

EXETER CITY DEFENCES

Expenditure on the walls & gates
Recorded in the Receiver's Accounts 1570-1600
by J. Z. Tuddery, et al. No 88 14

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by

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Exeter Museums Archaeological Field Unit

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Contents

Introduction

Acknowledgements

Work on the defences of Exeter 1570-1600 i

References v

Extracts from Receivers' books 1571/2-1599/1600 1

Appendix I: Extracts from Receivers' rolls 1570/1 and 1571/2 19

Appendix II: Annual expenditure on the City Walls and Gates in
relation to the overall income of the city 20

Appendix III: Analysis of expenditure on the City Walls and Gates 21

Glossary 22

Index I: Places 23

Index II: Persons 29

List of illustrations

Fig. 1a Histogram showing annual expenditure on the City Walls and
Gates vi

Fig. 1b Histogram showing expenditure on the City Walls and Gates
over ten year intervals 1570-1600 vi

EXETER CITY DEFENCES PROJECT

The Exeter City defences project embraces a variety of archaeological and historical studies concerning the City Walls and their environs between the period of their construction in the second century AD and early modern times. The project is being undertaken by EMAFU, under the general direction of C.G. Henderson and S.R. Blaylock, with funds provided by Exeter City Council, English Heritage and MSC (through the Exeter Community Programme Agency, latterly DEXTA).

INTRODUCTION

The annual accounts drawn up by the Receivers (ie. treasurers) of the Exeter Chamber during the medieval and early modern periods have fortunately survived to the present day. These documents are now preserved in the Devon Record Office (DRO). All references in the accounts to building work on the walls and gates of Exeter during the period between 1339 and 1700 have been transcribed in full and are presented in five separate reports on the Receivers' Accounts, of which this is the third in chronological sequence. In conjunction with two others covering the exceptional years of 1642-46, these five reports are intended to provide a record of all work known to have taken place on the city's walls and gates between 1339 and 1700. For a fuller explanation of the Receiver's duties, of the accounts themselves, and of the editorial procedure adopted in these reports, the reader is referred to the Introduction of the first report (that for 1339-1450). A discussion of certain archaic and obscure terms which recur throughout the extracted accounts will also be found here.

The present report deals with the city's defences between 1571 and 1600. Most of the Receivers' Account books for these years have been preserved intact (only two, those for 1574/75 and 1578/79, are missing). We therefore possess an excellent source of information for the activities of the city's workmen during these three decades. It is fortunate, too, that the relevant Chamber Act Books have survived. These record the decisions which were periodically taken by Exeter's governing body concerning the upkeep and maintainance of the defences. Together, the two sources provide us with a suprisingly detailed picture of the work which was carried out on Exeter's fortifications during the period under discussion.

In order to give a clear impression of the state of the fortifications during these years, the present work has been divided up into two parts. Transcripts of those portions of each Receiver's account book which deal with the defences have been set out in their entirety. (The total amounts spent in each year, and over the period as a whole, have been calculated and set down in the Appendices.) The transcripts themselves are preceded by a narrative account of the defences' history. This attempts to explain the fluctuating pattern of expenditure by linking it to contemporary historical events, both within the city and in the world at large.

There are few peculiarities in the Receivers' Accounts of 1571-1600 and little that needs specific explanation here. Perhaps it is worth pointing out, however, that the expenses recorded for work 'at the Castell Bayley' in 1576/77 are rather unusual anomalies. Strictly speaking, the defences of the Castle were the property and responsibility of the Crown. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to see the city Chamber laying out these (admittedly very small) sums on the Castle's upkeep.

Acknowledgements

Paul Staniforth undertook the transcription of the Receivers' Accounts. Jannine Juddery carried out the subsequent editing and indexing. The narrative description of work on the defences was written by Mark Stoye. The authors would like to thank Mrs Rowe and her staff at the Devon Record Office for their continued help and kindness, and Tom Dixon for drawing the histograms.

WORK ON THE DEFENCES OF EXETER, 1570-1600

The last thirty years of the sixteenth century saw no really major overhaul of Exeter's ancient defences. This said, however, it must be noted that on several occasions during the period, particularly during the years 1570-71, 1579-86 and 1595-96, considerable amounts were expended on the walls and gates. It seems fairly clear that these occasional bursts of expenditure were a reaction to various crises in England's relations with her neighbour-states in Europe.

The events of 1570 provide a case in point. As the year commenced, England's relations with France and Spain, the two major European powers, were extremely tense. The Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth in May made her kingdom's position seem still more precarious and raised the spectre of all Catholic Europe combining in a religious crusade against the Protestant 'heretics' of England. By July 1570, the country was in the grip of a major invasion scare. The fleet was mobilised, beacons were made ready and the local militia was somehow got into a semblance of preparedness. 'They are so alarmed here', wrote one contemptuous foreign observer, 'that they fear their own shadows' (1). This state of affairs continued until October, when the Government finally decided it was safe to order a general relaxation of precautions.

These events probably account for the unusually large sum expended upon Exeter's defences during 1570. Unfortunately, the Receiver's account book for 1569/70 is missing. It is clear that work on the defences began in this year however, for on 20th March 1570 the Chamber ordered that 'the Cities wall yn southinghay boundyng upon the bishopps palace or orchard being now fallen downe shalbe reedefyd & new buylded by Mr Recever' (2). This task was not completed until 1570/71, when it was recorded that over £21 had been spent on 'repair and making anew a piece of the City Wall next to the Bishops Palace which piece of the Wall had lately fallen down' (3). While it is possible that this work was mere routine maintenance, undertaken in immediate response to the collapse of this particular part of the wall, it seems more likely that the structure had fallen into disrepair some time before, and that only the threat of foreign invasion had made its re-edification a matter of any urgency.

In the following year, expenditure on Exeter's defences returned to a more normal level. This was probably due to the improvement of the situation in Europe and in particular to the fact that Spain (by now faced with renewed Turkish pressure in the Mediterranean and a revolt in her own Dutch provinces) no longer had the resources with which to threaten England. Altogether, £12 10s was spent on the walls and gates during 1571/72, but of this £10 17s 8 ½d went on rebuilding the privy at the Watergate. This latter sum can hardly be said to have been spent on defensive preparations. Hence genuine expenditure on Exeter's fortifications in 1571/72 was below £2. The following year saw the Receiver bestowing even smaller amounts of money (only one shilling and eightpence) on the city's walls and gates. This low figure, however, conceals the fact that there was a major panic over the defences during the year.

In August 1572, the massacre of St Bartholomew's Eve took place in Paris. Hundreds of Protestants were slaughtered in the city, apparently with the full support of the French government. By September news of the massacre had reached England and was everywhere reviving fears of a huge Catholic crusade against Protestantism. It seems clear that Exeter was quickly afflicted by these anxieties. On 7th October 1572 the Chamber decided that Queen Elizabeth should, with all convenient speed, be requested to repair 'the decayed Wallles of the Castell of Exon ... wch nowe are very ruynose' (4). (The castle was

held by the Crown and therefore lay outside the city's jurisdiction.) At the same time 'the newe Mudd Wall made from Southe gate towards the bbigans [barbicans, the earthen ramparts behind the city walls] there', which was obviously considered to encroach upon the city's defences, was ordered to be 'plucked downe' (5). Four days later, the sheriff was requested to 'Vewe the Artillarye of the Cittie at St Johns [Hospital] & see the same bee newe trymmed & dressed' (6). This, however, seems to have been the last defensive measure at Exeter prompted by the scare of 1572. It soon became clear that the massacre of St Bartholomew had not in fact heralded a Catholic onslaught upon Elizabeth's realm and her subjects' fears were thus allayed. The failure of this particular alarm to surface in the Receiver's Accounts, therefore, can probably be explained by the transitory nature of the scare, which had subsided well before there was time for the citizens to begin any major work on the defences.

Upon the international scene, the years 1573 to 1578 were relatively quiet ones for England. This seems to be reflected in the Exeter Receivers' Accounts, which record no exceptional amounts being spent on the city's fortifications during the period. The highest annual expenditure was recorded in 1573/74, when £6 6s 2d was spent in 'makeng of the bryge att Est gatt' (7). It seems probable that this was just a routine repair measure. Average annual expenditure on the walls and gates during these five years was only £2 11s 9d. It was not until 1578/79 that any really significant work was again carried out on the defences. Unfortunately, this particular year is another for which the Receiver's account book is missing. Nevertheless, we know that work on the city walls was probably resumed during 1578/79 for, on 23rd February 1579, it was noted in the Chamber Act Book that 'the walles wch ar fallen downe neere the water gate and neere the Southgate shalbe reedyfied and new buylded by Mr Recever yn roughe worke and as it was before donne: and by the advyse of Mr Mayor to be donne by taske worke or otherwise wth Convenient spede wthin the tyme of his yere' (8).

Why should it have been judged necessary to set to work on the defences with such speed at this particular time? Once again, the answer seems to be connected with events on the international stage. By 1579, the period of relative tranquillity which England had been enjoying in foreign affairs was over. The country now faced threats from abroad. The situation in the Netherlands, where the Spanish were attempting to crush the rebellion of the largely Protestant Dutch, appeared particularly threatening. With the submission of the Walloon provinces to Spain in May 1579, the struggle in the Low Countries seemed to have been lost by the Protestants. It was common knowledge that Queen Elizabeth was considering sending an expeditionary force to the continent to help the Dutch, for, with the Netherlands crushed, many Englishmen feared that their own country would be the next to feel the wrath of Catholic Spain. Such fears may well explain the sudden attention which the citizens of Exeter paid to their defences during early 1579.

Concern about the fortifications was equally apparent in the following year. On the 9th November 1579, the Chamber decided that the repairs which had been begun in February should continue. It was ordered that 'whereas a Certeine ruynous peece of the Citties Walles neere the Wat[er] gate of this Cittie was begonne to bee erected by the late recevr. of this Cittie And the same wholly not finished ... the nowe recevr. shall fynyshe the same Walle as farre as yt ys necessarye' (9). In fact, further building work had already got under way several weeks before this, when repairs were made 'about the Cytties wales neare Watergate' on the 17th of October (10). Work upon this section of the walls continued until 28th November 1579, when the repairs came to a temporary halt.

In January and February 1580 the focus of attention shifted. The Chamber ordered a Committee to 'Vewe the Gardens adioninge to the walles ['yn southinghay'] for redresse of the Erthe there taken from the foundacon of the walles whereby they arre like to decaye' (11). A house and enclosures within Southernhay, (which were presumably obstructing the field of fire from the walls), were ordered to be demolished by the following Easter. On the 22nd of April, it was decided to finish off the repairs to the city walls. The members of the Chamber 'agreed that Mr Receiver shall pr[o]vide for buyldinge & fynyshinge of the Cities walls neere to Southgate & the watergate and that he shall hyre & reteyne such masons to be workers as be of this Citie' (12). Work on the walls near Watergate recommenced on the 7th of May and continued until the 12th of July. By the end of the year 1579/80, the Receiver had spent £46 9s 2d on the city's defences. This was the largest sum to be expended on Exeter's fortifications during the entire thirty year period under discussion. This sum and the various other large amounts which were expended on the defences during the following five years were almost certainly a reaction to the state of 'cold war' which existed between England and Spain during this period.

In 1580/81, the amount spent on the defences was much less great than in the previous year. Total expenditure was apparently £8 14s 6d. Yet four pounds of this was accounted for by the salary of the keeper at Southgate Prison. Strictly speaking, therefore, the money spent on the city's fortifications during this year only amounted to £4 14s 6d. Of this, £1 2s 6d was laid out 'upon reparacon of the walles ...in Frerenhay', while a further five shillings and ninepence was spent on 'the stayres by the wall' there (13). During the next year, 1581/2, expenditure again rose sharply, the Receiver eventually paying out £35 1s 2d for 'Expenses bestowed upon the repayring of the towne walls without southgate next the key' (14). Work on this section of the walls probably began soon after 6th April 1582, when the Chamber had ordered 'that the Cities walls without Southgate now fallen downe and yn decaye shalbe newly repayred & amended' (15). Expenditure in 1582/83 was low, only seven shillings, despite that fact that on 1st October 1582 the Receiver had been ordered to 'fynishe and ende the olde walls without southgat on the south syde of the same gate yn all thinges necessary & needfull' (16). One suspects that the money laid out on this task was either added to the preceding year's total or omitted from the accounts altogether.

1583/84 saw another sharp rise in expenditure. The Receiver disbursed considerable sums of money for 'Reparacions' to the defences: £4 19s 8d 'upon the walles at Estgate', £2 8s 'upon the wales at Southgate', £2 2s 6d 'upon the wales at Northgate' and £7 8s 8d 'at the Westegate & Watergate' (17). Next year, money paid out on the fortifications fell to a mere fourteen shillings, only to rise again sharply in 1585/86. During this year, £16 1s 10d was spent, almost all of which was laid out upon 'new buildinge of the bridge of the Eastegate' (18). It is possible that the decision to rebuild this bridge was connected with the war between England and Spain and the formal alliance which Elizabeth had recently made with the Dutch rebels. As the year commenced, the Earl of Leicester was preparing to set sail for the Netherlands with a force of English troops. The Exeter authorities may therefore have decided to look to their defences in case the Spaniards should launch a similar, retaliatory, expedition. This said though, it is quite likely that the rebuilding was carried out for the simple reason that the bridge was old and dilapidated. Unlike the city walls, the bridges at the gates were utilised in peacetime as well as in war. Constantly in use, they were vital for the free movement of traffic in and out of the city. In the natural course of things, therefore, they were frequently repaired.

