THE CELT AND THE TEUTON IN EXETER.[1]

By THOMAS KERSLAKE, OF BRISTOL.

It has often been truly said that the ground-plans, or ancient lines of the streets, in cities and towns, are much more permanent than the houses or other material buildings which constitute them; that while the buildings themselves may have been many times renewed in the lapse of ages, there is a persistent tendency in the lines of the thoroughfares to survive frequent and substantial destruction, even when a large space has been cleared at one time by the demolition of an entire city. The failure of Sir Christopher Wren's attempt to reconstruct the plan of London, after the fire, is a striking example of this tenacity. The sentiment or instinct by which this ancient charm has been maintained, may, perhaps, not inaptly be called Nabothism. It is to be feared, however, that it has now received a severe blow from the facilities lately extended to municipal corporations for over-riding the private rights of their citizens by means of the Lands' Clauses Act.

But when a learned writer refers to Exeter as a distinguished example of this permanence of plan, saying that it is "one of the few towns in England which have been continuously inhabited since Roman days," and that "the main lines of the Roman city are there as plain as ever,"[2] his assertion must be accepted with a very considerable and substantial reduction. One-third of the whole united length of the present great cross-ways is not the same as that of the original Roman plan; and, in fact, the most striking feature of the resemblance of the present outline to the Roman is not yet a hundred years old.

But the greatest divergence from the Roman outline had been already made at least five hundred years before that,—

[1] Read in the Historical Section of the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Exeter, Aug. 4, 1873.

[2] Saturday Review, March 8, 1873, p. 310.

must have been at any rate as old as the inclosure of the Cathedral Close, the ancient gates of which have been destroyed within living memory. This inclosure was made under a license of King Edward the First, dated January 1st, in the fourteenth year of his reign, about the same time as similar licences to inclose and crenellate were granted to other English cathedrals. That for Wells,[3] dated about three months later, contains a specific power to "divert streets;" but, although this does not appear in the Exeter licence, there can be no doubt that an encroachment upon the city was then made, by taking into the close what is now the north-west corner of it, from near the Broad Gate to South Street; causing a northward diversion of the main street from its ancient direct line between the East Gate and the West Gate, and even shifting the Carfoix, or rather creating a new one, more towards the north.

