outline of Kinver forest, but the source and date of the boundary information used is not clear, and Langton and Jones’ outline of the forest differs significantly from that charted in the present article (see fig. 1). It should be borne in mind that, as these researchers have investigated very many forest boundaries across England, it may not have been practicable for them to analyse each one in as much depth as has been possible in the single study described here. An earlier analysis presented in the Victoria County History of Stafford appears to be more accurate but, like Langton and Jones’ map, omits that part of the forest which, in 1300, extended into Worcestershire.<sup>9</sup>

## KINVER FOREST AS RECORDED IN THE GREAT PERAMBULATION

The forest’s boundaries were reviewed, along with those of numerous other English forests, in 1300. A record of this exercise survives in a document known as the ‘Great Perambulation’ which details the landmarks that one would encounter while walking the forest’s perimeter.<sup>10</sup>

The perambulation of the forest of Kynfare [Kinver] in the county of Estafford [Stafford], made before Roger Brabazon, William Boutevileyn, John Druwel, and Henry de Guldeford, justices of the king assigned to make it, on the Saturday in the week of Pentecost, 28 Edward [14 June 1300], in the presence of John son of Philip, warden (*gardien*) of the forest, Richard de Prestwode, forester of the fee, John de Perton, Philip de Lutteleye, and Warin de Penne, verderers of the forest, and by the oath of Robert de Estaundon, William de Mere, Geoffrey de Gresel, John de Wasteneys, Henry de Cressewall, Hugh de Weston, and Henry Mauveisyn, knights (*chevalers*); William de Wrottesleye, Robert le Hunt, Stephen de Wolaston, Richard Sprigornel, Michael de Morton, Henry de Alrewas, Robert de Somerford, Thomas de Tytnesovere, Robert de Sewallefeyle, Henry de Verdoun, William de Tymmor, Richard de Beckebury, Robert de Horseleye, William de Tamenhorn, John de Cressewall, John de Tresel, Master (*Mestre*) Robert de Kyderminstre, Clement de Dunclet, Richard de Stone, and Thomas de Lutteleye, who state that the bounds of the said forest of Kinver begin at the water (*le We*) of Smethestall, and so descending by the water of Tresel as far as the stream (*doit*) of Hinkesford, and thence ascending as far as the high road (*haute veie*) to Holebach, and then by the said road as far as a stream which is between the vill of Amelecote and the vill of Kyngeswyneford, and then descending from this stream as far as le olde forde, and then ascending as far as le Ruggesende, and then ascending by a footpath (*sente*) as far as le Croked Apeltre, and thus as far as Wolfes Wrosne, and then ascending as far as Feckebury, and so as far as Beefold, and thence to Ovemaste mere, and then ascending as far as Wheldon hulle, and thus to Durhull, and then as far as Doune Coppe, and then ascending as far as Furslades, and then as far as Berkes medwe, and so ascending by the water of Stoure as far as a hedge (*haie*) which is the boundary between the manor of Kynefare and Wolvadesleye, and then by the before-mentioned hedge as far as the wood (*bois*) of Kynefare, and so ascending as far as le Merehul under (*sus*) le Stonyhul, and then ascending as far as le Mere Ok on le Egge coppe, and so descending to the high road which goes to Kideminstre, and then across (*entravers*) this road as far as Kyngesfordes mere, and then between the meres of Kynnyngford and Kynefare as far as the boundaries of Arleye, and then between the bounds of Kynefare and Arleye as far as the bounds of Rommesleye, and then as far as Nonemonnesleye, and then ascending by the lane (*venelle*) as far as Hevedyord, which is as far as Depedale, and thence to Romn’e, and then descending by a water-course (*sichet*) as far as Liones meduwe, and then by the high road which is called Chestrewy as far as Spitelbrouk, and then descending as far as Fulsiche, and then ascending by Fousliche as far as le Urle strete, and so to Blake slouch’, and then under (*desuz*) le Rugge as far as le Brocholes, and so to Quartsouk near Two eth’, and then ascending by a road near to le Birchles, by the said road to le Holou mereheved, and so by the said road as far as a footpath

7 O. Rackham, *The Illustrated History of the Countryside* (2003), 66.

8 J. Langton and G. Jones, ‘Forests and Chases in England and Wales to c. 1850’, website (publication date unspecified) accompanying Langton and Jones (eds), *Forests and Chases* (2010), <<http://info.sjc.ox.ac.uk/forests/ForestMapTiles.html>>

9 M. W. Greenslade and J. G. Jenkins (eds), *The Victoria History of the County of Stafford* [hereafter *VCH Staffordshire*], II (1967), 336.

10 The National Archives, Kew, C 67/6A, m. 18. A translation from the original French was published in 1884 as an appendix to an edition of plea rolls (1262 x 1286) for Cannock and Kinver forests: G. Wrottesley (ed.), ‘Pleas of the Forest. Staffordshire’, *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* (William Salt Archaeological Society), [1st ser.] V (1) (1884), 123–75; with appendix ‘Perambulations of the forests of Cannock and Kinver, 28 E. I., A.D. 1300’ at pp. 176–80 (with the Kinver text at 179–80), citing [Public Record Office], Chancery Miscellanea Roll, no. 113, m. 18. Dr Paul Dryburgh of TNA is thanked for identifying the modern class number and for sending digital images of the manuscript.

In the text edited here (from The National Archives, C 67/6A), personal forenames have been modernised but toponyms. Some of the readings correct those given in the 1884 edition.

(*sente*) under (*desuz*) la Sholle, and so by this path as far as Badicoteswey, and so descending by this road to Smethestalleswey, and by Smethestallswey as far as Smethestalleford, at the place whence the bounds commence. And they say that the forest (*foreste*) of our lord the king remains within these boundaries.

And they say that by the boundaries given below the wood of Kyngesleye and the manor of Tettenhale are the demesne (*les demeyns*) of the king in the forest, that is from Whistewyke forde ascending by the way which leads from Whistwyk towards Estafford as far as the mill (*molyn*) of Rodesford, and so from the mill as far as le Doun poul, and from le doun poul descending as far as milboruwe Wall', and so descending as far as le Whitebon in Saffemor, and so descending as far as Oxneford, and so ascending by a water-course as far as the high way which leads from Trescote towards Wuluerenehampton, and then by the aforesaid way as far as Poukediches Lydegate, and then by a way as far as Wythtewykesforde.

And they say that the vills of Nethre Penne, Overton, Tresel, and Seysdon, Womburn, and Swyndon, and a part of Humele leye, a part of the land of Kyngeswyneford, a part of the land of Amelecote, the vill of Wolaston, a part of Swyneford, of Pebbemor, of Haggeleye, of Brome, the vill of Chircheshull, the vill of Wennorton, a part of Yeldentre, of Chaddest', of Hurcote, of the waste of Kyderminstr', the vills of Dunelent, Hetheye, and the vills of Wolvardeley, Kynnyngford, Arleye, Evenesfeud, Morf, and Luttele, Bobyngton, with the wood and the wastes and the appurtenances, have been afforested since the coronation of King Henry the great-grandfather of the present king. In testimony of which things the jurors above named have set their seals.

## INTERPRETATION

In assessing the forest's extent, the final paragraph provides a useful starting point. This list of places within the forest was noted in the Victoria County History of Stafford,<sup>11</sup> but no comment was made there about the designation of only certain places as a 'vill'. The term 'vill' generally refers to a discrete settlement and its immediate lands, while those place-names not so designated seem to refer to entire manors (which may have enclosed more than one vill). Table 1 summarises, in a more readily understandable form, the places said to be within the forest, listing them in the same order as in the original text. The final seven vills (each marked with an asterisk) are specified somewhat differently; unfortunately, the perambulation is not entirely clear on what this means. As we will see in the following analysis, at least six (and perhaps all) of these seven vills fall outside the forest's boundary (i.e. outside the boundary described in the perambulation). There would seem to be two possible explanations for this:

- a) Each vill, together with its 'wood, wastes and appurtenances', constituted a detached portion of the forest or (for an unknown reason) was regarded as being separate in some way from the main part of the forest.
- b) Alternatively, the perambulation's wording (in French) may have been constructed incorrectly to indicate that these vills were wholly included within the forest, whereas the intended meaning was that only the vills' detached 'wood, wastes and appurtenances', to the extent that they fell within the perambulated area, were parts of the forest, even though each vill's settlement centre and cultivated lands lay outside.

Whichever of these represents the correct geographical interpretation, it should be remembered that the vills may also have served various functions relating to forest management and administration.

The penultimate paragraph details the king's demesne lands within the forest. This area lies in the vicinity of Tettenhall and is detached from the main part of the forest which extended from the wastes of Kidderminster in the south to Rudge Hall and Lower Penn in the north. Accordingly, I will deal with them as separate perambulations. In the following sections, each perambulation is divided into its constituent 'waypoints', and each waypoint is examined individually, with regard to both Table 1 and the meaning of the place-name(s) referenced, in order to infer the waypoint's geographical location.

Several waypoints, particularly in the perambulation of the detached portion of the forest, specify that we must either ascend or descend to them. Repeated ascent or descent indicated over several consecutive waypoints (e.g. waypoints D4–D6 below) seems potentially unrealistic; and, rather than adhering to these instructions rigidly (i.e. in the light of the accurate altitude measurements on modern maps) I have attempted to consider how the landscape might have been perceived by those who compiled the perambulation. If the boundary followed a stream or drainage channel, changes in altitude would be very obvious and so, in such cases, an instruction to descend or ascend has

<sup>11</sup> *VCH Staffordshire*, II, 343.

**Table 1** Places within Kinver forest according to the 1300 perambulation. The first two relate to the king's demesne lands at Tettenhall, the remainder to the main portion of the forest. Entries marked with an asterisk are recorded differently to the others (see text).

Place-name	Modern place-name	Portion in Kinver forest
<i>wood of Kyngesleye</i>	Tettenhall Wood	whole wood, coincident with Kingsley manor
<i>manor of Tettenhale</i>	Tettenhall Regis	whole manor, consisting of two detached parts
<i>Nethre Penne</i>	Lower Penn	whole vill
<i>Overton</i>	Orton	whole vill
<i>Tresel</i>	Trysull	whole vill
<i>Seysdon</i>	Seisdon	whole vill
<i>Womburn</i>	Wombourn	whole vill
<i>Swyndon</i>	Swindon	whole vill
<i>Humele leye</i>	Himley	part of the manor
<i>Kingswyneford</i>	Kingswinford	part of the manor's lands
<i>Amelecote</i>	Amblecote	part of the manor's lands
<i>Wolaston</i>	Wollaston	whole vill
<i>Swyneford</i>	Oldswinford	part of the manor
<i>Pebbemor</i>	Pedmore	part of the manor
<i>Haggeleye</i>	Hagley	part of the manor
<i>Brome</i>	Broom	part of the manor
<i>Chircheshull</i>	Churchill	whole manor (including vill)
<i>Wennorton</i>	Wannerton	whole vill
<i>Yeldentre</i>	Yieldingtree	part of the vill
<i>Chaddest'</i>	Chaddeseley (Corbett)	part of the manor
<i>Hurcote</i>	Hurcott	part of the vill
<i>Kyderminstr'</i>	Kidderminster	part of the manor's wastes (uncultivated land)
<i>Dunelent</i>	Dunclet	whole vill
<i>Hetheye</i>	Heathy Mill	whole vill
<i>*Wolvardeley</i>	Wolverley	whole vill with wood, wastes and appurtenances
<i>*Kynnyngford</i>	Kingsford	whole vill with wood, wastes and appurtenances
<i>*Arleye</i>	Areley	whole vill with wood, wastes and appurtenances
<i>*Evenesfeud</i>	Enville	whole vill with wood, wastes and appurtenances
<i>*Morfe</i>	Morfe	whole vill with wood, wastes and appurtenances
<i>*Lutteley</i>	Lutley	whole vill with wood, wastes and appurtenances
<i>*Bobyngton</i>	Bobbington	whole vill with wood, wastes and appurtenances

been taken at face value. Movement by road or through heath-land, however, tends to involve both increases and decreases in altitude, and the perception of whether this is an overall ascent or descent may be affected by factors such as any particularly steep sections traversed, especially if such sections lie near to the end-points of travel. I have assumed, therefore, a corresponding degree of latitude when interpreting the words 'ascending' or 'descending' in such waypoints.

## THE KING'S DEMESNE WITHIN THE FOREST

This part of the perambulation represents land within a detached portion of Kinver forest located in the ancient parish of Tettenhall near Wolverhampton. Its nine waypoints are labelled D1 to D9 below and in fig. 2, the D prefix (for 'Demesne') differentiating them from those of the main (larger) part of the forest to the south. Collectively, these nine waypoints describe a circuit around the settlements of Tettenhall, Tettenhall Wood (formerly Kingsley Wood<sup>12</sup>), Compton, part of Finchfield, and Wightwick, together with a tract of land extending north to the Codsall parish boundary, as follows.

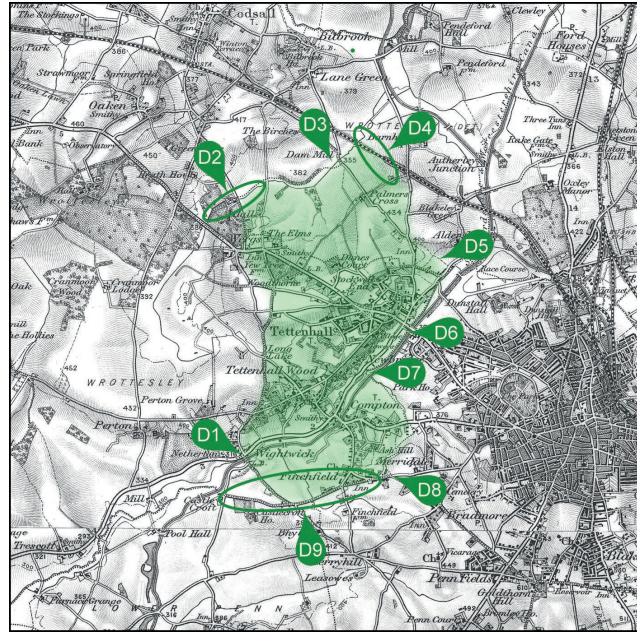
### D1. from *Whistewyke forde*

This is almost certainly a ford through the Smestow brook, formerly known as *Tresel*,<sup>13</sup> at Wightwick. Presumably the ford lay near the present bridge at SO 871983. This place-name appears to derive

<sup>12</sup> The perambulation's 'wood of *Kyngesleye*' is presumably to be identified with Kingsley Wood, the former name of Tettenhall Wood, known to have been a detached portion of Kinver forest: *VCH Staffordshire*, II, 343; D. Horovitz, *The Place-Names of Staffordshire* (privately printed, 2005), 343.

<sup>13</sup> E. Ekwall, *English River Names* (1928), 372, 419–20; E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (1960), 427. Since recent dredging, Smestow brook is now more correctly known as the River Smestow.

**Fig. 2** The detached portion of the forest, being the king's demesne lands at Tettenhall. The D prefix (for 'Demesne') in the waypoint numbers differentiates them from those of the main (larger) part of the forest to the south. The perambulation encloses, as one unit, the two detached parts of the manor of Tettenhall Regis and the manor of Kingsley (now the area known as Tettenhall Wood). Background: Ordnance Survey, 1", sheet 153 (1898) and Ordnance Survey, 1", sheet 167 (1899).



from the Old English (OE) personal name \**Wihta* and OE *wīc* 'a trading settlement or village', such as one supporting a dairy farm or smithy.<sup>14</sup>

**D2. ascending by the way which leads from Whistwyk towards Estafford as far as the mill (*molyn*) of Rodesford**

Stafford lies about 16 miles (26 km) north-north-east of Wightwick and, although the complete course of the perambulation's Wightwick–Stafford road has not been traced, it is clear that it must have departed Wightwick in a roughly northerly direction, most probably ascending Wightwick Bank and continuing along Mill Lane and Yew Tree Lane in the general direction of (The) Wergs and Oaken. Much of this route follows the boundary of the ancient parish of Tettenhall Regis.<sup>15</sup>

The River Penk flows to the north of Wergs Hall and was forded by several roads in this vicinity: a track leading west to Wrottesley Hall and Lodge; the main road (now the A41) to Boningale; a road leading north-north-west to Oaken and Codsall, and Keepers Lane which leads north towards Lane Green and Bilbrook. It is likely that one of these crossing points was *Rodesford* and that the *mill of Rodesford* lay close by. Neither the mill, nor a mill pond is apparent on 19th-century Ordnance Survey (OS) maps, although *Rodesford* has been reported as being 'near the present Wergs Hall'.<sup>16</sup> It is probably safe to assume that this waypoint was located no more than about 330 yards (300 m) from the Wergs–Oaken road at SJ 870159.

