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Exeter City ~~Deposits~~ Receivers Accounts 1650-1700

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by J. Tuddery & M. Grayle

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EXETER CITY DEFENCES
EXPENDITURE ON THE WALLS AND GATES RECORDED
IN THE RECEIVERS' ACCOUNTS 1650-1700

by

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EXETER 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 last 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 Receivers' 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 there.

The present report deals with the city's defences between 1650 and 1700. Documentation for these particular years is excellent. Virtually all the Receiver's Account Books for the period have been preserved intact. (Only one volume, that which covers the year 1697/98, is missing.) 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 maintenance of the fortifications. Together, the two sources present us with a surprisingly detailed picture of the work which was carried out on Exeter's defences during the period under discussion. In addition, many of the 'Receivers' Vouchers' for 1650-1700 have been preserved. These documents are certificates, which were generally issued by the city overseers to their workmen. They specified the amount of money owed to each man for his labours on the city's behalf. The workmen would take their vouchers to the Receiver and claim whatever payment was owed them. The Receiver paid out the money and retained the proffered vouchers himself. Then, when he came to write up the final account of money expended during his year of office, he would refer back to the vouchers for details of how much had been laid out, and upon what. Broadly speaking, therefore, the surviving vouchers contain exactly the same information as the Receiver's Account Books. This being the case, they have not been transcribed in full. From time to time, though, the vouchers provide us with additional details, which the contemporary Receiver did not bother to record in his final account. Occasionally, therefore, the Receivers' Vouchers are a valuable source of additional evidence for the history of Exeter's defences between 1650 and 1700.

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 relating it to contemporary historical events, both within the city and in the world at large.

Acknowledgements

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WORK ON THE DEFENCES OF EXETER, 1650-1700

In 1650, Exeter's ancient walls and gates were in a delapidated and ruinous condition, a result of the battering which they had received during the English Civil War. This being the case, one might expect to find evidence of an extensive programme of reconstruction taking place during the early 1650s. Yet no such evidence exists. In fact, hardly anything appears to have been done to repair or strengthen Exeter's fortifications during these years. Instead, the Chamber concentrated upon removing large sections of the defensive works. This fact seems curious, but is easily explicable. Many of the extraordinary earthwork defences which had been constructed around the city during the Civil War were now of little military value. Nevertheless, they remained, for the most part, in situ and were beginning to be a positive nuisance, not only because they impeded the citizens in their day-to-day lives, but also because they were becoming increasingly dangerous as they fell into decay and disrepair. Accordingly, determined efforts were made throughout the 1650s to rid the city of the most obstructive of these old earthworks.

In 1651/52, for example, the deep defensive ditches which had been dug in front of Eastgate, Southgate, and the Bishops' Postern Gate during the Civil War were filled in (1). In 1652/53, workmen were paid two pounds for filling up another old Civil War work. This was later described as 'A deepe trench without Southgate wherein one Gould was latelie drowned' (2). During the following year, several labourers were rewarded 'for digging away the earth of the batterie lying on the barbigan att the snaile tower, for the more better passage...and for prevention of danger of children from falling out over the walles of the Cittie there' (3). In March 1654/55, the city's Receiver was instructed 'to cause the Two pitts of water without Southgate neere the drawbridge to bee foorthwth filled upp with earth to prevent the future danger to people comminge in that waye'. One John Tucker was subsequently paid £1 19s for filling in these 'two trenches without Southgate' (4). Even as late as July 1659, the old Civil War defences in Southernhay were still posing major problems. On the 19th of that month, the Chamber ordered that the remaining pits and holes there should be filled in (5). Early next year, it was agreed that the very large sum of £100 should be paid to 'such poore people as shalbee employed to work and fill upp the pitts and trenches in Southernhay' (6).

The ring of decaying earthworks which surrounded the city was by no means the worst legacy of the Civil War, however. Far more serious was the extensive damage which Exeter's ancient walls and gates had suffered during the conflict. As we have seen, large sections of the old medieval defences seem to have lain in disrepair by the war's end. Yet practically nothing was done to remedy this situation during the Commonwealth period. Why should this have been so? Why should such widespread damage have been left un-rectified? There are two main answers to these questions. In the first place, it should be remembered that Exeter itself had suffered greatly during the Civil War. The city's financial losses had been immense. The Chamber can have had little money to spare, therefore, for repairing the town defences at this time. Far more important, though, was the fact that during the Interregnum Exeter became, to all intents and purposes, de-militarised. England now possessed a standing army. Individual cities, therefore, were no longer responsible for their own defence. The Exeter 'Trained Bands', or militia companies, which had formerly been based within the city, and had been recruited from amongst the townsmen themselves, lost their significance during the Interregnum. A garrison of regular soldiers, paid by the Government, was installed in the Castle to take their place. The city's gunpowder magazine was also run down. Most importantly of all, from the point of view of this discussion, the town defences were utterly

neglected. Admittedly, some work on the City Walls was undertaken during the Commonwealth period, but repairs seem to have been put off whenever possible, usually being performed only when they were absolutely necessary in order to stave off large scale collapse.

That the state of the fortifications came low on the Chamber's list of priorities during the 1650s is demonstrated by several entries in that body's Act Book. On 20th July 1652, for instance, a certain John Darke was ordered 'to cause the Arch under Eastgate to bee speedily amended being complayned of to bee in [dis]repaire' (7). Despite the apparent urgency of this command, however, nothing seems to have been done and the arch at Eastgate was left in a dangerous condition for several more years. It was not until July 1655, when the Chamber again ordered 'the Arch under Eastgate to bee foorthwth repaired and amended', that any positive action was taken (8). (The subsequent expenditure upon these repairs, incidentally, came to £12 15s 1d (9).) Similarly, an order of 1656 that five men should 'take a viewe of that parte of the Citties wall wthout Eastgate Leading into Northenhay wch is lately fallen downe', does not seem to have resulted in any remedial measures being taken (10).

Even when work on the defences was carried out during this period, it was often of the most perfunctory nature. Take, for example, the repair of the City Walls near Keygate in 1654. Sometime before the beginning of September 1653, a large section of the wall here had fallen down, completely demolishing two almshouses which stood nearby (11). Further collapses seem to have been imminently expected, and on 6th September 1653, two men were appointed by the Chamber 'to viewe that other parte of the Citties Walle neere the Keygate wch is likely to fall alsoe, Whereby the same may be timelie prevented and amended' (12). This brief survey seems to have borne fruit. In July of the following year, the Council ordered a certain Mr Prigge 'to cause the garretts of the Citties Wall neere the Keygate to be taken downe and soe much of the wall as is Lately fallen downe [there] to bee made and raised upp wth A Mudd Wall' (13). This work was accordingly carried out by John Griffyn, a mason, who later received £2 8s 4d for 'stopping upp the passage through the Cittie walles neere Keygate, & for straw for a wall' (14). At first sight, this sequence of events would seem to suggest that the Chamber was most concerned with the state of the defences. In actual fact, though, it seems quite likely that no action would have been taken at all if the walls had not been 'complayned of by Thomas Flood & others [possibly local residents] to bee ruinous and in great danger of fallinge'. (15)

It is important, moreover, to note the precise nature of these 'repairs'. The garretts had been altogether removed, rather than properly repaired (which would have cost more). In reality, therefore, the city's defences had been weakened, not strengthened, by the measures the workmen had taken. It is more significant still that the breach in the City Wall should have been merely patched up with cob, rather than entirely rebuilt with stone. At no other time previous to 1646 had cob been utilised in the town defences. The reasons for this are obvious. Cob was practically useless for defensive purposes; a mud wall would present no obstacle to a determined assailant. It is most interesting, therefore, to note that the City Walls were repaired with this material upon several occasions during the Interregnum. The inference must surely be that repairs to the City Walls in this period were intended merely to deter unauthorised individuals from passing in and out of the city, and to prevent further collapse of the old walls, rather than to improve the state of Exeter's military preparedness.

Several other pieces of evidence also suggest that the defensive function of the walls was beginning to be disregarded during this period. In September 1655, for instance, the Council ordered 'One of the Garrets of the citty wall to be taken downe before the hospitall Chapple windowe' (16). This work seems to have been undertaken in order to provide the chapel with more light. Defensive considerations, therefore, were clearly being subordinated to quite petty civilian concerns. During the same year, the Chamber ordered that 'the posterne dore leading into the pallace from Southenhaye shalbee forthwith filled and walled upp' (17). The postern had been an important feature of the city's defensive system during the Civil War. Once again, therefore, it would appear that military considerations were going by the board. Finally, in December 1655, the Chamber agreed to let a large section of the City Walls to a private individual for the purposes of drying cloth (18). This decision was not as trivial as it sounds. The hanging of cloth upon the walls had been strictly forbidden since the early 1640s, when the town governors had noted that the custom was 'verie prejudicial' to the fabric of the ancient defences. It is significant, therefore, that the Chamber decided to resume this practice in 1655. Their decision suggests that the scrupulous preservation of the walls was no longer considered of prime importance.

Between 1655 and 1660, little was laid out upon the city's defences. Much of the money that was recorded to have been spent during this period, moreover, went on work not strictly related to the fortifications. Although the Receiver noted that a total of £7 7s 8d had been expended on the walls and gates during 1655/56, for example, £4 15s 8d of this sum actually went upon repairing 'the howses on the wales nere Northgate', which served as a place of incarceration for lunatics (19). Similarly, almost all the money laid out in 1658/59 actually seems to have gone upon repairs to Southgate prison (20). In reality, therefore, it was not expenditure of a military nature at all. Once disbursements upon the prison, 'the madfolks house' and other non-defensive measures (such as paving the road under Eastgate) are discounted, the true insignificance of spending upon the city's fortifications during this period becomes apparent. Only £1 12s 4d was laid out in 1655/56 and only £1 7s 6d in 1656/57. Expenditure fell lower still in the next two years, to 5s 6d in 1658/59 and to just three shillings in 1657/58.

During the last year of the Interregnum, however, expenditure on genuine defensive measures seems to have risen marginally. Altogether, £3 11s 7d was laid out in 1659/60, mainly on repairs to the town walls (21). It is just possible that the slightly heightened expenditure was a result of the distractions and disturbances which occurred at this time, and which signalled the beginning of the end of the Commonwealth. In late 1659, great riots or tumults had taken place in Exeter, the participants demanding an end to military despotism and the election of a 'free Parliament' (22). On 14th September, the Government ordered that three companies of foot soldiers should be sent to Exeter, presumably to contain any trouble (23). From November 1659 onwards, entries in the Chamber Act Book confirm that soldiers were unusually active in the city. On the 29th of that month, it was ordered that 2s 6d should be added 'to the weekly allowance for Candlelight & fire for the Souldiers' (24). This strongly suggests that extraordinary watches were being kept, and thus that the city authorities were on the alert for trouble. On 14th January 1660, the Council of State commanded an entire regiment of infantrymen to occupy Exeter (25). These soldiers remained in the city until at least the end of March (26). Under their watchful eye, Exeter was temporarily pacified. Yet, nationally, the situation was beginning to turn against the Government. In February 1660, General Monk entered London with 6,000 troops. A month later, he forced the Rump Parliament to vote its own dissolution. This effected, Monk quickly summoned a new Parliament, one whose

pro-Royalist tendencies were clear. The restoration of Monarchy in England was now assured. A national settlement quickly followed and, on 11th May 1660, King Charles II was at last proclaimed throughout the streets of Exeter (27).

With the King's Restoration, the period of de-militarisation in Exeter came to an abrupt end. The city's Trained Bands were re-constituted as soon as Charles' accession was confirmed. Four captains were again chosen to lead the various companies, and the units themselves played a major part in the festivities with which the citizens of Exeter celebrated their monarch's return. While the city's conduits ran red with claret, the members of the Trained Bands fired salutes, beat drums, and marched through the streets behind their company colours (28). (The four captains were later paid over £20 each for the equipment which they had had to buy on this occasion (29).) During the following year, the reconstitution of the city's military potential continued. In December 1660, '1,000 mens Armes' were brought from Pendennis Castle to the city (30). These weapons were probably procured in order to facilitate the re-arming of Exeter's Trained Bands. In February 1661, 13 barrells of gunpowder were obtained, 'to bee ... laid upp in the Common storehouse or Magazine of this City for the better defence thereof on all occations' (31). Finally, in August 1661, major work began to be undertaken upon the city's fortifications once more. On the 27th of that month, the Receiver was ordered to repair 'the planching of boardes & lynney over pte of the Northgate' (32). (The structure referred to here could well have been one of the wooden 'platformes' which had been constructed around the city during the Civil War, for the purposes of mounting artillery (33).) By September 1661, the Chamber's orders had been obeyed and the structure rebuilt. A certain John Ellis was subsequently paid £10 'for beames & planks & ye platforme over Northgate' (34).

During the following year, 1661/62, the first tentative steps were taken towards a complete repair and renewal of Exeter's ancient defensive circuit. On 19th August 1662, the Chamber ordered Mr John Butler & Mr Stephen Ollivean 'to view the Citties Wallles and the defectes of the same, And what they conceive fitt to be done to prevent further damages therein' (35). This was an order of the highest significance. It was the first time for almost twenty years that the Chamber had requested a general survey of the City Walls to be undertaken. The order marks a clear change of direction from the policy of relative neglect which had prevailed during the Commonwealth.

What lay behind this change of policy? Almost certainly, the crucial factor influencing the Chamber's decision was the unsettled state of the country at this time. Not everyone in England had supported the Restoration of the Monarchy. On the contrary, many people, particularly religious non-conformists and those ex-soldiers who had once fought for Cromwell, were bitterly opposed to Charles II's new regime. These disaffected elements were involved in several plots and conspiracies during the years which immediately followed the Restoration. One of the most serious incidents engineered by these men was the attempted rising of 1662.

In August of that year, disturbances were apprehended in Somerset. The king's supporters there, who clearly felt the situation to be serious, ordered the local militia to garrison Taunton Castle. (Presumably the castle was intended to act as a rallying point for Government supporters, should any trouble occur.) By August 21st, rumours of an uprising against the king were circulating in London, too (36). As we have seen, the decision to view Exeter's City Walls was taken on the 19th of that month. It seems very probable, therefore, that the Chamber's instructions had been prompted, at least in part, by fears that some sort of insurrection was about to take place.