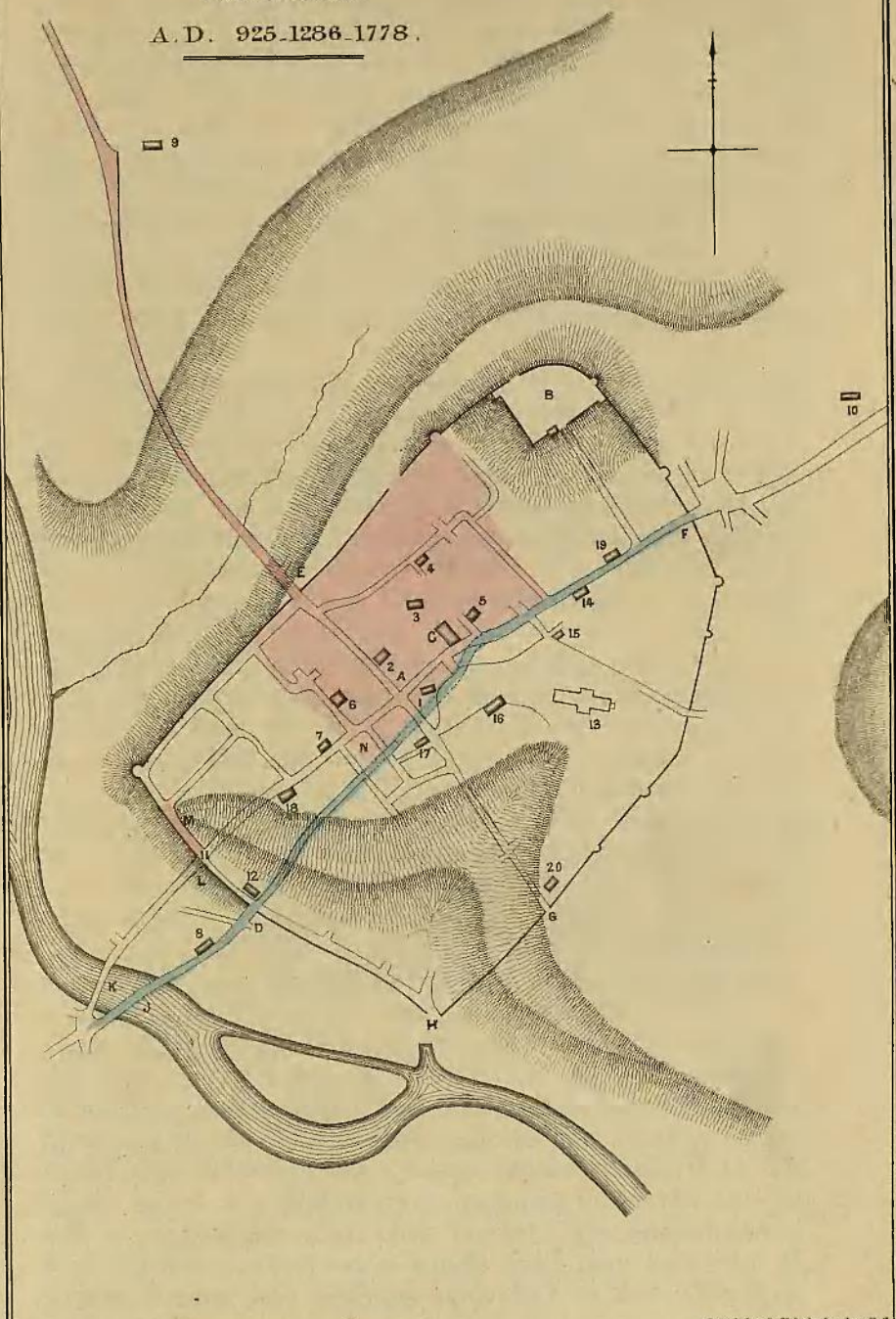
The effect of this early diversion was, that, although the ancient West Gate was still the only entrance to the city from that side—except the Quay Gate, which does not concern us—the diverted main street actually reached the west wall at a point more than a hundred yards to the north of the gate; at a spot where then stood the Church of All-hallows-on-the-Walls. The West Gate was thence reached by the steep, sharp turning to the left, along the inside of the wall,—an arrangement believed to be unlikely in a Roman plan. The present striking likeness to the usual more perfect cross was only obtained, in the year 1778, by the opening of the present bridge to the north of the old one, with its approach towards the city upon high arches, and a new opening through the wall to the bottom of the anciently diverted main street.

But a considerable length of the forsaken Roman street still exists in a degraded condition. It proceeds directly from the ancient West Gate up a steep ascent—now called Stepcot Hill, Smithen Street, and the Butcher Row—until it reaches the western entrance to the present Lower Market. Before this market-house was built, in 1836, the street continued through what is now the middle avenue of it; and a small continuation of it still exists, proceeding from the

[3] Prynne's Records, vol. iii. pp. 356, 357. For the licence to St. Paul's London (June 10), York (May 18), Lincoln (May 8), see pp. 344, 345. The Exeter licence is printed at length by Dr. Oliver, Hist. of Exeter, p. 65.

EXETER.

A.D. 925–1236–1778.



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REFERENCES :—
A. The new Carfoix of 1285.
B. Castle.
C. Guildhall.
D. West Gate.
E. North Gate.
F. East Gate.
G. South Gate.
H. Quay Gate.
J. Site of Old Bridge.
K. New Bridge, 1778.
L. New West Opening, 1778.
M. Little Britain.
N. New Market, 1836.

CHURCHES :—1. St. Petrock ; 2. St. Kerian ; 3. St. Pancras ; 4. St. Paul ; 5. Allhallows, Goldsmith Street ; 6. St. Mary Arches ; 7. St. Olave ; 8. St. Edmund the King ; 9. St. David ; 10. St. Sidwell ; 11. Allhallows on the Walls ; 12. St. Mary Steps ; 13. St. Peter's (Cathedral) ; 14. St. Stephen ; 15. St. Martin ; 16. St. Mary Major ; 17. St. George ; 18. St. John ; 19. St. Laurence ; 20. Holy Trinity.