**D3. and so from the mill as far as *le Doun poul***

The element *poul* probably equates to the modern English 'pool' (from OE *pōl*, *pull* 'a pool, a pond, a pool in a river' or perhaps 'a stream, a rivulet'<sup>17</sup>). *Doun* is most likely the Middle English (ME) term for 'a hill, an expanse of open hill country', from OE *dūn*.<sup>18</sup> In some cases *dūn* was used for a hill-side sloping down to a marsh. If that is a correct assessment of this waypoint-name we have to look for a pool (or a rivulet) on a hill or slope, perhaps overlooking marshy ground. Alternatively, *Doun* could have originated from the similar OE word *dune* 'down, below', used elliptically for 'a place below'.

The 'and so' in the waypoint suggests either that *le Doun poul* lay along the road that we have hitherto been travelling (i.e. that it was located somewhere to the north of Wergs in the vicinity of Oaken or Codsall) or that it was situated along a route that was obvious from our current position, perhaps along the course of the River Penk as it flowed north-east towards Dam Mill. Given the probable location of adjacent waypoints, the latter possibility seems to be the most likely.

*Doun* was an early name attributed to Dam Mill on the Codsall boundary at SJ 883022. Although this has been described as 'aberrant or mistranscribed',<sup>19</sup> the location does seem to fit the known meanings of both OE *dūn* and *dune*. With regard to the former word, *dūn*, Dam Mill overlooks a

<sup>14</sup> Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 576.

<sup>15</sup> Depicted on Ordnance Survey [hereafter OS], 1", sheet 153 (1899), and detailed in F. A. Youngs Jr., *Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England*, II, 425. The bounds of the manor of Tettenhall Regis are described in M. W. Greenslade (ed.), *VCH Staffordshire*, XX (1984), 15.

<sup>16</sup> Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 462–3.

<sup>17</sup> PNE 2, 68–9.

<sup>18</sup> PNE 1, 138.

<sup>19</sup> Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 223.

relatively flat area of (presumably marshy) ground crossed by a network of streams. It is also possible that *dune* ('a place below') was thought a fitting name for Dam Mill's mill-pool since, as we have seen, the mill of *Rodesford* (perhaps with its own mill pond) lay about a mile above it (i.e. upstream).

The question then arises as to whether a hypothetical *dūn myln* or *dune myln* (*myln* being the OE term for 'a mill'<sup>20</sup>) could have developed into the recorded forms *Dom mulne* (1341) and *Dommulne* (1412) and then, over two centuries later, *Damme mylne* (1616) and *Damm Mills* (1652). The latter form might suggest that two or more mills, possibly within the same building, existed in this vicinity by 1652.

#### **D4. and from *le doun poul* descending as far as *milboruwe Wall***

The first element of *milboruwe* may be from OE *myln* which, as already noted, meant 'a mill', often a water-powered mill. A less likely interpretation is that it derives from OE *mīl* 'mile-',<sup>21</sup> perhaps indicating the distance that this waypoint lay from some central place, presumably the vill of Tettenhall.

The second element, *-boruwe*, probably represents a word that tends to become '-borough' in modern place-names. The most obvious candidate for this is OE *burh*, the root meaning of which is 'fortification, a fortified place' but is sometimes used for: a pre-English earthwork or Roman camp; an Anglo-Saxon fortification; a post-Conquest castle; or 'a fortified house or manor' e.g. a fortified residence, sometimes a manor (house) or centre of an estate.<sup>22</sup> It may be the latter senses which apply here; perhaps there was a small estate associated with a mill. By 1341 the Dean of Wolverhampton owned a mill at Dam Mill;<sup>23</sup> it is not certain whether the mill was built at about this time but, if associated with an earlier landholding, it might account for the term *-boruwe* in this waypoint.

OE *beorg* 'rounded hill or tumulus'<sup>24</sup> also produces 'borough' fairly frequently in later name forms although, within the area which we would expect *milboruwe Wall* to lie (roughly east of the previous waypoint), there is a general absence of pronounced hills. The meaning 'tumulus' is still a possibility, but it is difficult to imagine what a '*mil-tumulus Wall*' might be. OE *burna* 'a spring, a stream' is yet another potential source of a -borough type name, yet such a development is rare, Warnborough in Hampshire being the only documented example.<sup>25</sup> ME *borow* 'a burrow'<sup>26</sup> can probably be ruled out as, in place-names, this would be expected to appear in combination with an animal name, which does not seem to be the case here.

The word *milboruwe* is an unusual construct for a place-name derived from topographical or habitative elements, so an origin from a personal name should also be considered. Perhaps the closest analogue is Stoke St Milborough near Ludlow, a name which commemorates St Mildburg (or Mildburh), the daughter of the 7th-century King Merewalh of the Magonsæte.<sup>27</sup> It is doubtful, however, that the present waypoint-name contains a reference to St Mildburg. She is associated primarily with the area around Much Wenlock and the Clee Hills in former Magonsætan territory, rather than with the Tettenhall region which was, of course, in central Mercia.

Fortunately, the final word, *Wall*, appears to be of more help. It appears in abbreviated form with one or more letters omitted from its end. The word may be a development of OE (Mercian) *walle*, 'a spring';<sup>28</sup> OE *walu* 'a ridge of earth or stone';<sup>29</sup> or OE (Anglian) *wall* 'a wall'.<sup>30</sup> As a place-name element, the last example was used not just for the walls of buildings, but often for defensive ramparts of stone, earth etc. Sometimes this was a town wall; often it referred to defensive Roman walls and banks. In the place-names Blackwall and Millwall (in Middlesex), -wall referred to a bank designed to constrain the River Thames;<sup>31</sup> and it is not inconceivable that this word had a similar meaning in the present waypoint, referring to banks designed to control the course of the

20 PNE 2, 46.

21 PNE 2, 41 lists, as place-name elements, compounds of *mīl* with other words such as *mīl-gemearc* 'a mile-mark'; *mīl-gemet* 'a mile-distance' or possibly 'a mile-stone'; *mīl-stan* 'a mile-stone'.

22 PNE 1, 58–62.

23 VCH *Staffordshire*, XX, 85.

24 PNE 1, 29–30.

25 R. Coates, *The Place-Names of Hampshire* (1989), 170; V. Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (2004), 652.

26 PNE 1, 57.

27 S. Zaluckyj, *Mercia: The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Central England* (2011), 90–1; PN Sa 1, 283.

28 PNE 2, 236.

29 PNE 2, 245.

30 PNE 2, 244–5.

31 PN Mdx, 135–6; PNE 2, 244–5.

River Penk. In that context, OE *walu*, which is found solely in charter perambulations, might have been an equally suitable word.

Early OS maps reveal several artificially straightened stretches of the Penk in this vicinity, including, apparently, parallel channels in places. The water-course up-stream of Dam Mill flows parallel to the Codsall–Tettenhall Regis parish boundary, offset from it by just a few tens of yards. It was common for brooks and rivers to delineate parish boundaries, so this juxtaposition further suggests that the present water-course is, in fact, an artificial (or partly artificial) channel created to run alongside the original course of the river. Several mills existed on the Penk near Dam Mill by the late medieval period and such artificial channel(s) may have served as mill leats.<sup>32</sup> It is thus possible that an associated embankment or the dam of a mill pond was the *milboruwe Wall* of the present waypoint.

Regardless of the exact meaning of *milboruwe Wall*, it may be relevant that the element *wall* appears in two place-names near to Dam Mill. The first, *Cronewall*, is depicted south-east of Dam Mill on Joseph Browne's 1682 map and Robert Morden's 1695 map of Staffordshire.<sup>33</sup> The fact that it is included at all on these maps suggests it was then a place of at least moderate importance. The earliest recorded form of this name is *Cronkwall* in c. 1225,<sup>34</sup> but it was known as *Cronkhal* by 1946.<sup>35</sup> Several etymologies have been suggested: OE *cranuc* 'a heron, or similar bird', with OE (Mercian) *walle* 'a spring', thus 'heron spring'; or OE *\*cronc* 'a winding path, bent, crooked, twisted', with OE *wall*, *weall* 'wall', meaning 'the crooked wall'.<sup>36</sup> Another potentially related name was noted nearby in the 19th century, a parcel of land some 200–300 yards (about 200–300 metres) downstream from Dam Mill being listed as 'part of the *Wallery Meadow*'.<sup>37</sup> The significance of the place-names *Cronewall* and *Wallery Meadow*, and their relationship (if any) to *milboruwe Wall*, is unclear but, if they are related, it seems that they referenced an extended area around the Penk east of Dam Mill. At least some of *Cronewall*'s lands appear to have belonged to the manor of Tettenhall Clericorum in the late 13th century,<sup>38</sup> and it may be that the boundary of the king's demesne and thus the detached portion of Kinver forest lay close by.

#### D5. and so descending as far as the *le Whitebon* in *Saffemor*

The place-name *Saffemor* is referenced (as *sæffan mor*) in a 12th-century copy of a charter dated 985 for Wolverhampton and Trescott (S. 860).<sup>39</sup> An analysis of the charter's boundary clause was published in 1983.<sup>40</sup>

*Saffemor* seems to have been located in the flat, marshy area around the present Dunstall Park racecourse.<sup>41</sup> The area was formerly known as Tunstall,<sup>42</sup> a name often associated with farms on the edge of waste-land.<sup>43</sup> In this case the wasteland was, presumably, the moor-land of *Saffemor*.

The meaning of *le Whitebon* is uncertain but the final element might derive from OE *burna*, 'a spring, a stream';<sup>44</sup> thus we may have 'the White Spring' or, more likely, 'the White Stream'. Such a name could arise from bubbles or foam produced in a fast-flowing water-course.<sup>45</sup> A good candidate for this putative stream appears (partially directed through field drains or ditches) on early 20th-century OS maps north-west of the modern Dunstall Park racecourse, i.e. on the north-west side of the Smestow Brook.<sup>46</sup> The supposed *Whitebon* is depicted flowing parallel to a path and hedge-line

32 VCH Staffordshire, XX, 33–5, and Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 156–60 and 223, note several mills along the Penk or its tributaries during the late medieval period, the earliest (at Pendeford) dating from 1277. Most surviving historical references post-date the Kinver forest perambulation by a few decades or, in one case, just over a century. Thus, while it is not implausible that mills existed upstream of Pendeford prior to 1300, we cannot be certain that this was the case.

33 E. Richardson, *The Black Country as seen through Antique Maps: A survey from 1579* (2000), 8–10.

34 Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 216.

35 OS, 25", Staffordshire, sheet LVI.13 (1946; from a survey revised 1937).

36 Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 216.

37 *Plan of the township of Bilbrooke in the Parish of Tettenhall and County of Stafford* (1841). Tithe award and plan, ref. B/A/15/399, available via the Staffordshire Past Track website: <<https://www.search.staffspasttrack.org.uk>>

38 VCH Staffordshire, XX, 20, 28.

39 See the entry for Saltmoor in Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 474.

40 D. Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon Staffordshire: The Charter Evidence* (1983), 63–5.

41 Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 474.

42 OS, 1" 'Old series', sheets 62 NW (1834) and 62 SW (1834).

43 Horovitz, *The Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 240.

44 PNE 1, 63–4.

45 Several other English water-courses having similar names are thought to derive from 'water white with foam': E. Ekwall, *English River Names*, 456–7.

46 For example, OS, 25", Staffordshire, sheet LXII.2 (1902).

down a narrow and moderately steep (1:20 gradient) valley to join the Smestow at SJ 897007;<sup>47</sup> and this may be the ‘tributary stream [which] once formed the boundary north from Aldersley’,<sup>48</sup> thereby separating the manors of Tettenhall Regis and Tettenhall Clericorum. The stream has since been entirely culverted but its course is now delineated approximately by the mid 20th-century residential road Burland Avenue.

#### **D6. and so descending as far as *Oxneford***

The place-name *Oxneford* is probably the ‘Oxenford...said to be the old name of Chapel Ash Farm’.<sup>49</sup> On 19th-century and later OS maps, Chapel Ash farm-house is depicted at SO 895990 but the farm as a whole must have covered an extended area which would have been bounded (or transected) by more than one water-course. That would leave us with several potential sites for the ford itself (*Oxneford*) were it not for the stated requirement to descend to it from *le Whitebon*. That, fortunately, permits all but one of these sites to be ruled out; and it appears that *Oxneford* must have lain near the intersection of the Smestow Brook and the Albrighton–Wolverhampton road (now the A41) at SO 892999, i.e. near Newbridge. It is clear that we are now following the southern boundary of the ancient parish of Tettenhall Regis.<sup>50</sup>

It is interesting that several other oxen-related place-names occur about 2½ miles (4 km) to the north-east of *Oxneford*. Oxley (SJ 912023), Oxley Manor (SJ 910177) and Oxley Moor (Bridge) (SJ 902017) are shown on 19th-century OS maps, and an *Oxford* was recorded in a perambulation of the forest of Cannock dated 1286.<sup>51</sup> Despite the latter name’s similarity to that of the present waypoint (D6), it is unlikely to have been the same place. The *Oxford* of 1286 evidently lay at Rake Gate Farm, Oxley (SJ 912021) which, contrary to the 1300 Kinver forest perambulation, would have required us to *ascend* along a watercourse in order to reach it. Moreover, had this been the *Oxneford* of the 1300 perambulation, the forest boundary would have had to have enclosed a significant area of the manor of Tettenhall Clericorum, which seems unlikely.

#### **D7. and so ascending by a water-course as far as the high way which leads from *Trescote* to *Wuluerenehampton***

This water-course must be Graiseley brook, about 900 yards (830 m) south-west of Newbridge. From the confluence of the Smestow and Graiseley Brooks at SO 887994, the boundary proceeds up-stream along the latter water-course to ‘the high way which leads from *Trescote* to *Wuluerenehampton*’. This may have been either Compton Road (now the A454) at SO 892987 or Finchfield Road / Castlecroft Road a short distance to the south at SO 888980. Both roads connect Trescott to Wolverhampton, but the latter seems most likely to be the one referenced in this waypoint. Not only does this attribution allow subsequent waypoints to fit into the circuit, there is evidence that this road existed by 985, apparently being mentioned in a charter of that date.<sup>52</sup> It is also depicted on 19th-century OS maps delineating the southern boundary of Tettenhall Regis.

#### **D8. and then by the aforesaid way as far as *Poukediches Lydegate***

*Poukediches Lydegate* must have lain on or near ‘the high way which leads from *Trescote* to *Wuluerenehampton*’, which we have assumed followed the line of the present Finchfield Road and Castlecroft Road.

47 OS, 1:25,000, sheet 33/80 (1947).

48 VCH *Staffordshire*, XX, 1.

49 Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 425, apparently citing G. P. Mander, *Wolverhampton Antiquary: Being Collections for a History of the Town* (1933–45), notes that Oxenford is a former name of Chapel Ash Farm, Wolverhampton (SO 895990).

50 VCH *Staffordshire*, XX, 15.

51 J. R. Birrell (ed.), *The Forests of Cannock and Kinver: Select Documents 1235–1372* (being *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 4th series, XVIII; Staffordshire Record Society, 1999), 136, lists the forest pleas of 1286 which record the ‘metes and bounds’ of the forest of Cannock. The perambulation starts at ‘the bridge of *Finchespathe*’, which is no doubt Wednesbury Bridge at SO 989942. *Finch Path* is a pre-18th century name for that section of the A41 running over the ridge of high ground to the south of Wednesbury Bridge: E. Chitham, pers. comm. (2017). To summarise, the perambulation takes us via the Tame and river Bourne to Watling Street, then again via the Tame, the Trent, the Sowe, and the river Penk to ‘the bridge of Coven’ and Pendeford. From here we ascend along a water-course through ‘the middle of *Fossemor*’ (i.e. evidently the low-lying land south of Pendeford and Ford Houses) as far as *Oxford* (SJ 912021) before turning south along the Penkridge–Wolverhampton road ‘through the middle of the township [of Wolverhampton]’ and then east along what is now the A41 to return to the starting point, ‘the bridge of *Finchespathe*’.