During the next year, that of 1586/87, little work was carried out on the fortifications: only £2 19s 7d being laid out for that purpose. In 1587/88 expenditure was lower still. A mere three shillings and sixpence was spent on the city's defences in this year. At first sight, this may seem somewhat surprising. This was, after all, the year of the Armada, the year in which all England trembled in fear of Spanish invasion. The records certainly suggest that Exeter was very much disturbed during 'the troble of the Spanyerds beinge upon the Coost', as one of the citizens afterwards referred to this period (19). Should we not expect therefore, to find more evidence of work being carried out on Exeter's fortifications at this time, of preparations being made to meet the coming invaders? Why were the measures which the city government took 'againste the Spanyerds Attempt' limited to the raising of the militia, the gathering in of provisions and the sending forth of ships? (20). It is hard to be sure of the answer. However, we may guess that the speed with which the Spanish threat materialised (and subsequently receded) gave the citizens little time to set about their defences. In addition, the work of the previous eight or nine years must have ensured that the fortifications were in reasonably good shape. Finally, the sheer size and strength of the Armada may have made the citizens feel that work on the defences would be futile. If the Spaniards managed to break through the English navy, land their troops, and defeat the local forces which were massing on the shore to oppose them, it must have seemed unlikely that they would then be repulsed by the hastily shored-up defences of a provincial city.

Whatever the case, the threat posed by the Armada swiftly passed away and from this time until the mid-1590s, expenditure on the defences continued to be very low. During this period, only one year saw large amounts of money being bestowed on the walls and gates, that is to say 1590/91, when £23 0s 5½d was recorded to have been spent. This figure is a deceptive one though. Almost all the money disbursed in this year actually went on the 'madfolks house', presumably some form of lunatic asylum, which happened to be built upon the city walls (21). The money spent on this house cannot be claimed to have been utilised for the purposes of fortification. When this last sum is deducted from the total amount spent on the city's defences between 1588 and 1595, we find that the average annual expenditure in these years was only £2 7s. 3½d, a figure even lower than that for the relatively peaceful period between 1573-78.

The year 1595/96 was the last in this period to see any really considerable sums of money bestowed upon the defences, £16 12s 7d in all. It seems probable that this expenditure was connected with the scare which gripped England between the early summer and mid-Autumn of 1596, when it was widely feared that a second great Armada was on its way from Spain. On the 21st June the Chamber ordered that 'Mr Receiver shall amende the Bridges at Southgate & Estgate' (22). Money was subsequently spent on Southgate, Southgate Bridge and 'Reparacions upon ... the Walls at Thestgate' (23).

For the last few years of the sixteenth century, expenditure on the defences remained comparatively low. This probably reflects the peaceful state of the realm during these years. Admittedly, the largish sum of £6 6s 1d was laid out in 1599/1600, but almost all of this money was spent on repairs to Eastgate Bridge, the upkeep of which, as we have seen, was a recurring problem. It seems likely therefore, that routine maintenance work rather than a reaction to any outside event, lay behind the increased expenditure in this final year.

To conclude, it should be noted that, despite the several flurries of building work outlined above, the thirty years between 1570 and 1600 saw a steady decline in the sums of money expended on Exeter's defences; a decline, moreover, which is particularly impressive given that this was a period of

significant monetary inflation. It seems fair to suggest that, in real terms, much less was spent on the city's defences during the decades between 1570 and 1600 than at any other time during the sixteenth century. This must surely have been due to the absence of internal strife within the country during Elizabeth's reign and to the navy's successful warding off of attempts by foreign powers to invade.

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4. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.III (1560-81), f.288
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7. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1573/74, f.1d
8. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol III (1560-81), f.413
9. Ibid., f.435
10. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1579/80, f.1
11. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol III (1560-81), f.448
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13. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1580/81, ff.5d-6
14. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1581/82, f.1
15. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IV (1581-88), f.195
16. Ibid., f.201
17. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1583/84, ff.4d-6
18. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1585/86, ff.6-7
19. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1587/88, f.2d
20. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1587/88, passim; D.R.O., Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IV (1581-88), ff.281, 282, 288
21. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Roll, 1590/91, m.3d
22. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.V (1587-1601), f.357
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Fig. 1a: Annual Expenditure on the City Walls and Gates 1570-1600

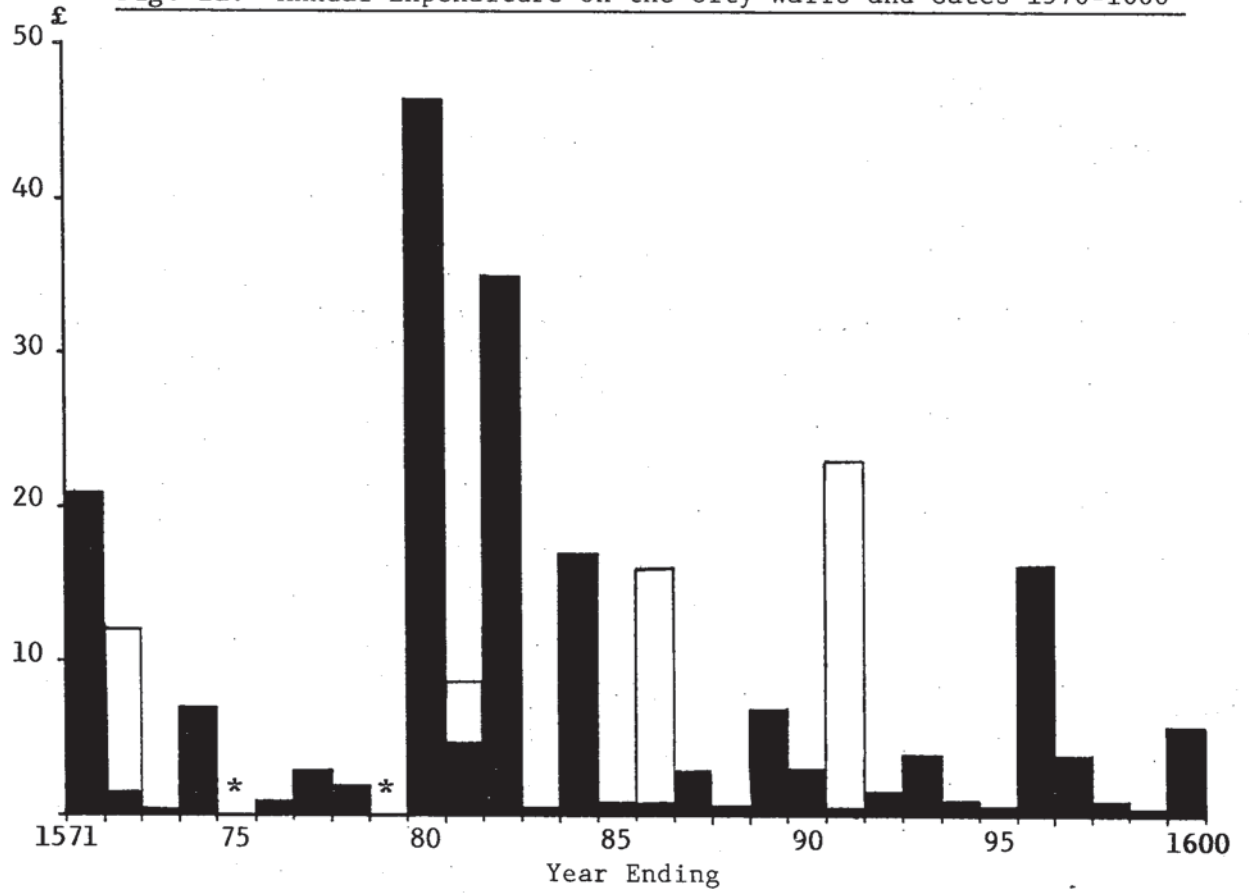
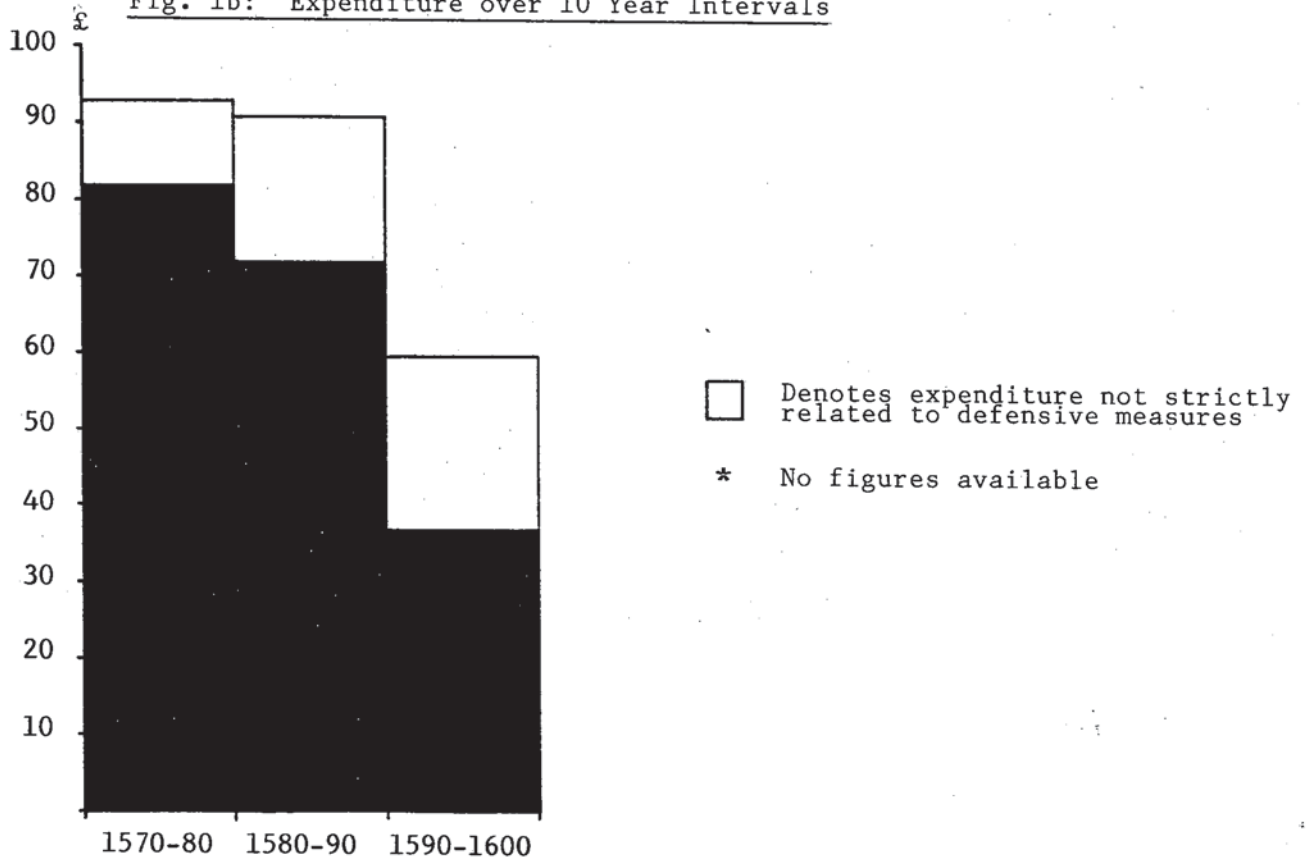


Fig. 1b: Expenditure over 10 Year Intervals



1570/1-1573/4

EXTRACTS FROM RECEIVERS' BOOKS 1571/2-1599/1600

1570-71

The book for this year has not survived. See Appendix I for the relevant entry in the roll.

1571-72

[See also Appendix I for entry in the roll for this year concerning the City Wall].

f. 7

'Extra ordinary Charges as followyth

Modyfeld & 2 of hes men for mendyng the Raylls with out Estgat': 3s 4d.

'For newe maikyng of the butts in Fryunhaye with a newe pose bought of Mr Peter': 21s 10d.

'For mendding the Kayg with out South get': 12d.

'H... for Clenseng part of ye settys wall': 1s.

'The paveyor for paveng at Westget and Estget and in the stryts beyng 48 yerds @ 1½d yerd': 6s.

f. 10

'The newe beldyng of the prevy by ye water gate

Wyllym Barbour labouror for 22 dayes @ 8d the daye': 15s.

'John Miwall & John Davyd masons for ther worke in maikyng all the walles & foundatyons [2 words illegible]': 43s 10d.

'For 6 doz. of claye': 8s.

'For 1 doz. 8 sems of same @ 18d': 2s 6d.

'For 1 doz. 1 seam of stones boughte of Mr Hull': 2s.