Blue—Restored Ancient Street. *Red*—British occupation.

eastern side of the market towards South Street—the southern arm of the great four ways—which, however, it does not reach, but ends with the back doors of houses. By this time it has dwindled to a small, though still a public, courtlage; but not a thoroughfare, except for the annual parish perambulations on Ascension Day; and even then with the reserved customary right to throw water over the procession by the servants and younger inhabitants of the houses to be passed through. Is it too much to see in this custom a relic of ancient conflicts between those who had built upon public land, and the public annually re-asserting its right of way?

I venture to continue the ancient street line from this point, through the houses, eastward, across the South Street, into the Close; and therein along the fronts of St. Petrock's Church and the two Banks—a line which is the southern boundary of the parish of St. Petrock—until it joined the present High Street, nearly opposite the Guildhall, where a bend in the street seems yet to indicate the junction; and a corresponding bend is still more plainly visible in the line of the other front of the houses, within the close. From this point the existing street is direct to the East Gate.

It will be seen that we have thus restored a street in a direct line from the West Gate to the East Gate: much more likely, therefore, to be a part of the original Roman plan, than what is now, at sight, so much like it as, even by practised eyes, to have been mistaken for it. But this is not all. It is found that, while the existing street cuts into two most of the ancient parishes which it passes, the forsaken street actually coincides with the boundaries of most of them; showing that, when these boundaries were adopted, it formed a more obvious line of separation than any which would then have been furnished by the present street.

Again: many inhabitants will still remember that, until the year 1836, the market was held throughout the length of the open main street. But the forsaken street still continued to be the Butcher Row. From this it may be inferred that, although the general market passed into the newer street, the flesh-market remained in the old one—a relic or continuance of the older market. The ancient name, Fore Street—a street-name which itself may be a relic of Roman Exeter, and perhaps equivalent to *Fori Straat* or

Market Street—most likely passed, with the market itself, to the newer main street.[4]

When, therefore, the Cathedral Close was fortified in the year 1285–86, the encroachment upon the city jurisdiction, which must have caused this diversion, was probably made. And this may have been one of the latent grounds of the disputes between the Bishops and the Mayors, one of which, in 1477, is so curiously reflected in the lately published correspondence of John Shillingford, a Mayor who would have done honour to any city in any age. Almost every speaker at this meeting has had a good word for him. An Exeter man is not a new invention; he is indomitable when he knows he is right. It may be noticed that the mischievous firing of the wood-stack, about which, at that time, so much recrimination passed between the townsmen and the Bishop's party, seems to have occurred in the very part of the close here supposed to have been formerly taken from the city. It would, perhaps, be too great a stretch of the principle of continuity to suppose that the annual burning of a lofty stack of faggots, by "Young Exeter," within the close, on the 5th of November, is a continuance of a custom, begun by this incident, but adapted to a later annual commemoration. It has usually been done as near to this part of the Close as it could with ordinary safety.

So much for the difference of the present general plan of the city from what it was when a Roman-British *urbs*. But another inquiry, perhaps of still greater interest, is intimately connected with this one. This is, the peculiar social condition which is said to have prevailed in Exeter before the complete subjugation of the Britons in the western pro-

[4] It has been aptly objected that the "Fore Street" of London cannot partake of this derivation from *Forum* or Market, being without the London Wall. It is not only without the wall, but runs along by the outside of it, and its name therefore evidently signifies—the street b*efore* the wall. There is at Shrewsbury a small row of houses similarly situated, along the outside of the town-wall, called 'Murivant," built on the escarpment, upon land perhaps traditionally so called. The "Foregate Streets" of Chester and Worcester must also have had this sort of origin, as continuing the space outside the gate, still separately called "The Foregate" at Worcester. There is also the "Abbey Foregate" outside Shrewsbury. The street at Exeter has however no such relation to the outside. but is a central street, which was the market. The street which skirts the market at Taunton is also called "Fore Street;" also at Westbury, Wilts, a street in the market place within the last twenty years has been altered from Fore Street to Maristow Street, in compliment to the Lord of the Manor. This name seems to take the place in south-western towns, of what in other parts is called "Cheapside." But Bath has a "Cheap Street" in the market place, which must have been the moteplace of the Hundred of Bath-Forum.

vinces, by the Saxons under King Athelstan,—that the two separate nations were found living, in a state of commercial truce, within the walls of the same city, at peace, but without mixture; like oil and water in a glass. This remarkable state of things within Exeter has been frequently described by our political antiquaries, but without any attempt to define the boundaries which separated the two peoples.

