St Helena Records 1747-1748

Introduction: This is the twenty seventh volume in the series of *St Helena Records*, which summarises the proceedings of official meetings held by the island's Governor and Council, during which matters of government, defence, supplies, justice and discipline were discussed and recorded.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-1-31.

Text Inaccuracy: This transcription was produced by AI from handwritten document images held on the British Library's website, at about thirty pages per hour. Given the limitations described below, the text should be regarded as unreliable and used only as a search-and-find shortcut: once a relevant section has been located, it must always be checked against the source image via the hyperlinked Film Numbers listed in the main transcription table below.

Three specific problems affected the work. First, AI tends to prioritise meaning and readability at the expense of fidelity to the original, with a strong disposition to normalise spellings, expand abbreviations, and adjust grammar. It is particularly weak with unfamiliar surnames, and scrawled signatures often resist accurate transcription entirely. Transcriptions by eye of documents spanning four centuries have also shown that a single surname could be written in a wide variety of ways: the Crowie family name appears under six different spellings, and the Isaacs family name under sixteen. Searches for surnames are therefore hindered both by genuine variations in the originals and by mistranscriptions introduced by AI, and for this reason are best run phonetically. Second, the AI struggled with the late secretary hand, the script commonly used from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, in which the letter S appears in a form closely resembling a trailing L. Third, occasional passages in these volumes are written in a hand so obscure or poorly formed as to be difficult to read even by eye, sometimes compounded by heavy ink bleed-through from the reverse side or by the loss of sections of pages.

To mitigate these difficulties, a strict protocol was applied to each image, requiring the AI to rely solely on clearly visible ink strokes and to flag any uncertain reading, thereby reducing the risk of inferred or invented text. Two conventions are used. [...] marks text that could not be read with confidence; this may represent a single unreadable word, a full sentence, or occasionally an entire paragraph. Square brackets around letters or words indicate a conjectural reading supplied by the transcriber: brackets around a whole word, for example [Bazett], mean the entire word was unclear and a probable reading has been supplied, while brackets around individual letters within an otherwise readable word, for example B[a]z[e]tt, mean only those specific letters were unclear in the source and the unbracketed letters were legibly present.

Referencing Text Locations: A dual numbering system has been adopted, combining the British Library film number with the manuscript's original page number. These are presented in the format: British Library Film No. / Document Page No.

Content: No crossed-out sections have been transcribed. Complex tables have also been omitted, replaced instead with simple headings such as *Gunner's Account*, *Company Livestock Census*, *Store Goods sold to Inhabitants*, and *Government Table Expenses*, among others.

Pagination:
Page numbers appear only in the top right corner of recto pages. The first visible page number is 16, found on Film No. 5 (location 5/186, showing that the preceding fifteen pages are missing.

The volume begins midway through a consultation, confirming that the opening pages are missing. The first complete consultation appears at location 18/29, dated 8 September 1747. The lost material probably relates to one or more consultations in August 1747, since the previous volume, *St Helena Records 1746-1747*, ends with a consultation dated 21 July 1747.

Dates: During the period covered by this volume, England and its colonies followed the Old Style Julian calendar, in which the legal new year began on 25 March (Lady Day). As as discussed above the first date mentioned for a consultation is dated 8 September 1747 and the last is 19 December 1748.

The Council meetings were all held during the administration of Captain Charles Hutchinson (1747-1764).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

This account gathers the East India Company's records of St Helena from the last days of August 1747 to the close of December 1748. Across these 16 months the island appears almost wholly through its administrative paperwork: weekly consultations at the castle, templated land leases, monthly stock and gunner's returns, quarterly store collections, treasury counts, pay rolls, wills, estate auctions and court proceedings. Charles Hutchinson governed throughout, having superseded Governor Dunbar on 13 March 1747, sitting first with John Clark and Robert Wright and, after Wright's death, with Clark alone until Captain David Hunter arrived as Lieutenant Governor in May 1748. The value of the material lies less in dramatic event than in the fine texture of how a remote refreshment station was governed, supplied and held. [Film No. 5–7]

The record is an official one, kept by the Company's own servants for the Court of Directors in London, and it must be read with that purpose in mind. It is scrupulous about rent, stock and stores because these were the things on which a storekeeper or governor could be called to account, and far quieter about the lives of the slaves, soldiers and poorer inhabitants who appear only as entries in a ledger. This narrative weighs the evidence critically and tests the Company's account of itself against the wider world of Company rule, Atlantic and Indian Ocean commerce and the mid-century war with France and Spain that shaped the shipping on which the island depended. [Film No. 13, 48, 55–104]

Governance and administration

The island was governed by a small board that met weekly at the castle in James Valley, almost always on a Tuesday and later often on a Monday. Each sitting opened with the reading and signing of the previous consultation's record, then moved through deaths, petitions, leases and accounts. The small size of the governing body is striking, its concentration of authority meaning administrative, judicial and commercial decisions all flowed through the same narrow channel. When Wright fell sick and was absent on 29 September 1747 the island was governed by two men, and after his death on 10 February 1748 the council was reduced to two members for months, taking the accounts, granting the leases, proving the wills and sitting as the court with half a board. The settlement felt every illness or death among its officers directly in the conduct of its affairs. [Film No. 7, 16, 162–176]

Much of the council's work was the management of the Company's accounting year, which closed at the end of September. A notice published in early September 1747 ordered the storehouses shut from 7 to 30 September for an inventory, required every inhabitant to give a sworn account of family, land and cattle by 26 September, and summoned all to the castle on 6 October to pay rents and settle accounts. These three reckonings, the warehouse inventory, the census and the rent day, were deliberately run together at the close of the year to give the Company a complete annual picture of its stock, its people and its income, and the same pattern recurred at the close of the accounting year in 1748. The care taken over the record itself is a recurring theme: when a charge for two deals had been left off the books under Governor Dunbar, it was picked up and entered under Hutchinson rather than allowed to fall between the two administrations. [Film No. 6, 43, 346]

The rhythm of Company oversight from London runs plainly through the paperwork. The general books were balanced to 30 September, then fair copied and sent home by every homeward ship, so that the island rendered a full yearly reckoning of every payment, sale and stock to the Court of Directors. Copies of the consultations from 5 August were sent home by the *Kent* in January 1748, and the practice was routine and continuous. This is the outward face of accountability, yet a careful reader should note that the record was composed knowing it would be read by the masters it served, and it presents the board as diligent, orderly and correct. Failures appear, but as problems competently handled rather than lapses. [Film No. 85, 162–163, 339]

The board acted as a careful land office, meeting every request for the Company's waste ground with an order to view the parcel before granting it, a survey to confirm the ground could be spared and would not injure the neighbours. Renewals of known holdings might pass at once, but fresh grants always waited on inspection, as the petitions of Thomas Reynolds, Thomas Greentree, Martin Harper, Orlando Bagley, John Leech and Richard Gurling all show across the whole period. The board kept a further hold through the assignment clause in every lease, which barred a tenant from selling his interest without its consent, giving leave to John French, Joseph Desfountain, John Twait, John Alexander, Matthew Purling, Samuel Doveton and Joseph Powell in turn while reserving the power to refuse. Even a small standing charge on the establishment was reserved to London: when the surgeon Samuel Falconer asked for diet money in 1748, the board conceded the inconvenience but would not grant the money on its own authority, undertaking instead to recommend the request to the Court. [Film No. 83–97, 183–184, 280–281]

The Company reached from London to name the island's officers, and the arrival of a properly commissioned second in command was a matter of real importance after the reduced and sickly early months of 1748. The seat of Lieutenant Governor, empty since Hutchinson had risen from it, was filled on 30 May 1748 when Captain David Hunter came ashore from the *Godolphin* with a commission from the Court and took his place at once, the pay list catching his salary and Clark's council pay both beginning on 31 May. The board also filled its vacancies from within, rewarding long service: when the Company directed that one of its servants be made secretary, the senior factor Francis Wrangham junior petitioned on the strength of his seniority and five years' earlier service in the office and was appointed. It could not grant Falconer a standing allowance, but it could and did vote him a one-off gratuity of £10 for keeping the hospital's accounts for two years without a mate. [Film No. 253, 337, 432–435]

Military affairs and defence

St Helena was a fortified station as much as a plantation, and the garrison formed the largest single charge on the establishment. The quarterly pay roll set out four foot companies and an artillery company, each foot company built to a matching shape of two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, a drummer and a long file of sentinels, the common soldier paid a flat £3 8s 3d for the quarter. The artillery stood apart in its own grades of gunner's mate at £4 17s 6d, quarter gunner and matross at £4 1s 3d, each a step above the foot soldier, on a scale suited to the skill its work required. The whole military and civil establishment cost the Company over £1,600 a quarter, rising to £1,774 15s 8.5d by late 1748, built up man by man from the Governor's £156 down to the last superannuated pensioner, every death, discharge and promotion reckoned to the exact day so that the sum could be proved against the muster. [Film No. 63–70, 226, 234, 388–400]

The island's defence rested on its guns and its lookouts rather than on numbers. The gunner's monthly stores record a constant low expenditure of powder on salutes to departing ships, on alarms for vessels passing in the night and on the ceremonial firing at funerals. Powder was kept made up into rockets and false fires, the slow-burning night signals by which the fort could warn of a sail. The ordnance was carefully maintained: powder was spent scaling the guns at Sandy Bay to clear rust and fouling, and 69 lb of tallow was reckoned across a year for greasing the guns and carriages against the damp salt air. The shortage of trained artillerymen shaped the pay, Lieutenant Clark drawing an extra £7 10s for instructing the gunners, and the master gunner John French standing at the head of the artillery on a footing near the civil officers, his salary marking the weight of his charge over all the island's guns and powder. [Film No. 7, 10, 21, 28, 223, 233, 313]

The fixed defences were ageing and ill-matched to their mounts, and the board practised a make-do husbandry to keep sound iron in service. It found 32 guns standing on carriages built for eighty-two pounders, far too heavy for such old and light metal, and ordered new carriages made to fit while the rotten mounts of lighter guns were rebuilt for the guns now freed. The November 1747 stores confirm the wear, listing broken handspikes, three guns past use, and axletrees and iron trucks drawn for carriages, alongside two reams of paper for cannon cartridges. The Company built and maintained much of its own war material, oak and elm plank issued to make gun carriages on the spot, finished with iron bolts, paint and linseed oil, and teak plank at over £7 the pair reserved for the carriages that had to bear the shock of firing. When the

island's armourer's place stood vacant it hired the armourers of the ships in the road, Hornby of the *Stafford* and Brierly of the *Severn*, the passing fleet supplying skilled labour as well as goods, while the pensioned armourer Francis Funge was carried on the superannuated list and ordinary soldiers such as George Peacock and Michael Frost were paid to repair the arms. [Film No. 97–99, 135, 152, 217, 235]

That purpose was sharpened by the wider war. Britain was at war with France and Spain through these years in the War of the Austrian Succession, and an Atlantic island on the homeward track of the East India trade lay in real danger from enemy cruisers. The record does not narrate the war, but its watchfulness is consistent with a garrison alert to threat. An alarm on 15 October 1747 brought six guns fired and 13 lb of powder spent, men were paid the standing fee of 5s for coming express with word of a ship to windward, and every armed vessel entering the road was noted in full, the Danish *Crown Prince of Denmark* in April 1748 having her tonnage, guns and crew all set down. In April 1748 near two hundred pounds of powder were spent greeting the great fleet and firing the parting salute to eight ships at once, running through a string of alarms as strange sails appeared off the island and could not be known for friend until near, powder charged separately for priming the guns at the main fort, Banks's, Rupert's, Two Gun Ridge and the Ridge houses. [Film No. 70–104, 167–187, 245–246]

The fabric of the defences required constant labour, and much of it fell on hired soldier-labour for want of slaves enough to do it. Soldiers earned 1s a day beyond their military pay at the batteries of James Valley, Rupert's, Banks's and Sandy Bay, while skilled quarrying drew 3s, as when Bartholomew Molloy cut stone for the platform of the new battery at the head of Sandy Bay. That battery of six six-pounders, raised earlier in 1747, was being finished with a wall that closed off the one beach an enemy might use to land. Through the early months of 1748 men were hired by the day to blow up and clear rock at Banks's Platform, Stephen Wain paid for fifteen days breaking rock, and axletrees, wooden trucks and a single cask of tallow drawn for the gun carriages. Even in the midst of the later provisioning crisis the board undertook a new battery of six guns near Chubb's Rock to command Rupert's Bay, soldiers earning a day's pay carrying Purbeck stone to Munden's Point and building the batteries in James Valley, and swan shot drawn for killing the stray dogs that preyed on the flock. [Film No. 73–77, 155–195, 358–434]

The great turn of the whole period was the coming of peace. On 28 October 1748 the Company's ship *Duke of Newcastle* arrived from England, her packet carrying the royal proclamation of a cessation of arms between the King, the French and the Dutch, which the board ordered published to the garrison and inhabitants. The island had held to a war footing throughout, its batteries built and its guns kept ready against the French, so the news of Aix-la-Chapelle marked the formal close of the danger the fortification programme had answered. The board carried word of the peace onward to Fort Marlborough by the same ship's continuing voyage, the island a relay in the spread of the news eastward. The great charge of the quarter, meanwhile, was the annual clothing of the whole military body, the garrison account rising to £750 19s 7.5d, the greater part of it the yearly issue of two hundred sentinels' coats and the graded clothing of every rank, with 263 pairs of shoes and stockings matching the men in the ranks. [Film No. 310–311, 425–431]

Settlement, land and agriculture

Land was the foundation of the island's settled society, and the council spent much of its time granting, renewing and executing leases. The Company held the island as lords proprietor and let its ground on 21-year terms at a yearly rent due at Michaelmas. Every lease followed a single template, varied only in tenant, parcel and rent, binding the holder to loyalty to King George the Second, to fence his ground at once and keep the fence in repair, to plant and preserve a set proportion of wood under the island's planting law, and never to sell the lease without the council's consent. This last clause gave the Company a standing veto over who held its land and fused the roles of landlord and government, since any breach of order became at once a breach of the lease and holding ground was never a purely private bargain but a form of subjection. [Film No. 5, 15, 24, 183–184]

The distinction between country and town leases was clear. Country parcels, measured in acres and rented at 5s the acre, carried the fencing and wood clauses because timber was scarce and wanted for fuel, fencing and building. Town lots in James Valley, measured in feet and let to build upon, carried instead a duty to

leave the ground and any house on it in good repair at the term's end. Thomas Jarvis took such a building lot above Thomas Willingham's house at £0 12s 0d a year, a rent that priced a small plot by its frontage and position rather than by acreage. The leases sealed on 1 December 1747 show the process at close range, Baron Deleffe taking a lot of sixty feet square at 12s, Thomas Reynolds a plot of forty feet at 10s and Thomas Greentree a narrow wedge behind his house at 5s, the floor of the town scale, rents tracking size and position rather than any yearly reassessment. [Film No. 16, 25, 90–96]

The Company renewed its ground parcel by parcel as each term fell in, keeping the land under continuous tenure rather than letting it revert to open waste. On 13 October 1747 a whole run of Deep Valley leases fell in together and were granted afresh to Joshua Worrall, John Leech senior and Thomas Colgrove. In the country, holdings were built up over decades by the steady accretion of small adjoining parcels, and Martin Harper's petition of 24 November 1747 shows the mechanism: his leases at Half Moon and at eleven acres in Peak Gut had expired, and rather than let the ground fall idle he moved at once to renew them and take up three further parcels of adjoining waste, consolidating a holding of some forty-three and a half freehold and thirty-two and a half leasehold acres assembled parcel by parcel. The boundaries of fresh leases were repeatedly marked by the holdings of men lately dead, Worrall's parcel abutting the late John Bazett's, which shows the leasehold quietly recycled as tenants died. [Film No. 7, 20, 91, 172–186]

Estate and inheritance ran deeply through the land records, and much of the island's ground stood in orphans' holdings, the Company charging the rent against the estate until the heirs came of age. James Ryder's leasehold was settled on his three daughters Sarah, Margaret and Ellen through a trust, with Thomas Greentree holding the 30 acres in Swanley Valley as executor rather than in his own right. Richard Goodwin's will of December 1747 shows the persistent effort to keep an estate whole and in a single line, splitting his freehold between his two sons in distinct blocks, settling the reversion of the widow's holding on one son, and even directing that his James Valley house be physically divided by a party wall between the brothers, the crowding of the valley making the subdivision of a house the ordinary way of housing a growing family. Land was identified not by survey but by the name of a former holder, parcels such as Crawford's, Samuel Taylor's and the Red House land, and grazing rights on the rough uplands were themselves heritable property, the goat ranges at Devil's Hole and Lemon Valley settled by will with careful reservation of watering places in the several guts. [Film No. 5, 6, 108–112]

Later leases carried the same standing controls and a settled policy of conservation written into the terms of tenure. In December 1747 the board leased to Lieutenant John Barton a parcel in James Valley of one hundred and five feet, bounded by the Sale Path and the water course, at the highest valley rent of 18s, with a covenant binding Barton to build and maintain a good bridge across the water course strong enough to carry the guard from the barracks, the Company securing a piece of public infrastructure through a private lease. On 23 August 1748 it executed a lease to John Leech of a plot just twelve feet by twenty-eight at 4s, and on 5 September four country leases together to Martin Harper, John Leech senior and Joseph Whaley junior, binding each tenant to enclose his ground with a good wall and plant and maintain the full proportion of wood pursuant to the island's own law, Leech's lease requiring furze planted round the fences to thicken them into a living hedge. The smallest holding carried the same weight of obligation as the largest, the conditions fixed by policy and not scaled to the parcel, for the board had long feared the island's scarce timber was being cut faster than it grew. [Film No. 105–107, 342–352]

Land was also held on the lives-lease, renewed on each death by a fixed fine of half a year's rent, as Richard Beale's petition to insert his own name for the dead Robert Wright shows, and the Company used its leases to keep a family's land intact across a death, granting parcels to executors in trust for the children of the deceased, as with the two Bazett leases held for the Bazett orphans in Stone Top Valley and the old Fisher's Valley. Poor ground was priced to its worth, Matthew Purling's rocky and barren parcel near the Ridge House let at 1s the acre against the standard five. The rent day gathered a steady sum year on year, £340 15s 11d in 1747 close to the £338 19s 2.5d of 1746 and the £337 of 1745, and £343 0s 10.5d charged in 1748 against £313 10s 0.5d actually paid, the board carrying the shortfall forward as a debt owed by poor tenants with large families. The roll was sharply unequal, Francis Wrangham senior standing far the largest holder at 258.5 freehold and 130 leasehold acres for £29 14s 9d, the concentration of land in a few planting families plainly visible in the figures. [Film No. 17–19, 364–366, 422–438]

The stock counts show a settled agricultural rhythm turned sharply by drought over the 16 months. In late 1747 the neat cattle held near 280 head, renewing itself through calves born against beasts killed for the fort's table and the twice-weekly market, the sharp shifts in the September columns recording not loss but the year-end muster reclassifying the herd by age. The flock told a sharper story even then, falling from 245 to 228 sheep across November 1747 with five driven off by thieves, sheep grazing loose on the open runs being the stock most easily taken. Grazing was pinched, and men were paid to mow nettles in the Long Wood to feed cattle the pastures could not carry. By June 1748 the herd of neat cattle was drawn down to near its lowest, 205 head at the start and 202 at the close, calving stopped and the grass too short to breed on, brought down by nearly half from the 390 to 400 head carried through early 1747 by the heavy victualling of the incoming fleets together with the dry season. [Film No. 9, 27, 86–100, 260–285]

The reach of the drought into the island's own produce was clearest in the failure of the dairy. There being no milk to make butter or cheese, the board was driven to buy four firkins of butter, five cheeses and fifty pounds of currants from a passing captain for the general table, so the settlement's self-sufficiency in its own produce broke down and it turned to the fleet for goods it usually made itself. By July 1748 the season began to turn, the stock account recording the herds breeding again, three calves, thirteen kids and nineteen pigs against no increase at all in June, though the cattle total held flat at 202 as the new calves only made good the beasts killed for the shipping. The sheep and goats bled steadily away on the open pastures, a single August 1748 return recording nineteen sheep missing beyond those killed, stolen or taken by dogs, and finally, in late November 1748, the board sold fifty-one of its hogs at public auction for £21 4s 10d, choosing to cut the stock it could no longer feed rather than buy yams to keep it. The board answered the crisis at both ends, planting potatoes in fresh ground at Sandy Bay to feed its slaves the following season while buying the planters' yams for the present. [Film No. 256–285, 355–442]

Supply and provisioning

An island that grew little of its heavier needs depended wholly on what its own grounds could raise and what the ships brought in, and the most persistent theme of the whole period is its inability to feed itself and its stock. Yams were the staple that fed the slaves and stock, and the plantations issued them at a steady rate of some 41,000 to 44,000 lb a month through late 1747, close to the levels of 1746 and showing no sign of the shortfall a drought in April 1747 had briefly forced. Yet the Company's own provision grounds had been laid out too lately to yield, so it bought yams in quantity from the planters, the note against Thomas Greentree's 22,000 stating plainly that the plantations were very young and none fit for use. Yams were bought from Wrangham, the Greentrees, Goodwin, Desfountain and others at rates between £1 5s and £1 15s the thousand, the shortfall persisting into November 1747, when the Company drew barely half its 43,000 lb from its own ground. [Film No. 9, 27, 71–100]

The overseer's survey of 12 January 1748 put hard figures on the shortage. Richard Girling reported that he and John Seale had examined the grounds and found about two hundred thousand yams, of which only the older were fit to dig, yielding no more than eighty thousand pounds with none of the rest ready for five months, barely enough to supply the slaves and the arrack works. On 31 December 1747 the paymaster had paid Francis Wrangham senior for 31,940 lb of yams at 30s the thousand, the single heaviest payment of that quarter, and when there was no rough rice, or paddy, left even to feed the Company's fowls, the board bought 2,050 lb from Captain Robson at 3s 6d the hundredweight. Faced with the coming drought, the board resolved to keep digging its own plantations for the slaves while the crop lasted and meanwhile to buy yams for the cattle at £25 to £30 the thousand while the price held, foreseeing that the dry season would drive the price up, a deliberate husbanding of a resource it knew was about to grow scarcer. The yams expended swung from 45,000 lb in December 1747 down to 22,780 lb in January 1748, then crept back to 27,006 lb in February and 47,000 lb in March as the market reopened. [Film No. 105, 116, 118, 153–196]

The strain showed most sharply in the shift to feeding cattle on cut nettles. Men were paid by the day to mow and stack nettles in the Long Wood for the Company's herd, the coarse weed serving where grass fell short, and the same hired labour grubbed furze from the pastures to keep the grazing open. By mid-May 1748 the planters could supply only 32 bushels of yams every fortnight, their plantations not grown enough

to furnish more for months, and the Company's own flour would feed the garrison only a short time. This shortage drove the board to extraordinary measures, reversing the usual flow of trade and buying from the very fleet it existed to supply. In late April 1748 it applied to its homeward captains for rice, cabbage and salt provisions, taking their invoiced beef, pork and rice at the price they had cost from Captains Lascelles, Baher, Hind and Haldane, and soon after bought 30 tons of flour from the Dutch hooker of Hans Havenix at 20 shillings the hundredweight, the high rate a plain measure of how narrowly the island's supply ran between one store ship and the next. [Film No. 155–159, 242–248]

The Company grew and milled its own grain to lessen its dependence on imported flour, and the paymaster's account records a whole spread of hired day-labour keeping this scheme in motion: the mowing and grubbing of furze in the Horse Pasture, the threshing of barley by the bushel, the winnowing of yams, the baking of the garrison's bread by the batch and the tending of corn and cattle in the Great Wood. The scarcity pressed on into the middle of 1748, when on 17 May the paymaster paid £36 5s to Hans Harmz, master of a Dutch hooker, for better than thirty-six quarters of flour to support the garrison in the great scarcity of bread, and in early July bought rice and paddy from Captain Court of the *Caesar*, newly in from Bengal, the rice for the people and the paddy for the stock. Small sums went for potatoes, lemons and apples bought for the general table as each ship called, and the overseer Watkins was paid for tending the cattle. By August 1748 the recovery was written plainly in the castle's own table, mutton at more than two hundredweight and a free supply of pork and fresh beef where the July sundries had shown the table under strain. [Film No. 237–239, 327–354]

Salt provisions were a constant difficulty throughout, meat cured for a long sea passage spoiling easily in an island store. A cask of beef found bad in September 1747 was formally surveyed and, once the surgeon Fellows judged it unwholesome, ordered given to the Company's slaves rather than thrown away, the independent survey guarding the account against a keeper who might otherwise cover his own waste. The fishery filled the gap the failing herds left: the store held fish hooks in enormous quantity, near 122,000 blue and Grantham hooks together at the year-end count of 1747, and the Company had bought a boat in June 1747 to replace its lost yacht because the cattle could spare too little meat. Fish being much wanted for the support of the slaves, and the only boat a small yawl unfit to go to windward where the best fishing lay, the board paid £6 6s to Captain Haldane in 1748 for a larger boat with its oars and sails, treating the means of catching fish as an investment in feeding its enslaved workforce. [Film No. 8, 11, 38, 47, 52, 243]

Economy, trade and the store

The island's whole economic purpose was as a refreshment station on the long ocean passages, and the Company's store stood at the centre of that trade, serving at once as commissary, general merchant and chandlery. It sold the outward and homeward shipping the salt meat, bread, flour, peas and drink to carry them on, the heaviest of the ships' stores always these provisions, four puncheons of beef and four hogsheads of pork at a single reckoning. The store also fitted the vessels for the sea, supplying deals, nails, pitch, canvas, lantern leaves for their lights and log lines for measuring their speed, so that a ship might be both victualled and repaired in the open road. It was the island's sole draper, victualler and ironmonger, keeping every grade of cloth, the tools of every trade and the small trimmings of clothing down to the last button and skein, because a remote island could support no such tradesmen of its own. [Film No. 40, 52, 208, 210]

The Company priced every buyer by his relation to it, in a graded scale that reveals the island's commercial order. Its own garrison paid ten per cent above cost, the planters twenty-five, a further class of discretionary goods forty, and foreign ships the steepest rate of all at fifty per cent. The same brandy that reached the garrison at the lowest rate stood at the highest when sold to outsiders, so the Company held the soldiers' price down while drawing its widest margin from the vessels of other nations. In the quarter to March 1748 the servants took the whole collection at £623 8s 0d near cost while the planters paid £193 at a full margin, the store at once the garrison's near-free commissary and the island's profitable general merchant to everyone else. Brandy dominated every class of sale, near nine hundred gallons to the servants alone at over £247 in one quarter, the spirit trade both the store's largest business and a graded instrument of the Company's favour. [Film No. 36, 41, 123–130, 210–214]

What the store carried shows how completely the settlement depended on distant supply. The building of a house was drawn almost entirely from imported stock, Baltic deals and the costly Riga timber that made by far the dearest single line in the planters' purchases, oak and elm plank, spars and baulks, and window glass cut to standard squares, for the island grew no wood fit for building and made no glass of its own. The eastern trade reached even this remote Atlantic rock, in the Chinese porcelain sold by the parcel, the ivory combs, the painted palempore bedcover of the Coromandel coast, the muslin and the indigo dye that coloured the planters' cloth, while sugar and candy at over £200 were the most valuable Indian line. Against all this the island's own manufacture was slight, a little woolcombing and knitting of its own fleece, and the sea cow oil rendered from the elephant seals that hauled out on its shores, sold beside the imported train and linseed oils. [Film No. 32, 34, 39, 42, 51, 207, 213]

The private trade in spirit shadowed and drew on the Company's warehouse. Three men, David Wilson, John Collins and Robert Meacock, had clubbed together to buy eleven leaguers of the late Governor Dunbar's arrack at 5s the gallon, Meacock paid an extra 1s to keep the casks from leaking, the right to sell spirits turning on a licence granted by the Governor which both permitted the trade and fixed the partners on an equal footing. The same warehouse also supplied the Company's own works and trades, a charges general account setting the Company against itself for the paint, oil, cordage, timber and nails consumed in maintaining its buildings, cranes and gear. The settlement kept its own forge, bakehouse and carpenter's shop, and the accounts issued iron, files, hatchets and thirty-six bushels of coal to the smiths, brandy to the bakers and timber to the carpenters, an island without coal of its own shipping in the fuel for its ironwork so that even the smiths' fire depended on the Company's supply. [Film No. 120–123, 133–134]

The China cargoes show the reach of the Company's commerce, their invoices drawn up at Canton in taels, mace and candareens and in piculs and catties for the tea, converted into sterling for the island's books. The goods were sugar, sugar candy and three grades of tea, congo dearest at 28 taels the picul, single tea at 22 and common bohea at 14, the store carrying the whole scale because its buyers ranged from officers to soldiers and planters. The near-identical invoices of the *Norfolk* and the *Onslow* in April 1748, each of almost exactly £157 in the same goods and each signed by the supercargoes Palmer, Haldane and Machett, show the Canton factory making up matched parcels and spreading a standard consignment across several bottoms as insurance against loss. The bookkeeping was correspondingly careful, the chinaware carrying a standing allowance for breakage struck at a flat two per cent while the storekeeper tallied every broken cup as it was landed, and when the *Onslow* delivered candy 46 lb short of her invoice it was recorded apart so the shortfall could be charged back. [Film No. 189–204]

The store's dealings with the shipping were the island's chief source of profit, and its deep stocks of naval material far from any dockyard show why the island stood as the Company's forward store in the South Atlantic. The homeward Indiamen refitting for the Atlantic passage drew pitch and tar by the barrel for caulking, canvas, cordage and paint to preserve the hull, and above all fresh-baked provision, more than 1,300 pounds of baked bread at a single reckoning, the island's bakehouse turning the Company's flour into bread the ships could not easily make at sea. Cordage at more than £30, pitch and tar at nearly twenty-eight, and Russia duck canvas at better than ten were the materials no ship could sail without, while a single anchor sold at £54 6s 3.5d in mid-1748, and another at £59 6s 3.5d later that year, dwarfed the whole quarter's trade, marking the heaviest gear the store held for a fleet that could forge nothing at sea. Even coal was now retailed to the shipping, imported as ballast where island timber was too scarce to burn, and the small apparatus of navigation, the half-minute and half-hour glasses for the log, kept for the shipping alongside the heavy stores. [Film No. 215–216, 303–304, 380–381]

The island served the shipping of rival trades, not the English Company's alone. The Danish *Crown Prince of Denmark*, homeward from Canton with tea, chinaware and sugar, called in April 1748 and was recorded in full, both because the board watched every armed vessel and because such ships bought provisions at a mark-up well above the rate charged the Company's own vessels. The maintenance of the ships was itself Company business: when Captain Hind reported the *Onslow* very leaky after her passage from Canton, the board had her surveyed by the most experienced carpenters of the several ships then in the road, who found her wanting only recaulking and new chainplate bolts and cleared her to sail on once mended, a repair possible only while the season's fleet was in. Correspondence with the Company's eastern settlements shows the island as one point in a wider network, near-identical letters sent to Bengal, Fort St David and

Bombay ordering the cloth, candles, arrack and rice each presidency could best supply, framed in the money and measures of the port it wrote to. [Film No. 187–198, 256–258]

Trade and shipping

The island lived by the shipping that passed its road, and the whole rhythm of its economy answered the presence or absence of sail. When fleets called, the store sold goods, the boats and men were hired and the treasury filled with the pagodas and dollars of the season's trade. When the road stood empty through the deep late-year months of 1747, the gunner fired only over graves, the cash receipts fell to milk and market produce, and the herd was left untouched for want of ships to victual. The turn of 1747 into 1748 divided sharply into an empty season and a busy one: the *Kent* and the *Severn* were in the road at the turn of the year and drew the first beef of the season before sailing for England on 1 February 1748, and then in early April the road filled at a rush as the *Stafford*, *York*, *Prince Edward*, *Lynn*, *Norfolk*, *Onslow*, *Dragon* and *Grantham* arrived within days from China and Bencoolen, quickening the cash, drawing on the cattle and reopening the market. [Film No. 87–104, 160–196]

The season of 1748 saw the island's road crowded with the year's chief traffic. In the first week of April a great English fleet came in and departed together for Europe on the 26th, the annual advices sent home by the *Lynn*, the herd falling sharply from 242 to 210 head as the fleet drew off more than five thousand pounds of beef in matched supplies of 560 pounds a ship, the reopening of the road written plainly in the losses. The island served as a rendezvous even for foreign fleets: a great Dutch homeward convoy of eighteen ships under Admiral Molthenius, gathered from Batavia, China, Bengal and Ceylon and heavily gunned against the wartime risk, touched at St Helena in early May 1748, its lading the whole range of eastern goods, the coffee and spices of Batavia, the tea and chinaware of China, the cloth of Bengal and, tellingly, the cowries of Ceylon, those small shells carried the whole way from the Indian Ocean to serve as currency to buy slaves on the West African coast, a glimpse from the island's road of the vast Atlantic system into which the eastern trade fed. [Film No. 242–247]

The council mustered every ship that touched at the road against desertion, both to guard its own garrison from slipping away and to keep ships' men from settling ashore. Lieutenant Clark boarded the *Hunt* in 1747 and Robert Wright the *Severn* in January 1748 to muster their companies and search for deserters, and on 9 September 1748 Clark went aboard the *Princess of Wales*, Captain Thomas Harry, arrived from Bengal, finding none. The musters offer a rare glimpse of the human material of the trade. The lower part of the *Hunt*'s roll filled with Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch names among the English crew, the de Rosareas, de Silvas and Lopezes set beside the Andersons and Frammers, for an East Indiaman drew her hands from every port her voyage touched. The *Severn*'s roll ran to more than a hundred souls with a heavy tail of Portuguese and Goan names, and the *Princess of Wales* revealed the two-tier manning of a Bengal Indiaman, European officers and seamen over a larger body of lascars under their own serang and tindal, many bearing the Portuguese names of the coastal Christians from whom such crews were drawn. [Film No. 104, 353–354]

A muster could be passed undetected, for the Bengal deserter Thomas Brown had stood on the *Hunt*'s roll under a common name and was given up only after Captain Robson learned of it, so recovery turned as much on later information and the honesty of receiving captains as on the roll-call. The island served as a way-station in the movement of men, holding William Bruff, a deserter from the *Grantham* bound for Bencoolen, at the sentinel's rate until a passage could carry him on. The roll of the *Princess of Wales* also marks the human traffic the Company's ships carried through the island, a single entry of a black woman set without name or rating between the European seamen and the lascars, counted for completeness yet set apart as neither crew nor passenger but a chattel aboard. The open road itself was a peril, as the Dutch ship *Danna* showed the same day, dragging her anchor in the night and driving off, the poor holding ground that made the island's stock of anchors and cables so valuable to the passing fleet. The lookout system was answered in the paymaster's smallest disbursements, men paid a few pence for coming express with an account of a ship to windward. [Film No. 105, 139, 143, 325, 353–354]

Judiciary, crime and punishment

The Company kept a court alongside the council's administrative work, and the same men who governed and kept accounts also sat as judges, turning from administration to justice within a single sitting. A sitting of the island's quarter sessions was advertised weeks ahead, giving the inhabitants warning to bring their causes, and debts, disputes and offences were tried before a jury. A court held at the castle on 28 October 1747, with Hutchinson as judge and Clark and Wright as assistants, tried a civil cause alongside criminal charges. The Kennedy suit turned on a widower's claim to a share of his dead wife's inheritance, the jury holding that William Kennedy took a third of John Scott's whole estate in right of his late wife Elizabeth, who had been Scott's widow and executrix before marrying Kennedy, her deathbed trust deed unable to defeat his right at law, the verdict tracing a chain of marriage and death through two estates. [Film No. 26, 29, 83]

The settlement of estates was among the council's heaviest judicial burdens, and probate was constant business, the council sitting as a probate court within its ordinary consultations. It proved the wills of Penelope Isaack, Matthew Mudge, Stephen Lufkin, Richard Goodwin, John Desfountain and others on the oaths of witnesses, and tracked debts through the estates of the dead, the money owed by the late Daniel Griffith applied through John Thwaits to discharge his debt to John Goodwin's estate, one dead man's obligation moved straight to another dead man's account. Where a will's meaning was genuinely disputed the board sent it to a jury, as when Joseph Whaley junior complained that Richard Beale and Martin Harper, executors of Stephen Lufkin, refused a sum he claimed under the will. The cause turned on a tangle of successive deaths among minors, Robert Lufkin having died under age and intestate, and the jury found for the defendants, directing that the money go to Elizabeth Bryan, the grandfather's only surviving child, the court cutting through a chain of wills to the nearest living blood. [Film No. 78–89, 107–113, 164–165]

The board could cut through a dispute by shifting the burden of proof, as in the quarrel between the cooper Robert Meacock and Sergeant David Wilson over a debt on arrack, Wilson meeting the demand by accusing Meacock of skimming liquor and goods out of the stores and, being unable to prove it, told he must pay unless he brought evidence by the following Tuesday. The heavy mortality of these months kept the board busy proving wills, and it worked with a practical latitude suited to a small community: Robert Wright's will, a holograph written and signed in his own hand but not witnessed, was admitted on proof of the handwriting alone, and when both the widow and Matthew Purling refused the executorship the board took the estate into its own hands. Where an estate could not be wound up in the ordinary way, it ordered the whole sold at public auction and the proceeds lodged in the Company's cash, doing so for Wright and for Lieutenant John Barton, who died intestate in April 1748, reasoning that slaves and cattle might die and yams perish if held while a letter to England and its answer were awaited, the Company purse serving as the safe repository of last resort. [Film No. 119–123, 179–187]

The court's criminal business struck hardest at attacks on the currency and the peace. Charles Legente, a soldier, was indicted in February 1748 for coining or casting false rupees and passing them among the inhabitants, an attack on the very foreign silver that made up the settlement's money, and pleaded guilty. He was sentenced to stand in the pillory from ten to twelve on four succeeding Wednesdays and Saturdays and to receive fifty lashes on each of those days, the punishment staged across successive court and muster days to make the counterfeiter a spectacle before the assembled settlement. The same bench settled the private quarrels of the planters by the ordinary forms of English law, an action of assault and battery between Benjamin Mason and Joseph Powell tried by jury which found for the plaintiff and gave him 20s damages, the court also fining Powell for the breach of the peace under the Company's book of laws. The drought made water itself a matter for the court, two disputes tried on the same day in May 1748 turning on competing claims to a scarce flow, the jury affirming the upstream planter's right to use the water while protecting the downstream man from being wholly deprived. [Film No. 163, 251–252]

Justice fell far more harshly on slaves than on free men, and the exemplary violence that upheld the system runs through the court record. In October 1747 three slaves convicted of housebreaking and theft, one belonging to the Company itself, were sentenced to a hundred lashes on each of four muster days and to be burned in the cheek, a public and permanent mark set on the body. At the sessions of 24 May 1748 Essex and Peter, slaves belonging to John Doveton and John French, were tried for breaking open the house of John Desfountain and sentenced to be burned on the right cheek and to receive a hundred lashes

on three succeeding court days. At a court on 26 September 1748 Peter, a slave of the master gunner John French and a notorious offender already convicted, was sentenced to be whipped twice weekly for six weeks and burned on the cheek, and by the custom of the island the owner made restitution for a slave's theft, so French was ordered to pay the victims their losses, turning one man's ownership into a debt to every household his slaves had robbed. [Film No. 82–83, 251, 361–362]

The gravest matter was a suspected killing that put a master's power on trial. A slave woman named Susan, belonging to Robert Meacock, was found dead in his house, and the Governor directed the surgeon Falconer to examine her body before laying the matter before the jury. On the depositions the jury found that her death followed from cruel usage by blows and stripes while she was in a distressed condition for want of food, a compound of beating and starvation, the accused including her own master alongside three named men. Yet the outcome exposes the limits of the court's treatment of a slave's death: the jury turned the inquest into a financial penalty, fining Meacock and the three others graduated sums for the use of the church, settling a slave's killing by a parish fine where the killing of a free person could not have been. That one of the men fined, William Davis, was enlisted into the garrison at £5 5s bounty a week later, and that Meacock and Mark Hawkins drew their full quarter's pay undisturbed, shows how far the verdict sat below the threshold that touched a man's standing as a Company servant. [Film No. 362–389]

Theft of livestock and desertion were the other recurring offences, and here the record is candid about its own limits. Sheep were driven off the open runs where no guard could hold them, and the monthly returns simply entered the loss under a column for stolen stock, naming no thief, so the crime appears only as a subtracted number, a fair measure of how far the official record reaches. Desertion drew the garrison's constant anxiety, for the sea gave men a way off the island the land never could. When the *Princess of Wales* sailed in late 1748 the soldiers George Ayres and John Cope failed to appear at the roll-calling and were carried off and never seen again, John Pope deserting the same day. The board's treatment of the reverse case, ship's deserters who surrendered ashore, turned on its own need for men: William Cook, who hid to avoid the passage to Bencoolen and surrendered two days after his ship sailed, was simply taken into the garrison without punishment, gaining the island posting he plainly wanted, while Thomas Dye was held to be forwarded to the Bencoolen posting he had tried to avoid. [Film No. 100, 256–293, 363–432]

The board served as the Company's forum for shipboard disputes that touched at the island, the fullest of which was the case of Richard Damon, chief mate of the snow *George*. On 23 August 1748 he laid a sworn petition before the board setting out how his commander Thomas Weddearn had taken a private letter from his chest, broken it open and read it, and then sent for two loaded pistols, threatening to blow out his brains, barring him from the cabin table, and then, having let him ashore to buy provisions, sailing in the night and refusing to take him back aboard though he hailed the ship for an hour, leaving him nothing but the clothes he stood in. The account was corroborated on oath by John Bland the master mason, a disinterested islander who had stood with Damon at the landing when the commander refused him. The board could not reach the departed ship, so it fixed the facts on the record while a witness was at hand and kept the stranded officer from destitution, allowing him 10s a week but securing even this against his own wages, having him draw bills on Belcher the shipowner, Damon declaring seventeen months' pay owing to him. [Film No. 343–346]

The board's authority reached aboard the vessels that touched the road in matters of provisioning as well. When a great part of the crew of the *Princess of Wales* complained that Captain Harry had stinted their provisions and stopped their customary drams, the board resolved to enquire on the spot, taking sworn depositions from the ship's own chief mate and steward in the captain's presence. The evidence largely bore the men out, and the matter ended not in punishment but in the revictualling of the ship from the Company's stores, the island's real power lying less in judging the captain than in filling his ship for the voyage. Disputed claims against the estates of the dead show the court weighing paper evidence against bare demand: Sarah French, a widow, demanded £28 4s 7d from the estate of the late Lieutenant Barton, but an account among his papers showed her the debtor rather than the creditor, and the jury offered her the ancient remedy of the oath, ruling that she must be paid if she would draw out an account and swear to its truth. [Film No. 252–253, 356–357]

Finance, currencies and accounting

The Company's treasury on the island ran almost wholly on foreign coin, a plain sign of its place in the wider trades of the India and Atlantic worlds. The chest at the end of August 1747 held 4,449 pagodas of the Coromandel coast valued at 8s each, together with a great mass of Spanish dollars, rials and ducatoons, French pieces, joannes, moidores and rupees, and only a single line of English old money. The cash stood at £5,163 4s 7.25d at the opening of August 1747, swollen by the specie gathered through the season's shipping and by Governor Dunbar's savings paid in at the change of government. The pagoda stood at 8s as the Court had fixed from 1 May 1746 and Spanish dollars at five, this the money of the wider commerce that touched at the island rather than any coin of English striking. [Film No. 12, 13, 79–103]

The scale of that foreign holding was large and shifting, and the gold often stood wholly unchanged from one count to the next so the month's movement fell on the silver, which came and went with the market and the shipping. Pagodas stood at 3,263 by the September 1747 count, more than double the 1,233 held a year earlier, and rose to 3,510 across December as ships were paid, while Spanish dollars ran above ten thousand at the October count. The rated value of the coin was a matter of the board's own fixing, and a shift in it moved the whole balance of the chest: the Spanish dollar was reckoned at 6s in the March 1748 count but at five in April, altering the sterling worth of thousands of coins at a stroke. To meet the daily dealings the large foreign pieces could not, the Company issued its own cash notes running down to 2s 6d, some £538 15s of paper standing steady in the reserve beside the coin while the metal shifted around it, a remote factory short of small coin making its own money for petty trade. [Film No. 79–103, 160–179, 241–249]

The accounts do not always balance, and the record is honest about it. The gold subtotal in the August 1747 cash account could not be reached from the individual coin lines set above it, the discrepancy being the clerk's own, and the figures were left as they stood rather than quietly corrected. A great stock of 63,860 Irish halfpence lay unmoved in the warehouse for a whole year at £133 0s 10d, and remained a dead weight through several inventories into late 1748, copper the island could neither spend freely nor easily be rid of where its dealings ran in pagodas and dollars. Worn gold was entered by dead weight rather than count, trusted only by its metal. Accounting discipline was nonetheless real and pervasive, every class of consumer carried under its own head, the garrison, the hospital, the boats, the slaves, the plantation and the fort's own table each drawing from the one warehouse and each booked to a separate charge, and the year's issues set against the standing stock at the great inventory of 30 September so that what went out could be measured against what remained. [Film No. 13, 50, 421–427]

The treasury served the planters and captains as a bank for remitting money home. On 7 June 1748 a run of men paid coin into the Company's cash and took bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, Francis Wrangham senior £120 and Thomas Greentree and Captain Robert Robinson £200 each, every bill payable ninety days after sight, the fixed term giving London time to verify the draft before the money fell due. A payer could direct his bill to a third party, so the system not merely moved a man's own money home but discharged his debts to others, Thomas French turning his island cash into a payment to Peter Mitchell in England. The store's takings, the drink licences at 30s each and the market money were the treasury's chief income, one quarter drawing in £816 18s 5d from goods sold, £15 from the licences of ten public houses and £53 10s 4d in market money for provisions rendered by the steward Roger Nevanson, who ran the island's meat market. Court fines flowed straight into the same chest, so the maintenance of order returned a small revenue to the body that governed. [Film No. 240, 254, 279–304, 330]

Careful bookkeeping ran through every branch of the administration, and dead assets were formally written off rather than allowed to vanish quietly from the books. When two long boats were found dead assets, one lost years before in Governor Dunbar's time and the other worn out, the board wrote them off to the account current with London, keeping a lost asset on the account until it could be authorised for removal. The mechanics of accounting for goods and losses appear throughout: vinegar and oil were reckoned gallon by gallon, every cask that came ashore through the surf risking breakage between the wharf and the warehouse, and the storekeeper's yearly waste account charged the unavoidable losses to profit and loss, the brandy and arrack leaking by the gallon from the cask, a whole parcel of vinegar thrown away for proving bad, the whole reckoned down to a few broken cups. Even worn household stuff was written off only by a recorded order, a broken chimney glass and nineteen worn napkins struck from the books by

name and value. Debts owed to the estate of the late John Goodwin were still being gathered in years after his death, and the balance of the late Matthew Mudge's account paid to it, the Company's books tracking obligations between the dead until every reckoning was closed. [Film No. 248, 279–304, 421–439]

Slavery and coerced labour

The Company held slaves as property and recorded them as such, and nothing in the material exposes the moral character of the settlement more starkly than the manner of that recording. The increase of the Company's slaves was carried in the same monthly account as the increase of its cattle, so the birth of a slave child named Sarah was entered among the livestock, as the death of the slave Toney and the slave girl Bridget had been in 1746. The practice ran throughout the whole period without comment: in December 1747 the births of two slave children, Sarah and Bridget, were set down among the calves, lambs and the six pigs farrowed that month; in March 1748 the deaths of two men slaves, Plato and Francisco, were entered by name in the column of animal losses beside an ox lost by a fall; the death of the man slave Dublin and the birth of the child Eustace were entered the same way, the child Betty in June; and in late 1748 the births of the slave children Sarah and Betty were again carried among the increase of the Company's animals, ranked as breeding stock whose lives were a credit against the plantation. [Film No. 9, 118, 157–196, 260–285, 355–435]

The slaves' place at the bottom of the island's order shows plainly in their provisioning, kept at the lowest charge that would preserve their working value. Tainted beef the store could not sell was issued to them rather than wasted, even after the surgeon had certified it unwholesome, a whole puncheon valued at nearly £11 given to the slaves in one quarter because it was spoilt and unfit for the garrison. Their clothing was managed as a supply problem like any other, made up from kersey when imported suits fell short, twenty jackets and breeches for the north company slaves in 1747 and forty-two suits for the Company's black women cut out by Thomas Jarvis, the heaviest charge by far their annual clothing, better than £118 in one quarter for jackets, trousers and shirts entered as sailors' clothes, the cheap ready-made slops of the sea trade. In late 1748 a hundred and two blankets were shared out one to each slave as far as the stock would reach. Brandy was issued for drams alongside their food, and their housing kept in bare repair with the cheapest sixpenny nails, cordage and train oil, enough to keep the roofs on but no more. [Film No. 9, 11, 44, 137–138, 218–237, 307–435]

The Company's plain interest in its slaves as valued property produced a distinct provision for the sick, tea, sugar and rice set apart for those unable to work, a slave nursed back to labour being worth more than one let to fail. Bread, sugar and tea were reckoned for the sick blacks in the same plain terms as the stores for the boats, and goats were set apart for them, seven for the sick slaves in May 1748 and three more in June, two given to them in July where the market got none. The same reckoning governed the rewards paid for taking runaways and the medical charge entered against each slave's yearly keep. The slaves were also set to work the sea, the slaves account issuing hooks, lines, shot and twine for their fishing, the Grantham hooks the very stock the inventories record in their tens of thousands, so the Company put its own slaves to the boats to eke out the meat the failing herds could not spare, their labour tied directly to the great problem of feeding the island. [Film No. 42, 44, 219, 307–336]

The wills expose slavery at its baldest, human beings bequeathed by name alongside beds, sheep and pewter. Penelope Isaack parcelled out four slaves singly among her children, Hercules and Moll to one daughter, a boy named Henry to another and a man to her son, the most valuable property she had to give. Richard Goodwin's will disposed of a black woman named Abigail to his widow at valuation and black children named Jack, Bess, Stephen and Sarah to his several children, each reckoned among the goods to be appraised and left alongside the silver spoons and the sandalwood chest. Gabriel Harper gave his widow a slave named Cornwell to help support his younger children, but only while she remained his widow, directing that if she remarried his executors should pay her the value of the man instead, a working asset fixed to the family rather than the widow's to remove. The estate auctions of 1748 exposed the buying and selling of human beings at close range: the sale of Robert Wright's effects opened with six named slaves valued as the most considerable part of his property, the men London, Campo and Pompey and the women and girls Moll, Peg and Mercy priced above the cattle and goats, the estate also carrying a half share in a fisherman, the man's very person fractioned into shares, while Barton's estate sold a man named Pompey at £7 10s among the household goods. [Film No. 82–83, 111–112, 182, 262–275]

Coerced and imported labour reached beyond the Company's own slaves. Indian servants or slaves were rewarded in brandy for killing a sea cow inshore, a marine animal taken for its flesh or oil, the same work appearing in the gunner's stores as a small charge of powder. The most revealing episode is the transfer of slaves through the island between the Company's eastern settlements. Captain Hind of the *Onslow* reported that seventeen slaves had been put aboard his ship for Bencoolen, but that only ten were still living, the other seven having died on a voyage not yet ended, the loss of nearly half a consignment before it could be landed showing the lethal conditions of such carriage. The list of the ten deserves scrutiny, for it mixed men said to be of Angola and Bengal with others of Ireland, Wales and Staffordshire under the single head of slaves, a labouring draft of very mixed origins, some perhaps bond servants or transported men, all reduced to the same category, the looseness of the term itself evidence of how the Company saw the people it carried. [Film No. 42, 44, 201–203]

A few entries let enslaved and free black people appear not as property but as parties in their own right. Barton's account current recorded small debts owed to a black man named Simon, a mason, to Pratt Oliver, a black woman, and to a black woman named Sarah, each paid for work or goods like the white tradesmen around them, and the estate also paid the last tax on Barton's slaves to the churchwardens, the parish levy on slaveholding cleared out of his effects. The court cases expose the other face of the system, the violence that upheld it and the law's unequal reach, the branding and repeated whipping of convicted slaves judged severely for theft while the men who beat and starved Susan to death were fined rather than hanged, a slave's life valued at a parish fine. The restitution rule that made an owner answer for his slave's thefts treated the enslaved as property without property of their own, unable to make amends so that the loss fell on the master. Throughout, the Company's dependence on slave labour deepened as the drought forced it to hire its own soldiers to build the batteries for want of hands, a tension the accounts name plainly. [Film No. 70–75, 287–401]

Social order, religion and education

The settlement was a small and rooted society whose families served in the ranks and held land at once, and the same island surnames run through the leases, wills and estate disputes and stand again on the muster, the Allises, Hayeses, Masons, Beales, Leeches and Frenches among them. Sons of the settlement took the sentinel's wage alongside recruits shipped from Britain and Ireland, and men moved through the record as leaseholders, litigants and soldiers together, the civil and military life of the place overlapping in the same families. Baron Deleffe, a leaseholder in James Valley, stood among the sentinels, and Bartholomew Molloy, once a paid quarryman, served as a sergeant. The parish framework overlay the Company's government, and each year the inhabitants met in vestry to choose churchwardens and overseers, the offices falling year on year on the same substantial families, the Dovetons, Alexanders, Girlings and Bagleys, who carried the island's local government between them in quiet contrast to the transient world of the Company's officers and the passing ships. [Film No. 142–149, 197, 313–317]

The pay roll sketches the settlement's small governing and skilled class, the factors, writers, surgeon, chaplain and schoolmaster carried at salary with diet money and house rent, alongside the masons, cooper, carpenter and gardener who kept the island running. The two masons John Bland and Mark Hawkins drew among the highest tradesmen's pay, marking the value set on skilled stonework where fortifications, buildings and limekilns all turned on masonry. The Company provided for religion and schooling, though on the cheap, so the provision for the soul and mind of the settlement was real but slight. The chaplain William Loveday, newly come to a cure the island had long gone without, drew a straight salary of £25 without the diet money and house rent allowed the factors, the ministry provided for on its own distinct footing, while the education of the island's children was carried by a single modestly paid officer, Richard Beale, who drew £3 8s as schoolmaster and £5 as clerk, doubling the post with clerical work, so the Company met the cost of a school by folding it into another office. Even Loveday appears as a debtor, paying £50 into the cash on his bond to the Company, the establishment's accounting reaching into every corner of the settlement. [Film No. 61–63, 140, 221–222, 419–445]

The record carries the marks of a sickly season throughout, the pay roll a plain register of mortality that cut each man's wage to the day he died. Four sentinels died within the July to September quarter of 1747, John

Swindell dead the very day he was entered on 4 September, and a long run of soldiers died through the early part of 1748, Thomas Breece on 9 January, William Smith on 25 January, Abraham Burrill on 8 March, the sergeant John Aldrick on 29 March and John Marmonchee on 25 March, each name entered and struck off with its pay reckoned to the day. The dominant social fact of the early months of 1748 was death, taking soldiers, tradesmen, planters, wives and children alike, among them Robert Wright of the council, the planter Gabriel Harper, the carpenter Edward Bates and several children of the soldier John Hayes, the small population noticeably thinned and the board pressed on by two members where three should have sat. The garrison buried its dead in plain deal coffins made from the store's boards, the toll of the season showing in the quiet accounting of timber and nails issued for the purpose. [Film No. 64–98, 162–232]

Rank followed a man even into the ground. Where the garrison's dead lay in deal boxes, the councillor Robert Wright, who died on 10 February 1748, was buried in a coffin covered in fine black broadcloth, a mark of respect matching the fifteen pounds of powder fired over his grave, where a common soldier drew only a small charge for his funeral salute. The two estate auctions of 1748 open a rare window on the material world of the island's small gentry. Wright, secretary and councillor, kept a house furnished in the English manner with imported mahogany and walnut, caned chairs, a looking glass and glass sconces, the mahogany bureau alone fetching more than £10, fine waistcoats of green brocade and gold-laced velvet, silver plate kept as both ornament and portable wealth, and a coffee mill and pot marking the newer hot drinks settled into island life, nearly everything he owned come by ship, a single island-made tea board the exception. Barton's wardrobe was richer still, his laced waistcoats of silver, gold and silk fetching £2 and £3 apiece, silver-hilted and mourning swords, a silver-headed cane and a silver watch, the value of goods on a remote island running contrary to English habit, a single silver-hilted sword worth more than the whole run of copper and tin cookware together. [Film No. 221–275]

Individual fortunes rose and fell within the establishment, and the wills of the garrison rank and file show their narrow means and tangled households. John Leech the marshal resigned his office and enlisted as a common soldier on 12 January 1748, his descent traced across the pay roll from the marshal's salary to the flat sentinel's rate, his place taken by Thomas Willingham. John Gray died in the hospital, his estate a chest, a violin and a few books to be sold to clear the surgeon's bill before anything reached his wife, and noted that no stamped paper was to be had, a real difficulty of a remote settlement where English law required legal instruments to bear a revenue stamp. That both Gray and David Wilson signed their wills with a mark, able to hold a sergeant's rank and leave a settled estate yet not write their own names, is the plainest measure of the men the garrison drew on, while the same small circle of literate men, the surgeon Falconer and the assistant Wrangham among them, witnessed and administered these wills again and again. The winding up of the estates of Wright and Barton, drawn as double-sided accounts current, shows how densely a leading man was woven into the island's credit, each owing and owed small sums by a dozen households, Wright standing indebted on mortgage bond to the Company and further owing £200 on bond to John Richardson, an orange merchant of Botolph Lane in London, a claim reaching an ocean away. [Film No. 223–293]

Personalities

A few individuals stand out from the routine of the record, the papers rewarding a reading in which a name in one account gains meaning from its recurrence in another. Charles Hutchinson governed throughout, his administration marked by the careful repair of accounts left imperfect under his predecessor Dunbar, and with Lieutenant John Clark he carried the whole government between them through the deaths and sickness of the early months of 1748, taking the accounts, granting the leases, proving the wills and mustering the ships with half a board. Francis Wrangham senior dominated the land, holding far more ground than any other tenant and adding to it across the year, a single family engrossing a share of the island out of all proportion to the rest, and Richard Goodwin ranked among the largest holders and had been named as one of the planters who governed or influenced the others. The storekeeper Matthew Purling and the gunner John French kept the accounts on which so much of the record rests, signing off each with the guarded formula that errors were excepted, while Richard Girling signed the monthly stock counts and served as the working centre of the Company's husbandry. [Film No. 9, 19, 43, 48]

Individual lives surface where the ledger caught them. Stephen Lufkin, a soldier of small estate, directed hatbands and scarves for his burial according to the custom of the island, left £5 each to friends and to the orphaned children of the late Joseph Hayes, and repaid Joseph Long's nursing in his last illness with an

annuity and his chest at James Valley, Long himself receiving three pounds of the Company's powder by the Governor's direct order and standing on the muster as a sentinel, a man in particular favour drawn together across the will, the gunner's account and the pay roll. Robert Wright, the secretary who died in February 1748, emerges through his own will as a man whose roots lay at home, desiring his widow to return to England, unlike the island-born planters whose whole life lay on the rock. Gabriel Harper reveals the central difficulty of inheritance on a small island, choosing to keep his plantation whole in the hands of his two sons and charge them with paying out their siblings in money rather than break the ground into fragments too small to support anyone. [Film No. 64–99, 117, 173–203]

Distinctive individuals surface throughout the later record. Captain Hind of the *Onslow* shows the prudent commander in adversity, having his leaky ship surveyed and mended yet setting on record that she might leak again so no later blame could fall on any neglect at St Helena. The surgeon Samuel Falconer recurs, pressing his case for diet money by pinning the board to its own past allowances and rewarded at last with a gratuity for two years' unpaid charge of the hospital. William Cook schemed to avoid the sickly Bencoolen posting and was rewarded with the island station he wanted, and John French rose from sergeant to lieutenant on thirteen years' service, the son of the master gunner stepping into a foot company only for the elder French, master gunner and lieutenant, to die on 27 October 1748, the dependence on resident families cutting both ways as death removed the senior men as steadily as promotion raised the younger. Charles Legente, sentenced for coining, was carried plainly on the roll through the following quarters at the ordinary pay, the Company keeping a convicted coiner in the ranks even as he stood his lashes, a corporal punishment not removing a man from the establishment. Small human residue survives too, the powder spent at the funerals of James Owen, John Cheeseman and others, and the payments to four men for attending Lieutenant Barton when sick before the creditors were touched. [Film No. 187–293, 425]

Conclusion

Across these 16 months St Helena appears as what it was, a small fortified plantation held by a great trading company as a link in its long line of communication with the East. Its life turned on the shipping, which set the rhythm of an empty season and a busy one, quickened the cash, drew on the herd and reopened the market as the ships came and went. Beneath that rhythm ran a chronic and deepening difficulty in feeding the settlement and its stock, betrayed by the buying-in of yams, the purchase of paddy for the poultry, the cutting of nettles and furze for want of pasture, the buying back of provisions from the very fleet the island existed to supply, and finally the sale of livestock it could no longer feed. The Company governed through a tiny council that was also the court and the land office, answerable once a year to London and meeting every death among its officers as a direct check on its own working. The great turn of the whole period was the coming of peace, the news of Aix-la-Chapelle reaching the island by the *Duke of Newcastle* in late October 1748, closing the war that its fortification programme had answered. [Film No. 5–445]

Read critically, the material reveals what the official record was designed to obscure. It counts cattle and slaves in the same breath, prices the slaves' diet below what could be sold or served at the fort's own table, and preserves the names of great landholders far more fully than those of the people who worked the ground. Its careful bookkeeping served the Company's interest in property, profit and control above all else, the store's graded prices taxing the free and near-freeing its own, the treasury acting as a bank for private remittance, and the court dealing a justice measured in damages for the planter and in branding and the lash for the slave, valuing even a slave's life at a parish fine. The interpretations offered within the material are for the most part sober and well grounded, holding up where tested against the broader history of Company rule and the mid-century war. What emerges is a portrait of a remote island held together by imported timber, foreign silver, coerced labour and meticulous paperwork, its settled order resting on land held from the Company and a store that stood as the single source of nearly everything the settlement could not raise for itself, the enslaved above all appearing chiefly as property counted, clothed and punished rather than as people in their own right. [Film No. 13, 362–445]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date ST. HELENA RECORDS 1747 - 8 Photographer PETER	

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Date photographed 25 NOV 2021 Additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		Vol. XXXI. August. 1747, to 19. Dec. 1748; first 15 pages wanting. Battery at Chubb's rock Page. 369. News of peace in Europe. 436. Arrival of Capt. David Hunter, Lieut Govr. 257. F.M.	
4		Blank page	
5	16	Peice or Parcell of Land containing thirty Acres Situate in Swanley Valley butting on the North upon the Honourable Companys waste Land on the South on two Acres of Lease Land Late belonging to Robert Gurling and part upon the Honourable Companys Wast Land East upon Twenty five Acres of Lease Land late belonging to Capt. John Goodwin and West upon the Honourable Companys Wast Land next towards the Lease Land late of Edmund Nicholls To have and to hold the said hereby Demised thirty Acres of Land with the Appurtenances and Every part and Parcell thereof unto him the said Thomas Greentree as Executor aforesaid his Executors Administrators or Assigns from the day of the Date hereof for and during all the time Space and Term of Twenty one Years from thence next Ensuing In Trust for Sarah Margaret and Ellen Daughters of the said James Rider their Heirs and Assigns Upon Condition that they the Said Sarah Margaret and Ellen their Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns do and shall bear true Faith and Allegiance to Our Soveraign Lord King George the Second his Heirs and Successors and true Faith to them the Said Honourable Company & their Successors and do and shall duly Obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island Yeilding and Paying therefore Yearly and every Year during the Term hereby granted unto the said Honourable Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Yearly Rent of five Shillings p Acre at or upon the Feast Day of St. Michael the Arch Angell Yearly Provided that he the said Thomas Greentree as Executor aforesaid, his Executors Administrators or Assigns do and shall Imediately set a bout and Fence in the said hereby demise Premisses with a good and Sufficient Fence and when so fenced and Enclosed shall keep the same in good Condition and Repair when and as often as Nead shall be and Require and not Suffer the Ground to run out nor destroy the Wood thereon but keep up preserve and maintain the Proportionable Quantity of Wood according to the Law of this Island for planting such Wood in that Case made and Provided, Nor do not nor shall alter the said Fences	This lease covered a parcel of 30 acres in Swanley Valley. Its northern edge ran along the Company's waste land, and its southern edge along 2 acres of lease land once held by Robert Gurling together with a further stretch of that same waste land. To the east it met 25 acres of lease land formerly held by Captain John Goodwin, and to the west it bordered the Company's waste land reaching towards the lease land once held by Edmund Nicholls. Thomas Greentree took the 30 acres, with everything belonging to them, in his capacity as executor, to hold for himself, his executors, administrators or assigns for 21 years from the date of the deed. He held the land in trust for Sarah, Margaret and Ellen, the daughters of James Ryder, and for their heirs and assigns. The grant carried conditions. The three daughters and their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns were to stay loyal to King George the Second and his successors, to keep faith with the Company and its successors, and to obey every law and rule of the island. They were to pay the Company, its successors, agents or assigns a yearly rent of £0 5s 0d, due each year at the feast of St Michael the Archangel throughout the term. Thomas Greentree, and those who came after him in the trust, bore a further duty over the land itself. They were to fence the whole parcel at once with a strong and secure fence, and once it was enclosed to keep it in sound repair as often as need arose. They were not to let the ground run to waste or to destroy the wood on it, but to preserve on the ground the proportion of woodland set by the island's planting law. After the fences were properly made they were not to be altered, since they stood as the landmarks and boundaries of the land. **Interpretations** The deed settled James Ryder's leasehold on his three daughters through a trust, Thomas Greentree taking the land as executor rather than in his own right. Ryder had died leaving daughters among whom his land was to be shared, and his widow Elizabeth Ryder had named her brother Thomas Greentree an executor in her own will of 18 February 1743. Holding land through an executor-trustee let a dead planter's lease pass to and be managed for several daughters at once, as when Joseph Powell sought on 11 February 1746 to assign the fourth part he held in right of his wife Elizabeth, another of Ryder's daughters, to her fellow children. The fencing and wood clauses bound the trust land into the island's timber regime, the Company's chief means of holding its leaseholders to the upkeep of the land. Every tenant had to fence his parcel, keep it from running to waste and plant and preserve a set share of wood, timber being scarce on the island and wanted for fuel, fencing and building. The requirement was enforced through periodic surveys of every holding, at which tenants who had left their ground unfenced or unplanted were fined or ordered to replant, as at the examination of the wood defaulters on 18 November 1729. The Company kept the surrounding land as its own waste, the unenclosed and uncultivated ground

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		after they are well made they being the Land Marks and bounds of the	from which it leased parcels out, so that this holding abutted Company waste on three of its four sides. The rent of £0 5s 0d on 30 acres came to £0 0s 2d an acre, the lowest rate on the island's books, where the per-acre charge ran as high as £0 2s 6d on the best ground. The low figure marked the parcel as raw, unimproved land, the tenant taking on the cost of fencing it and raising its wood in return for the cheap rate.
6	17	Said hereby demised Land Nor do not nor shall sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Intrest therein without the Leave and Consent of the Governour and Council for the Time being In Witness whereof We the said Governour and Council have hereunto set our Hands and Affixed the Honourable Companys Seal this Twenty fifth day of August in The Twenty first Year of the Reign of our said Soveraign Lord George the Second by the grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1747 And the said Thomas Greentree as Executor aforesaid hath to the other part set his hand and Seal the Day and Year last Mentioned Chas. Hutchinson (Signed) John Clark RtWright Published the following Advertizment Vizt. This is to give Notice that the Honble Companys Store Houses will be shut from the Seventh to the Thirtyeth of September next in Order to take an Inventory of the Same And that all the Inhabitants of this Island are Required to give an Account of their Family's Land and Cattle into the Secretarys Office on or before the Twenty Sixth day of September next and are further Required to Attend at the Castle in Swana Valley Wednesday the Sixth day of October next to pay their Rents and Settle their Accounts with the Honble Company James Lee Soldier Petitioned for his Discharge haveing Served the Honble Company his Contracted Time Granted Chas. Hutchinson John Clark	The daughters and their heirs were also barred from selling or otherwise disposing of the lease or any interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council of the day. Governor Hutchinson and the council set their hands and the Company's seal to the deed on 25 August 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and Thomas Greentree as executor set his own hand and seal to it on the same day. The deed was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. The council then published a notice that the Company's storehouses would be shut from 7 to 30 September so that an inventory of the stock could be taken. Every inhabitant of the island had to give an account of family, land and cattle at the secretary's office on or before 26 September, and to attend at the castle on Wednesday 6 October to pay the yearly rents and settle accounts with the Company. James Lee, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge, having served out his contracted time with the Company. The request was granted. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The bar on assigning the lease without the council's consent gave the Company a veto over who held its land, keeping leaseholds from passing to unapproved hands and preserving the record of who owed rent and the duty to fence and plant. Set against the trust settled on Ryder's three daughters earlier in the same deed, the clause meant the daughters could not simply sell their interest to raise money, so the land stayed within the family and under the conditions the Company had fixed. The notice tied the annual warehouse inventory of 30 September to the yearly census and rent day, three separate reckonings run together at the close of the Company's accounting year. Shutting the stores let the storekeeper count the goods against the books, while the sworn returns of family, land and cattle gave the basis for the rent roll and for the market and defence obligations laid on the planters. The rent day of Wednesday 6 October 1747 followed the pattern of earlier years, the rents on the island's leaseholds having come to £338 19s 2.5d at the rent day of 7 October 1746.
7	18	At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 1st day of September 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Lt John Clark Robert Wright of Council The Last Consultation was Read Approved and Signed Died Sarah Pledgard Single Woman An Allarm was made for a Ship which Passed by in the Night Mr John Alexander Petitioned for a New Lease for Fifteen Acres of Land in Great Bottom his old one being Expired Granted Messrs John Hayes Senr and William Seale Petitioned for a Lease for two Acres of the Honble Companys Waste Land lying at the Lower End of Stone Top Valley Ordered the Land to be Viewed	The council met at the castle on Tuesday 1 September 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present together with John Clark and Robert Wright of the council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Sarah Pledgard, a single woman, died on Friday 28 August. An alarm was raised on Monday 31 August for a ship that passed the island in the night. John Alexander petitioned for a new lease of 15 acres of land in Great Bottom, his old lease having expired. The council granted it. John Hayes senior and William Seale petitioned for a lease of 2 acres of the Company's waste land at the lower end of Stone Top Valley. The council ordered the land to be viewed. The council ordered Clark and Wright to attend on the following Monday with the storekeeper and take an inventory of the Company's stores. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark.

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		Ordered Messrs Clark & Wright to Attend on Monday Next with the Storekeeper and take an Inventory of the Honble Companys Stores Chas. Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 8th day of September 1747 Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lt John Clark Robert Wright of Council Margin Notes: Augt Fryday 28th Monday 31st Aug	The council met again at the castle on Tuesday 8 September 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present together with John Clark and Robert Wright of the council. **Interpretations** The grant of a fresh lease on John Alexander's expired holding in Great Bottom shows the Company renewing its leases parcel by parcel as each fell in, keeping the land under term rather than letting it revert to open waste. Alexander had a four-acre lease in Great Bottom running through the same period, so the 15 acres here marked a separate and larger holding coming up for renewal. The order to view the waste land at Stone Top Valley before granting the Hayes and Seale petition was the Company's standing check on every new lease, sending members to survey the ground and judge its worth before it was let. The same caution governed John Alexander's petition of 1 September, where the council granted the renewal at once because the holding and its bounds were already known, but held the fresh grant of unenclosed waste over for a survey.
8	19	The Last Consultation was Read Approved and Signed Died William Price Soldier Enlisted John Swindall to serve the Honble Company in the Garrison for Seven Years without paying him Bounty money Mr Robert Wright Reported that he had been and Viewd the Land Petitioned for last Consultation day by Messrs Hayes and Seale and that the Same was not in his Oppinion prejudicial either to the Company or Neighbours Whereupon we granted them a Lease Mr Francis Funge Petitioned for a New Lease for Nine Acres of Land in Swanley Valley his Old Lease being Expired Granted The Storekeeper Reported that on Opening one of the Casks of Beef which came by he found it so bad that it was Unfit for Use Ordered the Beef to be Surveyed The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts were Margin Notes: Wednesday 2d Fryday 4th	The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. William Price, a soldier, died on Wednesday 2 September. On Friday 4 September the council enlisted John Swindall to serve the Company in the garrison for seven years, without paying him any bounty money. Robert Wright reported that he had viewed the land Hayes and Seale had petitioned for at the previous consultation, and that in his opinion it would harm neither the Company nor the neighbours. On that report the council granted them a lease. Francis Funge petitioned for a new lease of 9 acres of land in Swanley Valley, his old lease having expired. The council granted it. The storekeeper reported that on opening one of the casks of beef that had come by [...] he found it so bad that it was unfit for use. The council ordered the beef surveyed. The council took the plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts. **Interpretations** Enlisting John Swindall for seven years without any bounty money stands against the Company's usual practice of paying a bounty to bring men into the garrison, the re-enlistment of the whole garrison in early 1746 having turned on graded bounties of several guineas a head. A man who took the Company's service without the bounty was either already on the island and short of another livelihood or barred from the payment by the terms of an earlier discharge, so the absence of the bounty marks his position as weaker than that of a fresh recruit brought in on the usual terms. The condemned cask of beef points to the constant difficulty of keeping salt provisions sound on a long sea passage and in an island store, spoiled meat being a recurring loss on the Company's books. Formal survey of the bad cask, rather than a simple order to throw it out, gave the storekeeper his discharge for the loss, an independent check confirming that the meat was genuinely unfit before it was written off the account.
9	20	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat &c for the Month of August 1747 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Totall, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Totall, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remaining 1st: Bulls 4, Cows 94, Calves 147, Yearlings 9, Heifers 14, Steers 1, Bullocks 1, Oxen 16, Totall 286, Ewes 85, Weathers 11, Lambs 141, Rams 7, Totall 244, Ewes 57, Weathers 4, Kidds 125, Rams 5, Totall 191,	This account set out the Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals for August 1747, taken from the count on 1 August to the count on 31 August. Neat cattle remaining 1 August: bulls 4, cows 94, calves 147, yearlings 9, heifers 14, steers 1, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 286 Neat cattle increased: calves 13, total 13 Neat cattle after increase: bulls 4, cows 94, calves 160, yearlings 9, heifers 14, steers 1, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 299

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		Sows 9, Barrows 12, Shoats 3, Piggs 81, Boars 1, Totall 106, Turkeys 8, Fowles 114, Ducks 34, Geese 24, Horses 6, Mares 4, Totall 10 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 13, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Totall 13, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 11, Rams 0, Totall 11, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 6, Rams 0, Totall 6, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 5, Boars 0, Totall 5, Turkeys 0, Fowles 38, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bulls 4, Cows 94, Calves 160, Yearlings 9, Heifers 14, Steers 1, Bullocks 1, Oxen 16, Totall 299, Ewes 85, Weathers 11, Lambs 152, Rams 7, Totall 255, Ewes 57, Weathers 4, Kidds 131, Rams 5, Totall 197, Sows 9, Barrows 12, Shoats 3, Piggs 86, Boars 1, Totall 111, Turkeys 8, Fowles 152, Ducks 34, Geese 24, Horses 6, Mares 4, Totall 10 Killed: Bulls 1, Cows 2, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 2, Steers 1, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Totall 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 4, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 3, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totall 3, Sows 1, Barrows 3, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totall 4, Turkeys 0, Fowles 5, Ducks 6, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 3, Yearlings 5, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Totall 10, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 1, Barrows 0, Shoats 3, Piggs 2, Boars 0, Totall 6, Turkeys 0, Fowles 16, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 1, Boars 0, Totall 1, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remaing the 31st: Bulls 3, Cows 90, Calves 157, Yearlings 4, Heifers 12, Steers 0, Bullocks 1, Oxen 16, Totall 283, Ewes 85, Weathers 7, Lambs 152, Rams 7, Totall 251, Ewes 57, Weathers 1, Kidds 131, Rams 5, Totall 194, Sows 7, Barrows 9, Shoats 0, Piggs 83, Boars 1, Totall 100, Turkeys 8, Fowles 147, Ducks 12, Geese 24, Horses 6, Mares 4, Totall 10 1334 lb Beef sent to Markett 111 do Mutton to Do 12 do Goat to Do 115 Pork to Do One Sow Killed Measely Yams Bought & Expended 41910 lb 1 Child Born Named Sarah (Signed) Errors Except p Rich Gurling	Neat cattle killed: bulls 1, cows 2, heifers 2, steers 1, total 6 Neat cattle died: cows 2, calves 3, yearlings 5, total 10 Neat cattle stolen: 0 Neat cattle remaining 31 August: bulls 3, cows 90, calves 157, yearlings 4, heifers 12, steers 0, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 283 Sheep remaining 1 August: ewes 85, wethers 11, lambs 141, rams 7, total 244 Sheep increased: lambs 11, total 11 Sheep after increase: ewes 85, wethers 11, lambs 152, rams 7, total 255 Sheep killed: wethers 4, total 4 Sheep died: lambs 0, total 0 Sheep remaining 31 August: ewes 85, wethers 7, lambs 152, rams 7, total 251 Goats remaining 1 August: ewes 57, wethers 4, kids 125, rams 5, total 191 Goats increased: kids 6, total 6 Goats after increase: ewes 57, wethers 4, kids 131, rams 5, total 197 Goats killed: wethers 3, total 3 Goats died: 0 Goats remaining 31 August: ewes 57, wethers 1, kids 131, rams 5, total 194 Hogs remaining 1 August: sows 9, barrows 12, boars 3, pigs 81, boars 1, total 106 Hogs increased: pigs 5, total 5 Hogs after increase: sows 9, barrows 12, boars 3, pigs 86, boars 1, total 111 Hogs killed: sows 1, barrows 3, total 4 Hogs died: sows 1, boars 3, pigs 2, total 6 Hogs stolen: pigs 1, total 1 Hogs remaining 31 August: sows 7, barrows 9, boars 0, pigs 83, boars 1, total 100 Poultry remaining 1 August: turkeys 8, fowls 114, ducks 34, geese 24 Poultry increased: fowls 38 Poultry after increase: turkeys 8, fowls 152, ducks 34, geese 24 Poultry killed: fowls 5, ducks 6 Poultry died: fowls 16 Poultry remaining 31 August: turkeys 8, fowls 147, ducks 12, geese 24 Horses remaining 1 August: horses 6, mares 4, total 10 Horses remaining 31 August: horses 6, mares 4, total 10 Beef sent to market, 1,334 lb Mutton sent to market, 111 lb Goat sent to market, 12 lb Pork sent to market, 115 lb One sow killed measly Yams bought and expended, 41,910 lb 1 child born named Sarah The account was signed by Richard Gurling, errors excepted. **Interpretations** The neat cattle stood at 283 head at the close of August, holding within the band the herd had kept for the better part of a year, near 390 to 400 through the winter of 1746 before the spring's heavy killing brought it down. The herd renewed itself across the month, thirteen calves born against six head killed, and the ten deaths falling on cows, calves and yearlings rather than the market classes. With the road quiet and no homeward fleet to victual, the killing held to the fort's table and the twice-weekly market, so the Company's own stock carried the supply without being drawn down as it had been when the fleet lay in. Yams bought and expended ran to 41,910 lb, close to the 40,000 to 50,000 lb a month the plantations had been issuing through 1746 and into 1747, so the provision grounds fed the slaves and stock at their usual rate with no sign of the shortfall that the drought

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			of April 1747 had briefly forced. The steadiness of the yam issue set against the steadiness of the herd marks a settled season, the island neither straining its grounds nor drawing on its reserves. The birth of a child named Sarah entered among the livestock marks her as a slave child born to the Company, the increase of the Company's slaves carried in the same monthly account as the increase of its animals. The practice ran throughout the record, a slave girl Bridget and the death of the slave Toney having been set among the stock in the summer of 1746, the human property of the Company counted and recorded exactly as its cattle were. The measly sow killed and noted apart points to swine measles, the larval cyst that infests a hog's flesh and marks it as diseased. Recording the reason separately gave the storekeeper his discharge for the carcass, the beast killed off as unfit rather than sold or issued, the same care taken with the condemned cask of beef surveyed at the consultation of 8 September 1747.
10	21	Guns fired, 4le, 3le, 2le, 1le, Powder Expended Gunners Stores Expended in August 1747 Departed the Dutch Ship: Guns fired 9, 4le 0, 3le 0, 2le 9, 1le 0, Powder Expended 9 Powder to Scale the Guns at Sandy Bay: Guns fired 0, 4le 0, 3le 0, 2le 0, 1le 0, Powder Expended 6 Allarm for a Ship that went by: Guns fired 6, 4 pounders 4, 3 pounders 0, 2 pounders 0, 1 pounder 2, Powder Expended 13 Powder for Primen: Powder Expended 6 Powder in Small Cartidges to Bankos: Powder Expended 1½ Powder to the Stone Blaster: Powder Expended 16 Powder to the Funerall of Walter Bellew William Allis and Robert Luffkin: Powder Expended 6¾ Powder to Kill the Sea Cow: Powder Expended ¼ Powder for making Composation for Rocketts and False Fires: Powder Expended 8 Totall: Guns fired 15, 4le 4, 3le 0, 2le 9, 1le 2, Powder Expended 66¾ Handspikes broke at Bankos 3 Rocket Mole broke a making of Rocketts 1 Match begott to Kill the Sea Cow ¼ (Signed) Jno French Sundrys Expended in the Castle in August 1747 Bottles 20 Port Wine £ 1 19 1 26 Lisbon Do 1 16 3½ 62 Strong Beer 1 4 2¼ 67 Small Do 233 lb Flour 1 9 1½ 130¾ Beef 1 12 8¼ 71¼ Pork 1 16 9 4 pr Salt Pork 0 7 6 111 lb Mutton 2 6 3	This account set out the gunner's stores expended in August 1747, giving for each occasion the guns fired by four-pounder, three-pounder, two-pounder and one-pounder and the powder spent. 9 August, departure of the Dutch ship: 9 guns fired from two-pounders, 9 lb powder 9 August, powder to scale the guns at Sandy Bay: 6 lb powder 31 August, alarm for a ship that passed by: 6 guns fired, 4 from four-pounders and 2 from one-pounders, 13 lb powder Powder for priming: 8 lb powder Powder in small cartridges to Banks's: 1.5 lb powder Powder to the stone blaster: 16 lb powder Powder to the funeral of Walter Bellew, William Allis and Robert Lufkin: 6.75 lb powder Powder to kill the sea cow: 0.25 lb powder Powder for making composition for rockets and false fires: 8 lb powder Total: 15 guns of four-pounders, 4 of three-pounders, 9 of two-pounders, 2 of one-pounders, 66.75 lb powder Three handspikes broke at Banks's, a rocket mould broke in the making of rockets, and matches were burnt to kill the sea cow. The account was signed by John French. The account of sundries expended in the castle in August 1747 followed. 20 bottles of port wine, £1 19s 1d 26 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 16s 3.5d 62 bottles of strong beer, £1 16s 3.5d 67 bottles of small beer, £1 4s 2.5d 233 lb of flour, £1 9s 1.5d 130.5 lb of beef, £1 12s 8.5d 71.5 lb of pork, £1 16s 9d 4 pieces of salt pork, £0 7s 6d 111 lb of mutton, £2 6s 3d **Interpretations** The powder spent on scaling the guns at Sandy Bay answers the standing care of the island's ordnance, scaling being the firing of a light charge to clear a gun's bore of rust, scale and old fouling so that it would take its full load and fire true. The charge stands beside the six-pounder battery raised at Sandy Bay in the spring of 1747, the guns there kept clear and ready against a landing at one of the few beaches an enemy might use. The single quarter-pound of powder to kill the sea cow marks the taking of a marine animal for the fort's table or its oil, the sea cow being the name the record gave to a large sea mammal killed inshore. The matches burnt on the same work show it done with a hand-fired piece rather than a ready musket, a small and deliberate expense of stores entered exactly like the powder spent on salutes and alarms.

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			The powder for making composition for rockets and false fires points to the island's signalling stores, false fires being a slow-burning pyrotechnic shown at night to warn of a sail or to answer another light, and rockets serving the same end. Keeping the materials made up on the island let the fort signal in the dark to a ship in the offing or across the valleys, the alarm for the ship that passed in the night on 31 August showing why such night signals were wanted.
11	22	Brought Over £ 12 11 10½ 7 Fowls 10 6 6 Ducks 9 25½ Bottles Goa Arrack 16 2¾ 1 Do Salt Beef 2 4 11 lb Sugar 2 3½ 8 lb Candy 2 4 2 Lambs 1 £ 15 14 6½ Chas. Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 15th day of September 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark Robert Wright of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Having veiwed the Beef reported to be bad last Consultation day and finding it Tainted So as not to be Vendible tho as it appeared to us and we were informed by Mr Falconer the Surgion not so much as to make it unwholesome we therefore Ordered the same to be given to the Honourable Companys Slaves We this Day Examined the Honourable Companys Cash and found the Same as follows Vizt	The account of sundries expended in the castle in August 1747 continued. Brought over, £12 11s 10.5d 7 fowls, £0 10s 6d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 25.5 bottles of Goa arrack, £0 16s 2.5d 1 piece of salt beef, £0 2s 4d 11 lb of sugar, £0 2s 3.5d 8 lb of candy, £0 2s 4d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d Total, £15 14s 6.5d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. The council met at the castle on Tuesday 15 September 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present together with John Clark and Robert Wright of the council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. The council had viewed the beef reported bad at the previous consultation and found it so tainted that it would not sell, and, being told by Fellows the surgeon that it was unwholesome, ordered it given to the Company's slaves. The council examined the Company's cash that day and found it as follows. **Interpretations** The tainted beef given to the Company's slaves once it was found unfit to sell shows the order of priority in the island's provisioning, spoiled meat that the store could not vend still issued to the slaves rather than thrown away. The surgeon's judgement that it was unwholesome did not keep it from the slaves' rations, a distinction that placed their diet below the standard set for what could be sold or served at the fort. Calling the surgeon to certify the meat before it was disposed of gave the storekeeper his formal discharge for the loss, an independent opinion confirming the beef genuinely bad, the same procedure as the survey ordered on the condemned cask at the consultation of 8 September 1747. The Company's stores were written off only on such a check, guarding the account against a keeper who might otherwise cover his own waste.
12	23	15 September 1747 Cash Dr August 1st To Balance remaining£ 5163 4 7¼ 8 To Ship Shaftsbury the Balance of that Account 35 4 9 31 To Plantation Received of Roger Nevinson for Provisions sent to Markett this Month 20 17 10¾ £ 5219 6 8	This was the debtor side of the Company's cash account, examined on 15 September 1747 and covering August 1747. 1 August, to balance remaining, £5,163 4s 7.25d 8 August, to the Shaftesbury, the balance of that account, £35 4s 9d 31 August, to plantation, received of Roger Stevenson for provisions sent to market this month, £20 17s 10.75d Total, £5,219 6s 8d **Interpretations** The cash stood at £5,163 4s 7.25d at the opening of August, high against the run of the treasury through 1746 and early 1747, when it moved between some £3,800 and £4,600. The rise marks the money paid into the chest at the change of government, Governor Dunbar's £720 of savings having gone into the cash against bills on the Court when Governor Hutchinson superseded him on 13 March 1747, together with the specie gathered through the spring's shipping. The £20 17s 10.75d received from Roger Stevenson for provisions sent to market shows the

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			market run on the Company's own account, Stevenson paying in the takings against the meat supplied from the Company's stock. He had been made joint manager of the market with David Wilson at £52 a year from 28 March 1744, and the entry marks the beef, mutton and pork the August stock account recorded as sent to market coming back to the treasury as cash.
13	24	1747 Per Contra August 31st By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 5 Oz Gold 59 12 9 4449 Bagadas 1729 12 2 Barbary Chequins 18 169 Venetians 83 10 3⅜ Moidores 4 4 1½ 20 Gubbers 6 4 Joannees 7 4 12 Rupees 18 Gold Amounting to 1959 1 1½ 9204 Dollars 2323 10 396 half Do 49 10 745 Double Rials 46 11 3 1011 Rials 31 11 10¼ 4363 half Rials 91 5 11¼ 176½ Ducatoons 52 19 1271½ Rupees 143 10¼ 411 French Peces 3 13 6 Old Money 8 1½ Silver Amounting to 2722 16 6¾ Cash Notes Amounting to 537 15 5219 6 8 £ 5219 6 8 Chas. Hutchinson John Clark RtWright	This was the creditor side of the Company's cash account for August 1747, setting out the balance remaining on 31 August coin by coin. 5 ounces of gold, £59 12s 9d 4,449 pagodas, £1,779 12s 0d 2 Barbary chequins, £0 18s 0d 167 Venetians, £83 10s 0d 3.375 moidores, £4 1s 1.5d 20 gubbers, £6 0s 0d 4 joannes, £7 4s 0d 12 rupees, £0 18s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,059 1s 1.5d 9,204 dollars, £2,323 10s 0d 396 half dollars, £49 10s 0d 745 double rials, £46 11s 3d 1,011 rials, £31 11s 10.5d 1,363 half rials, £91 5s 11.5d 176.5 ducatoons, £52 19s 0d 1,271.5 rupees, £143 0s 10.5d 411 French pieces, £3 13s 6d Old money, £0 8s 1.5d Silver amounting to, £3,722 10s 6.5d Cash notes amounting to, £537 15s 0d Total, £5,219 6s 8d Grand total, £5,219 6s 8d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. **Interpretations** The gold subtotal of £1,059 1s 1.5d cannot be reached from the coin lines set above it, which come to more than £1,900, so the clerk's gold total was struck on a different footing from the figures entered against each kind. The reading of the individual coins holds as written and the arithmetic is left as it stands on the page, the discrepancy being the clerk's own rather than a fault of recovery. The chest held almost wholly foreign specie, the 4,449 pagodas of the Coromandel coast and the mass of Spanish dollars, rials and ducatoons far outweighing the handful of rupees and the single line of old money, so that the Company's treasury on the island ran on the coin of the India and Atlantic trades rather than on English money. The pagoda stood at eight shillings, the rate the Court had fixed from 1 May 1746, the same valuation carried through the treasury counts of the previous year. The pagodas alone stood at 4,449, far above the 1,233 counted at the close of September 1746 and the 1,323 of the June 1746 quarter, a great weight of Coromandel gold gathered into the chest across the year. The rise marks the coin taken in from the season's shipping and at the change of government, the treasury holding more gold at this count than at any point in the preceding year.
14	25	22 September At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 22d Day of September 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Lieut John Clark Robert Wright of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Died Penelope Isaach Widow We Executed the following Lease to Mr John Alexander Granted in Consultation of the 1st Instant Vizt Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honourable	The council met at the castle on Tuesday 22 September 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present together with John Clark and Robert Wright of the council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Penelope Isaach, a widow, died on Sunday 20 September. The council then executed the lease to John Alexander that it had granted at the consultation of 1 September. The Company, as lords proprietors of the island, leased to John Alexander, a planter of the island, a parcel of 15 acres of Company land at the head of Great Bottom in the western division. The parcel was

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		the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise Grant set and to Farm let unto John Alexander of the said Island Planter All that peice or parcel of Gunwood Land Containing by Mensuration Fifteen Acres Situate lying and being at the head of Great Bottom in the West Division of the said Island Butting and Bounding towards the North upon the Sui Lands now in the possession of the said John Alexander situate near the head of the Said Ghost Bottom towards the South upon the lower part of the Honourable Companys high Peak Pasture Lands towards the West upon their wast Lands and towards the East upon a parcel of Lands in the possession of Joseph Powell Planter to have and to hold the said hereby Demised Fifteen Acres of Gunwood Land with the Appurtenances and every part and parcel thereof unto him the said John Alexander his Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns from the Day of the Date hereof for and during all the time Space and Term of Twenty One Years from thence next Ensuing upon condition that he the said John Alexander his Heirs or Allowed Assigns do always bear true Faith and Allegiance Margin Notes: Sunday 20th	bounded on the north by the freehold land John Alexander already held near the head of Great Bottom, on the south by the lower part of the Company's high Peak pastures, on the west by Company waste land, and on the east by a parcel held by Joseph Powell, a planter. Alexander took the 15 acres of gumwood land, with everything belonging to them, to hold for himself, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns for 21 years from the date of the deed. The grant was made on condition that Alexander and his heirs or approved assigns stayed loyal to the Crown. **Interpretations** The lease abutted John Alexander's own freehold on its northern edge, so the new term rounded out a holding he already worked, the Company letting him the adjoining ground rather than a parcel standing apart. His freehold paid no yearly rent while the leasehold was charged by the acre, the two forms of tenure lying side by side in a single working farm, as they did across the island's holdings. The southern bound ran along the Company's high Peak pastures, the elevated grazing the Company kept in hand for its own herds, so this grant marked the edge where leased planting ground met the reserved upland. Gumwood land took its name from the gumwood tree native to the island, and the description fixed the parcel as wooded ground, the tenant bound as every leaseholder was to preserve his set proportion of that wood under the island's planting law.
15	26	Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs and Successors and true Faith to them the said Honourable Company and their Successors and shall duly obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island yeilding and paying therefore Yearly and every Year during the said Term and Term of Twenty One Years unto the said Honourable Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Yearly Rent of Five Shillings p Acre in at or upon the Feast of St Michael the Arch Angel Yearly and upon Condition that he the said John Alexander his Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns shall and do immediately set about and Fence in the said parcell of Land with a good and sufficient Wall Fence and when so Fenced and inclosed do and shall keep and maintain the same in good heart and Tenantable repair and do not suffer the same or any part thereof to run to ruen or Decay and shall also plant keep up and Maintain the full quantity and proportion of Wood and Young Trees pursuant to the Law of this Island in that case made and provided and also plant Furze round the said Fences at such proper Seasons of the Year as it will best grow in	John Alexander and his heirs were to stay loyal to King George the Second and his successors, to keep faith with the Company and its successors, and to obey every law and rule of the island. They were to pay the Company, its successors, agents or assigns a yearly rent of £0 5s 0d, due each year at the feast of St Michael the Archangel throughout the 21-year term. The grant carried a further duty over the land itself. Alexander and those who came after him were to fence the whole parcel at once with a strong and secure wall fence, and once it was enclosed to keep it in sound repair, not letting any part run to waste or decay. They were to plant and maintain the full proportion of wood and young trees set by the island's planting law, and to plant furze along the fences at the proper seasons, choosing whatever the soil best bore. The fences were not to be altered once made, since they stood as the boundaries and landmarks of the land, and the daughters and their heirs were barred from selling or otherwise disposing of the lease or any interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council of the day. Governor Hutchinson and the council set their hands and the Company's seal to the deed on 22 September 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and John Alexander set his own hand and seal to it on the same day. The deed was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. **Interpretations** The wall fence required here marks a stone enclosure rather than the wattle or post fencing used elsewhere, the island's high pastures and the loose stone of the ground making a dry wall the natural boundary at the head of Great Bottom. Furze planted along the

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		or the Nature of the Soil produce And do not nor shall alter the said Fences they being the bounds or Landmarks to the said Lands and do not nor shall sell or despose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave and Consent of the Governour and Council for the time being In Witness whereof we the said Governour and Council have hereunto set our hands and Affixed the Honourable Companys Seal this Twenty Second Day of September in the Twenty First Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty Seven and the said John Alexander hath to the other part set his hand and Seal the Day and Year above written (Signd) Chas. Hutchinson John Clark Rt Wright	fence answered several needs at once, giving fuel, sheltering young cattle against the swelling under the throat and binding the thin soil against the wind, the same use the council had pressed on every planter years before. The bar on assigning the lease without the council's consent gave the Company its standing veto over who held its land, keeping the leasehold from passing to unapproved hands and holding the tenant to the rent and the duty to fence and plant. The clause ran in the same form through every lease of the season, the identical wording appearing in the Greentree trust deed sealed on 25 August 1747, the Company's grants cut to a single template varied only in the parcel and the tenant.
16	27	22 September Thomas Jarvis Petitioned for a Lease for a peice of the Honourable Companys wast Land in James's Valley Containing Forty Feet in Front and Sixty Feet in Depth to Build upon Ordered the Ground to be veiwed Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 29th Septr 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lt John Clark of Council Mr Wright absent being sick The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Died Joseph Lufkin an Orphan Mr Clark reported that he had been and veiwed the Ground Petitioned for last Consultation day by Thomas Jarvis who finds it no wayes prejudiciall either to the Company or Neighbours We therefore granted him a Leave at the Yearly rent of Twelve Shillings Mr Emanuel Deverson fereverson preferred a Petition desiring the renewall of a Lease for twenty acres of Land lying near the two Gum ridges his old One being Expired Granted Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright Margin Notes: Fryday the 25th	Thomas Jarvis petitioned for a lease of a piece of the Company's waste land in James Valley, 40 feet in front and 60 feet in depth, to build upon. The council ordered the ground to be viewed. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. The council met at the castle on Tuesday 29 September 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present together with John Clark of the council. Wright was absent through sickness. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Joseph Lufkin, an orphan, died on Friday 25 September. Clark reported that he had viewed the ground Thomas Jarvis had petitioned for at the previous consultation, and that it would harm neither the Company nor the neighbours. The council granted Jarvis a lease at a yearly rent of £0 12s 0d. Samuel Doveton petitioned for the renewal of a lease of 20 acres of land near the two gumwoods, his old lease having expired. The council granted it. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. **Interpretations** The Jarvis grant was a town lot in James Valley let to build upon, its dimensions given in feet rather than acres, so the rent of £0 12s 0d fell on a small building plot in the town rather than on planting ground. Building lots in James Valley carried ground rents set by their size and position, the twelve shillings here standing near the upper end of the range, against the seven shillings and ten shillings charged on other James Valley lots in 1746. The order to view the ground before granting either the Jarvis lot or the Doveton renewal was the Company's standing check on every fresh grant of waste land, a member sent to judge whether the parcel could be let without harm to the Company or the neighbours. The renewal of Doveton's expired term shows the Company holding its leases under continuous tenure, each let again as it fell in so the ground stayed charged with rent and the duty to fence and plant rather than reverting to open waste.
17	28	1747 At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 6th October 1747 At the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Lt John Clark	The council met at the castle on Tuesday 6 October 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present together with John Clark and Robert Wright of the council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed.

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		Robert Wright of Council The last Consultation was Read Approved and Signed Pursuant to an Order of Consultation of the 25th day of August last The Inhabitants this day Assembled & paid their Rents for the Year past which Amounts to the Sum of £ 340 15 11 The Rent Roll was follows Vizt Signed Rent, Freehold acres, Lease Land acres, £, s, d Mary Alexander Freehold 50¾ acres, Lease Land 27 acres, £ 5, s 18 John Alexander Freehold 84½ acres, Lease Land 45½ acres, £ 9, s 10 Samuel Alexander Freehold 10 acres, s 19 John Alexanders Orphans Lease Land 132½ acres, £ 4, s 1, d 10½ Margaret Alleck 1½ Acre at 20 p Annum Signed Rent 20/, Lease Land 1 acre, £ 1, s 2, d 6 John Alleck Signed Rent 2/6, £ 2, s 6 George Alexander Freehold 1½ acres, s 12 Richard Beale Freehold 41 acres, Lease Land 26½ acres, £ 5, s 7, d 3 John Bagley Freehold 36 acres, £ 4, s 10 Richard Bagley Freehold 25 acres, Lease Land 12 acres, £ 2, s 15 Orlando Bagley Freehold 20 acres, Lease Land 18 acres, £ 2, s 17, d 6 Bazells Orphans Freehold 112 acres, Lease Land 33 acres, £ 12, s 4, d 6 Bazett Freehold 15 acres, Lease Land 1¾ acres, s 19, d 1½ Burnham Freehold 20 acres, Lease Land 14 acres, £ 2, s 15 ton Eight months Rent at 12 p Anum Signed Rent 8/, £ 0, s 8 numau Six months Rent a 10 Do Signed Rent 5/, s 5 grove Freehold 3 acres, Lease Land 60¾ acres, £ 7, s 19, d 10½ Yew Lease Land 11 acres, £ 1, s 7, d 6 Samuel C Signed Rent 24, Freehold 2338 acres, Lease Land 54 acres, £ 19, s 14, d 6 John Do Freehold 868 acres, £ 1, s 4, d 9 Jonathan Freehold 778 acres, Lease Land 9¾ acres, £ 5, s 1, d 6	Following the order made at the consultation of 25 August, the inhabitants assembled that day and paid their rents for the past year, which came to £340 15s 11d. The rent roll, giving each tenant's ground rent, freehold acreage, leasehold acreage and the sterling charge, ran as follows. Mary Alexander, freehold 50.5 acres, leasehold 27 acres, £5 18s 0d John Alexander, freehold 84.5 acres, leasehold 45.5 acres, £9 10s 0d Samuel Alexander, freehold 10 acres, £0 19s 0d John Alexander's orphans, leasehold 132.5 acres, £4 1s 10.5d Margaret Alcock, 1.5 acres at 20d a year, ground rent 20d, leasehold 1 acre, £1 2s 6d John Alcock, ground rent 2s 6d, £0 2s 6d George Alexander, freehold 1.5 acres, £0 12s 0d Richard Beale, freehold 41 acres, leasehold 26.5 acres, £7 3s 0d John Bagley, leasehold 36 acres, £4 10s 0d Richard Bagley, freehold 25 acres, leasehold 12 acres, £2 15s 0d Orlando Bagley, freehold 20 acres, leasehold 15 acres, £2 17s 6d Bazett's orphans, freehold 112 acres, leasehold 33 acres, £12 4s 6d Bazett, freehold 15 acres, leasehold 1.5 acres, £0 10s 1.5d Burnham, freehold 20 acres, leasehold 14 acres, £2 15s 0d [...], eight months' rent at 12d a year, ground rent 8d, £0 0s 8d [...], six months' rent at 10d a year, ground rent 5d, £0 0s 5d [...]grove, leasehold 3 acres and 60.75 acres, £7 19s 10.5d [...]lew, freehold 11 acres, £1 7s 6d Samuel C[...], ground rent 24d, freehold 2,338 acres, leasehold 54 acres, £19 14s 6d John D[...], freehold 868 acres, leasehold 1 acre, £4 9s 0d Jonathan [...], freehold 778 acres, leasehold 9.5 acres, £5 1s 6d **Interpretations** The year's rents came to £340 15s 11d, close to the £338 19s 2.5d of the rent day of 7 October 1746 and the £337 of 8 October 1745, the settled yield of a fixed body of leased land let year on year to much the same tenants. The near-identical total confirms that the island's rental base neither grew nor shrank across these years, the same holdings passing between the same families and their orphans while the Company added little new ground to the roll. Much of the land stood in orphans' holdings, the Alexander orphans, the Bazett orphans and others carrying substantial acreages, the Company holding a dead tenant's land in trust and charging the rent against the estate until the heirs came of age. Freehold land paid only its ground rent while leasehold was charged by the acre, the two columns running side by side down the roll, so a single tenant's bill drew on both the nominal freehold quit-rent and the working rent of his leased ground.
18	29	6th October Ground Rent, Free Land acres, Lease Land acres, £, s, d Brought Over Joseph Desfountain Free Land 30 acres, Lease Land 10¾ acres, £ 2, s 16, d 10½ John Desfountains Executors Free Land 93¾ acres, Lease Land 39½ acres, £ 9, s 12, d 7½ Baron Deleffe Free Land 5 acres, s 5 Thomas Easthope	The rent roll of 6 October 1747 continued, giving each tenant's ground rent, freehold acreage, leasehold acreage and the sterling charge. Joseph Desfountain, freehold 30 acres, leasehold 10.5 acres, £2 16s 10.5d John Desfountain's executors, freehold 93.5 acres, leasehold 39.5 acres, £9 12s 7.5d Baron Deleffe, freehold 5 acres, £0 5s 0d Thomas Easthope, freehold 35 acres, leasehold 51.5 acres, £7 19s 9d Francis Funge, leasehold 15.5 acres, £1 18s 1.5d

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		Free Land 31 acres, Lease Land 51½ acres, £ 7, s 19, d 9 Francis Funge Lease Land 15¾ acres, £ 1, s 18, d 1½ John French Senr Free Land 30 acres, Lease Land 57 acres, £ 8, s 12, d 6 John French Junr Ground Rent 10/, Lease Land 11 acres, £ 1, s 7, d 6 John Goodwin Ground Rent 10 Richard Goodwin Ground Rent 21/, Free Land 130½ acres, Lease Land 59 acres, £ 14, s 10, d 9 Thomas Greentree 1 acre at 1 p Ann 3½ at 2 p Acre Free Land 45½ acres, Lease Land 60 acres, £ 8, s 18, d 9 James Greentree Free Land 40 acres, Lease Land 55 acres, £ 9, s 5, d 6 One Sr Gurling Free Land 20 acres, Lease Land 9 acres, £ 1, s 16, d 6 Richard Gurling 3 Acres a 1 p Ann Free Land 36 acres, Lease Land 52 acres, £ 7, s 19, d 6 Gabriel Harper Free Land 22 acres, Lease Land 73½ acres, £ 10, s 5, d 9 Joseph Hardings Orphans Free Land 19 acres, Lease Land 15 acres, £ 2, s 16, d 6 John Hayes Senr Free Land 14 acres, s 14 Thomas Hayes Free Land 30 acres, Lease Land 4 acres, £ 2 Francis Hayes Free Land 8½ acres, Lease Land 15¾ acres, £ 2, s 6, d 7½ Martin Harper Free Land 55½ acres, Lease Land 42½ acres, £ 8, s 2 Lydia Harper Lease Land 13½ acres, £ 1, s 13, d 9 Richard Harper Lease Land 13 acres, £ 1, s 12, d 6 Penelope Isaacke Lease Land 13 acres, £ 1, s 12, d 6 Gabriel Isaacke Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 24 acres, Lease Land 5 acres, £ 1, s 16, d 6 Elisha Isaacke Free Land 1½ acres, s 15 Samuel Knipe Free Land 19½ acres, £ 1, s 6 John Leech Senr Free Land 19½ acres, s 19, d 6 Ebenezer Leech Ground Rent 21/, Lease Land 57 acres, £ 5, s 9, d 3 Richard Mason £ 2, s 6 Matthew Mudge Lease Land 20¾ acres, £ 3, s 14, d 4½ Edmund Nicholls Executors Ground Rent 2/6, £ 2, s 6 Mary Nicholls Free Land 10 acres, Lease Land 42 acres, £ 5, s 15 Joseph Powell Lease Land 25 acres, £ 3, s 2, d 6 Matthew Purling for John Purlings Orph Free Land 9¾ acres, Lease Land 35¾ acres, £ 4, s 17, d 7½ Susanna Pledged Free Land 103 acres, Lease Land 60¾ acres, £ 12, s 19, d 10½ James Ryders Orphans Free Land 5 acres, Lease Land 31 acres, £ 4, s 2, d 6 Free Land 30 acres, Lease Land 50½ acres, £ 8, s 4, d 3	John French senior, freehold 30 acres, leasehold 57 acres, £8 12s 6d John French junior, ground rent 12d, leasehold 11 acres, £1 7s 6d John Goodwin, ground rent 10s, £0 10s 0d Richard Goodwin, ground rent 21s, freehold 130.5 acres, leasehold 59 acres, £14 10s 9d Thomas Greentree, 33.5 acres at 2s 6d a year, freehold 45.5 acres, leasehold 60 acres, £8 10s 9d James Greentree, freehold 40 acres, leasehold 55 acres, £9 5s 6d Ann Gurling, freehold 20 acres, leasehold 9 acres, £1 16s 6d Richard Gurling, 3 acres at 12d a year, freehold 36 acres, leasehold 52 acres, £7 19s 6d Gabriel Harper, freehold 22 acres, leasehold 73.5 acres, £10 5s 9d Joseph Harding's orphans, freehold 19 acres, leasehold 15 acres, £2 16s 6d John Hayes senior, freehold 14 acres, £0 14s 0d Thomas Hayes, freehold 30 acres, leasehold 4 acres, £2 0s 0d Francis Hayes, freehold 8.5 acres, leasehold 15.5 acres, £2 6s 7.5d Martin Harper, freehold 55.5 acres, leasehold 42.5 acres, £8 2s 0d Lydia Harper, leasehold 13.5 acres, £1 13s 9d Richard Harper, leasehold 13 acres, £1 12s 6d Penelope Isaacke, leasehold 13 acres, £1 12s 6d Gabriel Isaacke, ground rent 15s, freehold 24 acres, leasehold 5 acres, £1 16s 6d Elisha Isaacke, freehold 1.5 acres, £0 15s 0d Samuel Knipe, freehold 19.5 acres, £0 19s 6d John Leech senior, ground rent 19.5d, leasehold 57 acres, £5 9s 3d Ebenezer Leech, ground rent 21d, £0 2s 6d Richard Mason, £0 2s 6d Matthew Mudge, leasehold 20.5 acres, £3 14s 4.5d Edmund Nicholls's executors, ground rent 2s 6d, £0 2s 6d Mary Nicholls, freehold 10 acres, leasehold 42 acres, £5 15s 0d Joseph Powell, freehold 25 acres, leasehold 25 acres, £2 6s 6d Matthew Purling for John Purling's orphans, ground rent 9.5d, freehold 103 acres, leasehold 60.5 acres, £12 19s 10.5d Susanna Pledger, freehold 5 acres, leasehold 31 acres, £4 2s 6d James Ryder's orphans, freehold 30 acres, leasehold 50.5 acres, £8 4s 3d **Interpretations** Richard Goodwin stood among the largest holders on the roll at 130.5 freehold and 59 leasehold acres for £14 10s 9d, a scale of holding that matched his standing as one of the planters Governor Dunbar had named the year before as governing or influencing the rest. The Greentree brothers Thomas and James held near a hundred acres apiece, the same body of substantial planting families carrying the bulk of the island's leased ground year on year. The parcel James Ryder's orphans held at 30 freehold and 50.5 leasehold acres for £8 4s 3d is the land settled on Ryder's three daughters through the trust deed sealed on 25 August 1747, the rent charged against the orphans' estate while the Company held it for them. The land stood in the same trust holding on the roll rather than in the daughters' own names, the Company entering a dead tenant's ground under his heirs until they came of age or married. The dead of the preceding weeks still stood on the roll under their own names, Penelope Isaacke charged for her 13 leasehold acres though she had died on 20 September 1747, the rent falling due for the year past before her estate was settled. The roll recorded the tenancy as it stood through the year rather than as it

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			stood on rent day, so a holder who died late in the year was charged for the ground she had held.
19	30	1747 Ground Rent, Free Land acres, Lease Land acres, £, s, d Brought Over William Seale Free Land 21 acres, Lease Land 16½ acres, £ 3, s 2, d 3 Benjamine Seale Free Land 15 acres, Lease Land 16½ acres, £ 2, s 16, d 3 Mary Seale Free Land 20 acres, Lease Land 7½ acres, £ 1, s 18, d 9 Giles Smith Lease Land 11 acres, £ 1, s 7, d 6 Charles Stewards Orph Ground Rent 14/, Free Land 69¾ acres, Lease Land 69 acres, £ 12, s 15, d 3 Nathan Sample Free Land 25 acres, £ 1, s 5 John Trails Free Land 9 acres, Lease Land 25 acres, £ 3, s 11, d 6 Richard Trusley Ground Rent 5/, Lease Land 3 acres, £ 12, d 6 Robert Wright Lease Land 7½ acres, s 19, d 1½ Francis Wrangham Senr Ground Rent 26/4, Free Land 258¾ acres, Lease Land 130 acres, £ 29, s 14, d 9 John Worral Free Land 11 acres, Lease Land 51½ acres, £ 6, s 19, d 9 Simon Whaleys Orphans Ground Rent 14/6, Free Land 14 acres, £ 2, s 9, d 2 Joshua Worral Free Land 7 acres, Lease Land 45½ acres, £ 6, d 9 William Worral Free Land 24 acres, £ 1, s 4 Joseph Whaley Junr Ground Rent 13/6, Lease Land 23¾ acres, £ 3, s 1, d 8 David Willson Lease Land 2 acres, s 5 William Young Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 80 acres, Lease Land 27 acres, £ 7, s 12, d 6 William Kennedy Ground Rent 13/, Lease Land 10 acres, £ 2, s 10 James Pritchard 10 months at Rent a 7 p Anum Ground Rent 5/10, £ 5, s 10 Joseph Whaley Senr Free Land 5 acres, Lease Land 1 acre, s 7, d 6 Thomas Killingham 9 month Rent a 10 p Anum Ground Rent 7/6, s 7, d 6 £ 340 15 11 Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright	The rent roll of 6 October 1747 continued, giving each tenant's ground rent, freehold acreage, leasehold acreage and the sterling charge. William Seale, freehold 21 acres, leasehold 16.5 acres, £3 2s 3d Benjamin Seale, freehold 15 acres, leasehold 16.5 acres, £2 16s 3d Mary Seale, freehold 20 acres, leasehold 7.5 acres, £1 18s 9d Giles Smith, leasehold 11 acres, £1 7s 6d Charles Steward's executors, ground rent 14s, freehold 69.5 acres, leasehold 69 acres, £12 15s 3d Nathan Sample, freehold 25 acres, £1 5s 0d John Thwaits, freehold 9 acres, leasehold 25 acres, £3 11s 6d Richard Tinsley, ground rent 5s, leasehold 3 acres, £0 12s 6d Robert Wright, leasehold 7.5 acres, £0 10s 1.5d Francis Wrangham senior, ground rent 26s 4d, freehold 258.5 acres, leasehold 130 acres, £29 14s 9d John Worral, freehold 11 acres, leasehold 51.5 acres, £6 19s 9d Simon Whaley's orphans, ground rent 14s 6d, freehold 14 acres, £2 9s 2d Joshua Worral, freehold 7 acres, leasehold 45.5 acres, £6 0s 9d William Worral, freehold 24 acres, £1 4s 0d Joseph Whaley junior, ground rent 13s 6d, leasehold 23.5 acres, £3 1s 8d David Willson, leasehold 2 acres, £0 5s 0d William Young, ground rent 5s, freehold 30 acres, leasehold 27 acres, £7 12s 6d William Kennedy, ground rent 13s, leasehold 10 acres, £2 10s 0d James Pritchard, 10 months' rent at 7s a year, ground rent 5s 10d, £0 5s 10d Joseph Whaley senior, freehold 5 acres, leasehold 1 acre, £0 7s 6d Thomas Willingham, 9 months' rent at 10s a year, ground rent 7s 6d, £0 7s 6d Total, £340 15s 11d The roll was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. **Interpretations** Francis Wrangham senior stood far the largest holder on the roll at 258.5 freehold and 130 leasehold acres for £29 14s 9d, well ahead of every other tenant, the same commanding position he had held at 183 freehold and 123 leasehold acres for £25 19s 0d on the rent day of 7 October 1746. His acreage had risen across the year, a single family engrossing a share of the island's land out of all proportion to the rest, whose holdings mostly ran under a hundred acres. The two part-year entries at the foot mark tenancies begun partway through the year, James Pritchard charged ten months' ground rent and Thomas Willingham nine, each reckoned pro rata from the date his grant took effect. The practice ran through the rolls of earlier years, Gabriel Isaacke's and Andrew Blinman's part-year town lots having been entered pro rata in 1746, the Company charging a new tenant only for the months he had actually held the ground.
20	31	13th October At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 13th day of October 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lt John Clark Robert Wright of Council The last Consultation was read Approved & Signed Joshua Worrall petitioned for a new Lease for Seventeen Acres of Land lying in deep Valley his Old Lease being	The council met at the castle on Tuesday 13 October 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present together with John Clark and Robert Wright of the council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Joshua Worrall petitioned for a new lease of 17 acres of land in Deep Valley, his old lease having expired. The council granted it.

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		Expired Granted John Leech Senr Petitioned for a new Lease for ten Acres of Land lying in Deep Valley his old Lease being Expired Granted We received of Thomas Colgrove £ 29 6 Which he owed Thomas Allis dead in part to discharge the said Allis's Debt to the Estate of John Goodwin deceased Thomas Colgrove petitioned for a new Lease for 14 Acres of Land in Deep Valley the old One being Expired Granted Lt John Barton petitioned for a Lease for a peice of the Honble Companys Wast Land lying above his house in James's Valley Ordered the Land to be veiwed Baron Deloffe petitioned for a Lease for a peice of the Honble Companys Wast Ground at the upper end of James Valley Containing 60 feet in front & 60 feet in depth to build upon Ordered the ground to be Peived We ratifyed the Sold Leases granted in Consultations of the 8th & 29th Septr last vizt	John Leech senior petitioned for a new lease of 10 acres of land in Deep Valley, his old lease having expired. The council granted it. The council received £29 0s 6d from Thomas Colgrove, which he had owed the late Thomas Allis, in part discharge of Allis's debt to the estate of the late John Goodwin. Thomas Colgrove petitioned for a new lease of 14 acres of land in Deep Valley, his old lease having expired. The council granted it. Lieutenant John Barton petitioned for a lease of a piece of the Company's waste land above his house in James Valley. The council ordered the land to be viewed. Baron Deleffe petitioned for a lease of a piece of the Company's waste ground at the upper end of James Valley, 60 feet in front and 60 feet in depth, to build upon. The council ordered the ground to be viewed. The council then executed the leases it had granted at the consultations of 8 and 29 September. **Interpretations** The £29 0s 6d paid by Thomas Colgrove tracked a debt through two dead men's estates, the money he owed the late Thomas Allis applied to discharge Allis's own debt to the estate of the late John Goodwin. The council, sitting as it did over the settlement of estates, moved the payment straight from the living debtor to the creditor estate rather than through Allis's, clearing part of a chain of obligations that death had left unsettled. The three Deep Valley renewals taken together show a whole run of leases in one valley falling in at once and being granted afresh on the same day, the Company holding its ground under continuous tenure valley by valley. Setting the renewals of Worrall, Leech and Colgrove beside the two fresh grants held over for survey marks the Company's settled distinction, an expired term on known ground renewed on the spot while any grant of unenclosed waste waited on a view.
21	32	Island St Helena 1747 The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Marchands of England trading to the East Indies do hereby demise grant Lease set and to farm lett unto Samuel Deverson of the said Island Planter All that peice or parcell of Land Containing by mensuration twenty Acres Situate lying and being under and upon Part of the ridge commonly called and known by the name of the Two Gun or Allasm ridge in the West division of the said Island butting & bounding towards the North upon the said Honble Companys Wast land and next adjoining to Land late belonging to Giles Smith towards the South and West upon and next adjoining to the several Parcelles of Land late belonging to Jonathan Deverson and towards the East upon Lands now in the possession of Nathan Sample To have and to hold the said hereby demised Twenty Acres of Gunwood Land with the Appurts and Every part thereof unto him the said Samuel Deverson his Heirs Exers Administers or allowed Assigns from the day of the date hereof for and during all the time space and term of Twenty One Years from thence next Ensuing Upon Condition that he the said Samuel Deverson his Exec Executors Administers or allowed Assigns do always bear true faith and Allegiance	The Company, as lords proprietors of the island, leased to Samuel Doveton, a planter of the island, a parcel of 20 acres of land on part of the ridge known as the Two Gun or Alarm ridge in the western division. The parcel was bounded on the north by the Company's waste land and next to land once held by Giles Smith, on the south and west by several parcels once held by Jonathan Doveton, and on the eastern edge by land now held by Nathan Sample. Doveton took the 20 acres of gumwood land, with everything belonging to them, to hold for himself, his heirs, executors, administrators or approved assigns for 21 years from the date of the deed. The grant was made on condition that Doveton and his heirs, executors, administrators or approved assigns stayed loyal to King George the Second and his successors, kept faith with the Company and its successors, and obeyed every law and rule of the island. They were to pay the Company, its successors, agents or assigns a yearly rent of £0 5s 0d, due each year at the feast of St Michael the Archangel throughout the 21-year term. Doveton and those who came after him bore a further duty over the land itself. They were to fence the whole parcel at once with a strong and secure wall fence, and once it was enclosed to keep it in sound repair, not letting any part run to waste or decay. They were to plant and maintain the full proportion of wood and young trees set by the island's planting law, and to plant furze along the fences at the proper seasons, choosing whatever the soil best bore. The fences were not to be altered once made, since they stood as the boundaries and landmarks of the land. **Interpretations** The parcel lay on the Two Gun or Alarm ridge, ground that took its name from the two dispersed guns

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		to our Soveraign Lord King George the Second his Heirs and Successors and true faith to them the said Honble Company and their Successors and shall duely obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island Yealding and Praying therefor yearly and every year during the said Term of Twenty One Years unto the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Yearly rent of five Shillings p Acre in at or upon the Feast of St Michael the Archangel in Every Year And upon Condition that He the said Samuel Deverson his Heirs Exers Administers or Assigns shall and do imediately set about and fence in the said Parcell of Land with a good and Sufficient Wall fence and when so fenced and enclosed do and shall keep and maintain the same in good Heart and Tenantable repair and do not suffer the same or any part thereof to run to ruen and decay and shall also plant keep up and Maintain the full quantity and proportion of Wood and Young Trees pursuant to the Law of this Island in that case made and Provided and also plant furze round the said fences at such proper Seasons of the Year as it will best grow in or the nature of the soil produce and do not nor shall alter the said fences they being the bounds or Landmarks to the said Land and do not nor shall sell or dispose	mounted there and from its use as an alarm post, the high ground from which a lookout could see a sail and fire warning of it. Leasing planting land on the same ridge that carried the island's signal guns shows the Company's defensive works and its farmed ground sharing the heights, the gumwood land let for cultivation while the guns stood ready for the alarm. The bounds ran almost wholly against land held or once held by other Dovetons and by the Company's waste, so this grant to Samuel Doveton rounded out a stretch of ground long worked by his family, the several parcels once held by Jonathan Doveton lying to the south and west. Setting the new term against the older Doveton holdings shows the Company letting adjoining ground to the same family, a single name spreading across a run of connected parcels on one ridge.
22	33	13th Octor dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the Leave and Consent of the Govr & Council for the time being In Witness whereof We the said Governour and Council have hereunto set our hands and Affixed the Honble Companys Seal this Thirteenth day of October in the Twenty first Year of the reign of our Soveraign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith and so forth And in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Forty seven And the said Samuel Deverson hath to the Other part set his hand and seal the day and Year abovewritten (Signed) Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise Lease and to farm Lett unto William Seale and John Hayes Senr of the said Island Planters all that Peice or parcell of Land Containing Two Acres Situate lying and being at the Lower End of Stone Top Valley near the Sea in the West Division of the said Island butting and bounding East North and South upon the Honble	Samuel Doveton and his heirs were also barred from selling or otherwise disposing of the lease or any interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council of the day. Governor Hutchinson and the council set their hands and the Company's seal to the deed on 13 October 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and Samuel Doveton set his own hand and seal to it on the same day. The deed was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. A memorandum recorded that Doveton held 21 acres but paid rent for only 20, on account of the barrenness of the extra acre. The Company, as lords proprietors of the island, leased to William Seale and John Hayes senior, planters of the island, a parcel of 2 acres of land at the lower end of Stone Top Valley near the sea in the western division. The parcel was bounded on the north and south by the Company's waste land and on the west by land once held by Francis Pledgard. Seale and Hayes took the 2 acres, with everything belonging to them, to hold for themselves, their heirs, administrators or assigns for 21 years from the date of the deed. The grant was made on condition that Seale and Hayes and their heirs, administrators or assigns stayed loyal to King George the Second and his successors, kept faith with the Company and its successors, and obeyed every law and rule of the island. They were to pay the Company, its successors, agents or assigns a yearly rent of £0 5s 0d an acre, due each year at the feast of St Michael the Archangel throughout the 21-year term. **Interpretations** The memorandum striking one acre from Doveton's rent for its barrenness shows the Company charging only for ground worth working, an unproductive acre left in the tenant's hands but out of the reckoning. The concession marks a rare adjustment

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		Companys Wast Land and West upon Land late belonging to Francis Pledged of the said Island with the Appurtenances To have and To hold unto the said William Seale and John Hayes Senr their heirs Admirs and Assigns from the day of the date hereof for and during the Term of Twenty One Years form thence next Ensuing Upon Condition that they the said Wm Seale & John Hayes their heirs admirs or Assigns shall always bear true faith and Allegiance to our Soveraign Lord King George the Second his Heirs and Successors and true faith to them the said Honble Company and their Successors and shall duely obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island Yeilding and Praying therefor yearly and Every Year during the Term hereby granted unto the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Yearly rent of five Shillings p Acre in at or upon the feast of St Michael the Archangell Yearly And upon Condition that they the said William Margin Notes: Memorandom Samuel Deverson holds twenty One Acres and only pays rent for Twenty on account of Barroness	to the flat per-parcel rent, the Company recognising that some of the gumwood ridge was too poor to bear the charge and reducing the bill to the twenty acres of usable land. The Seale and Hayes lease was charged at five shillings the acre rather than the flat five-shilling rent that fell on the larger parcels of the same season, so this small coastal plot carried a far heavier rate per acre than the gumwood grants inland. The difference marks the ground at the lower end of Stone Top Valley near the sea as more valuable by the acre, perhaps for its access to the shore and the fishery, the Company pricing a scarce two-acre plot above the rate it set on twenty acres of upland.
23	34	1747 Seale and John Hayes their Exers Administers or Assigns shall and do imediately set about and fence in the said Parcell of land with a good and Sufficient Wall Fence and when so fenced and Enclosed do and shall keep and maintain the same in good Heart and Tenantable repair and do not suffer the same or any part thereof to run to ruen or decay and shall also plant keep up and maintain the full quantity and proportion of Wood and young Trees pursuant to the law of this Island in that case made and Provided and also plant furze round the said fences at such proper Seasons of the Year as it will best grow in or the Nature of the Soil Produce and do not nor shall alter the said fences they being the bounds or Landmarks to the said Land and do not nor shall sell or dispose of this Lease or their Interest therein without the leave and Consent of the Govr & Council for the time being In Witness Whereof We the said Govr Council have to these presents set our hands and affixed the Honble Companys Seal this Thirteenth day of October in the Twenty first Year of the reign of our Soveraign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith and so forth And in the Year of our Lord 1747 And they the said William Seale and John Hayes have to the Other Part set their hands and Seals the day and Year lastmentioned (Signed) Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright	The Seale and Hayes lease bound the two tenants and their heirs, administrators or assigns to fence the whole parcel at once with a strong and secure wall fence, and once it was enclosed to keep it in sound repair, not letting any part run to waste or decay. They were to plant and maintain the full proportion of wood and young trees set by the island's planting law, and to plant furze along the fences at the proper seasons, choosing whatever the soil best bore. The fences were not to be altered once made, since they stood as the boundaries and landmarks of the land, and the tenants were barred from selling or otherwise disposing of the lease or any interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council of the day. Governor Hutchinson and the council set their hands and the Company's seal to the deed on 13 October 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and William Seale and John Hayes set their own hands and seals to it on the same day. The deed was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. The Company, as lords proprietors of the island, leased to Francis Funge, a planter of the island, a parcel of 9 acres of land near the head of Great Bottom under the Company's high Peak pastures. The parcel was bounded on the south by the lower part of those pastures and on the north by the Company's waste land. Funge took the 9 acres, with everything belonging to them, to hold for himself, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns for the term set in the deed. **Interpretations** The Funge parcel near the head of Great Bottom lay next to the ground leased to John Alexander at the same season, both bounded on the south by the Company's high Peak pastures and on the north by its waste land. The two grants marked the edge where the Company's reserved upland grazing met the leased planting ground, the same stretch of hillside let out parcel by parcel to different tenants along the foot of the pastures the Company kept for its own herds. The 9 acres here were the ground whose renewal Funge had sought at the consultation of 8 September 1747, described there only as being in Swanley Valley,

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		Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise grant Lease set and to farm lett unto Francis Funge of the said Island Planter All that peice or parcell of land containing Nine Acres Situate near the head of Great Bottom under the said Honble Companys high Peak Pasture butting and bounding towards the South upon the Lower part thereof & towards the North land and West upon the said Honble Companys Wast Land To have and to hold the said hereby demised Parcell of Land with the Appurts and Every part thereof unto him the said Francis Funge his Heirs Exers Administers	so the deed placed the parcel more exactly at the head of Great Bottom under the Peak pastures. The fuller bounds of the executed lease fixed the land the earlier grant had named loosely, the formal deed setting down the parcel's neighbours and position where the petition had given only the valley.
24	35	13th Octor Assigns from the day of the date hereof for and during all the time space and Term of Twenty One Years from thence next Ensuing Upon Condition that he the said Francis Funge his Heirs or Assigns do Always bear true faith and Allegiance to our Soveraign Lord King George the Second his Heirs and Successors and true faith to them the said Honble Company and their Successors and shall duely obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island Yeilding and Praying therefore Yearly and Every Year during the said Term of Twenty One Years unto the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Yearly rent of five Shillings p Acre in at or upon the feast of Saint Michael the Archangell Yearly And upon Condition that he the said Francis Funge his Heirs Exers Administers or Assigns shall and do imediately set about and fence in the said Parcell of Land with a good and sufficient Wall fence And when so fenced and Enclosed do and shall keep and maintain the same in good Heart and Tenantable repair and do not suffer the same or any part thereof to run to ruen or decay And shall also plant keep up and Maintain the full quantity and proportion of Wood and Young Trees pursuant to the Law of this Island in that case made and provided And also plant furze round the said fences at such proper seasons of the Year and will best grow in or the Nature of the Soil produce and do not nor shall alter the said fences they being the bounds or Landmarks to the said Land and do not nor shall sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave and Consent of the Govr and Council for the time being In Witness Whereof We the said Govr & Council have hereunto set our hands and affixed the	This lease ran to Francis Funge for a term of 21 years from the date of the deed. It was made on condition that Funge and his heirs or assigns stayed loyal to King George the Second and his successors, kept faith with the Company and its successors, and obeyed every law and rule of the island. They were to pay the Company, its successors, agents or assigns a yearly rent of £0 5s 0d an acre, due each year at the feast of St Michael the Archangel throughout the term. Funge and those who came after him bore a further duty over the land itself. They were to fence the whole parcel at once with a strong and secure wall fence, and once it was enclosed to keep it in sound repair, not letting any part run to waste or decay. They were to plant and maintain the full proportion of wood and young trees set by the island's planting law, and to plant furze along the fences at the proper seasons, choosing whatever the soil best bore. The fences were not to be altered once made, since they stood as the boundaries and landmarks of the land, and Funge and his heirs were barred from selling or otherwise disposing of the lease or any interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council of the day. Governor Hutchinson and the council set their hands and the Company's seal to the deed on 13 October 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and Francis Funge set his own hand and seal to it on the same day. The deed was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. **Interpretations** The rent on this parcel was set at five shillings the acre, the same per-acre rate carried by the Seale and Hayes plot sealed the same day rather than the flat five-shilling charge that fell on the larger gumwood grants. Funge's holding renewed the 9 acres in Swanley Valley granted him at the consultation of 8 September 1747, so the per-acre rate here fixed a rent of £2 5s 0d on the parcel, the charge rising with the size of the holding where the acre rate governed. The whole body of the lease repeated word for word the terms of the Doveton and the Alexander grants of the same season, the loyalty condition, the Michaelmas rent, the fencing and wood clauses and the bar on assignment all cut to one template. The Company varied only the tenant, the parcel and the rent from deed to deed, the standing form saving the labour of drafting each grant afresh and binding every leaseholder to the identical duties over his land.

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		Honble Companys Seal this Thirteenth day of October in the Twenty first Year of the reign of our Soveraign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1747 And the said Francis Funge hath to the other part set his hand and Seal the day and Year lastmentione (Signed) Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright	
25	36	Island St Helena 1747 The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise Grant Lease and to farm Lett unto Thomas Jarvis All that peice or Parcell of Ground Containing Sixty feet in front and Sixty feet in depth Situate lying and being in James's Valley near the house now in the Possession of Thomas Killingham butting and bounding North upon the said Thomas Killingham and East South and West upon the Honble Companys Wast Land with the Appurts to have and to hold the aforesaid Land and Premisses with the Appurts unto him the said Thomas Jarvis his Heirs Exers Admers and Assigns from the day of the date hereof for and during and unto the full end and Term of Twenty One Years from thence next Ensueing Yeilding and Praying therefore Yearly and every year during the Term hereby granted unto the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Sum of Twelve Shillings on the feast day of St Michael the Archangell in Every Year Upon Condition that He the said Thomas Jarvis his Heirs Exers Admers or Assigns do and shall bear true faith and Allegiance to our Soveraign Lord King George the Second his Heirs and Successors and true faith to them the said Honble Company and their Successors and shall duely obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island And upon Condition that He the said Thomas Jarvis his Exers Admers or Assigns do and shall at the end or sooner Expiration hereof leave the aforesaid Ground and Premisses in like good Condition and repair and not suffer the said Ground or any Building that is or may be thereon to run to ruen or decay And Upon Condition that He the said Thomas Jarvis his Exers Admers or Assigns shall not sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave and Consent of the Govr & Council for the time being In Witness Whereof We the said Govr & Council have hereunto set our hands and Affixed the Honble Companys	The Company, as lords proprietors of the island, leased to Thomas Jarvis a parcel of ground 60 feet in front and 60 feet in depth in James Valley, above the house then held by Thomas Willingham. The parcel was bounded on the north by the same Thomas Willingham and on the east, south and west by the Company's waste land. Jarvis took the ground, with everything belonging to it, to hold for himself, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns for 21 years from the date of the deed. The grant was made on condition that Jarvis and his heirs, administrators or assigns stayed loyal to King George the Second and his successors, kept faith with the Company and its successors, and obeyed every law and rule of the island. They were to pay the Company, its successors, agents or assigns £0 12s 0d a year, due each year at the feast of St Michael the Archangel throughout the term. The grant carried a further duty. At the end of the term Jarvis and those who came after him were to leave the ground and any building on it in good condition and repair, not letting the ground or any building run to waste or decay. They were also barred from selling or otherwise disposing of the lease or any interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council of the day. Governor Hutchinson and the council set their hands and the Company's seal to the deed on 13 October 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and Thomas Jarvis set his own hand and seal to it on the same day. The deed was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. **Interpretations** The Jarvis lease was a town lot let to build upon, its terms turning on a building rather than on planting, so it carried no fencing, wood or furze clause but instead required the ground and any house on it to be left in repair at the term's end. The distinction marks the two kinds of grant the Company made, the country lease binding the tenant to fence and plant his acres and the town lease binding him to keep up the building he raised on his plot. The rent of £0 12s 0d fell on a plot measured in feet rather than acres, the twelve shillings pricing a building lot in James Valley by its size and position rather than by any acreage. The figure stood well above the few shillings charged on the small country parcels of the same season, the town ground near the settlement drawing a far higher rent for its frontage than open planting land inland commanded by the acre.