'For karyg of 18 sems of stones from ye yern markyt': 8d.

'For 30 stones from Pemar Quarry': 9s 4d.

'For 7 stones boughte of George Peryman': 2s 3d.

'For 11 hogsyd of lyme @ 2s 6d': 27s.

'For the gutter of led thruwe the house & the Settys walle beyng [illegible] laid by the olde lee waye bout [illegible]': 41s 8d.

'For 6 lod of sande for ye same @ 7d': 3s 9d.

'For iron houkyes about the sam gottor beyng [illegible]': 4s 3d.

'For nayalls to plastor the sam': 18d.

'Salmon [the] Karpentor for 8 dayes to sett the roofe of the houes @ 10d the daye': 6s 8d.

'Parramor Karpenter for 2 dayes to planke ye lofte': 18d.

'For 1 s bord naylls': 14d.

'Michael Walker hellyer for hellyng of the sam house at [illegible] the phyndyng all stops': 46s.

1572-73

f. 3d

'Monies paid out on various repairs and other necessities:

For mendinge of east gate staples for the lockes thereto with others': 10d.

f. 4

'For pavinge stones & sand laid at estgaite': 10d.

1573-74

f. 1

[Expenses on the] 'gyldhall [sic]

Monday 14 Desember:

For mendynge of a lowcke at Eastgatt': 4d.

1573/4

'For pavyng at Westgatt': 8d.

f. 1d

'Charges paid for makeng of the bryge at Est gatt

'To Over for caryege of 4 lodes of tymber from Derewod to Sowthenhay': 12s;

'To Blachefforde for 16 dayes': 13s 4d;

'To Thomas Geffer' for caryege of 3 doscun stackes from Derewod': 7s 6d;

'For Caryege of 4 lodes of tymber from Derewod to Southenhay': 10s;

'To Paramore for a days worke': 8d;

'To Trewman for a days worke': 1s;

'To Blachefforde and his 2 men for 11 dayes @ 10d the day': 9s 2d;

'To hem for straw': 4d;

'To Thomas Geffer' for caryege of stacks from Derewode': 4s 3d;

'For sawynge of 4 c [1 word illegible] of bowes [? boughs] @ 20d [the] c': 6s 8d;

'For sawynge of tymber for men days @ 10d the day': 2s 6d;

'To Knyght for cuttynge of tymber for 2 days @ [10d - crossed out] the day': 2s;

'To hem for his 2 men for 4 days @ 10d the day': 6s 8d;

'To Paramore for 4 days @ 8d': 2s 8d;

'To Knyght for 1 daye and his man': 1s 10d;

'To Huntt for 6 days @ 10d': 5s;

'To John Parker for 6 days': 5s;

'To Blachefford for 5 days': 4s 4d;

'To Franses for 5 days @ 10d': 4s 2d;

'To Wey for 3 days @ 10d': 2s 6d;

'To his sarvantt for 2 days': 1s 4d;

'For 1 doz. cle': 1s 4d;

'For caryege of 1 doz. stonis from Thomas Loyntters to Estgat': 10d;

'For caryege of 4 semes stonis from Longbrok to Estgat': 4d;

'For 6 semes gravell': 6d;

'For 1 day unto 2 facis [?]' : 1s 8d;

'For 13 semes of gravell': 1s;

'To Franses for 1 day': 1s 4d;

'To Mychall Johnson for a day': 10d;

f. 2

'To Walter Frychay for 1 day': 8d;

'To John Parker for 2 days': 1s 8d;

'To Hunt for 2 days @ 10d': 1s 8d;

'To Fyller for Boltts and naylls': 1s 4d;

'To the pavore for 42 yarde pavyng @ 1½d the yard': 5s 3d;

'To Henry Jube for 2 doz. stonis 1 doz. sande': 4s 6d;

'For makeng clenne of Estgatt': 6d;

Sum: £6 6s 2d.

'Charges extraordinarye

'For mendyng of the gat at Westgat': 4d.

'For mendyng of a loke att Est gatt and a staple for the yarne markett': 4d.

'For 2 men at the Wattergat 1 day': 1s 8d.

'For 6 semis pavyng stonis of the watter gatt': 1s 10d.

f. 2d

'10 January to Ducke for makyng of a ke and a locke at Estgatt': 6d.

f. 3d

'1 July to John Seton for makeng clenne of the walle betwyxt the watter gate and west gatt': 1s.

1575/6-1577/8

'17 July [margin:] West gatt sters to Chepman for 22 semis of stonis for the sters at West gat': 5s.

1575-76

f. 2d

'Hyme that maketh clene the walles for the whole year': 16s.

1576-77

f. 4

'For pavinge at Eastyate leadinge towards Northinghey stile with the stuffe': 22s 6d.

f. 4d

'For pavinge at Northegat with the stuff': 15d.

'For pavinge at Westegate with the stuffe': 11d.

'For mendinge the benche at Easteyate': 5d.

'For stoppinge a hole at the Castell Bayley which wente thorowe the walles': 16d.

'For pavinge at the Castell Bayley besides the money paid by the dwellers there': 11s 9d.

'For amendinge the bridge at Eastegat': 10d.

'For carrieng awaie of the Rubbell': 18d.

'Mr Hampton for pavinge as farre as the Citties liberties leadinge towards the Castell': 6s 8d.

'Charges extraordinary ... as followeth

f. 9d

Coffeilde to make cleane the walles the whole year': 13s 4d.

1577-78

'Extraordinary expenses:

f. 1d

For clensinge of the walls against the mewralley walke': 12d.

f. 2

'To hyme that begann to builde a howse at the Watergat in recompence of his graunte & towards his charges bestowed': 20s.

f. 5

'Charges bestowed in repairinge of the grat at Westgat as followeth

For 2 newe postes for the grat at the Westgat': 4s;

'For mending and scororinge [?] of the same vault': [blank];

'A mason for a daies work to the vault': 12d;

'A workman to serve hyme': 8d;

'For 3 sacks of lyme': 15d;

'For 6 sacks of lyme': 2s 6d;

'For 4 seames of claye': 6d;

'For a dossen of quarry stones to mende and cover the vault': 4s 4d;

'A poor laburer for ridding the vault': 12d;

'For 2 seames of sand': 3d;

'For 5 seames of sande for the pavier': 6d;

'For 3 seames of stones to pave aboute the sides and hedd of the vawte': 6d;

'John Davie mason for working there three daies @ 12d per diem': 3s 6d;

'A labourer to serve hyme 2 daies': 20d;

f. 5d

'The pavier for pavinge aboute the vaute': 8d;

'Gilbert the Smith for a new grat waiing 41 lb @ 4d the lb besides the olde':

1577/8; 1579/80

10s;
Sum: [blank].

1579-80

f. 1

'Charges bestowed aboute the Cytties wales neare Watergate from the 17th daye of October 1579 as followeth

17 October Antony Maunders for 2 dayes worke @ 12d a daye': 2s;
'William Rogers for one daye': 10d;
'John Bagwill for one daye': 8d;
'Henry Dally for 3 daies and halfe @ 8d a daye': 2s 4d;
'Water Norrishe for 3 daies and halfe @ 8d a daye': 2s 4d;
'24 October Antony Maunders for 6 daies @ 12d a daie': 6s;
'George Pitts for 3 daies and halfe @ 10d a daie': 2s 11d;
'Thomas Comon for 5 dayes and halfe @ 10d a daye': 4s 7d;
'William Rogers for 3 dayes and halfe @ 10d a daye': 2s 11d;
'John Bagwill for 6 dayes @ 8d a daie': 4s;
'Water Morrishe for 6 daies @ 8d a daie': 4s;
'Henry Dally for 6 dayes @ 8d a daye': 4s;
'Newalls man for 3 daies and halfe @ 8d [a] daie': 2s 4d;
'For a pott to carry stones': 2d;
'31 October Water Morishe for 2 daies @ 8d a daye': 16d;
'John Bagwill for 2 dayes @ 8d a daye': 16d;
'6 November Antony Maunder for 2 daies worke @ 12d [a] daye': 2s;
'William Rogers for 4 dayes @ 10d a daye': 3s 4d;

f. 1d

'John Newall for one dayes worke': 12d;
'John Pytts for 6 dayes @ 10d [a] day': 5s;
'Thomas Comon for 9 dayes @ 10d [a] day': 6s 6d;
'Ambrose Newall for 2 daies @ 10d [a] day': 20d;
'Henry Dallye for 7 daies @ 8d [a] day': 4s 8d;
'Water Morishe for 5 daies @ 8d [a] day': 3s 4d;
'John Bennett for 7 daies @ 8d [a] day': 4s 8d;
'Henry Hunt for 2 dayes worke @ 8d [a] daye': 16d;
'For twyne': 2d;
'10 November Antony Maunders for 2 dayes @ 12d [a] daye': 2s;
'William Rogers for one dayes worke @ 10d': 10d;
'John Pitts for 2 dayes @ 10d': 20d;
'Thomas Comon for 2 dayes @ 10d': 20d;
'John Bennett for 2 dayes @ 8d': 16d;
'14 November Henry Dally for 4 daies @ 8d': 2s 8d;
'Water Morishe for 4 dayes @ 8d': 2s 8d;
'21 November Water Morrishe for 6 dayes @ 8d': 4s;
'Henry Dally for one day': 8d;
'28 November Walter Morrishe for 6 dayes @ 8d': 4s;
'Thomas Comon for 16 dayes @ 10d': 13s 4d;
'7 May Michael Frygons for 2 dayes for makinge the mortar howse': 2s;
'Chaunt for Thychinge said howse': 6d;
'Thomas Comon for 6 dayes @ 11d': 5s 6d;
'Water Morrishe for 5 dayes @ 8d': 3s 4d;
'Zachary Dyer for 2 dayes @ 8d': 16d;
'For 2 pottes': 2d;
'For twyne': 2d;
'For a dosen of scaffell ropes': 8d;
'14 May William Hewishe for 5 daies @ 12d': 5s;

1579/80

'Thomas Comon for 5 dayes @ 11d': 4s 7d;
'William Bargery for 3 dayes and halfe @ 11d': 3s 3d;
'Water Morishe for 5 daies @ 8d': 3s 4d;
'Zachary Dyer for 5 daies @ 8d': 3s 4d;
'Robert Hodder for 5 daies @ 8d': 3s 4d;
'For a tole to prime the wall': 3d;
f. 2
'21 May William Hewishe for 6 dayes @ 12d a daye': 6s;
'William Bargery for 6 dayes @ 11d a daye': 5s 6d;
'Robert Hodder for 6 dayes @ 8d': 4s;
'Thomas Comon for 6 dayes @ 11d': 5s 6d;
'Zachary Dyer for 6 dayes @ 8d': 4s;
'William Hewisshe for scobling a c [hundred] of stones @ 5s [the] c': 5s;
'John Bagwill for 6 daies @ 9d': 4s 6d;
'Water Morisshe for 6 daies @ 8d': 4s;
'For a buckett for to dipp water': 2d;
'28 May Thomas Comon for 4 dayes @ 11d': 3s 8d;
'William Bargery for 4 daies @ 11d': 3s 8d;
'Water Morishe for 4 dayes @ 8d': 2s 8d;
'Robert Hodder for 4 dayes @ 8d': 2s 8d;
'4 June Thomas Comon for 6 dayes @ 11d': 5s 6d;
'William Bargery for 3 dayes and halfe @ 11d': 3s 2d;
'Robert Hodder for 3 daies and halfe @ 8d': 2s 4d;
'11 June William Bargery for 6 dayes @ 11d': 5s 6d;
'Robert Hodder for 6 daies @ 8d': 4s;
'Thomas Comon for 6 daies @ 11d': 5s 6d;
'Zachary Dyer for 6 dayes and halfe @ 8d': 4s 4d;
'Water Morrishe for 6 dayes @ 8d': 4s;
'17 June William Hewishe for 4 dayes & halfe @ 12d': 4s 6d;
'William Bargery for 4 dayes @ 11d': 3s 8d;
'William Hewishe for scoblinge di' c [half a hundred] of stones': 2s 6d;
'Robert Hodder for 5 daies @ 8d': 3s 4d;
'Water Morishe for 5 daies @ 8d': 3s 4d;
'Zachary Dyer for 4 dayes @ 8d': 2s 8d;
'Thomas Comon for 5 dayes and halfe @ 11d': 5s 1d;
'25 June William Hewishe for 6 daies @ 12d': 6s;
'Thomas Comon for 5 dayes @ 11d': 4s 7d;
'William Bargery for 5 daies @ 11d': 4s 7d;
'Water Morishe for 2 daies @ 8d': 16d;
'Robert Hodder for 5 daies @ 8d': 3s 4d;
'John Crapp for 5 daies @ 8d': 3s 4d;
[No date] 'William Hewishe for 6 daies @ 12d': 6s;
'William Bargery for 4 daies @ 11d': 3s 8d;
'Thomas Comon for 5 daies @ 11d': 4s 7d;
'Robert Hodder for 5 daies @ 8d': 3s 4d;
'Water Morishe for 4 dayes @ 8d': 2s 8d;
'John Crapp for 5 daies @ 8d': 3s 4d;
f. 2d
'9 July William Hewish for 2 dayes @ 12d': 2s;
'Thomas Comon for 6 daies @ 11d': 5s 6d;
'Robert Hodder for 6 dayes @ 8d': 4s;
'Water Morishe for 4 dayes & halfe @ 8d': 3s;
'12 July Thomas Comon for 2 dayes @ 11d': 22d;
'Water Morishe for one daie & halfe @ 8d': 12d;
'Wonford stones