Sir Francis Palgrave's account of the state of the larger cities of England generally, before their entire subjection, is, that they had not become incorporated into the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms within which they were locally included; but that they remained in the condition of separate, though dependent, states. This, he thought, was the state of London; but he adopts Exeter as a more definite illustration. Commenting upon William of Malmesbury's assertion "that the Britons and Saxons inhabited Exeter 'æquo jure,'" he suggests, as a question, "that Exeter constituted a kind of free city, though rendering 'gafol' to the king and acknowledging his supreme authority?" "Marseilles," he goes on to say, "continued in a similar state of dependent freedom until the reign of Louis XIII." [5]

Reverting, in a later chapter, to this phenomenon, of the compromise of the two nationalities when found in contact in small communities, he says:—"When the 'Wealh' [or Britons] were few in number, they may have been dispersed among their rulers [the Saxons]; but the more numerous masses of Cymric population lived apart from the Saxon colonies. When we are told that the Britons and Saxons divided Exeter between them, we are not to suppose that they lived in the same street, and that a Saxon townsman kept house by the side of a Cymric neighbour. Judging from invariable analogy, we cannot doubt but that the two races were severed from each other; each forming a distinct community,—an English town and a Welsh town,—English Exeter and Welsh Exeter; just as the Celtic population of the 'Irish town' of Kilkenny constituted a corporation distinct from the 'Sassenach' intruders; and, to return to England, in many of the townships of the Welsh marches analogous divisions continued almost within time of memory." [6]

[5] English Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 410.

[6] English Commonwealth, vol. i. pp. 463, 464.

This is, in effect, to say, that there was a time when the frontier line, between England and Wales, actually passed through the interior of the city of Exeter, dividing it into two distinct parts, each occupied by one of these two nationalities. This is a state of things so curious as to raise a wish for a closer view, if we can get at it.

The author of one of the most important and influential books of the present generation—"The History of the Norman Conquest" [7]—confirms this inference, as far as regards the separate existence of the two nations within the city, which is all that we are here concerned with. One of the great attractions of this work is the frequency and vividness of its topographical realizations—the restitution of decayed intelligence dormant in ancient localities. But no attempt is made by either of these two learned writers—nor, I believe, by any other—to restore the long-forgotten actual boundary of the two peoples within this border capital. It is thought, however, that what Sir Francis Palgrave was content to infer "from invariable analogy" may still be actually realized and defined, in the city chosen for his example, with some approach to distinctness, if not certainty.

Whatever may be understood by the "total ruin" of the town, recorded to have been perpetrated by the Danes, A.D. 1003, it was probably far short of a complete obliteration. It is at any rate certain that, within the next forty-seven years, the monastery was still so pre-eminent in this province as to be the chosen receptacle for the Bishop's chair for the two united western sees. If there are still traces of the earlier Roman plan, why also may there not remain some vestiges of this later municipal arrangement?

At first, it might be supposed that the part of the city held by the Cornish or British would, as a matter of course, be the western half. Sir Francis Palgrave himself seems to have thought so. At any rate, he does not guard himself from being so understood when, in the next paragraph, he goes on to speak of that nation as the inhabitants "probably of that part of Devon which lies beyond the Exe," flowing by the west side of the city. Mr. Kemble also called it "the frontier town and market," "as the Saxon arms advanced westward." [8]

[7] E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., vol. i., p. 338 [8] Saxons in England, vol. ii. p. 554.

It cannot be supposed that the state of dependent equality described could have been maintained by the small handful of half-conquered Britons included within the city, without the support of the large body of their compatriots in the open country. Indeed, their supplies of provisions to the international market would have been a principal inducement and condition of the truce. But it is believed that this contact was not on the western side, but the northern ; and that the intercourse was through the North Gate, by a way which continues on the eastern side of the river for nearly two miles, to where the river makes the southward bend which brings it to the city. Moreover, it is likely that the frontier of the two peoples was not the river, dividing them east and west ; but that while the intruding conquerors held the tracts of country more accessible from the seaboard, often far to the west, the Britons then, as no doubt they do now, peopled the inland mountainous highland districts, including Dartmoor and Exmoor, and extending eastward far into Somersetshire.