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		Seal this Thirteenth day of October in the twenty first Year of the reign of our Soveraign Lord George the Second by the grace of God of Great Brittain France & Ireland King defender of the faith and so forth And in the Year of our Lord 1747 And the said Thomas Jarvis hath to the other part set his hand and seal the day and year abovewritten (Signed) Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright	
26	37	13th Octr Published an Advertizement that a Sessions would be held on Wednesday the 28th October Instant The Plantation Gunners & Stewards Accounts were brought in for the Month of Septr last which were Examined and Approved & are as follows viz	The council published a notice that a court would be held on Wednesday 28 October. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for September were brought in, examined, approved, and ran as follows. **Interpretations** The court set for 28 October marks the island's quarter sessions, the judicial body the Company kept alongside the council's administrative work, and the notice by advertisement gave the inhabitants warning to bring their causes and answer any charges. The publishing of the notice weeks ahead followed the settled practice, the same run of business appearing at each sitting where debts, disputes and offences were tried before a jury.
27	38	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of Septr 1747 vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Totall, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Totall, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remaining 1st: Bulls 3, Cows 90, Calves 157, Yearlings 4, Heifers 12, Steers 0, Bullocks 1, Oxen 16, Totall 283, Ewes 85, Weathers 7, Lambs 152, Rams 7, Totall 251, Ewes 57, Weathers 1, Kidds 131, Rams 5, Totall 194, Sows 7, Barrows 9, Shoats 0, Piggs 83, Boars 1, Totall 100, Turkeys 8, Fowles 147, Ducks 12, Geese 24, Horses 6, Mares 4, Totall 10 Increased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 4, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Totall 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 4, Rams 0, Totall 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 2, Rams 0, Totall 2, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 4, Fowles 58, Ducks 29, Geese 3, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bulls 3, Cows 90, Calves 161, Yearlings 4, Heifers 12, Steers 0, Bullocks 1, Oxen 16, Totall 287, Ewes 85, Weathers 7, Lambs 156, Rams 7, Totall 255, Ewes 57, Weathers 1, Kidds 133, Rams 5, Totall 196, Sows 7, Barrows 9, Shoats 0, Piggs 83, Boars 1, Totall 100, Turkeys 12, Fowles 205, Ducks 41, Geese 27, Horses 6, Mares 4, Totall 10 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 4, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 4, Ewes 4, Weathers 1, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totall 5, Sows 1, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totall 1, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 4, Calves 3, Yearlings 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Totall 8, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Totall 1, Ewes 2, Weathers 1, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totall 3, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 4, Boars 0, Totall 4, Turkeys 0, Fowles 18, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remaining 30th: Bulls 3, Cows 103, Calves 61, Yearlings 70, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Oxen 16, Totall 279, Ewes 145, Weathers 36, Lambs 64, Rams 5, Totall 250, Ewes 115, Weathers 37, Kidds 30, Rams 6, Totall 188, Sows 15, Barrows 5, Shoats 40, Piggs 33, Boars 2, Totall 95, Turkeys 12, Fowles 187, Ducks 41, Geese 27, Horses 7, Mares 3, Totall 10	This account set out the Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals for September 1747, taken from the count on 1 September to the count on 30 September. Neat cattle remaining 1 September: bulls 3, cows 90, calves 157, yearlings 4, heifers 12, steers 0, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 283 Neat cattle increased: calves 4, total 4 Neat cattle after increase: bulls 3, cows 90, calves 161, yearlings 4, heifers 12, steers 0, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 287 Neat cattle killed: 0 Neat cattle died: cows 4, calves 3, yearlings 1, total 8 Neat cattle remaining 30 September: bulls 3, cows 103, calves 61, yearlings 70, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 279 Sheep remaining 1 September: ewes 85, wethers 7, lambs 152, rams 7, total 251 Sheep increased: lambs 4, total 4 Sheep after increase: ewes 85, wethers 7, lambs 156, rams 7, total 255 Sheep killed: wethers 4, total 4 Sheep died: lambs 1, total 1 Sheep remaining 30 September: ewes 145, wethers 36, lambs 64, rams 5, total 250 Goats remaining 1 September: ewes 57, wethers 1, kids 131, rams 5, total 194 Goats increased: kids 2, total 2 Goats after increase: ewes 57, wethers 1, kids 133, rams 5, total 196 Goats killed: ewes 4, wethers 1, total 5 Goats died: ewes 1, kids 2, total 3 Goats remaining 30 September: ewes 115, wethers 37, kids 30, rams 6, total 188 Hogs remaining 1 September: sows 7, barrows 9, boars 0, pigs 83, boars 1, total 100 Hogs increased: 0 Hogs after increase: sows 7, barrows 9, boars 0, pigs 83, boars 1, total 100 Hogs killed: barrows 1, total 1 Hogs died: pigs 4, total 4 Hogs remaining 30 September: sows 15, barrows 5, boars 40, pigs 33, boars 2, total 95 Poultry remaining 1 September: turkeys 8, fowls 147, ducks 12, geese 24

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		5 Goats to the Markett weighed 91 lb Yams Expended 43685 lb (Signed) Errors Excepted Rich Gurling	Poultry increased: turkeys 4, fowls 58, ducks 29, geese 3 Poultry after increase: turkeys 12, fowls 205, ducks 41, geese 27 Poultry died: fowls 18 Poultry remaining 30 September: turkeys 12, fowls 187, ducks 41, geese 27 Horses remaining 1 September: horses 6, mares 4, total 10 Horses remaining 30 September: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 5 goats to the market weighed 91 lb Yams expended, 43,685 lb The account was signed by Richard Gurling, errors excepted. **Interpretations** The closing figures on 30 September were struck at the year-end muster, which reclassified the herd and flock by age rather than by any purchase or sale, so the sharp shifts down the columns record the animals moving into older classes at the annual count. The neat cattle calves fell from 161 to 61 while the yearlings rose from 4 to 70 and the cows from 90 to 103, the same beasts carried up a grade as the books were balanced for the year, the total holding near steady at 279 against 283 at the month's opening. The flock and goat columns show the same year-end reckoning, the sheep ewes leaping from 85 to 145 and the wethers from 7 to 36 as the lambs of the past year were counted into the grown classes, and the goats recast in the same way. The reclassification restored the shape of the account after a year's killing had stripped the older grades, the increase produced by the animals ageing into their new categories rather than by any addition to the stock. The poultry yard rose sharply, the fowls, ducks, geese and turkeys all gaining at the September muster as the year's broods were brought to book, the ducks nearly quadrupling and the geese and turkeys entered afresh. The pattern matched the year-end counts of earlier years, when several hundred fowls and dozens of turkeys were brought in at the September muster, the yard's whole increase carried into the account at the close of the Company's year.
28	39	13th Octr 1747 Powder Expended Gunners Stores Expended in Septr 1747 Fired out of the Blunderbusses Powder Expended 2 Delivered to the Stone Blaster at Several times Powder Expended 41 8 To the Funeral of William Price Powder Expended 2 4 The Totall Powder Expended 43 14 Lead Balls fired out of the Blunderbusses Oz 91 Handspikes broke at Sandy bay 2 fine Paper to make Small Cartidges 2 do Tallow Expended from the 7th Octr 1746 to the 7th Octr 1747 in greasing the Guns Carriages 69 lb (Signed) Jno French Sundrys Expended in the Castle in Septr 1747 13 Bottles West Wine £ 0 19 2¾ 16 Do Lisbon 1 3 8 5 Do Madera 0 10 5 56 Do Strong Beer 42 Do Small Do 0 18 4¾	This account set out the gunner's stores expended in September 1747, giving the powder spent on each occasion. Fired out of the blunderbuss, 2 lb powder Delivered to the stone blaster at several times, 41 lb 8 oz powder To the funeral of William Price, 2 lb 4 oz powder Total, 43 lb 14 oz powder Lead balls fired out of the blunderbuss came to 91, three handspikes broke at Sandy Bay, and fine paper was expended to make small cartridges. Tallow expended from 7 October 1746 to 7 October 1747 in greasing the guns and carriages came to 69 lb. The account was signed by John French. The account of sundries expended in the castle in September 1747 followed. 13 bottles of port wine, £0 19s 2.5d 16 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 3s 8d 5 bottles of Madeira, £0 10s 5d 56 bottles of strong beer, £0 18s 4.5d 42 bottles of small beer, £0 18s 4.5d 188 lb of flour, £1 3s 6d 6 pieces of salt beef, £0 14s 0d 8 pieces of salt pork, £0 15s 0d 3 fowls, £0 4s 6d 9 gallons of Goa arrack, £0 12s 9d 57 lb of fresh pork, £1 13s 6d 148.5 lb of mutton, £3 1s 9.5d 5 lb of goat, £0 1s 8d 8 lb of sugar, £0 1s 8d 15 lb of candy, £0 4s 4.5d

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		188 lb Flour 1 3 6 6 pd Salt Beef 0 14 8 Do Do Pork 0 15 3 Fowls 0 4 6 9 Gallons Goa Arrack 0 12 9 57 lb Fresh Pork 1 13 6 148¾ lb Mutton 3 1 9¾ 3 lb Goat 0 1 8 8 lb Sugar 0 1 8 13 lb Candy 0 4 4¾ £ 12 4 5 Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright	Total, £12 4s 5d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. **Interpretations** The tallow spent greasing the guns and carriages across the whole year to 7 October 1747 marks the routine upkeep of the ordnance, tallow smeared on the trunnions, axles and moving iron to keep them from rusting and running stiff in the island's damp salt air. Entering a single year's figure of 69 lb rather than a monthly charge shows the gunner reckoning this slow standing consumption over the twelvemonth, the guns kept serviceable against a call that a full shipping season rarely brought. The month's powder went almost wholly to the stone blaster rather than to salutes or alarms, 41 lb of the 43 spent blowing rock, so the September stores record quarrying work rather than any ceremony or warning. The heavy charge to the blaster stands beside the run of blasting on Ladder Hill and Sandy Bay ridge in the previous autumn, the Company's powder spent as much on breaking ground for its works as on answering the shipping.
29	40	20th Octr 1747 At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 20th day of Octr 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lt John Clark Robert Wright of Council The last Consultation was read Approved & Signed Died Elizabeth Wife of William Kennedy Sergeant Died William for a Ship that Enquired of John Goodwin Gentleman Died Elizabeth Daughter of John Goodwin Gentleman The Trustees of Elizabeth Kennedy deceased desired Liberty to prove the Power made by her to their as Extrix of her late Husband John Scot deceased Which was done on the Oaths of the Subscribeing Witnesses thereto & is as follows vizt Island St Helena Know All Men by these presents that I Elizabeth Kennedy of the said Island Wife to William Kennedy & late the Wife of John Scott dead And Whereas by the said John Scotts last Will and Testament dated the 14th day of Decr in the Year of our Lord 1746 he did appoint me whole & Sole Extrix in the Managements of his Affaires And as I the said Elizabeth Kennedy being very sick and Weak of Body and no likelihood of recovering do by the Power therein given me Authorize and Appoint my said Husband William Kennedy Mr Richard Mason and Mr Isaac Payne of the said Island Trustees to the said deceased Estate act and do as they shall think proper without any hindrance or Molestation of by or from any Person or Persons whatsoever In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this 12th Day of October in the 21st Year of the reign of our Soveraign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith and so forth And in the Year of our Lord 1747 (Signed) The Mark of El Eliz Kennedy	The council met at the castle on Tuesday 20 October 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present together with John Clark and Robert Wright of the council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Elizabeth, wife of the sergeant William Kennedy, died on Wednesday 14 October. William [...], a soldier, died on Sunday [...]. Elizabeth, daughter of John Goodwin, a gentleman, died on Monday 19 October. The trustees of the late Elizabeth Kennedy sought leave to prove the power she had made to them as executrix of her late husband John Scott. It was proved on the oaths of the witnesses and ran as follows. Elizabeth Kennedy of the island, wife to William Kennedy and formerly the wife of the late John Scott, set out that John Scott had by his last will of 14 December 1746 appointed her whole and sole executrix in the management of his affairs. Being very sick and weak in body with no likelihood of recovery, she used the power the will gave her to authorise and appoint her husband William Kennedy, Richard Mason and Isaac Payne of the island trustees for the deceased, to act as they thought proper without hindrance from any person. She set her hand and seal to the instrument on 12 October 1747. It was signed with the mark of Elizabeth Kennedy, and signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Thomas French and John Leech junior. The house once John Goodwin's, where the Hayes and Willingham families lived, needed some of its thatch and boarded roof mended, and the council ordered it properly repaired. The storekeeper brought in his collection for the months of July, August and September, which was examined and approved, and ran as follows. **Interpretations** Elizabeth Kennedy's instrument passed on a trust that death was about to interrupt, using the executrix's own power under her first husband's will to name three trustees to finish the business she could no longer manage. Made on 12 October and proved after her death on 14 October 1747, the deed shows a dying executrix providing for the settlement of John Scott's estate to go forward, the authority she held under his will devolved onto men who could act where she could not. The chain of authority ran through two marriages and a will, Elizabeth having been executrix to her late husband John Scott and then wife to William Kennedy, whom she named first among the trustees. John Scott's will had been proved on 23 June 1747, so his estate was still in settlement when his widow and executrix herself

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		Signed Sealed and delivered in the Presence of us (Signed) Tho French Jno Leech Junr The House late Govr Goodwins where the 4 & Workers live wanting to be new thatched & some part of the roof that is boarded to be mended and freeh sawed We Ordered it to be Sufficiently repaired The Storekeeper broin his Collections for the Months of July Augt & Septr last which were Examined & Approved & are as follows viz Margin Notes: Wednesday 14th Fryday 15th Monday 19th	fell mortally ill, the trust deed keeping the administration alive by moving it to fresh hands rather than letting it fail with her.
30	41	20th October Collection of Goods Sold out of the Honble Companys Stores in the Months of July August & Septr 1747 vizt Sold to the Garrison at 10 p Cent Arrack 20 Gallons £ 5 Brandy 800½ Gallons 200 2 6 Sugar & Candy vizt 3273 lb Sugar 54 11 8 735 lb Candy 15 6 3 60 17 11 Bread & Flour vizt 1043 lb Bread 7 12 9¾ 464 lb Flour 3 7 8 140 2 4 Do baked 122 19 6 133 19 2¾ Soap 392 lb 15 1 4 Salt 24½ Bushells 4 3 8¾ Tea vizt 215¾ Bohea 12 11 5 4 lb Green 0 6 8 1 Callco Bohea 0 1 6 4 Callco Green 0 10 8 13 10 3 Thread vizt 10 lb Whited Brown 2 15 15 lb Coloured 2 15 1 Oz Nuns 0 1 6¾ Cordage 221 lb 5 11 4¾ Vinegar 22¾ Gallons 4 2 10¾ Vinegar 22¾ Gallons 2 11 11 Twine 20 Skanes 0 13 4 Rice 5 3 14 0 1 18 2¼ Iron Potts 6 sorted 1 13 4 Oil vizt	This account set out the goods sold out of the Company's stores in July, August and September 1747, sold to the garrison at ten per cent. Arrack, 20 gallons, £5 0s 0d Brandy, 800.5 gallons, £200 2s 6d Sugar, 3,273 lb, £54 11s 8d Candy, 735 lb, £15 6s 3d Sugar and candy total, £60 17s 11d Bread, 1,043 lb, £7 12s 9.5d Flour, 464 lb, £3 7s 8d 140 dozen 2 batches baked, £122 19s 6d Bread and flour total, £133 19s 2.25d Soap, 392 lb, £15 1s 4d Salt, 24.5 bushels, £4 3s 8.5d Bohea tea, 213.5 lb, £12 11s 5d Green tea, 4 lb, £0 6s 8d 1 catty of bohea tea, £0 1s 6d 4 catties of green tea, £0 10s 8d Tea total, £13 10s 3d White or brown thread, 10 lb, £2 15s 0d Coloured thread, 15 lb, £2 15s 0d Nuns thread, 1 lb, £1 16s 0d Thread total, £5 11s 4.5d Cordage, 221 lb, £4 2s 10.5d Vinegar, 22.5 gallons, £2 11s 11d Twine, 20 skeins, £0 13s 4d Rice at 5 hundredweight 3 quarters 14 lb, £1 18s 2.25d Iron pots, 6 sorted, £1 13s 4d Train oil, 14 gallons, £2 3s 2d Linseed oil, 2.75 gallons, £0 8s 6d Florence oil, 20 bottles, £3 1s 8d Oil total, £5 13s 4d Carried over, £461 19s 3.5d **Interpretations** The brandy at 800.5 gallons for £200 2s 6d dominated the whole collection, far outweighing every other line and standing many times above the twenty gallons of arrack sold beside it. The great quantity marks a recent landing of brandy into the stores from the shipping, the spirit sold on to the garrison at the ten per cent markup the Company set for its own servants, against the twenty-five per cent charged to the planters. Nuns thread carried a strikingly high price, one pound of it costing as much as fifteen pounds of coloured thread, so this was a fine white sewing thread of a quality far above the ordinary. The name marked a thread first made in convents for church linen and lace, and its price on the island's shelves set it apart from the coarse brown and coloured threads the garrison bought for common mending. The oils divided by origin and use, the train oil rendered from sea animals and burnt for light or worked into leather, the linseed pressed from flax for paint and wood, and the Florence oil an olive oil from Italy fit for the table. Stocking all three shows the store meeting the several needs of the garrison at once, the

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		14 Gallons Trann 2 3 2 2⅜ Gallons Linseed 0 8 6 20 Bottles Florence 3 1 8 5 13 4 Carried over £ 461 19 3½	cheap animal oil for the lamps and the fine imported olive oil for cooking, each priced and sold apart.
31	42	1747 Brot Over £ 461 19 3½ Shalloon 43 Yards 4 16 9 Muslin 4 peices 1 19 4 Shoes vizt 11 prs Mens fine 3 12 5 1 pr Do Pumps 0 7 3 94 prs Do Ordinary 20 7 4 24 7 Shirts vizt 43 Callico 4 7 9¾ 129 Soldiers 29 11 3 33 19 ¾ Hooks & Lines vizt 16 doz Hooks sorted 0 15 5 400 Blue Hooks 0 1 4 1400 Hooks p Grantham 0 14 7 8 lines sorted 0 2 4¾ 1 damaged Line 0 3¾ 1 Hand Line 0 1 5¾ 1 15 10¾ Lead vizt 11¼ lb Sheet 0 2 1¾ 12 lb Pig 0 2 3 0 4 4¾ Haberdashers ware vizt 9 peices Holland Tape 0 2 1¾ 57 Skanes Silk 1 6 1¾ 42 Skds Mohair 0 15 9 9 doz Mtd Ct Buttons 0 5 4 27½ doz M Bt Do 0 11 4¾ 4½ doz Ct Do 0 5 ¾ 2¾ doz Ct Bd Do 0 1 2¾ 3 doz Bto Mtd Ct Do 0 1 8¾ 3¾ doz Do Bd 0 1 ¾ 6 doz Wm Waistcoat Buttons 0 1 9¾ 1 prs Diaper Tape 0 1 2¾ 3 12 8½ Carried Over £ 532 14 4¾	The goods sold out of the Company's stores in July, August and September 1747 continued as follows. Brought over, £461 19s 3.5d Shalloon, 43 yards, £4 16s 9d Muslin, 4 pieces, £1 19s 4d Fine men's shoes, 11 pairs, £3 12s 5d Pumps, 1 pair, £0 7s 3d Ordinary shoes, 94 pairs, £20 7s 4d Shoes total, £24 7s 0d Callico shirts, 43, £4 7s 9d Soldiers' shirts, 129, £29 11s 3d Shirts total, £33 19s 0.5d Hooks, 16 dozen sorted, £0 15s 5d Blue hooks, 400, £0 1s 4d Hooks by the Grantham, 1,400, £0 14s 7d Lines, 8 sorted, £0 2s 4.5d Damaged line, 1, £0 0s 3.5d Hand line, 1, £0 1s 5.5d Hooks and lines total, £1 15s 10.5d Sheet lead, 11.25 lb, £0 2s 1.5d Pig lead, 12 lb, £0 2s 3d Lead total, £0 4s 4.5d Holland tape, 3 pieces, £0 2s 1.5d Silk, 57 skeins, £1 6s 1.5d Mohair, 42 skeins, £0 15s 9d Metal gilt buttons, 9 dozen, £0 5s 4d Metal breast buttons, 27.5 dozen, £0 11s 4.5d Coat buttons, 4.5 dozen, £0 5s 0.5d Breast buttons, 2.5 dozen, £0 1s 2.5d Metal coat buttons, 3 dozen, £0 1s 8.5d Breast buttons, 3.5 dozen, £0 1s 0.5d Women's waistcoat buttons, 6 dozen, £0 1s 9.5d Drapers' tape, 1 piece, £0 1s 2.5d Haberdashery total, £3 12s 8.5d Carried over, £532 14s 4.5d **Interpretations** The 1,400 fish hooks landed by the *Grantham* stand named to their ship, marking a recent supply of tackle brought in by that vessel and passed straight through the storekeeper's hands to the garrison. The heavy stock of hooks and lines answers the island's leaning on its fishery to help feed the establishment, the Company having agreed on 9 June 1747 to buy a boat to replace its lost yacht for fishing, the failing herds unable to spare meat enough. The shirts divided sharply by kind and price, the 129 plain soldiers' shirts at a few shillings each set against the 43 finer calico shirts, the coarse issue clothing the garrison and the better cloth serving those who could pay for it. The distinction ran through the store's whole stock, the plain and the fine of every article priced apart, so a soldier's ordinary shoes at four shillings the pair stood beside fine men's shoes at more than six. The long run of buttons sorted by metal, size and use marks the store supplying the makings of clothing rather than finished garments alone, the coat, breast and waistcoat buttons in gilt and plain metal sold by the dozen for the mending and making of clothes on the island. The women's waistcoat buttons among them show the store clothing the whole settlement and not the garrison alone, the inhabitants drawing on the same shelves for their households.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
32	43	20th October Iron ware vizt Brot Over £ 532 14 4½ 6 Frying pans sorted 0 15 12 Padlocks 1 8 1 Scraper 0 1 10 1 Former 0 1 7½ 3 Gimbletts 0 5¼ 1 pr Shutter Hinges 0 2 6 1 Chaffing Dish 0 3 5½ 4½ doz Wood Screws 0 3 4¾ 1 Gouge 0 3 1 Box Iron & Heaters 0 9 3 1 Bolt rope Needle 0 1½ 2 Grafting Saws 0 6 1 1 Hand saw files 0 2¼ 1 Drill Bow String 0 9 2 pr Cabd Cast Garnetts 0 2 7 5 Stock Locks sorted 0 9 2 2 Small Flat butters 0 3 4 4 Packing Needles 0 8 1 Scandain Lock 0 3 2 1 Vice 0 1½ 2 Iron rimd Locks 0 8 10 5 3¾ Chinaware vizt 48 Noggins Cups & Saucers 0 8 8 66 half Pint Do 1 2 11 4 Chamber Potts 0 6 8 48 Meat Plates 0 12 8 3 Sallett dishes & plates 2 1 21 Smoothers 0 5 3 4 Gugletts & Bacons 0 5 4 6 Coffee Cups & Saucers 0 1 3 1 Jug & Bason 0 3 7 7 Bowls sorted 0 9 4 5 16 8 Carried Over £ 543 11 4¾	The goods sold out of the Company's stores in July, August and September 1747 continued as follows. Brought over, £532 14s 4.5d 6 frying pans sorted, £0 15s 0d 12 padlocks, £1 8s 0d 1 scraper, £0 1s 10d 1 firmer, £0 0s 7.5d 3 gimlets, £0 0s 5.5d 1 pair of shutter hinges, £0 2s 6d 1 chaffing dish, £0 3s 5.5d 4.5 dozen wood screws, £0 3s 4.5d 1 gouge, £0 0s 3d 1 box iron and heaters, £0 9s 3d 1 bolt rope needle, £0 0s 1.5d 2 grafting saws, £0 6s 1d 1 hand saw file, £0 0s 2.5d 1 drill bow string, £0 0s 9d 2 pairs of cross garnets, £0 2s 7d 5 stock locks sorted, £0 9s 2d 2 small hatchets, £0 3s 4d 4 packing needles, £0 0s 8d 1 scrutoire lock, £0 3s 2d 1 valve, £0 0s 1.5d 2 iron rimmed locks, £0 8s 10d Ironware total, £5 0s 3.75d 48 noggin cups and saucers, £0 8s 8d 66 half pint cups and saucers, £1 2s 11d 4 chamber pots, £0 6s 8d 48 meat plates, £0 12s 8d 3 sets of dishes and plates, £2 1s 0d 21 sneakers, £0 5s 3d 4 guglets and basins, £0 5s 4d 6 coffee cups and saucers, £0 1s 3d 1 jug and basin, £0 3s 7d 7 bowls sorted, £0 9s 4d Chinaware total, £5 16s 8d Carried over, £543 11s 4.5d **Interpretations** The ironware ran to the small tools and fittings of an island where nothing could readily be replaced, the frying pans, padlocks, saws, screws, locks and hinges sold piece by piece for the making, mending and securing of houses and gear. A scrutoire lock among them, the lock of a writing desk or cabinet, and the several stock and rimmed locks show the settlement's demand for security as well as tools, the store meeting the whole want of hardware for a place cut off from any other supply. The chinaware was Chinese porcelain brought by the East India shipping, the noggin and half-pint cups, meat plates, bowls and coffee cups sold in small parcels to the island's households. Guglets among them, the long-necked earthen or porcelain jars for cooling and pouring water, mark the store carrying the tablewares of the eastern trade to a remote Atlantic island, the porcelain of Canton reaching the planters' tables by way of the ships that touched for refreshment.
33	44	1747 Brot Over £ 543 11 4¾ Hosiers ware vizt 79 prs Mens Thread Hose 10 17 3 20 prs Mens Woven 3 16 8	The goods sold out of the Company's stores in July, August and September 1747 continued as follows. Brought over, £543 11s 4.5d 79 pairs of men's thread hose, £10 17s 3d 20 pairs of men's woven hose, £3 16s 8d 23 pairs of knit hose, £3 12s 10d Hosiery total, £18 6s 9d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		23 prs Do Knitt 3 12 10 18 6 9 Paint vizt 12 lb Indico 1 2 ½ lb Blue Smalts 0 11 4 Yellow Oaker 0 11 ⅜ lb Verdigrease 0 1 3½ 14 Barrells Blacking 0 9 4 4 lb Whiting 0 1¾ ½ lb Vandiam Red 0 1¾ 16 lb White Lead 4 8 1 2 14 lb Chalk 0 8½ 2 1 Long Ells 6 Yards 0 10 9 Kersey 19 Yards 1 7 8¾ Serge 21 Yards 5 3 3 1 prs Sagathy 1 19 7 2 3 Tinware vizt 11 Saucepans 0 5 10½ 3 Lamps 0 2 6 1 Coffee Pott 0 1 7 0 9 11½ Broad Cloth 12⅛ Yards sorted 9 14 7 Turners ware vizt 11 Shoe brushes 0 7 1¾ 5 Wood Bowls 0 5 2¾ 1 Platter 0 1 ¾ 8 French Ladles 0 1 8¾ 6 Mops Nails 0 7¾ 2 Paint Brushes 0 1 4 1 Labourers Bucketts 0 7¾ 17 7¾ Plantation 2 Mops Horns & Handles 5 Carried Over £ 584 6 ½	Indigo, 12 lb, £1 2s 0d Blue smalts, 0.5 lb, £0 0s 11d Yellow ochre, 4 lb, £0 0s 11d Verdigrease, 0.375 lb, £0 1s 3.5d Blacking, 14 barrels, £0 9s 4d Whiting, 4 lb, £0 1s 2.5d Vandyke red, 0.5 lb, £0 0s 1.5d White lead, 16 lb, £0 4s 8d Chalk, 1 lb, £0 0s 8.5d Paint total, £2 1s 0d Long cloth, 6 yards, £0 10s 9d Kersey, 19 yards, £1 7s 8.5d Serge, 21 yards, £5 3s 3d 1 piece of sagathy, £1 19s 0d Serge and sagathy total, £7 2s 3d 11 saucepans, £0 5s 10.5d 3 lamps, £0 2s 6d 1 coffee pot, £0 1s 7d Tinware total, £0 9s 11.5d Broad cloth, 12.375 yards sorted, £9 14s 7d 11 shoe brushes, £0 7s 1.5d 5 wood bowls, £0 5s 2.5d 1 platter, £0 1s 0.5d 3 punch ladles, £0 1s 8.5d 6 mop nails, £0 0s 7.5d 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 4d 1 labourer's bucket, £0 0s 7.5d Turnery total, £0 17s 7.5d Plantation, 2 mops, horns and handles, £0 5s 0d Carried over, £584 6s 0.5d **Interpretations** The paint line gathered the whole range of pigments and driers the settlement used to preserve its buildings and gear against the salt air, the white lead, ochre, verdigrease, whiting and Vandyke red sold in small weights for mixing on the spot. Blue smalts among them, a ground blue glass used to colour paint and whiten linen, and the barrels of blacking for leather and ironwork, show the store carrying the materials of maintenance as closely as those of the table, the island painting and blacking its own works for want of any other supply. The cloth ran through a graded range of woollens and cottons, the coarse kersey and serge for hard wear set against the finer broad cloth and the long cloth of the Indian trade, each sold by the yard for the clothing of the settlement. Sagathy among them, a light woollen serge, and the sorted broad cloth at the highest price by the yard, mark the store supplying every grade of cloth from the soldier's coarse issue to the better stuff the planters bought, the whole want of an island that wove nothing of its own met from the shelves.
34	45	20th October Brot Over £ 584 6 ½ Nails 43 lb sorted 18 6 Pease 2 Bushells 10 Pitch & Do vizt 2 Gallons Tarr 1 4 30 lb Pitch 3 9 14 lb Rosin 1 9 0 6 10	The goods sold out of the Company's stores in July, August and September 1747 continued as follows. Brought over, £584 6s 0.5d Nails, 43 lb sorted, £0 18s 6d Pease, 2 bushels, £0 10s 0d Tar, 2 gallons, £0 1s 4d Pitch, 30 lb, £0 3s 9d Rosin, 14 lb, £0 1s 9d Pitch and tar total, £0 6s 10d Sailors' clothes, 6 boys' jackets and breeches, £2 13s 0d 3 spars, £0 7s 8.5d 15 double deals, £2 1s 3d 8 single deals, £0 14s 8d

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		Sailors Clothes 6 Boys Jacketts & Breeches 2 13 Deals vizt 3 Spars 0 7 8¾ 15 Double Deals 2 1 3 8 Single Do 0 14 8 2 Wainscot Boards 0 9 6 3 13 1¾ Cutlers ware vizt 8 Butchers Knives 0 2 6 1 Pruning Knife 0 1 4½ 3 10½ Combs vizt 68 Ivory Combs sorted 3 13 6 3 Buckling Combs 0 5½ 3 13 11½ Earthen Ware vizt 2 Chamber Potts 1 3 2 Stone Jugs 3 4 4 Basons 3 4 0 7 11 Leather vizt 7 lb Sole 0 7 10½ 3 Calves Skins 1 3 1 8 1½ Glassware vizt 1 Beer Glass 0 1 ¼ 11 Wine Glasses 0 7 1¼ 8 2½ Hatts 3 Mens 2 15 Carried Over £ 601 4 6¼	2 wainscot boards, £0 9s 6d Deals total, £3 13s 1.5d 8 butchers' knives, £0 2s 6d 1 pruning knife, £0 1s 4.5d Cutlery total, £0 3s 10.5d 68 ivory combs sorted, £3 13s 6d 3 buckling combs, £0 0s 5.5d Combs total, £3 13s 11.5d 2 chamber pots, £0 1s 3d 2 stone jugs, £0 3s 4d 4 basins, £0 3s 4d Earthenware total, £0 7s 11d 7 dozen soles, £0 7s 10.5d 3 calves' skins, £1 0s 3d Leather total, £1 8s 1.5d 1 beer glass, £0 1s 1.5d 11 wine glasses, £0 7s 1.5d Glassware total, £0 8s 2.5d 3 men's hats, £2 15s 0d Carried over, £601 4s 6.5d **Interpretations** The deals, spars and wainscot boards mark the sawn timber the island could not grow for itself, the double and single deals of Baltic pine and the finer wainscot sold for building and joinery. Every plank had to be shipped in, the store carrying the whole material of carpentry to a place whose own gumwood and ebony served for fuel and fencing but yielded no boards, so the settlement raised and floored its houses from imported softwood. The 68 ivory combs sorted stand out as a costly line for so small an article, ivory brought by the eastern trade and worked into combs sold at a price well above the common goods around them. The buckling combs beside them, the small combs for dressing a wig or the hair, show the store meeting the settlement's care of appearance as well as its harder wants, the ivory of the India ships reaching the planters' dressing tables on a remote Atlantic island. The six boys' jackets and breeches entered as sailors' clothes point to the ready-made slops the Company shipped for the young, small garments sold off the shelf rather than made up on the island. Set against the kersey ordered made into slave clothing in July 1747 for want of enough imported suits, the ready boys' clothes show the store meeting some needs from stock and others from the island's own small workshop, the supply divided between what came finished and what had to be cut and sewn on the spot.
35	46	1747 Brot Over £ 601 4 6¼ Buckram vizt 9⅛ Yards Buckram 8 6½ ⅞ Yards Osnabrigs 0 2 3 prs Hair Cloths 3 6 0 12 2½ Candles 33 lb 2 12 3 Pewter 1 quart Funnell 0 2 6 Blanketts 1 0 6 9 Corks 2¼ Gross 0 3 2 Oars 3 13 Mustard Seed ⅞ Bushell 0 2 7½ Camblett 12 Yards Blue 1 11 Beef & Pork vizt 77 prs Beef	The goods sold out of the Company's stores in July, August and September 1747 continued as follows. Brought over, £601 4s 6.5d 9.5 yards of buckram, £0 8s 6.5d 0.5 yard of osnaburg, £0 0s 2d 3 pairs of hair cloths, £0 3s 6d Buckram total, £0 12s 2.5d Candles, 33 lb, £2 12s 3d Pewter, 1 quart funnel, £0 2s 6d 1 blanket, £0 6s 9d Corks, 2.25 gross, £0 3s 2d 3 oars, £0 13s 0d Mustard seed, 0.5 bushel, £0 2s 7.5d Camblet, 12 yards blue, £1 11s 0d Beef, 77 pieces at 2s 10d, £10 18s 2d Beef, 869 pieces at 2s, £86 18s 0d Pork, 81 pieces at 2s, £8 5s 4d Pork, 483 pieces at 2s, £48 6s 0d Beef and pork total, £154 7s 6d Canvas, 31.5 yards of sacking, £1 3s 4d Strong beer, 3 hogsheads, £9 9s 9d Small beer, 1 hogshead, £1 19s 1d Beer total, £11 8s 10d Total, £774 7s 8.5d **Interpretations**

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		10 18 2 869 prs Do 86 18 81 prs Pork 8 5 4 488 prs Do 48 6 154 7 6 Canvas 31⅛ Yards Sacking 1 3 4 Beer 3 Htds Strong 9 9 9 1 Do Small 1 19 1 11 8 10 £ 1774 8 2½	The salt beef and pork dominated the last part of the collection, more than 1,500 pieces sold for over £154, far the heaviest run of provisions in the account and marking the garrison's staple ration passing through the store. The plain price of two shillings the piece on the bulk of it, with a smaller lot of beef at a higher rate, shows the salt meat sold on at a fixed rate by the piece rather than by weight, the cured provisions of the Company's stores carrying the establishment when the island's own herds could not spare fresh meat. The hair cloths sold with the buckram were the coarse haircloth used to stiffen garments and to strain and press, and the buckram itself a stiffened linen for the same purpose, both sold for the making up of clothing on the island. Camblet among the cloths, a light mixed stuff of wool and other fibres, and the osnaburg, a coarse linen, mark the store carrying the whole range of cloth from the stiffening within a coat to the sacking without, the settlement drawing every grade of material from the one supply.
36	47	20th October Sold to the Planters at 25 p Cent Hatts 3 Mens £ 3 2 6 Shoes vizt 3 prs Mens fine 1 2 6 23 prs Womens Spanish 6 9 4½ 2 prs Girls 0 5 8 prs Boys 1 16 8 11 prs Mens Do 2 14 1 12 7 7½ Hosiers ware vizt 7 prs Mens Knit 1 5 1 9 prs Do Wove 1 19 4½ 17 prs Womans 3 8 8 prs Boys 1 1 4 12 prs Girls 1 10 9 3 9½ Muslin 6 peices 2 7 3 Shalloon 51¾ Yards 6 8 1½ Duroys & Do vizt ⅛ prs Duroy 18 9 31¾ Yards Serge 8 17 3½ 9 16 ½ Broad Cloth 1½ Yard 1 9 1¾ Buckram 8½ Yards 8 6 Long Ells 20½ Yards 2 1 4½ Kersey 8 Yards 13 4 Shirts ⅞ Callico 2 3 6 Sailors Clothes 5 Boys Jacketts & Breeches 2 10 Sold at 40 p Cent Brandy 221¾ Gallons 66 9 9 Bread & Flour vizt 2275 lb Bread	The goods sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent in July, August and September 1747 ran as follows. 3 men's hats, £3 2s 6d 3 pairs of fine men's shoes, £1 2s 6d 23 pairs of women's Spanish shoes, £6 9s 4.5d 2 pairs of girls' shoes, £0 5s 0d 8 pairs of boys' shoes, £1 16s 8d 11 pairs of ordinary men's shoes, £2 14s 1d Shoes total, £12 7s 7.5d 7 pairs of men's knit hose, £1 5s 1d 9 pairs of men's woven hose, £1 19s 4.5d 17 pairs of women's hose, £3 8s 0d 8 pairs of boys' hose, £1 1s 4d 12 pairs of girls' hose, £1 10s 0d Hosiery total, £9 3s 9.5d Muslin, 6 pieces, £2 7s 3d Shalloon, 51.75 yards, £6 8s 1.5d 0.5 piece of duroy, £0 18s 9d Serge, 31.75 yards, £8 17s 3.5d Duroy and serge total, £9 16s 0.5d Broad cloth, 1.5 yard, £1 9s 1.5d Buckram, 8.5 yards, £0 8s 6d Long cloth, 20.5 yards, £2 1s 4.5d Kersey, 8 yards, £0 13s 4d Callico shirts, 0.5, £0 2s 3d Sailors' clothes, 5 boys' jackets and breeches, £2 10s 0d The goods sold at forty per cent followed. Brandy, 221.75 gallons, £66 9s 9d Bread, 2,275 lb, £23 13s 11.5d Flour, 1,340 lb, £13 19s 2d Bread and flour total, £37 13s 1.5d Carried over, £159 14s 0d **Interpretations** The three tiers of markup set out the Company's graded pricing, the garrison served at ten per cent, the planters at twenty-five and a further class of goods at forty. The same brandy that reached the garrison earlier in the account at the lowest rate stood here at the highest, so the Company drew its widest margin on the spirit and the bread and flour, charging most on the goods the planters most wanted while holding the soldiers' price down. The women's Spanish shoes marked a distinct grade of footwear, Spanish leather being a fine tanned leather prized above the common sort, and the twenty-three pairs sold to the planters at the dearer rate show the inhabitants buying a better article than the garrison's ordinary issue. The whole run of shoes and hose graded by wearer, men's, women's, boys' and girls', marks the store clothing whole planter households rather than soldiers alone, the settlement's families drawing their footwear and stockings from the same shelves by age and sex.

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		23 13 11½ 1340 lb Flour 13 19 2 37 13 1½ Carried over £ 159 14	
37	48	1747 Brot Over £ 157 14 Sugar & Candy vizt 2521 lb Sugar 52 10 5 97 lb Candy 2 12 6¼ 55 2 11¼ Soap 343⅞ lb 14 6 ½ Tea vizt 66½ lb Bohea 5 5 3¼ 4 lb Green 8 8 5 13 11¼ Oil vizt 3⅜ Gallons Linseed 0 1 8¾ 8¼ G Train 1 13 3 10 Bottles Florence 1 19 2 3 14 1¾ Pitch vizt 44 lb Pitch 10 1 7 Gallons Tarr 5 10 22 lb Rosin 3 8 0 19 7 Nails 44½ sorted 1 4 5¾ Twine 13 Skanes 11 1¾ Vinegar 14¾ Gallons 2 1 9¾ Shoes 5 prs Mens fine 2 2 1 Lead 17¾ lb Sheet 0 4 5¾ Iron Potts 4 sorted 17 10 Chinaware vizt 54 half Pint Cups & Saucers 1 3 3 54 Noggins Do 12 48 Meat Plates 15 8 12 Soup Do 5 2 2 16 1 Paint vizt 4 lb Blacking 3 4 28 lb Whiting 1 3¼ 12½ lb Indico 1 9 2 1 13 9¼ Carried Over £ 249 2 ¾	The goods sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent in July, August and September 1747 continued as follows. Brought over, £157 14s 0d Sugar, 2,521 lb, £52 18s 5d Candy, 97 lb, £2 19s 6.5d Sugar and candy total, £55 2s 11.5d Soap, 343.5 lb, £14 6s 0.5d Bohea tea, 66.5 lb, £5 5s 3.5d Green tea, 4 lb, £0 8s 8d Tea total, £5 13s 11.5d Linseed oil, 3.5 gallons, £0 1s 3.5d Train oil, 8.5 gallons, £1 13s 3d Florence oil, 10 bottles, £1 19s 2d Oil total, £3 14s 1.5d Pitch, 44 lb, £0 10s 1d Tar, 7 gallons, £0 5s 10d Rosin, 22 lb, £0 3s 8d Pitch total, £0 19s 7d Nails, 44.5 lb sorted, £1 4s 3.5d Twine, 13 skeins, £0 11s 1.5d Vinegar, 14.75 gallons, £2 1s 9.5d Fine men's shoes, 5 pairs, £2 2s 1d Sheet lead, 17.75 lb, £0 4s 5.5d Iron pots, 4 sorted, £0 17s 10d 54 half pint cups and saucers, £1 3s 3d 54 noggin cups and saucers, £0 12s 0d 48 meat plates, £0 15s 8d 12 soup plates, £0 5s 2d Chinaware total, £2 16s 1d Blacking, 4 lb, £0 3s 4d Whiting, 28 lb, £0 1s 3.5d Indigo, 12.5 lb, £1 9s 2d Paint total, £1 13s 9.5d Carried over, £249 2s 0.75d **Interpretations** The planters bought the same run of goods as the garrison but at the steeper twenty-five per cent, the sugar, tea, soap, oils and chinaware appearing again against the earlier list at the higher rate. The parallel columns show the Company drawing a wider margin from the inhabitants than from its own servants on the identical stock, the household staples of the settlement priced by the standing of the buyer rather than the cost of the goods. Indigo among the paints was the deep blue dye of the eastern trade, sold in small weights for colouring cloth and for laundry blue, and the whiting a ground chalk for whitewash and polishing. Stocking the dyestuffs beside the pitch, nails and iron pots shows the store meeting the settlement's want of colour and finish as closely as its harder needs, the indigo of India reaching the planters' households on a remote Atlantic island through the same shipping that carried the sugar and tea.
38	49	20th Octr Brot Over £ 249 2 ¾ Hooks & Lines vizt 10 doz Hooks sorted 15 9 1200 Blue Hooks	The goods sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent in July, August and September 1747 continued as follows. Brought over, £249 2s 0.75d Hooks, 10 dozen sorted, £0 15s 9d Blue hooks, 1,200, £0 5s 0d

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		0 5 500 Hooks p Grantham 7 1 8 Lines sorted 0 5 4 1 damaged Line 0 5½ 1 14 3¼ Ironware vizt 24 Wood Screws 1 6 4 Box Irons & Heaters 2 7 4 9 Frying pans sorted 1 6 6 1 Hand saw file 0 3½ 4 Iron rimd Locks sorted 1 2 8 5 Small Hatchells 10 10 4 Stock Locks 0 9 4 4 Taylors Thimbles 0 10 4 Shod Shovels 0 9 6 8 3½ Tinware vizt 1 Coffee Pott 0 2 1 1 Lamp 2 2 3 Saucepans 2 0 6 3 Haberdashers Ware vizt 32 Skanes Silk 18 8 28 Skds Mohair 14 9 doz Mtd Ct Buttons 6 9 11 doz M Bt Do 4 7 5½ doz Gt Bd Buttons 3 10½ 2 doz Wm Mtd Ct Do 1 5 1 doz Wm M Bt Do 0 4½ 4 prs Holland Tape 3 4 1 Gross Wm Waistcoat Buttons 4 6 2 17 6½ Pallampores 1 7 14 9 Oars 16 4 8 Carried over £ 265 10 11½	Hooks by the Grantham, 500, £0 7s 1d Lines, 8 sorted, £0 5s 4d Damaged line, 1, £0 0s 10.5d Hooks and lines total, £1 14s 3.5d 24 wood screws, £0 1s 6d 4 box irons and heaters, £2 7s 4d 9 frying pans sorted, £1 6s 6d 1 hand saw file, £0 0s 3.5d 4 iron rimmed locks sorted, £1 2s 8d 5 small hatchets, £0 10s 10d 4 stock locks, £0 9s 4d 4 tailors' thimbles, £0 0s 10d 4 shod shovels, £0 9s 0d Ironware total, £6 8s 3.5d 1 coffee pot, £0 2s 1d 1 lamp, £0 2s 2d 3 saucepans, £0 2s 0d Tinware total, £0 6s 3d Silk, 32 skeins, £0 18s 8d Mohair, 28 skeins, £0 14s 0d Metal gilt buttons, 9 dozen, £0 6s 9d Metal breast buttons, 11 dozen, £0 4s 7d Coat breast buttons, 5.5 dozen, £0 3s 10.5d Women's metal coat buttons, 2 dozen, £0 1s 5d Women's metal breast buttons, 1 dozen, £0 0s 4.5d Holland tape, 4 pieces, £0 3s 4d Women's waistcoat buttons, 1 gross, £0 4s 6d Haberdashery total, £2 17s 6.5d Palempores, 1, £0 14s 9d Oars, 16, £0 4s 8d Carried over, £265 10s 11.5d **Interpretations** The single palempore was a painted or printed cotton bedcover of the Indian trade, a decorative furnishing cloth quite apart from the plain and coarse cloths the store sold by the yard. Its appearance among the planters' purchases marks the inhabitants reaching for a finer eastern good than the garrison bought, the painted cotton of the Coromandel coast dressing a planter's bed on a remote Atlantic island. The blue and Grantham hooks appear again on the planters' side as they had on the garrison's, the fishing tackle sold to both alike and the island's whole population leaning on the line. The store's heavy stock of hooks and the boat the Company had lately bought for fishing answered the same want, the failing herds sparing too little meat, so planter and soldier alike drew tackle from the shelves to take fish from the sea.
39	50	1747 Brot Over £ 265 10 11½ Salt 5¾ Bushells 1 4 11 Cutlersware 20 Butchers Knives 7 6 Combs 6 Ivory 0 10 6 Thread vizt 5 lb W Brown 1 15 2 lb Coloured 0 4 2 4 4	The goods sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent in July, August and September 1747 continued as follows. Brought over, £265 10s 11.5d Salt, 5.75 bushels, £1 4s 11d Cutlery, 20 butchers' knives, £0 7s 6d Combs, 6 ivory, £0 10s 6d White or brown thread, 5 lb, £1 15s 0d Coloured thread, 2 lb, £0 9s 4d Thread total, £2 4s 4d Cordage, 421.75 lb, £9 13s 8.5d Rice at 5 hundredweight 3 quarters 14 lb, £0 7s 7d Sole leather, 33 lb, £2 6s 9d 6 calves' skins, £2 11s 6d

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		Cordage 421¾ lb 9 13 8½ Rice 5 3 14 7 7 Leather vizt 33 lb Sole 2 6 9 6 Calve Skins 2 11 6 4 18 3 Canvas 2 Yards Duck 3 10 Blanketts 1 8 7 8½ Pepper 1 lb Deals vizt 1 Baulk 5 6 6 Double Deals 1 1 2 Single Do 4 8 9¾ prs Riga Timber 28 5 6 29 16 8 Glassware vizt 18 Wine Glasses 15 20 Squares Glass 12 by 12 1 10 1 13 10 Turners ware vizt 1 Bowl 1 4 2 Platters 2 8 1 Cloth Brush 1 6 1 French Ladles 6¾ 6 9¾ Beef and Pork vizt 9 prs Beef 7 2 2 prs Pork 5 2 12 4 Carried Over £ 318 1 5¾	Leather total, £4 18s 3d Canvas, 2 yards of duck, £0 3s 10d 1 blanket, £0 8s 7.5d 1 lb of pepper, £0 0s 8.5d 1 baulk, £0 5s 6d 6 double deals, £1 1s 0d 2 single deals, £0 4s 8d Riga timber at 9.5 per piece, £28 5s 6d Deals total, £29 16s 8d 18 wine glasses, £0 15s 0d 20 squares of glass 12 by 12, £1 10s 0d Glassware total, £1 13s 10d 1 bowl, £0 1s 4d 2 platters, £0 2s 8d 1 cloth brush, £0 1s 6d 1 punch ladle, £0 0s 6.5d Turnery total, £0 6s 0.5d 9 pieces of beef, £0 7s 2d 2 pieces of pork, £0 5s 2d Beef and pork total, £0 12s 4d Carried over, £318 1s 5.5d **Interpretations** The Riga timber at £28 5s 6d dominated the whole run of goods on the page, a great quantity of Baltic building timber far outweighing every other line and marking the island's dependence on imported wood for its heavier construction. Named for the port it shipped from, the timber came in by the piece for framing and building work the island's own gumwood could not supply, the planters drawing on the store for the structural wood no local tree yielded. The twenty squares of glass twelve inches by twelve mark window glass sold to the planters for glazing their houses, cut to a standard pane and priced by the square. Set beside the deals and Riga timber, the glass shows the store carrying the whole material of building a weathertight house, the frame, the boards and the windows all shipped in, an island that grew no building timber and made no glass raising its houses entirely from the Company's imported stock.
40	51	20th October Brot Over £ 318 1 5¾ Pease ¾ Bushell 1 7 Braziers Ware vizt 1 Tea Kettle 19 5 1 Ladle 3 6 1 2 11 Beer 5 Hhds Strong 20 9 6 4 Do Small 10 30 9 6 £ 349 8 5¾ Sold to the Companys Ships vizt Lines 13 sorted 8 8 Log Lines 9 4 17 4 Pitch & Do vizt 1 Barrell Pitch 2 2 9 1 Barrell Tarr	The goods sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent in July, August and September 1747 concluded as follows. Brought over, £318 1s 5.5d Pease, 4 bushels, £0 1s 7d 1 tea kettle, £0 19s 5d 1 ladle, £0 3s 6d Braziers' ware total, £1 2s 11d Strong beer, 5 hogsheads, £20 9s 6d Small beer, 4 hogsheads, £10 0s 0d Beer total, £30 9s 6d Total, £349 8s 5.5d The goods sold to the Company's ships in July, August and September 1747 ran as follows. Lines, 18 sorted, £0 8s 0d Log lines, 8, £0 9s 4d Lines total, £0 17s 4d 1 barrel of pitch, £2 2s 9d 1 barrel of tar, £2 1s 8d Pitch and tar total, £4 4s 5d Linseed oil, 12 gallons, £2 15s 0d Tinware, 96 lantern leaves, £0 14s 8d Deals, 12 single, £1 8s 0d Nails, 14 lb sorted, £0 7s 1d Bread, 24 lb, £0 0s 0d Flour, 14 hundredweight 2 quarters, £16 7s 1d

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		2 1 8 4 4 5 Oil 12 Gallons Linseed 2 15 Tinware 96 Lanthorn Leaves 14 8 Deals 12 Single 1 8 Nails 14 lb sorted 7 1 Bread & Flour vizt 24 Bread 28 14 2 Flour 16 7 1 44 7 1 Vinegar 5 Gallons 14 2 Soap 10 lb 8 4 Peas 3 Chaldron 7 13 Beef & Pork vizt 4 Puncheons Beef 61 4 4 Hhds Pork 44 8 105 12 Canvas 4 prs Duck 3 10 10 Paint 8 lb White Lead 3 Plantation 2 Mops Horns & Handles 5 Salt 2 Bushells 5 8	Bread and flour total, £16 7s 1d Vinegar, 5 gallons, £0 14s 2d Soap, 10 lb, £0 8s 4d Pease, 3 chaldron, £7 13s 0d Beef, 4 puncheons, 61 hundredweight 4 quarters, £105 12s 0d Pork, 4 hogsheads, 44 hundredweight 8 lb, [...] Canvas, 1 hundredweight of duck, £3 10s 10d White lead paint, 8 lb, £0 3s 0d Plantation, 2 mops, horns and handles, £0 5s 0d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 5s 8d **Interpretations** The heaviest of the ships' stores were the provisions, four puncheons of beef and four hogsheads of pork with bread, flour and pease, marking the Company victualling the vessels that touched for refreshment on the homeward passage. The island's whole purpose as a refreshment station turned on this trade, the store selling the outward and homeward shipping the salt meat, bread and drink to carry them on, the ships paying into the Company's account for what they took aboard. The 96 lantern leaves were the thin panes of horn or translucent material set into a ship's lanterns, sold to the vessels for their lights at sea, and the log lines the marked cordage a ship streamed astern to measure her speed. Stocking these alongside the deals, nails, pitch and canvas shows the store fitted to meet the working wants of a ship as well as her victualling, the Company supplying the gear of navigation and repair to the shipping it served.
41	52	1747 Sold to Foreign Ships at 50 p Cent Shoes 4 prs pumps 1 19 8 3 prs fine Shoes 1 7 3 6 8 Glassware 12 Wine Glasses 10 6 Hatts 1 Mans 1 5 Pitch 1 Barrell 2 4 6 Serge 6 Yards 1 19 9 Bread 448 lb 5 12 £ 14 18 5 Charges General Dr for the following Stores Expended in the Quarter ending Septr 30th 1747 vizt Chinaware vizt 2 Yellow Bowls 5 6 12 Noggins Cups and Saucers for the 1 6 1 Chamber Pott House 1 6 4 Smoothers Uses 5½ 8 11 Paint 1½ lb Indico for Linnen 2 6 Deals vizt 8 Single Deals for a Bakehouse and a Door on the lines &c 13 4 1 Double Deal for a Bench for the Woolcombers 2 6	The goods sold to foreign ships at fifty per cent in July, August and September 1747 ran as follows. Pumps, 4 pairs, £1 19s 8d Fine shoes, 3 pairs, £1 7s 0d Shoes total, £3 6s 8d Glassware, 12 wine glasses, £0 10s 6d 1 man's hat, £0 1s 5d Pitch, 1 barrel, £2 4s 6d Serge, 6 yards, £1 19s 9d Bread, 45 lb 8 oz, £0 5s 12d Total, £14 18s 5d The charges general debtor for the following goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 ran as follows. 2 China bowls for the storehouse, £0 5s 6d 12 noggin cups and saucers for the storehouse, £0 1s 6d 1 chamber pot for the storehouse, £0 1s 6d 4 sneakers for the storehouse, £0 0s 5d Chinaware total, £0 8s 11d Paint, 1.5 lb of indigo for linen, £0 2s 6d 8 single deals for the two bakehouses and a door on the lines, £0 13s 4d 1 double deal for a bench for the woolcombers, £0 2s 6d 1 wainscot board for a rundlet for a bakehouse, £0 4s 3d 1 spar for the market house, £0 2s 2d Deals total, £1 2s 3d Carried over, £1 13s 8d **Interpretations** The foreign ships paid the steepest rate of all at fifty per cent, twice what the planters were charged and five times the garrison's markup, so the Company drew its widest margin from the vessels of other nations that touched for refreshment. The graded scale ran from ten per cent for its own servants up through the planters to this heaviest charge on foreigners, the Company pricing

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		1 Wainscoat Board for a Desk for the Bakehouse 4 3 1 Spar for the Markett House 2 2 1 2 3 Carried over £ 1 13 8	every buyer by his relation to it and taking most from those it owed nothing. The charges general account marked goods consumed on the Company's own works rather than sold, the deals, bowls and indigo drawn from the store and charged against the general expense of running the settlement. The entries named their exact use, timber for the bakehouses and the market house, a bench for the woolcombers and indigo for the linen, so the account tracked the Company's own consumption of its stock, each item booked to the work it served rather than to a buyer.
42	53	20th Octr Brot Over £ 1 13 8 Nails vizt 2 lb 6 d Nails for a Bakehouse & 0 1 lb 3 d Do a door on the lines 5½ 1 2¼ Cutlersware 1 Butchers Knife for a Bakehouse 3¾ Oil vizt 3 Gallons Train for the Kitchen and Bakehouses 8 3 ⅛ Linseed for cleaning Woolcombs 4½ 1 Bottle Florence for Do 2 9 11 4½ Twine 3 Skanes for mending Lime Bags 1 4½ Iron 73 lb for the Smiths 0 9 Corks 15 Gross for Bottling Beer 1 14 ¾ Soap 3 lb for Woolcombers 1 8¼ Ironware vizt 2 Hand saw files for the Smiths 5 1 Whipsaw Do and Carpenters 1 7½ 6 files sorted 4 9¼ 3 Stock Locks for a Bakehouse a door on the lines & cellar &c 5 1 Sett Knitting Needles for Stockings 1 1 prs Wool Combs for the 1 11 12 Spare Teeth for Do Woolcombers 2 2 Hand Hatchetts for Cutting wood 3 2 Packing Needles for mending Lime Bags 5½ 2 16 1¾ Pitch & Do 3 lb Rozin for Tinning 3¾ Lead 2 lb Sheet for Do 4 Saddles 1 2 4 9 Glassware 5 Squares 12 by 12 for mending the Church & Castle Windows 3 7¼ Brandy 1½ Gallon given to Indians for killing a Sea Cow 6 6	The charges general account for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 continued as follows. Brought over, £1 13s 8d 2 hundred 6d nails for the bakehouse and 1 hundred 3d nails for a door on the lines, £0 0s 5.5d Nails total, £0 1s 2.25d Cutlery, 1 butcher's knife for the bakehouse, £0 0s 3.75d 3 gallons of train oil for the kitchen and bakehouses, £0 8s 3d 0.125 gallon of linseed oil for cleaning woolcombs, £0 0s 4.5d 1 bottle of Florence oil for the same, £0 2s 9d Oil total, £0 11s 4.5d Twine, 3 skeins for mending lime bags, £0 1s 4.5d Iron, 7 lb 3 oz for the smiths, £0 0s 9d Corks, 15 gross for bottling beer, £1 14s 0.75d Soap, 3 lb for woolcombers, £0 1s 8.25d 2 hand saw files, 1 whip saw file and 6 files sorted for the smiths and carpenters, £0 4s 9.5d 3 stock locks for the bakehouse, a door on the lines and a cellar, £0 5s 0d 1 set of knitting needles for stockings, £0 1s 0d 1 pair of wool combs and 12 spare teeth for the woolcombers, £2 1s 11d 2 hand hatchets for cutting wood, £0 3s 0d 2 packing needles for mending lime bags, £0 0s 5.5d Ironware total, £2 16s 1.75d Pitch, 3 lb of rosin for tinning, £0 0s 3.75d Lead, 2 lb of sheet lead for the same, £0 0s 4d 1 saddle, £2 4s 9d Glassware, 5 squares of glass 12 by 12 for mending the church and castle windows, £0 3s 7.75d Brandy, 1.5 gallon given to Indians for killing a sea cow, £0 6s 6d **Interpretations** The brandy given to Indians for killing a sea cow marks the settlement drawing on labour from the East, Indian servants or slaves rewarded in spirit for taking a marine animal inshore. The killing of the sea cow appears in the gunner's stores for August 1747 as a small charge of powder, and here the same work draws a measure of brandy, the Company paying for the taking of a large sea mammal for its flesh or oil in the coin its own store held. The woolcombing gear scattered through the account, the combs, spare teeth, oil and soap, marks the island's attempt to work its own wool into yarn and cloth rather than depend wholly on imported fabric. Wool combs drew out the fibres for spinning, and the knitting needles for stockings show the wool carried through to a finished article, the settlement raising sheep and combing, spinning and knitting the fleece on the spot, a small home manufacture set against the great run of cloth the store shipped in.

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43	54	1747 Brot Over £ 10 4 4½ Lines 1 Hambro for the Castle Windows 7½ Canvas & Do 1½ Yds Sacking 10 Bunting 2 Yds red for Punch Strainers 1 5½ Turnery 2 Butter Prints for the Castle 1 1 Pewter 1 Crane for the Stores 17 7 Braziersware 1 Brass Cock for Do 2 5½ Coals 50 Bushels for the Smiths 2 10 £ 13 18 5 Fortification Dr for the following Stores Expended in the Quarter ending Septr 30th 1747 vizt Canvas vizt 5 prs Sacking for Amoebags 4 10 24 Yds Duck for Covering Grape Shott 1 12 5 12 10 Twine 10 Skds for Do & making Lime Bags 4 7 Turnery 12 Labourers Basketts 6 6 Ironware vizt 4 Bricklayers Trowells for the Masons 4 10 4 Helves 2 4 2 Mauls for a Lime kiln 7 5 2 Hand Hatchetts 3 14 7 Lines vizt 3 lines No 6 for the Masons 1 4½ 1 Hand Line for repairing 1 5½ 10 Damaged Lines Grape Shott 6 3 8 11½ Deals vizt 14 Single Deals for repairs 1 3 4 2 Baulks 7 9 2 Do Do for the Fortifications in Colonel Dunbars Government & was omitted to be charged 7 9 1 18 10 Carried over £ 9 9 3½	The charges general account for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 concluded as follows. Brought over, £10 4s 4.5d Lines, 1 hambro for the castle windows, £0 0s 7.5d Canvas, 1.5 yards of duck for the same, £0 0s 10d Bunting, 2 yards red for punch strainers, £0 1s 5.5d Turnery, 2 butter prints for the castle, £0 1s 1d Pewter, 1 crane for the stores, £0 17s 7d Braziers' ware, 1 brass cock for the same, £0 2s 5.5d Coals, 50 bushels for the smiths, £2 2s 10d Total, £13 18s 5d The fortification account debtor for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 ran as follows. 5 pieces of sacking for lime bags, £0 4s 10d 24 yards of duck for covering grape shot, £1 12s 0d Canvas total, £5 12s 10d Twine, 10 skeins for the same and making lime bags, £0 4s 7d Turnery, 12 labourers' baskets, £0 6s 6d 4 bricklayers' trowels for the masons, £0 4s 10d 4 helves, £0 2s 4d 2 mauls for the limekiln, £0 7s 5d 2 hand hatchets, £0 3s 0d Ironware total, £0 17s 7d 3 lines number 6 for the masons, £0 1s 4.5d 1 hand line for repairing, £0 1s 3.5d 10 damaged lines for grape shot, £0 6s 3d Lines total, £0 8s 11d 14 single deals for repairs, £1 3s 4d 2 baulks, £0 7s 9d 2 deals for the fortifications in Governor Dunbar's government, omitted to be charged, £0 7s 9d Deals total, £1 18s 10d Carried over, £9 9s 3.5d **Interpretations** The fortification account charged the timber, tools and cordage consumed on the island's defensive works to a head of its own, apart from the general charges of the settlement, so the Company could reckon what its spring and summer building had cost. The trowels, mauls, helves and lines for the masons stand beside the deals and baulks for repairs, the whole material of the season's work on the batteries booked against the works it served. The two deals charged here for the fortifications in Governor Dunbar's government, noted as omitted at the time, mark a small correction carried across the change of government, a charge left off the books before Governor Hutchinson superseded Dunbar on 13 March 1747 and set right now. The entry shows the account brought into order after the handover, an old omission from the former Governor's day picked up and charged to keep the record whole rather than let it fall between the two administrations.
44	55	20th October Brot Over £ 9 9 3½ Nails 3 lb 6 d for repairs 1 1½ Thread 1 lb Coloured for mending Flaggs 3 4 Cordage 33 lb for the Gunners 17 2 Iron 6 1 1 7 for the New Work at Sandy Bay 18 2 Cartwheels 16 Hand Barrows 4 3 Do Do Sleds 5 4 5 £ 15 14 1	The fortification account for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 concluded as follows. Brought over, £9 9s 3.5d Nails, 3 lb 6 oz for repairs, £0 1s 1.5d Thread, 1 lb coloured for mending flags, £0 0s 3d Cordage, 33 lb for the gunners, £0 0s 17.5d Iron, 8 lb 1 oz 7 dwt for the new work at Sandy Bay, £0 0s 18.5d 16 handbarrows, £0 0s 4d 3 hods, £0 0s 5d Turnery total, £0 4s 5d Total, £15 14s 1d The plantation account debtor for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 ran as follows. 2 small padlocks for gates, £0 3s 4d

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		Plantation Dr for the following Stores Expended in the Quarter ending Septr 30th 1747 vizt Ironware vizt 2 Small padlocks for Gates 3 4 1 Stock Lock for a Poultry House 1 8 6 Scythe Stones for Mowing 8¼ 5 8¼ Pease 2 Bushells for Poultry 9 1 Rice 60 lb for Do 2 5½ £ 17 2¾ Blacks Dr for the following goods Expended in the Quarter ending Septr 30th 1747 vizt Kersey 3 prs 2½ Yds for Clothing £ 6 7 2¾ Thread 4 lb Col for making Do 13 4 Brandy 24 Gallons for drams 5 4 Shoes 9 prs Ordinary for the Handcraftsmen 1 15 3 Cutlery 6 Butchers Knives for trimming Yams 1 7½ Tea 3 lb 2 4 Sugar 7 lb 1 3¾ Coloured 6 d for the Sick Blacks 10½ Rice 5 4 2 20 1 6 7½ Carried over £ 15 19 6½	1 stock lock for a poultry house, £0 1s 8d 6 scythe stones for mowing, £0 0s 8.5d Ironware total, £0 5s 8.5d Pease, 2 bushels for poultry, £0 9s 1d Rice, 60 lb for the same, £0 2s 5.5d Total, £0 17s 2.5d The slaves account debtor for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 ran as follows. Kersey, 3.5 pieces 2.5 yards for clothing, £6 7s 2.5d Thread, 4 lb coloured for making the same, £0 13s 4d Brandy, 24 gallons for drams, £5 4s 0d Ordinary shoes, 9 pairs for the handicraftsmen, £1 15s 3d Cutlery, 6 butchers' knives for trimming yams, £0 1s 7.5d Tea, 5 lb, £0 2s 4d Sugar, 7 lb, £0 1s 3.5d Arrack, 6 lb, [...] Rice, 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 lb, for the sick slaves, £0 10s 2d Rice, 1 hundredweight [...], £1 6s 7.5d Carried over, £15 19s 6.5d **Interpretations** The slaves account clothed and fed the Company's own slaves out of the store, the kersey and thread for their clothing, the brandy for their drams and the shoes for the handicraftsmen carried as a charge against the settlement like any other. The kersey made up here answers the shortfall reported in July 1747, when the imported suits fell twenty short of clothing all the men and the board ordered the deficient garments made from kersey in the stores, the cloth now drawn and charged for the making. The tea, sugar and rice set apart for the sick slaves mark a distinct provision for those unable to work, a small allowance of better food carried to the ailing beyond the common ration. The care answered the Company's plain interest in its slaves as valued property, a sick slave nursed back to work worth more than one let to fail, the same reckoning that governed the reward paid for taking runaways and the medical charge entered against each slave's yearly keep.
45	56	1747 Brot Over £ 15 12 6¾ Iron Potts 1 6 ¾ Hooks vizt 2 doz Hooks sorted for Fishing 9 6 Small Lines 1 4½ 2 1½ Beef & Pork vizt 7 prs Beef 18 1 18 prs Pork 18 4 1 16 5 £ 17 17 2 Garrison Dr for the following Stores Expended in the Quarter ending Septr 30th 1747 vizt Tea 4½ lb for the Guards 1 11 8 Oil vizt 57¼ Gallons Train for Do 7 10 1½ 4¾ Gall Linseed for the Doctors Shop and Cleaning Arms 4 ¾ 1 Bottle Florence for Cleaning Arms 2 9 8 4 11 Ironware vizt	The slaves account for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 concluded as follows. Brought over, £15 12s 6.25d Iron pots, 1, £0 6s 3.75d 2 dozen hooks sorted for fishing, £0 0s 9d 6 small lines for the same, £0 1s 4.5d Hooks total, £0 2s 1.5d Beef, 7 pieces, £0 18s 1d Pork, 18 pieces, £0 18s 4d Beef and pork total, £1 16s 5d Total, £17 17s 2d The garrison account debtor for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 ran as follows. Tea, 4.5 lb for the guards, £1 11s 8d Train oil, 57.5 gallons for the same, £7 10s 1.5d Linseed oil, 4.5 gallons for the doctor's shop and cleaning arms, £0 4s 0.75d Florence oil, 1 bottle for cleaning arms, £0 2s 9d Oil total, £8 4s 11d 3 small frying pans for the outforts, £0 5s 0d 1 stock lock for Lemon Valley guardhouse, £0 1s 8d Ironware total, £0 6s 8d Tinware, 17 lamps corded for the outforts and barracks, £0 19s 6d Iron pots, 1 for Lemon Valley guard, £0 5s 3d Sugar, 2 lb for the doctor's shop, £0 3s 9d Carried over, £11 11s 9d **Interpretations** The garrison account gathered the stores consumed on the guards, the outforts and the barracks, the tea, oil and lamps drawn for the men on duty and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 Small Frying Pans for out forts 5 1 Stock Lock for Lemon Valley Guardarm 1 8 6 8 Tinware 17 Lamps sorted for Out forts and Barracks 19 6 Iron Potts 1 for Lemon Valley Guard 5 3 Sugar 2 lb for the Doctors Shops 3 9 Carried Over £ 11 11 9	charged to a head of its own. The lamps corded for the outforts and barracks and the frying pans for the outforts show the whole apparatus of a scattered guard supplied from the store, the lights and gear of the small posts around the island booked against the garrison's charge. The train oil in quantity for the guards answers the standing order that every gun be kept clean and ready, the oil worked into the flintlocks and the iron of the arms to keep them from rusting in the damp salt air. The linseed and Florence oil charged expressly for cleaning arms mark the same care, the muskets of the guard kept serviceable against a call that a full shipping season rarely brought, the whole small charge of maintenance entered exactly like the powder spent on alarms.
46	57	20th Octr Brot Over £ 11 11 9 Turnerware vizt 4 Bowls for out Forts 3 9 4 Platters 3 9 7 6 Deals vizt 4 Single Deals for repairing Banckos Guard Bed 6 8 8 Double Deals for Coffins 1 1 Spar for repairing Banckos Gd Bed 1 10 1 8 6 Tarr ½ Gallon for Tarring Tops of Sentry Boxes 3½ Nails 3 lb 6 d for Coffins 1 1½ Pepper ½ lb for the Doctors Shop 3 Brandy 12 2¾ Gallons for drams on Mustring 2 15 3 £ 16 4 8 Hospital Dr for the following Stores Expended in the Quarter ending Septr 30th 1747 vizt Rice 5 1 7 1 Sugar 87 lb 16 3¾ Flour 22 lb 3 2¼ Salt ¾ Bushel 2 3½ Oil 3 Gallons Train 8 3 Iron Potts 1 5 3 Turners ware vizt 2 Platters 1 10½ 6 Bowls 5 7½ 7 6 Sacking 11 Yds 7 4 Nails vizt ½ 2 3 for mending Cotts 2¾ 1 Scupper 5½ 8¼ Carried over £ 3 17 11	The garrison account for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 concluded as follows. Brought over, £11 11s 9d 4 bowls for the outforts, £0 3s 9d 4 platters for the same, £0 3s 9d Turnery total, £0 7s 6d 4 single deals for repairing Banks's guardhouse bed, £0 6s 8d 8 double deals for coffins, £1 0s 0d 1 spar for repairing Banks's guardhouse bed, £0 1s 10d Deals total, £1 8s 6d Tar, 0.5 gallon for tarring the tops of sentry boxes, £0 0s 3.5d Nails, 3 lb 6 oz for coffins, £0 1s 1.5d Pepper, 0.5 lb for the doctor's shop, £0 0s 3d Brandy, 12.75 gallons for drams on mounting, £2 15s 3d Total, £16 4s 8d The hospital account debtor for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 ran as follows. Rice at 5 hundredweight, £1 7s 1d Sugar, 87 lb, £0 16s 3.75d Flour, 22 lb, £0 3s 2.5d Salt, 0.5 bushel, £0 2s 3.5d Train oil, 3 gallons, £0 8s 3d Iron pots, 1, £0 5s 3d 2 platters, £0 1s 10.5d 6 bowls, £0 5s 7.5d Turnery total, £0 7s 6d Sacking, 11 yards, £0 7s 4d Nails, 0.5 hundred 3d for mending cots, £0 0s 2.5d 1 stopper, £0 0s 5.5d Nails total, £0 0s 8.5d Carried over, £3 17s 11d **Interpretations** The brandy for drams on mounting marks the spirit issued to the guard as it came on duty, a measure served to the men mounting the watch and charged to the garrison as a standing allowance. The custom ran through the record, brandy and arrack given to the guards on ceremonial days and on the daily mounting alike, the drink a fixed part of the soldier's keep booked with his food and clothing. The hospital account fed and furnished the sick out of the store, the rice, sugar and flour for their diet and the sacking and nails for mending the cots they lay on, carried as a charge apart from the garrison's own. The better food set against the plain ration answered the standing care of the sick, the hospital drawing sugar and flour beyond the common allowance, the same distinction that marked the tea and sugar carried to the sick slaves and the doctor's own remedies.
47	58	1747 Brot Over £ 3 17 11	The hospital account for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 concluded as follows.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Deals vizt 1 Double for mending Cotts 2 6 2 Single 3 4 5 10 £ 4 3 9 Boats Dr for the following Stores Expended in the Quarter ending Septr 30th 1747 vizt Oil vizt 2⅛ Gallons Linseed for repairing them 6 10¾ 3¼ Gall Train 1 11½ 8 10¼ Pitch & Tarr vizt 160 lb Pitch 14 3½ Gallons Tarr for Do 3 8 20 lb Rozen 2 1 19 9 Deals vizt 1 Double for Do 2 6 6 Single for Do 10 12 6 Nails 1 lb 6 d for Do 4½ Paint vizt 6 lb White Lead 1 6 1 Yellow Oaker 2½ 1 Barrell Blacking for painting 7 3 lb Venetian red the Pinnace 6¾ 2 10¼ Turnery 2 Paint Brushes for Do 1 2 Cordage 68 lb for the St Boat & Pinnace 1 2 1 Hooks & Lines vizt 100 Hooks p Grantham 1½ 6½ doz Hooks sorted for fishing 2 5½ 18 Small Lines 4 1½ 7 6¾ Carried over £ 3 15 1½	Brought over, £3 17s 11d 1 double deal for mending cots, £0 2s 6d 2 single deals for the same, £0 3s 4d Deals total, £0 5s 10d Total, £4 3s 9d The boats account debtor for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 ran as follows. Linseed oil, 2.5 gallons for repairing them, £0 6s 10.5d Train oil, 3.25 gallons for the same, £1 11s 1.5d Oil total, £8 10s 2.5d Pitch, 160 lb, £0 14s 0d Tar, 3.5 gallons for the same, £0 3s 8d Rosin, 20 lb for the same, £0 2s 1d Pitch and tar total, £0 19s 9d 1 double deal for the same, £0 2s 6d 6 single deals for the same, £0 10s 0d Deals total, £0 12s 6d Nails, 1 lb 6 oz for the same, £0 0s 4.5d White lead, 6 lb, £0 1s 6d Yellow ochre, 1 lb, £0 0s 2.5d Blacking, 1 barrel, £0 0s 7d Venetian red, 3 lb, £0 0s 6.5d Paint total, £0 2s 10.5d Turnery, 2 paint brushes for the same, £0 1s 2d Cordage, 68 lb for the longboat and pinnace, £1 2s 1d Hooks by the Grantham, 100, £0 0s 11.5d Hooks, 6.5 dozen sorted for fishing, £0 2s 5.5d 18 small lines, £0 4s 1.5d Hooks and lines total, £0 7s 6.5d Carried over, £3 15s 1.5d **Interpretations** The boats account gathered the whole cost of keeping the island's small craft in repair, the oils, pitch, tar, deals and paint drawn to caulk, tar and mend the longboat, pinnace and fishing boats charged to a head of its own. The heavy stock of tackle among it, the Grantham hooks and the fishing lines, ties the boats to the fishery the settlement leaned on for meat, the same want that had led the Company to buy a replacement boat in June 1747, the failing herds sparing too little to feed the establishment. The pitch, tar and rosin drawn together mark the caulking and paying of the boats' seams, the mixture worked hot into the joints to keep the water out, and the several oils and paints the finishing that guarded the timber against sea and weather. Every material had to be shipped in, the island yielding neither pitch nor paint of its own, so the upkeep of a few small boats drew on the same imported stores that fitted the shipping, the whole apparatus of a working craft supplied from the Company's warehouse.
48	59	20th October Brot Over £ 3 15 1½ Twine 3 Skds for fishing 1 4½ Lead 9 lb Pig 1 7 Haberdashery 2 Skds Silk 10 £ 3 18 11½ Diet Expence Dr for the following Stores Expended in the Quarter ending Septr 30th 1747 vizt Sugar & Candy vizt 60 lb Candy 16 3 30 lb Sugar 5 7½ 1 1 10½ Flour 942 lb 6 14 7	The boats account for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 concluded as follows. Brought over, £3 15s 1.5d Twine, 3 skeins for fishing, £0 1s 4.5d Lead, 9.5 lb pig for the same, £0 1s 7d Haberdashery, 2 skeins silk for the same, £0 0s 10d Total, £3 18s 11.5d The diet expenses account debtor for goods used in the quarter ending 30 September 1747 ran as follows. Candy, 60 lb, £0 16s 3d Sugar, 30 lb, £0 5s 7.5d Sugar and candy total, £1 1s 10.5d Flour, 9 hundredweight 2 quarters, £6 14s 7d Florence oil, 10 bottles, £1 7s 6d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 9s 2.5d Pepper, 6 lb, £0 0s 3d 1 catty of green tea, £0 2s 5d 1 catty of bohea tea, £0 1s 4d Tea total, £0 3s 9d Vinegar, 17 gallons, £0 8s 1d

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		Oil 10 Bottles Florence 1 7 6 Salt 3 Bushells 9 2¼ Pepper 6 lb 3 Tea vizt 1 Callco Green Tea 2 5 1 Callco Bohea 1 4 3 9 Vinegar 1½ Gallon 3 1 Pease 2⅛ Bushells 11 11 Beef & Pork vizt 10 prs Beef 1 5 10 20 prs Pork 1 16 8 3 2 6 Arrack 30 Gallons 2 2 6 St Helena 30th Septr 1747 £ 15 19 10½ (Signed) Errors Excepted p M Purling Deputy Messrs John Clarke & Robert Wright delivered in the List of the Remains in the Honble Companys Stores taken 30th Septr last which is as follows vizt	Pease, 2.75 bushels, £0 11s 11d Beef, 10 pieces, £1 5s 10d Pork, 20 pieces, £1 16s 8d Beef and pork total, £3 2s 6d Arrack, 30 gallons, £2 2s 6d Total, £15 19s 10.5d The account was signed at St Helena on 30 September 1747 by Matthew Purling, storekeeper, errors excepted. John Clark and Robert Wright then delivered the inventory of the goods remaining in the Company's stores, taken on 30 September, which ran as follows. **Interpretations** The diet expenses account gathered the food and drink of the Company's own table, the sugar, flour, oil, tea, meat and arrack drawn to victual the Governor and council and their household charged to a head of its own. The account rounds out the quarter's whole reckoning of the store, each class of consumer carried apart, the garrison, the hospital, the boats, the slaves and the fort's own table each drawing from the one warehouse and each booked to its separate charge. The close of the storekeeper's collection led straight into the annual inventory of what remained in the stores, taken on the same 30 September that closed the Company's accounting year. Delivering the count of the remains immediately after the account of goods sold and consumed let the Company set the year's issues against the standing stock, the warehouse reckoned whole at the year's end so that what went out could be measured against what was left.
49	60	1747 Inventory of Stores remaining in the Honble Companys Warehouses taken the 30th Septr 1747 vizt Anchors vizt 8 Large Anchors the Fluke of one broke 1 Do on the West rocks 2 Iron Stocks 192 15 ½ Bunting vizt 12 Yds Blue 15 7 prs 4 Yd Do White 8 17 3½ 35¾ Narrow red 1 4 6¾ 5¼ Broad Do 2 4¾ 25 4 2¾ Blanketts 9 2 15 1½ Broad Cloth vizt 38¼ Yds Black 26 9 11 27⅛ Yds French Grey 21 14 7 26½ Yds Dark Grey 20 10 9 63¾ Yds Scarlett 49 5 6¾ 19 Yds Blue 13 19 131 19 9¾ Bread & Flour vizt 93 Do 24 Bread 74 11 5 402 Do Flour 322 396 11 5 Braziersware vizt 19 Small Skimmers 1 9 8¼ 4 large Do 10 8	This inventory set out the goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747. 8 large anchors, the fluke of one broke, and 1 anchor on the west rocks and 2 grapnels, £192 15s 5.5d Blue bunting, 12 yards, £15 0s 0d White bunting, 7 pairs 43.5 yards, £8 17s 3.5d Narrow red bunting, 35.75 yards, £1 4s 6.5d Broad red bunting, 5.25 yards, £0 2s 4.5d Bunting total, £25 4s 2.75d 9 blankets, £2 15s 1.5d Black broad cloth, 38.25 yards, £26 9s 11d French grey broad cloth, 29.75 yards, £21 14s 7d Dark grey broad cloth, 26.5 yards, £20 10s 9d Scarlet broad cloth, 63.5 yards, £49 5s 6.5d Blue broad cloth, 12 yards, £13 19s 0d Broad cloth total, £131 19s 9.5d Bread, 93 hundredweight 2 quarters 24 lb, £74 11s 5d Flour, 402 hundredweight 2 quarters, £322 0s 0d Bread and flour total, £396 11s 5d 12 small skimmers, £1 9s 8.5d 4 large skimmers, £0 10s 8d 6 skimmers sorted, £1 16s 0d 2 large skimmers, £1 8s 3d 2 small washpans, £0 13s 10d 11 flat brass candlesticks, £1 2s 0d 3 flat brass candlesticks, £0 7s 0d 7 candlesticks, £1 5s 6.5d 2 candlesticks, £0 5s 6d 3 candlesticks, £0 7s 6.5d 4 warming pans, £2 5s 0d 5 copper pumps, £2 15s 0d 4 small brass cocks, £0 9s 10d 3 large brass cocks, £1 1s 5.5d 2 pairs of steel snuffers, £0 7s 8.5d 2 ladles, £0 3s 6d 2 copper boiling pans, £3 2s 5.5d 2 tea kettles, £3 10s 5d 6 smaller tea kettles, £4 1s 8.5d Braziers' ware total, £27 3s 0d Carried over, £776 8s 7.5d **Interpretations** The scarlet broad cloth at £49 5s 6.5d was far the most valuable single line of cloth in the warehouse, the

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		6 Skimmers sorted 1 16 2 Do large 1 8 3 2 Small Washpans 19 10 11 Flat brass Candlesticks 1 2 3 Do 7 7 Do 1 5 6¼ 2 Do 5 6 3 Do 7 6¼ 4 Warming pans 2 5 5 Copper Pumps 2 15 4 Small brass Cocks 9 10 3 large Do 1 5¾ 2 prs Steel Snuffers 7 8¼ 2 Ladles 3 6 2 Copper Boiling pans 3 2 5¼ 2 Do 3 10 5 4 Tea Kettles 4 1 8¼ 6 Do Smaller 27 3 Carried Over £ 776 8 7¾	fine red woollen kept for the officers' coats and set apart from the plain black, grey and blue the rank and file wore. The distinction ran through the whole military clothing of the establishment, the scarlet marking the officers as the plain coats marked the sentinels, the store holding the dearer cloth against the annual clothing of those who dressed above the common soldier. The great anchors standing at £192 15s 5.5d were the single most valuable class of goods in the store, the ground tackle held against the wants of the shipping that touched at an island with no sheltered harbour. Kept ready to replace an anchor lost or a cable parted in the open road, the anchors marked the Company's provision for the vessels it served, a heavy capital in iron lying in the warehouse for the rare occasion a ship in the road should need it.
50	61	20th Octr Brot Over £ 776 8 7¾ Blocks vizt 4 Ironbound Cat Blocks 1 5 8 2 Do Snatch 1 7 6 2 Do Double Tops 15 1 Do Single 4 Do Dead Eyes 12 dead Eyes 6 19 4¾ 4 Double long Tackles 19 1 Topsail Shoet Moulded 1 Do broke 6 3 Clew Garnetts 4 10¾ 1 Tribsail Tye 5 2 Leech Lines 4 1¾ 12 6 6¾ Beef & Pork vizt 26 Hhds 82 prs Pork 213 7 23 Puncheons 2 prs Beef 251 4 11 1 Do Beef Sprott 10 18 3 475 10 2 Brandy 1520 Gallons 329 6 8 Buckram vizt 8 prs 18 Yds Buckram 199 4½ Yds 7 4¾ 9	The inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, continued as follows. Brought over, £776 8s 7.5d 4 iron bound cat blocks, £1 5s 8d 2 snatch blocks, £1 7s 6d 2 double top blocks, £0 15s 0d 1 single top block, £0 15s 0d 4 dead eyes, £6 19s 4.5d 12 dead eyes, £6 19s 4.5d 4 double long tackles, £0 19s 0d 1 topsail sheet block mounted, £0 6s 0d 1 topsail sheet block broke, £0 6s 0d 3 clew garnets, £0 4s 10.5d 1 tribsail tye, £0 5s 0d 2 leech lines, £0 4s 1.5d Blocks total, £12 6s 6.5d Pork, 26 hundredweight 82 pieces, £213 7s 0d Beef, 23 puncheons, £257 4s 11d Beef sprits, 1, 10 hundredweight, £10 18s 3d Beef and pork total, £475 10s 2d Brandy, 1,520 gallons, £329 6s 8d Buckram, 8 pairs 18 yards, 199.75 yards, £7 17s 9d Osnaburg, 8.75 yards, £0 5s 0d 35 pairs of hair cloths, £1 16s 5.5d Buckram total, £9 19s 2.5d Coals, 8 chaldron 30 bushels, £25 18s 2.5d Copper money, 63,860 Irish halfpence, £133 0s 10d 31 horse combs, £0 7s 9d 35 ivory combs, £2 3s 0.5d Combs total, £2 10s 9.5d 1 pair of silver buckles number 19, £0 8s 10d 35 butchers' knives, £0 9s 5.5d 6 dozen knives and forks, £5 5s 7d Cutlery total, £6 3s 10.5d 6 wheelbarrows, £4 7s 0d 16 handbarrows, £0 4s 8d

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		8¾ Yds Analrigg 5 35 prs Hair Cloths 1 16 5½ 9 19 2¾ Coals 8 Chaldron 30 Bushells 25 18 Copper Money 63860 Irish halfpence 133 10 Combs vizt 31 Horn Combs 7 9 35 Ivory Do 2 3 ¾ 2 10 9¾ Cutlers ware vizt 1 prs Shoe Buckles No 19 8 10 35 Butchers Knives 9 5¾ 6 doz Knives & Forks 5 5 7 6 3 10¾ Cartwheels vizt 6 Wheel Barrows 4 7 16 Hand Do 4 8 36 spare sides for Do 5 lb 1 Do broke 3 1 8 11 8 8 Corks 1¼ Gross 2 10¼ Carried over £ 1772 16 2¾	36 spare sides for the same, £3 1s 8d 1 side broke, £3 1s 8d Cartwheels total, £11 8s 8d Corks, 14 gross, £2 0s 10.5d Carried over, £1,772 16s 2.5d **Interpretations** The 63,860 Irish halfpence standing at £133 0s 10d were a stock of copper coin the Company held for want of small change on the island, a great mass of low denomination money valued in bulk. The same 63,860 halfpence appear in the warehouse inventory of 30 September 1746 at the same figure, so the copper had lain unmoved through the year, the island's dealings running on the foreign silver and gold of the treasury while the small copper sat idle in the store. The blocks, dead eyes, garnets and leech lines were the running rigging of a ship's gear, the pulleys and cordage-blocks the Company held to refit the shipping that touched at the island. Stocked beside the great anchors, this tackle marked the store's fitting to repair a vessel as well as victual her, the island a place where a ship might renew a parted block or a worn eye in the open road, the whole apparatus of rigging kept ready against the wants of the homeward trade.
51	62	1747 Brot Over £ 1772 16 2¾ Canvas vizt 17 prs 32¼ Yds Duck 45 1 6 28 prs 21¼ Yds Sacking 23 6 10 68 8 4 Cordage vizt 85 3 13 Cordage 156 4 1 10 Cabo ropes 1 1 4½ 157 1 8½ Camblet & Do vizt 2 prs 5 Yds Blue 7 15 7¼ 1 prs 48¾ Yds Scarlett 10 4 1¾ 17 19 9 Serges & Duroy & Do vizt 44 Yds Serge 9 14 4 3 Yds Sagathy 5 5 6 9 prs Duroy 13 7 28 6 10 Deals & Do vizt 352 Single Deals 29 6 8 552 Double Do 69 2 6 9 prs Elm plank 3 6 4¾ 31 Spars 3 7 2 40 Baulks 7 15 14 Oak Planks 4 Yds	The inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, continued as follows. Brought over, £1,772 16s 2.5d Duck, 17 pairs 32.5 yards, £45 1s 6d Sacking, 28 pairs 21.5 yards, £23 6s 10d Canvas total, £68 8s 4d Cordage at 85 hundredweight 3 quarters 13 lb, £156 0s 4d Log lines at 1 hundredweight 10 lb, £1 1s 4.5d Cordage total, £157 1s 8.5d Blue camblet, 2 pairs 5 yards, £7 15s 7.5d Scarlet camblet, 1 pair 48.5 yards, £10 4s 1.5d Camblet total, £17 19s 9d Serge, 44 yards, £9 14s 4d Sagathy, 3 yards, £5 5s 6d Duroy, 9 pairs, £13 7s 0d Serge and duroy total, £28 6s 10d 352 single deals, £29 6s 8d 552 double deals, £69 2s 6d Elm plank, 9 pairs, £3 6s 4.5d 31 spars, £3 7s 2d 40 baulks, £7 15s 0d 14 oak planks, 4 yards, £12 12s 6.5d 9 oak planks, 5 yards, £12 12s 6.5d 1 pair of oak plank, £0 3s 9d Riga timber, 22 pairs, £44 10s 9d Blinded laths, 9 pairs, £5 2s 5d 27 inch elm boards, £3 16s 6d 32 inch wainscot boards, £6 16s 0d Logwood, 28 lb, £0 5s 0d Deals total, £186 4s 7.5d Chamber pots, 7, £0 3s 6d Guglets and basins, 16, £0 4s 6d Stone jugs, 4, £0 2s 8d Milk pans, 6, £0 8s 10d Earthenware total, £3 2s 10d Squares of glass 12 by 12, 392, £14 4s 4.5d Crown glass, 27 sheets, £11 3s 0d Squares of glass 8 by 10, 17, £0 3s 4.5d

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		9 Do 5 Do 12 12 6¼ 1 prs Oak plank 3 9 22 prs Riga Timber 44 10 9 9 Bundles Laths 5 2 5 27 Inch Elm boards 3 16 6 32 Inch Wainscot Do 6 16 28 lb Logwood 5 186 4 7¼ Earthen Ware vizt 16 Chamber Potts 3 6 16 Crockland Basons 4 6 4 Stone Jugs 8 10 3 Milk Pans 2 8 10 3 2 10 Glassware vizt 390 Squares Glass 12 by 12 14 4 4½ 27 Do Crown Glass 11 3 17 Do Do Glass 8 by 10 3 4½ 13 Gilt Decanters 7 9 Do Do 9 in 11 1 10½ 1 Tumbler 7½ 4 Beer Glasses 2 10 Carried Over £ 15 11 3¾ Carried Over £ 2234 4	13 gilt decanters, £0 0s 0d Decanters, 2, 11 in 11, £0 1s 10.5d 1 tumbler, £0 0s 7.5d 4 beer glasses, £0 2s 10d Carried over, £15 11s 3.5d Carried over, £2,234 0s 4d **Interpretations** The building timber gathered in the deals head made a great and varied stock, the single and double deals of Baltic pine, the oak and elm planks, the spars, baulks and Riga timber, all held against a settlement that grew no wood fit for building. The whole material of framing, flooring and finishing a house lay in the warehouse, the island wholly dependent on imported timber for its heavier construction and drawing its boards, beams and laths from the Company's stock alone. The window glass in quantity, the 392 twelve-inch squares and the crown glass by the sheet, marks the store's provision for glazing the settlement's buildings, the panes cut to standard sizes and the sheet glass held for larger work. Set beside the deals and Riga timber, the glass shows the Company holding the whole material of a weathertight house, the frame, the boards and the windows all shipped in, so that a planter raised and glazed his house entirely from the imported stock the warehouse carried.
52	63	20th October Brot Over £ 2234 4 Glassware Brot Over £ 15 11 3¾ 3 four hour glasses 10 4 Three hour Do 3 4 16 half hour Do 8 8 14 half Minute Do 7 7 4 prs fine flint Cruvitts 1 6 5 2 prs Do Cut bottoms 8 0¾ 3 prs Ordenary Do 8 3 4 fine Cut Salts with three feet 15 6 4 Do with high Do 9 10 2 plain Do 3 10 12 quart Decantors 2 2 19 Beer Glasses 13 15 doz 5 Wine Glasses 5 7 11 4 Globe Lamps 1 15 4 30 17 9 Grindstones vizt	The inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, continued as follows. Brought over, £2,234 0s 4d Glassware brought over, £15 11s 3.5d 3 four hour glasses, £0 10s 0d 4 three hour glasses, £0 3s 4d 16 half hour glasses, £0 8s 8d 14 half minute glasses, £0 7s 7d 4 pairs of fine flint cruets, £1 6s 5d 2 pairs of cut bottoms, £0 8s 0.5d 3 pairs of ordinary cruets, £0 8s 3d 4 fine cut salts with three feet, £0 15s 6d 4 fine cut salts with high feet, £0 9s 10d 2 plain salts, £0 3s 10d 12 quart decanters, £2 2s 0d 19 beer glasses, £0 13s 0d 15 dozen 5 wine glasses, £5 7s 11d 4 globe lamps, £1 15s 4d Glassware total, £30 17s 9d 1 grindstone, £0 5s 0d 2 grindstones, £1 11s 0d Grindstones total, £1 16s 0d Hats, 22 men's plain, £18 6s 8d 16 gross hooks sorted, £1 16s 1d Blue hooks, 47,700, £6 9s 2.5d Hooks by the Grantham, 74,200, £7 2s 0d 21 dozen 3 lines number 6, £5 16s 10.5d 20 dozen lines number 1, £2 15s 0d 18 log lines, £0 16s 1.5d 14 dozen 1 damaged lines, £5 5s 7.5d Hooks and lines total, £30 0s 10.5d 2 pairs of drapers' tape, £0 2s 2d

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		1 Grindstone 5 2 Do 1 11 1 16 Hatts 22 Mens plain 18 6 8 Hooks & Lines vizt 16 gross Hooks sorted 1 16 1 47700 Blue Hooks 6 9 2¾ 74200 Hooks p Grantham 7 2 21 doz 3 Lines No 6 5 16 10¾ 20 doz Lines No 1 2 15 18 Log Lines 16 1½ 14 doz 1 Damaged Lines 5 5 7½ 30 10¾ Haberdashers ware vizt 2 prs Diaper Tape 2 2 91 prs Holland Do 2 18 9¾ 5 prs Carnation Do 2 1 6 prs Broad white Do 12 6 9 prs Webbing 2 3 8 14 Whalebone 2 2 2 7½ lb Mohair 9 4¾ lb Silk 6 8 3 22 gross 3 doz 9 Mohair Ct Buttons 8 1 3¾ 17 gross 4 doz 8 Mohair Bt Do 2 16 4 11½ doz Tin Ct buttons 2 5¾ Haberdashery Carried £ 32 8 3¾ Carried Over £ 2315 1 8	91 pairs of Holland tape, £2 18s 9.5d 5 pairs of carnation tape, £0 2s 1d 6 pairs of broad white tape, £0 12s 6d 9 pairs of bobbing, £0 2s 3d 8.25 lb of whalebone, £2 2s 2d 7.25 lb of mohair, £0 9s 0d 4.25 lb of silk, £6 8s 3d 22 gross 3 dozen 9 mohair coat buttons, £8 1s 3.5d 17 gross 4 dozen 8 mohair breast buttons, £2 16s 4d 11.5 dozen tin coat buttons, £0 2s 5.5d Haberdashery total, £32 8s 3.5d Carried over, £2,315 1s 8d **Interpretations** The great stock of fish hooks, near 122,000 blue and Grantham hooks together with dozens of lines, marks the scale of the island's fishery and its central place in feeding the establishment. The 74,200 hooks named to the Grantham record a recent bulk landing from that ship, the tackle held in quantity against the failing herds, the same want that led the Company to buy a boat for fishing in June 1747, the sea worked hard to make up the meat the cattle could not spare. The run of glasses measuring hours, half hours, minutes and half minutes were the sand glasses the settlement and the shipping kept for reckoning time, the half minute glasses in particular used with the log line to measure a ship's speed. Stocked beside the log lines themselves, these glasses mark the store's fitting of the shipping for navigation, the Company holding the instruments of timekeeping and speed alongside the rigging and anchors for the vessels it served.
53	64	1747 Brot Over £ 2315 1 8 Haberdashers ware Brot Over £ 32 8 3¾ 13 gross 3 doz 9 tin Mtd buttons 17 1 7¼ doz 4 Ct Bt buttons 3 15 9¾ 58½ doz Gt Bt Do 1 9 3 76 doz Silver Ct Do 1 19 7 44½ doz Do Bt Do 11 1¼ 234 doz Shirt buttons 1 10 10¾ 17¼ doz Wm Waistcoat buttons 2 6 6¼ 1000 Needles 5 6 9 doz 9 Stay Laces 5 4 45 9 4 Hosiers ware vizt 902 prs Mens Thread 109 18 7¼ 33 prs Do Wove 5 12	The inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, continued as follows. Brought over, £2,315 1s 8d Haberdashery brought over, £32 8s 3.5d 13 gross 3 dozen 9 tin metal buttons, £0 17s 1d 74 dozen 4 metal coat buttons, £3 15s 9.5d 58.5 dozen metal breast buttons, £1 9s 3d 76 dozen silver coat buttons, £1 19s 7d 44.5 dozen silver breast buttons, £0 11s 1.5d 234 dozen shirt buttons, £1 10s 10.5d 174 dozen women's waistcoat buttons, £2 6s 6.5d 1,000 needles, £0 5s 6d 9 dozen 9 stay laces, £0 5s 4d Haberdashery total, £45 9s 4d Men's thread hose, 902 pairs, £109 18s 7.5d Men's woven hose, 33 pairs, £5 12s 0d Men's knit hose, 30 pairs, £5 2s 0d Women's hose, 16 pairs, £2 10s 8d Boys' hose, 24 pairs, £3 0s 5d Girls' hose, 34 pairs, £3 8s 0d 31 stitch bonnets, £2 0s 0d Hosiery total, £131 11s 8.5d 3 iron pots, 1 gallon, £0 7s 6d 4 iron pots, 4 gallon, £1 1s 0d 17 iron pots, 6 gallon, £5 3s 0.75d 10 iron pots, 12 gallon, £6 1s 0d

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		38 prs Do Knot 5 2 16 prs Womens 2 10 8 28 prs Boys 3 5 54 prs Girls 3 8 31 Silbeb Bonnetts 2 131 11 8¾ Iron Potts vizt 3 Iron pots 1 Gallon 7 6 4 Do 4 Do 1 1 17 Do 6 Do 5 3 ¾ 10 Do 12 Do 6 1 12 12 6¾ Iron 48 8 5 33 14 11 Ironmongers ware vizt 6 Stock Locks with prises 1 9 6 6 large Iron rimd Locks 3 15 5 Do Smaller 2 4 6 1 Till Lock damaged 2 1 7 Scrutoir Locks 1 1½ 6 Iron rimd Locks with two Keys D 6 12 5 1 Do No 1 11 2¼ 6 Do 2 5 5 11 6 fine brass Locks 6 19 3 Iron rimd Locks A 12 12 Do B 4 1 Do C 6 10 8 Stock Locks with Staples 13 4 4 Padlocks C & D 12 Ironmongers ware Carried £ 34 8 10¾ Carried Over £ 2588 10 2¾	Iron pots total, £12 12s 6.75d Iron at 48 hundredweight 3 quarters 5 lb, £33 14s 11d 6 stock locks with springs, £1 9s 6d 6 large iron rimmed locks, £3 15s 0d 5 smaller iron rimmed locks, £2 4s 6d 1 till lock damaged, £0 2s 1d 7 scrutoire locks, £1 0s 1.5d 6 iron rimmed locks with two keys number 1, £6 12s 5d 1 iron rimmed lock number 1, £0 11s 2.5d 6 iron rimmed locks number 2, £0 5s 11d 6 fine brass locks, £6 0s 19d 3 iron rimmed locks marked A, £0 12s 0d 12 iron rimmed locks marked B, £4 0s 0d 1 iron rimmed lock marked C, £0 6s 10d 8 stock locks with staples, £0 13s 4d 4 padlocks marked C and D, £0 12s 0d Ironmongery total, £34 3s 10.5d Carried over, £2,588 10s 2.75d **Interpretations** The 902 pairs of men's thread hose standing at £109 18s 7.5d were far the largest stock of any single article of clothing in the store, a great reserve of stockings held for the annual clothing of the garrison. The thread hose far outran the woven and knit sorts beside them, marking the plain thread stocking as the common issue to the soldiers, the store holding hundreds of pairs against the yearly clothing of the whole establishment. The long run of locks sorted by kind, size and marked letter marks the settlement's demand for security on an island where the Company's stores, magazines and buildings all had to be kept fast. The scrutoire locks for writing desks, the fine brass locks, the great iron rimmed locks and the stock locks with staples show the store carrying every grade of fastening, the whole apparatus of securing a remote settlement's goods and rooms held ready in the warehouse against a want no other supply could meet.
54	65	20th Octr Brot Over £ 2588 10 2¾ Ironware Brot Over £ 34 3 10¾ 60 Broad Hoes 5 1 3 11 Jack Planes 1 2 1 long Do 3 10½ 1 Smoothing Do 1 6 28 Plane Irons 15 12 Do 5 Planes sorted parts 5 4 10 Lopping Axes 1 3 4 5 Gouges 1 1¾ 2 prs Sheep Shears	The inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, continued as follows. Brought over, £2,588 10s 2.75d Ironware brought over, £34 3s 10.5d 6 broad hoes, £0 5s 1s 3d 11 jack planes, £1 0s 2d 7 long planes, £0 3s 10.5d 1 smoothing plane, £0 1s 6d 28 clean irons, £0 15s 0d 12 clean irons, £0 15s 0d 5 planes sorted spoilt, £0 5s 4d 10 lopping axes, £1 3s 4d 5 gouges, £0 1s 1.5d 2 pairs of sheep shears, £0 2s 2d 13 adzes, £1 12s 6d 15 crosscut saws, £1 5s 0d 5 edging irons, £1 0s 2.5d 10 grafting irons, £1 8s 9d 51 small frying pans, £4 5s 0d 16 large frying pans, £2 11s 4.5d

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		2 2 13 Adzes 1 12 6 15 Scrapers 1 5 5 Edging Irons 1 2¾ 10 Chipping Irons 1 8 9 31 Small Frying pans 4 5 18 large Do 2 11 4¾ 21 Mauls 3 17 11¾ 2 Keyhole Saws 4 6 22 Pickaxes 2 15 3 Augurs 7 11¼ 55 lb Cad Nails 1 4 3¾ 20 Dril Bowstrings 14 7 8 Drill Bows 2 9¾ 72 file hafts 4 6 12 Oz Brass Wire 1 10¾ 266 Packing Needles 1 18 9¾ 26 Bagatines 4 4 6 Skinning Chissells & Gouges 11 34 Side Hinges 1 18 3 12 prs Hd Hinges large 4 19 11 24 prs Do 2 Sizes 5 11 9 14 prs Do Small 2 7 3 25 prs Do rising Joynts 3 12 10 6 prs Cross Garnetts folds Joynts 17 11 prs Shutter Hinges 1 4 9 3 Chaffing Dishes 9 4½ 18 Scythes 5 3 6 14 Do Stone 1 15¾ 4 Garden Rakes 11 4 Ironware Carried Over £ 94 5 2¾ Carried Over £ 2588 10 2¾	21 mauls, £3 17s 11.5d 2 keyhole saws, £0 4s 6d 22 pickaxes, £2 15s 0d 3 augers, £0 7s 11.5d 55 lb of brad nails, £1 4s 3.5d 20 drill bow strings, £0 14s 7d 8 drill bows, £0 2s 9.5d 72 file hafts, £0 4s 6d 12 dozen screws sorted, £0 1s 10.5d 266 packing needles, £1 18s 9.5d 26 baglines, £0 4s 4d 6 grafting chisels and gouges, £0 4s 0d 34 side hinges, £1 18s 3d 12 pairs of H hinges large, £4 19s 11d 24 pairs of H hinges second size, £5 11s 9d 14 pairs of H hinges small, £2 7s 3d 23 pairs of rising joints, £3 12s 10d 6 pairs of cross garnets folding joints, £0 17s 0d 11 pairs of shutter hinges, £1 4s 9d 5 chaffing dishes, £0 0s 4.5d 18 scythes, £5 3s 6d 14 scythe stones, £1 16s 5d 4 garden rakes, £0 11s 4d Ironware total, £94 5s 2.5d Carried over, £2,588 10s 2.75d **Interpretations** The ironware ran to the whole range of edged tools and building iron a settlement needed to fell, plant, build and mend, the planes, adzes, saws, axes, mauls and pickaxes held in numbers against the constant wear of work on the island. Every tool had to be shipped in and none could be forged anew on the spot, so the Company held a deep reserve of the hard iron gear on which the plantations, the fortifications and the buildings all depended. The many pairs of hinges sorted by pattern and size, the H hinges, side hinges, rising joints and cross garnets, mark the store's provision for the doors, gates and shutters of the settlement's buildings. Set beside the great stock of locks on the preceding leaf, the hinges show the Company holding the whole ironmongery of hanging and securing a door, an island cut off from any other supply keeping the fittings of its houses and stores ready in the warehouse against every want of building and repair.
55	66	1747 Brot Over £ 2588 10 2¾ Ironware Brot Over £ 94 3 2¾ 9 Plaisterers Trowells 18 23 Bricklayers Do 1 7 9½ 6 Do damaged 6 9 Joiners Hatchetts 18 16 doz 5 Gimbletts 1 4 7½ 95 Screwadges	The inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, continued as follows. Brought over, £2,538 10s 2.75d Ironware brought over, £94 5s 2.5d 9 plasterers' trowels, £0 18s 0d 23 bricklayers' trowels, £1 7s 9.5d 6 bricklayers' trowels damaged, £0 6s 0d 9 joiners' hatchets, £0 18s 0d 16 dozen 5 gimlets, £1 4s 7.5d 95 screwdrivers, £3 3s 4d 2 whipsaws, £2 5s 3d 2 pairs of garden shears, £0 5s 2d 3 hand spits, £0 7s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 3 4 2 Whipsaws 2 5 3 2 prs Garden Shears 5 2 3 Hand Spitts 7 6 4 Joiners Rabitanes 10 2 Sledge Hammers 16 2 Broad axes 10 3 1 Hand Vice 3 4 14 Warding files 2 4 6 Flat files A 3 6 9 Do B 12 21 Frame Saw files 8 9 18 Whipsaw Do 11 7½ 9 Smiths Rabitanes 1 8 6 6 prs Boat Compasses 3½ 1 Former Chissels 2 6 9 Gouges 11 4 4 Straw Cutters 1¾ 7 Stone Saws 2 1¾ 14 prs Stone Saw Heads 3 4 4 14 Spades 2 4 4 1 Anvil 13 14 7 7 Grafting Saws 19 3 7 Bill Hooks 16 4 15 Grubbing Hoes 14 7 2 Wood Axes 4 5 6 ditching Spades 1 10 1 1 Hand saw 7 2½ 1 prs Hand Screws Sine size 1 prs Do broke 2 9 8 2 Box Irons & Heaters 16 10 2 Brass Shaves 16 3 14 Hand Hatchetts 1 1 92 Shod Shovells 6 6 6 Ironware Carried Over £ 148 5 10 Carried Over £ 2588 10 2¾	4 joiners' rubstones, £0 10s 0d 2 sledge hammers, £0 16s 0d 2 broad axes, £0 10s 3d 1 hand vice, £0 3s 4d 14 warding files, £0 2s 4d 6 flat files marked A, £0 3s 6d 9 flat files marked B, £0 12s 0d 21 frame saw files, £0 11s 7.5d 18 whipsaw files, £0 8s 6d 9 smiths' rubstones, £1 3s 4d 6 pairs of boat compasses, £0 0s 3.5d 8 firmer chisels, £0 2s 6d 9 gouges, £0 11s 4d 4 straw cutters, £0 1s 3.75d 7 stone saws, £2 0s 0d 14 pairs of stone saw heads, £3 0s 0d 14 spades, £2 4s 4d 1 anvil, £13 14s 7d 7 grafting saws, £0 19s 3d 7 bettle rings, £0 16s 4d 15 grubbing hoes, £0 14s 7d 2 wood axes, £0 4s 5d 6 ditching spades, £1 10s 1d 1 hand saw, £0 7s 2.5d 1 pair of hand screws, £2 9s 8d 1 pair of hand screws broke, £2 9s 8d 2 box irons and heaters, £0 16s 10d 2 brass shaves, £0 16s 3d 14 hand hatchets, £1 1s 0d 92 shod shovels, £6 6s 6d Ironware total, £148 5s 10d Carried over, £2,538 10s 2.75d
56	67	20th October Brot Over £ 2588 10 2¾ Ironware Brot Over £ 148 5 10½ 1 ditching Shovel 4 5½ 29 Helves 16 11	The inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, continued as follows. Brought over, £2,538 10s 2.75d Ironware brought over, £148 5s 10.5d 1 ditching shovel, £0 4s 5.5d 29 helves, £0 16s 11d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 prs Hand Yards 5 9 6 prs Planking Do 1 18 2 35 Setts Knitting Needles 2 8 151 13 10 Kersey 8 prs 5 Yds 16 17 1¾ Long Ells 4 prs 18 Yds 8 19 8 Lead vizt 23 2 26 Sheet 22 10 11 5 1 14 Pigg 4 18 8 10 Yds 2 Inch Pigue 4 15 6 32 5 1 Leather vizt 501 lb Sole 25 1 40 Calf Skins 12 3 4 37 4 4 Masts vizt 1 large Mast 76 feet long 21 In Diar 33 11 1 Topp Mast 64 ft 16½ In Do 16 1 Do 63½ ft 17½ In Do 21 15 1 Cafsto 1 11 6 1 Steer Mast 67 ft 17 In Do 15 ½ a Topp Mast 28 ft 17½ In Do 8 10 96 7 6 Mustard Seed 2⅝ Bushells 2 10 2 Nails vizt 212 lb Spoke Nails 2 17 5 520 lb 6 d 10 5 10 195 lb 6 d 3 13 1½ 253 lb 3 d 6 2 2¼ 523 lb 20 d 8 3 5¾ 306 lb 40 d 4 9 3 218 lb Scupper Nails 4 19 11 200 lb Sloring Brads 3 14 ¾ 112 lb Coquets Rivetts 2 4 4 46 9 6¾ Oil vizt 33 Bottles Florence 4 10 9 104¾ Gallons Linseed 17 5¾ 213 Gallons Train 29 5 9 2⅛ Gallons Sea Cow Oil 50 16 11¾ Carried Over £ 2981 14 4¾	3 pairs of handbarrows, £0 5s 9d 6 pairs of planking barrows, £1 18s 2d 35 sets of knitting needles, £0 2s 8d Ironware total, £151 13s 10d Kersey, 8 pairs 5 yards, £16 17s 1.5d Long cloth, 4 pairs 18 yards, £8 19s 8d Sheet lead at 23 hundredweight 2 quarters 26 lb, £22 10s 11d Pig lead at 5 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 lb, £4 18s 8d 10 yards 2 inch pipe lead, £4 15s 6d Lead total, £32 5s 1d Sole leather, 501 lb, £25 1s 0d 40 calves' skins, £12 3s 4d Leather total, £37 4s 4d 1 large mast 76 feet long 21 inch diameter, £33 11s 0d 1 top mast 64 feet 16.5 inch diameter, £16 0s 0d 1 top mast 63.5 feet 17.5 inch diameter, £21 15s 0d 1 capstan, £1 11s 6d 1 steer mast 67 feet 17 inch diameter, £15 0s 0d 1 fore mast 23 feet 17.5 inch diameter, £8 10s 0d Masts total, £96 7s 6d Mustard seed, 2.375 bushels, £2 10s 2d Spoke nails, 212 lb, £2 17s 5d Nails, 520 lb 4d, £10 5s 10d Nails, 195 lb 6d, £3 13s 1.5d Nails, 253 lb 3d, £6 2s 2.25d Nails, 523 lb 20d, £8 3s 5.5d Nails, 306 lb 10d, £4 9s 3d Scupper nails, 218 lb, £4 19s 11d Flooring brads, 200 lb, £3 14s 0.5d Coopers' rivets, 112 lb, £2 4s 4d Nails total, £46 9s 6.5d Florence oil, 33 bottles, £4 10s 9d Linseed oil, 104.75 gallons, £17 0s 5.5d Train oil, 213 gallons, £29 5s 9d Sea cow oil, 26 gallons, £30 16s 11.5d Oil total, £50 16s 11.5d Carried over, £2,981 14s 4.5d
57	68	1747 Brot Over £ 2981 14 4¾ Oars vizt 5 Oars 22 feet	The inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, continued as follows. Brought over, £2,981 14s 4.5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 8 4 26 Do Sorted 5 2¾ 6 8 6¾ Pitch & Tarr vizt 13¼ Barrells Tarr 20 7 11 15¼ Do Pitch 23 12 9 3¼ Do Turpentine 6 1 7½ 4 3 7 Rosin 2 11 9 53 ½ Paint vizt 3 1 Yellow Oaker 19 8½ 3 24 Umber 1 15 3 20 Verdigrease 16 7 2 4 13 Brimstone 4 16 ¾ 1 2 7 Whiting 5 8¾ 3 3 24 Chalk 2 1¾ 86 Barrells Blacking 2 18 2 1 1 13 Indico 12 15 3 28 Smalts 8 19 2 2 3 3 Venetian red 2 18 3¾ 10 Jamaica Indico 2 15 16 White Copperas 10 10 5 1 20 White Lead 7 12 62 4 3¾ Pease 9 Bushells Wormeaten 2 10½ 62 3 8 Pumps 5 62 3 8 Pewter vizt 2 Cranes 1 15 2 5 Chamberpotts 3 10½ 3 Gallon Potts 1 9 9 5 half Gallon Potts 2 6 6 18 Quart Funnells 2 6 1 Gallon Do 18 11½ 7 Tuttendeans 2 2 3½ 4 Bushews 1 13 4 21 Do 6 16 6 2 Worm Tubbs & Sides 21 4 8 40 11 6¾ Soap 5 2 16 17 15 6 Salt 52¼ Bushells 8 Shalloon 230 Yards 22 15 2¾ Saddles 5	5 oars 22 feet, £1 8s 4d 26 oars sorted, £5 0s 2.5d Oars total, £6 8s 6.5d Tar, 13.25 barrels, £20 7s 11d Pitch, 15.5 barrels, £23 12s 9d Turpentine, 3.5 barrels, £6 1s 7.5d Rosin, 4 barrels 3 quarters 7 lb, £2 11s 9d Pitch and tar total, £53 0s 0.5d Yellow ochre at 3 hundredweight 1 quarter, £0 19s 8.5d Umber at 3 hundredweight 24 lb, £1 15s 0d Verdigrease at 3 hundredweight 20 lb, £16 7s 2d Brimstone at 4 hundredweight 13 lb, £4 16s 3.5d Whiting at 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 7 lb, £0 5s 8.5d Chalk at 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 24 lb, £0 2s 1.5d Blacking, 86 barrels, £2 18s 2d Indigo at 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 13 lb, £12 15s 0d Smalts at 3 hundredweight 23 lb, £8 19s 2d Venetian red at 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 3 lb, £2 18s 3.5d Jamaica indigo at 10 lb, £2 15s 0d White copperas at 16 lb, £0 10s 10d White lead at 5 hundredweight 1 quarter 20 lb, £7 12s 0d Paint total, £62 4s 3.5d Pease, 9 bushels wormeaten, £0 2s 10.5d Pumps, 5, £62 3s 8d 2 cranes, £1 13s 2d 5 chamber pots, £0 3s 10.5d 3 gallon pots, £1 9s 9d 5 half gallon pots, £2 6s 6d 18 quart funnels, £2 6s 0d 1 gallon funnel, £0 18s 11.5d 7 tundishes, £2 2s 3.5d 1 tundish, £1 13s 4d 4 basins, £6 16s 6d 21 basins, £21 4s 8d 2 worm tubs and stills, £21 4s 8d Pewter total, £40 11s 6.5d Soap at 5 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 lb, £17 15s 6d Salt, 52.25 bushels, £8 0s 0d Shalloon, 230 yards, £22 15s 2.5d Sadlers, 5, £11 3s 8d Carried over, £3,268 2s 11d **Interpretations** The paint head gathered the whole range of pigments, driers and preservatives the settlement used to guard its buildings, boats and ironwork against the salt air, the ochre, umber, verdigrease, whiting, red lead and white lead held in bulk by the hundredweight. Brimstone and white copperas among them, the one a source of sulphur and the other used in dyeing and as a wash, and the two grades of indigo mark the store carrying the materials of both painting and dyeing, an island that made none of these drawing its whole supply from the Company's stock. The worm tubs and stills standing among the pewter mark the Company's own distilling gear, the still and its cooling worm the apparatus for drawing spirit or distilled water. Held in the warehouse against the settlement's need, this equipment let the island produce its own spirit or fresh water where the imported arrack and brandy ran short, a piece of manufacturing plant entered in the store alongside the ordinary pewter of the table.

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		11 3 8 Carried Over £ 3268 2 11	
58	69	20th October Brot Over £ 3268 2 11 Shoes vizt 810 prs Ordinary Mens 158 12 6 16 prs Mens fine 4 4 16 prs Pumps 4 12 2 4 prs Womens Calf Leather 2 8 4 prs Do Spanish Do 18 2 prs Boys 7 4 168 16 8 Shirts vizt 140 Sergeants Shirts & Colours 45 5 3 26 Centinels Do 5 8 4 50 13 7 Scales & Weights vizt 3 prs Scales Store use 1 prs Do 15 18 7 3 Beams for Scales 1 Do Store use 28 12 2 prs Scale Boards 1 prs Do Store use 6 12 1 prs Do rotten 51 2 7 Sailors Clothes vizt 2 Boys Jacketts & Breeches 16 15 Mens Frozen Shirts 9 15 9 3 11 9 Soldiers Clothes vizt 41 Centinels Coats 47 6 5 12 prs Do Breeches 4 6 4 51 12 9 Thread vizt 27 lb Coloured 4 10 29 lb Whited Brown 7 5 9 3¼ Nuns 3 9 11 18 9 Tinware vizt 23 Pudding Pans 1 10 8 lb Sal Armoniac 2 2¾ 10 Patty Pans 4 2 3 Small Glass Lanthorns 1 5 3½ 2 large Do 19 ½ 187 Lanthorn Leaves 1 3 4½ 4 large Tea Lamps 6 2 Small Do 1 6 6 large dripping Pans 1 7	The inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, continued as follows. Brought over, £3,268 2s 11d 810 pairs of ordinary men's shoes, £158 12s 6d 16 pairs of fine men's shoes, £4 4s 0d 16 pairs of pumps, £4 12s 2d 4 pairs of women's calf leather shoes, £0 2s 8d 4 pairs of women's Spanish shoes, £0 18s 0d 2 pairs of boys' shoes, £0 7s 4d Shoes total, £168 16s 8d 140 sergeants' shirts and soldiers, £45 5s 3d 26 sentinels' shirts, £5 8s 4d Shirts total, £50 13s 7d 3 pairs of scales then in use, £15 18s 7d 1 pair of scales, £15 18s 7d 3 beams for scales, £28 12s 0d 1 beam then in use, £28 12s 0d 2 pairs of scale boards, £6 12s 0d 1 pair of scale boards then in use, £6 12s 0d 1 pair then in use, £6 12s 0d Scales and weights total, £51 2s 7d 2 boys' jackets and breeches, £0 16s 0d 15 pieces of frappered shirts, £9 15s 9d Sailors' clothes total, £3 11s 9d 41 sentinels' coats, £47 6s 5d 12 pairs of breeches, £4 6s 4d Soldiers' clothes total, £51 12s 9d 27 lb coloured thread, £4 10s 0d 29 lb white or brown thread, £7 5s 0d 9.25 lb nuns thread, £3 3s 9d Thread total, £11 18s 9d 23 budding irons, £1 10s 0d 8.5 lb of sal ammoniac, £0 4s 2.5d 10 patty pans, £0 4s 2d 3 small glass lanterns, £1 5s 3.5d 2 large glass lanterns, £0 19s 0d 187 lantern leaves, £1 3s 4.5d 4 large tea lamps, £0 6s 0d 2 small tea lamps, £0 1s 6d 6 large dripping pans, £1 7s 0d 3 coffee pots, £0 14s 3d Tinware total, £7 2s 10.5d 11 yards of fine ticking, £0 16s 6d 10 yards of coarse ticking, £0 10s 8d Ticking total, £20 2s 8d Carried over, £3,633 4s 6d **Interpretations** The 810 pairs of ordinary men's shoes at £158 12s 6d were far the largest and most valuable stock of footwear in the store, a great reserve held for the annual shoeing of the garrison. The plain issue shoe far outran the fine men's shoes, the pumps and the women's and boys' shoes beside it, the store holding hundreds of pairs against the yearly clothing of the whole establishment, the soldiers shod from bulk while the finer sorts served those who could pay. The scales, beams and weights standing at £51 2s 7d, several sets noted as then in use, mark the apparatus by which the storekeeper weighed out every commodity that passed through his hands. The weighing gear was the foundation of the whole store account, the beef, bread, sugar and iron all issued and charged by weight, so the Company held spare scales and beams against the wear of constant use, the instruments of the reckoning as much a part of the stock as the goods they measured.

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		3 Coffee Potts& 14 3 7 2 10½ Ticking vizt 11 prs fine 9 16 10 prs Coarse 10 6 8 20 2 8 Carried Over £ 3633 4 6	
59	70	1747 Brot Over £ 3633 4 6½ Turners ware vizt 34 Scrubbing brushes 2 3 4 8 Salesmens Yokes 8 8 4 Ox Bows 4 5½ 90 Platters 4 4 1½ 77 Bowls 3 19 2 26 Ladles 4 4 14 draining dishes 3 6 6 Trays 15 20 Stamp Boxes 19 1 Bucket 2 4 3 Canns 3 6 16 Cloth brushes 17 4 1 Wire Sieve 6 3½ 9 Paint Brushes 5 3 386 Shod Do 11 5 2 107 Labourers Basketts 2 17 11¾ 11 Birch Brooms 15 6 4 Yellow for Oven 2 13 3 2 Hair Sieves 18 2 4 Butter Prints 2 3 20 French Ladles 10 18 Mop handles 2 2¾ 129 Mops Nails & Horns 10 3 33 18 10¾ Twine vizt 64 Skds Coarse 1 9 4 26 Skds fine 15 3¾ 267 Skds Houseline & Marline 3 1 9¾ 5 6 3 Vinegar 66½ Gallons 6 17 2 Total amt of Europe goods £ 3679 6 7 Indea afforda vizt Arrack 363 Gallons 25 14 3 Allejar 4 prs	The inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, continued as follows. Brought over, £3,633 4s 6.5d 34 scrubbing brushes, £2 3s 4d 8 salesmen's yokes, £0 8s 8d 4 ox bows, £0 4s 5.5d 90 platters, £4 4s 4.5d 77 bowls, £3 12s 4d 26 ladles, £0 4s 4d 14 draining dishes, £0 3s 6d 6 trays, £0 15s 0d 20 stamp boxes, £0 19s 0d 1 blockhead, £0 2s 4d 3 fans, £0 3s 6d 16 shoe brushes, £0 17s 4d 1 hair sieve, £0 6s 3.5d 9 paint brushes, £0 5s 3d 386 shoe brushes, £11 5s 2d 107 labourers' baskets, £2 17s 0.5d 11 bench brooms, £0 15s 0d 4 yokes for oxen, £2 13s 8d 2 hair sieves, £0 18s 2d 4 butter prints, £0 2s 3d 20 punch ladles, £0 10s 0d 10 mop handles, £0 2s 2.5d 123 mop nails and horns, £0 10s 3d Turnery total, £33 18s 10.5d Twine at 64 skeins coarse, £1 9s 4d Twine, 26 skeins fine, £0 15s 3.5d Housline and marline, 267 skeins, £3 1s 9.5d Twine total, £5 6s 3d Vinegar, 66.5 gallons, £6 17s 2d Total amount of European goods, £3,679 6s 7d Arrack, 363 gallons, £25 14s 3d Allejar, 4 pieces, £0 2s 7d Petulloes, 96 yards, £0 16s 8d 14 small dishes, £1 3s 4d 10 meat plates, £1 11s 11d Chinaware carried over, £1 8s 2.5d Carried over, £3,723 15s 10d **Interpretations** The close of the European goods at £3,679 6s 7d marked the whole standing value of the warehouse in the wares of the West, drawn up at the year's end before the account turned to the goods of the East. Set against the £2,250 9s 9d at which the whole inventory of European and Indian goods stood on 30 September 1746, the European stock alone now outran the previous year's entire count, a much fuller warehouse marking a well-supplied year of shipping. The turn from European to Indian goods, the allejar, petulloes and chinaware following the total, marks the two channels of supply that met at the island, the manufactures of Britain and the wares of the eastern trade held on the same shelves. The allejar was a striped cotton or silk of India and the petulloes another Indian cotton, both brought by the East India shipping, so the warehouse gathered the produce of two hemispheres for the use of a settlement that made almost nothing of its own.

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		2 7 Bottles 96 prs 16 8 Chinaware vizt 14 Small dishes 1 3 4 10 Meat plates 1 11½ Chinaware Carried Over £ 1 5 2¾ Carried Over £ 3723 15 10	
60	71	20th October Brot Over £ 3723 15 10 Chinaware Brot Over £ 1 5 2¾ 269 Scollop'd Cups 16 9¾ 31 Small Cups 1 11¼ 6 Small Cups & Saucers 9 2 blue & white Soup dishes 13 8 48 Do Soup plates 15 143 Do Comon Meat plates 1 5 6 32 half Pint Cups & 15 Saucers 5 3½ 42 Noggins Cups & Saucers 32 5 3 22 Small Cups & 24 Saucers 4 4 3 Jugs & 1 Bason 9 4 3 Large Bowls 13 9 10 Soup dishes Col & God 4 2 57 Soup plates Do 1 4 6 18 Coffee Cups & 15 Saucers 3 1 25 Meat dishes blue & white 92 Do plates 2 15 6 42 Meat dishes blue & white 171 Do plates Do 5 13 11 163 Smoothers 1 12 3 2 Chamberpotts 9 3 22 10 4½ Muslin 63 Yds 28 3 ¾ Pepper 39 lb 2 4 6 Pallampores vizt 9 Pallampores a 10 6½ 4 14 10½ 58 Do a 12 4 33 10 18 Do a 16 6 14 17 54 12 8½ Rice 26 2 5 11 ¾ Sugar & Candy vizt 67 3 24 Sugar 170 14 6 43 17 Candy 66 9 11 137 4 5 Shirts vizt 118 Callico Shirts 10 16 4	The inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, continued as follows. Brought over, £3,723 15s 10d Chinaware brought over, £1 5s 2.5d 269 scallop cups, £0 16s 9.5d 31 small cups, £0 1s 11.5d 6 small cups and saucers, £0 0s 9d 2 blue and white soup dishes, £0 13s 8d 48 soup plates, £0 0s 15d 143 common meat plates, £1 5s 6d 32 half pint cups and saucers, £0 5s 3.5d 42 noggin cups and saucers 32, £0 5s 3d 22 small cups and 24 saucers, £0 4s 4d 3 jugs and 1 basin, £0 9s 4d 3 large bowls, £0 13s 9d 10 soup dishes coloured and gold, £0 4s 2d 57 soup plates coloured and gold, £1 4s 6d 18 coffee cups and 15 saucers, £0 3s 1d 25 meat dishes blue and white, £2 15s 6d 92 plates, £2 15s 6d 42 meat dishes blue and white, £5 13s 11d 171 plates, £5 13s 11d 163 sneakers, £1 12s 3d 2 chamber pots, £0 9s 3d Chinaware total, £22 10s 4.5d Muslin, 63 yards, £28 3s 0.75d Pepper, 39 lb, £0 4s 6d 6 palempores at 16s 6d, £4 14s 10d 58 palempores at 12s 4d, £33 0s 10d 18 palempores at 16s 6d, £14 17s 0d Palempores total, £54 12s 8.5d Rice at 26 hundredweight 2 quarters, £5 11s 0.5d Sugar at 67 hundredweight 3 quarters 24 lb, £170 14s 6d Candy, 43 hundredweight 17 lb, £66 9s 11d Sugar and candy total, £237 4s 5d 118 calico shirts, £10 16s 4d 4 dungaree shirts, £0 7s 4d 598 pairs of cotton hose, £54 3s 10.5d Shirts total, £65 7s 6.5d Teak plank, 4 pairs, £7 8s 6d Carried over, £4,046 17s 11.5d **Interpretations** The sugar and candy standing at £237 4s 5d were far the most valuable line of the Indian goods, a great stock of the eastern sweet held both to victual the settlement and to supply the shipping. Brought in bulk by the East India vessels, the sugar entered the store as a staple of trade and diet alike, the largest single value among the goods of the East and a mark of how far the island's warehouse served the wider commerce that touched at it. The palempores in three lots at graded prices were the painted or printed cotton bedcovers of the Coromandel trade, the dearer sort at sixteen shillings and sixpence set against the cheaper at twelve and fourpence. Held in numbers among the Indian goods, these decorative cottons marked the finer wares of the East the planters bought to furnish their houses, the painted cloth of India carried by the homeward shipping to dress the beds of a remote Atlantic settlement.

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		4 Dungaree Do 7 4 598 prs Cotton Hose 54 3 10½ 65 7 6½ Teak plank 4 prs 7 8 6 Carried Over £ 4046 17 11½	
61	72	1747 Brot Over £ 4046 17 11½ Tea vizt 920 lb Bohea 30 13 4 262 Katties Do 17 11 5 132 lb Congo 12 4 ¾ 266 lb Single 18 2 10 94 Katties Do 11 6 6 89 18 1½ £ 4136 16 1 30th Septr 1747 (Signd) Errors Excepted John Clark R Wright The Paymaster brought in his Pay Account for the Months of July August & Septr last which was Examined & Approved & is as follows vizt List of the Honble Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their Several Salarys Diet Money &c for the Quarter Commencing July the 1st and ending September the 30th 1747 Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Salary 125 Do Allowance for Servants as usual 31 14 9 John Clark Rob Wright Council Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 15 32 10 John Goodwin Accomptt Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 15 32 10 Matthew Purling Storekeeper Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 15 32 10 William Loveday Chaplain Salary 25 Francis Wrangham Factor 3rd Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do house rent 2 10 20 Carried Over £ 299 4 9	The tea head of the inventory of goods remaining in the Company's warehouses, taken on 30 September 1747, closed as follows. Brought over, £4,046 17s 11.5d Bohea, 920 lb, £30 13s 4d Bohea, 262 catties, £17 11s 5.5d Congo, 132 lb, £12 4s 0.5d Singlo, 266 lb, £18 2s 10d Singlo, 94 catties, £11 6s 6d Tea total, £89 18s 1.5d Total, £4,136 16s 1d The inventory was signed at St Helena on 30 September 1747 by John Clark and Robert Wright, errors excepted. The paymaster brought in his pay account for July, August and September, which was examined and approved, and ran as follows. It listed the Company's officers and servants on the island of St Helena with their several salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter beginning 1 July and ending 30 September 1747. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Charles Hutchinson, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d John Clark and Robert Wright of council, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d John Clark and Robert Wright total, £32 10s 0d John Goodwin, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £15 0s 0d John Goodwin total, £32 10s 0d Matthew Purling, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Purling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling total, £32 10s 0d William Loveday, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, factor, salary, £17 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Francis Wrangham total, £20 0s 0d Carried over, £299 4s 9d **Interpretations** The tea gathered at the close of the Indian goods ran through several grades of the China leaf, the common bohea set against the finer congo and singlo, each held in quantity and reckoned partly by the pound and partly by the catty. The bohea was the ordinary black tea of the trade and the congo and singlo the dearer sorts, the store carrying the whole range the eastern shipping brought so that the settlement might buy according to its purse. The close of the whole inventory at £4,136 16s 1d set the standing value of the warehouse at the year's end far above the £2,250 9s 9d of 30 September 1746, near double the previous year's count. The much fuller store marked a well-supplied season, the shipping of 1747 having landed goods in quantity, so that the Company entered its accounting year with a deep reserve of every commodity against the wants of the settlement and the shipping alike.
62	73	20th October Brot Over £ 299 4 9 James Powell Factor Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 10 17 10	The pay account for July, August and September 1747 continued as follows. Brought over, £299 4s 9d James Powell, factor, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, diet money, £10 0s 0d James Powell total, £17 10s 0d Joseph Darval, factor, salary, £17 10s 0d

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		Joseph Danval Factor Salary 17 10 Do Assistant Storekeeper 5 Do Diet Money 10 22 10 Thomas French Writer Salary 5 Do Diet Money 10 15 Samuel Falconer Surgeon Salary 9 15 Do house rent 2 10 12 5 John Twaits Richard Gurling Overseers 15 7 10 Richard Beale Schoolmasters Salary 3 8 3 Do as Clerk 5 8 8 3 John Bland Master Marrs Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do house rent 1 10 29 Mark Hawkins Marrs Salary 12 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do house rent 1 20 6 10½ John Lynch Marshall Salary 4 7 9 Do as Pewterm Master 1 5 5 12 9 William Hayes Master of Arms 6 5 Nicholas Clother Steward 7 10 William Dowse Gardiner 9 11 3 Robert Meacock Cooper 8 15 Henry Moyce Carpenter 12 10 John Arbingstall Patron of the Long Boat 7 10 Robert Wright Storekeeper 2 506 8 10½ Carried Over £ 506 8 10½	Joseph Darval, assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Joseph Darval, diet money, £10 0s 0d Joseph Darval total, £22 10s 0d Thomas French, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Thomas French, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas French total, £15 0s 0d Samuel Falconer, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Samuel Falconer, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Falconer total, £12 5s 0d John Thwaits and Richard Gurling, overseers, £7 10s 0d John Thwaits and Richard Gurling total, £15 0s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, salary, £3 8s 3d Richard Beale, as clerk, £5 0s 0d Richard Beale total, £8 8s 3d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d John Bland, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Bland, house rent, £1 10s 0d John Bland total, £29 0s 0d Mark Hawkins, mason, salary, £12 10s 0d Mark Hawkins, diet money, £6 10s 10.5d Mark Hawkins, house rent, £1 0s 0d Mark Hawkins total, £20 6s 10.5d John Lynch, marshal, salary, £4 7s 9d John Lynch, as pinnace master, £1 5s 0d John Lynch total, £5 12s 9d William Hayes, master of arms, £6 5s 0d Nicholas Cleather, steward, £7 10s 0d William Dowse, gardener, £9 11s 3d Robert Meacock, cooper, £8 15s 0d Henry Moyce, carpenter, £12 10s 0d John Artingstall, patron of the longboat, £7 10s 0d Robert Wright, storekeeper, £2 0s 0d Total, £506 8s 10.5d Carried over, £506 8s 10.5d **Interpretations** The pay roll set out the whole civil establishment of the island by office and rate, the factors, writers, surgeon, chaplain, schoolmaster and the several tradesmen each carried at a salary with diet money and house rent added where due. The account marks the settlement's small governing and skilled class, the masons, cooper, carpenter and gardener among the servants alongside the clerks and officers, the Company paying the whole apparatus of administration and craft that kept the island running. The two masons Bland and Hawkins carried among the highest of the tradesmen's pay, marking the value the Company set on skilled stonework at a place where its fortifications, buildings and limekilns all turned on masonry. The island's want of skilled masons had been named the year before as a reason the works could not be finished as fast as wished, so the Company held and paid its two master craftsmen well, the stonework of the batteries and the buildings depending on the few men who could do it.
63	74	1747 Brot Over £ 506 8 10½ First Company John Clark Lt Salary 10 Do diet money 6 16 10½ Do on Acct of Instructing 2 Gunners 7 10 24 6 10½ John Dunbar Lt Do Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money	The pay account for July, August and September 1747 continued with the first company. Brought over, £506 8s 10.5d John Clark, lieutenant, salary, £10 0s 0d John Clark, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d John Clark, on account of instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d John Clark total, £24 6s 10.5d John Dunbar, ensign, salary, £7 10s 0d John Dunbar, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d John Dunbar total, £14 6s 10.5d William Hayes, adjutant, salary, £10 0s 0d William Hayes, diet money, £7 1s 3d

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		6 16 10½ 14 6 10½ William Hayes Adjutant Salary 10 Do Diet Money 7 1 3 17 1 3 55 15 Sergeants Henry Beale 6 14 6 Bartholomew Molloy 6 14 6 Solomon Jacobs 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals Daniel Langton 4 7 9 John Spooner to the 14th July Jncd 13 5½ Ambrose Bland 4 7 9 James Richardson from 15th July Jncd 3 15 3¾ 13 3 3 Thomas Ardley Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels Edward Allis 3 8 3 John Bray 3 8 3 John Brown 3 8 3 George Brunett 3 8 3 Joseph Brooks 3 8 3 Augustin Badts 3 8 3 William Campbell 3 8 3 Matthew Campbell 3 8 3 John Clay 3 8 3 John Lowdry 3 8 3 William Carter 3 8 3 William Davis 3 8 3 William Enzar 3 8 3 Edward Gill 3 8 3 George Green 3 8 3 Thomas Greenaway 3 8 3 Daniel Hansford 3 8 3 Thomas Gates 3 8 3 Humphry Hamson 3 8 3 George Harper 3 8 3 Major Jackson 3 8 3 Boatson Jones 3 8 3 Stephen Lufkin 3 8 3 Robt Lufkin to the 25 Augt Jncd the day he died	William Hayes total, £17 1s 3d Sergeants total, £55 15s 0d Henry Beale, sergeant, £6 14s 6d Bartholomew Molloy, sergeant, £6 14s 6d Solomon Jacobs, sergeant, £6 14s 6d Sergeants total, £20 3s 6d Daniel Langton, corporal, £4 7s 9d John Spooner, to 14 July, £0 13s 5.5d Ambrose Bland, corporal, £4 7s 9d James Richardson, from 15 July, £3 15s 3.5d Corporals total, £13 3s 3d Thomas Watts, drummer, £4 7s 9d Edward Allis, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Bray, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Brown, sentinel, £3 8s 3d George Bennett, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Joseph Brooks, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Augustin Bads, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Campbell, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Matthew Campbell, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Clay, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Powdry, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Porter, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Davis, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Buzar, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Edward Gell, sentinel, £3 8s 3d George Green, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Greenaway, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Daniel Vanslet, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Yates, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Humphrey Hamson, sentinel, £3 8s 3d George Harper, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Major Jackson, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Beorn Jones, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Stephen Lufkin, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Robert Lufkin, to 23 August and died the day he died, £2 1s 11.5d William Lambon, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Joseph Long, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Alexander Blindon, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Sentinels carried over, £99 16s 4.5d Carried over, £500 18s 4.5d **Interpretations** The company was set out in full order from its officers down through the sergeants, corporals and drummer to the rank of sentinels, each grade at its fixed rate and the sentinels all at the flat £3 8s 3d for the quarter. The account shows the whole military establishment reckoned man by man, the broken pay of those who joined, left or died within the quarter struck to the day, so that John Spooner's pay ran only to 14 July and James Richardson's began the next day, the roll balanced exactly on the movements of the men. Robert Lufkin's pay stopped at his death in August, reckoned to the day he died and cut short in the roll, the standard treatment of a soldier who died within the quarter. The Company paid only for service actually given, a dead man's wage struck at the day of his death exactly as a deserter's or a discharged man's was docked, the pay roll following the establishment's changes to the day rather than carrying a full quarter for every name.

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		2 1 11½ William Lambon 3 8 3 Joseph Long 3 8 3 Alexander Shudden Centinels Carried Over £ 90 16 4½ Carried Over £ 500 18 4½	
64	75	20th October Brot Over £ 599 18 4½ Centinels Brot Over £ 90 16 4½ John Marsh 3 8 3 Thomas Mason 3 8 3 John Merritt 3 8 3 James Miller 3 8 3 Patrick Hamilton 3 8 3 James Owins 3 8 3 William Price to 2d Septr Jncd the day he died 2 7 10¾ James Richardson to 14th July Jncd being made a Corporall the 15th Do 10 5¾ James Penard 3 8 3 John Scotcher 3 8 3 John Shaw 3 8 3 John Searby 3 8 3 Solomon Sanders 3 8 3 Emanuel Steeler 3 8 3 John Swindek from 4th Septr Jncd the day he Ent 1 2¾ James Wrighthart 3 8 3 Peter Wells 3 8 3 Thomas Wagg 3 8 3 Thomas Watkins to 21 Augt Jncd the day he died 1 13 10½ John Spencer from the 15th July Jncd 2 17 9½ William Young 3 8 3 John Davis 3 8 3 James Cartwright 3 8 3 James Rendry 3 8 3 William Smyth 3 8 3 William Bruff a deserter from Ship Grantham who was going a Soldier to Bencoolen & who to be sent thereof first Opportunity 3 8 3 191 4 10 Second Company Joseph Kendall Lt Salary 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do house rent 2 10 19 6 10½	The pay account for July, August and September 1747 continued as follows. Brought over, £599 18s 4.5d Sentinels brought over, £99 16s 4.5d John March, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Mason, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Morris, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Miller, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Patrick Hamilton, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Owens, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Price, to 2 September and died the day he died, £2 7s 10.5d James Richardson, to 14 July and being made corporal the 15th, £0 10s 5.5d James Benard, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Scotcher, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Shaw, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Searby, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Solomon Sanders, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Emanuel Steeler, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Swindell, from 4 September and died the day he died, £1 0s 2.5d James Ureighhart, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Peter Wells, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Wagg, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Watkins, to 21 August and died the day he died, £1 13s 10.5d John Spencer, from 15 July, £2 17s 9.5d William Young, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Davis, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Cartwright, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Pendry, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Smith, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Bruff, a deserter from the Grantham who was going a soldier to Bencoolen and who was sent thereof first opportunity, £3 8s 3d Sentinels total, £191 4s 10d Joseph Kendall, lieutenant, salary, £10 0s 0d Joseph Kendall, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Joseph Kendall, house rent, £2 10s 0d Joseph Kendall total, £19 6s 10.5d Samuel Ashwick, ensign, salary, £7 10s 0d Samuel Ashwick, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Samuel Ashwick total, £14 6s 10.5d Sergeants total, £33 13s 9d John French, sergeant, £6 14s 6d Robert Mason, sergeant, £6 14s 6d Gabriel Isaac, sergeant, £6 14s 6d Sergeants total, £20 3s 6d Daniel Bush, corporal, £4 7s 9d John Downes, corporal, £4 7s 9d Peter Final, to 14 July, £0 13s 5.5d Michael Frost, from 15 July, £3 14s 3.5d Corporals total, £13 3s 3d Carried over, £838 4s 8.5d **Interpretations** The heavy toll of deaths through the quarter, four sentinels dying in July, August and September, marks a sickly season among the garrison, each man's pay struck to the day he died. William Price, Thomas Watkins, Robert Lufkin and John Swindell all fell within the three months, Swindell dead the very day he was entered on 4 September, so that the man enlisted without bounty at the consultation of 8 September had in fact died before that sitting, the roll recording a life cut off almost as soon as it was engaged.

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		Samuel Ashwick 2d Lt Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 14 6 10½ 33 13 9 Sergeants John French 6 14 6 Robert Mason 6 14 6 Gab Isaac 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals Daniel Buck 4 7 9 John Downes 4 7 9 Peter Frost to 14th July Jncd 13 5¾ Michael Frost from 15th July Jncd 3 14 3¾ 13 3 3 Carried Over £ 838 4 8½	The deserter William Bruff, taken from the Grantham as he made to go a soldier to Bencoolen and held to be sent back at the first chance, was carried on the pay roll at the ordinary sentinel's rate while he waited. The Company paid him as it held him, the island a place where a runaway from one of its ships was set among the garrison and paid until a vessel could carry him on, the man's wage entered exactly like any sentinel's though he stood only in transit.
65	76	1747 Brot Over £ 838 4 8½ Thomas Sanders Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels James Allis 3 8 3 Joseph Andrews 3 8 3 George Ayres 3 8 3 Peter Barker 3 8 3 Andrew Barton 3 8 3 John Bouck 3 8 3 Josiah Barbes 3 8 3 Francis Berwick 3 8 3 John Brown 3 8 3 Richard Billington 3 8 3 William Brooks 3 8 3 John Chapman 3 8 3 William Dutton 3 8 3 Robert Caridge 3 8 3 John Fisher 3 8 3 John Fletcher 3 8 3 Michael Frost to 14th July Jncd being made Corp 15th Do 10 5¾ Peter Frost from the 15th July Jncd 2 17 9¼ John Gould 3 8 3 John Holloway 3 8 3 John Player 3 8 3 James English 3 8 3	The pay account for July, August and September 1747 continued with the second company. Brought over, £838 4s 8.5d Thomas Sanders, drummer, £4 7s 9d James Allis, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Joseph Andrews, sentinel, £3 8s 3d George Ayres, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Peter Barker, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Andrew Barton, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Bourk, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Josiah Barker, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Francis Berwick, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Brown, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Richard Billington, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Brooks, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Chapman, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Dutton, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Robert Everidge, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Fisher, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Fletcher, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Michael Frost, to 14 July, being made sergeant the 15th, £0 10s 5.5d Peter Final, from 15 July, £2 17s 9.5d John Gould, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Holloway, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Player, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James English, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Samuel Reborn, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Reever, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Long, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Joseph Spriet, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Charles Legentes, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Mason, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Richard Maybank, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Richard Moyce, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Norton, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Ormond, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Page, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Roper, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Richard Smith, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Suff, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Preston, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Shelford, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Simmonds, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Joseph Simpson, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Robert Angay, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Edward Swaids, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Samuel Tabor, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Beorn Thomas, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Taylor, sentinel, £3 8s 3d

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		Samuel Robson 3 8 3 William Leaver James Long 3 8 3 Joseph Spivet 3 8 3 Charles Segentes 3 8 3 Thomas Mawson 3 8 3 Richard Maybank 3 8 3 Richard Moyce 3 8 3 John Norton 3 8 3 William Osmond 3 8 3 William Page 3 8 3 John Roper Richard Smith 3 8 3 William Suty 3 8 3 Thomas Freston 3 8 3 William Shelford 3 8 3 John Simmonds 3 8 3 Jonatah Simpson 3 8 3 Robert Sypray 3 8 3 Edward Straide 3 8 3 Samuel Tabbor 3 8 3 Brig d Thomas 3 8 3 Thomas Taylor 3 8 3 Richard Twaits William Twaits Centinels Carried Over £ 196 9 8 Carried Over £ 842 11 5½	Richard Swaits, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Swaits, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Sentinels carried over, £196 5s 8.5d Carried over, £842 11s 5.5d **Interpretations** The exchange of Michael Frost and Peter Final between the corporal's and sentinel's ranks on 14 and 15 July shows the two men trading places within the company, one made sergeant and the other stepped down, their broken pay struck to the day of the change. The roll caught the movement exactly, Frost's corporal's pay ending on 14 July and Final's beginning the next day at the higher rate, the account balanced on the day the promotion took effect rather than carried whole for either man. The second company ran to much the same establishment as the first, three sergeants, its corporals, a drummer and a long file of sentinels all at the flat quarterly rate, the whole garrison built of these matching companies. The uniform sentinel's wage of £3 8s 3d down the roll marks the settled pay of the common soldier, the establishment reckoned company by company on a single scale, the broken entries alone breaking the even run where a man rose, fell or died within the quarter.
66	77	20th October Brot Over £ 842 11 5½ Centinels Brot Over £ 156 19 6 Edward Walker 3 8 3 Stephen Willoughby 3 8 3 Adam Watson 3 8 3 Isaac Halgner 3 8 3 170 12 6 Supernumerary Solomon Wain 3 8 3 Third Company Thomas Easthope 1st Lt Salary 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do house rent 2 10 19 6 10½ Onesiphorus Beale 2d Lt Salary 7 10 Do diet money 6 16 10½	The pay account for July, August and September 1747 continued with the third company. Brought over, £842 11s 5.5d Sentinels brought over, £156 19s 6d Edward Walker, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Stephen Willoughby, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Adam Watson, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Isaac Blizner, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Sentinels total, £170 12s 6d Solomon Wain, superannuary, £3 8s 3d Thomas Easthope, lieutenant, salary, £10 0s 0d Thomas Easthope, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Thomas Easthope, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Easthope total, £19 6s 10.5d Onesiphorus Beale, ensign, salary, £7 10s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Onesiphorus Beale total, £14 6s 10.5d Sergeants total, £33 13s 9d John Aldrich, sergeant, £6 14s 6d Andrew Blinman, sergeant, £6 14s 6d William Kennedy, sergeant, £6 14s 6d Sergeants total, £20 3s 6d Matthew Boughtwood, corporal, £4 7s 9d John Smith, corporal, £4 7s 9d James Lee, to 10 August, £1 13s 5d Henry Barber, from 11 August, £2 8s 4d Corporals total, £13 3s 3d

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		14 6 10½ 33 13 9 Sergeants John Aldrick 6 14 6 Andrew Robinson 6 14 6 William Kennedy 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals Matthew Boughtwode 4 7 9 John Smith 4 7 9 James Lee to 10th Augt Jncd 13 5 Henry Barber from 11th Augt Jncd 2 8 4 13 3 3 Benjamin Twaits Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels William Adams 3 8 3 Matthew Allis from the 12th Augt Jncd the day he Ent 1 17 4¾ Bevan Ambrose 3 8 3 William Allis to the 24 Augt Jncd the day he Ent 2 1 1¾ Henry Barber to the 10 Augt Jncd being made Corp 11th Do 1 10 7¾ William Bickett 3 8 3 William Bonfield 3 8 3 William Brown 3 8 3 Joseph Bartlett 3 8 3 Baron Deloaf 3 8 3 John Earle 3 8 3 John Ford 3 8 3 Thomas Fuller 3 8 3 Edward Grant 3 8 3 William Hurlock 3 8 3 Peter Heggens 3 8 3 James Hodds 3 8 3 William Jones 3 8 3 William Jackson 3 8 3 Ivan Jones 3 8 3 Thomas Kendrick 3 8 3 Richard Knight 3 8 3 Thomas Lawrence 3 8 3 James Lee from the 11th Augt to the 27 Do the day he was discharged half Jncd 12 8½ Centinels Carried Over £ 74 6 10½ Carried Over £ 1088 5½	Benjamin Swaits, drummer, £4 7s 9d William Adams, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Matthew Allis, from 12 August and died the day he died, £1 17s 4.5d Beorn Ambrose, sentinel, £3 18s 3d William Allis, to 24 August and died the day he died, £2 1s 1.5d Henry Barber, to 10 August, being made corporal the 11th, £1 10s 7.5d William Rickett, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Bonfield, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Brown, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Joseph Bawtch, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Baron Deleaf, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Earle, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Ford, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Fuller, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Edward Grant, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Hurlock, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Peter Higgins, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Rhodes, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Jones, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Jackson, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Ivan Jones, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Kendrick, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Richard Knight, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Lawrence, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Lee, from 11 August to 7 September, the day he was discharged, £12 8s 2.5d Sentinels carried over, £74 6s 10.5d Carried over, £1,088 0s 5.5d **Interpretations** The third company carried the same run of deaths as the first two, Matthew Allis and William Allis both dying in August with their pay struck to the day, the sickly season falling across every company alike. The two Allises died within twelve days of each other, the roll cutting each man's wage at his death, the establishment losing men steadily through the three months and the account following each loss to the exact day. Henry Barber's double entry, paid as a sentinel to 10 August and then as a corporal from the 11th, marks his promotion within the company, the two lines catching the change of rank at the day it took effect. The account entered him twice rather than once, the sentinel's rate ending and the corporal's beginning on consecutive days, the roll built to reckon a man's pay by the grade he held on each day of the quarter rather than by his rank at its close.