1579/80

14 October John Chapman for 6 dosen of stones @ 3s 4d [the] dosen': 20s;
'10 November John Chapman for 9 dosen of stones & 3 semes': 30s 10d;
'28 November him for 3 dosen of stones': 10s;
'14 May him for 6 dosen & 9 semes': 22s 6d;
'21 May him for 5 dosen': 16s 8d;
'17 June him for 10 dosen': 33s 4d;
'15 June him for 2 dosen': 6s 8d;
'17 July him for 2 dosen': 6s 8d;
'Shillingford stones
5 December George Backer for c [hundred] semes of stones @ 4d a seme': 35s 5d;
'For scoblinge of the said stones': 5s;
'21 May George Backer for c semes of stones @ 4d a seme': 35s 5d;
'24 June George Backer for di c [half a hundred] of stones @ 4d a seme': 17s 8d;
'6 July said George for 21 semes of stones @ 4d a seme': 7s 5d;

f. 3

'Lyme
30 November Christopher Serrell for 29 hogesyde @ 3s per h'': £4 7s;
'9 June him for 20 hogesyde @ 3s per h'': £3;
'25 July him for 20 hogesydes': £3;
'Sande
24 October Thomas Bicknoll for 11 dossen of sande @ 12d [the] dosen': 11s;
'14 November him for one dosen 12d': 12d;
'28 November him for 8 semes of sande': 8d;
'21 May Francis Geffery for 8 dosen of sande @ 12d [the] dosen': 8s;
'4 June him for 4 dosen': 4s;
'17 June him for 3 dosen': 3s;
'25 June him for 2 dosen': 2s;
Sum: £40 2s 5d.

'The reparation of the Geale at Southgate 1580

Richard Demonte for 3 dayes worke and halfe @ 12d a daye': 3s 6d;
'Thomas Comyn for 4 dayes @ 11d': 3s 8d;
'Water Morrishe for 3 daies and halfe @ 8d': 2s 4d;
'William Jones for 6 dayes': 5s;
'John Borough for 6 dayes': 5s;
'Edward Grene for 6 dayes': 5s;
'Gilbert Smythe for Iron Worke and for nayles': 22s 3d;
'The plumber for 28 lb of ledde': 3s 6d;
'Christopher Searell for 2 hogesheds of lyme': 6s;

f. 3d

'For 10 semes of stones @4d seme': 3s 6d;
'Mr Webber for 6 stones': 2s 6d;
'For carriage of the same stones': 4d;
'For 2 lb of candels': 7d;
'For a lintern': 18d;
'For 4 semes of sande': 4d;
'17 September William Jones for 4 dayes worke': 3s 4d;
'Edward Grene for 4 dayes': 3s;
'John Browne for 4 dayes': 3s;
'Peter Newporte for 4 dayes': 2s 8d;
'Richard Deamont for halfe a day': 6d;
'His Brother for a day and halfe': 15d;
'Thomas Comyn for 2 dayes and halfe': 3s 2d;

1579/80; 1580/1

'Water Morishe for 3 dayes and halfe': 2s 4d;
'Christopher Serell for halfe a hogeshed of lyme': 18d;
'For 2 basketts': 2d;
'For candels': 5d;
'For nayles to Gilbert Smythe': 3d;
'For 8 semes of sande': 10d;
'For a planke and spuckes': 14d;
'1 October William Jones for halfe a daye': 5d;
Sum: £4 9s 1d.

'Extraordinary Charges

f. 5d

24 October William Edmondes for 33 yards paving at Westgate': 4s 2d.
'John Wilcocks for 3 dosen & 4 semes of sande and stones': 4s 5d.
'29 January William Edmonds for pavinge at Northgate': 3s 2d.
'John Wilcocks for 4 dosen and eight semes of sande': 6s.

f. 6

'19 October Wallers at Southgate for wyne': 2s 6d.
'For makenge clene of the murally walke': 16d.
'10 November Simon Blackmore and his man for 4 dayes worke for Rolinge of the bridge at Eastgate': 7s 8d.
'For bord nayles': 6d.

f. 6d

'3 May: the Smyth for mendinge of Eastegate': 2s.

f. 7

'4 September: for mendinge of a locke att Eastgate': 4d.
'For 4 c of peares': 12d.

1580-81

f. 2d

'Charges payd upon the Gayle at Southgat & keeping of the same
Edmund Clerke kepper for one whole yeare': £4;
'For [illegible] yards 3 quarters of cloth @ 9s [the] yarde for his lyvery':
15s 9d;
'A mason for 5 dayes & halfe working at the Gaole': 5s;
'For a seame stone & a rynge for the same': 11d;
'For caryage of 2 dossen of rubbell': 12d;
'For an iron grate wayeng 54 lb @ 4d [the] pounce': 13s 6d;
'For a payre of hooks & twysts wayeng 12 lb @ 3d [the] lb': 3s;
'For a c of hache nayles': 4d;
'For lyme': 10d;
'For mendyng the wyndow': 3s 4d;
Sum: £6 3s 8d.

f. 5

'Extraordinary Charges bestowed this yere as foloweth

For di' a dossen of stones & sande for pavinge a hole within Northgate': 9d.
'For pavinge the same': 10d.

f. 5d

'For pavinge of 12 yards at Westgate & Northgate @ 1½d the yarde': 18d.
'For mending of the lock at Eastgate': 8d.
'For zawyng of palls & other stuffe for the pale under the walls': 5s 6d.
'For caryadge of 14 seames for the pale & posses with Westgate from Duryord':
3s 2d.
'Edward Secke for makinge of 2 palls & 2 styles without Westgate beinge 7

1580/1-1582/3

dayes worke': 7s.

'For 2 c of bordenayles aboute the same': 2s 7d.

f. 6

'A man for 7 dayes to helpe make the pale under the walls @ 11d a day': 6s 5d.

f. 7

'Charges bestowed upon reparacion of the walles this yeare in Frerenhay

Dayman for 5 dayes to mende the garretts in Frerenhay': 5s;

'His man for 5 dayes @ 10d [a] day': 4s 2d;

'For Scabbling of 19 stones': 10d;

'Serell for a hogshed & sacke of lyme': 3s;

'For di a dossen of sande': 9d;

'A quarryman for 19 stones @ 4d [a] peece': 6s 4d;

'For a wylly to cary rubble in': 10d;

'For caryadge of stones from Bridzwell': 4d;

'For scubling of stones for the walls in Frerenhay': 8d;

'A mason for di a dayes worke': 6d;

Sum: 22s 5d.

1581-82

f. 1

'Expenses bestowed upon the reapyryng of the towne walls without Southegate nere the key

John Ryve for 26 hogsedes di [half] of lyme @ 2s 6d hogsed': £3 6d;

'Christofer Serell for 46 hogsedes of lyme @ 3s per hogsed': £7 4d [sic];

f. 1d

'Baker of Shillingford for 4 dossen di of Burres @ 2s 8d per dossen': 12s;

'Him for 50 seame stones @ 4d [a] pece': 16s 8d;

'Chapman for 30 dossen of Brares @ 3s 4d dossen': £5;

'Bicknell for 26 dossen di of sande @ 16d dossen': 85s 4d;

'Deyman for pullyng downe the wall & makyng the fundacion': 40s;

'Him for Scablyng of Stones & for a cowle': 3s;

'Him for 65 perches of wall @ 2s 6d perche': £8 2s;

'Him for makyng of flakes': 9s 9d;

'Thomas Jeffry for caryage of Stuffe': 2s 8d;

'For Scaffolde ropes': 4s;

'For Iron worke to Gilbert the Smythe': 19d;

'Walden for takyng thaccommpte of Lyme & Sande': 3s 4d;

'For 6 Seames of Quarry Stones for the Barbygan at Northegate': 18d;

'For caryage of a dossen of stones from the Guihald': 12d;

'For di dossen sande for the same': 9d;

'For 3 hogsheds of lyme for the same': 9s;

'For 4 dossen of hard gravell & for Systyng': 4s;

'For the masons worke aboute the same': 4s 6d.

f. 4d

'Extraordinary expences layde out as foloweth

The Beedells for clensing the walles then': 2s.

'For pavyng at Northgate & Westgate': 37s 3d.

1582-83

f. 1

[Extraordinary expenses:]

'October 1582 the Bedels for macking clene of the walles agaynst the

1582/3; 1583/4

muraly': 2s.

f. 2d

[June 83] 'For caryadge of 2 trees to the towne walls': 2s.

'Auguste 1583 William Russell for worke done at Eastgate as apperes by his bill': 3s.

1583-84

f. 1d

'Extraordinary Chardges

The two beedells for clensing of the walls at the mewralye': 16d.

f. 4d

'Reparacions upon the walls at Southgate

For 3 dos' of Stones from Hevitree': 9s;

'For 7 hogsheds of Lyme': 21s;

'For 3 dos' of Sande': 4s;

'Richard Deymond for 4 daies': 4s;

'John Ellacom for 4 daies': 3s 8d;

'Walter Morris for 4 daies': 3s;

f. 5

'For one laboure man one daie': 8d;

'One Bowie for 4 daies': 2s 8d;

[Sum:] 48s.

'Reparacions upon the walles at Estgate

For 9 hoggsheds of hote lyme': 27s;

'For 5 dos' of Sande': 6s 8d;

'For 9 dos' of Seame stones from Hevitree': 27s;

'For 3 dos' of Seme stones': 10s;

'For 2 basketts to carry stones': 6d;

'For one Skeyn of Twyne': 2d;

'Richard Deymond for 7 daies': 7s;

'John Deymond for 3 daies': 3s;

'William Laurens for 2 daies': 2s;

'John Ellecom for 7 daies': 6s 5d;

'Richard Deymonds man for 5 daies': 3s 4d;

'Walter Morris for 7 daies': 6s 3d;

'John Deymond for 2 daies': 16d;

[Sum:] £4 19s 8d.

'Reparacions upon the walls at Northgate

For 4 hogsheds of Lyme': 12s;

'For caryinge of 9 seemes of Lyme & Sande from Estgate to Northgate & 3 seames of stones': 12d;

f. 5d

'For caryinge of one dosen and halfe of stones from the Guihald to Northgate': 9d;

'For 26 Seemes of Sande': 2s 11d;

'For 8 Semes of Seme Stones': 2s 8d;

'For 21 Semes of Stones': 5s 3d;

'Richard Deymond for 3 daies & halfe': 3s 6d;

'William Laurens for 3 daies & halfe': 3s 6d;

'John Ellecom for 3 daies': 2s 9d;

'John Deymonds man for 3 daies': 2s 4d;

'Walter Morris for 4 daies & halfe': 3s 4d;

1583/4-1585/6

'For a Coole and a buckett for to cary Water & bordes & cordes to make a Scaffolde': 2s 6d;

[Sum:] 42s 6d.

'Reparacions at the Westegate & Watergate

For 2 Seames of Silferton Stones': 2s 8d;

'For more stones Lyme & Sande which comes in the compte of the Kaie': [is therefore blank];

'Brocke for 1 dosen of hewen seeme stones': 5s;

'For 9 dos' & halfe of Seeme stones': 34s 10d;

'George Cooke for 7 dos' of Seeme stones': 28s;

'Hym for two dosens & halfe of Burres': 7s 6d;

'For 2 hogghshedds & 21 sackes of Lyme': 13s 2d;

'For 8 seemes of Sande': 22d;

'For Scablinge of 83 Stones': 4s;

f. 6

'Two laboure men for 9 daies': 6s 9d;

'William Laurens William Deymond Robert Lake masons for 27 daies': 27s;

'John Ellacom for 9 daies': 8s 3d;

'John Robinson mason for 14 daies & halfe': 9s 8d;

[Sum:] £7 8s 8d.

1584-85

f. 1

'Extraordinarie Charges paid by Mr Receyver

For makinge cleane of the walles': 16d.

f. 1d

'The Pavyer for amendinge the pavement at Northgate': 4d.

'Mr Crocks for gravell put upon the Barbigans at Freerenhay': 13d.

f. 2

'For mendinge of the Iron Work of the Estegate to Gilbert the Smyth': 16d.

'For Tymber for the Railes at Estegate & for plancks for the Vente of the Cundytus there': 3s 4d.

'For Borde nailes for the same': 4d.

'For a carpenter one daie & halfe': 15d.

f. 2d

'The Twentith of Februarie towards the rudinge of the Vate at Northgate': 20d.

'Paid by Mr Maiors appointment to three men 4d a peece for the same worke & unto 2 men 6d a peece for the same worke': 2s.

f. 3d

'For the amending of the Iron worke of Estegate being broken': 18d.