In fact, if we enter Exeter from the river, through the West Gate, the theory of the division east and west seems to stumble at the threshold. Upon the remaining fragment of the old bridge still stands the church of which the dedication is St. Edmund-the-King. Proceeding eastward, and far into the heart of the city, the next national dedication we reach is St. Olave. These two dedications are, of course, obviously later than the time we are speaking of, the expulsion by Athelstan ; and any testimony they may contain is therefore only negative. It is only when we have passed the carfoix, or central cross-ways, that we come to the unmistakable Cornish dedication of St. Petrock. Beyond this, however, to the East Gate, are none but those common to all nations—All-hallows, St. Stephen, and St. Lawrence. We return, therefore, to St. Petrock ; when we immediately renew our scent by finding that the next parish *northward* is St. Kerian. Two undoubted British parishes adjoining each other. We are now certainly on British ground, whatever may surround us.

Adjoining both St. Kerian and St. Petrock is St. Pancras. This is a catholic dedication, it is true, but there are three others of it in the Cornish side of the county, one at "Pancras-Week," or Wick, only separated from Cornwall by

the Tamar, another north of Plymouth, corrupted to "Pennycross;" and a third at Withecombe-on-the-Moor, Dartmoor. St. Pancras is also invoked in the Armorican Litany, printed in the second volume of "Councils," &c., by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs.[9] But the Exeter St. Pancras does not rest on its own claims to a British origin. It is so completely embedded and surrounded in the group of parishes now being submitted to judgment that it must inevitably go with the rest.

Filling the space from the north boundary of St. Kerian and St. Pancras, up to the north wall of the city, is the parish of St. Paul. Thus associated and surrounded, it can scarcely be doubted that this is one of two famous British saints of that name. It may have been the Welsh Pawl Hên—Paul the Old—Paulinus, the preceptor of St. David, and the patron of Llangors Brecknock, and of Capel Peulin, Carmarthenshire. The church at Paul, in the Lands End district, has also been attributed to him, and there are three other St. Pauls in the highland parts of Devon. But it is much more likely that all these of Devon and Cornwall, with the Exeter one, belong to St. Paul, Bishop of Leon in Armorica, an insular Danmonian Briton by birth and connections.[1]

If we now turn to a list of the known ancient parochial dedications within the city walls, we find, among those that are catholic or non-national, two that have duplicates, reasonably accounted for by their being such as must evidently have been necessary to both nations. These are All-hallows and St. Mary. Of St. Mary, indeed, there is a third, now parochial; but the church, being within the precincts of the cathedral, may have had a conventua origin, and its large parochial territory is abnormally situated, stretching away from the church, as if it had been a reclaimed waste part of the city, afterwards appropriated to the church from expediency. But there are two St. Mary's of ancient secular city parishes. We may fairly include one of each of those two duplicates in our British group, if found to be contiguous.

Taking, therefore, St. Petrock and St. Kerian as indisputably Celtic; if we add to them St. Pancras, St. Paul, one of the All-hallows (Goldsmith Street), and one St. Mary

[9] Vol. ii. p. 82.
[1] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 87. Sir. T. D. Hardy, Cat. of Materials for British History, vol. i. pp. 157, 158.

(Arches), we find that they make an unbroken cluster, although selected according to the probabilities thus observed in their names; but when afterwards the general outline of the parishes themselves, thus brought together, was drawn upon a plan of the city, it was found to approach so nearly to a symmetrical figure, as to suggest that it had already existed as an external boundary, before it was afterwards divided by the less regular outlines which separate the contained parishes from each other. It forms, in fact, a compact parallelogram, occupying the central portion of the northern half of the city, extending from the Roman Fore Street as above restored, to the north wall; flanking the North Gate both east and west; having the north arm of the great cross streets for its central thoroughfare; and including one side of the ancient Fore Street, the market-place between the two nations.

As a guarantee of the selection of the dedications, here submitted as indicating the British district, these are what have been relinquished to the Saxon area: St. Lawrence, St. Stephen, St. Martin,[2] St. Peter (the cathedral), St. Mary Major (in the Close), St. Mary Steps (at the West Gate), Holy Trinity, St. George, St. John, All-hallows (on the walls), and two obviously later than the time we are speaking of, namely, St. Olave and St. Edmund-the-King. This last parish occupies marsh land between the outside of the west wall and the river, apparently reclaimed from the estuary after the building of the wall. Like St. Olave, it was most likely dedicated under the reign of Canute, and intended to conciliate Sweyne's insult to the ghost of St. Edmund.