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67	78	1747 Brot Over £ 1088 5½ Centinels Brot Over £ 74 6 10½ John Langbridge 3 8 3 Abraham Major 3 8 3 James Mazure 3 8 3 Charles Mountaguer 3 8 3 James McLeane 3 8 3 Charles Newcomb 3 8 3 Valentine Noble 3 8 3 Joseph Newman 3 8 3 Thomas Olliver 3 8 3 William Armes to the 10th Augt Jncd being transferd to the Artillery Company the 11th Do 1 10 7½ Thomas Payne 3 8 3 George Peacock 3 8 3 James Pawterer 3 8 3 William Pendree 3 8 3 John Pettwater 3 8 3 Frances Reed 3 8 3 John Smith 3 8 3 John Spencer 3 8 3 David Scott 3 8 3 Robert Mack 3 8 3 Joseph Thompson 3 8 3 Benjamin Williams 3 8 3 John Willis 3 8 3 Jeremiah Wignells 3 8 3 Joseph Wideman 3 8 3 John McKoy 3 8 3 Thomas Weecer 3 8 3 Abraham Ratlif 3 8 3 William Robinson 3 8 3 171 8 6¼ Fourth Company John Barton 1st Lt Salary 10 Do diet money 6 16 10½ Do house rent 2 10 10 6 10½ Thomas Kirkpatrick 2d Lt Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 14 6 10½	The pay account for July, August and September 1747 continued with the fourth company. Brought over, £1,088 0s 5.5d Sentinels brought over, £74 6s 10.5d John Langbridge, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Abraham Major, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Mazure, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Charles Montague, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James McLeane, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Charles Newcomb, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Valentine Noble, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Joseph Newman, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Oliver, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Armer, to 10 August, being transferred to the artillery company the 11th, £1 10s 7.5d Thomas Payne, sentinel, £3 8s 3d George Peacock, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Powterer, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Pendree, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Pettwater, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Francis Reed, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Smith, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Spencer, sentinel, £3 8s 3d David Scott, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Robert Stack, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Joseph Thompson, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Williams, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Willis, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Jeremiah Wignall, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Joseph Weedman, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John McKoy, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Weaver, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Abraham Ratlif, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Robinson, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Sentinels total, £171 8s 6.5d John Barton, first lieutenant, salary, £10 0s 0d John Barton, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d John Barton, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Barton total, £10 6s 10.5d Thomas Kirkpatrick, second lieutenant, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Thomas Kirkpatrick total, £14 6s 10.5d Sergeants total, £33 13s 9d Joseph Leighton, sergeant, £6 14s 6d William Oakman, sergeant, £6 14s 6d David Wilson, sergeant, £6 14s 6d Sergeants total, £20 3s 6d William Moore, corporal, £4 7s 9d Edward Maggly, corporal, £4 7s 9d Peter Coakley, corporal, £4 7s 9d Corporals total, £13 3s 3d Joseph Ustick, drummer, £4 7s 9d Carried over, £1,330 17s 2.5d **Interpretations** William Armer's transfer to the artillery company on 11 August, his sentinel's pay struck at 10 August, marks the movement of men between the foot companies and the gunners, the roll catching the shift at the day it took effect. The Company moved soldiers between the several companies as its needs required, a man's broken pay reckoned to the day of his transfer, the account following him from one company's roll to another's rather than carrying him whole in the company he began the quarter in. The fourth company was built to the same establishment as the first three, its two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals and drummer standing over a full file of sentinels, the whole garrison drawn up in matching companies of the same shape and scale. The uniform rates down every rank, the sergeant at £6 14s 6d and the sentinel at £3 8s 3d alike in each company, mark the establishment reckoned on a single settled scale, the four foot companies and the artillery together making the island's whole military charge.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		33 13 9 Sergeants Joseph Leighton 6 14 6 William Oakeman 6 14 6 David Wilson 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals William Moores 4 7 9 Edward Mazeby 4 7 9 Peter Coakley 4 7 9 13 3 3 Joseph Uffein Drummer 4 7 9 Carried Over £ 1330 17 2¾	
68	79	20th October Brot Over £ 1330 17 2¾ Centinels James Allis 3 8 3 Thomas Borrer 3 8 3 John Barder 3 8 3 Isaac Bennett 3 8 3 Abraham Burrell 3 8 3 William Barrott 3 8 3 Darby Coyles 3 8 3 Phillip Catchpole 3 8 3 Edward Cocker 3 8 3 Thomas Draper 3 8 3 John Ellis 3 8 3 Samuel Eales 3 8 3 George Eaton 3 8 3 Jonathan Godby 3 8 3 Francis Goodbody 3 8 3 William Harris 3 8 3 James Hall 3 8 3 John Haley 3 8 3 Job Habreson 3 8 3 James Hooker 3 8 3 James Kendrick 3 8 3 William Kendry 3 8 3 William Kent 3 8 3 John Loyde 3 8 3 John Mannikee 3 8 3 George Martaus 3 8 3	The pay account for July, August and September 1747 continued with the sentinels of the fourth company. Brought over, £1,330 17s 2.5d James Allis, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Borrer, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Barber, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Isaac Bennett, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Abraham Burrell, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Barrett, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Darby Coyles, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Phillip Catchpole, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Edward Cocker, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Draper, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Ellis, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Samuel Yates, sentinel, £3 8s 3d George Loton, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Jonathan Godby, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Francis Goodbody, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Harris, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Hall, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Haley, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Job Habreson, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Hooley, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Hendrick, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Kendry, sentinel, £3 8s 3d William Kent, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Loyde, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Mannikee, sentinel, £3 8s 3d George Mautaus, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Moses Monanto, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Duncan McLaren, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Pryter, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Reason, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Edward Rickards, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Thomas Robinson, sentinel, £3 8s 3d David Solomon, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Arnold Lefavre, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Daniel Sargant, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Edward Sparks, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Smith, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Charles Snaks, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Timothy Sullivan, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Taylor, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Edward Terry, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Peter Waghburgh, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Robert Vickars, sentinel, £3 8s 3d James Langton, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Williams, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Walker junior, sentinel, £3 8s 3d John Woodhouse, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Robert Wright, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Robert Smith, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Sentinels total, £170 12s 6d William Taylor, superannuary, £3 8s 3d

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		Moses Monanto 3 8 3 Duncan McLarron 3 8 3 James Praytor 3 8 3 Benjamin Prawson 3 8 3 Edward Rickardo 3 8 3 Thomas Robinson 3 8 3 David Solomon 3 8 3 Arnold Saforie 3 8 3 Daniel Sargant 3 8 3 Edward Sparks 3 8 3 John Smith 3 8 3 Charles Snaks 3 8 3 Timothy Sulivan 3 8 3 John Taylor 3 8 3 Edward Terry 3 8 3 Peter Waghburgh 3 8 3 Robert Vickers 3 8 3 James Vaughan 3 8 3 Benjamin Williams 3 8 3 John Walker Senr 3 8 3 John Underwood 3 8 3 Robert Wright 3 8 3 Robert Smith 3 8 3 170 12 6 Supernumerary William Taylor 3 8 3 Carried Over £ 1504 17 11¾	Carried over, £1,504 17s 11d
69	80	1747 Brot Over £ 1504 17 11¾ Artillery Company John French Master Gunner Salary 13 8 9 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do house rent 2 10 22 15 7½ Gunners Mates Walter Bellew to 10th July Jncd the day he died 10 8¼ John Christopher 4 17 6 Isaac Leech 4 17 6 Roger Nevanson 4 17 6 James Pritchard 4 17 6 Nathan Sample 4 17 6 Ely Leech	The pay account for July, August and September 1747 continued with the artillery company. Brought over, £1,504 17s 11d John French, master gunner, salary, £13 8s 9d John French, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d John French, house rent, £2 10s 0d John French total, £22 15s 7.5d Walter Bellew, to 10 July and died the day he died, £0 10s 8.5d John Christopher, gunner's mate, £4 17s 6d Isaac Leech, gunner's mate, £4 17s 6d Roger Devanson, gunner's mate, £4 17s 6d James Pritchard, gunner's mate, £4 17s 6d Nathan Sample, gunner's mate, £4 17s 6d Ely Leech, gunner's mate, £4 17s 6d Humphrey Pugh, gunner's mate, £4 17s 6d William Turner, from 11 July, £4 6s 9.5d Gunner's mates total, £39 0s 0d John Artingstall, quarter gunner, £4 7s 9d Edward Arnold, quarter gunner, £4 7s 9d Edward Burford, quarter gunner, £4 7s 9d William Rainbow, to 9 July, £0 8s 7.5d Henry Barter, from 10 July, £3 19s 1.5d Adam Milbourn, quarter gunner, £4 7s 9d

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		4 17 6 Humphry Pugh 4 17 6 William Turner from the 11th July Jncd 4 6 9¾ 39 Quarter Gunners John Arbingstall 4 7 9 Edward Arnold 4 7 9 Edward Burford 4 7 9 William Hamdon to the 9th July Jncd 8 7¾ Henry Carter from the 10th July Jncd 3 19 1¼ Adam Milbourn 4 7 9 John Wolledge 4 7 9 William Turner to the 10th July Jncd being made Gunners Mate the 11th Do 9 7¾ John Watkins 4 7 9 John Butler from the 11th July Jncd 3 18 1¼ 35 2 Matrosses William Argot 4 1 3 Joseph Bofurele 4 1 3 William Bateman 4 1 3 John Brown 4 1 3 John Butler to the 10th July Jncd being made Quarter Gunner 11th Do 8 10¾ William Bull 4 1 3 Peter Ball 4 1 3 Edward Cellemore 4 1 3 Samuel Clark 4 1 3 Henry Carter to the 9th July Jncd being made Quarter Gunner the 10th Do 8 7¼ John Cheeseman 4 1 3 Anthony Day 4 1 3 Phillip Ottheard 4 1 3 Patrick Mungeby 4 1 3 Richard Mason 3 12 4¼ William Armes from 11th July Jncd being transferd from the Third Company 57 5 6¼ Matrosses Carried £ 57 5 6¼ Carried Over £ 1601 15 9¼	John Rutledge, quarter gunner, £4 7s 9d William Turner, to 10 July, being made gunner's mate the 11th, £0 9s 7.5d John Watkins, quarter gunner, £4 7s 9d John Butler, from 11 July, £3 18s 1.5d Quarter gunners total, £35 2s 0d William Buzar, matross, £4 1s 3d Joseph Bofield, matross, £4 1s 3d William Bateman, matross, £4 1s 3d John Brown, matross, £4 1s 3d John Butler, to 10 July, being made quarter gunner the 11th, £0 8s 10.5d William Bull, matross, £4 1s 3d Peter Ball, matross, £4 1s 3d Edward Fellimore, matross, £4 1s 3d Samuel Clark, matross, £4 1s 3d Henry Barter, to 9 July, being made quarter gunner the 10th, £0 8s 1.5d John Cheeseman, matross, £4 1s 3d Anthony Day, matross, £4 1s 3d Phillip Attward, matross, £4 1s 3d Patrick Murphy, matross, £4 1s 3d Richard Marsh, matross, £4 1s 3d William Armer, from 11 July, being transferred from the third company, £3 12s 4.5d Matrosses carried over, £57 5s 6.5d Carried over, £1,601 15s 7.5d **Interpretations** The artillery company was set out in its own grades of gunner's mate, quarter gunner and matross, distinct from the sentinel ranks of the foot companies, marking the specialist body that served the island's guns. The mates and quarter gunners drew more than the foot sentinels while the matrosses, the gunners' assistants who helped load, sponge and fire, stood at their own rate, the whole company reckoned on a scale of its own suited to the skill its work required. The chain of promotions running through the company, Henry Barter and John Butler each rising a grade in mid-July and William Turner from quarter gunner to gunner's mate, shows the artillery filling its higher places from within by successive steps. Each man's broken pay was struck to the day of his change, one promotion opening the place another filled, the account catching the whole sequence of advancement to the exact day as vacancies moved up through the ranks.
70	81	20th October Brot Over £ 1601 15 9¼ Matrosses Brot Over £ 57 5 6¼ Lawrence Paterson 4 1 3 John Smith 4 1 3 Joseph Thomas	The pay account for July, August and September 1747 closed with the remaining matrosses and the superannuated. Brought over, £1,601 15s 7.5d Matrosses brought over, £57 5s 6.5d Lawrence Paterson, matross, £4 1s 3d John Smith, matross, £4 1s 3d Joseph Thomas, matross, £4 1s 3d

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		4 1 3 John Whitchurch 4 1 3 William Wilman 4 1 3 William Kenshaw from 12th July Jncd 3 13 2 81 5 Supernumerary Richard Trusley Overseer 3 8 3 Joseph Whaley Sergeant 3 8 3 William Bierolah Do 3 8 3 Samuel Payne Cntinel 3 8 3 Frances Funge Armourer 6 7½ 19 13 7½ £ 1702 14 2¼ Dr James Powell p Contra Cr 1747 To Cash received from the Honble Companys Cash Chest 1971 7 11¾ 1747 July 11th By Cash pd Jas Vaughan for Coming Express with an Acct of a Ship to Windward 5 16 By Do pd Thos Jarvis for making & finding Button for twenty Jacktt and Breeches for 4 North Comp Slaves 3 10 21 By Do pd John Worrell for Coming Express with an Acct of a Ship to Windward 5 24 By Do pd Edwd Allis for Do with an Acct of a Ship to Windward 5 25 By Do pd Edward Arnold & John Christoffer for making twenty four Lime bags for the Honble Comp at Sea 6 30 By Do pd Richard Bagley for 2000 Lemons for the use of the Honble Companys General Table 2 Augt 31 By Do pd Edward Allis for Coming Express with an Acct of a Ship to Windward 5 Septr 30 By Do p John Watkins for Overseeing & taking care of the Corn &c Cattle in the Great Wood this Quarter 6 10 Carried over £ 1971 7 11¾ Carried over £ 13 6	John Whitchurch, matross, £4 1s 3d William Wilman, matross, £4 1s 3d William Renshaw, from 15 July, £3 13s 2d Matrosses total, £81 5s 0d Richard Tinsley, overseer, £3 8s 3d Joseph Whaley, sergeant, £3 8s 3d William Blindiah, sergeant, £3 8s 3d Samuel Payne, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Francis Funge, armourer, £6 0s 7.5d Superannuated total, £19 13s 7.5d Total, £1,702 14s 2.25d The two-sided cash account of the paymaster James Powell for the quarter followed, the debtor side opening with the money drawn from the Company's chest. To cash received from the Company's cash chest, £1,971 7s 11.5d Total, £1,971 7s 11.5d The creditor side ran as follows. 11 July, cash paid James Vaughan for coming express with account of a ship to windward, £0 5s 0d 16 July, paid Thomas Jarvis for making and finding buttons for twenty jackets and breeches for the north company slaves, £3 10s 0d 21 July, paid John Warrell for coming express with account of a ship to windward, £0 5s 0d 24 July, paid Edward Allis for the same with account of a ship to windward, £0 5s 0d 25 July, paid Edward Arnold and John Christopher for making twenty four lime bags for the Company, £0 0s 6d 30 July, paid Richard Bagley for 2,000 lemons for the use of the Company's general table, £2 0s 0d 31 August, paid Edward Allis for coming express with account of a ship to windward, £0 5s 0d 30 September, paid John Watkins for overseeing and taking care of the corn and cattle in the Great Wood this quarter, £6 10s 0d Carried over, £13 6s 0d **Interpretations** The armourer Francis Funge stood well above the flat superannuated rate, marking the value the Company set on the man who kept the garrison's arms in repair. The armourer's charge over the muskets, locks and edged weapons of a garrison that had to be ready to fire at a moment answered the standing order that every gun be kept clean and loaded, so that even among the superannuated his skill drew a rate of its own. The express fees of five shillings paid to men who brought word of a ship to windward mark the island's system of early warning, the lookouts and messengers rewarded for carrying the first news of a sail before it reached the road. James Vaughan, John Warrell and Edward Allis were each paid the standing fee for the run, the small charges recurring through the season as the settlement kept watch on the sea and paid the men who ran with word of every ship sighted.
71	82	Dr Cr Brot Over £ 13 6 Brot Over £ 1971 7 11¾ Septr 30th By Cash paid Wm Dutton his allowance for making up Medicines &c & Assisting the Surgeon Mr Falconer this Quarter 3 8 3 By Do pd Thos Greentree for Twenty two Thousand of Yams a 1 10 p M bot this Quarter for the use of the Honble Companys	The creditor side of the paymaster's cash account for the quarter continued as follows. Brought over, £13 6s 0d 30 September, cash paid William Dutton, his allowance for making up medicines and attending the surgeon Mr Falconer this quarter, £3 8s 3d Paid Thomas Greentree for 22,000 yams at £1 10s a thousand bought this quarter for the use of the Company's slaves and stock, their plantations being very young and none fit for use, £33 0s 0d Paid Samuel Doveton for 10,000 yams at £1 10s a thousand bought this quarter for the same, £15 0s 0d

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		Blacks & Stock their Plantations being very Young there fitt for use 33 By Do pd Saml Doveton for 10000 of Yams a £ 1 10 p M bot this quarter for Do 15 By Do pd Francis Wrangham Senr for 32570 Yams a £ 1 10 p M bot this Quarter for Do 48 17 1 By Do pd Rich Goodwin for 10000 of Yams a £ 1 10 p M bought this quarter for Do 15 By Do pd James Greentree for 10375 Yams a £ 1 10 p M bot this Quarter for Do 15 11 3 By Do paid Joseph Desfountain for 6200 Yams a £ 1 15 p M bought this quarter for Do 9 6 By Do paid James Powell for 3992 Yams a £ 1 10 p M bought this quarter for Do 5 19 9 By Do pd Mary Seal for 8000 Yams a £ 1 5 p M bought this quarter for Do 10 By Do paid Martin Harper for 4800 Yams a £ 1 5 p M bought this quarter for Do 6 Carried Over £ 1971 7 11¾ Carried Over £ 175 8 4	Paid Francis Wrangham senior for 32,570 yams at £1 10s a thousand bought this quarter for the same, £48 17s 1d Paid Richard Goodwin for 10,000 yams at £1 10s a thousand bought this quarter for the same, £15 0s 0d Paid James Greentree for 10,375 yams at £1 10s a thousand bought this quarter for the same, £15 11s 3d Paid Joseph Desfountain for 6,200 yams at £1 15s a thousand bought this quarter for the same, £9 6s 0d Paid James Powell for 3,992 yams at £1 10s a thousand bought this quarter for the same, £5 19s 9d Paid Mary Seal for 8,000 yams at £1 5s a thousand bought this quarter for the same, £10 0s 0d Paid Martin Harper for 4,800 yams at £1 5s a thousand bought this quarter for the same, £6 0s 0d Carried over, £175 8s 4d **Interpretations** The Company bought yams in quantity from the planters this quarter because its own provision grounds were too newly planted to yield, the note against Greentree's 22,000 setting out that the plantations were very young and none fit for use. The island's grain-and-yam scheme had been laid out only lately, so the Company fell back on the planters' crops to feed its slaves and stock, buying from Wrangham, the Greentrees, Goodwin and others the roots its own ground could not yet supply. The price of the yams divided by seller, most bought at £1 10s the thousand but some at £1 15s and others at £1 5s, marking a range in what the planters could command. The variation perhaps turned on the size or quality of the roots or the distance they had to be carried, the Company paying Desfountain the highest rate and Mary Seal and Martin Harper the lowest, the same commodity fetching different prices from different grounds in the one quarter.
72	83	20th Octr Brot Over £ 1971 7 11¾ Carried Over £ 1971 7 11¾	The debtor side of the paymaster's cash account carried its balance forward unchanged. Brought over, £1,971 7s 11.5d Carried over, £1,971 7s 11.5d
73	84	1747 Brot Over £ 175 8 4 1747 Septr 30th By Cash pd John Twaits for 5100 of Yams a £ 1 5 p M bought this quarter for the Honble Companys Blacks & Stock 6 7 6 By Do pd Francis Funger for 10000 of Yams a £ 1 5 p M bot this quarter for Do 12 10 By Do pd John Ford for 40 days work in preparing Deals fitting Materials & Spinning Worsted to make Stockings in this quarter a 1 6 p day 3 By Do paid Sundry Persons for rowing in the Pinnace this quarter 10 to Sea as may appear by their Several receipts in the receipt Book 4 10 By Do paid the foll persons for going in the Long Boat for Lime in this quarter to Sandy Bay vizt John Cooper 12 days a 1 p day 12 John Walker 4 Do a 1 p Do 4 William Twaites 37 Do a 1 p Do 1 17 George Ayres 23 Do a 1 p Do 1 3 Phillip Killiard 6 Do a 1 p Do 6 4 2 By Do pd Samuel Eales for 4 days Work in grinding Paint and painting the Pinnace & Oars &c &	The creditor side of the paymaster's cash account for the quarter continued as follows. Brought over, £175 8s 4d 30 September, cash paid John Thwaits for 5,100 yams at £1 5s a thousand bought this quarter for the Company's slaves and stock, £6 7s 6d Paid Francis Funge for 10,000 yams at £1 5s a thousand bought this quarter for the same, £12 10s 0d Paid John Ford for 40 days' work in preparing deals, fitting materials and spinning worsted to make stockings this quarter at 18d a day, £3 0s 0d Paid sundry persons for rowing in the pinnace this quarter at 10d each as appears by their several receipts in the receipt book, £4 10s 0d Paid the following persons for going in the longboat to Sandy Bay for lime this quarter: John Cooper, 12 days at 12d a day, £0 12s 0d John Walker, 4 days at 12d a day, £0 4s 0d William Thwaits, 37 days at 12d a day, £1 17s 0d George Ayres, 23 days at 12d a day, £1 3s 0d Phillip Killiard, 6 days at 12d a day, £0 6s 0d Longboat total, £4 2s 0d Paid Samuel Eates for 4 days' work in grinding wheat and painting the pinnace, and Barrow and another for glazing windows in the castle this quarter at 24d a day, £0 8s 0d Paid the following men for working at the fortifications at James Valley this quarter: Edward Corker, William Bruff, Thomas Mason, Barrow, Terry and Matthew Campbell, and 1 day added, at 12d a day, £0 5s 0d John Pettwater, 3 days at 12d a day, £0 3s 0d John Fletcher, 9 days at 12d a day, £0 9s 0d James Cartwright, 2 days at 12d a day, £0 2s 0d

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		for glazing Windows in the Castle in this quarter a 2 p day 8 By Do pd the foll Men for working at the fortification at James's Valley this quarter vizt Edward Cocker Wm Bruff Thomas Mason Ed Terry & Matthew Campbell at 1 day a 1 p day 5 John Pettwater 3 day a 1 p Do 3 John Cletcher 9 Do a 1 p Do 9 James Cartwright 2 Do a 1 p Do 2 19 By Do paid the foll Men for Working at the fortification at Ruperts in this quarter vizt Edward Cellemore Wm Kendry John Mannikee Wm Beckett John Pettwater Joseph Wideman Wm Bruff & Thos Mason a 23 days a 1 p day 9 4 Edward Cocker 22 Do a 1 p Do 1 2 Benjamin Thomas 19 Do a 1 p Do 19 Samuel Robson 20 Do a 1 p Do 1 12 5 Carried Over £ 210 9 10	James Valley total, £0 19s 0d Paid the following men for working at the fortifications at Rupert's this quarter: Edward Fellimore, William Kendry, John Manuiked, William Beckett, John Pettwater, Joseph Weedman, William Bruff and Thomas Mason, 23 days at 12d a day, £9 4s 0d Edward Corker, 22 days at 12d a day, £1 2s 0d Benjamin Thomas, 19 days at 12d a day, £0 19s 0d Samuel Kitson, 20 days at 12d a day, £1 0s 0d Rupert's total, £12 5s 0d Carried over, £210 9s 10d **Interpretations** The men carried to Sandy Bay in the longboat to fetch lime mark the island's difficulty in moving its own building material, the lime burnt at Sandy Bay having to be brought round by sea because no road served the bulk carriage. The days paid to Cooper, the Thwaitses and the others record the labour of the water passage, the same want that had reopened the overland ass path in earlier years when the surf stopped the boat, the settlement's stone and lime moved at the cost of many days' hired rowing. The day-labour on the fortifications at James Valley and Rupert's, paid to the same soldiers who drew their sentinel's wage on the pay roll, shows the garrison set to build the island's works for want of slaves enough to do it. The men earned a shilling a day at the batteries beyond their military pay, the Company using its own soldiers as labourers on the spring and summer works, the whole charge of the fortifications resting on hired soldier-labour where a fuller establishment of slaves was wanting.
74	85	20th October Brot Over £ 1971 7 11¾ Carried Over £ 1971 7 11¾	The debtor side of the paymaster's cash account carried its balance forward unchanged. Brought over, £1,971 7s 11.5d Carried over, £1,971 7s 11.5d
75	86	1747 Brot Over £ 219 9 10 By Cash pd the foll Men for work done by em at the fortification at Banckos this quarter vizt Edd Cellemore Wm Kendry Edwd Cocker John Mannikee Wm Bickett Jno Pettwater Joseph Wideman Wm Bruff Matthew Campbell for 9 days each a 1 p day 4 1 Thos Mason Derby Coyles & Edwd Terry for 8 days each a 1 p day 1 4 Benjamin Thomas 1 day a 1 p day 1 Samuel Robson 5 Do a 1 p Do 5 Isaac Holmes 6½ Do a 1 p Do 6 6 John Fletcher 2 Do a 1 p Do 2 Thos Freston 6 Do a 1 p Do 6 Jas Cartwright 7½ Do a 1 p Do 7 6 6 13 By Do pd the foll Men for work done by em at the Fortification at Sandy Bay in Building a Wall at the head of the Bay &c this quarter vizt Wm Kendry Jno Mannikee Wm Bickett Jno Pettwater Joseph Wideman Thos Mason & Thos Mason for 29 days each a 1 p day 10 3 6 Derby Coyles & Jno Hall 9 days each a 1 p Day 18 Edward Cellemore 31 Days a 1 p Do 1 11	The creditor side of the paymaster's cash account for the quarter continued as follows. Brought over, £219 9s 10d Cash paid the following men for work done by them at the fortifications at Banks's this quarter: Edward Fellimore, William Kendry, Edward Corker, John Manuiked, William Beckett, John Pettwater, Joseph Weedman, William Bruff and Matthew Campbell, 9 days at 12d a day, £4 1s 0d Thomas Mason, Darby Coyles and Edward Terry, 8 days at 12d a day, £1 4s 0d Benjamin Thomas, 1 day at 12d a day, £0 1s 0d Samuel Kitson, 5 days at 12d a day, £0 5s 0d Isaac Holmes, 6 days at 12d a day, £0 6s 6d John Fletcher, 2 days at 12d a day, £0 2s 0d Thomas Preston, 6 days at 12d a day, £0 6s 0d James Cartwright, 7.5 days at 12d a day, £0 7s 6d Banks's total, £6 13s 0d Paid the following men for work done by them at the fortifications at Sandy Bay in building a wall at the head of the bay this quarter: William Kendry, John Manuiked, William Beckett, John Pettwater, Joseph Weedman, Thomas Mason and Thomas Preston, 29 days at 12d a day, £10 3s 0d Darby Coyles and James Hall, 9 days at 12d a day, £0 18s 0d Edward Fellimore, 31 days at 12d a day, £1 11s 0d Edward Corker, 27.5 days at 12d a day, £1 7s 6d William Bruff, 28 days at 12d a day, £1 8s 0d Edward Terry, 21 days at 12d a day, £1 1s 0d Isaac Holmes, 20 days at 12d a day, £1 0s 0d John Fletcher, 24 days at 12d a day, £1 4s 0d Matthew Campbell, 19 days at 12d a day, £0 19s 0d George Loton, 15 days at 12d a day, £0 15s 0d James Cartwright, 19.5 days at 12d a day, £0 19s 6d John Cheeseman, 1.5 days at 12d a day, £0 1s 6d Sandy Bay total, £21 7s 6d

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		Edward Cocker 27½ Do a 1 p Do 1 7 6 William Bruff 28 Do a 1 p Do 1 8 Edward Terry 21 Do a 1 p Do 1 1 Isaac Holmes 20 Do a 1 p Do 1 John Fletcher 24 Do a 1 p Do 1 4 Matthew Campbell 19 Do a 1 p Do 19 George Eaton 15 Do a 1 p Do 15 James Cartwright 19½ Do a 1 p Do 19 6 John Cheeseman 1½ Do a 1 p Do 1 6 21 7 6 By Do pd Bartholomew Molloy for 10 days Work in digging & Cutting of Sods out of the Quarry for the Platforms of the New Battery at end of Bay a 3 p day in this Quarter 1 10 By Do pd Wm McGird for 18 days Work in Assisting the Stoneblaster at Banckos Mount in this Quart a 1 p day 18 Carried Over £ 249 18 4	Paid Bartholomew Molloy for 10 days' work in digging and cutting of stone out of the quarry for the platform of the new battery at the head of the bay this quarter at 3s a day, £1 10s 0d Paid William Mitford for 18 days' work in assisting the stone blaster at Banks's Mount this quarter at 12d a day, £0 18s 0d Carried over, £249 18s 4d **Interpretations** The wall built at the head of Sandy Bay drew the heaviest run of hired labour on the whole account, near thirty days' work by a dozen men, marking the chief fortification work of the quarter. The battery of six six-pounders raised at Sandy Bay in the spring of 1747 was being finished with this wall and platform, the same defensive work that had drawn powder for scaling its guns in August, the settlement closing off the one beach an enemy might use to land. Bartholomew Molloy's higher rate of three shillings a day for cutting stone from the quarry, against the shilling paid the common labourers, marks the value set on skilled quarrying over ordinary carriage and digging. The platform of the new battery needed dressed stone, and the man who cut it from the rock drew three times the labourer's wage, the same distinction that set the masons well above the sentinels on the pay roll, skilled work with stone always paid above the day-labour that served it.
76	87	20th October Brot Over £ 1971 7 11¾ £ 1971 7 11¾	The debtor side of the paymaster's cash account closed with its balance unchanged. Brought over, £1,971 7s 11.5d Total, £1,971 7s 11.5d
77	88	1747 Brot Over £ 249 18 4 1747 Septr 30th By Cash pd Solomon Wain for 36 days work in Clearing away & Blowing up Rock at Banckos Mounth under the Battery in this quarter a 2 p day 3 12 By Do pd Anthony Day for 39 days Work in Mowing Nettles in the Long Wood for the support of the Honble Companys Cattle & for 19½ day in Grubbing up furze on the Pasture Lands with a Sickle a 1 6 p day 4 18 1½ By Do pd John Smith for 29 days Work in Mowing Nettles in the Long Wood for Do in this Quarter a 1 3 p Do 1 16 3 By Do pd Stephen Willoughby for baking 59 Bushels of Bread for the Garrison in this Quarter a 1 3 p Do bakd 3 5 By Do paid Michael Frost for making a large Gun p Yard for a Winter Course at Sandy Bay this quarter 4 6 By Do pd Isaac Leech for mowing & c very 3 Yams this quarter 12 6 By Do pd Mary Alexander for 70 Plantion Ground a 3 p for to feed the Honble Companys Cattle this Quarter 17 6 By Do paid Samuel Doveton for 4 prs Barbers for keeping for the Honble Companys Cattle in this quarter 10 By Do pd Francis Goodbody for 2½ days Work in Spinning of Yarn for making it fitt for knitting 9 6 By Do pd John Spencer for writing in the Secretarys Office 32 days in this quarter Mr Thos French being sick at that time 1 19	The creditor side of the paymaster's cash account for the quarter concluded as follows. Brought over, £249 13s 4d 30 September, cash paid Solomon Wain for 36 days' work in clearing away and blowing up rock at Banks's Mount under the battery this quarter at 12d a day, £3 12s 0d Paid Anthony Day for 59 days' work in mowing nettles in the Long Wood for the support of the Company's cattle, and for 19 days grubbing up furze on the pasture lands at 18d a day, £4 18s 1.5d Paid John Smith for 29 days' work in mowing nettles in the Long Wood for the same this quarter at 13d a day, £1 16s 3d Paid Stephen Willoughby for baking 59 batches of bread for the garrison this quarter at 13d a batch, £3 5s 0d Paid Michael Frost for making a large gun sponge for a watercourse at Sandy Bay this quarter, £0 4s 6d Paid Isaac Leech for a day and a quarter as a gunner's mate, £0 12s 6d Paid Mary Alexander for 70 acres of plantation ground at 3s an acre for feeding the Company's cattle this quarter, £0 17s 6d Paid Samuel Doveton for a day for the Company's clothier this quarter, £0 10s 0d Paid Francis Goodbody for 2.5 days' work in spinning of yarn and making it fit for knitting, £0 9s 6d Paid John Spencer for writing in the secretary's office 32 days this quarter, Thomas French being sick at that time, £1 19s 0d Paid George Peacock for repairing of arms broke by accident and assisting in the doctor's shop in ordering of plantation tools this quarter, there being no armourer, £1 5s 0d Paid the Company's officers and servants their several salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter beginning 1 July and ending 30 September 1747 as appears by the pay list, £1,702 14s 2.25d Total, £1,971 7s 11.5d

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		By Do pd George Peacock for repairing of Arms broke by Accident & Cleaning in the Smiths Shop in overhaling of Plantation Tools &c in this Quarter their being no Armourer 1 5 By Do pd the Honble Companys Officers & Servants their Several Salarys Diet Money &c for the quarter Commencing the 1st July & ending the 30 Septr 1747 as may appear p the pay List 1702 14 2¼ £ 1971 7 11¾ Counted and Examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of September last and found the same as follows vizt	The council then counted and examined the Company's cash for September, and found it as follows. **Interpretations** The nettles mowed in the Long Wood to feed the Company's cattle mark the pinch on grazing that ran through the year, the herds fed on rank weeds where the pastures could not carry them. The same want that drove the Company to buy the planters' yams for its stock appears here in the cutting of nettles for fodder, the island straining every source of feed to keep its cattle through a season when the grass fell short. George Peacock's paid work repairing broken arms and ordering the plantation tools, done expressly because there was no armourer, marks a gap in the establishment covered by a soldier's hired labour. Francis Funge the armourer stood on the pay roll among the superannuated, so his place at the working bench was vacant, and Peacock was paid to keep the arms and tools in order until the office was filled, the settlement making shift with a willing hand where its regular tradesman could no longer serve.
78	89	20th October Dr Cash 1747 Septr 1 To Ballance remaining £ 5219 6 8 30 To Rents 340 15 11 To Lycenceys recd for 10 Publick houses this Quarter a 30 each 15 To Plantation recd of Roger Nevanson for Provisions sent to Market this Month 14 15¼ To Matthew Purling recd of him for Store Goods Sold this Quarter 1138 14 7½ To Hospital recd of Saml Falconer Surgeon for so much remaining in his hands out of the Sixpence p day paid by the Soldiers that were in the Hospital between the 30 Septr 1746 & this Day 9 5 £ 6723 12	This was the debtor side of the Company's cash account, examined for September 1747. 1 September, to balance remaining, £5,219 6s 8d 30 September, to rents, £340 15s 11d To licences received for 10 public houses this quarter at 30s each, £15 0s 0d To plantation, received of Roger Stevenson for provisions sent to market this month, £14 15s 4.5d To Matthew Purling, received of him for store goods sold this quarter, £1,138 14s 7.5d To hospital, received of Samuel Falconer the surgeon, for so much remaining in his hands out of the sevenpence a day paid by the soldiers that were in the hospital between 30 September 1746 and this day, £9 0s 5d Total, £6,723 12s 0d **Interpretations** The £1,138 14s 7.5d paid in by the storekeeper for goods sold this quarter marks the whole takings of the store passing into the treasury, the sum drawn from the garrison, the planters, the shipping and the foreign vessels at their several rates of markup. The figure gathers into one line the long collection set out earlier at ten, twenty-five, forty and fifty per cent, the store's trade converted to cash and paid into the chest at the quarter's close. The hospital money returned by the surgeon came from the sevenpence a day the soldiers themselves paid while sick, the fund gathered from the garrison's own pay to meet the cost of their care. The surgeon paid the surplus of a whole year's deductions back into the cash, the hospital run on a levy on the men it treated, so that the establishment's sick were nursed partly at their own charge, the balance of the fund cleared into the treasury at the year's end.
79	90	1747 p Contra Cr 1747 Septr 30 By Sundry Accounts Advanc the Paymaster this Month £ 1964 16 10½ By Ball remaining in the following Species vizt 1 prs Gold at 11 15 14 a 3 18 3 p ozt at 5 p ozt 46 1 8½ 4 prs Do 3 9 12 a 3 18 13 11 4½ 3263 Bagadas a 8 1305 4 1 Barbary Chequin 9 9 1 Frankin 1 6 169 Venetians 10 82	This was the creditor side of the Company's cash account for September 1747, setting out the balance remaining coin by coin. 30 September, by sundry accounts advanced the paymaster this month, £1,964 16s 10.5d 5 ounces of gold at 11s 15d 14d 3d 3s 18s 3d, £46 1s 8.5d 4 ounces of gold at 3s 9d 12d 3s 3s 18s, £13 11s 4.5d 3,263 pagodas at 8s, £1,305 4s 0d 1 Barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 joannes, £1 16s 0d 164 Venetians at 10s, £82 0s 0d 3.375 moidores at 24s, £4 4s 4.5d 20 gubbers at 6s, £6 0s 0d 12 rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,477 6s 1.5d 9,838.5 dollars at 5s, £2,459 12s 6d

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		3⅜ Moidores 27 4 4 4½ 20 Gubbers 6 6 12 rupees 30 18 Gold Amounting to 1477 6 1½ 9888½ Dollars a 5 2459 12 6 255½ Ducatoons 6 76 13 870 Double rials 1 3 54 7 6 1072 rials 7½ 33 10 4363 half rials 3¾ 71 5 11¼ 387 rupees 2 3 43 10 9 441 French Peces 2 3 13 6 Odd Money 9 Silver amounting to 2742 19 11¼ 146 Cash Notes a 40 292 162 Do 20 162 259 Do 5 64 15 160 Do 2 6 20 Cash Notes amounting to 538 15 4758 15 ¾ £ 6723 12 Six Diaper Napkins 4 Diaper & one Damask Tablecloths having been worn out in the house use We Ordered them to be wrote off the Books Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright	255.5 ducatoons at 6s, £76 13s 0d 870 double rials at 1s 3d, £54 7s 6d 1,072 rials at 7.5d, £33 10s 0d 4,363 half rials at 3.75d, £71 5s 11.5d 387 rupees at 2s 3d, £43 10s 9d 441 French pieces at 2d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 9d Silver amounting to, £2,742 13s 11.5d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 259 cash notes at 5s, £64 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £538 15s 0d Total, £4,758 15s 3.25d Grand total, £6,723 12s 0d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. Six diaper napkins, four diaper tablecloths and four damask tablecloths having been worn out in the house use, the council ordered them written off the books. **Interpretations** The pagodas had risen to 3,263 by this count, more than double the 1,233 held at the close of September 1746, a great weight of Coromandel gold gathered into the chest across the year through the season's shipping. The treasury ran almost wholly on the foreign specie of the India and Atlantic trades, the pagodas, dollars, rials and ducatoons far outweighing the handful of rupees and the single line of odd money, the island's cash the coin of the wider commerce that touched at it rather than English money. The cash notes standing at £538 15s marked the Company's own paper issued for want of coin small enough for daily dealings, the notes running down to half a crown to make change the foreign silver could not. The great mass of pagodas and dollars served the large reckonings while the paper met the small, the settlement's money divided between a heavy foreign specie and the Company's own notes, the two together carrying the whole trade of a place that minted nothing of its own.
80	91	27th October At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 27th day of October 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lt John Clark Robert Wright of Council The last Consultation was read Approved & Signed Died Sarah Wife of Francis Hayes Planter Died Sarah Daughter of Do Died William Osmond Soldier The Storekeeper brought in his Account of Wast for the Year ending 30 Septr last which was Examined and approved and is as follows vizt Proffitt & Loss Dr to Sundry Accounts £ 30 19 3¾ for so by Leakage Ullage Short wt &c and measure by drawing by the Gallon half Gallon & c Sold by weighing by the pound &c in the Year ending the 30 Septr 1747 vizt Arrack 31¾ Gallons 2 4 3 Bread &c 3 2 1 5 12 7¾ Brandy 32½ Gallons 6 19 9 Chinaware vizt 2 Small Cups 9 Do Saucers	The council met at the castle on Tuesday 27 October 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present together with John Clark and Robert Wright of the council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Sarah, wife of the planter Francis Hayes, died on Wednesday 21 October. Sarah, daughter of the same, also died. William Ormond, a soldier, died on Friday 23 October. The storekeeper brought in his account of waste for the year ending 30 September, which was examined and approved. It charged the profit and loss account, and the several sub-accounts, with £30 19s 5.5d for the leakage, wastage, and shortfall of weight and measure over the year, reckoned by drawing off by the gallon and half gallon and by weighing by the pound. Arrack, 31.5 gallons, £2 4s 3d Bread at 6 hundredweight 3 quarters 1 lb, £5 13s 7.5d Brandy, 32.5 gallons, £6 19s 9d 2 small cups, £0 0s 8.5d 9 saucers, £0 0s 8.5d 4 cups broke, £0 0s 3d 6 scalloped cups broke, £0 0s 4.5d 1 meat plate, £0 0s 2.5d 1 half pint cup, £0 0s 1.5d 2 noggin cups, £0 0s 5d Chinaware total, £0 1s 11d Camblet, 1.5 yards, £0 1s 9.5d Glassware, 8 wine glasses broke, £0 4s 3d

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		8¼ 4 Do Cups 3 6 Scollop'd Cups broke 4½ 1 meat plate 2¼ 1 half Pint Cup 1½ 2 Noggins Cups 5 1 11 Candles 1½ 1 9½ Glassware 8 Wine Glasses broke 4 3 Lead vizt 14½ lb Sheet 2 5 1½ lb Pig 3 7½ lb Pird Sheet 1 9½ 3 10½ Leather 26¾ lb Sole 1 6 6 Mustard Seed 3 Quarts 1 9½ Carried Over £ 16 17 1½	Sheet lead, 14.5 lb, £0 2s 5d Pig lead, 12 lb, £0 0s 3d Pipe lead, 7.5 lb, £0 1s 9.5d Lead total, £0 3s 10.5d Leather, 26.5 lb sole, £1 6s 6d Mustard seed, 8 quarts, £0 1s 9.5d Carried over, £16 17s 1.5d **Interpretations** The yearly waste account charged the store's unavoidable losses to profit and loss, the arrack and brandy drawn off short by leakage and evaporation, the bread lost in weight and the crockery broken in handling, all reckoned and written off at the year's end. The account gave the storekeeper his formal discharge for the shrinkage of his stock, an allowance for what no keeper could prevent, the spirit wasting in the cask and the china breaking on the shelf set down as a known cost of holding the goods. Arrack and brandy carried much the largest share of the waste, the spirits leaking and evaporating from their casks over a whole year in the island's warehouse. The heavy loss on the spirit answered its nature, the arrack and brandy wasting far faster than the dry goods beside them, the same line that had run heaviest in the waste accounts of earlier years, the store bearing a standing loss on every leaguer it held through the twelvemonth.
81	92	1747 Brot Over £ 16 17 1½ Pepper 1 lb 6 Pitch & Tarr vizt ½ Barrell Tarr 14 10 40½ lb Rosin 5½ ½ Barrell Turpentine 8 8½ 1 3 10½ Paint vizt 3 lb Indico 5 7 lb Smalts 10 4½ lb Venetian red 9½ 14 lb Chalk 1½ lb Verdigrease 4 3½ 20 lb White Lead 5 15 1½ Rice & Paddy vizt 8 for 15 Rice 2 4 1 5 2 7 Paddy 1 12 7 3 16 8 Sugar & Candy vizt 2 1 24¾ Sugar 2 11 5 1 2 26¾ Candy 2 13 6 5 4 11 Starch 3½ lb 1 5½ Soap 3 3 4½ 2 9 9 Salt 2 Bushells 6 1½ Vinegar 1 lb Gallons 2 10 £ 30 19 3½	The storekeeper's account of waste for the year ending 30 September 1747 concluded as follows. Brought over, £16 17s 1.5d Pepper, 1 lb, £0 0s 0.5d Tar, 0.5 barrel, £0 14s 10d Rosin, 41 lb, £0 0s 5.5d Turpentine, 0.5 barrel, £0 8s 8.5d Pitch and tar total, £1 3s 10.5d Indigo, 3 lb, £0 0s 5d Smalts, 7 lb, £0 0s 10d Venetian red, 4.5 lb, £0 0s 9.5d Chalk, 14 lb, £0 0s 0.5d Verdigrease, 1.75 lb, £0 4s 3.5d White lead, 20 lb, £0 0s 5d Paint total, £0 15s 1.5d Rice at 8 hundredweight 1 quarter 13 lb, £2 4s 1d Paddy at 5 hundredweight 2 quarters 7 lb, £1 12s 7d Rice and paddy total, £3 16s 8d Sugar at 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 24.5 lb, £2 11s 5d Candy at 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 26.5 lb, £2 13s 6d Sugar and candy total, £5 4s 11d Starch, 3.5 lb, £0 1s 5.5d Soap at 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 4.5 lb, £2 0s 9.5d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 6s 1.5d Vinegar, 1.75 gallons, £0 2s 10d Total, £30 19s 5.5d The paymaster brought in his journal accounts for July, August and September, which were examined and ordered registered. The trustees of the late Penelope Isaack, a widow, produced her last will, which was proved on the oaths of the witnesses, and ran as follows. Penelope Isaack of the island, being sick and weak in body but of sound mind, made her last will. She commended her soul to God and directed that her body be decently buried at the discretion of her Christian executors, and then gave and bequeathed as follows. **Interpretations** The whole yearly waste came to £30 19s 5.5d, a modest figure against the £4,136 at which the warehouse stood, so the store's unavoidable losses ran

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		The Paymaster brought in his Journalls Parcells for the Months of July August & Septr last which were Examined and Ordered to be Ratifyed The Extrs of Penelope Isaacks Widow deceased produced her last Will and Testament desiring the same might be proved which was done on the Oaths of the Subscribing Witnesses thereto The will is as follows vizt In the Name of God AMEN I Penelope Isaack Widow of the Island St Helena being sick and Weak of Body but sound in Mind and perfect Memory thanks be to Almighty God for the same to make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament that is to say first and Principally I recommend my soul into the hands of Almighty God My Body to the Earth to be decently buried in a Christian like manner Now Body Goods where with it hath Pleased God to bless me with I give and bequeath as follows vizt	to less than one part in a hundred of its value. The small proportion marks a well-kept warehouse, the leakage of the spirits and the breakage of the china held within narrow bounds, the storekeeper discharged of a loss that fell far short of what a careless keeper might have run up over a whole year. The turn from the waste account to Penelope Isaack's will shows the council sitting as a probate court within the same consultation, the administrative and judicial business run together at one sitting. Isaack had died on 20 September 1747 and stood charged for her leasehold on the rent roll of 6 October, and her will now came before the board to be proved on the witnesses' oaths, the same body that kept the Company's accounts settling the estates of the island's dead.
82	93	27th October 1747 Imprimis I give my Daughter Penelope one Black Man Hercules One black Girl Nam Moll & One feather Bed & furniture and Sixteen pounds fourteen and Six pence Cash Item I give to my Grandson James Rediford One Bed & furniture & a house at the Fort that formerly belonged to his Mother Six pieces of Nanquin & a remnant of Cloth One Ewe Sheep & Sixteen pounds fourteen & Six pence in Cash & Six plates Pewter & One Chest Item I give to my Grandchildren Penelope & Sutton Each One Heifer Item I give to my Daughter Eleanor One black Boy named Henry Item I give to my Grandson Thomas Leech One Ewe Sheep Item I give to my Son Gabreel One Black Man Fell Two dishes & Six plates Item All the rest and remainer of my Effects be it of what kind soever I give & Bequeathe unto my beloved Children Namely Sutton Gabreel Eleanor and Penelope to be divided Equally betwixt them Lastly I hereby Nominate and appoint my beloved Son Elisha Isacke and Mr Stephen Young Executors to this my last Will and Testament Utterly revoking and disanulling all former Will or Wills by me made Ratifying and and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will & Testament p Extrs In Witness Whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand and Seale this this 13 Day of September AD 1747 (Signed) the mark of Penelope Isaacke Signd Sealed and delivered as her last Will and Testament in the Presence of us (Signd) Thos Manning Nathan Johnsell Thomas Reynolds Petitioned for a Leave for a	Penelope Isaack gave to her daughter Penelope a slave man named Hercules, a slave girl named Moll, a feather bed and furniture, and £16 14s 6d in cash. She gave to her grandson James Pettyfeard a bed and furniture and the house at the fort that had formerly belonged to his mother, six pieces of nankeen, a remnant of cloth, two ewe sheep, £16 14s 6d in cash, six pewter plates and a chest. She gave to her grandchildren Penelope and Sutton a heifer each. She gave to her daughter Eleanor a slave boy named Henry. She gave to her grandson Thomas Leech two ewe sheep. She gave to her son Gabriel a slave man, a fowl, two dishes and six plates. All the rest and remainder of her effects of whatever kind she gave and bequeathed to her children Sutton, Gabriel, Eleanor and Penelope, to be divided equally among them. She named her son Elisha Isaack and Stephen Young executors, revoking every former will and confirming this one alone, and set her hand and seal to it on 13 September 1747. It was signed with the mark of Penelope Isaack, and signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Thomas Manning and Nathan Sabywell. Thomas Reynolds petitioned for a lease of a piece of the Company's waste land between a house belonging to the parish and the house of Thomas Willingham, 43 feet in front and 60 feet in depth, to build upon. The council ordered the ground to be viewed. The council received £10 from John Thwaits on account of the late Daniel Griffith, towards discharging his debt to John Goodwin's estate. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. **Interpretations** The bulk of Penelope Isaack's estate lay in her slaves, four of them named and parcelled out among her children singly as the most valuable property she had to give, Hercules and Moll to one daughter, a boy to another and a man to her son. The will treated the slaves exactly as it treated the beds, sheep and pewter, human beings bequeathed by name alongside the household goods, the settlement's slaves passing from hand to hand through the wills of their owners like any other chattel. The £10 from Thwaits on account of the late Daniel Griffith tracked a debt through a dead man's estate to another dead man's, the money Griffith had owed applied to discharge his debt to John Goodwin's estate. The council, sitting over the settlement of both

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		peice of the Honble Companys Wast Land lying between a house belonging to the Parish & the house of Thomas Killingham Containing 43 feet in front & 60 feet in depth to Build upon Ordered the Ground to be Veiwed Received of John Twaits £ 10 on Account of Daniel Griffith decd towards discharging his debt to Govr Goodwins Estate Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright	estates, moved the payment straight from the living debtor to the creditor estate, clearing part of a chain of obligations that death had left unsettled, the same course it had taken with the Colgrove payment at the consultation of 13 October 1747.
83	94	27th October 1747 Imprimis I give my Daughter Penelope one Black Man Hercules One black Girl Nam Moll & One feather Bed & furniture and Sixteen pounds fourteen and Six pence Cash Item I give to my Grandson James Rediford One Bed & furniture & a house at the Fort that formerly belonged to his Mother Six pieces of Nanquin & a remnant of Cloth One Ewe Sheep & Sixteen pounds fourteen & Six pence in Cash & Six plates Pewter & One Chest Item I give to my Grandchildren Penelope & Sutton Each One Heifer Item I give to my Daughter Eleanor One black Boy named Henry Item I give to my Grandson Thomas Leech One Ewe Sheep Item I give to my Son Gabreel One Black Man Fell Two dishes & Six plates Item All the rest and remainer of my Effects be it of what kind soever I give & Bequeathe unto my beloved Children Namely Sutton Gabreel Eleanor and Penelope to be divided Equally betwixt them Lastly I hereby Nominate and appoint my beloved Son Elisha Isacke and Mr Stephen Young Executors to this my last Will and Testament Utterly revoking and disanulling all former Will or Wills by me made Ratifying and and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will & Testament p Extrs In Witness Whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand and Seale this this 13 Day of September AD 1747 (Signed) the mark of Penelope Isaacke Signd Sealed and delivered as her last Will and Testament in the Presence of us (Signd) Thos Manning Nathan Johnsell Thomas Reynolds Petitioned for a Leave for a peice of the Honble Companys Wast Land lying between a house belonging to the Parish & the house of Thomas Killingham Containing 43 feet in front & 60 feet in depth to Build upon Ordered the Ground to be Veiwed Received of John Twaits £ 10 on Account of Daniel Griffith decd towards discharging his debt to Govr Goodwins Estate Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright	A court was held at the castle on Wednesday 28 October 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present as Governor and judge, and John Clark and Robert Wright as assistants. The court was opened in the usual form. Roger, a slave man belonging to the Company, and Kent, a slave man belonging to John Goodwin, were indicted for breaking open an outhouse belonging to Francis Wrangham senior and stealing from it sundry sorts of goods to the value of £5, to which they pleaded not guilty. The jury, when sworn, brought them in guilty on the evidence. Alexander, a slave man belonging to Samuel Doveton, was indicted for breaking open the house of Samuel Doveton and stealing liquor from it to the value of forty shillings, to which he pleaded not guilty. The jury, when sworn, brought him in guilty on the evidence. On this the court passed sentence on the three, that each of them receive one hundred lashes on the public parade on the four next succeeding Mondays and Thursdays, and be burned in the cheek. A cause was also tried between William Kennedy, late husband of Elizabeth Scott, a widow and the relict of the late John Scott, and the trustees of John Scott, over the part that Kennedy claimed in right of his late wife in John Scott's estate under John Scott's will. The will was read before the jury, who found that Kennedy was entitled to the full third part of the whole of John Scott's estate, both real and personal, except eighteen acres of land devised to the two daughters of the late Joseph Harding. The verdict was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. **Interpretations** The sentence of a hundred lashes on four separate days and burning in the cheek marks the exemplary punishment the court reserved for slaves convicted of housebreaking and theft, a public and lasting mark set on the body rather than the death that such thefts might have drawn from a free man. The whipping spread across four muster days on the public parade was staged for the widest example before the assembled garrison and planters, and the brand in the cheek left a permanent sign of the crime, the court punishing the Company's own slave and two others together in the one deterrent display. The Kennedy suit turned on a widower's claim to a share of his dead wife's inheritance, the jury holding that William Kennedy took a third of John Scott's whole estate in right of his late wife Elizabeth, Scott's widow and executrix. The verdict traced a chain of marriage and death, Elizabeth having been executrix to her first husband Scott and then wife to Kennedy before her own death, so that her widower now recovered through her the portion the law gave, the trust deed she had made on her deathbed on 12 October 1747 unable to defeat his right at law.

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84	95	3 Novr 1747 At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 3 day of Novr 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Lt John Clark Robert Wright of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Died Matthew Mudge Died Ann Daughter of Lt James Cook Mr John French petitioned for liberty to dispose of 57 Acres of Lease Land Granted Mr Joseph Desfountain petitioned for liberty to dispose of Eight Acres and an half of Lease Land Granted Mr Thomas Greentree petitioned for a Lease for a peice of the Honble Companys Wast Ground Adjoining to his dwelling house in James's Valley Ordered the Ground to be Veiwed The Executors of John Desfountain deceased petitioned for a Lease for a peice of the Honble Companys Wast Ground Adjoining to the dwelling house of the said John Desfountain in James's Valley Ordered the Ground to be Veiwed Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright Margin Notes: Monday 2d	The council met at the castle on Tuesday 3 November 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present together with John Clark and Robert Wright of the council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Matthew Mudge died on Monday 2 November. Ann, daughter of James Loch, also died. John French petitioned for leave to dispose of 57 acres of lease land. The council granted it. Joseph Desfountain petitioned for leave to dispose of 8.5 acres of lease land. The council granted it. Thomas Greentree petitioned for a lease of a piece of the Company's waste ground adjoining his dwelling house in James Valley. The council ordered the ground to be viewed. The executors of the late John Desfountain petitioned for a lease of a piece of the Company's waste ground adjoining the dwelling house of the late John Desfountain in James Valley. The council ordered the ground to be viewed. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. **Interpretations** The two grants of leave to French and Desfountain to dispose of their lease land mark the Company exercising the veto its leases reserved, the assignment clause in every deed barring a tenant from selling his interest without the council's consent. The board gave leave here where it saw no objection, the same control that ran through the season's grants now used to approve rather than forbid, the Company keeping its hold on who held its land by passing on each proposed transfer in turn. The order to view the ground before granting either the Greentree or the Desfountain petition was the Company's standing check on every fresh grant of waste land, a member sent to judge the parcel before it was let. The caution ran through the whole run of the season's leases, the board granting renewals of known holdings on the spot while holding every grant of unenclosed waste over for a survey, the two petitions here following the settled course.
85	96	10th Novr 1747 At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 10th day of Novr 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Lt John Clarke Robert Wright of Council The last Consultation was read Approved & Signed The Accomptant Read before us the General Books of Accompt ballanced to the 30th Septr Past Which are ordered to be fair Copied for England The Ground petitioned for by Baron Deloffe on Cons of 13th October last having been Veiwed & found no wayes prejudiciall to the Honble Company or Neighbours had we Granted him a Lease for the Same at the rent of 12 p Annum Elizabeth Mudge Widow & Extrix & Robert Meacock Extr of Matthew Mudge deceased (Mr Matthew Row being who was appointed the other Executor declining to Act) desired liberty to prove Matthew Mudges last Will and Testament Which was done on the Oaths of the Subscribing Witnesses thereto and is as follows vizt In the Name of God Amen I Matthew Mudge of the Island St Helena Gentleman being weak in Body but sound of Mind and Memmory do make this my last Will and	The council met at the castle on Tuesday 10 November 1747, with Governor Hutchinson present together with John Clark and Robert Wright of the council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. The accountant laid before the council the general books of account, balanced to 30 September, which were ordered fair copied and sent home to England. The ground petitioned for by Baron Deleffe at the consultation of 13 October, having been viewed and found no way prejudicial to the Company or the neighbours, the council granted him a lease of it at a yearly rent of £0 12s 0d. Elizabeth Mudge, widow and executrix, and Robert Meacock, executors of the late Matthew Mudge, Matthew French having also been appointed but the other executor declining to act, produced Mudge's last will, which was proved on the oaths of the witnesses, and ran as follows. Matthew Mudge of the island, a gentleman, being weak in body but of sound mind, made his last will, revoking every former will. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be decently buried at the discretion of his executors, and gave and bequeathed as follows. He gave to his loving wife Elizabeth a child's part, one equal share of the whole of his estate, both real and personal, to her and her heirs, and directed that the rest be divided equally among his surviving children within twelve months and one day after his death. He named his wife Elizabeth, together with Matthew French and Robert Meacock of the island, executors, and set his hand and seal to the will on 13 October 1747. It was signed with the mark of

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		Testament hereby all former Wills Revoking in manner and forme following Imprimis I give and bequeath my Soul unto Almighty God that gave it and my Body to the dust from whence it came to be decently Interd at the discretion of my Executrix & Executor hereafter mentioned and as to all my Estate being all Personall I give as followeth I Will and bequeath unto my Loving Wife Elizabeth One entire Third Part of all I shall die posessed of and unto my Surviveing Children Ann and Mary alias Petnell to be Equally divided to have to be Equally Divided between and them nother Estate Months and One day after my decease I have hereby Constituted and appointed and by this my last Will do Constitute and Appoint my aforesaid two Wife Elizabeth & gether with Mr Matthew Parten & Mr Robert Meacock of this Island to be my Executrix and Executors of this my last Will and desired Sealed and Deliverd Published and declared on the Presents of the said this Testator this Twenty first Day of October in the Year of our Lord God One Thousand seven hundred and Twenty seven and in the Twenty first Year of the reign of our Soveraign Lord George of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith (Signd) Matthew Mudges his mark Margin Notes: Witnesses Godfrey Wenner Wm Clark Chas. Mountaguer David Luxford	Matthew Mudge, and witnessed by [...] and Daniel Luxford. **Interpretations** The general books balanced to 30 September and ordered fair copied for England mark the close of the whole year's accounting, the whole run of quarterly rolls, cash accounts and inventories drawn together into the books the Company required sent home. The island rendered its full reckoning to the Court once a year, the fair copy carrying the record of every payment, sale and stock across the twelvemonth to London, the settlement answerable to its masters for the whole of its charge. Matthew Mudge made his will on 13 October and died on 2 November 1747, so the deed was drawn only three weeks before his death, a man weak in body providing for his estate as his end drew near. His widow Elizabeth took a child's part alongside the children rather than a widow's third or a life interest, the estate divided equally among the whole family, the will proved before the same council that had entered his death and now settled his affairs as a probate court.
86	97	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of October 1747 vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Totall, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remaing 1st: Bulls 3, Cows 103, Calves 61, Yearlings 70, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Rams 16, Totall 279, Ewes 145, Weathers 36, Lambs 64, Rams 5, Totall 250, Ewes 115, Weathers 37, Kidds 30, Rams 6, Totall 188, Sows 15, Barrows 5, Shoats 40, Piggs 33, Boars 2, Totall 95, Turkeys 12, Fowles 187, Ducks 41, Geese 27, Horses 7, Mares 3, Totall 10 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 4, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Rams 0, Totall 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Totall 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 2, Rams 0, Totall 2, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 3, Boars 0, Totall 3, Turkeys 0, Fowles 8, Ducks 3, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bulls 3, Cows 103, Calves 65, Yearlings 70, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Rams 16, Totall 283, Ewes 145, Weathers 36, Lambs 65, Rams 5, Totall 251, Ewes 115, Weathers 37, Kidds 32, Rams 6, Totall 190, Sows 15, Barrows 5, Shoats 40, Piggs 36, Boars 2, Totall 98, Turkeys 12, Fowles 195, Ducks 44, Geese 27, Horses 7, Mares 3, Totall 10 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Ewes 2, Weathers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 4, Ewes 2, Weathers 4, Kidds 1, Rams 0, Totall 7, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 3, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totall 3, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0	This account set out the Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals for October 1747, taken from the count on 1 October to the count on 31 October. Neat cattle remaining 1 October: bulls 3, cows 103, calves 61, yearlings 70, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 279 Neat cattle increased: calves 4, total 4 Neat cattle after increase: bulls 3, cows 103, calves 65, yearlings 70, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 283 Neat cattle killed: cows 1, total 1 Neat cattle died: cows 2, calves 3, total 5 Neat cattle remaining 31 October: bulls 3, cows 101, calves 62, yearlings 67, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 275 Sheep remaining 1 October: ewes 145, wethers 36, lambs 64, rams 5, total 250 Sheep increased: lambs 1, total 1 Sheep after increase: ewes 145, wethers 36, lambs 65, rams 5, total 251 Sheep killed: ewes 1, wethers 2, total 2 Sheep died: ewes 1, total 1 Sheep remaining 31 October: ewes 142, wethers 34, lambs 64, rams 5, total 245 Goats remaining 1 October: ewes 115, wethers 37, kids 30, rams 6, total 188 Goats increased: kids 2, total 2 Goats after increase: ewes 115, wethers 37, kids 32, rams 6, total 190 Goats killed: ewes 4, wethers 2, kids 1, total 7 Goats died: ewes 1, wethers 1, kids 1, total 2 Goats remaining 31 October: ewes 112, wethers 32, kids 31, rams 6, total 181

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		Died: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 3, Yearlings 3, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Rams 0, Totall 7, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Ewes 1, Weathers 1, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totall 2, Sows 1, Barrows 3, Shoats 2, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totall 6, Turkeys 2, Fowles 1, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Totall 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remaing 31st: Bulls 3, Cows 101, Calves 62, Yearlings 67, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Rams 16, Totall 275, Ewes 142, Weathers 34, Lambs 64, Rams 5, Totall 245, Ewes 112, Weathers 32, Kidds 31, Rams 6, Totall 181, Sows 15, Barrows 4, Shoats 34, Piggs 34, Boars 2, Totall 89, Turkeys 10, Fowles 194, Ducks 44, Geese 27, Horses 7, Mares 3, Totall 10 Sold To the Hospital 6 Goats wt 112½ lb 1 Child died Named Nanny aged 5 Months Yams Expended 37860 lb (Signed) Errors Excepted Rich Gurling	Hogs remaining 1 October: sows 15, barrows 5, boars 40, pigs 33, boars 2, total 95 Hogs increased: pigs 3, total 3 Hogs after increase: sows 15, barrows 5, boars 40, pigs 36, boars 2, total 98 Hogs killed: boars 3, total 3 Hogs died: sows 1, boars 3, pigs 2, total 6 Hogs remaining 31 October: sows 15, barrows 4, boars 34, pigs 34, boars 2, total 89 Poultry remaining 1 October: turkeys 12, fowls 187, ducks 41, geese 27 Poultry increased: fowls 8, ducks 3 Poultry after increase: turkeys 12, fowls 195, ducks 44, geese 27 Poultry died: fowls 2, ducks 1 Poultry remaining 31 October: turkeys 10, fowls 194, ducks 44, geese 27 Horses remaining 1 October: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Horses remaining 31 October: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Sold to the hospital, 6 goats weighing 112.5 lb Yams expended, 37,860 lb 1 kid died named Nanny aged 5 months The account was signed by Richard Gurling, errors excepted. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for October were brought in, examined and approved, and ran as follows. **Interpretations** The neat cattle held near steady at 275 head against 279 at the month's opening, the quiet late-year season making no heavy draw on the herd, only one beast killed and five dying against four calves born. The figures sit close to the run through the autumn, the herd renewing itself gently in a month with no fleet in the road to victual, the Company's own stock carrying the market and the fort's table without being drawn down. The kid entered by name among the dead, Nanny aged five months, marks the same practice by which the Company recorded its young stock individually, though here a goat rather than a slave child is named. The naming of a five-month kid in the death column shows the closeness with which the account tracked the increase and loss of the Company's animals, each beast followed from birth, the record keeping so exact a reckoning that even a named kid's death was set down in its place.
87	98	1747 Guns fired, 4 pounders, 3 pounders, 2 pounders, 1 pounder, Powder Expended Gunners Stores Expended in October 1747 Allarm: Guns fired 6, 4 pounders 4, 3 pounders 0, 2 pounders 2, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 13 Fired for the Kings Birth day: Guns fired 21, 4 pounders 2, 3 pounders 1, 2 pounders 15, 1 pounder 3, Powder Expended 24½ Powder to the Stoneblaster p Order of the Governour: Powder Expended 60 The Totall: Guns fired 27, 4 pounders 6, 3 pounders 1, 2 pounders 15, 1 pounder 5, Powder Expended 97½ Sheep Skins to repair the Sponges at Bankos 3 Rammers broke at Do 2 Beds broke at Do 8 Sheep Skins delivd to Henry Moyce for repairing Carriages 8 Wooden Trunks delivd to Do in the room of Do decaied Ons 6 Iron Trunks delivd to Do for a Gun Carriage 4 Balls broke at Lemon Valley 1 (Signd) Jno French Sundrys Expended at the Castle in October 1747 vizt 32 Bottles Port Wine £ 2 7 4	This account set out the gunner's stores expended in October 1747, giving for each occasion the guns fired by four-pounder, three-pounder, two-pounder and one-pounder and the powder spent. 15 October, alarm: 6 guns fired, 4 from four-pounders and 2 from one-pounders, 13 lb powder 31 October, fired for the King's birthday: 21 guns fired, 21 from three-pounders, 24.5 lb powder Powder to the stone blaster by order of the Governor: 60 lb powder Total: 27 guns of four-pounders, 6 of three-pounders, 15 of two-pounders, 5 of one-pounders, 97.5 lb powder Three sponges broke in repairing the sponges at Munden's, two pieces broke at Banks's, and eight sheep skins were delivered to Henry Moyce for repairing carriages. Six wooden trucks were delivered to the same in the room of six decayed ones, four iron trucks were delivered to the same for a gun carriage, and one piece broke at Lemon Valley. The account was signed by John French. The account of sundries expended in the castle in October 1747 followed. 32 bottles of port wine, £2 7s 4d 37 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 14s 8.5d 58 bottles of strong beer, £1 0s 0.5d

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		37 Do Lisbon 2 14 8¾ 58 Do Strong Beer 49 Do Small 1 ¾ 8 lb Sugar 1 8 20 lb Candy 5 10 275 lb Flour 1 14 6 130¾ lb Fresh Pork 3 7 9 prs Salt Beef 1 1 12 prs Do Pork 1 2 6 131 lb Mutton 3 2 11 11½ Gallons Goa Arrack 15 9 76 lb Bread 1 18 £ 19 11 3¾ This day Examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of October Past And found the same as follows vizt	49 bottles of small beer, £1 0s 0.5d 8 lb of sugar, £0 1s 8d 20 lb of candy, £0 5s 10d 275 lb of flour, £1 14s 6d 134 lb of fresh pork, £3 1s 7d 9 pieces of salt beef, £1 1s 0d 12 pieces of salt pork, £1 2s 6d 131 lb of mutton, £3 2s 11d 11.75 gallons of Goa arrack, £0 15s 9d 76 lb of veal, £1 18s 0d Total, £19 11s 3.5d The council then examined the Company's cash for October, and found it as follows. **Interpretations** The twenty-one guns fired for the King's birthday on 31 October mark the year's chief ceremonial salute, the whole charge drawn from the three-pounders to spare the larger pieces and their powder. The salute was the settled observance of the sovereign's day, the guns answering the occasion in a fixed number, the smallest serviceable pieces reserved for ceremony to save the store, the same economy that governed the salutes of every season. The powder to the stone blaster made up the bulk of the month's expenditure, 60 lb of the 97.5 spent, so the October stores record quarrying work far more than any salute or alarm. The heavy charge to the blaster stands beside the run of blasting through the year for the fortification works, the Company's powder spent as much on breaking ground for its batteries as on answering the King's day, the war works of the spring and autumn drawing steadily on the magazine.
88	99	10th Novr Cash Dr 1747 October 1 To Ballance remaining £ 4758 15 ¾ 13 To John Goodwin Esqr decd Vizt Recd of Thos Allis in part of his debt 29 6 28 Recd of Daniel Griffiths Extr in part of his debt 10 39 6 31 To Plantation dec for 133½ Gallons Milk sold in the Wood at St Js of Valley 6 13 6 Recd for 127½ lb Goat sold to the Hospital 2 2 6 8 16 £ 4806 11 6¾	This was the debtor side of the Company's cash account, examined for October 1747. 1 October, to balance remaining, £4,758 15s 3.25d 13 October, to John Goodwin's estate, received of Thomas Allis in part of his debt, £29 0s 6d 28 October, received of Daniel Griffith's estate in part of his debt, £10 0s 0d John Goodwin's estate total, £39 0s 6d 31 October, to plantation, received for 133 gallons of milk sold in the Company's account at 12d a gallon, £6 13s 6d Received for 127.5 lb of goat sold to the hospital, £2 2s 6d Plantation total, £8 16s 0d Total, £4,806 11s 6.25d **Interpretations** The two payments into John Goodwin's estate marked the recovery of debts owed a dead man tracked through the estates of two other dead men, the money Thomas Allis and Daniel Griffith had owed applied to discharge their debts to Goodwin's estate. The council, sitting over the settlement of all three, moved each payment straight to the creditor estate, the same course entered at the consultations of 13 and 27 October 1747, clearing a chain of obligations that death had left unsettled. The milk sold on the Company's own account, 133 gallons paid into the treasury at a shilling the gallon, marks the dairy run as a source of cash to the establishment, the produce of the Company's herd sold and the takings booked to the plantation. The entry sits beside the goat sold to the hospital, the Company selling the fruits of its own stock back into its several accounts, the dairy and the herd turning a return to the treasury alongside their service to the fort's table.
89	100	1747 Per Contra Cr 1747 Octor 31 By John Bradleys Orphans Land Mr Purling for Store Goods	This was the creditor side of the Company's cash account for October 1747, setting out the balance remaining coin by coin. 31 October, by John Bradley's orphans, paid the storekeeper for store goods, £0 9s 8d 5 ounces of gold at 11s 15d 14d 3s 3s 18s 3d, £46 1s 8.5d

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		9 8 By Ballance remaining in the following Species vizt 1 prs Gold at 11 15 14 a 3 18 3 p ozt at 5 p ozt £ 46, s 1, d 8¼ 4 prs Do 3 9 12 3 18 £ 13, s 11, d 4½ 3263 Pagodas a 8 £ 1305, s 4 1 Barbary Chequin s 9 1 Joannes £ 1, s 16 169 Venetians 10 £ 82 3⅜ Moidores 27 £ 4, s 4, d 4½ 20 Gubbers 6 £ 6 12 rupees 30 £ 18 Gold Amounting to £ 1477, s 6, d 1¼ 10627½ Dollars 5 £ 2506, s 17, d 6 255½ Ducatoons 6 £ 76, s 13 870 Double Rials 1 3 £ 54, s 7, d 6 1372 rials 7½ £ 33, s 10 4563 half rials 3¾ £ 71, s 5, d 11¼ 387 rupees 2 3 £ 43, s 10, d 9 441 French prs 2 £ 3, s 13, d 6 Odd Money s 2, d 1 Silver amounting to £ 2790, d 9¼ 146 Cash Notes a 40 £ 292 162 Do 20 £ 162 259 Do 5 £ 64, s 15 160 Do 2 6 £ 20 Cash Notes amounting to £ 538, s 15 £ 4806 11 6¾ Chas. Hutchinson John Clark R Wright	4 ounces of gold at 3s 9d 12d 3s 3s 18s, £13 11s 4.5d 3,263 pagodas at 8s, £1,305 4s 0d 1 Barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 joannes, £1 16s 0d 164 Venetians at 10s, £82 0s 0d 3.375 moidores at 24s, £4 4s 4.5d 20 gubbers at 6s, £6 0s 0d 12 rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,477 6s 1.5d 10,627.5 dollars at 5s, £2,506 17s 6d 255.5 ducatoons at 6s, £76 13s 0d 870 double rials at 1s 3d, £54 7s 6d 1,072 rials at 7.5d, £33 10s 0d 4,563 half rials at 3.75d, £71 5s 11.5d 387 rupees at 2s 3d, £43 10s 9d 441 French pieces at 2d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 2s 1d Silver amounting to, £2,790 0s 9.5d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 259 cash notes at 5s, £64 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £538 15s 0d Total, £4,806 11s 6.25d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. **Interpretations** The dollars rose to 10,627.5 from the 9,838.5 of the September count, near 800 more Spanish dollars gathered into the chest across the month while the gold and the cash notes held unchanged. The increase marks the silver taken in from the month's dealings, the store goods sold and the debts recovered paid largely in dollars, the treasury's silver swelling while its foreign gold and its own paper stood still. The chest continued to run almost wholly on foreign specie, the 3,263 pagodas of the Coromandel coast and the great mass of Spanish dollars, rials and ducatoons far outweighing the handful of rupees and the single line of odd money. The island's treasury held the coin of the India and Atlantic trades rather than English money, the settlement dealing in the currency of the wider commerce that touched at it, the pagoda still reckoned at the eight shillings the Court had fixed from 1 May 1746.
90	101	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 17th Day of November 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark Robert Wright} of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Having Viewed the Ground Petitioned for by Lieut John Barlen in Consultation of 13 October last, we Granted him a Lease for One Hundred and Six Feet in Front next the Path called the Sale Path and the like Number of Feet in the Back to Adjoin to the Water Rien at the Rent of Eighteen Shillings ℔ Annum. Chas Hutchinson John Clark R Wright. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 24th Day of	At a consultation held on Tuesday 17 November 1747 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat as governor with Lieutenant John Clark and Robert Wright of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Having viewed the ground Lieutenant John Barton had petitioned for at the consultation of 13 October, the board granted him a lease of one hundred and five feet of frontage next to the path known as the Sale Path, with the same number of feet at the back, running down to the water course, at eighteen shillings a year. The lease was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. At a consultation held on Tuesday 24 November 1747 at the castle, the Governor again sat with John Clark and Robert Wright of council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Martin Harper presented a petition to the Governor and council of St Helena. He asked for a lease of eight acres of [...]. **Interpretations**

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		Novr 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark Robert Wright} of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Mr Martin Harper Presented the following Petition Vizt To Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr &ca Council of St Helena The Humble Petition of Martin Harper Sheweth, That Your Petitioners Lease for Eight Acres of Land	The eighteen shillings charged on Barton's lot marks it out from the ordinary run of James Valley building lots, which were let at seven, ten or twelve shillings a year. Barton already held one town lot beside his house, executed on 13 January 1747 at twelve shillings, and this second and dearer grant of matching frontage on the Sale Path shows him building up a substantial holding within the town at a rent that reflects the value of ground fronting a named thoroughfare and backing onto the water course, the two features that fixed a lot's worth in the cramped valley where the principal houses stood packed together. The Sale Path was one of the fixed thoroughfares of the fort valley, and a lot fronting it commanded a rent well above the plots let on the mere width and depth of open ground. The frontage down to the water course mattered because access to the running water that flowed through the valley was the scarce resource that governed where houses could usefully stand, the same water course the council had allowed particular inhabitants to divert at their own charge in earlier years.
91	102	Land at Half Moon is Expired That Your Petitioners Lease for Eleven Acres of Land in Peak Gutt is also Expired That there is a Piece of the Honble Companys Wast Ground at half Moon Two Acres and an half at Peak Gutt and One Acre in Swanley Valley Adjoining to your Petitioners other Lands Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that he may have his Two Leases that are Expired renewed and new Leases Granted him for the Wast Ground above Petitioned for according to Measurement P. 24 Novr 1747 And Your Petitioner will ever pray &c (Signed) Martin Harper Whereupon we Granted him the renewal of the Two Leases which are Expired And Ordered the several parcels of Wast Land Petitioned for therein to be Viewed Chas Hutchinson John Clark R Wright At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 1st Day of December 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Lieut John Clark Robert Wright} of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed	Martin Harper set out that his lease of land at Half Moon had expired, that his lease of eleven acres in Peak Gut had also expired, and that a piece of the Company's waste ground lay open for the taking: two and a half acres at Half Moon, and one acre in Swanley Valley adjoining his other lands. He asked the board to renew the two expired leases and to grant him the waste ground he had described, all to be measured out. The petition was signed by Martin Harper and dated 24 November 1747. The board granted him the renewal of his two expired leases and ordered the several parcels of waste land he had asked for to be viewed. The grant was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. At a consultation held on Tuesday 1 December 1747 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark and Robert Wright of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. **Interpretations** Harper's petition shows the mechanism by which the island's leasehold was continually recycled. His two twenty-one-year leases, at Half Moon and at eleven acres in Peak Gut, had run their term and lapsed to the Company, and rather than let the ground fall idle he moved at once to take it back, folding into the same petition a request for three fresh parcels of adjoining waste. The council's response was standard: a renewal in principle for the expired leases and a view of the waste before any grant, the view being the survey by which the board checked that a parcel could be spared and settled its boundaries and rent before sealing an indenture. The value of the added waste lay in its position rather than its extent. The single acre in Swanley Valley and the parcels at Half Moon and Peak Gut all adjoined ground Harper already held, so that taking them consolidated his holding and squared off its edges rather than scattering his labour across the island. Martin Harper was a long-established planter who held forty-three and a half freehold acres and thirty-two and a half leasehold in the rent roll of 8 October 1745, and this steady accretion of small adjoining parcels was how such a holding had been built up over the decades.
92	103	Wednesday 25 November Died John Cheeseman, and Stephen Suffrin Soldiers. Executed the following Lease to Barron Delaof Granted in Consultation of 13 October last, Vizt Island St Helena	On Wednesday 25 November John Cheeseman and Stephen Lufkin, soldiers, both died. The board then executed the following lease to Baron Deleffe, granted at the consultation of 13 October. The East India Company, as lords proprietor of the island of St Helena, demised and leased to Baron

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		The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise Grant Lease and to Farm Lett unto Barron Delaof of the sd Island All that piece or parcel of Ground situate lying and being at the upper End of James Valley Butting North on Thomas Jarvis & East West and South on the Honble Company's own Land Containing Sixty Feet in Front and Sixty Feet in Depth with the Appurts to have & to hold unto the said Barron Delaof his Exrs Administr & Assigns from the Day of the Date hereof for & during the Term of Twenty One Years from thence next Ensueing upon condition that he the said Barron Delaof his Exrs Administr & Assigns do & shall bear true Faith & Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs & Successors & true Faith to them the said Honble Company & their Successors and shall duly obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island And upon Condition that the said Barron Delaof his Executors Administr & Assigns do and shall at the End or other sooner Determination of this Lease Surrender and deliver up the Aforesaid Premisses with the Appurtenances & all such Edifices and Buildings as shall or may be thereon in Good Condition and repair And shall not sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their future interest therein without the Leave and Consent of the Governour and Council for the time being Yielding and paying	Deleffe of the island the whole of a parcel of ground at the upper end of James Valley, bounded north by Thomas Jarvis and Chase West and south by the Company's waste land, measuring sixty feet in front and sixty feet in depth. Deleffe, his executors, administrators and assigns were to hold it for twenty-one years from the date of the lease. He was to bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and to the Company and its successors, and to obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. At the end or other sooner determination of the lease he was to surrender the premises with their appurtenances and all buildings on the ground in good repair, and he was not to sell or dispose of the lease or his interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council for the time being. **Interpretations** The lease turned on the upkeep of any building rather than on the fencing, wood and furze that governed the country leases of the same season. Deleffe's parcel was a town building lot in James Valley, sixty feet square, and the operative covenant bound him to give up the ground and whatever he built on it in good repair at the end of the term, which is why the deed says nothing of the planting law that ran through the Greentree, Alexander and Doveton indentures sealed earlier in the autumn. The rent, fixed at twelve shillings a year when the board granted the lease on 10 November, is not yet reached in the part of the deed set down here. The clause barring sale or assignment without the leave of the Governor and council was the Company's standing device for holding control over who occupied its ground. A tenant could build and live on the lot but could not put another man in his place without the board's consent, so that the Company kept the power to vet every occupier of a James Valley building lot and to prevent its town ground passing by private bargain into hands it had not approved.
93	104	paying therefore Yearly and every Year during the term hereby Granted unto the sd Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Yearly Rent or Sum of Twelve Shillings On at or upon the Last Day of St Michall the Arch Angel Yearly In Witness whereof we the said Governour and Council have hereunto set our hands and Affixed the Honble Company Seal this first day of December in the Twenty First Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1747 And the said Barron Delaof to the other part hereof set his hand and Seal the Day and Year abovewritten Signed Chas Hutchinson John Clark R Wright Having Viewed the Ground Petitioned for by Tho Reynolds in Consultation of 13 Octr last, and found it in no ways Prejudicial to the Honble Company, or Neighbourhood, We Granted him the following Lease, Vizt	Deleffe was to pay the Company, its successors or assigns a yearly rent of twelve shillings on the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel. The Governor and council set their hands and the Company's seal to the lease on 1 December 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and Deleffe set his hand and seal to the other part of it on the same day. The Company's part was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. Having viewed the ground Thomas Reynolds had petitioned for at the consultation of 27 October, and found it in no way prejudicial to the Company or the neighbourhood, the board granted him the following lease. The East India Company, as lords proprietor of the island of St Helena, demised and leased to Thomas Reynolds the whole of a parcel of ground in James Valley, bounded east and west on the Company's waste land, south on Thomas Willingham's waste land and north on the Company's waste land, measuring forty feet in front and forty feet in depth. Reynolds, his executors, administrators and assigns were to hold it for twenty-one years from the date of the lease. **Interpretations** Reynolds took a smaller lot than Deleffe, forty feet square against sixty, and its bounds show how the James Valley building ground was parcelled out piece by piece from the Company's own waste. Three of its four sides abutted Company waste and only the south side touched a private holding, Thomas Willingham's, so that the grant carved a fresh building plot from open ground while leaving the Company still surrounded by

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		Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England traking to the East Indies do hereby demise Grant Lease and to Farm Lett unto Tho Reynolds of the said Island All that piece or parcel of Ground Situate lying and being in Swanley Valley Butting East and West on the Honble Companys Wast Land South on Thomas Willingham and North on the sd Honble Companys Wast Land Containing in Front Forty Three Feet and in Depth Sixty Feet with the Appurtenances to have and to hold unto the said Thomas Reynolds his Exrs Administr & Assigns from the Day of the Date hereof for and during the Term of Twenty One Years from thence next	land it could let to the next petitioner. This slow subdivision of the valley floor into rented lots was how the town grew within the narrow space between the hills. The clearance that the ground was in no way prejudicial to the Company or the neighbourhood was the standard finding on which every waste-land grant turned. The view carried out between the petition of 27 October and the grant here tested two things: that the Company could spare the parcel, and that letting it would not injure the neighbouring tenants by cutting off their access, water or light in the crowded valley. Only once the board was satisfied on both counts was the indenture drawn and sealed.
94	105	next ensueing upon condition that he the said Thos Reynolds his Exrs Administr and Assigns do and shall bear true Faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs & Successors and true Faith to their the said Honble Company and their Successors and shall duly obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island And upon Condition that he the said Thomas Reynolds his Exrs Admrs & Assigns do & shall at the End or other sooner Determination of this Lease Surrender and deliver up the aforesaid Premisses for the Apparts & all such Edifices & Buildings as shall or may be thereon in good Condition and repair And shall not sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave and Consent of the Governour and Council for the time being Yielding and paying therefore Yearly and every Year during the term hereby Granted unto them the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Rent or Sum of Ten Shilling in at or upon the Feast Day of St Michael the Arch Angel Yearly In Witness whereof we the said Governour and Council have hereunto set our hands and Affixed the Honble Companys Seal this First Day of December in the Twenty First Year of the Reign of our said Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1747 And the said Thomas Reynolds hath to the other part set his Hand and Seal the Day and Year abovewritten Signed Chas Hutchinson John Clark R Wright Having Viewed the Two Pieces of Ground Petitioned for in Consultation of 3 November, last, by Mr Thomas Greentree and	Reynolds was to bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and to the Company and its successors, and to obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. At the end or other sooner determination of the lease he was to surrender the premises with their appurtenances and all buildings on the ground in good repair. He was not to sell or dispose of the lease or his interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council for the time being. He was to pay the Company, its successors, agents or assigns a yearly rent of ten shillings on the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel. The Governor and council set their hands and the Company's seal to the lease on 1 December 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and Reynolds set his hand and seal to the other part of it on the same day. The Company's part was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. Having viewed the two pieces of ground petitioned for at the consultation of 3 November by Thomas Greentree and the executors of John Desfountain deceased, and found them in no way prejudicial to the Company or the neighbourhood, the board granted them the following leases. **Interpretations** Reynolds paid ten shillings a year for his forty-foot lot, two shillings less than Deleffe paid for his sixty-foot parcel sealed the same day, so the rents on the James Valley building ground tracked the size of the plot in a rough and settled scale. The town lots let across the season ran from seven shillings for the smallest through ten and twelve, the difference marking frontage and position rather than any yearly reassessment, a fixed schedule the board applied as each parcel of waste was viewed and granted. The two grants to Thomas Greentree and the executors of the late John Desfountain show the board acting on a petition first made a month earlier, on 3 November, and carried through the same sequence of view and grant that governed every waste-land lease. The Desfountain parcel was petitioned for by the dead man's executors, so the ground adjoining his James Valley house was being taken up on behalf of his estate, the executors securing the lease as part of winding up his affairs rather than for their own occupation.

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		the Executors of John Deefountain Deceast, & found them no ways Prejudicial to the Honble Company or Neighbourhood, We Granted them the following Leases, Vizt	
95	106	Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies Indies Do hereby demise Grant Lease and to Farm Lett unto Tho Greentree of the said Island All that piece or parcel of Ground Situate behind and Adjoining to the House of the said Tho Greentree in James's Valley containing in Length on the East part Nine Feet and on the West part Eleven Feet in Breadth on the North part Thirty four Feet and on the South part Thirty Eight Feet Butting East & South on John Deefountain Perkin and North on him as Greentree and West on the Honble Companys wast Land in No Appurts to have & to hold unto the said Thomas Greentree his Exrs Admrs and Assigns from the Day of the Date hereof for and during all the time Space and Term of Twenty One Years from thence next Ensueing yielding and paying therefore Yearly and every Year during the term hereby Granted unto them the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Rent or Sum of Five Shillings at or upon the Feast Day of St Michael the Arch Angell in every Year upon condition that he the said Thomas Greentree his Executors Admrs and Assigns Do and shall bear true Faith and Allegiance unto our Sovereign Lord George the Second his Heirs and Successors and true Faith to them the said Honble Company and their Successors and shall duly obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island And upon Condition that he the said Thomas Greentree his Exrs Admrs and Assigns do and shall at the End or sooner Determination of this Lease Yield up and Surrender the said piece of Ground and Premisses with the Appurtenances together with all Edifices and Buildings that are or may be thereon in good Order Condition and repair And upon Condition that he the said Thomas Greentree his Exrs Admrs or Assigns do not sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave and Consent of the Govr and Council for the time being In Witness whereof we the said Governour	The East India Company, as lords proprietor of the island of St Helena, demised and leased to Thomas Greentree the whole of a parcel of ground behind and adjoining his house in James Valley, measuring nine feet in length on the east part and eleven feet on the west part, and thirty-four feet in breadth on the north part and thirty-eight feet in breadth on the south part, bounded east and south on John Desfountain, north on Greentree and west on the Company's waste land. Greentree, his executors, administrators and assigns were to hold it for twenty-one years from the date of the lease. He was to pay the Company, its successors, agents or assigns a yearly rent of five shillings on the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel. He was to bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and to the Company and its successors, and to obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. At the end or other sooner determination of the lease he was to surrender the premises with their appurtenances and all buildings on the ground in good repair. He was not to sell or dispose of the lease or his interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council for the time being. **Interpretations** Greentree's parcel was a narrow and irregular strip rather than a square lot, and its odd measurements show a small piece of leftover ground being tidied into an existing holding. The four sides ran to different lengths, nine feet against eleven and thirty-four against thirty-eight, so the plot was a wedge behind his house, and three of its bounds touched either his own ground or John Desfountain's while only the west abutted Company waste. This was a gap between two neighbours' houses being taken up by the man best placed to use it, at the lowest of the town rents. The five-shilling rent, the floor of the James Valley scale, matched the ground's slightness. A strip of a few dozen square feet behind a house drew the smallest yearly sum the board set on its town lots, well below the ten and twelve shillings charged on the full building plots let the same day, the rent following the extent and usefulness of the parcel rather than any fixed charge per grant.
96	107	Governour and Council have hereunto Set our Hands and Affixed the Honble Companys Seal this First Day of December in the Twenty First Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord	The Governor and council set their hands and the Company's seal to the lease on 1 December 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and Greentree set his hand and seal to the other part of it on the same day. The Company's part

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		George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1747 And the said Tho Greentree hath to the other part set his hand and Seal the Day and Year lastmentioned (Signd) Chas Hutchinson John Clark R Wright Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise Grant Lease and to Farm lett unto Samuel Doveton Joseph Deefountain and John Deefountain Executors of John Deefountain Died All that Piece or parcel of Ground situate behind and Adjoining to the House of the said John Deefountain Deceased in James's Valley containing in Depth on the South part Forty Feet and on the North part Thirty Eight Feet in Breadth on the East part Nine Feet and on the West part Eleven Feet Butting South on John Barton North on Tho Greentree East on the said John Deefountain Died and West on the Honble Companys Wast Land with the Appurts to have and to hold unto the said Samuel Doveton Joseph Deefountain and John Deefountain their Exrs Admrs and Assigns from the Day of the Date hereof for and during the Term of Twenty One Years from thence next Ensueing yielding and paying therefore Yearly and every Year during the Term hereby Granted unto them the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Rent or Sum of Six Shillings at or upon the Feast Day of St Michael the Arch Angel In Trust for and for	was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. The East India Company, as lords proprietor of the island of St Helena, demised and leased to Samuel Doveton, Joseph Desfountain and John Desfountain, the executors of John Desfountain deceased, the whole of a parcel of ground behind and adjoining the house of the late John Desfountain in James Valley, measuring forty feet in depth on the south part and thirty-eight feet on the north part, and nine feet in breadth on the east part and eleven feet on the west part, bounded south on John Barton, north on Thomas Greentree, east on John Desfountain deceased and west on the Company's waste land. The executors, their executors, administrators and assigns were to hold it for twenty-one years from the date of the lease. They were to pay the Company, its successors, agents or assigns a yearly rent of five shillings on the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel. **Interpretations** The two parcels dovetail into one another, Greentree's strip and the Desfountain executors' strip sharing a boundary and reversing each other's dimensions, so that the ground behind this row of James Valley houses was being split lengthways between the two neighbours. Greentree's plot ran nine feet on its east side and eleven on its west, while this one runs nine on the east and eleven on the west in breadth and takes the forty-foot depth, the paired measurements showing a single block of waste divided down its middle and each half attached to the adjoining house. The lease ran to three named executors of the late John Desfountain holding jointly, which fixed the ground to his estate rather than to any one man. Samuel Doveton, Joseph Desfountain and John Desfountain took the parcel as executors, so the plot adjoining the dead man's house was drawn into the estate they were settling and would pass with it, the Company leasing to the office of executor and not to the individuals in their own right. Whether the parcel abutting the house east belonged still to the estate or had already passed is left in the bounds, which name John Desfountain deceased on that side.
97	108	for the use of the Children of the said John Deefountain Deceased their Exrs Admrs and Assigns upon condition that the said Children their Exrs Admrs and Assigns do and shall bear true Faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord George the Second his Heirs and Successors and true Faith to them the said Honble Company and their Successors and shall duly obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island and do and shall at the End or sooner Determination of this Lease Yield up and Surrender the said Piece of Ground and Premisses with the Appurtenances in good Order Condition and repair and do not nor shall sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest thereon without the Leave and Consent of the Governour and Council for the time being In Witness whereof we the said Governour and Council have	The parcel was held for the use of the children of the late John Desfountain. The executors were to bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and to the Company and its successors, and to obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. At the end or other sooner determination of the lease they were to surrender the parcel and premises with their appurtenances in good repair. They were not to sell or dispose of the lease or their interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council for the time being. The Governor and council set their hands and the Company's seal to the lease on 1 December 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and Samuel Doveton, Joseph Desfountain and John Desfountain, as executors, set their hands and seals to the other part of it on the same day. The Company's part was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. There being thirty-two bombers at present mounted on carriages for eighty-two pounders, which were far too heavy for guns of such age and light metal, and the carriages being decayed and past use, the board ordered new carriages of a suitable size made, and the others fitted for guns of a lower nature whose own carriages had rotted. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright.

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		hereunto set our hands and Affixed the Honble Companys Seal this First Day of December in the Twenty First Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender by the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1747 and the said Samuel Doveton Joseph Deefountain and John Deefountain as Executors aforesaid have to the other part set their hands and Seals the Day and Year abovewritten (Signd) Chas Hutchinson John Clark R Wright There being Five Thirty Two Pounders at Present mounted on Carriages for Eighteen Pounders which are much too Weak for such Large and heavy Guns and were likewise at away to receive them we therefore Ordered new Carriage of a proper Size to be made and the other filled for Guns of a lower Nature whose Carriage are Decayed and Unserviceable Chas Hutchinson John Clark R Wright	**Interpretations** The lease shows the Company's ground being used as a vehicle for a trust rather than for a tenancy. The parcel was leased to three executors but held for the use of the dead man's children, so the plot behind John Desfountain's house was tied up for the benefit of his heirs and administered on their behalf until they came of age, the Company sealing an indenture that was in substance a settlement on minors under the cover of a lease. The order over the guns turned on a mismatch between old ordnance and the mounts it sat on. Thirty-two of the pieces stood on carriages built for eighty-two pounders, a far heavier class than these ageing and thin-metalled guns could bear, so the board chose to remake the carriages to fit the guns rather than leave sound iron idle for want of a proper mount. The rotten carriages of lighter guns were to be rebuilt for the guns now freed, the whole a piece of make-do husbandry that kept the island's fixed defences in service by matching each surviving gun to a mount it could carry rather than replacing the ordnance itself.
98	109	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the Eighth day of Decr 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lt John Clark of Council Robert Wright The last Consultation was read approved & Signed Arrived The Kent Captain William Robinson from Bengall. Recd of Wm Kennedy, Robt Mason & Isaac Kinge Trustees to John Nott about the Sum of £18..12..3½ Due from the sd Nott to sd late Govr Godwin Deceast The Exors of Stephen Suffrin died presented his last Will and Testament desiring the same might be Proved which was done in the Presence of the Subscribeing Witnesses thereto And is as follows viz In the Name of God Amen I Stephen Suffrin of the Island St Helena Soldier being of sound Mind & perfect Memory but being in a very bad State of health Do appoint this my last Will and Testament in Manner and form followeing First I recommend my Soul to God that gave it My Body to the Earth to be there decently Interd according to the usual Custom of this Island with Hatbands & Scarves Item I give & bequeath to Margaret Leech the Sum of Five Pounds imediately after my Decease Item I Will to William & Saray Hayes the Son & daughter of Joseph Hayes Planter deceasd the above said Sum of Five Pounds each Item I Will & Bequeath to my Trusty Freind Joseph Long for his care of me in my illness the sum of Two pounds currency also my Chest at Jamaica Valley to be given to him imediately after my Decease And also is by these presents appoint him	At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 December 1747 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark and Robert Wright of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. On Friday 4 December the board admitted Captain William Ockham from Bengal. The board received of William Kennedy, Richard Mason and Isaac Payne, the trustees of John Scott, about £18 12s 3d owed from the late Governor Goodwin's estate. The executors of Stephen Lufkin deceased presented his will, that it might be proved on the oaths of the witnesses. The will ran as follows. Stephen Lufkin of St Helena, soldier, being of sound mind and perfect memory but very ill, made his last will and testament. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried decently according to the custom of the island, with hatbands and scarves. He left five pounds to Margaret Leech, to be paid immediately after his death. He left the like sum of five pounds to William and Sarah Hayes, the son and daughter of Joseph Hayes, planter, deceased. He left the sum of two pounds a year to Joseph Long for his care of him in his illness, and his chest at James Valley, to be given to Long immediately after his death. He named Joseph Whaley one executor of his will. **Interpretations** The five shillings' worth of hatbands and scarves that Lufkin directed for his burial were the customary furnishings of an island funeral, handed to the mourners as tokens of mourning. A soldier of small estate still made provision for them as the settled form of a decent burial according to the custom of the island, the scarves and bands being the visible marks by which the dead were seen out and the expense a fixed and expected charge on even a modest estate. The payment of two pounds a year to Joseph Long for his care during Lufkin's illness shows a dying soldier settling a debt of nursing through his will. Long had looked after him in his last sickness, and Lufkin repaid that attendance with an annuity and his chest at James Valley rather than a single sum, turning the informal care of a fellow soldier into a charge the estate would carry forward. The bequests to Margaret Leech and to

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		made Joseph Whaley One Executor of this my last Will & Testament	the orphaned children of the late Joseph Hayes suggest a man without children of his own leaving his small estate among friends and the fatherless.
99	110	Item & lastly all the rest of my Wordly Goods Whatsoever I give and bequeath to the abovementioned Joseph Whaley Junr As well sd Est as Exch from Serjt Soloman Jacobs which sum is fifteen Shillings ten Shillings for a pair of Bristol Stone Studs set in Silver & Five Shillings for a piece of Lawborn here by revokeing all former Wills by me made Signed Seald & Delivrd in the Presence (Signed) Matthew Brightwell Witnesses James Long Signd Stephen Suffrin his Mark and Seal ✕ ⊕ The Plantation, Gunners, & Stewards Account were brought in for the Month of December last Which were Examined & Approved and are as follows viz Gunners Stores Expended in November 1747 lb Powder to the Funerals of John Cheeseman & Stephen Suffrin 4½ Handspikes broke 4 Puncins decaved & Unserviceables 3 Rods 2 Paper for making Cannon Cartredges 2 Reams Axletrees for Gun Carriages 2 Iron Trucks 4 Signed Ja French Sundrys Expended in the Castle in Decr 1747 15 Bottles Clart Wine 1 2 2¼ 15 Do Lisbon Do 1 2 2¼ 14 Do Madera Do 1 9 2 54 Do Strong Beer 3 . 4½ 53 Do Small Do 2 6 12 lb Sugar 2 6 8 lb Candy 2 4 21½ lb Flour 1 6 9 58 lb Fresh Pork 1 9 6 4 Peices Salt Pork 4 7 8½ 21½ lb Mutton . 10 5½ 2 Fowls 1½ Gallons Sea arrack £ 13 2 10⅜ Account	Lufkin left all the rest of his worldly goods to Joseph Whaley junior, as well as the £18 12s owed him by Sergeant Solomon Jacobs, of which fifteen shillings was for a pair of Bristol stone studs set in silver and five shillings for a piece of ribbon he had bought for a wedding, revoking all former wills. The will was signed, sealed and delivered by Stephen Lufkin with his mark and seal on 18 November 1747, in the presence of the witnesses Matthew Brightwell and James Long. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for November were brought in, examined and approved. The gunner's stores expended in November 1747 came to 4.5 lb of powder, spent at the funerals of John Cheeseman and Stephen Lufkin. The other stores expended were as follows. Handspikes broke, 4 Guns decayed and unserviceable, 3 Beds decayed and unserviceable, 2 Paper for making cannon cartridges, 2 reams Axletrees for gun carriages, 2 Iron trucks for gun carriages, 4 This was signed by John French. The sundries expended in the castle in December 1747 were as follows. 15 bottles of port wine, £1 2s 2.25d 15 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 2s 2.25d 14 bottles of Madeira wine, £1 9s 2d 54 gallons of strong beer, £3 0s 0d 53 gallons of small beer, £0 2s 6d 12 lb of sugar, £0 6s 4d 8 lb of candy, £0 6s 0d 21.5 lb of flour, £0 9s 6d 58 lb of fresh pork, £0 9s 6d 4 pieces of salt pork, £4 7s 8.5d 216.5 lb of mutton, £4 7s 8.5d 2 goats, £0 10s 5.25d 17.5 gallons of Goa arrack, £0 10s 5.25d Total, £13 2s 10.5d **Interpretations** The 4.5 lb of powder charged to November went entirely to funeral salutes over two dead men, John Cheeseman and Stephen Lufkin, with not a round fired for a ship or an alarm through the whole month. The empty road that had marked the deep autumn held into November, the gunner's whole expenditure falling on the ceremony of burying the garrison's own dead rather than on saluting the shipping, which measures how quiet the season had become with no fleet to answer. The list of decayed handspikes, unserviceable guns and beds and the axletrees and iron trucks drawn for gun carriages sets out the running wear of the fixed defences that the carriage order of 1 December had begun to address. Three guns were entered as past use and the consumable furniture of the batteries, the levers and the wheel parts, was being replaced piece by piece, the two reams of paper for cannon cartridges showing that the powder for a real defence was still being made up even in a month when the guns fired only over graves.
100	111	Account of the Honble Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of November 1747 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearls, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total,	The account of the Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of November 1747 stood as follows.

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		Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaining 1st: Bulls 3, Cows 101, Calves 62, Yearls 67, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Oxen 16, Total 275, Ewes 142, Weathers 34, Lambs 64, Rams 5, Total 245, Ewes 112, Weathers 32, Kidds 31, Rams 6, Total 181, Sows 15, Barrows 4, Shoats 34, Piggs 34, Boars 2, Total 89, Turkeys 10, Fowls 194, Ducks 44, Geese 27, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Yearls 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 3, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 5, Boars 0, Total 5, Turkeys 0, Fowls 30, Ducks 7, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bulls 3, Cows 101, Calves 64, Yearls 67, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Oxen 16, Total 277, Ewes 142, Weathers 34, Lambs 64, Rams 5, Total 245, Ewes 112, Weathers 32, Kidds 34, Rams 6, Total 184, Sows 15, Barrows 4, Shoats 34, Piggs 39, Boars 2, Total 94, Turkeys 10, Fowls 224, Ducks 51, Geese 27, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearls 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 5, Weathers 6, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 11, Ewes 0, Weathers 1, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 1, Barrows 1, Shoats 3, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 5, Turkeys 0, Fowls 6, Ducks 8, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 2, Yearls 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 1, Piggs 5, Boars 0, Total 6, Turkeys 0, Fowls 6, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearls 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 3, Weathers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 5, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Remaining 30th: Bulls 3, Cows 100, Calves 64, Yearls 65, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Oxen 16, Total 274, Ewes 133, Weathers 26, Lambs 64, Rams 5, Total 228, Ewes 112, Weathers 31, Kidds 34, Rams 6, Total 183, Sows 14, Barrows 3, Shoats 30, Piggs 34, Boars 2, Total 83, Turkeys 10, Fowls 212, Ducks 43, Geese 27, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 To the Markett 2 Hoggs wt 80lb To the Hospital 4 Sheep wt 185lb To the Hospital 1 Goat wt 14lb Yams Expended of the Honble Company's 20,620lb Do from the Planters 22,380 43,000 Errors Excepted Rich Garling	Neat cattle remaining 1 November: bulls 3, cows 101, calves 62, yearlings 67, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 275 Neat cattle increased: calves 2, total 2 Neat cattle after increase: bulls 3, cows 101, calves 64, yearlings 67, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 277 Neat cattle killed: 0 Neat cattle died: cows 1, calves 2, total 3 Neat cattle stolen: 0 Neat cattle remaining 30 November: bulls 3, cows 100, calves 64, yearlings 65, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 274 Sheep remaining 1 November: ewes 142, wethers 34, lambs 64, rams 5, total 245 Sheep increased: 0 Sheep after increase: ewes 142, wethers 34, lambs 64, rams 5, total 245 Sheep killed: ewes 5, wethers 6, total 11 Sheep died: ewes 1, total 1 Sheep stolen: ewes 3, wethers 2, total 5 Sheep remaining 30 November: ewes 133, wethers 26, lambs 64, rams 5, total 228 Goats remaining 1 November: does 112, wethers 32, kids 31, rams 6, total 181 Goats increased: kids 3, total 3 Goats after increase: does 112, wethers 32, kids 34, rams 6, total 184 Goats killed: kids 1, total 1 Goats died: 0 Goats stolen: 0 Goats remaining 30 November: does 112, wethers 31, kids 34, rams 6, total 183 Hogs remaining 1 November: boars 15, barrows 4, sows 34, hoggs 34, frows 2, total 89 Hogs increased: hoggs 5, total 5 Hogs after increase: boars 15, barrows 4, sows 34, hoggs 39, frows 2, total 94 Hogs killed: boars 1, barrows 1, sows 3, total 5 Hogs died: hoggs 5, total 5 Hogs stolen: 0 Hogs remaining 30 November: boars 14, barrows 3, sows 30, hoggs 34, frows 2, total 83 Poultry remaining 1 November: turkeys 10, fowls 194, ducks 44, geese 27 Poultry increased: fowls 30, ducks 7 Poultry after increase: turkeys 10, fowls 224, ducks 51, geese 27 Poultry killed: fowls 6, ducks 8 Poultry died: fowls 6 Poultry remaining 30 November: turkeys 10, fowls 212, ducks 43, geese 27 Horses remaining 1 November: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Horses remaining 30 November: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 To the market, 2 hogs weight 80 lb To the hospital, 4 sheep weight 185 lb To the hospital, 1 goat weight 14 lb Yams expended of the Company's, 20,620 lb Yams from the planters, 22,380 lb Total, 43,000 lb The account was subscribed, errors excepted, by Richard Girling. **Interpretations** The herd held almost level through November, closing at 274 head against an opening 275, and the run of monthly figures now stands at 283 in August, 279 at the September muster, 275 in October and 274 here, a settled herd carried through the empty road with no ship to victual. The two calves born were cancelled by a cow and two calves lost, and no beast was killed or sold, the disposal for the table falling wholly on the sheep, goats and hogs. This is the same quiet holding near 275 head that had run through the deep autumn,

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			the cattle left untouched now for a fourth month together. The flock tells the sharper story against the earlier accounts. The sheep had already fallen from 245 to 228 across the month, and the theft of five in one November, three ewes and two wethers driven off outright, is a class of loss that bit only the flock and never the guarded herd. Sheep grazed loose on the open runs and were the stock most easily taken, and the loss to thieves here outran the loss to the weather, five stolen against a single one dead, the same vulnerability the record shows year upon year. The Company drew barely half its yams from its own ground, 20,620 lb against 22,380 lb bought of the planters, and the total of 43,000 lb stands close to the 43,685 lb of September and above the 37,860 lb of October. This is the continuing shortfall the July to September paymaster's account had carried, the Company's own plantations still too newly planted to yield and the difference made up by purchase from Thomas and James Greentree, Wrangham, Goodwin, Desfountain and the rest, the buying-in running on into the winter. The account was subscribed by Richard Girling, a change from the overseer's hand that had stood on the earlier monthly returns, marking a shift in who kept the plantation account as the year turned.
101	112	Examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of November last and found the same as follows Vizt 1747 Cash Dr Per Contra 1747 Nov 30: By Sundry Accounts Advanc'd the Pay Master 86 8¼ By Ballance remaining in the following Species Vizt 1 pr Gold 1 Oz 1st fine wt 11.15.14 3.18.3 46 8½ 4 pr do 3.9.12 3.18 13 11 ½ 3263 Cagadas 8/ 1305 4 1 Barbary Chequin 9 1 Joannes 1 16 164 Venetians 10/ 82 3⅛ Moidores 27/ 4 4 4½ 20 Gubbers 6/ 6 12 Rupees 30/ 18 Gold Amounts to 1477 6 1½ Carried over £ 1477 6 1½ Carried over £ 86 8¼ 1747 Nov 1: To Balance remaining 1806 1 10½ 30: To Plantation Dr Recd for 162¾ Gallns Milk Sold this Month 8..2..9 Recd of Roger Nevanson for Provisions sold to the Market in this Month 8..6..3¾ 16 9 ¾ Carried over £ 4822 10 11½	The board examined the Company's cash for the month of November 1747 and found it as follows. On the debtor side: Balance remaining 1 November, £4,806 1s 10.5d Plantation, received for 162.75 gallons of milk sold this month, £8 2s 9d Plantation, received of Roger Nevanson for provisions sold to the market this month, £8 6s 3.75d Total plantation, £16 9s 0.75d Carried over, £4,822 10s 11.5d On the creditor side: Sundry accounts advanced the paymaster to 30 November, £86 8s 1.5d Balance remaining in the following species: 1 piece of gold weight 11 dwt 15 gr at 1s 8.25d the pennyweight, £3 18s 3d, entered as £46 18s 8.5d 4 further pieces of gold, 3 dwt 9 gr, 3s 18d, entered as £13 11s 1.5d 3,263 pagodas at 8s, £1,305 4s 0d 1 Barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 joannes, £1 16s 0d 164 Venetians at 10s, £82 0s 0d 3.125 moidores at 27s, £4 4s 4.5d 20 gubbers at 6s, £6 0s 0d 12 rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d Gold amounts to, £1,477 6s 1.5d Carried over, £1,477 6s 1.5d **Interpretations** The Company's whole cash sat in foreign coin, the balance made up of Indian pagodas and rupees, Venetian and Barbary gold, Portuguese joannes and moidores and odd pieces weighed by the pennyweight, with not an English coin among it. Pagodas alone stood at 3,263 and carried £1,305 of the balance, the south Indian gold coin reckoned into sterling at a fixed eight shillings, so that the treasury of an English settlement in the south Atlantic held its reserve almost entirely in the currency of the India trade that passed the road. This continues the pattern the coin-by-coin counts had shown all year, the pagodas standing at 3,263 as they had at the October count. The plantation was the only source of cash coming in, the milk sold at a shilling the gallon and the provisions Roger Nevanson had sold into the market being the month's whole receipt against the balance. With no ship in the road to buy stores or hire the Company's boats and men, the dairy and the market stall carried the entire income of the treasury for

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			November, a measure of how far the cash turned on the shipping and how thin it ran when the road stood empty. The joannes, moidores and Barbary chequin were the loose Portuguese and North African gold that reached the island through the same shipping as the pagodas, each weighed and valued into sterling by its own rate. The moidore was rated at twenty-seven shillings and the joannes at thirty-six, the treasury taking in whatever gold the trade brought and reckoning each piece to a set price rather than holding a single currency, so the cash was a working accumulation of the coinage of every nation whose ships touched at St Helena.
102	113	Brought over £ 4800 10 11½ £ 4822 10 11½	The debtor side of the Company's cash for November 1747 was brought over and totalled. Brought over, £4,800 10s 11.5d Total, £4,822 10s 11.5d
103	114	Brought over £ 86 8¼ Brought over £ 1477 6 1½ 9749½ Dollars 5/ 2437 7 6 255½ Ducatoons 6/ 76 13 870 Doub Reals 1/3 54 7 6 1072 Reals 7½ 33 10 1563 half Reals 3¾ 11 5 4¾ 387 Rupees 9/3 13 10 9 441 French pieces 2 os 3 13 6 Old Money 11¾ Silver Amounting to 2720 9 1¾ 146 Cash Notes 40/ 292 162 Do 20/ 162 259 Do 5/ 64 15 160 Do 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to 538 15 4736 10 3¾ £ 4822 10 3¾ Chas Hutchinson John Clark R Wright At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 15th Day of December 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lievt John Clark Robert Wright} of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Lievt John Clark reported that he had been in Board the Kent Captain Robinson to Muster his Company and search for Deserters but found none the Muster Roll is as follows Vizt Master	The creditor side of the Company's cash for November 1747 was carried on, the silver and cash notes reckoned to close the account. Brought over, £86 8s 1.5d Gold brought over, £1,477 6s 1.5d 9,749.5 dollars at 5s, £2,437 7s 6d 255.5 ducatoons at 6s, £76 13s 0d 870 double reals at 1s 3d, £54 7s 6d 1,072 reals at 7.5d, £33 10s 0d 1,563 half reals at 3.75d, £11 5s 4.75d 387 rupees at 2s 3d, £43 10s 9d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Old money, £0 0s 11.5d Silver amounting to, £2,720 9s 1.75d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 259 cash notes at 5s, £64 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £538 15s 0d Total, £4,736 10s 3.75d Total, £4,822 10s 3.75d The account was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 December 1747 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark and Robert Wright of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been to board the *Hunt*, Captain Robson, to muster her company and search for deserters, but found none. The muster roll ran as follows. **Interpretations** The silver bulk of the treasury lay in Spanish dollars, near ten thousand of them carrying £2,437 of the balance, the coin reckoned at a flat five shillings apiece. Spanish American silver was the great international currency of the age, and its weight in the St Helena chest, alongside the double reals, reals and half reals of the same system, shows the island holding its reserve in the money that flowed across the Atlantic from the Spanish mints rather than in any coin of English striking. The dollars stood above ten thousand as they had at the October count, the great mass of the cash unmoved through the quiet season. The £538 in the Company's own cash notes was paper the settlement issued against itself, in denominations running from two shillings and sixpence to forty shillings, standing in the count beside the gold and silver as part of the reserve. A remote factory short of small coin made its own notes to serve for the petty dealings of the island, and their presence in the treasury balance shows the Company supplying by paper the want of a minted currency that the foreign specie, all of it in larger pieces, could not meet. The 727 notes on hand carried the same £538

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			15s they had at the previous count, the paper issue steady as the coin.
104	115		The muster roll of the *Hunt* ran as follows.
		Muster Roll of Ship Kent Vizt	Captain William Robson
		Capt Willm Robinson	Mr Robert Williams
		Mr Robt Williams	Mr John Mumford
		Mr John Mansford	Mr Benjamin Reynolds
		Mr Benj Reynolds	Mr Robert Alexander
		Mr Robt Elmandorst	Dr James Wilson
		Dr Jams Wilson	John Heslop
		John Heslap	James Browne
		Jos Browne	Gothely Blaze
		Gotheb Glaze	Robert Scott
		Robt Scott	Philip Barish
		Phillp Barish	John Shaw
		John Shaw	Charles Forbes
		Chas Forbes	Samuel Woollams
		Sam Woollams	Lawrence Brown
		Laur Brown	John Davies
		John Davies	William Hornby
		Willm Hornby	William Denham
		Will Denham	Alexander Lening
		Alexr Lening	William Ward
		Will Ward	William Stanford
		Will Stanford	William Crawford
		Will Crawford	William Alsham
		Will Abham	John Mills
		John Mills	John Dalston
		John Ralston	Head Walker
		Richd Walker	George Reader
		Geo Reader	Charles Matrix
		Chas Matrix	Robert Head
		R Read	George Janny
		Geo Janny	Henry Johnson
		Henry Johnson	John Smithy
		John Smtby	Barnes Spering
		Bornes Spering	Samuel Collet
		Sam Collet	John Gahan
		John Gahah	James Child
		Jas Child	Peter Oliphant
		Peter Oliphant	William Marshall
		Willm Marshall	Robert Burn
		Robt Burn	Thomas Eades
		Thos Eades	William Pearce
		Will Peace	Nicholas Tomason
		Nic Tomason	Thomas Williams
		Thos Williams	James Brymner
		Ja Brymner	James Daniel
		Ja Dancel	John Degerson
		John Degerson	William Gorsham
		Will Gorsham	William Cross
		Will Cross	James Lampton
		Ja Lampton	Isaac Atkinson
		Isaac Alkorson	Lawrence Cosh
		Laur Cosh	Paulo
		Paulo	James Guide
		Ja Guide	Robert Stack
		Robt Hall	William Paterson
		Will Paterson	William Lammerman
		Will Lammerman	Norcross Dunstom
		Norcross Dunstom	Archie McCloglan
		Archi McCloglan	John Scantom
		John Leantom	Thomas Gunter
		Thos Gunter	Vitobina Josea
		Vitobina Josea	Joseph Bates
		Jos Bates	Michael Dachs
		Michd Dochs	Benjamin Elles
		Benj Elles	McKuing
		Nic Hering	Thomas Brown
		Thos Brown	James Bryant
		Jas Bryant	John Graty
		John Graty	John Leongs
		John Leongs	Louisa Fournellton
		Louisa Vermellion	Richard Doneur
		Rich Deneur	Andreas Vaarson

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		Andreas Vaarson Jacob Anderson Derrich Frammer Peter Cuell John Clason John Michael Allex Donaldson John Bornes Peter Semmen Geo Northeast Nic De Menle Enos De Rosavea Jos Farnadey Fras Savile Class Antonea Jos De Rosavea John De Cruz Jos De Uerza Miguel De Confesion Miguel De Flores Lewes Bera Antony De Rosavea Francis Feltham John Lopez Antg Francisco John De Sylva Domingo Tendon Ja Slovat Thos Neunham Jas Compton Augustus Buston Pigou} Captain Shore	Jacob Anderson Derrick Frammer Peter Cuell John Clason John Michael Alexander Donaldson John Bornes Peter Semmen George Northeast Nicholas de Monte Enos de Rosarea James Farnaby Francis Savile Claas Antonea Joseph de Rosarea John de Croix James de Uerza Miguel de Confession Miguel de Flores Lewes Bera Antony de Rosarea Francis Feltham John Lopez Antony Francisco John de Silva Domingo Tendon James Slovat Thomas Neunham James Compton Augustus Buston Pigou, captain The muster then continued with the men ashore. **Interpretations** The lower part of the roll fills with Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch names among the English crew, the de Rosareas, de Silvas, Lopezes and Franciscos set down beside the Andersons, Vaarsons and Frammers. An East Indiaman drew her hands from every port her voyage touched, and the muster shows the mixed foreign complement such a ship carried, the lascars, Goan and Portuguese seamen and northern Europeans shipped to make up a crew that England alone could not fill for the long passage to India and back. The muster answered the standing order that every ship in the road be searched for deserters, Lieutenant Clark boarding the *Hunt* to call her company over by name and check none had slipped ashore to hide on the island. The single name Paulo without a surname and the entry of one apparent woman's name mark the loose edges of such a crew, but the purpose of the roll was the count, the board keeping its guard against the drain of men that every visiting ship threatened, the garrison already short-handed and unable to spare hands to the sea.
105	116	There having not been any Barley in the Honble Companys Store for some time past for the Poultry we Purchased 205lb from Capt Robinn at 3/6 ₱ 100lb and Ordered the paymaster to pay him for the same Chas Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 22 day of December 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Lievt John Clark Robert Wright} of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Since the Mustering the Ship Kent Thomas Brown of the said Ship Company hath been discovered to be a Deserter from Bengal Captain	There having been no paddy in the Company's store for some time past for the poultry, the board bought 2,050 lb from Captain Robson at three shillings and sixpence the hundredweight, and ordered the paymaster to pay him for it. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 December 1747 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark and Robert Wright of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Since the mustering of the *Hunt*, one Thomas Brown of the Company's ship was discovered to be a deserter from a Bengal captain, Robson, who on being told of it delivered the man up and declared he had known nothing of his being a deserter. The board then executed the following lease to Lieutenant John Barton, granted at the consultation of 17 November.

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		Robinn upon being informed of it has delivered him up to us and declares that he knew nothing before of his being a Deserter Executed the following Lease to Leiutenant John Barlen granted in Consultation of 17 Novr last vizt Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise Lease and to Farm Lett unto John Barlen Lievt all that piece or parcel of Ground situate lying and	The East India Company, as lords proprietor of the island of St Helena, demised and leased to Lieutenant John Barton the whole of a parcel of ground lying [...]. **Interpretations** The purchase of paddy for the poultry shows the reach of the shortage the stock accounts had traced through the autumn. The Company had none of the rough unhusked rice left even to feed its fowls, and the fortunate presence of Captain Robson's ship in the road let the board buy 2,050 lb at three shillings and sixpence the hundredweight rather than let the poultry go unfed, the same leaning on the passing shipping that the yam and provision accounts showed all year. Paddy for the birds was a small want beside the yams bought for the slaves, but it points the same way, an island that could not feed even its poultry from its own ground. The Bengal deserter Thomas Brown, found among the *Hunt*'s company only after Clark's muster had passed her clear, shows the limit of the search the board set such store by. The muster of 15 December had turned up no deserter, yet a runaway from another captain's service stood on the roll under a common name, discovered afterward and given up once Captain Robson learned of it. The episode marks how a man could pass a muster undetected and how the recovery of deserters turned as much on later information and the honesty of the receiving captain as on the roll-call itself.
106	117	and being in James's Valley containing in Front One Hundred & Six Feet and in Back One Hundred and Six Feet Boundary East on the Path called the Sale Path West on the Water Rien South on the Honble Companys Wast Land and North on the John Barton to the Appurts to have and to hold the aforesaid Land and Premisses to their and every of their Appurts unto the said John Barton his Executors Administr & Assigns from the Day of the date hereof for and during and unto the full End & Term of Twenty One Years from thence next Ensueing yielding and paying therefore Yearly and every Year during the Term hereby Granted unto the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Sum of Eighteen Shillings ℔ Annum on the Feast Day of St Michael the Arch Angel in every Year upon condition that the said John Barlen his Executors Administr and Assigns to and shall build a good Bridge cross the Water Rien Yeeing the Guel Barracks sufficient for the safe getting and departing of Foot Passengers and do and shall hereafter maintain the same in good Condition and repair And upon condition that he the said John Barten his Exers Administrators and Assigns do and shall bear true Faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord George the Second his Heirs and Successors and true Faith to them the said Honble Company and their Successors And upon condition that he the said John Barten his Executors Administrators and Assigns do and shall at the End or	The parcel lay in James Valley, measuring one hundred and five feet in front and one hundred and five feet at the back, bounded east on the path called the Sale Path, west on the water course, south on the Company's waste land and north on John Barton. Barton, his executors, administrators and assigns were to hold the land and premises with their appurtenances for twenty-one years from the date of the lease. He was to pay the Company, its successors, agents or assigns a yearly rent of eighteen shillings on the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel. He was to build a good bridge across the water course, sufficient for the guard barracks and for foot passengers to pass and repass, and to keep it in good repair afterward. He was to bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and to the Company and its successors. At the end or other sooner determination of the lease he was to surrender the ground and premises in good repair, and not to suffer the ground or any building on it to run to decay. He was not to sell or dispose of the lease without the leave and consent of the Governor and council for the time being. **Interpretations** The lease bound Barton to build and maintain a bridge across the water course as a condition of his tenancy, which sets this grant apart from every other town lot of the season. The ground ran between the Sale Path and the water course, and rather than charge the Company with a public work the board fixed the cost of the crossing on the tenant who took the land, requiring a bridge stout enough to carry the guard from the barracks as well as ordinary foot traffic. The rent of eighteen shillings, the highest of the James Valley lots, reflected a valuable parcel fronting a named thoroughfare, but the real price of it was the bridge Barton had to raise and keep up at his own charge. The bridge was to serve the guard barracks, so the crossing Barton undertook was not a private convenience but part of the fort's own communications across the stream that split the valley. The board secured a piece of public infrastructure through a private lease, the water course being the same divide that ran between the

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		sooner Expiration hereof leave the same Ground and Premisses in like good Condition and repair and not suffer the said Ground or any Building that is or may be thereon to fall to ruen & Decay And upon condition that he the said John Barten his Executors Administrators and Assigns shall not sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their future interest therein without the Leave and Consent of the Governour and Council for the time being In Witness whereof we the said Governour and	two sides of the packed fort valley, and the covenant tied the upkeep of a military way to the self-interest of the man who held the ground it crossed, a neat shifting of a garrison charge onto a tenant glad enough to have the lot.
107	118	and Council have hereunto set our hands and Affixed the Honble Companys Seal the Twenty Second Day of December in the Twenty First Year of the Reign of our said Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1747 and the said John Barten to the other part hath set his hand and Seal the Day and Year abovewritten (Signd) Chas Hutchinson John Clark R Wright Chas Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 5th day of January 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lt John Clark Robert Wright} of Council The last Consultation was read Approved and Signed Sunday 27th Decr Died Mary daur of Lydia Harper Widow Fryday 1 Jany Died Richard Godwin Planter Died Margaret daur of John Leech Marshalls The Exors of Penelope Isaacke Wd &c Produced the Inventory of the deceaseds Estate taken & Approved by Wm Joseph Deefountain & Joshua Worrall desiring the same might be required Which was Ordered to be done in the Book kept for that Purpose The Exors of Richard Godwin &c Produced his last Will & Testament desiring the same might be Proved which was done in the Presence of the Subscribeing witnesses thereto And is as follows viz Island	The Governor and council set their hands and the Company's seal to the lease on 22 December 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and Barton set his hand and seal to the other part of it on the same day. The Company's part was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Clark and Robert Wright. The consultation was also subscribed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 January 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark and Robert Wright of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. On Sunday 27 December Mary, daughter of Lydia Harper widow, died. On Friday 1 January Richard Goodwin, planter, died, and Margaret, daughter of John Leech the marshal, died. The executors of Penelope Isaack deceased produced the inventory of her estate, taken and appraised by Joseph Desfountain and Joshua Worrall, desiring it might be registered in the book kept for that purpose, which was ordered done. The executors of Richard Goodwin deceased produced his last will and testament, desiring it might be proved on the oaths of the subscribing witnesses. The will ran as follows. **Interpretations** The death of Richard Goodwin took from the settlement one of the substantial planters whose name runs through the whole record. He had appraised estates, held land across the island and stood among the men from whom the Company bought its yams through the failing autumn, so the entry marks the passing of a figure who had sat at the centre of the island's dealings for decades, his will now brought at once to probate before the same board he had so often served as appraiser and juror. The proving of wills and the registering of inventories fell to the board sitting as a probate court, the same function it had discharged through the autumn over the estates of Penelope Isaack and Matthew Mudge. An island with no separate court of its own had its Governor and council take on the whole business of settling the dead, receiving inventories into a book kept for the purpose, hearing the oaths of the witnesses to a will and standing as the authority through which every estate passed, so that the government of the place and the administration of its private successions ran together in one body.
108	119	Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I Rich Godwin of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick and Weak of Body but of Sound and perfect Mind Memory and Understanding Thanks to Almighty God for the same do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following That is to say Imprimis I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God	Richard Goodwin of St Helena, planter, being sick and weak of body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, made his last will and testament as follows. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be decently buried. He left to his children Richard, John, Margaret and Elizabeth his whole estate, both real and personal, to be divided equally between them at the age of twenty-one or marriage, with survivorship to

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		and my Body to the Ground to be decently Intered Item I Give and bequeath unto my Children Richard John Margaret and Elizabeth all my Estate both real and Personal to be equally divided between them at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage which shall first happen And to the Survivors and Survivor of them and the Heirs of such Survivor Subject to the Conditions and Limitations herein after mentioned Item I Give and bequeath unto my beloved Wife Sarah Godwin all that piece or parcel of Freehold Land Containing Three Acres more or less on which my Dwelling House in the Country now stands together with the said Dwelling House with the Appurtenances to the said House belonging And also all those Ten Acres & one quarter of Freehold Land more or less known by the Name of Crawfords including the Price lately Purchased by me from William Young And also all those Twenty one Acres of Freehold Land more or less known by the Name of Samuel Taylors And also One Acre of my Freehold Land more or less under the lower Waterfall in Fairdale Gutt And also all those Thirty one Acres of Freehold Land more or less part of the upper Land above Land called the Red House part	the survivors and the heirs of any survivor, subject to the conditions and limitations set out later in the will. He left to his wife Sarah Goodwin the whole of a parcel of freehold land of about three acres in the country, on which his dwelling house stood, together with the dwelling house and its appurtenances. He also left her ten and a quarter acres of freehold known by the name of Crawford's, including the parcel lately purchased of William Young. He also left her twenty-one acres of freehold known by the name of Samuel Taylor's. He also left her one acre of freehold under the lower waterfall in Rivendale Gut. He also left her thirty-one acres of freehold, part of the upper land, of the land above called the Red House land. **Interpretations** The will keeps the several parcels of Goodwin's freehold under the names of the men he had bought them from, Crawford's, Samuel Taylor's, the Red House land, so that the estate reads as an accumulation of separate purchases gathered over a working life. Island land carried the name of a former holder as its identifier in the absence of any formal survey and register, and the will's careful listing of each parcel by that name is how title was kept and passed, each block traced to the transaction that brought it into Goodwin's hands. The provision for the wife against the equal division among the children shows the testator balancing a widow's security against his heirs' shares. The children were to divide the whole estate equally at coming of age, yet the dwelling house and the principal freehold parcels went first to Sarah Goodwin, so that the equal division fell on what remained after the widow was provided for, the customary life provision for a wife taking precedence over the children's portions in the same way the council had upheld for island widows in the estate disputes of earlier years.
109	120	and part of the Plain below the said lastmentioned Land And also all those five Acres of Leasehold Land below my aforesaid Dwelling House in the Country And also all those four Acres of Leasehold Land Adjoining to a pasture belonging to the Honourable East India Company of England called the Plantation House Hill And also all those Nineteen Acres of Leasehold Land being the lower part of Land called Bawleys and Funeral Hill with a Watching Place for Cattle in the Sheep Pound Gutt to have and to hold unto my said beloved Wife during the Term of her Natural Life And after her decease I give and bequeath all the aforesaid Premisses and every part and parcel thereof Subject to the Conditions and Limitations herein mentioned unto my beloved Son John Goodwin at the Age of Twenty one Years or Married Item I Give and bequeath unto my Son Richard Godwin All that piece or parcell of Freehold Land containing Twenty Acres more or less called Fullers together with the House thereon belonging And also all those Twelve Acres of Freehold Land more or less situate above the said Lastmentioned House called the Plain	Sarah Goodwin was also to have part of the plain below the land mentioned before, and five acres of leasehold below his dwelling house in the country, and four acres of leasehold adjoining a pasture belonging to the Company called the Plantation House. She was also to have nineteen acres of leasehold, the lower part of the land called Bradley's and Tunnel Hill, with a watering place for cattle in the Sheep Pound Gut. She was to hold all this for the term of her natural life, and after her death he left the whole of it, subject to the conditions and limitations set out in the will, to his son John Goodwin at the age of twenty-one or marriage. He left to his son Richard Goodwin the whole of a parcel of freehold of about twenty acres called Fuller's, together with the three houses standing on it and their appurtenances. He also left him twelve acres of freehold above the land mentioned before, called the Plain, together with a watering place for cattle in Spring Gut, with a road sufficient for free ingress and egress to and from the watering place, to be settled by his executors afterward. He also left him ten acres of freehold, part of the pasture land above the Red House. He also left him eleven acres of freehold known by the name of the old garden, adjoining Francis Wrangham's land called Bowen's. He also left him ten acres of freehold called Nabb's. He also left him one acre of freehold at the lower end of his dwelling house in the country called the Plantation, known by the name of Ingram's. He also left him one and a half acres of freehold [...]. **Interpretations** The two sons took the estate in succession rather than in common, Richard receiving his own named parcels outright while John was to have the whole of the widow's holding only after her death. Goodwin split his freehold into two distinct inheritances, giving

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		together with a Watering Place for Cattle in Spring Gutte with a Short or Give of Land sufficient for free ingress Egress and Regress to and from the said Watering Place to be Allotted by my Executors hereafter Named And also all those Ten Acres of Freehold Land more or less part of the Eastern Land above the Red House And also all those Eleven Acres of Leasehold Land more or less known by the name of the old Garden Adjoining to Francis Wranghams Land called Bawleys And also all those Ten Acres of Freehold Land more or less called Notts And also all that one Acre of Freehold Land more or less situate at the lower end of my Plantation near my beforementioned Dwelling House in the Country and known by the Name of Inglins And also one & an half Acres of my Freehold Land more or less situate under	Richard the Fuller's, Plain and old garden parcels at once and settling on John the reversion of the dwelling house and the land his mother held for life, so that the estate would not be divided between the brothers in the same ground but parcelled cleanly between them, each with his own blocks and his own watering places. The careful reservation of watering places and a road to reach them shows how far the value of country land turned on access to water for cattle. Each principal parcel carried its watering place in Spring Gut or the Sheep Pound Gut, and the will took pains to secure a right of way to the water and to bind the executors to lay it out, the dry uplands of the island being worth little to a grazier without a settled point at which his beasts could drink and a lawful path to bring them there.
110	121	under the upper Waterfall in Fairdale Gutt And also all those Eleven Acres of Leasehold Land known by the Name of Sextons And also Sixteen Acres of Leasehold Land to contain the Enclosure known by the Name of Bradleys Gutt and so much of the upper part of the Land called Bradley Adjoining to Land called Boyces as make up the said Quantity of Sixteen Acres To have and to hold unto my said Son Richard to be delivered to him at Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage Subject to the Conditions and Limitations herein mentioned Item I Give and bequeath my Dwelling House in James Valley with the Appurtenances to be Equally divided between my said Sons Richard and John in manner following that is to say The upper part formerly possessed by Thomas Guentree to my said beloved Wife during her Natural Life and after her decease to my said Son John at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage And the lower part to my said Son Richard at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage And my Will is that upon the Division of the said House a party Wall be built if required to run from between the two back Doors entring into each House down to the back Door opening on the Main Water course Subject to the Conditions and Limitations herein mentioned Item It is my Will that all my Land and Houses before devised together with the Goat ranges hereafter bequeathed (in case of the Death of either of my said Sons before the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage) shall descend to the Survivor of my said Sons if he shall Chuse the same and in case of his Death or refusal to my Eldest Daughter if she shall chuse the Same and in case of her Death or refusal to my Youngest Daughter	This last acre and a half of freehold lay under the upper waterfall in Rivendale Gut. Richard was also to have eleven acres of leasehold known by the name of Sexton's, and sixteen acres of leasehold making up the enclosure known by the name of Bradley's Gut, together with so much of the upper part of the land called Bradley's, adjoining land called Boyce's, as would make up the full sixteen acres. He was to hold all this, to be delivered to him at the age of twenty-one or marriage, subject to the conditions and limitations set out in the will. Goodwin left his dwelling house in James Valley, with its appurtenances, to be equally divided between his sons Richard and John as follows. The upper part, formerly held by Thomas Greentree, went to his wife for her natural life, and after her death to his son John at the age of twenty-one or marriage. The lower part went to his son Richard at the age of twenty-one or marriage. He directed that on the division of the house a party wall be built, if required, running from between the two back doors that entered each house down to the back door opening onto the main water course, subject to the conditions and limitations set out in the will. He directed that all his land and houses given before, together with the great ranges given later, should on the death of either son before the age of twenty-one or marriage descend to the surviving son, if he chose to take them. If that son died or refused, the property was to go to his eldest daughter if she chose to take it, and on her death or refusal to his youngest daughter, subject to the conditions and limitations set out in the will. **Interpretations** The direction to build a party wall through the James Valley house, running between the two back doors down to the door opening on the main water course, shows a single town dwelling being physically divided into two between the brothers. Goodwin split the house itself rather than leave it in common, giving the upper part first to his widow and then to John and the lower part to Richard, and provided for a wall to separate the two halves so that each son should have a distinct dwelling under one roof, the crowding of James Valley making such subdivision of a house the ordinary way of housing a growing family on a narrow site.

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		Subject to Conditions and Limitations herein mentioned	The chain of substitution running from son to son and then to the elder and younger daughters shows the testator straining to keep the whole estate in one line and one pair of hands. Rather than let the land divide on a child's early death, he set out a fixed order of succession, each heir given the choice to take the whole and the next in line waiting behind, so that the accumulated freehold should pass entire to a single successor rather than fragment among heirs, the same impulse to hold an island estate together that other planters had pressed on their children in their wills.
111	122	Item I Give full Power and Authority unto my Executors hereafter Named in case the above Division of my said Lands shall not be thought Convenient to alter and Divide the same as shall be most for the Advantage and Interest of my said Sons and Estate Item I Give unto my said Wife during her Natural Life my Goat range at Devils Hole for her use and the use of my said two Daughters and the Survivor of my said two Daughters as long as my said two Daughters remain under Age or unmarried and after the Death of my said Wife I Give the aforesaid range unto my Son John at the Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage Subject to the Conditions and Limitations herein mentioned Item I Give unto my Son Richard my Goat Range at Sooson Valley at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage Subject as aforesaid Item It is my Will that in case of the Marriage of either of my said Daughters my said Son Richard shall be Credited with one Hundred and fifty pounds out of my said Daughters Part or Share if required from the time of my said Son Richards takeing Possession of his said part or Share for Eighteen Months at Common Interest And that my Son John be Credited with the like Sum if required from the time of my said Daughters demanding the same for the time and at the Interest lastmentioned Item I Give to my said Wife one Black Woman named Abigail at Valuation if she Chuses her and also One Chest made of Sandall Wood but not to be Valued to her together with one Third part of my Personall Estate according to Valuation Item I Give to my Son Richard one Black Boy named Jack and Six Silver Table Spoons Six Silver Tea Spoons and one Silver Salver at Valuation Item	Goodwin gave his executors full power and authority, in case the division of his land should not be thought convenient, to alter and divide it as should be most for the advantage and interest of his sons and estate. He gave his wife, during her natural life, his goat range at Devil's Hole, for her use and the use of his two daughters and the survivor of them, for as long as his two daughters remained under age or unmarried. After his wife's death he gave the range to his son John at the age of twenty-one or marriage, subject to the conditions and limitations set out in the will. He gave his son Richard his goat range at Lemon Valley at the age of twenty-one or marriage, subject to the same conditions. He directed that on the marriage of either daughter his son Richard was to be credited with one hundred and fifty pounds out of that daughter's part or share, if required, from the time Richard took possession of the part or share, at common interest for eighteen months, and that his son John was to be credited with the like sum, if required, from the time the daughter demanded her share, for the time and at the interest mentioned before. He gave his wife a black woman named Abigail at valuation, if she chose to have her, and one chest made of sandalwood, not to be valued to her, together with a third part of his personal estate according to valuation. He gave his son Richard a black boy named Jack, six silver table spoons, six silver tea spoons and one silver salver at valuation. **Interpretations** The goat ranges at Devil's Hole and Lemon Valley were distinct grazing rights on particular tracts of the island's rough ground, and Goodwin treated them as heritable property to be settled like his freehold. Goats ran on the steep and broken land unfit for cattle, and the right to graze a named range was a valuable and transferable asset that passed by will alongside the acres, the two ranges divided between the widow's line and Richard just as the arable and pasture parcels had been. The two slaves, Abigail and the boy Jack, passed by will as personal property valued into the estate like the silver and the sandalwood chest. Goodwin's slaves were reckoned among his goods to be appraised and set against the shares of his heirs, the woman going to the widow at valuation and the boy to Richard, so that human beings were counted, priced and bequeathed in the same clauses as the spoons and the furniture, the ordinary treatment of slaves as chattels throughout the island's law of succession.

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112	123	Item I Give to my Daughter Margaret One Black Girl named Bess One Silver Mug and one Silver Soop Ladle at Valuation Item I Give to my Son John One Black Boy named Stephen One large Silver Salver and Six Silver Table Spoons at Valuation Item I Give to my Daughter Elizabeth one Black Girl named Sarah and one Small Silver Salver at Valuation Item I do hereby Will and Direct that in Case my said Wife at the time of my Death should be with Child and the said Child or Children should be born alive and live to the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage that then the said Child or Children be Intitled to and receive a part and share of my Estate Equall with my beforementioned Children Item I Give and bequeath unto Peter Shelley the Sum of Twenty Five Pounds to be disposed of for his use at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named Item I do hereby Will and Direct that my said two Sons or whoever of my Children may possess my said Lands and shall have an over proportion shall pay to the others of my Children such an Allotment as shall make them all equall as is directed in the Second Paragraph of this my Will Item It is my Will and Direction that whoever Possesses my said Lands shall have an Equall Benefite from the Springs of Water Lastly I hereby Nominate and Appoint my beloved Wife Executrix and Messieurs John Goddin Matthew Darling Thomas Guentree Matthew Bazett and myself for Richard Goddin Executors of this my Will but it is my Will and Direction that my Wife Act no longer than she Continues unmarried And I do hereby Revoke all former Will	He gave his daughter Margaret a black girl named Bess, one silver mug and one silver soup ladle at valuation. He gave his son John a black boy named Stephen, one large silver salver and six silver table spoons at valuation. He gave his daughter Elizabeth a black girl named Sarah and one small silver salver at valuation. He directed that if his wife should be with child at the time of his death, and the child or children should be born alive and live to the age of twenty-one or marriage, then that child or children should be entitled to a part and share of his estate equal with his other children named before. He left twenty-five pounds to Peter Shelley, to be disposed of for his use at the discretion of the executors named later. He directed that whichever of his two sons, or of his children, should hold his land and have an over-proportion, was to pay the others such an allotment as would make them all equal, as directed in the second clause of the will. He directed that whoever held his land should have an equal benefit from the springs of water. Lastly, he named his wife executrix and John Goodwin, Matthew Purling, Thomas Greentree, Matthew Bazett and his son Richard Goodwin executors of the will, directing that his wife act only for as long as she remained unmarried, and he revoked all former wills. **Interpretations** The clause requiring that whoever held the land give the others an allotment to make all the children equal shows Goodwin reconciling two aims that pulled against each other. He wanted the estate held whole by a single heir, yet he wanted his children provided for equally, so he bound the land-taking son to buy out or compensate the rest, turning the surplus value of an undivided estate into cash payments to the others and keeping the ground together without disinheriting anyone. The direction that every holder of the land have an equal benefit from the springs of water again marks water as the governing resource of island husbandry. Having split his ground among several heirs, Goodwin took care that none should be cut off from the springs, so that the division of the acres would not leave one child with land he could not water, the shared right to the springs being written into the will as a condition binding on whoever took the parcels they served. The appointment of the wife as executrix only while she remained unmarried was the common device by which a testator kept control of his estate out of the hands of a future second husband. Sarah Goodwin was to administer the estate as a widow, but her authority would cease on any remarriage, so that a new husband could not gain the management of the children's inheritance through her, the same guard against a widow's remarriage that ran through the wills of the island's planters.
113	124	Will and Wills by me made and Ratify and Confirm this and no other to be my last Will and Testament Sealed with my Seal and dated this Twenty Third Day of December in the Twenty First Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1747 Signed Sealed Published and (Signd) Rich Goodwin declared to be the last Will and	Goodwin ratified and confirmed this as his last will, sealed with his seal and dated 23 December 1747, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second. It was signed, sealed, published and declared to be his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, and signed by Richard Goodwin. The witnesses were Robert Wright, Samuel Falconer and Richard Girling. The executors of John Desfountain deceased brought in the inventory of his estate, taken and appraised by Thomas Greentree and John Doveton, desiring that it might be registered, which was ordered done in the book kept for that purpose.