In the event, little of moment actually transpired and the scare soon died down. Yet less than two months later, rumours of an imminent upheaval were again becoming widespread in the western counties. On 3rd October, King Charles ordered the Somerset county militia to be got into a state of readiness. This order was repeated six days later (37). As October wore on, it became increasingly apparent that a dangerous conspiracy was indeed afoot. The plot, which seems to have envisaged simultaneous risings in both London and the West Country, came to a head around 25th October. Local magistrates managed to pre-empt the rising by occupying the towns where it had been supposed to start. (38).

The alarms in Somerset and Dorset had their effect upon neighbouring Devon. Reports of the intended rising were sent to the commanders of the militia there. These men took immediate steps to secure the county for the king. A letter written from Plymouth on 31st October tells that the inhabitants were 'on their watch against an insurrection of the Anabaptists'. In Exeter, meanwhile, the castle had been occupied by Sir Coppleston Bampfild and a force of the local militia. At the beginning of November, Bamfield and his men were still there (39). The city records preserve evidence of Exeter's response to this scare. On 28th October, it was noted in the Act Book that 'Guardes of this Cittie are at present required for ye preservation thereof'. One of the city's officers was therefore commanded to supply the guardsmen with three pounds of candles and half a seame of wood every night, to aid them in their watching. This ration of wood and candles was doubled on the 11th of November (40). The unsettled state of the country clearly troubled Exeter's governors for a long time thereafter. Vigilance was kept up throughout the winter and spring, and on 2nd June 1663, it was again resolved by the Chamber that 'night watches shalbe continued in this Cittie' (41).

Towards the end of June, the examination of the city defences which had been initiated in the previous year at last began to bear fruit. On the 30th of that month, the Council of 24 'agreede that the Citties walles shalbe repaired wth as much convenient speede as it may bee, To wch end Mr Receiver is desired to begynn that work att or neare Snayle Tower in ffryernhay, and att one place neare Key Gate'. In addition, the Chamberlain was to remove, 'the Gutters made through the walles of this Cittie to the decay of the said walles, or publick nuisance to his Maties leige people' (42). Within a week of these instructions being issued, a great surge of activity began to take place around the City Walls, unparalleled since the days of the Civil War. By the 12th of September 1663, no less than £48 2s 7d had been laid out on repairs to the town walls at Friernhay (or 'the new Churchyard' as that area was alternatively known) (43). Yet during the next year, 1663/64, even greater amounts were spent. Masons continued to labour in Friernhay but also gave their attention to the City Walls at 'Bradninch', near the Castle. Repairs were carried out at Eastgate, Westgate and Northgate, too. Above all, though, a determined effort was made to repair the city's Barbican; the earthen rampart which lay behind the town walls and added considerably to their strength. A great deal of work was carried out on this rampart during 1663/64, particularly in the vicinity of Keygate, Southgate, and the church of All Hallows on the Wall. By the end of the year, a total of £67 9s had been laid out upon repairs to Exeter's walls and gates. Most of this money had gone upon the overhaul of the city's Barbican (44).

The work carried out on Exeter's defences between 1663 and 1665 was probably aimed at repairing damage inflicted during the English Civil War. As we have seen, little was done to rectify this damage during the Commonwealth period. In addition, the sectors of the City Wall which were repaired in 1663-5 seem to be the ones which had suffered most during the final stages of the

Civil War. It is known, for example, that the area near Keygate suffered bombardment. Royalist gun positions, moreover, were constructed at Snail Tower and the church of All Hallows on the Walls, while there was also a battery at Bradninch (45). These positions must surely have attracted return fire from the Parliamentary besiegers. As a result of such activity, the walls (and the stretches of the Barbican nearby) would have suffered a great deal of damage. It is unlikely to be mere co-incidence then, that these areas were precisely those which were chosen for repair during the early 1660s.

The great reconstruction of the City Walls had been accompanied by a general re-organisation of the local militia. In August 1663, the Deputy Lieutenants of Devon, who were responsible for the County's military affairs, met at the New Inn, Exeter, to consider 'the Additional Act of Parliament for the better ordering the forces in the severall Counties of this Kingdome'. As a result of these deliberations, it was eventually decided that two companies of the militia should be ordered to 'keep constant guard in the city 14 days at a time' (46). It was obvious that provision would have to be made for the comfort of these men if they were to stand permanent guard. Accordingly, on 21st August, the Deputies sent the following order to the town governors, requiring them 'to erect within your Citty ffoure convenient howses for Court of Guards and the like number of centure [sentry] houses one at each gatte, that soe the soldiers beinge ordered to keepe a Constant Guard within your said Citty may bee the better accomidated for the discharge of their duty' (47). The Chamber's response to these orders is recorded in the City Act Book: 'Whereas there are ffower severall Guard houses required to be foorthwth made att ye ffower Gates of the Cittie for the shelter & better resting of the souldiers during the tyme of the respective watching here for his Maties service and the safetie of this Cittie, Mr Penny, Mr Slade, Mr Sanford & Mr Isaack Mawditt the younger members of this house are desired to take speciall care for the speedie effecting thereof' (48).

The soldiers had been appointed to begin watching on 3rd September. The Chamber clearly found it impossible, though, to get the guard-houses constructed in such a short space of time. Workmen did not begin to be paid until the 4th, and it was not until 10th October that the work actually seems to have been finished off. The total cost of erecting these four guard-houses and their accompanying sentry boxes eventually came to £83 10s 5d (49). (This sum was to be repaid to the city by the Deputy Lieutenants). The military re-organisation, incidentally, had also resulted in a further re-deployment of the city's weapons. On 4th September 1663, the Deputy Lieutenants sent a second letter to the Mayor and his brethren, 'requiring the arms and ammunition now in the Chapple of St John and Hospitall to be removed to the magazine in the Castle and a proper place to be erected there to receive them' (50). Presumably, this move was intended to bring the city's Armoury still more firmly under the control of the king (to whom, of course, the Castle belonged).

We must now return to the work taking place around the city's defensive circuit. During 1664/65, repairs had continued to be carried out upon the City Walls. A total of £32 4s 4d was paid to the masons, carpenters and others who laboured away at Snail Tower during this year. It is interesting to note that bricks were utilised in the repairs here. A certain Dr Salter was later given £4 9s 6d by the Receiver for '5 th' 3C 3 q'r of brickees used att snail tower' (51).

The programme of repairs was now completed. This was as well, as the citizens of Exeter were soon to have need of their ancient defences; not to repel insurrectionary non-conformists, but to counter the bubonic plague which attacked England with such devastating severity during 1665. By July of that

year, both London and Southampton were in the grip of 'the sickness' (52). All over England, terrified communities began to take what precautions they could against the contagion. Exeter was no exception. Strict watches were kept at the City Gates and persons suspected of having contracted the plague were denied entrance. Between July and September 1665, the Receiver paid out £4 to the porters 'for candle light att the gates' and 16 shillings to 'watchmen for watchinge on the walles'. There can be little doubt that these precautions were taken for fear that persons infected with the plague might otherwise creep into the city during the hours of darkness. An extraordinary payment of £3 was also made to 'those psons that have satisfied the watchmen att the breach of the Citties Walles neare the Eastgate of this Cittie to prevent dangers &c.' (53).

The breach referred to here had been caused by 'Part of the City's wall near the Eastgate' falling down; an accident which probably occurred in September 1665 (54). For some time afterwards, nothing was done to repair the damage. It was not until August 1666 that remedial work finally got underway. On the 28th of that month, the Chamber agreed 'that if Jonas Bonfeild will undertake the rebuilding of the Walle ... of late fallen downe without the Eastgate ... neare unto the Almeshouses there' he should be paid £30 for his services (55). Bonfeild accordingly embarked upon this task. He appears to have worked with some speed. By late September, he had already been paid the £30 originally specified. A few days later he was granted further payment, when it was noted in the Chamber Act Book that 'whereas Jonas Bonfeild a Mason doth demaund ... [£3 4s] ... for worke done by hym on the Citties Walles neare the Eastgate ... beyond his former Agreeemt for the same, It is agreeede that Mr Receiver doe pay unto hym the sd monie, it being testified that the work is well done' (56).

The plague continued its depredations during 1666. Exeter's leading citizens, meanwhile, took further determined measures to ensure that the pestilence remained outside the City Walls. On 20th March 1666, the Chamber agreed that the city porters should be reimbursed for any candles they might buy to assist them in their watch at the gates. On 15th May, it was ordered that Watch and Ward should henceforth be kept 'for the better safetie of this Cittie from the plague now raiging in manie places'. On 17th July, finally, 'Mr Butler and Mr Hogedot Receiver' were directed to 'order the making of the guard house in St Thomas pishe neare the prison there' (57). This latter order requires a little explanation. By the summer of 1666, the plague was on Exeter's doorstep. Many of the prisoners incarcerated in the County Gaol, or Bridewell, (which was situated just across the river from Exeter, in St Thomas parish) were reported to be afflicted with the disease (58). Almost certainly, therefore, the guard-house referred to above was built as a means of limiting the spread of plague, rather than as an addition to the group of purely military guard-houses which had been erected in 1663. The St Thomas guard-house probably served as a base for constables or watchmen, who would have controlled access to the prison and prevented unauthorised persons from going in or out. Fear of infection continued to exercise the citizens' minds during September 1666, when it was agreed that a 'night watch' should be kept in the suburbs or 'out-parishes' (59). By now though, the plague was at last on the wane. After one final reference to the disease in November 1666, the Exeter records fall silent on the subject. The time of sickness was over.

During the next year, however, a further menace was to terrify the citizens of Exeter. This was the threat of a Dutch Invasion. A desultory war between England and Holland had been going on for some time. Until the summer of 1667, though, this state of affairs does not seem to have caused undue alarm. Yet on 12th June, a Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames and attacked Chatham docks, sinking many ships and throwing the English coastal defences

into confusion. The Dutch soon withdrew, but news of their exploit ran rapidly through the entire country. By 14th June, tidings of the disaster had reached Plymouth, where they caused widespread alarm (60). The panic over the Dutch affected Exeter, too, and measures were taken to provide for the city's defence. On 25th June 1667, it was ordered that 'the Watchhouse att the Northgate shalbe foorthwth repaired ... being att present usefull for the publick affaires' (61). At least £4 2s 10d was accordingly spent by the Receiver on this task. The citizens of Exeter appear to have spent the rest of that summer in a state of watchful apprehension. Towards the middle of August 1667 there was a fresh period of alarm, when a powerful Dutch fleet appeared off the South Devon coast. Fears of invasion, however, proved groundless. The Dutch force made a half-hearted attempt on Fowey, achieved nothing, and soon sailed away again. By 25th August, the seas were clear once more, and two days later an official peace with Holland was proclaimed (62).

It is curious, therefore, to note that on 3rd September, five days after the cessation of hostilities had been announced, the Exeter Chamber ordered 'that Mr Receiver shall wthall convenient speede cause the walles of the Cittie neare unto ffryernhay to be repaired and amended in such places in the coping thereof as have byn of late broken downe' (63). Quite why work should have been commenced on the walls at this particular time it is hard to say. Later that month, some of the expenses incurred during the war with the Dutch were paid off. On 17th September, for example, the Receiver was directed 'to pay Christopher Payne sixteene shillings as soe much by him disbursed in fyer & candlelight on ye watch upon Exebridge for ye Cities better security in ye tymes of ye late troubles' (64). Work on the City Walls continued during the next Receiver's term of office. On 8th October 1667, the new holder of the Receivership was ordered to 'pfect the Coppinge of ye walles betweene ffryernhay & ye Northgate, & ye footinge of them in Northernhay.' The work was completed later in the same year, at a total cost of £37 15s 10d (65). This was the last major project connected with the defences to be undertaken for some time, however. With the upheavals of the past eight or nine years over, Exeter now seems to have enjoyed a period of relative peace and security.

In March 1668, the newly repaired guard-house at Northgate was let out to a private individual (66). Presumably, therefore, it was not envisaged that the structure would be needed for military purposes in the near future. During the next year, 1668/69, £5 11s 7d was spent on Exeter's defences, mainly on the City Walls near Westgate. This work may well have been connected with the Chamber's order of 9th February 1669 that a committee should 'view the nusances complayned of by the passage of water uppon the Citties Walles neare unto the westgate ... and ... fynde out some good way for the passage thereof' (67). Domestic, rather than military, considerations would therefore seem to have been the motivating force behind these repairs. In the following year, more than £10 was spent on the fortifications. At least £4 of this sum went on repairs to 'the Barbicans w'th in Southgate', while most of the remainder was expended at Northgate (where the gate itself was apparently re-hung) (68). Again though, the work on the defences does not seem to have been prompted by any urgent military necessity. The City Act Book, indeed, suggests that the work near Southgate was only undertaken because the affected sections of the City Walls had suddenly (as a result of nearby building work) become easily accessible to the Chamber's workmen (69). Spending on Exeter's fortifications fell to £4 16s 11d in 1670/71, while no defensive expenditure at all is recorded for 1671/72 and 1672/73.

During the mid 1670s, the political situation remained reasonably calm, both at home and abroad. The downward trend in Exeter's defensive expenditure might well have continued for some time, therefore, if a minor disaster had not

suddenly befallen the City Walls in 1674. Richard Izacke, under the year 1673 in his chronicle, describes the incident thus: 'Part of the City Wall at the lower end of Southen-hay, towards Trinity Churchyard, in the Night-time suddenly fell down, and was forthwith newly erected, being ninety foot in length, and thirty foot in height' (70). Although it has not proved possible to establish the date of the actual collapse, the survival of the Chamber Act Book allows us to trace the course of the later reconstruction in some detail.

On 5th May 1674, it was noted in the Act Book that 'some ptes of the walles of this Cittie neare Southinghay are of late fallen downe and other ptes thereof much decayed'. Five members of the Council of 24 were therefore requested to 'view the said decayes, And to consider of some good way for the repairing thereof'. A week later, this order was repeated, evidence of the Chamber's desire that measures should be taken immediately, and thus of the seriousness with which the collapse was viewed (71). It is not clear how quickly the requisite work was begun. By 11th August 1674, however, the Council of 24 could order that 'Mr Receiver shall pfect the work of the walles of this Cittie against the Bishoppes Palace alreadie begunn by hym'. The repairs continued apace thereafter. By the end of the financial year a total of £187 10s 2d had been laid out (72). This was an enormous sum, the largest single amount to be spent on Exeter's walls and gates during the entire period under discussion. Even so, the work was still not finished. On 20th October 1674, the Chamber decided that further repairs should be undertaken. Accordingly, it was ordered 'that a new Buttis shalbe foorthwth made in a garden in Southinghay, nowe in the possession of the widdow Sainthill against the walles of the Cittie ... for the better support of the said walle'. Over twenty pounds was eventually spent on this additional task (73). Once it had been completed, however, the programme of repairs finally came to a halt. The members of the Chamber seem to have been pleased with the way in which the repairs had been carried out. Certainly, they ensured that the man who had overseen the work was given a handsome reward. On 27th October 1674, it was agreed that the Sheriff, Mr Glyde, should 'pay unto Luke ffalvey the present Surveyor of the Citties work the summe of tenn poundes ... in regard of his great attendance on the workmen this last summer about the Citties walles in Southinghay fallen downe against the Pallace' (74).