Until the market was removed from the open street in 1836, it had been customary to hold it on one side of the street during one half of the year, and on the other side

[2] The special British influence that has been attributed to St. Martin of Tours, has been thoroughly overlaid or diluted in his more catholic prevalence among the nations of later intrusion. In Yorkshire he has 13 surviving dedications; in Lincolnshire, 12; in Cornwall, 4; in Devon, 6. In all the four Welsh dioceses, 8; of which 6 are in the Norman and Flemish counties, 1 in Salop, and the other, in Denbighshire, is a dependence of the Abbey of Conway.

The small parish of St. Martin at Exeter consists of the two rows of houses, between the Close and the High Street, that had evidently sprung up within and without the inclosure of 1286. Like St. Mary Major, the church is within the Close, and remarkably peninsulated from the parish, and must certainly be on the south side of any restoration of the ancient street. It was probably a chapel, to which the block of houses caused by the street-diversion was afterwards allotted for its parish.

during the other half. It may be too much to see in this custom a relic of the "æquum jus" above mentioned. It has been usually referred to the advantages of sunshine and shade at the two seasons. It may, however, have originated in one cause, and obtained permanence from the other.

As before said, the British district, as here defined, comprises only the central portion of the northern half of the city. The portion excluded to the eastward of Gandy Street is chiefly occupied by the precincts of the Castle. Whatever may have been the character of any earlier fortress, the great natural strength of this position must have made its occupation a first necessity to the conquering people. It must already have become the seat of whatever authority could either assert the supremacy of its own law, or administer the compromise of it, from the record of which we started.

The western end of our British district is bounded by the parish of St. Olave, a dedication which indicates a later origin under the Danish dynasty. It was probably allotted to a colony of that nation, out of one of those waste spaces which must always have existed in our Roman cities after they had shrunk in their shells. Such spaces, within the walls of our old cities, are now chiefly occupied by houses with large lawns and fruit gardens, and in the middle ages they were often granted to religious fraternities. Those who have accepted what was said about the vitality of street lines may find some reward for their faith in the street which forms this western boundary of our British district, where it is conterminous with St. Olave. During the first half of its course, this street has the houses of both sides of it within our district, but at midway it makes a short double bend, but immediately resumes nearly the same direction on a different parallel, having thenceforth only one side of the street within the district, the other side being in the excluded parish of St. Olave. This seems to indicate that there was once a material barrier or palisade, with a central gate or opening, now represented by the bend, through which, having passed the barrier, the street or path renewed its course towards the north city wall, along the outside of the supposed barrier.

The extrinsic likelihood of the distribution here submitted,

will be seen by a general view of the natural contour of the ground occupied by the city. The river was then open to the tide, or rather was a part of the maritime estuary, from which it has since been separated within historical record. The south and west sides of the city, which we have relinquished to the invaders, include the lower levels, and the ascents, and that portion of the higher level most accessible from the river. There is indeed a sort of coomb which, by an easy ascent from the Water Gate, penetrates the heart of the city up to the cathedral. This accounts for the double gate at South Gate; also for the external additional wall at that part which was pointed out by Mr. Freeman and Mr. Parker. On the other hand, the portion that we have marked out as that retained by the invaded people, is—except the castle—that most likely to have been held, against intruders, by pre-occupants retreating landwards.

We have already seen that the British occupation within the walls, included the entire possession of the North Gate. Outside this was a deep but narrow valley, with a steep ascent beyond it. Over this ascent passes the north road, already mentioned, leading to those central mountainous districts of the province, which must then—as they probably are to this day—have been occupied by the Celtic nation. This hill commands the North Gate; and here we find the undoubted footsteps of the Britons, in the dedication of the church which crowns the eminence, St. David; the parish of which, outside the walls, covers the whole of our British district within them.

This part of the inquiry was not intended to be followed farther into the county, but the next dedication upon this north road, after it has crossed the river—say at Cowley Bridge—is St. Cyricius (or Curig) and St. Julitta, a joint dedication of which several examples are found both in Cornwall and in Wales. One of these is well known as Capel Curig.