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		Testament of the said Testator in the presence of us (Signd) R Wright Sam Falconer Rich Garling The Executors of John Deefountain deceased brought in the Inventory of the deceaseds Estate taken and Appraised by Mess Thomas Guentree and John Doveton desiring the same might be registred which was Ordered to be done in the Book kept for that purpose Ordered Mr Garling the Honble Companys Overseer to take a Survey of their Plantations and the Condition they are in and return an Account next Tuesday Chas Hutchinson John Clark	The board ordered Richard Girling, the Company's overseer, to take a survey of the Company's plantations and the condition they were in, and to render an account the following Tuesday. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The survey of the Company's plantations ordered here reaches straight to the shortage the stock and cash accounts had traced through the whole autumn and winter. The Company had been buying yams of the planters month after month because its own grounds were too newly planted to yield, and the board now sent its overseer to report on the state of those plantations, seeking to know when the young ground would come into use and the buying-in might cease. This is the continuing thread of the Company's provision grounds and their failure to feed the establishment that runs through the paymaster's accounts of the season. The order fell to Richard Girling as the Company's overseer, the same man now keeping and signing the monthly stock account and witnessing the planters' wills, which marks the overseer's office as the working centre of the Company's husbandry on the island. He mustered the herds, kept the plantation accounts and now surveyed the provision grounds, so that the practical management of the Company's land and stock ran through one salaried officer answerable to the board week by week.
114	125	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 12th Day of January 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lievt John Clark Robert Wright} of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Saturday 9: Arrived the Severn Capt Joseph Collier from Bombay, first at St Davids and last from the Cape Sunday 10: Drowned Thomas Reeves Soldier The Severn brought the following Stores Vizt Invoice of Ship Severn Vizt Rice beaten 22 Bags of 180 Sonat Maund at 2.7/8 Peez of Maund 109 1 Bombay Arrach 2 Leaguers ea of 160 Gall are 320 Gall at 85 Rs ℔ 50 Gall 160 Batavia Arrach 280 Gallons Vizt 1 Leaguer of 160 Gallons 1 Butt 120 Do 280 Gall at 18 Rs ℔ 45 Gall 298 2 67 Charges on Merchandize 562 3 67 Gunny Peices 30 for Rice Bags at 3.1 ℔ Co 1 3 60 Petty Bags 22 at 1..2..65 cad 36 2 30 Setone 3½ 1 31 1 Butt 8 Cooley hire on the Rice and Arrach 2 Almallage 2 00 3 Leaguers at 10 Rupees ea 30 Companys Boat 1 Day carring Rice and Arrach on board 2 2 83 21 (Signd) Errors Excepted H N Whitwell Accompt	At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 January 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark and Robert Wright of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. On Saturday 9 January the *Severn*, Captain Joseph Collier, arrived from Bombay and Fort St David, last from the Cape. On Sunday 10 January Thomas Breece, soldier, died. The *Severn* brought the following stores. The invoice ran as follows. Rice beaten, 22 bags of 180 seer, at 2.75 tears the maund, 109 rupees 1 anna Bombay arrack, 2 leaguers of 160 gallons, arrack over 320 gallons at 85 rupees the 50 gallons, 160 rupees Batavia arrack, 280 gallons: 1 leaguer of 160 gallons 1 butt of 120 gallons 280 gallons at 18 rupees the 45 gallons, 298 rupees 2 annas 67 pies Total goods, 562 rupees 3 annas 67 pies Charges merchandise: Gunny sacks, 30 for rice bags at 3.1 the hundred, 1 rupee 3 annas 60 pies Dilly bags, 22 at 1 rupee 2 annas 66 candareens, 36 rupees 3 annas 30 pies Twine, 3.5, 1 rupee 31 pies 1 butt, 8 rupees Coolie hire on the rice and arrack, 2 rupees Almallage, 2 rupees 00 3 leaguers at 10 rupees each, 30 rupees Company's boat 1 day carrying rice and arrack on board, 2 rupees 2 annas Total charges, 83 rupees 2 annas 1 pie Total, 646 rupees 1 anna 68 pies The invoice was subscribed, errors excepted, by N. Whitwell, accountant. **Interpretations** The *Severn* came in from Bombay and Fort St David laden with the western Indian supply the island depended on, the whole reckoned in rupees, annas and pies as the Bombay Presidency kept its accounts. The rice was measured by the seer and the maund and

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		Rupees 646 1 68	the arrack by the leaguer and the butt, the units of the India trade, and the invoice separates the goods themselves from the charges of gunny sacks, twine, coolie hire and the boat that carried the cargo aboard, so that the island received not only the stores but a full reckoning of the cost of shipping them from the Indian port. The two kinds of arrack, the Bombay and the Batavia, mark the two great sources of the spirit the island ran on. Arrack was the staple strong drink of the garrison and the chief single charge in the store accounts, distilled in western India and at Batavia in the East Indies, and the *Severn* carried both, near six hundred gallons in all, the leaguers and the butt refilling a store whose arrack was drawn down faster than any other commodity. This was the supply that the failing local provision could not touch, the drink shipped whole from India as it always had been.
115	126	Mr Robert Wright reported that he had been on board the Ship Severn to Muster her Company and search for Deserters but found none the Muster Roll is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Severn Vizt Joseph Collier Commander Hugh Humphries Chief Mate John Taylor 2 Do Alexr Sea 3 Do Saml Dorril 4 Do William Herbert Purser Joseph Ewer Surgeon Jacob Still Boatswain William Lintol Gunner Jonathan Millen Carpentr George Loven John Papworth} Midships Saml Martin William Best} Qr Mast John Moss Capts Steward Francis Turner Ships Do John Bigs Cap ts Cook David Arnott Ships Do John Mason Cauther Thomas Brierley Armour Saml Mathews Cooper Stephen Spig Butcher James Poulson Boat Mate Thos Webb Carpenter Do Adoliff Holtitch Seaman John Gimbeard Do Richard Sunkey Do Rotland Roberson Do Hugh Elias Do John Flotman Do Mathw Newman Do Joseph Gay Do John Walker Seaman William Manning Do Robert Roberson Do Cha John Cribet Do Patrick Shay Do Thos Ratlan Do John Company Do Anthny Grellas Do John Oliver Do Thos Andrewwich Do Willm Wislake Do James Walls Do John Robenson Do Erin Hanson Do John Stewers Do Simon Balbor Do Joseph South Do Richard Dawson Do James Finch Do	Robert Wright reported that he had been on board the *Severn* to muster her company and search for deserters, but found none. The muster roll ran as follows. Joseph Collier, commander Hugh Humphries, chief mate John Taylor, second mate Alexander Sea, third mate Samuel Terril, fourth mate William Herbert, purser Joseph Ewer, surgeon Jacob Still, boatswain William Lintel, gunner Jonathan Millon, carpenter George Lewin, midshipman John Papworth, midshipman Samuel Martin, second mate William Best, second mate John Moss, captain's steward Francis Turner, ship's steward John Digs, captain's cook David Arnott, ship's cook John Mason, caulker Thomas Brierley, armourer Samuel Matthews, cooper Stephen Spig, butcher James Poulson, boatswain's mate Thomas Webb, carpenter's mate Radcliff Holditch, seaman John Gumbeard, seaman Richard Sunliff, seaman Rowland Roberson, seaman Hugh Elias, seaman John Flowman, seaman Matthew Newman, seaman Joseph Guy, seaman John Walker, seaman William Manning, seaman Robert Robertson, seaman Charles John Bristol, seaman Patrick Shay, seaman Thomas Slaton, seaman John Company, seaman Anthony Gullias, seaman John Oliver, seaman Thomas Andrewwich, seaman William Wislake, seaman James Walls, seaman John Robinson, seaman Born Hanson, seaman James Sowers, seaman Simon Walker, seaman Joseph South, seaman Richard Dawson, seaman James Finch, seaman James Bullard, seaman William Redman, seaman

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		James Bullard Do Willm Redman Do James Butler Do John Downas Do Alexr Cowan Do Joseph Fardinando Do Peter Hamburgh Do Juan Van Elorne Do John Harrison Do Peter Cabol Do Menny Suffein Do Ambeta d'lavore Do Basten d'Snoya Seaman Nicolao Pereira Do Andreo Gomes Do Domekgo Mirand Do Stephen d'Vaso Do Manuel Pereira Do Franceo d'Souza Do Ambroe Roseiro Do Pascal Pereira Do Vincent d'Roseir Do Joseph Gomes Do Petto Lorenzo Do Juan d'Souza Do Charles Brice Do Charles Aller} Capts Servo Charles Smith Michlord} Chief Mates John Goodwin Serg Do William Dagnet Boat Do William Follows Serg Do Thos Chandler Gun Do Passengers Mrs Mary Say Mrs Ant Upton Capt Thomas Best Fanny Johnny} Children Jo} Country born	James Butler, seaman John Downes, seaman Alexander Cowan, seaman Joseph Ferdinando, seaman Lewis Deverdson, seaman Peter Hamburgh, seaman Juan Van Verre, seaman John Harrison, seaman Peter Cool, seaman Henry Sussion, seaman Ambrose d'Iavore, seaman The ship *Severn* carried more men, and further Portuguese seamen, passengers and country-born children closed the roll. Bastian de Souza, seaman Nicolas Pereira, seaman Andrew Gomes, seaman Domingo Mirande, seaman Stephen de Vass, seaman Manuel Pereira, seaman Francis de Souza, seaman Ambrose Ribiere, seaman Pascal Pereira, seaman Vincent d'Ryzar, seaman Joseph Gomes, seaman Pedro Lorenzo, seaman Juan de Souza, seaman Charles Brice, seaman Charles Adler, seaman Charles Smith, chief mate's servant John Goodwin, sergeant's servant William Dagget, boatswain's servant William Follows, sergeant's servant Thomas Chandler, gunner's servant Passengers: Mrs Mary Say Mrs Ann Upton Captain Thomas Best Fanny, country-born child Johnny, country-born child **Interpretations** The mate reported the muster clear of deserters, the same guard against the loss of men that had been kept over the *Hunt* a month earlier, Robert Wright now boarding the *Severn* to call her company over and check none had slipped ashore. The roll runs from the officers and the ship's tradesmen, the caulker, armourer, cooper and butcher, down through the great body of seamen to the servants, so that the whole working establishment of an East Indiaman is set out rank by rank, the vessel a floating community of a hundred and more souls. The heavy tail of Portuguese and Goan names, the de Souzas, Pereiras and Lorenzos, and the two country-born children carried as passengers, mark the ship as a creature of the India trade rather than a purely English crew. Such vessels shipped their lower hands at the Indian ports and carried the families of Company servants back and forth, so the muster records not only sailors but the human traffic of the empire, women and island-born children moving between the settlements aboard the same ship that brought the island its rice and arrack.
116	127	Mr Joseph Whaley Junr Petitioned for a new Lease for Two Acres and an half of Land in Prosperous Bay Valley his old one being expired Granted Mr Richard Garling the Honble Companys Overseer del the following representation Vizt To Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr &c Council of St Helena Sheweth The Representation of Richard Garling Overseer	Joseph Whaley junior petitioned for a new lease of two and a half acres of land in Prosperous Bay Valley, his old lease having expired. The board granted it. Richard Girling, the Company's overseer, made the following representation to the Governor and council of St Helena. Girling reported that, following the board's orders, he had looked at and examined the Company's plantations in company with John Seale the other overseer, to see their condition, and found about 200,000 yams in the whole, both young and old. Of

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		That he hath Pursuant to your Orders lookt over and Examined in Company with Mr John Bates the other Overseer the Honble Companys Plantations to know their Condition and finds about 800,000 Yams in the whole Young and Old 200,000 of which from 10 to 15 Months old are the only Yams fit to be Dug upon these he Judges will not turn out to more than 80,000 Pounds the if they Dead sometime longer might Yeild much more in Weight, Eighty Thousand Pounds of Yams will supply the Slaves & Pine Works & Inhabitants, there are none of the other Plantations fit to be Dug till five Months hence 12 January 1747 (Signd) Rich Garling Upon Considering the above and Computing the quantity of Rice recieved from the Severn we have thought it most for the Interest of the Honourable Company to conserve Digging on their own Plantations, so long as the Rice will supply their Slaves and to buy Yams for their Stock dureing that time at Twenty Five Millian & Thousand pounds as we now can and which we may not sometime hence be so able to do from the Great Prospect there is on Account of the Drought of there being very Scarce and thereby give their Plantations all the Growth that is possible John Leech the Marshall having Applied for liberty to resign his Place as Marshall and enter as a	these, 200,000 were from six to fifteen months old and were the only yams fit to dig on the plantations, and he judged they would not turn out to more than 80,000, though if left standing longer they might yield much more in weight. Eighty thousand pounds of yams would supply the slaves and the wine works or arrack works, and none of the other plantations would be fit to dig till five months hence. The representation was signed by Richard Girling and dated 12 January 1748. On considering the representation and comparing the quantity of rice received from the *Severn*, the board thought it most for the Company's interest to continue digging on its own plantations, for as long as the price would supply the slaves, and to buy yams for the stock during that time at twenty-five to thirty pounds the thousand, as it now could, which it might not be able to do some time hence on account of the drought, this being very scarce, and thereby to give the plantations all the growth possible. John Leech the marshal, having applied for liberty to resign his place as marshal and enter as [...]. **Interpretations** The overseer's survey put figures on the shortage the board had struggled with all year, finding only 80,000 lb of yams fit to dig against a demand that had run at over 40,000 lb a month, and none of the other grounds ready for five months. The report showed that the Company's own plantations could not carry the slaves and the arrack works for long, which is why the board resolved to eke out the home crop by buying yams for the stock while the price held and the passing ships could still supply, sparing its own young grounds to grow rather than stripping them bare at once. The decision turned on the coming drought and the fear that yams would soon be too scarce to buy. The board chose to purchase for the stock now, at twenty-five to thirty pounds the thousand while it could, precisely because it foresaw that the dry season would drive the price up and dry the supply, so it dug its own ground for the slaves, bought in for the cattle while buying was possible, and held back the bulk of its plantations for growth, a calculated husbanding of a resource it knew was about to grow scarcer. The wine works named here were the island's arrack distillery, which drew on the yam crop alongside the slaves' own food.
117	128	a Private Soldier in the Garrison here, we Granted him his request, and Appointed Thomas Willingham Marshall in his room at the Salary of £17..11..℔ Annum Ordered the Paymaster to pay Twelve Soldiers who had Applied to Us Two Shillings and Six Pence each in Lieu of a Hatt not given them with the rest of the Garrison Shore not having been a sufficient Number Sent from England The Plantation Gunners, and Stewards Accounts for the Month of December last were brought in, Examined, and Approved, and are as follows, Vizt Gunners Stores Expended in December 1747 Guns 3 2 1 32 Pounder fired 4 2 1 Expended The Day of the Month 1 Alarm 6 1 2 13 9 Arrived the Kent Capt Robenn 0 9 9 03 22	Leech having applied to resign the marshal's place and enter as a private soldier in the garrison, the board granted his request and appointed Thomas Willingham marshal in his place at a salary of £17 11s a year. The board ordered the paymaster to pay twelve soldiers, who had applied, two shillings and sixpence each in place of a suit of clothing not given them with the rest of the garrison, there not having been a sufficient number sent from England. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for December were brought in, examined and approved. The gunner's stores expended in December 1747 stood as follows. 1 January, alarm, guns fired 6, powder 1 lb, further powder 2 lb, powder expended 13 lb 9 January, arrived the Severn, Captain Robson, guns fired 9, powder 9 lb, powder expended 9.5 lb Powder for scaling a gun at the Ridge House, 3.5 lb Powder for proving, 0.5 lb Powder to Joseph Long by order of the Governor, 3 lb Powder for signals at the outworks, 3.5 lb Total, guns fired 15, powder 1 lb, further powder 0, powder expended 2 lb, total powder 25.5 lb

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		Powder for Saluting a Gun at the Ridge House 3 3½ Powder for Prouting 4 4½ Powder to Joseph Long by Order of the Gov 3 Powder for Signals in the Out Works 4 4½ Total 15 1 0 2 25 15 Hand Spikes broke at Sandy Bay 2 Hand Spikes broke at the Castle in getting a Gun on Shore 2 Rammer Heads to the Ridge House 1 Spunge Heads to the Ridge House 1 Spunge Staves to the Ridge House 1 Wooden Trucks to Henry Moyce to make a Gun Carriage for Repairs 4 Axeltrees to Henry Moyce for Three Gun Carriages for Repairs 6 (Signd) Jno French Account	Hand spikes broke at Sandy Bay, 2 Hand spikes broke at the crane in getting a gun on shore, 2 Rammer heads to the Ridge House, 1 Sponge heads to the Ridge House, 1 Sponge staves to the Ridge House, 1 Wooden trucks to Henry Moyce to make a gun carriage for Rupert's, 4 Axletrees to Henry Moyce for three gun carriages for Rupert's, 6 This was signed by John French. **Interpretations** The powder issued to Joseph Long by the Governor's own order stands out from the ceremonial and working charges around it, a small quantity of the Company's powder given directly to a private man. Long had nursed the dying soldier Stephen Lufkin and received his chest and annuity by will, and this issue suggests he stood in some particular favour or service with the Governor, powder being a controlled store not lightly parted with, so its grant to a named individual marks a personal transaction crossing the ordinary accounting of the magazine. The wooden trucks and axletrees drawn for Henry Moyce to build gun carriages for Rupert's carry forward the carriage-renewal the board had ordered in December. Moyce the carpenter was making up fresh carriages for three guns at Rupert's Valley, the wheels and axles being issued to him from store, so the resolution to match the ageing ordnance to sound mounts was passing into actual work at the batteries, the fixed defences kept in service by the steady replacement of their rotten woodwork gun by gun. The commutation of a suit of clothing into two shillings and sixpence for twelve soldiers shows the Company meeting a shortfall in its own supply with a cash payment. Too few suits had come from England to clothe the whole garrison, so rather than leave twelve men unclothed or hold them waiting, the board paid them the value of the missing clothing, turning a failure of the annual shipment into a small money settlement that let the men provide for themselves.
118	129	Account of the Honble Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of December 1747 Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Shott, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaing ye the 1st: Bulls 3, Cows 100, Calves 64, Yearlings 65, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Oxen 16, Total 274, Ewes 133, Weathers 26, Lambs 64, Rams 5, Total 228, Ewes 112, Weathers 31, Kidds 34, Rams 6, Total 183, Sows 19, Barrows 3, Shoats 30, Piggs 34, Boars 2, Total 83, Turkeys 10, Fowls 43, Ducks 212, Geese 27, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 6, Boars 0, Total 6, Turkeys 5, Fowls 30, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bulls 3, Cows 100, Calves 64, Yearlings 65, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Oxen 16, Total 274, Ewes 133, Weathers 26, Lambs 64, Rams 5, Total 228, Ewes 112, Weathers 31, Kidds 34, Rams 6, Total 183, Sows 14, Barrows 3, Shoats 30, Piggs 40, Boars 2, Total 89, Turkeys 15, Fowls 43, Ducks 242, Geese 27, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Killed: Bulls 1, Cows 2, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 1, Weathers 4, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 5, Ewes 1,	The account of the Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of December 1747 stood as follows. Neat cattle remaining 1 December: bulls 3, cows 100, calves 64, yearlings 65, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 274 Neat cattle increased: 0 Neat cattle after increase: bulls 3, cows 100, calves 64, yearlings 65, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 16, total 274 Neat cattle killed: bulls 1, cows 2, total 3 Neat cattle died: calves 2, total 2 Neat cattle stolen: 0 Neat cattle remaining 31 December: bulls 2, cows 98, calves 64, yearlings 63, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 15, total 268 Sheep remaining 1 December: ewes 133, wethers 26, lambs 64, rams 5, total 228 Sheep increased: 0 Sheep after increase: ewes 133, wethers 26, lambs 64, rams 5, total 228 Sheep killed: ewes 1, wethers 4, total 5 Sheep died: ewes 1, wethers 3, lambs 2, total 3 Sheep stolen: 0 Sheep remaining 31 December: ewes 130, wethers 22, lambs 63, rams 5, total 220 Goats remaining 1 December: does 112, wethers 31, kids 34, rams 6, total 183 Goats increased: 0 Goats after increase: does 112, wethers 31, kids 34, rams 6, total 183

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		Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 0, Barrows 2, Shoats 1, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 3, Turkeys 0, Fowls 6, Ducks 12, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 1, Total 3, Ewes 2, Weathers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 2, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 16, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 1, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Remaing ye the 31st: Bulls 2, Cows 98, Calves 64, Yearlings 63, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Oxen 15, Total 268, Ewes 130, Weathers 22, Lambs 63, Rams 5, Total 220, Ewes 112, Weathers 30, Kidds 34, Rams 6, Total 182, Sows 14, Barrows 3, Shoats 28, Piggs 37, Boars 2, Total 84, Turkeys 15, Fowls 36, Ducks 214, Geese 26, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Yams Expended 45,000 Two Children born, Sarah and Bridget (Signd) Errors Excepted Rich Garling	Goats killed: does 1, total 1 Goats died: wethers 1, total 3 Goats stolen: 0 Goats remaining 31 December: does 112, wethers 30, kids 34, rams 6, total 182 Hogs remaining 1 December: boars 19, barrows 3, sows 30, hoggs 34, frows 2, total 83 Hogs increased: pigs 6, total 6 Hogs after increase: boars 19, barrows 3, sows 30, hoggs 40, frows 2, total 89 Hogs killed: sows 2, hoggs 1, total 3 Hogs died: hoggs 2, total 2 Hogs stolen: 0 Hogs remaining 31 December: boars 14, barrows 3, sows 28, hoggs 37, frows 2, total 84 Poultry remaining 1 December: turkeys 10, fowls 43, ducks 212, geese 27 Poultry increased: turkeys 5, fowls 30 Poultry after increase: turkeys 15, fowls 43, ducks 242, geese 27 Poultry killed: fowls 6, ducks 12, geese 1 Poultry died: ducks 16 Poultry stolen: ducks 1 Poultry remaining 31 December: turkeys 15, fowls 36, ducks 214, geese 26 Horses remaining 1 December: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Horses remaining 31 December: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Yams expended, 45,000 lb Two children born, Sarah and Bridget The account was subscribed, errors excepted, by Richard Girling. **Interpretations** The herd slipped from 274 to 268 across December, a bull and two cows killed and two calves lost, so the cattle were drawn on again after November's untouched month, though the fall was slight and the run of monthly closes now reads 283 in August, 279 at the muster, 275, 274 and 268 here. The killing of a bull and cows rather than saleable steers marks a herd feeding itself and the fort from its breeding stock, no ship in the road to take the young males the account still carried, the settled herd of the quiet season yielding a few head to the winter table. The entry of two children, Sarah and Bridget, born among the livestock increase records the birth of two slave children set down in the same account as the calves and lambs. The Company's slaves were reckoned as part of its stock, their births entered alongside the beasts, so the same document that counted the herd counted the human property that worked it, the two children added to the Company's holdings exactly as the six pigs farrowed in the month were added to the hogs. This continues the practice the stock accounts show through the whole record, slave births and deaths carried among the animals. The yam expenditure held at 45,000 lb, close to the 43,000 lb of November, the demand steady while the overseer's survey warned the home crop could not carry it much longer. The board's resolution of the same week to keep buying yams for the stock while the price held sits directly against this figure, the monthly draw running on unchanged as the Company weighed how long its own plantations and the passing ships together could meet it before the drought bit.
119	130	Sundry's Expended at the Castle in December 1747 Vizt 22 Bottle Port 1 12 6½ 17 Do Lisbon 1 5 1¼ 31 Do Matera 3 1 9	The sundries expended at the castle in December 1747 stood as follows. 22 bottles of port, £1 12s 6.25d 17 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 5s 1.25d 31 bottles of Madeira, £3 1s 9d 6.5 gallons of Goa arrack, £0 9s 2.25d 177 bottles of strong beer, £0 0s 0d 81 bottles of small beer, £1 0s 7.5d 12 lb of sugar, £0 2s 6d

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		6½ Gallons Sea Arrack 9 2¼ 177 Bottles Strong Beer 81 Do Small Do 3 1 0 7½ 12 lb Sugar 2 6 10 lb Candy 2 11 235 lb Flower 1 9 96 lb Fresh Pork 2 8 6 Peices Salt Pork 11 3 182 lb Mutton 3 15 10 93 lb Beef 1 3 3 7 Fowls 10 6 10 Ducks 15 £ 18 10 2¼ Chas Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 19th Day of January 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lievt John Clark Robert Wright} of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Joseph Whaley Just Complained against Mess Richard Boale, and Martin Harper, Executors of Stephen Suffrin Sen late Planter	10 lb of candy, £0 2s 11d 235 lb of flour, £0 9s 0d 96 lb of fresh pork, £2 8s 0d 6 pieces of salt pork, £0 11s 3d 185 lb of mutton, £3 15s 10d 93 lb of beef, £1 3s 3d 7 fowls, £0 10s 6d 10 ducks, £0 15s 0d Total, £18 10s 2.25d This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 19 January 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark and Robert Wright of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Joseph Whaley junior complained against Richard Beale and Martin Harper, the executors of the late Stephen Lufkin, planter. **Interpretations** The reappearance of beef among the castle's provisions, at 93 lb, marks a small return of fresh Company beef to the table after the run of months in which the herd was left untouched and the fort ate its own hogs, sheep and poultry. The account still leaned heavily on mutton and pork, 185 lb and 96 lb against the 93 lb of beef, so the beef was a modest supplement rather than the staple, the winter table drawing on every class of the Company's stock while the cattle were spared the market for want of shipping. Joseph Whaley's complaint against Richard Beale and Martin Harper as executors of Stephen Lufkin opens a dispute over the very estate whose will had been proved before the board days earlier, on 8 December. Whaley junior had himself been named an executor and the residuary legatee in Lufkin's will, so the quarrel sets one executor against the others over the administration of a soldier's small estate, the council once again the forum in which the settlement of the dead was contested. The nature of Whaley's grievance is not yet reached in the part of the record set down here.
120	131	Planter deceased for refuseing to pay him a Sum of Money which he Claims from the said Stephen Suffrin deceaseds Estate; by Virtue of the last Will and Testament of Stephen Suffrin late Soldier here deceasd, dated the 18 day of November 1747, who the said Joseph Whaley saith was Heir at Law to Joseph Suffrin, &c Surviving Legatee in and according to the said Stephen Suffrin Senrs Will Messieurs Boale and Harper Appeared, and said they refused the Payment of the above Money to the said Joseph Whaley as they did not Apprehend, he was Intitled to receive the same Whereupon it was referred to be decided by the Jury at the next Sessions Robert Meacock, Cooper, presented the following Petition and Complaint against Sergeant Wilkin, and Swore to the truth of it Vizt To Chas Hutchinson Esqr Govr &c Council of the Island St Helena Sheweth The Humble Petition of Robt Meacock That Your Petitioner begg'd leave to lay before Your Honours the following Circumstance Vizt	Whaley's complaint was that Beale and Harper refused to pay him a sum of money he claimed from the estate of the late Stephen Lufkin, under Lufkin's last will of 18 November 1747, Whaley being the heir at law to Lufkin junior and the surviving legatee under that will. Beale and Harper appeared and said they refused the payment because they did not think Whaley entitled to receive it. The matter was referred to be decided by a jury at the next court. Robert Meacock, cooper, presented the following petition and complaint against Sergeant William, and swore to the truth of it. Meacock petitioned the Governor and council of St Helena, laying before the board the following circumstances. David Wilson, John Collins and Meacock himself jointly agreed to buy of the late David Dunbar eleven leaguers of arrack, for which they gave five shillings a gallon. Wilson and Collins then agreed to allow Meacock one shilling a gallon more, in consideration of his looking after the leaguers and keeping them from leakage. **Interpretations** The referral of Whaley's claim to a jury shows the board declining to settle a contested question of legal right itself and sending it instead to trial. Where a will's meaning and a legatee's entitlement were genuinely disputed between the parties, the council sat as a court of first instance but passed the decision of fact and right to a jury of the inhabitants, so that a quarrel over who took under a soldier's will was resolved by the island's own men empanelled rather

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		David Wilkin, John Collins, and my Self Jointly agreed to have of Deced Dunbar Esqr this Quarter Eleven Leaguers of Arrack, for which we gave Six Shilling ℔ Gallon to the said Deced Dunbar Esqr, and they Messrs David Wilkin, and John Collins, agreed and Consented to Allow me one Shilling ℔ Gallon more, in Consideration to look after their Leagieves, and to keep them from Leakage In	than by the Governor and council on their own authority. This was the same course the board had taken with the contest over the Scott estate at the court of judicature in October. Meacock's arrangement over the arrack sets out the private trade in spirit that ran alongside the Company's own store. Three men clubbed together to buy eleven leaguers of the late Governor Dunbar's arrack at five shillings the gallon, a substantial parcel held in partnership, and Meacock as the cooper was paid an extra shilling the gallon to keep the leaguers from leaking. His skill with casks, the same trade by which he served the Company, gave him a stake in the venture beyond his share of the purchase, the care of the arrack against wastage being worth a premium to the other two partners. The dispute with Sergeant William that this petition opens is not yet reached in the part set down here.
121	132	In about Four Months after the Arrack was bought, Deced Dunbar Esqr then Granted me a Lycence to sell Spiritous Liquors, and from that time, Jredor Charged them the one Shilling ℔ Gallon, I having a Lycence to retail Spiritous Liquors, as well as they the said David Wilkin, and John Collins The said David Wilkin too the time of my having the Lycance, Owed me the Sum of Twelve Pounds, Thirteen Shillings, which was in Consideration Esqr for one Shilling ℔ Gallon, for the Arrack delivered to him, which was, Six hundred and Fifty Three Gallons, and Thirteen Shillings, and Six pence oweing to me on Ballance of former Accounts, The Total being the Sum of Thirteen Pounds, Six Shillings, and Six Pence In part of which, he paid me the Sum of Five Pounds Accordingly J told him J would be Glad, if he could let me have the Remainder of the said Sum Soon In a short time after J wished to him for the Remainder, and he the said David Wilkin, wished me to forbear a little longer, for he said he beleived, J did not want it at that time, and if J would be a Service to him in the Shipping J told him J beleived J should buy nothing, and J would wait a little longer for J Accordingly J wished to him for the Remainder of the Ballance, which he Could Owned, Six Shillings, and Sixpence and he told me he owed me Nothing, but said J was Indebted to him, And Accused Me of takeing Liquor, Sugar &c out of the Store for the Charlotte, which was, as he Termed it, against Rules, And Likewise, Accused Me, of Boring up a Cask of Brandy, to John Collin's unknown to him, he saying he had a Staff in it, the which said Cask, as he Accuses me with, was a Third of a Leaguer of Arrack, brought by me, and John Collins of Mr Merrick, Chief Mate, of the Ship Somerset Captain Ollton Therefore J most humbly beg Your Honours just Decission	About four months after the arrack was bought, Governor Dunbar granted Meacock a licence to sell spirituous liquors, and from that time Meacock charged Wilson and Collins the one shilling a gallon, having a licence to retail as well as they did. Wilson, up to the time Meacock had the licence, owed him twelve pounds thirteen shillings, being the one shilling a gallon on the arrack delivered to him, which came to six hundred and fifty-three gallons, and thirteen shillings and sixpence owing on their former accounts, the whole coming to thirteen pounds six shillings and sixpence. Of this Wilson paid Meacock five pounds, and Meacock told him he would be glad if he could let him have the rest soon. A short time after, Meacock went to Wilson for the remainder, and Wilson asked him to wait a little longer, saying he believed Meacock did not want it at that time, and Meacock, wishing to do him a service in the shipping, said he could wait, and would wait a little longer. When he later went for the remainder of the balance, which came to eight pounds six shillings and threepence, Wilson denied owing him anything, saying he was indebted to him, and accused Meacock of pilfering liquor, sugar and other goods out of the stores for the planters, which Wilson pretended was set against Meacock over the drawing off of a cask of brandy to John Collins unknown to him. Wilson said there was a fault in the cask, which was one Meacock had accused Wilson of, being a leaguer of arrack brought by Meacock and John Collins of Mr Merrick, chief mate of the ship *Somerset*, Captain Ellson. Meacock most humbly begged the Governor and council for their just decision. **Interpretations** The dispute turns on a partnership in the private liquor trade souring into mutual accusations of theft from the Company's stores. Wilson met Meacock's demand for the eight pounds still owing not by paying but by charging him with pilfering liquor, sugar and goods out of the stores for the planters, so a straightforward debt over arrack became a counter-charge of embezzlement, each partner accusing the other of dishonest dealing with the Company's property in a trade that ran on the edge of the store's own supply. The tangle of leaguers, licences and cross-claims shows how closely the private spirit trade shadowed and drew on the Company's warehouse. The licence to retail spirituous liquors that Dunbar granted was the instrument by which the Company controlled and taxed the island's drink trade. Before he held it Meacock could not lawfully charge for retailing, and only once licensed could he take the shilling a gallon on equal footing with Wilson and Collins, so the licence was both a permission to trade and the thing that fixed the partners on the same commercial footing, the revenue from such licences being a standing item of the Company's

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			island income. The council was now asked to unpick a private reckoning that the licences, the store and the shipping had all become entangled in.
122	133	Decission in this Affair And Your Petitioner shall ever Island St Helena pray Janry 19 1747 (Signd) Robert Meacock To which, Sergeant Wilkin, returned the following Answer Vizt To Chas Hutchinson Esqr Governour and the Gentlemen of the Council of the Island St Helena Sheweth The Humble Petition of David Wilkin That John Collins, and Your Petitioner, did Agree to Allow Robert Meacock, One Shilling ℔ Gallon, of the Arrack, which was Governr Dunbars, and he Robert Meacock, in Consideration of this One Shilling ℔ Gallon, promised to take care of the Arrack, and that all the Brandy, and Sugar that he could get Charged in the Stores for himself, or any other Person in the Island, it would be put togather, from time to time; and Equally Divided between John Collins, and Your Petitioner; Likewise, that all the Leakings, not only of these Arrack Leagures but what Brandy Casks should be Emptied in the Store should be taken care of and Divided as above, of which Agreement Robert Meacock never performed the least Article to me which Your Petitioner does really think in his Conscience, that he is not Intitled to Robert Meacock, One farthing Otherwise, J would have paid him without giving so much trouble 19 Janry 1747/8 I Humbly beg that Your Honours will see me righted And Your Petitioner will as in Duty for You ever Pray (Signd) Dd Wilkin Robert	Meacock's petition was dated at St Helena, 19 January 1748, and signed by Robert Meacock. To this Sergeant Wilson returned the following answer, petitioning the Governor and council of St Helena. Wilson set out that John Collins and he had agreed to allow Robert Meacock the one shilling a gallon on the arrack, which Governor Dunbar had granted, and that Meacock, in consideration of the one shilling a gallon, promised to look after the arrack. Meacock had further undertaken that all the brandy and sugar he could get charged in the stores, for himself or any other person on the island, should be put together from time to time and equally divided between John Collins and Wilson, and that all the leakings, not only of the arrack leaguers but of whatever brandy casks should be lodged in the store, should be taken care of and divided in the same way. Wilson claimed that Meacock never performed this agreement, and had led Wilson to think, which he truly believed in his conscience, that he was not indebted to Meacock in one farthing, or otherwise he would have paid him without giving so much trouble. Wilson humbly begged the board to see him righted, and his answer was dated 19 January 1748 and signed by David Wilson. **Interpretations** Wilson's answer lays bare that the partnership rested on a scheme to divide goods fraudulently charged into the Company's stores. He claimed Meacock had promised that whatever brandy and sugar he could get charged in the stores, for himself or anyone else, should be pooled and split three ways, along with the leakings of every cask lodged there, so the agreement Wilson set out in his own defence was in substance a conspiracy to skim the Company's warehouse, each partner admitting the arrangement while blaming the other for breaking it. The board was faced with two men each confessing to a plan to defraud the Company in the course of accusing the other of bad faith. The leakings of the casks lodged in the store were a recognised source of gain that the partners fought to control. Spirit kept in leaguers and casks wasted steadily, and the right to take up that leakage, whether of their own arrack or of any brandy stored on the island, was worth dividing among them, so the wastage that the Company's own storekeeper charged to profit and loss each year was here being quietly appropriated by the men who handled the casks. The quarrel exposes the porous line between the Company's store and the private dealings of the servants who worked in and around it, the same slack management the governors had complained of for years.
123	134	Robert Meacock, in reply, said that he never took any Stores out, on Account of any Planters, but did use the Leakings of the Casks in the Stores, for filling up the Arrack, brought of Govr Dunbar, and Actually made use of all for that purpose according to the said Agreement, and never sold a Drop Contrary thereto Sergeant Wilkin, not being able to prove, that Meacock had Acted to his prejudice, in the said Agreement, was Told that if he did not bring in such proof, on, or before next Tuesday, he must pay Meacock the Balance of his Account	Robert Meacock, in reply, said that he never took any stores out on account of any planters, but did use the leakings of the casks in the stores for filling up the arrack bought of Governor Dunbar, and actually made use of them all for that purpose according to the agreement, and never sold a drop contrary to it. Sergeant Wilson, not being able to prove that Meacock had acted to his prejudice under the agreement, was told that if he did not bring in such proof on or before the following Tuesday, he must pay Meacock the balance of his account. The storekeeper brought in his collections for the months of October, November and December, which were examined and approved. The collection of goods sold out of the Company's stores from 1 October to 31 December 1747 stood as follows.

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		The Storekeeper brought in his Collections for the Months of October, November, and December last which were Examined and Approved, and are as follows Vizt Collection of Goods Sold out of the Honble Companys Stores from the 1st October to the 31st December 1747 Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 ℔ Cent Arrack 11 Gallons 2 15 Brandy 597 ¾ Do 247 11 3 Sugar & Candy Vizt 1327¼ lb Sugar 54 11 4 727 lb Candy 15 2 11 69 14 3 Bread & Flower Vizt 1059 lb Bread 8 9 4 880 lb Flower 6 8 4 760 lt b baked 140 5 2 155 2 64 Do Soap 221 7 9 4 Tea Vizt 320 lb Debis 18 13 11 6 Catties Do 9 Do Carried over £ 14 2 11 Carried over £ 482 10 2¼	Sold to the Company's servants at ten per cent: Arrack, 11 gallons, £2 15s 0d Brandy, 899.75 gallons, £247 11s 3d Sugar and candy: 1,327.25 lb of sugar, £54 11s 4d 727 lb of candy, £15 2s 11d Total sugar and candy, £69 14s 3d Bread and flour: 1,059 lb of bread, £8 9s 4d 880 lb of flour, £6 8s 4d 760 lb baked, £140 5s 2d Total bread and flour, £155 2s 64d Soap, 221 lb, £7 9s 4d Tea: 390 lb of Bohea, £18 13s 11d 6 catties, £0 9s 0d Total carried over, £19 2s 11d Total carried over, £482 10s 2.25d **Interpretations** The brandy dominates the quarter's sales at near nine hundred gallons and £247, far the heaviest single line, the same predominance of spirit in the store's dealings that the yearly waste accounts had shown. The Company's servants bought their brandy at ten per cent above cost, the lowest of the graded mark-ups the store charged its various classes of buyer, so the garrison drew its drink from the warehouse at little above the invoice price while the planters and foreign ships paid far more, the spirit trade being both the store's largest business and a graded instrument of the Company's favour to its own people. The board's handling of the Meacock dispute shows it shifting the burden of proof onto the accuser and setting a deadline. Wilson had charged Meacock with skimming the stores but could not prove it, so the council ruled that unless he brought evidence by the following Tuesday he must simply pay the debt, refusing to let an unproven counter-charge defeat a plain account. Meacock's own admission that he used all the cask leakings to top up the arrack, and sold none, was accepted as consistent with the agreement, so the man who handled the casks was believed over the partner who could show nothing, the board cutting through the mutual accusations by demanding proof and giving a short time to produce it.
124	135	Brought over £ 482 10 2¼ Tea Brought over £ 19 2 11 7 Catties Congo 14 7 63 lb Single 5 5 6 Catties Do 16 25 18 6 Beef & Pork Vizt 97 lb Beef at 3/10 13 14 10 609 lb Do 2/ 60 8 100 lb Pork 2/1½ 10 4 2 828 lb Do 2/ 82 16 169 3 Shoes Vizt 150 lb Mens Ordinary 32 10 17 lb Do Fanet 2 6 1 3 lb Do Pumps 1 1 9 35 17 10 Shirts Vizt 26 Soldiers Shirts	The collection of goods sold to the Company's servants was carried on as follows. Brought over, £482 10s 2.25d Tea brought over, £19 2s 11d 7 catties of Congo, £0 14s 7d 63 lb of single tea, £5 5s 0d 6 catties of tea, £0 16s 0d Total tea, £25 18s 6d Beef and pork: 97 lb of beef at 3s 10d, £13 14s 10d 609 lb of beef at 2s, £60 8s 0d 100 lb of pork at 2s 0.5d, £10 4s 2d 828 lb of pork at 2s, £82 16s 0d Total beef and pork, £169 3s 0d Shoes: 150 pairs of men's ordinary, £32 10s 0d 17 pairs of men's fine, £2 6s 1d 3 pairs of men's pumps, £1 1s 9d Total shoes, £35 17s 10d Shirts: 26 soldiers' shirts, £5 19s 2d 6 sergeants' shirts, £2 3s 9d 4 dungaree shirts, £0 8s 2d 114 calico shirts, £11 12s 9d Total shirts, £20 3s 10d Vinegar, 39.25 gallons, £3 19s 11d Rice, 39 lb, £1 2s 9d Twine, 28 skeins, £0 13s 6.25d Salt, 6.5 bushels, £1 2s 9.25d Hooks and lines:

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		5 19 2 6 Sergeants Do 2 3 9 4 Dungaree Do 8 2 114 Catties Do 11 12 9 20 3 10 Vinegar 39½ Gallons 3 19 11 Rice 39 lb 6/ 1 2 9 Twyne 28 Skains 13 6¾ Salt 6½ Bushels 1 2 9¾ Hooks & Lines Vizt 13½ Doz Hooks sorted 17 8¾ 300 Blue Hooks 1 8 300 Hooks of Greenham 5 2½ 5 Doz 9 Lines sorted 1 3 2 4 9¼ Carried over £ 740 16 9¼	15.5 dozen hooks sorted, £0 17s 8.75d 300 blue hooks, £0 1s 8d 300 hooks of Grantham's, £0 5s 2.5d 5 dozen 9 lines sorted, £1 0s 3d Total hooks and lines, £2 4s 9.5d Total carried over, £740 16s 9.5d **Interpretations** The beef and pork sold to the servants at £169 shows the garrison buying its salt and fresh meat from the store alongside the Company's own market supply, the two grades of beef at three shillings and tenpence and at two shillings the pound marking fresh against salt provision. The heavy quantity of pork, over sixteen hundred pounds against the beef, reflects the same pattern the stock accounts had shown through the quiet season, the hogs carrying much of the fort's meat demand while the cattle were spared, the store's sales tracking the husbandry of the herd and the sty. The fishing hooks and lines, including three hundred marked as the *Grantham*'s, point to the fishery the island leaned on to help feed itself. The store carried blue hooks, sorted hooks and lines by the dozen for sale to the servants, the tackle of the boats that worked the sea for the fish that eked out the meat the failing herds could not spare, so even the smallest items of the collection connect to the great problem of provisioning a remote island whose own ground and stock fell short. The hooks named for the *Grantham* were part of the great stock of fishing tackle the annual inventory had shown in the warehouse, drawn on to keep the boats supplied.
125	136	Brought over £ 740 16 9¼ Oil Vizt 10 Bottles Florence 1 7 6 10¼ Gallons Tyzen 1 11 7¾ 2 Gall Linseed 9 2 8½ Gallons Sea Cow 1 5 5¼ 4 11 8¾ Lead Vizt 34 lb Shot 4 4 6½ lb Egg 1 7¾ 4 5 2¾ Iron Potts 4 1 7 6 Nails Vizt 102 lb 6 2 2 6 35 lb 4 15 3¾ 6 lb 3 3 3 10½ lb 20 3 8¾ 38 lb Flooring Brads 15 ½ 5 lb Scupper 2 6 4 2 3¾ Paint Vizt 81 lb Chalk 3½ 3 lb Venetian Red 7½ 1 lb White Lead 3½ 28 lb Whiting 1 3	The collection of goods sold to the Company's servants was carried on as follows. Brought over, £740 16s 9.5d Oil: 10 bottles of Florence, £1 7s 6d 10.25 gallons of train, £1 11s 7.5d 2 gallons of linseed, £0 9s 2d 8.25 gallons of sea cow, £1 5s 5.25d Total oil, £4 11s 8.5d Lead: 84 lb of shot, £1 4s 0d 6.5 lb of egg, £0 1s 2.25d Total lead, £1 5s 2.25d Iron pots, £1 7s 6d Nails: 102 lb of 6, £2 2s 6d 35 lb of 4, £0 15s 3.5d 6 lb of 3, £0 3s 3d 10.5 lb of 20, £0 3s 8.25d 38 lb of flooring brads, £0 15s 0.5d 5 lb of scupper, £0 2s 6d Total nails, £1 2s 3.75d Paint: 81 lb of chalk, £0 0s 5.25d 3 lb of Venetian red, £0 0s 7.25d 1 lb of white lead, £0 0s 3.5d 28 lb of whiting, £0 1s 3d 1.5 lb of double blacking, £0 0s 7.25d 1 lb of indigo, £0 4s 8.25d Total paint, £0 17s 8d Tailor: Cloth, 2 boys' jackets and breeches, £0 17s 8d Thread: 4.5 lb of coloured, £0 14s 8d 1 lb of white and brown, £0 3s 6d 1 lb of nuns, £0 1s 4.5d Total thread, £1 1s 6.5d Total carried over, £757 17s 1.5d **Interpretations** The sea cow oil among the store's stock is the product of the island's own hunting of the marine animals that came inshore, one of which had been taken in the autumn at the cost of a quarter-pound of

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		17 lb Double Blacking 7 4 4 lb Indico 4 8¾ Taylors Charles 2 Boys Jackets and Breeches 17 8 Thread Vizt 4 lb Colourd 14 8 1 lb White & Brown 3 6 1 Oz Nuns 1 4¾ 1 1 6¾ Carried over £ 757 17¼	powder and some brandy. Rendered down for its oil, the sea cow yielded a saleable commodity the store carried alongside the imported Florence, train and linseed oils, so a creature killed on the island's own shore fed into the same collection as the oils shipped from Europe and India, a small instance of the settlement supplying from its own resources what it could. The range of nails, paint and building oils sold to the servants reflects the constant fabric work the settlement carried on, the flooring brads, scupper nails, white lead and whiting being the materials of house and boat repair. The store served as the island's general supplier of hardware as well as of food and drink, the servants drawing the small stuff of construction and maintenance from the same warehouse that held the great anchors and masts, so the collection reads as the whole material economy of a remote station passing across the storekeeper's counter piece by piece.
126	137	Brought over £ 757 17 1½ Glass Ware Vizt 20 Wine Glasses 13 11 3 Beh Do 3 3¾ 15 Sqr Glass 12 by 12 13 2¾ 1 8 5 Buckram Vizt 13½ Yards Buckram 10 11¾ 8¾ Yd Oznabrig 5 7¾ 16 7 Camblet 6 Yds Blue 15 6 Cordage 75 lb 1 8 3¾ Hosier Ware Vizt 89 lb Mens Thread 12 4 9 10 lb Do Knit 1 11 8 14 lb Do Worge 2 13 8 3 lb Do Cotton 6 16 16 1 Shaloon 33¾ Yds 3 18 2¼ Deal Vizt 8 Double 1 2 4 Small Baths 17 4 5 Wainscott Boards 1 3 9 1 lb Oak Plank 15 3 18 1 Haberdashers Ware Vizt 49 Skains Mohair 18 4½ 76 Sk Silk 1 14 10 15½ dez Mohair Ct Buttons 10 4 38½ dez Moh St Do 12 10 16 dez Ct Do Do 18 11¾ dez Ct Bt Do 6 5¾	The collection of goods sold to the Company's servants was carried on as follows. Brought over, £757 17s 1.5d Glassware: 20 wine glasses, £0 12s 11d 3 beer glasses, £0 3s 3.25d 15 squares of glass 12 by 12, £0 12s 2.25d Total glassware, £1 8s 5d Buckram: 12.5 yards of buckram, £0 10s 11.25d 8.5 yards of osnaburg, £0 5s 7.75d Total, £0 16s 7d Camlet, 6 yards blue, £0 15s 6d Cordage, 75.5 lb, £1 8s 3.75d Hosiery: 89 pairs of men's thread, £12 4s 9d 10 pairs of men's knit, £1 11s 8d 14 pairs of men's worsted, £2 13s 8d 3 pairs of men's cotton, £0 6s 0d Total hosiery, £16 16s 1d Shalloon, 39.75 yards, £3 18s 2.25d Deal: 8 double, £1 2s 0d 4 small baths, £0 17s 4d 5 wainscot boards, £1 3s 9d 1 pair of oak plank, £0 15s 0d Total deal, £3 18s 1d Haberdashery: 49 skeins of mohair, £0 18s 4.5d 76 skeins of silk, £1 14s 10d 15.5 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 10s 4d 38.5 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 12s 10d 16 dozen coat buttons, £0 18s 0d 11.5 dozen breast buttons, £0 6s 5.25d 1.5 dozen white metal coat buttons, £0 0s 10d 3 dozen breast buttons, £0 0s 10.5d Total haberdashery carried over, £5 2s 6.25d Total carried over, £786 13s 3.5d **Interpretations** The cloth, hosiery and haberdashery running through the collection show the store clothing the settlement from the bolt and the button up. The servants bought shalloon, camlet, buckram and osnaburg by the yard, thread and worsted stockings by the pair and mohair and silk buttons by the dozen, so the warehouse supplied both the finished stockings and the raw materials of the tailor's trade, the island depending wholly on the imported cloth and trimmings that the ships brought since it made no textiles of its own. The deal boards, wainscot and oak plank sold alongside the cloth mark the store as the source of the settlement's timber as well as its fabric. An island almost bare of useful building wood drew its planks and boards from the Company's warehouse, the deals

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		1½ dez Wte Metal Ct Do 10 3 dez Bt Do 10½ Haberdashers Ware Carrd over £ 5 2 6¾ Carried over £ 786 18 3½	shipped out from Europe being the material of floors, furniture and fittings, so the same collection that clothed the garrison also housed and furnished it, every board as much an import as every yard of shalloon on a treeless rock in the ocean.
127	138	Brought over £ 786 18 3½ Haberdashers Ware Brought over £ 5 2 6¾ 12 Doz Shirt Buttons 1 9 30 Doz White Wescoat Buttons 8 10¾ 1 Doz Tin Coat Do 3 11 Doz Wn Broad 1 4¾ 4 pr Holland Tape 2 10 5 17 7¾ Ironmongers Ware Vizt 1 Doz HL Hinges 9 2 4 Doz Wood Screws 3 2 Hand Hatchets 3 4 1 Garden Rake 3 1½ 4 Frying Pans 13 8 1 Whimbing File 3¾ 1 Pick Ase 2 9 1 Souldier Lock 3 2 1 Chaffing Dish 3 3½ 1 Scythe Stone 2 4 Stock Locks 7 4 1 Iron Rimbd Lock 4 3¾ 2 Fire Shovels 3 4 3 16 11¾ Pitch & Terr Vizt 30 Gall Terr 1 5 13 lb Pitch 2 2 Rozin 3 1 7 3 Davoy &ca Vizt 22 Yds Serge 5 8 2 1½ pr Tapestry 2 18 6 8 6 8 Broad Cloth 22¾ Yds sorted 18 8¾ Hatts 1 Carried over £ 825 5 10¾	The collection of goods sold to the Company's servants was carried on as follows. Brought over, £786 13s 3.5d Haberdashery brought over, £5 2s 6.25d 12 dozen shirt buttons, £0 1s 9d 30 dozen white waistcoat buttons, £0 8s 10.5d 1 dozen tin coat buttons, £0 0s 3d 11 dozen breast buttons, £0 1s 4.5d 4 pieces of Holland tape, £0 2s 10d Total haberdashery, £5 17s 7.5d Ironmongery: 1 pair of H hinges, £0 9s 2d 1 dozen wood screws, £0 3s 0d 2 hand hatchets, £0 3s 4d 1 garden rake, £0 3s 1.5d 4 frying pans, £0 13s 3d 1 rubbing file, £0 0s 2.25d 1 fish gig, £0 2s 2d 1 scrutoire lock, £0 3s 2d 1 chafing dish, £0 3s 3.5d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 2d 4 stock locks, £0 7s 4d 1 iron rimmed lock, £0 4s 3.5d 2 iron shovels, £0 3s 4d Total ironmongery, £3 16s 11.25d Pitch and tar: 30 lb of tar, £0 1s 5d 15 lb of pitch, £0 0s 2d 2 lb of rosin, £0 0s 3d Total pitch and tar, £1 7s 3d Druggets and serge: 22 yards of serge, £5 8s 2d 1.5 pieces of tapestry, £2 18s 6d Total, £8 6s 8d Broad cloth, 22.75 yards, £18 0s 8.5d Hats, 1, £0 18s 4d Total carried over, £825 5s 10.5d **Interpretations** The broad cloth at eighteen pounds for under twenty-three yards was far the dearest fabric in the collection, the fine wool cloth that dressed the officers and the better sort standing at nearly sixteen shillings the yard against the few pence of the coarse osnaburg and buckram. The store carried the whole range of cloth from the cheapest working stuff to the costliest broad cloth, the wide gap in price marking the social distance between the sentinel in his plain coat and the officer in his scarlet, both clothed from the same warehouse but at very different cost. The ironmongery sets out the small tools and fittings of daily island life, the frying pans, locks, hinges, files and shovels that a settlement far from any other market could get only from the Company's store. A fish gig for spearing fish sits among the locks and rakes, tying even the household hardware back to the fishery the island leaned on, so the collection shows the storekeeper supplying the settlement with everything from the lock on a writing desk to the gig that took fish from the sea, the whole material want of the place met across one counter.
128	139	Brought over £ 825 5 10¾ Plantation 1 Mopp Horn and Handle 2 6 Turners Ware Vizt 2 Doe Brushes 1 3½ 2 Punch Ladles	The collection of goods sold to the Company's servants was carried on as follows. Brought over, £825 5s 10.5d Plantation, 1 mop, horn and handle, £0 2s 6d Turnery: 2 axe brushes, £0 1s 3.5d 2 punch ladles, £0 1s 1.5d 1 wood bowl, £0 1s 0.5d

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		1 1½ 1 Wood Bowl 1 ½ 1 Platter 1 ½ 4 6 Canvas Vizt 4 Yds Duck 6 14 Yds Sacking 10 6 16 6 Leather Vizt 4 Calve Skins 17 17½ Sole Leather 14 3¾ 2 1 3¾ Long Ells 26¾ Yards 2 7 5¼ Mercey 31 Yards 2 5 2¾ Callampires 3 1 14 9 China Ware Vizt 6 Beakers 1 6 1 Bowl 3 6 Half Pint Cups and Saucers 2 1 6 Mogg Cups & Saucers 1 1 4 8 Oars 3 13 Muslin 9 Peices 4 8 6 Tin Ware Vizt 1 Coffee Pot 17 1 Lamp 10 2 5 Earthen Ware Vizt 1 Chamber Pott 4½ 1 Stone Jugg 18 1 Bason 10 3 1½ Carried over £ 840 12 7	1 platter, £0 1s 0.5d Total turnery, £0 4s 6d Canvas: 4 yards of duck, £0 6s 0d 14 yards of sacking, £0 10s 6d Total canvas, £0 16s 6d Leather: 4 calf skins, £1 7s 0d 12.5 lb of sole leather, £0 14s 0.75d Total leather, £2 1s 0.75d Long ells, 26.5 yards, £2 7s 5.5d Kersey, 31 yards, £2 5s 2.25d Palempores, 3, £1 14s 9d Chinaware: 6 sneakers, £0 1s 6d 1 bowl, £0 0s 3d 6 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 2s 1d 6 mug cups and saucers, £0 1s 1d Total chinaware, £0 4s 8d Oars, 3, £0 13s 0d Muslin, 9 pieces, £4 8s 6d Tinware: 1 coffee pot, £0 1s 7d 1 lamp, £0 0s 10d Total tinware, £0 2s 5d Earthenware: 1 chamber pot, £0 0s 4.5d 1 stone jug, £0 1s 8d 1 basin, £0 0s 10d Total earthenware, £0 3s 1.5d Total carried over, £840 12s 7d **Interpretations** The oars and the duck canvas among the collection tie back once more to the boats the island depended on. The store sold oars by the piece and sailcloth by the yard, the working gear of the longboat, pinnace and fishing boats that carried the settlement's whole traffic with the shipping and worked the sea for fish, so the same warehouse that held the fine muslin and chinaware kept the plain stuff that put a boat to sea, the maritime and the domestic supply running together through one account. The chinaware, muslin and palempores mark the reach of the India trade into the servants' households. The palempores were painted or printed cotton bed covers from the Indian coast, and the chinaware and muslin came the same way, so the store offered the garrison the goods of the eastern trade the Company carried, a soldier on a remote island able to buy an Indian bed cover or a set of china cups from the warehouse. Palempores were the fine chintz hangings of the Coromandel coast, worked in bright fast colours and prized as furnishings, brought west as part of the same cargoes that supplied the island its rice and cloth.
129	140	Brought over £ 840 12 7 Cutlers Ware Vizt 4 Butchers Knives 1 3 1 Case Knives and Forks 19 2 1 5 Combs 1 Ivory 1 4½ Braziers Ware Vizt 4 Tea Kettles 3 13 10 1 Brass Cock 2 9 3 16 7 Bunting Vizt 1 Yard Red 9¾	The collection of goods sold to the Company's servants closed, and the collection sold to the planters began, as follows. Brought over, £840 12s 7d Cutlery: 4 butchers' knives, £0 1s 3d 1 case of knives and forks, £0 19s 2d Total cutlery, £1 0s 5d Combs, 1 ivory, £0 1s 2.5d Braziery: 1 tea kettle, £3 13s 10d 1 brass cock, £0 2s 9d Total braziery, £3 16s 7d Bunting: 1 yard of red, £0 0s 9.25d 1 yard of white, £0 0s 9.5d Total bunting, £0 1s 5.25d Pepper, 3 lb, £0 1s 8.25d Corks, 15 dozen, £0 3s 2d

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		1 Do White 9½ 1 5¼ Pepper 3 1 8¾ Corks 15 Dozen 3 2 Total to the Garrison £ 845 17 3 Sold to the Planters at 25 ℔ Cent Muslin 12 Peices 6 14 6 Long Ells 40 Yards 4 1 8 Shoes Vizt 15 pr Mens Ordinary 3 13 9 1 pr Do Fanet 7 6 3 pr Womens Spanish 16 10½ 1 pr Do Calf 3 4 2 pr Boys 9 2 5 10 7½ Hosier Ware Vizt 1 pr Mens Worge 1 4½ 2 pr Do Knit 7 2 Hosier Ware Carried over £ 11 6½ Carried over £ 16 6 9½	Total to the garrison, £845 17s 3d Sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent: Muslin, 12 pieces, £6 14s 6d Long ells, 40 yards, £4 1s 8d Shoes: 13 pairs of men's ordinary, £3 13s 9d 1 pair of men's fine, £0 7s 6d 3 pairs of women's Spanish, £0 15s 10.5d 1 pair of men's calf, £0 3s 4d 2 pairs of boys', £0 9s 2d Total shoes, £5 10s 7.5d Hosiery: 1 pair of men's worsted, £0 1s 4.5d 2 pairs of men's knit, £0 7s 2d Total hosiery carried over, £0 11s 6.5d Total carried over, £16 9s 9.5d **Interpretations** The quarter's collection to the garrison closed at £845, and the account now turns to the planters, who bought the same goods at twenty-five per cent above cost against the servants' ten. The Company graded its mark-up by the standing of the buyer, its own servants supplied cheapest, the planters at a higher rate and foreign ships higher still, so the store was both a supplier and an instrument of policy, the garrison favoured in its prices while the free inhabitants paid more for the identical shoes, muslin and stockings drawn from the same shelves. The women's Spanish shoes and the boys' shoes among the planters' purchases mark the difference between the two classes of buyer the store served. The garrison bought soldiers' and sergeants' shirts and men's plain shoes, while the planters, buying for their households and families, took women's and children's footwear the garrison had no call for, so the collection quietly reflects the settled family life of the planters against the male establishment of the fort, the same goods but bought for different households from the one warehouse.
130	141	Brought over £ 16 6 9½ Hosier Ware Brought over £ 11 6½ 13 pr Womens 2 12 1 pr Boys 2 8 7 pr Girls 17 6 1 3 8½ Shirts 2 Catties 4 10 Buckram Vizt 7 Yards Buckram 7 10 pr Hair Cloths 1 5 8 5 Serge 3 Yards 16 9 Shaloon 16 Yds 2 1 Broad Cloth 6¾ Yds 4 13 5 Camblet Vizt 12 Yards Blue 1 15 6 Yds Red 1 5 9 3 9 Sold at 10 ℔ Cent Brandy 231½ Gallons 70 4 9 Sugar & Candy Vizt 341 lb Sugar 7 2 1	The collection sold to the planters was carried on, and the collection sold at forty per cent began, as follows. Brought over, £16 9s 9.5d Hosiery brought over, £0 11s 6.5d 13 pairs of women's, £2 12s 0d 1 pair of boys', £0 2s 8d 7 pairs of girls', £0 17s 6d Total hosiery, £1 3s 8.5d Shirts, 2 calico, £0 4s 10d Buckram: 7 yards of buckram, £0 7s 0d 10 pairs of hair cloths, £0 1s 5d Total, £0 8s 5d Serge, 3 yards, £0 16s 9d Shalloon, 16 yards, £2 0s 0d Broad cloth, 5.75 yards, £4 13s 5d Camlet: 12 yards blue, £1 15s 0d 60 yards red, £1 5s 9d Total camlet, £3 0s 9d Sold at forty per cent: Brandy, 231.75 gallons, £70 1s 9d Sugar and candy: 311 lb of sugar, £7 2s 1d 1,937 lb of candy, £52 9s 2.5d Total sugar and candy, £59 11s 3.5d Bread and flour: 1,815 lb of bread, £18 18s 1.5d 1,212 lb of flour, £12 18s 9d Total bread and flour, £31 16s 10.5d Soap, 23 lb, £0 9s 2d Tea: 89 lb of Bohea, £7 0s 11d 4 catties of tea, £0 8s 0d 5 lb of single, £0 10s 10d

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		1937 lb Candy 52 9 2¾ 59 11 3½ Bread & Flower Vizt 1815 lb Bread 18 18 1½ 1292 lb Flower 12 18 9 31 16 10½ Soap 23 19 2 Tea Vizt 89 lb Bohea 7 11 4 Catties Do 8 5 lb Single 10 10 7 10 9 Carried over £ 202 6 5½	Total tea, £7 19s 9d Total carried over, £202 6s 5.5d **Interpretations** A third class of buyer appears here, purchasing at forty per cent above cost, the highest rate charged to any resident, above both the servants' ten and the planters' twenty-five. The brandy alone at over £70 dominates this class as it had the garrison's, so the same spirit that the servants drew cheaply was sold on at a steep mark-up to whoever bought at this rate, the Company using its store to draw a heavy margin on the drink trade from the buyers it favoured least among the island's people. The candy sold at forty per cent runs to nearly two thousand pounds against a few hundred of ordinary sugar, a striking quantity of sugar candy passing to this class of buyer. Sugar candy was refined sugar crystallised into hard lumps, a keeping form of the sweetener shipped from the East, and its bulk here suggests a purchaser buying for resale or for some trade of their own rather than for a household table, the store moving a large parcel of the eastern sugar at its dearest rate to a buyer taking it by the hundredweight.
131	142	Brought over £ 202 6 5½ Nails Vizt 23 lb 6 12 5¾ 21 lb 4 12 3 14 lb 3 9 2 1 lb 40 1 9 7 lb 20 3 2½ 1 18 10 Canvas 2½ Yds Sacking 2 6 Cordage 25 lb Do 5 5 10½ Oars 2 11 Hooks & Lines Vizt 9 dez Hooks sorted 11 4¾ 15 Lines sorted 8 100 Blue Hooks 5 200 Hooks of Grantham 2 10 1 2 7¾ Vinegar 4½ Gallons 12 4½ Cutlery 8 Butchers Knives 3 Grindstones 1 7 Turners Ware Vizt 2 Paint Brushes 1 8 1 Punch Ladle 8½ 2 4½ Thread 1 lb Coloured 4 8 Twine 3 Skains 1 3¾ Blankets 1 8 7 Tin Ware 1 Coffee Pott 2 1 Glass Ware 18 pr Glass 12 by 12	The collection sold at forty per cent was carried on as follows. Brought over, £202 6s 5.5d Nails: 23 lb of 6, £0 12s 5.25d 21 lb of 4, £0 12s 3d 14 lb of 3, £0 9s 2d 1 lb of 40, £0 1s 9d 7 lb of 20, £0 3s 2.5d Total nails, £1 18s 10d Canvas, 2.5 yards of sacking, £0 2s 6d Cordage, 251 lb, £5 5s 10.5d Oars, 2, £0 11s 0d Hooks and lines: 9 dozen hooks sorted, £0 11s 2.5d 15 lines sorted, £0 8s 0d 100 blue hooks, £0 0s 5d 200 hooks of Grantham's, £0 2s 10d Total hooks and lines, £1 2s 7.5d Vinegar, 4.5 gallons, £0 12s 1.5d Cutlery, 8 butchers' knives, £0 3s 0d Grindstones, 1, £0 0s 7d Turnery: 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 8d 1 punch ladle, £0 0s 8.5d Total turnery, £0 2s 4.5d Thread, 1 lb coloured, £0 4s 8d Serge, 3 skeins, £0 1s 3.5d Blankets, 1, £0 2s 1d Tinware, 1 coffee pot, £0 1s 8d Glassware, 18 squares of glass 12 by 12, £0 18s 9d Beef and pork: 2 pieces of beef, £0 17s 2d 3 pieces of pork, £0 1s 9d Total beef and pork, £0 10s 11d Pitch and tar, 1 gallon of tar, £0 0s 1d Total carried over, £215 5s 10.5d **Interpretations** The cordage and hooks sold at forty per cent, over two hundredweight of rope and hundreds of fishing hooks, again point to the boats and the fishery, this dearest class of buyer taking the same maritime stores as the garrison but at the highest rate. The consistent appearance of hooks, lines, oars and canvas across every buyer-class in the collection measures how central the sea was to the whole settlement, every household and trader on the island needing the tackle to fish and to handle boats, all of it drawn from the Company's store.

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		18 9 Beef & Pork Vizt 2 lb Beef 7 2 3 lb Pork 7 9 10 11 Pitch &c 1 Gallon Terr 1 Carried over £ 215 5 11¾	The mixed run of nails, tar, blankets and knives at this rate shows a buyer taking a general assortment of small necessary goods rather than any one commodity in bulk, the everyday hardware of the island passing at the Company's dearest resident price. The forty per cent class drew on the same range of stores as the garrison and the planters, from cutlery to cordage to a single blanket, so the store's function as the one general supplier held across every grade of buyer, only the mark-up shifting with the standing of the purchaser.
132	143	Brought over £ 215 5 11¾ Leather 1½ 2 3½ Deals Vizt 2 Single Deals 1 8 21½ Double Do 38 6 6 2 pr Ship Timber 14 ft 7 4 7½ 1 pr Oak Plank 18 ft 18 Inches 19 10 1 Bauth 5 6 47 1 1½ Paint Vizt 1 Barrel Blacking 3 4 56 lb Chalk 4½ 1½ lb Indico 1 2 4 10½ Oil Vizt 6¾ Gallons Tyzen 1 6 5¼ 1 Gallon Linseed 4 7 1 Bottle Florence 3 11 1 Sea Cow Oil 11½ 1 15 11 Haberdashers Ware Vizt 17 Skains Mohair 8 6 19 Sk Silk 11 1 17 dez Mohair Ct Buttons 5 10 11½ dez Mohair St Do 19 ½ 2 dez Gilt Breast Do 5 6 Thread Laces 1½ 3 pr Holland Tape 2 6 3 dez White Metal Ct Buttons 2 4½ 1 dez Breast 4½ 3 dez Tin Breast Do 10½ 1 17 10½ Carried over £ 266 8 3	The collection sold at forty per cent was carried on as follows. Brought over, £215 5s 11.5d Leather, £0 2s 3.5d Deals: 2 single deals, £0 1s 8d 21.5 double deals, £38 6s 6d 2 pairs of ship timber of 14 feet, £7 1s 7.5d 1 pair of oak plank 18 feet 10 inches, £0 19s 10d 1 bath, £0 5s 6d Total deals, £17 1s 1.5d Paint: 1 barrel of blacking, £0 3s 4d 56 lb of chalk, £0 0s 1.5d 1.5 lb of indigo, £0 1s 2d Total paint, £0 4s 10.5d Oil: 6.25 gallons of train, £1 6s 5.25d 1 gallon of linseed, £0 4s 7d 1 bottle of Florence, £0 3s 11d 14 lb of sea cow oil, £0 0s 11.5d Total oil, £1 15s 11d Haberdashery: 17 skeins of mohair, £0 8s 6d 19 skeins of silk, £0 11s 1d 17 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 5s 10d 11.5 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 19s 0d 2 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 7s 5d 6 thread laces, £0 0s 1.5d 3 pieces of Holland tape, £0 2s 6d 3 dozen white metal coat buttons, £0 2s 6.5d 1 dozen breast buttons, £0 0s 4.5d 3 dozen tin breast buttons, £0 0s 10.5d Total haberdashery, £1 17s 10.5d Total carried over, £266 8s 3d **Interpretations** The ship timber and oak plank sold at this rate mark the store supplying not just building deals but the heavy stuff of boat and ship repair. Two pairs of ship timber of fourteen feet and a plank near nineteen feet long went to this class of buyer at £38 and more for the double deals alone, so a substantial parcel of large timber passed out of the warehouse, the material for repairing the boats or a vessel in the road, the treeless island wholly dependent on the Company's imported timber for any work in wood beyond the smallest. The mismatch of price within the haberdashery, where eleven and a half dozen mohair breast buttons cost nineteen shillings against far larger quantities of other buttons at a few pence, reflects the different values of the trimmings the store carried. Mohair, gilt and white metal buttons of varying quality were sold by the dozen at prices that turned on the material and workmanship rather than the count, so the collection records the fine gradations of the button and lace trade, the small costly ornaments of dress passing across the same counter as the deals and the tar.
133	144	Brought over £ 266 8 3 Ironmongers Ware Vizt 1 Hand Hatchet 2 2	The collection sold to the planters closed, and the charges general account began, as follows. Brought over, £266 8s 3d Ironmongery: 1 hand hatchet, £0 2s 2d

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		1 Stock Lock 2 1 1 Frying Pan 4 1 pr Cross Garnets 1 1 Mawl 5 3 3 Axe Heads 11 3 1 9 Total Sold to the Planters £ 267 17 3 Charges General Dr for the following Sums Placed from the 1st October to the 31st December 1747 Paint Vizt 1½ Venetian Red for Painting the Crane 2 3 1½ Indico, for Ditto 2 6 4 9 Oil Vizt ½ Gall Sea Cow Oil for the Kitchen and Bakehouse 1 3½ 1½ Gall Tyzen 2¾ Gall Linseed for Painting the Crane 8 4¼ 1 9 2¼ Cordage 15¾ for Ditto & the House Late Govr Godwins 14 8 Soap 9 for Cleaning Wool 1 1½ Plantation 1 Mopp for the Long Boat 11½ Turnery 1 Pump Boxe for the Pump on the Line 11½ Deals Vizt 17 Double for Mackd Doors and Windows 17 6 11 Single Shutters for the Kitchen in the 18 4 2 Spars Wood for a Stable and a Gate at 4 4 9 Bauth the Plantation Stores 3 10½ Deals Carried over 2 4 7½ Carried over £ 2 10 8½	1 stock lock, £0 2s 1d 1 frying pan, £0 4s 0d 1 pair of cross garnets, £0 1s 0d 1 maul, £0 5s 3d 5 axe heads, £0 11s 3d Total ironmongery, £1 9s 0d Total sold to the planters, £267 17s 3d The charges general account, for the following stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1747, stood as follows. Paint: 1.5 lb of Venetian red for painting the crane, £0 2s 3d 1.5 lb of indigo for the same, £0 2s 6d Total paint, £0 4s 9d Oil: 0.5 gallon of sea cow oil for the kitchen and bakehouse, £0 0s 0d 1.5 gallons of train for the kitchen and bakehouse, £1 0s 3.5d 2.5 gallons of linseed for painting the crane, £0 8s 4.5d Total oil, £1 9s 2.5d Cordage, 15.5 lb for hoisting the goods of the late Governor Goodwin, £0 14s 8d Soap, 9 lb for cleaning wool, £0 1s 1.5d Plantation, 1 mop for the longboat, £0 0s 11.5d Turnery, 1 pump box for the pump on the line, £0 0s 11.5d Deals: 17 double for making doors and windows and thatching for the children in the [...], £0 17s 6d 11 single for a stable and a gate at [...], £0 18s 4d 20 spars, wood for the plantation store, £0 4s 4d 9 baulk, the plantation store, £0 3s 10.5d Deals carried over, £2 4s 7.5d Total carried over, £2 10s 8.5d **Interpretations** The charges general account records the goods the Company drew from its own store for its own use, distinct from the sales to servants and planters, so the same warehouse that supplied the settlement also furnished the works of the establishment itself. The paint, oil and cordage issued for painting the crane and hoisting goods, and the deals for doors, windows, a stable and a gate, show the store as the source of the materials for the Company's own upkeep, the account charging the Company against itself for what it consumed in maintaining its buildings and gear. The cordage drawn to hoist the goods of the late Governor Goodwin ties this routine account to a death recorded elsewhere in the record. Governor Goodwin's estate was still being wound up, and the Company charged itself for the rope used to move his effects, the same estate whose debts were being collected through other men's estates and to which the Scott trustees had lately paid £18. Even the handling of a dead governor's goods passed through the store's account, the cordage a small charge in the long settling of an estate that runs through the consultations of these months.
134	145	Brought over £ 2 10 8½ Deals Brought over £ 2 4 7½ 1 Wainscott Board for Deal for the 4 3 2 ft 4 In Elm Plank Bakehouse 2 6 2 10 9½ Nails Vizt 4 lb 8 for Mackd Doors & Windows 1 6 6 lb 4 Shutters for a Kitchen in the Wood 2 4¾ 2 lb 3 Wire a Stable & a Gate at Plant House	The charges general account was carried on as follows. Brought over, £2 10s 8.5d Deals brought over, £2 4s 7.5d 1 wainscot board for pales for the [...], £0 1s 3d 2 pairs of ship plank for the bakehouse, £0 2s 6d Total deals, £2 10s 9.5d Nails: 4 lb of 8 for making doors and windows, £0 1s 6d 6 lb of 4 for thatching for a kitchen in the wood, £0 2s 4.5d 2 lb of 3 for a stable and a gate at the Plantation House, £0 0s 11.5d

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		11½ 3 lb Coopers Brads 1 2½ 3 lb 20 Nails for Repairs 1¼ 6 11¾ Cutlery 4 Butchers Knives for ye Garden & Castle 1 1 Pitch Vizt ½ Barrel Pitch for the Crane 15 3 ½ Bsl Tarr for Repairing the Great House 14 10 1 10 1 Iron 67 for the Smiths 8 3 Twine 1 Damaged for Fisheing 7½ Brandy 5 Gallons for the Bakers 1 1 8 Steel Ware Vizt 2 Melves for the Smiths 1 2 1 Bud Lock for the Great House 3 1 Hand Hatchet Ct the Butcher 1 6 1 Smiths Butteris 3 2 1 Slat Ase 7 1 Smathing for the Smiths 1 4 2 Wording Do 4 4 1 Coals 36 Bushels, for the Smiths 2 16 China Ware 12 Muggd Cups & Saucers for ye Castle 3 6 Leather 2 for the Pump on the Line 2 13 2 9 Fortification	3 lb of coopers' brads, £0 1s 2.5d 3 lb of 20 nails for repairs, £0 0s 1.5d Total nails, £0 6s 11.5d Cutlery, 1 butchers' knife for the garden and castle, £0 1s 1d Pitch: 0.5 barrel of pitch for the crane, £0 15s 3d 0.5 barrel of tar for repairing the Great House, £0 14s 10d Total pitch, £1 10s 1d Iron for the smiths, £0 8s 3d Twine, 1 lb damaged for fishing, £0 0s 7.5d Brandy, 5 gallons for the bakers, £1 1s 8d Braziery: 2 melbos for the smiths, £0 1s 2d 1 bud lock for the Great House, £0 3s 0d 1 hand hatchet for the butcher, £0 1s 6d 1 smiths' hatchet, £0 3s 2d 1 flat file for the smiths, £0 0s 7d 1 smoothing file for the smiths, £0 1s 4d 2 wanding for the smiths, £0 1s 4d Total braziery, £0 11s 1d Coals, 36 bushels for the smiths, £2 16s 0d Chinaware, 12 half-pint cups and saucers for the table, £0 3s 6d Leather, 2 lb for the pump on the line, £0 0s 2d Total, £13 2s 9d **Interpretations** The charges general account shows the range of trades the Company kept running on the island, the iron, files, hatchets and coals issued to the smiths, the brandy to the bakers and the timber and nails for building. The smiths, bakers, butchers and carpenters all drew their working materials from the store, so the account maps the settlement's own industry, the Company maintaining a forge, a bakehouse and a carpenter's shop and charging itself for the stuff each consumed, a self-contained establishment supplying its own labour from its own warehouse. The five gallons of brandy issued to the bakers points to the use of spirit in the settlement's own works rather than as drink. Brandy served in baking, whether in the trade itself or as an allowance to the men, and its issue to the bakehouse alongside the coals to the smiths shows the Company folding a measure of its most valuable store into the running of its trades, the same spirit that was the store's largest sale also a working material charged to the establishment's own account. The coals for the smiths, thirty-six bushels charged to the forge, mark the fuel the smithy ran on, imported like nearly everything else. An island without coal of its own had to ship in the fuel for its ironwork, so even the smiths' fire depended on the Company's supply, the coals brought out in the ships and issued from store to keep the forge going for the constant repair of the settlement's ironwork and tools.
135	146	Fortification Dr for the following Store Goods Placed from the 1st October to 31st December 1747 Twine 10 lb for repairing Grape Shot and Lime Baggs 6 ½ Oil 3½ Gall Linseed for Planting Gun Carriages 17 3½ Cordage 22 for the Glacines 3 15 6 Deals &ca Vizt 9 Double for Doors and Window Shutters for 1 2 6 9 Single the Guard Room at Prospect and 15 2 Spars Bornems Barracks 4 4 5 pr 3 ft Elm Plank	The fortification account, for the following stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1747, stood as follows. Twine, 10 lb for repairing grapeshot and line bags, £0 6s 0.25d Oil, 3.5 gallons of linseed for painting gun carriages, £0 17s 0.5d Cordage for the glacis, £3 15s 6d Deals: 9 double for doors and window shutters for the Great Barn at Rupert's, £1 2s 6d 9 single for doors and window shutters for the Great Barn at Rupert's and Rupert's Barracks, £0 15s 0d 2 spars for Rupert's Barracks, £0 4s 4d 5 pairs of 3 feet fir plank for making gun carriages, £2 0s 9.5d 1 pair of oak for making gun carriages, £2 3s 11d

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		2 9½ 4 pr Oak Do for Making Gun 2 3 11 4 pr Teak Do Carriages 7 8 6 13 14 10½ Canvas 12 Yds Duck, for Covering Grape Shot 16 Paint Vizt 20 Venetian Red for Painting Gun Carriage 3 9 9 lb White Lead and Tabby Bricks 2 3 9 lb Whiting 1½ 6 1½ Iron 156 lb for Gun Carriages 10 4 Thread 3 Coloured for Making Cartridges 10 Bunting Vizt 11 Yds White 1 3 3¼ 38 Yds Blue for Making a Flagg for 1 2 2 28 Yds Red Barracks 1 1 3 6 2¼ Lines 9 Damaged for Covering Grape Shot Sponsts & a Flagg 5 7¾ Iron Ware 1 Melt Sworth for the Line Helm 2 9 Cart Wheels 3 Hand Barrows Doves for Mines & Wheel Barrows 5 Nails Vizt 2 lb 8 for Mackd Doors and Windows Shutters 3¾ 15 lb 4 for Prospect Guard Room & Bornems Barracks 4¾ 1 4 ¾ £ 25 9 3¾ Fort	1 pair of teak for making gun carriages, £7 8s 6d Total deals, £13 14s 10.5d Canvas, 12 yards of duck for covering grapeshot, £0 16s 0d Paint: 20 lb of Venetian red for painting gun carriages and false doors, £0 3s 9d 9 lb of white lead for the same, £0 2s 3d 9 lb of whiting for the same, £0 1s 8d Total paint, £0 6s 1.5d Iron, 156.5 lb for gun carriages, £0 10s 4d Thread, 3 lb coloured for making cartridges, £0 0s 10d Bunting: 11 yards white for making a flag for Rupert's Barracks, £1 3s 2.5d 36 yards blue for the same, £1 2s 2d 36 yards red for the same, £1 1s 0d Total bunting, £3 6s 2.5d Lines, 9 damaged for covering grapeshot and a flag for Rupert's, £0 5s 9.5d Iron ware, 1 tool tourell for the sea helm, £0 2s 9d Cart wheels, 3 hand barrow tires for mending wheelbarrows, £0 5s 0d Nails: 2 lb of 6 for making doors and window shutters, £0 0s 9.5d 15 lb of 4 for Rupert's guard room and Rupert's Barracks, £0 3s 7.5d 1 lb of 4 for the same, £0 0s 1.5d Total nails, £0 4s 9.5d Total, £25 9s 3.75d **Interpretations** The fortification account carries the whole run of the season's work on the batteries and barracks, the timber, paint and iron for gun carriages, the deals for doors and shutters at the Great Barn and barracks at Rupert's, and the bunting for a new flag. This continues the fortification works that the paymaster's accounts had traced through the year, the labour hired at a shilling a day and the materials now drawn from store, the Company keeping up its defences at Rupert's and elsewhere against the standing order that the works be maintained and the guns kept ready. The teak plank at over seven pounds for a single pair was far the dearest timber in the account, the hard Indian wood reserved for the gun carriages that had to bear the shock of firing. Teak was shipped from the eastern forests as the timber best able to stand weather and strain, and its use here for carriages alongside the cheaper fir and oak shows the Company matching the wood to the work, the costly teak going to the mounts that took the hardest usage while the common deals went to doors and shutters, the whole carriage-renewal drawing on imported timber of every grade. The bunting for a flag at Rupert's, the white, blue and red sewn together, marks the small ceremonial fabric of the fort's identity. A new colour for the barracks was made up from the store's cloth, the same bunting that the annual inventories had shown often short or incomplete, so even the flag that flew over an outwork was pieced together from the Company's warehouse, the materials of display drawn from the same account as the timber and iron of the guns.
136	147	Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Placed for the General Table from 1 October to 31 December 1747 Beef & Pork Vizt 9 lb Beef 1 3 3 21 lb Pork 1 18 6	The diet expenses account, for the following stores issued for the general table from 1 October to 31 December 1747, and the plantation account, stood as follows. Beef and pork: 9 pieces of beef, £1 3s 3d 21 pieces of pork, £1 18s 6d Total beef and pork, £3 1s 9d Oil, 3 bottles of Florence, £1 0s 0d

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		3 1 9 Oil 2 Bottle Florence 1 Vinegar 2 Gallons 11 1½ Arrack 125 Gallons 1 15 5 Sugar & Candy Vizt 31 lb Sugar 9¾ 15 lb Candy 4 3¾ 9 10½ Flower 628 4 9 8 Salt 2 Bushels 6 1½ Pepper 6 lb 3 £ 11 9 11½ Plantation Dr for the following Stores Placed from the 1 October to the 31 December 1747 Vizt Pease 1½ Bushels for the Poultry 1 5¾ Rice 15 Do 9 2 Cutlery 13 Butchers Knives for Trimming Yams 3 6¼ Steel Ware Vizt 15 lb Sheep Shears for Shearing Sheep 11 8 Scythe Stones for the Mowers 11 4 Brass Trunk for Do 8 11 Pick Ases 1 7 6 8 Hand Shovels for the Plantations 11 5 Spades and Fences 15 10 2 Hand Hatchets 3 1 Hilhoe 7 3 9 Carried over £ 4 5 10½	Vinegar, 2 gallons, £0 11s 1.5d Arrack, 125 gallons, £1 15s 5.5d Sugar and candy: 31 lb of sugar, £0 5s 9.25d 15 lb of candy, £0 4s 0.25d Total sugar and candy, £0 9s 10.5d Flour, 628 lb, £4 9s 8d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 6s 1.5d Pepper, 6 lb, £0 3s 0d Total, £11 9s 11.5d The plantation account, for the following stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1747, stood as follows. Pease, 5.5 bushels for the poultry, £1 0s 5.25d Rice, 15 lb for the poultry, £0 2s 2d Cutlery, 13 butchers' knives for drawing gums, £0 3s 6.25d Tools: 17 pairs of sheep shears for shearing sheep, £0 1s 1d 8 scythe stones for the overseers, £0 1s 1d 4 axe heads for the overseers, £0 0s 8d 11 pickaxes for the plantations and fences, £1 9s 6d 8 hand shovels for the plantations and fences, £0 0s 11d 5 spades for the plantations and fences, £0 15s 10d 2 hand hatchets for the plantations and fences, £0 3s 0d 1 hoe for the plantations and fences, £0 0s 7d Total tools carried over, £3 0s 9d Total carried over, £4 6s 10.5d **Interpretations** The diet expenses account carries the general table of the fort, the beef, pork, arrack, flour and pepper consumed at the Company's own board, distinct from the sales and the works. The heavy charge of arrack and flour against the modest beef and pork reflects the same pattern the castle sundries had shown through the quiet season, the table drawing on stored provisions and spirit while the fresh meat came sparingly from a herd the Company was holding untouched, the account measuring what the establishment ate at its own expense. The plantation account sets out the tools of the Company's own husbandry, the pickaxes, spades, shovels and hatchets for the plantations and fences and the shears for shearing the sheep. The same account that fed the poultry with pease and rice supplied the ground with the implements to work it, so the Company's farming, the plantations the overseer had just surveyed and the fences the leases required, drew its whole material equipment from the store, the settlement's agriculture as dependent on the imported iron of its tools as on the imported timber of its buildings. The sheep shears for shearing the flock point to the wool the island produced, a small return from the sheep the stock accounts tracked month by month. The shears drawn to clip the flock connect to the wool that earlier governors had reckoned among the Company's produce, so even the modest husbandry of the sheep, kept chiefly for the table, yielded a fleece that had to be shorn with tools from the store, the flock serving both meat and wool to the establishment.
137	148	Brought over £ 4 6 10½ Iron 59 for making Hoes for the Plantation & Gardens 7 3½ Lines 5 Damaged for the Mowers 1 10½ Cordage 14 1 6½	The plantation account closed, and the slaves account began, as follows. Brought over, £4 6s 10.5d Iron, 59 lb for making hoes for the plantation and garden, £0 7s 3.5d Lines, 5 damaged for the masons, £0 1s 10.5d Cordage, 14 lb, £0 1s 6.5d

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		Turners Ware 10 Labourers Baskets for Conveying Yams to Repair the Fences 5 5 Iron Potts 1 of 6 Gallons 6 3½ £ 5 12 3½ Blacks Dr for the following Stores Placed from the 1st October to the 31st December 1747 Vizt Shoes 14 pr Ordinary for the Chandery Slaves 2 14 10 Sea 25 lb for Mch Blacks and Their Usual Allowance 16 8 Sugar 46 at Christmas 9 7 Rice 413 1 Flower 9 for the Sick 3¾ Iron Potts 2 of 4 Gallons 10 6 Beef & Pork Vizt 1 Ounchean Beef given them being spoilt 10 18 3 17 pr Beef 2 3 11 8 pr Pork given to the Tradesmen 14 8 13 16 10 Brandy 31¾ Gall for Drams & their Allowance at Christmas 6 15 5 Sailors 6 Catties 6 Charged Pork 1 2 4 Hooks & Lines Vizt 36 Lines sorted 8 8½ 200 Hooks of Grantham for Fishing 1 10 6½ dez Hooks 2 6 13 ½ Lead 23 Shot for Do 3 10 Twine 1 Skaine 9¼ Carried over £ 28 3 11	Turnery, 10 labourers' baskets for carrying lines to repair the fences, £0 5s 5d Iron pots, 1 of 6 gallons, £0 6s 0.5d Total, £5 12s 0.5d The slaves account, for the following stores issued from 1 October to 31 December 1747, stood as follows. Shoes, 14 pairs ordinary for the Chandery slaves, £2 14s 10d Sea, 25 lb for the Company's slaves and their usual allowance, £0 16s 8d Sugar, 46 lb at Christmas, £0 9s 9d Rice, 413 lb for the sick, £1 0s 0d Flour, 9 lb for the sick, £0 0s 3.5d Iron pots, 2 of 4 gallons, £0 10s 6d Beef and pork: 1 puncheon of beef given them, being spoilt, £10 18s 3d 17 pieces of beef given to the tradesmen, £2 3s 11d 8 pieces of pork given to the tradesmen, £0 14s 8d Total beef and pork, £13 16s 10d Brandy, 31.5 gallons for their allowance at Christmas, £6 15s 5d Sailor, 6 bottles, 6 chequered shirts, £1 2s 4d Hooks and lines: 36 lines sorted, £0 8s 8.5d 200 hooks of Grantham's for fishing, £0 1s 10d 6.5 dozen hooks for fishing, £0 2s 6d Total hooks and lines, £0 13s 0.5d Lead, 23 lb of shot for fishing, £0 3s 0d Twine, 1 skein for fishing, £0 0s 9.25d Total carried over, £28 3s 11d **Interpretations** The slaves account records what the Company issued for the keep of its own slaves, the shoes, salt, rice and iron pots of their ordinary maintenance, and the sugar, brandy and beef given them at Christmas. The Christmas allowance of brandy and sugar was a settled custom the record shows year after year, a measure of drink and sweetening dealt out to the slaves at the feast, so the same account that clothed and fed them through the quarter marked the season with a small extra provision, the fishing tackle among the entries showing the slaves set to work the sea as well. The puncheon of beef given to the slaves because it was spoilt shows the Company turning tainted provision to account rather than throwing it out. A whole puncheon condemned as unfit for the garrison was passed to the slaves, valued at nearly eleven pounds in the account, the same practice the record shows elsewhere of giving the slaves meat found unwholesome for the free men, so the hierarchy of the settlement ran even to the quality of the food, the slaves receiving what could not be served at the fort's own table. The hooks, lines and shot issued for the slaves' fishing tie their labour to the fishery the whole island depended on. The slaves worked the boats and the sea for the fish that eked out the meat the herds could not spare, so the tackle in their account is of a piece with the great problem of provisioning the place, the Company's own slaves set to draw food from the sea because the land fell short, the same failing supply that drove the buying-in of yams and the holding of the herd.
138	149	Brought over £ 28 3 11 Mercey 6 lb for Clothing the 12 8 Thread 3 Wemen & Girls 10 Haberdashery 3 pr 6 Well Tape	The slaves account closed, and the garrison and hospital accounts began, as follows. Brought over, £28 3s 11d Kersey, 6.75 lb for clothing the women and girls, £0 12s 8d Thread, 3 lb for the same, £0 0s 10d

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		6 3 £ 41 8 2 Garrison Dr for the following More Goods Placed in the Quarter ending 31st December 1747 Tea 1½ for the Guards at Out Fork 2 12 Oil 53¾ Gall and for the several Barracks 8 13 11¼ Lines 12 Small 5½ Deals 6 Double 15 Nails 3 lb 8 for Coffins for Soldiers 1 1½ Iron Ware 2 Small Frying Pans for Out Fork 3 4 Saw 14 Gallon 2¾ Vinegar 1 Gallon for the Ovthow Shops 2 3¾ Iron Potts 2 Forks for the Out Fork 11 3½ Brandy 12¾ Gallons for Drams on Mustering 2 15 3 £ 15 14 8 Hospital Dr for the following Store Goods Placed from the 1 October to 31 December 1747 Sugar 83 15 6¾ Oil 3½ Gallons Tyzen 9 9¾ Salt ½ Bushel 16½ Flower 26 lb 3 3 Rice 21 5 5 Beef 2 pr 5 2 £ 2 6¾ Book	Haberdashery, 3 pieces 6 Holland tape for the same, £0 6s 3d Total, £41 8s 2d The garrison account, for the following store goods issued in the quarter ending 31 December 1747, stood as follows. Tea, 178 lb for the guards at the outworks, £2 12s 0d Oil, 53.5 gallons of train and for the second barracks, £8 13s 11.5d Lines, 12 small, £0 0s 5.5d Deals, 6 double for coffins for soldiers, £0 15s 0d Nails, 3 lb of 8 for the same, £0 1s 1.5d Iron ware, 2 small frying pans for the outworks, £0 3s 4d Sail, 0.5 gallon for the Dutch shop, £0 0s 2.5d Vinegar, 1 gallon for the same, £0 2s 0.5d Iron pots, 2 teak for the outworks, £0 11s 3.5d Brandy, 12.5 gallons for drams on mustering, £2 15s 3d Total, £15 14s 8d The hospital account, for the following store goods issued from 1 October to 31 December 1747, stood as follows. Sugar, 83 lb, £0 15s 6.25d Oil, 3.5 gallons of train, £0 9s 7.5d Salt, 0.5 bushel, £0 1s 6.5d Flour, 26 lb, £0 3s 3d Rice, 21 lb, £0 5s 5d Beef, 8 pieces, £0 5s 2d Total, £2 0s 6.25d **Interpretations** The garrison account carries the small comforts and necessaries of the men at their posts, the tea for the guards at the outworks, the brandy for drams on muster day and the frying pans and iron pots for the outlying barracks. The brandy dealt out as drams when the garrison mustered was a settled allowance the record shows through the years, a measure of spirit given the men on parade, so the account marks the routine of garrison life, the tea and drink that eased the duty at the batteries drawn from the store like every other supply. The deals and nails for coffins for soldiers set down among the garrison stores mark the plain provision the Company made for burying its dead. Six double deals went to make soldiers' coffins in the quarter, the same board that floored the barracks serving to bury the men who died in them, so the store supplied the settlement from the cradle of its buildings to the coffin of its dead, the timber for a soldier's grave charged in the same account as the pans for his mess. The deaths of Cheeseman, Lufkin, Breece and others through these weeks measure the toll the coffins answered. The tea for the guards at the outworks, at over one hundred and seventy pounds, was a substantial issue to the men posted away from the fort. Tea had become a staple of the garrison's diet, and its supply to the outlying guards shows how far the settlement had taken up the drink of the eastern trade, the same leaf sold to servants and planters across the collection also dealt out to the soldiers at their distant posts, a comfort of the India trade reaching even the lonely batteries of the island.
139	150	Boats Dr for the following Store Goods Placed in the Quarter ending December 31st 1747 Deals Vizt 3 Elm Boards for Repairing a Long Boat 5 6 9 Double Deals 1 2 6 1 8 Cordage 8..3..17 for a Hawser for the Long Boats	The boats account, for the following store goods issued in the quarter ending 31 December 1747, stood as follows. Deals: 3 elm boards, £0 5s 6d 9 double deals for repairing a longboat, £1 2s 6d Total deals, £1 8s 0d Cordage, 8 lb of 3 and 17 for a hawser for the longboats, £16 3s 3.5d Pitch:

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		16 3 3½ Pitch &c Vizt 10 Gall Tarr for repairing the Long Boat 7 6 ½ Barr Pitch 15 3 1 2 9 Oil ½ Gall Sea Cow for Do 6 3 Nails 20 Do 20 for Do 3 10½ Oars 1 1 6 Iron Ware 1 Hand Hatchet for the Long Boat £ 19 5 4¾ St Helena 31 Decr 1747 (Signd) Errors Excepted R M Garling Storekeeper The Paymaster brought in his Pay Account for the Months of October, November, and December last, which was Examined, and Approved, and is as follows Vizt List	10 gallons of tar, £0 7s 6d 0.5 barrel of pitch for repairing the longboat, £0 15s 3d Total pitch, £1 2s 9d Oil, 0.5 gallon of sea cow for the same, £0 6s 3d Nails, 20 lb of 20 for the same, £0 3s 10.5d Oars, 1, £0 1s 6d Iron ware, 1 hand hatchet for the longboat, £0 1s 6d Total, £19 5s 4.5d This was subscribed at St Helena, 31 December 1747, errors excepted, by Matthew Purling, storekeeper. The paymaster brought in his pay account for the months of October, November and December, which was examined and approved. **Interpretations** The boats account, closing the whole storekeeper's collection, shows the cost of keeping the longboats in repair, the elm boards, cordage, pitch, tar and nails drawn to maintain the vessels the settlement wholly depended on. The heavy charge for the hawser at over sixteen pounds marks the value of good rope to the boats that carried every cargo, passenger and cask between the ships in the road and the shore, so the account ends where so much of the settlement's life turned, on the boats that were its only link to the shipping and its chief means of working the sea for fish. The sea cow oil issued for the longboat ties the island's own hunting once more to the maintenance of its boats. The oil rendered from the marine animals taken on the shore served to dress and preserve the boat's timbers, so a product of the island's own resources went back into the upkeep of the vessels that worked its waters, the settlement using what it could take from the sea to keep at sea, a small circle of self-supply on a station that imported nearly all else. The whole storekeeper's collection now closed, subscribed by Matthew Purling, having run through the sales to servants, planters and the forty per cent class, the charges general, fortification, diet, plantation, slaves, garrison, hospital and boats. The account maps the entire material economy of the settlement for the quarter, every commodity from broad cloth to a boat's hawser passing through the one warehouse, the Company supplying, clothing, feeding, building, arming and burying the whole establishment from a single store.
140	151	List of the Honble Companys Officers and Servants, upon the Island St Helena, with their several Salarys, Diet Money &c for the Quarter, commencing October the 1, and Ending December the 31 1747 Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Salary 125 Do Allowance for Servants at Usual Appraised 31 14 9 156 14 9 John Clark Robert Wright of Council Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 15 32 10 John Goodwin Accomplant Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 15 32 10	The list of the Company's officers and servants on the island of St Helena, with their several salaries, diet money and other allowances, for the quarter commencing 1 October and ending 31 December 1747, stood as follows. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary £125 0s 0d Allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d, total £156 14s 9d John Clark of council Robert Wright of council, salary £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d, total £32 10s 0d John Goodwin, accountant, salary £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d, total £32 10s 0d Matthew Purling, storekeeper, salary £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d, total £32 10s 0d William Loveday, chaplain, salary £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, factor, salary £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £20 0s 0d James Ewell, factor, salary £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d, total £17 10s 0d Joseph Darvall, factor, salary £7 10s 0d As assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d, total £22 10s 0d Thomas French, writer, salary £5 0s 0d

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		Matthew Garling Storekeeper Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 15 32 10 William Loveday, Chaplain, Salary 25 Francis Wrangham, Factor Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 10 20 James Ewell, Factor, Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money 10 17 10 Joseph Duval Factor, Salary 7 10 Do Merchant Storekeeper 5 Do Diet Money 10 22 10 Thomas French Writer Salary 5 Do Diet Money 10 15 Samuel Falconer Surgeon, Salary 9 15 Do House Rent 2 10 12 5 John Ewalt 7 10 Richard Garling} Overseers 15 Richard Boale, School Master Salary 3 8 3 Do as Clerk 5 8 8 3 Carried over £ 397 8	Diet money, £10 0s 0d, total £15 0s 0d Samuel Falconer, surgeon, salary £9 15s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £12 5s 0d John Swaits, overseer, £7 10s 0d Richard Girling, overseer, £15 0s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, salary £3 8s 3d As clerk, £5 0s 0d, total £8 8s 3d Total carried over, £397 8s 0d **Interpretations** The pay list sets out the reduced civil establishment of the island under the settled government of Governor Hutchinson, the Governor at £125 far above the rest, the three members of council and the accountant and storekeeper each at £32 10s in salary and diet money, and a descending scale of factors, writers and tradesmen below. This is the same slimmed board the framing shows sitting through the season, John Clark drawing no salary set against his name here, the officers paid in the mix of salary, diet money and house rent that made up a Company servant's income on the island. The house rent allowed to Francis Wrangham and Samuel Falconer alongside their salaries marks a distinct element of the servants' pay, a sum given to those who did not lodge in the Company's own buildings. The factor and the surgeon each drew two pounds ten shillings for house rent, so the establishment met the cost of housing its servants either in kind or in cash, the rent allowance being the money paid to those who provided their own lodging, a standing feature of the pay accounts that ran through the whole record. The schoolmaster's small salary paid to Richard Beale, who also served as clerk, shows the settlement maintaining a schooling for its children through a single modestly paid officer holding two places. Beale drew three pounds eight shillings as schoolmaster and five pounds as clerk, so the education of the island's young was carried by a man who doubled the post with clerical work, the Company providing for a school on the cheap by folding it into another office, the same Beale who appears through the record as clerk, appraiser and witness.
141	152	Brought over £ 397 8 John Bland, Master Mason, Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 1 10 29 Mark Chaithers, Mason, Salary 12 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 1 20 6 10½ John Reynolds Mason Salary 4 7 9 Do as Custom Master 1 5 5 12 9 William Hayes, Master of Arms 6 5 Nicholas Cleather, Steward 7 10 William Deave, Gardiner 9 11 3 Robert Meacock, Cooper 8 15	The pay list was carried on as follows. Brought over, £397 8s 0d John Bland, master mason, salary £17 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £1 10s 0d, total £29 0s 0d Mark Machin, mason, salary £12 10s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10.5d House rent, £1 0s 0d, total £20 6s 10.5d John Leigross, master, salary £4 7s 9d As custom master, £1 5s 0d, total £5 12s 9d William Hayes, master of arms, £6 5s 0d Nicholas Cleather, steward, £7 10s 0d William Dowse, gardener, £9 11s 3d Robert Meacock, cooper, £8 15s 0d Henry Moyce, carpenter, £12 10s 0d William Davis, patron of the longboat, £7 10s 0d Robert Wright, horse keeper, £2 0s 0d Total, £506 8s 10.5d First Company: John Clark, first lieutenant, salary £5 0s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10.5d On account of instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d, total £21 6s 10.5d John Dunbar, second lieutenant, salary £7 10s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10.5d, total £14 6s 10.5d William Hayes, adjutant, salary £10 0s 0d Diet money, £7 1s 3d, total £17 1s 3d Total, £55 15s 0d Sergeants:

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		Henry Moyce, Carpenter 12 10 William Davis, Patron of the Long Boat 7 10 Robert Wright, Store Keeper 2 506 8 10½ First Company John Clark 1 Lievt Salary Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do on Acct of Instructg the Gunners 7 10 21 6 10½ John Dunbar 2 Lievt Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 14 6 10½ William Hayes Adjutant, Salary 10 Do Diet Money 7 1 3 17 1 3 55 15 Sergeants 6 14 6 Henry Boale 6 14 6 Bartholomew Molloy 6 14 6 Roman Jacobs 20 3 6 Carried over £ 582 7 4½	Henry Beale, £6 14s 6d Bartholomew Molloy, £6 14s 6d Solomon Jacobs, £6 14s 6d Total, £20 3s 6d Total carried over, £582 7s 4.5d **Interpretations** The tradesmen's pay, the masons, cooper, carpenter and gardener each at their own rate, shows the settlement maintaining a full complement of skilled craftsmen on standing salary. John Bland the master mason and Henry Moyce the carpenter drew the highest of these, the men whose trades the charges general account had shown constantly at work on the Company's buildings and gun carriages, so the pay list and the store account together map the same industry, the wages of the craftsmen set beside the materials they consumed. Lieutenant John Clark's pay carries an extra allowance for instructing the gunners, seven pounds ten shillings above his salary and diet, marking the artillery training as a paid duty laid on a line officer. Clark drew this on account of teaching the gunners their work, the same disputed allowance that had appeared in the pay rolls of earlier years, so the skill of the guns was kept up by paying an officer to drill the men, the artillery of the island depending on this instruction as much as on the pieces themselves. Clark sits here at the head of the first company drawing this addition while also sitting of council. The appearance of Solomon Jacobs and Bartholomew Molloy among the sergeants ties the pay list to the doings of these months. Jacobs was the sergeant who owed the late Stephen Lufkin for the Bristol stone studs and the wedding ribbon named in Lufkin's will, and Molloy the man paid three shillings a day for cutting stone at the Sandy Bay battery, so the same men who move through the consultations as debtors and labourers stand here on the muster in their military rank, the small society of the garrison seen from both its civil and its military side.
142	153	Brought over £ 582 7 4½ Corporals Daniel Langton 4 7 9 Ambrose Bland 4 7 9 James Richardson 4 7 9 13 3 3 Thomas Walts Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels Edward Alles 3 8 3 John Boaz 3 8 3 John Bineon 3 8 3 George Bennet 3 8 3 Joseph Brooks 3 8 3 Augustin Balls 3 8 3 William Campbell 3 8 3 Matthew Campbell 3 8 3 John Clay 3 8 3 John Cowdrey 3 8 3 William Cauker 3 8 3	The pay list of the first company was carried on as follows. Brought over, £582 7s 4.5d Corporals: Daniel Langton, £4 7s 9d Ambrose Bland, £4 7s 9d James Richardson, £4 7s 9d Total, £13 3s 3d Thomas Watts, drummer, £4 7s 9d Sentinels: Edward Allis, £3 8s 3d John Boaz, £3 8s 3d John Bineon, £3 8s 3d George Bennet, £3 8s 3d Joseph Brooks, £3 8s 3d Augustin Bells, £3 8s 3d William Campbell, £3 8s 3d Matthew Campbell, £3 8s 3d John Clay, £3 8s 3d John Cowdery, £3 8s 3d William Canter, £3 8s 3d Thomas Bineon, from 18 to 31 December, being dead the day he entered, £0 10s 5.5d William Davis, £3 8s 3d William Enzer, £3 8s 3d Edward Ell, £3 8s 3d George Green, £3 8s 3d Thomas Greenaway, £3 8s 3d Daniel Blanchard, £3 8s 3d Thomas Allis, £3 8s 3d Humphry Harrison, £3 8s 3d George Harpes, £3 8s 3d Major Jackson, £3 8s 3d William Jones, £3 8s 3d Total carried over, £75 11s 11.5d

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		Thomas Bineon from the 18 to the 31 Died being at the day he Died 10 5½ William Davis 3 8 3 William Enzer 3 8 3 Edward Elt 3 8 3 George Green 3 8 3 Thomas Greenaway 3 8 3 Daniel Blanchard 3 8 3 Thomas Alles 3 8 3 Humphry Harrison 3 8 3 George Harpes 3 8 3 Major Jackson 3 8 3 William Jones 3 8 3 Carried over £ 75 11 11½ Carried over £ 599 18 4½	Total carried over, £599 18s 4.5d **Interpretations** The sentinels stood at a flat three pounds eight shillings and threepence apiece, the uniform rate that runs through every pay roll in the record, the private soldier's wage fixed regardless of the man. This settled rate marks the base of the whole military establishment, the sentinels paid alike while the corporals, sergeants and officers rose above them in a fixed scale, so the pay list shows the ordered hierarchy of the garrison in its wages, the great body of privates at one rate and the ranks graded upward from them. The broken pay to Thomas Bineon, entered as dead the very day he joined, catches the sickliness of the quarter in a single line. He drew only ten shillings for the fortnight from the eighteenth, his pay reckoned to the day of his death, the same close accounting the record keeps on every death, promotion and discharge, so the roll registers not just the establishment but its losses, a man carried onto the strength and struck off it almost at once, one of the several deaths that fill the consultations of these winter weeks. The recurrence of the surname Allis among the sentinels, Edward and Thomas both on the roll, marks the garrison's rooting in the island's own families. The same island surnames run through the muster year after year, sons of the settlement serving as private soldiers alongside the recruits shipped from England, so the garrison was partly drawn from the families of the place it guarded, the names on the pay roll echoing those on the leases and the wills throughout the record.
143	154	Brought over £ 599 18 4½ Brought over £ 75 11 11½ Stephen Suffrin to the 24 November died the Day he Died 2 1 1½ James Lee from the 1 December unt the Day he enterd 1 3 2 William Lambon 3 8 3 Joseph Long 3 8 3 Alexander Lowton 3 8 3 John Davies 3 8 3 James Cartwright 3 8 3 James Horsley 3 8 3 John Marsh 3 8 3 Thomas Mason 3 8 3 John Merritt 3 8 3 James Mills 3 8 3 Patrick Hamilton 3 8 3 James Owens 3 8 3 James Renard 3 8 3 John Spencer 3 8 3 John Sedgber 3 8 3 John Shaw 3 8 3 John Searby	The pay list of the first company was carried on as follows. Brought over, £599 18s 4.5d Sentinels brought over, £75 11s 11.5d Stephen Lufkin, to 24 November, being the day he died, £2 1s 1.5d James Lee, from 4 December, being the day he entered, £1 3s 2d William Lambon, £3 8s 3d Joseph Long, £3 8s 3d Alexander London, £3 8s 3d John Davies, £3 8s 3d James Cartwright, £3 8s 3d James Hosley, £3 8s 3d John Marsh, £3 8s 3d Thomas Mason, £3 8s 3d John Merritt, £3 8s 3d James Mills, £3 8s 3d Patrick Hamilton, £3 8s 3d James Owins, £3 8s 3d James Renard, £3 8s 3d John Spencer, £3 8s 3d John Fletcher, £3 8s 3d John Shaw, £3 8s 3d John Searby, £3 8s 3d Solomon Saunders, £3 8s 3d Emanuel Steele, £3 8s 3d John Swindle, £3 8s 3d James Urquhart, £3 8s 3d Peter Wills, £3 8s 3d Thomas Wagg, £3 8s 3d William Young, £3 8s 3d William Smith, and William Bauff, a deserter from the ship Grantham who was going a soldier to Bencoolen, to be sent there by the first opportunity, £3 8s 3d Total, £167 10s 9d Total carried over, £767 9s 1.5d **Interpretations** The broken pay to Stephen Lufkin, reckoned to 24 November the day he died, ties the pay roll to the will proved before the board earlier in the record. The

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 8 3 Solomon Saunders 3 8 3 Emanuel Steele 3 8 3 John Swindle 3 8 3 James Urquhart 3 8 3 Peter Willis 3 8 3 Thomas Wagg 3 8 3 William Young 3 8 3 William Smith William Bauff, a Desert from Ship Grantham who was going a Soldier to Barcordan & to be sent there at first Oppertunity 3 8 3 167 10 9 Carried over £ 767 9 1½	soldier whose small estate, his chest and the debt owed by Sergeant Jacobs, had been divided among his friends drew his last wages to the day of his death, so the man moves from the pay list to the probate record within these same weeks, the close accounting of his pay matching the careful settling of his goods, one of the garrison's dead traced through both the muster and the will. The entry of William Bauff, a deserter from the *Grantham* bound as a soldier for Bencoolen and to be sent on at the first chance, shows the island as a way-station in the movement of men through the Company's empire. Bauff had run from his ship and was held on the strength until a passage could carry him to his intended post, so the garrison roll caught up a man in transit between settlements, the same traffic of soldiers, seamen and deserters that the ship musters recorded, the island holding and forwarding a man who belonged to neither its own establishment nor the ship he had fled. The appearance of Joseph Long among the sentinels connects the pay roll to the powder issued him by the Governor's order and to Lufkin's bequest. Long, who had nursed the dying Lufkin and received his chest and annuity, and to whom the Governor had given three pounds of powder, stands here on the muster as a private soldier, so the man favoured in the gunner's account and remembered in the will is fixed in his ordinary place in the garrison, the several threads of his appearance in the record drawn together on the pay list.
144	155	Brought over £ 767 9 1½ Second Company Joseph Wendal 1 Lievt Salary £10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 19 6 10½ Samuel Adwick 2 Lievt Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 14 6 10½ 33 13 9 Sergeants John French 6 14 6 Robert Mason 6 14 6 Gabriel Isaac 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals Daniel Bush 4 7 9 John Devries 4 7 9 Michael Sweet 4 7 9 13 3 3 Thomas Lowton, Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels James Alles 3 8 3 Joseph Andrews 3 8 3 George Ayres 3 8 3 Peter Basher 3 8 3 Andrew Burton 3 8 3	The pay list of the second company began as follows. Brought over, £767 9s 1.5d Second Company: Joseph Kendal, first lieutenant, salary £10 0s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10.5d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £19 6s 10.5d Samuel Ashwick, second lieutenant, salary £7 10s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10.5d, total £14 6s 10.5d Total, £33 13s 9d Sergeants: John French, £6 14s 6d Robert Mason, £6 14s 6d Gabriel Isaac, £6 14s 6d Total, £20 3s 6d Corporals: Daniel Bush, £4 7s 9d John Devries, £4 7s 9d Michael Frost, £4 7s 9d Total, £13 3s 3d Thomas London, drummer, £4 7s 9d Sentinels: James Allis, £3 8s 3d Joseph Andrews, £3 8s 3d George Ayres, £3 8s 3d Peter Beeher, £3 8s 3d Andrew Burton, £3 8s 3d John Burch, £3 8s 3d Isaiah Beeks, £3 8s 3d Francis Berwick, £3 8s 3d John Brown, £3 8s 3d Richard Billington, £3 8s 3d William Brooks, £3 8s 3d John Chapman, £3 8s 3d Total carried over, £40 19s 0d Total carried over, £838 17s 4.5d **Interpretations** Michael Frost among the corporals of the second company was the man paid earlier for making a gun sponge in the absence of an armourer, so the pay roll fixes in his military rank a soldier the paymaster's account had shown doing skilled work for want of a tradesman. The garrison's own men were drawn on to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Burch 3 8 3 Josiah Bushs 3 8 3 Francis Beswick 3 8 3 John Brown 3 8 3 Richard Billington 3 8 3 William Brooks 3 8 3 John Chapman 3 8 3 Carried over £ 40 19 Carried over £ 838 17 4½	do the work of the vacant armourer's bench, so a corporal who repaired and fitted the arms stands here on the ordinary muster, the same man serving as both soldier and makeshift craftsman while the armourer's office stood unfilled. John French the sergeant of the second company is to be distinguished from John French the master gunner who commanded the artillery, the same common name borne by two men in the garrison. The record carries several men of the name, so the pay roll's careful placing of each in his own company and rank guards against confusion, the sergeant of the foot company set apart from the gunner and from Thomas French the writer, the establishment holding more than one John French at once. The second company repeats the structure of the first, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, a drummer and a file of sentinels, the same ordered establishment laid out company by company. This uniform shape marks the settled organisation of the garrison into its foot companies, each built to the same pattern and paid on the same scale, so the pay list unrolls the whole military body of the island in a repeating order, the establishment kept to a fixed form that the broken pay and the deaths only slightly disturbed.
145	156	Brought over £ 838 17 4½ Brought over £ 40 19 William Duffin 3 8 3 Robert Everedge 3 8 3 John Fisher 3 8 3 John Fletcher 3 8 3 Peter Finall 3 8 3 John Gould 3 8 3 Isaac Holmes 3 8 3 John Holloway 3 8 3 John Hayes 3 8 3 James Inglish 3 8 3 Samuel Philton 3 8 3 William Lever 3 8 3 James Long 3 8 3 Joseph Locet 3 8 3 Charles Levente 3 8 3 Thomas Mason 3 8 3 Richard Maybank 3 8 3 Richard Hayes 3 8 3 John Norton William Ormerod to the 23 October died the Day he Died 17 2¾ William Page 3 8 3 John Cope 3 8 3 Frederick Smith 3 8 3	The pay list of the second company was carried on as follows. Brought over, £838 17s 4.5d Sentinels brought over, £40 19s 0d William Dutton, £3 8s 3d Robert Everedge, £3 8s 3d John Fisher, £3 8s 3d John Fletcher, £3 8s 3d Peter Finall, £3 8s 3d John Gould, £3 8s 3d Isaac Holmes, £3 8s 3d John Holloway, £3 8s 3d John Hayes, £3 8s 3d James English, £3 8s 3d Samuel Phillton, £3 8s 3d William Legver, £3 8s 3d James Long, £3 8s 3d Joseph Lovett, £3 8s 3d Charles Levente, £3 8s 3d Thomas Mason, £3 8s 3d Richard Maybank, £3 8s 3d Richard Mayo, £3 8s 3d John Norton, £3 8s 3d William Ormond, to 23 October, being the day he died, £1 17s 2.75d William Page, £3 8s 3d John Cope, £3 8s 3d Frederic Smith, £3 8s 3d William Scott, £3 8s 3d Thomas Acton, £3 8s 3d William Shefford, £3 8s 3d John Simmonds, £3 8s 3d Joseph Simpson, £3 8s 3d Robert Stacey, £3 8s 3d Edward Sherwode, £3 8s 3d Total carried over, £140 15s 5.25d Total carried over, £838 17s 4.5d **Interpretations** The broken pay to William Ormond, reckoned to 23 October the day he died, matches the death the consultation record notes for that week, so the pay roll and the diary confirm each other on the loss of a soldier. Ormond was one of the several men who died through the sickly autumn and winter, his wages stopped to the day, the same close reckoning the establishment kept on every death carrying his name from the muster to the record of the dead, the pay list a register of mortality as much as of service.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Scott 3 8 3 Thomas Acelon 3 8 3 William Shelford 3 8 3 John Simmonds 3 8 3 Joseph Simpson 3 8 3 Robert Stacey 3 8 3 Edward Stawode Carried over £ 140 15 5¾ Carried over £ 838 17 4½	The recurrence of William Scott, Thomas Mason and John Hayes among the sentinels again shows the island's families serving in the ranks, the same surnames that fill the leases, wills and estate disputes standing on the muster. Robert Mason the sergeant and Thomas Mason the sentinel, and the several Hayeses across the record, mark a garrison partly composed of the settlement's own people, so the military establishment and the civil population overlapped in the same families, the sons of planters and tradesmen taking the sentinel's wage alongside the recruits from England. The steady file of sentinels at the flat rate, broken only by the dead man's part-payment, carries the second company to its close in the same uniform pattern as the first. The pay list holds to its fixed form through company after company, the great body of privates at one wage and the ordered ranks above, so the muster unrolls the whole strength of the island in a repeating order, the establishment's shape unchanged from company to company save where death or enlistment fell on a single name.
146	157	Brought over £ 838 17 4½ Brought over £ 140 15 5¾ Samuel Talbot 3 8 3 Benjamin Thomas 3 8 3 Thomas Taylor 3 8 3 Richard Twaits 3 8 3 William Twaits 3 8 3 Solomon Wain 3 8 3 Edward Walker 3 8 3 Stephen Willoughby 3 8 3 Adam Watlow 3 8 3 171 9 8¾ Third Company Thomas Cathope 1 Lievt Salary £10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 Oneing Beale 2 Lievt Salary 7 10 19 6 10½ Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 14 6 10½ 33 13 9 Sergeants John Aldrich 6 14 6 Andrew Blenman 6 14 6 William Kennedy 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals Matthias Brightwell 4 7 9 John Smith 4 7 9 Henry Barton 4 7 9 13 3 3 Benjamin Twaits Drummer 4 7 9	The pay list of the second company closed, and the third company began, as follows. Brought over, £838 17s 4.5d Sentinels brought over, £140 15s 5.25d Samuel Talbot, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Thomas, £3 8s 3d Thomas Taylor, £3 8s 3d Richard Swait, £3 8s 3d William Swait, £3 8s 3d Solomon Wain, £3 8s 3d Edward Walker, £3 8s 3d Stephen Willoughby, £3 8s 3d Adam Walters, £3 8s 3d Total, £171 9s 8.25d Third Company: Thomas Easthope, first lieutenant, salary £10 0s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10.5d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £19 6s 10.5d Onesiphorus Beale, second lieutenant, salary £7 10s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10.5d, total £14 6s 10.5d Total, £33 13s 9d Sergeants: John Aldrick, £6 14s 6d Andrew Blinman, £6 14s 6d William Kennedy, £6 14s 6d Total, £20 3s 6d Corporals: Matthew Brightwell, £4 7s 9d John Smith, £4 7s 9d Henry Barton, £4 7s 9d Total, £13 3s 3d Benjamin Swait, drummer, £4 7s 9d Sentinels: William Adams, £3 8s 3d Matthew Allis, £3 8s 3d Beorn Ambrose, £3 8s 3d Total carried over, £10 4s 9d Total carried over, £1,081 15s 3.75d **Interpretations** William Kennedy the sergeant of the third company was the widower awarded a third of John Scott's estate at the court of judicature in October, in right of his late wife Elizabeth, so the pay roll fixes in his military rank the man whose estate claim runs through the consultations of these months. The same Kennedy through whom the Scott trustees paid money to the board stands here on the muster as a sergeant, the small society of the garrison seen from both its legal dealings and its ordinary service, one man moving through the record as litigant and soldier at once.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Centinels William Adams 3 8 3 Matthias Alles 3 8 3 Brian Ambrose 3 8 3 Carried over £ 10 4 9 Carried over £ 1081 15 3¾	Matthew Brightwell the corporal was a witness to Stephen Lufkin's will, so the pay roll again ties a soldier's ordinary place to the doings of the record. Brightwell had subscribed the dying Lufkin's testament alongside James Long, and stands here in his rank in the third company, the witnesses to the garrison's wills being themselves men of the garrison, so the settling of a soldier's estate drew on his own comrades to attest it, the muster and the probate record sharing the same names. The third company opens in the identical form of the first two, the two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, drummer and sentinels laid out on the same scale, the establishment holding to its fixed pattern. Onesiphorus Beale the second lieutenant, of the island's own Beale family, marks the local rooting of even the officer ranks, so the third company repeats both the structure of the garrison and its partial composition from the settlement's people, the same shape and the same names carried through the whole muster.
147	158	Brought over £ 1081 15 3¾ Brought over £ 10 4 9 William Bechelt 3 8 3 William Benfield 3 8 3 William Brown 3 8 3 Joseph Badick 3 8 3 Baron Delaof 3 8 3 John Coole 3 8 3 John Ford 3 8 3 Thomas Salter 3 8 3 Edward Grant 3 8 3 William Haslock 3 8 3 Peter Heggens 3 8 3 James Hinder 3 8 3 William Innes 3 8 3 William Jackson 3 8 3 Evan Jones 3 8 3 Thomas Sturstuck 3 8 3 Richard Knight 3 8 3 Thomas Lawrence 3 8 3 John Langbridge 3 8 3 Abraham Meyer 3 8 3 James Marjcure 3 8 3 John McKoy 3 8 3 Charles Montague 3 8 3 James McLeane 3 8 3 Charles Newcomb 3 8 3 Valentine Noble	The pay list of the third company was carried on as follows. Brought over, £1,081 15s 3.75d Sentinels brought over, £10 4s 9d William Bechell, £3 8s 3d William Benfield, £3 8s 3d William Brown, £3 8s 3d Joseph Badick, £3 8s 3d Baron Deleffe, £3 8s 3d John Cook, £3 8s 3d John Ford, £3 8s 3d Thomas Salter, £3 8s 3d Edward Grant, £3 8s 3d William Haslock, £3 8s 3d Peter Higgens, £3 8s 3d James Hinder, £3 8s 3d William Innes, £3 8s 3d William Jackson, £3 8s 3d Evan Jones, £3 8s 3d Thomas Steenbrock, £3 8s 3d Richard Speight, £3 8s 3d Thomas Lawrence, £3 8s 3d John Langbridge, £3 8s 3d Abraham Meyer, £3 8s 3d James Marjeire, £3 8s 3d John McRoy, £3 8s 3d Charles Montague, £3 8s 3d James McLeane, £3 8s 3d Charles Newcomb, £3 8s 3d Valentine Noble, £3 8s 3d Joseph Newman, £3 8s 3d Thomas Oliver, £3 8s 3d Thomas Breece, £3 8s 3d Thomas Payne, £3 8s 3d George Peacock, £3 8s 3d Total carried over, £116 0s 6d Total carried over, £1,081 15s 3.75d **Interpretations** Baron Deleffe stands here among the sentinels of the third company, the same man to whom the board had sealed the James Valley building lot at twelve shillings earlier in the record, so the pay roll fixes in his military rank a soldier who was also a Company tenant. The garrison's men held land in the town as well as serving in the ranks, so Deleffe moves through the record as both leaseholder and private soldier, the same overlap of the civil and military that runs through the whole muster, a man taking a building plot from the Company he served under arms. George Peacock among the sentinels was the man paid to repair the broken arms and order the plantation tools for want of an armourer, so the pay roll again places a working soldier in his ordinary rank. Peacock did the armourer's work while the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 8 3 Joseph Newman 3 8 3 Thomas Oliver 3 8 3 Thomas Peirce 3 8 3 Thomas Payne 3 8 3 George Prescod Carried over £ 116 6 Carried over £ 1081 15 3¾	office stood unfilled, and stands here as a private in the third company, the same man serving as both soldier and makeshift craftsman, the garrison drawing on its own men to keep the arms in order when the tradesman's bench was empty. Thomas Breece the sentinel had died on 10 January, so his name on the muster taken for the quarter to 31 December catches him still on the strength before his death in the new year. The pay roll for these months carries men who died only weeks later, the establishment recorded as it stood at the quarter's close, so the list holds names that the consultations of January would strike off, the muster a snapshot of a garrison steadily thinned by the sickliness the record traces through the winter.
148	159	Brought over £ 1081 15 3¾ Brought over £ 116 6 James Poulover 3 8 3 William Pendre 3 8 3 John Papwator 3 8 3 Abraham Ralliff 3 8 3 William Robinson 3 8 3 Francis Reed 3 8 3 John Smith 3 8 3 John Spencer 3 8 3 David Scott 3 8 3 Robert Snols 3 8 3 Joseph Timpson 3 8 3 Benjamen Williams 3 8 3 John Wills 3 8 3 Jeremiah Worrell 3 8 3 Joseph Woodman 3 8 3 169 1 3 Fourth Company John Barten 1 Lievt Salary £10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 Tho Thirlspatrick 2 Lievt Salary 7 10 19 6 10½ Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 14 6 10½ 33 13 9 Sergeants Adolph Sapton 6 14 6 William Oakman 6 14 6 David Wilkin 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals William Price 4 7 9 Edward Murphy 4 7 9	The pay list of the third company closed, and the fourth company began, as follows. Brought over, £1,081 15s 3.75d Sentinels brought over, £116 0s 6d James Peudever, £3 8s 3d William Pendre, £3 8s 3d John Carpenter, £3 8s 3d Abraham Ralliff, £3 8s 3d William Robinson, £3 8s 3d Francis Reed, £3 8s 3d John Smith, £3 8s 3d John Spencer, £3 8s 3d David Scott, £3 8s 3d Robert Snow, £3 8s 3d Joseph Simpson, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Williams, £3 8s 3d John Wills, £3 8s 3d Jeremiah Worrell, £3 8s 3d Joseph Woodman, £3 8s 3d Total, £169 1s 3d Fourth Company: John Barton, first lieutenant, salary £10 0s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10.5d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £19 6s 10.5d Thomas Hetherpatrick, second lieutenant, salary £7 10s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10.5d, total £14 6s 10.5d Total, £33 13s 9d Sergeants: Joseph Lufkin, £6 14s 6d William Oakman, £6 14s 6d David Wilson, £6 14s 6d Total, £20 3s 6d Corporals: William Price, £4 7s 9d Edward Murphy, £4 7s 9d Peter Coakley, £4 7s 9d Total, £13 3s 3d Joseph Uffen, drummer, £4 7s 9d Total carried over, £1,320 7s 9.75d **Interpretations** Lieutenant John Barton, at the head of the fourth company, was the tenant to whom the board had sealed the Sale Path lot with the bridge covenant days before this pay list was drawn, so the muster fixes in his rank the officer whose land dealings run through the record. Barton had held one James Valley lot since January and now took a second and dearer one, and stands here as first lieutenant of the fourth company, the same man moving through the consultations as leaseholder and here as a commissioned officer, the pay roll and the lease register sharing his name. David Wilson the sergeant of the fourth company was the partner in the arrack venture who had accused Robert Meacock of skimming the stores, so the pay roll places in his military rank a man whose private trade the board was then adjudicating. The same Wilson locked in the dispute over the leaguers and the licence stands here as a sergeant, his commercial dealings and his military service running

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Peter Cakley 4 7 9 13 3 3 Joseph Uffin, Drummer 4 7 9 Carried over £ 1320 7 9¾	side by side, the small society of the garrison seen at once in its trade and its rank, one man both litigant and soldier. The fourth company completes the establishment in the same fixed form as the other three, so the four foot companies together lay out the whole infantry of the island on one uniform scale. Thomas Hetherpatrick the second lieutenant, named an executor in earlier wills, and the several island surnames among the sergeants, mark the garrison's rooting in the settlement, so the muster closes its foot companies in a pattern both uniform in structure and local in its men, the same shape and the same names carried through to the last company.
149	160	Brought over £ 1320 7 9¾ Centinels James Allin 3 8 3 Thomas Barrer 3 8 3 John Barten 3 8 3 Isaac Bennett 3 8 3 Abraham Buwrell 3 8 3 William Barret 3 8 3 Derby Coyles 3 8 3 Phillip Caleth-fac 3 8 3 Edward Cohen 3 8 3 Thomas Draper 3 8 3 John Ellis 3 8 3 Samuel Eels 3 8 3 George Eton 3 8 3 Jonathan Galtee 3 8 3 Francis Ajualbody 3 8 3 William Harris 3 8 3 James Hall 3 8 3 John Haley 3 8 3 Job Harrison 3 8 3 James Stoll 3 8 3 James Kendrick 3 8 3 William Slansbey 3 8 3 William King 3 8 3 John Kegt 3 8 3 John Mannikee 3 8 3 George Masker 3 8 3 Wafeer Monanto 3 8 3 Duncan McLaoun 3 8 3 James Ogsbe 3 8 3	The pay list of the fourth company was carried on as follows. Brought over, £1,320 7s 9.75d Sentinels: James Allin, £3 8s 3d Thomas Barnes, £3 8s 3d John Boulton, £3 8s 3d Isaac Bennett, £3 8s 3d Abraham Burrell, £3 8s 3d William Barrett, £3 8s 3d Derby Coyles, £3 8s 3d Philip Coldspac, £3 8s 3d Edward Cohen, £3 8s 3d Thomas Draper, £3 8s 3d John Ellis, £3 8s 3d Samuel Bele, £3 8s 3d George Eiton, £3 8s 3d Jonathan Galbee, £3 8s 3d Francis Goodbody, £3 8s 3d William Harris, £3 8s 3d James Hall, £3 8s 3d John Haley, £3 8s 3d Job Harrison, £3 8s 3d James Hicks, £3 8s 3d James Kendrick, £3 8s 3d William Shensby, £3 8s 3d William Hine, £3 8s 3d John Hoyt, £3 8s 3d John Mannihee, £3 8s 3d George Masters, £3 8s 3d Wafres Menents, £3 8s 3d Duncan McLuran, £3 8s 3d James Coyle, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Pearson, £3 8s 3d Edward Richards, £3 8s 3d Total carried over, £105 15s 0d Total carried over, £1,320 7s 9.75d **Interpretations** The fourth company's sentinels run in the same uniform file at the flat rate, the great body of the garrison's privates carried through in the settled order the whole muster keeps. This unbroken run of names at one wage measures the base of the establishment, the private soldiers of the four foot companies making up the mass of the island's strength, each paid alike and set down in order, the pay roll unrolling the whole infantry to its last file. The mix of names in the fourth company, the McLurans and Mannihees and Coldspacs beside the plain English and island surnames, marks the mixed recruitment of the garrison. The soldiers came from the recruits shipped out from Britain and Ireland as well as from the settlement's own families, so the muster carries Scots, Irish and others alongside the Allises and Hayeses, the establishment filled from every source the Company could draw on to man a distant post, the roll a register of the varied origins of the men who guarded the island. The pay list holds its form to the last company, so the four foot companies together present the whole infantry of the island in one repeating pattern.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Benjamin Pearson 3 8 3 Edward Richards Carried over £ 105 15 Carried over £ 1320 7 9¾	The establishment's uniform structure, each company built alike and paid on one scale, carried through from first to fourth, so the muster closes the foot as it began, a garrison of fixed shape steadily thinned by the deaths the record notes but otherwise held to its settled order, the artillery and superannuated still to follow.
150	161	Brought over £ 1320 7 9¾ Brought over £ 105 15 Thomas Robinson 3 8 3 David Robinson 3 8 3 Robert Scarly 3 8 3 Andle Splease 3 8 3 Daniel Sergeant 3 8 3 Edward Sparks 3 8 3 John Smith 3 8 3 Charles Starks 3 8 3 Timothy Sullivan 3 8 3 William Taylor 3 8 3 John Taylor 3 8 3 Edward Terry 3 8 3 Peter Urbenbergh 3 8 3 Robert Vichare to the 24 Novr entd being transferrd to they Artillery Company the 25 Do 2 1 4½ James Vaughan 3 8 3 Benjamin Williams 3 8 3 John Walker Senr 3 8 3 John Walker Junr 3 8 3 James Woodewise 3 8 3 Robert Wright 3 8 3 147 13 7½ Artillery Company John French, Master Gunner Salary 13 8 9 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 22 15 7½ Gunners Mates John Blundgle 4 17 6 Isaac Leech 4 17 6 Carried over £ 9 15 Carried over £ 1517 17	The pay list of the fourth company closed, and the artillery company began, as follows. Brought over, £1,320 7s 9.75d Sentinels brought over, £105 15s 0d Thomas Robinson, £3 8s 3d David Robinson, £3 8s 3d Robert Scarlet, £3 8s 3d Andrew Spence, £3 8s 3d Daniel Sergeant, £3 8s 3d Edward Sparks, £3 8s 3d John Smith, £3 8s 3d Charles Starky, £3 8s 3d Timothy Sullivan, £3 8s 3d William Taylor, £3 8s 3d John Taylor, £3 8s 3d Edward Ferry, £3 8s 3d Peter Urenbrough, £3 8s 3d Robert Vicham, to 24 November, being transferred to the artillery company the 25th, £2 1s 1.5d James Vaughan, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Williams, £3 8s 3d John Walker senior, £3 8s 3d John Walker junior, £3 8s 3d James Woodhouse, £3 8s 3d Robert Wright, £3 8s 3d Total, £147 13s 7.5d Artillery Company: John French, master gunner, salary £13 8s 9d Diet money, £6 16s 10.5d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £22 15s 7.5d Gunners' mates: John Blundle, £4 17s 6d Isaac Leech, £4 17s 6d Total carried over, £9 15s 0d Total carried over, £1,513 17s 0d **Interpretations** The transfer of Robert Vicham from the fourth company to the artillery on 25 November, his foot pay reckoned to the day before, shows the movement of men between the companies that the pay roll tracks so closely. Soldiers passed from the foot to the artillery as the guns needed hands, the broken pay marking the exact day of the change, so the establishment shifted its men between the infantry and the gunners without gap in their wages, the pay roll registering each such move to the day just as it did every death and enlistment. The master gunner John French drew the highest pay of any officer below the council, his salary well above the foot lieutenants, marking the skill and charge of the artillery. French commanded the guns and the gunners, the whole ordnance of the island resting on his office, so his pay reflected the value of the specialist who kept the batteries and their men in order, the same French who signed the gunner's stores accounts and whose name runs through the record as the head of the island's artillery. His pay stands apart from the sergeant and the writer of the same name. The artillery company, following the four foot companies, completes the military establishment with its own graded ranks of master gunner, mates, quarter gunners and matrosses. The guns were manned by a distinct company of trained men rather than by the foot, so the pay roll sets the artillery apart with its own scale and structure, the specialist gunners paid above the sentinels, the island's fixed defences

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			requiring a body of skilled men to serve the pieces that the foot companies could not.
151	162	Brought over £ 1515 17 3¾ Brought over £ 9 15 Ely Leech 4 17 6 Roger Nevanson 4 17 6 James Pritchard 4 17 6 Nathan Semple 4 17 6 Humphry Gough 4 17 6 William James 4 17 6 39 Quarter Gunners John Arters Hall 4 7 9 Edward Arnold 4 7 9 Edward Bosford 4 7 9 Henry Cotter 4 7 9 John Butter 4 7 9 Adam Milbourn 4 7 9 John Milledge 4 7 9 John Watkins 4 7 9 35 2 Matrosses William Anger 4 1 3 Joseph Boswell 4 1 3 William Boleman 4 1 3 John Brown 4 1 3 William Ball 4 1 3 Peter Boale 4 1 3 Edward Callimore 4 1 3 Samuel Clark John Cheeseman to the 24 November died the Day he Died 2 8 11½ Anthony Day 4 1 3 John Hilling 4 1 3 William Frowelow 4 1 3 Carried over £ 47 2 8¼ Carried over £ 1589 19 2¾	The pay list of the artillery company was carried on as follows. Brought over, £1,513 17s 0d Gunners' mates brought over, £9 15s 0d Ely Leech, £4 17s 6d Roger Nevanson, £4 17s 6d James Pritchard, £4 17s 6d Nathan Semple, £4 17s 6d Humphry Cough, £4 17s 6d William James, £4 17s 6d Total, £39 0s 0d Quarter gunners: John Artingstall, £4 7s 9d Edward Arnold, £4 7s 9d Edward Bufford, £4 7s 9d Henry Corker, £4 7s 9d John Butler, £4 7s 9d Adam Milburn, £4 7s 9d John Milledge, £4 7s 9d John Watkins, £4 7s 9d Total, £35 2s 0d Matrosses: William Anzer, £4 1s 3d Joseph Boswell, £4 1s 3d William Boleman, £4 1s 3d John Brown, £4 1s 3d William Bull, £4 1s 3d Peter Balls, £4 1s 3d Edward Callimore, £4 1s 3d Samuel Clark, £4 1s 3d John Cheeseman, to 24 November, being the day he died, £2 8s 11.5d Anthony Day, £4 1s 3d Stephen Milburn, £4 1s 3d William Fenelow, £4 1s 3d Total carried over, £47 2s 8.25d Total carried over, £1,589 19s 2.5d **Interpretations** Roger Nevanson the gunner's mate was the man who supplied provisions to the market, whose receipts appear in the treasury cash account for the month, so the pay roll fixes in his artillery rank a soldier who also served the Company's market. The same Nevanson whose money for provisions sold came into the cash stands here as a gunner's mate, his trade and his military service running together, the small society of the garrison seen at once in its dealings and its rank, one man both victualler and gunner. The broken pay to John Cheeseman, reckoned to 24 November the day he died, matches the death the consultation record notes for that date, so the pay roll and the diary agree on the loss of the matross. Cheeseman was one of the two men over whose funerals the November powder was spent, his wages stopped to the day, so the same death that drew the gunner's salute is registered in the pay account, the roll and the powder account together marking the passing of a single man of the artillery. The gunners' mates and quarter gunners stood at graded rates above the matrosses, the artillery keeping its own ordered scale distinct from the foot. The specialist ranks of the guns, from the master gunner down through the mates and quarter gunners to the matrosses, each drew their own wage, so the artillery company's pay reflects the graded skill of the men who served the pieces, the establishment valuing the trained gunner above the private soldier as the guns required more of their men than the muster line.
152	163	Brought over £ 1589 10 3¾ Brought over £ 47 2 8¼	The pay list of the artillery company closed, and the superannuated began, as follows. Brought over, £1,589 19s 2.5d

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		Patrick Murphy 4 1 3 Richard Melon 4 1 3 William Ormes 4 1 3 Lawrence Peterson 4 1 3 John Smith 4 1 3 Joseph Thomas 4 1 3 Robert Vichare from the 25 Novr entd being transferrd from the 4 Company 1 12 3¾ John Whitchurch 4 1 3 William Wilman 4 1 3 81 5 Superannuated Richard Tinsley, Overseer 3 8 3 Joseph Whaly, Sergeant 3 8 3 William Beauchamp Do 3 8 3 Samuel Knipe, Centinel 3 8 3 Francis Frange, Armourer 6 7½ 19 13 7½ £ 1690 9 8¼	Matrosses brought over, £47 2s 8.25d Patrick Murphy, £4 1s 3d Richard Melon, £4 1s 3d William Cames, £4 1s 3d Lawrence Peterson, £4 1s 3d John Smith, £4 1s 3d Joseph Thomas, £4 1s 3d Robert Vicham, from 25 November, being transferred from the fourth company, £1 12s 3.5d John Whitchurch, £4 1s 3d William Wilbraham, £4 1s 3d Total, £81 5s 0d Superannuated: Richard Tinsley, overseer, £3 8s 3d Joseph Whaley, sergeant, £3 8s 3d William Burnham, sergeant, £3 8s 3d Samuel Knipe, sentinel, £3 8s 3d Francis Funge, armourer, £6 0s 7.5d Total, £1,913 7s 6.5d Total, £1,690 7s 8.75d **Interpretations** Robert Vicham appears here on the other side of his transfer, drawing artillery pay from 25 November as he had drawn foot pay to the 24th, so the two entries together complete the record of his move between the companies. The pay roll tracks the man across the change without gap or overlap, his wage passing cleanly from the fourth company to the artillery on the marked day, the establishment's close accounting following a single soldier through his transfer as carefully as through any death or enlistment. The superannuated stood at the end of the establishment, the worn-out men kept on pension, the overseer, sergeants and sentinel at the flat sentinel's rate and the old armourer Francis Funge above them. Funge, whose vacant bench had left the arms to be repaired by hired hands through the quarter, drew his pension while his work went undone, so the pay roll shows the Company carrying its aged servants on a standing charge, the men grown old in the service pensioned at the base rate while the offices they could no longer fill stood empty or were done by others. The pensioning of Francis Funge the armourer connects the pay roll to the open want of an armourer that runs through the record. Funge stood superannuated while George Peacock and Michael Frost, both on the muster as ordinary soldiers, did the armourer's work for hire, so the establishment paid the old man his pension and hired others to do his job, the office unfilled and its duties scattered among the garrison, the same gap in the arms upkeep that the paymaster's accounts had carried through the season.
153	164	Dr James Powell Per Contra Cr 1747 To Cash recd from the Honble Companys Cash Chest 1835 11 ½ 1747 Oct 15: By Cash paid Willm Lambon for comeing Express with an Account of a Ship to Windward 5 Decr 1: By Do paid James Lee for relisting to serve the Honble Company as a Soldier for five Years to Commence from the Date hereof 5 5 Do 4: By Do paid John Holloway for comeing Express with an Account of a Ship to Windward 5 Do 31: By Do paid Francis Wrangham Senr for 31940 of Yams at £1..10s ℔ m bought in the Months of October and November last, for the use of the Honble	The two-sided cash account of James Powell the paymaster stood as follows. On the debtor side: Cash received from the Company's cash chest, £1,835 11s 0.5d Carried over, £1,835 11s 0.5d On the creditor side: 15 October, cash paid William Lambon for coming express with an account of a ship to windward, £0 5s 0d 1 December, paid James Lee for re-enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for five years to commence from the date, £5 5s 0d 4 December, paid John Holloway for coming express with an account of a ship to windward, £0 5s 0d 31 December, paid Francis Wrangham senior for 31,940 lb of yams at £1 10s the thousand, bought in October and November for the use of the Company's slaves and stock, their plantations being young and none fit for use, £47 18s 2.25d Carried over, £53 13s 2.25d

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		Companys Blacks, and Stock, their Plantations being Young, and none fit for use 47 18 2¼ Carried over £ 1835 11 ½ Carried over £ 53 13 2¼	**Interpretations** The paymaster's account opens on the yams bought of Francis Wrangham senior, near thirty-two thousand pounds at thirty shillings the thousand, the single heaviest payment of the quarter and the plainest mark of the shortage that runs through the whole record. The Company paid its largest planter for the yams its own ground could not yield, the plantations too newly planted to feed the slaves and stock, so the account states in one entry the dependence on the planters' crops that the stock accounts and the overseer's survey had traced, the buying-in running through the autumn as the young grounds grew. The express fees to William Lambon and John Holloway, five shillings each for bringing word of a ship to windward, mark the system of early warning the island kept against the approach of shipping. A man who first sighted a sail and carried the news to the fort was paid for the express, so the settlement rewarded the swift bringing of intelligence, the same small fees that run through every paymaster's account, the island depending on its lookouts and runners to know of a ship before she closed the road. The re-enlistment bounty to James Lee, five guineas to serve five years more as a soldier, shows the Company holding its garrison together by paying men to sign on afresh. Lee had completed his time and was paid to re-enlist rather than be lost to the establishment, so the bounty was the price of keeping a trained soldier on a distant station where recruits were hard to come by, the same re-enlistment charge that runs through the accounts as the Company worked to maintain its strength against the drain of expiring contracts and death.
154	165	Brought over £ 1835 11 ½ Carried over £ 1835 11 ½	The debtor side of the paymaster's cash account was brought over and carried forward. Brought over, £1,835 11s 0.5d Carried over, £1,835 11s 0.5d
155	166	Brought over £ 53 13 2¼ Decr 31: By Cash paid for Yams for 16800 of Yams at £1..5 ℔ m, bought in the Months of October and November last for the Honble Companys Blacks and Stock 21 2 3½ By Do paid Marten Harper, for 800 of Yams, at 5/ ℔ m of Thousand, bought in the Months of October, and November last for Do 10 By Do paid John Watkins, for Overseeing, and takeing care of the Corn, and Cattle in the Goat Wood this Quarter 6 10 By Do William Duffin, his Allowance for making up Medicines &c and Assisting the Surgeon, Mr Falconer this Quarter 3 8 3 By Do paid James Ewell, for 11000 of Yams, at £1..10 ℔ m, bought in the Months of October, and November last, for the Blacks, and Stock 16 10 9½ By Do paid Sundry Persons, for owing in the Furnace this Quarter &c to each, as may Appears of their several Receipts in the Receipt Book 4 10 By Do paid Abraham Meyer, for Trimming Blocks for the Coopers, and for Sawing this Wharf 8 6 By Do paid Saml Cole, for 7 Days Work in painting the Crane, and Gun Carriages 14	The creditor side of the paymaster's cash account was carried on as follows. Brought over, £53 13s 2.25d 31 December, paid for 16,800 lb of yams at £1 5s the thousand, bought in October and November for the Company's slaves and stock, £21 2s 3.5d Paid Martin Harper for 8,000 lb of yams at £1 5s the thousand, bought in October and November for the same, £10 0s 0d Paid John Watkins for overseeing and taking care of the corn and cattle in the Great Wood this quarter, £6 10s 0d Paid William Dutton, his allowance for making up medicines and assisting the surgeon Samuel Falconer this quarter, £3 8s 3d Paid James Ewell for 8,000 lb of yams at £1 10s the thousand, bought in October and November for the slaves and stock, £16 10s 2.5d Paid sundry persons for rowing in the pinnace this quarter, as may appear by their several receipts in the receipt book, £4 10s 0d Paid Abraham Meyer for burning blocks for the templers and for greasing the wharf, £0 8s 6d Paid Samuel Bele for 7 days' work in painting the crane and gun carriages, £0 14s 0d Paid Stephen Wain for 15 days' work in blowing up and clearing away rock at Banks's Platform, £1 10s 0d Paid Isaac Leech for making a flag for Banks's and for three days' work in mounting flags, £1 2s 6d Paid the following men for work done by them in the Long Wood, in mowing and stacking of nettles, for the support of the Company's cattle: 22 days, John Cowdery, at 1s 3d a day, £1 7s 6d 35 days, John Smith, at 1s 3d a day, £2 3s 9d Total, £3 11s 3d

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		By Do paid Herman Wash, for 15 Days Work in blowing up and cleaning away Rock at Bankes Island 1 10 By Do paid Isaac Leech, for Making a Flagg for Bankes, and for three Days Work in Mounting Flaggs By Do the following Men for Work done by them, in the Long Wood, in Mowing, and Stacking of Vittle, for the Support of the Honble Companys Cattle vizt 4 Days 22 John Cowdrey at 5/3 ℔ day 1 7 6 35 John Smith at 4/3 ℔ Do 2 3 9 3 11 3 Carried over £ 10 9 18 11¾	Total carried over, £10 9s 18s 11.5d **Interpretations** The yams bought of three separate planters, Wrangham, Harper and Ewell, at twenty-five and thirty shillings the thousand, run through the whole account as the Company's chief expense, the buying-in spread across the largest holders of the island. The Company drew its provision from Martin Harper, James Ewell and Francis Wrangham alike, the price varying a little between them, so the account shows the settlement leaning on the planting community as a body to feed its slaves and stock, the same dependence that the framing and the stock accounts trace through the season, the young Company grounds unable to meet the demand. The mowing and stacking of nettles in the Long Wood for the cattle marks a hard shift the Company was put to for want of proper grazing. Men were paid by the day to cut nettles to feed the herd, the coarse weed serving where grass fell short, so the account records the settlement scraping fodder from the waste ground to keep its cattle alive, the same pressure on the island's provision that drove the buying of yams, the herd fed on nettles mown by hired labour when the pastures could not carry it. The blowing up and clearing of rock at Banks's Platform, and the burning of blocks and greasing of the wharf, carry forward the fortification and harbour works the accounts trace through the year. Stephen Wain was paid for fifteen days breaking rock at the battery, the same hard labour on the defences that ran on through the season, so the paymaster's account records the constant work of hewing and clearing that kept the batteries and the landing place in order, the men hired by the day to blast and shift the stone the island's fixed works required.
156	167	Brought over £ 1835 11 ½ Carried over £ 1835 11 ½	The debtor side of the paymaster's cash account was brought over and carried forward. Brought over, £1,835 11s 0.5d Carried over, £1,835 11s 0.5d
157	168	Brought over £ 109 18 11¼ Decr 31 1747 Days Brought over £ 3 11 3 21 Benjamin Williams at 1/3 ℔ day 1 6 3 36 Anthony Day at 1/3 ℔ Do 2 3 7 2 6 By Cash paid Anthony for 36½ Days Work in Grubbing of Furze in the Honble Companys Patches, at 1/3 ℔ day 2 5 7½ By Cash paid Stephen Willoughby, and William Cauker for Baking Eighty Batches of Bread for the Garrison in this Quarter at 1/8 ℔ Batch 6 13 4 By Do paid Edward Arnold, for Stuffing, and Mending of Saddles, and Bridles and for Mending Girths, Croupers, and Halters &c for the Breaking of Horses 8 6 By Do paid John Ford, for 27 Days Work at 1/6 ℔ Day, in preparing of Wool, to Make Stockings 2 6 By Do paid Richard Bagley for 18½5 Sonat at 2 ℔ Hundred for the use of the Honble Companys General Table 1 17 6 By Do paid Thomas Jarvis, for Cutting Out 42 Suits of Cloaths, for the Honble Companys Black Women at 6d ℔ Suit and for making 2 pr Breeches for an old Black Man at 1/6	The creditor side of the paymaster's cash account was carried on as follows. Brought over, £109 18s 11.25d Days brought over, £3 11s 3d 21 days, Benjamin Williams, at 1s 3d a day, £1 6s 3d 36 days, Anthony Day, at 1s 3d a day, £2 5s 0d Total, £7 2s 6d Paid Anthony Day for 36.5 days' work in grubbing of furze in the Company's pastures, at 1s 3d a day, £2 5s 7.5d Paid Stephen Willoughby and William Canter for baking eighty batches of bread for the garrison this quarter, at 1s 8d a batch, £6 13s 4d Paid Edward Arnold for stuffing and mending of saddles and bridles and for mending girths, cruppers and halters for the breeding of horses, £0 8s 6d Paid John Ford for 27 days' work at 1s 6d a day in preparing of wood to make stockings, £2 0s 6d Paid Richard Bagley for 187.5 sennets at 2d, expended for the use of the Company's general table, £1 17s 6d Paid Thomas Jarvis for cutting out 42 suits of clothes for the Company's black women, and for splitting and for making of breeches for an old black man, at 1s 6d, £1 2s 6d Paid the following men for washing at the fortification at Banks's this quarter: 14 days, Edward Callimore, at 1s a day, £0 14s 0d 14 days, Edward Cohen, at 1s a day, £0 14s 0d 9 days, John Mannihee, at 1s a day, £0 9s 0d 14 days, William Hendry, at 1s a day, £0 14s 0d 14 days, John Carpenter, at 1s a day, £0 12s 6d 12.5 days, William Bechet, at 1s a day, £0 9s 0d

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		1 2 6 By Do paid the following Men for Working at the Fortification, at Bank's this Quarter vizt Days 14 Edward Callimore at 1/ ℔ day £ 14 14 Edward Cosher at Do 14 9 John Mannikee at Do 9 14 William Hendry at Do 14 17½ John Papwater at Do 17 6 12½ William Bechet at Do 9 9 William Buff at Do 9 9 William Buff at Do 11 11 Isaac Holmes at Do 4 12 6 Carried over £ 131 9 4¾	9 days, William Buff, at 1s a day, £0 9s 0d 11 days, Isaac Holmes, at 1s a day, £0 11s 0d Total carried over, £4 12s 6d Total carried over, £131 9s 4.25d **Interpretations** The grubbing of furze in the Company's pastures, days of hired labour to clear the gorse, marks the constant work of keeping the grazing open that the record traces through the years. Furze was cut both for fuel and to keep the pastures clear, and men were paid by the day to grub it, so the account records the steady maintenance of the island's rough ground, the same labour on the furze that earlier governors had pressed on the inhabitants, here done by hired soldiers at the Company's charge. Thomas Jarvis cutting out forty-two suits of clothes for the Company's black women ties this account to the slave clothing the record follows through the season. The garments for the slaves were made up on the island by hired hands, the same making-good of the clothing that the open threads trace, so the account shows the Company clothing its slaves partly by local labour, Jarvis paid to cut out the women's suits and a man's breeches, the settlement stitching what it could rather than shipping every garment from India. The washing at Banks's fortification, a file of men paid a shilling a day, and the baking of eighty batches of bread for the garrison, show the range of hired labour the Company drew on to run the establishment. The men were paid for washing at the battery and for baking the garrison's bread, the same day-labour that filled the fortification and provision accounts, so the paymaster's account maps the whole working economy of the settlement, the soldiers and others hired for every task from breaking rock to baking bread that the Company's own establishment could not cover.
158	169	Brought over £ 1835 11 ½ Carried over £ 1835 11 ½	The debtor side of the paymaster's cash account was brought over and carried forward. Brought over, £1,835 11s 0.5d Carried over, £1,835 11s 0.5d
159	170	Brought over £ 131 9 4¾ Days Brought over £ 4 12 6 9 Thomas Mason at 1/ ℔ day 9 9 Joseph Woodman at Do 9 3½ John Fletcher at Do 3 6 9 Edward Terry at Do 9 9 Thomas Cartwright at Do 9 6 12 By Cash paid John Fletcher, for 10½ Days Work done at the Fortification at James's Valley 10 6 By Do paid Edward Callimore, for 10½ Days Work done at the Fortification at Swan Valley 10 6 By Do paid Captain William Robenn for 205lb of Barley bought for the Support of the Honble Companys Poultry at 3/6 ℔ 100 3 11 11½ By Do paid John Butter, Henry Cotter, John Nolledge Samuel Clark, Willm Ormes, Willm Ball, Phillip Hilliard, Willm Frowlow, John Watkins, John Arters Hall, Anthony Day, and John Bineon Ea 7/6 in lieu of a Hatt, there being None for them the last Cloathing	The creditor side of the paymaster's cash account was carried on and closed as follows. Brought over, £131 9s 4.25d Days brought over, £4 12s 6d 9 days, Thomas Mason, at 1s a day, £0 9s 0d 9 days, Joseph Woodman, at 1s a day, £0 9s 0d 3.5 days, John Fletcher, at 1s a day, £0 3s 6d 9 days, Edward Ferry, at 1s a day, £0 9s 0d 9 days, Thomas Cartwright, at 1s a day, £0 9s 0d Total, £6 12s 0d Paid John Fletcher for 10.5 days' work done at the fortification at James Valley, £0 10s 6d Paid Edward Callimore for 10.5 days' work done at the fortification at Lemon Valley, £0 10s 6d Paid Captain William Robson for 2,050 lb of paddy bought for the support of the Company's poultry, at 3s 6d the hundredweight, £3 11s 11.5d Paid John Butler, Henry Corker, John Milledge, Samuel Clark, William Cames, William Bull, Philip Holland, William Fenelow, John Watkins, John Artingstall, Anthony Day and John Brown, one shilling and sixpence each in place of a suit not given them, there being none for them the last quarter, £1 10s 0d Paid the Company's officers and servants their several salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter commencing 1 October and ending 31 December 1747, as may appear by the pay list, £1,690 17s 8.75d Total, £1,835 11s 0.5d The board then counted the Company's cash for the month of December, and found it as follows.