'For A lock for Westegate': 8d.

1585-86

f. 1

[Extraordinary expenses]:

'For making Cleane of the Towne walls': 12d.

'For mending of the grate at Westegate the 17th of November': 3s 4d.

f. 3

'For amending of Westegate': 16d.

'For amending of the Grate at Westegate the 28th of July': 10s 10d.

f. 6

'Chardges Laide out for [amending - crossed out] new buildinge of the Bridge of

1585/6; 1586/7

the Eastegate

'For 4 seames of stones': 13s 4d;
'For 2 men for 3 daies @ 12d the daye': 12s;
'For one man for 3 daies @ 12d the daie': 3s;
'For 8 seames of sand & 20 seames of Claye & 2 seames of stones': 3s 6d;
'For a Labour Man for 6 dayes @ 9d the daye': 4s 6d;
'For 8 dosen of Seame stones @ 3s 4d the dosen': 26s 8d;

f. 7

'For one man for 5 daies @ 12d the daye': 5s;
'For 12 stones the 24th of September': 4s;
'For 80 stones the 27th of August': 26s 8d;
'John Davye mason for him & his men for 24 daies @ 12d the day': 24s;
'For a man to serve him 2 daies': 2s;
'For stones to helpe the great stones': 18d;
'For 3 men for 6 dayes @ 12d the day': 18s;
'For a man to serve hym 6 daies': 4s;
'For Carryage of a pece of Tymber at Eastegate': 16d;
'For 6 dosen of stones at Eastegate': 20s;
'For sand Claye 2 dosen & 8 seames': 6s;
'For a man to serve hym 5 dayes': 3s 4d;
'For one day & half for a Labor man': 12d;
'For 4 men for 5 dayes @ 12d the daye': 20s;
'For a Labour man for 5 daies @ 9d the daye': 3s 9d;
'For one dosen of stones': 3s 4d;
'For 2 men for 6 dayes @ 12d the daye': 12s;
'For one man for 3 daies @ 12d the daye': 3s;
'For Silferton stones': 20s;
'For one dosen of Sande': 18d;
'For 3 daies unto John Davy': 3s;
'For the paving of Eastegate': 12d;
'For a man for 6 dayes @ 9d the daye': 4s 6d;
'For dressing of the Vanes & the stones at Eastegate': 5s 6d;

f. 8

'For tenne hoggshedds of Lyme @ 3s the hoggshedd': 30s;
'John Davy for 5 daies': 5s;
'John Davye for engraving of the stone': 6s;
'For Ledd for Eastegate': 11d;
'For Iron for the spill of the Pillars': 2s 6d;
'For Silferton stones 74 foote @ 3d the foote': 18s;
'For the Pillers': 6s;
'John Davy for 7 daies': 7s.

1586-87

f. 1

'Reparacions ... uponthe... Eastgate Westgate Northgate &Southgate
Eastgate

For pavinge stones & Sande at Eastgate viz. 32 Seames': 3s 11d;
'The pavyer for 110 yardes': 13s;
'For mendinge the Loacke at Northgate': 15d;
'For amendinge the Iron worke at Kaye gate': 2s 6d.

'Westgate

For 12 lb of Iron Worke at Westgate': 3s;
'A Carpenter for amendinge that Gate': 6d.

f. 2

'Northgate

1586/7-1589/90

- For 35 yardes pavinge at Northgate': 4s 10d;
'For Iron Worke for the gates in Southinghey with latches for the same': 5s 10d;
'For one new Gate & 2 dores thereunto with the worke mens labour for hanging the Gates': 10s;
'For 2 dosen & 9 Seams of stones & sande to the pavinge at Northgate': 4s;
f. 2d
'For Stones sande & pavinge at Northgate': 15d;
'For 4 lb half of ledd for the windowes at Southgat': 11d.

f. 3
'Expenses extraordinarie laide out this yere by Mr Receyver as foloweth
'For mendinge of the Geeves at Southgate': 3s 5d.
'The Beedells for makinge cleane the walls': 2s.
f. 4
'Pope the Constable for roudells at the watchinge at Westgat': 10d.
f. 5
'One to gravell the walls': 12d.
'For pavinge 8 yardes at Westgate': 12d.
'For Stones and sande to it': 4d.

1587-88

Extraordinary Charges

- f. 4d
'[The] Beddells for makinge clene of the walls': 1s 6d.
'For menndinge a breche in the brige at Eastgate': 2s.

1588-89

f. 1

'Extraordinarie Charges ...

- 'For reparacions & mendinge upon the Key gate & Southgate and Westgate': £5 11s 2d.
'For pavinge at Westgate and for led bestowed about the gates': 14s 4d.
'For a locke and a barre upon Southgate': 2s 6d.
'For pavinge at Northgate & for settinge A stone upon the Guihald & for one pounce of red waxe': 1s 10d.
f. 1d
'The Beedells to clens the walls of the Citie': 1s 3d.
f. 3
'Blackmore and his man for 4 dayes worke about the pillory and the Key gate': 6s 8d.
'For mendinge of the pavement at Weste gate and for the horse hire of a horse for John Smyth to ride to Sir Robert Denys': 20d.

1589-90

f. 1

'Extraordinary Charges ...

- f. 1d
'John Davye for clensinge the Citye walls for one quarter': 5s.
f. 2
'Wilcoxe for sand to mend the wall at Northgate': 11d.
'Leonerd Roche for clensinge the Citye walls one quarter': 5s.
f. 2d
'Mr Hull for redeeminge his lease of the Courte upon the walls at Northgate': 50s.

1589/90; 1590/1

f. 3

'For mendinge of the stile from the Kaye to Southgate': 12d.

1590-91

f. 3

'Charges layd out upon the Littell house upon the walls by Mr Mors house within Northgate

'For two hoggeshedds of Lyme': 4s 8d;

'For two dosens of Claye': 3s;

'For carryadge of 20 seames of stones from the Lytell Conducte to the walls': 15d;

'Richard Comer for sawinge 5 dayes': 9s 2d;

'For a hoggeshed of lyme': 2s 6d;

'Deymond for wallynge': 18s;

'For 9 sacks of Lyme': 16d;

'For two workmen one daye': 18d;

'For stones from the quarry': 8s 6d;

'Deymonde for the Masons': 20s;

'A labor man for 7 dayes': 3s 6d;

'Marks for Iron Worke for hooks Twists and staples': 6s 3d;

'For one hundred & halfe of hatche nailes': 12d;

'For halfe a hundred of borde nailes': 8d;

'For two dosen of Claye': 3s;

'For Carryage of one dosen of stones from Mr Maiors': 6d;

'For two seames of gravell': 2d;

'For stones that lay by the Cocke': 8d;

'For 16 c of lathes @ 3s 8d the c': 5s 11d;

'For Lyme': 7d;

'George Cocke for one dosen & two seames of burssles [?]' : 5s 9d;

'For 6 seames of stones': 2s;

'The plumber for ccc three quarters two poundes & halfe of ledd @ 11s the c': 38s;

f. 3d

'For 4 lb of sawder': 2s 4d;

'The Masons': 26s 4d;

'For c Nayles lackinge 7 [sc. 93]': 15d;

'For one c & halfe of hatche nailes': 12d;

'For two payre of hooks & twists & one odde hooke': 21d;

'For one dosen & 8 seames of Claye': 2s 6d;

'For Carryage of heylinge stones from the Keye': 6d;

'For carriage 18 c stones of the helliers': 6d;

'For Carryage of 6 seames of stones of John Smyths and 3 seames of Mr Maiors': 4d;

'For woode & Coales to sawder the gutter': 1d;

'Richard Darke to clense the walls': 4d;

'Mr Maior for 15 seames of stones': 3s 1d;

'John Smyth for 6 seames of stones': 2d;

'For 7 c & halfe of hellinge stones': 4s 3d;

'For greate hard woode to make slate with [?]' : 14d;

'For 6 seames of stones from the quarry': 2s;

'Marks for 4 c & halfe of hatche nayles': 2s 10d;

'For 25 borde nayles': 4d;

'For hookes': 4d;

'For three staples': 6d;

'For a payre of gemmes & hooks': 18d;

1590/1-1592/3

'A labor man for 6 dayes': 3s;
'For 10 seames & for the hellyers': 20d;
'For 11 seames of Claye': 16d;
'For Carriage of 5 thousand stones from Mr Bridgemans': 20d;
'For two thousand hellinge stones': 11s 2d;
'For one thousand of stones': 4s 4d;
'For one bushell of pynes': 2s 6d;
'Mr Bridgemans man for 5 thousandstones': 31s 8d;
'For two thousand of lathe nayles': 2s 8d;
'For three hoggesheds of Lyme': 7s 6d;
f. 4
'For two locks two staples & nayles': 2s 9d;
'John Crosse for three Cresses': 7½d;
'Him for 6 ovis [or: opis] bordes': 18d;
'For halfe a thousand of lathe nayles': 8d;
'John Clavell for Tymber & his worke as Appeareth by two bylls': £4;
'Mr Prow for 23 resters and one blade & for 16 c of hellinge stones': 31s;
'Wilcoxe for carryage of 3 thousand of stones': 11d;
'The hellyers for layenge 12 thousand 3 hundred & halfe of stones': 24s 9d;
'For a pecke of hellinge pynes': 5d;
'For two locks for the Inner doores': 14d;
'A labor man one daye': 6d;
'A Lettice [lattice] for the Chamber wyndowe': 12d;
'The helliers for dabinge and for endinge of the worke': 4s;
'Wilcocks for Carryenge away the Rubbell': 2s 6d;
'For two thousand of stones': 11s 4d;
[Sum:] £21 22½d.

f. 5
'Charges layd out for reparacions upon the Guihald & the house of Correccion & the Crane of Topsham with other reparacions
'For a Locke for a doore of the new house upon the walls': 6d.
'For Charges layd out upon the house for mad folkes': 26s 2d.
f. 5d
'For mendinge the walls of the City by Westgate': 11s 2d.

1591-92

f. 1
[Extraordinary expenses]:
'Richard Darke & Thomas Ferrett for clensinge the walls 2s 6d & for whippinge 8d which in the whole is': 3s 2d.
'For worke done at Southgate': 11s.
f. 1d
'For amendinge of thest gate': 3s 8d.
f. 2
'For new makinge of the twists of thestgate with nayles and hookes': 10s.

1592-93

f. 1
'Extraordinarye Charges ...
For clensynge of the muraly walke': 2s.
f. 1d
'For pavyng and mending a Locke at Northgate': 20d.
'For two crampes of Iron at Watergate and for setting of the same': 2s 3d.
'For pavyng at Northgate': 2s 2d.

1592/3-1595/6

f. 2d

'Extraordinary Charges layd out for reparacions at Southgate

For one hoggshed of Lyme for Southgate and a mans labor': 4s 4d;

'For 3 seames of sand & Claye & 2 seames of stones': 15d;

'For 4 seames of stones and rounde woode coales': 2s 2d;

'For 62 lb of lead @ 1d the lb': 6s 6d;

'Deymond for 3 dayes and a man and a boye': 7s 9d;

'For sand and stones': 21d;

'For one hoggshed and halfe of Lyme and 98 lb of Iron worke': 27s 4d;

'Deymond & 2 men for 2 dayes & halfe': 6s 6d;

'John Clavell for a plancke and 2 Lynternes and nayles': 5s 4d;

'For 33 lb of Iron worke for the prison at Southgate': 2s 7d;

'For mendynge of the arche at Estgate': 18d;

'For a locke and for settinge of the same and for Twistes and spukes at Estgate': 2s 7d;

[Sum: £3 9s 6d].

1593-94

f. 1

'Extraordinary Charges ...

The Beedells for makynge Cleane the Citty Walls': 2s.

f. 1d

'For mendynge of the gutter at Westgate with Lyme and stones': 2s 8d.

f. 5

'Reparacions upon Eastgate Southgate Brydewill Topshall [sic] the Yarne Markett & the Guihald

Richard Deymond for mendynge of the walls behynd Brogans house at Eastgate': 9s 3d.

1594-95

f. 1

'Extraordinary Payments

The Bedells for makinge cleane the Murallye Walke': 20d.

1595-96

f. 1

'Extraordynary Charges ...

Paide at the Murallye for clensinge the walls': 2s 6d.

f. 1d

'John Clavell for a planke for the vawte of one of the sesterns & a peece of Tymber used at Southgat': 12d.