On the other hand, the parish, which is not only conterminous with St. David's on the east, but also covers the eastern side of the city, bears a Teutonic dedication of that strictly local kind which attests the highest antiquity. It transmits the name of a lady—as a woman of her rank would now be properly called, and as she, if our present

argument is sound, was then most likely called—who was martyred on the site of the church, A.D. 740. Her name—St. Sidwell— obviously indicates that the place where she lived and died, and was afterwards held in remembrance, was already an English settlement.

It is true that in that most valuable digest entitled "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents," the late Canon Haddan has placed St. Sativola among "British or Cornish Saints," whose legends or lives are "not now extant."[3] The utility of this great work is much enhanced by the fidelity with which one part of its plan is carried out—the reference to their sources of even its most minute contents. In this instance he refers to Leland's Itinerary, vol. iii. p. 49. On turning to this place, we find simply a short abstract of the life of St. Sativola from the manuscript of Bishop Grandisson's *Legenda Sanctorum* according to Exeter use, which Leland saw at Exeter, and which has been seen by most of us at this present meeting in a glass case in the chapter-house of the cathedral. There does not appear in Leland the slightest ground for the inference that she was a Cornish saint. On the contrary, it there appears that her father's name was Benna, a name not unfrequent in the Anglo-Saxon charters, as shown by Mr. Birch's Index. This, with her own name, and the names of her three sisters—Juthwara, Eadwara, and Wilgitha[4]—clearly shows that they were a family who lived within the limits of an Anglo-Saxon colony. Indeed, her name seems to have been known throughout the kingdom of Wessex. A church-service book,[5] which contained an invocation of her, was lately found to have formerly belonged to Romsey Abbey. Bishop Grandisson also commemorates the translation of the reliques of her sister Juthwara at Sherborne (13 die Julii).[6] The fact is, that the name became known to the learned in a form in which its nationality is obscured. For many ages vernacular languages and names were not thought fit to appear even in grave secular literature, much less in the offices of religion. In litanies, calendars, and martyrologies, by which the name of this saint has become

[3] Vol. i. p. 700.
[4] Cressy, Ch. H. Brit. bk. xxiii. eh. ix.
[5] Notes and Queries, 4th S., iv. p. 294. The book is understood to be now in the British Museum.
[6] Quoted by Oliver, Mon. Exon. Add. Supp. p. 38.

known to history, it is disguised as Sancta Sativola; but when we come to the place where she lived and died, we find it still alive and vigorous, in the mouths of her own neighbours, in the unmistakably English form—St. Sidwell. But an ancient written example of the English form may be seen in the Anglo-Saxon Catalogue of English Saints who have been buried in England, printed by Dr. Hickes, in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*,[7] from a manuscript assigned by H. Wanley,[8] to the time of the Conquest—"Ðonne resteð sce Siþefulle fæmne Wiþutan Exanceastre:·"

It should not be concealed, that there exists in Cornwall a joint dedication of St. Welvela and St. Sativola. It is at Laneast, near Launceston. This was formerly a chapel to St. Stephen's Priory at Launceston, which was given to Exeter Cathedral by King Henry I. It is certain that, besides her ancient shrinal dedication without the city, St. Sativola had a later or revived veneration accorded to her within the cathedral itself, naturally ambitious of preserving and appropriating her local glory. That such was the case is evident from the special celebration of her day, as shown by the lesson book of Bishop Grandisson, for the use of that church, above referred to. There are also two *icons* of her among the existing decorations of the cathedral. It will likewise be observed that this Cornish dedication does not give the name in its popular form, St. Sidwell, as it is traditionally preserved in her own place, but in the service-book or cartular form, Sativola, indicating a post-Saxon graft, by the Bishops of Exeter, upon a dependent institution, to which there is other evidence that they extended much care and patronage.[9] This is, in truth, an instance of the interpenetrations of the two races. There are five or six other examples of certainly English national dedications found in Cornwall. One of them—St. Neot—is accounted for by history.

We may therefore reasonably believe, that, while the country immediately north of the city was still held by the British race, that on the eastern side was occupied by a Saxon colony. The dedications outside the south wall are catholic or non-national, and therefore have nothing to tell us. That also on the west side, beyond the river, was,

[7] Page 120. Thesaurus. Ling. Sept. Pars. III.

[8] Catal. of MSS. p. 137.

[9] Oliver Mon. Exon. p. 22.

until the 16th century, St. Thomas of Canterbury: then altered to St. Thomas the Apostle.