Following this enormous burst of activity, expenditure on the walls and gates sank back to a more normal level. Less than a pound was spent on the defences in 1675/76. Throughout the rest of the 1670s, average annual expenditure on the fortifications remained at around £10. In 1679/80, disbursements increased somewhat, when £17 2s 10d was laid out 'for worke done at South gate' (75). A further rise in expenditure occurred in 1680/81, when the considerable sum of £34 9s 5d was spent on 'Repairacons of ye Walls of ye Citty' (76). It is not known where this work was done, nor, indeed, is it clear what considerations had initiated its performance. No particular threats to the city seem to have been apprehended in September 1681, however. On the 12th of that month, the Chamber ordered 'that the watchhouse of late erected near St Mary Steppes Church being found to bee inconvenient bee foorthwth taken down, & ye materials thereof preserved for ye Cityes use' (77). Clearly then, the watch-houses were no longer felt to be vital to the city's safety. Over the next three years, expenditure remained comparatively low. Nothing at all was laid out on the defences in 1682/83. Plumbing work at Westgate accounted for the major part of the £10 5s 10d spent in 1681/82, while the £3 19s 6d disbursed in 1683/84 went on 'Stones used on ye Citty Walls' (78).

The Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion, which took place in 1685, does not seem to have had much impact upon Exeter. Although the Duke's forces passed relatively close to the city, at one time advancing as far west as Axminster,

the Exeter authorities did little to strengthen their defences. This may simply have been due to the speed of events. Monmouth's adventure was over in less than a month. He landed at Lyme Regis on 11th June and had been utterly defeated by 10th July. Clearly, this would have given the Exeter authorities little time to strengthen their defences. Alternatively, the lack of defensive activity in Exeter during the Rebellion may betray a certain ambivalence towards the regime of the catholic king, James II. Monmouth had many friends in Exeter (witness the popular reception he had received there when he visited the city in 1680), and one suspects that there were many within the town who secretly supported his bid for the Crown in 1685. Whatever the case, only one measure related to the fortifications is recorded in the Receiver's Accounts for 1684/85. This involved 'worke over Eastgate'. It is possible that the 'worke' alluded to actually involved preparations to mount artillery on the gate. Whether or not this was so, two pounds and five pence were later paid out by the Receiver to 'Capt Luke' for his service there (79). The individual referred to here, incidentally, was none other than Luke Falvey, the Surveyor of the City's Works, whom we have already encountered above. The Receiver's use of the title 'Captain' for him can be explained by the fact that Falvey had served the king as a Captain-Lieutenant during the English Civil War.

In 1686/87, over £15 was spent on work at Northgate, Southgate and 'ye town walls' (80). Expenditure during 1687/88 was less considerable, only £1 13s being laid out upon repairs to Southgate and the Northgate watch-house (81). The following year saw the invasion of the West Country by William of Orange and the occupation of Exeter by Orangeist troops. These exciting events, however, had little discernable effect upon the city's defences. The Receiver's Accounts record only one piece of expenditure on the defences in this year, namely that two pounds and five shillings was paid to a hellier for working on 'ye Gard houses' at the gates (82). As in 1685, there is no evidence of major preparations being made at Exeter to resist the invader. Once again, it is difficult to ascribe this lack of activity to any single specific cause. One can guess, however, at some of the factors involved. The swift succession of events might well have prevented any work being carried out on the defences. Even more important though, may have been concealed hostility to James, and the natural reluctance of the city governors to commit themselves irrevocably to either side while the issue still hung in the balance.

During most of the 1690s, expenditure remained very low. In the first year of the decade, nothing at all was spent on the defences. No constructive work on the fortifications was carried out in 1691/92, either. Only one measure even vaguely related to the defences was taken during this year, that is to say in August 1692, when the Chamber ordered that 'ye battery of late made upp between Key gate & ye Westgate bee removed' (83). (The gun-emplacement alluded to, a relic of the Civil Wars, may well have been situated near the site of the nineteenth-century Battery Steps.) During 1692/93, Jonas Bampfild, the mason, was paid £5 3s 'for worke att Keygate & other places' (84). In 1693/94, repairs were carried out on the city watch-houses. This work was initiated by an order of 8th May 1694 that the Receiver should 'repayre the watchhouse within ye Eastgate' (85). Almost seven pounds were subsequently expended on this task; whilst a Mr Greenslade was also paid 1s 8d for work on 'the watch house at northgate' (86). The renovation of the guard-houses did not mark the start of a new burst of defensive activity, though. During 1694/95 and 1695/96, expenditure on the city's fortifications again fell back to zero.

Nevertheless, one gets the distinct impression that, in 1695/96 at least, Exeter was facing some sort of threat. The Receiver's accounts for this year record that several sums of money were laid out for 'ffire & Candle light' and for watches at Southgate and Northgate (87). On 21st January 1696, moreover,

the Council of 24 ordered that 'that part of the wall wch is defective near St Bartholomew Churchyard bee foorthwith repayred' (88). Nothing was done about this for some time. In July 1697, however, the directive was repeated. On the 6th of that month, it was noted in the Chamber Act Book that 'Mr Receiver is ordered to new build that part of ye City walles near St Bartholomew Churchyard' (89). This time, results were immediately forthcoming. By the end of September 1697, the very large sum of £70 10s 6d had been spent on the City Walls in this area (90). Watches were also being kept in the city during 1696/97. The Receiver's Accounts note that £3 9s was laid out 'for Candle & Wood for ye Guard at [the] Castle' during this year (91).

The scare soon passed away, though, and from 1697 onwards, little more work was carried out on Exeter's defences. During the last three years of the seventeenth century, only £2 13s 4d was spent on the fortifications. All this money was laid out in the single year 1698/99, and went to Mr Robert Bamfield for unspecified work on the gates and walls (92). Bamfield's work may well have been connected with the Chamber's order of February 1699 that stones from Longbrook Street should be 'carryed to Northgate to repaire & new build the Town wall there lately fallen' (93). The only other measures taken in connection with the fortifications between 1697 and 1700 were entirely negative. On 8th March 1698, for example, the Council of 24 directed that 'the Ditch att the Lower End of Northinghay bee filled upp with Rubbish' (94). This suggests that Exeter's old defensive ditches were no longer seen as important for the city's security. Similarly, in 1698/99, the old watch-house at Westgate (which had already been granted at least one stay of execution), was finally removed. In January 1699, the Receiver was ordered to 'take care that the Watch house att Westgate being a newsance bee pulled downe and the Materialls disposed of' (95). This time there were no second thoughts and the old structure was finally demolished: its component parts were later sold off to a Mr Richards for six pounds (96).

Thus our discussion of Exeter's defences during the seventeenth-century ends, on a note of piecemeal dissolution. This may well be fitting. One is tempted to suggest that, from 1700 onwards, expenditure on the city's walls and gates would have gone into a steady decline. The development of heavier armaments during this period would have made Exeter's ancient defences increasingly obsolete. Less and less may therefore have been spent on their upkeep as the eighteenth-century progressed. Such a theory is supported by the evidence of no less a contemporary than Daniel Defoe. After visiting Exeter in 1724, Defoe commented that 'the Castle, the walls, and all the old works are demolished'. His statement certainly suggests that walls had been permitted to fall into decay in the years after 1700. We must beware, however, of jumping to unwarranted conclusions. Defoe's statement was clearly an exaggeration. Another visitor to the city, who passed through at about the same time, described the ancient walls as being 'in pretty good repair' (97). In fact, with the evidence currently at our disposal, we have no way of knowing which man's comment was closest to the truth. Until the Receivers' Accounts for the years after 1700 have been explored, therefore, judgement on the state of Exeter's walls and gates during the eighteenth century must be suspended.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CSPD. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.
DRO. Devon Record Office, Exeter.

REFERENCES

1. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1651/52, ff.14 & 21
2. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1652/53, f.18

3. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1653/54, f.8
4. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IX, (1651-63), f.59d; and DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1654/55, f.2
5. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IX, (1651-63), f.121d
6. Ibid., f.128d
7. Ibid., f.9
8. Ibid., f.63
9. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1654/55, ff.3-4
10. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1655/56, passim.
11. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IX, (1651-63), f.72d
12. Ibid., f.31d
13. Ibid., f.50
14. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1653/54, f.9
15. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IX, (1651-63), f.31d
16. Ibid., f.65d
17. Ibid., f.60
18. Ibid., f.69d
19. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1655/56, f.4
20. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IX, (1651-63), f.118
21. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1659/60, ff.2-4
22. Cotton, W. 1877 Gleanings from Exeter Records, p.183
23. CSPD, 1659-60, Vol.CCIV, 27, (14th September 1659)
24. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IX, (1651-63), f.126
25. CSPD, 1659-60, Vol.CCXIX, 18, (14th January 1660)
26. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IX, (1651-63), f.130d
27. Ibid., f.133
28. Idem.
29. Idem.
30. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IX, (1651-63), f.143
31. Ibid., f.149
32. Ibid., f.156
33. DRO, Letter Book 60F, DD.391.43d
34. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1660/61, f.6
35. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IX, (1651-63), f.166d
36. CSPD, 1661-62, Vol.LVIII, 16 & 72 (6th and 21st August 1662)
37. Ibid., Vol.LXI, 5 & 22, (3rd & 9th October 1662)
38. Ibid., Vol.LXI, 97 & 98, (25th October 1662)
39. Ibid., Vol.LXI, 119, (31st October 1662); and CSPD, 1661-62, Vol.LXI, 1, (1st November 1662)
40. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.IX, (1651-63), f.169
41. Ibid., f.176
42. Ibid., f.177
43. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1662/63, passim.
44. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1663/64, passim.
45. DRO, Letter Book 60F, DD.391.43.
46. CSPD, 1663-64, Vol.LXXIX, 64, (24th August 1663)
47. Wylie, J. 1916 Report on the Records of the City of Exeter, (Historical Manuscripts Commission), p.217
48. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.X, (1663-83), f.2
49. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1662/63, f.8
50. Wylie, op. cit., p.216
51. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1664/65, passim.
52. CSPD, 1664-65, Vol.CXXVI, 9 & 12, (2nd July 1665)
53. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.X, (1663-83), f.37d; and DRO Exeter Receiver's Book, 1664/65, f.7
54. Izacke, R. 1757 Remarkable Antiquities of the City of Exeter, p.172
55. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.X, (1663-83), f.48d
56. Ibid., f.53

57. Ibid., ff.42d & 43d & 45d
58. Ibid., f.49
59. Ibid., f.50
60. CSPD, 1667-68, Vol.CCV, 70 & 119, (14th & 16th June 1667)
61. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.X, (1663-83), f.63d
62. CSPD, 1667-68, Vol.CCXV, 4 & 28, (25th & 27th August 1667)
63. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.X, (1663-83), f.66d
64. Ibid., f.67
65. Ibid., f.68d; and DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1667/68, f.6d
66. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.X, (1663-83), f.73d
67. Ibid., f.85; and DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1668/69, f.3
68. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1669/70, f.3
69. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.X, (1663-83), f.94
70. Izacke, op. cit., p.177
71. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.X, (1663-83), ff.141d-142
72. Ibid., f.144d; and DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1673/74, f.3
73. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.X, (1663-83), f.149; and DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1674/75, f.3
74. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.X, (1663-83), f.149d
75. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1679/80, f.11
76. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1680/81, f.6
77. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.X, (1663-83), f.212d
78. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1681/82, f.9; and DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1683/84, ff.5 & 7
79. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1684/85, f.5
80. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1686/87, f.4
81. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1687/88, passim.
82. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1688/89, f.7
83. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.XIII, (1684-1731), f.72
84. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1692/93, f.16
85. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.XIII, (1684-1731), f.90
86. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1693/94, ff.11-12
87. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1695/96, ff.13-14
88. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.XIII, (1684-1731), f.97d
89. Ibid., f.104
90. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1696/97, f.4d
91. Ibid., f.8d
92. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1698/99, f.4d
93. DRO, Exeter Chamber Act Book, Vol.XIII, (1684-1731), f.119
94. Ibid., f.107d
95. Ibid., f.118
96. DRO, Exeter Receiver's Book, 1698/99, f.2
97. Gibson, A. 1967 Early Tours in Devon and Cornwall, pp.138 & 148