'John Sanders for mendinge of a geve [leg-iron] & the grate of the Wyndowe at Southgat': 2s.

f. 4d

'Charges bestowed at Southgate & in the Prison

Hellyer to helpe ride the Water there': 6d;

'Gibbyns for the same worke': 12d;

'For an iron hope with a Chayne of 8 lb': 2s 8d;

f. 5

'For two basketts to ride the pryvie': 6d;

'Henry Smythe to helpe there two daies': 16d;

'Gibbyns for three daies in the Privye': 3s;

'John Saunders for 29 lb of iron worke for the grate at Southgate @ 3d [the]

1595/6

1b': 7s 3d;

'Hethman for two dayes worke there & a Stone': 2s 6d;

'Michael Gibbyns for two daies in the Privye': 2s 4d;

'William Lawrence for sixe daies & his boye fower daies': 11s 4d;

'Hethman & Gibbyns for eche [each] a daie': 2s 2d;

'John Saunders for a Gratt for the gutter there': 18s 9d;

'For fower hogshedds of lyme to use there': 12s;

'John Saunders for 37 1b of iron worke there': 9s 3d;

'William Lawrence for himselfe & his boye one daye in the vawte of the privy there': 2s;

'For riddinge of the bancke before the grate to make the wall in at Southgat': 18d;

'William Lawrence for 7 perche of wall there after 18d the perche': 10s 6d;

'Hamlyn for Carriadge of 8 dozens of stones from the Quarry to Southgat & the Yarnemarkett': 6s 8d;

'Moore paid for 24 1b of leade used to sett in the Gratte At Southgat': 2s;

'For three men three daies & one man a daie at Southgat': 10s 6d;

f. 5d

'For Strawe & sifting the same there': 8d;

'For Lyme used at Southgat': 2s 2d;

'For 44 1b of iron for a grate for the Chamber at Southgate in the Prison Wyndowe @ 3d per 1b': 11s;

'Richard Deymonde for three daies for himselfe & his boye for this worke': 5s;

'For Carriadge of sixe seame Stones thither': 6d;

'For Lyme heare & Morter to this': 4s 1d;

'For a grate at Northgate fortye nyne 1b': 12s 4d;

Sum: £7 3s 5d.

f. 6

'Extraordinary Charges by buildings & Reparacions upon St Johns the Guihald & the Walls at Thestgate

For halfe a hogshed of Lyme for the Wall at Estgate': 15d;

'For Carriadge of fower dozen of Stones thither': 3s;

'The carryer for to seames of sande': 4d;

'Richard Deymond for 5 daies for himselfe & two daies for an other Mason': 7s;

'A laborman there for thre dayes & a halfe': 2s 8d;

'John Wilcoxe for 18 seames of sande for this worke': 2s 9d;

'For fower hogshedds of lyme for this Worke': 12s;

'For three hogshedds & halfe of Lyme for the Walles': 9s 10d;

'Richard Deymonde for hyme & his boye six daies': 10s;

'For Tenne seames of sande to this worke': 20d;

'For Carriadge of eight seame stones thither': 8d;

'For 20 m helling stones at the Quarry': £3 10s.

f. 7

'Extraordinary Charges in buildings & Reparacions

'For filling & squaringe sixe Trees for Southgate bridge': 11s.

'John Vitrye for two dayes worke there': 20d.

'Piddesley Lewes Horwill & Wheaton eche of them a daye': 2s 8d.

'John Clavell with three menn there': 3s 6d.

'Two Sawyers for two dayes worke & half a peece': 5s.

'For Carriadge of 5 load of Tymber for this bridge': 20s.

'For a Stone for Northgate grate': 6d.

1595/6-1597/8

'Richard Deymond for two daies worke for hime & his boye': 3s 4d.
'For Morter [paid] to Thomas Brenocke for this worke': 10d.
'For Carriadge of Stones to this Worke': 3d.
'For pavinge of 80 yards at Southgat @ 1½d': 10s.
'For sande & stones to the same': 4s3d.
f. 7d
'For pavinge at Westgate': 6d.
'For paving at Northgat': 6d.
'For 4 seames of sande & stones to doe it': 6d.

1596-97

f. 1

'Extraordinary Payments ...

'For makinge cleane of the Morallye & mending the bushell': 2s 10d.
'For mendinge a hole in Estgate': 20d.
'For settinge of the grate at Northgat': 8s 3d.

f. 3

'Rychard Deymond for clensyng the wals': 6s 8d.

f. 4

'Wylcoxe for 5 dossen of clay for the Wals': 3s.
'Hyme for 18 semes of Sannd for the Wale': 2s 2d.
'For 4 dossen of stones for the same': 12s.
'For 7 hogheds of lyme for the Wals @ 2s 10d': 19s 10d.
'Demond for hym & his thre men a Wyke [week]': 20s 6d.
'A paver for mendyng the strete at Northgate': 2s 4d.
'For mendyng a Cheyn at Sothgate': 10d.

f. 6

'Wylcoxe & Erell for caryng of 4 dossen of sand & stones for the Wals': 6d.

1597-98

f. 1d

'Extraordynary payments payd out for the Cittie

For mendinge of a locke for the Southe gatte wickett': 10d.
'The 4 beadells for Clensing the Muralie Walke': 1s.
'For a watcheman att Southgatt the 17th of November': 4d.

f. 2d

'Charges paid out uppon the Bridewell St Johns & other C[h]arges as maye apere followinge

For pavinge at Estgatt & for 4 seames of sand & stones': 1s 3d.
'Deamond for 1 dayes worke for mendinge of a holle att Estgatt': 1s.
'For makinge of 2 dores att Northgatt': 2s.
'For settinge in of a greatt bar for the greatt gatt': 1s.
'For hockes & twistes & hapses for the 2 dores cont' 13 lb ½ @ 3d 1b': 3s 4d.
'For 2 c of hatch naylles for the dores & mendinge of olde Iron': 1s 10d.

f. 5

'Charges paid out to Deamond for makinge of a pec' of wall about the pippes without Estgatte

For 11 seames of sand & 7 seames of Clay for the Citties walles': 2s [illegible];
'For 5 hogs' of Lyme to mend the Citties walles': £1 [illegible].

1598/9; 1599/1600

1598-99

f. 1

'Extraodenarie Payements

The Beadells for Clensing the Wales': 16d.

'The Paveyer for mendinge of the streetts at the Weste & Noerth geates and
Rocke Lane, for stones and sand': 11s 7d.

1599-1600

[Extraordinary expenses:]

f. 2

'Richard Darke for clensing the walls': 21d.

'Richard Deymond for mending Estgat & for three stones & sand': 3s 5d.

'Mr Borowe for planks for Estgat': 4s.

f. 3d

'Reparacions uppon the Bridge at Estgate the Walls St Johns Newe Inne and other
places

'A workman for two halfe daies worke at Estgate bridge': 12d.

'Elliott & Symons for two whole dayes there': 4s.

f. 4

'Deymond the Mason & his fowre men for working uppon the same one daie': 5s.

'Weeks & his felowe for workinge there two daies & a halfe': 4s.

'Deymond & his man for working uppon the same bridge 5 daies': 10s.

'Richard Deymond & John Deymond for working fowr daies there': 8s.

'Deymonds man for one other daies worke there': 12d.

'Shapster & his man for on[e] daies worke': 2s.

'Willess for two daies worke there': 2s.

'For Lyme for the bridge': 11s.

'For fowre dozen & two seames of pavinge stones': 8s 4d.

'Wilcocks for sande & Cley for Estgat bridge': 3s 4d.

'Deymond the Mason for worke uppon the Citties wall': 10s 8d.

'Wilcocks for 15 dozen of sande for the Citties wall': 17s.

'Hime for thre dozen of Rubble at Estgat': 3s.

'For 3 dozen of paving stones there': 6s.

'The Pavier for Estgat bridge': 11s 3d.

'For Nailles for the same bridge': 6d.

'For pavinge the Streat bye Estgatbridge': 4s 6d.

'For two hogshedds of Lyme': 5s 4d.

APPENDIX I: 1570/1; 1571/2

APPENDIX I: EXTRACTS FROM RECEIVERS' ROLLS 1570/1 AND 1571/2

Receiver's Roll 1570-71

m. 2d./ 1d.

Necessary expenses:

Repair and making anew of a piece of the City Wall next to the Bishop's Palace which piece of the Wall had lately fallen down £21 20d.

Receiver's Roll 1571-72

m. 4d./ 2d.

Necessary expenses:

Building of a house called 'a pryvye' next to 'le Watergate' £10 17s 8½d [at variance with sum given in book].

**APPENDIX II: ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON THE WALLS AND GATES IN RELATION
TO THE OVERALL INCOME OF THE CITY**

The following is a tabulation showing the city's yearly income and expenditure for the period 1570-1600, and the percentage of that expenditure accounted for by repairs to the City Walls and Gates. Appendix III breaks down the expenditure on the City Walls and Gates. The information has been extracted from both the Receivers' rolls and Receivers' books for this period.

- = total expenditure laid out on the City Walls and Gates is less than ten shillings;

O = no entry concerning City Walls or Gates;

* = total includes work on other things.

YEAR	RECEIPTS	SUM OF EXPENSES	SUM EXPS ON WALLS & GATES	% EXPS ON WALLS & GATES
1570-71	542.12.6½	614.5.7	21.1.8	3.43
1571-72	444.18.7	749.4.0½	12.10.3	1.67
1572-73	380.1.9	453.6.6½	0.1.8	-
1573-74	528.15.4½	589.6.4	6.18.0	1.17
1574-75	602.16.10	657.1.4	O	O
1575-76	512.11.1½	512.17.11½	0.16.0	0.15
1576-77	474.16.1½	563.7.8½	3.0.6	0.53
1577-78	489.2.9½	501.7.2½	2.4.4	0.44
1578-79	759.0.10½	675.12.6	O	O
1579-80	627.5.7½	604.19.2	46.9.2	7.67
1580-81	755.1.1½	880.12.5	8.14.6	0.99
1581-82	483.3.5½	787.18.0½	35.1.2	4.44
1582-83	495.5.5½	660.5.3½	0.7.0	-
1583-84	1024.7.10	1022.16.10½	17.1.2	1.66
1584-85	760.8.3	661.0.7½	0.14.0	0.10
1585-86	626.7.5½	624.11.7½	16.1.10	2.57
1586-87	676.14.8½	681.9.0½	2.19.7	0.43
1587-88	512.12.1	445.14.9	0.3.6	-
1588-89	929.1.6½	975.0.9	*6.19.7	*0.71
1589-90	644.14.11	670.18.0	3.1.11	0.46
1590-91	581.14.11½	687.15.9	23.0.5½	3.34
1591-92	564.13.9	493.11.9	1.7.2	0.27
1592-93	822.8.4½	836.9.9	*3.15.8	*0.45
1593-94	786.2.11½	886.11.4	0.13.11	0.07
1594-95	904.18.3	1017.14.3	0.1.8	-
1595-96	745.3.5	362.5.6	*16.12.7	*4.59
1596-97	750.3.5	772.17.10½	*4.0.7	*0.52
1597-98	994.6.1½	1098.16.6	1.14.7	0.15
1598-99	601.8.2½	607.3.10	0.12.11	0.10
1599-00	736.5.11	762.8.1	6.6.1	0.82

APPENDIX III: ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE ON THE WALLS AND GATES

Where no total is given in the book, the payments have been added up to produce one. Where the book has been lost, information has been extracted from the roll for that year.

* = total includes work on other things;

O = no entry concerning the City Walls or Gates.

YEAR	ROUTINE REPS GATES	ROUTINE REPS WALLS	MAJOR WORK GATES	MAJOR WORK WALLS	MISC	PAVING AT GATES
1570-71				21.1.8		
1571-72		0.1.0			12.3.3	0.6.0
1572-73	0.0.10					0.0.10
1573-74	0.3.2	0.1.0	6.6.4		0.5.0	0.2.6
1574-75	O	O	O	O	O	O
1575-76		0.16.0				
1576-77	0.2.9	0.14.8			0.18.5	1.4.8
1577-78	1.1.8	0.1.0			1.0.0	0.1.8
1578-79	O	O	O	O	O	O
1579-80	0.14.0	0.1.4		40.7.1	4.9.0	0.17.9
1580-81	0.0.8	1.2.5			7.8.4	0.3.1
1581-82		0.2.0		33.1.11		1.17.3
1582-83	0.3.0	0.4.0				
1583-84		0.1.4	7.8.8	9.11.2		
1584-85	0.8.5	0.2.5			0.3.8	0.0.4
1585-86	0.15.6	0.1.0	15.5.4			
1586-87	0.11.7	0.3.0			0.16.8	1.8.4
1587-88	0.2.0	0.1.6				
1588-89	*0.9.2	0.1.3	5.11.2			*0.18.0
1589-90		0.10.11			2.11.0	
1590-91		0.11.2			22.9.3½	
1591-92	1.4.8	0.2.6				
1592-93	3.9.10	0.2.0				*0.3.10
1593-94	0.2.8	0.11.3				
1594-95		0.1.8				
1595-96	*2.11.9	0.2.6	*7.1.5	6.1.2		0.15.9
1596-97	0.10.9	*3.7.6				0.2.4
1597-98	0.10.0	1.3.0			0.0.4	0.1.3
1598-99		0.1.4				0.11.7
1599-00	0.7.5	0.1.9	5.16.11			

