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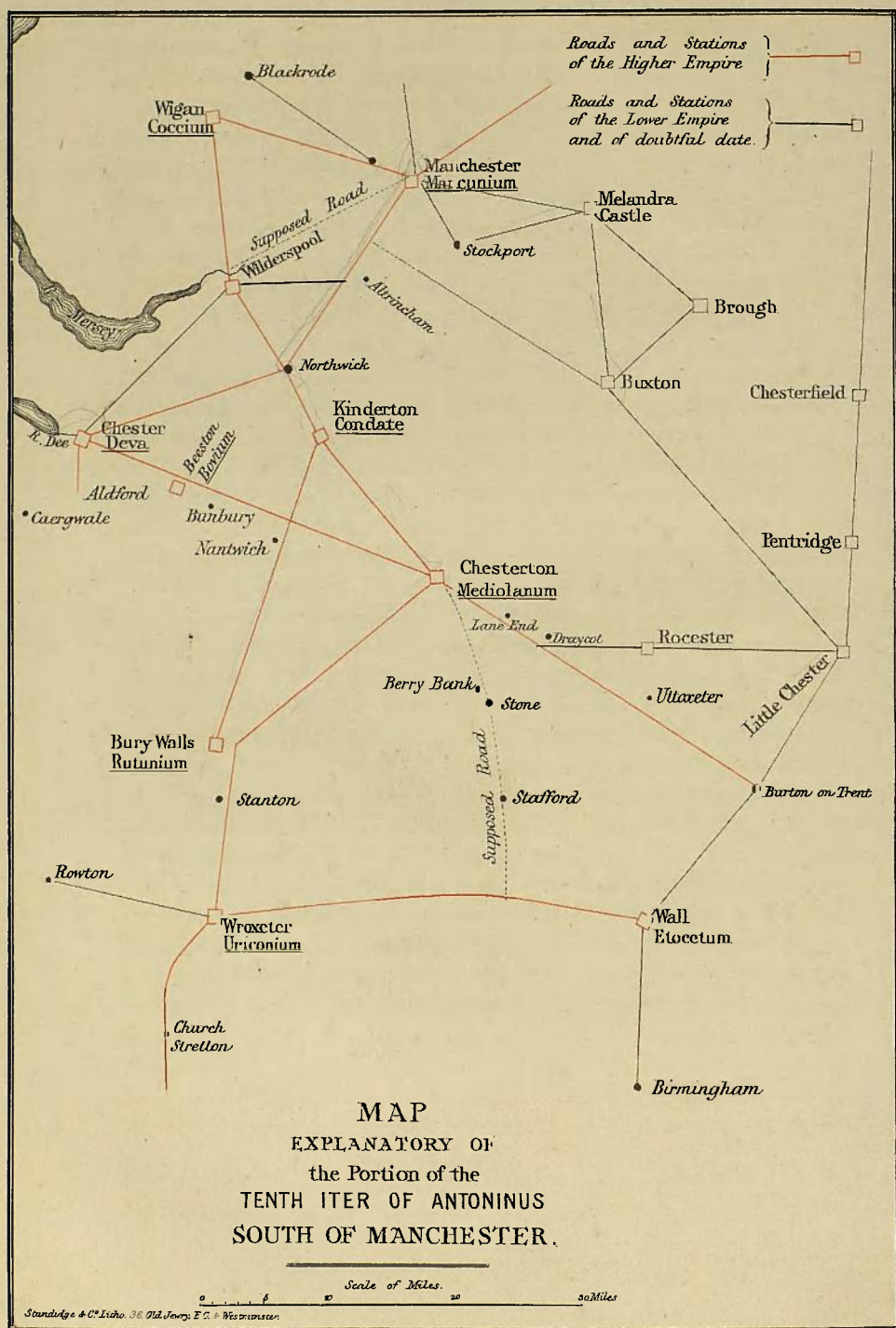
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ON THE SITE OF "MEDIOLANUM," AND THE PORTION OF THE TENTH ITER OF ANTONINUS, SOUTH OF MANCHESTER.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

IN my recent Paper on the Tenth Iter of Antoninus, in the *Archaeological Journal* (vol. xxviii. p. 109,) my object was chiefly to elucidate that portion of it lying between Manchester and the neighbourhood of the Wall of Hadrian, which has always been the most doubtful and the most discussed, whilst, with regard to the portion of the Iter south of Manchester, I adopted the generally-received opinion, since the time of Dr. Bennett, Bishop of Cloyne, that Kinderton and Chesterton represented respectively Condate and Mediolanum. I also noticed the recent hypothesis started by Dr. Robson, and stated my conviction that everything depended upon the identification of Mediolanum.

Since the compilation of my Paper, however, Dr. Kendrick, in a communication to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,¹ has explained Dr. Robson's theory at greater length, and has consequently compelled me to enter into a discussion of the question, holding, as I do, that his views are totally at variance with the evidence.

In this Paper Dr. Kendrick places Condate at Wilderspool (on account of its distance from Chester in the 2nd Iter), Mediolanum he places at Middlewich, on account of its distance from Wilderspool, Mancunium at Wigan (!),² Mamucium (of the 2nd Iter) at Manchester, Coccium at Walton on the Ribble, and Bremetonacae at Lancaster. According to this view, there *must* be two stations bearing the name of Mediolanum, one at thirty miles and the other at eighteen

¹ Vol. xi. 2nd series, pp. 153—172.

² In his map Dr. Kendrick places Mancunium at Wigan, but in his text of the Iter he gives it "Standish-Wigan," probably because the distance from Wilderspool to Wigan is only thirteen miles. There is no trace of a Roman post at

Standish. With regard to Wigan, I omitted to mention in my former Paper the fact of a fine gold coin of Vitellius having been found there, in addition to the other remains I named. It is preserved in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool.

miles from Chester, and two stations bearing the almost similar names of Mamucium and Mancunium, both at exactly the same distance (eighteen miles) from Condate. Although Drs. Kendrick and Robson are the authors of the latter hypothesis, the former (regarding Mediolanum) is by no means new.