52 Charter for Wolverhampton and Trescott (S.860) dated 985: Hooke, *Landscape of Anglo-Saxon Staffordshire*, 63–5.

The first element of this place-name, *Pouke*-, evidently contains OE *pūca*, ME *pouke* ‘demon, sprite, hobgoblin’.<sup>53</sup> This might be indicative of a mysterious or inaccessible place or a place where one is liable to misfortune or danger. In some place-names, *pouke* appears to be used in relation to hills or pits.<sup>54</sup> It is likely that the second element, *diches*, comes from OE *dīc* ‘ditch’ and refers to the streams, ponds and/or man-made ditches north-west of Finchfield.

The bedrock geology here is Wildmore sandstone overlain with Devensian fluvio-glacial sand and gravel. The latter is sometimes deposited in mounds (drumlins), resulting in a topography of small steeply-sided hills. These relatively friable deposits were quarried from at least the 19th century<sup>55</sup> and it is known that sand was also being dug near Compton by the 1830s.<sup>56</sup> If the water-courses here had become deeply incised into the sand and gravel deposits to leave crumbling and hazardous banks, the stream valleys may well have been thought deserving of the prefix *Pouke*-. They may also have warranted the installation of a *Lydegate*, from OE *hlid-geat* ‘a swing gate’, to prevent animals from straying into the hazardous area.<sup>57</sup>

#### **D9. and thence by a way as far as Wythtewykesforde**

This ‘way’ would, most likely, have been Windmill Bank which marked the boundary of the manor of Tettenhall Regis. It diverges from Castlecroft Road at SO 876977 to return us northwards to the perambulation’s starting point *Whistewyke forde*. An alternative, though perhaps less likely, route would be the road leading north from Castlecroft Farm at SO 868978, which joins Windmill Bank shortly before it reaches the Smestow-crossing point at Wightwick (*Wythtewykesforde*).

### THE MAIN (LARGER) TRACT OF KINVER FOREST

Before proceeding with this part of the perambulation, illustrated in figs 3a and 3b, it is necessary to comment on the place-name element *mere* as used in some of the waypoints. Any single occurrence may have come from either the Old English (OE) word *mere* or *(ge)māre*, the former meaning ‘a pool’<sup>58</sup> and the latter ‘a boundary, a border’.<sup>59</sup> Neither the word’s capitalisation, nor its occurrence in compound or simplex form, appears to distinguish between the two possible interpretations, and geographical context is the best guide we have. In most occurrences here, *mere* appears to refer to a boundary but in *Ovemaste mere* (waypoint 11) and *Romn’e* (waypoint 27; possibly containing a mistranscription of *-mere*) it almost certainly means ‘pool’.

The perambulation states that ‘the bounds of the ... forest of *Kynefare*’:

#### **1. begin at the water (le We) of Smethestall**

The starting point seems to represent a pool, an area of smooth water, or a place for catching fish in the Smestow Brook, formerly *Tresel Brook*.<sup>60</sup> It evidently lay near *Smethestalleford* referenced in the final waypoint (where the perambulation returns to its starting location) which is likely to have been sited close to the present Smestow Bridge at SO 854925.

#### **2. and so descending by the Tresel water as far as the stream (doit) of Hinkesford**

This waypoint takes us south along the Smestow Brook to its confluence with Holbeche Brook at Hinkesford (SO 865899).

#### **3. and thence ascending as far as the high road (haute veie) to Holebache**

*Holebache* undoubtedly derives from OE *hol* ‘a hole, a hollow’ and OE *bece* ‘steep-sided valley with a stream’.<sup>61</sup> It is clearly a reference to Holbeche Brook, along which we must proceed to the A449 (Stourbridge Road) near Holbeche House (SO 883905).

53 PNE 2, 74.

54 For example, see the entry for Pouke Hill in Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 444.

55 Sand-pits are depicted here on 19th-century maps, for example, OS, 6", Staffordshire, sheet LXII.SW (1885).

56 *VCH Staffordshire*, XX, 35.

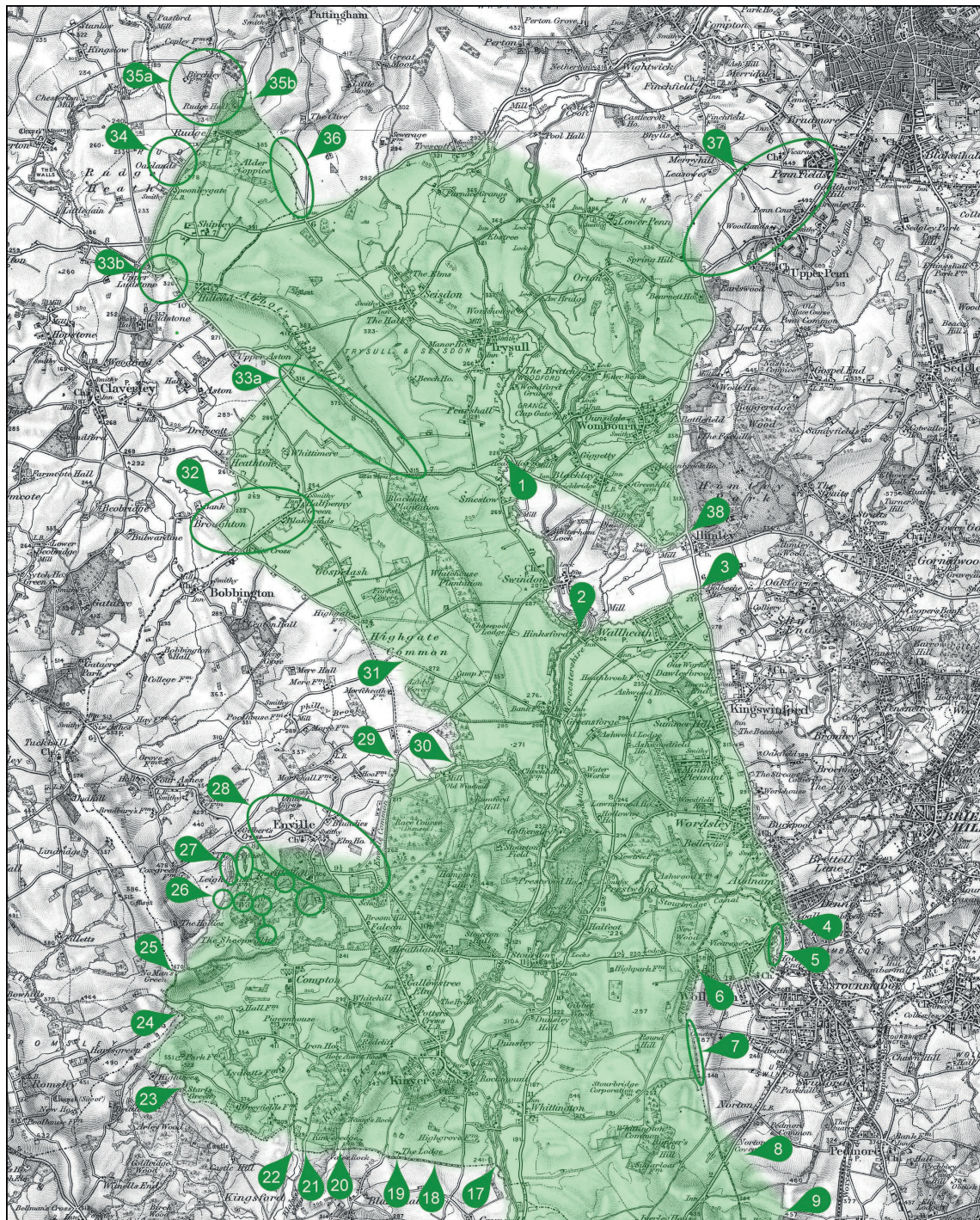
57 PNE 1, 251.

58 PNE 1, 38.

59 PNE 1, 33.

60 Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 498.

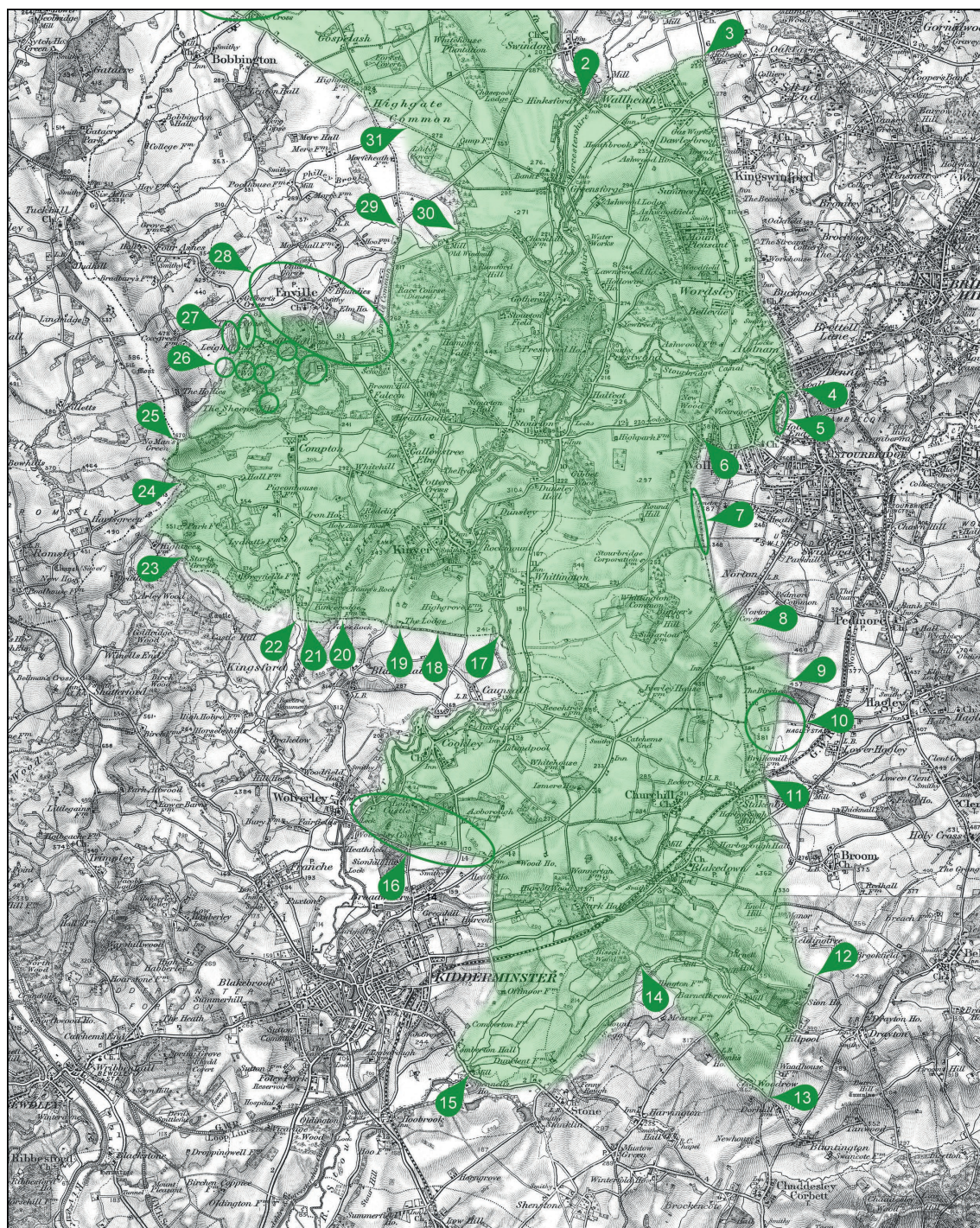
61 Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 320–1.



**Fig. 3a** Northern portion of the main boundary perambulation. Background: Ordnance Survey, 1", sheet 153 (1898) and Ordnance Survey, 1", sheet 167 (1899).

**4. and then by the said road as far as a stream which is between the vill of Amelecote and the vill of Kyngeswyneford**

The 'said road' (now the A449) intersects three brooks: Wordsley Brook, Audnam Brook, and Coalbourne Brook. In order for the forest boundary to enclose part of Amblecote manor and the vill of Wollaston (as specified in the perambulation: see Table 1), the stream could only be the last of these, i.e. Coalbourne Brook in Amblecote.



**Fig. 3b** Southern portion of the main boundary perambulation. Background: Ordnance Survey, 1", sheet 167 (1898), and Ordnance Survey, 1", sheet 182 (1899).

##### 5. and then descending from this stream as far as *le olde ford*

*Le olde ford* must have lain on the River Stour, probably near to the bridge at SO 895855 which presently serves Wollaston Road and High Street, Wollaston, or a short distance further south near the present-day Morrow Way (formerly the site of Wollaston Mill).

The ford's *olde* designation might mean either ancient or disused, the latter probably indicating the presence of a newer ford nearby. Indeed, there seems to have been several fords crossing the Stour in this vicinity. One of them was actually referred to in historical documents as *oldeforde* (1343) and *Old Ford* (1733).<sup>62</sup> This cannot, however, have been the waypoint's *le old ford*; if it were, the

<sup>62</sup> K. James, 'Stapenhill, Bells Mill and Oldeforde: Historical context of two potential development sites near Wollaston, Stourbridge' (2021), PDF article available from the author's personal website <<http://www.sgb.kjdocs.co.uk/Stapenhill>, Bells

forest's boundary would not have enclosed the vill of Wollaston (a requirement of the text analysed in Table 1). Another crossing point was also referenced in 1733 but, again, this lay too far north to have been *le olde ford* of this waypoint.<sup>63</sup>

#### 6. and then ascending as far as *le Ruggesende*

*Ruggesende* almost certainly means 'Ridge's End', the first element coming from the OE *hrycg*.<sup>64</sup> This word does not always produce 'ridge' in modern place-names, however. In the wider west midlands (particularly in Gloucestershire and Shropshire) as well as in Somerset, there is a greater tendency for *hrycg* to mutate into modern forms such as 'Rudge'.<sup>65</sup>

In this waypoint *Ruggesende* refers to the northern end of Wollaston Ridge. The route from *le old ford* (waypoint 5) to *Ruggesende* must have taken a westerly course, passing south of Wollaston's original centre near the eastern end of Vicarage Road. A nearby inn name, The Forester's Arms (on the A458, Bridgnorth Road), may well recall the forest boundary here.

As Wollaston was within the forest during the Norman period, its development and economy must have been influenced to some extent by forest laws, perhaps eventually leading to it being seen as separate and distinct from the rest of Oldswinford manor (in which Wollaston lay). Indeed, such a separate identity might explain why various documentary sources between 1442 and 1676 imply that Wollaston was a manor (possibly an inferior manor of Oldswinford) even though no court books, manor rolls, or other documentary evidence of its supposed manorial status can be found today. The forest perambulation does, of course, describe Wollaston explicitly as a vill, contrasting clearly with its references to known medieval manors.

#### 7. and then ascending by a footpath (*sente*) as far as *le Croked Apeltre*

The footpath would have run in a generally north–south direction, on to and then along the top of Wollaston ridge (where remnants of a pre-950s dyke survive today) and then south along an area now known as 'The Three Fields' to Little Iverley Covert. The location of *le Croked Apeltre* (the crooked apple-tree) is now lost, but it must have lain somewhere on the ridge top. It was probably sited close to a road junction or an inflexion point in the boundary line, otherwise there would have been little need for this waypoint to be mentioned at all. It seems most likely, therefore, that *le Croked Apeltre* lay just south of either Dunsley Road or Swinford Lane (the track which runs westwards alongside Little Iverley Covert).