GLOSSARY

Barbygan	Barbican, the broad earthen bank running behind the city wall.
Borde nayles	Nail for boards (flat-headed?).
Bridewell	The House of Correction.
Burres	Blocks of stone.
Bushell	Measure of capacity, containing 4 pecks or 8 gallons.
Butts	Targets for archery practice.
Cocke	Spout and tap from which water was obtained.
Crampes	Clamps used to hold stonework together.
Cresses	Ceramic crest or ridge roof tiles.
Derewod	Duryard wood, from which the city got most of its timber supplies.
Flake	Wicker hurdle used as a platform or the like in scaffolding.
Garretts	The merlons on the battlement surmounting the city's walls.
Geeves	Leg Irons.
Grate	Framework of metal bars, fixed in a door, window or other outlet. Frequently used to describe the metal grilles at the city's gates, which permitted the outfall of liquids from the gutters and drains but prevented unauthorised ingress.
Hachenayles	Type of nail.
Helliers	Slaters, roofers.
Heylinge Stones	Slates.
Houkyes	Hooks.
Hogesyde	Hogshead, a large cask, holding approximately 52½ gallons of liquid.
Kayg	Cage, a place of temporary confinement, a lock-up, constructed of bars of metal or wood.
Mewralye	The Mural Walk, annual perambulation of the city walls undertaken by the Mayor and other dignitaries for the purpose of inspection.
Pales, Palles	Stakes driven into the ground to form a fence.
Pillory	Stocks or other device in which an offender was exposed to public ridicule.
Posses	Posts.
Prevy, Privye	Latrine.
Riddinge, Rudinge	Clearing out or Scouring.
Sawder	Solder.
Scaffell	Scaffold.
Scablinge	Rough-dressing of stones.
Seam	A pannier-load of stone, wood etc.
Spill	Rod or stalk.
Spuckes, Spukes	Bars or rods of wood.
Staples	Iron staples on which the gates' pintles were hung.
Vaut	Vault.
Vente	Entrance or air vent leading to the city's water conduits.
Wickett	Small door set inside the city's main gates, designed to permit ingress or egress when the main

INDEX I: PLACES

The first number refers to the year; for the sake of brevity the century has been omitted and only the first year of the full financial year is given in each case. Hence '76' refers to 1576/7. The number in square brackets after the year indicates the folio number in the Receiver's Book. Thus the reference '76 [4]' refers to the Receiver's Book for the year 1576, folio 4. Where the reference is to the Receiver's Roll as opposed to the Book, this is indicated by 'Roll' in square brackets after the year.

CITY WALLS

At Bishop's Palace

Piece of remade: 70 [Roll]

At Castle Bailey

Hole in stopped up: 76 [4d]

At East Gate

Materials for: 83 [5]; 95 [6]

Repairs to: 83 [5]; 95 [6]

At North Gate

Materials for: 83 [5, 5d]

Repairs to: 83 [5, 5d]

At South Gate

Materials for: 83 [4d]

Repairs to: 83 [4d, 5]

At/near Watergate

Extensive work on: 79 [1, 1d, 2, 2d]

Lime for: 79 [3]

Materials for: 79 [1, 1d, 2]

Sand for: 79 [3]

Shillingford stones for: 79 [2d]

Wonford stones for: 79 [2d]

At Unspecified Location

Carriage of 2 trees to: 82 [2d]

Cleansed: 71 [7]; 73 [3d]; 75 [2d]; 76 [9d]; 77 [1d]; 79 [6]; 81 [4d]; 82 [1]; 83 [1d]; 84 [1]; 85 [1]; 86 [3]; 87 [4d]; 88 [1d]; 89 [1d, 2]; 91 [1]; 92 [1]; 93 [1]; 94 [1]; 95 [1]; 96 [1, 3]; 97 [1d]; 98 [1]; 99 [2]

Graveling of: 86 [5]

Little House on [? 'madfolkes house']

Materials for: 90 [3, 3d, 4, 5]

Workmen on: 90 [3, 3d, 4]

Materials for: 96 [4, 6]; 97 [5]; 99 [4]

Pale under

Making of: 80 [6]

Timber for: 80 [5d]

Repairs to: 96 [4]; 99 [4]

Barbicans of

At Friernhay

Gravel for: 84 [1d]

At Northgate

Stones for: 81 [1d]

By West Gate

Repairs to: 90 [5d]

In Friernhay

Garrets of: 80 [7]

Materials for: 80 [7]

Repairs to: 80 [7]

Near the Quay

Materials for: 81 [1, 1d]

Pulled down: 81 [1d]
Repairs to: 81 [1]

EAST GATE

Bench at

Mended: 76 [4d]

Bridge at

Breach in mended: 87 [4d]

Clay for: 73 [1d]; 85 [6, 7]; 99 [4]

Gravel for: 73 [1d]

Ironwork for: 73 [1d]; 79 [6]; 99 [4]

Lime for: 85 [8]; 99 [4]

Made: 73 [1d]

New built: 85 [6]

Paved: 73 [2]; 99 [4]

Paving stones for: 99 [4]

Repaired: 76 [4d]; 87 [4d]; 99 [3d]

Rolling of: 79 [6]

Sand for: 85 [6, 7]; 99 [4]

Silverton stones for: 85 [7]

Stones for: 73 [1d]; 85 [6, 7]

Straw for: 73 [1d]

Timber for: 73 [1d]; 85 [7]

Cleaned: 73 [2]

Conduit at: 84 [2]

Hole in: 96 [1]; 97 [2d]

Ironwork for: 85 [8]; 91 [2]

Ironwork of

Amended: 84 [2, 3d]

Lead for: 85 [8]

Lime for: 99 [4]

Lock(s) at

Making of plus key: 73 [2d]

Mended: 73 [1, 2]; 79 [7]; 80 [5d]

Staples for: 72 [3d]

Paving at: 71 [7]; 72 [4]; 76 [4]; 85 [7]; 86 [1]; 97 [2d]; 99 [4]

Pillars of: 85 [8]

Pipes without: 97 [5]

Rails at/without

Mended: 71 [7]

Timber for: 84 [2]

Repairs to: 72 [3d]; 79 [6d]; 91 [1d]; 96 [1]; 97 [2d]; 99 [2]

Rubble at: 99 [4]

Sand for: 72 [4]; 86 [1]; 97 [2d]; 99 [2]

Silverton stones for: 85 [8]

Stones at

Dressing of: 85 [7]

Stones for: 72 [4]; 86 [1]; 97 [2d]; 99 [2, 4]

Timber for: 99 [2]

Vanes at

Dressing of: 85 [7]

Wall at

Lime for: 95 [6]

Sand for: 95 [6]

Stones for: 95 [6]

Work at: 82 [2d]

MATERIALS

Iron

Suppliers of

Gilbert, ---. [Smith]: 77 [5d]; 81 [1d]

Saunders, John: 95 [5]

Units of

Pound: 77 [5d]; 80 [2d]; 86 [1]; 92 [2d]; 95 [4d, 5, 5d]; 97 [2d]

Cost of 3d: 80 [2d]; 86 [1]; 95 [5, 5d]; 97 [2d]

4d: 77 [5d]; 80 [2d]

Lead

Units of

[?] Cwt: 90 [3]

Cost of 11s: 90 [3]

Pound: 79 [3]; 86 [2d]; 90 [3]; 92 [2d]; 95 [5]

Cost of 1d: 95 [5]

1½d: 92 [2d]

1½d: 79 [3]

Quarter: 90 [3]

Lime

Suppliers of

Ryve, John: 81 [1]

Serrell, Christopher: 79 [3]; 80 [7]; 81 [1]

Type of

Hot lime: 83 [5]

Units of

Hogshead: 71 [10]; 79 [3, 3d]; 80 [7]; 81 [1, 1d]; 83 [4d, 5, 5d]; 85 [8]; 90 [3, 3d]; 92 [2d]; 95 [5, 6]; 96 [4]; 97 [5]; 99 [4]

Cost of 2s 4d: 90 [3]

2s 6d: 71 [10]; 81 [1]; 90 [3, 3d]; 95 [6]

2s 8d: 99 [4]

2s 10d: 96 [4]

3s: 79 [3, 3d]; 81 [1]; 83 [4d, 5]; 85 [8]; 95 [5, 6]

Sack: 77 [5]; 80 [7]; 83 [5d]; 90 [3]

Cost of 5d: 77 [5]

Seam: 83 [5]

Paving Materials

Sand

Units of

Dozen: 79 [5d]; 80 [5]; 86 [2]

Seam: 77 [5]; 79 [5d]; 86 [1, 2]; 95 [7d]; 97 [2d]

Stone

Units of

Dozen: 79 [5d]; 80 [5]; 86 [2]; 99 [4]

Seam: 73 [2]; 77 [5]; 79 [5d]; 86 [1, 2]; 95 [7d]; 97 [2d]; 99 [4]

Stone

Suppliers of

Heavitree: 83 [4d, 5]

Hull, Mr: 71 [10]

Peamore: 71 [10]

Peryman, George: 71 [10]

Shillingford: 79 [2d]

Backer, George: 79 [2d]; 81 [1d]

Silverton: 83 [5d]; 85 [7, 8]

Wonford: 79 [2d]

Chapman, John: 79 [2d]

Units of

Dozen: 71 [10]; 73 [1d, 2]; 77 [5]; 79 [2d]; 81 [1d]; 83 [4d, 5, 5d]; 85 [7]; 90 [3]; 95 [5, 6]; 96 [4, 6]

Cost of 3s: 83 [4d, 5]; 96 [4]
3s 4d: 79 [2d]; 83 [5]; 85 [6, 7]
4s: 83 [5d]
5s: 83 [5d]
Foot: 85 [8]
Cost of 3d: 85 [8]
Hundred: 79 [2]
Seam: 71 [10]; 73 [1d, 3d]; 79 [2d, 3d]; 81 [1d]; 83 [5, 5d]; 85 [6]; 90
[3, 3d]; 92 [2d]
Cost of 4d: 79 [2d, 3d]; 83 [5d]
Timber
Suppliers of
Borowe, Mr: 99 [2]
Duryard: 73 [1d]
Type of
Stakes: 73 [1d]
Units of
Dozen: 73 [1d]
Plank: 99 [2]

MISCELLANEA

Bridewell: 93 [5]
Brogan's house at East Gate: 93 [5]
Castle Bailey
Hole at stopped up: 76 [4d]
Duryard Wood
Materials from: 80 [5d]
Friernhay
Butts in
New made: 71 [7]
Guildhall
73 [1]; 90 [5]; 93 [5]
Stone set upon: 88 [1]
House of Correction: 90 [5]
Mural Walk
Walls cleaned for: 77 [1d]; 79 [6]; 82 [1]; 83 [1d]; 92 [1]; 94 [1]; 95
[1]; 96 [1]; 97 [1d]
New Inn: 99 [3d]
Northernhay Stile: 76 [4]
Pillory
Work about: 88 [3]
Quarry: 95 [6]
Quay Gate
Ironwork of
Repaired: 86 [1]
Repairs to: 88 [1, 3]
Rock Lane
Paved: 98 [1]
St John's: 99 [3d]
Southernhay
Gates in
Ironwork for: 86 [2]
New: 86 [2]
Stile
From Quay to Southgate repaired: 89 [3]
Topsham Crane: 90 [5]
Watergate
House at

Building of started: 77 [2]
Ironwork for: 92 [1d]
Materials for: 83 [5d]
Paving at: 73 [1d]
Privy by
Built: 71 [Roll]
Clay for: 71 [10]
Ironwork for: 71 [10]
Lime for: 71 [10]
New building of: 71 [10]
Sand for: 71 [10]
Stones for: 71 [10]
Work at: 73 [1d]; 83 [5d]
Yarn Market: 73 [1d]; 93 [5]

NORTH GATE

Grate at/of
95 [5d]
Setting of: 96 [1]
Stone for: 95 [7]
Lock of
Mended: 86 [1]; 92 [1d]
Paving at: 76 [4d]; 79 [5d]; 80 [5, 5d]; 81 [4d]; 84 [1d]; 86 [2, 2d]; 88 [1]; 92 [1d]; 95 [7d]; 96 [3]; 98 [1]
Sand for: 79 [5d]; 80 [5]; 86 [2, 2d]; 89 [2]; 95 [7d]; 98 [1]
Stones for: 80 [5]; 86 [2, 2d]; 95 [7, 7d]; 98 [1]
Two doors made at: 97 [2d]
Vault at: 84 [2d]
Wall at
Mended: 89 [2]

SOUTH GATE

Bar for: 88 [1]
Bridge at
Timber felled for: 95 [7]
Work on: 95 [7]
Cage without
Cleaned: 71 [7]
Chains at
Repaired: 96 [4]
Chamber at
Iron for grate in: 95 [5d]
Clay for: 92 [2d]
Gaol at
Iron for window at: 95 [5d]
Ironwork for: 92 [2d]
Keeper of paid: 80 [2d]
Materials and labour for: 79 [3, 3d]; 80 [2d]
Repairs to: 79 [3, 3d]; 80 [2d]
Grate at
Ironwork for: 95 [5]
Setting of: 95 [5]
Gutter at
Grate for: 95 [5]
Ironwork for: 92 [2d]; 95 [4d, 5]
Lead for: 92 [2d]; 95 [5]
Leg irons ['geeves'] at
Mended: 86 [3]; 95 [1d]