To me it appears that the errors of these gentlemen, with regard to Coccium and Mancunium, are chiefly to be attributed to their persistently ignoring the existence of the fine road between Wigan and Manchester; and with regard to Mediolanum, by their ignoring in a similar manner the existence of the road from Chester³ to Chesterton. In my former Paper I dwelt at some length upon the first of these, in this I purpose tracing the second road.

Manchester is admitted by all to be the Mamucium of the 2nd Iter, we have, then, to find a Roman town eighteen miles distant from it, and twenty miles distant from Chester, in order to ascertain the site of Condate. Following the fine Roman road leading south by west from Manchester, eighteen miles will bring us to Northwich. The distance by the modern road, which in the main follows the track of its Roman predecessor, is a little over nineteen miles, but the difference is owing to the curve at Altrincham. What do we find at Northwich? The road we have just traversed is joined by another coming southwards from the station at Wilderspool, and a third coming eastwards from Chester.⁴ There should, according to the plan generally adopted by the Romans, have been a considerable station at this point, but that is not the case; just sufficient remains, such as funeral urns, coins, &c., have been found to testify to the existence of a small outpost, but nothing that would indicate the site of a station of sufficient importance to be named in both the 2nd and 10th Iters. Instead of this, the station is five miles to the south at Kinderton, and from the point where the three roads meet there starts a grand wide road, far wider than either of them, called the Kind Street or Broadway;⁵ which runs into it, and from it in

³ Dr. Kendrick gives neither of these roads in his map.

⁴ In the map accompanying my former Paper this road was erroneously represented as leading from Chester to Kinderton *direct*, instead of to Northwich.

⁵ Camden says of this road (Gough's Camden, edit. 1789, vol. ii. p. 425), "For from Middlewich to Norwich runs a noble road raised with gravel to such a height as easily to be known for a Roman work, gravel being very scarce all over

turn issue a number of other roads. Now it must be borne in mind, that the 2nd Iter is aiming for Chester (Deva); if, therefore, its author had traced it to Northwich, then into Kinderton, from Kinderton again to Northwich, and then on to Chester (this being the only route available), he would have twice gone over the five miles between Kinderton and Northwich. This error he avoids. He first stops short at Northwich, which, to use modern railway phraseology, would in his time be "Kinderton Junction," giving the distance eighteen miles correctly, and then, in the second place, he gives the exact distance, *i. e.*, twenty miles, which any one going from Condate (Kinderton) to Deva (Chester) would have to traverse, for the distance from Northwich to Chester, along the Roman road, is fifteen miles.

It will be well at this stage to collect all the evidence bearing upon this station at Kinderton, which appears to have been unknown until a Mr. Ralph Vernon, of Warmingham Forge, wrote to Dr. Wilkes, at Willenhall, near Wolverhampton (Shaw's "Hist. Staffordshire," vol. ii., p. 10), on 15th May, 1750, announcing that he had discovered it. This letter remained unpublished until the production of Rev. Stebbing Shaw's "History of Staffordshire," in 1798. In the meantime, a Mr. Thomas Percival communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a letter dated Royston, July 6, 1760, of which the following is an extract:—"I have traced the Roman roads from Manchester with the utmost care, and find that the Condate of the Romans was Kinderton in Cheshire. The road is visible almost all the way, and the camp visible at Kinderton, where the Dane and Weaver join. There is a Roman way from thence to Chester, another to Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne, and another, by Nantwich and Whitchurch, to Wroxeter." ("Archæologia," vol. i., p. 70.)

Mr. Whitaker, in his "History of Manchester," published in 1771, also recognises Kinderton as the site of Condate, and says of the roads issuing from it that one of them, after traversing "a field immediately without the camp, goes to

these parts, and therefore now carried from this road to private houses." The Bishop of Cloyne (Lyson's "Magna Britannia," vol. ii. part ii. p. 434) confirms the destruction of this road, by the re-

moval of the gravel, and says, "little of it now remains, except its ancient straight line and name." It thus exists at the present day.

Mediolanum, in Shropshire. Another went by Holme Street Hall to Chester, and a third extended by Street Forge and Red Street to Chesterton, near Newcastle.”⁶ The Bishop of Cloyne, in the Cheshire volume of the “Magna Britannia” also identifies these three roads, besides others issuing from the station, and Dr. Ormerod, in his elaborate “History of Chester,” (vol. i., p. 24, note), traces not only these but the one to Wilderspool, another southwards by Betley, and into Staffordshire, another “through Twemlowe and Birtles, and intersecting with the line from Buxton and Manchester at Rainow,” and another “through Handford to Stockport, where it divided into two branches, one leading into Yorkshire, the other to Melandra Castle.” Of the road to Chesterton he says (vol. iii., p. 149):—“The first of these, which has been traced in Bradwall, in Northwich Hundred, proceeded, according to all authorities, by Red Street and Street Forge for Chesterton, near Newcastle.” A large find of Roman coins occurred at this Bradwall, and Dr. Ormerod, in the “Archæologia Cambrensis,” vol. ii. (1st series), p. 181, says, “When writing the ‘History of Cheshire,’ I could add no new facts to Mr. Whitaker’s *general* idea of a line from Kinderton towards Chesterton, but shortly after the completion of my work, *the actual gravel bank of this line* was found in course of excavations in the Brindley Moors farm, within the estate of my relative, Dr. Latham, to the east of Bradwall Hall, and about four miles south of Kinderton.” He then alludes to the find of coins. The line of this road has since been more completely brought to light, and is shown in the Ordnance map of the district.

The late Archdeacon Wood, who also held the opinion that Kinderton was Condate, says of this road to Chesterton, in a Paper read before the Chester Archæological Society, May 6th, 1850,⁷ that it is “to be traced in Bradwall, in the parish of Sandbach, the line of which, if extended southwards, would pass Hare Castle, and Chesterton, in Staffordshire, continuing a straight course to Etocetum, or Wall, near Lichfield; if produced northwards, it falls into the straight part of ‘Booth Lane,’ in the road from Sandbach to Middlewich, and continuing in a line, the course of which can be traced through the fields, meets a short

⁶ Vol. i. p. 144.