#### 8. and thus as far as *Wolfes Wrosne*

The perambulation continues south along the ridge west of Norton towards the cluster of small rounded hillocks near Sandy Lane, Norton Covert, and County Lane. The second element of the name *Wolfes Wrosne* probably derives from OE *wrāsen*. This word meant 'a band, a tie' but was often used for something bent or twisted. When applied in a topographical context it seems to have the sense 'knotted' or 'contorted' and referred to broken, uneven ground, hills, or knolls.<sup>66</sup>

The hillocks near Norton Covert are actually eroded mounds of sand and gravel that were deposited from glacial outwash streams during the Devensian glaciation (i.e. the last 'Ice Age'), which occurred from about 100,000 to 10,000 years ago. Norton Covert itself now occupies the quarried-out remains of one of these mounds or drumlins.

#### 9. and then ascending as far as *Feckebury*

*Feckebury* clearly lay on higher ground than *Wolfes Wrosne*; and the name's *-bury* ending (which seems to have come from OE *byrig*, the dative form of *burh*, 'a fortification'<sup>67</sup>) further suggests an elevated site. Clearly, it must have lain along a course consistent with subsequent waypoints *and* with the aforementioned stipulation that parts of Pedmore and Hagley manors were within the forest

Mill and Oldeforde – Historical context of two potential development sites.pdf>, 1–3; K. James, 'Halfcot, 'Halford' and *Oldeforde juxta Stapenhull*: Implications for the chronology of Bells Mill and an early Wordsley-to-Kinver route' (2020), PDF article available from the author's personal website <<http://www.local.kjwebs.co.uk/Oldeforde.pdf>>

63 R. L. Chambers., *Oldswinford, Bedcote and Stourbridge Manors and Boundaries* (Dudley Teachers' Centre, Dudley, 1978), 43–46 (available from Stourbridge Public Library).

64 PNE 2, 267.

65 M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (1984), 168; PNE 2, 267.

66 PNE 2, 278. See also the entry for *wrāse* on the same page.

67 PNE 1, 58–62.

(Table 1). This suggests that *Feckebury* was located upon Burys Hill or a little further south where the Pedmore Tithe map depicts a group of fields bearing the name ‘Buckbury’.<sup>68</sup>

Indeed, *Feckebury* could well be the same fortified structure which had been recorded in a royal charter of the 950s. That fortification was known, during the 10th century, as *sicanbyrig*, meaning either ‘Sica’s fortification’ or ‘the fortification by the seasonally dry stream bed’.<sup>69</sup> The name’s second element, *-byrig*, represents ‘a fortified place’. As already noted, it is the dative singular of OE *burh*, *burg*, and typically evolves to *-bury* (as in *Feckebury*) in later place-names. The first elements of the two names are also remarkably similar, the major difference being in their initial letters. But, given that manuscript forms of <F> are easily confused with a long <s>, this difference may be accounted for by postulating a simple transcription error. The obvious similarities between these names support the notion that they represent the same landmark and, hence, the present geographical interpolation. It is also worthy of note that the fortification here must have been substantial enough to survive for at least the intervening 350-year period.

#### 10. and so as far as *Beefold*

This waypoint is unidentified. The name most likely comes from the OE word *bēo*, meaning ‘bee’, although other interpretations such as *bēan*, ‘bean’, cannot be ruled out. Presumably *Beefold* was an enclosure in which bee-hives were kept, but no known evidence of this usage survives in the landscape today.

#### 11. and thence to *Ovemaste mere*

The second element of *Ovemaste* probably derives from OE *mæste*, ‘fallen acorns and/or beech nuts used as feed for pigs’, while the first element might come from either of two related OE words: *ofer* or *ofer*. The former word meant ‘a bank, a river-bank, the sea shore’<sup>70</sup> or ‘a border, a margin’<sup>71</sup> and, in the latter sense, may have referred to a boundary, perhaps that of the forest itself, or a steep slope such as that lying south of the supposed site of *Feckebury* (waypoint 9). This word is, however, an unlikely candidate. Although *ofer* is known in literary works, it is not certain that it was ever used toponymically,<sup>72</sup> except, perhaps, in some specific river-side contexts.<sup>73</sup> This leaves us with *ofer*, a word that seems to have meant ‘a road affording access to, or over, high ground’.<sup>74</sup> The *ofer* in question was almost certainly that named as *windofer* in the Swinford charter of 951x959<sup>75</sup> and *windofre* (seemingly the dative form of *windofer*) in a charter for *culnan clif* (Cookley) dated 964.<sup>76</sup> This *ofer* route ran up Ounty John Lane, then turned west (the turn probably being partly responsible for the *wind-* element of the name) before extending over Iverley Hill and past Fairy Glen.<sup>77</sup> Thus, it is likely that *Ovemaste* meant a wooded pasture associated with this elevated route-way.

In support of the *ofer*, rather than *ofer*, interpretation it may be noted that Iverley, spelled *Everlegh* in 1292<sup>78</sup> and *Everley* in 1772<sup>79</sup>, derives from the OE word *yfre*, a dialectal variant of *ofer*, but the name’s non-dialectal spelling (with an initial <O> rather than <I>) surfaces in 16th- and 17th-century maps of the area.<sup>80</sup> The ‘-ley’ ending of ‘Iverley’ comes from OE *leah*, which meant ‘wood pasture’ or ‘open-canopy woodland’,<sup>81</sup> hence the place-name Iverley referred to such woodland near to, or

68 Pedmore tithe plan, 1846: Worcestershire Record Office, ref. r760/508 BA 1572.

69 James, ‘The Swinford Charter (S 579): A more complex origin for Oldswinford?’, 131, 134.

70 PNE 2, 53.

71 Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 348.

72 M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, 2nd edn (2014), 200; A. Cole, *The Place-Name Evidence for a Routeway Network in Early Medieval England* (BAR British series 589; 2013), 72.

73 K. James ‘Windsor, *windofer* and Iverley: illustrating the place-name element \**ofer* in the Anglo-Saxon road network’, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 51 (2020), 53.

74 Recent research suggests that the OE place-name element *ofer* refers to routes running up and over elevated terrain, as detailed in James, ‘Windsor, *windofer* and Iverley’, 39, 41–51.

75 D. Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds* (1990), 162–7.

76 Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds*, 169–74.

77 This is most likely a very ancient route, originally linking the Iron Age forts at Wychbury and Solcum Farm, Drakelow, as elucidated in James, ‘Windsor, *windofer* and Iverley’, 42–4.

78 The National Archives, SC 2/202/64 (Kinver manor court roll, 1292).

79 Isaac Taylor, ‘Map of the County of Worcester’ (1772), McMaster University, Canada website <<https://digitalarchive.mcmaster.ca/islandora/object/macrepo%3A80895>>

80 The place-names *Ouerley Wood* and *Oueley Wood* are used on 16th- and 17th-century maps, as depicted in, for example, W. Ravenhill, *Christopher Saxton’s 16th Century Maps* (1992), 62–63; N. Nicholson and A. Hawkyard, *The Counties of Britain: A Tudor atlas by John Speed* (1988), 161–64.

81 D. Hooke, ‘Early medieval woodland and the place-name term *lēah*’, in O. J. Padel and D. N. Parsons (eds), *A Commodity of Good Names: Essays in Honour of Margaret Gelling* (2008), 365–76.

associated with, the *ofer*. Woodland was certainly quite extensive in this vicinity during the early post-medieval period. Known as *Ouerley Wood*, or its dialectal equivalent *Iverley Wood*, its presence was probably the principal reason that Iverley became a hay of Kinver forest.

The second word of the waypoint, *mere*, represents a pool, which must have existed in the lower-lying stream valleys near the wood's south-eastern extremities. Two locations are possible for *Ovemaste mere*: the pool now lying near Brake Mill Farm or a site close to Windmill Pool near Blakedown. The pattern of route-ways in this vicinity suggests that the former pool – i.e. the one currently known as Sweet Pool – is the site of *Ovemaste mere*.

## 12. and then ascending as far as *Wheldon hulle*

The second word in the waypoint's name, *hulle*, no doubt comes from OE *hyll*, meaning 'hill'. It is possible, however, that *hulle* was not added to this name until the post-Conquest period when it had been forgotten that the OE element *dūn*, or its ME derivative *dune* or *doune* – later to become the second element of *Wheldon* – also meant a hill (though of a precise kind);<sup>82</sup> i.e. *Wheldon hulle* is a tautology.

The origin of the first element, *Whel-*, is less certain. It may come from OE *hwēol*, 'a wheel' which was used in place-names to signify a water wheel, something circular such as a stone circle, or something which wheels round such as a curving valley or a hill.<sup>83</sup> An alternative, though less likely, possibility is OE *wælla* or *wælle*, meaning 'a well, a spring or a stream'.<sup>84</sup>

Mount Sion, south of Yieldingtrees, (SO 898767) potentially matches both the 'water-wheel' and the 'spring' interpretations. A stream, today feeding a series of four pools but which might formerly have driven a water-mill, issues from its 360-foot (110 m) contour and drains south-west through a small, steep-sided valley into a stretch of Hoo Brook (also known as Barnett Brook or Bell Brook<sup>85</sup>).

It is probably significant that the route leading from Sweet Pool (waypoint 11) to the present waypoint follows the 1st-century Droitwich–Greensforge Roman road (numbered 192 in I. D. Margary's catalogue).<sup>86</sup> This suggests that the latter was still visible in the landscape, if not passable, some 1,200 years after its construction.

## 13. and thus to *Durhull*

A Dorhall Farm lies at SO 893749, little more than a mile (1.7 km) south-south-west of the previous waypoint. The place-name was spelled *Dorrell* in 1831,<sup>87</sup> and it seems quite probable that this is the perambulation's *Durhull*. To reach this location from the previous waypoint requires us to depart from the Roman road, but a fairly straight lane links the Roman road at Mount Sion (the supposed *Wheldon hulle*) to Dorhall Farm.

The latter place-name, which was spelled *Dorewall* in 1505, is considered to have derived from *dēorwælle*, 'spring where animals water',<sup>88</sup> the word *dēor* being used both specifically for deer and also for wild beasts in general.<sup>89</sup> This etymology, however, is based upon only one, fairly late, recording of the name.

Dorhall Farm lies on high ground overlooking a deep, narrowing stream valley in which a Dordale Farm is situated. Although the latter name could mean 'the dale of deer' or 'the dale of wild animals', its proximity to Dorhall Farm suggests an alternative, though less likely, etymology for *Durhull*, i.e. OE *dor* 'a large door or a gate', 'an entrance to a pass between hills' or 'a narrowing valley'<sup>90</sup> plus *hyll* 'hill'. In the west midlands region, *hyll* sometimes appears in ME as *hull*.<sup>91</sup> Thus, *Durhull* could mean 'hill associated with, or overlooking, the narrowing stream valley'.

82 Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, 140–58; Gelling and Cole, *Landscape of Place-Names*, 164–73.

83 PNE 1, 272.

84 PNE 2, 250.

85 P. W. King, 'The Dunclet Irrigation System', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, third series, 28 (2022), 134.

86 I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 2 (1957), 15, 29–30. Margary's catalogue is also partly reproduced in, for example, M. C. Bishop, *The Roman Roads of Britain* (2014), 139–49.

87 OS, 1", Old series, sheet 54NW (1831).

88 PN Wo, 237.

89 PNE 1, 130–1.

90 PNE 1, 134.

91 PNE 1, 274–5.

#### 14. and then as far as *Doune Coppe*

The OE word *copp* refers to a hill-top, and is usually used for a hill with a narrow, crest-like summit.<sup>92</sup> A hill-crest fitting this description lies in the north of Dunclell vill, the name of which probably incorporates the first word (*Doune*) of this waypoint. The road linking this hill with the previous waypoint (13) – i.e. Woodrow Lane and its extension Deansford Lane – is part of an apparently ancient route that extends about 4 miles (6 km) north-west to Ismere, the likely moot site of the Anglo-British province of *Husmeræ*.<sup>93</sup>

The *Doune* element of this waypoint-name probably comes from OE *dūn*, which may refer either to an elevation possessing an area suitable for settlement (although this interpretation is not universally accepted) or to settlements at the junction of marsh and rising ground.<sup>94</sup>

This latter application of *dūn* seems highly appropriate for the vill-name Dunclell, the south-western end of which is marshy and possesses a network of small streams flowing around slightly raised ‘islands’, as attested to by the nearby place-names ‘Heathy’ (from OE *hæð* plus *eg*, ‘heath island’)<sup>95</sup> and Fenny (OE *fenn* plus *eg*, ‘fen island’).<sup>96</sup> This marshy ground gives way to a more hilly topography in the northern portion of Dunclell vill.

Dunclell’s ‘-clent’ ending might be related to the place-name ‘Clent’ (a village, manor, and range of hills 5½ miles (9 km) to the north-east; as well as a Domesday hundred centred upon Clent manor) but this is not certain. It is thought that ‘Clent’ derives from an early Germanic word, *klant*, taken into OE as *\*clent*, meaning ‘rock, hill’.<sup>97</sup> Apart from its use in these two place-names, *\*clent* is unknown elsewhere, and this suggests that it may have been a locally popular (relatively speaking) name for a geographical feature which Clent and Dunclell had in common. Its precise significance in ‘Dunclell’ is, however, unclear. There are several possibilities, the first of which seems the most probable:

- a) Taking the two elements of ‘Dunclell’ at face value, the name as a whole would seem to mean ‘(the settlement on) the rock or hill which slopes down to a marsh’. This is entirely consistent with the geography here and does not require there to have been any territorial relationship to the hills, vill, manor, or hundred of Clent.
- b) Dunclell’s ‘-clent’ ending may have derived from an ancient regional name related to Clent hundred – or to an earlier territory bearing a similar name – although, it should be noted that, in 1086, Dunclell lay in Cresselau, rather than in Clent, hundred.
- c) The vill-name’s ‘-clent’ ending may be a reference specifically to just the Clent Hills several miles to the north-east, i.e. without there being a territorial link, but quite why that might be is unclear.

Whatever the origin of ‘Dunclell’, it seems that waypoint 14 of the Kinver forest perambulation lay near this vill’s highest point (*copp*) at SO 870769.

#### 15. and then ascending as far as *Furslades*

This waypoint probably lies near the south-west edge of Dunclell vill, just east of Heathy Mill Farm, where several small stream valleys open into a fairly flat, low-lying, marshy area. The streams were redirected through man-made drains and trenches during the 17th century in order to irrigate the surrounding water-meadows.<sup>98</sup> Clearly the topography here is readily amenable to such modification, and it is possible that these trenches replaced or supplemented an earlier system of channels designed to provide a manageable water source for the nearby Heathy mill. The township of *Heathey* is known to have been in existence by the late 1260s.<sup>99</sup>

The place-name *Furslades* probably derives from OE *furh* ‘a furrow, a trench’,<sup>100</sup> and *slæd*, ‘valley, especially a flat-bottomed, wet valley’.<sup>101</sup> *Furh* is used either to mean a ploughed trench for sowing seed, or a drainage trench, and it is this latter sense which seems to apply here: when combined with *slæd*, it accurately describes the geography of this location (as already outlined under waypoint 14).

92 Gelling and Cole, *Landscape of Place-Names*, 158–9.

93 Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds*, 171.

94 Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, 140–58.

95 PN Wo, 250.

96 PN Wo, 237.

97 PN Wo, 279; Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 143.

98 King, ‘Dunclell Irrigation System’, 133, 136.

99 Birrell, *Forests of Cannock and Kinver*, 65, 100, 115.

100 PNE 1, 189.

101 Gelling and Cole, *Landscape of Place-Names*, 141–2.

The only potential difficulty with this interpretation of waypoint 15 is that the route to it from waypoint 14 is described as ‘ascending’, whereas *Furslades* lies at a lower altitude than the preceding waypoint. Yet, a direct-line course between the two would have been difficult because of the marshy land here; and, instead, one may have had to take a path along the south-east boundary of Dunclett vill which, for a significant fraction of its course, ascends along the side of a hill named Mount Segg.