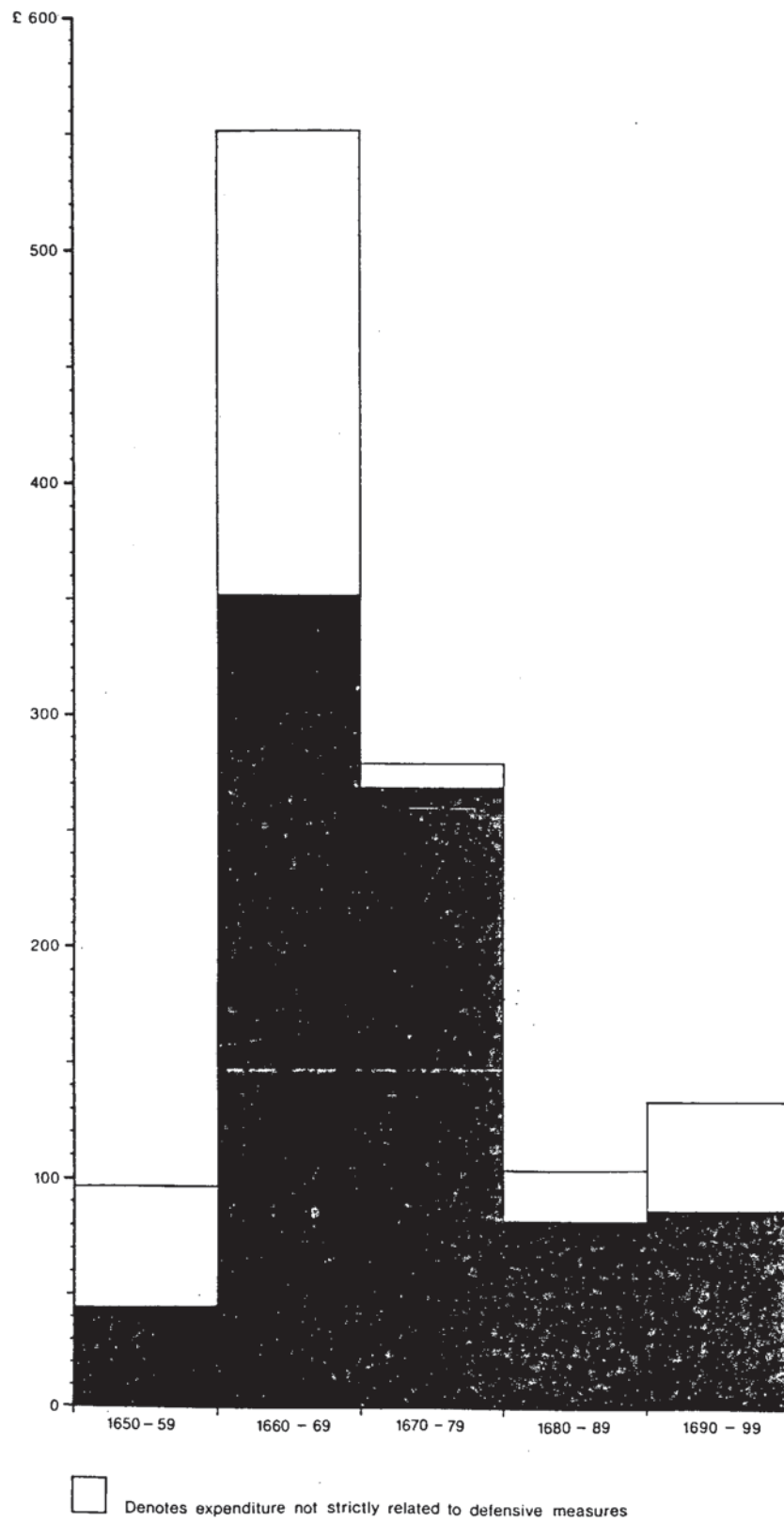


Fig. 1: Expenditure on Exeter's Walls and Gates 1650-1700

1650/1; 1651/2

EXTRACTS FROM RECEIVERS' BOOKS 1650/1-1699/1700

Where the original book has used the same folio numbers twice, i.e. one set of numbers for receipts and a similar set for payments, the second set are distinguished from the first by underlining. Thus f.1 refers to the second folio numbered one.

1650-51

f. 1

'Payments

Paid the Porter of Westgate for clensing the grates there': 4s.

f. 2

'Paid the Porter of Northgate for clensing the grates there ffor Three quarters of one yeare': 5s.

'Paid the Porter of Westgate for keeping the Keygate': 6s 8d.

'Paid the 2 Porters of Eastgate & Northgate either of them for 3 quarters of one yeares pencon 6s, and to the Porters of Westgate & Southgate either of them for this yeares pencon 8s all being': 14s.

'Paid Walter Strang Hellyer for lyme sand & plaistering the Walles neere the leddds over Westgate as by a note': 1s 6d.

f. 3

'Paid John Cann Plumber for worke done on the leddds over the yarne markett, over the great Cunduitt & on the leddds over westgate as by a note': £3 16s.

f. 4

'Paid one [blank] Staple a souldier of the Castle for a rate put uppon the house over Northgate and Close of ground belonging to that house': 6s 8d.

f. 7

'Paid Lewes Greenslade Carpenter for timber and Carpentrie worke about repairing the guarde house att Northgate by order of the Chamber as by a note': £2 3s 8d.

'Paid Walter Strang hellyer in p'te of the charges for healing the guarde house att Northgate': £3.

'Paid for pitch used about the gutters of the guard house att North gate': 1s.

'Paid Honnor Crutchett widd' for nailes, iron worke locke & key used about the guarde house att North gate and Guildhall pompe as by a note of the p'ticulers': £1 10s 9d.

'Paid him [Lewes Greenslade] more for one mans labour halfe a daye, & for 3: halfe inch bords used about the guarde house att Northgate': 2s 8d.

f. 8

'Paid Walter Strange Hellyer in full for healing the guard house att Northgate & for stones & other materialls': £2 10s.

'Paid Peter Halstaffe Lockyer for amending the locke and key of North gate being broken by the souldiers': 2s 6d.

f. 9

'Paid John Baker for 10 deale bords used about the guard house att North gate for the makeing of gutters &c': 10s.

'Paid Walter Strang Hellier for worke done on the poore houses on the Towne walles neere Northgate as by a note by order of Mr Receiver': 5s.

1651-52

f. 13

'Payments

Paid the fflower Porters of the gates of this Cittie': 16s.

1651/2; 1652/3

f. 14

'Paid the Porter of Westgate for clensing the grates': 4s.

'Paid the Porter of Northgate for clensing the grates there': 6s 8d.

'Paid the Porter of Keygate for keeping that gate': 6s 8d.

'Paid John Tremlett Roger Peard & two other workemen to fill upp the Trench under the draw bridge without Eastgate, by order from Mr Maior, the Bridge being broken': 4s 8d.

f. 15

'Paid Honor Crutchett widd' for iron crookes used about the Butchers standings in the yarne m'kett for one iron bolt for Westgate, nailes & amending a staple as by a note': 4s 4d.

'Paid 4 Carpenters for takeing downe p'te of the draw bridge att Southgate & carrying the timber into a house for safetie since used in the Almshouses without Southgate': 2s 6d.

'Paid Lewes Greenslade Carpenter for worke done on the sluces and for amending the drawe bridge att Eastgate & a trapp dore over against the Guildhall': 16s 6d.

f. 16

'Paid John Gyll Pavier for Sand stones and for paveing a broken place in the pavement under Northgate': 2s 3d.

'Paid Honor Crutchett widd' for iron worke used about Westgate & the Sluces as by a note': 3s 10d.

f. 18

'Paid Nicholas Bickford glasier for amending the glasse windowes in Southgate att the comyng in of Hugh ffarthing as by A note': 14s.

f. 19

'Paid Honnor Crutchett widdowe for a crampe of iron waying 12li for one of the Sluces & for nailes there used and for nailes & spukes used att Bonehay bridge & about a dore att Northgate as by a note': 17s 6d.

f. 21

'Paid him [Richard Clouter, mason] more for himselfe & others for filling upp the drawbridge att Southgate and for takeing upp of great stones there, and att the Salley porte in Southenhaye by Mr deebles order as by a note': £2 3s 4d.

1652-53

f. 14

'Fees & pencons

Paid the 4 Porters of the gates of this Cittie for their pencons': 16s.

f. 15

'Paid the Porter of Westgate for clensing the grates': 4s.

'Paid the Porter of Northgate for clensing the grates there': 6s 8d.

'Paid the Porter of Westgate for keeping the Keygate': 6s 8d.

f. 17

[Other payments:]

'Paid John Gyll Pavier for paving a broken place about the Guildhall Pumpe, and for amending severall broken places in the pavements under & neere Westgate & under Northgate & for materialls, & for a Masons' labour $\frac{1}{2}$ a daye about the Guildhall pompe': 13s 6d.

f. 18

'Paid James Ellys by order of the Chamber towards his losse of a gelding breaking his legg att the drawe bridge without Southgate': £2.

'Paid John Wood & John Glanfeild by order of the Chamber for filling upp A deepe trench without Southgate wherein one Gould was latelie drowned': £2.

1652/3-1654/5

f. 21

'Paid the Porter of Southgate for amending the locke & key of that gate as by a note': 1s 9d.

1653-54

f. 3

'Payments

Paid John Gyll Pavyer for worke done att Westgate and att Northgate as by a note': £3 8s 9d.

f. 4

'Paid John Griffyn Mason for worke done att Southgate as by a note': £1 7s 6d.

f. 7

'Paid John Griffyn Mason for worke done att Southgate prison & about the grates att Westgate and for lyme sand & seame stones as by A note': £1 10s.

'Paid John Crutchett Blacksmith for amending the grate within westgate and for nailes used about the Sluces as by a note': 5s.

f. 8

'Paid John Glanfill Richard Sillye & Reynold Badcock Laberers for digging away the earth of the batterie lying on the Barbigan att the snaile tower, for the more better passage there, and for pr'vention of danger of children from falling out over the walles of the Cittie there': 16s 11d.

f. 9

'Paid him [John Griffyn, mason] more for other worke done att the new stone weare & uppon the Cittie Walle neere Keygate as by a note': £1 14s 6d.

'Paid John Griffyn Mason for stopping upp the passage through the Cittie walles neere Keygate, & for straw for a wall as by a note': £2 8s 4d.

'Paid John Crutchett blacksmith for spukes nailes & iron worke used about Keygate as by a note': 9s 6d.

1654-55

f. 1

'Payments ...

Paid Ric'a Clowter for takeing downe of two garretts of the towne wall and for copeing the same for Lyme & Sand to finish it 20s': £1.

f. 2

'Paid John Griffin for worke done about the Sallie port in the pallice': £1 16s 4d.

'Paid John Tucker for filling up of two trenches without Southgate': £1 19s.

f. 3

'Paid John Griffin for worke done about the towne walls': 6s 7d.

'Paid Peter Heward for stones for makeing the arch under east gate': £1 7s 6d.

'Paid John Gill pavier for worke done at Southgate': £1 18s 10d.

'Paid John Gill pavier for worke done at west gate': 17s 5d.

'Paid John Amery for two hodd's of Lyme used at Eastgate': 10s.

'Paid John Griffin for worke done one the towne walls neare Northgate': 9s 5d.

'Paid Peter Heward for 4 doz' stones for makeing the arch with [sic] Eastgate': £1 11s.

f. 4

'Paid John Griffin for worke done at Eastgate': £3 18s.

'Paid Peter Heward for stones used about the Arch at Eastgate': £1 12s.

'Paid John Amery for 3 hodd's Lyme used at Eastgate': 15s.

'Paid Peter Heward for seame stones & Burs used at East gate': £1 13s 2d.

1654/5-1658/9

'Paid John Griffin for worke done at Eastgate': £2 6s 6d.

1655-56

f. 3

'Payments called extraordinarie disbursments 1655 1656 as foll'

Paid mending the locke of the northgate': 1s 6d.

'Paid John Griffin for work done on the towne walls': 9s 11d.

'Paid mending the kay of the kay gate': 2s.

f. 4

'Paid fox for bringing sand to mend the howses on the walls': 4s 8d.

'Paid walter strangg & others for worke done on the howses on the wales nere Northgate': £4 11s.

'Paid John Griffin for work done at Eastgate': 18s 11d.

1656-57

f. 5

[Extraordinary expenses:]

'P'd Mr Can for worke done at westgate & for soder': 6s 8d.

f. 6

'P'd John Ellis for 2 doores one at westgate and the other without Eastgate': 5s 6d.

'P'd John Fox for worke done at Northgate': 4s 8d.

'P'd him more for worke done at westgate': 10s 8d.

1657-58

f. 1

'Payments

Paid for mending the wickett of the gate att westgate': 3s.

f. 4

'Paid John Gyll Pavier, for worke done under & without Eastgate as by a note': 9s 2d.

1658-59

f. 3

'Payments betweene Mich' 1658 and Mich' 1659 as foll'

Paid for Stones and worke done att Southgate': 15s 11d.

'Paid the Porters for opening the gates by night to the souldiers in their watching': 5s.

'Paid for clensing the vault att Southgate as by a note': 5s 4d.

f. 4

'Paid workemen att Southgate as by A note': 5s 10d.

'Paid them more as by another note': 9s 11d.

'Paid them more as by another note': £1 7s 4d.

'Paid them more as by another note': £1 2s.

'Paid them more as by another note': 7s.

'Paid them more as by another note': 18s 5d.

'Paid for worke on Southgate as by A note': 16s 11d.

'Paid for other worke there as by a note': £1 4s 11d.

'Paid for worke done att Southgate as by A note': £2 1s 4d.

'Paid Lewes Greenslade Carpenter for other worke there done as by note': £2 16s 11d.

'Paid Nicholas Bond Blacksmyth for worke done att Southgate as by a note': £4 7s 10d.

'Paid for worke done att Southgate as by a note': 10s.

'Paid John Griffyn Mason for worke done att Southgate as by a note': 11s 5d.

1658/9-1662/3

f. 5

'Paid for worke done att Westgate as by A note': 5s 6d.
'Paid for worke done att Southgate as by A note': £1 13s 3d.
'Paid for other worke there done as by A note': £1 16s 9d.
'Paid for worke done att Southgate & Backgrate for carrying ruble': £1 6s 10d.

1659-60

f. 1

'Extraordinary Payments

P'd John Griffing for worke at key gate by note': 18s 6d.

f. 2

'P'd for mending the Towne wall by Sneal Tower to Thomas Hill': 12s.

f. 4

'P'd Richard Taylor for worke done at Northgate by note': 13s 11d.
'P'd John Griffen for mending the Cittie wall by note': £1 5s 2d.
'P'd Henry Taylor for worke on the Towne wall by note': 2s.

1660-61

f. 2

'Exterordinary And Necessesary disburstments ...

[December] 12 to cash £3 18s paid for paveinge att westgate is': £3 18s.

'[December] 22 to cash 11s 10d paid Lewis Grenslades noate for mendinge of ye Eastgate is': 11s 10d.

f. 3

'[February] 2 to cash 6s 10d paid Mr Grenslades noate for worke done att Northgate and Southgate is': 6s 10d.

'[February] 23 to cash 10s 3d paid Jno Griffens Noate for worke done att the Goale and Southgate is': 10s 3d.

'[1661 April] 26 to cash 14s 8d paid Jno Griffins Noate for worke done Att North and Southgate is': 14s 8d.

f. 6

'1661 July 12 paid Jno Ellis for beames & plankes & ye plat forme ov'r Northgate as by his receipt is': £10.

1661-62

f. 1

'Disbursements on the Cities Gates & walls

Paid by John Griffins note': £1 2s 6d.

'Paid Richard Taylor Pavier': £4 19s 10d.

'Paid John Griffin mason': 15s 11d.

'Paid said Griffin': £1.