⁷ Transactions of the “Chester Archæo-

logical Society,” vol. i. p. 46.

accommodation road, called the 'Parson's Lane,' and following that to its termination, passes onwards, still discernible, until it meets the junction at Kinderton."

Speaking of the station at Kinderton, the Archdeacon says, "It is of an irregular figure, not a true parallelogram, although approaching as near to it as the formation of the land will allow; the sides are not exactly facing the cardinal points, although sufficiently so to be designated by them. This camp is bounded on the north by the river Daven or Dane, on the west by the river Croco, their confluence being at the north-west angle. On the two other sides of the parallelogram, the fosse is plainly discernible, though it has been greatly defaced by being partially levelled a few years ago.⁸ Several coins and other trifling articles have been found in levelling and ploughing the field, which unfortunately have not been preserved. On the 25th July, 1849, when digging to ascertain how far the gravel of the road extended, in each place opened small fragments of Roman pottery, some of Samian ware, were immediately thrown out, sufficient to indicate the place to be Roman, and showing the probability of much being discovered if diligent search were instituted."

At a meeting of the Chester Archæological Society in May, 1868, Mr. Vawdrey exhibited Samian and other pottery, including two or three almost perfect vases, coins of Vespasian and Hadrian, fibulæ, a bronze key and knives, &c., which were found in the station. One of the pieces of Samian ware bore the potter's name, CINNAM, which has occurred on Samian ware at various other places.

Chester again is a key town, and we have to find at ten miles' distance from it the site of Bovium, or Bonium, and twenty miles further on that of Mediolanum. No station in England has been fixed at so many and such widely-distant places as the latter. Camden placed it at Llanvyllyn, Montgomeryshire; Dr. Gale at Festiniog; others at Meivod and at Caersws. These antiquaries all considered it a totally distinct place from the Mediolanum of the 10th Iter, and Bovium was generally considered by them to be at Bangor (Issa-coed), in Flintshire, as a Roman road, leads almost due south from Chester, but is only traceable for a few miles. Horsley

⁸ Whitaker, "History of Manchester," vol. i. p. 143, says the area of this station is about ten statute acres.

was the first to reject these opinions, but he was ignorant of the course of the *Via Devana*, and of the existence of the stations at Kinderton and Chesterton, with the roads issuing from them. Nevertheless, under all these disadvantages, he concluded (*"Britannia Romana,"* p. 417), from the fact of some Roman coins having been found at Burton Hill, that there was a Roman road going more to the south-east from Chester towards London, than the one through Aldford, and rejected Bangor as the site of Bovium, on the ground of distance, its having nothing Roman about it, and no Roman road being visible near it. On account of its etymology, he named Bunbury, as possibly being near Bonium, and, in a note at p. 418, added, "But till we can discover some surer evidences of Roman ways and stations hereabout, I am afraid we must remain in uncertainty." Condate, he had previously concluded with Dr. Stukeley, "has been at Northwich, or near it," and he added that one of his correspondents, Dr. Tilston, imagined it to be at Kinderton. Mediolanum he considered as the same place of that name mentioned in the 10th *Iter*, and thought its site might be upon the river Tern, near Drayton, or at Middle, in Shropshire, whilst Rutunium, the intermediate station between it and Wroxeter, he placed at "Bury Walls," near Wem. He says concerning this latter :—"Remains, distance, and the course of the military way favour, as I think, this opinion, which may make it the more deserving of some regard. And Rodan is not unlike to Rutunium, so that the affinity of name makes also for us ; for I have had frequent occasion to observe that the ancient name is often preserved in the name of the river. The way from Wroxeter to this station seems to be the continuance of the military way from Monmouthshire."⁹

Dr. Mason of Trinity College, Cambridge, Dr. Wilkes, and Mr. J. Whitfield, between the years 1754 and 1758 (Shaw's *"History of Staffordshire,"* vol. i. pp. 13-15), entered further into this subject, and all of them concluded that the Mediolanum of the 2nd *Iter* was to the east of the Severn. Still they were not aware of Chesterton. Dr. Mason, in a letter to Dr. Wilkes, dated 15th March, 1758, says, "I should be glad to know whether you have any knowledge of a Roman way from Burton-upon-Trent to Chester by New-

⁹ *"Britannia Romana,"* p. 418.

castle, for parts of such a one I have seen, and it is part of a great one that crosses the whole kingdom in a very direct course. * * * * I have traced another from Wroxeter, ten miles toward Chester, but there I lost it."

The almost total obliteration of the Roman roads in South Cheshire, North Shropshire, and North Staffordshire,¹ was the great stumbling-block of these antiquaries of the last century. Although the discovery of the station at Kinderton (circa 1750), and its identification as Condote, simplified the question somewhat, the numerous roads issuing from Wroxeter northwards could not be traced, whilst those leading from Chesterton were totally unknown. Matters remained in this state some thirty or forty years longer, when Dr. Bennett (Bishop of Cloyne) and the Rev. Thomas Leman of Bath traced by personal observation the course of the Via Devana, and other roads of North Staffordshire, as well as those of Derbyshire, Cheshire, &c. The conclusion which these celebrated antiquaries arrived at, was that Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne, was the true site of Mediolanum.² And here, before tracing the roads round Chesterton, we will first consider the place itself.

Camden, in his "Britannia," when speaking of Newcastle-under-Lyne, says it is "so called in respect to an older castle anciently situated near it at Chesterton-under-Lyne, where I saw many walls of a half-ruined castle, which, at first by the gift of King John, belonged to Ralph, Earl of Chester, afterwards, by favour of Henry III., to the House of Lancaster."—Gough's Camden (edit. 1806), vol. ii. p. 496.