**16. and then as far as *Berkes medwe***

It is not known precisely where this meadow was situated, although it is likely to have been near a change of direction in the boundary line. As the vill of Wolverley fell within the forest, and Hurcott partly so, this would suggest that the boundary first ran north of Heathy mill and along Hurcott Lane to a location near to Park Gate, a settlement lying a few yards south of the present-day inn of the same name. It must then have turned west (perhaps close to the route of today’s B4189, or a short distance away where the boundary of the *culnan clif*, ‘Cookley’, estate was marked by a 10th-century dyke) to the River Stour near the vill of Wolverley. Presumably *Berkes medwe* lay somewhere along this route. This may have been near the Park Gate inn or at the opposite extremity of the range indicated in fig. 3b where a meadow lay on the west bank of the Stour within 300 yards (280 m) of a house and parcel of land named ‘The Birches’.<sup>102</sup> Although the house itself is of 19th-century date,<sup>103</sup> it is not inconceivable that its name is older and shares its root (presumably OE *berca* ‘birch trees’<sup>104</sup>) with this waypoint’s *Berkes meduwe*. The meadow-land near The Birches appears to have been a water-meadow in the post-medieval period, although the nature of any earlier usage is not known.<sup>105</sup>

**17. and so ascending by the water of *Stoure* as far as a hedge (*haie*) which is the boundary between the manor of *Kynefare* and *Wolvardelesley***

The boundary line would have crossed the Stour near Wolverley, circumnavigating the vill’s ‘wood, wastes and appurtenances’ before proceeding north-east along the west bank of the river until it encountered the hedge that marked the southern boundary of Kinver parish.

**18. and then by the before-mentioned hedge as far as the wood (*bois*) of *Kynefare***

This boundary hedge probably lay along the north side of Gypsy Lane, upon an ancient dyke (earth bank) which stretches from Cookley Lane in the east and over Kinver Edge to Kingsford Lane in the west. The dyke is perhaps the oldest of several linear earthworks around Kinver and may date from the late prehistoric.<sup>106</sup> It is not clear how far along this boundary the ‘wood of *Kynefare*’ began but William Yates’ 1775 map of Staffordshire indicates that Kinver’s cultivated land then extended only about 400–500 yards (370–460 m) west of Cookley Lane.<sup>107</sup> The wood may have started at this point, although some of the land in this vicinity is known to have been heath rather than wood until recent centuries.

**19. and so ascending as far as *le Merehul* under (*sus*) *le Stonyhul***

*Merehul* was probably the hill-spur at SO 838822, over which the boundary (*Mere*-) hedge and dyke ran; and *Stonyhul* the crest of the same hill which lay a little further north at SO 829839.

**20. and then ascending as far as *le Mere Ok* on *le Egge coppe***

*Le Mere Ok* almost certainly means ‘the boundary oak’. This waypoint is precisely known as it must lie at the intersection of the aforementioned boundary hedge / dyke and the crest of Kinver Edge (*le Egge coppe*).

<sup>102</sup> OS, 25-inch, Worcestershire, sheet XIII.7 (1902).

<sup>103</sup> Worcestershire and Worcester City Historic Environment Record (HER) WSM 45991, accessible via the Heritage Gateway website <<https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/gateway/>>

<sup>104</sup> PNE 1, 28–9.

<sup>105</sup> Worcestershire and Worcester City HER, WSM37876.

<sup>106</sup> E. Simons, pers. comm. (2022).

<sup>107</sup> W. Yates, *A Map of the County of Stafford* (1775), of which a facsimile, with introduction by A. D. M. Phillips, has been published as *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 4th series, XII (Staffordshire Record Society, 1984); E. Richardson, *The Black Country as seen through Antique Maps: A survey from 1579* (2000), 19; McMaster University, Canada, website <<https://digitalarchive.mcmaster.ca/islandora/object/macrepo%3A81078>>

**21. and so descending to the high road which goes to *Kideminstre***

Again, this is quite clear: we must descend from Kinver Edge, past Vale's Rock, to join Kingsford Lane (the high road which goes to *Kideminstre*) at SO 824822.

**22. and then across (*entravers*) this road as far as *Kyngesfordes mere***

Kingsford's boundary projects north a short distance from waypoint 21, and it is probably this part of the boundary (*mere*) being referred to here.

**23. and then between the *meres* of *Kynyngford* and *Kynefare* as far as the boundaries of *Arleye***

The construction of this clause is potentially confusing because, today, the boundaries (*meres*) of *Kynyngford* and *Kynefare* follow but a single line. Previously, however, when the competition for land was less keenly felt, each vill appears to have had its own separate boundary, and those of neighbouring vills may not always have met along a single well-defined course. The best we can do today is to follow the modern Kingsford–Kinver boundary. We reach the boundary of Arley at SO 806832.

**24. and then between the bounds of *Kynefare* and *Arleye* as far as the bounds of *Rommesleye***

Likewise, we now follow the Kinver–Arley boundary until the point at which it intersects Romsley parish (i.e. the county boundary of Shropshire) at SO 805842.

**25. and then as far as *Nonemonnesleye***

*Nonemonnesleye* is, almost certainly, No Man's Green which lies at the junction of Kinver, Enville, and Romsley parishes (SO 804848).

**26. and then ascending by the lane (*venelle*) as far as *Hevedyord*, which is as far as *Depedale***

Today, four lanes radiate from the previous waypoint, but all of them begin to descend, rather than ascend, very shortly after leaving No Man's Green. The only route which ascends for an appreciable distance is a footpath leading north-north-east across the fields of The Sheepwalks area. This route-way is shown on a map of John Grey's landholdings dated 1688,<sup>108</sup> and is likely to have been the lane (*venelle*) in question. The map depicts the lane turning north near Essex Wood before, once more, veering north-east near Leigh House Farm to continue towards Enville via a feature which, on 19th- and 20th-century OS maps, resembles a disused, and presumably ancient, hollow-way.

The name *Hevedyord* in this waypoint probably originates from the OE elements *heafod* and *geard*. The former meant literally 'a head' but was used in place-names to signify (amongst other things) 'the top of something' or 'a headland around which a river flows'.<sup>109</sup> The latter element was used for 'a fence, an enclosure, a yard, a court-yard'.<sup>110</sup> So *Hevedyord* seems to have meant 'the head of an enclosed area', perhaps signifying the highest point of a fence or enclosure. That enclosure may have been an early incarnation of a park pale which is known to have existed at Enville by 1548.<sup>111</sup> Field-names on the 1688 map suggest that the park was bounded on its north and west sides by the aforementioned lane, such that the pale would have run alongside the lane here. Its highest point (i.e. *Hevedyord*) would have been located about 600 yards (550 m) south of Leigh House Farm (i.e. at approximately SO 815856).

A less likely interpretation of the second element, *-yord*, is that it derives from OE *ord*, 'a point, a corner, a spit of land, a projecting ridge of land',<sup>112</sup> in which case *Hevedyord* would have meant 'the top or corner of a ridge or spit of land'.

108 William Deeley, 'A Mapp of the Severall Mannors Lands and Tenements of the Honourable John Grey Esqr. in the County of Stafford' (1688) = Staffordshire Record Office, 1392.

109 PNE 1, 236–7.

110 PNE 1, 198.

111 *VCH Staffordshire*, XX, 98.

112 PNE 2, 56.

*Depedale*, as we might guess, almost certainly means ‘a deep dale’, originating from OE *dēop* ‘deep’<sup>113</sup> and *dæl* (or the Mercian variant *del*), which signified ‘a pit or hollow, especially a valley’.<sup>114</sup> There are, in fact, four such valleys to the north and east of the previous waypoint, each of which presently conducts a stream via one, or more, dammed pools. Three of these valleys begin within a few hundred yards of the supposed *Hevedyord*; the closest – presumably being *Depedale* – is that which presently accommodates Batch Pool (SO 815864).

## 27. and thence to *Romn’e*

The specific (descriptive) element of the name may derive from OE *rūm*, ‘room, space, an open space’,<sup>115</sup> or, less probably, from OE *hremn* ‘a raven’<sup>116</sup> (as in the Shropshire place-name Romsley, 2½ miles (4 km) to the south-west<sup>117</sup>); or from the OE words *hramsa* ‘wild garlic’<sup>118</sup> or *ramm* ‘a ram’<sup>119</sup> (the two options thought applicable in the case in the Worcestershire Romsley, 9 miles (15 km) to the south-east<sup>120</sup>).

The second element of this place-name could be a transcription error for *-mere*, as was supposed in the perambulation’s 1884 translation.<sup>121</sup> Assuming that to be the correct interpretation, it would appear that, in contrast to most other occurrences of *mere* in the 1300 document, this waypoint represents a pool rather than a boundary. Although 19th- and 20th-century OS maps depict several pools in the nearby stream valleys, it is not known which, if any, of them existed in 1300. A map dated c.1750 shows a slightly different pool configuration than on later maps, the pools generally being somewhat smaller in c.1750; indeed, the outlines of only two pools can be discerned on the 1688 map, both of which lay south of Enville Hall.<sup>122</sup>

It is noteworthy that the map of 1688 also shows a field named *Lile Rumneys* at SO 813871. The similarity to the current waypoint name, *Romn’e*, is obvious, although it is not known whether the two names are etymologically linked. We might speculate that the final element of *Lile Rumneys* derives from OE *ēg* ‘an island, land partly surrounded by water, a piece of dry ground in a fen, well-watered land’.<sup>123</sup> The relatively flat area around Enville village, and to its north and east, carries several tributaries of Spittle Brook and Philley Brook; and it may be that OE *ēg* was used to denote the slightly higher ground between these watercourses. While the *Lile Rumneys* field is, perhaps, too far north to be the *Romn’e* of the present waypoint, it is not inconceivable that the name *Rumneys* was also applied elsewhere in the vicinity: *Lile* (perhaps a corruption of ‘Little’) may have distinguished this field from other (e.g. ‘Big’ or ‘Great’) *Rumneys* close by. One such place – potentially a candidate for *Romn’e* – would be the relatively flat area north-east of Batch Pool, at the bottom of a promontory between stream valleys (i.e. around SO 817866).

## 28. and then descending by a water-course (*sichet*) as far as *Liones meduwe*

*Sichet* probably derives from OE *\*sichel*, meaning ‘a small stream’.<sup>124</sup> Other derivatives of this OE word, such as ‘sike’ and ‘sitch’, appear widely in place-names across the country. The *sichet* of this waypoint may have been the outflow from one of the pools noted under waypoint 26 above or, perhaps, from the ponds in the area known as The Moors (SO 822866).

The precise location of *Liones meduwe* is unknown but a Lyon’s Pool is shown at SO 811864, just south of a cluster of farm buildings named The Lyons on 19th-century OS maps.<sup>125</sup> A farm named Lyons existed at, or near to, this location by 1704; and it has been suggested that its name is related to the *Liones meduwe* of this waypoint.<sup>126</sup> Ultimately, the name probably derives from a

113 PNE 1, 130.

114 PNE 1, 125.

115 PNE 2, 89.

116 PNE 1, 264.

117 Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 507.

118 PNE 1, 264.

119 PNE 2, 80.

120 Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 507.

121 Wrottesley, ‘Pleas of the Forest’.

122 *VCH Staffordshire*, XX, 100. For the 1688 map see above note 108.

123 PNE 1, 147.

124 PNE 2, 122.

125 For example, OS, 25”, Staffordshire, sheet LXX.6 (1882); OS, 1”, Old series, sheet 61SE (1833).

126 *VCH Staffordshire*, XX, 94.

personal name, perhaps that of *Leonius* of Romsley who was mentioned in 1269 and 1286,<sup>127</sup> but this is of little immediate help in identifying the meadow's location.

If *Liones meduwe* lay close to The Lyons or Lyon's Pool, or along Sneyd's Brook (which drains Lyon's Pool, Engine House Pool and Batch Pool), we might expect the perambulation to have continued on to waypoint 29 (*Chestrewey*) along, or north of, the Four Ashes–Kinver road (now the A458), thereby enclosing much of the vill of Enville. In that case, Enville's relationship to the perambulated boundary line would appear to be somewhat different from that of the other places denoted by an asterisk in Table 1.

There is, of course, a possibility that *Liones meduwe* was an extensive tract of land directing the forest boundary south of the vill of Enville, i.e. between St Mary's church and the site on which Enville Hall now stands but, unless it lay detached from Lyon's Pool and The Lyons farm, it must have been relatively long and narrow. A possible candidate for a meadow of this shape was referenced in the place-name (seemingly a road-name) *Longenumedeway* in a document of 1296–1307.<sup>128</sup> This immediately precedes a reference to *Leonesmedue* in the very same folio, perhaps indicating an association between the two meadows or, at least, geographical proximity.

Between *Nonemonnesleye* (waypoint 25) and *Chestrewey* (in waypoint 29) the course of the boundary is uncertain, but the reference here to *Liones meduwe* favours one of the more north-easterly lines, such that the forest would encompass most, if not all, of The Sheepwalks area and the Enville Hall estate. This suggestion may be supported by circumstantial evidence from the Domesday survey which references a now lost vill named *Cippemore*, the woodland of which was said to be 'in the forest' (presumably the forest which, by 1168, had become known as Kinver forest). It has been suggested that *Cippemore* lay in the Sheepwalks area, south-west of Enville,<sup>129</sup> parts of which have been wooded since at least the 17th century.<sup>130</sup> The supposed link between the two place-names arises partly from the similarity of the first element, *Cippe-*, to OE (Anglian) *scēap* 'a sheep'.<sup>131</sup> Though 'The Sheepwalks' place-name is not evidenced before the 19th century, it is quite likely that land which was then suitable for sheep pasture had been equally suitable during previous centuries. The Sheepwalks area is known to have been occupied by 1327, and three shepherds were recorded within Enville manor in 1332–3.<sup>132</sup>

### 29. and then by the high road which is called *Chestrewey* as far as *Spitelbrouk*

*Chestrewey* is Chester Road which runs north along the Enville–Kinver boundary to cross Spittle Brook at SO 838879.

### 30. and then descending as far as *Fulsiche*

This stream-name may derive from OE *fūl*, meaning 'foul, dirty, filthy', which is frequently combined in place-names with elements denoting water. That is clearly the case here as *-siche* is, like *sichet* discussed under waypoint 28, a derivative of OE *\*sichel*, 'a small stream'. Thus, we have a small, foul stream which may represent either a muddy stream, or more likely, one used as a sewer, the latter reflecting a practice which, to judge by place-names like Shatterford (Worcs.), Skitterlyn (Northumb.), and Sherford (Somerset) was not uncommon.<sup>133</sup>

*Fulsiche* is probably the stream which discharges from the north into Spittle Brook at SO 846878. This stream flowed through a series of pools, the largest of which is labelled Foucher's Pool on OS maps dating back to 1834.<sup>134</sup> It is possible that 'Foucher' is a contraction of *Fulsiche* (or *Foulsiche*, as it is spelled in the next waypoint). Despite its somewhat indecorous name, *Fulsiche* must have been a well-known landmark as it defined part of the Kinver–Enville parish boundary. A place named *Fousyche* was mentioned in 1286 in relation to the taking of a hind within the forest there

127 Birrell, *Forests of Cannock and Kinver*, 63, 157.

128 Birrell, *Forests of Cannock and Kinver*, 186.

129 Morris, Thorn, and Thorn, *Phillimore County Notes*. <<https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:519>> 'Forest', and <<https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:554>> paragraph 12,11.

130 *VCH Staffordshire*, XX, 99.

131 PNE 2, 100–1.

132 *VCH Staffordshire*, XX, 93, 109.

133 PN Wo, 32.

134 OS, 1" Old series, sheet 62.SW (1834); OS, 1:10,560 scale, sheet SO88NW (1955). Two pools are also shown, although unnamed, at this location on Yates, *Map of the County of Stafford*.