But we have yet another trace of the former separate existence of the Britons within the walls; and that in a part of the city not included in the district, to which we have presumed to limit them while in their state of equality with their invaders. At the beginning of the present century, a street, immediately within the west wall, to the north of the West Gate, was still called "Little Britain." It is distinctly separated from our British district by St. Olave and two other intervening parishes. There can be no doubt that this was the place of refuge conceded to that abject remnant of the banished race, who accepted tolerance, with a servile position, after the expulsion of their nation; in which place their designation of contempt has lingered on to nearly our own time. The "Little Britain" of London is perhaps another example; and the "Jewry" of many cities will also be remembered as an analogy: also the strict seclusion of degraded classes still maintained in many continental cities. These examples render needless Sir F. Palgrave's concession, that when the subject race "were few in number, they may have been dispersed among their rulers." Indeed, we see the vital principle, which underlies the whole matter, still active among us, in the neighbourhoods of Leicester Square and of Houndsditch in London.[1]

[1] The parish boundaries used in this inquiry have been derived from a plan of Exeter by J. Wood, 1840, and a "True Plan of Exceter," by Sutton Nicholls, 1724. The local distributions of dedications have been here chiefly collected from Bacon's *Liber Regis*, 1786, 4to. This is nearly the same work as had been previously known as Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, although unacknowledged by Bacon, who published it as his own work. The dedications of the churches had been mostly recovered by Browne Willis and inserted in Ecton. The Rev. Dr. Oliver has since corrected and augmented those for Devon and Cornwall, from the Exeter Bishop's Registers (Mon. Exon. pp. 430—445, and Addit. Supp. pp. 37—38), and the late Professor Rice Rees has also corrected some of those for Wales. (Essay on Welsh Saints.) But many still remain undiscovered.

The topographical influence of national saints might be well brought into view by a reversed Manual Index, under the names of the dedications, with the counties and other place-notes subjoined. But the necessity of a preliminary augmentation of Browne Willis's collection will be obvious from a single example. The county of Somerset was lately indexed from it in this reversed manner, by a member of the Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Society, but St. Joseph of Arimathea is conspicuously absent, because no surviving benefice gives it a standing-place in Ecton or Bacon. Not only should Dugdale's Monasticon and the numerous topographies, and the contents of parish chests, &c., be contributories to such a manual, but it is believed that there is, outside writing and print, a large amount of materials of a far more fugitive kind, which should be gathered in, while yet they can be, by those who live near them. They are often found in perished chapels, altars formerly in great churches, wayside wells, and extinct sanctuaries that have left nothing

Of course, we have nothing here to do with the lives or legends of the long-venerated personages above mentioned. Our only business is with the millennial connection of their names with certain limited spots. We have already admired the persistent permanence of unmaterial streets; but here is something still more to be wondered at, and perhaps still more instructive,—the intimate association, for many centuries, of the name of a person with almost every one of the smallest of our territorial divisions, throughout the length and breadth of the land—not to say all Christendom. But even this spectroscope into the long past is perishing—is an instrument which is gradually slipping out of our hands, without having told us all that it can be made to tell. It often stretches backward far beyond the reach of paper or parchment history, and often marks localities more certainly than even lettered stones or coined metal. Except that it is the most liable to be corrupt, tradition would be the most valuable ingredient of history. Here we have the most perfect and the purest form of tradition.

Those who have the privilege to live in this beautiful and interesting city—especially those who have access to the municipal and parish records and plans, or title-deeds of property lying in the path of this inquiry—will have the means of testing, correcting, reversing, or extending it, with much advantage over the resources of these remarks, which have arisen out of superficial observations during hasty visits for other objects, compared with the like desultory glances at the other cities, and many of the ancient towns.

but their names on hills and remote spots, and these more obscure remains are often more indicative of national influence than those that are more prominent. A record of the annual days of ancient fairs, wakes, revels, and village festivals, would be a valuable supplement.

For its more ordinary uses, the Clergy List has of late years supplanted Bacon's Liber Regis. But the modern utilitarian substitute has despised and suppressed these dedications. Thus put aside, the bulky book has become a tempting morsel for the corvorant paper-mill. This was the incidental cause of the pages now before the reader; which had their beginning in an attempt, that soon outgrew its purpose, to exemplify a better use that can still be made of this book.