Lime for: 92 [2d]; 95 [5, 5d]
Lock for: 88 [1]
Mortar for: 95 [5d]
Paving at: 95 [7]
Privy at
 Work on: 95 [5]
Repairs to: 88 [1]; 92 [2d]; 95 [4d, 5]
Round wood coals for: 92 [2d]
Sand for: 92 [2d]; 95 [7]
Stones for: 92 [2d]; 95 [5, 5d, 7]
Straw for: 95 [5d]
Timber for: 92 [2d]; 95 [1d]
Watchman at: 97 [1d]
Wicket of
 Lock of mended: 97 [1d]
Window(s) at
 Grate at repaired: 95 [1d]
 Lead for: 86 [2d]
Work at: 76 [6]; 91 [1]

WEST GATE

Grate of
 Materials for: 77 [5]
 Mended: 85 [1, 3]
 New grate for: 77 [5d]
 New posts for: 77 [5]
 Paving at: 77 [5d]
 Vault at: 77 [5]
Gutter at
 Lime and stones for: 93 [1d]
Ironwork for: 86 [1]
Lead for: 88 [1]
Lock for: 84 [3d]
Materials for: 83 [5d]
Pale and posts within: 80 [5d]
Pavement at
 Mended: 88 [3]
Paving at: 71 [7]; 73 [1]; 76 [4d]; 79 [5d]; 80 [5d]; 81 [4d]; 86 [5]; 88 [1]; 95 [7d]; 98 [1]
Repairs to: 73 [1d]; 83 [5d]; 85 [3]; 86 [1]; 88 [1]
Sand for: 79 [5d]; 86 [5]; 97 [7d]; 98 [1]
Stairs at
 Stones for: 73 [3d]
Stones for: 79 [5d]; 86 [5]; 97 [7d]; 98 [1]
Two pales and two stiles
 Made outside: 80 [5d]
Watching at: 86 [4]

INDEX II: PERSONS

References to admission to the freedom of the city are taken from Exeter Freemen 1266-1967 (Ed. Margery M. Rowe & Andrew M. Jackson, Exeter 1973); Mayors are according to R. Izacke's Remarkable Antiquities of the City of Exeter (London 1723).

- BACKER, George. Paid for Shillingford stones: 79 [2d]
BAGWILL, John. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1, 2]
BAKER, --- [of Shillingford]. Paid for burrs: 81 [1d]
BARBOUR, William. [Labourer]. Paid for his labour: 71 [10]
BARGER, William. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1d, 2]
BENNETT, John. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1d]
BICKNOLL, Thomas. Paid for sand: 79 [3]; 81 [1d]
BLACHEFFORDE, ---. Paid for his labour: 73 [1d]
BLACKMORE, ---. Paid for his labour: 88 [3]
BLACKMORE, Simon. Paid for his labour: 79 [6]
BOROUGH, John. Paid for his labour: 79 [3]
BOROWE, ---. Paid for planks: 99 [2]
BOWIE, ---. Paid for his labour: 83 [5]
BRENOCKE, Thomas. [One such, a leather-dresser, admitted to the freedom of the city on 22 October 1593, fine £1].
Paid for mortar: 95 [7]
BRIDGEMAN, Mr ---. His man: 90 [3d]
Stones from: 90 [3d]
BROCKE, ---. Paid for stones: 83 [5d]
BROGAN, ---. His house at East Gate: 93 [5]
BROWNE, John. Paid for his labour: 79 [3d]
CHAPMAN, ---. Paid for 'brares': 81 [1d]
CHAPMAN, John. Paid for Wonford stones: 79 [2d]
CHAUNT, ---. Paid for thatching: 79 [1d]
CHEPMAN, ---. Paid for stones: 73 [3d]
CLAVELL, John. [Carpenter; admitted to the freedom of the city on 14 April 1588, fine £1 6s 8d].
Paid for his labour: 95 [7]
Paid for timber: 90 [4]; 92 [2d]; 95 [1]
CLERKE, Edmond. [Keeper of Southgate Gaol; one such, a butcher, admitted to the freedom of the city on 2 October 1564, fine £1].
Paid: 80 [2d]
COCKE, George. Paid for 'burssles': 90 [3]
COFFEILDE, ---. Paid for cleansing Walls: 76 [9d]
COMER, Richard. Paid for 'sawinge': 90 [3]
COMON, Thomas. Paid for his labour: 79 [3, 3d]
Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1, 1d, 2, 2d]
COOKE, George. Paid for stones and burrs: 83 [5d]
CRAPP, John. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [2]
CROCKS, Mr ---. Paid for gravel: 84 [1d]
CROSSE, John. Paid for 'cresses': 90 [4]
DALLY, Henry. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1, 1d]
DARKE, Richard. [One such, a beadle, admitted to the freedom of the city gratis on 13 November 1587].
Paid for cleansing the Walls: 90 [3d]; 91 [1]; 99 [2]
DAVIE [DAVYE], John. [Mason; one such admitted to the freedom of the city between Michaelmas 1560 and Michaelmas 1561, fine £1; Receiver 1580/81; Mayor 1584/5, 1594/5].
Paid for labour: 77 [5]
Paid for cleansing the Walls: 89 [1d]
DAVYD, John. [Mason]. Paid for his labour: 71 [10]

DAYMAN, ---. Paid for his labour: 80 [7]; 81 [1d]

DEMONTE [DEYMOND], Richard. [Mason; admitted to the freedom of the city between Michaelmas 1585 and Michaelmas 1586, by gift of the Mayor and bailiffs].
His boy: 95 [7]
His brother paid: 79 [3d]
His man: 83 [5]
Paid for cleansing the Walls: 96 [3]
Paid for his labour: 79 [3, 3d]; 83 [4d, 5, 5d]; 93 [5]; 95 [5d, 6, 7]; 99 [2, 4]

DENYS, Sir Robert. [Knight; son of Thomas Denys, Knight, late Recorder of Exeter, admitted to the freedom of the city on 23 September 1566, by succession].
88 [3]

DEYMOND, ---. His man: 99 [4]
Paid for his labour: 90 [3]; 92 [2d]; 96 [4]; 97 [2d, 5]

DEYMOND, ---. [Mason]. Paid for his labour: 99 [4]

DEYMOND, John. His man: 83 [5d]
Paid for his labour: 83 [5]; 99 [4]

DEYMOND, Richard [See DEMONTE, Richard].

DEYMOND, William. [Mason]. Paid for his labour: 83 [6]

DUCKE, ---. Paid for making a lock & key: 73 [2d]

DYER, Zachary. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1d, 2]

EDMONDES, William. Paid for paving work: 79 [5d]

ELLACOM, John. Paid for his labour: 83 [4d, 5, 5d, 6]

ELLIOTT, ---. Paid for his labour: 99 [3d]

ERELL, ---. Paid for carriage: 96 [6]

FERRETT, Thomas. Paid for cleansing the Walls: 91 [1]

FRANSES, ---. Paid for his labour: 73 [1d]

FRYCHAY, Walter. Paid for his labour: 73 [2]

FRYGON, Michael. [Carpenter; admitted to the freedom of the city between Michaelmas 1563 and Michaelmas 1564, fine £1 6s 8d].
Paid for his labour: 79 [1d]

FYLLER, ---. Paid for ironwork: 73 [2]

GEFFERY, Francis. [Admitted to the freedom of the city on 30 December 1577 gratis by the court].
Paid for sand: 79 [3]

GEFFERY [JEFFRY], Thomas. Paid for carriage: 73 [1d]; 81 [1d]

GIBBYNS, Michael. Paid for his labour: 95 [4d, 5]

GILBERT, ---. [Smith]. Paid for ironwork: 81 [1d]
Paid for a new grate: 77 [5d]
Paid for repairs to ironwork of East Gate: 84 [2]

GRENE, Edward. Paid for his labour: 79 [3, 3d]

HAMLYN, ---. Paid for carriage: 95 [5]

HAMPTON, Mr ---. Paid for paving work: 76 [4d]

HELLYER, ---. Paid for his labour: 95 [4d]

HETHMAN, ---. Paid for his labour: 95 [5]

HEWISHE, William. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1d, 2, 2d]

HODDER, Robert. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1d, 2, 2d]

HORWILL, ---. Paid for his labour: 95 [7]

HULL, Mr ---. His lease of court on the Walls: 89 [2d]
Stones bought from: 71 [10]

HUNT, Henry. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1d]

HUNTT, ---. Paid for his labour: 73 [1d, 2]

JOHNSON, Michael. Paid for his labour: 73 [1d]

JONES, William. Paid for his labour: 79 [3, 3d]

JUBE, Henry. Paid for stones & sand: 73 [2]

KNYGHT, ---. Paid for cutting timber: 73 [1d]

LAKE, Robert. [Mason]. Paid for his labour: 83 [6]
LAURENS, William. [Mason; admitted to the freedom of the city between Michaelmas 1599 and Michaelmas 1600, fine £1].
His boy: 95 [5]
Paid for his labour: 83 [5, 5d, 6]; 95 [5]
LEWES, ---. Paid for his labour: 95 [7]
LOYNTTERS, Thomas. 73 [1d]
MAIOR, Mr ---. 90 [3, 3d]
MARKS, ---. Paid for ironwork: 90 [3, 3d]
MAUNDERS, Anthony. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1, 1d]
MIWALL, John. [Mason]. Paid for his labour: 71 [10]
MODYFELD, --. Paid for work without East Gate: 71 [7]
MOR, Mr ---. His house: 90 [3]
MORRIS, Walter. Paid for his labour: 83 [4d, 5, 5d]
MORRISHE, Walter. Paid for his labour: 79 [3, 3d]
Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1, 1d, 2, 2d]
NEWALL, ---. His man: 79 [1]
NEWALL, Ambrose. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1d]
NEWALL, John. [Mason; admitted to the freedom of the city on 18 April 1575, fine £1].
Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1d]
NEWPORTE, Peter. Paid for his labour: 79 [3d]
NORRISHE, Walter, See MORRISHE.
OVER, ---. Paid for carriage: 73 [1d]
PARKER, John. Paid for his labour: 73 [1d, 2]
PARRAMOR, ---. [Carpenter]. Paid for his labour: 71 [10]; 73 [1d]
PERYMAN, George. [Son of Peryman of Kenn, husbandman, apprentice of John Hurst, deceased, admitted to the freedom of the city on 12 April 1557; Receiver 1573/4; Mayor 1577/8].
Stones bought from: 71 [10]
PETER, Mr ---. 'Pose' bought from: 71 [7]
PIDDESLEY, ---. Paid for his labour: 95 [7]
PITTS, George. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1]
PROW, Mr ---. Paid for materials: 90 [4]
PYTTS, John. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1d]
ROBINSON, John. [Mason]. Paid for his labour: 83 [6]
ROCHE, Leonard. Paid for cleansing the Walls: 89 [2]
ROGERS, William. Paid for work on the Walls: 79 [1, 1d]
RUSSELL, William. [Apprentice of William Pettye, admitted to the freedom of the city between Michaelmas 1571 and Michaelmas 1572].
Paid for work at East Gate: 82 [2d]
RYVE, John. Paid for lime: 81 [1]
SALMON, ---. [Carpenter]. Paid for his labour: 71 [10]
SANDERS [SAUNDERS], John. [Smith; admitted to the freedom of the city on 15 November 1584, fine £1].
Paid for his labour: 95 [1]
Paid for ironwork: 95 [5]
SECKE, Edward. Paid for his labour: 80 [5d]
SERELL, ---. Paid for lime: 80 [7]
SERRELL, Christopher. Paid for lime: 79 [3, 3d]; 81 [1]
SETON, John. Paid for cleansing Wall: 73 [3d]
SHAPSTER, ---. His man: 99 [4]
Paid for his labour: 99 [4]
SMYTH, John. Horse hire for: 88 [3]
Stones from: 90 [3d]
SMYTHE, Gilbert. [One such, merchant, apprentice of Alderman Nicholas Martyn, admitted to the freedom of the city on 11 April 1580].
Paid for ironwork: 79 [3, 3d]

SMYTHE, Henry. Paid for his labour: 95 [5]
SYMONS, ---. Paid for his labour: 99 [3d]
TREWMAN, ---. Paid for his labour: 73 [1d]
VITRYE, John. Paid for his labour: 95 [7]
WALDON, ---. Paid for his labour: 81 [1d]
WALKER, Michael. [Hellier].. Paid for his labour: 71 [10]
WEBBER, Mr ---. Paid for stones: 79 [3d]
WEY, ---. His servant: 73 [1d]
Paid for his labour: 73 [1d]
WHEATON, ---. Paid for his labour: 95 [7]
WILCOCKS, John. [One such admitted to the freedom of the city between
Michaelmas 1570 and Michaelmas 1571, fine £1].
Paid for carriage: 90 [4]; 96 [6]
Paid for clay: 96 [4]; 99 [4]
Paid for rubble: 99 [4]
Paid for sand: 89 [2]; 95 [6]; 96 [4]; 99 [4]
Paid for sand & stones: 79 [5d]
WILLES, ---. Paid for his labour: 99 [4]