'Paid said Griffin': 5s 10d.

'Paid Rico Taylor Pavier': 2s 11d.

£8 7s.

1662-63

f. 2

'Disbursem'ts uppon the Gates & walles of the Cittie

No' 13th item [likewise] paid [blank] Mason to mend the stepps att the Churchyard stile': 4s 6d.

'15 it' paid for worke done att the Churchyard walles': 5s 4d.

'Dec' 6 item paid [blank] Mason in full of his noate': £2 2s.

'23 it' p'd for paveing under Northgate Neare the Churchyard & Yearne Shambles': £2 12s 4d.

1662/3; 1663/4

'Febr' 5 it' p'd [blank] Mason in full of his noate': £1 17s 6d.
'Mar' 30 it' p'd for oile to oyle the twists of the Gate': 8d.
'July 11 it' p'd [blank] Carpenter in full of his noate': £2 2s.
'Oct' 1 it' p'd [blank] Mason in full of his noate': 10s 4d.
'July 7 it' p'd for bringinge 24 seames of stones from Northgate to the walls in ye Churchy'd': 3s.
'It' p'd for two oyle tubbs to putt water in': 2s 8d.
'11 it' p'd [blank] the Quarrie man in full of his noate': £2 15s.
'It' p'd for bringinge 51 seames of stones from Northgate to the walls': 6s 4d.
'18 it' p'd [blank] Mason in full of his noate': £5 2s 6d.
'It' p'd the Quarrie man in full of his noate': £5 3s 6d.
'25 it' p'd for bringeinge upp of water': 9s 8d.
'It' p'd the Quarrie man in full of his noate': £4 6s.
'It' p'd the Mason in full of his noate': £3 13s 10d.
'Aug' 1 it' p'd Mr Clare for 15 hoggs'ds & $\frac{1}{2}$ of lyme att 4s 6d a hoggs'd': £3 9s 9d.
'It' p'd the Quarrie man': £1 18s 6d.
'It' p'd the Mason in full of his noate': £2 4s 8d.
'It' p'd John Thomas for carr' of 13 seames of water': 2s 2d.
'15 it' p'd the Mason in full of his noate': £2 1s.
'29 it' p'd him more': £4 2s.
'It' p'd for mendinge the tubbs': 6d.
'Sept' 5 it' p'd for carryinge of 18 seames of water': 3s.
'12 it' p'd the Mason in full of his noate': £1 17s 6d.
'It' p'd for beere for the workemen att severall times': 6s 4d.
£48 2s 7d.

f. 8

'Monies disbursed in erectinge of watch houses

Sept' 04 inpr'is [firstly] p'd for 12000 of stones': £3 4s.
'It' [likewise] p'd Smale for his attendance on the Plumer': 9d.
'10 it' p'd for carrying of stones & sand': 14s 4d.
'It' p'd the hellyar in full of his noate': £6 5s 2d.
'12 it' p'd Blinckhorne in full of his noate': £7 13s 7d.
'15 it' p'd the Plummer in full of his noate': £8 12s.
'19 it' p'd the Carpenter in full of his noate': £18 10s 6d.
'It' p'd the Smith in full of his noate': £4 1s 6d.
'Oct' 10 it' p'd Blinckhorne in full of his bill': £7 13s 4d.
'It' p'd the old Salter att two severall paym'ts': £4.
'It' p'd Nicholas Buckland for boardes': £17 14s.
'It' p'd Mr John Rooke for boardes': £4 14s.
'Aug' 29 it' p'd Blinckhorne in full': 7s 3d.
£83 10s 5d.
'Apr' 7 1663 rec'd then of the deputie Leiutenants of the County of devon in parte of the Sume abovemenconed': £60.
'Remaynes due to ballance this Accompte': £23 10s 5d.

1663-64

f. 4

'Monies disbursed in repairinge of the gates & walles

Inpr'is [firstly] p'd John Robins for worke done on the walls in the new Churchy'd': £1 6s.
'It' [likewise] p'd him for more worke done there by him': £1 3d.
'It' p'd the Quarrieman for 6 dozen of stones used there': £1 13s.

1663/4

'It' p'd Robert Moggridge for worke done there by him': 2s 8d.
'It' p'd Richard Tayler Pavier for worke done att Northgate &c': 19s 4d.
'It' p'd John Robins for worke done by him in the new Church y'd': 11s 8d.
'It' p'd for worke done by William Ousley & others on the wall att Bradnich': 8s.
'It' p'd for 10 dozen of seame used on the barbicans neare Key gate': £2 15s.
'It' for more stones used there p'ut [as appears] & for the Cesternes p'ut [...]: £1 2s.
'It' p'd for more stones used there & att the barbicans att Southgate': 19s 3d.
'It' p'd John Griffin for worke done by him on the barbicans att Key gate': 13s 9d.
'It' p'd John Robins for worke done by him on the barbicans att Southgate': £1 5s 10d.
'It' p'd for ffower dozen of stones used there': £1 3s 9d.
'It' p'd for ffive dozen of seame stones used on the barbicans att key gate': £1 7s 6d.
'It' p'd John Robins for worke done by him on the barbicans att Southgate': £1 4s 10d.
'It' p'd him for more worke done on the barbicans att Alhall' Chur": £1 7s 7d.
'It' p'd John Griffin for worke done by him on the barbicans att keygate': £2 6s 11d.
'It' p'd him for more worke done by him there': £2 18s 11d.
£23 6s 3d.

f. 5

'Brought from the other side': £23 6s 3d.
'It' p'd Rich Oake for worke done by him on the barbicans att keygate': £1 2s 4d.
'It' p'd him for more worke done there by him p'ut': £1 10d.
'It' p'd for 4 dozen & 3 seames of stones used there': £1 3s 4½d.
'It' p'd him for 2 doz & 3 seames of stones used on the barbicans by Alhall": 12s 4½d.
'It' p'd John Griffin for worke done by him on the barbicans neare keygate': £2 12s.
'It' p'd John Robins for worke done by him on the walls about westgate': £1 4s 4d.
'It' p'd for 14 dozen of seames stones used on the barbicans neare keygate': £3 17s.
'It' p'd for clay used on the barbicans neare Alhall' Church': 2s.
'It' p'd for more stones used att key gate & without westgate': £1 4s 3d.
'It' p'd for more clay used on the barbicans by Alhall' Church': 2s.
'It' p'd John Robins for more worke done there by him': 19s 8d.
'It' p'd him for more worke done there by him': £2 6d.
'It' p'd John Griffin for worke done by him on the barbicans keygate': £2 2s 10d.
'It' p'd John Robins for worke done by him by Alhall' Church': 16s 4d.
'It' p'd John ffox for worke done by him neare keygate': 4s 8d.
'It' p'd him for more worke done there by him': 9s 8d.
'It' p'd Rich Wills quarrieman for stones used att Alhall' & keygate': £2 15s.
'It' p'd John Robins for worke done by him att keygate': £2 10s 6d.
'It' p'd for stones used on the walles att bradninch': 4s 6d.
'It' p'd Roger will quarrie man for stones used att bradninch': £1 15s 11d.

1663/4; 1664/5

'It' p'd William Tucker as by his noate': 17s 6d.
'It' p'd John Robins for worke done by him neare Alhall' Church': £1 8s 7d.
'It' p'd John Griffin for worke done by him neare keygate': 16s 4d.
'It' p'd John Wilkins for worke done by him aboute Southgate': 2s.
'It' p'd John Robins for worke done by him w'th out Eastgate': £1 9s 4d.
'It' p'd John Griffin for worke done by him on the barbicans keygate': £2 6s 6d.
'It' p'd for paveing under westgate': 1s.
'It' p'd for 6 dozen & five stones brought to the walles w'th out Eastgate': £1 15s 3½d.
'It' p'd for putting a barr in Eastgate': 10d.
'It' p'd for two seames of sand used on the walles neare Alhall' Church': 8d.
'It' p'd for mending the walles att bradninch neare Mr Rookes garden': £2.
'It' p'd for worke done att Northgate by Emanuell Hodge': 6s.
'It' p'd for repairinge the gutter att keygate': 5s 6d.
'It' p'd John Griffin for worke done on the barbicans att keygate': £1 16s 10d.
'It' p'd John Robins for sand & labour on the barbicans at keygate': £1 10d.
£64 13s 6d.

f. 7

'Extraordinarie disbursem'ts

'It' to the guards att Northgate Eastgate & Southgate': 5s 6d.
'It' p'd for sand & stones used att Southgate': £2 2d.

f. 8

'It' p'd Valentine May for worke done att Southgate': 15s 4d.

1664-65

f. 4

'Monies disbursed in repairinge of the gates & walles

Inpr'is [firstly] p'd John Griffen for worke done by him att the Snaile tower': £1 4s 8d.

'It' [likewise] p'd him & others for more worke done there by them p'ut [as appears]': £3 7s 2d.

'It' p'd them more for more worke done there p'ut': £4 12s 4d.

'It' p'd Richard Willes & others for more worke done there': £2 12s 8d.

'It' p'd George Silly & others for worke done there by them p'ut': £3 6s 6d.

'It' p'd Emanuell Hodge Carpenter as by his noate': £4 4s 11d.

'It' p'd John Griffen for worke done by him on the walles': £0 0s 0d [°].

'It' p'd Mr Izackes noate for worke done by him on the walles p'ut': £2 19s 11d.

'It' p'd John Griffin for worke done by him on the walles p'ut': £1 16s 4d.

'It' p'd Anthonie Broadfeild & others for worke done there by him': £2 5s 8d.

'It' p'd George Sowden & others for worke done att the snaile tower': £1 4s 7d.

'It' p'd doctor Salter for 5th' 3C 3q'r of bricke used att snaile tower': £4 9s 7d.

£32 4s 4d.

f. 6

'Extraordinarie disbursements

'It' p'd for clearing the streets att the severall gates by the like order': 7s.

'It' p'd for strawe to laie att the key gate att sev'all times': 8s 6d.

1664/5-1666/7

f. 7

'It' p'd for mendinge the grates att west gate': 1s.
'It' p'd the Porters for candle light att the gates by order': £4.
'It' p'd the watchmen for watchinge on the walles': 16s.

f. 10

'Monies disbursed in paveing of the streete by westgate': £136 4s 4d.

f. 15

'Monie expended in Militarie affaires this yeare
'It' p'd Mr Pitts for watchemen neare East gate by noate': £3.

1665-66

f. 3

'Monies disbursed in repairinge of the Gates and walles
Oct' 23 paid Emanuell Hodge for worke done by him att westgate': £2 6s 4d.
'27 paid John Broadfeild for worke done there by him': 11s 3d.
'May 14 paid Rich Wills for stones used on the walles neare keygate': 13s 6d.
'16 paid John Robins for worke done by him att westgate keygate & [blank]': £1 10s.
'Paid Jonas Bampfeild for repairinge the walles without Eastgate': £30.
'Dec' 25 paid [blank] for putting upp a stone in the wall att new Churchy'd': 8s 6d.
£35 9s 7d.

f. 6

'Monies disbursed on the Courte of Guard att St Thomas
Paid Rich Tayler for paveinge there': 10s.
'Paid John Griffin for worke done there by him by noate': £2 10s 9d.
'Paid William Somerton for worke done there by him by noate': £3 10s.
'Paid for 3000 of bricke': £1 13s 4d.
'Paid John Robins for worke done there by him': 7s.
'Paid Lewes Greenslade for worke done there by him by noate': £5 5s 9d.
£13 16s 10d.

f. 7

'Extraordinarie disbursements
Oct' 25 paid the Souldiers that watched the breach att Eastgate': 16s [sum crossed out].

f. 8

'Paid the Porters for Candlelights att the Gates duringe the watch': £4.

f. 9

'P'd Christo' Cann for worke done by him att southgate': £1 1s 6d.

1666-67

f. 3

'Monie disbursed on the Gates & walles
Paid Nicholas Canmer for lyme': £1.
'Paid John Croote for worke done by him on the walls': £1 6s 1d.
'Paid for sand & stones used there 2 noates': £2 6s 6d.
'Paid for worke done by him on the walles 2 noates': £1 4s 2d.
'Paid [blank] for worke done in the new Churchyard': £2 6s 2d.
'Paid Jonas Bampfeild by order in full for his worke w'th out Eastgate': £3 4s.

1666/7; 1667/8

'Paid Rich Wills Quarry man for stones': £1 5s 6d.
'Paid John Croate for worke done by him by 2 noates': £1 8s 11d.
£14 1s 4d.

f. 8

'Extraordinary disbursements

P'd for repairinge the houses on the Town wall neare northgate': 8s 11d.

f. 9

'Paid the Pavier for worke done att southgate': 18s 2d.
'Paid for the rent of a guard house in St Thomas parishe': 10s.
'Paid for 2000 shindle stones for the guard house att Northgate': 10s 2d.

f. 10

'Paid the hellyars two bills for the watchouse by northgate': £3 3s 9d.
'Paid the Pavier for worke done att westgate by 2 noates': £2 2s 7d.
'Paid the Pavier for worke done att northgate & southgate 2 notes': 10s 6d.
'P'd him for more worke done att the guard house': £5 11s 5d.
'P'd the Glasier for worke done att northgate': 3s.
'P'd for 2000 stones used there': 4s 10d.
'P'd John Tremayne for worke done by him att southg': £2 10d.
'P'd him more for tymber used on the houses on Townwall': 14s 8d.