Erdeswicke, in his "Survey of Staffordshire," the materials

¹ The high state of cultivation to which the soil of this part of England has been subject, will, in some degree, account for this. Numerous soft boggy districts also intervene, in which both roads and buildings would in the lapse of ages gradually sink. It is remarkable that neither in Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, nor in that part of Shropshire north of Shrewsbury, have any traces of Roman villas been found. The large stations only are discernible.

² In the "Magna Britannia," vol. ii. part ii. (Cheshire) p. 433, the Bishop of Cloyne says—"A third road by way of Street Forge and Red Street connected Kinderton with the station of Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne; it corresponded,

as I conceive, with the tenth Iter of Antonine, and Chesterton is the Mediolanum of that Iter, of which circumstance I shall treat more at length when I come to examine the Roman towns in Staffordshire." In vol. v. of the same work (Derbyshire), p. cexiii., the bishop states again that he considers Chesterton to be the Mediolanum of the tenth Iter. The "Magna Britannia," commencing alphabetically with the English counties, was only continued as far as Devonshire, and consequently the Bishop's remarks on the Roman towns of Staffordshire were never published. He died in London, 16th July, 1820, and was buried in Plumstead Church, Kent. I have endeavoured to trace his MSS. on this subject, but hitherto in vain.

for which he gathered between A.D. 1593-1603, in which latter year he died, says, in the edition of his work published by Sir Simon Degge in 1723, at p. 9: "A little lower" (than Bradwell) "stands Chesterton, where are to be seen the ruins of a very ancient town or castle, there yet remaining some rubbish of stone and lime, whereby may be perceived that the walls have been of a marvellous thickness, and the name doth argue, some town or rather castle there to have been seated; as also by the decay thereof which may seem to be occasioned by the building of Newcastle, whereupon as I take it, the same took the name of Newcastle. The walls whereof begin to follow the other, shewing themselves also very ruinous, and almost as little to the view, but that they stand in a great lake or pool as the other do not."

Dr. Plot, who visited Chesterton in 1680, says: "It seems, too, to be pretty certain, that the town or castle of Chesterton-under-Lyne, as Mr. Camden calls it, given by King John to the last Randall, Earl of Chester, must be a place of note before the Conquest, it going to decay as long agoe as the reigne of King Hen. 3, when the Earle of Lancaster built another³ near by, in the midst of a great poole, which he called the Newcastle. that gave original (no doubt) to the Towne of that name close by it; whereof yet there is now almost as little remaining as of the walls of Chesterton, which were so firmly built that as Mr. Camden and Mr. Erdeswicke both owne there remain'd so much of the rubbish of them in their days, that it might be perceived thereby that they were of a marvellous thickness; but all was gone before I came there, nothing now being to be seen but some faint footsteps of them in the place where the mark is set in the map."

These "faint footsteps" seen by Dr. Plot must, however, have been sufficient to prove the existence of the fortress, for

³ This is a mistake, for both town and castle of Newcastle under-Lyne were in existence before this reign. In the record of "Assisæ et Placita Coronæ," taken at Lichfield, on St. Matthew's day 5th King John (1203) it is stated that the town of Newcastle was amerced for having changed its market day from Sunday to Saturday (*vide* "Abbreviatio Placitorum," p. 43). And in the 17th King John (1215) the Crown granted to Ranulph de Blondeville, Earl of Chester, "Newcastle-

under-Line and its liberties" ("Calendarium Chartarum," &c., in the Exchequer, published 1803, p. 30). These appear soon to have been forfeited, for early in the reign of Henry III. we find (Calendarium Inquisit post mort., vol. i. p. 202) that the king held the *New Castle* town and manor. It was under the governorship of a Constable. For this information I am indebted to Pitt's History of Staffordshire, pp. 352-3.

Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.,⁴ informs me, that even so late at 1820-25, he remembers portions of the walls remaining three or four courses high, he having many times observed them.

It is thus certain, that prior to the reign of King John there existed a walled *castrum* or castle, which was even then ancient, and bore the Saxon name of Chesterton. Every tittle of evidence having been lost as to the date of its erection, a rigid inquiry on the point is required. Had it been erected by any of the followers of the Conqueror, or by any of the barons of the four succeeding reigns, no doubt some record of its existence as a fortress would have been preserved, and it would hardly have gone to decay as early as the reign of Henry III., only 150 years after the Conquest. Indeed, it is probable that the castle of *Newcastle* was one of the numerous fortresses erected in the reign of Stephen, which would thus bring the *new* building within 70 years of the Conquest. Again, there is no reason to suppose that the Saxons built any fortifications here. They were not a castle-building people, and we possess very few remains of their castellated architecture. Mr. Pitt, in his "History of Staffordshire," p. 352, endeavours to ignore the fact of any remains of a castle at *Chesterton* having been seen by Camden. He says: "Later authors have been led into error by the ungrammatical construction of the above quotation (*i.e.*, Camden's description of Chesterton), for it is certain that Camden must have meant that the ruinous walls which he had seen of an old castle, formerly belonging to the Earl of Chester, and afterwards to the House of Lancaster, were the walls of Newcastle, and not, as the sentence at first reading seems to imply, the walls of Chesterton." But there is no doubt of Camden meaning *Chesterton* in the above passage, for he is confirmed by Erdeswicke, who distinctly speaks of the *two* castles being then visible. It is hardly necessary to repeat here the derivation of the word "Chester" or "Ceastre" from the Latin word *castrum*, and the almost universal application of it by the Saxons to any Roman stronghold which had survived their attacks, or become one of their towns.

After all, the best evidence in these cases is generally to

⁴ Mr. Mayer is a native of Newcastle-under-Lyne, and remembers Chesterton from his boyhood.

be found in the ground plan, and accordingly at Chesterton it is not that of a Saxon or mediæval castle, but the distinct outline of a Roman *castrum* that presents itself.