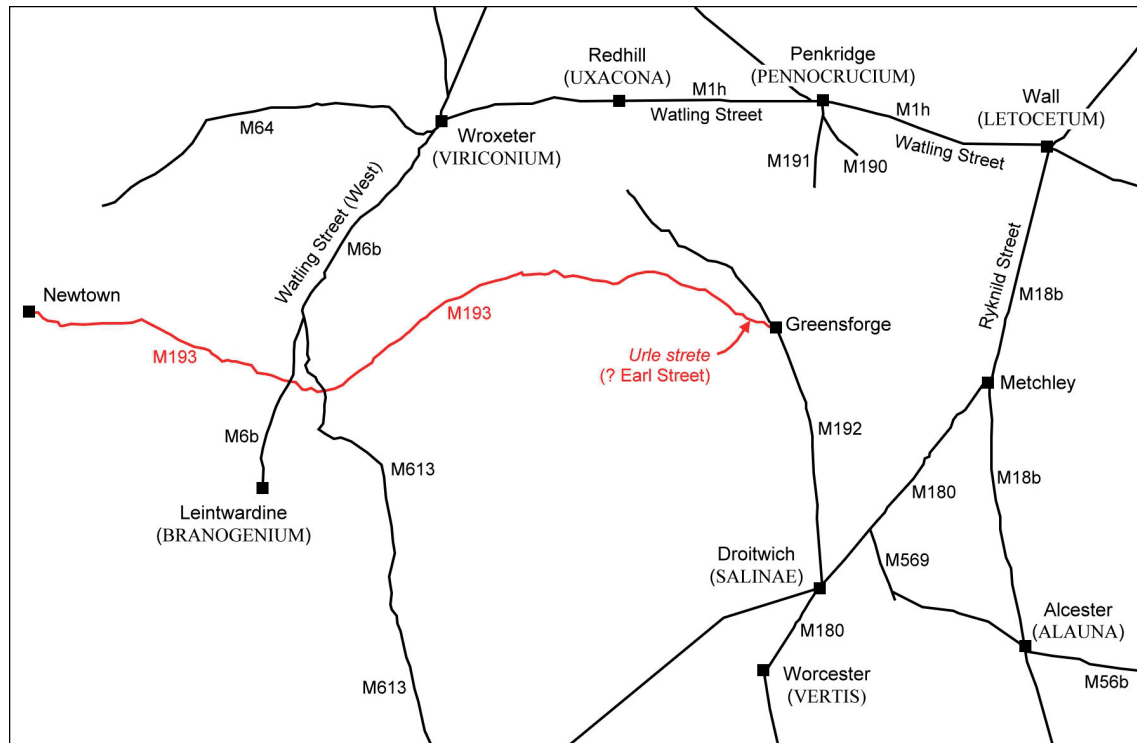


Fig. 4 The location of *le Urle strete* (part of Margary 193) in the local network of Roman roads.

in 1280.<sup>135</sup> The stream itself is now largely culverted, and Foucher's Pool has been obliterated by the recent southern extension of Enville golf course.

### 31. and then ascending by *Foulsiche* as far as *le Urle strete*

The boundary follows *Foulsiche* upstream to its source near a straight section of road that today marks the southern boundary of Highgate Common. The road's straightness and its radial alignment with the Roman fortifications around Greensforge implies a Roman origin (or Roman re-engineering) and, indeed, it coincides with the course of road 193 (Greensforge to Newtown) listed in I. D. Margary's catalogue.<sup>136</sup> We must take it, therefore, that *Urle strete* is a Middle English name for Margary 193 or, at least, for the section of it near Highgate Common.

The term *strete* in English place-names generally refers to a paved road and, in fact, many place-names which include the element 'street', 'strat' and variants thereof are found to lie upon Roman roads. A number of other place-name elements, such as 'chester' and 'wall', may indicate an association with Roman settlement; and two, Chesterton and The Walls, lie about 2½ miles (4 km) north of Claverley. (Winchester, which lies about ⅔ mile (1 km) to the south, appears to have derived from an English personal name, Winsige, rather than the OE *ceaster* appropriate to a Roman site.<sup>137</sup>) The first two place-names suggest that a Roman road served the area, presumably a north-westerly extension of *Urle strete*, i.e. Margary 193. That road, in its entirety, is not made up of the long straight lines one would normally expect of a Roman road, which probably indicates that the Romans simply adapted and improved limited stretches of a prehistoric road into Wales (see fig. 4).<sup>138</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Birrell, *Forests of Cannock and Kinver*, 136.

<sup>136</sup> Margary's route 193, otherwise known as *Hen Ffordd*, 'The Ancient Way', is discussed in A. J. W. Houghton, 'The Roman Road from Greensforge through the Central Welsh March', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, LVI, part 3 (1960), 233–43; Bishop, *Roman Roads of Britain* (2014), 139–149; K. Briggs, 'Maps of Roman roads in England' (2013), webpage <[http://keithbriggs.info/Roman\\_road\\_maps.html](http://keithbriggs.info/Roman_road_maps.html)>

<sup>137</sup> D. Horovitz, *Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians; the battle of Tettenhall 910AD; and other West Mercian studies* (privately printed, 2017), 89, footnote 392.

<sup>138</sup> Doubts have been raised about a supposed Roman origin for Margary 193: Horovitz, *Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians*, 89–93.

### 32. and so to *Blake slouch*'

*Blake* probably means 'black' as, for example, in Blakeshall in Wolverley parish (which contains the OE words *blace* and *sol*, meaning 'the black mire').<sup>139</sup> The second component, *slouch*' (for *slouche*), most likely comes from OE *slōge* (the dative form of *slōh*) which means 'a slough, a mire'.<sup>140</sup> A very good candidate for this place is the area around Blacklands Farm (SO 818914), which is labelled 'Blakelands Farm' on the 1903 OS map and simply 'Blake Lands' on Yates' 1775 map.<sup>141</sup> This lies adjacent to the Margary 193 route in a flat, formerly watery area at the head of two tributaries of Cut Throat Brook. The wider area of former marsh was drained in the 20th century for the construction of Halfpenny Green airfield.<sup>142</sup> The precise location of the present waypoint within the marshland is difficult to identify with certainty; it may have lain near the water-courses at Broughton and White Cross in the west, where there was a pool in 1775,<sup>143</sup> or somewhat closer to Halfpenny Green.

It is possible that the term *Blake* or 'Black' was originally used for the ridge of Abbot's Castle Hill: a Blakehill Cottage lay close to the hill and Blackhill Plantation a short distance to the south. If that is the case, the term 'Blacklands' may have been applied to the expanse of low-lying land beneath the ridge, extending to Halfpenny Green, Bobbington, and Claverley. A settlement named Heathton lies within this area, and its entry in the English Place-Name Society's Shropshire survey suggests there was an extensive tract of heathland here.<sup>144</sup>

### 33a. and then under (*desuz*) *le Rugge*

As in waypoint 6, *Rugge* probably derives from OE *hrycg*, 'ridge', and must surely represent the escarpment of Abbot's Castle Hill, about 1½ miles (2.4 km) north-east of the supposed *Blake slouch*'. The fact that the forest boundary extends 'under the *Rugge*' also suggests that this is the correct interpretation. Moreover, in 1295, Abbot's Castle Hill was referred to as *La Rugge* in a perambulation of the Claverley–Trysull boundary: 'always upon *La Rugge* to *Seysdonweye*'.<sup>145</sup>

As Abbot's Castle Hill is an extended feature, there is a corresponding uncertainty over the location of its intersection with the forest's boundary: the boundary may have followed the Halfpenny Green–Smestow road before turning north-west under Abbot's Castle Hill, or it could have run somewhat further north, from Broughton, via Heathton and Draycott.

The latter place-name comes from *drag*, an element derived from the OE verb *dragan* 'to draw, to pull',<sup>146</sup> and *cot* 'a cottage, a hut, a shelter, a den'.<sup>147</sup> Place-names such as Draycott and Drayton (which has a similar derivation) are thought to represent settlements that specialised in offering assistance to travellers by helping to drag or pull loads over difficult terrain, a service that would have proved viable only on well-used roads. The presence of such names has been used to infer the course of main routes during the medieval period;<sup>148</sup> and it may be that (as elsewhere along the perambulation) a major route would have formed a natural line along which to draw the forest boundary. Indeed, contrasting field patterns can be observed in the vicinity of the road: those on the north-west side (around Heathton) show the clear outline of medieval open fields, while there are fewer obvious signs of such agriculture to the south-east. This dissimilarity might indicate that the latter region formerly lay within the forest, i.e. that the Broughton–Heathton–Draycott road delineated the forest boundary, but this is, of course, just one of many potential explanations for the field patterns here.

### 33b. as far as *le Brocholes*

We must now follow the ridge of Abbot's Castle Hill, but it is not absolutely clear how far, as *le Brocholes* cannot be identified with certainty. This place-name probably derives from OE *brocc* 'badger'<sup>149</sup> and *hol(h)* 'a hole, a hollow'.<sup>150</sup> The latter element is often used for 'a valley, a depression' but with animal names usually refers to 'a hole, a burrow'; the compound *brocc-hol*, meaning

139 Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 64.

140 PNE 2, 129.

141 OS, 6", Staffordshire, sheet LXVI.SW (1903); Yates, *Map of the County of Stafford*.

142 Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 127, 291.

143 Yates, *Map of the County of Stafford*.

144 PN Sa 6, 19.

145 PN Sa 6, 12–3.

146 Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 236–7.

147 PNE 1, 108–10.

148 Cole, *Place-Name Evidence for a Route-way Network*, 51–3.

149 PNE 1, 52.

150 PNE 1, 257.

a badger-hole or sett, is not uncommon.<sup>151</sup> Large badger setts may remain occupied for many decades, if not centuries, so would not necessarily be an impracticable choice as a boundary landmark.

Given the location of neighbouring waypoints, the sett would probably have lain beneath the ridge of Abbot's Castle Hill, somewhere between Upper Aston and Upper Ludstone. Badgers prefer to dig fairly light, sandy soils but this does not help us to identify a likely location as sandstone bedrocks and sandy superficial (drift) deposits exist throughout much of this region.<sup>152</sup>

Although a badgers' sett is the most probable interpretation of *Brocholes*, it is worthwhile considering another possibility, that *Broc-* may come from OE *brōc*, 'a brook, a stream'.<sup>153</sup> A similar place-name, Brook Holloway, seeming to originate from OE *brōc* and *halh* via *Brockall* (1699), has been noted in Wollescote, Stourbridge.<sup>154</sup>

While the *brōc-* interpretation is less likely than *brocc-* to be correct, it is the only one which suggests a location for this waypoint. Thus, the place marked in fig. 3a for *le Brocholes* relates to a complex of minor stream valleys near Upper Ludstone. This also appears, from neighbouring waypoints, to be a nodal point in the boundary line, being near the northern end of *le Rugge* (waypoint 33a), and would thus be an appropriate place in the perambulation for a waypoint to be recorded.

#### 34. and so to *Quartsouk* near *Two eth'*

We must now proceed north-east below a second, smaller, ridge towards Rudge Hall. The name *Quartsouk*, which may have meant 'Quatt's Oak', is now lost but the place-name 'Oaklands' (SO 807969) lies in the direction implied by other elements of the perambulation. Alternatively, *Quartsouk* may contain the ME *soke* 'the district over which a right of jurisdiction was exercised, an estate';<sup>155</sup> thus we might have a reference to a district or estate associated with Quatt(t), an element which appears in two settlement names, Quatt and Quatford, south-east of Bridgnorth. A 'district' or 'estate' (*soke*) as a whole would probably be insufficiently precise to serve as a landmark in the perambulation, so we must assume that *Quartsouk* represents the place at which the forest's boundary intersected that of the *soke*. A candidate for such a boundary may have survived in the rather peculiar projection of Claverley parish around Shipley which runs very close to Oaklands; and, whether the oak or *soke* interpretation is correct, Oaklands would seem likely to be the approximate location of *Quartsouk*.

The place was said to lie 'near *Two eth'*'. The latter word may represent either OE *eð(e)* 'waste-land'<sup>156</sup> or OE *hæð* 'heath' which often appears in ME place-names as *heth*.<sup>157</sup> The fact that two *eth'* were noted suggests that these features were separated by either a topographic or administrative boundary; and, in fact, two such boundaries lie along much the same line near Oaklands: the first a natural ridge some 70–100 feet high and, the second, the ancient parish boundary separating Rudge from Shipley in Claverley parish. Rudge Heath lay immediately to the west of Oaklands; and there also appears to have been heathland around Shipley to the south-east. The latter name derives from OE *scȳp* and *lēah* meaning 'sheep clearing' or 'sheep pasture';<sup>158</sup> as already noted, the place was part of Claverley parish which, in the 13th century, was known for keeping very large flocks of sheep on its heathland.<sup>159</sup>

It is far from clear, however, what the name *Quartsouk* represented. As previously mentioned, it may have been an oak tree marking a boundary or meeting place, or it may have referred directly to an estate or district (*soke*) boundary. In either case we might have expected to find other references, in the historical records, to the territorial landmark or the putative *soke* itself but no such references are known.

In 1990 the place-name scholar Margaret Gelling hypothesized that Quatt(t) might derive from the name of an early district or estate encompassing the settlements of Quatt (SO 776882) and Quatford

151 PNE 1, 52.

152 British Geological Survey, England and Wales, 'Sheet 167 Dudley' (2012); British Geological Survey, 'Geology Viewer', <<https://geologyviewer.bgs.ac.uk/>>

153 PNE 1, 51–2.

154 K. James, 'Place Names of Stourbridge, The Black Country and their Environs: Origins, meaning and interpretation' (2017), PDF article available via the author's personal website <[http://www.sbcplacenames.kjdocs.co.uk/Place Names of Stourbridge the Black Country and their Environs.pdf](http://www.sbcplacenames.kjdocs.co.uk/Place%20Names%20of%20Stourbridge%20the%20Black%20Country%20and%20their%20Environs.pdf)>, 28.

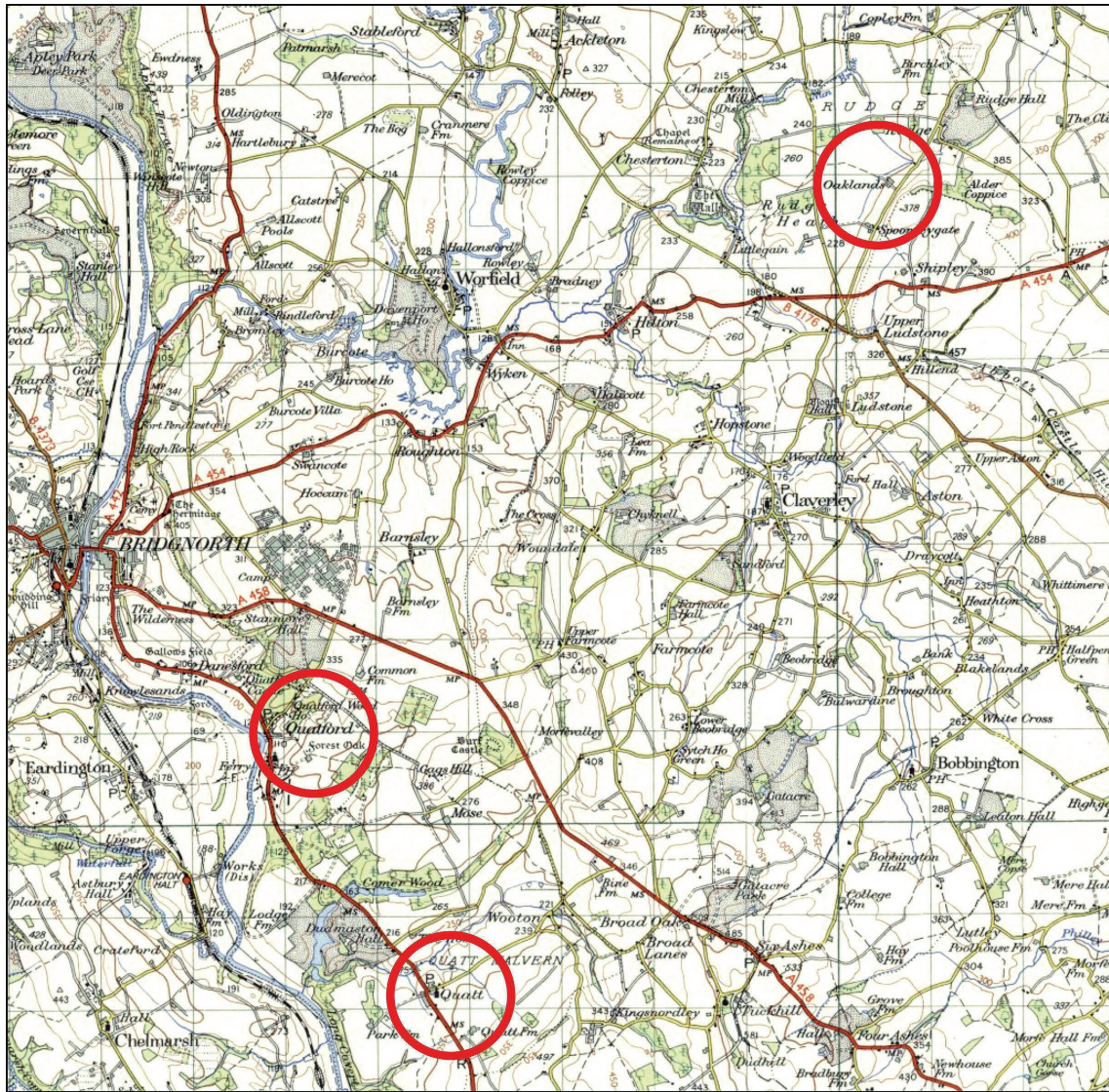
155 PNE 2, 133–4.