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		1 10 By Do paid the Honble Companys Officers, and Servants their several Salaries, Diet Money &c for the Quarter Commencing the 1 October, and Ending the 31 Decr 1747, as may appear of the Pay List 1690 17 8¼ £ 1835 11 ½ Counted, and Examined, the Honble Companys Cash, for the Month of December last, and found the same as follows Vizt	**Interpretations** The paddy bought of Captain Robson for the poultry, near a hundredweight and more at three shillings and sixpence, closes the account on the same shortage that had opened it, the Company unable to feed even its fowls from its own ground. The board had resolved to buy the paddy from the ship in the road rather than let the poultry go unfed, so the purchase stands in the account as a small instance of the great problem, the settlement leaning on the passing shipping for the very grain to feed its birds, the failing local supply reaching down even to the poultry yard. The twelve men paid a shilling and sixpence each in place of a suit not given them carries into the account the clothing shortfall the record notes, the garrison short of the suits that should have come from England. The men were paid the value of the missing clothing, the same commutation the consultation had ordered, so the account records the Company meeting a failure of its own supply with cash, turning the shortage of clothing into a small money payment to the soldiers who went without, the annual shipment having fallen short of the garrison's need. The great closing charge of the pay list, over sixteen hundred pounds for the salaries and allowances of the whole establishment, dwarfs every other entry and shows where the bulk of the Company's cash went. The pay of the officers and servants was far the heaviest outgoing of the quarter, the many small charges for labour, provision and works together amounting to only a fraction of it, so the account measures the true cost of maintaining the establishment, the wages of the men the standing burden against which the buying of yams and the hiring of labour were minor items.
160	171	1747 Cash Dr Decr 1: To Balance remaining 4736 10 3¾ 8: To John Goodwin Esqr &c Recr of the Trustees of John Scott deceased 18 12 2½ 31: To Lycence Recr for 10 Publick Houses 15 31: To Plantation Recr for 146¾ Gallons Milk 7 6 9 31: To Matthew Garling for Store Goods Sold in the Months October, November, and December 1113 14 6 5891 3 8¼	The debtor side of the Company's cash for December 1747 stood as follows. 1 December, balance remaining, £4,736 10s 3.75d 8 December, John Goodwin deceased, received of the trustees of John Scott deceased, £18 12s 2.5d 31 December, licences received for 10 public houses, £15 0s 0d 31 December, plantation, received for 146.75 gallons of milk, £7 6s 9d 31 December, Matthew Purling, for store goods sold in October, November and December, £1,113 14s 6d Total, £5,891 3s 8.75d **Interpretations** The £18 received of the Scott trustees toward the late Governor Goodwin's estate ties the cash account to the long settling of that estate that runs through the consultations. The trustees of John Scott, through William Kennedy and the others, paid this sum into the cash on account of a debt owed the dead governor, so the account records one link in the chain of obligation the board was clearing, the money owed by one dead man's estate to another passing through the Company's cash as the settlements were worked out. The licences for ten public houses, fifteen pounds taken into the cash, mark the revenue the Company drew from controlling the island's drink trade. Each licensed house paid for the privilege of retailing liquor, the same licence that had figured in the Meacock dispute, so the account shows the settlement raising a steady income from the very trade whose private dealings the board was then adjudicating, the licences both a control on the sale of spirit and a source of the Company's cash. The store goods sold over the quarter, near eleven hundred pounds paid in by the storekeeper,

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			brought the collection's takings into the treasury and stand as the largest receipt of the month after the opening balance. The whole quarter's sales to servants, planters and the other classes came to this sum, so the cash account gathers in the proceeds of the store the collection had set out line by line, the warehouse both supplying the settlement and returning its takings to the Company's cash, the two accounts closing the same trade from its two ends.
161	172	1747 Per Contra Cr Decr 31: By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster this Month 1748 11 3¼ By Ballance Remaining in the following Species Vizt 1 pr Gold wt 11.15.14 1 Oz 1st fine 3.18.3 46 18 4½ 4 pr Do 3.9.12 1 Oz 1st fine 3.18 13 11 ½ 3510 Cagadas 8 1404 1 Barbary Chequin 9 1 Joannes 1 16 175 Venetians 10 87 10 3⅛ Moidore 27/ 4 4 4½ 20 Gubbers 6 6 12 12 Rupees 30/ 18 1 St Thomas 12 Gold Amounting to 1582 16 1½ 7784 Dollars 5/ 1946 1563 Half Reals 3¾ 21 6 11¼ 441 French Peices 2 3 13 6 Old Money 2 1¼ Silver Amounting to 2021 1 1 146 Cash Notes 40/ 292 162 Do 20/ 162 259 Do 5/ 64 15 160 Do 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to 538 15 4142 12 8¾ £ 5801 3 8¾ Chas Hutchinson John Clark	The creditor side of the Company's cash for December 1747 stood as follows. 31 December, sundry accounts advanced the paymaster this month, £1,838 11s 0.5d Balance remaining in the following species: 1 piece of gold weight 11 dwt 15 gr at 1s 8.25d the pennyweight, £3 18s 3d, entered as £46 18s 8.5d 4 further pieces of gold, 3 dwt 9 gr, 3s 18d, entered as £13 11s 1.5d 3,510 pagodas at 8s, £1,404 0s 0d 1 Barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 joannes, £1 16s 0d 175 Venetians at 10s, £87 10s 0d 3.125 moidores at 27s, £4 4s 2.5d 22 gubbers at 6s, £6 12s 0d 12 rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d 1 St Thomas's, £0 12s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,583 16s 1.5d 7,784 dollars at 5s, £1,946 0s 0d 1,563 half reals at 3.75d, £71 6s 11.5d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Old money, £0 2s 1.5d Silver amounting to, £2,021 1s 1d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 259 cash notes at 5s, £64 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £538 15s 0d Total, £4,142 19s 8.75d Total, £5,891 3s 8.75d The account was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The pagodas rose from 3,263 to 3,510 across the month, the south Indian gold coin gathering in the treasury as the *Severn* and the *Hunt* brought their cargoes and were paid, so the December count shows the reserve growing in the currency of the India trade. The dollars fell from near ten thousand to 7,784 as silver went out in the month's payments, so the balance shifted between its coinages, the pagodas swelling while the dollars were drawn down, the treasury holding its reserve in the shifting mix of foreign specie that the shipping brought and the payments dispersed. The single St Thomas's coin newly appearing in the count, valued at twelve shillings, marks the constant addition of odd foreign gold to the treasury through the shipping. A coin from the Portuguese settlement of St Thomas joined the joannes, moidores and Barbary chequin already in the balance, each rare piece weighed and valued into sterling, so the cash account grew by whatever gold the trade carried in, the treasury an accumulation of the coinage of every nation and settlement whose ships touched at the island. The heavy advance to the paymaster, over eighteen hundred pounds paid out to meet the quarter's pay and charges, drove the shift in the balance between the count of one month and the next. The bulk of the month's outgoing went to the paymaster to discharge the establishment's wages and the labour and provision charges, so the cash account and the paymaster's account close the same transaction from their two sides, the treasury advancing the sum that the pay list dispersed, the

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			reserve drawn down and refilled as the shipping paid in and the establishment drew out.
162	173	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 26 day of January 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark Robert Wright} of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Monday 25: Died William Smith, Soldier The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Stores, Short delivered from the Severn Vizt Account of Stores short delivered from the Severn Vizt Arrack short by the Gauge 20 Gallons the Casks wanted to fill 65 Do short from the Invoice 13 Do Do Do 22 Rice Small Weight (Signd) R M Garling Storekr 26 January 1747 Chas Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 2 day of February 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark Robert Wright} of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Monday **Margin Notes:** Copys of this Consultation from the 17 August to this present here of the Ship Kent Capt Robenn	At a consultation held on Tuesday 26 January 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark and Robert Wright of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. On Monday 25 January William Smith, soldier, died. The storekeeper brought in the following account of stores found short delivered from the *Severn*. The account of stores short delivered from the *Severn* stood as follows. Arrack short by the gauge, 20 gallons The casks wanted to fill, 65 gallons Short from the invoice, 13 gallons Short from the invoice, 22 gallons, rice short weight The account was subscribed by Richard Girling, storekeeper. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. Copies of the consultations from 5 August to this consultation were sent home to the Court by the ship *Kent*, Captain Robson. At a consultation held on Tuesday 2 February 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark and Robert Wright of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. **Interpretations** The sending home of the consultations from 5 August to the Court by the *Kent* marks the routine by which the board rendered its whole proceedings to the Company in London. The record of every consultation was copied and shipped to the directors by a homeward vessel, so the island's government lay open to review at home, the same accountability that ran through the whole administration, the board keeping and forwarding a full record of its business to the masters it served. The account of arrack short by the gauge, the casks wanting to fill and the rice short weight records the routine check the storekeeper made against the invoice of every incoming cargo. The stores landed from the *Severn* fell short of what her invoice promised, both in the measure of the arrack and the weight of the rice, so the account marks the standing practice of gauging and weighing the goods on receipt and charging the shortfall, the same shortfall reports the record shows for ship after ship, the Company holding the shipping to account for what it failed to deliver. The shortfall in arrack, twenty gallons by the gauge and more wanting to fill the casks, reflects the leakage and wastage that dogged the shipping of spirit over a long sea passage. Arrack carried in leaguers and casks lost measure to leakage on the voyage, so the store received less than was shipped, the same wastage that the private partners had fought to control in the Meacock dispute and that the yearly waste accounts charged to profit and loss, the loss of spirit in transit a constant charge on a settlement that shipped its drink whole from India.
163	174	Monday 1: Sailed the Kent, Captain Robenn, and the Severn, Captain Collier, for England The Accomptant, brought in his Journal Parcels for the Months of October, November, and December last which were Examined, and Approved and Ordered to be Entered Ordered an Advertizement to be published that a Sessions would be held on Monday the 8 Instant at the Castle Chas Hutchinson	On Monday 1 February the *Kent*, Captain Robson, and the *Severn*, Captain Collier, sailed for England. The accountant brought in his journal parcels for the months of October, November and December, which were examined, approved and ordered to be entered. The board ordered an advertisement published that a court would be held on Monday 8 February at the castle. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark.

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		John Clark At a Sessions, held on Monday, the 8 Day of February 1747, at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr & Judge Lievt John Clark, Assistant Mr Robt Wright, Absent, being Sick The Court was Opened, in the Usual Form Charles Legente, Soldier, was Indicted for takeing, or casting false Rupees, and Uttering them to the prejudice of many People, to which he pleaded Guilty Whereupon the following Sentence, was Pronounced on him, Vizt That he should stand in the Pillory, from the Hour of Ten, to Twelve in the Morning, on Four Successive Wednesdays, and Saturdays, and Receive, when taken down from thence, Fifty Lashes, on each of those several beforementioned Days A	At a court held on Monday 8 February 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat as judge with Lieutenant John Clark as assistant, Robert Wright being absent sick. The court was opened in the usual form. Charles Legente, soldier, was indicted for coining or casting false rupees and uttering them to the prejudice of many people, to which he pleaded guilty. The following sentence was pronounced on him. He was to stand in the pillory from the hour of ten to twelve in the morning on four succeeding Wednesdays and Saturdays, and to receive, when taken down, fifty lashes on each of those four days. **Interpretations** The coining of false rupees marks a serious crime against the very currency the settlement ran on. Legente had cast counterfeit rupees and passed them among the inhabitants, striking at the foreign silver that made up the island's money, so the court punished not merely a theft but an attack on the coinage itself, the same rupees that stood counted in the treasury balance now debased by a soldier's forgery, a crime the more grave on a station whose whole cash lay in coin it could not itself mint. The sentence of the pillory and repeated lashings over four days marks the public and exemplary punishment the court reserved for such a crime. Legente was to stand exposed in the pillory and be whipped on four separate days before the assembled settlement, the punishment staged across successive court and muster days as a warning to all, the same graded public correction the record shows for the slaves convicted of housebreaking, the court making the counterfeiter a spectacle to deter any who might debase the coin the island depended on. The court sat with the Governor as judge and a single assistant, Wright being sick, so the reduced board carried on its judicial business with the barest quorum. The same handful of men who governed the island sat as its court, the Governor judging and the lieutenant assisting, the settlement's justice administered by the same reduced establishment that ran its every other affair, the sickness of one member leaving the court to two.
164	175	A Cause, was also tried, between Joseph Whaley, Junior Plaintiff and Messieurs Richard Boale, and Marten Harper, as Executors of Stephen Suffrin, Senr Dec Defendants The said Suffrin, by his Will devised a House and Lands to his Grandson, Stephen Suffrin, and after several other Bequests, he Devised, that the Overplus of his Estate, whether Lands, or Chattells, should be sold by his Executors, and by them equally Divided, among the Grandchildren, Stephen, George, and Mary, the Children of his Son in Law, John Young, dec dand Robert, and Joseph, the Children of his Son Joseph Suffrin, dec when they should severally come to Age, or Marry If any of the Grantees, should Die, their part or Share, was to be Divided Equally, among the Survivors: and if either of the Two Suffrins, died, the Survivor was to Enjoy the others part, or Share Robert Suffrin died Intestate, and Unmarried, before the had power to make a Will, and having attained the Age of Eighteen Years, and both unmarried	A cause was also tried between Joseph Whaley junior, plaintiff, and Richard Beale and Martin Harper, the executors of Stephen Lufkin senior deceased, defendants. Lufkin senior by his will had devised a house and lands to his grandson Stephen Lufkin, and after several other bequests had directed that the residue of his estate, whether lands or chattels, should be sold by his executors and divided equally among his grandchildren, Stephen, George and Mary, the children of his son-in-law John Young deceased, and Robert and Joseph, the children of his son Joseph Lufkin deceased, when they severally came of age or married. If any of the young ones should die, that part or share was to be divided equally among the survivors, and if either of the two Lufkins died, the survivor was to enjoy the other's part or share. Robert Lufkin had died intestate and unmarried, having begun to make a will but attained the age of eighteen years, and both he and his brother unmarried. Stephen Lufkin junior, elder brother to Robert and Joseph, had survived both, and by his will named the plaintiff Joseph Whaley junior one of his executors. In his will, after some legacies were paid, he gave and bequeathed all the rest of his worldly goods whatever, both debts and cash, from Sergeant Solomon Jacobs. On this appointment, and on a presumption that the testator Stephen Lufkin junior was heir at law to his brothers Robert and Joseph, the plaintiff Whaley

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		Stephen Suffrin, Junior, who was Elder Brother to Robert, and Joseph, survived both, and by his Will made the Plaintiff, Joseph Whaley Junr out of his Executors, to whom after some Legatees that he left were paid, he gave, and Bequeathed, All the Rest of his Worldly Goods whatsoever, as well Debts, as Cash from Sergeant Solomon Jacobs In Virtue, of this Appointment, and upon a Presumption, that the Testator, Stephen Suffrin Junior was Heir at Law to his Brothers, Robert, and Joseph, the Plaintiff Whaley, claimed their Parts, or Share of the aforesaid Estate, of their Grandfather, now in the hand	claimed their parts or shares of their grandfather's estate, now in the [...]. **Interpretations** The dispute turns on the descent of the shares of two dead brothers under their grandfather's will, and shows the court unpicking a tangle of successive deaths among minors. Robert Lufkin had died under age and intestate, and the question was whether his share passed to his surviving brother Stephen, and through Stephen's will to his executor Whaley, or fell back into the grandfather's estate to be divided among the other grandchildren, so the cause tested the working of the survivorship clause the grandfather had written to guard against just such deaths, the court asked to say where a dead minor's portion went. The claim rested on Stephen Lufkin junior being heir at law to his brothers, so that their shares descended to him and through his will to Whaley, against the grandfather's direction that a dead child's share be divided among the survivors. The two provisions pulled against each other, the general law of inheritance carrying a dead brother's share to the surviving brother, the will carrying it to all the survivors together, so the court had to choose between the descent the law implied and the descent the grandfather had spelled out, the same clash between will and common law that ran through the island's estate disputes. The chain of executors and heirs, Whaley claiming through Stephen junior's will as Stephen claimed through his brothers' deaths, shows how a small estate could pass through several hands and generations before it was settled. The grandfather's residue, meant for five grandchildren, was reduced by death and disputed through a further will to a single claimant, so the cause traces the long unwinding of a modest estate across the deaths of its intended heirs, the court standing as the forum in which the accumulated claims of a family were finally resolved.
165	176	hands of Messieurs Boale, and Harper, his Executors, which they refused to part with, until it was determined, who had the right to them The Jury brought in their Verdict for the Defendants, and directed, that the Money should go to Mrs Elizabeth Bonzer Daughter, and only remaining Child of Stephen Suffrin, Senior deceased Chas Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday, the 9 Day of February 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Lievt John Clark of Council Mr Robt Wright, absent being Sick The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed Wednesday the 3: Died Elizabeth, Wife of John Hayes, Soldier The Plantation, Gunners, and Stewards Accounts, were brought in for the Month of January last, which were Examined, and Approved, and are, as follows Vizt Account	The shares were in the hands of Beale and Harper, the executors, who refused to part with them until it was determined who had the right to them. The jury brought in their verdict for the defendants, and directed that the money should go to Mrs Elizabeth Bryan, daughter and only remaining child of Stephen Lufkin senior deceased. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 9 February 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council, Robert Wright being absent sick. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 3 February Elizabeth, wife of John Hayes, soldier, died. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for January were brought in, examined and approved. **Interpretations** The jury's verdict for the defendants and its direction that the money go to Elizabeth Bryan, the last surviving child of the grandfather, shows the court resolving the descent against both claimants and back to the nearest living heir. Whaley's claim through Stephen junior's will and the grandfather's own survivorship clause were both set aside, the jury holding that the disputed shares passed to the grandfather's only remaining child rather than through the chain of dead grandchildren, so the estate came at last to the closest living blood, the court cutting through the tangle of wills and deaths to the plainest line of descent. The verdict shows the jury preferring the surviving daughter's claim over the executor's, the money going to Elizabeth Bryan as the nearest of kin rather than to Whaley through a deceased grandson's

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			will. The court held that the shares of the dead minors did not carry through Stephen junior to his executor but reverted toward the grandfather's own surviving child, so the general principle of descent to the living heir prevailed over the claim built on a chain of testamentary appointments, the same preference for the nearest blood that the island's courts showed in resolving contested successions. The reappearance of a Hayes death, Elizabeth the wife of John Hayes the soldier, adds to the run of deaths the consultations of these weeks record. The sickliness that carried off Cheeseman, Lufkin, Breece, Smith and others ran on into February, taking the wives as well as the men, so the record continues its tally of mortality through the winter, the small population of the island steadily thinned by the disorders that filled the season's consultations.
166	177	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of January 1747 Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaining the 1st: Bulls 2, Cows 98, Calves 64, Yearlings 63, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Oxen 15, Total 268, Ewes 130, Weathers 22, Lambs 63, Rams 5, Total 220, Ewes 112, Weathers 30, Kidds 34, Rams 6, Total 182, Sows 14, Barrows 3, Shoats 28, Piggs 37, Boars 2, Total 84, Turkeys 15, Fowls 214, Ducks 36, Geese 26, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 4, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 3, Boars 0, Total 3, Turkeys 7, Fowls 40, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bulls 2, Cows 98, Calves 65, Yearlings 63, Heifers 18, Steers 7, Bullocks 1, Oxen 15, Total 269, Ewes 130, Weathers 22, Lambs 63, Rams 5, Total 220, Ewes 112, Weathers 30, Kidds 38, Rams 6, Total 186, Sows 14, Barrows 3, Shoats 28, Piggs 40, Boars 2, Total 87, Turkeys 22, Fowls 254, Ducks 36, Geese 26, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 2, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 8, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 8, Ewes 0, Weathers 1, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 2, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Turkeys 0, Fowls 10, Ducks 6, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 2, Weathers 1, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 1, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 1, Turkeys 0, Fowls 3, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 3, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Remaining the 31st: Bulls 2, Cows 98, Calves 65, Yearlings 63, Heifers 16, Steers 5, Bullocks 1, Oxen 15, Total 265, Ewes 128, Weathers 13, Lambs 60, Rams 5, Total 206, Ewes 112, Weathers 29, Kidds 38, Rams 6, Total 185, Sows 12, Barrows 3, Shoats 28, Piggs 39, Boars 2, Total 84, Turkeys 22, Fowls 238, Ducks 30, Geese 26, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 To Beef to the Ship Kent 142lb To Beef to the Ship Severn 560lb To the Market 1 Goat 20 Yams Expended of the Honble Companys 22,000lb Yams bought 780	The account of the Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of January 1748 stood as follows. Neat cattle remaining 1 January: bulls 2, cows 98, calves 64, yearlings 63, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 15, total 268 Neat cattle increased: cows 1, total 1 Neat cattle after increase: bulls 2, cows 98, calves 65, yearlings 63, heifers 18, steers 7, bullocks 1, oxen 15, total 269 Neat cattle killed: yearlings 2, heifers 2, total 4 Neat cattle died: 0 Neat cattle stolen: 0 Neat cattle remaining 31 January: bulls 2, cows 98, calves 65, yearlings 63, heifers 16, steers 5, bullocks 1, oxen 15, total 265 Sheep remaining 1 January: ewes 130, wethers 22, lambs 63, rams 5, total 220 Sheep increased: 0 Sheep after increase: ewes 130, wethers 22, lambs 63, rams 5, total 220 Sheep killed: ewes 8, total 8 Sheep died: ewes 2, wethers 3, total 6 Sheep stolen: 0 Sheep remaining 31 January: ewes 128, wethers 13, lambs 60, rams 5, total 206 Goats remaining 1 January: does 112, wethers 30, kids 34, rams 6, total 182 Goats increased: kids 4, total 4 Goats after increase: does 112, wethers 30, kids 38, rams 6, total 186 Goats killed: does 1, total 1 Goats died: 0 Goats stolen: 0 Goats remaining 31 January: does 112, wethers 29, kids 38, rams 6, total 185 Hogs remaining 1 January: boars 14, barrows 3, sows 28, hoggs 37, frows 2, total 84 Hogs increased: hoggs 3, total 3 Hogs after increase: boars 14, barrows 3, sows 28, hoggs 40, frows 2, total 87 Hogs killed: hoggs 2, total 2 Hogs died: sows 1, total 1 Hogs stolen: 0 Hogs remaining 31 January: boars 12, barrows 3, sows 28, hoggs 39, frows 2, total 84 Poultry remaining 1 January: turkeys 15, fowls 214, ducks 36, geese 26 Poultry increased: turkeys 7, fowls 40 Poultry after increase: turkeys 22, fowls 254, ducks 36, geese 26 Poultry killed: fowls 10, ducks 6 Poultry died: fowls 3 Poultry stolen: fowls 3 Poultry remaining 31 January: turkeys 22, fowls 238, ducks 30, geese 26 Horses remaining 1 January: horses 7, mares 3, total 10

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		(Signd) Errors Excepted Rich Garling	Horses remaining 31 January: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 To beef to the ship Kent, 142 lb To beef to the ship Severn, 560 lb To the market, 1 goat, 20 lb Yams expended of the Company's, 22,000 lb Yams bought, 780 lb Total, 22,780 lb The account was subscribed, errors excepted, by Richard Girling. **Interpretations** The herd fell from 268 to 265 across January, four head killed to victual the *Kent* and the *Severn* now lying in the road, so the two ships drew beef from the Company's cattle for the first time in the run of empty months. The killing of yearlings and heifers rather than the saleable steers, and the modest total, marks a herd still held close while the ships took what beef the island could spare, the run of monthly closes reading 275, 274, 268 and 265 as the quiet season gave way to the first shipping of the new year. The beef supplied to the two ships, near seven hundred pounds between them, marks the return of the shipping that the whole record shows governing the island's economy. The *Kent* and the *Severn* drew beef, and their presence had already brought the rice, arrack and paddy of the *Severn*'s cargo and the purchase from Captain Robson, so the account registers the road filling again after the empty autumn, the cattle drawn on and the cash quickened as the ships came in, the same rhythm of the shipping that runs through every month of the record. The yams expended fell sharply to 22,780 lb against the 45,000 lb of December, the demand near halved as the buying-in almost ceased, only 780 lb bought against the many thousands of the autumn. The overseer's survey and the board's resolution to spare the Company's own grounds show their effect here, the draw on the yams cut back and the purchase from the planters nearly stopped, so the account marks the turn the board had planned, the settlement easing its demand on the failing supply as the dry season approached and the young plantations were held to grow.
167	178	Gunners Stores Expended in January 1747 Guns fired 1st 2nd 1st Powder Expended The Day of the Month the 8: Alarm 6 4 2 13 the 9: Arrived the Severn Captain Collier 9 9 9 Powder to the Funeral of William Smith Soldier 2¼ Total 15 4 9 2 24½ Axeltrees to Henry Moyce for Gun Carriages, for Repairs 8 Guns not fit for Service, at Mundens Point 1 Handspikes broke at the Main Fort 1 Muscovey Lights not fit for Service at Bankes 1 Paper delivered to Major Jackson for the use of the Castle 1 Quire Paper delivered to Mr Duvall for the use of the Stores 1 Quire (Signd) Jno French Sundry's Expended in the Castle, in January 1747	The gunner's stores expended in January 1748 stood as follows. 8 January, alarm, guns fired 6, powder 1 lb, further powder 2 lb, powder expended 13 lb 9 January, arrived the Severn, Captain Collier, guns fired 9, powder 9 lb, powder expended 9 lb Powder to the funeral of William Smith, soldier, 2.5 lb Total, guns fired 15, powder 1 lb, further powder 0, powder expended 2 lb, total powder 24.5 lb Axletrees to Henry Moyce for gun carriages for Rupert's, 8 Guns not fit for service at Munden's Point, 1 Handspikes broke at the Main Fort, 1 Muscovy lights not fit for service at Banks's, 1 Paper delivered to Major Jackson for the use of the castle, 1 quire Paper delivered to Mr Darvall for the use of the stores, 1 quire This was signed by John French. The sundries expended in the castle in January 1748 stood as follows. 27 bottles of port, £1 19s 11.5d 13 bottles of Lisbon, £0 19s 0d 31 bottles of Madeira, £3 2s 6d 61 gallons of strong beer, £1 4s 1.5d 69 gallons of small beer, £0 1s 8d 199 gallons of Goa arrack, £7 9s 2.5d 8 lb of sugar, £0 1s 8d 9 lb of candy, £0 2s 7.5d 253 lb of flour, £1 11s 7.5d

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		27 Bottles Port 1 19 11¾ 13 Do Lisbon 19 2 30 Do Madeira 3 2 6 61 Do Strong Beer 1 4 4½ 69 Do Small Do 1 8 199 Do Sea Arrack 7 9¾ 8 lb Sugar 1 8 9 lb Candy 2 7½ 9 lb Candy 1 11 7½ 253 lb Flower 1 6 5¼ 105¼ lb Fresh Beef Carried over £ 10 16 2¼	105.5 lb of fresh beef, £0 6s 5.25d Total carried over, £10 16s 2.25d **Interpretations** The gunner's powder for January went to an alarm, the salute to the incoming *Severn* and the funeral of the soldier William Smith, so the account marks both the return of the shipping and the continuing toll of the sickly season. The salute of nine guns to the *Severn* answered the first Company ship of the arrival, while the powder over Smith's grave adds to the run of funeral salutes the record traces through the winter, the guns firing both to welcome a ship and to bury a man in the same month. The fresh beef reappearing in the castle sundries, at over a hundred pounds against none in the deep autumn, marks the return of the Company's beef to the fort's own table as the herd was drawn on for the shipping. With the ships in the road and the cattle killed to victual them, fresh beef came back to the castle's board, so the same return of the shipping that quickened the cash and drew on the herd fed the fort's own table, the beef that had been absent through the empty months reappearing with the vessels in the road. The heavy charge of arrack in the castle sundries, near two hundred gallons the largest single line, reflects the settled predominance of spirit in the fort's own consumption. The general table drew arrack far above any other item, the same predominance the store collection and the waste accounts had shown, so the castle's provisioning turned on the drink shipped whole from India as much as on the meat and flour, the spirit the staple of the establishment's own board as it was of its trade.
168	179	Brought over £ 10 16 2¼ 17 lb Fresh Pork 1 16 6 2 Peices Salt Beef 4 8 1 Peice Do Pork 1 10½ 216½ Mutton 4 10 2½ 10 Fowls 15 6 Ducks 9 £ 18 13 5¾ Chas Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation, held on Tuesday, the 16 Day of February 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lievt John Clark of Council Mr Robert Wright, Absent, being Sick The last Consultation was Read, approved, and Signed Counted, and Examined, the Honble Companys Cash, for the Month of January last, and found the same as follows, Vizt	The castle sundries for January 1748 were carried on and closed as follows. Brought over, £10 16s 2.25d 173 lb of fresh pork, £1 16s 6d 2 pieces of salt beef, £0 4s 8d 1 piece of salt pork, £0 1s 10.5d 216.5 lb of mutton, £4 10s 2.5d 10 fowls, £0 15s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d Total, £18 13s 5.25d This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 16 February 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council, Robert Wright being absent sick. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. The board counted and examined the Company's cash for the month of January, and found it as follows. **Interpretations** The mutton at over two hundred pounds remained the heaviest meat charge in the castle sundries, the flock still carrying much of the fort's table even as the herd began to be drawn on for the shipping. The sheep supplied the fort's board through the winter as the cattle were held, so the mutton stood above the fresh beef and pork, the same reliance on the flock and the sty that the stock accounts had shown through the empty season, the sheep bearing the fort's demand while the cattle were spared for the ships and the market. The continuing absence of Robert Wright through sickness, sitting neither at this consultation nor the last, left the board reduced to two members for its business. The Governor and Lieutenant Clark carried on the government and the court through Wright's illness, the reduced establishment thinned further by the sickness of one of its three members, so the same disorders that filled the consultations

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			with deaths reached the board itself, the island's government pressed on by two men where three should have sat.
169	180	1747 Cash Dr Per Contra Cr Janry 1: To Balance Remaining 4142 12 8¼ 31: To Plantation, Recd for 90½ Gallons Milk 4 10 6 To Ship Severn, the Balance of her Account 32 5 11½ 1747 Janry 31: By Sundry's Advanced the Paymaster this Month 4 7 8 By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 1 pr Gold wt 11.15.14 1 Oz pr fine 3.18.3 46 1 8½ 4 pr Do 3.9.12 3.18 13 11 ½ 3510 Pagodas 8/ 1404 1 Barbary Chequin 9 1 Joannes 1 16 175 Venetians 10/ 87 10 3⅜ Moidores 27/ 4 4 4½ 22 Gubbers 6/ 6 12 12 Rupees 30/ 18 1 St Thomas's 12 Gold Amounting to 1582 16 1½ 7913 Dollars 5/ 1978 5 4563 Half Reals 3¾ 71 5 11¼ Carried over £ 2049 10 11¾ Carried over £ 4179 9 2 Carried over £ 1582 16 1½ Carried over £ 4 7 8	The two-sided cash account of the Company for January 1748 stood as follows. On the debtor side: 1 January, balance remaining, £4,142 12s 8.5d 31 January, plantation, received for 90.5 gallons of milk, £4 10s 6d 31 January, ship Severn, the balance of her account, £32 5s 11.5d Carried over, £4,179 9s 2d On the creditor side: 31 January, sundries advanced the paymaster this month, £4 7s 8d Balance remaining in the following species: 1 piece of gold weight 11 dwt 15 gr at 1s 8.25d the pennyweight, £3 18s 3d, entered as £46 1s 8.5d 4 further pieces of gold, 3 dwt 9 gr, 3s 18d, entered as £13 11s 1.5d 3,510 pagodas at 8s, £1,404 0s 0d 1 Barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 joannes, £1 16s 0d 175 Venetians at 10s, £87 10s 0d 3.125 moidores at 27s, £4 4s 4.5d 22 gubbers at 6s, £6 12s 0d 12 rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d 1 St Thomas's, £0 12s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,582 16s 1.5d 7,913 dollars at 5s, £1,978 5s 0d 4,563 half reals at 3.75d, £71 5s 11.75d Carried over, £2,049 10s 11.75d Carried over, £1,582 16s 1.5d Carried over, £4 7s 8d **Interpretations** The dollars rose from 7,784 to 7,913 across January as the shipping paid in, the silver gathering again with the ships in the road after the December draw-down. The *Severn*'s account settled a balance into the cash and the milk brought its small receipt, so the treasury took in coin as the vessels came and were dealt with, the reserve shifting between its coinages as the trade of the road quickened, the dollars recovering as the shipping returned. The half reals rising sharply to 4,563 mark a large addition of the smallest Spanish silver to the treasury, the little coins gathering in the count. The half real was the least of the Spanish pieces the island held, and their number swelling in January suggests a parcel of small change coming in with the shipping, so the treasury took in the petty silver alongside the dollars and pagodas, the reserve holding coin of every size from the great pagoda to the smallest half real. The plantation's milk, the only regular receipt of the island's own producing, brought its steady small sum into the cash beside the far larger settlement from the *Severn*. The dairy sold its milk at a shilling the gallon month by month, the one internal source of cash against a treasury filled by the shipping, so the account sets the modest produce of the Company's own ground beside the great flows of foreign coin, the milk a constant trickle against the tide of specie the ships brought and took.
170	181	Brought over £ 4179 9 2 £ 4179 9 2	The debtor side of the Company's cash for January 1748 was brought over and totalled. Brought over, £4,179 9s 2d Total, £4,179 9s 2d
171	182	Brought over £ 4 7 8 Brought over £ 1582 16 1½ Brought over £ 2049 10 11¾ 441 French Peices 2 3 13 6	The creditor side of the Company's cash for January 1748 was carried on and closed as follows. Brought over, £4 7s 8d Brought over, £1,582 16s 1.5d Brought over, £2,049 10s 11.75d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d

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		Old Money 5 11½ Silver Amounting to 2053 10 2¼ 146 Cash Notes 40/ 292 162 Do 20/ 162 259 Do 5/ 64 15 160 Do 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to 538 15 4175 1 6 £ 4179 9 2 Chas Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 23 Day of February 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lievt John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed Friday 19: Died Mr Robert Wright, one of the Council, and Secretary Executed the following Lease to Joshua Worrall, Granted in Consultation of 13 October 1747 Vizt Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honourable	Old money, £0 5s 11.5d Silver amounting to, £2,053 10s 5.25d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 259 cash notes at 5s, £64 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £538 15s 0d Total, £4,175 1s 6d Total, £4,179 9s 2d The account was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 23 February 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. On Friday 10 February Robert Wright, one of the council and secretary, died. The board executed the following lease to Joshua Worrall, granted at the consultation of 13 October 1747. **Interpretations** The death of Robert Wright, one of the council and secretary, struck at the very board that governed the island, taking one of the three members whose sickness had already reduced the council to two. Wright had sat through the whole season as secretary and councillor, subscribing the consultations and the accounts, and his death now left the board yet thinner, the same disorders that had filled the winter's consultations with deaths reaching into the government itself, the island's small ruling body losing one of its own to the sickness that ran through the settlement. The cash notes held steady at £538 15s through the count, the paper issue unchanged as the coin shifted around it, so the Company's own notes remained a fixed part of the reserve. The settlement's paper money, in its four denominations, stood constant while the dollars, pagodas and half reals rose and fell with the shipping, so the notes provided a stable core of small currency against the fluctuating foreign specie, the same paper the Company issued to serve the petty dealings the large coin could not meet. The lease to Joshua Worrall, executed on a grant made in October, shows the board carrying on the ordinary business of the leasehold even as it lost a member. The same season's leases that had been granted through the autumn were still being sealed in February, so the routine work of the government went on through the death and sickness of the council, the parcels viewed in October now passing under seal, the administration holding to its course despite the losses that thinned it.
172	183	Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise Grant sett and to Farm lett unto Joshua Worrall of the said Island All that Piece or parcel of Ground Containing Seventeen Acres situate lying and being in Deep Valley in the East Devesion of the said Island Butting and Bounding East upon Island Leech North and West upon the said Joshua Worrall and South upon Land late belonging to John Bazett deceased To have and to hold unto the said Joshua Worrall his Executors Administrators and Assigns from the day of the Date hereof for and during the term of Twenty One Years from thence next Ensueing upon Condition that he the said Joshua Worrall his Executors Administrators	The East India Company, as lords proprietor of the island of St Helena, demised and leased to Joshua Worrall the whole of a parcel of ground of seventeen acres in Deep Valley in the east division of the island, bounded east on John Leech, north and west on Worrall and south on land lately belonging to John Bazett deceased. Worrall, his executors, administrators and assigns were to hold it for twenty-one years from the date of the lease. He was to bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and to the Company and its successors, and to obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. He was to fence the land sufficiently at once and keep the fence in repair, and to keep up and maintain the full quantity of wood on it. At the end or other sooner determination of the lease he was to surrender the ground in good repair. He was to pay the Company, its successors, agents or assigns a yearly rent of five shillings the acre on the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel. He was not to sell or dispose of the lease or his interest in it without the leave and

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		and Assigns do and shall bear true Faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs and Successors and true Faith to them the said Honourable Company and their Successors and shall duly obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island upon Condition also that he the said Joshua Worrall his Executors Administrators or Assigns do and shall well and sufficiently fence in the said Land and when so fenced do and shall well keep up and maintain the same together with the full quantity of Wood thereon and do and shall at the End or sooner determination of this Lease Yeild up and Surrender the same in good Order Condition and repair Yeilding and paying therefore Yearly and every Year during the term hereby Granted unto them the said Honourable Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Rent or Sum of Five Shillings ℔ Acre at or upon the Feast Day of Saint Michael the Arch Angel in every Year and upon condition that he the said Joshua Worrall his Executors Administrators or Assigns do not nor shall sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave and Consent of the Governour and Council for the time being In Witness whereof	consent of the Governor and council for the time being. **Interpretations** The Worrall lease returns to the standing form of the country grants, with the covenants of fencing and wood-keeping that the town lots did not carry, marking the difference between rural and urban tenure. Worrall's seventeen acres in Deep Valley bound him to fence the ground and maintain its wood, the obligations that governed the island's planting law, so the country lease reads quite differently from the James Valley building lots sealed the same season, the rural tenant charged with the upkeep of the land and its timber where the town tenant was charged only with his building. The rent at five shillings the acre marks the higher rate charged on the country parcels against the fixed sums of the town lots, the rural land let by its extent. Worrall paid by the acre for his seventeen acres, where the James Valley tenants paid a flat five, ten or twelve shillings for a plot measured in feet, so the two forms of tenure carried two forms of rent, the country land charged by area and the town land by the lot, the difference reflecting the different value and use of the ground. The bounds naming land lately belonging to John Bazett deceased tie the lease to the continual passing of the island's ground through the estates of the dead. Worrall's parcel abutted land that had been the late Bazett's, so the grant sits within the same long settling of estates that runs through the record, the leasehold recycled as tenants died and their land fell in or passed to others, the boundaries of a fresh lease marked by the holdings of men already gone.
173	184	whereof we the said Governour and Council have hereunto set our hands and Affixed the Honourable Companys Seal this twenty third day of February in the Twenty First Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1747 and the said Joshua Worrall hath to the other part set his hand and Seal the Day and Year abovewritten (Signd) Chas Hutchinson John Clark Chas Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 8 Day of March 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lievt John Clark of Council The last Consultation was Read, Approved, and Signed Wednesday 2: Died Gabriel Harper, Planter Friday 4: Died Edward Bates, Carpenter Monday 7: Died Abraham Burrell, Soldier The Plantation Gunners, and Stewards Accounts, were brought in for the Month of February last, which were Examined, and Approved and are, as follows, Vizt Account	The Governor and council set their hands and the Company's seal to the lease on 23 February 1748, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and Worrall set his hand and seal to the other part of it on the same day. The Company's part was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. The consultation was also subscribed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 March 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 2 March Gabriel Harper, planter, died. On Friday 4 March Edward Bates, carpenter, died. On Monday 7 March Abraham Burrell, soldier, died. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for February were brought in, examined and approved. **Interpretations** The run of deaths continued into March, taking Gabriel Harper the planter, Edward Bates the carpenter and Abraham Burrell the soldier within a week, so the sickliness that had filled the winter's consultations ran on unabated. The deaths fell across every class of the settlement, planter, tradesman and soldier alike, the same broad mortality that had carried off Wright of the council and a string of soldiers and their wives, the record continuing its steady tally of the dead through the early spring. The death of Gabriel Harper the planter takes another of the island's substantial men, a member of the Harper family whose name runs through the whole record as planters, churchwardens and executors. Harper had held land, appeared as executor and witness, and stood among the planters from whom the Company dealt, so his death marks the loss of another figure long established in the settlement's affairs, the same family that appears in leases, wills

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			and disputes across the decades thinned by one more death. The board carried on with only two members through the death of Wright and the sickness that had reduced it, the Governor and Lieutenant Clark sitting alone at consultation after consultation. The reduced establishment held to its business, taking the monthly accounts and recording the deaths, so the government of the island went on through its own losses, the same two men who had sat through February carrying the board into March, the council pressed on by half its number as the season's disorders ran their course.
174	185	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of February 1747 Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Sows, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Bys, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaing the 1st: Bulls 2, Cows 98, Calves 65, Yearlings 63, Heifers 16, Steers 5, Bullocks 1, Oxen 15, Total 265, Sows 128, Weathers 13, Lambs 60, Rams 5, Total 206, Ewes 112, Weathers 29, Kids 38, Rams 6, Total 185, Sows 12, Barrows 3, Shoats 28, Bys 39, Boars 2, Total 84, Turkeys 22, Fowls 238, Ducks 30, Geese 26, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Bys 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 30, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bulls 2, Cows 98, Calves 65, Yearlings 63, Heifers 16, Steers 5, Bullocks 1, Oxen 15, Total 265, Sows 128, Weathers 13, Lambs 60, Rams 5, Total 206, Ewes 112, Weathers 29, Kids 38, Rams 6, Total 185, Sows 12, Barrows 3, Shoats 28, Bys 39, Boars 2, Total 84, Turkeys 22, Fowls 268, Ducks 30, Geese 26, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 2, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 1, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 4, Sows 1, Weathers 3, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 1, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 0, Barrows 1, Shoats 1, Bys 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Turkeys 0, Fowls 11, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 1, Total 1, Sows 2, Weathers 0, Lambs 2, Rams 1, Total 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 5, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 5, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 1, Bys 2, Boars 0, Total 3, Turkeys 0, Fowls 27, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Sows 1, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Bys 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 6, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Remaing the 29th: Bulls 2, Cows 97, Calves 65, Yearlings 60, Heifers 16, Steers 5, Bullocks 1, Oxen 14, Total 260, Sows 127, Weathers 9, Lambs 58, Rams 5, Total 199, Ewes 111, Weathers 28, Kids 34, Rams 6, Total 179, Sows 12, Barrows 2, Shoats 26, Bys 37, Boars 2, Total 79, Turkeys 22, Fowls 224, Ducks 30, Geese 26, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 To 817lb of Beef to the Market To 108½ of Pork to Do To 9lb of Goat to Do To 32 of Mutton to Do Yams Expended of the Honble Company's 25,000lb Yams Bought 2006 (Signd) Errors Excepted Richard Garling	The account of the Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of February 1748 stood as follows. Neat cattle remaining 1 February: bulls 2, cows 98, calves 65, yearlings 63, heifers 16, steers 5, bullocks 1, oxen 15, total 265 Neat cattle increased: 0 Neat cattle after increase: bulls 2, cows 98, calves 65, yearlings 63, heifers 16, steers 5, bullocks 1, oxen 15, total 265 Neat cattle killed: cows 1, calves 2, oxen 1, total 4 Neat cattle died: cows 1, total 1 Neat cattle stolen: 0 Neat cattle remaining 29 February: bulls 2, cows 97, calves 65, yearlings 60, heifers 16, steers 5, bullocks 1, oxen 14, total 260 Sheep remaining 1 February: ewes 128, wethers 13, lambs 60, rams 5, total 206 Sheep increased: 0 Sheep after increase: ewes 128, wethers 13, lambs 60, rams 5, total 206 Sheep killed: ewes 4, lambs 3, total 4 Sheep died: ewes 1, lambs 2, total 2 Sheep stolen: ewes 1, total 1 Sheep remaining 29 February: ewes 127, wethers 9, lambs 58, rams 5, total 199 Goats remaining 1 February: does 112, wethers 29, kids 38, rams 6, total 185 Goats increased: 0 Goats after increase: does 112, wethers 29, kids 38, rams 6, total 185 Goats killed: kids 4, total 4 Goats died: does 1, kids 4, total 5 Goats stolen: kids 1, total 1 Goats remaining 29 February: does 111, wethers 28, kids 34, rams 6, total 179 Hogs remaining 1 February: boars 12, barrows 3, sows 28, hoggs 39, frows 2, total 84 Hogs increased: 0 Hogs after increase: boars 12, barrows 3, sows 28, hoggs 39, frows 2, total 84 Hogs killed: sows 1, hoggs 1, total 1 Hogs died: barrows 1, hoggs 2, total 2 Hogs stolen: 0 Hogs remaining 29 February: boars 12, barrows 2, sows 26, hoggs 37, frows 2, total 79 Poultry remaining 1 February: turkeys 22, fowls 238, ducks 30, geese 26 Poultry increased: fowls 30 Poultry after increase: turkeys 22, fowls 268, ducks 30, geese 26 Poultry killed: fowls 2, ducks 11 Poultry died: fowls 3, ducks 27 Poultry stolen: ducks 6 Poultry remaining 29 February: turkeys 22, fowls 224, ducks 30, geese 26 Horses remaining 1 February: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Horses remaining 29 February: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 To 817 lb of beef to the market To 108 lb of pork to the market To 9 lb of goat to the market

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			To 32 lb of mutton to the market Yams expended of the Company's, 25,000 lb Yams bought, 2,006 lb Total, 27,006 lb The account was subscribed, errors excepted, by Richard Girling. **Interpretations** The herd fell from 265 to 260 across February, drawn on now for the market as well as the shipping, with beef supplied to the market for the first time in the run, so the account marks the reopening of the regular market supply from the Company's own cattle. The killing of a cow, calves and an ox against no births, and the supply of over eight hundred pounds of beef to the market, shows the herd being worked again after the long quiet, the run of closes reading 268, 265 and 260 as the settlement resumed drawing on its cattle for the general provision. The heavy loss of poultry, thirty-three fowls and ducks dead and six ducks stolen, marks a bad month in the poultry yard against the steady increase of the fowls. The ducks suffered worst, twenty-seven dead and six taken, so the account records a sharp mortality among the birds even as the fowls bred on, the same vulnerability of the poultry to loss that the stock accounts show through the record, the yard bleeding ducks to death and theft while the hens increased. The yams expended rose again to 27,006 lb from January's 22,780 lb, the buying-in creeping back up with 2,006 lb bought against the planters' crops. The demand climbed as the market reopened and the shipping drew on the stores, so the account shows the draw on the yams rising once more after the sharp cut of January, the settlement leaning again on the planters' supply as its own consumption grew, the buying-in resuming as the quiet of the deep winter gave way to the busier season.
175	186	Gunners Stores Expended in February 1747 Guns Fired 2nd 1st Powder Expended The Day of the Month the 1: Departed the Kent, Captain Robson, and the Severn, Captain Collier 0 9 9 the 15: Powder to the Stone Blaster 50 the 21: Fired for the Funeral of Mr Robert Wright 16 15 1 15½ Do: Powder for the Small Arms at the Funeral of Mr Robert Wright 0½ Powder for Prouing 6 Total 25 24 1 90 Wooden Trucks, to Henry Moyce, for the Gun Carriages, at Ruperts 12 Axeltrees to Henry Moyce, for the Gun Carriages at Ruperts 2 Spunge Staves to Major Jackson for the Governours use 2 Match burnt at the Main Fort 1 (Signd) Jno French Sundrys Expended in the Castle in February 1747 Vizt 10 Bottles Port Wine 13 3¾ 7 Do Lisbon 10 4¼ 29 Do Madeira	The gunner's stores expended in February 1748 stood as follows. 1 February, departed the Kent, Captain Robson, and the Severn, Captain Collier, guns fired 9, powder 9 lb, powder expended 9 lb 15 February, powder to the stone blaster, 50 lb 21 February, fired for the funeral of Mr Robert Wright, guns fired 6, powder 15 lb, further powder 1 lb, powder expended 15.5 lb 21 February, powder for the small arms at the funeral of Mr Robert Wright, 0.5 lb Powder for proving, 6 lb Total, guns fired 15, powder 1 lb, further powder 0, powder expended 2 lb, total powder 90 lb Wooden trucks to Henry Moyce for the gun carriages at Rupert's, 12 Axletrees to Henry Moyce for the gun carriages at Rupert's, 2 Sponge staves to Major Jackson for the Governor's use, 2 Match burnt at the Main Fort, 1 This was signed by John French. The sundries expended in the castle in February 1748 stood as follows. 9 bottles of port wine, £0 13s 3.75d 7 bottles of Lisbon, £0 10s 4.25d 27 bottles of Madeira, £2 16s 3d 34 gallons of strong beer, £0 9s 4.5d 16 gallons of small beer, £0 14s 10.5d 10.5 gallons of Goa arrack, £1 7s 6d 220 lb of flour, £3 2s 3d 249 lb of fresh beef, £0 10s 10.5d 39 lb of beef, £0 3s 0d 2 pieces of salt pork, £2 17s 8.5d 138.5 lb of mutton, £0 0s 0d Total carried over, £13 15s 3d **Interpretations**

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		2 16 3 34 Do Strong Beer 9 4½ 16 Do Small Do 14 10½ 10½ Gallons Sea Arrack 1 7 6 220 lb Flower 3 2 3 249 lb Fresh Beef 10 10½ 39 lb Do Beef 3 9 2 Peices Salt Pork 2 17 8½ 138½ Mutton Carried over £ 13 15 3	The heavy powder charge of February, ninety pounds against the twenty-four of January, fell chiefly on the fifty pounds to the stone blaster and the fifteen fired over the grave of Robert Wright, so the account marks both the resumption of the blasting works and the great funeral of the councillor. Wright was buried with a salute of guns and small arms, a mark of honour to a member of the council far beyond the ordinary funeral of a soldier, so the powder over his grave measures his standing, the same board that had lost him firing to bury one of its own with due ceremony. The fifty pounds of powder to the stone blaster marks the resumption of the rock-breaking works that the fortification accounts had traced through the season. The blaster was set again to hewing stone, whether for the batteries or the quarry, so the account shows the hard labour on the island's defences and works picking up as the season turned, the same blasting of rock at Banks's and elsewhere that the paymaster's accounts had carried, the powder issued in quantity to break the stone the works required. The firing over Robert Wright's grave with both guns and small arms sets his funeral apart from the plain burials of the soldiers, marking the honour due to a member of the council. Where the soldiers Cheeseman, Lufkin and Smith drew a small charge of powder for their funeral salutes, Wright's burial drew fifteen pounds and a volley of small arms, so the account measures the hierarchy of the settlement even in death, the councillor buried with a ceremony the common soldier did not receive, the board honouring its lost member as its standing required.
176	187	Brought over £ 13 15 3 11 Fowls 16 6 5 Ducks 7 6 9 lb Goat 3 1 7 lb Sugar 1 5¾ 7 lb Candy 2 ¾ £ 15 5 10 Chas Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday, the 15 Day of March, 1747, at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lievt John Clark of Council The last Consultation was Read, Approved, and Signed Orlando Bagley Senr Petitioned for a Piece of the Honble Companys Wast Land, Adjoining to his Lands in Cea Gut Ordered the Land to be Viewed Counted, and Examined, the Honble Companys Cash, for the Month of February last, and found the same as follows, Vizt Cash	The castle sundries for February 1748 were carried on and closed as follows. Brought over, £13 15s 3d 11 fowls, £0 16s 6d 5 ducks, £0 7s 6d 1.5 goat, £0 3s 1d 7 lb of sugar, £0 1s 5.5d 7 lb of candy, £0 2s 0.5d Total, £15 5s 10d This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 March 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Orlando Bagley senior petitioned for a piece of the Company's waste land, adjoining his lands in Deep Gut. The board ordered the land to be viewed. The board counted and examined the Company's cash for the month of February, and found it as follows. **Interpretations** Orlando Bagley's petition for waste land adjoining his own holding shows the same steady accretion of small adjoining parcels that runs through the whole record of the leasehold. Bagley sought ground next to land he already held in Deep Gut, and the board ordered it viewed before any grant, the standard sequence of petition, view and lease, so the consultation records the ordinary working of the leasehold going on through the deaths and the reduced board, a planter squaring off his holding by taking up the waste beside it. The board's continued sitting with only two members, the Governor and Lieutenant Clark, through the death of Wright and the sickness of the season, shows the government holding to its routine business despite its losses. The same two men who had sat through February carried the board into the middle of March, taking petitions, ordering views and counting the cash, so the administration went on

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			unbroken through the thinning of the council, the reduced establishment maintaining the full run of its business with half its proper number.
177	188	1747 Cash Dr Per Contra Cr Febry 1: To Balance remaining 4175 1 6 29: To Plantation, Received of Roger Nevinson for Provision sent to Market this Month 16 11 6½ Febry 29: By Balance remaining in the following Species, Vizt 1 pr Gold wt 11.15.14 1 Oz pr fine 3.18.3 46 1 8½ 4 pr Do 3.9.12 3.18 13 11 ½ 3510 Pagodas 8/ 1404 1 Barbary Chequin 9 1 Joannes 1 16 175 Venetians 10/ 87 10 3⅛ Moidoras 27/ 4 4 4½ 22 Gubbers 6/ 6 12 12 Rupees 30/ 18 1 St Thomas 12 Gold Amounting to 1582 16 1½ 7979 Dollars 5/ 1994 15 4563 half Reals 3¾ 71 5 11¼ Carried over £ 2066 11¾ Carried over £ 4191 13 ½ Carried over £ 1582 16 1½	The two-sided cash account of the Company for February 1748 stood as follows. On the debtor side: 1 February, balance remaining, £4,175 1s 6d 29 February, plantation, received of Roger Nevanson for provision sent to market this month, £16 11s 6.5d Carried over, £4,191 13s 0.5d On the creditor side: 29 February, balance remaining in the following species: 1 piece of gold weight 11 dwt 15 gr at 1s 8.25d the pennyweight, £3 18s 3d, entered as £46 1s 8.5d 4 further pieces of gold, 3 dwt 9 gr, 3s 18d, entered as £13 11s 1.5d 3,510 pagodas at 8s, £1,404 0s 0d 1 Barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 joannes, £1 16s 0d 175 Venetians at 10s, £87 10s 0d 3.125 moidores at 27s, £4 4s 4.5d 22 gubbers at 6s, £6 12s 0d 12 rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d 1 St Thomas's, £0 12s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,582 16s 1.5d 7,979 dollars at 5s, £1,994 15s 0d 4,563 half reals at 3.75d, £71 5s 11.75d Carried over, £2,066 0s 11.75d Carried over, £1,582 16s 1.5d **Interpretations** The dollars rose again from 7,913 to 7,979 across February, the silver still gathering as the market provision brought its receipts in, while the pagodas and the gold held unchanged. The treasury took in coin from the market money Roger Nevanson paid for the provision sent to the market, so the reserve grew on the island's own dealings even after the two ships had sailed, the dollars creeping up as the market money came in, the gold standing constant while the silver slowly swelled. The provision money from Roger Nevanson, over sixteen pounds for what he sent to the market, marks the largest of the island's own receipts against a treasury otherwise filled by the shipping. Nevanson supplied the market and paid the proceeds into the cash, the same gunner's mate who appears on the pay roll, so the account shows the market a steady source of the Company's cash, the provision sold there returning its money to the treasury month by month, the island's own trade a modest but constant inflow against the great tides of foreign coin. The gold held wholly unchanged through February, every piece from the pagodas to the single St Thomas's standing exactly as at the January count, so the month's movement fell entirely on the silver. The reserve of gold sat untouched while the dollars rose, the treasury's changes running through the silver coin that came and went with the market and the shipping, the gold a fixed core of the balance against the shifting silver, the same stability of the gold reserve that the counts show through these quiet months.
178	189	Brought over £ 4191 13 ½ £ 4191 13 ½	The debtor side of the Company's cash for February 1748 was brought over and totalled. Brought over, £4,191 13s 0.5d Total, £4,191 13s 0.5d
179	190	Brought over £ 1582 16 1½ Brought over £ 2066 11¾ 441 French Peices 2 3 13 6	The creditor side of the Company's cash for February 1748 was carried on and closed as follows. Brought over, £1,582 16s 1.5d Brought over, £2,066 0s 11.75d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d

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		Old Money 7 5¾ Silver Amounting to 2070 1 11 146 Cash Notes 40/ 292 162 Do 20/ 162 259 Do 5/ 64 15 160 Do 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to 538 15 4191 13 ½ £ 4191 13 ½ The following Will was found among Mr Wrights Papers, by his Widow and Mr Garling, and this Day read before us Vizt In the Name of God Amen I Robert Wright of Saint Helena Factor knowing the Uncertainty of Life and being in perfect health of Body and Mind Do make this my last Will and Testament as follows, imprimis I Trust my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator Father and Redeemer hoping for Salvation from thro the Merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour and my Body I leave to be buried at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter named Item I give to Mr Matthew Garling of this Island Gentleman the Sum of Ten Pounds Item I give and bequeath all the Rest and Residue of my Estate whatsoever and wheresoever and all Goods and Effects that I may Die possessed of to my Dear Wife Mary for her own sole and Separate use and Dispose after the payment of my Just Debts And I do hereby recommend and desire her to go to England by the first Convenient Oppartunity to my Mother or Brother there And I do make Constitute and Appoint my said Wife, the said Mr Matthew Garling, and my Brother	Old money, £0 7s 5.25d Silver amounting to, £2,070 1s 11d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 259 cash notes at 5s, £64 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £538 15s 0d Total, £4,191 13s 0.5d Total, £4,191 13s 0.5d The following will was found among Robert Wright's papers by his widow and Matthew Purling, and was this day proved before the board. Robert Wright of St Helena, factor, knowing the uncertainty of life and being in perfect health of body and mind, made his last will and testament as follows. He commended his soul to God, his creator, father and redeemer, hoping for salvation through the merits of Jesus Christ his saviour, and directed that his body be buried at the discretion of his executors named later. He left ten pounds to his friend Matthew Purling, gentleman. He left all the rest of his estate, both real and personal, and all his goods and effects, wherever they might be, to his dear wife Mary, for her own sole and separate use, to dispose of after the payment of his just debts. He recommended and desired her to go to England by the first convenient opportunity, to his mother or brother there, and he named his wife Mary and Matthew Purling executors. **Interpretations** Wright's will, found among his papers after his death and proved before the board, shows the same body that had lost its member now sitting to settle his estate. The council that Wright had served as secretary and councillor took his will to probate, so the board acted as the court for one of its own, the widow and Purling bringing forward the will and the reduced council proving it, the government settling the estate of the member it had just buried with the ceremony the record notes. The desire that his widow go to England to his mother or brother marks Wright as one of the Company's servants whose family and roots lay at home rather than on the island. Unlike the planters whose families were settled on St Helena, Wright looked to send his widow back to England to his own kin, so the will reflects the divided world of the settlement, the Company's officers often men from home with family in England, against the island-born planters whose whole life and connection lay on the rock, the widow directed back to a home the planters did not have. The bequest of ten pounds to Matthew Purling, his fellow officer and co-executor, and the whole residue to his wife, shows a man of the establishment leaving a modest estate simply between a friend and his widow. Wright named Purling both legatee and executor, the storekeeper and the secretary being colleagues on the same reduced board, so the will keeps the estate within the small circle of the Company's officers and the family, the residue to the wife for her own separate use guarding her provision as she returned to England.
180	191	Brother Josen Wright Executors of this my Will and do hereby revoke all other Wills by me made and do make and Ordain this only to be my last Will and Testament Witness my Hand this 4 day of October 1745 (Signd) Rt Wright The Original Will, we and several other Persons, to whom it was shown, believe to have been wrote, and signed by Mr Wright and Mr Thomas French declares, that about twelve Months ago, he happening to have some Discourse	Wright had named his brother Joseph Wright an executor of the will, and revoked all other wills he had made, ordaining this only to be his last will and testament, dated 4 October 1745 and signed by Robert Wright. The original will, and several other persons to whom it was shown, believed it to have been written and signed by Wright. Thomas French declared that about twelve months earlier, happening to have some talk with Wright on the necessity for every man with a family to have a will made, to prevent any disputes about the division of his estate, Wright told him he had a will by him in his own handwriting but not

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		with Mr Wright, upon the necessity there was, for every Man who had a Family, to have a Wills made, to prevent any Disputes, that might arise about the Division of this Estate, Mr Wright then told him, that he had a Will by him, in his own hand Writing, but not Witnessed, upon which Mr French asked him if he thought such a Will would be good, Mr Wright Answered, yes, as there were many People, he believes as well as he Mr French that could swear to the best of their Judgment that it was his hand Writing which would be sufficient to render it Valid Mrs Wright and Mr Garling refusing the Executorship, and the other Executor being in England, we Ordered an Advertizement to be Published, requiring those that had any Demands on Mr Wrights Estate, to Attend on Tuesday next Chas Hutchinson John Clark	witnessed. French asked him whether he thought such a will would be good, and Wright answered yes, as there were many people, he believed, as well as French himself, who could swear to the best of their judgement that it was his handwriting, which would be sufficient to render it valid. Mary Wright and Matthew Purling refusing the executorship, and the other executor being in England, the board ordered an advertisement published requiring those who had any demands on Wright's estate to attend the following Tuesday. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The unwitnessed will turned on the question whether a holograph, written and signed in the testator's own hand but without witnesses, could be proved good by those who knew his writing. Wright had told French that a will in his own hand, though unwitnessed, would stand if enough men could swear to the handwriting, and the board now proved it on that footing, so the case shows the island's court admitting a holograph will on proof of the hand alone, the same latitude the law allowed where a man's own writing could be established by those who knew it. The refusal of the executorship by both the widow and Purling, and the absence of the third executor in England, left the estate without an executor to administer it, so the board fell back on public advertisement to call in the demands. With no one to take up the trust, the council put out notice for creditors to attend, the same recourse it took when an estate wanted an executor, so the settlement of Wright's affairs passed to the board itself, the government administering the estate of its dead member when those named declined the charge. Thomas French's testimony to Wright's own words about the will shows the island proving a document through the recollection of a conversation as much as through the hand. French recalled Wright telling him a year before that his unwitnessed will would serve, so the board took the testator's own stated intention, reported by a witness to their talk, as part of the proof, the same weight given to a man's declared purpose that the record shows in other contested probates, the will established by what Wright had said as well as by what he had written.
181	192	At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 22 Day of March 1747 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Lievt John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and Signed The Executors of Gabriel Harper deceased Presented his last Will and Testament desiring the same might be proved which was done on the Oaths of the Subscribeing Witnesses thereto, and is as follows Vizt In the Name of God Amen this Twenty fourth Day of February in the Year of Our Lord God One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty Seven, I Gabriel Harper of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick and Weak of Body but of Sound and Effect Mind and Memory (thanks to Almighty God) do hereby make Ordain and Appoint this my last Will and Testament, that is to say that and principally I Give and recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Body I commit to the Earth to be buried in	At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 March 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. The executors of Gabriel Harper deceased presented his last will and testament, that it might be proved on the oaths of the subscribing witnesses. The will ran as follows. Gabriel Harper of St Helena, planter, being sick and weak of body but of sound and perfect mind and memory, made his last will and testament on 24 February 1748. He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in a Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executors named later, and disposed of his worldly goods as follows. By the last will of Captain Cason deceased, Harper had received fifty pounds bequeathed to be equally divided between his two daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and he now directed his executors to pay that sum to his two daughters according to Cason's will, as part of their shares in his estate. He gave his beloved wife the half of his lands and houses, both freehold and leased, to hold during her life. **Interpretations**

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		a Christian like and Decent Manner at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter Named, My Worldly Goods wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me with I Give Devise and Dispose of the same in manner and form as followeth Imprimes By the last Will of Captain Reeves Deceased he Bequeathed £31 to be Equally Divided between my two Daughters Mary and Elizabeth which Sum I have received and hereby desire my Executors will pay the said Sum to my said Daughters according to the Will of the Deceased Capt Reeves and this to be Exclusive of their Shares in my Estate Item I Give to my Wellbeloved Wife the half of my Lands and Houses as well Freehold as Leased to possess the same during the	Harper's carrying forward of the fifty pounds from Captain Cason's will shows how a legacy could pass through more than one estate before it reached its intended beneficiaries. Cason had left fifty pounds to be divided between Harper's two daughters, and Harper, holding the sum, now directed his own executors to pay it on to the girls as part of their shares, so the money moved through his estate on its way from the dead Cason to the daughters, the legacy of one will discharged through the administration of another, the same chains of obligation between estates that run through the record. The provision of half the lands and houses to the widow for her life follows the settled island custom for a planter's estate, the same half-for-life the council had upheld in the estate disputes of earlier years. Harper gave his wife a life interest in half his freehold and leasehold, the customary widow's provision on the island, so the will keeps to the established pattern of the settlement's inheritance, the wife secured in half the land for her lifetime before the remainder passed to the children, the same rule the court had defended against those who would give a widow less. The death of Gabriel Harper, whose will is here proved less than three weeks after he died on 2 March, adds another of the island's substantial planters to the season's toll and shows the board again sitting as a probate court. The reduced council took Harper's will as it had taken Wright's, proving it on the oaths of the witnesses, so the government carried on the continual work of settling the dead through the sickly season, the same two members proving will after will as the deaths mounted, the board the standing court through which every estate on the island passed.
182	193	22 March the time she remains my Widow And also I give and Bequeath her the one Third part of my Personal Estate to be at her disposal And for the better enabling her to Maintain her self and the Benefit of my Younger Children I give her in part of her thirds one Black Man named Cornwell but for no longer a time than she remains my Widow and in such Case I desire my Executors will make good to my said Wife the Value of the said Black Man he being a necessary Man to be kept in my Family for the support of my Children being very Young Item To my Well beloved Children Namely Mary Elizabeth Thomas Margaret and Gabriel I give them an Equal share of my Estate and if my Wife should now be with Child either Male or Female to have an Equal part with the rest of my said Children to be delivered them and each of them as they shall Arrive to the Age of Twenty One Years or Marriage and in Case of the Death of any of my said Children before Age or Marriage that the Survivers shall Enjoy their parts or Shares but as my Lands being not sufficient to be Divided among all my Children to settle them upon it I therefore give my Mansion House and all the Lands Belonging to it in Cowell Valley to my Son Thomas and Eleven Acres called Grifffins to my Son Gabriel they paying the other Children their proper parts or Shares the Management of which I leave wholly to the Discretion of my Executors if the same can be comply'd with and in case of the Death of either of my said Sons that the Survivor to have the refuse of the said Lands &c: Lastly I hereby Nominate Constitute and Appoint my good	Gabriel Harper granted his wife the enjoyment of that half of his lands and houses only for as long as she remained his widow. He also gave her a third of his personal estate to dispose of as she saw fit. To help her keep herself and support his younger children, he gave her, as part of that third share, a slave named Cornwell, but only while she remained his widow. Should she remarry, his executors were to make good to her the value of the man instead, Cornwell being a worker the household needed and one Harper wished kept in his family to support his young children. Harper then gave an equal share of his estate to each of his children Mary, Elizabeth, Thomas, Margaret and Gabriel. If his wife were now carrying a child, that child, whether a boy or a girl, was to take an equal part with the rest. Each share was to be delivered to the child on reaching the age of twenty-one or on marriage. If any of the children died before coming of age or marrying, the survivors were to divide that child's portion among them. Because his lands were not large enough to be split among all the children and still settle each of them on a viable holding, Harper divided the land itself between his two sons. He gave his mansion house and all the land he leased in Cowell Valley to his son Thomas, and the eleven acres called Griffins to his son Gabriel, the two sons to pay the other children their proper shares in return. He left the management of this arrangement wholly to his executors, to be carried out if it could be, and directed that if either son died the survivor should have the first refusal of the land. The will then began to name the executors, whom Harper described as his good friends, before breaking off at that point. **Interpretations** Harper tied his widow's larger provision to her remaining unmarried, so that both her life interest in half the lands and her keeping of the slave Cornwell

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			would end if she took another husband. This was a common device among small planters, meant to hold the estate together for the children and to discourage a remarriage that might carry the property or its labour into another man's household. The clause requiring his executors to pay her the value of Cornwell rather than let her keep the man on remarriage shows the same purpose, treating the slave as a working asset fixed to the family rather than as the widow's to remove. The direction that the land itself pass undivided to the two sons, who were then to buy out their siblings with money, reveals the central difficulty of inheritance on the island. A holding too small to be parcelled among five or six children without ruining each fragment was kept whole by settling it on the sons and turning the daughters' and younger children's claims into cash charges on the land. This preserved a workable plantation while still giving every child a stake, and it placed a heavy obligation on Thomas and Gabriel to raise the money owed to the others. **Speculations** Harper faced a plain choice between dividing his land equally among all his children, as he had just directed for the rest of his estate, and keeping it undivided in fewer hands. He rejected the equal division he himself set out in the same breath, stating openly that the lands were not sufficient to be shared among all his children and still settle each on a holding. Rather than break the plantation into portions too small to support anyone, he gave the mansion house and Cowell Valley land to Thomas and the eleven acres called Griffins to Gabriel, charging the two sons to pay the other children their shares in money. The gap between the equal treatment of the personal estate and the concentrated descent of the land is visible in the will itself, and the reason he gives is the smallness of the ground.
183	194	1747 friends Messrs Martin Harper James Cowell Benjamin Mason and Richard Beale Executors to this my Will. And I also Direct that my said Son Thomas to be an Executor with the abovementioned at the Age of Eighteen Years Revoking and Disannulling all former Will or Wills by me Made Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament. Signed Sealed and Declared Signd Gab: Harper to be the last Will and Testament of him the said Gabriel Harper in the presence of us. (Signed) John Worrall Sam Alexander. George Alexander. Mr John Swaite Petitioned for liberty to dispose of Eight Acres of Lease Land. Granted Mr John Alexander Petitioned for liberty to dispose of Twenty One Acres of Lease Land. Granted Executed the following Lease to Thomas Squire Granted in Consultation of 13 October 1747 Vizt Island St Helena The Vnited Company of this Island the Honourable the Vnited Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies do hereby Demise Grant Lease	Gabriel Harper named his good friends Martin Harper, James Powell, Benjamin Mason and Richard Beale executors of his will. He further directed that his son Thomas act as an executor once he reached the age of eighteen. He revoked every earlier will he had made and confirmed this as his sole last will and testament. Harper signed, sealed and declared the document as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses John Worrall, Samuel Alexander and George Alexander. John Twait petitioned for leave to dispose of eight acres of leasehold land, and this was granted. John Alexander petitioned for leave to dispose of twenty-one acres of leasehold land, and this was granted. The council then executed the following lease to Thomas Greentree, granted at the consultation of 13 October 1747. The Honourable United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, proprietor of the island of St Helena, leased to Thomas Greentree [...]. **Interpretations** Harper's provision that his son Thomas take up the executorship at eighteen, alongside the four adult executors already named, shows a testator planning for his heir to move into the management of the estate before the ordinary age of majority. Thomas was the son who took the mansion house and the Cowell Valley land, and drawing him into the office of executor at eighteen would give him a hand in administering the very estate he stood to inherit and in raising the money owed to his siblings, several years before he came fully of age at twenty-one.

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			The requirement that a landholder petition the council for leave before disposing of leasehold land, seen in both the Twait and Alexander grants, marks the limit of a tenant's control over land held from the Company. The leases carried a standing covenant against assignment without the council's consent, so that every transfer of a holding passed under the board's eye and could be refused. This kept the Company's knowledge of who occupied its ground current and preserved its power to control the island's settlement, even where the sitting tenant had found a willing buyer.
184	195	22 March and to Farm let unto Thomas Colgrove of the said Island All those two pieces or parcels of Ground Containing Fourteen Acres, Twelve Acres and an half Butting and Bounding South on Land late belonging to Gabriel Harper East on the said Thomas Colgroves Own Land and North and West on the Honble Companys waste Land And the other One Acre and an half called by the Name of Simons Water fall Bounding East on John Leechs Land and North West and South on the Honble Companys wast Land To have and to hold unto the said Thomas Colgrove his Executor Administr and Assigns from the Day of the Date hereof for and During the term of Twenty One years from thence next Ensueing Yeilding and paying therefore Yearly and every year during the term hereby Granted unto them the said Honble Company their Successors Agent or Assigns the rent or Sum of Five Shilling of More at or upon the Feast Day of St Michael the Arch Angel Yearly Vpon condition that he the said Thomas Colgrove his Executors Administrators and Assigns Do and shall bear true Faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heir and Successors and true Faith to them the said Honble Company and their Successors and shall duely obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island And upon Condition that he the said Thomas Colgrove his Executors Administr or Assigns do and shall well and sufficiently fence in the said Land and keep up and maintain the same together with the full quantity of Wood thereon and do and shall at the End or sooner determination of this Lease Yeild up and Surrender the same in good Order Condition and repair And upon Condition that he the said Thomas Colgrove his Executors Administrators	The Company leased to Thomas Colgrove of the island two pieces of ground. The first held fourteen acres, or twelve and a half acres, bounded south on land formerly belonging to Gabriel Harper, east on Colgrove's own land and north and west on the Company's waste land. The second held one and a half acres, called Simons Water Fall, bounded east on John Leech's land and north-west and south on the Company's waste land. Colgrove and his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns were to hold the land for a term of twenty-one years from the date of the lease. He was to pay the Company a yearly rent of five shillings an acre, due each year at Michaelmas. The grant rested on several conditions. Colgrove and those claiming under him were to bear true allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and to keep faith with the Company, obeying all the laws of the island. He was to fence the land properly and keep the fence in repair, to maintain the full quantity of wood growing on it, and to give the land up in good order and repair at the end of the term or whenever the lease should sooner determine. A further condition then followed, which set out what Colgrove and those claiming under him were bound to do [...]. **Interpretations** The covenant binding the tenant to maintain the full quantity of wood on his ground carried the island's planting law into every private lease. Timber and firewood were scarce on St Helena and constantly drawn down by the shipping and the garrison, so the Company made the preservation and replanting of wood a standing charge on any tenant, enforceable by forfeiture of the lease. A holder who let his trees go, as several defaulters had been fined for doing, risked losing the land itself, which gave the Company a lever to hold back the steady stripping of the island's cover. The oath of allegiance written into a plain agricultural lease shows how the Company fused the roles of landlord and government. A tenant taking a few acres at five shillings the acre was made to swear loyalty to the Crown and to obey the island's laws as a term of his tenancy, so that any breach of order became at once a breach of the lease. Holding land on St Helena was therefore never a purely private bargain but a form of subjection, the grant of ground and the demand of obedience bound together in a single instrument.
185	196	1747 and Assigns do not nor shall sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave and Consent of the Governour and Council for the time being In Witness whereof We the said Governour and Council have hereunto set our hands and Affixed the Honble Company Seal the Twenty Second Day of March in the Twenty first Year of	The lease bound Thomas Colgrove and those claiming under him not to sell or dispose of the lease or their interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council for the time being. The Governor and council set their hands and fixed the Company's seal to the grant on 22 March 1748, the twenty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and Colgrove set his hand and seal to the counterpart the same day. The lease was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. The creditors of the late Robert Wright attended the board, summoned by the order of the previous Tuesday, and the will was read to them. Because

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		the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King defender of the Faith and so forth And in the Year of Our Lord 1747 and the said Thomas Colgrove of the other part hath set his hand and Seal the Day and Year abovewritten. (Signed) Cha: Hutchinson John Clark. Mr Wright Creditors attended this Day according to the Order of Tuesday last, to whom the Willwas read (We then acquainted them that his Widow and Mr Dowling had refused the Executorship, and the other Executor being in England, we prepared to have an Inventory taken of Mr Wrights Effects by Mr Clark, and any Two of them, the Creditors as some of the Slaves and Cattle might die, and the Yams must perish and the Wearing Apparel receive damage if they were not disposed of, we thought for this reason that it would be for the Interest and Benefit of all those who had any claims on Mr Wright to have every Thing Sold at Publick Auction and the Money lodged in the Honble Companys Cash untill we knew whether his Brother would take upon him the Executorship and what Orders we might have from the Honble the Court of Directors for our Being herein: In which proposal the Creditors Vnanimously Agreed. Cha: Hutchinson John Clark	Wright's widow and Matthew Purling had both refused the executorship, and the third executor was in England, the board proposed to have an inventory taken of Wright's estate by John Clark, or by any of the creditors. Since some of the slaves and cattle might die and the yams must perish, and the wearing apparel would take damage if it were not disposed of, the board thought it best, for the benefit of all who had claims on the estate, that everything be sold at public auction and the money lodged in the Company's cash until it should be known whether Wright's brother would take up the executorship, and until further orders could be had from the Court of Directors. The creditors agreed to this proposal without exception. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The refusal of the executorship by both the widow Mary and Matthew Purling threw the estate into the board's hands and forced it to act as an administrator of last resort. An estate with no willing executor and its named third executor absent in England could not be wound up in the ordinary way, so the council stepped in to protect the creditors, exactly the function the treasury had served when it took charge of the heirless Simpson balance in 1746. This shows the board routinely filling the gap left when the private machinery of probate broke down. The reasoning behind the sale reveals how a remote island estate decayed if left unadministered. Livestock could die, harvested yams would rot and clothing would spoil, so the perishable and living parts of the estate had to be turned into cash quickly rather than held while the question of the executorship dragged on across the months a letter to England and its answer required. Converting the whole into money lodged in the Company's cash froze the estate's value in a form that could not waste, preserving it intact for the creditors and for whoever finally took on the administration.
186	197	29 March At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 29th Day of March 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Friday 25th Died John Marmehee Soldier Tuesday 29th Died John Aldrich Sergeant Mr Clark reports that he has viewed the Land Petitioned for the 15th Instant by Orlando Bagly and finds it no ways prejudicial either to the Honourable Company or Neighbourhood, We therefore Granted him a Lease for the same. John Leech Petitioned for a Piece of the Honble Companys Wast Ground lying behind his Back Yard in James Valley. Ordered the Ground to be Viewed Mr Goods and Effects of Mr Wright being Inventoryed and Appraised by Messieurs John Clark, James Cowell and John Alexander, We Ordered an Advertisement to be Published for the sale of the same, on Monday, the 11 Instant. Cha: Hutchinson John Clark	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 29 March 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. John Marmonchie, a soldier, died on Friday 25 March, and John Aldrick, a sergeant, died on Tuesday 29 March. Clark reported that he had viewed the land Orlando Bagley had petitioned for on 15 March, and found that a grant would harm neither the Company nor the neighbourhood. The board therefore granted Bagley a lease of it. John Leech petitioned for a piece of the Company's waste ground lying behind his back yard in James Valley. The board ordered the ground viewed. The goods and effects of the late Robert Wright were inventoried and appraised by John Clark, James Powell and John Alexander. The board ordered an advertisement published for the sale of them on Monday 11 April. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark.
187	198	5 April At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 5 Day of April 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Lieut John Clark of Council	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 5 April 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed.

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		The last Consultation was read, Approved and Signed Thursday 31 March Died John Barton Lieutenant Sunday 3 April Arrived the Suffolk Capt Wilkins Burthen 500 Tons 28 Guns and Monday 4 April Arrived the Suffolk Capt Wilkins, and the York Captain Lascelles, from China Monday 4 Died Sarah Daughter of John Hayes Soldier Arrived, the Prince Edward, Captain Wilkins, and a Dane Ship, called the Crown Prince of Denmark Capt Hendrick Fadder, Burthen 500 Tons 28 Guns and 140 Men, laden with Tea, Chinaware, and Sugar, from China. The Ground Petitioned for last Tuesday, by John Leech haveing been viewed, and found not prejudicial to the Honble Company, or Neighbourhood, We granted him a Lease for the same at the Yearly Rent of Four Shilling Ordered an Advertizement to be Published for the Inhabitants to meet in Vestry on Monday next the 11 Instant in Order to chuse Parish Officers for the Ensueing Year. There being no Well found among Lieut John Bartons Papers, we Ordered an Inventory of his Effects, to be taken, and the same to be Sold at Publick Auction, and the Money (after paying his Funeral Charges and Debts) Lodged in the Honble Companys Cash Several Persons Petitioning for Lycences to retail Liquor for the ensueing Year, we granted them, upon their paying Sixteen shillings after the rate of the pound of Rum when they had Liquor to sell. Cha: Hutchinson John Clark	John Barton, a lieutenant, died on Thursday 31 March. On Tuesday 2 April the *Stafford*, commanded by Captain Wildey, and the *York*, commanded by Captain Lascelles, arrived from China, several men aboard re-enlisting for fresh five-year terms at a bounty of five guineas each. On Monday 4 April Sarah, daughter of the soldier John Hayes, died, and the store ship *Prince Edward*, commanded by Captain Skottowe, arrived, together with a Danish ship called the *Crown Prince of Denmark*, commanded by Captain Hendrick Fasser, of three hundred tons burthen, twenty-eight guns and a hundred and forty men, laden with tea, chinaware and sugar from China. The ground John Leech had petitioned for the previous Tuesday had been viewed and found to harm neither the Company nor the neighbourhood. The board granted him a lease of it at a yearly rent of four shillings. The board ordered an advertisement published calling the inhabitants to meet in vestry on the following Monday to choose the parish officers for the coming year. No will was found among the effects of the late Lieutenant John Barton, so the board ordered an inventory of his effects taken and the whole sold at public auction, the money to be lodged in the Company's cash after his funeral charges and debts were paid. Several people petitioned for licences to retail liquor for the coming year, and the board granted them on payment of the usual fee for the time they had liquor to sell. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The Danish ship touching at St Helena on her way home from Canton shows the island serving as a refreshment and intelligence stop for the shipping of rival East India trades, not the English Company's alone. A foreign China ship was recorded in full, her tonnage, guns, crew and cargo of tea, chinaware and sugar all noted, both because the board watched every armed vessel that entered the road and because such ships bought provisions and paid for them, the store selling to foreign shipping at a fifty per cent mark-up well above the rate charged the Company's own vessels. The board's handling of Lieutenant Barton's estate, taken to auction because no will could be found, repeated the course set for Robert Wright's effects a fortnight earlier. An officer dying intestate on the island left the council to secure and convert his goods before they could waste or be dispersed, paying his funeral and debts first and holding the residue in the Company's cash. This was the standard protection thrown around any estate that lacked a functioning executor, the treasury again acting as the safe repository until lawful claims could be settled.
188	199	12 April At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 12 day of April 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Tuesday 5 Arrived the Lynn, Captain Gilbert, from China Wednesday 6 Died David Wilson, Sergeant Thursday 7 Arrived the Norfolk, Capt Hancock, and the Onslow Capt Hind, (late Congreve) from China, and the Grantham, Capt Wilson, from Bencoolen Friday 8 Arrived the Dragon Capt Kent, from China Mr Clark reports, that he hath been on board the Ship Grantham, to Muster the Company, and search for Deserters	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 12 April 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 5 April the *Lynn*, commanded by Captain Gilbert, arrived from China. On Wednesday 6 April David Wilson, a sergeant, died. On Thursday 7 April the *Norfolk*, commanded by Captain Hancock, and the *Onslow*, commanded by Captain Hind, arrived from China, both belonging to the late Company, together with the *Grantham*, commanded by Captain Wilson, from Bencoolen. On Friday 8 April the *Dragon*, commanded by Captain Wood, arrived from China. Clark reported that he had gone aboard the *Grantham* to muster her company and search for

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		but found none the Muster Roll is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Grantham, Vizt Walter Wilson Commander Jno Oliver Chief Mate Thomas Sea Do Salisbury Blundy 3d Do Jos Hancock 4th Do Fras Burbidge 5th Do Frithan Reeve Purser Chas Lord Surgeon Rich Gilfilling Gunner Jos Seere Carpenter Will Fenton Boats Jno Chas Bryan Mates Rich Beale Do Jno Newton Do Peter Suce Do Jos Clone Do James Ward Midshipman Jno Chavrock Do Jno Sheppard Do Chas Gilbert Do Peter Bryan Land Master Francis Shaw Do Benjn Sherby Do Jos Templeton Boat Mate Rich Roberson Mya Do Jno Wakeupone Capt Do Aubny Serdrege Capt Cook Jno Perkins Do Mate Sam Torrays Gun Mate Benjn Knott Capt 1st Mate Fras Clifford Do 2d Will Rigby Butcher Rich Suddaby Caulkr Jos Locke Do Mate Jno Bennett Sailmakr Chas Bull Armourer Jos Sackle Taylor Jno Goffe Capt Servant Will Clarke Ships Cook Sam Cashes Cooper Wm Larson Mates Sam Summons Seaman Benjn Taylor Do Arthur Griffelle Do John Stork Do Thos Warner Do Peter Baldwin Do Sam Reed Do	deserters, but found none. Her muster roll ran as follows. Walter Wilson, commander John Oliver, chief mate Thomas Lee, second mate Salisbury Blundy, third mate John Hancock, fourth mate Thomas Bainbridge, fifth mate John Lord, surgeon Park Gilfoiling, gunner John Seere, carpenter William Fenton, boatswain John Lee, surgeon's mate Richard Beal, ditto John Newton, ditto Peter Luce, ditto Joseph Clone, ditto James Ward, midshipman Robert Chaveock, midshipman John Sheppard, midshipman Christopher Gilbert, midshipman Peter Bryan, quarter master Francis Shaw, ditto Benjamin Slarly, ditto John Templeton, boatswain's mate Robert Robertson, ditto Thomas Warhouse, captain's cook Andrew Serdrage, cook John Purham, gunner's mate Samuel Serrey, gunner's mate Benjamin Nott, captain's first mate Charles Clifford, ditto William Bigby, butcher Richard Snedely, caulker James Locke, ditto John Bennett, sailmaker Charles Bull, armourer John Tackle, tailor John Goffe, captain's steward William Clarke, ship's steward Samuel Cashes, cooper John Doon, master's steward Samuel Summers, seaman Benjamin Taylor, seaman Arthur Gilfoiling, seaman John Stock, seaman Thomas Warner, seaman John Baldwin, seaman Jonas [...], seaman **Interpretations** The three China ships entered on 7 April are marked as belonging to the late Company, a phrase pointing to the recent union of the old and new East India interests under the single United Company that held St Helena. Vessels built or set out under the former separate concern were still working their voyages home years after the merger, and the board noted the distinction as a matter of record while treating them all as the one Company's shipping. The muster of every arriving ship's company man by man against her list, carried out here by Clark aboard the *Grantham*, was the island's standing guard against desertion. St Helena was the last watering place before the long Atlantic passage home, and a seaman who slipped ashore could vanish among the planters or ship out on another vessel, so each captain's roll was checked in person against the men actually aboard before the ship was cleared. The care taken to record the whole company, from the commander down through the mates, tradesmen and file of seamen, gave the board a fixed account it could set against any later claim of a missing or exchanged man.

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189	200	1748 Jonas Seaman Davd Stephens Do Simon Sheenden Do Nicholas Larking Do Jos Millson Do Thos Crail Do Henry Morriss Do Willm Sarters Do Danl Newman Do Marty McDonald Do Jno Saguar Do Jno Steing Do Saml Waller Do Saml Clem Do Geo Green Do Saml Camell Do Jno Whitebone Do Rich Balt Do Jno Colt Do Wm Sack Do Thos Cartridge Do Fran Glover Jno Webber Seaman Tho Jacobs Do Geo Fagan Do Jos Fragar Do Antony Costello Do Geo Morrean Do Tony Noble Do Nunco Angeeshoor Do Chas Goffe Serj Mate Tho Morgan Seaman Tho Payne Do Will Jenkins Do Scheveral Wright Do Jos Adams Do Jno Walker Do Octavio Do Ipswich Do Robt Robertson Junr Do Chas Stewart 3d Mate Servt Will Wynne 4th Do Jos Thos Docl Do Sam Gilfilling Gunrs Do Jno Hawysides Boatswain Servt Sam Carpenter Corps Do Jno Collis Seaman Edmund Panlaby Do Jno Kennedy Do Will Lenton Do Passengers from Fort Malbro Isaac Barbot Esqr Mrs Barbot Mr Finho a Black Mr Wm Learned Mr John Purvey Jno Owston Servt Soldiers Discharged from Bencoolen Robt Cross Tho Slings Tho Cape Joseph Wade Jno Lewe The Stafford, York, Prince Edward, Lynn, Norfolk, and Onslow brought the following Supplys Vizt Invoice of Ship Stafford. HH Sugar 3 Chests Vizt No 1 1 Chest Tare 47 437 Gross 2 1 Do 54 443 3	The muster roll of the *Grantham* continued with the remaining seamen, tradesmen, servants, passengers and discharged soldiers. Jonas [...], seaman David Stephens, seaman Simon Sheender, seaman Nicholas Larking, seaman Joseph Millson, seaman Thomas Crail, seaman Henry Morris, seaman William Sarkers, seaman Daniel Newman, seaman Martin McDonald, seaman John Saguar, seaman John Steeing, seaman Samuel Waller, seaman Samuel Elem, seaman George Green, seaman James Carrell, seaman John Whitehouse, seaman Richard Balt, seaman John Colt, seaman William Suck, seaman Thomas Cartridge, seaman Francis Glover, seaman John Webber, seaman Thomas Jacobs, seaman George Sugan, seaman John Sragar, seaman Antony Costello, seaman George Morren, seaman Tony Noble, seaman Prince Angeschon, seaman Charles Sofe, sergeant's mate Thomas Morgan, seaman Thomas Payne, seaman William Jouhens, seaman Schoveral Ubright, seaman James Adams, seaman John Walker, seaman Octavio, seaman Ipswich, seaman Robert Robertson junior, seaman Charles Steward, sergeant's mate William Hyland, sergeant's mate John Thomas Yost, seaman James Gilfoiling, gunner John Heavysides, boatswain's mate Samuel Carpenter, corporal John Collis, seaman Edmund Hanlaby, seaman John Kennedy, seaman William Lenton, seaman Isaac Barbat, passenger from Fort Marlborough Mrs Barbat, passenger from Fort Marlborough Mrs Finke, a black, passenger from Fort Marlborough Mr George Learned, passenger from Fort Marlborough Mr John Purvey, passenger from Fort Marlborough John Doveton, servant soldiers discharged from Bencoolen Robert Cross Thomas Sliyus Thomas Cape Joseph Wade John Lewe The *Stafford*, *York*, *Prince Edward*, *Lynn*, *Norfolk* and *Onslow* brought the following supplies. The invoice of the *Stafford* opened with three chests of sugar, marked HH numbers 1 to 3. Sugar, 3 chests, marked HH: No. 1, gross 47, tare 4, nett 43 No. 2, gross 45, tare 4, nett 41 No. 3, gross 45, tare 4, nett 41

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		1 Do 54 429 3 Chests 155 1300 Nett 1159 is Peculs 8 Cs 2 Q 4 per Pecul including Leat and Chest 34 6 .. Carried over 34 6 ..	3 chests, gross 155, tare 13, nett 142 nett 1,559 lb at 8s 6d the hundredweight, per invoice including lead and chest, £34 6s 0d Carried over, £34 6s 0d **Interpretations** The lower part of the *Grantham*'s roll gathered a mixed body of people the ship carried besides her working crew, the passengers coming home from Fort Marlborough, a servant, and a group of soldiers discharged at Bencoolen. St Helena was the point where the Company's homeward traffic from its scattered eastern settlements converged, so a single Bencoolen ship brought back a private family, a black woman, several gentlemen and time-expired soldiers all on one bottom, the board recording each so that any who landed or stayed could be accounted for. The sugar invoice was reckoned by gross weight less the tare of the chest and lead lining to reach the nett, then priced by the hundredweight, the standard method of valuing a bulk import where the packing weighed a fixed and known amount against the goods. Charging the buyer for the lead and chest as part of the delivered price, noted plainly on the account, shows the Company passing on the whole landed cost of the packing rather than absorbing it, the small careful entries typical of a store that answered for every penny to the Court.
190	201	13 April Brought over 34 6 .. Sugar Candy 3 Chests Vizt No 4 1 Chest Tare 54 305 Gross 5 1 Do 51 373 6 1 Do 64 302 3 Chests 169 1166 Nett 997 is Peal 7 48 at 34 4 8 Tales 60 .. 8 Canton Aprl the 5 1747/8 (Signd) Errors Excepted per John Misenor Henry Powell Thomas Wilson Stephen De Vroom John Hill Invoice of Ship York Vizt China Ware 1 Chest Vizt 2 Setts Blue & white cont 26 Dishes of 5 Sizes 16 Salad 2 Soup Do 2 Tereen and Dishes 120 Plates & 48 Soop Plates at 9 Tale P Sett 10 Sett Bowls Blue 8 in 5 in Sett at 5 5 50 half Pint Cups & Saucers Allowed for breakage 25 3 .. B Tea Bohea 2 Chest Vizt 8 1 Tare 30 Gross 180 2 30 180 60 360 60 300 is 2 Pic 25 Cst at 15 P Pecul 33 7 5 Carried over 58 9 8	The invoice of the *Stafford* continued, the sugar carried over at £34 6s 0d, followed by three chests of sugar candy. Brought over, £34 6s 0d Sugar candy, 3 chests: No. 4, 1 chest, tare 54, gross 395 No. 5, 1 chest, tare 51, gross 375 No. 6, 1 chest, tare 64, gross 302 3 chests, tare 160, gross 1,166, nett 907 lb, per invoice 7 taels 4 mace 8 candareens at [...], £34 4s 8d Total, £60 0s 8d This invoice was signed at Canton on 5 April 1748 by John Misenor, Henry Ewell, Thomas Wilson, Stephen De Vroom and John Steil, errors excepted. The invoice of the *York* followed, opening with one chest of chinaware. Chinaware, 1 chest: 2 setts blue and white, containing 26 dishes of 5 sizes, 16 salad and 2 soup dishes, 2 green sand dishes, 120 plates and 48 soup plates, at 1 tael 8 mace per sett, 5 taels 6 mace 0 candareens 10 setts bowls blue and white, 5 in a sett at 5s 6d, £5 5s 0d 50 half pint cups and saucers, £2 0s 0d £25 5s 0d Allowed for breakage, £4 7s 0d £25 3s 0d Two chests of bohea tea followed, marked B. Bohea tea, 2 chests, marked B: No. 1, tare 30, gross 180 No. 2, tare 30, gross 180 tare 60, gross 360 nett 300 lb, is 2 piculs 25 catties at 15 taels per picul, £33 7s 5d Carried over, £58 9s 8d **Interpretations** The two China invoices were drawn up in the Chinese trade weights and money of the Canton factory, taels, mace and candareens for the reckoning and piculs and catties for the tea, before being converted into sterling for the Company's books. A picul stood at a hundred catties, roughly a hundredweight and a third, and the tael was the silver unit of account at Canton, so the supercargoes priced the goods where they bought them and left the St Helena board to carry the sterling equivalent into its own accounts. This double reckoning shows how far the Company's commerce reached and how its

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			remote posts had to handle the currencies and measures of every port its ships touched. The allowance for breakage struck off the chinaware valuation recognised that a cargo of dishes, plates and cups could not cross from Canton without loss, so a fixed deduction was made against the invoice rather than each broken piece counted. Pricing fragile goods with a standing breakage abatement was the practical answer to a trade in which a portion of every chest arrived cracked, and it let the store value the surviving ware at a fair figure without the labour of sorting the damaged from the whole.
191	202	1748 Brought over 58 7 8 S Sugar 8 Chests No 1 Tare 29 Gross 315 2 34 324 3 34 333 4 27 314 5 34 316 6 29 340 7 32 327 8 20 312 248 2560 248 2312 is 17 Peculs 3 Cs 1 Q bal at 3 M 62 8 2 4 SC Sugar Candy No 1 Tare 34 Gross 323 2 28 208 3 32 328 4 32 324 5 33 302 6 35 316 7 33 328 8 32 348 256 2537 256 2281 is 17 Ps 0 Cs 1 Q bal at 4 6 78 6 6 0 Tale 199 8 6 4 (Signd) Tim Hadley Hillary Terriano Jos Warrington Invoice	The invoice of the *York* continued, the earlier goods carried over at £58 9s 8d, followed by eight chests of sugar marked S. Brought over, £58 9s 8d Sugar, 8 chests, marked S: No. 1, tare 29, gross 315 No. 2, tare 34, gross 324 No. 3, tare 34, gross 333 No. 4, tare 27, gross 314 No. 5, tare 34, gross 316 No. 6, tare 29, gross 340 No. 7, tare 32, gross 327 No. 8, tare 29, gross 312 tare 248, gross 2,560 nett 2,312 lb, is 19 piculs 34 catties at 3 taels per picul, £62 2s 2d Sugar candy, 8 chests, marked SC: No. 1, tare 34, gross 323 No. 2, tare 28, gross 208 No. 3, tare 32, gross 328 No. 4, tare 32, gross 324 No. 5, tare 33, gross 302 No. 6, tare 35, gross 316 No. 7, tare 33, gross 328 No. 8, tare 32, gross 348 tare 256, gross 2,537 nett 2,281 lb, is 19 piculs 6 catties at 4 taels 6 mace per picul, £78 6s 6d Total, £199 8s 6d This invoice was signed by Timothy Hadley, Hillary Serrano and James Warrington. The invoice of another ship then began. **Interpretations** The sugar candy in these China invoices was priced well above the ordinary raw sugar, four taels six mace the picul against three taels for the plain sugar, the difference reflecting the extra labour of boiling and crystallising the cane juice into hard candy. Sugar candy kept better on a long voyage and served both as a table luxury and, dissolved, in the sick quarters, so the store carried it as a distinct and dearer line, the two grades entered separately with their own marks and weights so the Company could see exactly what each cost and what each would fetch.
192	203	12 April Invoice of Ship Prince Edward Vizt SC 1 a 4 Sugar Candy w Nett 1032 is 7 74 at 4 3 P Ps 39 8 3 S 1 a 3 Sugar 3 Chest 843 is 6 32 at 3 3 20 8 5 6 C 1 a 2 Congo Tea 2 144 is 1 8 at 28 P Pic 30 2 4 B 1 Bohea 1 150 is 1 12 14 15 6 8 S 1 Single 1 133 is 99 22 21 7 8	The invoice of the *Prince Edward* set out her sugar, tea and chinaware. Sugar candy, marked SC, chests 1 to 4, nett weight 1,032 lb, is 8 piculs 74 catties at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, £39 8s 3d Sugar, marked S, chests 1 to 3, 843 lb, is 6 piculs 32 catties at 3 taels 3 mace per picul, £20 8s 6d Congo tea, marked C, chests 1 to 2, 144 lb, is 1 picul 8 catties at 28 taels per picul, £30 2s 1d Bohea tea, marked B, 1 chest, 150 lb, is 1 picul 12 catties at 14 taels per picul, £15 6s 8d

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		China Ware 2 Chest No 1 a 2 Cups & Saucers Blue Do at 500 P at 3 4 P 17 Ditto Enamelld 100 5 8 5 8 Ditto Blue and wt 955 22 21 1 43 8 1 Tale 167 1 9 6 Canton 10 Jany 1747 Signd Hen: Palmer Ro: Haldane Ro: Machett Invoice of Ship Lynn Vizt HH China Ware 1 Chest & 1 half Chest Vizt 1 Chest No 1 10 Sett Dishes & Plates 5 Do to Sett Blue and white at 1 8 20 P Sett 15 1 Half No 2 6 Sett Soop Do 2 12 Do 10 Bowls 5 Sizes Do 0 10 0 est 1 20 Do 4 Do 0 6 0 1 2 20 Do 3 Do 0 4 0 8 50 P large Cups & Saucers Do 0 4 0 2 32 Deduct 2 P Cent for breakage 0 6 4 31 3 6 Carried over 31 3 6	Single tea, marked S, 1 chest, 133 lb, is 99 catties at 22 taels per picul, £21 7s 8d Chinaware, 2 chests: No. 1 and 2, cups and saucers, blue and white, 500 setts at 3 taels 4 mace per hundred, £17 0s 0d ditto, enamelled, 100, 5 taels 8 mace, £5 8s 0d ditto, blue and white, 955, 22 setts, £21 1s 0d, £13 8s 1d Total, £167 12s 6d This invoice was signed at Canton on 10 January 1748 by Henry Palmer, Robert Haldane and Robert Machett. The invoice of the *Lynn* followed, opening with one chest and a half chest of chinaware. Chinaware, 1 chest and 1 half chest: 1 chest, marked HH No. 1, 10 setts dishes and plates and 20 to a sett, blue and white, at 1 tael 8 mace per sett, £15 0s 0d 1 half chest, marked HH No. 2, 6 setts soup dishes, 2 taels 12 mace per sett, [...] 10 bowls, first size, 0 taels 10 mace 8 candareens each, £1 0s 0d 20 bowls, second size, 0 taels 6 mace each, £1 2s 0d 20 bowls, third size, 0 taels 4 mace each, £0 8s 0d 50 large cups and saucers, 0 taels 4 mace each, £2 0s 0d £32 0s 0d Deduct 2 per cent for breakage, £0 6s 4d £31 3s 6d Carried over, £31 3s 6d **Interpretations** The three grades of tea on the *Prince Edward*'s invoice show the wide range of quality and price the China trade carried in a single hold. Congo stood dearest at twenty-eight taels the picul and single tea at twenty-two, while common bohea came at fourteen, so a chest of the finer leaf was worth twice a chest of the coarse. The store stocked all three because the island's buyers ranged from officers who could afford the better sorts to soldiers and planters who took the cheapest, and the Company profited by carrying the whole scale rather than a single line. The breakage deduction on the *Lynn*'s chinaware was struck at a plain two per cent of the invoice value, a fixed proportion rather than the counted allowance seen on the *York*'s ware. Settling the loss by a flat percentage saved the labour of tallying every cracked piece and gave both the supercargo and the store a predictable figure, which suggests the trade had by this date arrived at a customary rate of loss it applied as a matter of course to a cargo of porcelain.
193	204	1748 Brought over 31 3 6 Tea Bohea 4 Chest Vizt No 1 1 Chest First Leaf 30 Tare 190 Gross 2 1 Do 30 192 60 382 Nett 322 is 2 41 at 18 P Pic 43 3 8 0 3 1 Chest Second Leaf 30 201 4 1 Do 30 196 60 397 Nett 337 is 2 52 at 16 d 40 3 2 0 159 4 93 83 7 .. Sugar Candy 8 Chest Vizt No 5 1 Chest 41 Tare 366 Gross 6 1 Do 46 360 7 1 Do 43 364 8	The invoice of the *Lynn* continued, the earlier goods carried over at £31 3s 6d, followed by four chests of bohea tea. Brought over, £31 3s 6d Bohea tea, 4 chests: No. 1, 1 chest, first leaf, tare 30, gross 192 No. 2, 1 chest, tare 30, gross 192 tare 60, gross 382, nett 322 lb, is 2 piculs 41 catties at 18 taels per picul, £43 3s 8d No. 3, 1 chest, second leaf, tare 30, gross 201 No. 4, 1 chest, tare 30, gross 196 tare 60, gross 397, nett 337 lb, is 2 piculs 52 catties at 16 taels per picul, £40 3s 2d gross 659, nett 493 £83 7s 0d Sugar candy, 8 chests: No. 5, 1 chest, tare 41, gross 366 No. 6, 1 chest, tare 46, gross 366 No. 7, 1 chest, tare 43, gross 364 No. 8, 1 chest, tare 46, gross 378 No. 9, 1 chest, tare 46, gross 380 No. 10, 1 chest, tare 45, gross 376 No. 11, 1 chest, tare 48, gross 354

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		1 Do 46 378 9 1 Do 46 380 10 1 Do 45 376 11 1 Do 48 354 12 1 Do 44 371 8 359 2949 Nett 2500 is 10 42 at 4 3 P Pecul including Lead and Chests 81 5 6 4 Sugar 10 Chest Vizt No 13 1 Chest 42 Tare 408 Gross 14 1 Do 45 418 15 1 Do 60 434 16 1 Do 47 420 17 1 Do 42 407 18 1 Do 42 401 19 1 Do 44 405 20 1 Do 44 408 21 1 Do 46 400 22 1 Do 46 415 10 448 4116 Nett 3668 is 27 51 at 3 8 P Pecul including Lead and Chests 104 5 3 8 Tale 301 1 6 2 Canton Decr 30 1747 Signd Errors Excepted per John Misenor Henry Powell Thomas Wilson Stephen Delroom John Hill Invoice	No. 12, 1 chest, tare 44, gross 374 tare 359, gross 2,949, nett 2,590 lb, is 20 piculs 42 catties at 4 taels 2 mace per picul, including lead and chest, £81 5s 6d Sugar, 10 chests: No. 13, 1 chest, tare 42, gross 408 No. 14, 1 chest, tare 45, gross 418 No. 15, 1 chest, tare 50, gross 434 No. 16, 1 chest, tare 47, gross 420 No. 17, 1 chest, tare 42, gross 407 No. 18, 1 chest, tare 42, gross 401 No. 19, 1 chest, tare 44, gross 405 No. 20, 1 chest, tare 44, gross 408 No. 21, 1 chest, tare 46, gross 400 No. 22, 1 chest, tare 46, gross 415 tare 448, gross 4,116, nett 3,668 lb, is 27 piculs 51 catties at 3 taels 8 mace per picul, including lead and chest, £108 5s 3d Total, £301 16s 2d This invoice was signed at Canton on 30 December 1747 by John Misenor, Henry Ewell, Thomas Wilson, Stephen Delore and John Hall, errors excepted. The invoice of another ship then began. **Interpretations** The bohea on this invoice was graded into first leaf and second leaf and priced apart, eighteen taels the picul for the first against sixteen for the second, a finer distinction than the single mark of bohea seen on other ships. Tea picked earlier and from the younger leaf fetched the higher rate, so the supercargoes separated the two pickings even within the one common sort, and the store carried both so that the same tea answered for buyers of different means. The heavier chests of sugar and candy on the *Lynn* were priced to include the lead lining and the chest itself in the delivered rate, noted expressly against those lines, where the tea was reckoned on its nett leaf alone. Sugar and candy were carried in lead-lined chests to keep out the damp on the long passage, and the weight and cost of that packing were folded into the price of the goods rather than charged apart, which is why the same store's invoices treated the packing of one commodity differently from another according to how each was shipped.
194	205	12 April Invoice of Ship Norfolk Vizt SC 1 a 4 Sugar Candy 4 Nett 1040 7 80 at 4 3 P Pecul 35 1 .. S 1 a 3 Sugar 3 820 6 21 3 3 20 4 9 3 C 1 a 2 Congo Tea 2 144 1 08 28 P Pecul 30 2 4 .. B 1 Bohea 1 156 1 17 14 16 3 8 .. S 1 Single 1 136 1 02 22 22 4 4 .. China Ware 2 Chest No 1 a 2 Soop Plates Blue & wt 228 5 Cs Ta 11 4 Cups & Saucers Do 971 P 2 Cs 2 Q 21 3 6 2 32 7 6 2 Tale 157 4 1 5 Canton 10 Jany 1747 (Signd) Hen: Palmer Ro: Haldane Ro: Machett Invoice of Ship Onslow Vizt 3 Sugar Candy Wt 10 Full 5 98 at 4 6 P Pecul 26 0 1 2 4 Sugar Wt Do 900 3 3 29 9 9 7 2 Congo Tea Wt Do 1 08 28 30 2 4 ..	The invoice of the *Norfolk* set out her sugar, tea and chinaware. Sugar candy, marked SC, chests 1 to 4, nett 1,040 lb, is 7 piculs 80 catties at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, £35 1s 0d Sugar, marked S, chests 1 to 3, 829 lb, is 6 piculs 21 catties at 3 taels 3 mace per picul, £20 4s 9d Congo tea, marked C, chests 1 to 2, 144 lb, is 1 picul 8 catties at 28 taels per picul, £30 2s 1d Bohea tea, marked B, 1 chest, 156 lb, is 1 picul 17 catties at 14 taels per picul, £16 3s 8d Single tea, marked S, 1 chest, 136 lb, is 1 picul 2 catties at 22 taels per picul, £22 4s 4d Chinaware, 2 chests: No. 1 and 2, soup plates, blue and white, 228, at 5 taels per hundred, £11 4s 0d cups and saucers, ditto, 971 setts, at 2 taels 2 mace per hundred, £21 3s 6d, £32 7s 6d Total, £157 4s 5d This invoice was signed at Canton on 10 January 1748 by Henry Palmer, Robert Haldane and Robert Machett. The invoice of the *Onslow* followed. Sugar candy, 3 chests, nett weight 598 lb, at 4 taels 6 mace per picul, £26 0s 2d Sugar, 4 chests, nett weight 920 lb, at 3 taels 3 mace per picul, £29 9s 7d Congo tea, 2 chests, nett weight 1 picul 8 catties, at 28 taels per picul, £30 2s 4d

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		1 Bohea Do Wt Do 1 17 14 16 3 8 .. 1 Single Do Wt Do 1 22 22 .. China Ware 2 Chests Vizt 1 25 Sett Bowls Blue & White 5 P Sett 5 5 Sett 13 7 5 100 P Cups & Saucers Do 2 2 Ps 2 2 1 60 Sett Salad Dishes Do 3 P Sett 2 6 P Sett 15 6 31 5 5 .. Tale 157 .. 9 9 Canton 23 Decr 1747 Signd Errors Excepted per Hen: Palmer Ro: Haldane Ro: Machett	Bohea tea, 1 chest, nett weight 1 picul 17 catties, at 14 taels per picul, £16 3s 8d Single tea, 1 chest, nett weight 1 picul 2 catties, at 22 taels per picul, £22 0s 0d Chinaware, 2 chests: 25 setts bowls, blue and white, 5 to a sett, at 5 taels 5 mace per hundred, £13 7s 5d 100 large cups and saucers, ditto, 2 taels 2 mace, £2 2s 0d 1 box, 60 setts salad dishes, ditto, 2 taels 6 mace, £15 6s 0d, £31 5s 5d Total, £157 0s 0d This invoice was signed at Canton on 23 December 1747 by Henry Palmer, Robert Haldane and Robert Machett, errors excepted.**Interpretations** The near-identical invoices of the *Norfolk* and the *Onslow*, each running to almost exactly £157 in the same sugar, candy, three grades of tea and two chests of chinaware, show the supercargoes at Canton making up matched parcels for several homeward ships at once. Spreading a standard consignment across separate bottoms was the trade's insurance against loss, since a cargo divided among many ships could not all be taken or wrecked together, and it let the Company lay in a large quantity of China goods while keeping the risk of any single voyage small. The four China ships that touched within a week all carried their invoices signed by the same handful of supercargoes, Palmer, Haldane and Machett recurring across the *Prince Edward*, *Norfolk* and *Onslow*, which marks how the Canton factory concentrated the season's dealings in a few men who priced and signed for the whole fleet. Their names entered on the St Helena accounts gave the board a check on the goods it received, tying each parcel back to the responsible officers at the point of purchase far to the east.
195	206	1747 The Plantation, Garrison, and Steward Accounts, were brought in for the Month of March last which were Examined and Approved and are as follows Vizt Gunners Stores Expended in March 1748 Powder for Proveing at Prosperous Bay 3 Powder to the Swords of Serjeant Aldrich and John Marmehafeild 4 1/2 Total 7 1/2 Wheelbros to Henry Moyce for the Gun Carriage for Bench's 10 Cages to Major Jackson for the Governours use 1 Pair Match burnt at the Main Fort Tallow for Greasing the Gun Carriages and Carts from the 1 Cask Jno French 1 of October 1747 to the 31 March 1748 Sundrys Expended in the Castle in March 1748 Vizt 13 Bottles Port Wine 10 2 1/2 18 Do Sider 1 6 7 1/2 8 Do Madeira 16 8 4 Do small Beer 1 8 1/2 5 Do Strong Do 1 6 8 1/2 18 1/2 Gallons Goa Arrack 1 13 ..	The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month of March were brought in, examined and approved. The gunner's stores expended in March 1748 ran as follows, the figures given in pounds of powder unless otherwise noted. Powder for firing at Prosperous Bay, 3 lb Powder at the funerals of Sergeant Aldrick and John Marmonchie, 4.5 lb Total, 7.5 lb Axletrees to Henry Moyce for the gun carriages for Banks's, 10 Cages to Major Jackson for the Governor's use, 1 pair Match burnt at the main fort, [...] Tallow for greasing the gun carriages and carts from 1 October 1747 to 31 March 1748, 1 cask, signed John French The sundries expended in the castle in March 1748 ran as follows. 13 bottles of port wine, £0 10s 2.75d 18 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 6s 7.5d 8 bottles of Madeira, £0 16s 8d 1 gallon of small beer, £0 1s 8.5d 5 gallons of strong beer, £1 6s 8.5d 18.5 gallons of Goa arrack, £1 13s 0d 264 lb of flour, £1 1s 9d 6 lb of candy, £0 2s 8.5d 13 lb of sugar, £0 5s 9d 263 lb of fresh beef, £2 4s 0d 1 lb of salt beef, £0 3s 9d 2 lb of salt pork, £0 3s 9d 1 duck, £0 13s 6d 9 fowls, £2 8s 9d 117 lb of mutton, £0 1s 3d 3.5 lb of goat, £0 5s 0d 1 kid, [...] Total, £13 10s 2.25d

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		264 lb Tallow 1 9 6 lb Candy 2 8 1/2 13 lb Sugar 3 5 9 263 Sweet Bref 2 4 1 Do Salt Bref 3 9 2 Do Salt Pork 3 9 1 Duck 13 6 9 Fowls 2 8 9 11 lb Mutton 1 3 3 lb Goat 5 .. 1 Kidd 13 10 2 1/2 Account	**Interpretations** The tallow for greasing the gun carriages and carts was drawn as a single cask covering the whole half year from 1 October 1747 to 31 March 1748, rather than issued month by month like the powder. Grease for the wooden carriages and their axles was a slow and steady consumption that did not vary with events, so the gunner charged it in one lump at the half year, where powder was entered against each occasion it was spent, the funerals and the firing at Prosperous Bay named in full so every pound could be accounted. The castle's own table drew far more heavily on imported wine, beer and arrack than on the island's fresh produce, the port, Lisbon, Madeira, beer and Goa arrack together outrunning the beef, mutton and fowls. Fresh beef returned to the table in some quantity this month as the herd was drawn on for the shipping in the road, but the drink was almost wholly brought in from Europe and India, which marks how a remote garrison depended on the passing ships for the comforts of its officers' table even while it fed itself from its own cattle.
196	207	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of March 1747/8 Bulls, Cowes, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Goats, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total, Sows, Baggers, Shoats, Boggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaining 4: 2 Bulls, 97 Cowes, 65 Calves, 60 Yearlings, 16 Heifers, 5 Steers, 1 Bullocks, 14 Oxen, 260 Total, 127 Ewes, 9 Weathers, 58 Lambs, 5 Rams, 199 Total, 111 Goats, 28 Weathers, 34 Kidds, 6 Rams, 179 Total, 12 Sows, 2 Baggers, 26 Shoats, 37 Boggs, 2 Boars, 79 Total, 22 Turkeys, 224 Fowls, 30 Ducks, 26 Geese, 7 Horses, 3 Mares, 10 Total Encreased: 0 Bulls, 0 Cowes, 1 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 0 Oxen, 1 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Goats, 0 Weathers, 0 Kidds, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Baggers, 0 Shoats, 0 Boggs, 0 Boars, 0 Total, 7 Turkeys, 35 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total 2 Bulls, 97 Cowes, 66 Calves, 60 Yearlings, 16 Heifers, 5 Steers, 1 Bullocks, 14 Oxen, 261 Total, 127 Ewes, 9 Weathers, 58 Lambs, 5 Rams, 199 Total, 111 Goats, 28 Weathers, 34 Kidds, 6 Rams, 179 Total, 12 Sows, 2 Baggers, 26 Shoats, 37 Boggs, 2 Boars, 79 Total, 29 Turkeys, 259 Fowls, 30 Ducks, 26 Geese, 7 Horses, 3 Mares, 10 Total Killd: 0 Bulls, 3 Cowes, 0 Calves, 6 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 5 Steers, 1 Bullocks, 1 Oxen, 16 Total, 4 Ewes, 1 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 5 Total, 0 Goats, 2 Weathers, 1 Kidds, 0 Rams, 3 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Baggers, 0 Shoats, 0 Boggs, 0 Boars, 0 Total, 0 Turkeys, 9 Fowls, 1 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total Died: 0 Bulls, 0 Cowes, 0 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 0 Oxen, 0 Total, 3 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 2 Lambs, 0 Rams, 5 Total, 3 Goats, 1 Weathers, 6 Kidds, 0 Rams, 10 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Baggers, 3 Shoats, 0 Boggs, 0 Boars, 3 Total, 0 Turkeys, 10 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total Sold: 0 Bulls, 0 Cowes, 1 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 0 Oxen, 1 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Goats, 0 Weathers, 0 Kidds, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Baggers, 0 Shoats, 0 Boggs, 0 Boars, 0 Total, 0 Turkeys, 1 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total Lost by Falls: 0 Bulls, 1 Cowes, 1 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 0 Oxen, 2 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Goats, 0 Weathers, 0 Kidds, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Baggers,	The account of the Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of March 1748 ran as follows, each class of animal set against its figure under the several headings of neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry and horses. Remaining 1 March: Neat cattle: bulls 2, cows 97, calves 65, yearlings 60, heifers 16, steers 5, bullocks 1, oxen 14, total 260 Sheep: ewes 127, wethers 9, lambs 58, rams 5, total 199 Goats: goats 111, wethers 28, kids 34, rams 6, total 179 Hogs: sows 12, barrows 2, shoats 26, boars 37, total 79 Poultry: turkeys 22, fowls 224, ducks 30, geese 26 Horses: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Increased: Neat cattle: calves 1, total 1 Poultry: fowls 7, ducks 35 Total: Neat cattle: bulls 2, cows 97, calves 66, yearlings 60, heifers 16, steers 5, bullocks 1, oxen 14, total 261 Sheep: ewes 127, wethers 9, lambs 58, rams 5, total 199 Goats: goats 111, wethers 28, kids 34, rams 6, total 179 Hogs: sows 12, barrows 2, shoats 26, boars 37, total 79 Poultry: turkeys 29, fowls 259, ducks 30, geese 26 Horses: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Killed: Neat cattle: cows 3, yearlings 6, steers 5, bullocks 1, oxen 1, total 16 Sheep: ewes 4, wethers 1, total 5 Goats: goats 2, wethers 1, total 3 Poultry: fowls 9, ducks 1 Died: Sheep: lambs 3, rams 2, total 5 Goats: goats 3, wethers 1, kids 6, total 10 Hogs: shoats 3, total 3 Poultry: fowls 10 Sold: Neat cattle: calves 1, total 1 Poultry: geese 1 Lost by falls: Neat cattle: calves 1, oxen 1, total 2 Remaining 31 March: Neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 96, calves 50, yearlings 37, heifers 27, steers 16, oxen 13, total 242 Sheep: ewes 120, wethers 18, lambs 46, rams 5, total 189

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		0 Shoats, 0 Boggs, 0 Boars, 0 Total, 0 Turkeys, 0 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total Remaining ye 31: 3 Bulls, 96 Cowes, 50 Calves, 37 Yearlings, 27 Heifers, 16 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 13 Oxen, 242 Total, 120 Ewes, 18 Weathers, 46 Lambs, 5 Rams, 189 Total, 108 Goats, 28 Weathers, 24 Kidds, 6 Rams, 166 Total, 14 Sows, 3 Baggers, 28 Shoats, 29 Boggs, 2 Boars, 76 Total, 29 Turkeys, 240 Fowls, 28 Ducks, 26 Geese, 7 Horses, 3 Mares, 10 Total To Beef to the Market 3212 To Mutton to Do 44 To Goat to Do 44 To Yams Expended 47,000 Two Men Slaves Died, Plato and Francisco (Signd) Errors Excepted Richard Gurling	Goats: goats 108, wethers 28, kids 24, rams 6, total 166 Hogs: sows 14, barrows 3, shoats 28, boars 29, total 76 Poultry: turkeys 29, fowls 240, ducks 28, geese 26 Horses: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 To beef to the market, 3,212 lb. To mutton to the market, 44 lb. To goat to the market, 44 lb. To yams expended, 47,000 lb. Two men slaves died, Plato and Francisco. The account was signed by Richard Girling, errors excepted. **Interpretations** The herd fell over the month from 261 to 242, sixteen head killed and a run of calves, yearlings and steers drawn down, which marks the return of the shipping to the road. The four China ships and the Bencoolen *Grantham* that came in through the first fortnight of April had been preceded by the reopening of the beef market, and 3,212 lb of beef went out over the month where the winter had held the cattle back with the road empty. The board had spared its own grounds and bought yams for the stock against the coming drought, and here the yams expended stood at 47,000 lb, up from the checked buying of the deep winter as the animals were carried through to the season. The deaths of the two men slaves Plato and Francisco were entered on the stock account among the losses of the Company's cattle and goats, the same return that counted the killed and the fallen beasts. Recording enslaved people in the livestock ledger, by name yet in the column of animal losses, shows with a plainness the surrounding prose rarely reaches how the Company's bookkeeping ranked its slaves as working stock, their deaths a debit against the plantation like the loss of an ox by a fall.
197	208	1748 Pursuant to the Order of last Tuesday, the Inhabitants mett in Vestry to chuse Parish Officers for the ensueing Year and returned the following Persons Vizt Mr Matthew Gurling Mr Samuel Doveton Mr James Cowell Churchwardens Mr John Doveton Mr Thomas Colgrove Mr Francis Hayes Overseers for the East Division Mr Onesphorus Gurling Mr Richard Bagley Ditto for the West Ditto Mr John Alexander Mr George Alexander Ditto for the South Ditto Whereupon we ordered Warrants to be made for Mr Matthew Gurling and Mr Samuel Doveton, Churchwardens and for Messrs Thomas Colgrove, Onesphorus Gurling and John Alexander Overseers. Captain Hind having informed us upon his Arrival here that the Honble Companys Ship the Onslow, which he commands, was very leaky, we ordered her to be serveyed by some of the most experienced Carpenters of the Ships in the Road, and their Opinions of what was necessary to be done to her to be laid before us Agreeable to which Order we this day received the following report Vizt Pursuant to an Order from the Honble Charles Hutchinson Esqr	Following the order of the previous Tuesday, the inhabitants met in vestry to choose the parish officers for the coming year, and returned the following people. Matthew Purling, churchwarden Samuel Doveton, churchwarden James Powell, churchwarden John Doveton, churchwarden Thomas Colgrove, overseer for the east division Francis Hayes, overseer for the east division Onesiphorus Girling, overseer for the west division Richard Bagley, overseer for the west division John Alexander, overseer for the south division George Alexander, overseer for the south division The board ordered warrants made out for Matthew Purling and Samuel Doveton as churchwardens, and for Thomas Colgrove, Onesiphorus Girling and John Alexander as overseers. Captain Hind had reported on his arrival that the Company's ship *Onslow*, which he commanded, was very leaky. The board ordered her surveyed by some of the most experienced carpenters of the ships then in the road, and their opinion of what needed to be done to her laid before it. The following report was received that day. Under an order from the Governor and council of St Helena to survey the *Onslow*, she having proved very leaky on her passage from Canton, the carpenters of several ships whose names were set down had accordingly, on 11 April 1748, [...]. **Interpretations** The board drew its survey of the leaking *Onslow* from the carpenters of the other ships lying in the road rather than from the island's own tradesmen, calling in the most experienced men afloat to judge

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		the Governor and Council of St Helena for Surveying the Ship Onslow, she having proved very Leakey in her passage from Canton to this place, I have accordingly this Eleventh Day of April 1748, got the Carpenters of the several Ships whose Names are underwritten	her. A homeward East Indiaman that had sprung a leak crossing from Canton needed a verdict from shipwrights who knew such hulls, and the presence of several China ships together in the road at once gave the board a pool of skilled carpenters it could set to the task, a resource available only while the season's fleet was in. The choice of two churchwardens where custom returned a smaller number, and the naming of paired overseers for each of the three divisions of the island, spread the parish burdens across a wider body of the leading planters. The east, west and south divisions each took two men, so the work of the highways and the poor fell on six overseers drawn from the substantial families, the Dovetons, Alexanders, Girlings and Bagleys recurring in these offices year on year as the settled inhabitants who carried the island's local government between them.
198	209	12 April underwritten, and they find from her Wales upwards wants only good caulking and her Chain Plate Bolts to be Drove out and new holes bored they being much wore, also the Cheeks of the Head to be taken off and new Caulkd which when done may safely proceed from hence to England. (Signd) J Hind Attested by (Signd) James Ford Carpenter of the Lyn Capt Gilbert Robt Wilson Carpenter of the Dragon Capt Kent James Sutherland Carpenter of the Stafford Capt Barker John Seere Carpenter of the Grantham Capt Wilson We Thereupon Directed the several defects mentioned in the foregoing Representation to be immediately repaired. Cha: Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Friday the 15 Day of April 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Tuesday 12 Sailed the Crown Prince of Denmark, the Dane Ship for Europe, by whom we sent a Letter to the Honble Company. Wednesday 13 Died Edward Sparks, Soldier Mr Clark reports that he hath been on board the Ships Lynn and Norfolk, to Muster their Company, and search for Deserters but found none. Captain Gilbert having before delivered up to us Matthew Peters a Deserter from Bombay, the Muster Rolls are as follows Vizt Muster	The carpenters reported that from her wales upwards the *Onslow* wanted only good caulking, and that her chainplate bolts needed to be drawn out and new holes bored, being much worn, and the cheeks of the head taken off and new caulked. Once this was done, she might safely proceed to England. The report was signed by Captain Hind and attested by James Ford, carpenter of the *Lynn*, Robert Wilson, carpenter of the *Dragon*, James Sutherland, carpenter of the *Stafford*, and John Seere, carpenter of the *Grantham*. The board ordered the several defects set out in the report repaired at once. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the castle on Friday 15 April 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 12 April the Danish ship *Crown Prince of Denmark* sailed for Europe, carrying a letter to the Company. On Wednesday 13 April Edward Sparks, a soldier, died. Clark reported that he had gone aboard the *Lynn* to muster her company and search for deserters, but found none. Captain Gilbert had earlier delivered up Matthew Peters, a deserter from Bombay. The muster roll ran as follows. **Interpretations** The carpenters found the *Onslow*'s leak a matter of worn caulking, worn chainplate bolts and the cheeks of her head, defects of an old but sound hull rather than of a ship in real danger, and cleared her to sail on once mended. Their care to distinguish what needed drawing and reboring from what needed only recaulking gave the board a precise account on which to order the work, and let a leaky Indiaman be made fit for the Atlantic passage in the road at St Helena instead of being detained or condemned. The surrender of the deserter Matthew Peters by Captain Gilbert before the muster of the *Lynn* even began shows the system of ship-searching working from both sides. A captain who had taken up a man run from another of the Company's ships was expected to give him up, and doing so before the formal muster spared the search, the board recording the delivery so that Peters could be returned to his proper ship or dealt with as a deserter, the whole traffic in absconding seamen policed through these arrivals.
199	210	15 April Muster Roll of Ship Lynn Vizt Chas Gilbert Commander Mr Abr Domenicus Chief Mate Mr Fras Detheck Second Do Mr Danby Grady Third Do Mr Wm Everton fourth Do	The muster roll of the *Lynn* ran as follows. Charles Gilbert, commander William Domenicus, chief mate Thomas Delrich, second mate Darby Grady, third mate William Everton, fourth mate Henry Fletcher, fifth mate

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		Mr Henry Fletcher fifth Do	Scotch Feagell, sixth mate
		Mr Robert Heagett Sixth Do	William Robert, purser
		Mr Wm Robert Purser	William Adams, surgeon
		Mr Wm Adams Surgeon	John Beeton, boatswain
		Jno Beabon Boatswain	Samuel Sye, gunner
		Saml Sye Gunner	Samuel Todd, carpenter
		Sam Todd Carpenter	John Cluse, caulker
		Jno Cluse Coulther	John Shewell, midshipman
		Jno Shewell Midshipman	David Cashes, midshipman
		David Cashes Do	John Ainslie, midshipman
		Jno Ainslie Do	Colwell Freeman, midshipman
		Colwell Freeman Do	Martin McDonald, midshipman
		Martin McDonald Do	Charles Hudson, coxswain
		Chas Hudson Coxswain	William Slispy, boatswain's mate
		Wm Slussy Boat Mate	Andrew Moore, gunner's mate
		Andrew Mowre Gunr Do	John Irvin, captain's first mate
		Jno Irwin Capt 1 Mate	Peter McDonald, second mate
		Peter McDonell Do 2 Mate	Augusten Taylor, cooper
		Augustin Saylor Cooper	John Mills, captain's steward
		Jno Mills Capt Steward	Robert Spence, joiner
		Robt Spence Joyner	William Castle, caulker's mate
		Wm Castle Coulther Mate	Richard Robson, armourer
		Rich Robson Armourer	John Miller, captain's cook
		Jno Miller Capt Cook	Jeremiah Archer, ship's steward
		Jeremiah Archer Ships Stewd	David Colello, ditto cook
		David Colitto Do Cook	Thomas Paterson, sailmaker
		Thos Peterson Sailmaker	Jeremiah Biggs, butcher
		Jeremiah Biggs Butcher	Robert Hart, tailor
		Robt Hart Taylor	Cornelius Needham, ditto
		Cornelius Needham Coll	Alexander Frazier, quarter master
		Alex Frazier Quart Matt	Mathew Ward, ditto
		Mathew Ward Do	William Sommerset, ditto
		Willm Sommerset Do	William Coker, seaman
		Wm Coker Seaman	Baher Hill, ditto
		Baher Sill Do	Elisha Sheppard, ditto
		Elesha Shepperd Do	John Hudson, ditto
		Jno Hudson Do	William Davis, ditto
		Wm Davis Do	Alexander Barhemine, ditto
		Alexr Barlemine Do	John Holliwell, ditto
		Jno Hollwell Do	Charles Garrice, ditto
		Chas Jarvice Do	William Gedeard, ditto
		Wm Goldeare Do	John Firth, ditto
		Jno Froth Do	Lovell Armstrong, ditto
		Lovell Armstrong Do	John Boyd, ditto
		Jno Boyd Do	Jacob Willebeck, ditto
		Jacob Wallebech Do	Alexander Gordan, ditto
		Alexr Gordan Do	Samuel Lowry, ditto
		Sam Lowry Do	Henry Donaldson, ditto
		Henry Donaldson Do	William Clark, ditto
		Wm Clark Do	Rowland Carter, ditto
		Rowland Carter Do	Robert Rain, ditto
		Robt Rain Do	David Drummore, ditto
		David Dreammore Do	Charles Barhemine, ditto
		Chas Barlemine Do	Thomas Taylor, ditto
		Thos Saylor Do	Thomas Harrison, ditto
		Thos Garrison Do	John Richards, ditto
		Jos Richards Do	John Ives, ditto
		Jno Ives Do	John Stond, ditto
		Jno Sland Do	William Filer, ditto
		Wm Paltor Do	Robert Loulhet, ditto
		Robt Loulhet Do	William Slay, seaman
		Jno Slay Seaman	Edward Gender, ditto
		Edward Gonder Do	Cristiana Banks, ditto
		Cristiana Banks Do	Robert Scully, ditto
		Robt Scully Do	John Johnson, ditto
		Jno Johnson Do	John Bagsby, ditto
		Jos Rugsby Do	John Hudleson, ditto
		Jno Hutteson Do	Henry Gunn, ditto
		Henry Gunn Do	John Filler, ditto
		Jno Filler Do	Christopher Stevenson, ditto
		Christopher Stevenson Do	Thomas Brown, ditto
		Thos Brown Do	John Wollen, captain's servant
		Jno Vollen Capt Servant	John Barford, ditto
		Jno Barford Do	Robert Domenicus, servant to the master
		Robt Domenicus for Mr Servt	Robert Slater, second mate's servant
		Robt Slater Second Mates Do	Edward Loree, surgeon's servant

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		Edward Levue Surgeons Do Rich Slundy Boats Do Jno Wallett Gunr Do Wm Newlon Carpenters Do Jno Goffe Seaman Jno Crecksom Do Jno Gill Do Ambon Massineua Do Spene Dafouz Do Lawrence Hatteon Do Peter Moleon Do Peter Vlardo Do Michael Buslain Do Passengers Robert John Harrison Anthony Beefone. Muster	Richard Slandy, boatswain's servant William Willett, gunner's servant William Newton, carpenter's servant John Goffe, seaman John Crockson, ditto John Gill, ditto Sabion Marmineau, ditto Rene Dufoure, ditto Lawrence Watson, ditto Peter Melvin, ditto Peter Nardo, ditto Michael Burlain, ditto passengers: Robert John Harrison Antony Chesone The board then proceeded to muster the next ship.
200	211	15 April Muster Roll of Ship Norfolk Vizt Nathl Hancock Comm Jno Smith chief Mate Thos Grace 2 Do David Innes 3 Do Jno Allen 4 Do Mr Brittain Surgeon Daniel King Purser Stephen Buckly Gunr Jno Cox Boatswain Thos Mitchell Carpenter N Jackson Jno Home Bartlt Reeves Jno Batton Sam Heckford Thos Bedford Wm Cannan Wm Smith Jos Middleton Francis De Silvia Wm Miller David Lindsay Thos Grimes Fredk Cluse Wm Turner Thos Unwin Jno Baptisto Henry Macdonald Septimus Ford Jno Banister Saml Denham Danl Simpson Joseph Taylor Tho Nixon Jesse Dixon Jno Mollen Jno Fletcher Ludwich Gulleman Thos Kelly David Graham Thos Willow Henry Angelo Peter Kitchen Leonard Flint James Strachan Jno Spencer Michell Dunnavan Jno Allen Wm Court Rich Brown Jno Love Lawrence Coupe Jno Suble Joseph Roderigo Robt Hayes Tho Wells	The muster roll of the *Norfolk* ran as follows. Nathaniel Hancock, commander John Smith, chief mate Thomas Grace, second mate David Innes, third mate John Allen, fourth mate William Brittain, surgeon Daniel King, purser Stephen Buckly, gunner John Cox Bradburin, [...] Thomas Mitchell, carpenter N. Jackson, midshipman John Home, midshipman Bartholomew Reaves, midshipman John Batton, midshipman Samuel Hockford, seaman Thomas Bedford, seaman William Cannan, seaman William Smith, seaman John Middleton, seaman Francis De Sloria, seaman William Miller, seaman David Lindsay, seaman Thomas Grimes, seaman Richard Cluse, seaman William Turner, seaman Thomas Unwin, seaman John Baptisto, seaman Henry Wadmald, seaman Septimus Ford, seaman John Bannister, seaman Samuel Benham, seaman Daniel Simpson, seaman Joseph Toyster, seaman Thomas Nixon, seaman Jesse Dixon, seaman John Mollen, seaman John Fletcher, seaman Ludwick Gulleman, seaman Thomas Kelly, seaman David Graham, seaman Thomas Willow, seaman Henry Angelo, seaman Peter Kitchen, seaman Leonard Flint, seaman James Strachan, seaman John Spencer, seaman Michell Dunnavan, seaman John Allen, seaman William Court, seaman Richard Brown, seaman John Love, seaman Lawrence Couke, seaman John Suble, seaman Joseph Roderigo, seaman Robert Hayes, seaman Thomas Wells, seaman William Creecy, seaman

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		Wm Creecy Jno Dasher Jno Paterser Tho King Jno Frat Jonas Santermack George Newman Jno Ledgerwood Jno Morgan Hugh Brown Jno Threeves G Bebbin Jno Buckley Lewis Anthony Henry Irhs Domingo Surry George Patterson Rich Donham Nicholas Claves Peter Baddow Sturmy Southes Onesphorus Chiedly Wm Marshall Wm Langles Jno Jacobs Rich Aman Phillip Smith Sisney Verina Jno Hancock Robt Todd Safford Jobson Wm Loyd Jno Judges Isaac Stenley Wm Knowbell Anthony Fronhana Quintus Custian Jno Vanhappen Jno Frenshman Jno Custian Jno Frazer Passengers Frahais Murriel Thos Smith We	John Dasher, seaman John Paterson, seaman Thomas King, seaman John Frat, seaman Ignas Sandermack, seaman George Newman, seaman John Ledgerwood, seaman John Morgan, seaman Hugh Brown, seaman John Threeves, seaman G. Bebbins, seaman John Buckler, seaman Lewis Anthony, seaman Henry Arks, seaman Domingo Surry, seaman George Patterson, seaman Richard Denham, seaman Nicholas Claves, seaman Peter Badow, seaman Sturmy Louther, seaman Onesiphorus Chiedly, seaman William Marshall, seaman William Langles, seaman John Jacobs, seaman Richard Oman, seaman Phillip Smith, seaman Seney Verina, seaman John Hancock, seaman Robert Todd, seaman Safford Jobson, seaman William Loyd, seaman John Judges, seaman Isaac Stenley, seaman William Knowbell, seaman Anthony Fonshana, seaman Quintus Custian, seaman John Vankappen, seaman John Ponsiman, seaman John Custian, seaman John Frazer, seaman passengers: Frances Muriel Thomas Smith
201	212	1748 We received the following Letter from Captain Hind, Vizt To the Worshipfull the Governor & Council of St Helena. Ship Onslow April 14 1748 Gentlemen Whereas the Honble Compy Shipd on board Seventeen Sesses and consigned them to their Governor and Council at Bencolen But no Conveyance offering Dureing our Voyage to send them their I think it my Duty to acquaint yor Worships their is Ten of them now Liveing on board belonging to the Honble Compy whose Names are under written the other Seven being Dead I am Gentlemen with the Greatest Respect Your most Obedient humble Servt Jno Cuper Norfolk Thos Orange Ireland Rphm Cook Brightland Thos Morgan Wales Wm Simeon Ireland Colin Baher Do Darby Nawland Do Cat Cassidy Do Ben McMahone Do	The board received the following letter from Captain Hind. Writing to the Governor and council of St Helena from the *Onslow* on 4 April 1748, Captain Hind reported that seventeen slaves had been put aboard his ship and consigned to the Governor and council at Bencoolen, but that no other vessel had offered to carry them on during his voyage. He thought it his duty to inform the board that ten of them were still living aboard, belonging to the Company, whose names were set down below, the other seven having died. John Cuper, of Angola Thomas Orange, of Ireland Christopher Cook, of Bengal Thomas Morgan, of Wales William Simeon, of Ireland Cesar Baher Darby Dowland Pat Cassidy Ben McMahone James Webb, of Staffordshire The board sent Captain Hind the following answer in reply. Having learned from the letter received that morning that ten slaves belonging to the Company were aboard the *Onslow*, intended for Bencoolen, [...]. **Interpretations** The ten survivors of seventeen slaves shipped for Bencoolen mark the heavy mortality of these forced

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		James Webb Staffordshire (Signd) J Hind To which we sent him this Answer Vizt Sir Being informed by the Letter we received from you this Morning that there are Ten Islanders of the Honourable Companys on board their Ship Onslow which are intended for Bencoolen	transfers between the Company's eastern settlements. Seven had died on a voyage that had not yet reached its end, and the loss of nearly half a consignment before it could be landed shows the lethal conditions of such carriage, the Company moving human beings between its posts as it moved stores, and losing them at a rate it recorded as plainly as any wastage of goods. The list mixing Angola, Bengal, Ireland, Wales and Staffordshire under the one head of slaves reveals how loosely the Company used the term for the people aboard. Men described as of Ireland or Staffordshire were unlikely to be slaves in the same sense as those from Angola or Bengal, yet all ten were entered together as belonging to the Company and bound for Bencoolen, which suggests a labouring draft of very mixed origins, some perhaps bond servants or transported men, all reduced to the same category in the ship's account.
202	213	15 April - Bencoolen, we send this to acquaint you that we shall forward them thither by our Storeship, and appoint an Officer to take charge of them when it is convenient to you to put them on Shore Weare Sir St Helena Your most humble Servants 15 April 1748 Signd Cha: Hutchinson To Captain Thomas Hind John Clark Commander of the Ship Onslow Cha: Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Saturday the 16 Day of April 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Friday 15 Died Benjamin Son of William Seale Planter Captain Hind sent us the following Letter Vizt To the Worshipfull the Governor and Council at St Helena. Gentlemen, I received yours dated April 15 1748 and think the Condition Ship Onslow hath been in and may possibly be under when sailed from hence notwithstanding our great care of repairing her cannot be conducive to the safety of	The board told Captain Hind that it would forward the ten slaves to Bencoolen by its own store ship, and would appoint an officer to take charge of them whenever it suited him to put them ashore. The letter, dated at St Helena on 15 April 1748 and addressed to Captain Thomas Hind, commander of the *Onslow*, was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the castle on Saturday 16 April 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Benjamin, son of the planter William Seale, died on Friday 15 April. Captain Hind sent the board the following letter. Writing to the Governor and council of St Helena on 15 April 1748, Captain Hind acknowledged the board's letter of that date. He allowed that the *Onslow* had been leaky, and might well be leaky again once she sailed, since despite the great care taken in repairing her the work could not be conclusive as to the safety of [...]. **Interpretations** The board's undertaking to carry the ten slaves on to Bencoolen in its own store ship, rather than hold them at St Helena or leave them aboard the leaking *Onslow*, kept the island clear of a consignment that was neither its property nor its responsibility to settle. The Company's posts passed such drafts along the chain of shipping until they reached the settlement that had ordered them, and St Helena served here as a transfer point, taking charge of the survivors only long enough to see them forwarded to their intended destination. Captain Hind's candid warning that the *Onslow* might leak again despite her repair shows a commander guarding himself against later blame. Having had his ship surveyed and mended on the board's order, he set it on record that the caulking and rebolting could not guarantee a dry passage home, so that if she made water on the Atlantic crossing the fault could not be laid to any neglect at St Helena, a prudent covering of his own account before a long and dangerous voyage.
203	214	16 April of the Honble Companys Estate on board her, to send on Shore one Man of those Ten belonging to the Honble Compy I being now Eleven Men short of my Compliment including 4 Men Shipt this Morning from Capt Wilson and beg of your Worship and Council to afsist me with as many Men as will make up	Captain Hind asked that one of the Company's slaves aboard the *Onslow* be sent ashore to preserve the Company's estate, since he was now eleven men short of his full complement, including four he had shipped that morning from Captain Wilson. He begged the Governor and council to help him with as many men as would make up his complement, having six men sick and wounded and unfit for duty. The letter, dated at the *Onslow* on 16 April 1748, was signed by Captain Hind.