Mr. Ward, in his "Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent," thus speaks of this camp at p. 15: "The situation must have been chosen by Agricola, or whoever else fixed upon it, with considerable judgment, as commanding a view on all sides from which an enemy could approach. The hill on which the fortress stood is considerably elevated, but considerably below the lofty ridges on the west and north. Along the north side of what was evidently the camp or station, is an immense foss, still partly filled with water from a copious spring within its bed, issuing from the red sandstone rock on which the station was elevated, and which still supplies two fish ponds in the cavity, measuring together about 120 yards in length. The breadth of the foss cannot have been less than 20 yards when in an entire state. Along the rampart, on the outer side of it, appears to be the way which led by a gradual ascent from the north-east corner of the station to the centre or prætorium over a draw-bridge, at which spot the hollow is now filled up for a space of 25 or 30 yards, and beyond that is partially filled, though clearly marked out, for at least 150 yards more. The whole extent of this entrenchment measures about 370 yards, and it must have formed an impregnable barrier along the north side of the station. On the east, the camp seems to have been defended by a ditch and rampart cut from the sandstone rock; several houses in the village, the principal being Chesterton Old Hall, now occupy the inner side of the vallum at intervals for about 300 yards in extent. The station then turns at a right angle to the west up a lane, which appears to have been the southern vallum, and goes over the summit of the hill on which the castle stood. The whole station seems to have formed a parallelogram of about 370 by 300 yards, and to have enclosed upwards of 20 acres of ground, an area sufficient for accommodating a Roman cohort, which contained 600 men, with equipage, stabling and stores. The entrenchment on the west has been levelled, and is only marked by the line of a modern fence. The surface in this direction slopes gently towards Apedale, and was not open to any sudden assaults from an enemy. At a distance of about 150 yards from the eastern rampart is a brook to which a road

leads from the south-east angle of the camp, and which supplied convenient watering for the troops."

On the 19th September, 1871, Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., examined the site carefully on behalf of the writer, and he says: "I am quite satisfied that *it is the site of a Roman camp*. It is a parallelogram placed with the long diameter pretty nearly due north and south. It is in a commanding situation, and is raised above the surrounding lands evidently by human hands. On the east side where there is stone, the stone has been cut away to the depth of 10 ft., on the west side the elevation is about 3 ft., on the south it is less, and on the north side is the ditch described by Ward 10 or 12 ft. below the surface of the camp. This ditch, supposed by Ward to be supplied by a spring, is now quite dried up.

"The area of the camp is still a green field unoccupied by any building, whilst the surrounding land about the village is now being built upon on all sides. The road runs along the east side where the camp has been defended by a ditch cut in the sandstone. On this side stands Chesterton Old Hall as formerly. Just below the hall is the road into the camp near the south-eastern corner.

"On the extreme northern edge of the camp still stand the remains of some ancient yew trees. * * * * *

"On the eastern side some cottages have been erected parallel with Chesterton Old Hall, fifty or more years ago. About these cottages are some stones which may have belonged to the camp. There are two small ones which have been chiselled on each side and have something like a Roman appearance. The marks of the chisel are rather peculiar.

"A hoard of Roman coins was found in 1817, at Madeley Park, about three miles from Chesterton. They were contained in two urns, and are small brass chiefly, quite fresh and unworn. They comprise coins of the reigns of Maximinus, Posthumus, Tetricus, Licinius, Constantine the Great, Crispus, &c."

Of the road leading from Kinderton to Chesterton, I have already spoken. Dr. Mason (Shaw's "History of Staffordshire," vol. i. p. 34) says of the Via Devana, after tracing it satisfactorily from Ashby de la Zouch to Burton upon Trent, that it crosses the Ryknield Street near this latter town,

"thence up the hill into Needwood Forest. Its direction is then towards Hanbury. * * * * The road is said to proceed straight through the forest, but in many places so bad and boggy as not to be ventured upon, only by the keepers and sportsmen, for which reason the present road goes round by Tutbury, Sudbury, Dovebridge, to Uttoxeter,⁵ which seems to have stood above a mile from the course of the road, the lanes from thence being crooked till past Checkley, near which or about Tene, I found myself to be again upon the old road, proceeding in the same direction by Draycot, over the end of Mere Heath, to a place called Lane End, the road being there closed up. In this part it kept parallel to the foot of the highlands, called the Moorlands, at about half a mile distance. At Lane End its direction was straight by Wolferly to Chesterton, at four miles distance, but all the intermediate space being either meadow or land enclosed and cultivated, I could find no traces of it though I searched carefully for above half way. The rise of Newcastle, by drawing all traffic, has directed all the roads to itself for so many ages, may well occasion the other to be lost. You ascend to Chesterton up a hollow way, the rocks on each side being perpendicular to a great height, yet retaining no marks of any tool. * * * * The road from Newcastle passing through the town goes full west for Talk on the Hill and Congleton. But I was told that at the next bottom northwards, there went off a road to the west, continuing very straight towards Nantwich, though but little frequented, some part of which was called Watling Street."

From a note on the same page, the Rev. T. Leman apparently confirms, by actual survey, this statement of Dr. Mason's, in the main.

At Draycot, before mentioned, the Via Devana is joined by another Roman road bearing for Chesterton. Shaw thus alludes to it ("History of Staffordshire," vol. i. p. 34.): "Mr. Allen tells me that there are the traces of an old road, going from Chester by Chesterton and Draicote to Roucester,⁶ and

⁵ There have been recent considerable discoveries of Roman remains at this place.

⁶ This place is situated at the junction of the rivers Dove and Churnet. In some excavations in 1792 at Mr. Arkwright's cotton-mill, some Roman works,

which the labourers described as being like "tan pits," were found. Several Roman coins and a bronze spear head were found at the same time. Shaw (History of Staffordshire, vol. i. p. 34, note) thinks they were probably baths.

so to Little Chester near Derby, being reckoned six miles nearer than by the common road." He adds a note to the effect that in 1789, the Bishop of Cloyne and Mr. Leman travelled this part of the road from Little Chester, running straight by Muckworth and Langley, by the name of Long Lane to Rocester and pointing towards Draycot on the Via Devana. In Lysons' "Magna Britannia," vol. v. p. 213, the Bishop of Cloyne further describes this road, which still exists (1873) in much the same condition.