1667-68

f. 3

'Monies disbursed in repairinge the Gates & walles this yeare

Paid John Tucker for 3 basketts': 3s.
'Paid him more for two basketts & one gurry': 4s 6d.
'Paid Jonas Bampfeild for worke done by him': £1 12s 4d.
'Paid Richard Wills for 5 dozen of stones': £1 7s 6d.
'Paid ffox & Ady for one dozen & 8 seames of sand': 8s 4d.
'Paid Jonas Bampfeild for worke & sand': £3 8s.
'Paid Richard Wills for 4 dozen of seame stones': £1 2s.
'Paid ffox & Ady for 10 seames of sand': 4s 2d.
'Paid Jonas Bampfeild for worke done by him on the walles': £2 5s 7d.
'Paid John Croote for worke done by him p'ut [as appears]': £1 7s 4d.
'Paid Richard Wills for [blank] dozen of stones': £2 4s.
'Paid ffox and Ady for 2 dozen & 2 seames of sand': 10s 10d.
'Paid Richard Wills for 2 dozen of stones': 11s.
'Paid John Croote & his men for more worke done by them p'ut': £1 17s.
'Paid Jonas Bampfeild & his men for worke done by them by 2 noates': £3 18s 6d.
'Paid ffox & Ady for 2 dozen of sand': 10s.
'Paid Rich Wills for one dozen & halfe of stones': 8s 3d.
'Paid John Croote for worke done by him as by noate': 7s.
'Paid ffox for 2 dozen of sand & 1 dozen of stones': 15s.
'Paid Jonas Bampfeild for worke done by him p'ut': £1 8s.
'Paid for 16 seames of sand & carr' of rubbish': 7s 8d.
'Paid Richard Wills for 2 dozen of burrs': 9s.
'Paid Rich Sleely for 32 hoggesheads & one seame of lyme': £7 7s.
'Paid John Croote for worke done by him': 5s 6d [changed to nothing].
'Paid Jonas Bampfeild for worke done by him att key gate': £1 4s 4d.
'Paid John Croote for worke done by him att key gate & gutter': £1 6s 6d.
'Paid Jonas Bampfeild for worke done by him': £2 9s.
£37 15s 10d.

1667/8-1669/70

f. 5

'Extraordinarie disbursem'ts this yeare

Paid William Whitrowe for paveinge att the watchhouse N'gate': 1s.

f. 6

'Paid the Porter for shutting the key gate': 6s 8d [sum crossed out].

'Paid Tayler the Pavyer for worke done aboute the bull ringe & W'gate': 4s 10d.

'Paid Tayler the Pavyer for worke done by him att westgate': £1 9s 8d.

'P'd for mendinge the watchhouse att Eastgate': 1s.

1668-69

f. 3

'For Repairing the Gates and Walls

10 November p'd Cornish for worke att southgate': 18s 3d.

'To John Wilkings for southgate 2 p'ts oyle': 11d.

'1 May to the porter of north gate 2 p'ts oyle': 11d.

'27 June to Cornish for worke on the walle at westgat': £3 2s.

'To Mr Wills for stones one the same walle': 19s 6d.

£5 1s 7d.

'P'd for mendinge the walle over Bidwells': 10s.

£5 11s 7d.

f. 7

[Extraordinary expenses:]

'6 feb' p'd Blinckhore for stones to pave und'r Eastgate': 5s 6d.

'20 March p'd Ric'o Wills for stones for Southgateway': £2 8s 6d.

'1 May to Grinslade for Healling house on the walls': 10s 9d.

f. 8

'P'd for worke done one allmshouse on the walls': 3s.

1669-70

f. 3

'Reparacons on the Gates and walls

Paid John Croote for worke done att the west & Northgates after the frost': 8s 4d.

'Paid Richard Tayler for paveing worke there & for sand & stones': £2 2s 5d.

'Paid John Griffin for worke done on the barbican by Southgate': £3.

'Cost paid Lewes Greenslade for makeing a dore in Southgate prison': 6s 11d.

'Paid John Gifford for Iron worke by him done': £2 7d.

'Paid Henry Hodge Carpenter for worke done by him att Northg'te': 12s.

'P'd Nicholas Cornish mason for worke done there by him': 12s 9d.

'P'd Lewes Greenslade for hanging upp of Northgate': 3s.

'P'd John Gifford for Iron worke aboute the gates': 4s 9d.

'P'd Peter Gunstone Hellyar for worke done att Southgate': 1s 9d.

'P'd the porter for soe much' [tails off].

£9 12s 6d.

f. 4

'Extraordinarie disbursements

P'd Peter Gunstone for worke done att Bridewell & southgate': 2s 10d.

'P'd for mending the Porters Chimnie att Eastgate': 4s.

f. 5

'P'd [blank] for carrying of rubbish from the Barbicans w'th in Southgate unto Hollaway': £1.

1670/1-1673/4

1670-71

f. 2

'Reparacons on the Gates & walls

Paid Nicho' Cornish for worke done by him att westgate': 17s.

'P'd for worke done there by Rich' Wills': 10s.

'P'd Rich' Tayler pavyer for worke done there by him': 3s 2d.

'P'd Rich Wills for stones used att Southgate': 14s.

'P'd Peter West for worke done by him att [blank]': £1.

'P'd Nicho' Cornish for worke done by him att the grates by w'tgate': 3s.

'P'd him more for worke done att Southgate': £1.

'P'd Bond the Smyth for worke done there by him': 4s 1d.

£4 11s 3d.

f. 4

'Extraordinarie disbursments

P'd him [Nicholas Cornish] more for worke done att Southgate': 8s 10d.

1671-72

f. 5

[Extraordinary expenses:]

'Paid the Porter of Northgate for oyle used aboute the gate': 6d.

1672-73

f. 3

'Extraordinarie disburstm'ts this yeare

P'd Richard Taylor pavyer for worke done at Northgate': 8s.

f. 4

'P'd for a Lanthorne for the Porter of Eastgate': 1s 6d.

1673-74

f. 3

'Reparacons on the Gates & walls & making the New wall

Paid George Glanfeild for lyme used on the New wall': £3 9s.

'Paid Christopher Thomas Carpenter for worke done there by him': £5 18s 1d.

'Paid ffrancys Jewell for the stone there & engraving it': 14s 4d.

'Paid Luke ffalvey for the worke men wages there': £3 3s 4d.

'Paid them more': £2 1s 9d.

'Paid them more': £3 6s 10d.

'Paid Mr Tucker for basketts used there': 6s.

'Paid Richard Wills for stones used there': £5 10s.

'Paid more to the workemen for their wages there': £3 13s.

'Paid more for stones used there': £11 11s.

'Paid more to the workemen for their wages': £8 2s 9d.

'Paid them more for their wages': £7 10s 4d.

'Paid more for stones': £7 14s.

'Paid Christo' Thomas for worke done there by him': £3 11s.

'Paid more for worke men's wages': £8 11s 10d.

£75 3s 3d.

'Paid Thomas Parsons of Ware for Lyme used there': £13 4s.

'Paid more for workemen's wages': £7 14s 11d.

'Paid more for stones used there': £5 4s 6d.

'Paid more for the workemen's wages': £8 4s 2d.

'Paid them more': £7 14s 3d.

'Paid them more': £5 1s 5d.

'Paid more for stones': £13 4s.

1673/4-1676/7

'Paid Rob't Mogridge for sand': 6s 8d.
'Paid Cranmer for Lyme': £5 5s.
'Paid more for workemen's wages': £5 6s 8d.
£71 5s 1d.
'Paid Mr Tothill for stones': £3 3s 8d.
'Paid more for workemen's wages': £5 13s 11d.
'Paid more for stones': £1 8d.
'Paid more for workemen's wages': £4 1s 10d.
'Paid for pointing the workemen's tooles': 17s.
'Paid more for workemen's wages': £3 14s 10d.
'Paid Richard Wills more for stones': £9 8s.
'Paid more for workemen's wages': £4 16s 7d.
'Paid them more': £6 4s 1d.
'Paid John Tucker for basketts used there': 17s 6d.
'Paid Cornish for worke done on the walls in the New Churchyard': 15s 2d.
'Paid for new ropes for the well & mending the buckett': 10s.
£41 2s 10d.
£187 10s 2d.

f. 6

[Extraordinary expenses:]

'Paid Richard Splatt for worke done by him att Northgate': £5 12s 10d.
'Paid Richard Splatt for paving att Eastgate & westgate': £2 18s 4d.
'Paid George Greenslade for worke done by him att Southgate': £3 18s 9d.

f. 7

'Paid John Saunders the Smyth for Iron barrs put into Southgate': 4s 4d.

1674-75

f. 3

'Reparacons on the Gates and walls

Paid Luke ffalvey for worke done on the walls': £1 13s 8d.
'Paid him more': £1 15s.
'Paid him more': £1 8s 2d.
'Paid him more': £2 8s.
'Paid him more': £2 6s 2d.
'Paid him more': £3 5s 4d.
'Paid him more': £2 12s 8d.
'Paid for lyme': 16s 6d.
'Paid Cornish for worke done by him': £3 6d.
'Paid for stones': 16s.
£20 2s.

f. 5

'Extraordinary disbursements

Paid for worke done att the Corne m'kett & Southgate': £2 11s 5d.
'P'd Gunstone for worke done att Southgate & other places': £2 4s 9d.

1675-76

f. 4

'Extraordinarie disbursements

P'd Williams for worke done att the Bridewell and att westgate': £1.

1676-77 No expenditure recorded; see Appendix I.

1677/8-1681/2

1677-78

f. 2

'Monies laid out uppon the gates and walls

Paid [blank] for worke done in St: Bartholomew Churchyard': £1 10s.

'Paid Nicho' Cornish for worke done by him p'ut [as appears]': £1 18s 11d.

'Paid Edward Skinley as by his noate': £1 16s 2d.

£5 5s 1d.

1678-79

f. 3

'Reparacons of ye Streets of ye Cittie &c.

Paid him [Richard Taylor] more for worke att Westgate': £2 3s.

'Reparacons of ye Citty Gates & Walls

Paid Richard Hewett for worke att Westgate': 5s 6d.

'Paid Jno Norton for worke att Southgate': 11s.

'Paid Step' Wills for stones about ye Citty Walls': £1 13s.

'Paid Geo' Glanvill for Lyme for ye Citty walls': £1 4s.

'Paid Capt. Lukes Note for worke on ye Citty walls &c': £6 18s 8d.

£10 12s 2d.

1679-80

f. 8

'Repairations of ye Gates of ye Citty': [blank].

f. 11

[Extraordinary expenses:]

'P'd Richard Huet for worke done at South gate': £17 2s 10d.

1680-81

f. 6

'Reparacons of ye Gates of ye Cittie

Paid for reparacon of the Gates & Walls as by p'ticulars': £34 9s 5d.

f. 7

'Reparacons of ye Walls of ye Citty': [blank; the roll for this year gives £34-9-5].

1681-82

f. 4

'1681 Repairations of ye Cittie Walls

19 Nov Paid Stephen Wills for Stones in Bristoll June Backside [?]'': 11s 5d.

'Ap' 5 1682 Paid Nic'o Cornish for worke done at severall times & places':

£4 5s 5d.

£4 16s 10d.

f. 6

'Repairations of ye Gates of the Citty': [blank; the roll for this year gives expenditure on the Walls and Gates as £4-16-10].

f. 9

[Extraordinary expenses:]

Paid Capt. Luke for Christo' Can for Plumers work & Lead over West gate': £5 9s.

1682/3-1686/7

1682-83

f. 3

'Reparacons of ye Citty Walls
To Tho' Gould': [tails off].

f. 5

'Cittie Gates': [blank].

1683-84

f. 3

'Monyes paid for Rates and Taxes
Paid for 2 halfe a yeares Hearth mony for Westgate Gaurd house': 2s.

f. 5

'Repairations of ye Gates of ye Citty
Paid Thomas Gould for Stones used on ye Citty Walls': Nothing; changed from
£4 10s.

f. 7

'Repairations of the Citty Walls
Paid Thomas Gould for Stones for ye Citty Walls': £3 19s 6d.

f. 10

[Extraordinary expenses:]

'Paid Tho' Savage for mending ye Dyall over East gate': £1 10s.

1684-85

f. 4

'Repairations of ye Cittie Walls': [blank].

f. 5

'Repairations of ye Cittie Streets
Paid Richard Taylor for paving worke at Eastgate': £3 17s.

'Repairations of ye Cittie Gates

Paid Capt. Luke for worke over East gate': £2 5d.

1685-86

f. 3

'Repairations of ye Citty Walls
Paid Jno Glanvill for Burrs used there': 9s ?d.

f. 5

'Repairations of ye Citty Streets
Paid Richard Taylor for paving worke at Northgate': £4 15s 4d.

'Repairations of ye Citty Gates': [blank].

1686-87

f. 4

'Reparations of Walls & Gates

Paid for work done at Northgate': 15s 11d.

'Paid for work done at Southgate': £6 12s 2d.

'Paid for more work done at Southgate by Rich'd White': 9s 2d.

'Paid Adam for Carriage of Stones': £1 17s 11d.

1686/7-1690/1

'Paid Taylor ye paver for paving of Westgate': £4 10s 7d.
'Paid for Sand & Carriage to Westgate': 7s 6d.
'Paid [blank] Cornish for work done on ye town walls': £3 3s 2d.
'Paid Edw'd Dennis for Carpenter's work at Southgate': 9s.
'Paid for 2 boards, & 2 pieces of Timber us'd there': 4s 9d.
'Paid Carpenter's & Mason's work on Southgate': £1 5s 3d.
£19 15s 5d.

1687-88

f. 4

'Repairs of ye Citty Walls & Gates': [blank].
'Repairs of ye Citty Streets': [blank].

f. 12

'Extraordinary Expences

Paid for Lanthorne for the porters of ye Gates & Guildhall': 12s.
'Paid for worke done on Southgate': £1 8s.

f. 13

'Paid to Beere & Bonfires at ye foure Gates at ye birth of PW': £4 11s.

f. 14

'Paid repairing the Gardhouse at Northgate': 5s.
'Paid for a Lanthorne for Porter of Southgate': 4s.

1688-89

f. 6

'Repairs of ye Citty Streets': [blank].
'Repairs of ye Citty Gates': [blank].

f. 7

'Extraordinary Expences

Paid the Hellyer for worke on ye Gard houses': £2 5s.

f. 9

'Paid to mending the grates at Westgate Nic'o Cornish': 5s 1d.

1689-90

f. 6

'Repairs of ye Streets of the Citty

Paid to paveing worke at East gate': £2 4½d.
'Paid him [sic] more for worke at West gate': 10s 2d.

'Repairs of ye Gates of ye Citty

Paid Jno Bale for worke at Southgate': 18s 8d.
'Paid Gilbert Greenslade for worke at & over Northgate': £9 1s 10d.
£10 6d.

f. 8

'Extraordinary Expences

Paid Richard Strong for worke on Northgate watch-house': 5s.

1690-91

f. 5

'Repairationns on the Gates & Walls': [blank].

1690/1-1696/7

f. 10

'Extraordinary Expences

Paid 4 Labourers Instrumentall in quenching ye fire at Westgate': 5s.

'Paid for new Lanthornes for Stavebearers Porters Watch &c. as by Note': £2 9s.

1691-92

f. 6

'Repairations of the Gates & Walls': [blank].

f. 12

'Extraordinary Expences

Paid to expences at the Workes the Key & the Batteries': 12s 3d.