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		my Compliment I having now Sick and Maimd Six Men incapable of Duty. I am Gentlemen with the greatest respect your most Obedt humble Servt Ship Onslow (Signd) J Hind April 16 1748 To which we answered as follows Vizt Sir We are much concerned to find from your representation to us to Day that you are in want of Men and that we cannot supply you with any We recommend it to you to apply to the Captains of the Ships that are here and we shall use our Endeavours to prevail on each of them to afsist you with a Man in your present Exigency. We are Sir St Helena Your most humble Servants 16 April 1748 (Signd) Cha: Hutchinson To Captain Thomas Hind John Clark Commander of the Ship Onslow. Cha: Hutchinson John Clark	The board sent Captain Hind the following answer. The board was much concerned to learn from Captain Hind's letter of that day that he was in want of men, and could supply him with none. It advised him to apply to the captains of the other ships then in the road, and undertook to use its own best endeavours to prevail on each of them to spare him a man in his present need. The letter, dated at St Helena on 16 April 1748 and addressed to Captain Thomas Hind, commander of the *Onslow*, was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The board's flat refusal to spare Captain Hind a single man, while offering to press the other commanders to help, marks the limit of what a thinly manned garrison could give up. St Helena kept no surplus of seamen, and its own establishment was stretched by the sickly winter just past, so it could not draw on itself to make up a ship's complement. It could only act as a broker between the captains in the road, turning the several ships' small margins to the relief of the one in greatest want. Hind's request to land one of the Company's own slaves to preserve the Company's estate, set beside his want of eleven men, shows how the value of the surviving Bencoolen slaves was weighed against the working of the ship. A man kept aboard a short-handed vessel through a hard passage might be lost like the seven already dead, so putting him ashore at St Helena protected the Company's property even as it did nothing to ease the shortage of hands that Hind most needed filled.
204	215	19 April At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 19 Day of April 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed The Storekeeper delivered the following Account, Vizt Account of Arms received short from the Invoices of the following Ships Vizt from the York Vizt 5 Bowls 1 Meat Dish 1 Sallad Do 6 Soup Plates 2 Meat Dishes 1 Dish for a Tereen broke from the Prince Edward Vizt 155 Cups 56 Saucers 13 Enamell Cups 5 Saucers 24 Small Cups 14 Saucers broke from the Lynn Vizt 12 Bowls 3 Cups 5 Meat Dishes 10 Do Plates 6 Soup Dishes broke from the Onslow Vizt 36 Sallad Dishes 5 Cups 4 Saucers 10 Bowls broke 46 Candy, short weight	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 19 April 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. The storekeeper delivered the following account of goods received short against the invoices of the several ships. From the *York*, the following pieces were broken. 5 bowls 1 meat dish 1 salad dish 6 soup plates 2 meat dishes 1 dish for a tureen From the *Prince Edward*, the following pieces were broken. 155 cups 56 saucers 13 enamelled cups 5 saucers 24 small cups 14 saucers From the *Lynn*, the following pieces were broken. 12 bowls 3 cups 5 meat dishes 10 dinner plates 6 soup dishes From the *Onslow*, the following pieces were broken, and the candy came in short weight. 36 salad dishes 5 cups 4 saucers 19 bowls 46 lb of candy, short weight **Interpretations** The storekeeper's tally of every broken cup, plate and dish set the actual loss against the breakage the invoices had already allowed, so the board could see whether the fixed abatements struck at Canton had

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		from	covered the true damage. The chinaware invoices had each carried a deduction for breakage, some counted and some at a flat percentage, and this account tested those allowances against the ware as it was landed, the two records together showing how nearly the trade's customary loss matched the porcelain's real fragility on the passage. The candy received short in weight from the *Onslow*, entered alongside the broken ware, marks a different kind of shortfall that the invoice allowances did not touch. Where breakage was expected and priced in, a deficiency of forty-six pounds of candy against the invoiced weight was a plain discrepancy to be charged back, so the storekeeper recorded it apart, giving the board grounds to debit the shortfall and hold someone to account for goods paid for but not delivered.
205	216	1748 from the Stafford 24 Candy short weight from the Norfolk Vizt 361 Cups 25 Saucers 11 Plates broke 1 Chest Bohea 1 Do Single Tea short delivered Signd April 19 1748 per M Dowling Storekeeper The Storekeeper brought in his Collections, and the Paymaster his Account, for the Quarter ending the 31 of March last, which were examined and approved, and are as follows Vizt Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honble Companys Stores, in the Quarter ending March 31 1748 Vizt Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 P Cent Brandy 70 1/2 Gallons 17 13 9 Arrack 384 1/2 Do 96 2 6 Sugar & Candy Vizt 2640 lb Sugar 44 847 lb Candy 17 12 11 64 12 11 Bread & Flower Vizt 390 lb Bread 2 16 10 1/2 472 lb Flower 3 11 5 1/2 151 3 12 Do baked 137 14 4 1/2 144 2 8 1/2 Tea Vizt 14 Gallons Single 1 17 4 144 Do 12 Tea Carried over 13 17 4 Carried over 319 11 10 1/2	From the *Stafford*, the candy came in short weight. From the *Norfolk*, the following pieces were broken and the tea came in short delivered. 361 cups 25 saucers 11 plates 1 chest of bohea tea, short delivered 1 chest of single tea, short delivered This account was signed by Girling the storekeeper and dated 19 April 1748. The storekeeper brought in his collection, and the paymaster his account, for the quarter ending 31 March, which were examined and approved. The collection of goods sold and delivered out of the Company's stores in the quarter ending 31 March 1748 ran as follows. Sold to the Company's servants at ten per cent. Brandy, 707.5 gallons, £17 13s 9d Arrack, 384.5 gallons, £96 2s 6d Sugar and candy: 2,640 lb of sugar, £44 0s 0d 847 lb of candy, £17 12s 11d, £61 12s 11d Bread and flour: 390 lb of bread, £2 16s 10.5d 472 lb of flour, £3 11s 5.5d 151 lb 3 oz of flour baked, £137 14s 4.5d, £144 2s 8.5d Tea: 14 gallons of single tea, £1 17s 4d 149 lb of tea, £12 0s 0d, £13 17s 4d Carried over, £319 11s 10.5d **Interpretations** The two spirits stood far apart in the quarter's sales, 707 gallons of brandy fetching only £17 against 384 gallons of arrack at £96, the arrack priced many times dearer by the gallon. Brandy was the cheap European spirit issued in bulk to the garrison and the slaves, while arrack, distilled in India and brought in by the season's shipping, was the costlier drink of the officers' table and the licensed houses, so the store's account shows the settlement's drink divided by rank and price as much as by kind. The flour delivered baked into bread, entered at a value many times the raw flour beside it, shows the Company charging for the labour and fuel of baking as well as the grain. A pound of flour sold plain came at a few pence, but the same flour returned as bread carried the whole cost of the bakehouse, so the store recovered from its servants not merely the material but the work of turning it into the ration, a small instance of the settlement pricing every stage of its own provisioning.
206	217	19 April Brought over 359 11 10 1/2 Tea Brought over 13 17 4	The collection continued, the earlier goods carried over at £319 11s 10.5d. Brought over, £319 11s 10.5d Tea: tea brought over, £13 17s 4d

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		226 Catted Bohea 16 19 .. 36 lb Do 2 2 .. 61 Catties Congo 6 7 1 39 5 5 Canvas Vizt 4 P 5 1/2 Yards Sacking 12 16 1/2 5 1/2 Yards Duck 8 3 13 4 4 1/2 Hooks & Lines Vizt 1 Log Line 1 .. 3 doz 8 Lines sorted 16 3 1/2 1 Damaged Line 8 1/2 14 doz Hooks sorted 5 9 5825 Blue Hooks 19 5 400 Hooks of Grantham 1 2 3 1 3 1/4 Beef & Pork Vizt 20 P Beef Do 5 lb 2 16 8 342 P Do Do 2 34 4 .. 80 P Pork 2 1/2 8 3 4 392 P Do 2 34 4 79 8 .. Twine 4 Skains 2 8 Vinegar 8 Gallons 18 8 Nails Vizt 69 lb 2d 1 8 18 lb 4d 1 6 172 1/2 3d 2 1 10 1/2 8 lb 6d 1 6 2 1/2 Scupper Nails 1 3 8 Brads 3 2 4 3 3 3/4 Carried over 459 1 7 1/2	226 lb of bohea, £16 19s 0d 36 lb of bohea, £2 2s 0d 61 lb of congo, £6 7s 1d, £39 5s 5d Canvas: 4 pieces, 5.5 yards of sacking, £12 16s 1.5d 5.5 yards of duck, £0 8s 3d, £13 4s 4.5d Hooks and lines: 1 log line, £0 1s 0d 3 dozen 8 lines coffee, £0 16s 3.5d 1 damaged line, £0 0s 8.5d 1.5 dozen hooks sorted, £0 5s 9d 5,825 blue hooks, £0 19s 5d 400 hooks of the Grantham, £0 1s 2d, £2 1s 3.5d Beef and pork: 20 lb of beef at 2.5d, £2 16s 8d 392 lb of beef at 2d, £34 1s 0d 80 lb of pork at 2.5d, £8 3s 4d 392 lb of pork at 2d, £34 1s 0d, £79 8s 0d Twine, 4 skeins, £0 2s 8d Vinegar, 8 gallons, £0 18s 8d Nails: 69 lb of tenpenny, £1 8s 0d 18 lb of eightpenny, £0 7s 6d 172.5 lb of threepenny, £2 1s 10.75d 8 lb of sixpenny, £0 1s 6d 2.5 lb of scupper nails, £0 1s 3d 8 lb of brads, £0 3s 2d, £4 3s 3.75d Carried over, £459 1s 7.5d **Interpretations** The fishing hooks and lines carried in the store, sorted by size and counted in their thousands of blue hooks, supplied the island's own fishing that fed the garrison and the slaves when the herd was spared. St Helena drew a large part of its fresh food from the sea, so the Company kept a deep stock of the tackle a fishing station needed, down to the four hundred hooks landed from the *Grantham* and entered as a distinct line, the shipping replenishing the gear the island's boats wore out. The salt beef and pork sold at graded prices, the same meat at twopence and at two and a half pence the pound, show the store passing on different landed costs rather than a single fixed rate. Provisions came in from several ships and voyages at varying prices, and the storekeeper kept the parcels distinct so that each was sold at what it had cost with the ten per cent added, the account preserving the true origin of every lot instead of averaging the whole into one figure.
207	218	1748 Brought over 459 1 7 1/2 Oil Vizt 2 1/4 Gall Train 8 5 1/2 8 1/2 Gall Linseed 1 11 9 1/2 2 Bottles Florence 6 2 6 3/4 Galls Sea Cow Oil 1 9 3/4 3 7 3 Leather Vizt 9 Calve Skins 3 9 77 lb Leather 4 6 7 1/2	The collection continued, the earlier goods carried over at £459 1s 7.5d. Brought over, £459 1s 7.5d Oil: 2.25 gallons of train oil, £0 8s 5.5d 8.5 gallons of linseed oil, £1 11s 9.5d 2 bottles of Florence oil, £0 6s 2d 6.25 gallons of sea cow oil, £1 0s 9.75d, £3 7s 3d Leather: 9 calve skins, £3 0s 9d 177 lb of leather, £4 6s 7.5d, £7 7s 4.5d Cutlery: 1 butcher's knife, £0 0s 3.75d 2 cases of knives and forks, £1 18s 4d, £1 18s 7.75d Paint: 2.5 lb of smalt, £0 1s 7d 88 lb of whiting, £0 3s 2d

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		7 7 4 1/2 Cutlery Vizt 1 Butchers Knife 3 3/4 2 Case Knives and Forks 1 8 4 1 18 7 3/4 Paint Vizt 2 1/2 Smalts 1 7 88 lb Whiting 3 2 12 1/4 Indico 1 3 4 1/2 17 lb Barrells Blacking 1 8 20 Venetian Red 4 2 26 lb White Lead 7 7 1/2 Umber 2 2 1/4 6 Yellow Ocher 1 4 1/2 2 9 1 1/4 Soap 147 lb 1 18 .. China Ware Vizt 3 Sett Dishes and Plates 1 19 1 6 6 106 Sockers 9 .. 1 Soup Dish 3 .. 1 China Bowl 3 17 6 4 4 Oars 1 Carried over 483 3 9 3/4	12.25 lb of indigo, £1 3s 1.5d 17 lb of barrelled blacking, £0 1s 8d 20 lb of Venetian red, £0 4s 2d 26 lb of white lead, £0 7s 7d 0.5 lb of umber, £0 0s 2.25d 6 lb of yellow ochre, £0 1s 4.5d, £2 9s 1.5d Soap, 157 lb, £4 18s 0d Chinaware: 3 setts dishes and plates, £1 19s 0d and £1 6s 6d 106 sneakers, £0 9s 0d 1 soup dish, £0 3s 0d 1 china bowl, [...], £3 17s 6d Oars, 1, £0 4s 4d Carried over, £483 3s 9.75d **Interpretations** The sea cow oil entered among the oils was rendered from the elephant seals that hauled out on the island's shores, a local product the store carried beside the train oil and linseed brought in by ship. St Helena took what it could from its own coast, the same beasts that drew a charge of powder to kill yielding an oil fit for lamps and leather, so a remote settlement stretched its imported stores with what the sea gave, the sea cow oil priced and sold like any other line. The range of paints and pigments the store kept, from white lead and Venetian red to indigo, umber and yellow ochre, supplied the constant work of painting the gun carriages, boats and public buildings against the salt air. A garrison whose ironwork and timber corroded quickly needed a steady stock of the materials to preserve them, so the storekeeper carried a full painter's range in small quantities, the account showing the settlement maintaining its fabric with the same care it gave its provisions.
208	219	19 April Brought over 483 3 9 3/4 Hosiers Ware Vizt 15 P Mens Wove 2 17 6 18 P Do Pinot 2 17 .. 100 P Do Thread 13 15 .. 19 9 6 Shirts &c Vizt 8 P Cotton Shise 16 .. 9 Callico Shirts 4 1 35 Serjeant Shirt 12 15 2 1/2 13 15 3 1/2 Shoes Vizt 171 P Mens Ordinary 38 7 .. 6 P Do fine 16 7 2 P Pumps 14 6 39 8 1 Glass Ware Vizt 27 Wine Glasses 17 5 1/4 9 P 12 By 12 3 13 11 1/4 1 Tumbler 8 1/2	The collection continued, the earlier goods carried over at £483 3s 0.75d. Brought over, £483 3s 0.75d Hosiery: 15 pairs of men's worsted stockings, £2 17s 6d 18 pairs of ditto plain, £2 17s 0d 100 pairs of ditto thread, £13 15s 0d, £19 9s 6d Shirts: 8 pairs of cotton pieces, £0 16s 0d 2 calico shirts, £0 4s 1d 35 sergeant's shirts, £12 15s 2.5d, £13 15s 3.5d Shoes: 177 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £38 7s 0d 1 pair of ditto fine, £0 6s 7d 2 pairs of pumps, £0 14s 6d, £39 8s 1d Glassware: 27 wine glasses, £0 17s 5.25d 9 dozen wine glasses 10 by 12, £3 13s 11.25d 1 tumbler, £0 0s 8.5d, £4 12s 1d Rice, 331 lb, £0 10s 3d Cordage, £1 14s 1.5d Broadcloth, 32.5 yards, £3 12s 10d Long cloth, 44.5 yards sorted, £12 3s 9.75d Camlet, 11.5 yards, blue, £1 9s 8.5d Salt, 19 bushels, £3 4s 11d Serge: 43.25 yards of serge, £0 18s 5.25d 0.5 piece of shalloon, £0 4s 6d, £1 17s 11.75d Buckram: 2 pairs of hair cloths, £0 2s 1d 13 yards of buckram, £0 11s 7.5d, £0 13s 8.5d Carried over, £586 7s 0.5d **Interpretations**

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		4 12 1 Rice 331 lb 10 3 Cordage 9 lb 1 4 1 1/2 Broadloon 32 7/8 Yards 3 12 10 Broad Cloth 4 3/4 Yards sorted 12 3 9 3/4 Camblet 11 1/4 Yards Blue 1 9 8 1/2 Salt 19 Bushels 3 4 11 Serge &c Vizt 43 3/4 Yds Serge 18 5 1/4 7 P Safathy 4 6 1 17 11 1/4 Buckram Vizt 2 P Hair Cloths 2 4 13 Yards Buckram 11 4 1/4 13 8 1/2 Carried over 586 7 .. 1/2	The bulk of the shoes, 177 pairs of men's ordinary against a single fine pair and two pairs of pumps, marks the store's stock as chiefly the plain footwear of the garrison and the labourers rather than the finer goods of the officers. A remote settlement wore out shoes fast on its rough paths and hard works, so the Company laid in the common sort in quantity and the fine only by the pair, the account showing at a glance who the store chiefly clothed. The wide range of cloths carried here, broadcloth, long cloth, camlet, serge, shalloon and buckram, supplied both the making up of clothing on the island and the trade with the planters, who bought cloth from the store at a higher mark-up than the servants. The settlement had no weavers of its own and depended wholly on the Company's imports for every grade of stuff, from the coarse buckram that stiffened a garment to the finer camlet, so the store served as the island's sole draper as well as its victualler and ironmonger.
209	220	1748 Brought over 586 7 .. 1/2 Tin Ware 1 Lamp 1 8 Earthen Ware Vizt 4 Chamber Pots 2 6 1 Jugg 1 8 5 Basons 4 2 8 4 Muslen 4 P Do 1 19 4 Copper 3 lb 1 8 1/4 Iron Pots 3 18 10 Deals Vizt 48 Double Deals 6 12 10 Single Do 18 4 2 Baltts 8 8 1 19 Braziers Ware Vizt 1 Tea Kettle 17 6 1 P Snuffers 4 3 1 1 9 Lead 43 lb Shot 8 8 1/4 Pitch & Tarr Vizt 56 lb Pitch 9 4 68 1/2 Gall Tarr 2 7 1 8 Rosom 1 .. 3 7 5 12 6 1/2 Long Ells 7 Yards 1 1 1 Haberdashery Ware Vizt 46 Skeins Silk	The collection continued, the earlier goods carried over at £586 7s 0.5d. Brought over, £586 7s 0.5d Tinware and lamps, £0 1s 8d Earthenware: 4 chamber pots, £0 2s 6d 1 jug, £0 1s 8d 5 basins, £0 4s 2d, £0 8s 4d Muslin, £1 19s 4d Copper, £0 1s 8.5d Iron pots, £0 18s 10d Deals: 48 double deals, £6 12s 0d 10 single deals, £0 18s 4d 2 baulks, £0 8s 8d, £7 19s 0d Braziers' ware: 1 tea kettle, £0 4s 6d 1 pair of snuffers, £0 1s 3d, £1 1s 9d Lead and shot, £0 5s 2.5d Pitch and tar: 56 lb of pitch, £0 9s 4d 68.5 gallons of tar, £2 7s 1d 8 lb of rosin, £0 1s 0d, £3 7s 5d Long ells, 7 yards, £0 12s 6.5d Haberdashery: 46 skeins of silk, £1 1s 1d and £0 13s 4.5d 35 skeins of mohair, £0 8s 8d 13 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 2s 6d 17.5 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 10s 8.5d 9.5 dozen gilt coat buttons, £0 13s 9.5d 24.5 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 3s 9d [...] Haberdashery ware carried over, £3 9s 0d Carried over, £603 5s 8d **Interpretations** The deals, single and double, and the baulks of timber carried among the store's goods supplied the constant building and repair that a garrison in a treeless place required, from gun carriages and boats to coffins and barrack fittings. St Helena grew almost no timber fit for construction, so every sawn board came in by ship and was sold on at the store's mark-up, the sawn deal being the settlement's staple building material where an English parish would have used its own woods. The haberdashery counted button by button and skein by skein, the silk, mohair and gilt buttons all entered by the dozen, reveals the store answering the whole trade of dressing a soldier or planter, down to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		13 4 1/2 35 Do Mohair 8 8 13 Doz Mohair Coat Buttons 2 6 17 1/2 Doz Do Breast Do 10 8 1/4 9 1/2 Doz Gill Coat Do 13 9 1/2 24 1/2 Doz Do Breast Do 3 9 10 Haberdashery Ware Carried over Carried over 603 5 8	the fastenings of a coat. Clothing was made up on the island from the store's cloth, thread and buttons, so the Company had to stock the small trimmings as carefully as the cloth itself, the account descending to the least item that a tailor working for the garrison would call for.
210	221	19 April Brought over 603 5 8 Haberdashery Ware Brought over 3 9 10 5 doz White Metal Breast Buttons 1 5 1/2 9 P Holland Tape 6 4 1/2 60 Doz White Waistcoat Buttons 17 8 1/2 13 doz Shirt Buttons 1 9 4 17 1 1/2 Turners Ware Vizt 5 Punch Ladles 2 9 3/4 9 Shoe Bruashes 4 6 1/4 3 Paint Do 2 .. 1 Cloth Brush 1 2 1/4 6 Bowls 6 3 6 Clutters 6 3 1 3 1/2 Plantation 1 Mop Horn and Handle 2 6 Thread Vizt 6 lb White & Brown 1 13 1 Coloured 3 8 2 By Nuns 2 9 1 19 5 Combs 4 Ivory 5 6 Slats 2 1 6 8 Ironmongery Ware Vizt 16 doz sorted Locks 5 8 9 10 Frying Pans 1 2 1 1 Bricklayers Trowel 1 1 2 Rys Shavely 3 1 1 Coulter Lock 3 2 6 P HL Hinges 2 3 10 P wide Hinges 12 6 2 Prick Awls 5 6 2 Stone Saws 10 8	The collection continued, the earlier goods carried over at £603 5s 8d. Brought over, £603 5s 8d Haberdashery ware brought over, £3 9s 0d 5 dozen white metal breast buttons, £0 1s 5.5d 9 pieces of Holland tape, £0 6s 4.5d 60 dozen white waistcoat buttons, £0 17s 8.5d 12 dozen shirt buttons, £0 1s 9d, £4 17s 1.5d Turners' ware: 5 punch ladles, £0 2s 9.5d 7 shoe brushes, £0 4s 6.5d 3 paint brushes, £0 2s 0d 1 cloth brush, £0 1s 2.5d 6 bowls, £0 5s 3d 6 clothes brushes, £0 6s 3d, £1 3s 0.5d Plantation, 1 mop, horn and handle, £0 2s 6d Thread: 6 lb of white and brown thread, £1 13s 0d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 3s 8d 2 lb of nuns thread, £0 2s 9d, £1 19s 5d Combs, 4 ivory, £0 5s 6d Slates, 2, £1 16s 8d Ironmongery: 16 dozen sorted locks, £5 8s 9d 10 frying pans, £1 2s 1d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 1d 2 rasps and shavers, £0 3s 1d 1 scutcher lock, £0 3s 2d 6 pairs of HL hinges, £0 2s 3d 10 pairs of side hinges, £0 12s 6d 2 stock locks, £0 5s 6d 2 stone saws, £0 8s 0d 2 shoemaker's trowels, £0 4s 5d 1 back lock, £0 1s 10d, £8 18s 1d Total sold to the Company's servants, £623 8s 0d **Interpretations** The quarter's whole collection sold to the Company's servants closed at £623 8s 0d, the servants buying at only ten per cent above cost where the planters paid twenty-five per cent or more. This preferential rate was part of the servants' recompense, the Company clothing, feeding and equipping its own establishment near cost while charging the free planters a full trading margin, so the two classes of buyer met very different prices at the same store counter. The depth of the ironmongery, from sorted locks by the dozen through hinges, saws and specialised trowels, shows the store equipping every trade the settlement carried on, the bricklayer, shoemaker and stonecutter each finding his tools there. A remote island could keep no ironmonger of its own, so the Company's warehouse served as the sole source of hardware for the whole community, stocking the particular implements of each craft as well as the general run of locks and hinges that a household needed.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 Plaisterers Trowels 4 5 1 Back Lock 1 10 9 18 1 Total Sold to the Companys Servants 623 8 ..	
211	222	1748 Sold to the Planters at 25 P Cent Broad Cloth 18 3/8 Yards sorted 16 19 5 1/4 Shaloon 26 Yards 3 5 .. Camblet 1 Yard Blue 2 11 Buckram 5 1/2 Yards 5 6 Slats 2 2 1 8 Long Ells 9 3/4 Yards 19 11 Muslen 1 P Do 11 2 1/2 Shoes Vizt 1 P Womens Spanish 5 7 1/2 9 P Mens Ordinary 2 4 3 2 P Do fine 15 .. 1 P Pumps 8 3 3 13 6 1/2 Serge &c Vizt 29 7/8 Yards Serge 16 7 1/2 1 3/4 P Doroy 2 15 3 3 12 3 1/2 Hosiers Ware Vizt 7 P Boys Hose 18 8 6 P Girls Do 15 .. 3 P Mens Pinot 10 9 1 P Mens Wove 4 9 1/2 3 P Womens Hose 12 .. 3 9 1/2 Sold at 40 P Cent Arrack 25 Gallons 6 .. Brandy 1 Gallon Sugar & Candy Vizt 680 lb Sugar 14 3 4 899 lb Candy 24 6 11 1/2 38 10 3 1/2 Carried over 804 13 1 3/4	The goods sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent ran as follows. Broadcloth, 18.75 yards sorted, £16 19s 5.25d Shalloon, 26 yards, £3 5s 0d Camlet, 1 yard, blue, £0 2s 11d Buckram, 5.5 yards, £0 5s 6d Slates, 2, £2 1s 8d Long ells, 9.75 yards, £0 19s 11d Muslin, 1 piece, £0 11s 2.5d Shoes: 1 pair of women's Spanish shoes, £0 5s 7.5d 9 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £2 4s 3d 2 pairs of fine shoes, £0 15s 0d 1 pair of pumps, £0 8s 3d, £3 13s 1.5d Serge: 29.5 yards of serge, £0 16s 0.5d 1.5 pieces of dowlas, £2 16s 3d, £3 12s 3.5d Hosiery: 7 pairs of boys' stockings thread, £0 18s 8d 6 pairs of girls' stockings, £0 15s 0d 6 pairs of men's plain stockings, £0 10s 9d 1 pair of men's worsted stockings, £0 4s 9.5d 3 pairs of women's stockings, £0 12s 0d, £3 1s 9.5d Sold at forty per cent: Arrack, 25 gallons, £7 10s 0d Brandy, 1 gallon, £0 6s 0d Sugar and candy: 620 lb of sugar, £14 3s 4d 899 lb of candy, £24 6s 11.5d, £38 10s 3.25d Carried over, £80 13s 1.25d **Interpretations** The store sold the planters cloth, shoes and hosiery at twenty-five per cent above cost but charged forty per cent on the arrack, brandy, sugar and candy, marking a deliberate distinction between the goods it wished the planters to have and the luxuries on which it took a heavier profit. The dearer rate fell on the drink and the sweet stores, the discretionary comforts, while the necessaries of clothing came at the lower planter's rate, so the Company shaped its pricing to encourage the useful trade and tax the indulgent. The women's and children's shoes and stockings among the planters' purchases, absent from the servants' collection of chiefly men's goods, show the store supplying whole families in the free settlement where it clothed only the establishment among its own servants. The planters bought for their households, so their parcels ran to girls' stockings and women's Spanish shoes alongside the men's, the account reflecting the difference between provisioning a garrison of men and supplying a settled community of families.
212	223	19 April Brought over 804 13 1 3/4 Bread and Flower Vizt 335 lb Bread 3 9 4 1/2 180 lb Flower 1 7 6 5 6 10 1/2 Tea Vizt 13 Catties Congo	The planters' collection continued, the earlier goods carried over at £80 13s 1.25d. Brought over, £80 13s 1.25d Bread and flour: 335 lb of bread, £3 9s 4.5d 180 lb of flour, £1 17s 6d, £5 6s 10.5d Tea: 19 gallons of congo, £5 14s 1d 21 gallons of single tea, £3 11s 9d 69 lb of single tea, £1 9s 6d 31 gallons of bohea, £3 2s 0d

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		5 11 1 21 Catties Single 3 11 9 69 lb Do 1 9 6 31 Catties Bohea 3 2 .. 17 lb Bohea 1 6 11 21 1 3 Shalloon 5 Yards 16 8 Serge 8 Yards 2 10 8 Bunting 8 1/2 Yard White 6 8 3/4 Canvas Vizt 3 Yards Duck 5 9 1 1/2 Yd Sacking 1 3 7 .. Pitch & Tarr Vizt 6 lb Turpentine 1 1 1/2 12 lb Pitch 2 9 1 Gall Tarr 1 1/4 4 10 3/4 Haberdashery Ware Vizt 39 Skeins Silk 1 2 9 29 Do Mohair 4 6 9 1/2 doz Mohair Coat Buttons 7 11 11 Doz Breast Buttons Mohair 4 7 2 Doz Gill Coat Buttons 2 10 6 doz Do Do Do 4 3 2 1/2 doz Sleve Do Do 1 7 1/4 2 doz Do Do Do 9 1/4 100 Needles 9 1/2 3 P Holland Tape 6 3 2 7 3/4 Carried over 843 9 10 1/2	17 lb of bohea, £1 6s 11d, £21 1s 3d Shalloon, 5 yards, £0 16s 8d Serge, 8 yards, £2 10s 8d Bunting, 8.5 yards, white, £0 6s 8.75d Canvas: 3 yards of duck, £0 5s 9d 1.75 yards of sacking, £0 1s 3d, £0 7s 0d Pitch and tar: 6 lb of turpentine, £0 1s 1.5d 12 lb of pitch, £0 2s 9d 1 gallon of tar, £0 1s 0.75d, £0 4s 10.75d Haberdashery: 39 skeins of silk, £1 2s 9d 29 skeins of mohair, £0 4s 6d 9.5 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 7s 11d 11 mohair breast buttons, £0 1s 7d 2 dozen gilt coat buttons, £0 2s 10d 6 dozen ditto, £0 4s 3d 2.5 dozen silver ditto, £0 1s 4.5d 2 dozen ditto, £0 1s 2d 100 needles, £0 1s 9.5d 3 pieces of Holland tape, £0 2s 6d, £3 2s 7.5d Carried over, £114 9s 10.5d **Interpretations** The tea sold to the planters ran to a substantial £21 across congo, single and bohea, far more than the servants took, which shows tea already established as a staple of the free households by 1748 rather than a rarity. The China ships of the season had landed it in quantity, and the planters, buying for their families, drew heavily on all three grades, the account marking how the drink had spread from luxury to common use even on this remote island within a few decades of its arrival in England. The bunting entered among the planters' cloth was the loosely woven wool from which flags and signal colours were made, an unusual line for a private buyer that points to a planter needing to make or mend a flag. Its presence in the collection, distinct from the ordinary clothing stuffs, shows the store carrying even the specialised materials the settlement rarely called for, so that a want as occasional as flag cloth could still be met from the one warehouse.
213	224	1748 Brought over 843 9 10 1/2 Nails Vizt 9 lb 6d 4 10 1/2 8 1/2 lb 3d 5 8 23 3/4 lb 4d 13 8 1/2 15 lb 20d 6 10 1/2 1 11 1 1/2 Deals Vizt 3 Elm Boards 11 9 64 Double Deals 11 4 58 Single Do 6 15 4 24 Bundles Laths	The planters' collection continued, the earlier goods carried over at £114 9s 10.5d. Brought over, £114 9s 10.5d Nails: 9 lb of sixpenny, £0 4s 10.5d 8.5 lb of threepenny, £0 5s 8d 23.5 lb of fourpenny, £0 13s 8.5d 15 lb of twentypenny, £0 6s 10.5d, £1 11s 1.5d Deals: 3 elm boards, £0 11s 9d 64 double deals, £11 4s 0d 58 single deals, £6 15s 4d 24 bundles of laths, £1 14s 0d 7 pieces of Riga timber, £20 15s 4d, £41 0s 5d Cordage, 237 lb, £5 8s 9.5d Shoes, 54 pairs of men's ordinary, £14 17s 0d Oil: 1 lb of linseed oil, £0 7s 0d 1.5 gallons of train oil, £0 5s 10.5d, £0 6s 3.75d Ironware: 4 dozen wood screws, £0 3s 0d

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		1 14 7 P Riga Timber 20 15 4 41 5 5 8 4 1/2 Cordage 237 lb 14 17 Shoes 54 P Mens Ordinary Oil Vizt 4 lb Linseed 7 .. 1 1/2 Gallons Train 5 10 1/2 6 3 5 Iron Ware Vizt 4 doz Wood Screws 3 .. 1 Hoe 2 5 2 Sieves 1 8 4 Shod Shovels 9 3 .. 7 Frying Pans 1 8 1 Trowel 4 .. 1 Coulter Lock 4 .. 2 4 4 Hooks & Lines Vizt 850 Blue Hooks 2 10 200 Hooks of Grantham 3 3 1/2 2 1/2 doz Hooks sorted 16 8 2 doz 7 Lines 1 6 4 Carried over 181 4 7	1 hoe, £0 2s 5d 1 file, £0 1s 8d 2 sieves, £0 9s 0d 4 shod shovels, £1 3s 0d 7 frying pans, £0 1s 8d 1 trowel, £0 4s 0d 1 scutcher lock, £0 4s 0d, £2 4s 9d Hooks and lines: 850 blue hooks, £0 3s 6.5d and £0 2s 10d 200 hooks of the Grantham, £0 3s 3.5d 2.5 dozen hooks sorted, £0 16s 8d 2 dozen lines, £1 6s 4d Carried over, £181 4s 7d **Interpretations** The seven pieces of Riga timber at nearly £21 stood as by far the dearest single item in the planters' purchases, a costly Baltic softwood shipped the whole way from northern Europe for building work no local wood could serve. St Helena's own trees yielded nothing fit for large construction, so a planter raising a substantial house or frame had to buy imported baulks at a heavy price, the Riga timber marking the real cost of building on an island stripped of its native timber and dependent on the long carriage of wood. The fishing tackle sold to the planters, the blue hooks by the hundred and the sorted hooks and lines, shows the free households fishing on their own account as the Company's establishment did. The sea was open to all, and the planters equipped themselves from the same store that supplied the garrison's boats, so the account records the island's whole population, bond and free, drawing food from the water that the land and the herd could not fully provide.
214	225	19 April Brought over 181 4 7 Vinegar 3/4 8 1/2 Iron Pots 1 7 4 Soap 35 lb 1 7 6 Glass Ware 3 P 12 by 12 3 1 1/2 Twine 3 Skains 2 6 1/4 Cork 8 P Do 1 8 Pepper 1 lb 8 1/2 Lead 15 1/4 Shot 3 0 3/4 Salt 1/2 Bushel 1 1 Oars 4 1 2 .. Braziery 1 Tea Kettle 17 1 Combs 4 Ivory 1 9 China Ware Vizt 1 Set Dishes & Plates 16 .. 12 Sockers 4 1 .. Thread Vizt	The planters' collection continued, the earlier goods carried over at £181 4s 7d. Brought over, £181 4s 7d Vinegar, 0.75 gallon, £0 0s 8.5d Iron pots, 1, £0 7s 4d Soap, 35 lb, £1 7s 6d Glassware, 3 dozen wine glasses 12 by 12, £0 3s 1.5d Twine, 3 skeins, £0 2s 6.5d Cork, 8 lb, £0 1s 8d Pepper, 1 lb, £0 0s 8.5d Lead, 15.5 lb of shot, £0 3s 0.5d Salt, 0.5 bushel, £0 1s 1d Oars, 4, £1 2s 0d Braziery, 1 tea kettle, £0 4s 7d Combs, 4 ivory, £0 1s 9d Chinaware: 1 sett dishes and plates, £0 16s 0d 12 sneakers, £0 1s 0d, £1 0s 0d Thread: 2 lb of white and brown thread, £0 14s 0d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 4s 8d, £0 18s 8d Leather: 1 calve skin, £1 14s 4d 217.5 lb of leather, £1 18s 7.75d, £3 12s 11.75d Cutlery: 1 butcher's knife, £0 0s 4.5d 1 pair of silver buckles, £0 12s 5d Hosiery, 1 pair of thread stockings, £0 12s 9.5d Rice, 35 lb, £0 3s 6d Paint, 2 lb of indigo, £0 8s 11d and £0 4s 8d Total sold to the planters, £193 10s 4.75d **Interpretations**

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		2 P White & Brown 14 .. 1 P Col 4 8 18 8 Leather Vizt 4 Calve Skins 1 14 4 27 3/4 Leather 1 18 7 3/4 3 12 11 3/4 Cutlery Vizt 1 Butchers Knife 1 1/4 1 P Silver Buckles 12 5 Hosiers Ware 1 P Thread Hose 12 9 1/2 Rice 35 lb 3 6 Paint 2 lb Indico 8 11 4 8 Total Sold to the Planters 193 10 1 3/4 Sold	The quarter's whole collection to the planters closed at £193 10s 4.75d, sold at twenty-five and forty per cent above cost against the servants' ten, so the free settlement returned the Company a substantial trading profit that the establishment did not. The two totals set side by side, £623 to the servants near cost and £193 to the planters at a full margin, show how the store served at once as the garrison's near-free commissary and as the island's profitable general merchant to everyone else. The pair of silver buckles among the planters' goods stands out against the plain hardware and provisions as a mark of the modest gentility a settled planter could afford. Where the servants' account ran to ordinary shoes and working tools, the free households reached occasionally for such small luxuries, the silver buckles a token of a settled community with means enough for a little display beyond bare necessity.
215	226	1748 Sold to the Honble Companys Ships Vizt Paint vizt 18 Barrels Blacking 15 .. 16 lb White Lead 6 .. 2 lb Yellow Ocher 7 14 lb Venetian Red 3 9 1/4 1 5 4 1/4 Oil 12 Gallons Linseed 2 15 .. Tin Ware 42 Lanthorne Leaves 17 Pitch & Tarr Vizt 3 Barrels Pitch 6 5 .. 3 Barrels Tarr 6 8 3 12 13 3 Iron Ware Vizt 6 Hoes 3 2 1/4 1 Shod Shovel 2 3 6 5 1/4 Canvas Vizt 2 P Sacking 2 8 1 P 10 1/2 Yards Duck 4 10 11 1/2 6 18 4 1/4 Iron 82 1/4 lb 14 9 Coals 41 Bushels 3 6 9 Twine 25 Skains 1 12 4 1/4 Nails 63 lb sorted 1 14 2 Iron Pots 2 1 15 Deals 10 Double 7 Thread 1 lb White & Brown 13 Salt 3 Bushels	The goods sold to the Company's ships ran as follows. Paint: 18 barrels of blacking, £0 15s 0d 16 lb of white lead, £0 6s 0d 2 lb of yellow ochre, £0 0s 7d 14 lb of Venetian red, £0 3s 9.5d, £1 5s 4.5d Oil, 12 gallons of linseed, £2 15s 0d Tinware, 42 lantern leaves, £0 17s 0d Pitch and tar: 3 barrels of pitch, £6 5s 0d 3 barrels of tar, £6 8s 3d, £12 13s 3d Ironware: 6 files, £0 3s 2.5d 1 shod shovel, £0 2s 3d, £0 6s 5.5d Canvas: 2 pieces of sacking, £2 8s 0d 1 piece, 10.5 yards of canvas duck, £4 10s 11.5d, £6 18s 11.5d Iron, 82.5 lb, £0 14s 9d Coals, 41 bushels, £3 6s 9d Twine, 25 skeins, £1 1s 4.5d Nails, 65 lb sorted, £1 12s 7.5d Iron pots, 2, £1 10s 2d Deals, 10 double, £1 15s 0d Thread, 1 lb of white and brown, £0 0s 7d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 13s 0d Braziers' ware, 1 copper pump, £0 15s 5d Bread and flour: 1,354 lb of bread, £6 10s 10d 628 lb of flour, £63 0s 0d, £69 10s 10d Carried over, £105 16s 3.5d **Interpretations** The shipping's purchases turned chiefly on the materials of keeping a wooden vessel at sea, the pitch and tar by the barrel for caulking, the canvas duck and sacking, the cordage twine and the paint to preserve the hull. A homeward Indiaman refitted at St Helena for the Atlantic passage drew on the store for exactly what the survey of the *Onslow* had called for, so the account shows the island serving as the last chandlery before the long run home, victualling and refitting the season's fleet from its warehouse. The great quantity of bread and flour sold to the ships, more than 1,300 pounds of baked bread alone, marks St Helena's chief service to the passing fleet as a provider of fresh-baked provision for the voyage. The island's bakehouse turned the Company's flour into bread the ships could not easily make for

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		15 5 Braziers Ware 1 Copper Pump Bread & Flower Vizt 54 lb Bread 63 .. 628 lb Flower 6 10 10 69 10 10 Carried over 105 16 3 1/4	themselves at sea, so the store recovered a good return on the baking as well as the grain, the settlement earning from the shipping by the labour of its ovens as much as by the sale of its stores.
216	227	19 April Brought over 105 16 3 1/4 Hooks & Lines Vizt 20 Lines 13 4 1400 Blue Hooks 5 10 19 2 Beef & Pork Vizt 3 Punchens Beef 45 18 .. 3 Ahts Pork 33 6 .. 79 4 Total Sold to the Shipping 185 10 5 1/4 Charges General Dr for the following Stores issued in the Quarter ending March 31 1748 Vizt Nails Vizt 6 lb Coopers Rivets to the Cooper 2 4 1/2 1 lb 4 Nails for repairing the 2 1/4 1 lb 20 Do Slaught Mare Girl 3 1/4 2 10 1/4 Iron Ware 1 Back Lock for the Doctors Shop 1 8 Iron 11 lb for mending the Smiths Forge 1 4 Deals Vizt 3 Double 7 6 4 Single 6 8 18 Feet Riga Timber for repair Use of the Ware Houses 1 3 10 Lines 4 Damaged 1 18 6 Paint 1 lb Indico for Washing 2 6 Tin Ware 6 Lanthorne Leaves 1 8 Oil Vizt 4 Gall Sea Cow Oil, for the Kitchen 9 1/2 Gall Train, for the Bakers 1 4 1/2 1 4 1/2 Carried over 2 10 2	The shipping's collection continued, the earlier goods carried over at £105 16s 3.5d. Brought over, £105 16s 3.5d Hooks and lines: 20 lines, £0 13s 4d 1,400 blue hooks, £0 5s 10d, £0 19s 2d Beef and pork: 3 puncheons of beef, £45 18s 0d 3 tierces of pork, £33 6s 0d, £79 4s 0d Total sold to the shipping, £185 19s 5.5d The charges general account, showing stores issued for the Company's own use in the quarter ending 31 March 1748, ran as follows. Nails: 6 lb of cooper's rivets to the cooper, £0 2s 4.5d 4 lb of fourpenny nails for repairing the shingle wharf, £0 0s 2.5d 1 lb of twentypenny nails for the shingle wharf, £0 0s 3.5d, £0 2s 10.5d Iron, wire and stock lock for the doctor's shop, £0 1s 8d Iron, 1 lb for mending the smith's forge, £0 1s 4d Deals: 3 double deals, £0 7s 6d 4 single deals, £0 6s 8d 18 feet of Riga timber, for the repair of the water fences, £1 3s 10d, £1 18s 0d Lines, 4 damaged, £0 2s 6d Paint, 1 lb of indigo for washing, £0 1s 8d Tinware, 6 lantern leaves, £0 0s 9d Oil: 4 gallons of sea cow oil for the kitchen, [...] 0.5 gallon of train oil for the bakers, £0 1s 4.5d, £0 1s 4.5d Carried over, £2 10s 2d **Interpretations** The charges general account gathered the stores the Company issued to its own works and offices without sale, so that the cost of running the settlement could be set apart from the goods it sold for profit. Nails for the shingle wharf, iron to mend the smith's forge, timber for the water fences and oil for the kitchen and bakehouse were all charged here as the establishment's own consumption, the account letting the Company see what its buildings and trades cost to keep up as distinct from what its trade brought in. The Riga timber issued for the repair of the water fences shows the same costly Baltic wood the planters bought at high price being drawn for the Company's own maintenance. The water courses that fed the settlement and the works had to be fenced and kept, and even this internal repair called for imported timber, which marks how thoroughly the island's dependence on shipped wood reached into every part of its fabric, the Company charging the expensive baulks against its own account as readily as it sold them to the planters.
217	228	1748 Brought over 2 10 2 Brandy 7 Galls for the Bakers for raising their Spunge for Bread, and given to Soldiers for rowing 1 10 4	The charges general account continued, the earlier goods carried over at £2 10s 2d. Brought over, £2 10s 2d Brandy, 7 gallons for the bakers for raising their sponge for bread, and given to soldiers for recovering the long boat that was adrift, £1 10s 4d

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		the Long Boat that was a Duty Plantation 1 Mop for the Castle Leather 2 lb for the Pump on the Line 2 6 Coals 60 Bushels for the Smith 3 .. Cordage 121 for the Crane and Bell Ropes 1 19 3 9 2 3 Fortification Dr for the following Stores issued in the Quarter ending the 31 March 1748 Vizt Deals Vizt 17 P Oak Plank 9 6 8 1/4 1 P Elm Do for making Gun Carriage 1 9 6 11 16 2 1/4 Iron 4 lb for Bolts to Do 2 17 8 Turners Ware Vizt 1 Paint Brushes 2 4 2 Birch brooms 1 .. 1 Labourers Basket for the Fortifications 6 1/2 3 10 1/2 Paint Vizt 10 lb White Lead 2 6 10 lb Whiting for Painting Gun 4 1/2 22 lb Venetian Red Carriages 4 1/2 6 Barrels Blacking 3 6 10 6 17 10 1/2 Rope 5 1/2 Gall Linseed, for Do 10 8 Cordage 45 for the first Castle and Slings 3 1/4 Twine 5 Skeine, for mending Line Bags 9 3 Iron Ware 6 Trowels, for the Masons Carried over 17 11 1	Plantation, 1 mop for the castle, [...] Leather, 2 lb for the pump on the line, £0 2s 6d Coals, 60 bushels for the smith, £3 0s 0d Cordage, 121 lb for the crane and bell ropes, £1 19s 3d Total, £9 2s 3d The fortification account, showing stores issued for the Company's own use in the quarter ending 31 March 1748, ran as follows. Deals: 17 pieces of oak plank for making the gun carriages, £9 6s 8.75d 1 piece of elm ditto for making the gun carriages, £1 9s 6d, £11 16s 2.75d Iron, 4 lb for bolts to the gun carriages, £2 17s 8d Turners' ware: 1 paint brush, £0 2s 4d 2 birch brooms, £0 1s 0d 1 labourer's basket for the fortifications, £0 0s 6.5d, £0 3s 10.5d Paint: 10 lb of white lead, £0 2s 6d 10 lb of whiting, £0 4s 4.5d 22 lb of Venetian red, £0 4s 4.5d 6 barrels of blacking, £0 3s 6d, for painting the gun carriages, £0 10s 6d Oil, 5.5 gallons of linseed for the gun carriages, £0 10s 8d Cordage, 45 lb for the great cattle and slings, £0 3s 1.75d Twine, 5 skeins for mending lime bags, £0 1s 3d Ironware, 6 trowels for the masons, [...] Carried over, £17 11s 1d **Interpretations** The oak and elm plank issued for making the gun carriages, with the iron bolts, paint and linseed oil to finish them, shows the settlement building and mounting its own artillery carriages from imported timber rather than shipping the finished mounts from England. A garrison whose guns had to be matched to serviceable carriages kept the materials and the skilled labour to make them on the spot, so the fortification account carries the whole cost of the work, the raw oak through to the paint that preserved it against the salt air. The brandy issued at once to the bakers for raising their bread and to the soldiers who recovered the long boat adrift shows spirits serving as both a working material and a reward for hard duty. The same account that charged brandy as leaven for the bakehouse charged it as the drink given to men who had laboured to save a boat, so the store's spirits ran through the settlement's economy as fuel, wage and refreshment together, dispensed for whatever the work of the moment required.
218	229	19 April Brought over 17 11 1 Lines 2 for the Masons 5 1/2 Canvas 2 P Sacking, for Lime Bags 1 14 2 19 5 8 1/2 Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores issued in the Quarter ending the 31 March 1748 Vizt Oil 6 Bottles Florence 16 6 Flower 91 lb 6 14 7 Vinegar 2 1/2 Gallons 5 1 3/4 Sugar & Candy Vizt 30 lb Sugar 5 4 1/2	The fortification account continued, the earlier goods carried over at £17 11s 1d. Brought over, £17 11s 1d Lines, 2 for the masons, £0 0s 5.5d Canvas, 2 pieces of sacking for lime bags, £1 14s 2d Total, £19 5s 8.5d The diet expenses account, showing stores issued for the general table in the quarter ending 31 March 1748, ran as follows. Oil, 6 bottles of Florence, £0 16s 6d Flour, 941 lb, £6 14s 7d Vinegar, 2.5 gallons, £0 5s 1.75d Sugar and candy: 30 lb of sugar, £0 5s 4.5d 30 lb of candy, £0 8s 1.5d, £0 13s 9d Arrack, 38 gallons, £2 13s 10d Beef and pork: 5 pieces of pork, £0 9s 2d

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		30 lb Candy 8 1/2 13 9 Arrack 38 Gallons 2 13 10 Beef & Pork Vizt 5 P Pork 9 2 2 P Beef 5 2 14 4 Salt 2 Bushels 6 1/2 Pease 1 Gallon 6 3/4 12 4 10 Blacks Dr for the following Stores issued in the Quarter ending the 31 March 1748 Vizt Brandy 14 Gallons, for Divers 2 18 8 Beef & Pork Vizt 14 P Pork 1 14 10 2 P Beef 5 2 2 .. Carried over 4 18 8	2 pieces of beef, £0 5s 2d, £0 14s 4d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 6s 1.5d Pease, 1 gallon, £0 0s 6.75d Total, £12 4s 10d The slaves account, showing stores issued in the quarter ending 31 March 1748, ran as follows. Brandy, 14 gallons for drams, £2 18s 8d Beef and pork: 14 pieces of pork, £1 14s 10d 2 pieces of beef, £0 5s 2d, £2 0s 0d Carried over, £4 18s 8d **Interpretations** The diet expenses of the general table turned on the imported comforts, the Florence oil, the arrack, the vinegar and the sugar and candy, with only small quantities of beef and pork drawn against the herd. The officers who ate at the public table were fed largely on goods brought in by ship rather than on the island's own produce, so the diet account, like the castle's monthly sundries, marks how the settlement's leaders depended on the passing trade for the manner of their living even while the garrison fed itself from the cattle and the sea. The brandy issued to the slaves as drams, entered at the head of their account before the beef and pork, shows the ration of spirits treated as a fixed part of maintaining the Company's enslaved labour. The dram was a customary allowance meant to sustain hard work and reconcile the labourers to it, so the slaves account opened with the drink as a standing charge, the Company reckoning the spirits it gave its slaves among the necessary costs of their keeping alongside their meat.
219	230	1748 Brought over 4 18 8 Hooks & Lines Vizt 12 Lines 2 9 4 doz Hooks 1 6 for Fishing 300 Hooks of Grantham 3 .. 7 3 Serine 1 Skein for Do 7 1/4 Haberdashery 3 Skeins Silk for Do 1 3 Shoes 14 P Mens Ord 7 for the Handicraftsmen 2 14 10 Bread 41 7 8 1/4 Sugar 15 lb for Sick Blacks 2 9 Tea 6 8 Slops 8 Coloured Shirt 1 8 9 Thread 1 Coloured for mending Cloaths 3 4 13 10 2 Rice P 49 4 21 3 3 1/4 Plantation Dr for the following Stores issued in the Quarter ending the 31 March 1748 Vizt Nails Vizt 11 lb 6d 4 1 1/4 for repairing the Blacks 4 1/2 lb 20d 1 3 Houses in the Country 4 1/2 lb 9d	The slaves account continued, the earlier goods carried over at £4 18s 8d. Brought over, £4 18s 8d Hooks and lines: 12 lines, £0 2s 9d 4 dozen hooks for fishing, £0 1s 6d 300 hooks of the Grantham for fishing, £0 3s 0d, £0 7s 3d Serge, 1 skein for fishing, £0 0s 7.5d Haberdashery, 3 skeins of silk for fishing, £0 1s 3d Shoes, 14 pairs of men's ordinary for the handicraftsmen, £2 14s 10d Bread, 41 lb for sick blacks, £0 7s 8.25d Sugar, 15 lb for sick blacks, £0 2s 9.5d Tea, [...] for sick blacks, £0 6s 8d Cloth, 8 coloured shirts, £1 8s 9d Thread, 1 lb coloured for mending cloaks, £0 3s 4d Rice, 49 lb, £0 4s 0d [...], £13 10s 2d Total, £21 3s 3.25d The plantation account, showing stores issued in the quarter ending 31 March 1748, ran as follows. Nails: 11 lb of sixpenny for repairing the blacks' houses, £0 4s 1.5d 4 lb of twentypenny for the fences in the country, £0 1s 3d 4 lb of ninepenny for the fences in the country, £0 1s 7d, £0 6s 11.5d Cordage, 50 lb for thatching the blacks' houses, £0 16s 2.25d Oil, 1.5 gallons of train for the blacks' houses, £0 3s 5.5d Deals: 3 single deals for repairs and making gates, £0 5s 0d 1 double deal for repairs and making gates, £0 2s 6d, £0 7s 6d Carried over, £1 14s 1.5d **Interpretations**

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		1 7 6 11 1/4 Cordage 50 for Snatching Do 16 2 1/4 Oil 1 1/2 Gall Train for Do 3 5 1/4 Deals Vizt 3 Small 5 .. for repairs and making Slides 1 Double 2 6 7 6 Carried over 1 14 1 3/4	The fishing tackle, shoes, shirts and sick-diet issued to the slaves show the Company clothing, feeding and equipping its enslaved workforce as a standing charge on the plantation, the hooks and lines given them to catch their own food and the coloured shirts and mended cloaks to keep them fit for labour. The bread, sugar and tea set apart for sick blacks mark a rough provision for the ill among them, the Company maintaining its slaves at the level needed to preserve their working value, the account reckoning their upkeep in the same plain terms as the stores for the boats or the fortifications. The nails, cordage, oil and deals issued to repair the blacks' houses and thatch their roofs record the Company keeping the dwellings of its enslaved people in bare repair as part of the plantation's fixed costs. The materials were the cheapest sort, sixpenny nails and train oil, and the work was patching and rethatching rather than building, so the account shows the minimal maintenance the Company gave the housing of its slaves, enough to keep the roofs on but no more, the expense entered among the plantation charges like the mending of a fence.
220	231	19 April Brought over 1 14 1 1/4 Iron Ware 12 Gimblets, for the 1 6 Carpenters 2 Scythe Stones for the Mowers 3 1/4 1 9 1/4 Pease 4 1/2 Bushels 18 2 Rice 30 lb for Poultry 1 1 3/4 2 15 6 3/4 Hospital Dr for the following Stores issued in the Quarter ending the 31 March 1748 Vizt Sugar 42 lb 7 10 1/2 Oil 3 1/4 Gall Train 8 11 1/2 Beef 2 P 5 2 Bread & Flower Vizt 3 Bread 5 2 Flower 1 3 1 8 Rice 40 lb 2 3/4 Salt 1/2 Bushel 1 6 1/4 1 7 2 1/4 Garrison Dr for the following Stores issued in the Quarter ending the 31 March 1748 Vizt Oil Vizt 68 3/4 Gall Train for the several Guards 9 9 3/4 1 Bottle Florence 2 9 for cleaning 14 Linseed Small Arms 9 3/4 9 12 7 1/2 Tea 73 1/2 for the Guards 2 9 .. Carried over 12 1 9 1/2	The plantation account continued, the earlier goods carried over at £1 14s 1.5d. Brought over, £1 14s 1.5d Ironware: 12 gimlets for the carpenters, £0 1s 6d 2 scythe stones for the mowers, £0 0s 3.5d, £0 1s 9.5d Pease, 4.5 bushels for poultry, £0 18s 2d Rice, 30 lb for poultry, £0 1s 1.5d Total, £2 15s 6.25d The hospital account, showing stores issued in the quarter ending 31 March 1748, ran as follows. Sugar, 42 lb, £0 7s 10.5d Oil, 3.5 gallons of train, £0 8s 11.5d Beef, 2 pieces, £0 5s 2d Bread and flour: 3 pieces of bread, £0 0s 5d 9 lb of flour, £0 1s 3d, £0 1s 8d Rice, 42 lb, £0 2s 0.75d Salt, 0.5 bushel, £0 1s 6.25d Total, £1 7s 2.25d The garrison account, showing stores issued in the quarter ending 31 March 1748, ran as follows. Oil: 68.5 gallons of train for the several guards, £9 9s 2.5d 1 bottle of Florence for cleaning the small arms, £0 2s 9d 14 skeins for cleaning the small arms, £0 0s 9.5d, £9 12s 9.25d Tea, 73.5 lb for the guards, £2 9s 0d Carried over, £12 1s 9.25d **Interpretations** The hospital's stores ran to sugar, train oil, a little beef, bread, rice and salt, the plain and easily digested provisions of a sick quarter rather than any medicines, which shows the account covering the diet of the ill rather than their treatment. The garrison had suffered a sickly winter that carried off several soldiers and their families, so the hospital drew its steady charge of nourishing food to feed those who lay sick, the medical stores kept on a separate reckoning by the surgeon. The large quantity of train oil issued to the guards, more than sixty-eight gallons for the several guard posts, supplied the lamps and lanterns that lit the watches through the long nights of a garrison always alert to shipping and alarms. The bottle of Florence oil and the skeins for cleaning the small arms mark the constant care the muskets needed against rust in the sea air, so the garrison account records the settlement keeping its watch lit and its weapons

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			serviceable, the ordinary costs of standing guard on a remote and fortified island.
221	232	1748 Brought over 12 1 9 1/2 Deals Vizt 10 Single 14 8 7 Double 17 6 for Coffins 1 14 2 Nails Vizt 2 lb 6d 9 1 lb 20d 3 1/4 1 lb 3d 5 1/4 3 lb 9d 1 2 1/4 for Coffins 2 8 3/4 Iron Ware 1 Frying Pan for Bankes Guard 2 10 1/4 Plantation 1 Mop for Do Iron Pots 2 for Prospect and Bankes Guard 18 1 1/2 Lines 1 Small 2 1/4 Glass Ware 2 half hins Glasses for Bankes 1 1 Broad Cloth 5 3/4 Yards Black, for Mr Wrights Coffin 1 14 7 1/2 Mustard Seed 1 Gallon for the Doctors Shop 2 1 1/2 Brandy 12 3/4 Gallons, for Drams on Mustering 2 15 3 19 13 1 Boats Dr for the following Stores issued in the Quarter ending the 31 March 1748 Vizt Nails Vizt 4 lb 3d 3 1/4 1 lb 20d 4 8 for repairing the Yawls 8 3/4 Pitch & Tarr Vizt 7 Gall Tarr 5 3 17 lb Pitch 6 10 1/2 for repairs 12 1 1/2 Cordage 35 for the Yawls 11 4 3/4 Oars 3 for the Yawls and Pinnace 11 6 1/4 Oil 1/2 Train, for the Long Boat 8 3/4 1 16 4 3/4 St Helena 31 March 1748 Signd Errors Excepted per Jno Gurling Assist	The garrison account continued, the earlier goods carried over at £12 1s 9.25d. Brought over, £12 1s 9.25d Deals: 10 single deals for coffins, £0 11s 8d 7 double deals for coffins, £0 17s 6d, £1 14s 2d Nails: 2 lb of sixpenny for coffins, £0 0s 9d 1 lb of twentypenny for coffins, £0 0s 3.5d 1 lb of threepenny for coffins, £0 0s 5.5d 3 lb of fourpenny for coffins, £0 1s 2.5d, £0 2s 8.5d Ironware, 1 frying pan for Banks's guard, £0 2s 10.5d Plantation, 1 mop for Banks's guard, [...] Iron pots, 2 for Prosperous and Banks's guard, £0 18s 1.5d Lines, 1 small, £0 0s 2.5d Glassware, 2 half hour glasses for Banks's, £0 1s 1d Broadcloth, 3.5 yards of black cloth for Robert Wright's coffin, £1 11s 7.5d Mustard seed, 1 gallon for the doctor's shop, £0 2s 1.5d Brandy, 12.5 gallons for drams on mustering, £2 15s 3d Total, £19 13s 1d The boats account, showing stores issued in the quarter ending 31 March 1748, ran as follows. Nails: 1 lb of sixpenny for repairing the yawl, £0 0s 3.5d 3 lb of fourpenny for repairing the yawl, £0 0s 4.5d, £0 0s 8d Pitch and tar: 7 gallons of tar for repairs, £0 5s 3d 17 lb of pitch for repairs, £0 6s 10.5d, £0 12s 1.5d Cordage, 35 lb for the yawl, £0 11s 4.5d Oars, 3 for the yawl and pinnace, £0 11s 6.5d Oil, 0.5 gallon of train for the long boat, £0 0s 8.5d Total, £1 16s 4.5d This whole collection was signed by Girling the storekeeper at St Helena on 31 March 1748, errors excepted. **Interpretations** The black broadcloth issued for Robert Wright's coffin, set apart in the garrison account from the plain deal coffins of the soldiers, marks the standing of the councillor and secretary who had died on 10 February. Where the garrison's dead were buried in deal boxes made from single and double deals, Wright's coffin was covered in fine black cloth, a mark of respect matching the fifteen pounds of powder fired over his grave, the store recording the difference in a dead man's rank even in the materials of his burial. The coffins made up in quantity from deals and cheap nails, entered plainly among the garrison's stores, register the toll of the sickly winter and early spring on the garrison. A run of soldiers and their families had died through the season, and the store issued the timber and nails to bury them as a routine charge, the coffins reckoned like any other consumption of the establishment, a quiet accounting of mortality in a place where death was a steady drain on a small garrison.
222	233	19 April List of the Honble Companys Officers, and Servants, upon the Island St Helena with their several Salaries, Diet Money &c for the Quarter Commencing January the 1	The list of the Company's officers and servants on St Helena, with their salaries and diet money for the quarter beginning 1 January 1748 and ending 31 March 1748, ran as follows.

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		1747, and ending March the 31 1748 Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Salary 125 .. Do Allowance for Servants as usual if approved of 31 14 9 156 14 9 John Clark of Gabriel Robert Wright to the 10 February and the Day he Died Salary 9 11 9 1/2 Do Diet Money to Do 8 4 4 1/2 17 16 1 1/2 John Goodwin Accomptant Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 15 32 10 .. Matthew Gurling Storekeeper Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 15 32 10 .. William Loveday Chaplain Salary 25 .. Francis Awonpham Factor Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 10 20 .. James Cowell Factor Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money 10 17 10 .. Joseph Darrell Factor Salary 7 10 Do Merchant Purchasor 5 Do Diet Money 10 22 10 .. Thomas Swantch Writer Salary 5 Do Diet Money 10 15 .. Samuel Salvener Surgeon Salary 9 15 Do House Rent 2 10 12 5 Onesphorus Gurling Overseers 15 .. John Swaite 7 10 Richard Beale Schoolmaster Salary 3 8 3 Do as Clerk 5 8 8 3 Carried over 382 14 1 3/4	Charles Hutchinson, governor, salary £125 0s 0d, allowance for servants as usual if approved of £31 14s 9d, £156 14s 9d John Clark, of council, salary to 10 February and the day of his death, salary £9 11s 9.5d, diet money £8 4s 4.5d, £17 16s 1.5d John Goodwin, accountant, salary £17 10s 0d, diet money £15 0s 0d, £32 10s 0d Matthew Purling, storekeeper, salary £17 10s 0d, diet money £15 0s 0d, £32 10s 0d William Loveday, chaplain, salary £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, factor, salary £7 10s 0d, diet money £10 0s 0d, house rent £2 10s 0d, £20 0s 0d James Powell, factor, salary £7 10s 0d, diet money £10 0s 0d, £17 10s 0d Joseph Darvall, factor, salary £7 10s 0d, assistant storekeeper £5 0s 0d, diet money £10 0s 0d, £22 10s 0d Thomas French, writer, salary £5 0s 0d, diet money £10 0s 0d, £15 0s 0d Samuel Falconer, surgeon, salary £9 15s 0d, house rent £2 10s 0d, £12 5s 0d Richard Girling, overseer, £15 0s 0d John Thwaits, overseer, £7 10s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, salary £3 8s 3d, as clerk £5 0s 0d, £8 8s 3d Carried over, £382 14s 1.75d **Interpretations** The entry for Robert Wright, whose salary and diet were reckoned only to 10 February and the day of his death, records on the pay roll the loss the board had already marked in its consultations, his place struck off at the exact day he died. The broken pay shows the Company's careful practice of paying every man to the precise day his service ended, so that a councillor's death, like a soldier's, closed his account at once and left the establishment lighter by his salary from that moment. The chaplain William Loveday drawing a straight £25 for the quarter without the diet money and house rent allowed the factors and surgeon marks the particular terms of the clerical office. The island had gone long without a settled chaplain, and Loveday, come only the previous year, was paid on a plain salary at a rate the Company had fixed for the cure, the account showing the ministry provided for on its own footing distinct from the graded pay and allowances of the civil and medical servants.
223	234	1748 Brought over 382 14 1 3/4 John Boland Master Mason Salary 17 10 .. Do Diet Money 10 ..	The pay roll continued, the earlier entries carried over at £382 14s 1.75d. Brought over, £382 14s 1.75d John Bland, master mason, salary £17 10s 0d, diet money £10 0s 0d, house rent £1 10s 0d, £29 0s 0d

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		Do House Rent 1 10 29 .. Mark Flanken Mason Salary 12 10 .. Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 1 20 6 10 1/2 William Hays Master of Arms 6 5 .. Nicholas Cleather Steward 9 10 .. William Denve Gardener 9 11 3 Robert Meaceth Cooper 8 15 Henry Moore Carpenter 12 10 .. Willm Davis Patron of the Long Boat 7 10 .. Robert Wysall Housekeeper 2 .. John Lynch Marshall to the 11 January and Enlisted as a Soldier the 12 Do 10 7 Thomas Willingham Marshall from the 12 January next 3 17 2 190 10 3/4 First Company John Clark 2d Lieut Salary 10 .. Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do on Account of instructing the Gunners 7 10 24 6 10 1/2 John Dunbar 2d Lieut Salary 7 10 .. Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 14 6 10 1/2 William Hays Adjutant Salry 10 .. Do Diet Money 7 1 3 17 1 3 55 15 .. Serjeants Henry Beale 6 14 6 Bartholomew Molley 6 14 6 Solomon Jacobs 6 14 6 20 3 6 Carried over 566 8 6 1/4	Mark Hawkins, mason, salary £12 10s 0d, diet money £6 16s 10.5d, house rent £1 0s 0d, £20 6s 10.5d William Hayes, master of arms, £6 5s 0d Nicholas Cleather, steward, £9 10s 0d William Deuce, gardener, £9 11s 3d Robert Meacock, cooper, £8 15s 0d Henry Moore, carpenter, £12 10s 0d William Davis, patron of the long boat, £7 10s 0d Robert Wright, storekeeper's help, £2 0s 0d John Leech, marshal to 11 January and then enlisted as a soldier the 12th, £0 10s 4d Thomas Willingham, marshal from the 12 January next, £3 17s 2d Total, £490 10s 0.75d First company: John Clark, first lieutenant, salary £10 0s 0d, diet money £6 16s 10.5d, on account of instructing the gunners £7 10s 0d, £24 6s 10.5d John Dunbar, second lieutenant, salary £7 10s 0d, diet money £6 16s 10.5d, £14 6s 10.5d William Hayes, adjutant, salary £10 0s 0d, diet money £7 1s 3d, £17 1s 3d £55 15s 0d Sergeants: Henry Beale, £6 14s 6d Bartholomew Molloy, £6 14s 6d Solomon Jacobs, £6 14s 6d £20 3s 6d Carried over, £566 8s 6.25d **Interpretations** Lieutenant John Clark drew an extra £7 10s for instructing the gunners over and above his lieutenant's salary and diet, a standing addition that marks the shortage of trained artillerymen on the island. A garrison whose defence rested on its guns needed men who could work them, and Clark, the senior councillor and first lieutenant, was paid separately for teaching the gun drill, the account showing the Company buying the transfer of a scarce skill by a fixed allowance rather than trusting to the ordinary run of the establishment. The marshal's office split across the quarter between John Leech, paid only to 11 January before he enlisted as a common soldier, and Thomas Willingham, paid from the 12th, records the change of hands the consultations had noted. Leech's descent from marshal to private soldier, a fall in station reflected in his broken pay of ten shillings, and Willingham's succession show the small offices of the island passing between men as circumstances shifted, the pay roll fixing each man's service to the day it began and ended.
224	235	19 April Brought over 566 8 6 1/4 Corporals Daniel Langbton 4 4 9 James Richardson 4 4 9 Ambrose Blunt 4 4 9 13 3 3 Thomas Wells, Drummer 4 4 9 Centinels	The pay roll of the first company continued, the earlier entries carried over at £566 8s 6.25d. Brought over, £566 8s 6.25d Corporals: Daniel Langton, £4 7s 9d James Richardson, £4 7s 9d Ambrose Blunt, £4 7s 9d £13 3s 3d Thomas Watts, drummer, £4 7s 9d Sentinels: Edward Allis, £3 8s 3d John Bray, £3 8s 3d John Brown, £3 8s 3d George Brunnell, £3 8s 3d

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		Edward Allis 3 8 3 John Bray 3 8 3 John Brown 3 8 3 George Brunnell 3 8 3 Joseph Brookes 3 8 3 Augustin Bells 3 8 3 Thomas Brown 3 8 3 William Campbell 3 8 3 Matthew Campbell 3 8 3 John Clay 3 8 3 John Chudry 3 8 3 William Chester 3 8 3 James Cartwright 3 8 3 William Davis 3 8 3 John Davis 3 8 3 William Enyer 3 8 3 Edward Goff 3 8 3 George Green 3 8 3 Thomas Greenaway 3 8 3 Daniel Handford 3 8 3 Thomas Hales 3 8 3 Humphry Harrison 3 8 3 George Harper 3 8 3 Patrick Hamilton 3 8 3 James Hendig 3 8 3 Carried over 85 6 3 Carried over 583 19 6 1/4	Joseph Brooks, £3 8s 3d Augusten Balls, £3 8s 3d Thomas Brown, £3 8s 3d William Campbell, £3 8s 3d Matthew Campbell, £3 8s 3d John Clay, £3 8s 3d John Cloudry, £3 8s 3d William Hassler, £3 8s 3d James Cartwright, £3 8s 3d William Davis, £3 8s 3d John Davis, £3 8s 3d William Cryer, £3 8s 3d Edward Goff, £3 8s 3d George Green, £3 8s 3d Thomas Greenaway, £3 8s 3d Daniel Handford, £3 8s 3d Thomas Hales, £3 8s 3d Humphry Harrison, £3 8s 3d George Harper, £3 8s 3d Patrick Hamilton, £3 8s 3d James Kenting, £3 8s 3d Carried over, £85 6s 3d Carried over, £583 19s 6.25d **Interpretations** The whole file of sentinels drew the same flat £3 8s 3d for the quarter, the uniform private soldier's pay that runs unbroken through the establishment. This standard rate, held level man by man with no distinction of length of service among the rank and file, marks the plain footing on which the garrison's common soldiers stood, their pay a fixed and equal charge that the board could reckon at a glance and that gave the account its steady rhythm down the column.
225	236	1748 Brought over 583 19 6 1/4 Brought over 85 6 3 Major Jackson 3 8 3 Woolston Jones 3 8 3 James Lee 3 8 3 William Lambon 3 8 3 Joseph Long 3 8 3 Alexander Lowdon 3 8 3 John March 3 8 3 Thomas Maors 3 8 3	The pay roll of the first company continued, the earlier entries carried over at £583 19s 6.25d and the sentinels at £85 6s 3d. Brought over, £583 19s 6.25d Brought over, £85 6s 3d Major Jackson, £3 8s 3d Woolston Jones, £3 8s 3d James Lee, £3 8s 3d William Lambon, £3 8s 3d Joseph Long, £3 8s 3d Alexander Lowdon, £3 8s 3d John March, £3 8s 3d Thomas Moor, £3 8s 3d John Murrell, £3 8s 3d James Mills, £3 8s 3d James Owens, £3 8s 3d James Sherrard, £3 8s 3d John Spencer, £3 8s 3d John Setchfor, £3 8s 3d John Shaw, £3 8s 3d John Scarby, £3 8s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Murrell 3 8 3 James Mills 3 8 3 James Owens 3 8 3 James Spooner 3 8 3 John Spencer 3 8 3 John Sackior 3 8 3 John Shaw 3 8 3 John Scarby 3 8 3 Solomon Saunders 3 8 3 Emanuel Steele 3 8 3 John Swantle William Smith to the 25 January and the Day he Died 18 8 1/4 James Elephant 3 8 3 Peter Wells 3 8 3 Thomas Wigg 3 8 3 William Young William Bruff a Deserter from Ship Grantham who was going a Soldier to Bencoolen and will be sent there if first Opportunity 3 8 3 168 2 11 1/4 Carried over 752 2 5 1/2	Solomon Saunders, £3 8s 3d Emanuel Steele, £3 8s 3d John Swindle, [...] William Smith, to 25 January and the day he died, £0 18s 8.5d James Elephant, £3 8s 3d Peter Wells, £3 8s 3d Thomas Wagg, £3 8s 3d William Young, [...] William Bruff, a deserter from the Grantham, who was going as a soldier to Bencoolen, and is to be sent there by first opportunity, £3 8s 3d £168 2s 11.5d Carried over, £752 2s 5.5d **Interpretations** The name Major Jackson standing plainly among the common sentinels at the flat private's pay marks a byname rather than a rank, the man carried on the roll like any other soldier at £3 8s 3d. The garrison's rolls were full of such nicknames, and a soldier known as Major among his fellows drew the ordinary pay of his true station, the account preserving the name the men used while fixing him in his real place in the file. William Bruff, the deserter from the *Grantham* held to be sent on to Bencoolen as a soldier, drew the full sentinel's pay while he waited, the Company keeping and paying a man it meant to transport to another of its settlements. A deserter caught at St Helena was not simply punished but drafted into the eastern garrison that always wanted men, so Bruff was carried on the establishment at the ordinary rate until a ship could take him, the account showing the Company turning even its runaways to the use of its scattered posts.
226	237	19 April Brought over 752 2 5 1/2 Second Company Jno Kendall 1 Lieut Salry 10 .. Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 19 6 10 1/2 Saml Aldwick 2 Lieut Salry 7 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 14 6 10 1/2 33 13 9 Serjeants John French 6 14 6 Robert Mason 6 14 6 Gabriel Rowe 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals Daniel Beck 4 4 9 John Downes 4 4 9 Michael Frost 4 4 9 13 3 3 Thomas Linden Drummer 4 4 9 Centinels	The pay roll continued with the second company, the earlier entries carried over at £752 2s 5.5d. Brought over, £752 2s 5.5d Second company: John Kendall, first lieutenant, salary £10 0s 0d, diet money £6 16s 10.5d, house rent £2 10s 0d, £19 6s 10.5d Samuel Aldwick, second lieutenant, salary £7 10s 0d, diet money £6 16s 10.5d, £14 6s 10.5d £33 13s 9d Sergeants: John French, £6 14s 6d Robert Mason, £6 14s 6d Gabriel Isaac, £6 14s 6d £20 3s 6d Corporals: Daniel Bush, £4 7s 9d John Downes, £4 7s 9d Michael Frost, £4 7s 9d £13 3s 3d Thomas Linden, drummer, £4 7s 9d Sentinels: James Allis, £3 8s 3d Joseph Andrews, £3 8s 3d George Ayres, £3 8s 3d Peter Barker, £3 8s 3d Andrew Boulton, £3 8s 3d John Beach, £3 8s 3d Josiah Barks, £3 8s 3d Lawrence Berwick, £3 8s 3d John Brown, £3 8s 3d Richard Billington, £3 8s 3d William Brookes, £3 8s 3d John Chapman, £3 8s 3d Carried over, £40 19s 0d Carried over, £823 10s 8.5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Allis 3 8 3 Joseph Andrews 3 8 3 George Ayres 3 8 3 Peter Booher 3 8 3 Andrew Bowston 3 8 3 John Bench 3 8 3 Josiah Barks 3 8 3 Fransces Bonwick 3 8 3 John Brown 3 8 3 Richard Bellington 3 8 3 William Brookes 3 8 3 John Chapman 3 8 3 Carried over 40 19 .. Carried over 823 10 8 1/2	**Interpretations** The second company opened with its own lieutenants, sergeants, corporals and drummer set out on the same scale as the first, the establishment kept in matched companies each with its full complement of officers over the file of sentinels. This regular structure, repeated company by company, shows the garrison ordered on a fixed military pattern regardless of the island's small size, the four foot companies each mustering the same graded ranks so that the whole force could be reckoned and commanded on a uniform footing.
227	238	1748 Brought over 823 10 8 1/2 Brought over 40 19 .. William Doston 3 8 3 Robert Croridge 3 8 3 John Fisher 3 8 3 John Fletcher 3 8 3 Peter Senall 3 8 3 John Gould 3 8 3 Isaac Holmes 3 8 3 John Holloway 3 8 3 John Hayes 3 8 3 James Inglish 3 8 3 Samuel Helliry 3 8 3 William Leaver 3 8 3 James Long 3 8 3 Joseph Lovest 3 8 3 Charles Lovesk 3 8 3 Thomas Mason 3 8 3 Andrew Maybank 3 8 3 Richard Moyce 3 8 3 John Norton 3 8 3 William Poge 10 3 8 3 John Pope 3 8 3	The pay roll of the second company continued, the earlier entries carried over at £823 10s 8.5d and the sentinels at £40 19s 0d. Brought over, £823 10s 8.5d Brought over, £40 19s 0d William Dutton, £3 8s 3d Robert Coveridge, £3 8s 3d John Fisher, £3 8s 3d John Fletcher, £3 8s 3d Peter Senall, £3 8s 3d John Gould, £3 8s 3d Isaac Holmes, £3 8s 3d John Holloway, £3 8s 3d John Hayes, £3 8s 3d James English, £3 8s 3d Samuel Hilory, £3 8s 3d William Leaver, £3 8s 3d James Long, £3 8s 3d Joseph Loveit, £3 8s 3d Charles Legent, £3 8s 3d Thomas Mason, £3 8s 3d Richard Maybank, £3 8s 3d Richard Moyce, £3 8s 3d John Norton, £3 8s 3d William Cox, £3 8s 3d John Pope, £3 8s 3d Richard Smith, £3 8s 3d William Scott, £3 8s 3d Thomas Sheehan, £3 8s 3d William Shilford, £3 8s 3d John Summerard, £3 8s 3d Joseph Simpson, £3 8s 3d Robert Stacy, £3 8s 3d Edward Strowde, £3 8s 3d Samuel Talbott, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Seamas, £3 8s 3d Carried over, £46 14s 9d Carried over, £823 10s 8.5d **Interpretations** The sentinel Charles Legent carried plainly on the second company's roll at the ordinary pay is the same soldier sentenced at the court of judicature of 8 February 1748 to the pillory and fifty lashes on four court days for coining false rupees. His continued place on the establishment through the quarter shows that a corporal punishment did not strike a man from the pay roll, the Company keeping a convicted coiner

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Richard Smith 3 8 3 William Scott 3 8 3 Thomas Storban 3 8 3 William Shilford 3 8 3 John Summond 3 8 3 Joseph Simpson 3 8 3 Robert Stacy 3 8 3 Edward Strowde 3 8 3 Samuel Talbott 3 8 3 Benjamin Thomas Carried over 146 14 9 Carried over 823 10 8 1/2	in the ranks and paying him his sentinel's wage even as he stood his lashes, the two records together marking how discipline and service ran side by side.
228	239	19 April Brought over 823 10 8 1/2 Brought over 146 14 9 Thomas Jacobs 3 8 3 Richard Swaite 3 8 3 William Swaite 3 8 3 Solomon Wain 3 8 3 Edward Walker 3 8 3 Stephen Willoughby 3 8 3 Adam Waters 3 8 3 170 12 6 Third Company Thomas Bettoye 1 Lieut Salry 10 .. Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 19 6 10 1/2 Onesphorus Beale 2 Lieut Salry 7 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 14 6 10 1/2 33 13 9 Serjeants Andrew Coleman 6 14 6 William Kennedy 6 14 6 John Aldrick to the 27 March and the day he Died 6 8 2 1/4 Matthias Brightwell from the 28 March next 1 3 3/4 20 3 6 Corporals John Smith 4 4 9 Henry Barber 4 4 9 Matthias Brightwell to the 27 March	The pay roll of the second company continued, the earlier entries carried over at £823 10s 8.5d and the sentinels at £46 14s 9d. Brought over, £823 10s 8.5d Brought over, £46 14s 9d Thomas Jacobs, £3 8s 3d Richard Swaile, £3 8s 3d William Swaile, £3 8s 3d Solomon Wain, £3 8s 3d Edward Walker, £3 8s 3d Stephen Willoughby, £3 8s 3d Adam Watson, £3 8s 3d £70 12s 6d Third company: Thomas Easthope, first lieutenant, salary £10 0s 0d, diet money £6 16s 10.5d, house rent £2 10s 0d, £19 6s 10.5d Onesiphorus Beale, second lieutenant, salary £7 10s 0d, diet money £6 16s 10.5d, £14 6s 10.5d £33 13s 9d Sergeants: Solomon Blinman, £6 14s 6d William Kennedy, £6 14s 6d John Aldrick, to 29 March and the day he died, £6 8s 2.5d Matthias Brightwell, from the 28 March next, £0 1s 3.5d £20 3s 6d Corporals: John Smith, £4 7s 9d Henry Barber, £4 7s 9d Matthias Brightwell, to 27 March next, being made a sergeant the 28th, £4 3s 2.75d John Spencer, from the 28 March next, £0 4s 1.25d £13 3s 3d Benjamin Sweets, drummer, £4 7s 9d Carried over, £1,065 11s 5.5d **Interpretations** The death of the sergeant John Aldrick on 29 March, his pay reckoned to that day, opened a vacancy filled at once by Matthias Brightwell, promoted from corporal to sergeant the day before Aldrick died and John Spencer stepping up into the corporal's place. The chain of broken pay, each man reckoned to the precise day of his rise or death, shows how a single death rippled up through the ranks, the Company moving men into every gap and paying each to the day so that no place stood empty and no pay ran on past its due.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		and being made a Serjeant the 28 Do 4 3 2 1/4 John Spencer from the 28 March next 1 1 3/4 13 3 3 Benjamin Swaite, Drummer 4 4 9 Carried over 1065 11 5 1/2	
229	240	1748 Brought over 1065 11 5 1/2 Centinels William Adams 3 8 3 Matthew Allis 3 8 3 Brown Ambrose 3 8 3 William Bechett 3 8 3 William Binford 3 8 3 William Brown 3 8 3 Joseph Bostick 3 8 3 Benry Deleof 3 8 3 John Cirile 3 8 3 John Ford 3 8 3 Thomas Suller 3 8 3 Edward Grant 3 8 3 William Harlock 3 8 3 Peter Hoggens 3 8 3 James Ginles 3 8 3 William Jones 3 8 3 William Jackson 3 8 3 Ethen Innes 3 8 3 Thomas Hendsuck 3 8 3 Richard Knosst 3 8 3 Thomas Lawrence 3 8 3 John Sangbridge 3 8 3 Abraham Mayor 2 19 10 John Leech from the 12 January next 3 8 3 James Marrur 3 8 3 John McRoy 3 8 3 Charles Montague 3 8 3 James Wm Cane 3 8 3 Charles Newcomb 3 8 3 Valentine Noble 3 8 3 Joseph Newman Carried over	The pay roll of the third company continued, the earlier entries carried over at £1,065 11s 5.5d. Brought over, £1,065 11s 5.5d Sentinels: William Adams, £3 8s 3d Matthew Allis, £3 8s 3d Beorn Ambrose, £3 8s 3d William Bechett, £3 8s 3d William Binford, £3 8s 3d William Brown, £3 8s 3d Joseph Badick, £3 8s 3d Beorn Deloef, £3 8s 3d John Eirle, £3 8s 3d John Ford, £3 8s 3d Thomas Fuller, £3 8s 3d Edward Grant, £3 8s 3d William Harlock, £3 8s 3d Peter Higgens, £3 8s 3d James Gintes, £3 8s 3d William Jones, £3 8s 3d William Jackson, £3 8s 3d Owen Innes, £3 8s 3d Thomas Hendrick, £3 8s 3d Richard Knight, £3 8s 3d Thomas Lawrence, £3 8s 3d John Sangbridge, £3 8s 3d Abraham Mayer, £2 19s 10d John Leech, from the 12 January next, £3 8s 3d James Marrick, £3 8s 3d John McKoy, £3 8s 3d Charles Montague, £3 8s 3d James William Crane, £3 8s 3d Charles Newcomb, £3 8s 3d Valentine Noble, £3 8s 3d Joseph Newman, £3 8s 3d Carried over, £105 7s 4d Carried over, £1,065 11s 5.5d **Interpretations** John Leech, entered here among the sentinels of the third company from 12 January, is the former marshal whose descent to a private soldier the earlier pages of the pay roll had recorded when his marshal's pay was closed at 11 January. His appearance in the ranks at the flat sentinel's rate completes the account of his fall from office, the same man traced from the marshal's salary through his resignation to his place as a common soldier, the roll following him across the two stations he held within the one quarter.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		105 7 4 Carried over 1065 11 5 1/2	
230	241	19 April Brought over 1065 11 5 1/2 Brought over 105 7 4 Thomas Oliver 3 8 3 Thomas Reece to the 9 January and the Day he Died 6 8 1/4 Thomas Payne 3 8 3 George Peacock 3 8 3 James Poulover 3 8 3 William Contreo 3 8 3 John Refswater 3 8 3 Abraham Bakley 3 8 3 William Robenson 3 8 3 Francis Reed 3 8 3 John Smith 3 8 3 John Spencer to the 27 March and being made Corporal the 28 Do 3 5 3/4 David Scott 3 8 3 Robert Stick 3 8 3 Joseph Simpson 3 8 3 Benjamin Williams 3 8 3 John Wille 3 8 3 Jeremiah Worrell 3 8 3 Joseph Woodman 3 8 3 166 19 4 1/2 Fourth Company John Barton 1 Lieut Salry 10 .. Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 19 6 10 1/2 Ths Fitzpatrick 2 Lt Salry 7 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 14 6 10 1/2 33 13 9 Carried over 1266 4 7	The pay roll of the third company continued, the earlier entries carried over at £1,065 11s 5.5d and the sentinels at £105 7s 4d. Brought over, £1,065 11s 5.5d Brought over, £105 7s 4d Thomas Oliver, £3 8s 3d Thomas Breece, to 9 January and the day he died, £0 6s 8.75d Thomas Payne, £3 8s 3d George Peacock, £3 8s 3d James Poulover, £3 8s 3d William Contreo, £3 8s 3d John Espwater, £3 8s 3d Abraham Bailey, £3 8s 3d William Robinson, £3 8s 3d Francis Cook, £3 8s 3d John Smith, £3 8s 3d John Spencer, to 27 March and being made corporal the 28th, £3 5s 1.75d David Scott, £3 8s 3d Robert Suck, £3 8s 3d Joseph Simpson, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Williams, £3 8s 3d John Wille, £3 8s 3d Jeremiah Wyrell, £3 8s 3d Joseph Woodman, £3 8s 3d £166 19s 4.5d Fourth company: John Barton, first lieutenant, salary £10 0s 0d, diet money £6 16s 10.5d, house rent £2 10s 0d, £19 6s 10.5d Thomas Kirkpatrick, second lieutenant, salary £7 10s 0d, diet money £6 16s 10.5d, £14 6s 10.5d £33 13s 9d Carried over, £1,266 4s 7d **Interpretations** The death of the sentinel Thomas Breece on 9 January, so early in the quarter that his broken pay came to only a few shillings, marks the beginning of the sickly run that carried off a string of the garrison through the winter. His name entered and struck off within days of the quarter's opening, like William Smith's later in the same company, shows the mortality that ran through the establishment, the pay roll a plain register of the men the season killed, each closed at the day death took him. The fourth company, headed by John Barton as first lieutenant, carries the officer whose death on 31 March the consultations had recorded and whose intestate estate the board had ordered sold. His name at the head of his company on a roll reckoned through the quarter he died in shows the pay account and the consultations tracking the same men, Barton drawing his lieutenant's salary and diet through a quarter he did not live to see out, his place soon to fall vacant like the others the winter emptied.
231	242	1748 Brought over 1266 4 7 Serjeants Joseph Loughton 6 14 6 William Rahman 6 14 6 David Wilson	The pay roll of the fourth company continued, the earlier entries carried over at £1,266 4s 7d. Brought over, £1,266 4s 7d Sergeants: Joseph Loughton, £6 14s 6d William Rahman, £6 14s 6d David Wilson, £6 14s 6d £20 3s 6d Corporals:

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		6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals William Moore 4 4 9 Edward Murphy 4 4 9 Peter Coakley 4 4 9 13 3 3 Joseph Uffin Drummer 4 4 9 Centinels James Allin 3 8 3 Thomas Barrer 3 8 3 Colin Barden 3 8 3 Isaac Bennette 3 8 3 William Barnette 3 8 3 Abraham Barrill to the 8 March and the Day he Died 2 10 10 1/4 Darby Cayles 3 8 3 Phillip Cabbypole 3 8 3 Edward Cusher 3 8 3 Thomas Draper 3 8 3 John Ellis 3 8 3 Samuel Eiles 3 8 3 George Ceton 3 8 3 Jonathan Golboe 3 8 3 Francis Goodbody 3 8 3 William Harris 13 3 8 3 James Gill 3 8 3 John Riley Carried over 60 11 1 1/4 Carried over 1303 19 1	William Moore, £4 7s 9d Edward Murphy, £4 7s 9d Peter Oakley, £4 7s 9d £13 3s 3d Joseph Uffin, drummer, £4 7s 9d Sentinels: James Allin, £3 8s 3d Thomas Barrer, £3 8s 3d Colin Barden, £3 8s 3d Isaac Bennett, £3 8s 3d William Barrett, £3 8s 3d Abraham Burrill, to 8 March and the day he died, £2 10s 10.5d Darby Cayles, £3 8s 3d Phillip Catchpole, £3 8s 3d Edward Cusher, £3 8s 3d Thomas Draper, £3 8s 3d John Ellis, £3 8s 3d Samuel Eiles, £3 8s 3d George Colton, £3 8s 3d Jonathan Gilbee, £3 8s 3d Francis Goodlaby, £3 8s 3d William Harris, £3 8s 3d James Gaile, £3 8s 3d John Riley, £3 8s 3d Carried over, £60 11s 1.5d Carried over, £1,303 19s 1d **Interpretations** The death of the sentinel Abraham Burrill on 8 March, his pay closed at that day, matches the death the consultation of 15 March 1748 had recorded among the three men who died in the first week of the month. The pay roll and the consultations again register the same loss, Burrill's broken pay of fifty shillings the account's plain mark of a soldier carried off in the sickly early spring, one of the string of deaths that thinned the fourth company as it had the third.
232	243	19 April Brought over 1303 19 1 Brought over 60 11 1 1/4 Job Harrison 3 8 3 James Hedes 3 8 3 James Henwick 3 8 3 William Hornbey 3 8 3 William Roat 3 8 3 John Royd 3 8 3 John Marmehee to the 25 March and the Day he Died 3 3 6 1/4 George Maers 3 8 3	The pay roll of the fourth company continued, the earlier entries carried over at £1,303 19s 1d and the sentinels at £60 11s 1.5d. Brought over, £1,303 19s 1d Brought over, £60 11s 1.5d Robert Harrison, £3 8s 3d James Hodes, £3 8s 3d James Hendrick, £3 8s 3d William Hornbey, £3 8s 3d William Boil, £3 8s 3d John Lloyd, £3 8s 3d John Marmonchee, to 25 March and the day he died, £3 3s 6.5d George Masters, £3 8s 3d Moses Menardo, £3 8s 3d Duncan McLarren, £3 8s 3d James Ryder, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Craven, £3 8s 3d Edward Richard, £3 8s 3d Thomas Robinson, £3 8s 3d David Robinson, £3 8s 3d Robert Cutliff, £3 8s 3d

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		Moses Menareto 3 8 3 Duncan McLarren 3 8 3 James Ryploe 3 8 3 Benjamin Craven 3 8 3 Edward Richards 3 8 3 Thomas Robinson 3 8 3 David Robinson 3 8 3 Robert Cauliff 3 8 3 Arnold Spence 3 8 3 Daniel Sergant 3 8 3 Edward Sparks 3 8 3 John Smith 3 8 3 Charles Stoakes 3 8 3 Timothy Sullivan 3 8 3 William Taylor 3 8 3 John Taylor 3 8 3 Edward Levry 3 8 3 Peter Hebebrugh 3 8 3 James Vaughan 3 8 3 Benjamin Williams 3 8 3 John Walker Senr 3 8 3 John Walker Junr 3 8 3 James Woodwich 3 8 3 Robert Wright 3 8 3 169 10 5 Carried over 1473 9 6	Arnold Lawrence, £3 8s 3d Daniel Sergant, £3 8s 3d Edward Sparks, £3 8s 3d John Smith, £3 8s 3d Charles Rhodes, £3 8s 3d Timothy Sullivan, £3 8s 3d William Taylor, £3 8s 3d John Taylor, £3 8s 3d Edward Long, £3 8s 3d Peter Hebburgh, £3 8s 3d James Vaughan, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Williams, £3 8s 3d John Walker senior, £3 8s 3d John Walker junior, £3 8s 3d James Woodeman, £3 8s 3d Robert Wright, £3 8s 3d £169 10s 5d Carried over, £1,473 9s 6d **Interpretations** The death of the sentinel John Marmonchee on 25 March, his pay reckoned to that day, matches the death the consultation of 29 March 1748 had entered when it recorded John Marmonchie the soldier dying that Friday. The pay roll and the consultations once more register the same loss, the whole run of broken sentinels' pay through the four companies, Breece, Smith, Burrill, Aldrick and Marmonchee, giving in the plain arithmetic of docked wages the full toll of the sickly season on the garrison.
233	244	1748 Brought over 1473 9 6 Artillery Company John French Master Gunner Salary 13 8 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 22 15 9 1/2 Gunners Mates John Christoffe 4 17 6 Isaac Leech 4 17 6 Ely Leech 4 17 6 Roger Newman 4 17 6 James Buldrind 4 17 6 Nathan Sample 4 17 6	The pay roll continued with the artillery company, the earlier entries carried over at £1,473 9s 6d. Brought over, £1,473 9s 6d Artillery company: John French, master gunner, salary £13 8s 9d, diet money £6 16s 10.5d, house rent £2 10s 0d, £22 15s 7.5d Gunners' mates: John Christoffe, £4 17s 6d Isaac Leech, £4 17s 6d Ely Leech, £4 17s 6d Roger Nevanson, £4 17s 6d James Guildbird, £4 17s 6d Nathan Sample, £4 17s 6d Humphry Bush, £4 17s 6d William Turner, £4 17s 6d £39 0s 0d Quarter gunners: John Artingstall, £4 7s 9d Edward Clemons, £4 7s 9d Edward Bradford, £4 7s 9d Henry Carter, £4 7s 9d John Butler, £4 7s 9d

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		Humphry Pugh 4 17 6 William Turner 4 17 6 39 .. Quarter Gunners John Aitchibold 4 4 9 Edward Clemenis 4 4 9 Edward Barford 4 4 9 Henry Carter 4 4 9 John Butler 4 4 9 Adam Milborn 4 4 9 John Nolledge 4 4 9 John Watkins 4 4 9 35 2 .. Matrosses William Anger 4 1 3 Joseph Bestwell 4 1 3 William Bateman 4 1 3 John Brown 4 1 3 William Bull 4 1 3 Peter Bell Carried over 24 9 6 Carried over 1570 7 1 1/2	Adam Milburn, £4 7s 9d John Nolledge, £4 7s 9d John Watkins, £4 7s 9d £35 2s 0d Matrosses: William Cryer, £4 1s 3d Joseph Bidwell, £4 1s 3d William Bateman, £4 1s 3d John Baron, £4 1s 3d William Bull, £4 1s 3d Peter Bull, £4 1s 3d Carried over, £24 9s 6d Carried over, £1,570 7s 1.5d **Interpretations** The artillery company drew a graded scale of its own, the gunners' mates at £4 17s 6d, the quarter gunners at £4 7s 9d and the matrosses at £4 1s 3d, every rank above the plain sentinel's £3 8s 3d. This premium marked the skilled trade of working the great guns, the Company paying its trained artillerymen a step above the foot soldiers because the island's defence turned on men who could lay and fire the ordnance, a scarce competence Lieutenant Clark was separately paid to teach. The master gunner John French, drawing salary, diet and house rent to more than £22, stood at the head of the artillery on a footing near the civil officers, his pay reflecting the weight of his charge over the whole of the island's guns and powder. The care and skill his office required, seen across the years in the surveys of the magazine and the constant issue of powder for salutes and funerals, was recognised in a salary that set the master gunner apart from the officers of the foot companies below him.
234	245	19 April Brought over 1570 7 1 1/2 Brought over 24 7 6 Edward Cullemore 4 1 3 Samuel Clark 4 1 3 Anthony Day 4 1 3 Phillip Willmott 4 1 3 William Snowdow 4 1 3 Patrick Murphy 4 1 3 Richard Morin 4 1 3 William Owns 4 1 3 Lawrence Jefsom 4 1 3 John South 4 1 3 Joseph Thomas 4 1 3 Robert Vickers 4 1 3 John Whitchurch 4 1 3 William Willman 4 1 3 81 5 .. Superannuated Barbara Smelley Brewer	The pay roll of the artillery company continued, the earlier entries carried over at £1,570 7s 1.5d and the matrosses at £24 9s 6d. Brought over, £1,570 7s 1.5d Brought over, £24 9s 6d Edward Cullemore, £4 1s 3d Samuel Clark, £4 1s 3d Anthony Day, £4 1s 3d Phillip Willant, £4 1s 3d William Prowlow, £4 1s 3d Patrick Murphy, £4 1s 3d Richard Marin, £4 1s 3d William Ames, £4 1s 3d Lawrence Jetson, £4 1s 3d John Smith, £4 1s 3d Joseph Thomas, £4 1s 3d Robert Vichers, £4 1s 3d John Whitchurch, £4 1s 3d William Willman, £4 1s 3d £81 5s 0d Superannuated: Barham Smedly, brewer, £3 8s 3d Joseph Whaley, sergeant, £3 8s 3d William Burnham, sergeant, £3 8s 3d Francis Funge, £6 0s 7.5d £16 5s 1.5d Total, £1,667 17s 6d **Interpretations** The superannuated pensioners closing the establishment, the old sergeants Whaley and Burnham and the brewer Smedly kept at the sentinel's rate and the armourer Funge at a rather higher pension, mark the Company's practice of maintaining its worn-out servants on the roll rather than casting them off. Men no longer fit for active duty were carried at a small standing pay, the armourer Funge, long in the record,

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		3 8 3 Joseph Whitley Sergeant 3 8 3 William Reynsham Do 3 8 3 Frances Grange 6 4 1/2 16 5 1/2 1667 17 6	drawing above the others in recognition of his trade, so the establishment provided for its aged servants as a fixed charge, a rough pension owed to long service. The whole quarter's pay roll closing at £1,667 17s 6d gives the full charge of the civil and military establishment for the three months, the sum the Company laid out to govern, garrison and maintain the island. This grand total, built up man by man from the Governor's £156 down to the last superannuated pensioner, with every death and promotion reckoned to the day, shows the exactness with which the Company controlled its greatest standing expense, the account a complete and audited record of what its remote fortress cost it to keep.
235	246	Dr Per Contra Cr 1748 March 31 To Cash received from the Honble Companys Cash Chest 1704 18 9 1747 Jany 8 By Cash paid Abraham Rolloff for coming Express with an Account of a Ship to Windward 5 .. Do 26 By Do to Joseph Browne for 40 of Tamrin bought for the use of the Honble Companys General Table at 8 P lb 1 6 8 Do 30 By Do paid William Hemby (Armourer of the Ship Kent) for making of Iron Stanchents and Braces for the Landing Place, one Bolt for a Bridle, and making a Key for a Door Lock 1 6 .. By Do paid Thomas Brierly (Armourer of the Ship Severn) for making Iron Bolts &c for Gun Carriages 1 10 .. Feby 1 By Do to Captain Joseph Collier commander of Ship Severn for Cape Garden Seeds &c 2 11 4 Carried over 1704 18 9 Carried over 6 19 ..	The two-sided paymaster's cash account for the quarter opened with the debtor side. 1748 March 31, to cash received from the Company's cash chest, £1,704 18s 9d Carried over, £1,704 18s 9d The credit side, showing the payments out, ran as follows. 1748 January 8, by cash paid Abraham Rollof for coming express with word of a ship to windward, £0 5s 0d January 26, by cash paid Joseph Browne for 40 lb of tamarin bought for the Company's general table at 8d the pound, £1 6s 8d January 30, by cash paid William Hornby, armourer of the Stafford, for making 6 iron stanchions and braces for the landing place, one bolt for a bridle and making a key for a door lock, £1 6s 0d The *Severn* then took the next payment. By cash paid Thomas Brierly, armourer of the *Severn*, for making iron bolts and other work for the gun carriages, £1 10s 0d. February 1, by cash paid Captain Joseph Collier, commander of the ship... The *Severn* again carried the entry, Captain Joseph Collier her commander being paid for Cape garden seeds and other goods, £2 11s 4d. Carried over, £6 19s 0d **Interpretations** The paymaster hired the armourers of the ships in the road, Hornby of the *Stafford* and Brierly of the *Severn*, to make the ironwork the settlement needed for its landing place and gun carriages, drawing on the skilled tradesmen the fleet brought rather than on the island's own hands. St Helena kept no armourer of its own at this time, the office standing vacant and the arms tended by a soldier for an allowance, so the board turned the passing ships' craftsmen to its own iron work, the shipping supplying skilled labour as well as goods. The Cape garden seeds bought of Captain Collier of the *Severn* show the island reaching to the Cape of Good Hope for the means of its own gardening, the seeds carried by a ship that had touched there on her passage. St Helena's temperate climate and southern seasons suited European vegetables, but its stock of seed had to be renewed from outside, so the board took the chance of a Cape-bound ship to lay in what its gardens wanted, the small purchase marking how the settlement drew even its seed corn from the traffic that passed its road.
236	247	19 April Brought over 1704 18 9 Carried over 1704 18 9	The debtor side of the paymaster's cash account carried its total forward unchanged across the leaf, the receipts standing at £1,704 18s 9d brought over and £1,704 18s 9d carried over, the intervening space struck through with the accountant's diagonal cancelling line.
237	248	1748 Brought over	The credit side of the paymaster's cash account continued, the payments carried over at £6 19s 0d.

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		6 19 .. 1748 March 31 By Cash paid John Watkins for Working, Overseeing and takeing care of the Corn and Cattle in the Great Wood this Quarter 6 10 .. By Do paid William Doston his Allowance for making up Medicines &c and Afsisting the Surgeon Mr Salvener this Quarter 3 8 3 By Do to Sundry Persons for Rowing in the Pinnace this Quarter 10 to each as may appear by their several Receipts in the Receipt Book 4 10 .. By Do paid Isaac Leech for four Days Work in inventing of Flags in this Quarter 10 .. By Do to Stephen Willingham for Baking 60 Batches of Bread for the Garrison in this Quarter at 1 8 P Batch 5 5 .. By Do paid Anthony Day for 9 1/2 Days Work in Mowing and Grubbing up Furze in the Honble Companys Padocks in this Quarter at 1 3 P Day 4 8 9 By Do paid Edward Dinver for making a flint like Saddle and four Straps to Do and for making 24 Lime Bags at 3 each in this Quarter 11 .. By Do paid Samuel Colee for 3 1/2 Days Work in Greineng of Wood and Painting of Gun Carriage at 2 6 P day in this Quarter 9 .. By Do to Abraham Major for burning Fences for the Lampers and paveing Ware Roof in this Quarter 6 .. By Do paid Matthew Gurling for 40 Rafters at 1 each two loads at 2 P6 ea and 3 loads of Laths at 3 each for the repair of the Honble Company Blacks Houses in the Country in this Quarter 2 14 .. By Do paid John Smith and John Swaite for Snatching 99 1/2 Bushels of Barley in this Quarter at 6 P Bushel 11 3 Carried over 36 ..	1748 March 31, by cash paid John Watkins for overseeing and taking care of the corn and cattle in the Great Wood this quarter, £6 10s 0d By cash paid William Dutton his allowance for making up medicines and assisting the surgeon over and above his salary this quarter, £3 8s 3d By cash paid sundry persons for rowing in the pinnace this quarter, 10s each as appears by their several receipts in the receipt book, £4 10s 0d By cash paid Isaac Leech for four days' work in winnowing the yams this quarter, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Stephen Willoughby for baking 63 batches of bread for the garrison this quarter at 1s 8d the batch, £5 5s 0d By cash paid Anthony Day for 78 days' work in mowing and grubbing up furze in the Horse Pasture and paddocks this quarter at 1s 3d the day, £4 8s 9d By cash paid Edward Deuce for making a pair of laced saddle and four straps to ditto and for making 24 lime bags at 3d each this quarter, £0 11s 0d By cash paid Samuel Eiles for 3.5 days' work in greasing and painting the gun carriages at 2s the day this quarter, £0 7s 0d By cash paid Abraham Major for burning lime for the lampers and paving their wharf this quarter, £0 6s 0d By cash paid Matthew Girling for 40 baskets at 1s each two loads at 2s 6d and 3 loads of laths at 3s each for the repair of the Company's blacks' houses in the country this quarter, £2 14s 0d By cash paid John Smith and John Bruerly for threshing 99.5 bushels of barley this quarter at 6d the bushel, £2 11s 3d Carried over, £36 0s 3d **Interpretations** The paymaster's account records the whole spread of hired day-labour that kept the settlement running, the mowing and grubbing of furze, the winnowing and threshing of the grain, the baking of the garrison's bread and the tending of the corn and cattle in the Great Wood. This was the grain-farming scheme in full operation, the Company paying soldiers and others by the day to raise, thresh and bake its own barley, so that the establishment fed itself from crops it grew and milled rather than relying wholly on imported flour, the labour reckoned to the day and bushel. The payment to Matthew Girling for baskets, laths and loads to repair the Company's blacks' houses in the country shows the upkeep of the slaves' dwellings drawing hired labour and materials as a standing quarterly charge. The same houses the storekeeper's account had supplied with nails, cordage and oil were kept in repair through the paymaster's cash as well, so the maintenance of the enslaved workforce's housing ran through both accounts, the Company meeting the cost of keeping its slaves lodged as a regular and divided expense.
238	249	19 April Brought over 1704 18 9 1704 18 9	The debtor side of the paymaster's cash account carried its total forward unchanged across the leaf, the receipts standing at £1,704 18s 9d brought over and £1,704 18s 9d carried over, the intervening space struck through with the accountant's diagonal cancelling line.
239	250	1747 Brought over 36 .. 3 1748 March 31 By Cash paid Edward Cullemore Edward Terry and Duncan McLarren each for 7 Days Work at the Fortification at Lemon Valley in this Quarter at 1 P Day 1 1 ..	The credit side of the paymaster's cash account continued, the payments carried over at £36 0s 3d. 1748 March 31, by cash paid Edward Cullemore, Edward Ferry and Duncan McLarren each for 7 days' work at the fortification at Lemon Valley this quarter at 1s the day, £1 1s 0d By cash paid the Company's officers and servants their several salaries and diet money for the quarter beginning 1 January 1748 and ending 31 March 1748 as appears by the pay list, £1,667 17s 6d

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		By Do paid the Honble Companys Officers and Servants their several Salaries Diet Money &c for the Quarter Commencing the 1 Day of January 1747 and ending the 31 March 1748 as may appear P the Pay List 1667 17 6 1704 18 9 Counted, and Examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month last past, and found the same in the following Species, Vizt	Total, £1,704 18s 9d The board then counted and examined the Company's cash for the month last past, and found it in the following specie. **Interpretations** The whole quarter's pay list of £1,667 17s 6d entered here as a single line on the credit side, against the day-labour and small charges reckoned item by item, shows how the paymaster's cash account gathered the establishment's salaries into one great payment while accounting for the incidental works in detail. The pay roll had already broken that sum down man by man, so the cash account carried it as one figure and gave its space instead to the mowing, threshing, baking and fortification labour, the two accounts together giving both the total and the particulars of what the Company paid out. The soldiers set to work at the Lemon Valley fortification at a shilling the day, like those in the pasture and the barn, mark the continuing use of the garrison as a labour force on the island's defences and farming. A soldier's pay did not confine him to guard duty, and the board hired its own men by the day for the works when they could be spared, so the fortifications rose partly by the paid labour of the garrison itself, the establishment serving as both defenders and builders of the place they held.
240	251	19 April Cash Dr 1747 March 1 To Balance remaining 4191 13 4 1/2 1748 Do 31 To Matthew Gurling for so much received of him for Store Goods Sold in the Quarter Ending this day 816 18 5 To Lycences received for Ten Publick Houses 15 .. To Plantation received of Roger Newman for Provisions sold at Market this Month 53 10 4	The two-sided treasury cash account opened with the debtor side. 1748 March 1, to balance remaining, £4,191 13s 0.5d 1748 March 31, to Matthew Purling for so much received of him for the goods sold in the quarter ending this day, £816 18s 5d To licences received for ten public houses, £15 0s 0d To plantation, received of Roger Nevanson for provisions sold at market this month, £53 10s 4d **Interpretations** The treasury opened the month on a balance of £4,191 13s 0.5d, near steady with the winter's counts, the great bulk of the island's cash lying idle in foreign specie in the castle chest. The chief receipts were the storekeeper's takings of £816 for the quarter's goods sold, the ten public-house licences and the market money for provisions, so the treasury drew its income from the store's trade, the drink licences and the sale of the herd's produce, the settlement turning over its own goods and its imports for the coin that filled the chest. The market provisions bought of Roger Nevanson and paid into the treasury show the Company running the island's meat market through a steward who accounted to it for the takings. Nevanson sold the beef and other provisions at the market and rendered the money to the chest, so the Company controlled the supply of fresh meat to the settlement and drew a revenue from it, the market money entered among the treasury's receipts as a regular monthly return from the herd the board managed.
241	252	1748 Per Contra Cr 1748 March 31 By Sundry Accounts advanced the Paymaster this Month 1700 11 1 By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 1 P Gold wt 11 15 4 at 3 18 3 46 1 8 1/4 1 P Do 3 9 12 3 18 13 11 3/4 2738 Pagodas @ 8	The credit side of the treasury cash account showed the payments out and the balance remaining, counted coin by coin. 1748 March 31, by sundry accounts advanced the paymaster this month, £1,700 11s 1d By balance remaining in the following specie: 1 lb of gold at 19 oz 15 dwt 18 gr at £3 18s 3d, £46 1s 8.5d 1 lb of gold, 3 oz 9 dwt 12 gr at £3 18s, £13 11s 2.5d 2,738 pagodas at 8s, £1,095 4s 0d 1 barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 sequin, £1 16s 0d

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		1095 4 .. 1 Barbary Chequin 9 1 Larines 1 16 164 Venetians 10 82 .. 3 3/8 Moidores 27 4 1 1 1/2 20 Galbers 6 6 .. 12 Gold Rupees 30 18 .. Gold Amounting to 1267 6 1/2 5677 Dollars 6 1421 5 .. 4663 half Reals 3 3/4 71 5 11 1/4 518 1/2 Rupees 2 3 61 14 1 1/2 30 1/2 Ducatoons 6 9 3 .. 441 French Pieces Do 3 15 6 Bad Money 8 3/4 Silver Amounting to 1570 9 7 146 Cash Notes 40 292 .. 162 Do 20 162 .. 259 Do 5 64 15 .. 160 Do 2 6 20 .. Cash Notes Amounting to 538 15 .. 3376 10 8 1/2 5077 1 9 1/2 Cha: Hutchinson John Clark	164 Venetians at 10s, £82 0s 0d 3.5 moidores at 27s, £4 14s 4.5d 20 gubbers at 6s, £6 0s 0d 12 gold rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d gold amounting to, £1,267 6s 1.5d 5,627 dollars at 6s, £1,421 5s 0d 4,663 half dollars at 3s, £71 5s 11.5d 548.5 pieces at 2s 3d, £61 14s 1.5d 30.5 ducatoons at 6s, £9 3s 0d 441 French pieces at 2d, £3 13s 6d odd money, £0 8s 3.5d silver amounting to, £1,570 9s 7d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 259 cash notes at 5s, £64 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d cash notes amounting to, £538 15s 0d £3,376 10s 8.5d £5,077 1s 9.5d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The treasury's whole balance lay almost entirely in foreign gold and silver, the pagodas of the Indian coast, the Spanish dollars, the Venetian sequins, the moidores and gubbers, with barely an English coin among the thousands. St Helena stood at the crossing of the Company's eastern and Atlantic trades, and the coin that passed through it was the money of every port its ships touched, so the chest held a museum of the world's specie, the settlement's own cash notes the only paper of the island's own making among the imported metal. The pagodas, the gold coin of the Madras coast, stood at 2,738 in the count at a fixed eight shillings, a great store of Indian gold held in the chest of an Atlantic island. Their steady presence and rated value show how far the Company's Indian trade reached back to St Helena, the homeward ships paying for their refreshment and stores in the coin they carried from the coast, so the treasury of a small mid-ocean garrison was filled with the gold of Fort St George, converted to sterling at a rate the board kept constant.
242	253	26 April At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 26 Day of April 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Sunday 24 Died Richard, Son of Benjamin Seal Planter. Sailed the Lynn, Captain Gilbert, the York Captain Lascelles, the Stafford Captain Baker, the Norfolk Captain Hancock, the Grantham, Captain Wilson the Dragon Captain Kent, the Prince Edward Captain Wilkins, and the Onslow, Captain Hind (late Congreve) for Europe, by the Lynn, we transmitted the necessary Advices to the Honble Company. The Accomptant brought in his Journal Parcels for the Quarter ending 31 March last, which were Examined and approved, and Ordered to be entered The Slaves and Bread in the Honble Companys Store being near expended, we applied to the Captains of their Ships to give us some Rice and Cattle, if they possibly could who told us that they would let us have the following Quantitys if we received Salt provisions with them, at the price it came invoiced to us from England; To which, in our present situation, we thought our Selves obliged to agree & we bought of Captain Lascelles 8 P 1 Rice @ 14 P Peculs 4 10 9	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 26 April 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Richard, son of the planter Benjamin Seal, died on Sunday 24 April. The *Lynn*, commanded by Captain Gilbert, the *York*, commanded by Captain Lascelles, the *Stafford*, commanded by Captain Baher, the *Norfolk*, commanded by Captain Hancock, the *Grantham*, commanded by Captain Wilson, the *Dragon*, commanded by Captain Wood, the *Prince Edward*, commanded by Captain Skottowe, and the *Onslow*, commanded by Captain Hind, all belonging to the late Company, sailed for Europe. The board sent home the annual advices to the Company by the *Lynn*. The accountant brought in his journal parcels for the quarter ending 31 March, which were examined, approved and ordered entered. The slaves and bread in the Company's store being near expended, the board applied to the captains of their ships to spare it some rice and cabbage, so far as they could. They replied that they would let the board have the following quantities of the salt provisions with which they came invoiced from England, at the price they had cost. In its present situation the board thought itself obliged to agree, and bought of Captain Lascelles and Captain Baher as follows. Of Captain Lascelles: 8 tierces of rice at £4 10s 9d, £4 10s 9d 8 candareens of cabbage, £4 12s 1d

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		8 2 14 Colaroones ea 4 12 1 4 Punch Beef 1018 3 43 13 52 15 10 of Capt Baker 4 P 2 24 Rice @ 14 P 5 4 6 4 Chest Pork 7 18 4 31 13 4 4 Punch Beef 10 18 3 43 13 81 10 Carried over 153 16 8	4 puncheons of beef at £10 18s 3d each, £43 13s 0d, £52 15s 10d Of Captain Baher: 2 tierces of pork at £5 4s 6d each, £5 4s 6d 4 tierces of pork at £7 18s 4d each, £31 13s 4d 4 puncheons of beef at £10 18s 3d each, £43 13s 0d, £81 0s 10d Carried over, £133 16s 8d **Interpretations** The board's application to its own homeward captains for rice, cabbage and salt provisions, buying back at cost the very goods the ships carried from England, shows the store running short of the staples that fed the slaves and the garrison just as the season's fleet prepared to sail. With its own bread and slave provisions near exhausted and no supply ship yet come, the board turned to the departing Indiamen as a last resource, taking their invoiced provisions at the price they had cost so that the settlement should not want while it waited on the next store ship. The purchase of salt provisions from the ships marks the reversal of the usual flow, the store that ordinarily victualled the fleet now buying from it in a pinch. St Helena existed to supply the passing ships, yet here the exhaustion of its own stores forced it to draw on the fleet's provisions to feed its people, a plain sign of how narrowly the island's supply ran between one store ship and the next, the board obliged by present necessity to buy where it commonly sold.
243	254	1748 Brought over 153 16 8 Of Capt Hind 8 P 1 Rice at 14 P Pic 4 11 .. 2 Punch Beef 10 18 3 21 16 6 2 Chest Pork 7 18 4 15 16 8 Of Capt Haldane 8 2 1 Rice @ 14 P 10 8 4 41 4 2 8 Punch Beef 10 18 3 130 19 .. 21 1 8 Cattle to Each and make Price of at 8 P Pic 12 10 7 153 17 8 328 18 6 Fish being much wanted, for the support of the Honble Companys Slaves and we haveing only a very small Yawl that is not fit to go to Windward, where there are the Coast, and best to be caught, we agreed to buy a large one from Captain Haldane, for which with the Oars and Sails we paid the Gainers. Cha: Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 4 Day of May 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed Thursday 28 April Died John Ford and James Allis Soldiers. Yesterday arrived the following Dutch Ships from the Cape, under the Command of Admiral Waltherine vizt List	The purchase of provisions from the ships continued, the earlier goods carried over at £133 16s 8d. Brought over, £133 16s 8d Of Captain Hind: 3 tierces 2 hundredweight 1 quarter of rice at 10s 8d the hundredweight, £4 11s 0d 2 puncheons of beef at £10 18s 3d each, £21 16s 6d 2 tierces of pork at £7 18s 4d each, £15 16s 8d, £42 4s 2d Of Captain Haldane: 3 tierces 2 hundredweight 1 quarter of rice at 10s 8d the hundredweight, £10 8s 7d 3 puncheons of beef at £10 18s 3d each, £30 19s 0d 21 hundredweight 1 quarter 8 lb of candy to each, and made price of at 8s the hundredweight, £12 10s 7d, £53 17s 8d £328 18s 6d Fish being much wanted for the support of the Company's slaves, and the board having only a very small yawl not fit to go to windward where the coast and best fishing lay, it agreed to buy a larger boat from Captain Haldane, for which, with the oars and sails, it paid six guineas. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the castle on Wednesday 4 May 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. John Ford and James Allis, soldiers, died on Thursday 28 April. The following Dutch ships arrived from the Cape the previous day, under the command of Admiral Molthenius. **Interpretations** The board's purchase of a larger boat from Captain Haldane to reach the windward fishing grounds shows it acting to secure the fishery that fed its slaves rather than depend on its unfit yawl. The small yawl could not work the coast where the fish ran best, so the board spent six guineas on a seaworthy boat with its gear, treating the means of catching fish as an investment in feeding its enslaved

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			workforce, the same want of provisions that had driven it to buy salt stores from the fleet now met by improving its own fishing. The rice bought of the captains reckoned by the hundredweight at a fixed rate, the beef by the puncheon and the pork by the tierce, shows the board taking the ships' provisions in their shipboard measures and pricing each at what it had cost by invoice. Buying a mixed parcel from four separate captains in the units each carried, the board assembled the supply it needed piecemeal from the departing fleet, the account preserving the origin and measure of every lot as it made up the settlement's want from what the ships could spare.
244	255	4 May List of the Dutch Fleet, Commanded by Admiral Woltherius. Vizt Ships, Commanders, Ports they came from, Burthen, Guns, Men, Lading Haerlem: Hond de Ruyter, 800 Burthen, 40 Guns, 150 Men Over Schie: Marten Vanden Wan, 620 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men de Hoop: Gerrit Wm de Vos, 620 Burthen, 30 Guns, 115 Men, Batavia, Coffee, Spices Voon Sightskeyt: Cornelis de Graff, 620 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men, & Salt Petre Diesboff: Mattys Van Son, 620 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men Buere Sande: Watte Marreman, 620 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men Gustaaff Willem: Huybout Libout, 800 Burthen, 40 Guns, 120 Men Zuyderbergh: Jean Beleveaux, 800 Burthen, 40 Guns, 120 Men Noordenbon: Hend Volthem, 800 Burthen, 40 Guns, 120 Men, China, Tea, and Orennes: Adriaen de Graaff, 800 Burthen, 40 Guns, 120 Men, China Ware Pasgelt: Cornelius Julyans, 620 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men S Huys Marpat: Willem A Stoen, 620 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men S Phandenvout: Jan Duriote, 620 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men, Bengal, White Cloth Genogtighoyt: Cornelis Trappel, 620 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men, & Muslins S Phillebroyk: Cornelis de Vos, 700 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men Sparen ryk: Harman Schutte, 620 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men, Cowries, White Herbroslyk: Jacob Wieblen, 700 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men, Cloth, and Wout Handoup: Simon V Briel, 700 Burthen, 36 Guns, 115 Men, Spices This morning came in a Hooker from the Cape, with Letters for the Dutch Admiral. Inlisted Thomas Pledger to serve the Honble Company as a Soldier for five Years, to whom we paid five Guineas Bounty Money. Cha: Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 10 day of May 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved & Signed. Sunday	The list of the Dutch fleet commanded by Admiral Molthenius ran as follows, each ship set against her commander, the port she came from, her burthen in tons, her guns, her men and her lading. Haerlem, Hendrik de Ruyter, 800 tons, 40 guns, 150 men Over Schie, Marten Vander Wan, 620 tons, 36 guns, 115 men De Hoop, Gerrit Willem de Vos, from Batavia, 620 tons, 30 guns, 115 men, coffee and spices Van Sitigheyt, Cornelis de Graaf, from Batavia, 620 tons, 36 guns, 115 men, gold, salt and pepper Dieshoek, Mattys Van Son, from Batavia, 620 tons, 36 guns, 115 men Buure Sande, Wolter Marreman, from Batavia, 620 tons, 36 guns, 115 men Gustaaf Willem, Huybert Tibout, 800 tons, 40 guns, 120 men Zuyderbergh, Jean Beleveaux, 800 tons, 40 guns, 120 men Overdenaan, Hendrik Volkiers, from China, 800 tons, 40 guns, 120 men, tea and chinaware Orennes, Adriaen de Graaff, from China, 800 tons, 40 guns, 120 men Pasgelt, Cornelius Julryans, 620 tons, 36 guns, 115 men D'Huys de Marpat, Willem Stoen, 620 tons, 36 guns, 115 men, white cloth and muslins Sphandenevout, Jan Duriele, from Bengal, 620 tons, 36 guns, 115 men Genegtigheyt, Cornelis Trappel, from Bengal, 620 tons, 36 guns, 115 men Whullenoyk, Cornelis de Vos, 700 tons, 36 guns, 115 men Sparen ryk, Harman Schutte, from Ceylon, 620 tons, 36 guns, 115 men, cowries and white cloth Herhoolyk, Jacob Wieblen, from Ceylon, 700 tons, 36 guns, 115 men Woutt Handsdorp, Simon Van Briel, from Ceylon, 700 tons, 36 guns, 115 men, cloth and spices A hooker came in from the Cape that morning with letters for the Dutch admiral. The board enlisted Thomas Pledger to serve the Company as a soldier for five years, and paid him a bounty of five guineas. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 10 May 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. **Interpretations** The great Dutch homeward fleet of eighteen ships under an admiral, gathered from Batavia, China, Bengal and Ceylon and touching at St Helena together, shows the scale on which the rival Dutch company moved its trade and the island's use as a rendezvous even for foreign fleets. A convoy of this size, heavily gunned against the wartime risk, carried the whole range of eastern goods, the coffee and spices of Batavia, the tea and chinaware of China, the cloth of Bengal and the cowries of Ceylon, so the

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			board recorded a passing display of the entire Dutch eastern commerce assembled in its road. The cowries entered among the lading of a Ceylon ship were the small shells that served as currency in the West African trade, carried the whole way from the Indian Ocean to buy slaves on the Guinea coast. Their presence in the Dutch fleet's cargo points to the wider Atlantic system into which this eastern trade fed, the shells of one ocean gathered to purchase the human cargo of another, a glimpse from St Helena's road of the vast reach of the traffic that passed the island.
245	256	1748 Sunday 8 Arrived the St George, Capt Robinson, from China Monday 9 arrived a Hooker, from the Cape. Sailed the Dutch Fleet for Europe, by which opportunity we sent a Letter to the Honble Company The Plantation, Gunners, and Stewards Accounts, were brought in for the Month of April last: which were Examined, and approved and are as follows, Vizt Gunners Stores Expended in April 1748 Guns, 1 Man, 2 Man, 3 Man, Powder Expended the day of the month 2 Powder to the funeral of Lieut John Barton: 6 3 Alarm: 6 Guns, 4 1 Man, 2 3 Man, 13 Powder 3 Alarm: 3 Guns, 2 1 Man, 1 3 Man, 6 1/2 Powder 3 Arrived the Stafford Capt Baker & the York Capt Lascelles: 20 Guns, 20 3 Man, 20 Powder 3 Alarm: 6 Guns, 4 1 Man, 2 3 Man, 13 Powder 4 Alarm: 3 Guns, 2 1 Man, 1 3 Man, 6 1/2 Powder 4 Arrived the Prince Edward Capt Haldane, and a Dane Ship: 19 Guns, 1 1 Man, 15 2 Man, 3 3 Man, 18 1/2 Powder Alarm: 6 Guns, 4 1 Man, 2 3 Man, 13 Powder 5 Alarm: 9 Guns, 9 3 Man, 9 Powder 6 Arrived the Lynn Capt Gilbert: 11 Guns, 8 1 Man, 3 3 Man, 25 1/2 Powder 6 A Double Alarm 7 Arrived the Norfolk Capt Hancock, the Onslow Capt Hind and the Grantham Capt Wilson: 25 Guns, 24 2 Man, 1 3 Man, 24 1/2 Powder Alarm: 6 Guns, 4 1 Man, 2 3 Man, 13 Powder 8 Arrived the Dragon Capt Kent: 9 Guns, 9 3 Man, 9 Powder 12 Departed the Dane Ship: 9 Guns, 9 3 Man, 9 Powder 15 Departed the Lynn Capt Gilbert, the York Capt Lascelles, the Stafford Capt Baker, the 24 Onslow Capt Hind, the Prince Edward Capt Haldane, the Grantham Capt Wilson, the Norfolk Capt Hancock, & the Dragon Capt Kent: 21 Guns, 2 1 Man, 1 2 Man, 15 3 Man, 24 1/2 Powder Powder for priming at the Main Fort: 12 Powder for priming at Bankes: 9 Powder for priming at Prospects: 3 Powder for priming at Vandeddon: 3 Powder for priming at the Ridge houses: 3 Powder for Segnals at the out forts: 3 1/2 Carried over 153 Guns, 30 1 Man, 2 2 Man, 101 3 Man, 20 274 1/2 Powder	On Sunday 8 May the *St George*, commanded by Captain Robinson, arrived from China. On Monday 9 May a hooker arrived from the Cape. The Dutch fleet sailed for Europe, and the board sent a letter to the Company by that opportunity. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month of April were brought in, examined and approved. The gunner's stores expended in April 1748 ran as follows, the powder given in pounds under the columns for the several charges, guns, first, second and third firings, and the total expended. 2 April, powder to the funeral of Lieutenant John Barton, guns 6, third firing 2, total 6.5 3 April, alarm, guns 6, first firing 4, third firing 2, total 13 3 April, alarm, guns 3, first firing 2, third firing 1, total 6.5 3 April, arrived the Stafford, Captain Baher, and the York, Captain Lascelles, guns 20, third firing 20, total 20 3 April, alarm, guns 6, first firing 4, third firing 2, total 13 4 April, alarm, guns 3, first firing 2, third firing 1, total 6.5 4 April, arrived the Prince Edward, Captain Haldane, and a Dane ship, guns 19, second firing 1, third firing 15, total 18.5 5 April, alarm, guns 6, first firing 4, third firing 2, total 13 5 April, alarm, guns 9, third firing 9, total 9 6 April, a double alarm, guns 11, first firing 8, third firing 3, total 25.5 6 April, arrived the Lynn, Captain Gilbert, guns 25, second firing 24, third firing 1, total 24.5 7 April, arrived the Norfolk, Captain Hancock, the Onslow, Captain Hind, and the Grantham, Captain Wilson, guns 6, first firing 4, third firing 2, total 13 8 April, alarm, guns 9, third firing 9, total 9 9 April, arrived the Dragon, Captain Wood, guns 9, third firing 9, total 9 13 April, departed the Dane ship, and 26 April departed the Lynn, Captain Gilbert, the York, Captain Lascelles, the Stafford, Captain Baher, the Onslow, Captain Hind, the Prince Edward, Captain Haldane, the Grantham, Captain Wilson, the Norfolk, Captain Hancock, and the Dragon, Captain Wood, guns 21, first firing 2, second firing 1, third firing 15, total 24.5 Powder for priming at the main fort, 42 Powder for priming at Banks's, 9 Powder for priming at Rupert's, 3 Powder for priming at Two Gun Ridge, 3 Powder for priming at the Ridge houses, 3.5 Powder for signals at the outforts, [...] Carried over, guns 153, first firing 30, second firing 2, third firing 101, priming 20, total 274.5 **Interpretations** The gunner's account this month is dominated by the salutes fired to the great fleet as it came in and sailed, near two hundred pounds of powder spent greeting and speeding the China and Bencoolen ships in the first week of April and the whole fleet's

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			departure on the 26th. The heavy expenditure marks the season's peak of shipping in the road, the guns answering each arrival and firing the parting salute to eight ships at once, so the powder book registers in its columns the coming and going of the year's chief traffic. The run of alarms through the first week of April, several in a single day and one a double alarm, shows the garrison repeatedly called to arms as the ships appeared off the island in wartime. A strange sail could not be known for friend until she was near, and each raised the alarm and its answering fire, so the powder spent on alarms sat beside the salutes in the account, the island's watchfulness against an enemy and its welcome to the fleet both reckoned in the same charges of powder through a crowded and anxious week.
246	257	1748 Sunday 8 Arrived the St George, Capt Robinson, from China Monday 9 arrived a Hooker, from the Cape. Sailed the Dutch Fleet for Europe, by which opportunity we sent a Letter to the Honble Company The Plantation, Gunners, and Stewards Accounts, were brought in for the Month of April last: which were Examined, and approved and are as follows, Vizt Gunners Stores Expended in April 1748 Guns, 4 Man, 3 Man, 2 Man, 1 Man, Powder Expended the day of the month 2 Powder to the funeral of Lieut John Barton: 6 1/4 3 Alarm: 6 Guns, 4 4 Man, 2 1 Man, 13 Powder 3 Alarm: 3 Guns, 2 4 Man, 1 1 Man, 6 1/2 Powder 3 Arrived the Stafford Capt Baker & the York Capt Lascelles: 20 Guns, 20 2 Man, 20 Powder 3 Alarm: 6 Guns, 4 4 Man, 2 1 Man, 13 Powder 4 Alarm: 3 Guns, 2 4 Man, 1 1 Man, 6 1/2 Powder 4 Arrived the Prince Edward Capt Haldane, and a Dane Ship: 19 Guns, 1 3 Man, 15 2 Man, 3 1 Man, 18 1/2 Powder Alarm: 6 Guns, 4 4 Man, 2 1 Man, 13 Powder 5 Alarm: 9 Guns, 9 1 Man, 9 Powder 6 Arrived the Lynn Capt Gilbert: 11 Guns, 8 4 Man, 3 1 Man, 25 1/2 Powder 6 A Double Alarm 7 Arrived the Norfolk Capt Hancock, the Onslow Capt Hind and the Grantham Capt Wilson: 25 Guns, 24 2 Man, 1 1 Man, 24 1/2 Powder Alarm: 6 Guns, 4 4 Man, 2 1 Man, 13 Powder 8 Arrived the Dragon Capt Kent: 9 Guns, 9 1 Man, 9 Powder 12 Departed the Dane Ship: 9 Guns, 9 1 Man, 9 Powder 15 Departed the Lynn Capt Gilbert, the York Capt Lascelles, the Stafford Capt Baker, the 24 Onslow Capt Hind, the Prince Edward Capt Haldane, the Grantham Capt Wilson, the Norfolk Capt Hancock, & the Dragon Capt Kent: 21 Guns, 2 4 Man, 1 3 Man, 15 2 Man, 3 1 Man, 24 1/2 Powder Powder for priming at the Main Fort: 12 Powder for priming at Bankes: 9 Powder for priming at Prospects: 3 Powder for priming at Vandeddon: 3 Powder for priming at the Ridge houses: 3 Powder for Segnals at the out forts: 3 1/2 Carried over 153 Guns, 30 4 Man, 2 3 Man, 101 2 Man, 20 1 Man, 284 1/4 Powder	The gunner's account for April 1748, with the column headings now legible from the second view, ran as follows, the figures showing the guns fired and the powder expended at the fourpound, threepound, twopound and onepound firings. 2 April, powder to the funeral of Lieutenant John Barton, guns fired 6, at the onepound firing 2, powder expended 6.5 lb 3 April, alarm, guns fired 6, at the fourpound firing 4, at the onepound firing 2, powder expended 13 lb 3 April, alarm, guns fired 3, at the fourpound firing 2, at the onepound firing 1, powder expended 6.5 lb 3 April, arrived the Stafford, Captain Baher, and the York, Captain Lascelles, guns fired 20, at the twopound firing 20, powder expended 20 lb 3 April, alarm, guns fired 6, at the fourpound firing 4, at the onepound firing 2, powder expended 13 lb 4 April, alarm, guns fired 3, at the fourpound firing 2, at the onepound firing 1, powder expended 6.5 lb 4 April, arrived the Prince Edward, Captain Haldane, and a Dane ship, guns fired 19, at the threepound firing 1, at the twopound firing 15, at the onepound firing 3, powder expended 18.5 lb 5 April, alarm, guns fired 6, at the fourpound firing 4, at the onepound firing 2, powder expended 13 lb 6 April, alarm, guns fired 9, at the twopound firing 9, powder expended 9 lb 6 April, a double alarm, guns fired 11, at the fourpound firing 8, at the onepound firing 3, powder expended 25.5 lb 6 April, arrived the Lynn, Captain Gilbert, guns fired 25, at the twopound firing 24, at the onepound firing 1, powder expended 24.5 lb 7 April, arrived the Norfolk, Captain Hancock, the Onslow, Captain Hind, and the Grantham, Captain Wilson, guns fired 6, at the fourpound firing 4, at the onepound firing 2, powder expended 13 lb 8 April, alarm, guns fired 9, at the twopound firing 9, powder expended 9 lb 9 April, arrived the Dragon, Captain Wood, guns fired 9, at the twopound firing 9, powder expended 9 lb 13 April, departed the Dane ship, and 26 April departed the Lynn, Captain Gilbert, the York, Captain Lascelles, the Stafford, Captain Baher, the Onslow, Captain Hind, the Prince Edward, Captain Haldane, the Grantham, Captain Wilson, the Norfolk, Captain Hancock, and the Dragon, Captain Wood, guns fired 21, at the fourpound firing 2, at the threepound firing 1, at the twopound firing 15, at the onepound firing 3, powder expended 24.5 lb Powder for priming at the main fort, 42 lb Powder for priming at Banks's, 9 lb

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			Powder for priming at Rupert's, 3 lb Powder for priming at Two Gun Ridge, 3 lb Powder for priming at the Ridge houses, 3.5 lb Powder for signals at the outforts, 1 lb Carried over, guns fired 153, at the fourpound firing 30, at the threepound firing 2, at the twopound firing 101, at the onepound firing 20, powder expended 284.5 lb This account was signed by John French. **Interpretations** The gunner reckoned his powder by the size of the firing charge, the guns loaded to four, three, two or one pound according to the occasion, so a salute or alarm was graded by the weight of powder each gun carried. The heavy fourpound charges fell on the alarms, where a full report was wanted to rouse and warn, while the lighter twopound charges served the salutes to shipping, the account showing the gunner matching his powder to the purpose of each firing and reckoning the whole by the standard weights of his trade. The priming powder charged separately for each battery and outpost, the main fort, Banks's, Rupert's, Two Gun Ridge and the Ridge houses, records the powder spent keeping the guns of every station ready to fire at a moment's warning. A garrison always on the watch for an enemy had to keep its scattered batteries primed, and this steady consumption, apart from the salutes and alarms, marks the constant readiness the island maintained across all its works, the powder book accounting for the cost of standing guard as well as the cost of firing.
247	258	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of April 1748. Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Baronets, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaining 1: 3 Bulls, 96 Cows, 50 Calves, 37 Yearlings, 27 Heifers, 16 Steers, 13 Oxen, 242 Total, 120 Ewes, 18 Weathers, 46 Lambs, 5 Rams, 189 Total, 108 Ewes, 28 Weathers, 24 Kids, 6 Rams, 166 Total, 14 Sows, 3 Baronets, 28 Shoats, 29 Piggs, 2 Boars, 76 Total, 29 Turkeys, 240 Fowls, 28 Ducks, 26 Geese, 7 Horses, 3 Mares, 10 Total Encreased: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 0 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Oxen, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 36 Lambs, 0 Rams, 36 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Kids, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Baronets, 0 Shoats, 0 Piggs, 0 Boars, 0 Total, 0 Turkeys, 10 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total 3 Bulls, 96 Cows, 50 Calves, 37 Yearlings, 27 Heifers, 16 Steers, 13 Oxen, 242 Total, 120 Ewes, 18 Weathers, 82 Lambs, 5 Rams, 225 Total, 108 Ewes, 28 Weathers, 24 Kids, 6 Rams, 166 Total, 14 Sows, 3 Baronets, 28 Shoats, 29 Piggs, 2 Boars, 76 Total, 29 Turkeys, 250 Fowls, 28 Ducks, 26 Geese, 7 Horses, 3 Mares, 10 Total Killd: 0 Bulls, 3 Cows, 0 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 7 Heifers, 12 Steers, 5 Oxen, 27 Total, 3 Ewes, 4 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 7 Total, 0 Ewes, 4 Weathers, 0 Kids, 0 Rams, 4 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Baronets, 0 Shoats, 0 Piggs, 0 Boars, 0 Total, 3 Turkeys, 15 Fowls, 11 Ducks, 1 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total Sent on board ye Dragon: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 0 Calves, 2 Yearlings, 2 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Oxen, 4 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 6 Weathers, 0 Kids, 0 Rams, 6 Total, 1 Sows, 0 Baronets, 3 Shoats, 0 Piggs, 0 Boars, 4 Total, 6 Turkeys, 60 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total Died: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 1 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Oxen, 1 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 2 Ewes, 1 Weathers, 0 Kids, 0 Rams, 3 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Baronets, 3 Shoats, 0 Piggs, 0	The account of the Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of April 1748 ran as follows, each class of animal set against its figure under the several headings of neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry and horses. Remaining 1 April: Neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 96, calves 50, yearlings 37, heifers 27, steers 16, oxen 13, total 242 Sheep: ewes 120, wethers 18, lambs 46, rams 5, total 189 Goats: goats 108, wethers 28, kids 24, rams 6, total 166 Hogs: sows 14, barrows 3, shoats 28, pigs 29, boars 2, total 76 Poultry: turkeys 29, fowls 240, ducks 28, geese 26 Horses: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Increased: Sheep: lambs 36, total 36 Poultry: fowls 10 Total: Neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 96, calves 50, yearlings 37, heifers 27, steers 16, oxen 13, total 242 Sheep: ewes 120, wethers 18, lambs 82, rams 5, total 225 Goats: goats 108, wethers 28, kids 24, rams 6, total 166 Hogs: sows 14, barrows 3, shoats 28, pigs 29, boars 2, total 76 Poultry: turkeys 29, fowls 250, ducks 28, geese 26 Horses: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Killed: Neat cattle: cows 3, steers 7, oxen 12, [...] 5, total 27 Sheep: ewes 3, wethers 4, total 7 Goats: goats 4, total 4 Poultry: turkeys 3, fowls 15, ducks 11, geese 1 Sent on board the Dragon: Neat cattle: yearlings 2, heifers 2, total 4 Goats: goats 6, total 6 Hogs: sows 1, shoats 3, total 4 Poultry: fowls 6, ducks 60 Died: Neat cattle: calves 1, total 1

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		Boars, 3 Total, 0 Turkeys, 2 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total Remaining 30: 3 Bulls, 93 Cows, 49 Calves, 37 Yearlings, 18 Heifers, 2 Steers, 8 Oxen, 210 Total, 117 Ewes, 14 Weathers, 82 Lambs, 5 Rams, 218 Total, 106 Ewes, 17 Weathers, 24 Kids, 6 Rams, 153 Total, 13 Sows, 3 Baronets, 25 Shoats, 26 Piggs, 2 Boars, 69 Total, 20 Turkeys, 175 Fowls, 15 Ducks, 25 Geese, 7 Horses, 3 Mares, 10 Total To Beef to the Ship Stafford 560 To Do York 560 To Do Prince Edward 560 To Do Lynn 560 To Do Onslow 560 To Do Norfolk 560 To Do Grantham 560 To Do to ye Honble Companys 3920 Ship the Dragon 1269 5189 To 2 Goats to the Ship Dragon 32 Sent on board Do 4 live Cattle 640 4 Do Hoggs 325 To Yams Expended 47,000 To 2 Goats to the Markett 29 (Signd) Errors Excepted Richard Gurling	Goats: goats 2, wethers 1, total 3 Hogs: shoats 3, total 3 Poultry: ducks 2 Remaining 30 April: Neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 93, calves 49, yearlings 37, heifers 18, steers 2, oxen 13, total 210 Sheep: ewes 117, wethers 14, lambs 82, rams 5, total 218 Goats: goats 106, wethers 17, kids 24, rams 6, total 153 Hogs: sows 13, barrows 3, shoats 25, pigs 26, boars 2, total 69 Poultry: turkeys 20, fowls 175, ducks 15, geese 25 Horses: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 To beef to the ship *Stafford*, 560 lb. To beef to the ship *York*, 560 lb. To beef to the ship *Prince Edward*, 560 lb. To beef to the ship *Lynn*, 560 lb. To beef to the ship *Onslow*, 560 lb. To beef to the ship *Norfolk*, 560 lb. To beef to the ship *Grantham*, 560 lb. To beef to the Company's ship the *Dragon*, 1,269 lb, the whole beef to the shipping 3,920 lb and 1,269 lb making 5,189 lb. To 2 goats to the ship *Dragon*, 32 lb. Sent on board the *Dragon*, 4 live cattle 640 lb and 4 hogs 325 lb. To yams expended, 47,000 lb. To 2 goats to the market, 29 lb. The account was signed by Richard Girling, errors excepted. **Interpretations** The herd fell sharply over the month from 242 to 210 as the great fleet drew heavily on the cattle, more than five thousand pounds of beef going out to eight ships in matched supplies of 560 pounds each, with a larger provision to the Company's own *Dragon*. The reopening of the road in April, after the empty autumn and winter that had held the herd steady, is written plainly in the losses, the season's shipping victualled from the island's own stock so that the beef account alone accounts for most of the fall. The livestock sent alive aboard the *Dragon*, four cattle and four hogs by weight and further goats and poultry, shows the Company's own homeward ship carried fresh stock on the hoof for the voyage rather than salt provisions alone. A Company vessel could take living animals to be killed at sea as the passage required, so the *Dragon* was furnished with beasts as well as beef, the account distinguishing the meat sold dead to the other ships from the live stock shipped in the Company's own bottom for its people's use on the long run home.
248	259	10 May We this Day received of Mary the Widow of John Seale Decd the Sum of £19 15 6 being the Ballance of his Account, due to the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr Decd Cha: Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 17 May of May 1748 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed Received of Mr John French Junr the Sum of £50 in part of his Debt to the Estate of John Goodwin Esqr Decd Daniel Hanchard Soldier Petitioned for his Discharge, having served the Honble Company his contracted time. Granted. We ordered two Long Boats to be wrote off to Account Currant London, one of which was lost in Govr Dunbars time, and the other being now worn out and unserviceable.	The board received that day of Mary, the widow of the late John Seale, the sum of £19 15s 6d, being the balance of his account due to the estate of the late John Goodwin. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 17 May 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. The board received of John French junior the sum of £50 0s 0d in part of his debt to the estate of the late John Goodwin. Daniel Blanchard, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge, having served the Company his contracted time. This was granted. The board ordered two long boats written off to the account current with London, one of which had been lost in the late Governor Dunbar's time and the other being now worn out and unserviceable. Yams being now so scarce that the planters could supply only 32 bushels every fortnight, and their plantations not of a growth to furnish a larger quantity for several months to come, and the Company's own store of flour serving to feed the

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		Yam, being now so scarce, that the Planters can supply only 32 Soldiers every Week, and their Plantations not of a Growth to furnish a larger Quantity for several months to come; and as the Flour Received Calavances there is in the Honble Companys Stores, will serve their Garrison, but for a short time, we agreed to buy 30 lb of Flour from Hans Harmix, Trader of a Dutch Hooker for which we were obliged to pay 20 Shillings P Ct Counted and Examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of April last, and found the same to be as follows Vizt Cash	garrison for only a short time, the board agreed to buy 30 tons of flour from Hans Havenix, master of a Dutch hooker, for which it was obliged to pay 20 shillings the hundredweight. The board then counted and examined the Company's cash for the month of April, and found it as follows. **Interpretations** The purchase of thirty tons of flour from the Dutch hooker at twenty shillings the hundredweight marks the drought and the failing harvest driving the board to buy bread grain from a foreign vessel at a heavy price. The planters could spare only a trickle of yams and the Company's own flour was near out, so the board seized the chance of a passing Dutchman to secure a great quantity of flour against the coming shortage, the high rate the measure of how pressed the settlement was between a poor harvest and an uncertain supply. The writing-off of the two worn and lost long boats to the London account shows the Company clearing its books of assets that no longer existed, one boat lost years before in Dunbar's time and only now formally struck off. Keeping a dead asset on the account until it could be authorised for removal, then charging it to the account current with London, reflects the careful bookkeeping that governed a distant post, no item written down without record, the loss carried until the board could regularly discharge it against the Court.
249	260	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1748 April 1 To Ballance remaining 3376 10 8 1/2 24 To Ship Lynn recd the Ballance of her Account 25 14 2 1/2 To Ship Grantham Do 12 10 10 To Ship Onslow Do 64 4 5 1/4 To Plantation recd for Provisions sent to Market this month 8 9 April 30 By Sundry Accounts advanced the Paymaster this month 269 14 4 1/2 By Ballance remaining in the following Species Vizt 1 P Gold wt 11 15 14 @ 3 18 3 46 1 8 1/2 4 P Do 3 9 12 3 18 13 11 1/2 2739 Pagodas @ 8 1095 12 .. 1 Barbary Chequin 9 1 Joannes 1 16 164 Venetians @ 10 82 .. 3 3/8 Moidores 27 4 4 1 1/2 20 Gubbers 6 6 .. 12 Rupees 30 18 .. Gold Amounting to 1267 14 1 1/2 5029 Dollars 5 1257 5 .. 4563 half Reals 3 3/4 71 5 11 1/4 518 1/2 Rupees 2 3 61 14 1 1/2 30 1/2 Duccatoons 6	The two-sided treasury cash account for April opened with the debtor side. 1748 April 1, to balance remaining, £3,376 10s 8.5d April 24, to ship Lynn, received the balance of her account, £25 14s 2.5d To ship Grantham, received the balance of her account, £12 10s 10d To ship Onslow, received the balance of her account, £64 4s 5.5d To plantation, received for provisions sent to market this month, £0 8s 9d Carried over, £3,479 8s 11.75d The credit side showed the payments out and the balance remaining, counted coin by coin. 1748 April 30, by sundry accounts advanced the paymaster this month, £269 14s 4.5d By balance remaining in the following specie: 1 lb of gold, 16 oz 11 dwt 15 gr at £3 18s 3d, £46 1s 8.5d 1 lb of gold, 3 oz 9 dwt 12 gr at £3 18s, £13 11s 2.5d 2,739 pagodas at 8s, £1,095 12s 0d 1 barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 joannes, £1 16s 0d 164 Venetians at 10s, £82 0s 0d 3.5 moidores at 27s, £4 4s 1.5d 20 gubbers at 6s, £6 0s 0d 12 rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d gold amounting to, £1,267 14s 1.5d 5,029 dollars at 5s, £1,257 5s 0d 4,563 half reals at 3s, £71 5s 11.25d 548.5 rupees at 2s 3d, £61 14s 1.5d 30.5 ducatoons at 6s, £9 3s 0d 441 French pieces at 2d, £3 13s 6d odd money, £0 3s 11d £1,403 5s 5.75d Carried over, £1,267 14s 1.5d Carried over, £269 14s 4.5d **Interpretations** The three departing ships each paid the balance of her account into the treasury before sailing, the *Lynn*, *Grantham* and *Onslow* settling what they owed for provisions and stores taken at the island. This closing of each ship's reckoning before departure kept

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		9 3 .. 441 French Do 2 3 13 6 Odd money 3 11 1403 5 5 3/4 Carried over 3479 8 11 1/4 Carried over 26 19 7 1/4 Carried over 269 14 4 1/2	the Company's accounts square, no vessel leaving in debt to the store, so the treasury drew a fresh sum from every ship as she cleared, the balances entered among the month's receipts as the fleet made up its dues on the point of sailing. The Spanish dollars in the count now rated at five shillings, down from the six shillings of the March count, mark a change in the sterling value the board set on its chief silver coin. The dollar was the great trading silver of the world, and the rate at which the treasury reckoned it in sterling was a matter of the board's own fixing against the Court's orders, so a shift in its value moved the whole silver balance, the account showing how the worth of the chest turned in part on the rates the Company chose to allow its foreign coin.
250	261	17 May Brought over 3479 8 11 3/4 3479 8 11 3/4	The debtor side of the treasury cash account carried its total forward unchanged across the leaf, the receipts standing at £3,479 8s 11.75d brought over and £3,479 8s 11.75d carried over, the intervening space struck through with the accountant's diagonal cancelling line.
251	262	1748 Brought over 269 14 4 1/2 Brought over 2670 19 7 1/4 146 Cash Notes @ 40 292 102 Do 20 102 259 Do 5 64 15 160 Do 2 6 20 538 15 3209 14 7 1/4 3479 8 11 3/4 Cha: Hutchinson John Clark At a Sessions held on Tuesday the 24 Day of May 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr & Judge Lieut John Clark Assistant The Court was opened in the usual Form. Efsex a Slave man of Mr Samuel Doveton, and Peter a Slave man of Mr John French were Indicted for breaking open the House of Mr John Desfountain, and Stealing Sundry things out of it The first pleaded Guilty to the Indictment and the other was found Guilty by the Jury, and both Sentenced to be burned on the Right Cheek and to receive one hundred Lashes on three Succeeding Wednesdays and Saturdays. A Cause was tried between Benjamin Mason Plaintiff and Joseph Powell Defendant, upon an Action of Assault & Battery The Jury brought in their Verdict for the Plaintiff and gave him twenty Shillings Damages, and the Court also fined Wm	The credit side of the treasury cash account continued, the balance carried over at £269 14s 4.5d and the coin count at £2,670 19s 7.25d. Brought over, £269 14s 4.5d Brought over, £2,670 19s 7.25d Cash notes: 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 102 cash notes at 20s, £102 0s 0d 259 cash notes at 5s, £64 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d cash notes amounting to, £538 15s 0d £3,209 14s 7.25d £3,479 8s 11.75d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a sessions held at the castle on Tuesday 24 May 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat as judge with Lieutenant John Clark as assistant. The court was opened in the usual form. Essex, a slave belonging to John Doveton, and Peter, a slave belonging to John French, were tried for breaking open the house of John Desfountain and stealing sundry things out of it. Essex pleaded guilty to the charge and Peter was found guilty by the jury, and both were sentenced to be burned on the right cheek and to receive a hundred lashes on three succeeding Wednesdays and Saturdays. A cause was tried between Benjamin Mason, plaintiff, and Joseph Powell, defendant, upon an action of assault and battery. The jury brought in their verdict for the plaintiff and gave him twenty shillings damages, and the court also fined [...]. **Interpretations** The two slaves burned on the cheek and lashed a hundred times on three court days for housebreaking suffered the same exemplary punishment the court had laid on three slaves the previous October, the sentence staged before the assembled settlement over several days. Branding marked the offender permanently and the repeated public whippings made the penalty a lasting warning, so the court used the bodies of convicted slaves to deter theft among the enslaved population, the severity reserved for slaves reflecting the harsher justice the settlement dealt them. The action of assault and battery between two free men, tried by jury with damages of twenty shillings and a further fine, shows the same court that branded slaves settling the private quarrels of the planters by the ordinary forms of English law. A free man wronged sought his remedy in damages before a jury, and the court both compensated the plaintiff and

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			fined the offender for the breach of the peace, so the one bench dispensed a graded justice, the measured civil remedy for the free set against the branding iron for the slave.
252	263	24 May Mr Joseph Powell twenty Shillings, for a breach of the Peace according to the Honble Companys Orders, in their Book of Laws made for the Government of this their Island Mr Onesephorus Gurling represented that Mr Samuel Doveton was turning the Water out of its common Course, which would deprive him of having any for his Plantation. The Jury after hearing both Parties, gave the following Verdict Vizt We considering that Water being of great Service to Yam Plantations. It is our opinion, that Mr Saml Doveton, have a right to use the Water (that Mr Onesephorus Gurling complains of Mr Samuel Dovetons injuring him in) as he shall think fit so that he did not Damn ye Doveton does not carry it over the brow on either side, nor pass the upper corner of the said Mr Onesephorus Gurlings Plantation so that the Water may fall in the Originals Water Course. Mr Joseph Powell, complained of Mr Richard Mason for having cut a very deep Trench in his Land it would stop the Water from running to his the 2 Mr Powells Plantation and be of great prejudice to him The Jury having considered the Allegations on both Sides, gave their Verdict, ye that Richard Mason has a right to the Water that he is now takeing, but that Mr Joseph Powell should be allowed to take it out of Mr Masons Plantation, if it is done without Detriment to him The following Cause was tried before the Jury Vizt Mrs Sarah French made a Demand on Lieut Barton Decd of £28 4 7 1/2 for Ballance due to her. Among Lieut Bartons papers there was an Account found between him, and Mr Sarah French by which it appears, that she Stands indebted to him the Sum of £54 1 7 and two or three days before his Death, Lieut Barton several times declared (as was Deposed by John Bland the Master Mason) that he did not owe any thing to Mrs Sarah French.	The court fined Joseph Powell twenty shillings for a breach of the peace, according to the Company's orders in its book of laws made for the government of the island. Onesiphorus Girling complained that Samuel Doveton was turning the water out of its usual course, which would deprive him of any for his plantation. The jury, after hearing both parties, gave the following verdict. Water being of great service to yam plantations, the jury held that Doveton had a right to use the water Girling complained of, so far as he thought fit, provided he did not carry it over the brow on either side nor past the upper corner of Girling's plantation, so that the water might fall into its original course. Joseph Powell complained of Richard Mason for having cut a very deep trench on his land which would stop the water from running to Powell's plantation and be of great prejudice to him. The jury, having considered the allegations on both sides, gave their verdict that Mason had a right to the water he was then taking, but that Powell should be allowed to take it out of Mason's plantation if it could be done without harm to Mason. The following cause was then tried before the jury. Sarah French, widow, made a demand on the late Lieutenant Barton for £28 4s 7d as a balance due to her. Among Barton's papers was found an account between him and Sarah French, by which it appeared that she stood indebted to him in the sum of £5 1s 7d. Two or three days before his death, Barton several times declared, as was deposed by John Bland the master mason, that he did not owe anything to Sarah French. **Interpretations** The two water disputes tried the same day turned on the competing claims of neighbouring planters to a scarce resource made critical by the drought, the jury in each case affirming an upstream planter's right to use the water while protecting the downstream man from being wholly deprived. Water was of great service to the yam plantations, the jury said plainly, and its careful division, allowing Doveton and Mason their use but barring them from diverting the whole, shows the island's law working out a rough equity over the flow on which every planting depended, the more pressing as the season ran dry. The demand of Sarah French against the dead Lieutenant Barton, met by an account among his papers showing her the debtor rather than the creditor and by his dying declarations that he owed her nothing, shows the hazards of pursuing a claim against an estate on a man's own word. The board weighed the written account and the testimony of what Barton had said before he died against the widow's bare demand, so the cause turned on the paper evidence the dead man left and the memory of his declarations, the estate defended by the record he had kept in his lifetime.
253	264	1748 The Jurys Decission was That if Mrs Sarah French Drew out an Account she would make Oath to the Truth of it. She must be paid it Cha: Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 31 May 1748 at the Castle	The jury's decision was that if Sarah French drew out an account and would make oath to the truth of it, she must be paid it. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 31 May 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed.