The Via Devana in its last stage (*i.e.* from Chesterton to Chester) is more accurately traced by the Bishop of Cloyne in the "Magna Britannia," vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 434, from his own personal survey. He says that the road "at the second bottom to the north of Chesterton, bears for Nantwich, under the name of the Watling Street, for a reason before explained; the turnpike road since the time of Dr. Mason has nearly obliterated it except about Bunbury,⁷ where the modern road declines to the right, while the Roman way keeps straight under the north-east side of Beeston Hill, on which, being so commanding a situation, there was probably a post for the protection of travellers, and from whence the line of the old road is plainly to be distinguished, for about two miles and a half, when the turnpike road again joins it, and proceeds with it."

Dr. Ormerod, in his "History of Cheshire," vol. i. p. 24, in a note on the Roman roads of the county, thus speaks of it:—"No. III. The Via Devana or road from Colchester to Chester through the counties of Cambridge, Leicester, and Stafford, entering Nantwich Hundred near Chesterton, in the last county and bearing by Nantwich and Beeston on Chester." And at vol. iii. p. 1, he says, "The line of another Roman road, which formed the communication between Colchester and Chester, * * * * passes through the second of these openings (that of Tarporley) most probably on the site of a more antient road, and has been recently traced under the rock of Beeston, converging to the same point, the city of Chester." He adds that there are several tumuli along its route. A glance at the Ordnance Map will show the final stage of this road, after crossing Rowton Heath. It is there marked STREET WAY.

Various other roads met at Chesterton. Salmon, in his

⁷ *Vide* Horsley's conjectures as to the site of Bovium.

"Survey of England," speaks of a Roman military way, as passing from Newport (Shropshire) by Eccleshall to Newcastle under Lyne. Dr. Plot ("Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire," p. 402) mentions a high paved way, which he calls a *via vicinalis*, at Wotton near Eccleshall, and Dr. Mason (Shaw's "History of Staffordshire," p. 34) says, "it has the appearance of being continued one way to Forton near Newport, and the other towards Darlaston by Stone." In Pitt's "History of Staffordshire" (1817), p. 319, it is said that the foundation of a Roman road, running from east-north-east to west-south-west, is "traceable on the lands, a little northward of the church" at High Offley, and that "Roman coins in great numbers, flat bricks, armour, fragments of pottery," &c., have "been ploughed and dug up on the side of the hill, south of the churchyard." This road is still visible. Whitaker in his "History of Manchester" (vol. i. p. 222), says that the Roman road from Kinderton to Chesterton, was continued to Wall (Etocetum), by way of Newcastle and Berry Bank, a large camp upon a hill about one mile to the south of Stone, which, he says, in an ancient deed bears the name of Wulferecester.⁸ Roman remains have occasionally been found at Stone.⁹ There is another road traced by Dr. Wilkes, Mr. Whitaker, the Bishop of Cloyne, and Dr. Ormerod, from Kinderton southwards through Betley, and Madeley (four miles east of Chesterton) to Newport. Dr. Wilkes says of it (Shaw's "Staffordshire," vol. i. p. 15), that "it is very visible as far as Madeley, where it is lost in a soft clay and dirty country," but at p. 34 he indicates its route to Newport by remaining traces. Passing so close to Chesterton, this road would undoubtedly have communication with that station.

Of the Roman road leading south-west from Chesterton, I will speak shortly; in the meantime let us analyse the evidence already adduced. In the first place, we have a *walled castrum* (such as would form the terminus of an iter), with at least five, if not more, Roman roads leading from it, one of them being the important *Via Devana*, connecting

⁸ Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.S.A., informs me that a few years ago he made excavations "in the most promising position" at the Camp on Berry Bank. Nothing was found, however, but char-

coal. The same gentleman also informs me that Roman remains are frequently found at Madeley.

⁹ There is a fine funeral urn from this place in the Derby Museum.

Colchester with Chester. The distance, according to the second Iter, of the latter place (Deva) from Mediolanum is thirty miles; its distance from Chesterton by the road just named is exactly the same. Moreover, the Iter gives us at ten miles from Deva, an intermediate station, Bovium or Bonium. Accordingly, at just ten miles from Chester is the grand insulated rock of Beeston, rising precipitously from the vast plain of Cheshire to the height of 366 ft., crowned with rock-cut trenches, and the imposing ruins of the all but impregnable castle, built in 1220 by Ralph (or Randle) Blundeville, sixth Earl of Chester—the same to whom King John gave the ruined castle of Chesterton. The engineering skill of the Romans, which recognised the importance of the site of Lincoln (similarly situated) would not neglect this formidable position, especially when the Via Devana ran beneath it. No records exist of any Roman remains having been found within the ruins, but anything *above* ground would be destroyed by the builders of the castle, and the soil has probably never been disturbed since that period. That any considerable station was placed here I do not assert, its proximity to Chester would not require one, and the limited space on the summit of the rock would render one impossible. A small *mansio* or *mutatio* would in all probability be erected. My own opinion is that Beeston represents the site of Bovium. It is less than two miles from Bunbury, where Horsley conjectured that Bovium might have been situated, and only three miles from Burton, where the coins were found which led him to make the conjecture. This latter place is close to the line of the Via Devana.

Again, according to the tenth Iter, Mancunium was situated at a distance of thirty-seven miles (viâ Condate) from Mediolanum. The distance of Manchester (viâ Kinderton) from Chesterton agrees exactly with this. As before seen in tracing the course of the second Iter, the distance from Manchester to the point of junction of all the roads to the north of Kinderton, at Northwich, is eighteen miles. This point is again adopted in the tenth Iter as equivalent to Condate, the distance being correctly given. The distance from this point along the Kind Street, through (or past) the station at Kinderton, and thence along the road to Chesterton, is between eighteen and nineteen miles,

thus agreeing again with the distance given in the Itinerary.