1692-93

f. 6

'Reparacons of ye Gates & Walls': [blank].

f. 16

[Extraordinary expenses:]

'Payd Jonas Bampfeild for worke att ye Keygate & other places': £5 3s.

1693-94

f. 4

'Reperations on the Citty Streets

Paid ditto [Richard Taylor] on the Common shore at west gate': 7s 5d.

f. 11

[Extraordinary expenses:]

'Paid John Thomas for worke on the watch house': £4 19s 10d.

'Paid Mr Greenslade for worke on the watch house': £1 17s.

f. 12

'Paid ditto [work] for the watch house at northgate': 1s 8d.

1694-95 No expenditure recorded.

1695-96

f. 10

'Charges in Law

By Mr White ye Limner for a Landskip of ye Castle Ditch & Walls': £1 10s.

f. 13

'Exterordinary Expences

For Counstable welch for ye watch w'th out S' Gate by order of ye Mayor': 3s.

'For ffire & Candle light for ye watch w'th out North Gate': 5s 6d.

f. 14

'For Conistables w'thout South Gate by order': £1 10s.

1696-97

f. 4d

'Repairations on City Gates & Walls

P'd Wm Rook & others for work': £1 4s ?d.

'P'd Rich'd Rook for Work': 4s [illegible]d.

'P'd Wm Rook for 4 dayes': 4s ?d.

'P'd James Sanders for 3 dayes': 3s ?d.

1696/7-1699/1700

'Spent A vew of ye Walls 5s 6d to Workmen 9d': 6s 3d.
'P'd Thomas Owens Note': 6s [illegible]d.
'To ye Workmen': 1s [illegible]d.
'To Rich'd Rook & Jonathan Walker': 7s [illegible]d.
'To ye Workmen': [illegible]d.
'P'd Rook & Gitson': 6s [illegible]d.
'P'd Richard Griffin mason his Note': £19 1s [illegible]d.
'P'd for Stones 2s 8d & to workmen 1s': 3s 8d.
'P'd Rook & Walker 5s 10d to workmen 6d': 6s 4d.
'P'd to Rook 14d & to ye workmen 6d': 1s 8d.
'P'd Samuell Cross for A boat Load of Stones': £1 12s [illegible]d.
'P'd Rich'd Hickman for Sand': £1 2s [illegible]d.
'P'd Mr Thomas Bamfeild Masons note': £14 7s [illegible]d.
'P'd Anthony Hawkings for water': 16s [illegible]d.
'P'd George Glanvill for Lyme': £5 8s [illegible]d.
'P'd Zachary Dining for Lyme': £6 9s [illegible]d.
'P'd Thomas Glanvill for Stones': £17.
'P'd Mr Rob't Burringtons Note': £16.
£70 10s 6d.

f. 8d

[Extraordinary expenses:]

'P'd Jno Courtice for Candle & Wood for ye Guard at Castle': £3 9s [illegible]d.

f. 9

'P'd Tho Clutterbrooks note for Southgate & New Inn': £26 6s 5d.

1697-98 No book surviving; see Appendix I.

1698-99

f. 4d

'To Paym'ts for Repair of Gates & Walls

To Mr Rob't Banfeild his note': £2.

'To Mr Rob't Banfeild his other note': 13s 4d.

£2 13s 4d.

1699-1700

f. 4d

'To ye Repair of Gates & Walls': [blank; the roll for this year states that nothing was paid].

RECEIVERS' ROLLS 1676/7 AND 1697/8

APPENDIX I: EXTRACTS FROM RECEIVERS' ROLLS 1676/7 AND 1697/8

1676-77

m. 1d

Paid for reparations on the Walls and Gates of the city this year £13-9-2.

1697-98

m. 3d

Nothing paid out for reparations to the Walls and Gates of the city this year.

**APPENDIX II: ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON THE CITY 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 1650-1700, 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.

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

O = no entry concerning the City Walls or Gates;

* = total includes work on other things.

YEAR	RECEIPTS	SUM OF EXPENSES	SUM EXPS ON WALLS & GATES	% EXPS ON WALLS & GATES
1650-51	540.0.6	533.14.9½	*15.12.3	*2.92
1651-52	604.5.2½	618.12.10½	*5.14.9	*0.92
1652-53	566.1.8½	639.6.2	*5.5.11	*0.82
1653-54	897.10.0½	1011.14.2	*12.0.6	*1.18
1654-55	965.13.4½	1150.17.3	21.18.9	1.90
1655-56	706.18.9	619.7.5½	6.8.0	1.03
1656-57	1236.8.6	1186.15.10½	1.6.6	0.11
1657-58	1138.11.7	1135.4.11½	0.12.2	0.05
1658-59	957.7.10	930.8.8	*23.6.5	*2.50
1659-60	911.16.11	876.12.1	3.11.7	0.40
1660-61	2413.1.0½	2169.18.0	*16.1.7	*0.74
1661-62	962.2.10½	870.11.11½	8.7.0	0.95
1662-63	954.1.8	838.13.9	133.12.0	15.92
1663-64	1448.14.3	1461.19.9	*70.7.6½	*4.81
1664-65	1444.11.9½	1955.13.5½	177.1.2	9.05
1665-66	1140.10.11	1254.6.0	55.3.11	4.40
1666-67	1137.17.9½	1162.17.8½	31.0.2	2.66
1667-68	1246.18.9½	1096.7.2	39.12.4	3.61
1668-69	1294.3.8	1197.16.7	8.19.4	0.74
1669-70	1160.10.1½	945.11.7½	*11.0.4	*1.16
1670-71	1902.4.10½	1871.19.3½	5.0.1	0.26
1671-72	1571.12.4	1339.5.10	0.0.6	-
1672-73	1336.0.2	1160.12.2	0.9.6	-
1673-74	1424.1.1½	1568.10.11	199.6.4	12.70
1674-75	1113.8.0½	1137.17.6	*24.18.2	*2.18
1675-76	1242.10.2½	1001.15.0	*1.0.0	*0.09
1676-77	1160.19.1	1191.16.7	13.9.2	1.12
1677-78	957.2.0½	877.17.4	5.5.1	0.59
1678-79	1200.5.2	1118.10.1	12.15.2	1.14
1679-80	986.18.2	958.6.6½	17.2.10	1.78
1680-81	1752.8.4	1757.15.0	34.9.5	1.96
1681-82	1613.3.9	1414.8.11	10.5.10	0.72
1682-83	2025.10.1½	1907.6.11½	O	O
1683-84	2440.5.7½	2357.13.6	9.19.6	0.42
1684-85	1710.12.10½	1400.11.4	5.17.5	0.41
1685-86	1244.6.0½	1983.19.9	5.4.4	0.26
1686-87	3323.6.0½	2930.17.10	19.14.7	0.67
1687-88	2320.11.3	1948.4.0	1.13.0	0.08
1688-89	1726.19.4½	1384.13.1	2.10.1	0.18
1689-90	1906.0.7	1750.15.6	12.16.0½	0.73
1690-91	2708.11.9	2321.2.1	0.5.0	-
1691-92	2408.0.6½	2305.1.11½	*0.12.3	*0.02

YEAR	RECEIPTS	SUM OF EXPENSES	SUM EXPS ON WALLS & GATES	% EXPS ON WALLS & GATES
1692-93	3428.9.1	2647.19.5	*5.3.0	*0.19
1693-94	3946.7.11	4103.8.8½	7.5.11	0.17
1694-95	3072.4.3½	2930.18.9	0.11.0	0.01
1695-96	2712.19.1¾	2546.12.10	1.18.6	0.07
1696-97	2699.11.6½	2824.15.8½	*115.3.4	*4.07
1697-98	8786.18.10½	8124.1.0½	0	0
1698-99	2046.17.7½	1330.13.6	2.13.4	0.20
1699-00	2131.16.2	1479.4.9¾	0	0

APPENDIX III: ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE ON THE WALLS AND GATES

Where no total is given in the account, 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 where possible.

- = part of the sum is illegible; where this is the case the total represents only what is legible;

* = total includes work on other things;

O = no entry concerning the City Walls or Gates;

\$ = total is a combined sum for work on both the City Walls and Gates.

YEAR	ROUTINE REPS GATES	ROUTINE REPS WALLS	MAJOR WORK GATES	MAJOR WORK WALLS	MISC	PAVING AT GATES
1650-51	*5.9.0				10.3.3	
1651-52	*2.14.0				2.18.6	0.2.3
1652-53	0.12.5				4.0.0	*0.13.6
1653-54	*2.2.0	*4.19.9			1.10.0	3.8.9
1654-55		3.10.4	13.13.2		1.19.0	2.16.3
1655-56	1.2.5	0.9.11			4.15.8	
1656-57	1.6.6					
1657-58	0.3.0					0.9.2
1658-59			*22.16.1		0.10.4	
1659-60	1.12.5	1.19.2				
1660-61			*12.3.7			3.18.0
1661-62			\$8.7.0	\$8.7.0		
1662-63			\$45.9.3	\$45.9.3	83.10.5	2.12.4
1663-64			*8.15.4	*60.6.4½	0.5.6	1.0.4
1664-65	0.9.6			32.4.4	8.3.0	136.4.4
1665-66			5.9.1	31.2.0	18.12.10	
1666-67			\$16.10.0	\$16.10.0	10.18.11	3.11.3
1667-68			\$37.15.10	\$37.15.10	0.1.0	1.15.6
1668-69	1.0.1	4.11.6			0.13.9	2.14.0
1669-70	*2.5.5	3.0.0			3.12.6	2.2.5
1670-71	3.13.11				1.3.0	0.3.2
1671-72	0.0.6					
1672-73					0.1.6	0.8.0
1673-74	4.3.1			186.12.1		8.11.2
1674-75	*4.16.2			20.2.0		
1675-76	*1.0.0					
1676-77			\$13-9-2	\$13.9.2		
1677-78			\$5.5.1	\$5.5.1		
1678-79	0.16.6			9.15.8		2.3.0
1679-80			17.2.10			
1680-81			\$34.9.5	\$34.9.5		
1681-82		4.16.10	5.9.0			
1682-83	O	O	O	O	O	O
1683-84		3.19.6	6.0.0			
1684-85	2.0.5					3.17.0
1685-86		0.9.-				4.15.4
1686-87		3.3.2	11.13.4			4.18.1
1687-88	1.8.0				0.5.0	
1688-89	0.5.1				2.5.0	
1689-90			10.0.6		0.5.0	2.10.6½
1690-91					0.5.0	
1691-92					*0.12.3	
1692-93			*5.3.0			

YEAR	ROUTINE REPS GATES	ROUTINE REPS WALLS	MAJOR WORK GATES	MAJOR WORK WALLS	MISC	PAVING AT GATES
1693-94					7.5.11	
1694-95					0.11.0	
1695-96					1.18.6	
1696-97			*26.6.5	*85.7.11	3.9.-	
1697-98	0	0	0	0	0	0
1698-99	\$2.13.4	\$2.13.4				
1699-00	0	0	0	0	0	0

INDEX I: PLACES

The number refers to the first year of the full financial year of each Book; for the sake of brevity the century has been omitted. Hence '68' refers to 1668/9. The folio number appears in square brackets after the year. Where the reference is to the Roll this is likewise denoted by the membrane number in square brackets after the year.

CITY WALLS

Almshouse on

Work on: 68 [8]

At 'Bradnich'

Stones for: 63 [5]

Work on: 63 [4]

At/near West Gate

Stones for: 68 [3]

Work on: 63 [5]; 68 [3]

At the Churchyard

Stone put up in: 65 [3]

Work on: 62 [2]; 63 [4]; 66 [3]; 73 [3]

At Unspecified Location

Repairs to: 54 [3]; 55 [3]; 59 [4]; 61 [1]; 62 [2]; 66 [3]; 67 [3]; 74 [3];
76 [m. 1d]; 78 [3]; 80 [6]; 81 [4]; 83 [5, 7]; 85 [3]; 86 [4]; 96 [4d]; 97
[m. 3d]; 98 [4d]

Materials for: 67 [3]; 74 [3]; 78 [3]; 85 [3]; 96 [4d]

Sand for: 66 [3]; 67 [3]; 96 [4d]

Stones for: 66 [3]; 67 [3]; 74 [3]; 78 [3]; 81 [4]; 83 [5, 7]; 96 [4d]

Barbicans of

At All Hallows' Church

Sand for: 63 [5]

Work on: 63 [4, 5]

At Quay Gate

Materials for: 63 [4]

Work on: 63 [4, 5]

At Snail Tower

Battery on: 53 [8]

Danger of children falling out over Walls at: 53 [8]

At South Gate

Carriage of rubbish from: 69 [5]

Stones for: 63 [4]

Work on: 69 [3]

By North Gate

Poor houses on

Work on: 50 [9]; 55 [4]; 66 [8]

Work on: 54 [3]

By Snail Tower

Bricks used at: 64 [4]

Repaired: 59 [2]

Work on: 64 [4]

Garrets of

Two taken down: 54 [1]

Houses on

Healing of: 68 [7]

Sand for repairs to: 55 [4]

Timber for: 66 [10]

Landskip of: 95 [10]

Near Quay Gate

Passage through

Stopped up: 53 [9]

Stones for: 65 [3]

Work on: 53 [9]

New

Made: 73 [3]

Materials and labour for: 73 [3]

Watchmen on

Paid: 64 [7]

Without East Gate

Repairs to: 65 [3]; 66 [3]

EAST GATE

Arch at

Made: 54 [3]

Stones for: 53 [3, 4]

Bar put in: 63 [5]

Beer and bonfire at: 87 [13]

Breach at: 65 [7]

Burs for: 54 [4]

Candlelight at: 65 [8]

Dial over

Mended: 83 [10]

Door without: 56 [6]

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Mended: 51 [15]

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Porter of

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Paid: 50 [2]; 51 [13]; 52 [14]; 58 [3]

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Units of

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Suppliers of

Crutchett, Honor [widow]: 50 [7]; 51 [15, 16, 19]

Crutchett, John [blacksmith]: 53 [7, 9]

Gifford, John: 69 [3]

Glanfeild, George: 73 [3]; 78 [3]; 96 [4d]

Saunders, John [smith]: 73 [7]

Units of

Pound: 51 [19]

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Suppliers of

Amery, John: 54 [3, 4]

Clare, Mr: 62 [2]

C[r]lanmer, Nicholas: 66 [3]; 73 [3]