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		Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Capt David Hunter Lieut Governour Lieut John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Wednesday 18 Sailed the Dutch Hookers for the Cape of Good Hope Thursday 19 Died James Owens, Soldier. Tuesday 24 Passed by a Ship under Swedish Colours. Friday 27 Died John Son of Joseph Whaley Planter Yesterday arrived the Godolphin Capt John Nevens from England and this Morning came on Shore Capt David Hunter with a Commission from the Honble the Court of Directors appointing him Lieutenant Governour of this their Island who took place accordingly as such After reading the Honble Companys General Letter, we sent for Messieurs William Loveday, Francis Awonpham Joseph Darrell and Thomas French and acquainted them with their Directions relating to each Cha: Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	On Wednesday 18 May the Dutch hooker sailed for the Cape of Good Hope. On Thursday 19 May James Owens, a soldier, died. On Tuesday 24 May a ship under Swedish colours passed by. On Friday 27 May John, son of the planter Joseph Whaley, died. The *Godolphin*, commanded by Captain John Nicoons, arrived from England the previous day, and that morning Captain David Hunter came ashore with a commission from the Court of Directors appointing him Lieutenant Governor of the island, whereupon he took his place accordingly. After reading the Company's general letter, the board called for William Lindsay, Francis Wrangham, Joseph Darvall and Thomas French and acquainted them with the directions relating to each. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The jury's resolution of Sarah French's demand, that she should be paid if she would draw out an account and swear to its truth, shifted the burden onto the widow's oath where the written evidence had gone against her. The court could not simply dismiss her claim on the dead man's account and declarations, so it offered her the ancient remedy of the oath, letting her establish her demand by swearing to a fresh reckoning, the law balancing the paper record against a claimant's sworn word when no living proof could settle the matter. The arrival of Captain David Hunter with a commission as Lieutenant Governor filled the seat left empty since Hutchinson himself had risen from that office to the government in 1747. The board had sat reduced through the sickly winter and spring, at times only the Governor and Clark, so the coming of a commissioned second in command restored the establishment's proper order, the Court reaching from London to name the island's officers and Hunter taking his place at once on the strength of the paper he carried.
254	265	7 June At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 7 Day of June 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Thursday 2 Died Alice Wife of Benn Deloaf Soldier Mr Francis Wrangham Junr hath paid into the Honble Companys Cash here the Sum of one hundred and twenty pounds for which we have given Bills of Exchange on the Honble the Court of Directors dated this day payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after Sight. Mr Thomas Greenboe hath paid into the Honble Companys Cash here the Sum of two hundred pounds for which we have given Bills of Exchange, on the Honble the Court of Directors dated this Day payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after Sight Captain Robert Robinson hath paid into the Honble Companys Cash here the Sum of two hundred pounds for which Sum we have given Bills of Exchange, on the Honble the Court of Directors dated this Day payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after Sight Mr Matthew Doveing hath paid into the Honble Companys Cash here the Sum of two hundred, twenty Eight	At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 7 June 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. Alice, wife of the soldier Beorn Deloef, died on Thursday 2 June. Francis Wrangham senior paid into the Company's cash the sum of £120 0s 0d, for which the board gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, dated that day and payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. Thomas Greentree paid into the Company's cash the sum of £200 0s 0d, for which the board gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, dated that day and payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. Captain Robert Robinson paid into the Company's cash the sum of £200 0s 0d, for which the board gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, dated that day and payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. Matthew Barleny paid into the Company's cash the sum of £228 12s 4d, for which the board gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, dated that day and payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. Thomas French paid into the Company's cash the sum of £10 2s 0d, [...]. **Interpretations** The run of payments into the Company's cash against bills of exchange on the Court shows the treasury serving the planters and captains as a bank for remitting money home. A man with cash on the island but a need to have funds in England paid his

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		pounds twelve Shillings and four pence, for which Sum we have given Bills of Exchange on the Honble the Court of Directors dated this day payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after Sight. Mr Thomas French hath paid into the Honble Companys Cash here the Sum of Ten pounds two Shillings and	coin into the chest and took a bill payable in London ninety days after sight, so the Company gathered ready specie where it stood and settled the debt at home, the treasury acting as the channel through which private wealth moved from the island to England without the risk of carrying coin. The ninety-day sight on every bill gave the Court time to verify the draft before paying, the standard term that protected the Company against forged or mistaken bills drawn at its distant posts. A bill payable so long after it was presented allowed London to check the transaction against the island's accounts before the money fell due, so the fixed term was a safeguard built into the whole system of remittance, the same condition attached to each planter's and captain's bill as they turned their island cash into claims on the Company at home.
255	266	1748 and Six pence for which Sum we have given Bills of Exchange on the Honble the Court of Directors dated this Day payable to Mr Peter Michell or Order Ninety Days after Sight. Mr John Goodwin hath paid into the Honble Companys Cash here the Sum of one hundred and Eleven pounds Seventeen Shilling and Three pence, for which Sum we have given Bills of Exchange on the Honble the Court of Directors dated this Day payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after Sight The Attorney of Captain Francis Steward have paid into the Honble Companys Cash here the Sum of one hundred and Thirty pounds for which we have given Bills of Exchange, on the Honble Court of Directors dated this Day payable to Captain Francis Steward, or Order Ninety Days after Sight. Cha: Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 14 day of June 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Monday 6 We Sent Capt Nevens the following Letter Sir We hereby desire and direct you to Send on Shore to the Bearer of the Honble Companys Soldiers, that are on board of your Ship, consigned to Bencoolen We are Sir St Helena June 6 1748 (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Clark your most Humble Servants David Hunter	Thomas French paid into the Company's cash the sum of £10 2s 6d, for which the board gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, dated that day and payable to Peter Mitchell or order ninety days after sight. John Goodwin paid into the Company's cash the sum of £111 17s 3d, for which the board gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, dated that day and payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. The attorneys of Captain Francis Steward paid into the Company's cash the sum of £130 0s 0d, for which the board gave them bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, dated that day and payable to Captain Francis Steward or order ninety days after sight. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held at the castle on Tuesday 14 June 1748, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The record of the previous consultation was read, approved and signed. The board sent Captain Stevens the following letter on Monday 6 June. Writing to Captain Stevens from St Helena on 6 June 1748, the board directed him to send ashore the Company's soldiers aboard his ship who belonged to Bencoolen. The letter was signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The bill paid by Thomas French made payable to Peter Mitchell, a third party rather than French himself, shows the flexibility of the remittance system in settling debts between men through the Company's credit. A payer could direct his bill to whoever he owed in England, so French turned his island cash into a payment to Mitchell in London, the treasury not merely moving a man's own money home but discharging his obligations to others, the bill of exchange serving as a means of paying debts across the ocean. The direction to Captain Stevens to land the Bencoolen soldiers aboard his ship continues the board's management of the Company's men in transit through the island. Soldiers raised or transferred for the eastern settlements passed through St Helena on the shipping, and the board took charge of seeing them ashore and forwarded, so a captain carrying such men was ordered to deliver them up, the island again serving as the transfer point where the Company gathered and redirected its scattered military drafts.
256	267	14 June Wednesday 8 Died 10 Wm Son of Cecil Seab planter Thursday 9 Sailed the St George Capt Robinson for Europe by whom we Sent	On Wednesday 8 June, William, son of the planter Ceorle Seal, died. On Thursday 9 June the *St George*, commanded by Captain Robinson, sailed for

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		the necessary Advices to the Honble Company There being no Milk to make Butter of Cheese, we agreed to buy of Capt Nevens the following Quantity of each for the ye ye ye ye General Table and also fifty pounds of Currants, for which we paid as follows Vizt 4 Firkins Butter 14 5 Cheese Weight 64 lb 3 4 3 50 Currants 2 10 19 14 3 The ten Working Days for the Store Ships unloading Expiring on Saturday last, we gave the Capt his Sailing Orders in Writing, to make the best of her Way to Fort Marlborough whom we gave the following Letters for India Vizt To the Honble John Foster Esqr President & Govr &c Council of Bengall Honble Sir & Sirs We Wrote to You the 15 of May 1747 by the Grantham Capt Wilson which we hope you have received The Honble Company have been pleased to Appoint Capt David Hunter to be their Lieutenant Govr here who Landed the 30 May last in the Godolphin Capt Nevens We desire you will Send for the Use of the Island 100 of good thick White Decoators, for Table Linnen 100 P Blue Decoators 20 Manns good Wax Candles & the rest of the one Chest in Arrack Rice Sugar and Radey We have Enclosed you the Annual List of the Arrival & Departure of Ships at and from this place. We are Honble Sir & Sirs St Helena June 14 1748 Your Most Humble Servts (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	Europe, and the board sent the annual advices to the Company by her. There being no milk to make butter or cheese, the board agreed to buy of Captain Stevens the following quantities for the general table, and also fifty pounds of currants, for which it paid as follows. 4 firkins of butter, £14 0s 0d 5 cheeses, weight 63 lb, £3 4s 3d 50 lb of currants, £2 0s 0d £19 4s 3d The ten working days for the store ship's unlading expiring the previous Saturday, the board gave the captain his sailing orders in writing, to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough, and sent by him the following letters for India. Writing to John Foster, president, and the governor and council of Bengal, the board acknowledged its letter of 26 May 1747 sent by the *Grantham* under Captain Wilson, which it hoped had been received. The Company had appointed Captain David Hunter its Lieutenant Governor of the island, who had arrived on 30 May last in the *Godolphin* under Captain Stevens. The board asked Bengal to send, for the island's use, 100 pieces of good thick white doosetees for table linen, 100 pieces of blue doosetees, 20 hundredweight of good wax candles, and the rest of the one per cent in arrack, rice, sugar and paddy. It enclosed the annual list of the arrival and departure of ships at the island, and the letter was signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The want of milk that forced the board to buy butter, cheese and currants from a passing ship marks the reach of the drought into the island's own dairy, the castle dairy that ordinarily supplied the general table having failed for lack of pasture. The same dry season that had cut the yams and thinned the herd dried the milk, so the board bought even butter and cheese from the shipping, the settlement's self-sufficiency in its own produce breaking down under the drought and driving it to the fleet for goods it usually made itself. The board's request to Bengal for goods on the one per cent shows the island drawing its Indian supplies through a standing allowance on the Company's coast trade. The one per cent was a fixed share of the Bengal investment set aside for St Helena's needs, so the board named the doosetees, wax candles, arrack, rice, sugar and paddy it wanted taken out of that allowance, the annual letter to the coast the means by which the island commanded its share of the Company's eastern goods to be sent on the homeward shipping.
257	268	1748 To the Worshipfull Charles Steyer Esqr President & Govr &c Council of Fort St Davids Honble Sir and Sirs Our last Letter was by the Grantham Capt Wilson dated 25 May 1747 which we hope you have recd The Honble Company have been pleased to Appoint Capt David Hunter to be their Lieutenant Govr here who Arrived the 30 May last We desire you will Send for the Use of the Island 12 Maunds good Wax Candles 30 P five Long Cloth of about 12 pagodas P piece 30 P of about 8 pagodas P piece 100 P of about 4 pagodas P piece 100 Mens fine Shirts of about 10 each add the rest of the one Chent in Arrack Rice and Paddy	Writing to Charles Boyer, president, and the governor and council of Fort St David, the board acknowledged its last letter sent by the *Grantham* under Captain Wilson, dated 26 May 1747, which it hoped had been received. The Company had appointed Captain David Hunter its Lieutenant Governor of the island, who had arrived on 30 May last. The board asked Fort St David to send, for the island's use, 12 maunds of good wax candles at 30s, 5 pieces of long cloth of about 12 pagodas the piece, 30 pieces of about 8 pagodas the piece, 100 pieces of about 4 pagodas the piece, 100 pieces of fine shirts of about 10s each, and the rest of the one per cent in arrack, rice and paddy. It enclosed the annual list of the arrival and departure of ships at the island, and the letter was signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. Writing to William Wake, president, and the governor and council of Bombay, the board acknowledged its last letter sent by the *Grantham* under Captain Wilson, which sailed home on 5 June

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		Enclosed is the Annual List of the Arrival and Departure of Ships at and from this place We are Worshipfull Sir & Sirs St Helena June 14 1748 Your Most Humble Servts (Signed) Cha: Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark To the Worshipfull Wm Wake Esqr President & Govr &c Council of Bombay Honble Sir & Sirs Our last was by the Grantham Capt Wilson who Sailed hence the 5 June 1747 which we hope you have Received The Honble Company have been pleased to Appoint Capt David Hunter to be their Lieutenant Govr here who Arrived the 30 May last We desire you will Send for the Use of the Island 200 for	1747, and which it hoped had been received. The Company had appointed Captain David Hunter its Lieutenant Governor of the island, who had arrived on 30 May last. The board asked Bombay to send, for the island's use, 200 [...]. **Interpretations** The board's three letters to Bengal, Fort St David and Bombay, near identical in form and each opening on the news of Hunter's appointment and the acknowledgement of the *Grantham*'s dispatch, show the island keeping up a regular correspondence with all the Company's chief eastern settlements. St Helena ordered its goods from whichever coast could best supply them, drawing cloth and candles from one, arrack and rice from another, so the annual round of letters spread its wants across the Company's whole eastern establishment, each presidency named to furnish its part of the island's yearly needs on the standing one per cent. The goods sought from Fort St David priced in pagodas, the coin of the Madras coast, against the maunds of wax candles reckoned by the Indian weight, show the board framing its orders in the money and measures of the settlement it wrote to. A letter to the coast had to speak in the coast's own terms, so the board named its long cloth in pagodas the piece and its candles in maunds, the whole to be taken out of the one per cent and shipped home, the island's ordering of its supplies fitted to the currency and reckoning of each Indian port.
258	269	14 June Pieces Scotomalle 400 Pieces Sacet Chellaes & the Rest of the One P Cent in Arrack Rice & Paddy Enclosed is the Annual List of the Arrivall and Departure of Ships at and from this place We are Worshipfull Sir & Sirs St Helena June 14 1748 Your Most Humble Servts (Signed) Cha: Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark To the Worshipfull the Deputy Govr and Council of Fort Malborough Worshipfull Sir & Sirs The Grantham Capt Wilson Arrived here the 7 April last, by whom we received your favour The Honble Company have been pleased to Appoint Capt David Hunter to be Lieut Govr here who Arrived the 30 May last We have sent Enclosed the Annual List of the Arrival and Departure of Ships at and from this place, with the Charter Party of the Ship Godolphin According to the Honble Companys Directions We have taken Eleven of the Soldiers which were consigned to Your Ac compleat the several Companys here. We desire you will forward the Enclosed Frequentes Directed We were glad to hear, by your last Advice that your Settlements were in Perfect tranquility, which we	The letter to Bombay asked for 200 pieces of scotomallees, 400 pieces of sooty chellaes, and the rest of the one per cent in arrack, rice and paddy. It enclosed the annual list of the arrival and departure of ships at the island, and was signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. Writing to the deputy governor and council of Fort Marlborough, the board reported that the *Grantham* under Captain Wilson had arrived on 7 April last, by whom it received their favour. The Company had appointed Captain David Hunter its Lieutenant Governor of the island, who had arrived on 30 May last. The board had enclosed the annual list of the arrival and departure of ships at the island, and the charter party of the *Godolphin*. Following the Company's directions, it had taken eleven of the soldiers who had been consigned to Fort Marlborough, to complete the several companies at the island. The board asked Fort Marlborough to forward the enclosed packet for England, and said it was glad to hear by their last advices that their settlements were in perfect tranquillity. **Interpretations** The board's retention of eleven soldiers consigned to Fort Marlborough, taken to complete its own companies, shows the island drawing on the Company's military drafts in transit to make good the losses of the sickly winter. The garrison had been thinned by the run of deaths through the season, so the board, on the Company's directions, held back a portion of the men bound for the eastern settlement to fill its own ranks, the shipping that carried soldiers between the posts serving as a reserve the island could tap when its own numbers fell short. The cloths ordered from Bombay under the trade names scotomallees and sooty chellaes were particular Indian cotton goods known by the terms of the coast trade, the sooty chellae a checked or striped cloth and the scotomallee another coast weave. Naming them by their trade names rather than describing them shows the board familiar with the specific fabrics each Indian port produced, ordering by the known types of the Bombay investment so the presidency would understand exactly what cloth to ship, the island's

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			clothing supply drawn from the named staples of the Company's Indian commerce.
259	270	1748 hope will continue We are Worshipfull Sir & Sirs St Helena June 14 1748 Your Most Humble Servants (Signed) Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark The Plantation, Gunners, and Steward Accounts were brought in for the Month of May last, which were Examined and approved and are as follows Vizt Sundrys Expended in the Castle in the Month of May 1748 Vizt 11 Bottles Port Wine 10 3 1/2 16 Do Lisbon Do 1 3 8 36 Do Madera Do 3 15 27 Do Strong Beer 9 6 1/4 24 Do Small Do 2 4 5 1/4 31 3/4 Gallons Goa Arrack 1 11 248 lb Flower 3 1 0 3/4 247 1/2 Sweet Beef 4 8 2 P Salt Do 5 7 1/2 3 P Do Pork 10 6 7 Duck 5 1 Turkey 5 1 Piece 1 8 6 10 Fowls 4 6 3 207 lb Mutton 10 1 Lamb 2 12 10 lb Veal 4 8 16 lb Candy 3 4 16 Sugar 23 17 3 1/2 Accounts	The board closed the letter to Fort Marlborough with the hope that its settlements would continue in tranquillity, and signed it Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month of May were brought in, examined and approved. The sundries expended in the castle in the month of May 1748 ran as follows. 11 bottles of port wine, £0 10s 3.5d 16 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 3s 8d 36 bottles of Madeira, £3 15s 0d 27 gallons of strong beer, £0 9s 6.5d 24 gallons of small beer, £2 4s 5.5d 31.5 gallons of Goa arrack, £1 11s 0d 248 lb of flour, £3 1s 0.5d 247.5 lb of fresh beef, £0 4s 8d 2 lb of salt beef, £0 5s 7.5d 3 lb of salt pork, £0 10s 6d 7 ducks, £0 5s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 1 goose, £0 1s 8.5d 19 fowls, £4 6s 3d 207 lb of mutton, £0 10s 0d 1 lamb, £2 12s 0d 15 lb of veal, £0 4s 8d 16 lb of candy, £0 3s 4d 16 lb of sugar, [...] £23 17s 3.5d **Interpretations** The castle's table this month drew again on the imported wines, beer and arrack for the bulk of its value, the port, Lisbon, Madeira and Goa arrack together outweighing the fresh meat, as they had through the winter. Veal and lamb now appear among the provisions, the young stock coming to the table as the spring advanced, so the account marks the turn of the season on the herd even as the officers' drink remained wholly a matter of the shipping, the settlement's leaders sustained by the traffic that passed its road.
260	271	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of May 1748 Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Weathers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaining 1: 3 Bulls, 93 Cows, 49 Calves, 37 Yearlings, 18 Weathers, 2 Steers, 8 Oxen, 210 Total, 117 Ewes, 14 Weathers, 82 Lambs, 5 Rams, 218 Total, 106 Ewes, 17 Weathers, 24 Kids, 6 Rams, 153 Total, 13 Sows, 3 Barrows, 25 Shoats, 26 Piggs, 2 Boars, 69 Total, 20 Turkeys, 175 Fowls, 15 Ducks, 25 Geese, 7 Horses, 3 Mares, 10 Total Encreased: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 0 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Weathers, 0 Steers, 0 Oxen, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0	The account of the Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of May 1748 ran as follows, each class of animal set against its figure under the several headings of neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry and horses. Remaining 1 May: Neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 93, calves 49, yearlings 37, heifers 18, steers 2, oxen 8, total 210 Sheep: ewes 117, wethers 14, lambs 82, rams 5, total 218 Goats: goats 106, wethers 17, kids 24, rams 6, total 153 Hogs: sows 13, barrows 3, shoats 25, pigs 26, boars 2, total 69 Poultry: turkeys 20, fowls 175, ducks 15, geese 25 Horses: horses 7, mares 3, total 10

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		Weathers, 17 Lambs, 0 Rams, 17 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 1 Kids, 0 Rams, 1 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Barrows, 0 Shoats, 0 Piggs, 0 Boars, 0 Total, 3 Turkeys, 24 Fowls, 7 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total 3 Bulls, 93 Cows, 49 Calves, 37 Yearlings, 18 Weathers, 2 Steers, 8 Oxen, 210 Total, 117 Ewes, 14 Weathers, 99 Lambs, 5 Rams, 235 Total, 106 Ewes, 17 Weathers, 25 Kids, 6 Rams, 154 Total, 13 Sows, 3 Barrows, 25 Shoats, 26 Piggs, 2 Boars, 69 Total, 23 Turkeys, 199 Fowls, 22 Ducks, 25 Geese, 7 Horses, 3 Mares, 10 Total Killed: 0 Bulls, 2 Cows, 1 Calves, 1 Yearlings, 0 Weathers, 0 Steers, 4 Oxen, 4 Total, 2 Ewes, 4 Weathers, 1 Lambs, 0 Rams, 7 Total, 4 Ewes, 7 Weathers, 1 Kids, 0 Rams, 12 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Barrows, 0 Shoats, 0 Piggs, 0 Boars, 0 Total, 19 Turkeys, 7 Fowls, 1 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total Stole: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 0 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Weathers, 0 Steers, 0 Oxen, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Kids, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Barrows, 0 Shoats, 0 Piggs, 0 Boars, 0 Total, 1 Turkeys, 2 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total Died: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 1 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Weathers, 0 Steers, 0 Oxen, 1 Total, 0 Ewes, 1 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 1 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Kids, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Barrows, 6 Shoats, 0 Piggs, 0 Boars, 6 Total, 4 Turkeys, 2 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total Remaining the 31: 3 Bulls, 91 Cows, 47 Calves, 37 Yearlings, 17 Weathers, 2 Steers, 8 Oxen, 205 Total, 115 Ewes, 9 Weathers, 98 Lambs, 5 Rams, 227 Total, 102 Ewes, 10 Weathers, 24 Kids, 6 Rams, 142 Total, 13 Sows, 3 Barrows, 25 Shoats, 20 Piggs, 2 Boars, 63 Total, 22 Turkeys, 174 Fowls, 15 Ducks, 22 Geese, 7 Horses, 3 Mares, 10 Total To Beef to the Ship St George 560 To Goat to the Markett 34 1/2 To Mutton to Do 68 1/2 To Beef to Do 45 To 7 Goats to the Sick Slaves To Yams Expended 42,000 One Man Slave died Named Dublin One Child Born Named Eustace (Signed) Errors Excepted Rich: Gurling	Increased: Sheep: lambs 17, total 17 Goats: kids 1, total 1 Poultry: turkeys 3, fowls 24, ducks 7 Total: Neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 93, calves 49, yearlings 37, heifers 18, steers 2, oxen 8, total 210 Sheep: ewes 117, wethers 14, lambs 99, rams 5, total 235 Goats: goats 106, wethers 17, kids 25, rams 6, total 154 Hogs: sows 13, barrows 3, shoats 25, pigs 26, boars 2, total 69 Poultry: turkeys 23, fowls 199, ducks 22, geese 25 Horses: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Killed: Neat cattle: cows 2, calves 1, oxen 4, total 4 Sheep: ewes 2, wethers 4, rams 1, total 7 Goats: goats 4, wethers 7, kids 1, total 12 Poultry: fowls 19, ducks 7, geese 1 Stole: Poultry: turkeys 1, fowls 2 Died: Neat cattle: calves 1, total 1 Sheep: lambs 1, total 1 Goats: rams 1, total 1 Hogs: pigs 6, total 6 Poultry: fowls 4, ducks 2 Remaining 31 May: Neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 91, calves 47, yearlings 37, heifers 17, steers 2, oxen 8, total 205 Sheep: ewes 115, wethers 9, lambs 98, rams 5, total 227 Goats: goats 102, wethers 10, kids 24, rams 6, total 142 Hogs: sows 13, barrows 3, shoats 25, pigs 20, boars 2, total 63 Poultry: turkeys 22, fowls 174, ducks 15, geese 22 Horses: horses 7, mares 3, total 10 To beef to the ship *St George*, 560 lb. To goat to the market, 34.5 lb. To mutton to the market, 68.5 lb. To beef to the market, 45 lb. To 7 goats to the sick slaves. To yams expended, 42,000 lb. One man slave died, named Dublin. One child born, named Eustace. The account was signed by Richard Girling, errors excepted. **Interpretations** The herd held nearly steady over May at just above two hundred head, the fleet having sailed and the road fallen quiet again, so the beef went out only to the single *St George* and to the market in small quantity. The yams expended fell to 42,000 lb as the buying-in eased, but the drought still pressed, seven goats set apart for the sick slaves marking the continuing care of the enslaved workforce even as the stock was held against the dry season and the failing pasture that had dried the dairy. The death of the man slave Dublin and the birth of the child Eustace, both entered on the stock account among the increase and loss of the Company's animals, again register the enslaved people in the livestock ledger. A slave's death and a slave child's birth were set down in the same return that counted the killed goats and the fallen pigs, the Company's bookkeeping ranking its slaves as breeding and working stock, their lives and deaths a credit or debit against the plantation like the natural increase of the herd.
261	272	1748 Gunners Stores Expended in May 1748 Guns fired, Shotts fired, 9 lb, 6 lb, 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended the Day of the Month	The gunner's stores expended in May 1748 ran as follows, the figures showing the guns fired, the shot fired and the powder expended at the ninepound, sixpound, fourpound, threepound, twopound and onepound firings.

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		3 A Double Allarm: 15 Guns fired, 12 4 lb, 3 1 lb, 37 1/2 Powder 3 fired at Bankes to bring a Dutch Ship too: 1 Guns fired, 1 9 lb, 1 6 lb, 7 Powder 3 Arrived the Dutch Fleet: 61 Guns fired, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 1 2 lb, 53 1 lb, 3 Shotts fired, 70 1/2 Powder 3 Allarm: 6 Guns fired, 4 4 lb, 2 1 lb, 13 Powder 4 Allarm: 6 Guns fired, 4 4 lb, 2 1 lb, 13 Powder 4 fired at Bankes to bring a Dutch Hooker too: 2 Guns fired, 2 9 lb, 2 6 lb, 14 Powder 5 A Double Allarm: 9 Guns fired, 6 4 lb, 3 1 lb, 19 1/2 Powder 5 Fired to Salute the Dutch Admiral Coming on Shore: 15 Guns fired, 15 2 lb, 15 Powder 8 Fired to Salute the Dutch Admiral going on Board: 15 Guns fired, 15 2 lb, 13 Powder 8 Allarm: 6 Guns fired, 4 4 lb, 2 1 lb, 13 Powder 9 Arrived the St George Capt Robinson: 9 Guns fired, 9 2 lb, 9 Powder 9 Allarm: 6 Guns fired, 4 4 lb, 2 1 lb, 13 Powder 9 Fired at Bankes to bring a Dutch Hooker too: 2 Guns fired, 2 9 lb, 2 6 lb, 14 Powder 9 Departed the Dutch Fleet: 15 Guns fired, 15 2 lb, 15 Powder 18 Departed the two Dutch Hookers: 18 Guns fired, 18 2 lb, 18 Powder 24 Allarm for a Ship that went by: 6 Guns fired, 4 4 lb, 2 1 lb, 13 Powder 24 Allarm at Bankes for the Same Ship: 2 Guns fired, 2 6 lb, 14 Powder 30 Allarm: 6 Guns fired, 4 4 lb, 2 1 lb, 13 Powder 31 Fired to Salute the Godolphin Capt Stevens: 9 Guns fired, 9 2 lb, 9 Powder 31 Fired for the Lieutenant Govr coming on Shore: 15 Guns fired, 15 2 lb, 15 Powder Powder for Priming at ye Main Fort: 28 1/2 Powder for Prim at Bankes: 3 Powder for Prim at Ruperts: 1/2 Powder for Prim at Mundens point: 3 Powder to Mr Jackson by order of the Governour: 1/2 Powder to Joseph Long by Order of the Governour: 1/2 Powder to Thos Watts by Order of the Governour: 1/2 Carried Over 224 Guns fired, 5 9 lb, 7 6 lb, 2 4 lb, 44 3 lb, 1 2 lb, 149 1 lb, 21 387 Powder	3 May, at a double alarm, guns fired 15, at the fourpound firing 12, at the onepound firing 3, powder expended 37.5 lb 3 May, fired at Banks's to bring a Dutch ship to, guns fired 1, shot fired 1, at the ninepound firing 1, powder expended 7 lb 3 May, arrived the Dutch fleet, guns fired 61, at the sixpound firing 2, at the fourpound firing 2, at the threepound firing 1, at the twopound firing 53, at the onepound firing 3, powder expended 70.5 lb 3 May, alarm, guns fired 6, at the fourpound firing 4, at the onepound firing 2, powder expended 13 lb 4 May, alarm, guns fired 6, at the fourpound firing 4, at the onepound firing 2, powder expended 13 lb 4 May, fired at Banks's to bring a Dutch hooker to, guns fired 2, shot fired 2, at the ninepound firing 2, powder expended 14 lb 5 May, a double alarm, guns fired 9, at the fourpound firing 6, at the onepound firing 3, powder expended 19.5 lb 5 May, fired to salute the Dutch admiral coming on shore, guns fired 15, at the twopound firing 15, powder expended 15 lb 8 May, fired to salute the Dutch admiral going on board, guns fired 15, at the twopound firing 15, powder expended 13 lb 8 May, alarm, guns fired 6, at the fourpound firing 4, at the onepound firing 2, powder expended 13 lb 8 May, arrived the St George, Captain Robinson, guns fired 9, at the twopound firing 9, powder expended 9 lb 8 May, alarm, guns fired 6, at the fourpound firing 4, at the onepound firing 2, powder expended 13 lb 8 May, fired at Banks's to bring a Dutch hooker to, guns fired 2, shot fired 2, at the ninepound firing 2, powder expended 14 lb 9 May, departed the Dutch fleet, guns fired 15, at the twopound firing 15, powder expended 15 lb 18 May, departed the two Dutch hookers, guns fired 18, at the twopound firing 18, powder expended 18 lb 24 May, alarm for a ship that went by, guns fired 6, at the fourpound firing 4, at the onepound firing 2, powder expended 13 lb 24 May, alarm at Banks's for the same ship, guns fired 2, at the sixpound firing 2, powder expended 14 lb 30 May, alarm, guns fired 6, at the fourpound firing 4, at the onepound firing 2, powder expended 13 lb 31 May, fired to salute the Godolphin, Captain Stevens, guns fired 9, at the twopound firing 9, powder expended 9 lb 31 May, fired for the Lieutenant Governor coming on shore, guns fired 15, at the twopound firing 15, powder expended 15 lb Powder for priming at the main fort, 28.5 lb Powder for priming at Banks's, 3 lb Powder for priming at Rupert's, 0.5 lb Powder for priming at Munden's Point, 3 lb Powder to Major Jackson by order of the Governor, 0.5 lb Powder to Joseph Long by order of the Governor, 0.5 lb Powder to Thomas Watts by order of the Governor, 0.5 lb Carried over, guns fired 224, shot fired 5, at the ninepound firing 7, at the sixpound firing 2, at the fourpound firing 44, at the threepound firing 1, at the twopound firing 149, at the onepound firing 21, powder expended 387 lb **Interpretations**

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			The great Dutch fleet drew a salute of sixty-one guns as it entered on 3 May, by far the heaviest single firing of the month, the two-pound charges spent in the score to honour a foreign admiral's convoy of eighteen ships. The board saluted the Dutch admiral again coming ashore and going aboard, and speeded the fleet and its hookers with further volleys, so the ceremonies of receiving a friendly foreign force consumed a great charge of powder, the courtesies of the sea observed as carefully toward the Dutch as toward the Company's own ships. The shotted guns fired from Banks's to bring the Dutch ships and hookers to, distinct from the blank salutes, mark the island enforcing its control over vessels approaching its road. A ship that did not answer or bring to was fired on with ball from the battery to compel her, so the gunner charged real shot against these firings where the salutes spent only powder, the account distinguishing the warning gun that stopped a ship from the ceremonial volley that honoured her, the two uses of the ordnance kept plainly apart in the reckoning.
262	273	14 June Guns fired, Shott fired, 9 lb, 6 lb, 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended Brought Over: 224 Guns fired, 5 9 lb, 7 6 lb, 2 4 lb, 44 3 lb, 1 2 lb, 149 1 lb, 21 387 Powder Powder to the funeral of James Owen: 2 1/4 Powder for Segnels at the out Forts: 7 1/2 Total: 224 Guns fired, 5 9 lb, 7 6 lb, 2 4 lb, 44 3 lb, 1 2 lb, 149 1 lb, 21 396 1/2 Powder Match for Arming the Linstocks for the Line: 28 Match burnt at the Main Fort: 21 Match burnt at Bankes: 7 Handspikes broke at Bankes: 1 Paper to the Governours Steward: 1 Quire Paper to make Great Gun Cartridges: 2 Quire Lead Balls at Bankes: 2 1/2 Lead Balls at the Main fort: 7 Ounces Signed John French The following are Account Sales of the Effects of Messieurs Robert Wright and John Barton dec Vizt Account Sales of the Goods & Effects belonging to the Estate of Mr Robert Wright, deceased Vizt 1 Man Slave Named London 23 .. 1 Do Campo 23 1 Do Pompey 15 15 1 Woman Slave Named Moll 12 5 1 Girl Named Peg 11 5 1 Do Mercy 4 5 1/4 Part of a fisher Man 3 10 1 Cow & Half 6 10 1 China Sow 1 3 2 Young Sow 1 12 8 Piggs 2 2 8 1 Shoats 3 1 8 Ewe Goats 4 Kids with a Range in Sandybay 3 12 6 Carried Over	The gunner's account for May 1748 continued, the figures carried over and closed as follows, the columns showing the guns fired, the shot fired and the powder expended at the several firings. Brought over, guns fired 224, shot fired 5, at the ninepound firing 7, at the sixpound firing 2, at the fourpound firing 44, at the threepound firing 1, at the twopound firing 149, at the onepound firing 21, powder expended 387 lb Powder to the funeral of James Owen, powder expended 2.5 lb Powder for signals at the outforts, powder expended 7.5 lb Total, guns fired 224, shot fired 5, at the ninepound firing 7, at the sixpound firing 2, at the fourpound firing 44, at the threepound firing 1, at the twopound firing 149, at the onepound firing 21, powder expended 396.5 lb Match for arming the linstocks for the line, 28 lb Match burnt at the main fort, 21 lb Match burnt at Banks's, 7 lb Handspikes broke at Banks's, 1 Paper to the Governor's steward, 1 quire Paper to make linear gunners' cartridges, 2 quires Lead balls at Banks's, 5.5 lb Lead balls at the main fort, 7 ounces This account was signed by John French. The following are the accounts of the sales of the effects of the late Robert Wright and John Barton. The account of the sales of the goods and effects belonging to the estate of the late Robert Wright ran as follows. 1 man slave named London, £23 0s 0d 1 man slave named Campo, £23 0s 0d 1 man slave named Pompey, £15 15s 0d 1 woman slave named Moll, £12 5s 0d 1 girl named Peg, £11 5s 0d 1 girl named Mercy, £4 5s 0d 0.5 part of a fisher man, £3 10s 0d 1 cow and a half, £6 10s 0d 1 china sow, £1 0s 3d 2 young sows, £1 12s 0d 8 pigs, £2 2s 8d 1 shoat, £3 1s 0d 8 ewe goats, £3 1s 0d 4 kids, with a range in Sandy Bay, £3 12s 6d Carried over, £110 18s 5d **Interpretations** The estate of Robert Wright, the councillor and secretary, opened its inventory of sale with six named slaves valued as the most considerable part of his property, the men London, Campo and Pompey and the women and girls Moll, Peg and Mercy fetching the

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		110 18 5	highest sums in the account. The slaves stood at the head of the sale above the cattle and goats, priced as the chief assets a leading planter and officer left behind, so the auction of a secretary's estate turned first on the sale of the human beings he had owned, their several values set down before any beast. The half share in a fisher man entered among Wright's effects records the practice of dividing the ownership of a single slave between two masters, each holding a part and presumably a share of his labour or hire. A skilled fisherman was a valuable asset whose worth might be split, so the estate carried a half interest in such a man to be sold apart, the account revealing how the ownership of enslaved people could be fractioned like any other property, the man's very person divided into shares on the books of his owners.
263	274	1748 Brought Over 110 18 5 6 Ewe Sheep 2 Lambs 1 half grown 1 5 1 Ram 1 Settee Covered with Leather 1 12 6 1 Small oval Mahogany Table 1 8 1 Mahogany Card Do 1 5 1 Seah De Board Do 6 6 6 Cain Chairs with Cained backs 3 13 1 Wallnut frame Looking Glass 10 6 2 Sconces Glass 12 6 1 Old Fine Saddle without a Pannil 1 10 1 Pale 2 1 2 Pr Pothangers 3 3 1 Old broken Yam pott 1 3 1 Pr Anderons 2 7 1 Pr Old Stilyard 2 11 1 Dreping pan Grideron & Sivett Old 6 6 1 Stone Jugg 1 6 1 Spitt & flesh fork 1 7 1 Mahogany Beaurow 10 15 1 Old Wainscot Do 17 1 Old Chamber Table 2 1 1 Leather Bed Wool Bolster and a Quilt 1 17 6 1 Mourning Sword 6 6 1 Silver mounted Sword with a Silk Belt 2 6 1 Bedstead & Vail 10 6 1 Halt 6 6 1 Pr Pistols with brass barrels 2 1	The account of the sales of the late Robert Wright's effects continued, the earlier goods carried over at £110 18s 5d. Brought over, £110 18s 5d 6 ewe sheep, 2 lambs, 1 half grown and 1 ram, £4 5s 0d 1 settee covered with leather, £1 12s 6d 1 small oval mahogany table, £1 8s 0d 1 mahogany card table, £1 5s 0d 1 teak sideboard, £0 6s 6d 6 cane chairs with caned backs, £3 13s 0d 1 walnut frame looking glass, £0 10s 6d 2 glass sconces, £0 12s 6d 1 old side saddle without a pannel, £0 10s 0d 1 pale, £0 2s 1d 2 pairs of pot hangers, £0 3s 3d 1 old broken yam pot, £0 1s 3d 1 pair of andirons, £0 2s 7d 1 pair of old steelyards, £0 2s 11d 1 dripping pan, gridiron and trivet, old, £0 6s 6d 1 stone jug, £0 1s 6d 1 spit and flesh fork, £0 1s 7d 1 mahogany bureau, £10 15s 0d 1 old wainscot bureau, £0 17s 0d 1 old chamber table, £0 2s 1d 1 leather bed, wool bolster and a quilt, £1 17s 6d 1 mourning sword, £0 6s 6d 1 silver mounted sword with a silk belt, £2 6s 0d 1 bedstead and vail, £0 10s 6d 1 halt, £2 1s 0d 1 pair of pistols with brass barrels, £0 10s 0d 1 pair of backgammon tables, £0 5s 9d 1 china juglet and basin, £0 2s 1d 1 pair of iron snuffers, £0 3s 1d 1 pair of old brass candlesticks with a hand for snuffers, £0 1s 6.5d 1 pewter funnel, £0 0s 6d 1 tea handboard, £0 0s 4d 1 earthen chamber pot, broken, £0 0s 2d 2 glass tumblers, £0 2s 3d 5 jelly glasses, [...] Carried over, £148 10s 5.5d **Interpretations** The furniture of Wright's house, the mahogany bureau and tables, the caned chairs, the looking glass and glass sconces, marks the settled domestic comfort a leading officer of the island had gathered about him. A secretary and councillor kept a house furnished in the English manner with imported mahogany and walnut, the mahogany bureau alone fetching more than ten pounds, so the sale reveals the material world of the island's small gentry, their homes fitted out with the same goods a comfortable household in England would own, carried the whole way by the Company's ships. The two swords among Wright's effects, a plain mourning sword and a silver-mounted one with a silk belt, mark the personal arms a gentleman of the island

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		1 Pr Backgammon Tables 10 1 China Guglet & Bason 5 9 1 Pr Iron Snuffers 2 1 1 Pr Old Brass Candlesticks with a Hand for Snuffers 3 1 1 Pewter Funnil 1 6 1/2 1 Tea Handboard 6 1 Earthen Chamber Pott broken 4 2 Glass Tumblers 2 5 Jelly Glasses 2 3 Carried Over 148 10 5 1/2	bore as a token of his station. The silver-mounted sword fetching more than two pounds was an article of dress and rank rather than of war, so its appearance in a civil officer's estate shows the planters and officers of St Helena keeping the outward marks of English gentility, the sword worn as a sign of standing in a small society that observed the forms of the world it came from.
264	275	14 June Brought Over 148 10 5 1/2 1 Silver Mounted Hanger (old) 16 6 1 Chamber Looking Glass with a gilt frame 8 6 1 Silver Mounted Sword (old & Battered) 1 6 1 Earthen bason (Cracked) 9 6 Window blinds 16 1 Pr Gloves 4 5 Pr Thread Cloves 8 A parcel of Buttons Twist and Mohair 4 1 1 Allipine Coat 1 13 1 Cain Couch 15 1 Pr Shoe Buckles and two Clock Do 1 6 1 Pr Small Scales & Weights 2 6 1 Small Saddle 1 1 2 Small White Mettle Boxes 5 11 1 Horse Whip 10 1 Pr Old Boots 2 6 1 Set Gawse Muskeeto Curtains 5 18 1 Pr Silver Spurs 1 1 1 Painted Bedstead with a Cain Bottom 1 6 6 1 Old fir Chest 1 6 6 1 Cloth Brush 1 8 1 very old Lacquired Card Table 2 3 1 Brine Sub 4 1 Small Case with 3 five pint Bottles 8 6 1 Tin Sugar Pott 3 2 1 Small Hammer 4	The account of the sales of the late Robert Wright's effects continued, the earlier goods carried over at £148 10s 5.5d. Brought over, £148 10s 5.5d 1 silver mounted hanger, old, £0 16s 6d 1 chamber looking glass with a gilt frame, £0 8s 6d 1 silver mounted sword, old and battered, £1 0s 6d 1 earthen bowl, cracked, £0 0s 9d 6 window blinds, £0 16s 0d 1 pair of glasses, £0 4s 0d 5 pairs of thread checks, £0 0s 8d a parcel of buttons, twist and mohair, £0 4s 1d 1 alepine coat, £1 13s 0d 1 cane couch, £0 15s 0d 1 pair of shoe buckles and two stock ditto, £1 0s 6d 1 pair of small scales and weights, £0 2s 6d 1 small saddle, £1 1s 0d 2 small white metal boxes, £0 5s 11d 1 horse whip, £0 10s 0d 1 pair of old boots, £0 2s 6d 1 set of gauze muslin closet curtains, £0 5s 18d 1 pair of silver spurs, £1 1s 0d 1 painted bedstead with a cane bottom, £1 6s 0d 1 old fir chest, £1 6s 6d 1 clothes brush, £0 1s 8d 1 very old lacquered card table, £0 2s 3d 1 brine tub, £0 4s 0d 1 small case with 3 five pint bottles, £0 8s 6d 1 tin sugar pot, £0 3s 2d 1 small hammer, £0 0s 4d 2 cags, £0 0s 6d 1 turbey, £0 0s 10d 20 gallons of wine at 3s the gallon, £3 0s 0d 1 china jar, £3 0s 0d 1 small old copper pot, £0 2s 3d 1 old brass sconce for candles, £0 0s 8d 1 short wainscot board, £0 1s 6d 1 small clever, £0 1s 0d 1 wainscot close stool chair, £0 3s 6d 1 island made tea board, £0 1s 8d 1 large earthen jar with paddy, £0 12s 0d Carried over, £166 3s 9.5d **Interpretations** The riding gear among Wright's effects, the small saddle, the horse whip, the silver spurs and the boots, marks the keeping of a horse as part of a leading man's establishment on an island of steep and difficult paths. Horses were few and costly on St Helena, entered by the handful in every stock account, so a councillor who owned the equipage for riding held a mark of standing beyond the common, the silver spurs in particular a piece of gentleman's finery set

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		2 Cags 6 1 Turbry 10 20 Gallons Wine at 3 P Gallon 1 China Jar 3 .. 1 Small Old Copper Pott 2 3 1 Old Brass Sconce for Candle 8 1 Short Wainscott Board 6 1 Small Cliver 1 .. 1 Wainscott Close Stool Chair 3 6 1 Island made Tea Board 1 8 1 Large Earthen Jar with Paddy 12 Carried Over 166 3 9 1/2	against the plain necessity of getting about the broken country. The single item of island made tea board, distinguished in the account from the imported mahogany and walnut, marks the small compass of the settlement's own manufacture against the mass of goods brought in by ship. Nearly everything Wright owned had come from England or the East, so the one piece made on the island stood out as an exception, a plain sign of how completely a remote garrison depended on imported goods, its own hands producing little beyond the rough and necessary against the fine furniture of the shipping.
265	276	1748 Brought Over 166 3 9 1/2 1 Old fir box with Paddy 1 half gallon Pewter Pott 6 3 1 Old Chair with a tichen bottom 2 3 2 Hornhandle Knives 1 1 1 Old fir Writing Desk 2 3 1 Old Scrubbeng Brush 10 6 Piece of a Jarr 6 a Fowl Coop 1 9 7 Old China Pictures 3 7 11 Very old Maps 3 7 1 Old black China Waiscoat and Briches 8 1 Black Silk Waistcoat with Bugels 1 10 1 Green Brocade Do 2 13 6 1 Black Velvet Do with Gold Lace 1 .. 1 Waistcoat Embrodered with Gold not made 3 10 1 Wigg Bay 1 4 1 Mattrass and Wool Pillow 14 6 1 Book 3 7 1 Small Feather Bed a Bolster and 3 Pillows 1 11 2 Books 2 6 2 Do 5 7 2 Do 2 6 1 Do 1 1 1 Do 3 6 3 Do 5	The account of the sales of the late Robert Wright's effects continued, the earlier goods carried over at £166 3s 9.5d. Brought over, £166 3s 9.5d 1 old fir box with paddy, £0 6s 3d 1 half gallon pewter pot, £0 2s 3d 1 old chair with a broken bottom, £0 1s 1d 2 horn handle knives, £0 2s 3d 1 old fir writing desk, £0 10s 6d 1 old scrubbing brush, £0 0s 6d 1 pair of oars, £0 1s 9d a fowl coop, £0 3s 7d 7 old china pictures, £0 3s 7d 11 very old maps, £0 0s 2d 1 old black china waistcoat and breeches, £0 0s 8d 1 black silk waistcoat with bugles, £1 10s 0d 1 green brocade waistcoat, £2 13s 6d 1 black velvet waistcoat with gold lace, £1 0s 0d 1 waistcoat embroidered with gold, not made, £3 10s 0d 1 wig bag, £0 1s 4d 1 mattress and wool pillow, £0 14s 6d 1 book, £0 3s 7d 1 small feather bed, a bolster and 3 pillows, £1 11s 0d 2 books, £0 2s 6d 2 books, £0 5s 7d 2 books, £0 2s 6d 1 book, £0 1s 1d 1 book, £0 3s 6d 3 books, £0 5s 0d 4 books, £0 5s 0d 1 corner cane chair, £0 0s 10d 1 small chintz quilt, £0 0s 11d 1 bedstead and rail, £0 10s 6d 1 bedstead with a cane bottom, £0 11s 6d 1 small fir chest, £0 0s 8d 1 old lacquered box, £0 8s 1d 1 close stool and pan, £0 0s 4d 1 island made tea table, £0 2s 3d 1 pewter chamber pot, £0 2s 4d 1 china chamber pot, £0 2s 8d 3 small china dishes and two fruit dishes, £0 3s 6d 11 china meat plates, £0 6s 5.5d Carried over, £185 6s 5.5d **Interpretations** The fine waistcoats among Wright's effects, the green brocade, the black velvet with gold lace and one embroidered with gold not yet made up, mark the costly dress a leading officer kept for display, the

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		4 Do 5 1 Corner Cain Chair 10 1 Small Chintz Quilt 11 1 Bedstead & Rail 10 6 1 Bedstead with a Cain Bottom 11 6 1 Small fir Chest 8 1 Old Lacquird Bo 8 1 1 Case Stool and Pan 4 1 Island made Tea Table 2 3 1 Pewter Chamber Pott 2 4 1 China Do 2 8 3 Small China Dishes and two fruit Do 3 6 11 China Meat Plates Carried Over 185 6 5 1/2	embroidered waistcoat alone fetching three pounds ten. Such garments were the height of a gentleman's finery, worn to show rank in a small society, so their appearance in the sale reveals the secretary maintaining a wardrobe of imported luxury far beyond use, the gold-laced and brocaded coats the outward show of standing on an island where cloth itself came wholly by ship. The parcel of books, the maps and the china pictures, scattered in small lots through the sale, mark the modest learning and ornament of a councillor's house on a remote island. Wright kept a handful of books and old maps and a set of china pictures to furnish his walls, the whole fetching only shillings, so the inventory shows the limited intellectual and decorative world of the island's gentry, a few volumes and prints standing for the culture a settled officer carried into a place far from the sources of print and picture.
266	277	14 June Brought Over 185 6 5 1/2 7 Soop Plates 5 6 1 Chamber Glass with Gilt frame 5 6 1 Small Do 2 3 1 Small Teakittle 3 1 Steel Mounted Hanger with a Pistol 6 1 2 Brittance Windowfeetuins and Vellem 1 6 1 Square Wainscott Table 16 6 6 Cain Chairs 2 2 6 5 Old odd Do 16 2 without backs 1 1 1 Looking Glass 6 6 3 China Jars 9 1 China Bowl 1 6 2 China Guglets & 1 Bason 4 1 Wainscott Beaurow 1 3 1 Small Brass Cock 1 1/2 1 Dozen buck Handle Knives & forks 11 1 Tichen Chest Pouch 6 1 Gardeners Saw 2 3 1 Pr Brass Candlesticks 5 1 1 Pr Do Do 2 3 1 Pr Iron Snuffers 7 1 Brass Shimmer & Ladle	The account of the sales of the late Robert Wright's effects continued, the earlier goods carried over at £185 6s 5.5d. Brought over, £185 6s 5.5d 7 soup plates, £0 5s 6d 1 chamber glass with a gilt frame, £0 5s 6d 1 small chamber glass, £0 2s 3d 1 small tea kettle, £0 0s 3d 1 steel mounted hanger with a pistol, £0 6s 1d 2 buttons and window curtains and valance, £0 1s 6d 1 square wainscot table, £0 16s 6d 6 cane chairs, £2 2s 6d 5 old ditto, £0 16s 0d 2 without backs, £0 1s 1d 1 looking glass, £0 6s 6d 3 china jars, £0 9s 0d 1 china bowl, £0 1s 6d 2 china juglets and 1 basin, £0 4s 0d 1 wainscot bureau, £1 3s 0d 1 small brass cock, £0 0s 4d 1 dozen buck handle knives and forks, £0 11s 1.5d 1 kitchen chest, French, £0 0s 6d 1 gardener's saw, £0 2s 3d 1 pair of brass candlesticks, £0 5s 1d 1 pair of ditto, £0 2s 3d 1 pair of iron snuffers, £0 0s 7d 1 brass skimmer and ladle, £0 3s 6d 1 pair of old boots, £0 1s 7d 1 tin coffee pot, £0 1s 4.5d 2 butter boats, £0 1s 1d 1 old shovel, £0 1s 4.5d 1 small coffee mill, £0 2s 6d 2 pairs of pot hangers, £0 2s 0d 1 small iron milk pot, £0 2s 8d 1 old meat pot, £0 0s 10d 1 old spit, £0 0s 8.5d 1 shoe brush and 1 horse brush, £0 1s 1d 1 old wainscot oval table, £0 7s 0d 1 case with 15 five pint bottles, £1 6s 6d 1 small island made table, £0 6s 6d 1 large yam pot, £0 10s 1d Carried over, £197 6s 2.5d **Interpretations** The great mass of kitchen and household ware in this part of the sale, the pots, hangers, skimmers, spits and coffee mill, sold off piece by piece at a few pence

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 6 1 Pr Old Boots 1 7 1 Tin Coffee Pott 1 1/2 2 Butter Boats 1 1 1 Old Snavel 1 1/2 1 Small Coffee Mill 2 6 2 Pr Pothanger 2 1 Small Iron Milk Pott 2 8 1 Old Meat Do 10 1 Old Spitt 8 1/2 1 Shoe Brush & 1 Horse Do 1 1 1 Old Wainscott Oval Table 7 1 Case with 15 five pint Bottles 1 6 6 1 Small Island made Table 6 6 1 Large Yam Pott 10 1 Carried Over 197 6 2 1/2	each, marks the full furnishing of a working household passing under the hammer. A leading man's establishment kept a complete batterie of cooking gear, most of it imported iron and brass, so the estate broke down into scores of small utensils, each entered and sold, the account descending to the least old spit and shovel as the whole apparatus of Wright's kitchen was dispersed among the buyers. The coffee pot and coffee mill among the effects mark coffee, like tea, as an established drink in the households of the island's gentry by 1748. Wright kept the apparatus for grinding and brewing it, so the estate shows the newer hot beverages settled into the domestic life of the settlement, the same trade that brought the tea in quantity supplying the beans and the means to prepare them, the officers of a remote island keeping the fashionable drinks of the English table.
267	278	1748 Brought Over 197 6 2 1/2 8 Wine Glasses 1 Glass Cruit 4 5 Green Tools 1 1/2 1 large fir Chest 7 7 1 Goose 13 6 1 Squab & Pillow 5 1 Sett Madrass Chintz Bed Curtains & two Window Curtains& 1 10 1 Small Spyeng Glass 3 Yams & Jackson 40,000 21 6 Table Spoons 2 18 6 2 Silver Salts 12 6 1 Silver Pepper Box 8 3 Silver Teaspoons 8 1 Pr Silver Knee Buckles 5 1 Sett Suerof Bed Curtains 5 1 a piece of Nankeen 1 8 6 Ruffled Shirts 3 7 5 Plain Do 1 6 9 5 Do Do 1 5 1 Old Shitked Worsted Waistcoat 4 1 Old Black Silk Coat	The account of the sales of the late Robert Wright's effects continued, the earlier goods carried over at £197 6s 2.5d. Brought over, £197 6s 2.5d 8 wine glasses, £0 4s 0d 1 glass cruet, £0 0s 1.5d 3 gown fools, £0 0s 7d 1 large fir chest, £0 7s 7d 1 goose, £0 13s 6d 1 squab and pillows, £0 5s 0d 1 sett madras chintz bed curtains and two window curtains, old, £0 15s 0d 1 small spying glass, £1 10s 0d 1 sett of andirons, £0 3s 0d 6 yams and paddy, 40,000 lb, £21 0s 0d 6 table spoons, £2 18s 6d 2 silver salts, £0 12s 6d 1 silver pepper box, £0 8s 0d 3 silver saltspoons, £0 8s 0d 1 pair of silver knee buckles, £0 5s 0d 1 sett sucey bed curtains, £0 3s 1d a piece of nankeen, £0 1s 8d 6 ruffled shirts, £3 7s 0d 5 plain shirts, £1 6s 9d 5 shirts, £1 5s 0d 1 old flowered wove waistcoat, £0 4s 0d 1 old black silk coat, £0 5s 6d 1 old coat, £0 10s 6d 1 green cloth waistcoat, £0 3s 7d 1 red laced waistcoat, very good, £0 4s 2d 5 pairs of blue stockings, £0 12s 0d 3 pairs of ditto, £0 3s 6d 2 pairs of thread ditto, £0 2s 3d 2 pairs of worsted, £0 3s 4d 8 cotton handkerchiefs, £0 5s 6d remnant of muslin, £0 3s 2d 2 reindeer drawers, £0 1s 8d 1 chintz palampore, £0 10s 0d 2 muslin neckcloths, £0 1s 1.5d 1 leather trunk, £0 14s 0d 1 long cloth towels, £0 5s 2d 4 old huckaback ditto, £0 2s 8d 3 pairs of long cloth pillow cases, £0 6s 2d Carried over, £238 0s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		5 6 1 Old Coat 10 6 1 Green Cloth Waistcoat 3 7 1 Red Laced Do (very old) 4 2 5 Pr B W Stockings 12 3 Pr Do 3 6 2 Pr Thread Do 2 3 2 Pr Worsted 3 4 8 Cotton Handkerchiefs 5 6 Remnant of Muslin 3 2 2 Reender Drawers 1 8 1 Chintz Pallampore 10 2 Muslin Neckcloths 1 1 1/2 1 Leather Trunk 14 4 Long Cloth Towels 5 2 4 Old Huckaback Do 2 8 3 Pr Long Cloth Pillow Cases 6 2 Carried Over 238 8 1/2	**Interpretations** The silver plate among Wright's effects, the table spoons, salts, pepper box, saltspoons and knee buckles, marks the small store of precious metal a leading officer kept as both ornament and reserve of wealth. Silver on a remote island served as portable value as much as domestic display, the table spoons alone fetching nearly three pounds, so the sale reveals the secretary holding a modest plate chest in the English manner, the silver a sign of standing and a store of worth that could be turned to cash as here it was. The 40,000 lb of yams and paddy entered in the sale at twenty-one pounds, by far the single most valuable lot after the slaves, shows the staple provision crop of the island standing as a real asset in a planter's estate. Yams were the bread of the settlement, fed to the slaves and the stock and bought and sold by the thousand, so a great store of them held its value like grain in an English barn, the estate's largest single item of produce reflecting how the island's wealth rested on the crop that fed its people and beasts.
268	279	14 June Brought Over 238 8 1/2 2 Huckaback Table Cloths 14 6 2 Old Long Cloth Do 7 2 Old Long Cloth Table Cloths 8 6 1 Pr Do Sheets 17 6 1 Pr Do 18 1 Pr Do 13 6 1 Mahogany Tea Chest 4 1 A Parcel of Old China 2 a Parcel Do 1 8 1 Desk & 6 China Plates 3 3 1 Pr Glass Decanters 1 Earthen Chamber Pott & 1 Snecker 1 Tin Coffee Pott 9 1 Pr Snecker 6 2 1 Barben Block 6 1 Umbrella 6 A parcel of Books 10 A Parcel Do 2 2 1 Old Sub 8 1 Book	The account of the sales of the late Robert Wright's effects continued, the earlier goods carried over at £238 0s 8d. Brought over, £238 0s 8d 2 huckaback table cloths, £0 14s 6d 2 old long cloth ditto, £0 7s 0d 2 old long cloth table cloths, £0 8s 6d 1 pair of ditto sheets, £0 17s 6d 1 pair of ditto, £0 18s 0d 1 pair of ditto, £0 13s 6d 1 mahogany tea chest, £0 4s 1d a parcel of odd china, £0 2s 0d a parcel of ditto, £0 2s 0d 1 desk and 6 china plates, £0 1s 8d 1 pair of glass decanters, 1 earthen chamber pot and 1 sneaker, £0 3s 3d 1 tin coffee pot, £0 0s 9d 1 pair of ditto, £0 6s 2d 1 barber's block, £0 0s 6d 1 umbrella, £0 0s 6d a parcel of books, £0 10s 0d a parcel of ditto, £0 5s 0d 1 old tub, £0 2s 2d 1 book, £0 0s 8d 2 ditto, £0 10s 0d a parcel of copy books, £0 5s 0d a parcel of ditto, £0 5s 1d 1 pewter standish, £0 1s 1d a parcel of books, £0 3s 10d 1 ditto, £0 0s 0d a parcel of pewter custard rings, £0 1s 0d a parcel of magazines, £0 2s 3d 1 old gimlet, a boot jack, £0 1s 1d 1 case for knives, £0 0s 3d 9 dozen bottles, £0 2s 0d 2 combs and a case, £0 0s 9d 2 old locks, without keys, an old fruit stand, £0 0s 3d £246 3s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		10 2 Do 10 A parcel of Copy Books 5 A Parcel 5 1 1 Pewter Standish 1 1 A parcel of Books 3 10 2 Do 1 Do A parcel Pewter Custum Rings 1 A parcel Magazines 2 1/2 1 Old Gimblett Old Boot Jack 1 1 1 Case for Knives 3 9 Dozen Bottles 2 2 Combs & Case 9 1 2 Old Locks without Keys & an Old fruit Stand 1 8 3 246 3 10 Account	The following is the account of the sales of the effects of the late John Barton. **Interpretations** The parcels of books, copy books and magazines closing Wright's sale, sold off in lots of a few shillings, mark the reading matter a settled officer kept and the wider world of print that reached even so remote a post. The magazines especially point to the periodical press of London finding its way to the island, so the secretary followed the news and letters of home through the numbers the ships carried, the whole small library dispersed among the buyers as the last and least valuable of his goods after the plate, the slaves and the crop. The barber's block and the case of combs among Wright's effects mark the small apparatus of a gentleman's grooming, kept for the dressing of a wig and the care of the person. A leading officer maintained the outward marks of his station down to the block on which his wig was set, so even these trifling articles found their place in the sale, the inventory reaching the least item of a councillor's toilet as the whole of his domestic life was turned into money for his creditors.
269	280	1748 Account Sale of the Estate of the late Lieutenant John Barton Deceased the 9 May 1748 Vizt 1 Mahogany Beaurow 2 17 .. 1 large Gilt frame Looking Glass 3 .. 2 Small Do 1 .. 1 Do painted frame 5 7 1 Old Clock 3 2 6 Leather bottom Chairs 3 6 1 House & Ground in James Valley 105 .. 1 Wainscott Dinning Table 14 .. 1 Tea Table 1 15 .. 1 Tea Board 9 .. 1 Wainscott Halt Bat 4 6 4 half pint Cups & 3 Saucers 15 Small Cups & 20 Saucers 3 1 1 Pr Silver Spurs 1 7 6 2 China Guglets & Basons 8 .. 11 China Soop Plates 7 1 32 Do Meat Do 10 7 4 Do Snecker 1 6 1 Do Chamber Pott & 1 Earthen Do 3 6 1 Stone Jegg 1 8 4 Small China Dishes 6 1 1 Pewter Chamber Pott	The account of the sales of the estate of the late Lieutenant John Barton, who died on 9 May 1748, ran as follows. 1 mahogany bureau, £2 17s 0d 1 large gilt frame looking glass, £3 0s 0d 2 small ditto, £1 0s 0d 1 ditto painted frame, £0 5s 1d 1 old clock, £3 2s 0d 6 leather bottom chairs, £3 0s 6d 1 house and ground in James Valley, £105 0s 0d 1 wainscot dining table, £0 14s 0d 1 tea table, £1 15s 0d 1 tea board, £0 9s 0d 1 wainscot halt box, £0 4s 6d 4 half pint cups and 3 saucers, 15 small cups and 20 saucers, £0 3s 1d 1 pair of silver spurs, £1 1s 6d 2 china juglets and basins, £0 8s 0d 11 china soup plates, £0 7s 1d 32 ditto meat ditto, £0 10s 7d 4 ditto sneakers, £0 1s 6d 1 ditto chamber pot and 1 earthen ditto, £0 3s 6d 1 stone jug, £0 1s 8d 5 small china dishes, £0 6s 1d 1 pewter chamber pot, £0 2s 3d 3 old pewter plates, £0 1s 3d 2 old pewter salts, £0 0s 2d 1 pewter basin, £0 0s 3d 1 pewter funnel, £0 1s 6d 1 large tin canister, £0 0s 3d 1 ditto, £0 2s 11d 1 ditto, £0 2s 7d 1 mare, £7 11s 0d 1 china canister, £0 0s 9d 1 old tin coffee pot, £0 1s 6d 1 old tin saucepan, £0 0s 10d 1 pint tin saucepan, £0 0s 5d 1 horn lantern, £0 0s 4d 1 cruet stand and cruets, [...] Carried over, £134 5s 10d **Interpretations** The house and ground in James Valley, sold at £105, dwarfed every other item in Barton's estate and made real property by far the chief part of a garrison officer's wealth. A lieutenant who had held a town lot

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 3 3 Old Pewter Plates 1 3 2 Old Pewter Salts 2 1 Pewter Bason 3 .. 1 Pewter Funnil 1 6 1 large Tin Cannister 3 .. 1 Do 2 11 1 Do 2 7 1 Mare 7 11 1 China Cannister 9 1 Old Tin Coffee Pott 1 6 1 pint Tin Saucepan 10 1 Horn Lanthorn 5 .. 1 Cruet Stand & Cruets 4 Carried Over 134 5 10	and built on it left the freehold as his great asset, so the sale of his estate turned on the disposal of his house at a figure many times the value of all his furniture and plate together, the ownership of ground in the valley where the settlement clustered being the most substantial property a man could hold. The mare valued at seven pounds eleven stands as one of the more considerable single items after the house, marking again the worth of a riding beast on the island. Horses and mares were counted by the handful in the stock accounts and cost dear, so Barton's mare, like Wright's riding gear, shows the keeping of a mount as both a necessity on the steep paths and a mark of an officer's standing, the animal fetching more than the whole of his china and pewter combined.
270	281	June Brought Over £ 131 5 6 1 Small Tin Lamp 3 6 2 Glass Decanters 5 3 4 Wine Glasses 3 9 1 Large Copper Fishpan 8 1 Quart Copper Saucepan 5 6 1 Do Tin Saucepan 1 7 1 Pr Brass Candlesticks 4 6 1 flat Brass Do & Pr Snuffers 2 6 1 Brass Ladle 2 6 2 Girth & 1 Crouper 3 9 1 Case with 6 Knives & forks 12 6 1 Do with 3 old Knives and forks 2 7 1 Chaffing Dish 6 7½ 1 Small Sew 1 7 1 Warm Pott 7½ 2 Stock Locks 7 4½ 1 old Stock Lock, 1 old Iron bound Do, 1 Bolt 7 7 1 old Coffee Mill 6 7 1 Ivory Comb & Brush 2 10 2 Shoe Brushes 2 7 1 Parcell Blacking 1½ 2 Pr Scissors, 1 Spike Gimblet 1½	Total brought forward from the previous page, £134 5s 10d 1 small tin lamp, £0 3s 6d 2 glass decanters, £0 5s 3d 4 wine glasses, £0 3s 2d 1 large copper flash pan, £0 8s 0d 1 smallest copper saucepan, £0 5s 6d 1 tin saucepan, £0 1s 7d 1 brass candlestick, £0 4s 6d 1 flat brass candlestick and a pair of snuffers, £0 2s 6d 1 brass ladle, £0 2s 6d 2 girths and a crupper, £0 3s 9d 1 case holding 6 knives and forks, £0 12s 6d 1 case holding 3 old knives and forks, £0 2s 7d 1 chafing dish, £0 6s 2d 1 small saw, £0 1s 7d 1 hand saw, £0 0s 7.5d 2 stock locks, £0 1s 7d 1 old stock lock, 1 old iron-rimmed lock and 1 bolt, £0 6s 7d 1 old coffee mill, £0 2s 10d 1 currycomb and brush, £0 2s 7d 2 shoe brushes, £0 0s 8d 1 barrel of blacking, £0 0s 7.5d 2 pairs of scissors and 1 spike gimlet, £0 0s 9.5d a parcel of old iron, £0 0s 9d 1 old pickle case with 5 empty bottles, £0 2s 7d 1 old box with some salt, £0 1s 0d 1 linen bag with mustard seed, £0 2s 7d 1 fowling piece, £0 8s 0d 1 old fowling piece, £0 5s 1d 1 silver-hilted sword, £2 5s 0d 1 mourning sword, £0 7s 1d 1 silver-headed cane, £0 10s 6d 2 window blinds, £0 8s 0d 6 china pictures in frames, £1 1s 6d a parcel of old books, £0 5s 6d 1 Bible and common prayer book, £0 7s 1.5d 1 half-pint lacquered pot, £0 1s 1.5d 1 small old fir chest, £0 3s 1d 1 large fir case, £0 5s 6d Total carried forward to the next page, £145 6s 1d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Parcel of old Iron 2½ 1 old Pickle Case with 5 Empty bottles 2 7 1 old Box with some Salt 2 7 1 Linnen bag with Mustard Seed 2 7 1 Fowling Piece 5 1 1 old Do 5 1 1 Silver Hilted Sword 2 5 1 Mourning Do 7 1 1 Silver headed Cane 10 6 2 Windows Blds 1 6 6 China Picture in frames 1 1 6 Parcel old Books 5 6 1 Bible & Common prayer Book 4 1½ 1 half Pint Lacquied Pott 3 1 1 Small old fir Chest 5 6 1 Large fir Case 6 1 Carried Over £ 145 6 1	This leaf continues the account of the sale of the late Lieutenant John Barton's estate, the running total of £134 5s 10d carried over from an earlier page and closing at £145 6s 1d to pass to the next. Barton, who died intestate on 9 May 1748, had his effects inventoried and sold at public auction like Robert Wright's before him, the whole account entered on 14 June 1748. This page catches the small domestic bulk of the estate, the kitchen metalware, table gear and odds of iron listed below the James Valley house and ground and the mare that carried the greater part of the valuation. A mourning sword was a plain weapon with a blackened hilt and scabbard, worn with mourning dress at funerals, and it sits here beside a silver-hilted sword and a silver-headed cane, the dress an officer of the garrison kept up even on a remote island. A fowling piece was a light smoothbore gun for shooting birds, a common possession where fresh meat was scarce and wildfowl were worth the powder. Several other entries are the working tools of a well-found house rather than ornaments. A crupper was the leather strap passing under a horse's tail to stop the saddle riding forward, paired here with girths for the same beast, the tack of the mare that headed the sale. A chafing dish held hot coals to keep food warm at table or to cook it there. A stock lock was a heavy iron lock set in a wooden case and fixed to a door, the usual fastening for a storeroom, while a spike gimlet was a small tool for boring holes to start screws or nails, and the barrel of blacking held the paste used to polish leather and iron. The prices show how a settlement far from any market valued its imported goods. The single silver-hilted sword at £2 5s 0d was worth more than the whole run of copper and tin cookware together, and six china pictures in frames at £1 1s 6d and a silver-headed cane at 10s 6d each outran a large copper flash pan at 8s 0d, the ornamental and the shipped-in holding a value the merely useful could not.
271	282	1748 Brought Over £ 145 6 1 1 Small fir Case 5 1 1 Pr Sheepshears 2 1 old Sander Box 8 1 Small Copper Tea Kettle 10 1 Wood Straining Dish 3 3½ Yards Ducks 2 10 1 Yard Sacking 4½ 2¼ Linsed Oyl 4 1 3 bottle florence 2 11½ ½ Candles 5 6 1 Small old fir Box with Truffles 3 1 3 Horn Combs 3 3 1 Black Man Named Pompey 7 10 1 Screw hasp 3 6 1 Pr Brass Dividers 4 1 two foot Rule 1 5 2 Punch Ladles	Total brought forward from the previous page, £145 6s 1d 1 small fir case, £0 5s 1d 1 pair of sheep shears, £0 2s 0d 1 old tinder box, £0 0s 8d 1 small copper tea kettle, £0 10s 0d 1 wooden straining dish, £0 0s 3d 3.5 yards of duck, £0 2s 10d 1 yard of sacking, £0 0s 4.5d 3 lb of linseed oil, £0 4s 0d 1 bottle of Florence oil, £0 2s 11.5d 5 lb of candles, £0 5s 6d 1 small old fir box with truffles, £0 3s 1d 3 horn combs, £0 3s 3d 1 black man named Pompey, £7 10s 0d 1 screw hasp, £0 3s 6d 1 pair of brass dividers, £0 0s 4d 1 two-foot rule, £0 1s 5d 2 punch ladles, £0 1s 0d a parcel of pins, £0 2s 3d 1 shagreen case with razors, £1 5s 0d 1 large razor strop, £0 0s 7d 1 china lock, £0 1s 9d 2 small razors and strops, £0 5s 0d 20 nutmegs, £0 5s 1d 1 set of silver shoe and knee buckles, £2 0s 6d 1 pair of broken silver knee buckles, £0 2s 7d 6 dozen shirt buttons, £0 1s 2d 1 silver watch, £3 0s 0d 2 dozen 8 scarlet silk buttons, £0 1s 0d 1 pair of brass knee buckles, £0 1s 7d 1 horn pounce box, £0 0s 3d 1 lacquered snuff box, £0 1s 0d 1 old iron, £0 0s 8d 14 Bristol stone waistcoat buttons, £0 13s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 1 Parcel of Pins 2 3 1 Sharpeen Case with Razor 1 5 1 large Razor Strop 1 1 China Lock 5 2 Small Razor & Straps 5 1 20 Nutmegs 2 6 1 old Silver Shoe & Knee Buckles 2 7 1 Pr Broken Silver Knee Buckles 1 2 6 Doz old first Buttons 1 1 Silver Watch 3 2 Doz's Sew Bo Silk Buttons 1 7 1 Pr Brass Knee Buckles 3 1 Horn Prince Box 1 1 Lacquied Snuff Box 1 1 old Iron 13 14 Bristol Stone Wastcoat Buttons 5 1 Silver Watch 1 7 2 old Penknives & Scizzars 1 1 large Cork Screw 10 1 old Spoon & old Snuff 1 6 2 Small pieces Gold Lace Carried Over £ 168 11 8	1 silver watch, £5 0s 0d 2 old penknives and a corkscrew, £0 1s 7d 1 large corkscrew, £0 1s 0d 1 old green silk purse, £0 0s 10d 2 small pieces of gold lace, £0 1s 6d Total carried forward to the next page, £168 11s 8d
272	283	June Brought Over £ 168 11 8 2 Bass for Wiggs 1 3 1 Pr Riding Gloves 7 1 parcel of Brass Wire 8 4 Silver Sprons 1 10 6 6 Ruffled Shirts 5 5 6 Do 5 5 6 Do 4 1 5 Do 2 10 4 Do 18 1 Do 6 Stocks 4 3 6 Do 6 2 6 Do 6 1 8 Do 3 2 4 Neck Cloths 6 2 4 Muslin Handkerchiefs	Total brought forward from the previous page, £168 11s 8d 2 razors for wigs, £0 1s 3d 1 pair of riding gloves, £0 7s 0d a parcel of brass wire, £0 0s 8d 4 silver spoons, £1 10s 6d 6 ruffled shirts, £5 5s 0d 6 ruffled shirts, £5 5s 0d 6 ruffled shirts, £4 1s 0d 5 ruffled shirts, £2 10s 0d 4 ruffled shirts, £0 18s 0d 1 ruffled shirt, £0 4s 3d 6 stocks, £0 4s 3d 6 stocks, £0 6s 2d 6 stocks, £0 6s 1d 8 stocks, £0 3s 2d 4 neckcloths, £0 6s 2d 4 muslin handkerchiefs, £0 7s 0d 1 pair of coarse long-cloth sheets, £0 12s 6d 1 pair of coarse long-cloth sheets, £0 15s 0d 1 pair of coarse long-cloth sheets, £0 12s 0d 1 pair of coarse long-cloth sheets, £0 13s 0d 1 sheet, £0 6s 7d 2 old huckaback tablecloths, £0 9s 1d 8 coarse pillowcases, £0 3s 5d 5 coarse pillowcases, £0 10s 0d 2 pairs of coarse drawers, £0 8s 6d 1 white dimity waistcoat, £0 4s 6d 1 white dimity waistcoat, £0 2s 6d 1 white dimity waistcoat, £0 9s 0d 1 white dimity waistcoat, £0 3s 1d 1 white dimity waistcoat, £0 10s 0d

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		7 1 Pr Coarse Long Cloth Sheets 12 6 1 pr Do 15 1 pr Do 12 1 pr Do 13 1 pr Do 6 1 1 Sheet 9 1 2 old Huckaback Table Cloths 3 1 8 Coarse Pillowcases 10 5 Do Towells 8 6 2 Pr Coarse Drawers 1 6 1 White Demity Wastcoat 2 6 1 Do 9 1 Do 3 1 1 Do 10 1 Do 6 1 Do 6 3 1 Do 6 3 6 Pr Cotton Stockings 6 3 6 Pr Do 18 4 pr Do 1 2 Pr Do Ribed 5 1 5 Pr Thread Stockings 8 7 1 Carried Over £ 200 5 3	1 white dimity waistcoat, £0 6s 0d 1 white dimity waistcoat, £0 6s 1d 1 white dimity waistcoat, £0 6s 3d 6 pairs of cotton stockings, £0 6s 3d 6 pairs of cotton stockings, £0 18s 0d 1 pair of cotton stockings, £1 0s 0d 2 pairs of ribbed cotton stockings, £0 5s 1d 5 pairs of thread stockings, £0 8s 0d [...], £0 1s 1d Total carried forward to the next page, £200 5s 3d **Interpretations** This leaf continues the account of the sale of the late Lieutenant John Barton's estate, the running total of £168 11s 8d brought over from the previous page and closing at £200 5s 3d to carry on again. Barton died intestate on 9 May 1748, and his effects were inventoried and sold at public auction, the account entered on 14 June 1748. The whole of this page is his personal linen and clothing, the shirts, stocks, sheets, waistcoats and stockings that made up a garrison officer's wardrobe, and it is the heaviest run of value in the sale so far, six ruffled shirts alone fetching £5 5s 0d twice over. Several of the fabrics named were standard imports of the day. Long cloth was a plain cotton calico woven in long pieces on the Coromandel coast, the ordinary stuff of sheets and shirts. Dimity was a stout cotton cloth woven with a raised stripe or figure, white and often used for waistcoats and bed furniture. Huckaback was a coarse linen with a rough, absorbent surface, woven chiefly for towelling and hardwearing table linen. Muslin was a fine, thin cotton, here made up into handkerchiefs. A stock was a stiff band of linen or muslin worn close round the neck in place of a cravat, the standard neckwear of a man in uniform, and Barton's estate held some two dozen of them beside his neckcloths. The two razors for wigs were fine blades kept for trimming and shaping a periwig rather than for shaving, a reminder that a gentleman's wig needed as much upkeep as his chin.
273	284	1748 Brought Over £ 200 5 3 2 Pr Thread Stockings 11 7 3 Do Silk Stockings 10 6 3 Do Black Worsted Stockings 9 6 1 Do Blue Do 2 10 1 Do Silk Allejar 8 1 Small Feather Beded 3 Pillows Quilt & Blankett 1 16 1 old Chints Curtains 10 1 old Callampoos 8 7 1 large China Bowl 1 4 1 Do 8 1 Do 2 1 Do 2 6 1 Do 2 7½	Total brought forward from the previous page, £200 5s 3d 2 pairs of thread stockings, £0 5s 5d 3 pairs of silk stockings, £0 11s 7d 3 pairs of black worsted stockings, £0 10s 6d 1 pair of blue stockings, £0 9s 6d 1 pair of silk stockings, aljar, £0 2s 10d 1 small feather bed, 2 pillows, quilt and blankets, £0 8s 0d 1 old chintz counterpane, £1 16s 0d 1 old palampore, £0 10s 0d 1 large china bowl, £0 8s 7d 1 large china bowl, £0 1s 4d 1 china bowl, £0 0s 8d 1 china bowl, £0 2s 0d 1 china bowl, £0 2s 6d 1 small china bowl, £0 2s 7.5d a parcel of sugar and candy, £0 1s 3d 2 catties of tea, £0 1s 6d 1 gold-laced hat, old, £0 1s 2d 1 plain hat, £0 0s 8d 1 silver-laced hat, £0 16s 6d 1 pewter inkstand, £0 1s 9d 1 small side cloth, £0 1s 3d 1 side cloth, £0 1s 4d 1 pillowcase, £0 1s 2.5d 1 small woman's bed, bed cloth and so on, £0 16s 0d

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		1 Small Do 1 3 1 Parcel of Sugar & Candy 1 6 2 Catties Tea 1 2 1 Gold Lace Hat & old 1 1 Plain Do 8 1 Silver Lace Do 16 6 1 Pewter Ink Stand 1 9 1 Small Silk Cloth 1 3 1 Do 1 4 1 Pillow face 1 2½ 1 Small Womans Beded Cloth &c 16 1 Chints Banyan 18 6 1 Scarlet Camblet Coat 2 6 1 Brown Camblet old Briches 2 13 6 1 old Black Cloth Coat & Briches 2 11 1 Blue Do & Do 3 11 1 Scarlet Do & Do 1 16 1 Do old Do & Do 14 1 Blue old Do & Do 1 6 6 1 Red Bais Coat & Briches 1 1 1 Scarlet Cloth Wastcoat Silver Lace 3 10 1 China Silk Wastcoat worked with Silver & Silk 2 8 1 White Silk Wastcoat Gold Lace 1 8 1 Flowerd Black Silk Wastcoat 1 10 6 1 Yellow Silk Do 3 7 Carried Over £ 234 12 11	1 chintz banyan, £0 18s 6d 1 scarlet camlet coat, £2 6s 0d 1 brown camlet coat and breeches, £2 13s 6d 1 black cloth coat and breeches, £2 11s 0d 1 blue cloth coat and breeches, £3 11s 0d 1 blue cloth coat and breeches, £1 16s 0d 1 scarlet cloth coat and breeches, £0 14s 0d 1 old scarlet cloth coat and breeches, £1 6s 6d 1 blue cloth coat and breeches, £1 1s 0d 1 red baize coat and breeches, £1 1s 0d 1 scarlet cloth waistcoat with silver lace, £3 10s 0d 1 china silk waistcoat worked with silver and silk, £2 8s 0d 1 white silk waistcoat with gold lace, £1 8s 0d 1 flowered black silk waistcoat, £1 10s 6d 1 yellow silk waistcoat, £0 3s 7d Total carried forward to the next page, £234 12s 11d **Interpretations** This page carries on the account of the sale of the late Lieutenant John Barton's estate, the heading of 1748 above it, the running total of £200 5s 3d brought over from the previous leaf and closing at £234 12s 11d to pass on again. Barton died intestate on 9 May 1748, and his effects were inventoried and sold at public auction, the account entered on 14 June 1748. The page opens with the last of his stockings and bedding and turns to the richest part of the whole estate, the suits of coats, breeches and laced waistcoats that made up a garrison officer's dress, several fetching two and three pounds apiece where the household metalware of earlier pages went for shillings. Many of the goods are the products of the eastern trade that passed through the island in the Company's ships. A palampore was a large painted or printed cotton bedcover made on the Coromandel coast, prized for its flowered designs. Chintz was a glazed and painted Indian cotton, here made up into a counterpane and a banyan. A banyan was a loose informal gown or dressing coat, worn by gentlemen at home in imitation of Indian and Persian dress. China silk and the several bowls, the tea and the sugar candy were likewise brought from Canton, the same wares the homeward China ships landed at the road. The heavy woollens tell the other half of an officer's wardrobe. Camlet was a strong mixed cloth of wool, sometimes with silk or hair, used for coats and cloaks that would turn weather. Baize was a coarse woollen with a raised nap, cheaper than broadcloth. Worsted was a smooth woollen yarn spun from combed wool, here knitted into stockings, and the laced waistcoats of silver, gold and silk were the show pieces of a man who kept the dress of his rank, the scarlet waistcoat with silver lace alone appraised at £3 10s 0d. The word aljar against one pair of silk stockings is set down as it stands in the account, its sense uncertain, perhaps a maker's or a place name attached to that one pair.
274	285	June Brought Over £ 234 12 11 1 Plain Black Silk Waistcoat 4 1 1 old Scarlet Cloth Wastcoat Gold Lace 1 1 Red Bais Waistcoat 7 6 1 old Scarlet Cloth Waistcoat 2 8 1 Pr Blue German Serge Breeches 2 1 Pr old Black Velvet Do 6	Total brought forward from the previous page, £234 12s 11d 1 plain black silk waistcoat, £0 4s 11d 1 old scarlet cloth waistcoat with gold lace, £1 4s 0d 1 red baize waistcoat, £0 7s 6d 1 old scarlet cloth waistcoat, £0 2s 8d 1 pair of blue German serge breeches, £0 2s 0d 1 pair of old black velvet breeches, £0 6s 0d 1 plaid banyan, £0 14s 6d 1 set of sacking bed curtains, £0 3s 1d 1 old palampore, £0 5s 0d 1 pair of chintz [sheets], £0 18s 0d 1 pair of chintz [sheets], £0 13s 1d

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		1 Plad Banyan 14 6 1 Sett Susee Bed Curtains 3 1 1 old Pallampore 5 1 Pr Chints 18 1 Pr Do 13 1 1 Pr Do 15 2 1 Pr Do 16 6 1 Pr Do 15 1 Pr Do 15 6 1 Pr Sultramalle 7 11 1 Pr Do 8 9 2 Books 10 6 6½ dozn Quart Bottles 1 1 large fir Chest 1 1 Egg with a Brass lock 1 6 1 Pr Sheets 1 1 1 Pr Cotton Stockings 2 6 1 Remnant Muslin 3 7 1 Small Iron Pott 4 1 1 old Wood Bowl 9 1 Brine Tub 2 6 1 Wood Ax 1 10 1 Small frying Pan 1 6 1 Breeches Buckle 1 3 1 Pr old Silver Shoe Buckles 5 6 1 Ivory Comb 1 1 Small Hone 1 7½ 1 Small Case with Scales & Weight 4 6 1 Do 1 7 1 Do 2 6 1 Canvas Bagg with some Coffee 3 1 old Wine Chest 3 3 Carried Over £ 247 15 9	1 pair of chintz [sheets], £0 15s 2d 1 pair of chintz [sheets], £0 16s 6d 1 pair of chintz [sheets], £0 15s 0d 1 pair of chintz [sheets], £0 15s 6d 1 pair of Sutramallee [sheets], £0 7s 11d 1 pair of Sutramallee [sheets], £0 8s 9d 2 books, £0 10s 6d 6.5 dozen quart bottles, £0 7s 0d 1 large fir chest, £0 1s 0d 1 egg with a brass lock, £1 0s 0d 1 pair of sheets, £0 1s 6d 1 pair of cotton stockings, £0 1s 1d 1 remnant of muslin, £0 2s 6d 1 small iron pot, £0 3s 7d 1 old wooden bowl, £0 4s 1d 1 brass tub, £0 0s 9d 1 wooden axe, £0 2s 6d 1 small frying pan, £0 1s 10d 1 breeches buckle, £0 1s 6d 1 pair of old silver shoe buckles, £0 1s 3d 1 ivory comb, £0 5s 6d 1 small hone, £0 1s 2d 1 small case with scales and weights, £0 1s 7.5d 1 small case with scales and weights, £0 4s 6d 1 small case with scales and weights, £0 1s 7d 1 canvas bag with some coffee, £0 2s 6d 1 old wine chest, £0 3s 0d Total carried forward to the next page, £247 15s 9d **Interpretations** This leaf carries on the account of the sale of the late Lieutenant John Barton's estate, the folio numbered 14 and headed June, the running total of £234 12s 11d brought over from the previous page and closing at £247 15s 9d to pass on. Barton died intestate on 9 May 1748, and his effects were inventoried and sold at public auction, the account entered on 14 June 1748. The page holds the tail of his fine clothing and then the last odds of the estate, the chest, the scales, the frying pan and the canvas bag of coffee that closed a working household. Several of the textiles are again eastern imports of the Company's trade. A palampore was a large painted cotton bedcover from the Coromandel coast, and chintz was a glazed and painted Indian cotton, here made up into several pairs of sheets. German serge was a durable twilled woollen used for breeches and hardwearing clothing, and a plaid banyan was a loose informal gown, this one in a checked cloth, worn by a gentleman at home. The egg with a brass lock, appraised at a full pound and among the dearest single items on the page, was a lockable strongbox or casket shaped like an egg, used to keep money, papers or small valuables, its price a mark that the container itself was a piece of worked metalwork rather than plain joinery. The small case with scales and weights was a portable balance for weighing coin, a necessary tool where the money in daily use was a jumble of foreign gold and silver taken by weight as much as by count. The word Sutramallee, set against two pairs of goods among the chintz sheets, is written as it stands, most probably the name of an Indian cloth or the place it came from, carried into the account without translation.
275	286	1748 Brought Over £ 247 15 9 1 old fir Box 5 2 Do 1 Cot & Nails 1 4 1 Hogg 6 9 3 Empty Hogsheads	Total brought forward from the previous page, £247 15s 9d 1 old fir box, £0 0s 0d 2 old fir boxes, £0 5s 0d 1 lot of nails, £0 1s 4d 1 hog, £0 6s 9d 3 empty hogsheads, £1 0s 0d 1 hogshead with some paddy, £0 2s 8d 1 old hair broom, £0 3s 0d 1 garden rake, £0 8s 0d

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		1 1 Hhd with some Paddy 2 8 1 old Hair Broom 3 1 Garden Rake 8 1 Beaufet 1 7 1 Saddle & Bridle 3 5 2 Cain Chairs 1 4 Fowls 9 1 Pr Boots 1 3 2 Pr old Shots 10 6 1 Pr New Do 3 1 1 Pr old Slippers 8 1 Some Shreads 1 5 2 Pr Spur Leathers 2 1 Cloaths Rack 2 2 Case bottles & some paint 3 1 2 Knive & forks 1 4 1 Pewter Spoon 3½ 2 Glasses 1 3 1 Bowl 3 1 old Napkin 3 1 China Dish & 5 Plates 1 7 1 Do Cup 3 1 fir Box 6 1 fir Box 18 8 13 Cuts of Deal 1 1 1 old piece of Timber £ 258 10 9 Chas Hutchinson David Trotter John Clark	1 beaufet, £0 1s 7d 1 saddle and bridle, £3 5s 0d 2 cane chairs, £1 0s 0d 4 fowls, £0 9s 0d 1 pair of boots, £0 1s 3d 2 pairs of old shoes, £0 10s 6d 1 pair of new shoes, £0 3s 1d 1 pair of old slippers, £0 8s 1d some thread, £0 1s 5d 2 pairs of spur leathers, £0 0s 2d 1 clothes brush, £0 2s 0d 2 case bottles and some paint, £0 3s 1d 2 knives and forks, £0 1s 4d 1 pewter spoon, £0 0s 3.5d 2 glasses, £0 1s 3d 1 bowl, £0 0s 3d 1 old napkin, £0 0s 3d 1 china dish and 3 plates, £0 1s 1d 1 china cup, £0 0s 3d 1 fir box, £0 0s 6d 1 fir box, £0 18s 8d 13 cuts of deal, £0 1s 1d 1 old piece of timber, £0 0s 0d Total, £258 10s 9d The account was closed and subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** This leaf brings the account of the sale of the late Lieutenant John Barton's estate to its close, the heading of 1748 above it, the running total of £247 15s 9d brought over from the previous page and the whole totted up to £258 10s 9d. Barton died intestate on 9 May 1748, his effects inventoried and sold at public auction and the account entered on 14 June 1748, and the three signatures at the foot are those of Governor Hutchinson, David Hunter the new Lieutenant Governor who had landed on 30 May 1748 with the Court's commission, and John Clark of the council. The page gathers the last of the estate, the yard and stable gear, the odd furniture and the broken remnants of a table service that fetched only pence. The dearest items here are the working goods of a mounted officer and a furnished room. The saddle and bridle at £3 5s 0d was the heaviest single line, worth more than any coat in the earlier pages, a measure of what good tack cost on an island that imported all its leatherwork. The two cane chairs at £1 together and the beaufet were the fittings of a lived-in room. A beaufet, the older spelling of buffet, was a sideboard or set of open shelves for displaying plate, glass and china. A hogshead was a large cask holding about 50 to 60 gallons, three of them here standing empty and one part-filled with paddy, the unhusked rice the Company kept for its poultry. The case bottles were square-shouldered bottles made to pack upright in a fitted wooden case for travelling, and the spur leathers were the straps that held a rider's spurs to his boots, the small change of a cavalry officer's kit closing out the sale.
276	287	June At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 21st Day of June 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed 15 Drowned Willm Carter Soldier by accident Died Mary Daughter of Henry Beale Serjeant 17 Died John Gray who was Discharged from the Prince Edward Capt Haldane Mr Matthew Pusling petitioned for liberty to Dispose of	At a consultation held on Tuesday 21 June 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 15 June William Carter, a soldier, drowned by accident, and Mary, daughter of Henry Beale the sergeant, died. On Friday 17 June John Gray died, who had been discharged from the *Prince Edward* by Captain Haldane. Matthew Purling was granted leave to dispose of fourteen and a half acres of lease land, and Samuel Doveton leave to dispose of twenty acres of lease land, both on their petitions.

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		14½ Acres of Lease Land Granted Mr Saml Dovcton petitioned for liberty to Dispose of 20 Acres of Lease Land Granted The Executors of John Gray Deceased presented his last Will & Testament with an Inventory Annexed which was Ordered to be Registered, in the Book kept for that Purpose desiring the same might be proved which was Done on the Oaths of the Subscribing Wittnesses & is as follows Vizt Know all Men by these Presents That I John Gray Considering the Frailty of Human Life and by all Appearance mine Drawing Very Nigh to a Period, this is to Testifie to the World, That it is my Desire and by these Presents I do fully Impower Mr Cleather Mr Dowse and Mr Jackson all or either of them, if Incase my Decease Should happen on this Island after Seeing me Decently Interd Save my Effects above Mentiond with my Wearing Apparell Chest, Plate, Books & may be by them Exposd to publick Sale According as they Shall think proper to Direct, and with the mony arising from that Sale, tis my Desire that Dr Samuell Falkner Shall first be Satisfied as far as it will go. And if there is any thing over and above the Defraying all Charges and Expences tis my Desire it may be remitted home to my Wife According as I Shall hereafter give Directions to the said Mr Cleather Mr Dowse and Mr Jackson. No Stampd paper being to be had this I Delare to be my	The executors of the late John Gray presented his last will and testament with an inventory annexed, which the board ordered registered in the book kept for that purpose, the executors asking that the will be proved, which was done on the oaths of the subscribing witnesses. John Gray made his will considering the frailty of human life and believing his own death drawing near. He empowered Nicholas Cleather, William Dowse and William Jackson, or either of them in the event of his death on the island, to see him decently buried and then to expose his effects to public sale as they thought proper, his goods being his wearing apparel, a chest, violin, books and whatever else. From the money raised by the sale, Doctor Samuel Falconer was first to be satisfied, and after the charges and expenses of the sale were paid, any remainder was to be remitted in time to Gray's wife according to directions he would give later to Cleather, Dowse and Jackson. No stamped paper being available, he declared the instrument to be his last will. **Interpretations** A will made and proved on the island turned on the want of an executor able or willing to administer a small estate, and John Gray met it by naming three men, Nicholas Cleather the steward, William Dowse the gardener and William Jackson, any one of whom could act, to bury him, sell his few goods and clear his debts before sending the residue home to his wife. The order of payment was the practical heart of the document: Doctor Samuel Falconer, the garrison surgeon, was to be satisfied first, so that Gray's medical debt for his last illness was secured against his effects before his own wife saw a penny, a creditor's claim placed ahead of a widow's provision. Gray's remark that no stamped paper was to be had records a real difficulty of a remote settlement rather than a mere formula. English law required wills and many legal instruments to be written on paper bearing a revenue stamp, and an island cut off from the supply had to make do with plain paper and note the reason on the face of the document, lest the omission be taken later for an irregularity. The note that Gray had been discharged from the *Prince Edward* by Captain Haldane places him as a man put ashore sick from the store ship that had wintered at the road, one of several deaths of the week the board entered before turning to his estate.
277	288	1748 Last Will Seen my Appartment in the Hospital at St Hellena this Ninth Day of June one Thousand Seven Hundred Forty Eight Wittness Major Jackson (Signed) John Gray Henry Wise The Executors of David Wilson Decd presented his last Will and Testament desiring it might be proved which was Done on the Oaths of the Subscribing Wittnesses And is as follows Vizt In the Name of God Amen the 5th Day of April in the Year of our Lord God 1748, I David Wilson of the Island St Helena Serjeant being Weakish, and weak in body but of perfect mind & Memory thanks be to God, I do make my Wisdom this My last will and Testament That is to Say, first and Principally, I Give and Recommend My Soul into the Hands of God that gave it, and for my Body I Commend it to the Earth	John Gray declared this to be his last will, made in his apartment in the hospital at St Helena on 9 June 1748, and signed it in the presence of the witnesses Major Jackson and Henry Wise. The executors of the late David Wilson presented his last will and testament, asking that it be proved, which was done on the oaths of the subscribing witnesses. David Wilson of St Helena, a sergeant, made his will on 5 April 1748, being weak in body but of sound mind. He asked to be buried in a Christian and decent manner, and set out how his estate should pass. He gave his wife Deborah one third of his personal estate, to take effect once his debts were paid and satisfied. He gave all the rest and remainder of his estate to his child Irene, and appointed Ebenezer Leech, John Leech junior and William Kennedy his executors, revoking every former will and declaring this his last. He signed it with his mark in the presence of Robert Marven and William Moore. The board then examined the honourable Company's cash for the month of May. **Interpretations** Two soldiers' wills came before the board on the same day, and set side by side they show the narrow means and the tangled households of the garrison rank and file. John Gray died in the hospital, his estate a chest, a violin and a few books to be sold to clear a

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		to be Buryed in a Christian like and Decent Manner, and as touching Such Worldly Estate wherewith it has pleased God to bless me in this Life I Give and Devise and Dispose of the Same in the following Manner and form I Give and bequeath to Deborah my beloved Wife, after my Debts are fully paid and Satisfied I Give the one third Part of my Estate to be at her Disposal I Give and bequeath all the rest and remaining part of my Estate to my beloved Child Jane and do appoint Ebenezer Leech, John Leech junr and William Kennedy to be my Executors to this my last Will and Testament Disannulling all former Wills by me Made Ratifying and Confirming this and no Other to be my last Will and Testament Signed Seald and Deliverd to be the last Will of Mr David Wilson the mark JW of David Wilson In the Presence of Us Signed Thos Marrow Willm Moore Counted and Examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of May last and is as follows Vizt	surgeon's bill before anything reached his wife. David Wilson the sergeant left a wife and a child but an estate so modest that its whole disposal turned on a third to the widow after debts and the remainder to the daughter, the ordinary shape of an intestate-sized estate set down in a will only to name the executors who would gather and pay it. Wilson's provision for his wife Deborah followed the old common-law measure of a widow's third, the share the law would have given her had he died without a will, so that the instrument confirmed rather than enlarged what custom already allowed her, and tied even that third to the prior clearing of his debts. The bulk went to the daughter Irene, three executors named to see it done, a heavier apparatus of administration than the small estate seems to warrant and a sign of how often such wills went unadministered when the named men died, sailed or declined. That both men signed with a mark, Wilson by his mark and Gray's will witnessed and sworn rather than written in his own hand, is the plainest measure of the garrison it drew on, men who could hold a sergeant's rank and leave a settled estate yet not write their own names.
278	289	June Cash Dr May 1748 1 To Ballance remaining £ 3209 14 7¼ To John Goodann Esq Vizt 10 Received from the Widow Beale being the ballance of her Husbands Account £ 19 13 6 17 Received from John French Senr in Part of his Debt 50 69 15 6 24 To fines received of Joseph Powell for so much fined him persuant to the Noble Companys Bond by the Govr & Council for a breach of the Peace 1 £ 3280 10 1¼	The debtor side of the honourable Company's cash account for May 1748 opened on 1 May with the balance remaining of £3,209 14s 7.5d, entered against John Goodwin. 1 May, to balance remaining, £3,209 14s 7.5d 10 May, received of the widow Seale, being the balance of her husband's account, £19 13s 6d 17 May, received of John French senior in part of his debt, £50 0s 0d combined receipt, £69 15s 6d 24 May, to fines received of Joseph Powell for so much fined him pursuant to the honourable Company's orders by the Governor and council for a breach of the peace, £1 0s 0d total, £3,280 10s 1.5d **Interpretations** The debtor side of a monthly treasury account gathered the several small sums that came into the Company's chest through May 1748 above the standing balance, and the three receipts entered here show the ordinary run of island revenue between shipping seasons: a dead man's account settled by his widow, an old private debt paid down by instalment and a court fine. The balance of £3,209 14s 7.5d carried at the head is the money actually lying in the chest, the coin the March and April counts had told over piece by piece, and the month's takings of some £70 barely moved it, the road being empty of shipping and the great disbursements of the pay quarter not yet due. The fine of one pound levied on Joseph Powell for a breach of the peace shows the board acting as a court of summary jurisdiction and paying the penalty straight into the Company's cash rather than to any injured party or to the poor, so that the maintenance of order on the island returned a small revenue to the same body that governed it. The entry ties the fine expressly to the honourable Company's standing orders, the authority under which the Governor and council punished such offences. The widow Seale's payment of the balance of her husband's account is the closing of a dead planter's

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			reckoning with the Company, the sort of chain of obligation the board worked to settle as men died, the money owed on his lifetime's dealings brought in by the widow who administered what he left.
279	290	1748 Per Contra Cr 1748 May 31 By Sundries advanced the pay master this Month £ 43 17 6 By Ballance remd in the following Species Vizt 1 Pr Gold at 11.15.14 @ £.16.3 £ 46 1 8½ 1 Pr Do 3. 9.12 3.18 13 11 ½ 2729 Pagodas @ 8 1095 12 1 Barbary Chequin 9 1 Joannee 1 16 164 Venetians 10/ 82 3½ Moidores 27/ 4 4 4½ 20 Gubbers 6/ 6 12 Rupees 30/ 18 Gold Amounting to £ 1267 14 7½ 5136 Dollars 5/ 1284 4563 half Rials 3¾ 71 5 11¼ 5187½ Rupees 2/3 61 4 1¼ 31 Duccatoons 6/ 9 6 441 French pieces 2 3 13 6 Old Mony 3 11 Silver Amounting to £ 1430 3 5¼ 146 Cash Notes 40/ 292 162 Do 20/ 162 259 Do 5/ 64 15 160 Do 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to £ 538 15 3236 12 7¼ £ 3280 10 1¼ Richard Smith Soldier petitioned for his Discharge, having servd his Contracted time Granted We this Day Delisted William Campbell Soldier to Serve the Honble Company for five Years, to Whom we paid 5 Guineas Bounty Mony Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The credit side of the honourable Company's cash account for May 1748 set out on 31 May the sundries advanced to the paymaster during the month and then the balance remaining, counted coin by coin. 31 May, by sundries advanced to the paymaster this month, £43 17s 6d by balance remaining in the following species: weighed gold, dead weight 11.15.14 at £4 16s 3d, £46 18s 8.5d weighed gold, 3.9.12 at £3 18s, £13 11s 7.5d 2,739 pagodas at 8s, £1,095 12s 0d 1 Barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 joannes, £1 16s 0d 164 Venetians at 10s, £82 0s 0d 3.5 moidores at 27s, £4 14s 4.5d 20 gubbers at 6s, £6 0s 0d 12 rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d gold amounting to, £1,267 14s 1.5d 5,136 dollars at 5s, £1,284 0s 0d 4,563 half rials at 3.75d, £71 5s 11.25d 518.5 rupees at 2s 3d, £61 14s 1.5d 31 ducatoons at 6s, £9 6s 0d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d odd money, £3 11s 0d silver amounting to, £1,430 3s 5.75d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 259 cash notes at 5s, £64 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d cash notes amounting to, £538 15s 0d combined balance, £3,236 12s 7.25d total, £3,280 10s 1.25d The account was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. Richard Smith, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge, having served his contracted time, which was granted. The same day the board enlisted William Campbell, a soldier, to serve the honourable Company for five years, paying him five guineas bounty money. **Interpretations** The credit side of the treasury count balances the receipts of the debtor page and then tells over the whole of the money actually lying in the chest, and its chief interest is the coin itself: not a single English gold or silver piece of any weight in a balance of more than three thousand two hundred pounds, the whole of it foreign specie taken by tale or by weight. The settlement ran its money on the silver of the Spanish empire and the gold of India and the Mediterranean, and the account had to price every kind against sterling to strike a figure at all. The named coins are worth setting out, since each was a real piece passing on the island. The pagoda was a small south Indian gold coin, here reckoned at eight shillings and by far the heaviest single line at more than a thousand pounds. The dollar was the Spanish piece of eight, the standard silver coin of the eastern trade, five thousand of them counted at five shillings apiece. A joannes was a Portuguese gold coin and a moidore another, a Venetian a gold ducat of Venice, a ducatoon a heavy silver coin of the Low Countries, and a Barbary chequin a gold coin of the North African coast. Gubbers were a debased silver coin of the western Indian ports. That gold was weighed to the grain, the two parcels of bullion gold entered by dead weight rather than by count, shows the chest held worn and clipped pieces trusted only by their metal. The five guineas paid to William Campbell as a five-year enlistment bounty, set the same day against

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			Richard Smith's discharge on completing his time, shows the board holding the garrison's numbers steady man for man, buying a fresh five-year term with ready money at the very moment an old contract expired, the guinea rather than the dollar reserved as the coin of a formal engagement.
280	291	June At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 28th day of June 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Mary the Widow & Executrix of John Aldrich Deceased Presented his last Will and Testament desiring it might be proved which was done on the Oaths of the Subscribing Wittnesses thereto and is as follows Vizt In the Name of God Amen, I John Aldrich of the Island St Helena Serjeant being Sick and Weak of Body but of Sound Mind & Perfect Memory thanks to God for the Same do make and Ordain this my last Will & Testament in manner & form following Vizt I Give & Bequeath unto my Well beloved Wife, after all my just Debts are fully paid and Satisfyed, all my Estate be it in what kind Soever, to be at her intire Disposal, and Lastly I hereby Nominate & appoint her my Said Wife) to be whole and Sole Executrix to this my last Will & Testament utterly revoking all former Wills by me made Ratifying and Confirming only this the Twenty fifth March One Thousand Seven Hundred & forty Seven Signed & Sealed the in the Presence of Us Mark H of John Aldrich (Signed) T Wrangham Junr Sam Falconer Vizt Mr Samuel Falconer presented the following Petition To Charles Hutchinson Esq Governour &c Council of St Helena The Humble Petition of Sam Falconer Sheweth That your Petitioner being Obliged almost every Day	At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 June 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. Mary, the widow and executrix of the late John Aldrick, presented his last will and testament, asking that it be proved, which was done on the oaths of the subscribing witnesses. John Aldrick of St Helena, a sergeant, made his will on 25 March 1747, being sick and weak in body but of sound mind. He gave and bequeathed his whole estate, of whatever kind, to his beloved wife, to be at her entire disposal once his just debts were paid and satisfied, and named her sole executrix, revoking every former will. He signed and sealed it with his mark in the presence of Francis Wrangham junior and Samuel Falconer. Samuel Falconer then presented a petition to Governor Hutchinson and the council, setting out that he was obliged almost every day [...]. **Interpretations** John Aldrick's will is the plainest form such a document can take, the whole estate to the wife without division or condition beyond the paying of debts, and her named as sole executrix in the same breath. Where David Wilson's will the week before had carved out a widow's third and passed the bulk to a child, Aldrick left everything to Mary and made her both beneficiary and administrator, so that no other hand touched the estate. A childless soldier's estate settled entirely on the surviving wife was the simplest and commonest disposition on the island, drawn up only to spare the widow the trouble and cost of an intestacy. The date the will bore, 25 March 1747, set more than a year before it was proved, shows Aldrick made it while he thought himself dying and lived on, the instrument lying by until his death brought it before the board. The witnesses were the surgeon Samuel Falconer and the assistant Francis Wrangham junior, the same Falconer whose own petition to the board opens directly below, the small circle of literate men who witnessed and administered the garrison's wills appearing again and again in that office. The record breaks off at the first line of Falconer's petition, which set out only that he was obliged almost every day to some duty he was about to specify, the substance of his request not yet reached on this leaf.
281	292	1748 Day or Night to be in the Country and often here in the Valley in Discharging his Duty and Business, So that it is very Inconvenient for him to Attend at the Regular Hours of the Governours Table Therefore Humbly Intreats you would please take it into your Consideration and Allow him Diet Mony, He begs leave to Inform You that Mr Dubois his Mate was allowed Forty five Pounds a Year Diet Mony, and Your Petitioner hopes he may not be put upon a Smaller Allowance then the Reverend Mr Loveday hath	Samuel Falconer set out that his duty, by day or night, obliged him often to be in the country and often here in the valley, so that it was very inconvenient for him to attend at the regular hours of the Governor's table. He asked the board to take this into consideration and allow him diet money instead. He noted that a Monsieur Dubois in his place had been allowed forty-five pounds a year as diet money, and hoped he might not be put upon a smaller allowance than the Reverend Mr Loveday had lately been indulged with. The petition was signed at St Helena on 28 June 1748. After reading it the board told Falconer that it could not take upon itself to allow him diet money, but, knowing how inconvenient it was for him to eat at the general table, would recommend his request to

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		lately been Indulged with, and your Petitioner as in Duty bound Shall ever pray St Helena (Signed) Sam Falconer June 28th 1748 After reading the above we told Mr Falconer, that we could not take upon Us, to allow him Diet Mony, but as we knew it was inconvenient to him to Eat at the General Table, We would in our next Letter to the Honourable Company recommend it to their Honours, to grant his request William Carter being drowned & Rich Smith Discharged Since Our Ordering the Eleven Soldiers on Shore from the Godolphin we Ordered Capt Stevens to send us two more that were Consigned to Bencoolen of which we advised the Deputy Govr and Council The Store keeper delivered the following Account, Vizt An Account of Stores that delivered from the Godolphin Vizt One Cask Vinegar intirely Leaked out & Gone, a false Bill of Lading One Jar Linsn Oyl but 28 Gallons broke by an Accident in bringing it from the Wharf to the Warehouse 3 Ct of Glass 10 by 8 2 Do Do 8 by 6 found broke upon Examining the Cases The other Cask of Vinegar gaged 31 Gallons wanted to fill 15 Recd 20½ Gallons (Signed) Pr Barling Storekeeper	the honourable Company in the next letter and ask the Court to grant it. William Carter having drowned and Richard Smith been discharged since the board ordered the eleven soldiers ashore from the *Godolphin*, only two men now remained of those consigned to Bencoolen, whom the board directed the Deputy Governor and council there to receive. The storekeeper delivered the following account of the stores received from the *Godolphin*. One hogshead of vinegar, entered on the bill of lading as 60 gallons, and one jar of linseed oil of 28 gallons, were broken by accident in bringing them from the wharf to the warehouse. On examining the losses, three gallon glasses at ten pence each and two gallon glasses at eight pence each were found broken. The other hogshead of vinegar gauged 31 gallons and wanted 5 gallons of its marked 36, leaving 20.5 gallons on hand. The account was signed by [...] Barling the storekeeper. **Interpretations** Falconer's petition and the board's answer turn on a small point of garrison economy with a longer reach: whether an officer whose work kept him moving about the island should be fed at the Governor's common table or paid a money allowance to feed himself. The board would not grant the diet money on its own authority, a matter of the establishment's standing charges reserved to the Court, but conceded the inconvenience and undertook to press the request home. The surgeon's duty, taking him by day and night into the country and the valley alike, made the fixed dinner hours of the general table genuinely impractical, and the case shows the board unable to vary even a small charge on the Company without leave from London. The precedents Falconer cited are the heart of his argument. He named a Monsieur Dubois, a predecessor in his place allowed forty-five pounds a year in diet money, and the chaplain Mr Loveday lately indulged with the like, so that he asked only the equal treatment already granted to others in comparable standing, not a new favour. The petition works by pinning the board to its own past allowances. The storekeeper's damage report shows why so ordinary a commodity as vinegar was accounted for gallon by gallon. Every cask that came ashore through the surf at the crane risked breakage between the wharf and the warehouse, and the store had to enter each loss against the bill of lading to clear itself, the broken gallon glasses priced to the penny and the surviving hogshead gauged and found short of its marked measure, the whole a running check against the pilfering and wastage that dogged the landing of the Company's provisions.
282	293	June There being a second Lieutenants place vacant, upon Wm Kirkpatrick being made first Lieutenant, we thought proper to Appoint Serjeant John French Son of Mr John French the Master Gunner, to Succeed him as second Lieutenant who hath served the Honble Company upwards of Thirteen Years and more than four of those a Serjeant which Appointment we hope will meet with their Honours Approbation Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 5th Day of July 1748 at the Castle	The second lieutenant's place having fallen vacant on Kirkpatrick being made first lieutenant, the board thought it proper to appoint Sergeant John French, son of John French the master gunner, to succeed him as second lieutenant. French had served the honourable Company upwards of thirteen years, more than four of them as a sergeant, and the board hoped the appointment would meet the Court's approval. It was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 July 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. On Monday 4 July the *Caesar*, Captain Court, arrived from Bengal. Joseph Powell was granted leave to dispose of thirty-five and a quarter acres of lease land, on his petition.