Adjoining Chesterton is Bradwell. This name seems always significant of the site of a Roman station. A Bradwell is close to Kinderton (about four miles distant); it is the place where Dr. Ormerod discovered the road to Chesterton.

Another Bradwell adjoins the Roman station near Hope in Derbyshire, which is at the confluence of the Bradwell and the Noe; another adjoins the Roman station near Fenny Stratford in Buckinghamshire; another, the great station (Garianonum) at Burgh Castle, Suffolk; another adjoins Coggeshall in Essex, where Roman remains are continually found. A Broadwell is on the line of the Roman Fosse way close to Stowe-on-the-Wold in Gloucestershire, and another on that of the Akeman Street, near Burford, in Oxfordshire. Last, but not least, at Bradwell-juxta-Mare, in Essex, within the last nine years have been disinterred the remains of the Roman *castrum* of Othona. The massive walls of this station had entirely disappeared, as well as all traces of the roads leading to it, and no remains, such as coins, pottery, &c., were recorded as having been discovered. It was not until deep excavations were accidentally made that the site became known; the whole area was then gradually uncovered, and the exterior walls and gateways laid bare. Many coins and other remains were also brought to light. This place was known in Saxon times as Ithanchester.

A similar fate appears to have overtaken the Chesterton of Saxon times. The remains of the walls of the *castrum* are buried, and the many roads leading to it, traceable a few miles off, but lost in its vicinity, seem also to have been neglected and to have sunk, like many others, beneath the surface. Like Ithanchester, the site has probably been undisturbed, at least since the Conquest, as the state of the sod and the presence of venerable yew trees testify.¹

¹ Through the courtesy of the Rev. H. M. Scarth, formerly of Bath, now rector of Wrington, I am enabled to give the views of the Rev. T. Leman on the subject.

In Mr. Leman's copy of Horsley's "Britannia Romana," preserved in the Institute of Bath, a MS. note in his handwriting, at p. 448, says, concerning the tenth Iter: "Mediolano. Chesterton,

near Newcastle, Staffordshire, where this road formed a junction with the Via Devana, &c."

Of the second Iter he says, in a note at p. 477: "The Mediolanum of this Iter is a place totally distinct from the Mediolanum of the tenth Iter—this lying on the road through Bangor, and the other on that through Kinderton; and as the last may be well fixed at Chesterton, near

In the second Iter, the distance between Mediolanum and Uriconium (Wroxeter) is given as twenty-three miles, with an intermediate station, named Rutunium, at eleven miles from the latter. A Roman road was visible at the close of last century, leading from Chesterton, and pointing direct for Wroxeter. It is shown in the map accompanying Shaw's History of Staffordshire, where it is marked Pepper Street, passing to the west of Keel. Its other extremity would probably be the road traced by Dr. Mason, ten miles from Wroxeter towards Chester, and then lost. In the manuscript notes of the Rev. T. Leman, preserved by the Bath Scientific Society, that learned antiquary distinctly states that there is a Roman road leading from Wroxeter to Chesterton, and his statements were invariably based upon personal survey. The actual distance between the two places is about twenty-seven miles. Lying a little to the west of the line of road, and overlooking it (like Beeston Castle), is the celebrated camp called "Bury Walls," an undoubted Roman station. Horsley places Rutunium here; Reynolds, in his "Iter Britanniarum" (published 1799), arrives at the same conclusion. Its distance from Wroxeter is nearly identical with the itinerary distance between Uriconium and Rutunium, *i. e.*, eleven miles. Camden says of this place:²—"Scarce a mile from hence³ is a spot of ground where a small city once stood, the very ruins of which are almost gone, but the Roman coins found there, with such bricks as they used in building, are evidences of its antiquity and founders. The people of the neighbourhood call it *Bery*, from Burgh, and affirm it to have been very famous in King Arthur's days." Gough, in his additions to Camden (vol. iii. edit. 1806, p. 31), calls it "a square Roman encampment, in which coins and *armour* have been found." C. Hulbert, in his History of Shropshire (1837), vol. ii. p. 114, says of it, "ruins are yet discoverable." The site was visited by the members of the Archæological Institute in 1855, during the Shrewsbury meeting, in the report of which⁴ it is said that

Newcastle-under-Line, so this, I have no doubt, is the camp called Clawydd Goch at the confluence of the Tanadd and the Vyrnwy, &c."

It is strange that having fixed the Mediolanum of the tenth Iter at Chesterton, Mr. Leman did not notice the

fact, that its distance from Chester by the Via Devana agreed exactly with that of the Mediolanum of the second Iter.

² Gibson's Camden, p. 654.

³ Red Castle, now in Hawkstone Park.

⁴ In Shrewsbury Chronicle, August 10th, 1855.

the Roman camp at "Bury Walls" is "allowed by antiquaries to be the most perfect in the kingdom. It encompasses about twenty acres of ground, and is secured on all sides but one by a chain of inaccessible rocks. The side on which there is no natural defence is strongly guarded by a triple entrenchment, which must have been a work of immense labour. Here Roman coins have frequently been found, and in the year 1821 a spur, pronounced by competent judges to be of Roman workmanship, was found in the garden of the Bury Farm, about a quarter of a mile from the Bury Walls."

There would seem, however, to be little more visible at the present day than at Chesterton or Beeston, notwithstanding the ruined city noticed by Camden. In a letter to the writer, dated November 15th, 1871, Mr. Wm. Massey, the tenant of the Bury Farm, says:—"There is nothing to indicate foundations of walls or buildings of any description within the camp. The only thing found worthy of note since I have held the land was a large hewn stone, which had something the appearance of a tombstone, but it was disturbed and broken before noticed. There is a spring within the area, with remains of stone work round it below the surface, supposed to have been a bath. The land has been under tillage some years." He adds that the spur found in 1821 was of silver.

The road which runs south-west from Kinderton seems to point direct to this station. It is traceable some six or seven miles from Kinderton, leading by Occleston, Minshull, Vernon, Bradfield Green, and Leighton, near which it is crossed by the Chester and Crewe Railway, and beyond this point all trace of it above ground is lost, although near Nantwich it must cross the Via Devana (the traces of which are equally lost) at right angles, probably at a place called the "Wall Field."