Dining, Zachary: 96 [4d]

Glanfield, George: 73 [3]; 78 [3]; 96 [4d]

Parsons, Thomas [of Weare]: 73 [3]

Sleely, Richard: 67 [3]

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5s: 54 [3]

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Taylor, Richard: 69 [3]

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Taylor, Richard: 69 [3]

Stone

Suppliers of

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Fox: 67 [3]

Glanvill, Thomas: 96 [4d]

Gould, Thomas: 83 [5, 7]

Heward, Peter: 54 [3, 4]

Tothill, Mr: 73 [3]

Wills, Richard: 63 [5]; 65 [3]; 66 [3]; 67 [3]; 68 [3, 7]; 70 [2]; 73 [3]

Wills, Stephen: 78 [3]; 81 [4]

Units of

Dozen: 54 [3]; 63 [4, 5]; 67 [3]

Price of per dozen 5s 6d: 67 [3]

Seam: 62 [2]; 63 [5]

Thousand: 66 [10]

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Baker, John: 50 [9]

Buckland, Nicholas: 62 [8]

Ellis, John: 56 [6]; 60 [6]

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Tremayne, John: 66 [10]

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Ironwork for: 50 [7]

Paving at: 67 [5]

Timber for: 50 [7, 9]

Stones for: 50 [8]

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Repaired: 50 [8]; 55 [3]

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Paving at: 66 [10]; 69 [3]; 72 [3]; 85 [5]

Porter of

Paid: 50 [2]; 51 [13, 14]; 52 [14, 15]; 58 [3]; 68 [3]; 71 [5]

Repairs to: 53 [3]; 56 [6]; 59 [4]; 60 [3, 6]; 63 [4, 5]; 69 [3]; 73 [6]; 86 [4]; 89 [6]

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Mended: 52 [21]
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Paid: 50 [2]; 51 [13]; 52 [14, 21]; 58 [3]; 64 [7]; 65 [8]
Prison at
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Work done at: 53 [7]; 60 [3]
Repairs to: 53 [4]; 58 [3-5]; 60 [3]; 63 [5, 8]; 65 [9]; 66 [10]; 68 [3]; 69 [3, 4]; 70 [2, 4]; 73 [6, 7]; 74 [5]; 78 [3]; 79 [11]; 86 [4]; 87 [12]; 89 [6]; 96 [9]
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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).

- ADAM. Paid for carriage: 86 [4]
ADY, ---. Paid for sand: 67 [3]
AMERY, John. Paid for lime: 54 [3, 4]
BADCOCK, Reynold. [Labourer]. Paid for his labour: 53 [8]
BAKER, John. Paid for deal boards: 50 [9]
BALE, John. Paid for his labour: 89 [6]
BAMPFIELD, Jonas. [Mason; admitted to the freedom of the city on 17 April 1665 by grace of the Mayor and council].
Paid for his labour: 65 [3]; 66 [3]; 67 [3]; 92 [16]
Paid for sand: 76 [3]
BAMPFIELD, Thomas. [Mason; admitted to the freedom of the city on 27 August 1688].
Paid: 96 [4d]
BANFEILD [BAMPFIELD], Mr Robert. [Mason; admitted to the freedom of the city on 14 September 1691 as apprentice of Jonas Bampfild].
Paid: 98 [4d]
BICKFORD, Nicholas. [Glazier; admitted to the freedom of the city on 10 June 1672 as apprentice of his father, Nicholas Bickford].
Paid for his labour at South Gate: 51 [18]
BLINCKHORNE, ---. Paid: 62 [8]
Paid for paving stones: 68 [7]
BOND, ---. [Smith]. Paid for his labour: 70 [2]
BOND, Nicholas. [Blacksmith]. Paid for his labour at South Gate: 58 [4]
BROADFIELD, Anthony. Paid for his labour: 64 [4]
BROADFIELD, John. Paid for his labour at West Gate: 65 [3]
BUCKLAND, Nicholas. [One such admitted to the freedom of the city on 30 November 1529, fine £2, as servant of Alderman Thomas Walker, deceased].
Paid for boards: 62 [8]
BURRINGTON, Mr Robert. [Joiner; admitted to the freedom of the city on 2 January 1671 as apprentice of Francis Jewill].
Paid: 96 [4d]
CAN, Mr ---. Paid for his labour: 56 [5]
CAN, Christopher. [Plumber; admitted to the freedom of the city on 20 October 1673 as apprentice of John Can].
Paid for his labour at South Gate: 65 [7]
Paid for his labour at West Gate: 81 [9]
CAN, John. [Plumber; admitted to the freedom of the city on 28 June 1658 as apprentice of James Willes, deceased].
Paid for his labour: 50 [3]
CANMER [CRANMER], Nicholas. Paid for lime: 66 [3]; 73 [3]
CLARE, Mr ---. Paid for lime: 62 [2]
CLOUTER/CLOWTER, Richard. [Mason]. Paid for his labour at the drawbridge at South Gate: 51 [21]
Paid for his labour on the Walls: 54 [1]
CLUTTERBROOKE, Thomas. Paid for his labour: 96 [9]
CORNISH, ---. Paid for his labour: 68 [3]; 73 [3]; 74 [3]; 86 [4]
CORNISH, Nicholas. [Mason; admitted to the freedom of the city on 27 August 1688].
Paid for his labour: 69 [3]; 70 [2, 4]; 77 [2]; 81 [4]; 88 [9]
COURTICE, John. Paid: 96 [8d]

CROOTE, John. [Mason; admitted to the freedom of the city on 28 April 1662 as apprentice of John Griffyn].
Paid for his labour: 66 [3]; 67 [3]; 69 [3]

CROSS, Samuel. Paid for stones: 96 [4d]

CRUTCHETT, Honor. [Widow]. Paid for ironwork: 50 [7]; 51 [15, 16, 19]

CRUTCHETT, John. [Blacksmith; admitted to the freedom of the city on 3 September 1627 as apprentice of Nicholas Saunders].
Paid for his labour at West Gate: 53 [7]
Paid for ironwork: 53 [7, 9]

DEEBLE, Mr ---. 51 [21]

DENNIS, Edward. [Carpenter; admitted to the freedom of the city on 27 April 1657].
Paid for his labour: 86 [4]

DINING, Zachary. Paid for lime: 96 [4d]

ELLIS, John. [Carpenter; admitted to the freedom of the city on 11 April 1653 by order of the Mayor and council].
Paid for doors: 56 [6]; 60 [6]

ELLYS, James. Paid for his loss of a gelding at South Gate: 52 [18]

FALVEY, Luke. [Captain]. Paid for his labour: 74 [3]
Paid for workmens' wages: 73 [3]; 78 [3]; 81 [9]; 84 [5]

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GLANFIELD, George. Paid for lime: 73 [3]; 78 [3]; 96 [4d]

GLANFIELD, John. [Labourer]. Paid for his labour: 53 [8]
Paid for his labour outside South Gate: 52 [18]

GLANVILL, John. Paid for burrs: 85 [3]

GLANVILL, Thomas. Paid for stones: 96 [4d]

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GOULD, Thomas. Paid: 82 [3]
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GRENSLADE, ---. Paid for his labour: 68 [7]

GRENSLADE, Mr ---. Paid for his labour: 93 [11]

GRENSLADE, George. [Plumber; admitted to the freedom of the city on 12 December 1664 as apprentice of John Can].
Paid for his labour: 73 [6]

GRENSLADE, Gilbert. [Carpenter; admitted to the freedom of the city on 11 May 1663 as apprentice of his father Lewis Greenslade].
Paid for his labour: 89 [6]

GRENSLADE, Lewis. [Carpenter; admitted to the freedom of the city on 23 July 1638 as apprentice of Henry Larramore].
Paid for his labour: 50 [7]; 51 [15]; 58 [4]; 60 [2, 3]; 65 [6]; 69 [3]

GRIFFIN, Richard. [Mason]. Paid for his labour: 96 [4d]

GRIFFYN, John. [Mason; admitted to the freedom of the city on 12 January 1657 as apprentice of Arthur Willinge, deceased].
Paid for his labour: 54 [2]; 59 [1]; 60 [3]; 61 [1]; 63 [4, 5]; 64 [4]; 65 [6]; 69 [3]
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Paid for his labour at West Gate: 53 [7]
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GUNSTONE, Peter. [Hellier; admitted to the freedom of the city on 8 December 1656 as apprentice of George Gunstone].
Paid for his labour: 69 [3, 4]; 74 [5]

GYLL, John. [Pavier]. Paid for his labour at East Gate: 57 [4]
Paid for his labour at North Gate: 51 [16]; 52 [17]; 53 [3]
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HALSTAFFE, Peter. [Locksmith; admitted to the freedom of the city on 18 September 1637 as apprentice of William Hoppyn].
Paid for his labour on North Gate: 50 [8]

HAWKINGS, Anthony. Paid for water: 96 [4d]

HEWARD, Peter. Paid for stones: 54 [3, 4]

HEWETT, Richard. [One such, a hellier, son of Robert Hewitt, admitted to the freedom of the city on 27 October 1651 by succession].
Paid for his labour: 78 [3]; 79 [11]

HICKMAN, Richard. Paid for sand: 96 [4d]

HILL, Thomas. Paid for his labour on the Walls: 59 [2]

HODGE, Emanuel. [Carpenter; admitted to the freedom of the city on 11 May 1663 at the instance of John Griffyn].
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HODGE, Henry. [Carpenter; admitted to the freedom of the city on 1 August 1670 as apprentice of Emanuel Hodge, deceased].
Paid for his labour: 69 [3]

IZACKE, Mr ---. Paid for his labour: 64 [4]

JEWELL, Francis. [Joiner; admitted to the freedom of the city on 21 April 1662 as apprentice of Thomas Somerton].
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NORTON, John. Paid for his labour: 78 [3]

OAKE, Richard. Paid for his labour: 63 [5]

OUSLEY, William. Paid for his labour: 63 [4]

OWEN, Thomas. Paid for his labour: 96 [4d]

PARSONS, Thomas. [Of Weare]. Paid for lime: 73 [3]

PEARDE, Roger. Paid for his labour at the drawbridge outside East Gate: 51 [14]

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ROBINS, John. Paid for his labour: 63 [4, 5]; 65 [3, 6]

ROOK, Richard. Paid for his labour: 96 [4d]

ROOK, William. Paid for his labour: 96 [4d]

ROOKE, Mr John. His garden: 63 [5]
Paid for boards: 62 [8]

SALTER, ---. ['Old']. Paid: 62 [8]

SALTER, Dr. ---. Paid for bricks: 64 [4]

SANDERS, James. [One such, a chandler, admitted to the freedom of the city on 9 December 1695 as apprentice of John Truman].
Paid for his labour: 96 [4d]

SAUNDERS, John. [Smith]. Paid for ironwork: 73 [7]

SAVAGE, Thomas. Paid for his labour: 83 [10]

SILLY, George. [Mason; admitted to the freedom of the city on 11 May 1663 as apprentice of John Griffyn].
Paid for his labour: 64 [4]

SILLYE, Richard. [Labourer]. Paid for his labour: 53 [8]

SKINLEY, Edward. [Chandler]. Paid: 77 [2]

SLEELY, Richard. Paid for lime: 67 [3]

SMALE, ---. Paid for his labour: 62 [8]

SOMERTON, William. [Hellier, son of Thomas Somerton, admitted to the freedom of the city on 14 January 1656 by succession].
Paid for his labour: 65 [6]

SOWDON, George. Paid for his labour: 64 [4]
SPLATT, Richard. [Pavier; admitted to the freedom of the city on 10 November 1673 as apprentice of Richard Taylor].
Paid for paving work: 73 [6]
STAPLE, ---. [Souldier at the Castle]. 50 [4]
STRANG, Walter. [Hellier; admitted to the freedom of the city on 16 December 1650 as apprentice of his father John Strange, deceased].
Paid for materials and/or labour: 50 [2, 7-9]; 55 [4]
STRONG, Richard. Paid for his labour: 89 [8]
TAYLOR, Henry. Paid for his labour: 59 [4]
TAYLOR, Richard. [Of St Thomas, pavier; admitted to the freedom of the city on 26 September 1653 by order of the Mayor and council].
Paid for his labour: 59 [4]; 61 [1]; 63 [4]; 65 [6]; 67 [6]; 69 [3]; 70 [2]; 72 [3]; 78 [3]; 84 [5]; 85 [5]; 86 [4]; 93 [4]
THOMAS, Christopher. [Carpenter; son of Nicholas Thomas, admitted to the freedom of the city on 27 April 1657 by succession].
Paid for his labour: 73 [3]
THOMAS, John. Paid for carriage: 62 [2]
Paid for his labour: 93 [11]
TOTHILL, Mr ---. Paid for stones: 73 [3]
TREMAYNE, John. [One such, a hellier, admitted to the freedom of the city on 28 November 1636 as apprentice of his father John Tremayne, deceased].
Paid for his labour: 66 [10]
Paid for timber: 66 [10]
TREMLETT, John. Paid for his labour at the drawbridge outside East Gate: 51 [14]
TUCKER, Mr ---. Paid for baskets: 73 [3]
TUCKER, John. Paid: 67 [3]
Paid for his labour outside South Gate: 54 [2]
TUCKER, William. Paid: 63 [5]
WALKER, Jonathan. Paid for his labour: 96 [4d]
WELCH, ---. [Constable]. Paid: 95 [13]
WEST, Peter. [One such, a glazier, admitted to the freedom of the city on 16 November 1657 as apprentice of Robert Perryman].
Paid for his labour: 70 [2]
WHITE, Mr ---. ['Limner']. Paid: 95 [10]
WHITE, Richard. [One such, a hellier, admitted to the freedom of the city on 17 November 1673 as apprentice of Richard Williams].
Paid for his labour: 86 [4]
WHITROWE, William. Paid for paving: 67 [5]
WILLIAMS, ---. Paid for his labour: 75 [4]
WILLS, Richard. [Quarryman]. Paid for burrs: 67 [3]
Paid for his labour: 64 [4]; 70 [2]
Paid for stones: 63 [5]; 65 [3]; 66 [3]; 67 [3]; 68 [3, 7]; 70 [2]; 73 [3]
WILLS, Stephen. Paid for stones: 78 [3]; 81 [4]
WILKINS, John. Paid for his labour: 63 [5]
Paid for oil: 68 [3]
WOOD, John. Paid for his labour outside South Gate: 52 [18]