156 PNE 1, 162.

157 PNE 1, 219.

158 PN Sa, 1, 264–5.

159 PN Sa, 6, 21.



**Fig. 5** Distribution of place-names apparently incorporating the element Quat or Cwat(t). The north-east occurrence at Oaklands is the likely site of *Quartsouk* mentioned in the Kinver forest perambulation. Background: Ordnance Survey, 1" (7th series), 'Kidderminster' sheet (1960).

(SO 740907), which lie about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles (4 km) apart,<sup>160</sup> but this has been convincingly questioned.<sup>161</sup> While a territorial link with *Quartsouk* some 6 miles (10–11 km) to the north-east (see fig. 5) might seem even more unlikely, it cannot yet be ruled out. It may be relevant that *Quartsouk* lay near a watershed separating the Smestow and Worfe river-catchments, perhaps suggesting a very early boundary here.

### 35a. and then ascending by a road near to *le Birchles*

This name probably comes from OE (Anglian dialect) *birce* or *berc* 'birch (tree)'<sup>162</sup> and OE *lēah*, which meant 'an open-canopy wood', or 'a wood pasture'.<sup>163</sup> Given that the species name is clearly specified, *Birchles* probably represents a birch wood or an open space therein. The OE term *lēah* usually appears in modern place-name forms as '-ley', and there is, indeed, a Birchley (Farm) about  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile (1.2 km) north of Oaklands (the previous waypoint). The extent of *Birchles* in 1300 is unknown but it may have reached the Claverley–Pattingham road along which we have already travelled from waypoint 33b.

<sup>160</sup> PN Sa, 1, 56–7.

<sup>161</sup> D. Horovitz, 'A Tale of Two Bridges', *Shropshire History and Archaeology*, LXXXIII (2008), 1–17.

<sup>162</sup> For *berc* see PNE 1, 28–29, 30; for *birce* see PNE 1, 36.

<sup>163</sup> Hooke, 'Early medieval woodland', 365–76.

**35b. by the said road to le Holou mereheved**

Waypoint 36 (below) makes it clear that *Holou mereheved* was a road, or part of one. This term seems to mean the ‘hollow boundary-head’. Presumably the word *mere-*, ‘boundary’ in this instance, references not just a boundary line but the physical feature which delineated it; and in this case it must have been a road. As we have seen in waypoint 26, *heved* comes from *hēafod*, ‘head’, which was used in place-names for, amongst other things, ‘the top of something’ or ‘a headland surrounded by water’. We can surmise, therefore, that the *Holou mereheved* meant ‘the highest point of a holloway that runs along the boundary’.<sup>164</sup>

The hill upon which Rudge Hall stands fits the description *hēafod* well; it is bounded on its east, south, and west sides by streams. Moreover, the Shropshire–Staffordshire county boundary, which seems to be the *mere-* of the waypoint-name, runs south-south-east from this hill and, today, part of this boundary coincides with a minor road. It would appear that this road, perhaps together with an earlier extension of it, was the holloway along which the forest boundary ran.

**36. and so by the said road as far as a footpath (*sente*) under (*desuz*) la Sholle**

Clearly, *la Sholle* is the key to interpreting this waypoint. As anyone following the perambulation would have to have passed ‘under *la Sholle*’, the word can only have represented something high or tall like a tree, a woodland canopy (or the edge thereof) or, more likely, a hill or ridge of some description.

A place named *le Scholle* (1443), *Schowle* (1544), and *Scolle* (late 16th century), from OE *sceolh* ‘twisted hill’, appears to have been associated with Whittimere, about 3 miles (5 km) to the south of the *Holou mereheved* (waypoint 35b).<sup>165</sup> This may be the place recorded in 1286 (in relation to a forest offence occurring in 1282) as ‘the heath under *le Scholle*’.<sup>166</sup> It may be reasonable to assume that *la Sholle* of the present waypoint carries the same meaning (i.e. ‘the twisted hill’), but it is not clear whether it is actually the same place. What is certain, however, is that the perambulation’s *la Sholle* cannot have lain within the present-day limits of Whittimere: if the waypoint had been located that far south, the forest boundary could not have enclosed Trysull, Seisdon, Orton, or Lower Penn (as required by the wording analysed in Table 1).

A ridge of sharply rising ground does, however, run north-eastwards from the supposed *Holou mereheved*, and a settlement named The Clive lies upon the ridge-top. This name, like that of the similarly named village and civil parish in Shropshire, probably comes from OE *clife*, ‘cliff’.<sup>167</sup> The precise meaning of this OE word seems to have been somewhat different than in modern usage, encompassing a broader range of topographical features. The OE term had three possible meanings: ‘a slope (often, but not always, steep)’, ‘a river bank’, or ‘a small, irregular ridge or break of slope’. The south face of this ridge is broken by valleys at Little Moor and Great Moor which might have given rise to the name’s supposed ‘twisted’ connotation.

More probably however, *la Sholle*, ‘the twisted hill’, was that at SO 817965, which possesses a distinct hook-shaped promontory on its south-west flank. The promontory is defined by two valleys that may be responsible for the place-name ‘Cannebuff’ which appears on OS maps near the hill’s summit.<sup>168</sup> This name probably incorporates the OE *canne*, meaning ‘a can, a cup’ or, in a topographical sense, ‘a depression, a hollow, a deep valley’.<sup>169</sup> If this hill is indeed *la Scholle*, the previous waypoint (the *Holou mereheved*) would have extended about ⅔ mile (1 km) further south, towards the Bridgnorth–Wolverhampton road.

Whichever eminence is represented by *la Sholle*, the footpath (*sente*) referenced in this waypoint must have departed from the *Holou mereheved* about ⅔ to 1½ miles (1 to 2 km) south-west of the present-day Rudge Hall. Presumably the path would have either run north-east towards Great Moor, or followed the approximate course of the A454 Bridgnorth–Wolverhampton road, before turning south-east past Trescott and Lower Penn.

164 The term ‘holloway’ is frequently used for an ancient road, eroded by centuries of use, and usually comes from OE *hol* or *holan*, ‘hollow’, ‘deep’ or ‘running in a hollow’, and OE *weg* ‘road’.

165 *VCH Staffordshire*, XX, 71; Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 574.

166 Birrell, *Forests of Cannock and Kinver*, 119.

167 PN Sa 1, 90–1.

168 For example, the OS, 6”, Shropshire, sheet LII.SE (1890); OS ‘Explorer’, 1:25,000 scale, sheet 219 (2008).

169 PNE 1, 80.

### 37. and so by this path as far as *Badicoteswey*

The -wey element of *Badicoteswey* indicates that this name represented a road. In order for the footpath of waypoint 36 to have circumnavigated Lower Penn (see Table 1) it must have joined *Badicoteswey* somewhere in the vicinity of Spring Hill. The obvious contender for this road is the (probably Iron Age) salt-way that linked Penkridge and Droitwich, via Stourbridge. This ancient road is now delineated by the A449 and, south of Wall Heath, by the A491. It seems plausible that the footpath intersected *Badicoteswey* near the modern junctions of Springhill Lane, Warstones Road, and the A449.

The origin of the name *Badicoteswey* is uncertain. Presumably its referent terminated at, or passed near, a place called *Badicote*. The *cote* element probably comes from the dative singular form of OE *cot*, ‘a cottage, a hut, a shelter, a den’<sup>170</sup> but the meaning of the first element, *Badi-*, is not obvious. There are two place-names beginning with ‘Ba-’ nearby (Baggeridge and Battlefield<sup>171</sup>) but neither appears etymologically compatible with *Badicote*. *Badi-* may derive from an Anglo-Saxon personal name such as *Badeca*, but this is far from certain.

The most plausible explanation is that *Badicote* is a corruption of Bedcote, the primary settlement centre of the Stourbridge area in 1300, and that *Badicoteswey* was the road leading to Bedcote. Although seemingly founded in the Anglo-Saxon period, Bedcote reached its zenith in the 14th century when its status became elevated to that of a sub-manor, an inferior manor later to be known as ‘Bedcote and Stourbridge’. It is not, therefore, impossible that a road leading to Bedcote, even from somewhere as distant as Penn, would be known as ‘Bedcote Way’ or similar.

The spellings *Baddicote*- and *Bedcote* have obvious commonalities. Moreover, most 13th- and 14th-century spellings of Bedcote contain a medial <e>, i.e. *Betecote* (in 1221) and *Bettecote* (in 1275, 1290 1317, 1365, and 1371);<sup>172</sup> and it does not seem implausible for *Bette-* to have mutated to *Badi-* under the influences of a contemporary French scribe. The <s> in *Badicoteswey* may be genitival, probably indicating a strong association between the road and Bedcote rather than some form of ownership.

Although Bedcote has now been entirely subsumed into the town of Stourbridge, the present name of the road which links Penn to the area formerly known as Bedcote (the supposed *Badicoteswey*) still carries essentially the same meaning; it is today called Stourbridge Road.

### 38. and so descending by this road to *Smethestalleswey*

The final leg of the perambulation is straightforward. *Smethestalleswey* was clearly a road leading from *Badicoteswey* (now the A449; see above) to *Smethestall*. As the perambulation states that the vill of Wombourne and part of (the manor of) Himley were within the forest bounds, *Smethestalleswey* is most likely to have been the Himley–Smestow road, today comprising School Road and the B4176.

### 39. and by *Smethestallswey* as far as *Smethestalleford*, at the place whence the bounds commence.

This waypoint is self-explanatory.

## DISCUSSION

The detached portion of the forest encompassing the king’s demesne lands at Tettenhall appears to enclose, as one unit, the manor of Kingsley and both detached parts of the manor of Tettenhall Regis (fig. 2). There is good agreement with the manorial boundaries, where known; and it would appear that ‘the wood of *Kyngesleye*’ referenced in the perambulation equates to the whole of Kingsley manor.<sup>173</sup>

170 PNE 1, 108–10.

171 Battlefield appears to be a 19th-century name: Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 106; Horovitz, *Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians*, 316, footnote 1797.

172 PN Wo, 309–310.

173 *VCH Staffordshire*, XX, 15 describes the manor of Tettenhall Regis: ‘The manor...consisted of two detached parts. One extended north from Old Hill and the ridge above the church to the later Woodthorn Road South, Keepers Lane at Wergs, the Penk as far east as Dam Mill, the Cronkhall area, and the later Pendeford Avenue. The other extended south-west from Lower Green to include Compton, the Finchfield area on the high ground to the south, and Wightwick.’ Kingsley manor is described in *VCH Staffordshire*, XX, 21 as extending ‘south-west from Old Hill to Mill Lane, Wightwick Bank and Smestow brook between Wightwick and Compton. The area included Kingsley Wood, a detached portion of Kinver Forest, and the manor seems to have originated as an outlying part of Kinver manor.’

There is a high degree of confidence in the Kinver forest outline mapped in figures 2, 3a, and 3b, with significant uncertainties present in only three areas: at Enville; around Whittimere; and along the northern boundary of the main tract of the forest near the parishes of Pattingham and Penn. Even in these regions it is doubtful that locational errors in the mapped boundary amount to more than 1000 yards (about 1 km). For the most part, however, the course of Kinver forest's boundary appears to have been identified to an accuracy of several hundred feet (a few hundred metres), and just 30 feet (10 m) in many places.

The research presented here has also helped to elucidate several questions of wider significance:

- That part of the Droitwich–Greensforge Roman road (Margary 192) lying between Sweet Pool at Brake Mill Farm, Hagley (waypoint 11) and Sion House (i.e. Mount Sion) in the parish of Chaddesley Corbett (waypoint 12) appears to have remained visible, and probably passable, until the date of the Great Perambulation in 1300.
- Waypoint 31 puts a name, *le Urle strete*, to the Roman road running west from Greensforge, via Quatford, to Newtown (i.e. Margary 193) or, at least, to that part of the road near Highgate Common. Though *Urle strete* must be regarded as a French representation of a Middle English name, it is useful to now have a more readily recognisable label for this ancient highway. The first element of the name is phonetically similar to the English word 'earl', OE *eorl*, meaning 'a hero, a nobleman'.<sup>174</sup> It may be that the road's use by one such English, or Anglo-Norman, noble (perhaps Roger de Montgomery, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury, c.1030–1094) led to its name. The term *eorl* occurs frequently in minor place-names.
- The name *Quartsouk* (waypoint 34) is suggestive of a territorial landmark or boundary, perhaps one associated with Quatt and Quatbridge, 6½ miles (10–11 km) to the south-west. In 1990 Margaret Gelling postulated that Quatt derives from an early regional name.<sup>175</sup> Evidence for this hypothesis is not conclusive but if such a region or estate did exist, the place-name *Quartsouk* might indicate that it was considerably more extensive than Gelling had envisaged.
- If, as suggested under waypoint 37, *Badicoteswey* represented the road from Penn to Bedcote (an early settlement at Stourbridge), this would imply that Bedcote had developed into a place of some local or regional significance by 1300.
- The forest's eastern and western edges appear have been determined to some extent by ancient roads that had served as main through routes. In the east we have the Droitwich–Penkridge salt-way (probably dating from the Iron Age or earlier, and now designated the A449 and A491) together with part of the Droitwich–Greensforge Roman road (Margary 192). The forest's western boundary seems to have been guided by the Chester road (later known as The Great Irish Road), the boundary oscillating about it as the road runs north past Kidderminster and through Broadwaters, Cookley, Kinver, Highgate Common, Gospel Ash, and Upper Ludstone.

It is also noteworthy that at least nine place-names bearing the suffix 'Gate' or '-gate' lie directly upon the forest boundary (Table 2). One of these names is a building-name: 'The Gate Hangs Well' (formerly 'The Gate Inn') at Wollaston in Oldswinford parish. Though the origin of this name is undocumented, the inn is known to have existed by the 19th century and seems to have shared its name with the immediate area.

The possibility that some of these names derive from turnpike (toll) or other gates cannot be entirely discounted, but given that they all lie so close to the perambulated boundary and no similar names appear elsewhere in the vicinity of the forest, this observation suggests a genuine spatial correlation with the boundary line and thus a genuine relationship between the names and the forest.