Archdeacon Wood, in a note to the paper before mentioned, says of this road:—"The farmers tell me that they find this road very little below the green sod, and that, like many Roman roads, it has at intervals narrow footways branching from it."

The second Iter of Antoninus is a long and circuitous one. It is nominally from the advanced posts north of the Wall of Hadrian, to London and Richborough for the Continent.

Commencing to the north-west of Carlisle, it runs south-east as far as York ; but, instead of proceeding straight for London, it turns to the south-west, so as to include Deva (Chester). It is evident, from the distance, that it does not take the direct road thence to Wroxeter, and for what reason? Simply to include another large *castrum* in its course, that of Mediolanum. Had the author of the Itinerary taken the direct road from Mediolanum to Londinium (London), Wroxeter would have been excluded from the route, and he evidently aims at connecting all these large *castra*.

There are a few facts stated in Dr. Robson's and Dr. Kendrick's papers, which require some comment. In the first place, they consider, on the ground of etymology, that Mediolanum is represented by Middlewich.⁵ It is evident that this name merely represents the centre of the Cheshire *wiches* or salt springs, Middlewich lying in the line between Northwich and Nantwich. Salt has been obtained for ages at all of these places; even Nantwich, the least important, being named in the Domesday Survey as possessing salt-works. On this principle, Horsley's suggestion of Middle in Shropshire being the site is equally valid.

Dr. Kendrick (p. 154) thinks that excavations at Kinderton would reveal much more than at Wilderspool, as the former (according to his ideas) was the terminus of the Iter. This is probably based on Mr. Roach Smith's statement (which I agree with) that the commencement and terminus of every Iter was a large *walled* station. Dr. Kendrick is right in supposing that more should be found on the site of Mediolanum than on that of Condate, but there is no evidence of Kinderton having been a *walled* station, whilst *there is* of Chesterton having been so.

In the Chorography of Ravennas, immediately preceding Condate we have a place named Salinæ. I agree with Archdeacon Wood, Dr. Robson, and Dr. Kendrick, that Northwich is doubtless the place indicated, its pre-eminence as a salt-producing site being sufficient to warrant such a conclusion. As it is only five miles from Kinderton, nothing is more likely than that the one should follow the other in the list given by Ravennas, and it is to my mind

⁵ Kinderton adjoins Middlewich, from which it is distant only a few hundred yards.

another reason for concluding Condæ to have been at Kinderton.⁶

Of the point raised by Dr. Robson, that Mancunium was a different place to Mamucium, I must say a word. In the fifth Iter we have a place between Lincoln and Doncaster, called Segelocum; in the eighth Iter the same place is plainly called Agelocum. In the sixth Iter we have a place between Ratæ and Margidunum called Verometum; in the eighth Iter the same place is called Vernemetum. In the same manner the Legeolium of the fifth Iter is the Lagecium of the eighth. There is no greater difference between the Mamucium of the second Iter and the Mancunium of the tenth than in the examples I have quoted; and the distance from Condæ being in each case the same, I see no reason for doubting that they are one and the same place.

In the map which accompanies his paper, Dr. Kendrick marks the road which leads south-south-west from Kinderton with the words "To Rutunium." Of course, this suggests the idea that he recognises Kinderton as the Mediolanum of the second Iter, as well as that of the tenth, and "Bury Walls" as Rutunium; but what is fatal to this arrangement (and, indeed, to the whole theory of Drs. Robson and Kendrick) is the fact that, even *in a straight line*, Kinderton is at least *thirty-five* miles from Wroxeter (Uriconium), whilst the distance between the latter and Mediolanum, as given in the second Iter, is only *twenty-three* miles. There is no station on the line of road Dr. Kendrick thus marks, until we come to "Bury Walls," which from Kinderton are double the distance named in the Itinerary as occurring between Mediolanum and Rutunium. That the latter place is at "Bury Walls" I have little doubt, as before stated; but if Dr. Kendrick acknowledges this, he cannot place Mediolanum at Kinderton.

Again, I find from Dr. Kendrick's map, that he and Dr. Robson measure the route from Wilderspool to Manchester along an obscure road (only partially traced, in a few places beneath the surface), which runs through Lymm, and falls

⁶ In a letter to the writer, dated 27th of September, 1871, Dr. Kendrick says that he had just been made aware of a charter still existing, dated A.D. 1186,

in which occurs the phrase "*magna via de Warrington per Wilderspool versum Sale.*" *Sale* he considers the abbreviation of *Salincæ*.

at right angles upon the road from Manchester to Kinder-ton, near Altrincham. In other words, although the Iter from Manchester is aiming straight for Kinderton, the author, when he has accomplished half the distance, goes out of his way to traverse a small road, which leads to the station at Wilderspool, and thus takes him many miles from his destination, which he has afterwards to regain. In my former paper I was under the impression that Dr. Robson connected Manchester with Wilderspool by a road which led through Barton and Eccles;⁷ but the route which is indicated in the above-named map is much longer than that through Barton.

There remains one other point to be noticed, and that is the etymology of Mediolanum. The first portion, *Medio*, is plain enough, the remainder uncertain; it may be taken from the British word *lan*, "an enclosure," but this is doubtful. However this may be, my own opinion would lead me to suggest that the *castrum* bearing this name was the centre of Roman Britain. Chesterton answers well for such a position. Not so with Kinderton.

With these remarks I must close this article, which has considerably exceeded the limits I originally assigned to it. In entering upon the subject at such a length, I have endeavoured simply to lay before antiquaries the *reason* for the selection of Chesterton as Mediolanum. I shall only be too happy to find them *satisfactorily* refuted, as thereby we shall have advanced a step further towards the solution of the problem. My sole object is to arrive at the truth, and the more the subject is discussed, the sooner will that end be attained.

⁷ Baines' "History of Lancashire" (edit. 1836), vol. i. p. 14, and vol. iii. p. 110.