Moreover, the date at which certain names were recorded almost certainly precludes the possibility of them representing turnpike gates. Clap Gate near Woodford Grange, for example is known to date from 1666 or earlier;<sup>176</sup> and Chapman's Gate on the boundary between Oldswinford and Pedmore parishes was recorded in 1733, two decades before the nearby Stourbridge–Kidderminster road was turnpiked.<sup>177</sup> Indeed, only Chapman's Gate and Park Gate lay anywhere near turnpike roads

174 PNE 1, 154.

175 PN Sa 1, 56–7.

176 Horovitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 194.

177 VCH *Staffordshire*, XX, 127.

**Table 2** ‘Gate’ and ‘-gate’ place-names lying directly upon the forest boundary

Place-name	Grid Reference	Closest waypoint(s)
Smestow Gate <sup>a</sup>	SO 850923	1
Gate Hangs Well / The Gate (inn-name) <sup>b</sup>	SO 888646	5–6
Chapman’s Gate <sup>c</sup>	SO 892825	8
Hackman’s Gate <sup>d</sup>	SO 893779	11–12
Park Gate <sup>e</sup>	SO 852784	16
Herrins Gate <sup>f</sup> / Herringsgate <sup>g</sup> / Herons’ Gate <sup>h</sup>	SO 803845	24–25
High Gate <sup>i</sup> / Highgate <sup>j</sup>	SO 833900	31
Spoonleygate <sup>k</sup>	SO 804964	33b–34
Clap Gate <sup>l</sup>	SO 863931	1 & 39

<sup>a</sup> OS, 25”, Staffordshire, sheet LXVI.8 (1882).

<sup>b</sup> History of Wollaston Group, *A History of Wollaston* (2004), HOW Group, Stourbridge, 10, 98; OS, 1”, sheet 62SW (1834).

<sup>c</sup> ‘Bounds of the parish of Old-Swinford against Kingswinford, Kinfare, Pedmore and Hales-Owen. Taken in the Year 1733’, Old Swinford Parish Register, 3 (1719–1735) (in Dudley Archives). (Also reproduced in D. Cochrane, *A Brief History of Lye and Wollescote* (2005), 9–10.)

<sup>d</sup> OS, 1” Old series, sheet 54NW (1831).

<sup>e</sup> OS, 25”, Staffordshire, sheet LXVI.8 (1882).

<sup>f</sup> Yates, *Map of the County of Stafford* (1775).

<sup>g</sup> OS, 25”, Shropshire, sheet LXVII.16 (1884).

<sup>h</sup> OS, 25”, Shropshire, sheet LXVII.16 (1903).

<sup>i</sup> Yates, *Map of the County of Stafford*.

<sup>j</sup> OS, 1” Old series, sheet 61SE (1833).

<sup>k</sup> OS, 6”, Shropshire, sheet LII.SE (1890); OS, 25”, Shropshire, sheet LII.16 (1883).

<sup>l</sup> Yates, *Map of the County of Stafford*; OS, 25”, Staffordshire, sheet LXVI.8 (1882).

in 1775;<sup>178</sup> and, given that the latter name specifically refers to a park, this also seems unlikely to have derived from a turnpike gate.

In some cases, other types of gate may also be ruled out. Clap Gate, for example, is an old term for a type of hunting gate,<sup>179</sup> so would seem to have been related to this activity within Kinver forest. And Chapman’s Gate is unlikely to have been a field gate as the name ‘Chapman’ appears to have been associated with an area of some considerable size. A relatively small, straight-sided (presumably post-enclosures) field named Chapman Common Field was recorded in 1846, lying south of the present Stourbridge Golf Club some 500–1000 yards (460–920 m) away from the 1733 Chapman’s Gate.<sup>180</sup> Given the separation of these two place-names, it may be that ‘Chapman’ referred to a medieval open (common) field, the name only later being transferred to the much smaller field south of the golf club. Indeed, LiDAR images and aerial photographs of the wider area show signs of medieval ridge and furrow ploughing consistent with open-field agriculture on the golf course itself,<sup>181</sup> and aerial photographs of the area to the south reveal ditch lines which may be related to an early unmapped field system.<sup>182</sup>

In addition, 19th- and early 20th-century OS maps show five place-names containing the word ‘park’ within the former forest, four of which appear to be paired with places bearing ‘gate’ names. These are listed in Table 3.<sup>183</sup> Three further ‘Park’ place-names nearby have also been mapped by the OS but can be excluded from the present discussion as they all appear to be unrelated to Kinver forest.<sup>184</sup>

The word ‘Park’ comes either from OE *pearroc*, meaning ‘land enclosed with a fence’, or from the Old French word *parc* (borrowed into French from the West-Germanic predecessor of the OE word, and then reintroduced to England after the Norman Conquest).<sup>185</sup>

178 Yates, *Map of the County of Stafford*.

179 Horowitz, *Place-Names of Staffordshire*, 194.

180 Pedmore tithe plan, Worcestershire Record Office, ref. r760/508 BA 1572.

181 Dudley Historic Environment Record (HER) 7657, accessible via the Heritage Gateway website <<https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/gateway/>>

182 Dudley HER 10597, 10598.

183 In the vicinity of the former Kinver forest, there are, or have been, many building-names and field-names which include the word ‘park’. As it is impracticable to build a comprehensive list of these minor, and sometimes lost, ‘park’ place-names, the content of Table 3 is restricted to those names which appear on one or more 19th- or early 20th-century OS maps. Unfortunately, this means that some ‘park’ place-names which may have been related to Kinver forest (such as the field-names recorded in 1688 near Enville Hall) have been excluded from Table 3.

184 The ‘Park’ place-names unrelated to the 1300 Kinver forest are: Himley Park (SO 885915) abutting the forest boundary; Park Farm at Hagley (SO 906805), located about a mile (1.5 km) from the boundary; and Park Attwood (SO 797796) which is paired with a variant of the same name, Parkatt Wood (SO 801799), about 2½ miles (4 km) away in Kidderminster parish. Himley Park is of post-medieval origin (Dudley HER 15299); Park Farm appears to be associated with the Hagley estate rather than with Kinver forest; and Park Attwood / Parkatt Wood is known to have post-dated the Great Perambulation by 65 years (PN Wo, 251).

185 PNE 1, 60–1; *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.n. ‘park’.

**Table 3** ‘Park’ and ‘-park’ place-names lying less 500 yards (about 500 m) from the forest boundary

Place-name	Grid Reference	Closest waypoint(s)
High Park Farm <sup>a</sup>	SO 871848	6
Iverley Park Farm <sup>b</sup>	SO 885820	8
Park Gate / Park Hall <sup>c</sup>	SO 852784	16
Park <sup>d</sup> / Park Farm <sup>e</sup> / Roughpark Wood <sup>f</sup>	SO 806839	24
Clan Park / Park Farm <sup>g</sup>	SO 841928	33a

<sup>a</sup> OS, 1” Old series, sheet 62SW (1834).

<sup>b</sup> OS, 25”, Staffordshire, sheet LXXV.1 (1903).

<sup>c</sup> OS, 1” Old series, sheet 54NW (1831); PN Wo, 251 states that Park Hall was known as *Parcheys*, ‘park enclosures’, in 1405.

<sup>d</sup> Yates, *Map of the County of Stafford* (1775).

<sup>e</sup> OS, 1” Old series, sheet 61SE (1833).

<sup>f</sup> OS, 1” Old series, sheet 61SE (1833).

<sup>g</sup> OS, 1” Old series, sheet 61SE (1833).

The apparent pairing of ‘Gate’ and ‘Park’ place-names near the forest boundary is clear, as is the fact that all of the ‘Gate’ names lie very close to (if not directly upon) the boundary, whereas the ‘Park’ names occur a short distance inside the forest. Their significance is not entirely obvious but, as the ‘Gate’ / ‘-gate’ names probably record gates at these places, it may be reasonable to assume that some of the adjacent parts of the forest were enclosed with hedges or fences. Presumably these were the parks and/or the areas known as hays. The word ‘hay’ comes from OE *haga* or *(ge)hæg*, the precise meanings of which seem to vary geographically, temporally, and contextually. Different historical sources may emphasize one meaning over another but, generally speaking, these words were used for ‘a hedge, a fence’ or ‘an enclosed space; an enclosure; an enclosure fenced off for hunting; a park’.<sup>186</sup>

Considering just one of the ‘Gate’ / ‘Park’ place-name pairs – Chapman’s Gate and Iverley Park (Farm) – it is known that, in the south-eastern extremity of Kinver parish, part of an extended area named Iverley was a hay of Kinver forest.<sup>187</sup> Indeed, an Iverley Hay Farm presently lies in this area, only 0.6 miles (1 km) to the south of Iverley Park Farm.<sup>188</sup> Though both farms date from the 17th century,<sup>189</sup> their names presumably recall somewhat earlier land use. Clearly, Iverley Park was geographically related to Iverley Hay; it may even have been the very same enclosure, or part of it, and Chapman’s Gate may have been the enclosure’s entrance. It is conceivable that similar relationships lay behind other ‘Park’ and ‘Gate’ place-name pairs near the forest boundary.

Two other hays are known within the forest: Chasepool Hay, south of Smestow Gate in the west of Wombourn parish, and Ashwood Hay which lay in the west of Kingswinford parish until 1935 when the land of the former hay was subsumed, mostly or entirely, into the adjacent Kinver parish. The precise boundaries of these forest hays are unknown.

Despite the established association between forest hays and hunting, it is believed that not all ‘hay’ place-names signified hunting enclosures. It has been suggested that many hays were (initially at least) livestock enclosures serving local communities, so-called ‘manorial hays’, and that some smaller hays represent enclosed medieval messuages.<sup>190</sup> There is also evidence that, in the very early Norman period, the primary purpose of forest hays was wildlife control (helping to maximise the forest’s productivity) rather than specifically to facilitate the king’s hunt.<sup>191</sup>

‘Park’ place-names have a clearer association with hunting, however.<sup>192</sup> The examples listed in Table 3 may represent either land (probably Anglo-Saxon hays) which had been taken into the forest during the early Norman period, surviving there as a forest hay, or which had been established *from* forest hays upon, or prior to, disafforestation. Fig. 6 suggests that the first scenario is the most likely as most of the ‘Park’, and especially the ‘Gate’, place-names are located very close to the boundaries of ancient parishes. The statistical significance of this observation has not been determined (in view of the small sample size) but the correlation does, at least superficially, appear to be more than a product of random chance. Moreover, it is broadly consistent with observations in south-west Worcestershire

186 PNE 1, 214–5, 221; D. Hooke, ‘Pre-Conquest Woodland: its distribution and usage’, *Agricultural History Review*, 37 (1989), 123–5; S. J. Wager, ‘The hays of medieval England: a reappraisal’, *Agricultural History Review*, 65, part 2 (2017), 169–70.

187 *VCH Staffordshire*, II, 344.

188 P. W. King, ‘The minster Aet Stur in Husermere and the northern boundary of the Hwicce’, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, third series, 15 (1996), 74–5.

189 *VCH Staffordshire*, XX, 126.

190 Wager, ‘The hays of medieval England’, 192–3.

191 Jørgensen, ‘Roots of the English Royal Forest’, 128.

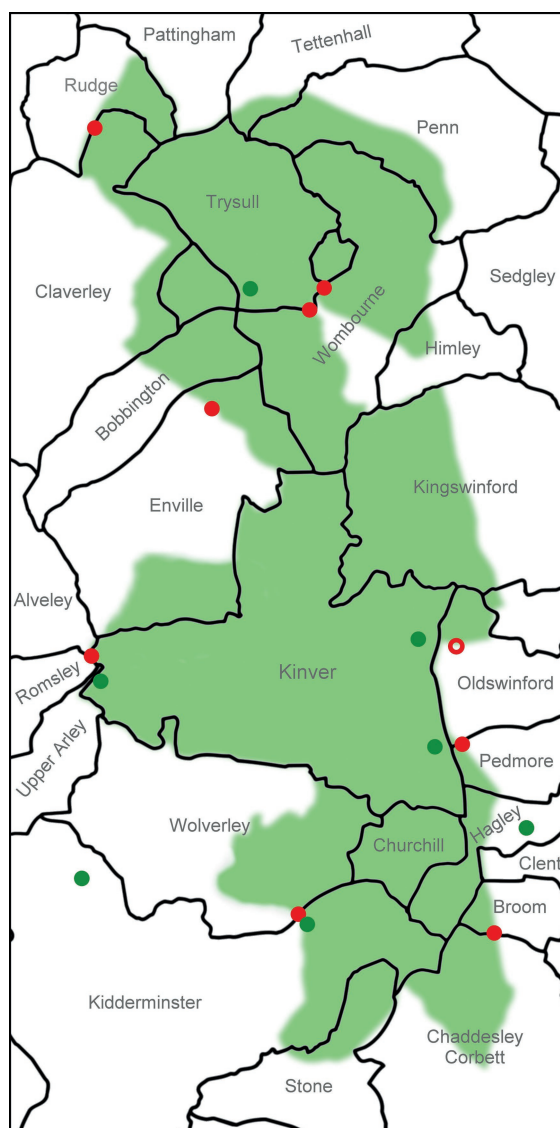
192 Rackham, *Illustrated History of the Countryside*, 63–66.

where pre-Conquest charters record *haga* features, as well as gates, lying along a number of separate estate boundaries.<sup>193</sup>

The apparent correlation with manor boundaries probably indicates a pre-Conquest origin for the enclosures which eventually gave rise to Kinver forest's 'Park' and 'Gate' place-names. Some medieval manors abutting the forest, such as Oldswinford and Pedmore on its eastern edge, seem to have resulted from a late 10th- or early 11th-century territorial reorganisation;<sup>194</sup> others may well have originated directly from even earlier Anglo-Saxon land units. The resulting manorial boundary pattern formed a template for later parish boundaries and, while minor adjustments have undoubtedly occurred as late as the 17th and 18th centuries,<sup>195</sup> there is little evidence for major changes in these boundaries since their inception. That lack of evidence could, of course, be just a matter of poor recording or survival but numerous sources of boundary evidence (e.g. Anglo-Saxon charters) have survived, and this leads one to suspect that manor and parish boundaries have indeed remained remarkably stable since the Anglo-Saxon period, including throughout the development of the Norman forest system.

If that is an accurate assessment, it may be reasonable to propose that at least some of the regions denoted by surviving 'Park' place-names started out as Anglo-Saxon livestock hays located at the edges of estates and community lands (i.e. manorial hays) and that those hays were later subsumed within the forest's boundaries, their usage being adapted accordingly. Thus, the presence of these hays would have been an important factor in determining the location of the forest bounds, especially if the hays had prior royal connections. An association between *hagan* and 'royal land rights' has been noted in Worcestershire, where half of that county's *haga* place-names occur 'along the boundaries of royal estates or of estates bordering upon royal land'.<sup>196</sup>

The foregoing interpretation is, of course, only one possible reading of the Kinver forest data. Whether it is substantially correct, or not, fig. 6 strongly suggests that the course of the forest boundary is intimately linked to the pattern of local manor and parish boundaries via a mutual association with 'Gate' or '-gate' place-names and with those hays that were subsumed into the forest to eventually emerge as park-land.



**Fig. 6** 'Gate'/'-gate' place-names (red dots) and 'Park'/'-park' place-names (green dots) near the 1300 boundary of Kinver forest. Unfilled dots represent building-names.

193 Hooke, 'Pre-Conquest Woodland', 125–6.

194 James, 'The Swinford Charter (S 579)', 30–40.

195 For example, the OS, 6", Worcestershire, sheet IV.SW (1884) depicts a modification of the county boundary line separating Wollaston from Amblecote manor (both in Oldswinford parish), which can have been made only after Andrew Yarranton's attempt to make the River Stour navigable in the mid 17th century. Two subsequent minor adjustments to the Oldswinford parish boundary are noted in a perambulation of the parish dated 1733 and recorded in 'Bounds of the parish of Oldswinford against Kingswinford, Kinfare, Pedmore and Hales-Owen. Taken in the year 1733', Old Swinford Parish Register, volume 3 (1719–1735), pp. 133–4 (in Dudley Archives). (Also reproduced in D. Cochrane, *A Brief History of Lye and Wollscote* (2005), 9–10).

196 Hooke, 'Pre-Conquest Woodland', 123.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the editor of this journal, Nigel Tringham, for his very helpful advice and, especially, for reviewing and revising the translation of the perambulation's manuscript. My thanks are also due to the article's two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and suggestions, all of which have resulted in significant improvements to the text.

## NOTES

In the footnotes the following abbreviations are used for English Place-Name Society volumes.

- PNE      A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols (1956)  
PN Mdx   J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Middlesex* (1994)  
PN Sa     M. Gelling in collaboration with H. D. G. Foxall, *The Place-Names of Shropshire*, 6 vols (1990–2012)  
PN Wo    A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Worcestershire* (1969)