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		Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lt Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed 4 Arrived the Cæsar Capt Court from Bengall Mr Joseph Powell Petitiond to dispose of 35½ Acres of Lease Land Granted Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	**Interpretations** The promotion of Sergeant John French to second lieutenant shows the board filling its officer vacancies from the men already on the establishment rather than waiting on an appointment from home, moving Kirkpatrick up to first lieutenant and reaching down into the ranks to close the gap left below him. The board justified the choice by French's thirteen years' service and his four years as a sergeant, the length of service standing in for the interest or purchase that would have carried a commission in England, so that on the island a long-serving sergeant could rise to a lieutenancy on merit and seniority alone, subject only to the Court's later approval. That the man raised was the son of John French the master gunner marks the garrison as a body increasingly held together by island families, the offices passing within a small circle of households that had served the Company for a generation, the father commanding the artillery while the son stepped into a foot company's lieutenancy.
283	294	July At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 12th Day of July 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lt Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed 6 Sailed the Godolphin Capt Stevens on her Voyage 11 Died Elizabeth Wife of Richard Gurling Planter Mr Clark reports that he hath been on Board the Ship Cæsar to Muster her Company and Search for Deserters but found none the Muster Roll was follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Cæsar Vizt Capt Matthew Court In Thn Colben 2md Mate John Brooks Mr Robt Macrae David Peer John Hendrick Mr Const Karsuon Saml Pridgeon Emanuel George Mr John White Jeffery Shores Caulkr Hendrick Wabe Mr Edwd Sgard Mates John Suitle Cooper John Nilson Mr Alex Hay Giles Bacon Capt Cook Isaac Lewis Mr John Taylor Jn Preshard Ships Cook Wm Sheppard Mr James Portoisead Surg Tho Ireland Barber Frans Edwards Daniel Lovett Castle Sew Franst Walker Sam Springer Corp 1st Mate Wm Argis Abram Water Gunner Edwd Loaddy Caulkr Mate Jno Long Peon Lawrence Carpenter Sho Mc Donald Boat Mate Frank Gibbs Rich Redd Bookmaker John Seamon Sailmaker Tho Walt Samlt Dunne Steward John Sheriden Coop Mate Saml Grintle Jn Thn Court Midship Robert Sold Taylor Marco Bogowish Wm Sushington Tho Potter Surg Mate Tho Smith Wm Sawkins Alexr Aimuss Guns Mate Framst White Rich Feehly Howel Davis Seaman Lawrence Gill Wm Arthur Elias Ardiner Wm Loveridge Tho Allen Mons Morson Rich Perll Henry Sidcomb George Johnson Phillip Debble Robt Charles	At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 July 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 6 July the *Godolphin*, Captain Stevens, sailed on her voyage. On Monday 11 July Elizabeth, wife of Richard Gurling the planter, died. John Clark reported that he had been aboard the *Caesar* to muster her company and search for deserters but found none. The muster roll of the *Caesar* ran as follows. Captain Matthew Court Mr Robert Macrae Mr Constantine Harrison Mr John White Mr Edward Lyard Mr Alexander Hay Mr John Taylor Mr James Porterfield, surgeon mates Abraham Waters, gunner Ebenezer Lawrence, carpenter Richard Reed, boatswain Samuel Dunne, steward John Court, midshipman William Lushington William Hawkins Richard Feebley William Arthur Thomas Allen Henry Sidcomb Robert Charles John Colben, second mate David Peers Samuel Pridgeon Jeffery Shores, caulker John Twitle, cooper Giles Bacon, captain's cook John Prichard, ship's cook Thomas Ireland, barber Daniel Lovett, castle cook Samuel Springer, boatswain's mate Edward Scoddy, caulker's mate Thomas McDonald, boatswain's mate John Learmon, sailmaker John Thoriden, cooper's mate Robert Sold, tailor Thomas Potter, surgeon's mate Alexander Armour, gunner's mate Howel Davis, seaman Elias Ardiner Mons Morson George Johnson

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			John Brooks John Hendrick Emanuel George Hendrick Wate John Nelson Isaac Lewis William Sheppard Francis Edwards Ferrand Walker William Argis John Long Frank Gibbs Thomas Watt Samuel Grimble Marco Bogowish Thomas South Samuel White Lawrence Gill William Loveridge Richard Perit Phillip Debble **Interpretations** The muster of an incoming ship's whole company by a member of the council was the standing check by which the island stopped its garrison from bleeding away aboard the passing shipping and stopped ships' deserters from settling ashore. Clark went aboard the *Caesar*, called the company man by man against her roll and found none missing, the entry recording the search and its result as a routine safeguard rather than a response to any particular alarm. The roll is a portrait of a Bengal Indiaman's crew, and its interest lies in the trades it names. Below the master, his mates and the surgeon come the specialist hands a wooden ship carried, the gunner, carpenter, boatswain, cooper, sailmaker, caulker and their mates, each with the man who assisted him, and beside them the several cooks the ship kept, a captain's cook, a ship's cook and a castle cook for the great cabin. The run of names is plainly mixed, English and Welsh among Dutch, German and other foreign hands, Hendrick Wate, Marco Bogowish and a man entered only as Mons Morson standing among the Johns and Thomases, the ordinary cosmopolitan crew of the eastern trade.
284	295	July John Crawford Robt Smith Passengers Jonas Scons Perry Matt Cronor Mr Archd Sterling Auison Smith Saml Gunn Mr Jos Beardsley Barthol Spousing Peter Cale Mr Edwd Cook Matt Shoeberry Robt Clapham Cha Goring Wm Wilson Usher Maher Jn Barwell Wm Bear Andrew Quick Patna Robt Haines Mich Leonard Julia Ja Fillpartrick Joseph Adams Richmond Mich Cocheny Tho Shingle Christo Clark Cl Lawrence Hugh Nowland Edwd Griffeths Wm Shoesmith Wm Mason Armourer Pedn Rosaro Seaman The Stewards Plantation & Gunners Accounts were brought in for the Month of June last which were Examind and Approved and are as follows Vizt Sundrys Expended in the Castle in the Month of June 1748 32 Bottles Port Wine 2 7 4 29 Do Lisbon Do 2 2 10¾ 30 Do Madeira Do 3 2 6 128 Do Goa Arrack	The muster roll of the *Caesar* continued with the remaining company and then her passengers. John Crawford Jonas Scous Perry Aaron Smith Bartholomew Spersing Matthew Shoeberry William Wilson William Bear Robert Haines James Killpatrick Michael Cockeny Christopher Clark Hugh Nowland William Shoesmith Robert Smith Matthew Cronor James Gunn Peter Cale Robert Clapham Usher Maher Andrew Quick Michael Leonard Joseph Adams Thomas Shingle Charles Lawrence Edward Griffiths William Mason, armourer Pedro Rosaro, seaman

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		2 5 4 14 Do Strong Beer 40 Do Small Do 16 6 414½ fresh Beef 5 3 7½ 14 lb Salt Pork 7 6 266 Mutton 5 10 10 1 Kidd 5 1 Turkey 5 10 Fowls 15 333 lb Flower 2 1 10½ 25 lb Sugar 3 9½ 25 lb Candy 7 3½ 2 Lambs 1 2 Ducks 3 £ 26 18 10¾	The passengers were Mr Archibald Sterling, Mr Joseph Beardsley, Mr Edward Cook and Charles Goring, taken up from the *Barwell* at Patna, and from the *Julia* and the *Richmond*. The steward's, plantation and gunner's accounts for June were brought in, examined and approved. The sundries expended in the castle during June 1748 ran as follows. 32 bottles of port wine, £2 7s 4d 29 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 2s 10.75d 30 bottles of Madeira wine, £3 2s 6d 128 lb of Goa arrack, £2 5s 4d 14 lb of strong beer, [combined] 40 lb of small beer, £0 16s 6d 414.5 lb of fresh beef, £5 3s 7.5d 14 lb of salt pork, £0 7s 6d 26 lb of mutton, £0 5s 10d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 10 fowls, £0 5s 0d 33.5 lb of shears, £0 15s 0d 23 lb of sugar, £2 1s 10.75d 23 lb of candy, £0 3s 9.5d 2 lambs, £0 7s 3.5d 2 ducks, £0 1s 0d [...], £0 0s 3d total, £26 18s 10.75d **Interpretations** The steward's monthly sundries record what the castle's own table consumed above the garrison's rations, and the account is dominated by drink. Port, Lisbon and Madeira wines and Goa arrack together came to some ten pounds of the whole, the imported wine that entertained the officers, the council and the shipping far outweighing the strong and small beer brewed or bought for common use. The wines are the marks of a table that had to keep up the dignity of the Company's government on a remote island, replenished from the passing homeward ships that carried Madeira and Lisbon wine as ballast and trade. The provisions turn on the drought that had gripped the island since the spring. Fresh beef at more than five pounds was the single heaviest food line, but the run of kid, turkey, fowls, lambs and ducks shows the castle reaching for whatever meat the failing herds and yards could yield, the small fowl and young stock filling out a table the beef alone could no longer supply. The word entered as shears against a weighed line is set down as it stands, its sense uncertain, most probably a foodstuff or provision whose name has been compressed in the writing. The passengers taken up at Patna and carried on the *Caesar* were homeward travellers from the Bengal factories, gathered from other Company ships, the *Barwell*, the *Julia* and the *Richmond*, and set down at the island in passage to England, the ordinary traffic of gentlemen returning from the East that every homeward Indiaman carried.
285	296	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of June 1748 Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaining 1st: Bulls 3, Cows 91, Calves 47, Yearlings 37, Heifers 17, Steers 2, Oxen 8, Total 205, Ewes 115, Wethers 9, Lambs 98, Rams 5, Total 227, Ewes 102, Wethers 10, Kids 24, Rams 6, Total 142, Sows 13, Barrows 3, Shoats 25, Piggs 20, Boars 2, Total 63, Turkeys 22, Fowls 171, Ducks 15, Geese 22, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 12, Rams 0, Total 12, Ewes 0, Wethers 0,	The account of the honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for June 1748 ran as follows, the columns showing bulls, oxen, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers and cows brought forward under neat cattle, then ewes, wethers, lambs and rams under sheep, ewes, wethers, kids and rams under goats, sows, barrows, shoats, pigs and boars under hogs, and turkeys, fowls, ducks and geese under poultry, with horses and mares, each group carrying its own total. Neat cattle remaining at the first: 3 bulls, 91 oxen, 47 calves, 37 yearlings, 17 heifers, 2 steers, 8 cows, total 205 Sheep remaining at the first: 115 ewes, 9 wethers, 98 lambs, 5 rams, total 227 Goats remaining at the first: 102 ewes, 10 wethers, 24 kids, 6 rams, total 142

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		Kids 6, Rams 0, Total 6, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 10, Boars 0, Total 10, Turkeys 0, Fowls 20, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bulls 3, Cows 91, Calves 47, Yearlings 37, Heifers 17, Steers 2, Oxen 8, Total 205, Ewes 115, Wethers 9, Lambs 110, Rams 5, Total 239, Ewes 102, Wethers 10, Kids 30, Rams 6, Total 148, Sows 13, Barrows 3, Shoats 25, Piggs 30, Boars 2, Total 73, Turkeys 22, Fowls 194, Ducks 15, Geese 22, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Oxen 2, Total 3, Ewes 5, Wethers 3, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Total 10, Ewes 2, Wethers 2, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 13, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 1, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 3, Boars 0, Total 3, Turkeys 0, Fowls 5, Ducks 3, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Remaing the 30th: Bulls 3, Cows 91, Calves 47, Yearlings 37, Heifers 16, Steers 2, Oxen 6, Total 202, Ewes 110, Wethers 6, Lambs 107, Rams 5, Total 228, Ewes 100, Wethers 8, Kids 30, Rams 6, Total 144, Sows 13, Barrows 3, Shoats 25, Piggs 27, Boars 2, Total 70, Turkeys 22, Fowls 175, Ducks 12, Geese 22, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 To Beef to the Ship Godolphin 560 To Do to the Market 30 To Mutton to Do 50 To Goat to Do 20 To 3 Goats to the Sick Slaves To Yams Expended 47.000 One Child born Named Betty (Signed) David Hunter	Hogs remaining at the first: 13 sows, 3 barrows, 25 shoats, 20 pigs, 2 boars, total 63 Poultry remaining at the first: 22 turkeys, 171 fowls, 15 ducks, 22 geese Horses remaining at the first: 7 horses, 3 mares, total 10 Neat cattle increased: 0 Sheep increased: 12 lambs, total 12 Goats increased: 6 kids, total 6 Hogs increased: 10 pigs, total 10 Poultry increased: 20 fowls, total 20 Horses increased: 0 Neat cattle after increase: 3 bulls, 91 oxen, 47 calves, 37 yearlings, 17 heifers, 2 steers, 8 cows, total 205 Sheep after increase: 115 ewes, 9 wethers, 110 lambs, 5 rams, total 239 Goats after increase: 102 ewes, 10 wethers, 30 kids, 6 rams, total 148 Hogs after increase: 13 sows, 3 barrows, 25 shoats, 30 pigs, 2 boars, total 73 Poultry after increase: 22 turkeys, 194 fowls, 15 ducks, 22 geese Horses after increase: 7 horses, 3 mares, total 10 Neat cattle killed: 1 heifer, 2 steers, total 3 Sheep killed: 5 ewes, 3 wethers, 2 lambs, total 10 Goats killed: 2 ewes, 2 wethers, total 4 Hogs killed: 0 Poultry killed: 13 fowls Horses killed: 0 Neat cattle stolen: 0 Sheep stolen: 0 Goats stolen: 0 Hogs stolen: 0 Poultry stolen: 1 fowl Horses stolen: 0 Neat cattle died: 0 Sheep died: 1 lamb, total 1 Goats died: 0 Hogs died: 3 pigs, total 3 Poultry died: 3 fowls, 3 ducks Horses died: 0 Neat cattle remaining the 30th: 3 bulls, 91 oxen, 47 calves, 37 yearlings, 16 heifers, 2 steers, 6 cows, total 202 Sheep remaining the 30th: 110 ewes, 6 wethers, 107 lambs, 5 rams, total 228 Goats remaining the 30th: 100 ewes, 8 wethers, 30 kids, 6 rams, total 144 Hogs remaining the 30th: 13 sows, 3 barrows, 25 shoats, 27 pigs, 2 boars, total 70 Poultry remaining the 30th: 22 turkeys, 175 fowls, 12 ducks, 22 geese Horses remaining the 30th: 7 horses, 3 mares, total 10 Beef to the ship Godolphin, 560 lb Beef to the market, 30 lb Mutton to the market, 50 lb Goat to the market, 20 lb 3 goats to the sick slaves Yams expended, 47,000 lb One child born, named Betty The account was signed by David Hunter. **Interpretations** The June 1748 stock account read against the run recorded in the reference shows the herd of neat cattle at the low point of the long decline that the great 1748 shipping season had forced. From the 261 head of the opening of March 1748 the herd had been drawn down to 210 by the end of April as the China, Bencoolen, Danish and Dutch fleets victualled off the island, and the fall to 205 at the first of June and 202 at the thirtieth shows the drawdown slowing to a trickle once the fleets had gone, only the store ship now drawing on it. This is the tail of that season's victualling rather than a fresh call: three beasts killed

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			in the whole month against the scores that went in the spring, and no calving at all, the herd holding near steady where a wetter season would have shown a heavy increase. Set against the closing figures of the previous run this is a much smaller herd than the island carried through 1746 and early 1747, when the neat cattle stood near 390 to 400 head through the winter accounts under Governor Dunbar. The drought that Girling's survey foresaw on 12 January 1748, together with the heavy victualling of the spring fleets, brought the herd down by nearly half, and the June account catches it near its lowest, calving stopped and the grass too short to breed on. The 47,000 lb of yams expended holds almost exactly with the near 47,000 lb the reference records for the drawdown months of the spring, and stands well above the 22,780 lb of January 1748 when the buying-in was cut back, confirming that the Company was again feeding its slaves, stock and poultry almost wholly on yams through a dry month, the consumption running at the high level the fleets and the drought had forced rather than the reduced rate of the previous winter. The disposals mark how far the demand had fallen from the peak. Where the spring fleets had drawn beef by the many hundredweight, June's slaughter came to 560 lb to the *Godolphin* and a bare 30 lb to the market, the store ship taking nearly the whole and the inhabitants left almost nothing, the same pattern of the Company's own shipping served first that the reference notes through the whole victualling season. The slave child born and named Betty joins the run of such entries in the stock book, following the child Eustace entered among the increase in the spring accounts, the Company's slaves counted by birth and death in the same account as the cattle.
286	297	July the Day of the Month, Guns fired, No 4, No 3, No 2, No 1, Powder Expended Gunners Stores Expended in the Month of June 1748 11 fired for the Kings Accession to the Throne: Guns fired 21, No 4 2, No 3 1, No 2 13, No 1 3, Powder Expended 2 lb 2½ Do Powder fired in Small Arms, for ye Kings Acces to ye Throne: Powder Expended 13½ 16 Powder for Excersiseing of Small Arms: Powder Expended 4 lb 2 oz 6 23 Powder for Do: Powder Expended 41 gr 10 29 Powder for Do: Powder Expended 2 lb 2½ 30 Powder for Do: Powder Expended 6 lb 3¼ Powder for Priming at Prosperous Bay: Powder Expended 3 Powder to Joseph Long to Shoot for the Govr: Powder Expended ½ Powder for priming at the Main Fort: Powder Expended 4½ Total: Guns fired 21, No 4 2, No 3 1, No 2 13, No 1 3, Powder Expended 159½ Paper to make great Gun Cartridges Quire 11 Lead Balls at Bankss for Shoot at Porposses ozn 4 Spunge Staves broke 1 (Signed) John French The following are Accounts Curant of the Estates of Mr Robert Wright and Lieutenant John Barton deceased Vizt	The account of the gunner's stores expended in June 1748 recorded the guns fired and the powder spent, the columns tallying the number of guns fired and the several natures of powder charge by the pound. 11 June, fired for the King's accession to the throne, 21 guns, 2 lb of number 4 powder, 1 lb of number 3, 13 lb of number 2, 3 lb of number 1, total 21.5 lb 11 June, powder fired in small arms for the King's accession to the throne, 13.5 lb 16 June, powder for the exercising of small arms, 42 lb 2 oz 23 June, powder for exercising small arms, 41 lb 10 oz 29 June, powder for exercising small arms, 22.5 lb 30 June, powder for exercising small arms, 6 lb 3 oz powder for priming at Prosperous Bay, 3 lb powder to Joseph Long to shoot for the Governor, 0.5 lb powder for priming at the main fort, 4.5 lb total, 21 guns, 2 lb of number 4, 1 lb of number 3, 13 lb of number 2, 3 lb of number 1, 159.5 lb paper to make great-gun cartridges, 11 quires lead balls at Banks's for shooting at porpoises, 4 oz sponge staves broken, 1 The account was signed by John French. The board then entered the accounts current of the estates of the late Robert Wright and Lieutenant John Barton. **Interpretations** The gunner's monthly account read against the run in the reference shows a quiet anchorage and a garrison spending most of its powder on practice

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			rather than salutes or alarms. The single ceremonial firing of the month was the twenty-one guns for the anniversary of the King's accession on 11 June, the heavy pieces drawing the greatest charges, while the bulk of the 159.5 lb expended went in four separate days of small-arms exercise through the month. This is the pattern of a road empty of shipping between seasons, the master gunner keeping the men in practice at their muskets when there were no ships to salute and no enemy to answer. Two small entries show the ordinary uses to which the Company's powder was put beyond war and ceremony. Powder was issued to Joseph Long to shoot for the Governor, a charge for the Governor's own fowling or sport, and four ounces of lead ball were drawn at Banks's for shooting at porpoises, the garrison turning its arms on the sea for fresh meat or oil as the drought kept the herds short. The powder for priming at Prosperous Bay and the main fort was the standing charge of keeping the out-forts' guns loaded and ready under the alarm orders. The note that eleven quires of paper were spent on great-gun cartridges and that a sponge stave broke records the constant small consumption of a garrison's stores, the cartridge paper folded to hold each gun's charge and the sponge staves, used to swab a barrel between firings, worn out and replaced as they were used.
287	298	Dr The Estate of Robert Wright deceased Cr To Cash paid his Funeral Expences £ 6 19 1½ To Cash paid the Expences of his Auction 2 17 To a Mortgage Bond to the Govr & Council for the Sum of 70 with Interest at 5 £ Cent £ Ann as £ Consultation of the 23 June 1747 70 To George Gabriel Powell remaining due on Bond £50 with Interest at 5 £ Cent £ Ann upon the whole Bond of £250 from the 14th June 1746 to the 14th June 1747 together with Interest at 5 £ Cent £ Ann upon ye above £50 from the 14th June 1747 To the Estate of Joshua Johnson 179 11 5¾ To Cash due to ye follows Persons as £ their several Accs Vizt Gabriel Harper deceased £ 1 10 Joseph Powell 4 8 Samuel Alexander 3 John Alexanders Orphans 2 5 4¼ Thomas Easthope 16 Matthew Purling 4 11 Thomas Greentree 3 17 6 Simon Whaleys Orphans 1 1 9½ Carried Over £ 14 6 6½ By Cash found in his Scrutoir £ 7 10 By Cash his Salary &c from the 1st January to the 15th February 1747 17 16 1¾ By Cash being the Amount of his Account Sales in Consultation of 14th June 1748 246 3 10 By Cash received from ye follows Persons being the Ballance of their Several Accounts Vizt John French Junr £ 2 6 John Bagley 2 6 Martin Harper 3 10 David Wilson decd 1 2 Stephen Suffin decd 6 Joseph Desfountain 2 3 Thomas Hayes 1 3 6 Mary Shreve decd 1 5 Mary Alexander 13 8¼ Onesphorus Beale 9 Matthew Mudge decd 2 6 Samuel Doveton 11 8 Richard Beale 1 7 7½ Carried Over £ 11 14 4½	The account current of the estate of the late Robert Wright was drawn up in two sides, the debtor side setting out what the estate owed and paid and the creditor side what came into it. On the debtor side: to cash paid his funeral expenses, £6 19s 1.5d to cash paid the expenses of his auction, £2 17s 0d to a mortgage bond to the Governor and council for £70 with interest at 5 per cent per annum, as by the consultation of 23 June 1747, £70 0s 0d to George Gabriel Powell, remaining due on bond of £50 with interest at 5 per cent per annum upon the whole bond of £250 from 14 June 1746 to 14 June 1747, together with interest at 5 per cent per annum upon the above £50 from 14 June 1747, and to the estate of Joshua Johnson, £179 11s 5.75d to cash due to the following persons as per their several accounts: Gabriel Harper, deceased, £1 10s 0d Joseph Powell, £0 4s 8d Samuel Alexander, £0 0s 3d John Alexander's orphans, £2 5s 4.25d Thomas Easthope, £0 16s 0d Matthew Purling, £0 4s 11d Thomas Greentree, £3 17s 6d Simon Whaley's orphans, £1 1s 9.5d carried over, £14 6s 6.5d On the creditor side: by cash found in his scrutoire, £7 10s 0d by cash, his salary and so on from 1 January to 11 February 1747, £17 16s 1.75d by cash, being the amount of his account sales in the consultation of 14 June 1748, £246 3s 10d by cash received from the following persons, being the balance of their several accounts: John French junior, £0 2s 6d John Bagley, £0 2s 6d Martin Harper, £3 10s 0d David Wilson, deceased, £0 1s 2d Stephen Lufkin, deceased, £0 6s 0d Joseph Desfountain, £0 2s 3d Thomas Hayes, £1 3s 6d Mary Shreve, deceased, £1 5s 0d Mary Alexander, £0 13s 8.75d Onesiphorus Beale, £0 9s 0d Matthew Mudge, deceased, £2 0s 6d

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			Samuel Doveton, £0 11s 8d Richard Beale, £1 7s 7.5d carried over, £11 14s 4.25d **Interpretations** The account current is the settling-up of a dead councillor's whole tangle of debts and credits, drawn up in the double form of a merchant's ledger so that everything the estate owed stood on one side against everything owed to it on the other, the balance to be struck when both were carried out to the end. Robert Wright, secretary and one of the council, died on 10 February 1748, and with no willing executor coming forward the board itself gathered his effects, sold them at auction and now reckoned the proceeds against his liabilities, the account sales of £246 3s 10d entered on 14 June 1748 being the money the sale had raised. The heart of the debtor side is the great sum owed to the Company and to George Gabriel Powell on bond. Wright had given the Governor and council a mortgage bond for £70 secured on his estate, and stood indebted to Powell on a bond of £250 of which £50 with running interest was still due, the whole carried together with the estate of Joshua Johnson to £179 11s 5.75d. A mortgage bond was a sealed promise to repay a loan, secured against the borrower's land or goods, so that these creditors ranked ahead of the ordinary run of small tradesmen's bills, and the interest at five per cent shows the standard rate at which money was lent on the island. The two lists of small sums show how densely a man in Wright's place was woven into the island's credit. He owed a few shillings here and a few pounds there to a dozen planters, orphans' estates and fellow councillors, and was owed the like by as many again, several of them, David Wilson, Stephen Lufkin, Mary Shreve, Matthew Mudge, themselves lately dead, so that the settlement of one estate reached into the reckonings of half the others on the island. The board, acting as administrator, had to call in every such balance and pay out every such claim before the residue could pass, the work of clearing a web of obligation that death had left hanging.
288	299	July Brought Over £ 14 6 6½ James Powell 7 4 4 William Seale 2 16 Richard Gurling 1 2 George Alexander 4 2 Francis Wrangham Senr 16 1 6 John French Senr 1 13 John Alexander 1 15 8½ The Parish 13 1 43 14 6 To a Memorandum in his Book of his own hand Writing wherein he acknowledges himself to be indebted to Mr John Richardson an Orange Merchant in Bottolph Lane the Sum of £200 and upwards upon Bond	The debtor side of the account current of the late Robert Wright's estate continued, carrying forward the sums owed to the several persons. brought over, £14 6s 6.5d James Powell, £7 4s 4d William Seale, £2 16s 0d Richard Gurling, £1 0s 2d George Alexander, £0 4s 2d Francis Wrangham senior, £16 1s 6d John French senior, £1 13s 0d John Alexander, £1 15s 8.5d the parish, £0 13s 1d combined total, £43 14s 6d The estate also carried a memorandum in Wright's own hand, in which he acknowledged himself indebted to John Richardson, an orange merchant in Botolph Lane, in the sum of £200 and upwards upon bond. **Interpretations** The tail of the debtor side runs on through the same crowd of island creditors, small planters and officers owed a few shillings or a few pounds apiece, with two heavier claims standing out: James Powell at £7 4s 4d and Francis Wrangham senior at £16 1s 6d, the largest of the ordinary trade debts, marking the two men with whom Wright had run the deepest running accounts. The line to the parish is the estate's charge for the poor rate or a like parochial due, the dead man's obligations to the parish counted in among his private debts. The memorandum for the £200 owed on bond to John Richardson, an orange merchant of Botolph

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			Lane in London, reaches a creditor an ocean away and shows how far a St Helena councillor's affairs ran beyond the island. Botolph Lane, by Billingsgate, was a centre of the London fruit trade, and Wright's debt there, secured on bond and larger than any single island claim against him, was most probably the unpaid balance of goods shipped out to him for private sale or of money advanced at home. That the board entered it from a note in Wright's own hand, no formal bond being to hand on the island, shows the administrators scrupulous to record even a distant creditor whose claim they could not yet meet, the settlement of the estate reaching from the smallest parish due to a London merchant's bond.
289	300	1748 Brought Over £ 11 14 4½ Penelope Isacke decd 1 5 Gabriel Isacke 2 Joseph Whaley Junr 3 2 2 Nathan Sample 18 John Goodwin 9 4½ Richard Goodann Decd 19 Joseph Darvall 1 1 7½ Thomas Jarves 6 Thomas Reynolds 3 6 William Hayes 11 3 Thomas French 6½ John Barton Deceased 4 3 John Desfountain Deceased 1 19 6 26 17 4½ By Cash due from the following Persons as £ their Accounts in Mr Wrights Book Vizt Benjamin Bledger Orphans £ 1 3 2 David Dunbar Esqr 1 10 Francis Hayes 1 8 3 Roger Nevanson 3 15 5¾ Baron Deloaf 1 3 6 9 4¾ By 5½ Acres of Leasehold Pasture Land & 14 & 18 Acres Leasehold Planting Land not yet Sold and Mortgaged as £ Contra for £70	The creditor side of the account current of the late Robert Wright's estate continued, carrying forward the sums received of the several persons. brought over, £11 14s 4.5d Penelope Isaacke, deceased, £1 5s 0d Gabriel Isaacke, £0 2s 0d Joseph Whaley junior, £3 2s 2d Nathan Sample, £0 18s 0d John Goodwin, £0 9s 4.5d Richard Goodwin, deceased, £0 19s 0d Joseph Darvall, £1 1s 7.5d Thomas Jarves, £0 6s 0d Thomas Reynolds, £0 3s 6d William Hayes, £0 11s 3d Thomas French, £0 0s 6.5d John Barton, deceased, £4 3s 0d John Desfountain, deceased, £1 19s 6d combined total, £26 17s 4.5d The estate also carried further sums due from the following persons as by their accounts in Wright's book: Benjamin Pledger's orphans, £1 3s 2d David Dunbar, £1 10s 0d Francis Hayes, £1 8s 3d Roger Nevanson, £3 15s 5.5d Baron Deleffe, £1 3s 6d combined total, £9 0s 4.5d There stood to the estate five and a half acres of leasehold pasture land and one and a half and one eighth acres of leasehold planting land, not yet sold and mortgaged, as set against the £70 on the other side. **Interpretations** The creditor side gathers everything owed to Wright's estate, and its length is the measure of a man who had lent and traded small sums with almost every household on the island. Beside the living debtors stand a striking number of the recently dead, Penelope Isaacke, Richard Goodwin, John Barton and John Desfountain among them, so that the board as administrator had to reach into one dead man's estate to collect what he had owed another, the whole island's reckonings knotted together and only death forcing them to be untied. The second short list, the sums due as entered in Wright's own book, includes David Dunbar the late Governor and Baron Deleffe, debts the board could only establish from the dead man's own accounts rather than from any bond in hand. The land at the foot is the estate's chief remaining asset and the counterweight to the £70 mortgage bond on the debtor side. Wright's five and a half acres of leasehold pasture and his acre and a half and an eighth of planting land stood mortgaged to the Governor and council for that sum and were not yet sold, so that the board held the land as security against the debt and would either sell it to clear the bond or let it stand, the note tying the entry directly to the mortgage recorded opposite. That the land was leasehold rather than freehold, and pledged before his death, meant it could not simply be knocked down at

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			auction with his goods but had first to be redeemed or realised through the mortgage, the reason it appears here as an account entry rather than among the effects already sold.
290	301	July Dr The Estate of Lieutenant To Cash paid the Arrears of the fourth Company for the Quarter Ending the 31 March 1748 £ 68 4 To Cash paid Thomas Kirkpatrick as Executor to Lieutenant Owen deceased as £ Account 7 16 5 To Cash paid Thomas Manning as £ his Account 18 3 To Do Thomas Willingham Do 1 9 To Do David Wilson Do 43 10 4 To Do William Oakman Do 1 18 6 To Do Matthew Bizell Do 10 6 To Do Thomas Richardson Do 1 1 To Do James Powell Do 23 7 To Do Onesphorus Beale Do 1 6 3 To Do Joshua Scynthan Do 1 16 8 To Do James Woodewise Do 17 12 2 To Do Richard Sinsley Do 14 6 To Do Francis Wrangham Senr Do 15 9¼ To Do Thomas Colgrove Do 5 6 To Do Thomas Easthope Do 1 12 6 To Do Thomas Greentree Do 6 3 To Do John Leech Junr Do 12 To Do Joseph Leighton Do 5 To Do Joseph Darvall Do 8 4 To Do Thomas French Do 1 12 4 To Do John Bagley Do 4 3 To Do Lieutenant John Clark Do 1 5 3 To Do Robert Wright deceased Do 4 3 To Do Samuel Doveton Do 1 11 6 To Do John French Senr Do 11 2 2½ To Do Samuel Falconer Do 5 19 1 To Do Joseph Desfountain Do 2 14 8 To Do a Black Man Named Simon a Mason 9 To Do Susanna Bledger 1 5 To Do Patt Oliver a Black Woman 3 To Do Miss Sarah Prevost 28 17 7½ To Do for Store Goods for his Funeral £1 4 7 7 To Do George Marson Wm Sr for Wm Morre & Peter Cahley for attending Lt Barton when Sick 2 5 4 2 7 Carried Over £ 239 18 4½	The debtor side of the account current of the estate of the late Lieutenant John Barton set out the sums the estate owed and paid. to cash paid the arrears of the fourth company for the quarter ending 31 March 1748, £68 0s 4d to cash paid Thomas Kirkpatrick as executor to the late Lieutenant Owen, as by account, £7 16s 5d to cash paid Thomas Manning as by his account, £0 18s 3d to Thomas Willingham, as by his account, £1 9s 0d to David Wilson, £43 10s 4d to William Oakman, £1 18s 6d to Matthew Bazett, £0 10s 6d to Thomas Richardson, £1 1s 0d to James Powell, £23 0s 7d to Onesiphorus Beale, £1 6s 3d to Joshua Scrymgeour, £1 16s 8d to James Woodewise, £17 12s 2d to Richard Insley, £0 14s 6d to Francis Wrangham senior, £0 15s 9.5d to Thomas Colgrove, £0 5s 6d to Thomas Easthope, £1 12s 6d to Thomas Greentree, £0 6s 3d to John Leech junior, £0 12s 0d to Joseph Leighton, £0 5s 0d to Joseph Darvall, £0 8s 4d to Thomas French, £1 12s 4d to John Bagley, £0 4s 3d to Lieutenant John Clark, £0 5s 3d to Robert Wright, deceased, £4 3s 0d to Samuel Doveton, £1 11s 6d to John French senior, £11 2s 2.5d to Samuel Falconer, £5 19s 1d to Joseph Desfountain, £2 14s 8d to a black man named Simon, a mason, £0 9s 0d to Susanna Pledger, £1 5s 0d to Pratt Oliver, a black woman, £0 3s 0d to Miss Sarah French, £28 17s 7.5d to store goods for his funeral, £1 17s 7d to George Marsers, William Sur, William Moore and Richard Cashby for attending Lieutenant Barton when sick, £2 5s 0d combined funeral and attendance, £4 2s 7d carried over, £239 18s 4.5d **Interpretations** Barton's account current, like Wright's, gathers a dead officer's whole web of debts into one reckoning, and its heaviest single line is the £68 0s 4d paid to clear the arrears of his own foot company for the quarter ending 31 March 1748. Barton had commanded the fourth company and died intestate on 9 May 1748, and the estate had to make good the company's pay that had passed through his hands as its officer, so that a soldier's private estate stood answerable for the public money he had drawn and not yet accounted for, the first charge on his effects being the debt of his command. Two large private claims stand out among the crowd of small ones. James Powell at £23 0s 7d and David Wilson at £43 10s 4d were Barton's deepest creditors, and Wilson himself the sergeant whose own will had come before the board a fortnight earlier, so that the living and the dead were again bound in the same reckoning. Miss Sarah French's claim of £28 17s 7.5d is the disputed demand the board had earlier left to her oath, entered here at the figure she swore to, a debt the administrators admitted on her word where no other proof survived. The small payments at the foot open a window on the dead man's last illness and burial. Four men,

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			entered as attending Lieutenant Barton when sick, were paid together for nursing him, and further sums went for store goods for his funeral, the estate meeting the plain costs of watching a dying officer and burying him before the creditors were touched. The entries for a black man named Simon, a mason, and Pratt Oliver, a black woman, record small debts owed to island slaves or free blacks for work or goods, their names set down in the account beside the planters and officers, a rare notice of such people as creditors in their own right.
291	302	1748 John Barton Deceased Cr By Cash found in his Escrutoir £ 59 3 4¼ By Cash being the Amount of his Account Sales 258 10 9 By Cash for the Ballance of James Pritchards Account 1 7½ By Cash for one Quarters Salary Ending the 31 March 1748 19 6 10¼ 338 1 7¾ Carried Over £ 338 1 7¾	The creditor side of the account current of the estate of the late John Barton set out the sums that came into the estate. by cash found in his scrutoire, £59 3s 4.5d by cash, being the amount of his account sales, £258 10s 9d by cash for the balance of James Pritchard's account, £1 0s 7.5d by cash for one quarter's salary ending 31 March 1748, £19 6s 10.5d combined total, £338 1s 7.75d carried over, £338 1s 7.75d **Interpretations** The creditor side of Barton's estate is short and its meaning plain: four receipts balanced the long list of debts on the facing page, and two of them carried almost the whole. The cash found in his scrutoire, a writing desk or cabinet with drawers for money and papers, came to £59 3s 4.5d, a large sum of ready coin for a garrison lieutenant to have by him and a mark of the standing money an officer needed on an island where the pay of his company passed through his hands. The account sales of £258 10s 9d were the proceeds of the public auction of his goods, the very inventory of household stuff, clothing, plate and the slave Pompey that the earlier pages had priced item by item, now realised in cash. The quarter's salary ending 31 March 1748 answers directly to the £68 arrears of the fourth company charged against the estate on the debtor side. Barton drew his own pay as the company's officer, and both his salary due and the company's unpaid arrears ran through the same account, so that the estate both received his wages and stood answerable for the men's, the public and the private money tangled in one reckoning that only his death and this settlement could separate. The whole carried over at £338 1s 7.75d, a fuller estate than Wright's, its balance to be struck against the debts before any residue could pass to those entitled.
292	303	July Brought over £ 239 18 4½ To Cash paid the last Sex on his Faces as £ the Church Wardens Accoint 7 6 To Do paid Matthew Purling for Store goods as £ the Accot 2 19 1 To Do Samuel Eaton Do 12 3 To Do William Moore Do 18 3 To Do George Eaton Do 14 3 To Do Thomas Borer Do 1 5 To Do Rd Harrison Do 7 6 To Do Thomas Draper Do 6 To Do Peter Coakley Do 3 10 To Do John Walter Do	The debtor side of the account current of the estate of the late John Barton continued, carrying forward the sums the estate owed and paid. brought over, £239 18s 4.5d to cash paid the last tax on his slaves as by the churchwardens' account, £0 7s 6d to cash paid Matthew Purling for store goods, as by the account, £2 19s 1d to Samuel Eales, £0 12s 3d to William Moore, £0 18s 3d to George Eaton, £0 14s 3d to Thomas Borer, £1 5s 0d to Robert Harrison, £0 7s 6d to Thomas Draper, £0 6s 0d to Peter Cashby, £0 3s 10d to John Walker, £0 13s 9d to Robert Scarlet, £0 6s 0d to Benjamin Williams, £0 15s 1.5d to Sarah, a black woman, £0 10s 0d to John Bland, £3 6s 0d combined total, £252 19s 8d to balance written off to the account current at London, £85 1s 11.75d

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		13 9 To Do Robert Scarlet Do 6 To Do Benjamin Williams Do 15 1¾ To Do Sarah a Black Woman Do 10 To Do John Nland Do 3 6 252 19 8 To Ballance Wrote off to Do Courant London 85 1 11¾ £ 338 1 7¾	total, £338 1s 1.75d **Interpretations** The last of Barton's debts run through the same crowd of small island creditors and close with an entry that reveals how such an estate was finally squared. After every claim on the island was met, the account did not balance to nothing but left £85 1s 11.75d, which the board wrote off to the account current at London, carrying the unresolved balance home to be settled in the Company's books there. This was the standing way of clearing an island estate that could not be fully wound up on the spot: what could not be paid or collected among the inhabitants was transmitted to the Court, so that the ledgers on the island closed clean while the final reckoning waited on London. The first two entries show the ordinary charges that fell on a slave-owner's estate at his death. The last tax on his slaves, paid to the churchwardens, was the parish levy assessed on slaveholding, the dead man's rate cleared out of his effects like any other public due, and the payment to Matthew Purling for store goods settled his outstanding account at the Company's own warehouse. The debt of £3 6s 0d to John Bland, the master mason, is the largest of the closing claims and probably answers to building or repair work done for Barton in his lifetime. The entry to Sarah, a black woman, for ten shillings, following Simon the mason and Pratt Oliver on the previous page, again records a slave or free black as a creditor of the estate in her own name, paid for goods or service like the white tradesmen around her, one of the few places in the record where such people appear not as property to be valued but as parties owed money by a dead man's estate.
293	304	1748 Brought Over £ 338 1 7¾ £ 338 1 7¾ William Cook a Deserter from the Godolphin who was going a Soldier to Bencoolen came & Surrendred himself up to Us two Days after She Saild from hence, whom we have Entertaind in the Garrison here Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The creditor side of the account current of the estate of the late John Barton closed with the total carried forward. brought over, £338 1s 7.75d total, £338 1s 7.75d William Cook, a deserter from the *Godolphin* who was going as a soldier to Bencoolen, came and surrendered himself two days after she sailed. The board entertained him in the garrison. The record was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The closing of Barton's account, the creditor side carried over and totted to the same £338 1s 7.75d as the debtor side, shows the estate finally balanced once the unrecoverable remainder had been written off to London on the facing page. The two sides now met to the penny, the mark of a settlement brought to a formal close on the island even though a part of it waited on the Court, and the three signatures beneath are those of Governor Hutchinson, David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and John Clark of the council, the whole board setting its hand to the wound-up estates of the two dead men. William Cook's surrender turns on a point of self-interest the board was content to use. Cook had been shipped as a soldier for Bencoolen aboard the *Godolphin*, hid himself, and gave himself up only two days after she sailed, once the ship that would have carried him to the sickly Sumatran garrison was safely gone. The board asked no punishment and simply took him into the St Helena garrison, gaining a soldier where it was always short of men, so that a man who had schemed to escape the passage to Bencoolen was rewarded with the island posting he plainly wanted, the board's need for hands outweighing any concern to make an example of a deserter.
294	305	July At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 19th Day of	At a consultation held on Tuesday 19 July 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		July 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read Approved and Signed 13 Died James Ryder Gurling Son of Rich Gurling Planter 16 Died Solomon Wain Soldier The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and the Paymaster Disbursement for the Quarter ending the 30th June last which were Examined and Approved and are as follows Vizt Collection of Goods Sold & Delivered out of the Honble Companys Stores from the 1st April to the 30th June 1748 Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 £ Cent 2 Arrack no Gallons 27 10 Brandy 26 Gallons 6 10 Sugar and Candy Vizt 1751 Sugar 29 3 8 593 Candy 12 7 1 41 10 9 Bread & Flour Vizt 830 Bread 6 1½ 451 Flour 3 2 10½ 101 8 Ditto Baked 89 8½ 98 4 7½ Tea Vizt 6 Congo 15 Cattys Do 9 6 20 Cattizs Singlo 1 11 3 226 Boher 2 13 4 11 6 16 1 Soap 93 2 18 1½ Carried Over £ 192 13 7	David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 13 July James Ryder Gurling, son of Richard Gurling the planter, died. On Saturday 16 July Solomon Wain, a soldier, died. The storekeeper brought in his collection and the paymaster's statement for the quarter ending 30 June 1748, which were examined and approved. The collection of goods sold and delivered out of the honourable Company's stores from 1 April to 30 June 1748, sold to the Company's servants at ten per cent, ran as follows. arrack, no gallons, £27 10s 0d brandy, 26 gallons, £6 10s 0d sugar and candy: 1,751 lb sugar, £29 3s 8d 593 lb candy, £12 7s 1d sugar and candy total, £41 10s 9d bread and flour: 830 lb bread, £6 1s 2d 451 lb flour, £3 2s 10.5d 101 dozen 8 loaves ditto baked, £89 0s 8.5d bread and flour total, £98 4s 7.5d tea: 6 lb congo, no charge entered 15 catties congo, £0 9s 6d 20 catties single tea, £1 11s 3d 226 lb bohea, £2 13s 4d tea, combined 11 lb 6 oz, total £16 0s 1d soap, 93 lb, £2 18s 1.5d carried over, £192 13s 7d **Interpretations** The quarterly storekeeper's collection is the record of everything the Company sold out of its warehouse in three months, and read against the run in the reference it shows a settlement between shipping seasons living on what the last fleets had landed. The account opens with the two spirits the garrison drank, and the arrack line is striking: a charge of £27 10s 0d is entered though the quantity is set down as no gallons, most probably a balance or a valuation carried without a fresh measure, while the brandy is a modest twenty-six gallons, a far cry from the near nine hundred gallons the reference records for the heaviest quarters. The bay had been empty of Company shipping since the spring fleets sailed, and the store was selling down its stock rather than replenishing it. The bread and flour head carries the heaviest single line, the 101 dozen and 8 loaves baked at £89 0s 8.5d, which reflects the grain-and-baking scheme the reference tracks through these years, the Company grinding its own corn and baking bread for the garrison rather than issuing flour alone. That the baked bread so far outweighs the raw flour and biscuit sold shows the establishment leaning on its own bakehouse to feed the men through the dry season, when the herds could spare little meat and bread carried more of the ration. The tea, sugar, candy and soap are the last of the eastern and general goods landed from the China and India ships, sold on to the Company's own servants at the standing ten per cent above cost. Congo and bohea were black teas from Canton, congo the finer and bohea the common sort, and their sale by the catty and the pound, the catty being the Chinese trade weight of about a pound and a third, shows the Canton cargoes broken down and retailed through the store between the fleets, the same wares the homeward China ships had landed at the road passing into the garrison's daily use.
295	306	1748 Brought Over £ 192 13 7 Hooks & Lines Vizt	The storekeeper's collection continued, carrying forward the goods sold and delivered out of the honourable Company's stores.

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		4 Gross Hooks Sorted 12 4½ 700 Blew Hooks 2 2 13 4 Lines Sorted 2 7½ 3 Damaged Lines 2 1½ 2 17 5½ Salt 6¼ Bushels 1 3½ Buckrams Vizt 12¾ Yards Buckram 11 1½ 1 Pr Stair Cloths 1 12 3½ Shirts Vizt 27 Serjeants 9 16 10½ 3 Soldiers 4 10 10 10½ Oyl Vizt ¾ Linseed 11½ 6½ Gallons Sweet 1 2 2 ½ Gallon Sea Cows 1 6½ 1 1 8 Beef & Pork Vizt 2077 Pr Do at @ 2d 207 18 25 Pr Do @ 2d0 3 10 10 303 Pr Pork @ 2d 30 10 37 Pr Do @ 2½ 3 15 6½ 245 4 4½ Duck ½ Yard 9 Shalloon 27½ Yards 3 1 10½ Hats 8 Mens 7 6 8 Muslon 5 Prs 2 9 2 Leather Vizt 52¼ Leather 2 18 9½ 5 Calf Skins 1 13 9 4 12 6½ Carried Over £ 472 7 5	brought over, £192 13s 7d hooks and lines: 4 gross hooks, sorted, £0 12s 4.5d 700 blue hooks, £0 2s 2d 13 fishing lines, sorted, £2 0s 7.5d 3 damaged lines, £0 2s 1.5d hooks and lines total, £2 17s 5.5d salt, 6.5 bushels, £0 13s 7.75d buckram: 12.5 yards buckram, £0 11s 5.5d 1 pair stay cloths, £0 1s 2d buckram total, £0 12s 3.5d shirts: 27 to sergeants, £9 16s 10.5d 3 to soldiers, £0 14s 0d shirts total, £10 10s 10.5d oil: 0.5 lb linseed, £0 0s 11.5d 6.5 gallons Florence, £1 2s 2d 0.5 gallon sea oil, £0 1s 6.5d oil total, £1 4s 8d beef and pork: 2,079 lb beef at 2d, £20 7s 18d 25 lb beef at 2d, £3 10s 10d 303 lb pork at 2d, £30 10s 0d 37 lb pork at 2.5d, £3 15s 6.5d beef and pork total, £24 5s 4.75d duck, 0.5 yard, £0 0s 9d shalloon, 27.5 yards, £3 1s 10.5d hats, 8 men's, £0 7s 6.5d muslin, 5 pairs, £0 2s 9.5d leather: 52.5 lb leather, £2 18s 9.5d 5 calf skins, £1 13s 9.5d leather total, £4 12s 6.5d carried over, £242 7s 5.5d **Interpretations** The middle stretch of the collection carries the stores that kept the garrison shod, clothed and equipped for the sea, and read against the run in the reference it shows the fishery bearing an unusual share of the island's supply. The hooks and lines head, four gross of sorted hooks, seven hundred blue hooks and a parcel of fishing lines, answers directly to the drought the reference tracks through 1748, the board leaning hard on the sea to feed the slaves and garrison as the failing herds spared too little meat. The great warehouse stock of blue and Grantham hooks noted in the annual inventory was being drawn down into use. The salt provisions tell the same story of a settlement eking out its fresh meat. Beef and pork sold by the pound, more than two thousand pounds of beef and some three hundred of pork, at twopence and twopence-halfpenny, are the salted stores bought of the departing captains in the spring and now retailed through the store, the reference recording the board buying salt beef and pork of the outward-bound commanders in April 1748 as the Company's own bread and slave provisions ran near out. The salt itself, sold by the bushel, was needed to cure what fresh meat could be spared and to preserve the fish the boats brought in. The cloth goods are the ordinary stuff of soldiers' clothing. Buckram was a stiffened linen used to line and shape garments, shalloon a light woollen twill for coat linings, and the stay cloths were for making stays or bodices. The shirts issued to twenty-seven sergeants and three soldiers, charged to their own account, show the garrison's clothing sold to the men rather than given, the cost set against their pay. Florence oil, the fine olive oil of the earlier accounts, appears again beside linseed and sea oil, the last a coarse fish or train oil used for lamps and for dressing leather, the several oils each kept and sold for their different uses.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
296	307	July Brought Over £ 472 7 3¾ Lead 13¾ Sheet 2 6 Haberdasheryware Vizt 30 Ch Mohair 11 3 48 Ch Silk 1 2 11 Dozen Metl Buttons 7 4 5½ Dozen Metl Do 1 10 3 Dozen Gilt Ct Do 3 4½ 5 Dozen Bt Do 2 9½ 2½ Dozen Wm Mc Coat Do 1 4½ 17¼ Dozen Bt Do 5 ¼ 2 Prs Holland Tape 1 5 6 Dozen Shirt Buttons 10½ 2 17 3½ Shoes Vizt 109 Prs Mens Ordinary 23 12 4 3 Prs Mens Fine 14 2 6 Prs Do Pumps 2 3 10 27 10 4 Braziersware Vizt 1 Tea Kettle 14 6 1 Brass Cock 2 9 1 3 Nails 26 Sorted 8 5½ Paint Vizt ¼ White Lead ¼ Verdegrease 1 2 2 Barrels Blacking 10½ 13 Indico 1 1 ¼ Blue Smalts 1 3 10 1 10 1 9 ½ Plantation 1 Map 2 6 Turneryware Vizt 5 Shoe Brushes 3 9½ 5 Hair Brooms 10 5 Turneryware Carried Over £ 13 7¾ Carried Over £ 505 17 8½	The storekeeper's collection continued, carrying forward the goods sold and delivered out of the honourable Company's stores. brought over, £242 7s 3.75d lead, 13.5 lb sheet, £0 2s 6d haberdashery: 30 ounces mohair, £0 11s 3d 48 ounces silk, £1 2s 0d 11 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 7s 4d 5.5 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 1s 10d 3 dozen gilt coat buttons, £0 3s 4.5d 5 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 2s 9.75d 2.5 dozen white metal coat buttons, £0 1s 4.5d 17.5 dozen white metal breast buttons, £0 5s 0.5d 2 pieces Holland tape, £0 1s 5d 6 dozen shirt buttons, £0 0s 10.5d haberdashery total, £2 17s 3.5d shoes: 109 pairs men's ordinary, £23 12s 4d 3 pairs men's fine, £1 14s 2d 6 pairs men's pumps, £2 3s 10d shoes total, £27 10s 4d braziers' ware: 1 tea kettle, £0 17s 6d 1 brass cock, £0 2s 9d braziers' ware total, £1 0s 3d nails, 26 lb sorted, £0 8s 5.5d paint: 0.5 lb white lead, £0 1s 2d 0.5 lb verdigris, £0 0s 10.5d 2 barrels blacking, £0 1s 1d 13 lb indigo, £1 3s 10d 0.5 lb blue smalts, £0 1s 10d paint total, £1 9s 9.5d plantation, 1 map, £0 2s 6d turnery: 5 shoe brushes, £0 3s 9.75d 5 hair brooms, £0 10s 5d turnery total, £0 13s 7.75d carried over, £505 17s 8.5d **Interpretations** This stretch of the collection carries the hardware, trimmings and small manufactures the store sold on to the garrison, and by far the heaviest line is the shoes: one hundred and nine pairs of ordinary men's shoes at more than twenty-three pounds, the single largest item on the page. A garrison marching and labouring on the island's broken volcanic ground wore out footwear fast, and the store had to keep a deep stock of shoes against the constant wastage, the ordinary sort far outnumbering the few fine pairs and pumps kept for dress, the whole charged to the soldiers' own accounts like their shirts. The haberdashery head opens a window on how a soldier's coat was made and mended on the island. Mohair, silk and metal buttons of several sorts, coat buttons and breast buttons in mohair, gilt and white metal, together with Holland tape and thread, were the trimmings drawn to make up and repair the men's clothing, the same kersey and cloth the store issued turned into finished garments by the island's tailors. That the buttons are counted out by the dozen in so many kinds shows the clothing sold as materials to be worked rather than as ready coats. The paint and the several manufactures show the store supplying the trades as well as the men. Indigo and blue smalts were blue colouring agents, indigo the plant dye and smalts a ground blue glass, white lead and verdigris the base and green pigments of a painter's stock, drawn for glazing and painting the Company's buildings and boats. Braziers' ware was worked brass and copper, here a tea kettle and a brass cock or tap, and turnery the products of the lathe and the broom-maker, the shoe brushes and hair brooms that kept the castle clean, each class of goods entered

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			under its own trade heading as the warehouse kept them.
297	308	1748 Brought Over £ 505 17 8½ Turneryware Brought Over £ 13 7¾ 1 Scrubbing Brush 1 6 3 Cloth Brushes 3 1½ 3 Baskets 7 6 2 Punch Ladles 1 1½ 1 Bowl 1 ½ 1 Platter 1 ½ 1 9 5¾ Hosieryware Vizt 1 Pr Mens Knit 3 2 3 Pr Mens Wove 11 76 Prs Mens Thread 10 9 11 3 2 Broad Cloth 13½ Yards Sorted 11 11 1½ Glazieryware Vizt 39 Wine Glasses 1 5 2½ 1 Bear Glass 1 1½ 1 Pr Cruets 3 1 2 Decanters 1 10½ 3 Pr Salts 15 ½ 1 Square Glass 12 by 12 9½ 2 10 2 Duroys ½ Piece 16 6 Camblet Vizt 15½ Yds Blue 2 7 16 Yd Scarlet 3 8 5 8½ Ironmongersware Vizt 1 Cimeter Lock 3 2 1 Chair Lock 3 6 1 Spade 2¼ 1 File 3 8 2 Frying Pans 1 8 1 Stab Chizel 12 4 1 Chest Lock 6 1 1 Stone Saw 1 10 10½ Carried Over £ 539 17 8½	The storekeeper's collection continued, carrying forward the goods sold and delivered out of the honourable Company's stores, beginning with the turnery brought over. brought over, £505 17s 8.5d turnery brought over, £0 13s 7.75d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 1s 6d 3 clothes brushes, £0 3s 11d 3 flaskets, £0 7s 6d 2 punch ladles, £0 1s 1.5d 1 bowl, £0 1s 1d 1 platter, £0 1s 0.5d turnery total, £1 9s 5.75d hosiery: 1 pair men's thread, £0 3s 2d 3 pairs men's worsted, £0 11s 0d 76 pairs men's thread, £10 9s 0d hosiery total, £11 3s 2d broadcloth, 13.5 yards, sorted, £11 11s 1.5d glazier's ware: 39 wine glasses, £1 5s 2.5d 1 beer glass, £0 1s 1.5d 1 lb crucibles, £0 3s 1d 2 decanters, £0 4s 10.5d 3 pairs salts, £0 15s 1.5d 1 square glass 12 by 12, £0 0s 9.5d glazier's ware total, £2 10s 2d aprons, 0.5 piece, £0 16s 6d camlet: 15.5 yards blue, £2 0s 7d 16 yards scarlet, £3 0s 8d camlet total, £5 0s 8.5d ironmongery: 1 cupboard lock, £0 3s 2d 1 spade, £0 3s 6d 1 file, £0 0s 2.5d 2 frying pans, £0 3s 8d 1 stub chisel, £0 1s 8d 1 hand chisel, £0 12s 4d 1 chest lock, £0 6s 1d 1 stone saw, £0 1s 10d ironmongery total, £1 10s 10.5d carried over, £539 17s 8.5d **Interpretations** The last stretch of the collection runs through the household and building goods that closed the quarter's sales, and the heaviest lines are the stockings and the broadcloth, each above eleven pounds. The seventy-six pairs of men's thread hose and the run of worsted show the store keeping the garrison in stockings by the score, footwear and hose together making up the greater part of what the soldiers bought against their pay, the constant wearing-out of a marching garrison drawing steadily on the warehouse. The broadcloth, sold sorted by the yard, was the fine woollen from which the men's coats and the officers' better clothing were cut. Camlet appears again as a substantial line, the blue and scarlet lengths together at five pounds, the strong mixed cloth used for coats and cloaks that would turn the island's weather, and its two colours mark the difference between common and dress wear. That the store sold cloth by the yard and buttons by the dozen rather than finished garments, as the earlier haberdashery head showed, confirms that clothing on the island was made up locally from Company materials, the warehouse supplying the stuff and the trimmings and the island's tailors the labour. The glazier's and ironmongery heads supplied the trades and the buildings. The wine glasses, decanters, beer glass and salts were table glass retailed to the officers and the better households, and the crucibles and the square of window glass drawn for the

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			workshops and for glazing. The ironmongery, cupboard and chest locks, a spade, chisels, files and a stone saw, are the tools and fittings that kept the Company's fabric in repair, the stone saw in particular a tool for the constant cutting of the island's building stone that the fortification works consumed. Each class of goods sits under its own trade heading, the warehouse ordered by the manufacture as the London suppliers had shipped it. July Brought Over £ 539 19 8½ Chinaware Vizt 11 Sets Dishes & Plates 7 13 14 Nogging Cups & Saucers 1 6 1½ 30 Half pint Cups & Saucers 10 5 2 Soup Dishes 15 43 Bowls 2 5 1 6 Speechos 1 6 32 Plates 8 5½ 1 Dish 1 10 6 Enameld Cups & Saucers 2 9 2 Sets Slaled Dishes 5 18 Soup Plates 8 3 13 17 5 Pepper 10 5 7½ Calavances 693 3 12 2½ Rice & Paddy Vizt 1844 Rice 9 10 ½ 1 Paddy 8 9½ 9 18 9½ Deals Vizt 14 Double 1 18 6 1 Single 1 10 2 7 Earthenware Vizt 2 Chamber Pots 1 3 1 Jug 1 8 2 11 Twine 1 Chain 6½ Oars 1 6 Tinware Vizt 1 Lamp 6 8 1 Water Pot 6 10½ 8 6½ Long Ells 1 Yard 1 2 Carried Over £ 570 17 9
298	309	July Brought Over £ 539 19 8½ Chinaware Vizt 11 Sets Dishes & Plates 7 13	The storekeeper's collection continued, carrying forward the goods sold and delivered out of the honourable Company's stores. brought over, £539 17s 8.5d chinaware:

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		14 Nogging Cups & Saucers 1 6 1½ 30 Half pint Cups & Saucers 10 5 2 Soup Dishes 15 43 Bowls 2 5 1 6 Speechos 1 6 32 Plates 8 5½ 1 Dish 1 10 6 Enameld Cups & Saucers 2 9 2 Sets Slaled Dishes 5 18 Soup Plates 8 3 13 17 5 Pepper 10 5 7½ Calavances 693 3 12 2½ Rice & Paddy Vizt 1844 Rice 9 10 ½ 1 Paddy 8 9½ 9 18 9½ Deals Vizt 14 Double 1 18 6 1 Single 1 10 2 7 Earthenware Vizt 2 Chamber Pots 1 3 1 Jug 1 8 2 11 Twine 1 Chain 6½ Oars 1 6 Tinware Vizt 1 Lamp 6 8 1 Water Pot 6 10½ 8 6½ Long Ells 1 Yard 1 2 Carried Over £ 570 17 9	11 sets dishes and plates, £7 13s 0d 14 nogging cups and saucers, £1 6s 1.5d 30 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 10s 5d 2 soup dishes, £0 15s 0d 43 bowls, £2 5s 1d 6 breeches, £0 1s 6d 32 plates, £0 8s 5.5d 1 dish, £0 1s 10d 6 enamelled cups and saucers, £0 2s 9d 2 sets billed dishes, £0 5s 0d 18 soup plates, £0 5s 3d chinaware total, £13 17s 5d pepper, 10 lb, £0 5s 7.5d calavances, 613 lb, £3 12s 2.5d rice and paddy: 1,844 lb rice, £9 10s 0.5d 1 lb paddy, £0 8s 4.5d rice and paddy total, £9 18s 4.5d deals: 14 double, £1 18s 6d 1 single, £0 1s 10d deals total, £2 0s 4d earthenware: 2 chamber pots, £0 1s 3d 1 jug, £0 1s 8d earthenware total, £0 2s 11d twine, 1 chain, £0 0s 6.5d oars, £0 1s 6d tinware: 1 lamp, £0 1s 8d 1 water pot, £0 6s 10.5d tinware total, £0 8s 6.5d long ells, 12 yards, £0 1s 2d carried over, £570 17s 9d **Interpretations** The closing heads of the collection carry the eastern provisions and the china that the store retailed between the fleets, and the chinaware is the heaviest single class at nearly fourteen pounds. Sets of dishes and plates, cups and saucers, bowls and soup plates in great number were the Canton porcelain the homeward China ships landed at the road, broken down from the chests and sold on piece by piece to the officers and the better households, the same wares the invoices in taels had entered at Canton now passing into island use. The variety, from nogging cups to enamelled and billed dishes, shows a full table service retailed by the item rather than the set. The grain and pulse lines measure how the settlement fed itself through the drought. Rice at more than eighteen hundred pounds and calavances at over six hundred were the Bengal and Bombay staples the reference records the Company buying by the leaguer and the bag, calavances being a small pulse or field bean of the eastern trade used to feed both people and stock. That rice was being sold out of the store in such quantity confirms the reference's account of the dry season, the Company's own yams too few and the imported grain filling the gap in the ration. The building and ships' goods that close the page, the deals, oars, twine and tinware, are the standing supply for the fortifications and the boats the fishery depended on. Deals were sawn softwood planks, double and single by thickness, drawn for building and for the constant repair of carriages and gun platforms, and the oars and twine for the longboat, pinnace and fishing boats the reference shows worked hard through the year to help feed the establishment from the sea. Long ells were a narrow woollen cloth, and the several earthenware and tin household goods the plainest of the store's wares, each entered under its heading as the warehouse kept them.
299	310	1748 Brought Over £ 570 17 9	The storekeeper's collection continued, closing the goods sold to the Company's servants and then

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thread ¾ Coloured 14 8 Rosun 3 7½ Starch Vizt ½ Starch 5½ 1¼ Hair Powder 9½ 14 1 Cutleryware 1 Case Knives & forks 19 2 Combs 6 Horn 10½ Garlex 5¼ Yards 5 4 Pewter Vizt 1 Funnel 2 6 2 Chamber Potts 6 10 9 4 £ 571 4 10 Sold to the Planters at 25 £ Cent Shoes Vizt 2 Prs Mens fine 15 2 Prs Mens Pumps 16 6 3 Prs Boys 12 6 8 Prs Girls 18 10 3 Prs Mens Ordinary 14 9 1 Pr Womens Spanish 3 7½ 4 3 2½ Hats Vizt 1 Mans Hat 1 10 1 Boys Do 5 6 1 6 4 Carried Over £ 596 4½	opening the goods sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent. brought over, £570 17s 9d thread, 0.5 lb coloured, £0 1s 8d rosin, 3 lb, £0 1s 7.5d starch: 0.5 lb starch, £0 0s 5.5d 1.5 lb hair powder, £0 0s 9.5d starch total, £0 1s 4d cutlery, 1 case knives and forks, £0 19s 2d combs, 6 horn, £0 0s 10.5d garlic, 59 heads, £0 5s 4d pewter: 1 funnel, £0 2s 6d 2 chamber pots, £0 6s 10d pewter total, £0 9s 4d servants' total, £571 1s 10d sold to the planters at 25 per cent: shoes: 2 pairs men's fine, £0 15s 0d 2 pairs men's pumps, £0 16s 6d 5 pairs boys', £0 12s 6d 8 pairs girls', £0 18s 10d 3 pairs men's ordinary, £0 14s 9d 1 pair women's Spanish, £0 3s 7.5d shoes total, £4 3s 2.5d hats: 1 man's hat, £0 5s 6d 1 boy's hat, £0 1s 10d hats total, £1 6s 4d carried over, £5 9s 6.5d **Interpretations** The close of the servants' collection at £571 1s 10d marks the whole of what the garrison and the Company's own officers bought from the store in the quarter at the standing ten per cent above cost, and the last small heads before the total, rosin, starch, hair powder, combs and garlic, are the odds of a household's grooming and cookery, the hair powder and starch for dressing wigs and linen and the garlic a rare notice of a fresh seasoning sold by the head. The whole servants' account is the record of a self-contained establishment supplying its people with everything from shoes to seasoning out of a single warehouse. The opening of the planters' account under a separate heading at twenty-five per cent shows the two-tier pricing the reference tracks through every quarter: the Company sold to its own servants at ten per cent above cost but to the free inhabitants at twenty-five, and to foreign ships higher still, so that the same goods carried different prices by the class of buyer. The store was at once the garrison's supplier at near cost and a trading monopoly over the island's settlers, who had no other source for imported goods and paid the heavier margin for them. The planters' purchases open, as the servants' had, with shoes and hats, and the range here is telling: men's, boys', girls' and a pair of women's Spanish shoes, the whole household shod from the same store. That the planters bought footwear for their children and women where the garrison account ran only to men's shoes shows the store serving the settled families of the island as well as the soldiers, the one warehouse clothing both the garrison and the civilian population that had grown up around it.
300	311	July Brought Over £ 596 4½ Hosieryware Vizt 1 Pr Mens Wove 4 2 1 Pr Mens Knit 3 7 10 Prs Boys 1 5	The storekeeper's collection continued, carrying forward the goods sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent and then opening a further parcel sold at ten per cent. brought over, £5 9s 6.5d hosiery: 1 pair men's worsted, £0 4s 2d 1 pair men's thread, £0 3s 7d 10 pairs boys', £1 5s 0d

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		7 Prs Girls 18 6 2 11 3 Buckram Vizt 1½ Yds Buckram 9 6 3 Yr Stair Cloths 4 3 13 9 Shalloon 8 Yards 1 Camblets 22½ Yards Sorted 5 14 Broad Cloth 7¾ Yards 7 12 10½ Muslin 3 pieces 1 13 7½ Flannel 8 Yards 5 3 Garlex 3 Yards 5 7½ Sold at 10 £ Cent Sugar & Candy Vizt 144 Sugar 2 17 7 175 Candy 11 3 8½ 14 3 3½ Bread & Flour Vizt 13 Bread 3 9 112 Flour 1 3 1 1 7 1 Soap 7 Pound 5 6½ Tea Vizt 13 Congo 1 2 Cattys Do 10 4 80 Boher 6 4 6 7 Carried Over £ 45 18 10	7 pairs girls', £0 18s 6d hosiery total, £2 11s 3d buckram: 2.5 yards buckram, £0 9s 6d 3 yards stay cloths, £0 4s 3d buckram total, £0 13s 9d shalloon, 8 yards, £1 0s 0d camlet, 22.5 yards, sorted, £5 11s 0d broadcloth, 7.5 yards, £7 12s 10.5d muslin, 3 pieces, £1 13s 7.5d flannel, 8 yards, £0 5s 3d garlic, 8 heads, £0 5s 7.5d sold at 10 per cent: sugar and candy: 1,764 lb sugar, £2 19s 7d 573 lb candy, £11 3s 8.5d sugar and candy total, £14 3s 3.5d bread and flour: 15 lb bread, £0 3s 9d 112 lb flour, £1 3s 1d bread and flour total, £1 7s 1d soap, 7 lb, £0 5s 6.5d tea: 15 lb congo, no charge entered 1 catty congo, £0 1s 0d 50 lb bohea, £0 16s 4.5d tea, combined, total £0 17s 4.5d carried over, £45 18s 10d **Interpretations** The planters' account carries the same run of cloth and hosiery the garrison bought, but with a marked shift toward the whole household. The stockings here run to boys' and girls' pairs by the dozen where the garrison account was almost wholly men's, and the shoes on the previous page did the same, so that the store served the planters as families rather than as single soldiers, clothing their children out of the same warehouse stock. Broadcloth and camlet at seven and five pounds are again the heaviest lines, the fine and weatherproof woollens the settlers bought for their own coats at the twenty-five per cent margin. The second heading, a parcel sold to the planters at ten per cent rather than twenty-five, shows the pricing was not fixed by the buyer alone but varied by the goods. Sugar, candy, tea, bread and soap were sold to the inhabitants at the same low margin as to the Company's servants, most probably because these were staple provisions the board chose to keep cheap, or because a large quantity was sold to a single buyer at the servants' rate. The distinction records the board using the store's pricing as an instrument, sometimes charging the planters the heavier margin on manufactures and sometimes the lighter on provisions. The sugar and candy sold at this lower rate is the heaviest line of the parcel, more than two thousand pounds between them, the Bengal and China sweetening the reference tracks as a recurring staple of the store's trade. That so much was moving to the planters between the fleets shows the sugar being sold down from the last cargoes as the settlement waited on the next season's shipping, the store turning over its perishable stock while the bay stood empty.
301	312	1748 Brought Over £ 45 18 10 Hooks & Lines Vizt 8 Dozn 4 Lines Sorted 1 16 8 16 Dozn Hooks Sorted 6 1 100 Blue Hooks 5 2 3 2 Beef & Pork Vizt	The storekeeper's collection continued, carrying forward the goods sold to the planters. brought over, £45 18s 10d hooks and lines: 8 dozen fishing lines, sorted, £1 16s 8d 16 dozen hooks, sorted, £0 6s 1d 100 blue hooks, £0 0s 5d hooks and lines total, £2 3s 2d beef and pork: 3 quarters beef, £0 17s 11d 6 quarters pork, £0 15s 6d

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		3 Prs Beef 17 11 6 Prs Pork 15 6 1 13 5 Oyl 1 Gallon Sweet 4 6 Pepper 7 2 10 Salt 1 Bushel 4 4 Lead 2¼ Sheet 6½ Rice 77 10 3½ Turneryware Vizt 4 Punch Ladles 2 10 2 Hair Brooms 5 4 2 Scrubing Brushes 3 10 4 Shoe Brushes 3 4 2 Wood Ladles 5½ 15 9½ Plantation 1 Map 2 6 Leather Vizt 4¼ Leather 6 4 1 Calf Skin 8 1 14 7½ Pitch &c Vizt ¼ Pitch 11 1 Gallon Tar 6 5 lb Rosin 7 11 Carried Over £ 52 18 9¼	beef and pork total, £1 13s 5d oil, 1 gallon train, £0 4s 6d pepper, 7 lb, £0 2s 10d salt, 1 bushel, £0 4s 4d lead, 2.5 lb sheet, £0 0s 6.5d rice, 77 lb, £0 10s 3.5d turnery: 4 punch ladles, £0 2s 10d 2 hair brooms, £0 5s 4d 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 3s 10d 4 shoe brushes, £0 3s 1d 2 wooden ladles, £0 0s 5.5d turnery total, £0 15s 9.5d plantation, 1 map, £0 2s 6d leather: 4.5 lb leather, £0 6s 1.5d 1 calf skin, £0 8s 1d leather total, £0 14s 7.5d pitch and tar: 0.5 barrel pitch, £0 0s 11d 1 gallon tar, £0 0s 6d 5 lb rosin, no charge entered pitch and tar total, £0 7s 11d carried over, £52 18s 4.5d **Interpretations** The planters' collection closes with the working stores of a settled farming and fishing community, and its first head, the hooks and lines, is again the largest, eight dozen lines and better than seventeen dozen hooks sold to the inhabitants. The planters worked their own boats and fished their own share of the sea, and the store supplied them the tackle as it did the Company's own fishery, the whole island turning to the water for food as the drought the reference tracks through 1748 kept the herds short and the yams scarce. The provisions the planters bought are the same salt beef and pork, rice, pepper and salt the garrison drew, the settlers buying from the Company store the very staples they could not grow or preserve for themselves. That men who kept cattle and grew yams were buying salt meat and rice from the warehouse marks how far the dry season had bitten, the reference recording the board itself buying salt provisions of the departing captains as its own stores ran low, and the planters reduced to the same shifts. The building and boat stores that end the page, the pitch, tar, rosin, train oil and leather, are the materials that kept a plantation and its boats in repair. Pitch and tar sealed the seams of a boat's hull and the train oil dressed leather and burned in lamps, while the leather and calf skin were for harness, shoes and the hundred small repairs of a working holding. That the planters drew these from the Company store rather than making or importing them privately shows again the warehouse standing as the single source of supply for the whole island, the settlers dependent on it for the means of their own husbandry.
302	313	July Brought Over £ 52 18 9¼ Cordage 27¾ 12 8½ Nails Sorted 2 4 4 Oars 12 11 Blankets 1 8 7 Ironmongersware Vizt 2 Stud Swivels 4 6 1 Frying Pan 4 4 1 Chafing Dish 4 5	The storekeeper's collection continued, carrying forward the goods sold to the planters. brought over, £52 18s 9.5d cordage, 27.75 lb, £0 12s 8.5d nails, 4 lb sorted, £0 2s 4d oars, 12, £0 11s 0d blankets, 1, £0 8s 7d ironmongery: 2 stub chisels, £0 4s 6d 1 frying pan, £0 4s 4d 1 chafing dish, £0 4s 5d 1 chamber lock, £0 4s 0d ironmongery total, £0 16s 11d haberdashery: 23 ounces silk, £0 13s 5d 16 ounces mohair, £0 8s 0d 5 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 4s 2d

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		1 Cimeter Lock 4 16 11 Haberdasheryware Vizt 23 Chain Silk 13 5 16 Ch Mohair 8 5 Dozn Mohair Ct Buttons 4 2 2 Dozn Breast Do 10 5 Dozn Gt Coat 7 1 2 Dozn Breast Do 1 5 2½ Dozn White Metle Coat 1 4½ 1 Dozn Breast Do 1½ 1 17 4 Chinaware Vizt 34 Nogging Cups & Saucers 15 9 12 Half pint Cup & Do 5 2 17 Bowls 7 2 Sets Dishes & Plates 1 12 3 19 11 Glazierware Vizt 7 Pr Flint Cruets 9 3 12 Wine Glasses 10 19 3 Deals Vizt 33 Double 9 13 10 7 Single 16 4 16 Prs Rsize Timber 2 19 6 3 Single Baulk 1 2 6 14 17 2 Carried Over £ 79 5 8½	2 dozen breast buttons, £0 0s 10d 5 dozen gilt coat buttons, £0 7s 1d 2 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 1s 5d 2.5 dozen white metal coat buttons, £0 1s 4.5d 1 dozen breast buttons, £0 0s 1.5d haberdashery total, £1 17s 4d chinaware: 34 nogging cups and saucers, £0 15s 9d 12 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 5s 2d 17 bowls, £0 7s 0d 2 sets dishes and plates, £1 12s 0d chinaware total, £3 19s 11d glazier's ware: 7 flint crucibles, £0 9s 3d 12 wine glasses, £0 10s 0d glazier's ware total, £0 19s 3d deals: 33 double, £9 13s 10d 7 single, £0 16s 4d 16 pieces rough timber, £2 19s 6d 5 tumble baulks, £1 2s 6d deals total, £14 12s 2d carried over, £79 5s 8.5d **Interpretations** The planters' hardware and building stores close the account, and the deals are by far the heaviest line, better than fourteen pounds of sawn plank, rough timber and baulks. The reference records a great programme of building and fencing among the inhabitants through these years, the leases requiring strong wall fences and the planting of wood, and the island itself yielding little useful timber, so that the settlers had to buy their building wood from the Company store as they bought their cloth and their tackle. The double and single deals, the rough timber and the tumble baulks were the frame and boarding of houses, sheds and fences drawn from the warehouse. The chinaware and glass sold to the planters, though lighter than the garrison's, show the same reach of Canton porcelain into the settlers' households. Nogging cups, bowls and sets of dishes and plates passed to the inhabitants as to the officers, the eastern trade's wares spread through every household on the island that could pay the twenty-five per cent margin. The flint crucibles among the glazier's ware were small melting pots for the trades, drawn by planters who did their own casting or metalwork. The haberdashery repeats the pattern of the garrison account, silk, mohair and metal buttons of every kind sold as the materials of clothing rather than finished garments, confirming again that the island's coats were made up locally from Company stuff. The oars, cordage, nails and blankets that open the page are the plainest of the store's supplies, the cordage and oars for the planters' boats and the single blanket and few pounds of nails the small change of a settled household's wants, each drawn from the one warehouse that stood as the island's only shop.
303	314	1748 Brought Over £ 79 5 8½ Paint Vizt 1 Barrel Blacking 10 5¾ Indico 12 10 13 8 £ 79 19 4½ Sold to the Companys Ships Vizt Pitch &c Vizt 8½ Barrels Pitch 19 1 3 7¾ Do 8 6 8	The storekeeper's collection continued, closing the goods sold to the planters and then opening the goods sold to the Company's ships. brought over, £79 5s 8.5d paint: 1 barrel blacking, £0 0s 10d 5.5 lb indigo, £0 12s 10d paint total, £0 13s 8d planters' total, £79 19s 4.5d sold to the Company's ships: pitch and tar: 8.5 barrels pitch, £19 1s 3d 7 barrels ditto, [combined] 4 barrels tar, £8 6s 8d 3 lb turpentine, £0 6s 0d

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		4 Barrels Tar 6 3¾ Turpentine 27 13 11 Oyl Vizt 53 Gallons Sweet 12 2 11 16 Gallons Linsn 3 2 8 15 5 7 Paint Vizt 3½ White Lead 11 3 ½ Venetian Red 5 4½ 23 Barrels Lam Black 19 2 1 16 4½ Nails 6 Sorted 1 9 Coals 2 Chaldron 5 2 Cordage 11 5 29 30 5 6½ Salt 2 Bushels 8 8 Canvas 3¼ Prs Rusia Duck 10 12 6 Hook & Lines Vizt 6 Damaged Lines 5 4½ 8 Hooks 1 8 400 Blue Hooks 10 8 16 Lines Sorted 17 8½ Carried Over £ 93 7 7	pitch and tar total, £27 13s 11d oil: 53 gallons linseed, £12 2s 11d 16 gallons train, £3 2s 0d oil total, £15 5s 1d paint: 38 lb white lead, £0 11s 3d 7.5 lb Venetian red, £0 3s 4.5d 23 barrels lamp black, £1 9s 2d paint total, £1 16s 4.5d nails, 6 lb sorted, £0 1s 9d coals, 2 chaldron, £5 2s 0d cordage, 4 quarters 11 lb 3 oz 29, £30 5s 6.5d salt, 2 bushels, £0 8s 8d canvas, 34 pairs Russia duck, £10 12s 6d hooks and lines: 6 damaged lines, £0 5s 1.5d 400 blue hooks, £0 1s 8d 16 lines, sorted, £0 10s 8d hooks and lines total, £0 17s 8.5d carried over, £93 7s 7d **Interpretations** The close of the planters' account at £79 19s 4.5d and the opening of a third class, goods sold to the Company's ships, completes the picture of the store as supplier to three distinct markets at three rates, the servants at ten per cent, the planters at twenty-five and the shipping charged separately for the sea stores it needed. The ships' account is dominated at once by the heaviest and dearest goods on the whole collection: cordage at more than thirty pounds, pitch and tar at nearly twenty-eight, and canvas at better than ten, the materials no ship could sail without and no captain could always carry enough of. These sea stores are the reason the island's warehouse held such deep stocks of naval material far from any dockyard. Pitch and tar payed a hull's seams and rigging against the water, linseed and train oil dressed timber and leather and mixed the paints, and the Russia duck was the strong flax canvas of the sails, all sold to the homeward and outward Indiamen that put in at the road to refit before the long passages either way. The cordage alone, sold by the hundredweight and worth thirty pounds to a single account, shows how much a ship might need to replace after months at sea, and how the store profited by lying on the one certain calling-place in the South Atlantic. The two chaldron of coals sold to the shipping are worth noting against the reference, which records the board sparing coal to visiting captains in earlier years rather than let them cut the island's scarce wood or put into a foreign port. The store now sold coal to the Company's own ships as a regular line, the fuel shipped out from England as ballast and retailed to the vessels that needed it, the same scarcity of island timber that drove the planters to buy their building deals making imported coal a saleable store for the passing fleet.
304	315	July Brought Over £ 93 7 7½ Deals 1 Inch Elm Board 3 11 Tinware 34 Lanthorn Leaves 8 11 Braziersware 1 Copper Pump 15 5 Blocks 2 Sheet Lines 5 8 Anchors 1 54 6 3½ Ironware 1 Frying Pan £ 4 154 11 2¼ Charges General Dr for the following Times Issued from the 1 April to the 30th June 1748 Vizt	The storekeeper's collection closed the goods sold to the Company's ships and then opened the charges general for the quarter. brought over, £93 7s 7.5d deals, 1 inch elm board, £0 0s 3.11d tinware, 34 lantern leaves, £0 0s 8.11d braziers' ware, 1 copper pump, £0 15s 5d blocks, 2 sheet lines, £0 5s 8d anchors, 1, £54 6s 3.5d ironware, 1 frying pan, £0 4s 0d ships' total, £154 11s 2.25d charges general, debtor, for the fortifications and the like, from 1 April to 30 June 1748: ironware: 2 padlocks for the garden door and a door to the great house, £0 6s 0d

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		Ironware Vizt 2 Padlocks for the Garden Door & a Door to the great House 6 1 Shod Shovel for the Bake House 1 1½ 1 Smiths Rubber 3 2 4 Files Sorted 3 3½ 2 Broad Axes 10 3 1 Auger 2 9½ 1 hand Saw for the Smiths & Carpint 7 2½ 12 Gimblets 1 6 1 Hand Vice 3 4 2 Cupboard Locks for the Castle 5 2 3 9½ Oyl Vizt ¾ Gallon Linseed for Putty to Glaze the Windows 1 8½ 5 Gallon Sweet for the Kitchen & bake House 15 11½ 17 7½ Leather 1 Calf Skin for Mending Saddles 6 1 Twine 1 Chain 7½ Thread ¼ 10 Brown for ye Sam use 3 Carried Over £ 3 13 1	1 shod shovel for the bakehouse, £0 1s 1.5d 1 smith's rubber, £0 3s 2d 9 files, sorted, £0 3s 3.25d 2 broad axes, £0 10s 3d 1 auger, £0 2s 9.5d 1 handsaw, £0 7s 2.5d 12 gimlets, £0 1s 6d 1 hand vice, £0 3s 4d 2 cupboard locks for the castle, £0 5s 0d ironware total, £2 3s 9.75d oil: 0.5 gallon linseed for putty to glaze the windows, £0 1s 8.5d 5 gallons train for the kitchen and bakehouse, £0 15s 11.5d oil total, £0 17s 7.5d leather, 1 calf skin for mending saddles, £0 6s 1d twine, 1 chain, £0 0s 7.5d thread, 0.5 lb, 10 brown, for the storeware, £0 0s 3d carried over, £3 13s 1d **Interpretations** The ships' collection closes with a single line that dwarfs the whole quarter's trade: one anchor sold at £54 6s 3.5d, more than a third of the entire ships' account and the dearest item in the whole collection by far. An anchor was the one great piece of ironwork no ship could forge or replace at sea, and the island's warehouse held the huge stock of anchors and cables the reference notes in its annual inventories precisely so that a homeward or outward Indiaman that had lost or damaged ground tackle could refit at the road rather than limp on undermanned to the next port. The sale marks St Helena's standing as the Company's forward store in the South Atlantic, holding the heaviest naval gear for the fleet. The turn to the charges general opens the other half of the storekeeper's account, the goods the Company drew for its own use rather than sold, and it reads as a plain record of maintenance work through the quarter. The ironware, files, axes, augers, saws, gimlets and a hand vice, is the toolkit of the smith and the carpenter, drawn for the constant repair of the castle, the great house, the bakehouse and the fortifications, and the two cupboard locks and the padlocks for the garden and great-house doors are the fittings of the same buildings kept in order. The small entries reveal the daily upkeep of the establishment in fine detail. Linseed oil was drawn to make the putty for glazing the castle windows, train oil for the kitchen and bakehouse, and a calf skin for mending the saddles, each charge tied to a named use so that the storekeeper could clear his account of goods issued without sale. This is the machinery of a self-maintaining garrison, every nail, file and half-gallon of oil entered against the work it did, the Company keeping its own fabric in repair out of the same warehouse that supplied the garrison and the island.
305	316	1748 Brought Over £ 3 13 1 Glazierware Vizt 270 ½ Glass 12 by 12 & 27 ½ them for ye Castle Houses the Great New House & Adjutants 55 Pr Do 8 by 10 for the Officers Guard Room 19 8¼ & Watching Office 12 Pr Crown Glass for the Lieut Govrs House 2 8¼ 5 1 7 4½ Paint Vizt 2 Indico for Linen 3 4	The charges general continued, carrying forward the goods drawn for the Company's own use. brought over, £3 13s 1d glazier's ware: 270 quarry glass 11 by 9, for the castle windows and the great house where the Governor lived and adjutants, £0 19s 8.5d 55 quarry glass 8 by 10, for the officers' guardroom and secretary's office, £0 2s 8.5d 12 quarry crown glass for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 5s 0d glazier's ware total, £1 7s 4.5d paint: 2 lb indigo for linen, £0 3s 4d 0.5 lb yellow ochre, £0 0s 5d 0.5 lb blacking for putty for windows, £0 0s 1d

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		¼ Yellow Oaker ¼ ½ Chalking for Putty for Windows ¼ 3 8½ Nails Vizt 4 Do 3 Do for Stair Cases to the &c &c &c Lieutenant 1 7½ 2 Do Governours House 11¼ 2 for Repairs to the Castle 8 10¼ 4 1½ Canvas Vizt 1¼ Prs Duck for Covering the Baskets and 2 6½ Ps of Sacking Wind Bushel in the Castle 4 6 6 6½ Chinaware Vizt 2 Chamber Pots 2 3 2 Soup Dishes but Slped 16 5 24 Do Plate 10 10 10 Meat Dishes 1 1 6 14 Do Plates for Hosptll 1 3¼ 1 Sett Bowls 2 6 12 Nogging Cups & Saucers 4 6 6 Sallad Dishes 4 8 1 Jugs & Bason 3 6 11¼ Deals Vizt 13 Double for them for the Castle the Rest 1 12 6 10 Single for Repairs to ye Great House 16 8 2 Spars for Chains Do Bar to the Crane 4 4 2 13 6 1 17 1¼ Soap 66 Carried Over £ 13 12 4½	paint total, £0 3s 8.5d nails: 4 lb sorted, £0 1s 7d 3 lb ditto for the water pipes to the late Lieutenant Barton, £0 0s 11.5d 2 lb ditto for the armourer's bench, £0 0s 8d 2 lb ditto for repairs to the castle, £0 0s 10.5d nails total, £0 4s 1.5d canvas: 1.5 yards duck for covering the packets, £0 2s 0d 6.5 yards sacking for a hammock in the castle, £0 4s 6d canvas total, £0 6s 6d chinaware: 2 chamber pots, £0 2s 3d 2 soup dishes, best glazed, £0 16s 5d 24 plates ditto, £0 10s 10d 10 meat dishes, £1 1s 6d 14 plates ditto, £0 13s 4.5d 1 set bowls, £0 2s 6d 12 nogging cups and saucers, £0 4s 6d 6 billed dishes, £0 4s 8d 1 jug and basin, £0 3s 6d chinaware total, £3 6s 11.5d deals: 13 double, part of them for the castle and the rest to repair the great house, £1 12s 6d 10 single, £0 16s 8d 2 spars for chains and a bar to the crane, £0 4s 4d deals total, £2 13s 6d soap, 66 lb, £1 17s 1.5d carried over, £13 12s 4.5d **Interpretations** This stretch of the charges general is a room-by-room record of keeping the Company's buildings weathertight and furnished, and the glazier's ware entries are unusually precise about where each pane went. The quarries of window glass, small diamond or square panes cut to size, were drawn in three sorts for three buildings, the largest parcel for the castle windows and the great house where the Governor and adjutants lived, a smaller lot for the officers' guardroom and the secretary's office, and a dozen of finer crown glass for the newly seated Lieutenant Governor's house. The reference records David Hunter taking the long-empty Lieutenant Governor's seat on 30 May 1748, and this glazing of his house is the fabric being made ready for him. The nails, drawn in small parcels each tied to its work, catch the ordinary business of upkeep in the same fine detail: a few pounds for the water pipes to the late Lieutenant Barton's, a few for the armourer's bench, a few for repairs to the castle. That Barton's water pipes still drew Company nails weeks after his death of 9 May 1748 shows the fabric of his tenanted ground kept up while his estate was wound up, the board maintaining the property it now administered. The chinaware here is not sold but drawn for the Company's own tables, the best-glazed soup dishes, meat dishes and plates for the general table where the Governor, council and shipping were entertained, the reference's account of the castle's common table matched by the crockery it required. The deals for the castle and great house, and the two spars for the chains and bar of the crane, are the timber of the same maintenance, the crane being the landing gear at the wharf that hoisted goods from the boats through the surf, its constant repair a standing charge on a store that reached the island only across a dangerous beach.
306	317	July Brought Over £ 13 12 4½ Cordage ¼ for the Church 4	The charges general closed the goods drawn for the Company's own use, and the fortification account then set out the stores spent on the works. brought over, £13 12s 4.5d

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		Mops 2 for the Castle Turneryware Vizt 1 Wood Seeive 6 3½ 1 Birch Broom for the Bake House 6 1 Cloth Brush 1 1 8 6½ Tinware 1 Lamp for the Bake House 1 6 Pumps 1 for the Well in the Lieut Govrs Yard 12 9 9 Starch ¾ for ye Linen 5 Rosin 3 for Tinning 6½ Lines 2 Damaged for the Castle 1 3 Iron ½ 2 for making Tools for the Stone Plaister 6 6 Coals 2 5 Bushels for the Smiths 5 Brandy 2½ Gallon for ye Black to raise ye frame for th 11 11 £ 28 17 7½ Fortification Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30 June 1748 Vizt Lines 4 Damaged for the Marine 7½ Deals 3 Single for a Magazine Door 6 Oyl 1 Gallon Linseed 3 5½ Paint Vizt ½ Venetian Red 1 1½ ¾ Whiting to paint ye Gun Carriages 1 ¼ 1 2½ Ironware Vizt 1 Pr H Hinges for a Magazine Door 8 4 1 File for the Lime Kiln 7 8 11 £ 19 2½	cordage, for the church, £0 0s 4d mops, 2 for the castle, £0 0s 4d turnery: 1 wooden sieve, £0 0s 5.5d 1 birch broom for the bakehouse, £0 0s 6d 1 cloth brush, £0 1s 1d turnery total, £0 8s 0.5d tinware, 1 lamp for the bakehouse, £0 1s 6d pumps, 1 for the well in the Lieutenant Governor's yard, £0 12s 9d starch, 0.5 lb for linen, £0 0s 5d rosin, 3 lb for tinning, £0 0s 6.5d lines, 2 damaged for the castle, £0 1s 3d iron, 52 lb for making tools for the stone blaster, £0 6s 6d coals, 2.5 bushels for the smith's, £0 1s 5d brandy, 2.5 gallons for black to raise the sponge staves, £0 11s 11d charges general total, £28 17s 7.5d fortification, debtor, for the following stores spent from 1 April to 30 June 1748: lines, 2 damaged for the mason, £0 0s 7.5d deals, 3 single for a magazine door, £0 0s 6d oil, 1 gallon linseed, £0 3s 5.5d paint: 0.5 lb Venetian red, £0 1s 6d 0.5 lb whiting, to paint the guns and carriages, £0 1s 4d paint total, £0 2s 10d ironware: 1 pair of H hinges for a magazine door, £0 8s 4d 1 saw for the limekiln, £0 0s 7d ironware total, £0 8s 11d fortification total, £0 19s 2.5d **Interpretations** The tail of the charges general shows the same close accounting of goods drawn to keep the establishment running, each tied to its use: cordage for the church, mops and a cloth brush for the castle, a birch broom and a lamp for the bakehouse, a pump for the well in the newly seated Lieutenant Governor's yard. The pump for Hunter's well, following the glazing of his house on the previous page, is another piece of the fabric being made ready for the Lieutenant Governor who took his seat on 30 May 1748, the board fitting out the long-empty office as its new holder arrived. Two entries reveal the workings of the island's own manufacture of tools and powder-gear. Fifty-two pounds of iron were drawn for making tools for the stone blaster, the man who blew and cleared the rock for the fortification works the reference tracks through these years, and two and a half gallons of brandy were issued to a slave to raise the sponge staves, the spirit most probably used to soften or work the wood of the gun sponges. The garrison forged and fitted much of its own equipment, the store supplying the raw iron and the smith's coal rather than finished tools. The opening of the fortification account under its own heading separates the works' stores from the general upkeep, and the small entries here catch the building of a new magazine that the reference records the board undertaking through 1748, the deals and the pair of H hinges drawn for a magazine door and the Venetian red and whiting for painting the guns and their carriages. The saw for the limekiln points to the burning of lime for mortar, the works always governed, as the reference notes again and again, by the scarce supply of lime that the island had to burn for itself.
307	318	1748 Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Issued for the Table from the 1 April to the 30 June 1748 Vizt Sugar & Candy Vizt	The diet expenses account set out the stores spent for the table, and the slaves' account then the stores spent for their use, both for the quarter ending 30 June 1748.

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		64 Sugar 12 6½ 47 Candy 12 8¼ 1 5 3¼ Arrack 40 Gallons 6 1 6 Oyl 10 Bottles florence 1 7 6 Pepper 6 3 Flour 9d 6 4 7 Beef & Pork Vizt 48 Beef 10 8 10 Pr Pork 18 4 1 9 Salt 3 Bushels 9 2½ Calavances 38 4 9 Vinegar 1 Gallon 1 ½ Rice 56 4 9 £ 18 6 7 Blacks Dr for the following Stores Issued for their Use from the 1 April to the 30 June Vizt Thread ¾ Coloured for Mending their Cloths 3 4 Brandy 11½ Gallons for Drams 2 8 9 Beef & Pork Vizt 4 Prs Beef 2 1 2 Prs Pork 3 8 6 3 Bread 104 14 9 Sea 1½ 10 8 Sugar 9 for the Sick Blacks 18 4½ Rice 3 for the Sick Blacks 3 4 2½ Carried Over £ 1 9 1½	diet expenses, debtor, for the following stores spent for the table from 1 April to 30 June 1748: sugar and candy: 64 lb sugar, £0 12s 6.5d 47 lb candy, £0 12s 8.5d sugar and candy total, £1 5s 3d arrack, 40 gallons, £0 6s 6d oil, 10 bottles Florence, £0 1s 6d pepper, 6 lb, £0 0s 3d flour, 9 lb, £0 6s 4.5d beef and pork: 48 lb beef, £0 10s 8d 104 lb pork, £0 18s 4d beef and pork total, £1 9s 0d salt, 3 bushels, £0 9s 2.5d calavances, 30 lb, £0 1s 9d vinegar, 1 gallon, £0 1s 7.5d rice, 50 lb, £0 4s 9d diet total, £18 6s 1d slaves, debtor, for the following stores spent for their use from 1 April to 30 June 1748: thread, 0.5 lb coloured for mending their clothes, £0 3s 4d brandy, 4.5 gallons for drams, £0 2s 8.5d beef and pork: 4 lb beef, £0 2s 7d 2 lb pork, £0 3s 8d beef and pork total, £0 6s 3d bread, 104 lb, £0 10s 8d tea, 1 lb, for the sick blacks, £0 1s 8.5d sugar, 9 lb, for the sick blacks, £0 3s 4.5d rice, [...] lb, for the sick blacks, [combined] carried over, £1 9s 1.5d **Interpretations** The diet expenses account is the record of what the Company spent to keep the general table above the ordinary rations, and its contents match the reference's picture of a drought-bound settlement leaning on imported and preserved food. Sugar, candy, arrack, Florence oil, pepper and salt beef and pork are the staples of a table that could no longer count on fresh meat, the salt provisions the reference records the board buying of the departing captains in April 1748 now drawn to feed the officers and their guests. The calavances, vinegar and rice are the eastern stores that filled out a diet the failing herds and gardens could not. The slaves' account, kept separately, is the plainest measure of how the Company provided for the people it owned, and its small charges are revealing. Beyond the bread, rice and salt meat of the ordinary allowance, the account carries thread for mending their clothes and brandy issued as drams, the customary dole of spirits the reference notes given the slaves in wet weather and at Christmas. The whole is a bare subsistence, the Company feeding and clothing its labour force at the lowest charge that would keep it working. The distinct sub-heading for the sick blacks, the tea, sugar and rice set apart for those in the hospital, shows the one point at which the slaves' diet rose above bare bread and rice. The reference records the standing provision of fresh meat and better food for the sick, both slave and soldier, and here the sick slaves drew tea and sugar their working fellows did not, a small extra kept for the hospital alone. That the account bothered to enter these few pounds separately marks the care taken to keep the labour force alive through sickness, the Company's own interest in its slaves' recovery written into the reckoning.
308	319	July Brought Over £ 1 9 1½ Hooks & Lines Vizt 12 Lines	The slaves' account closed the stores spent for their use, and the plantation account then set out the stores spent on the Company's grounds, both for the quarter ending 30 June 1748.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 6 300 Hooks of Grantham for Fishing 3 8 Dozen Hooks Sorted 1 4 6 10 Lead ¾ for Sinkers 1 2½ Shoes 6 Prs Mens Ordinary for the Windwaresmen 1 3 6 Deals Vizt 10 Single Deals 1 5 4 Spars for making the water Bar 8 8 1 13 8 Nails ¼ Do 1 3 Sailors Cloths Vizt 43 Mens Jackets & Trowsers 36 18 33 Boys Do & Breeches 13 9 11 236 Mens Shirts for Clothing 43 16 8 30 Boys Do 4 2 6 48 9 1 129 3 2½ Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th June Vizt Lines Vizt 1 Damaged Line 9½ 2 Lines Nr 1 for the Long Boat 3 1 ½ Cordage 5½ for Thatching 1 9½ Ironware Vizt 1 Stock Lock 4 11 2 Scyth Snies 3½ 3 Ragstones for Mowing 6 5 8½ Carried Over £ 16 6	brought over, £7 9s 7.5d hooks and lines: 12 lines, £0 2s 6d 300 Grantham hooks for fishing, £0 3s 0d 8 dozen hooks, sorted, £0 1s 4d hooks and lines total, £0 6s 10d lead, 2.5 lb for sinkers, £0 1s 2.5d shoes, 6 pairs men's ordinary for the handicraftsmen, £1 3s 6d deals: 10 single deals, £1 5s 0d 40 spars, for making the water pipes, £0 8s 8d deals total, £1 13s 8d nails, 4 lb ditto, £0 1s 3d sailors' clothes: 93 men's jackets and trousers, £36 18s 0d 33 boys' jackets and breeches, £13 9s 11d 236 men's shirts, £43 16s 8d 30 boys' shirts, £4 2s 6d sailors' clothes total, £118 9s 1d slaves' total, £129 3s 2.5d plantation, debtor, for the following stores spent from 1 April to 30 June 1748: lines: 1 damaged line, £0 0s 9.5d 2 lines number 1, for the Long Wood, £0 0s 5d lines total, £0 1s 2.5d cordage, 5.5 lb for thatching, £0 0s 9.5d ironware: 1 stock lock, £0 4s 11d 2 scythes, £0 0s 3.5d 3 ragstones, for mowing, £0 0s 6d ironware total, £0 5s 8.5d carried over, £0 16s 6d **Interpretations** The heaviest charge on the slaves' account by far is their clothing, better than one hundred and eighteen pounds for the jackets, trousers, breeches and shirts issued to the men and boys, dwarfing every other line of their provision. The reference records the annual slave clothing shipped from India and made up on the island, the deficient garments cut from kersey in the stores, and this quarter's account catches the great yearly issue, some ninety-three men's suits and better than two hundred shirts, the single largest thing the Company spent on its labour force. The term sailors' clothes for the coarse jackets and trousers marks them as the cheap ready-made slops of the sea trade, the plainest clothing the Company could buy. The hooks, lines and lead for sinkers drawn to the slaves' account are the tackle of the fishing establishment the reference describes, the eleven men kept constantly in the boats since the meat ration was replaced by fish in 1727. The store fitted out the Company's own fishery from the slaves' account because it was the slaves who worked the boats, and the Grantham hooks named here are the very stock the annual inventories record in their tens of thousands, the sea worked hard to feed a labour force the failing herds could not. The plantation account that follows is a bare record of maintaining the Company's grounds, the lines and cordage for the Long Wood and for thatching, the stock lock, scythes and ragstones for mowing. Ragstones were coarse whetstones for putting an edge on the scythes, and their entry beside the blades marks the ordinary business of cutting hay and grass on the plantation, the reference noting the nettles of the Long Wood mowed for the cattle when the drought left no grazing, the same shortage that drove so much of this quarter's accounting.
309	320	1748 Brought Over £ 16 6 Nails Vizt	The plantation account closed the stores spent on the Company's grounds, and the garrison account

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		¼ Nails 5½ 3 Do to Repairs 10½ 1 4 Oyl ¼ Sweet for Thatching 9½ Rice ¼ for the Long Boy 2 3½ Paint 25 Chalk for the Long Boat 1½ 1 1 7½ Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30 June Vizt Deals Vizt 11 Double Deals 1 9 6 11 Single Do for Coffins 18 4 2 Small Baulks for Repairs the Main Guard Bed 1 9 2 13 7 2 Soap for Lieutenant Bartons Coffin 6½ Nails Vizt 6 Do 2 4½ ¾ Do for Coffins 3½ 3 Do 9 3 4½ Oyl Vizt 56¾ Gallons Sweet Oyl for the Sword ye Guards 9 10½ 3¾ Gallons Sea Cows 2 9 1 Bottle florence for Cleaning Arms 10 ¼ Linseed 1 4 5½ Paint Vizt 1 Barrel Whiting for Lieut Bartons Coffin 7 ¾ Yellow Oaker 1 10½ 18 Whiting for Cleaning the Soldiers Bedis ¾ 14 Chalk for the Doctors Shop 4 13 1½ Carried Over £ 12 5 1½	then set out the stores spent for the garrison, both for the quarter ending 30 June 1748. brought over, £0 16s 6d nails: 0.5 lb nails, £0 0s 5.5d 3 lb ditto, to repairs, £0 0s 10.5d nails total, £0 1s 1.5d oil, 0.5 lb train for thatching, £0 0s 9.5d rice, 25 lb for the poultry, £0 2s 3.5d paint, 25 lb chalk for the Long Wood, £0 0s 1.5d plantation total, £1 1s 8d garrison, debtor, for the following stores spent from 1 April to 30 June 1748: deals: 11 double deals, £1 9s 6d 11 single deals, for coffins, £0 18s 1d 2 small baulks for repairing the main guard bed, £0 1s 9d deals total, £2 13s 7d soap, 6 lb for the late Lieutenant Barton's coffin, £0 0s 6.5d nails: 6 lb nails, £0 2s 4.5d 3 lb ditto, for coffins, £0 0s 3.5d 3 lb ditto, £0 0s 1d nails total, £0 3s 1.5d oil: 56.5 lb train oil, £0 10s 7.5d 3.5 gallons olive oil, for the sword guards, £0 2s 9d 1 bottle Florence, £0 0s 10d 0.5 lb linseed, for cleaning arms, [combined] oil total, £0 14s 5.5d paint: 1 barrel blacking for the late Lieutenant Barton's coffin, £0 0s 1d 0.5 lb yellow ochre, £0 1s 10.5d 0.5 lb whiting, for cleaning the soldiers' bottles, £0 0s 5.5d 14 lb chalk for the doctor's shop, £0 0s 5d paint total, £0 4s 13.5d carried over, £12 5s 1.5d **Interpretations** The garrison account carries the stores spent on the soldiers themselves, and its recurring line through the quarter is coffins. Single deals, nails, soap and blacking were drawn again and again to make and finish the coffins of the dead, the reference recording a run of deaths through 1748, and the entries for the late Lieutenant Barton's coffin, the soap and the barrel of blacking to black it, tie the account directly to the officer whose estate the board had just wound up. That a lieutenant's coffin was blacked where a common soldier's plain deal was not marks the small distinction of rank the garrison kept even in burial. The oil entries open a window on the standing order to keep the garrison's arms ready. Train oil, olive oil for the sword guards and linseed for cleaning the arms were drawn in quantity, the reference noting the train, linseed and Florence oil charged for cleaning the muskets against the standing order that every gun be kept fit for service. The olive oil set apart for the sword guards was to keep the hilts and blades from rusting in the damp, the whole a routine of maintenance that consumed the store's oil month after month whether or not a shot was ever fired. The small charges at the foot reach into the corners of garrison life, the yellow ochre and whiting for the soldiers' clothing and bottles and the chalk for the doctor's shop, the last drawn for the hospital's dispensing. Whiting and chalk were cheap whitening and cleaning agents, and their issue to the doctor's shop and for scouring the men's bottles shows the plainest housekeeping of the garrison entered in the same careful account as its arms and its dead, every pennyworth of store tied to the use it served.

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310	321	July Brought Over £ 12 5 1½ Iron Plates for Sandy Bay Guard 6 ¾ Rosin 10 for the Doctors Shop 1 ½ Twine 1 Chain ¼ Thread ¾ Coloured for making Cartridges 3 4 Bread 10 1 7 Callavances 77 Given to the Recruits 1 4 Beef & Pork Vizt of ye Godolphin in Consequence 3 Prs Beef upon their Landing 8 9 12 Prs Pork 1 2 1 10 9 Tea 69 for the Several Guards 2 6 9 The following Clothing Delivered the Military Vizt Broad Cloth 55 Yards 12 13 9½ Shalloon 70 Yards 6 18 6½ Buckram Vizt for the Officers 80 Yr Buckram Cloths 1 3 9 10 Prs Stair Cloths 10 6 1 14 3 Garlex 15 Yards 1 2 6 Haberdasheryware Vizt 30 Chains Silk to the 1 10 50 Chains Mohair Officers 16 8 31¼ Dozn White Metle Coat buttons Cloths 16 6 10 Dozn Do breast Do 2 6 8 Dozn Gilt Breast Do 4 3 6 Thread 3 Coloured for Do 10 Hats Vizt 10 Officers Hats 15 13 4 20 Serjeants Do 11 14 1 244 Centinels Do 34 61 1 5 Soldiers Cloths Vizt 200 Centinels Coats 171 Prs Do Breeches 289 3 12 Serjeants Coats & Breeches 62 14 12 Corporals Coats & Do 18 10 8 Gunners Mates Do & Do 23 14 8 8 Quarter Gunners Do & Do 18 9 4 Carried Over £ 112 8 3 134 8 8	The garrison account continued, carrying forward the stores spent for the garrison and then the clothing delivered to the military. brought over, £12 5s 1.5d iron pots, for the Sandy Bay guard, £0 0s 6.5d rosin, 10 lb for the doctor's shop, £0 0s 1.5d twine, 1 chain, £0 0s 1.5d thread, 0.5 lb coloured, for making cartridges, £0 3s 1d bread, 10 lb, £0 1s 7d calavances, 77 lb, given to the recruits of the Godolphin as refreshment upon their landing, £0 1s 1d beef and pork, given to the recruits of the Godolphin as refreshment upon their landing: 34 lb beef, £0 8s 9d 124 lb pork, £1 2s 0d beef and pork total, £1 10s 9d tea, 6 lb for the several guards, £0 2s 6d the following clothing delivered to the military: broadcloth, 55 yards, £12 13s 9.5d shalloon, 70 yards, £6 18s 6.5d buckram, for the officers' clothes: 80 yards buckram, £1 3s 9d 10 yards stay cloths, £0 10s 6d buckram total, £1 14s 3d garlic, 15 yards, £1 2s 6d haberdashery, for the officers' clothes: 30 ounces silk, £1 0s 10d 50 ounces mohair, £0 16s 8d 31.5 dozen white metal coat buttons, £0 16s 6d 10 dozen ditto breast buttons, £0 2s 6d 8 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 4s 0d haberdashery total, £3 0s 6d thread, 3 lb coloured, for ditto, £0 10s 0d hats: 10 officers' hats, £15 13s 4d 20 sergeants' hats, £11 14s 1d 244 sentinels' hats, £34 0s 0d hats total, £61 1s 5d soldiers' clothes: 200 sentinels' coats, £289 0s 3d 171 ditto breeches, [combined] 12 sergeants' coats and breeches, £62 14s 0d 12 corporals' coats and breeches, £18 10s 0d 8 gunners' mates' coats and breeches, £23 14s 8d 8 quarter gunners' coats and breeches, £18 9s 4d soldiers' clothes carried over, £412 8s 3.5d carried over, £134 8s 8d **Interpretations** The garrison account turns from small stores to the great annual clothing of the whole military establishment, and the figures dwarf everything else in the quarter: better than four hundred pounds for the sentinels' coats and breeches alone, and above sixty for the hats. The reference records the clothing of the garrison shipped from England and made up on the island, the established soldiers' saved coats bought back to clothe new recruits so the fresh clothing might be kept, and this quarter catches the yearly issue of two hundred sentinels' coats and the graded clothing of every rank from sergeant down to quarter gunner. The whole military body was dressed at once out of the store's cloth. The materials and the finished garments run through the same account, showing how the clothing was made. The broadcloth, shalloon for linings, buckram for stiffening, and the silk, mohair and metal buttons for the officers' coats are the stuff and trimmings, while the coats, breeches and hats are the made-up clothing, so that the store supplied both the raw cloth for the officers, who had their coats made to their own order, and the ready garments for the men, cut to a common pattern by the score. The distinction of white metal buttons for the coats and

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			gilt for the breast marks the small finery even a common soldier's coat carried. The provisions given to the recruits of the *Godolphin* as refreshment on their landing are a humane note in a dry account. The reference records the *Godolphin* arriving on 30 May 1748 with Captain Hunter's commission and completing the companies, and here the store drew calavances, bread and salt meat to feed the new soldiers as they came ashore, a small welcome of fresh victuals for men off a long voyage before they were entered on the garrison's standing ration.
311	322	1748 Brought Over £ 134 8 8 20 Mates for Coats & Breeches Brought Over £ 112 8 3 4 Drummers Coats & Do 12 8 1 1 Marshals Coat & Do 13 17 8 1 11 5 170 8 Shirts Vizt 20 Serjeants Shirts 6 12 6 245 Centinels Do 56 11 6 63 3 6½ Shoes 2 63 Prs 30 15 10 Stockings 2 63 Prs 52 3 11½ £ 750 19 7½ Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30 June Vizt Sugar 7½ 17 7½ Flour 87 6 9½ Rice 113 10 9¼ Oyl 3½ Gallons 10 4 Salt ½ Bushel 1 6½ Beef 24 5 2 £ 2 12 ½ Boats Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30 June Vizt Pitch Vizt ¾ Pitch 15 9 10 Gallons Tar for Repairs to the Long Boats 1 5 1 3 2 Oyl ¾ Gallon Sweet 10 9½ Deals 1 Double 2 6 Twine 1 Chain for Mend the Long Boats Sails ¼ Cordage ½ for the Long Boat & Yawl 2 ¼ £ 2 4 St Helena June the 30 1748 Errors Excepted Pr Barling Storekeeper	The garrison account closed the clothing delivered to the military, and the hospital and boats accounts then set out their stores, all for the quarter ending 30 June 1748. brought over, £134 8s 8d soldiers' clothes brought over, £412 8s 3d 20 matrosses' coats and breeches, £12 8s 1d 4 drummers' coats and breeches, £13 17s 8d 1 marshal's coat and breeches, £1 11s 5d soldiers' clothes total, £170 0s 8d shirts: 20 sergeants' shirts, £6 12s 6d 245 sentinels' shirts, £56 11s 8d shirts total, £63 3s 6.5d shoes, 263 pairs, £30 15s 10d stockings, 263 pairs, £32 3s 11.5d garrison total, £750 19s 7.5d hospital, debtor, for the following stores spent from 1 April to 30 June 1748: sugar, 12 lb, £0 17s 1.5d flour, 17 lb, £0 6s 9.5d rice, 113 lb, £0 10s 9.5d oil, 3.5 gallons, £0 10s 1d salt, 0.5 bushel, £0 1s 6.5d beef, 24 lb, £0 5s 2d hospital total, £2 12s 1.5d boats, debtor, for the following stores spent from 1 April to 30 June 1748: pitch: 110 lb pitch, £0 15s 9d 10 gallons tar, for repairs to the longboat, £0 7s 5d pitch total, £1 3s 2d oil, 0.5 gallon train, £0 2s 6d deals, 1 double, £0 0s 1.5d twine, 1 chain, for mending the longboat sails, £0 0s 1.5d cordage, for the longboat and yawl, £0 2s 0d boats total, £2 0s 4d The account was signed at St Helena on 30 June 1748, errors excepted, by Purling the storekeeper. **Interpretations** The whole storekeeper's collection closes at £750 19s 7.5d for the garrison alone, the greater part of it the annual clothing of the military, and read against the run in the reference this is the yearly peak of the establishment's charge, every soldier from matross to sergeant newly coated, shirted, shod and stockinged in a single quarter. The 263 pairs of shoes and stockings match man for man the garrison the pay rolls carry, the whole body of sentinels and their officers clothed at once, the reference's account of the imported clothing made up on the island borne out in the finished issue. The hospital account, small and plain, shows the extra diet the sick drew above the ordinary ration, sugar, flour, rice, oil, salt and a little fresh beef, the same better food the reference records set apart for the sick of the garrison and the slaves. That the hospital's whole quarter came to barely fifty shillings marks how modest the establishment's medical provision was, a few pounds of better food to carry

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			the sick through their illness beyond the standing broth and physic. The boats account closes the collection with the stores that kept the longboat and yawl at sea, the pitch, tar, oil, twine and cordage for their hulls and sails. The reference shows the fishery and the boats worked hard through 1748 to help feed a settlement the failing herds could not, and this quarter's charges for repairing the longboat and mending its sails are the plain cost of keeping that lifeline in service, the boats that landed every cargo through the surf and worked the sea for fish maintained out of the same careful account, signed off by the storekeeper Purling with the usual reservation against error.
312	323	July List of the Honble Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their Several Salaries Diet Mony &c for the Quarter Commencing April the 1 and ending the 30 June 1748 Vizt Charles Hutchinson Esq Governeur Salary £ 123 Do allowance for Servants as usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 David Hunter Lieut Govr Salary @ £130 £ Ann from the 31 May inclusive the Day he arrived 21 1 7½ Do Diet Mony @ £50 £ Ann from Do 8 9 10½ 29 11 6 John Clark of Council @ £60 £ Ann from the 31 May incl the Day of ye Ship Godolphins Arrival 5 1 11 Schulgordann Accompt Salary 17 10 Do Diet Mony 15 32 10 Matthew Barling Storekeepr Salary 17 10 Do Diet Mony 15 32 10 William Loveday Chaplain Salary 25 Do Diet Mony @ £60 £ Ann from the 31 May Incl the day of the Ship Godolphins Arrival 5 1 11 30 1 11 Fran Wrangham Factor Salary 7 10 Do Diet Mony 10 Do House Rent 2 10 20 James Powell Factor Salary 7 10 Do Diet Mony 10 Do House Rent from the 1 June inclusive 16 5½ 15 6 5½ Joseph Darvall Factor Salary 7 10 Do Diet Mony 10 Do Assistant Storekeeper 5 22 10 Thomas French Writer to the 30th May salary 3 5 9 Do Factor from the 31 May incl Salary 2 10 4½	The list of the honourable Company's officers and servants upon the island of St Helena, with their several salaries, diet money and the like, for the quarter beginning 1 April and ending 30 June 1748, ran as follows. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary, £123 0s 0d ditto, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d Hutchinson combined, £156 14s 9d David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, salary at £130 per annum from 31 May inclusive, the day he arrived, £21 1s 7.5d ditto, diet money at £110 per annum from ditto, £8 9s 10.5d Hunter combined, £29 11s 6d John Clark of council at £60 per annum from 31 May inclusive, the day of the ship Godolphin's arrival, £5 1s 11d schuldjongen, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d ditto, diet money, £15 0s 0d schuldjongen combined, £32 10s 0d Matthew Purling, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d ditto, diet money, £15 0s 0d Purling combined, £32 10s 0d William Loveday, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d ditto, diet money at £60 per annum from 31 May inclusive, the day of the ship Godolphin's arrival, £5 1s 11d Loveday combined, £30 1s 11d Francis Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d ditto, diet money, £10 0s 0d ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d Wrangham combined, £20 0s 0d James Powell, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d ditto, diet money, £10 0s 0d ditto, house rent from 1 June inclusive, £0 16s 5.5d Powell combined, £18 6s 5.5d Joseph Darvall, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d ditto, diet money, £10 0s 0d ditto, assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Darvall combined, £22 10s 0d Thomas French, writer, to 30 May, salary, £3 5s 9d ditto, factor from 31 May inclusive, salary, £2 10s 4.5d ditto, diet money, £10 0s 0d French combined, £15 16s 8.5d Matthew Bazett, writer, from 1 June inclusive, salary, £1 6s 3.5d ditto, diet money from ditto, £2 12s 1d Bazett combined, £3 18s 10.5d carried over, £367 5s 1.5d **Interpretations** The quarterly pay list opens the civil establishment, and read against the run in the reference it catches the board freshly reconstituted around the two officers who had lately arrived. David Hunter drew his Lieutenant Governor's salary and diet money only from 31 May 1748, the day he landed with the Court's commission, and John Clark his

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		Do Diet Mony 10 15 16 8½ Matthew Bazell Writer from the 1 June inclusive Salary 1 6 3½ Do Diet Mony from Do 2 12 1 3 18 10½ Carried Over £ 367 5 1½	council pay from the same date, the reference recording the *Godolphin*'s arrival on 30 May and Hunter taking the long-empty seat, so that the pay is split to the day of the change and the two men paid broken sums for the part-quarter they had served. The salaries reveal the modest scale of even the highest island offices. The Governor's £123 for the quarter and his servants' allowance stand well above the rest, but the factors Wrangham, Powell and Darvall drew only £7 10s in salary apiece, their income made up chiefly by diet money and house rent, and the writers less still. Diet money, paid in place of a seat at the general table, and house rent were the real substance of a factor's pay, the bare salary a small part of what the office was worth, so that the reference's account of who ate at the castle table and who was allowed money instead maps directly onto these entries. The account tracks the men's movement between grades to the day. Thomas French was paid as a writer to 30 May and as a factor from 31 May, stepping up as the establishment was reshuffled around Hunter's arrival, and Matthew Bazett entered as a writer only from 1 June, his pay a broken part-quarter. The entry for the accountant is written in a hand that renders the office by a foreign term rather than the man's name, most probably a slip or a borrowed word standing in the place where John Goodwin the accountant's name and pay would fall, the salary and diet money themselves entered plainly at the standing rate.
313	324	1748 Brought Over £ 367 5 1½ Samuel Falconer Surgeon Salary Do House Rent 9 15 2 10 12 5 Richard Gurling John Swartz overseers 15 15 Richard Bealer School Master Salary 7 10 Do as Clerk 3 8 3 22 10 John Bland Master Mason Salary 8 8 3 Do Diet Mony 17 10 10 Do House Rent 1 10 29 Mark Hawkins Mason Salary 12 10 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 1 20 6 10½ William Hayes Master of Arms 6 5 Nicholas Cleather Steward 7 10 William Dowse Gardener 9 11 3 Robert Macock Cooper 8 15 Henry Wyer Carpenter 12 10 William Davis Patron of the Long Boat 7 10 Robert Wright Horsekeeper	The pay list continued, carrying forward the salaries of the officers and servants and then opening the first company. brought over, £367 5s 1.5d Samuel Falconer, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d Falconer combined, £12 5s 0d Richard Gurling and John Twaits, overseers, £15 0s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, salary, £7 10s 0d ditto, as clerk, £3 8s 3d Beale combined, £22 10s 0d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d ditto, diet money, £10 0s 0d ditto, house rent, £1 10s 0d Bland combined, £8 8s 3d Mark Hawkins, mason, salary, £12 10s 0d ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d ditto, house rent, £1 0s 0d Hawkins combined, £20 6s 10.5d William Hayes, master of arms, £0 5s 0d Nicholas Cleather, steward, £7 10s 0d William Dowse, gardener, £9 11s 3d Robert Meacock, cooper, £8 13s 0d Henry Moyce, carpenter, £12 10s 0d William Dowse, patron of the longboat, £7 10s 0d Robert Wright, horse keeper, £2 0s 0d Thomas Willingham, marshal, £4 7s 9d first section total, £518 4s 2.75d first company: John Clark, first lieutenant, salary, £10 0s 0d ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d ditto, on account of instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d Clark combined, £24 6s 10.5d John Dunbar, second lieutenant, salary, £7 10s 0d ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Dunbar combined, £14 6s 10.5d William Hayes, adjutant, salary, £10 0s 0d ditto, diet money, £7 1s 3d Hayes combined, £17 1s 3d sergeants: Henry Beale, £6 14s 6d

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		2 Thomas Willingham Marshall 1 7 4 518 4 2¼ First Company John Clark 1 Lieut Salary 10 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ Do on Account of Instructing the Gunners 7 10 24 6 10½ John Dunbar 2 Lieutenant Salary 7 10 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ 14 6 10½ William Hayes Adjutant Salary 10 Do Diet Mony 7 1 3 17 1 3 Serjeants Henry Beale 6 14 6 Bartholomew Molloy 6 14 6 Solomon Jacobs 6 14 6 20 3 6 Carried Over £ 594 2 8¾	Bartholomew Molloy, £6 14s 6d Solomon Jacobs, £6 14s 6d sergeants total, £20 3s 6d carried over, £594 2s 8.75d **Interpretations** The civil establishment closes with the tradesmen and household officers who kept the settlement running, and their pay shows the range of skilled hands the Company maintained on the island. The master mason Bland and his mason Hawkins, the carpenter Moyce and the cooper Meacock drew the higher wages of the building and cask trades, on which the fortifications and the store depended, while the gardener, steward, horse keeper and marshal were paid less for the ordinary offices of the castle and estate. That the master mason drew diet money and house rent above his salary, the same additions the reference records granted to Bland and Hawkins backdated to 1745, marks these skilled men as valued enough to be housed and fed at the Company's charge. The first company opens the military list, and its first lieutenant John Clark drew an extra allowance for instructing the gunners, a charge that shows the artillery training folded onto a foot officer's duties. The reference records Clark carrying the government and the court almost alone through the spring after Wright's death, and here his pay reflects the several offices he held at once, council member, company lieutenant and instructor of the gunners, the thin establishment loading its few able men with more than one place. The presence of Bartholomew Molloy among the three sergeants of the first company is worth noting against the reference, which records him paid three shillings a day for cutting stone at the Sandy Bay battery through the fortification works of 1747. A man employed as a quarryman and stone-cutter on the works now stands as a sergeant on the standing establishment, the same names moving between the labour of the fortifications and the ranks of the garrison as the island made what use it could of its small body of men.
314	325	July Brought Over £ 594 2 8¾ Corporals Daniel Langhton 4 7 9 James Richardson 4 7 9 William Bull 4 7 9 13 3 3 John Swindall Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels Edward Allis 3 8 3 John Bray 3 8 3 John Broosd 3 8 3 George Bennett 3 8 3 Joseph Brooks 3 8 3 Ambrose Bland 3 8 3 Augusten Balls 3 8 3 Tho Brown 3 8 3 William Bruff 3 8 3 Jn Buchelle Recruit, from ye 1 June incl	The pay list continued with the corporals and drummer of the first company and then the sentinels. brought over, £594 2s 8.75d corporals: Daniel Laughton, £4 7s 9d James Richardson, £4 7s 9d William Bull, £4 7s 9d corporals total, £13 3s 3d John Swindall, drummer, £4 7s 9d sentinels: Edward Allis, £3 8s 3d John Bray, £3 8s 3d John Brookson, £3 8s 3d George Bennett, £3 8s 3d Joseph Brooke, £3 8s 3d Ambrose Bland, £3 8s 3d Augustin Balls, £3 8s 3d Thomas Brown, £3 8s 3d William Bruff, £3 8s 3d John Buchell, recruit, from 1 to 30 June inclusive, £0 18s 8.5d John Clay, £3 8s 3d William Campbell, £3 8s 3d Matthew Campbell, £3 8s 3d James Cartwright, £3 8s 3d William Carter, to 15 June inclusive, the day he died, £2 10s 10.5d William Davis, £3 8s 3d John Davis, £3 8s 3d William Enger, £3 8s 3d Edward Gill, £3 8s 3d George Green, £3 8s 3d

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		18 8¼ John Clay 3 8 3 Willm Campbell 3 8 3 Matthew Campbell 3 8 3 James Cartwright 3 8 3 Wm Carter to ye 7th June incl the Day he Died 2 10 10¼ Wm Davis 3 8 3 John Davis 3 8 3 Wm Engar 3 8 3 Edwd Gill 3 8 3 George Green 3 8 3 Tho Greenaway 3 8 3 Daniel Hanchard to the 17th May incl the Day he was Discharged 1 15 1¾ Jn Hodges Recruit from ye 25 June incl 4 5¼ Tho Halls 3 8 3 Humphry Harresson 3 8 3 Centinels Carried Over £ 76 2 5 Carried Over £ 611 13 8¾	Thomas Greenaway, £3 8s 3d Daniel Blanchard, to 17 June, the day he was discharged, £1 15s 1.5d John Hodges, recruit, from 25 June inclusive, £0 4s 5.5d Thomas Balls, £3 8s 3d Humphry Harrisson, £3 8s 3d sentinels carried over, £76 2s 5d carried over, £611 13s 8.5d **Interpretations** The muster of the first company runs down through corporals, drummer and sentinels, and the great body of the men stand at the flat rate of £3 8s 3d for the quarter, the standing sentinel's pay the reference records unchanged through years of these accounts. This uniform figure, repeated line after line, is the plainest measure of the garrison's foundation: a mass of private soldiers all paid alike, the account varying only where a man entered, died, was discharged or transferred part way through the three months and drew a broken sum reckoned to the day. Those broken entries are the account's record of the quarter's comings and goings among the rank and file. William Carter was paid to 15 June, the day he died, matching the drowning of a soldier of that name the board entered at the consultation of 21 June, and Daniel Blanchard to 17 June, the day of his discharge, while the recruits John Buchell and John Hodges were paid only from the days in June they joined. Each part-payment ties a man's fate to a date, the pay list serving as a second register of the deaths, discharges and enlistments the consultations noted, reckoned here to the penny. The recruits entered mid-quarter are most probably the men landed from the *Godolphin* to complete the companies, the reference recording eleven soldiers put ashore from her and the store drawing provisions to refresh them on landing. Their broken pay from the days they were entered shows the fresh drafts folded into the standing establishment as they arrived, the garrison kept up to strength man by man as death and discharge thinned it, the whole reckoning balanced to the exact day each soldier began or ceased to serve.
315	326	1748 Brought Over £ 611 13 8¾ Centinels Brought Over £ 76 2 5 George Harper 3 8 3 Patrick Hamilton 3 8 3 James Kendry 3 8 3 Major Jackson 3 8 3 Woolston Jones 3 8 3 James Lee 3 8 3 Wm Lambon 3 8 3 Joseph Long 3 8 3 Alexandr Lewden 3 8 3 John Marsh 3 8 3 Tho Mason 3 8 3 John Merrill 3 8 3 James Mills 3 8 3 Saml Owens, to ye 1 May incl the Day he Died 1 16 7½	The pay list continued with the remaining sentinels of the first company and then opened the second company. brought over, £611 13s 8.5d sentinels brought over, £76 2s 5d George Harper, £3 8s 3d Patrick Hamilton, £3 8s 3d James Kendry, £3 8s 3d Major Jackson, £3 8s 3d Woolston Jones, £3 8s 3d James Lee, £3 8s 3d William Lambon, £3 8s 3d Joseph Long, £3 8s 3d Alexander Lewden, £3 8s 3d John Marsh, £3 8s 3d Thomas Mason, £3 8s 3d John Merrill, £3 8s 3d James Mills, £3 8s 3d Samuel Owens, to 6 May inclusive, the day he died, £1 16s 7.5d Thomas Jarvis, £3 8s 3d James Renard, £3 8s 3d John Spencer, £3 8s 3d John Scotcher, £3 8s 3d John Shaw, £3 8s 3d John Searby, £3 8s 3d Solomon Saunders, £3 8s 3d Emanuel Steele, £3 8s 3d William Sarr, recruit, from 1 June inclusive, £0 18s 8.5d James Urquhart, £3 8s 3d

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		Tho Jarvis 3 8 3 James Renard 3 8 3 John Spencer 3 8 3 John Scotcher 3 8 3 John Shaw 3 8 3 John Searby 3 8 3 Solomon Saunders 3 8 3 Emanuel Steele 3 8 3 Wm Tarr Recruit from ye 1 June incl 18 8¼ Saml Urquhart 3 8 3 Peter Wells 3 8 3 Tho Wagg 3 8 3 Tho Walls 3 8 3 168 12 3 Wm Young Second Company Joseph Kendall 1 Lieut Salary 10 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 Sam Ashwick 2 Lieut Salary 6 16 10½ Do Diet Mony 33 13 9 Carried Over £ 813 19 8¾	Peter Wells, £3 8s 3d Thomas Wagg, £3 8s 3d Thomas Watts, £3 8s 3d William Young, £3 8s 3d sentinels total, £168 12s 3d second company: Joseph Kendall, first lieutenant, salary, £10 0s 0d ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d Kendall combined, £6 16s 0d Samuel Ashwick, second lieutenant, salary, [combined] ditto, diet money, £33 13s 9d carried over, £813 19s 8.5d **Interpretations** The rest of the first company's sentinels run at the same flat £3 8s 3d, and the single broken entry among them, Samuel Owens paid to 6 May, the day he died, marks another of the deaths that thinned the garrison through the spring of 1748 that the reference tracks. The recruit William Sarr, paid only from 1 June, is another of the fresh drafts entered mid-quarter to fill the gaps, the standing body of the company kept level as sickness and death carried men off and new hands were put ashore to replace them. The opening of the second company under its own officers shows the garrison's four foot companies each built to the same pattern, a first and second lieutenant with diet money and house rent, then sergeants, corporals, a drummer and a body of sentinels. The reference gives the establishment as four foot companies and an artillery company, and here the account works methodically through them in turn, each company a self-contained unit of officers and men paid at the same graded rates, so that the whole military body could be reckoned company by company to a single grand total. The presence of names among the sentinels that appear elsewhere in the record as more than common soldiers, Joseph Long and Major Jackson among them, marks how fluid the garrison's ranks were. Men who witnessed wills, informed against neighbours or held small offices stood in the same line of privates paid the flat rate, the island's small population meaning the same few families and individuals turned up in every part of the record, as tenants, witnesses, jurymen and soldiers by turns, the sentinel's £3 8s 3d the common floor beneath them all.
316	327	July Brought Over £ 813 19 8¾ Serjeants John French 6 14 6 Robert Mason 6 14 6 Gabriel Isacke 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals Daniel Bush 4 7 9 John Downs 4 7 9 Michael Frost 4 7 9 13 3 3 Thomas London Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels James Allis to ye 28 Apl incl ye Day he Died 1 11½ Joseph Andrews 3 8 3 George Ayres 3 8 3	The pay list continued with the sergeants, corporals, drummer and sentinels of the second company. brought over, £813 19s 8.5d sergeants: John French, £6 14s 6d Robert Mason, £6 14s 6d Gabriel Isacke, £6 14s 6d sergeants total, £20 3s 6d corporals: Daniel Bust, £4 7s 9d John Downs, £4 7s 9d Michael Frost, £4 7s 9d corporals total, £13 3s 3d Thomas London, drummer, £4 7s 9d sentinels: James Allis, to 28 April inclusive, the day he died, £1 0s 11.5d Joseph Andrews, £3 8s 3d George Ayres, £3 8s 3d Peter Barker, £3 8s 3d Andrew Barton, £3 8s 3d John Burck, £3 8s 3d Josiah Barks, £3 8s 3d Francis Berwick, £3 8s 3d John Brown, £3 8s 3d Richard Billington, £3 8s 3d

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		Peter Barker 3 8 3 Andrew Barton 3 8 3 John Burek 3 8 3 Josiah Barks 3 8 3 Frans Berwick 3 8 3 John Brown 3 8 3 Rich Bellington 3 8 3 Wm Brooks 3 8 3 John Chapman 3 8 3 Wm Dufflen 3 8 3 Jn Dayglass from ye 25th June incl being transferd from ye third Company the 24 Do 4 5¼ Robt Everidge 3 8 3 Jn Eaves Recruit from ye 25th June inclusive 4 5¼ Jn Fisher 3 8 3 Jn Fletcher 3 8 3 Peter Gynall 3 8 3 Jn Gould 3 8 3 Isaac Holmes 3 8 3 John Holloway 3 8 3 Centinels Carried Over £ 66 6 2½ Carried Over £ 851 19 2¾	William Brooks, £3 8s 3d John Chapman, £3 8s 3d William Dussten, £3 8s 3d John Douglass, from 25 June inclusive, being transferred from the third company the 24 ditto, £0 4s 5.5d Robert Everidge, £3 8s 3d John Eaves, recruit, from 25 June inclusive, £0 1s 5.5d John Fisher, £3 8s 3d John Fletcher, £3 8s 3d Peter Gunall, £3 8s 3d John Gould, £3 8s 3d Isaac Holmes, £3 8s 3d John Holloway, £3 8s 3d sentinels carried over, £66 6s 2.5d carried over, £851 19s 2.5d **Interpretations** The second company musters on the same plan as the first, its three sergeants at £6 14s 6d, three corporals and a drummer at £4 7s 9d, and a body of sentinels at the flat £3 8s 3d, the graded rates repeated company by company through the whole establishment. The drummer Thomas London bears a name that in the reference belongs to a slave carried off the island aboard a ship years earlier, a reminder of how the same few surnames recur across the record, though the man here is a paid soldier of the garrison. The broken entries again mark the quarter's losses and shifts. James Allis was paid to 28 April, the day he died, another of the spring deaths, and John Douglass was transferred from the third company to the second on 24 June, his pay in this company beginning the following day. Such transfers between the four companies, reckoned to the exact day, show the board moving men to keep each unit up to strength, the recruit John Eaves entered from 25 June filling out the numbers as the drafts from the *Godolphin* were distributed among the companies. The care with which each transfer and enlistment is dated to the day, John Douglass's move split between the two companies so that neither is charged for the same day twice, is the mark of an accounting system built to prevent any man being paid twice or any day going unaccounted. On a remote island where the whole establishment was reckoned to a single grand total sent home to the Court, the pay list had to close exactly, every soldier's service pinned to a date so that the sum could be proved against the muster and the men's own receipts.
317	328	1748 Brought Over £ 851 14 2¾ Centinels Brought Over £ 66 6 7½ John Hayes 3 8 3 James English 3 8 3 Saml Stetson 3 8 3 Wm Leaver 3 8 3 James Long 3 8 3 Joseph Loveit 3 8 3 Cha Sigente 3 8 3 Tho Mason 3 8 3 Rich Maybank 3 8 3 Rich Moyces 3 8 3 John Norton	The pay list continued with the remaining sentinels of the second company. brought over, £851 14s 2.5d sentinels brought over, £66 6s 7.5d John Hayes, £3 8s 3d James English, £3 8s 3d Samuel Stetson, £3 8s 3d William Leaver, £3 8s 3d James Long, £3 8s 3d Joseph Lovett, £3 8s 3d Charles Legente, £3 8s 3d Thomas Mason, £3 8s 3d Richard Maybank, £3 8s 3d Richard Moyce, £3 8s 3d John Norton, £3 8s 3d William Page, £3 8s 3d John Pope, £3 8s 3d Richard Smith, to 31 June inclusive, the day he was discharged, £3 1s 3.5d William Scott, £3 8s 3d Thomas Streeter, £3 8s 3d William Shelford, £3 8s 3d John Simmonds, £3 8s 3d Joseph Simpson, £3 8s 3d

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		3 8 3 Willm Page 3 8 3 John Pope 3 8 3 Rich Smith, to the 31 June incl the Day he was Discharged 3 1 3¾ Willm Scott 3 8 3 Tho Streeton 3 8 3 Wm Shelford 3 8 3 John Simmonds 3 8 3 Joseph Simpson 3 8 3 Robert Stacey 3 8 3 Edwd Sprowde 3 8 3 Saml Talbott 3 8 3 Benjn Thomas 3 8 3 Tho Taylor 3 8 3 Rich Thwaits 3 8 3 Wm Watkins Recruit from ye 1 June inclusive 18 8¼ Solomon Wain 3 8 3 Edwd Walker 3 8 3 Stephen Willoughby 3 8 3 Adam Watson 169 5 10¾ Carried Over £ 1021 5 1½	Robert Stacey, £3 8s 3d Edward Prowde, £3 8s 3d Samuel Talbot, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Thomas, £3 8s 3d Thomas Taylor, £3 8s 3d Richard Twaits, £3 8s 3d William Watkins, recruit, from 1 June inclusive, £0 18s 8.5d Solomon Wain, £3 8s 3d Edward Walker, £3 8s 3d Stephen Willoughby, £3 8s 3d Adam Watson, £0 0s 0d sentinels total, £169 5s 10.5d carried over, £1,021 5s 1.5d **Interpretations** The second company's sentinels close at the same flat £3 8s 3d, and the grand total now passing above a thousand pounds marks how the whole military establishment mounted up from these uniform lines. Among the names stands Charles Legente, whom the reference records sentenced at the court of 8 February 1748 to the pillory and fifty lashes on four court days for coining false rupees, here drawing his full sentinel's pay for the quarter, the garrison keeping even a punished man on its books and in its ranks where it could ill spare a soldier. The broken entries again fix the quarter's changes to the day. Richard Smith was paid to the last of June, the day he was discharged, matching the discharge of a soldier of that name the board entered earlier, and the recruit William Watkins was paid only from 1 June, another of the fresh hands entered mid-quarter. Solomon Wain, drawing his full pay here, is the soldier the reference records dying on 16 July, just after this quarter closed, so that his death falls into the next reckoning rather than this one. The last name, Adam Watson, entered with no sum against it, is most probably a man who had joined or was mustered but earned no pay in the quarter, his place held on the roll though nothing was yet due to him. Such a blank entry, carried on the list against a future charge, shows the account keeping every man in view even before his pay began, the establishment's full strength recorded whether or not each soldier had yet served a day for which the Company owed him money.
318	329	July Brought Over £ 1021 1½ Third Company Tho Easthope 1 Lieut Salary £ 10 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ Do house Rent 2 10 Onesphr Beale 2 Lieut Salary 7 10 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ 33 13 9 Serjeants Andrew Blenman 6 14 6 William Kendry 6 14 6 Matthias Brightwell 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals John Smith 4 7 9 Henry Barber 4 7 9 John Spencer 4 7 9 13 3 3	The pay list continued, opening the third company with its officers, sergeants, corporals, drummer and sentinels. brought over, £1,021 0s 1.5d third company: Thomas Easthope, first lieutenant, salary, £10 0s 0d ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d Easthope combined, £33 13s 9d Onesiphorus Beale, second lieutenant, salary, £7 10s 0d ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d sergeants: Andrew Blinman, £6 14s 6d William Kendry, £6 14s 6d Matthias Brightwell, £6 14s 6d sergeants total, £20 3s 6d corporals: John Smith, £4 7s 9d Henry Barber, £4 7s 9d John Spencer, £4 7s 9d corporals total, £13 3s 3d Benjamin Twaits, drummer, £4 7s 9d sentinels: William Adams, £3 8s 3d Matthew Allis, £3 8s 3d Bevan Ambrose, £3 8s 3d William Beckett, £3 8s 3d

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		Benjamin Swaite Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels Willm Adams 3 8 3 Matthw Allis 3 8 3 Bevan Ambrose 3 8 3 Wm Beckett 3 8 3 Wm Bonfield 3 8 3 Wm Brown 3 8 3 Josph Bastick 3 8 3 Jn Bradley Recruit from ye 6 June incl 18 8¼ Dixon Crafts Recruit from ye 6 June incl 18 8¼ Jn Dayglass transferd from ye Artillery Company 1 June to ye 24 Do both days incl being transferd to ye 2 Comp ye 25 Do 5 11¾ John Earle 3 8 3 Jn Toard to ye 28 Apl incl the Day he died 1 11¼ Tho Fuller 3 8 3 Centinels Carried Over £ 33 18 6¾ Carried Over £ 1092 8 4½	William Bonfield, £3 8s 3d William Brown, £3 8s 3d Joseph Bostick, £3 8s 3d John Bradley, recruit, from 1 June inclusive, £0 18s 8.5d Dixon Craft, recruit, from 1 June inclusive, £0 18s 8.5d John Douglass, transferred from the artillery company, 1 June to 24 ditto, both days inclusive, being transferred to the second company the 25 ditto, £0 5s 11.5d John Earle, £3 8s 3d John Soard, to 28 April inclusive, the day he died, £1 0s 10.5d Thomas Fuller, £3 8s 3d sentinels carried over, £33 18s 6.5d carried over, £1,092 8s 4.5d **Interpretations** The third company follows the same establishment as the first two, its officers drawing salary, diet money and house rent and its men the graded rates down to the flat sentinel's pay. The recruits John Bradley and Dixon Craft, each paid from 1 June, are further hands entered mid-quarter, and their appearance in the third company shows the fresh drafts spread across all the units rather than massed in one, the board distributing the new soldiers to keep every company near its full complement. John Douglass's entry is the fullest record of a single soldier's movement in the whole roll, and it explains the transfer noted in the second company two pages earlier. He was carried in the artillery company from 1 to 24 June, transferred to the second company on 25 June, and his broken pay entered here in the third company's account for the days he served in the artillery, the three-way split reckoned so that each unit bears only its own days and the man is paid once for the whole. The tangle shows how closely the account tracked a soldier moved twice within a single quarter. The death of John Soard, paid to 28 April, is another of the spring's losses entered against the standing sentinel's rate, joining James Allis of the second company who died the same day. The reference records a run of deaths through the sickly season of 1748, and the pay roll registers each one at the point a man's £3 8s 3d ceased, the account of the living establishment doubling as a record of its dead, every soldier's service closed to the exact day his pay stopped.
319	330	1748 Brought Over £ 1092 8 4½ Brought Over Centinels £ 33 18 6¾ Edwd Grant 3 8 3 Wm Hurlock 3 8 3 Peter Higgens to the 14 April incl being transferd to the 4 Company 10 6 Jona Fitchen Recruit from the 6 June inclusive 18 8¼ James Hindes 3 8 3 Wm Jones 3 8 3 Wm Jackson 3 8 3 Evan Jones 3 8 3 Tho Kendrick 3 8 3 Rich Knight 3 8 3 Tho Lawrence	The pay list continued with the remaining sentinels of the third company. brought over, £1,092 8s 1.5d sentinels brought over, £33 18s 6.5d Edward Grant, £3 8s 3d William Hurlock, £3 8s 3d Peter Higgens, to 14 April inclusive, being transferred to the fourth company, £0 10s 6d Jonathan Fitchen, recruit, from 1 June inclusive, £0 18s 8.5d James Hindes, £3 8s 3d William Jones, £3 8s 3d William Jackson, £3 8s 3d Evan Jones, £3 8s 3d Thomas Hendrick, £3 8s 3d Richard Knight, £3 8s 3d Thomas Lawrence, £3 8s 3d John Langbridy, £3 8s 3d Abraham Major, £3 8s 3d John Leech, £3 8s 3d Baron Deleffe, £3 8s 3d James Magun, £3 8s 3d John McKoy, £3 8s 3d Charles Montague, £3 8s 3d James McLeane, £3 8s 3d

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		3 8 3 John Langbridy 3 8 3 Abraham Major 3 8 3 John Leech 3 8 3 Baron Deloaf 3 8 3 Jamr Magun 3 8 3 Jn Mkoy 3 8 3 Cha Montague 3 8 3 Jamr Mc Leane 3 8 3 Cha Newcomb 3 8 3 Valentine Noble 3 8 3 Josph Newman 3 8 3 Tho Oliver 3 8 3 Tho Roger from ye 1 May incl ye Day he Inlisted 2 3 1¼ Tho Payne 3 8 3 George Peacock 3 8 3 Jamr Pewterer 3 8 3 Wm Pense 3 8 3 Jn Paswater 3 8 3 Abraham Ratloff 3 8 3 Wm Robinson 3 8 3 Frans Reed Centinels Carried Over 136 10 ¾ Carried Over £ 1092 8 4½	Charles Newcomb, £3 8s 3d Valentine Noble, £3 8s 3d Joseph Newman, £3 8s 3d Thomas Oliver, £3 8s 3d Thomas Rodger, from 4 May inclusive, the day he entered, £2 3s 1.5d Thomas Payne, £3 8s 3d George Peacock, £3 8s 3d James Pewterer, £3 8s 3d William Pendre, £3 8s 3d John Passwater, £3 8s 3d Abraham Ratliff, £3 8s 3d William Robinson, £3 8s 3d Francis Reed, £3 8s 3d sentinels carried over, £136 10s 1d carried over, £1,092 8s 4.5d **Interpretations** The third company's sentinels run on at the flat rate, and among them stands Baron Deleffe, a name the reference records as a leaseholder granted a lot at the upper end of James Valley in 1747, here serving as a common soldier of the garrison. His presence in the ranks marks again how the island's small population filled every station at once, a man who took a Company lease and appeared in the consultations as a tenant drawing the sentinel's £3 8s 3d like any other private. The broken entries continue to register the quarter's movements. Peter Higgens was paid in the third company to 14 April and transferred to the fourth, and Thomas Rodger was paid from 4 May, the day he entered, while the recruit Jonathan Fitchen was entered from 1 June. Each transfer and enlistment is fixed to its day so that no unit is charged twice and no man paid for time he did not serve, the same exact reckoning that governs the whole roll carried through soldier by soldier. The variety of the names on this page, English, Scots, Irish and Welsh alongside the plainly foreign Baron Deleffe, James Magun and James McLeane, marks the mixed origins of the garrison the Company shipped to the island. The soldiers were drawn from wherever men could be recruited for the Company's distant service, and the roll gathers them into a single body paid at one rate, the whole polyglot company reckoned to the same total as it stood guard over the Company's remote and half-starved settlement through the dry season of 1748.
320	331	July Brought over £ 1092 8 4½ Centinels Brought over £ 136 10 ¾ John Smith to the 16 June inclusive being transferd to the Artillery Company 2 17 7 David Scott 3 8 3 Robert Stack 3 8 3 Joseph Simpson 3 8 3 James Woodwise from the 15 April incl being transferd from the 4 Company 2 17 9½ Benjn Williams 3 8 3 Jn Wills 3 8 3 Jeremiah Weprill 3 8 3 Joseph Woodman 3 8 3 166 3 3¾ Fourth Company Tho Kirkpatrick 1 Lieut Salary 10	The pay list continued with the last sentinels of the third company and then opened the fourth company. brought over, £1,092 8s 4.5d sentinels brought over, £136 10s 1d John Smith, to 16 June inclusive, being transferred to the artillery company, £2 17s 7d David Scott, £3 8s 3d Robert Stack, £3 8s 3d Joseph Simpson, £3 8s 3d James Woodwise, from 15 April inclusive, being transferred from the fourth company, £2 17s 4.5d Benjamin Williams, £3 8s 3d John Wills, £3 8s 3d Jeremiah Wapprill, £3 8s 3d Joseph Woodman, £3 8s 3d sentinels total, £166 3s 3.5d fourth company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, salary, £10 0s 0d ditto, diet money, £6 6s 10.5d ditto, house rent from 1 June, £0 16s 5.5d Kirkpatrick combined, £17 13s 3.5d sergeants: Joseph Leighton, £6 14s 6d William Oakman, £6 14s 6d

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		Do Diet Mony 6 6 10½ Do House Rent from ye 1 June 16 5½ 17 13 3½ Serjeants Joseph Leighton 6 14 6 Wm Oakman 6 14 6 Davd Wilson to ye 6 Apl incl ye day he died 8 10 Wm Moore from ye 7 April inclusive 6 5 8 20 3 6 Corporals Wm Moore to the 6 Apl incl being made Serjeant the 7 Do 5 9½ Edwd Murphy 4 7 9 Peter Coakley 4 7 9 George Masters from ye 7th Apl incl 4 1 11½ 13 3 3 Joseph Alfin Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels Jamr Allen 3 8 3 Tho Borer 3 8 3 Centinels Carried Over £ 6 16 6 Carried Over £ 1313 19 8	David Wilson, to 6 April inclusive, the day he died, £0 8s 10d William Moore, from 7 April inclusive, £6 5s 8d sergeants total, £20 3s 6d corporals: William Moore, to 6 April inclusive, being made sergeant the 7 ditto, £0 5s 9.5d Edward Murphy, £4 7s 9d Peter Cashley, £4 7s 9d George Masters, from 7 April inclusive, £4 1s 11.5d Joseph Ulfen, drummer, £4 7s 9d corporals total, £13 3s 3d sentinels: James Allen, £3 8s 3d Thomas Borer, £3 8s 3d sentinels carried over, £6 16s 6d carried over, £1,313 19s 8d **Interpretations** The last of the third company's sentinels carry two transfers that mirror each other across the companies: John Smith moved to the artillery on 16 June and James Woodwise brought in from the fourth company on 15 April, each paid the broken sum for the days served in this company before or after the move. The reference records the master gunner John French's son raised to a lieutenancy and the artillery kept up as a distinct company, and Smith's transfer into it shows the gunners drawing trained hands from the foot companies as they were needed. The fourth company opens with a promotion caught in the act. David Wilson, one of its sergeants, was paid only to 6 April, the day he died, and William Moore stepped into the sergeant's place from 7 April, his own corporal's pay closing on the 6th and George Masters raised to corporal in Moore's room from the 7th. The reference records Wilson's will proved before the board, and here his death sets off a chain of promotion reckoned to the single day, the vacancy filled from below and each man's pay split at the moment his rank changed. David Wilson's death is worth marking against the reference, which carries his will made 5 April 1748 and proved before the board, leaving his wife Deborah a third and the rest to his daughter Irene. The pay roll fixes his death to 6 April, the day after he made the will, so that the sick sergeant set his affairs in order and died within a day, the two records together giving the exact shape of his last hours, the will drawn on the 5th and his pay stopped on the 6th.
321	332	1748 Brought Over £ 1313 19 8 Centinels Brought Over £ 6 16 6 John Barden 3 8 3 Isaac Bennett 3 8 3 Wm Barritt 3 8 3 Darby Coyler 3 8 3 Rich Coffee Recruit from ye 6 June incl 18 8¼ Phillip Catchpole 3 8 3 Edwd Cocker 3 8 3 Tho Draper 3 8 3 John Ellis 3 8 3 Saml Eales 3 8 3 George Eaton 3 8 3	The pay list continued with the sentinels of the fourth company. brought over, £1,313 19s 8d sentinels brought over, £6 16s 6d John Barden, £3 8s 3d Isaac Bennett, £3 8s 3d William Barritt, £3 8s 3d Darby Coyler, £3 8s 3d Richard Coffee, recruit, from 1 June inclusive, £0 18s 8.5d Phillip Catchpole, £3 8s 3d Edward Cocker, £3 8s 3d Thomas Draper, £3 8s 3d John Ellis, £3 8s 3d Samuel Eales, £3 8s 3d George Eaton, £3 8s 3d George French, recruit, from 1 June inclusive, £0 18s 8.5d James Green, recruit, from 1 June inclusive, £0 18s 8.5d John Gilbert, recruit, from 1 June inclusive, £0 18s 8.5d Jonathan Godbee, £3 8s 3d Francis Goodlady, £3 8s 3d William Harris, £3 8s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		George French Recruit from ye 6 June incl 18 8¼ James Green Recruit from the 6 June incl 18 8¼ John Gilbert Recruit from the 6 June incl 18 8¼ Jona Godbee 3 8 3 Fran Goodlady 3 8 3 Wm Harris 3 8 3 Saml Hall 3 8 3 John Haley 3 8 3 Job Harrison 3 8 3 Saml Heeles 3 8 3 Peter Higgens from ye 15 April incl being transferd from the 3 Company 2 17 9 James Kendrick 3 8 3 Wm Kendry 3 8 3 Wm Kent 3 8 3 John Lloyd 3 8 3 George Masters to the 6 April incl being made Corporal the 7 Do 4 5¼ Moses Menanto 3 8 3 Duncan McLarron 3 8 3 James Peple 3 8 3 Benjamin Beaven 2 19 1 Matthew Peter Incl from ye 15 Apl incl Centinels Carried Over £ 101 18 9¾ Carried Over £ 1313 19 8	Samuel Hall, £3 8s 3d John Haley, £3 8s 3d Job Harrison, £3 8s 3d Samuel Heeles, £3 8s 3d Peter Higgens, from 15 April inclusive, being transferred from the third company, £2 17s 9d James Hendrick, £3 8s 3d William Kendry, £3 8s 3d William Kent, £3 8s 3d John Lloyd, £3 8s 3d George Masters, to 6 April inclusive, being made corporal the 7 ditto, £0 4s 5.5d Moses Menanto, £3 8s 3d Duncan McLarron, £3 8s 3d James Peple, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Beaven, from 15 April inclusive, £2 19s 1d Matthew Peter, recruit, from 15 April inclusive, [combined] sentinels carried over, £101 18s 9.5d carried over, £1,313 19s 8d **Interpretations** The fourth company's sentinels carry the heaviest run of recruits on the whole roll, Richard Coffee, George French, James Green and John Gilbert all entered from 1 June, with Benjamin Beaven and Matthew Peter from 15 April. This concentration of new hands in one company matches the reference's account of the drafts landed from the *Godolphin* at the end of May 1748 to complete the companies, the fourth taking the largest share of the fresh soldiers to bring it up to its full strength. The transfers again knit the companies together to the day. Peter Higgens, paid in the third company to 14 April and here from 15 April, is the same move seen from the receiving side, and George Masters's promotion to corporal on 7 April closes his sentinel's pay in this company on the 6th, the same change entered among the corporals two pages back. The account records each man once and completely, his broken sums in the several ranks and companies adding to the whole he was owed, the whole system built so that the grand total could be proved against every individual line. The names Moses Menanto and Duncan McLarron among the sentinels mark again the mixed garrison the Company gathered for the island, and the plain fact that a company of some forty or fifty men needed six or more fresh recruits in a single quarter shows how fast the establishment wasted through death, discharge and transfer. The reference's run of soldiers' deaths through the sickly season of 1748 is answered here by the steady feeding-in of new hands, the garrison held at strength only by the constant arrival of drafts from the Company's ships.
322	333	July Brought Over £ 1313 19 8 Centinels Brought Over £ 101 18 9¾ Edward Richard 3 8 3 Tho Roberson 3 8 3 David Robinson 3 8 3 Robt Scarleff to ye 22 April incl the day he died 16 5¾ Arnold Saierle 3 8 3 Daniel Sargeant 3 8 3 Edwd Sparks to ye 12 Ap incl the Day he Died 8 11½ John Smith 3 8 3 Cha Stoakes	The pay list continued with the last sentinels of the fourth company and then opened the artillery company. brought over, £1,313 19s 8d sentinels brought over, £101 18s 9.5d Edward Richard, £3 8s 3d Thomas Roberson, £3 8s 3d David Robinson, £3 8s 3d Robert Scarlett, to 22 April inclusive, the day he died, £0 16s 5.5d Arnold Laforce, £3 8s 3d Daniel Sargeant, £3 8s 3d Edward Sparks, to 12 April inclusive, the day he died, £0 8s 11.5d John Smith, £3 8s 3d Charles Stokes, £3 8s 3d Timothy Sullivan, £3 8s 3d William Saylor, £3 8s 3d John Taylor, £3 8s 3d Edward Terry, £3 8s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 8 3 Timothy Sullivan 3 8 3 Wm Saylor 3 8 3 John Taylor 3 8 3 Edwd Terry 3 8 3 Peter Uxenbury to ye 1 May incl the day he Deserted 1 6 2 Tho Reynolds 3 8 3 James Vaughan 3 8 3 Benjn Williams 3 8 3 Jn Walker Senr 3 8 3 John Walker Junr 3 8 3 James Woodewise to the 14 Apl incl being transferd to the 3 Company 16 5½ Robert Wright 3 8 3 163 1 1 Artillery Company John French Master Gunner Salary 13 8 9 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 22 15 7½ Gunners Mates John Christofte 4 17 6 Isaac Leech 4 17 6 Ely Leech 4 17 6 Roger Nevanson 4 17 6 James Pritchard 4 17 6 Nathan Sample 4 17 6 Humpry Pugh 4 17 6 William Turner 4 17 6 39 Carried Over £ 1538 16 4½	Peter Uxenberg, to 5 May inclusive, the day he deserted, £1 6s 2d Thomas Reynolds, £3 8s 3d James Vaughan, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Williams, £3 8s 3d John Walker senior, £3 8s 3d John Walker junior, £3 8s 3d James Woodwise, to 14 April inclusive, being transferred to the third company, £0 16s 5.5d Robert Wright, £3 8s 3d sentinels total, £163 1s 1d artillery company: John French, master gunner, salary, £13 8s 9d ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d French combined, £22 15s 7.5d gunners' mates: John Christofle, £4 17s 6d Isaac Leech, £4 17s 6d Ely Leech, £4 17s 6d Roger Nevanson, £4 17s 6d James Pritchard, £4 17s 6d Nathan Sample, £4 17s 6d Humphry Hugh, £4 17s 6d William Turner, £4 17s 6d gunners' mates total, £39 0s 0d carried over, £1,538 16s 4.5d **Interpretations** The close of the fourth company carries the heaviest run of losses on the whole roll: two deaths, Robert Scarlett on 22 April and Edward Sparks on 12 April, and a desertion, Peter Uxenberg gone on 5 May, each pay stopped at its date. The reference records a sickly season carrying off soldiers through the spring of 1748, and the pay roll registers the toll company by company, the fourth alone losing three men in a quarter, its ranks the more in need of the recruits that filled the previous page. Peter Uxenberg's entry, paid to the day he deserted, marks the one kind of loss the account treated differently from death or discharge. A deserter forfeited his pay from the moment he fled, and the reference shows the board mustering every ship's company for runaways and giving up deserters between vessels, so that Uxenberg's flight is entered here not as a misfortune but as a stoppage, his service and his wage cut off together at the day he broke his engagement. The artillery company opens under John French the master gunner, whose combined salary, diet money and house rent set him well above the foot companies' lieutenants, and his gunners' mates drew £4 17s 6d, above the foot corporals' rate. The reference gives French as the head of the artillery and his son lately raised to a foot lieutenancy, and here the father's higher pay reflects the skilled charge of the great guns, the artillery kept as a distinct and better-paid company because the working of the ordnance needed trained men the ordinary garrison could not supply.
323	334	1748 Brought Over £ 1538 16 4½ Quarter Gunners John Astengstall 4 7 9 Edwd Arnold 4 7 9 Edwd Burford 4 7 9 Henry Carter 4 7 9 John Ruth 4 7 9 Adam Milburn 4 7 9	The pay list continued with the quarter gunners and matrosses of the artillery company. brought over, £1,538 16s 4.5d quarter gunners: John Artengstall, £4 7s 9d Edward Arnold, £4 7s 9d Edward Burford, £4 7s 9d Henry Carter, £4 7s 9d John Ruth, £4 7s 9d Adam Millward, £4 7s 9d John Nolledge, £4 7s 9d John Watkins, £4 7s 9d quarter gunners total, £35 2s 0d matrosses:

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		John Nollidge 4 7 9 John Watkins 4 7 9 35 2 Matrosses Wm Anger to ye 1 May incl ye day he deserted 10 10 Joseph Rowell 4 1 3 Wm Bateman 4 1 3 John Brown 4 1 3 Peter Bath 4 1 3 Edwd Cullimore 4 1 3 Sam Clark 4 1 3 Jn Cawdry 4 1 3 Anthony Day 4 1 3 John Dugglass Recruit from the 6 June to the 16 Do Inclusive being transferd to the 3 Company 9 7½ Phillip Stylland 4 1 3 Wm Renslow 4 1 3 Patrick Murphy 4 1 3 Richard Mason 4 1 3 Wm Ormes 4 1 3 Lawrence Peterson 4 1 3 John Smith Junr 4 1 3 John Smith Junr from the 17 June incl being transferd from the 3 Company 12 3½ Jn Ards Thomas 4 1 3 Robert Urchans 4 1 3 John Whitchurch 4 1 3 Wm Williman 4 1 3 79 19 10 Carried Over £ 1653 18 2¼ `	William Argos, to 8 May inclusive, the day he died, £0 12s 10d Joseph Powell, £4 1s 3d William Bateman, £4 1s 3d John Brown, £4 1s 3d Peter Bath, £4 1s 3d Edward Cullimore, £4 1s 3d Samuel Clark, £4 1s 3d John Caudry, £4 1s 3d Anthony Day, £4 1s 3d John Douglass, recruit, from 1 to 16 June inclusive, being transferred to the second company, £1 9s 7.5d Phillip Stylland, £4 1s 3d William Renelow, £4 1s 3d Patrick Murphy, £4 1s 3d Richard Mason, £4 1s 3d William Ormes, £4 1s 3d Lawrence Peterson, £4 1s 3d John Smith, from 17 June inclusive, being transferred from the third company, £1 2s 3.5d Judas Thomas, £4 1s 3d Robert Vicham, £4 1s 3d John Whitchurch, £4 1s 3d William Willman, £4 1s 3d matrosses total, £79 19s 10.5d carried over, £1,653 18s 2.5d **Interpretations** The artillery company completes the establishment with its quarter gunners at £4 7s 9d and its matrosses at £4 1s 3d, the matross being the lowest rank of the gun crews, the private soldier of the artillery who fetched and carried, sponged and loaded under the gunners and their mates. That the matross drew a little above the foot company's sentinel marks the extra worth the Company set on a man trained to the great guns, the whole artillery company paid a step higher than the foot throughout. The two transfers of John Douglass and John Smith close the tangle of movements the roll has tracked across every company. Douglass, seen entering the second company on 25 June and the third for his artillery days, is here in the artillery from 1 to 16 June, his three broken sums together making his whole quarter's pay, and John Smith, transferred out of the third company to the artillery on 17 June, is paid here from that day. The account has followed each man through every company he touched, no day charged twice and none left out, the system closing exactly across the whole military body. William Argos, paid to 8 May the day he died, is another of the spring's losses, the artillery company sharing in the mortality that thinned the foot. The reference records a run of deaths through 1748, and the pay roll, read across all five companies, amounts to a register of them, each soldier's £3 8s 3d or £4 1s 3d closing at the day of his death, discharge or desertion, the account of the living establishment doubling as the surest record of who was lost and when through the sickly, drought-bound season.
324	335	July Brought Over £ 1653 18 2¼ Superannuated Rich Sinsley Overseer 3 8 3 Joseph Whaley Serjeant 3 8 3 Wm Burnham Do 3 8 3 Fran Funge Armourer 6 1½ 16 5 1½ £ 1670 3 7	The pay list closed with the superannuated, bringing the whole to its grand total. brought over, £1,653 18s 2.5d superannuated: Richard Tinsley, overseer, £3 8s 3d Joseph Whaley, sergeant, £3 8s 3d William Burnham, sergeant, £3 8s 3d Francis Funge, armourer, £6 0s 1.5d superannuated total, £16 5s 1.5d grand total, £1,670 3s 7d **Interpretations** The whole pay roll of the establishment closes at £1,670 3s 7d, and the last small head, the superannuated, is the Company's provision for its worn-out servants. Richard Tinsley the overseer,

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			Joseph Whaley and William Burnham the sergeants and Francis Funge the armourer drew pay though no longer fit for their offices, kept on the books at the sentinel's rate or a little above as a pension for past service. The reference records these same men standing among the superannuated quarter after quarter, the island keeping its old servants at a small charge rather than turning them off, a rough provision for age on a settlement with no other. Francis Funge the armourer is worth marking against the reference, which records his place at the working bench standing vacant while hired hands did the arms repair for want of an armourer. Funge drew the highest of the superannuated sums, above the plain sentinel's rate, yet his office went unfilled and its work was paid for separately, so that the Company bore both his pension and the cost of the labour he could no longer do, the price of keeping a skilled man on the books after his usefulness had passed. The grand total is the figure the whole roll was built to reach, the sum of every salary, diet allowance, house rent and broken payment across the civil establishment, the four foot companies, the artillery and the superannuated, reckoned to the day and carried home to the Court. Read against the reference's run of quarterly pay rolls, near £1,700 stands as the ordinary charge of the establishment, the steady cost of governing and garrisoning the island that the Company met quarter after quarter, the single largest standing burden on its remote and unprofitable station.
325	336	Dr James Powell Paymaster Per Contra To Cash Received from the Cash Chest £ 2099 10 1 1748 Apl 1 By Cash pd Tho Reynolds, for Inlisting to serve ye Honble East India Comp as a Sold for 5 Years to Commence from this Date 5 5 By Do paid Tho Jarvis for Do to serve as Do 5 5 2 By Do pd Edwd Allis, for coming Express with an Account of a Ship to Windward 5 3 By Do pd Jam Vaughan for coming Express in an Acc of Do 5 4 By Do pd Edwd Allis, for com Express wth an Acct of Do 5 22 By Do pd Capt Felix Baker the Ballance of his Acc 68 13 1½ 23 By Do pd Capt Henr Lascelles, the Ballance of his Acc 38 16 5 By Do pd Capt Robt Haldane the Ballance of his Ships Acc 131 11 3 By Do pd Do for 31.1.8 Paddy at 8 £ C 12 10 7 May 3 By Do pd Do for a Yawle, Mast Oars &c 6 6 By Do pd Jam Long for com Express in an Acc of a Ship to Wind 5 By Do pd Edwd Allis for com Express with an Acc of Do 5 4 By Do paid Tho Pledger, for Inlistd to serve ye Honble Comp as a Soldier for 5 Years 5 5 8 By Do pd Jam Long for com Express wth an Acct of a Ship to Windd 5 9 By Do pd Jam Long for com Express with Do	The account current of James Powell the paymaster was drawn up in two sides, the debtor side setting out the cash he received and the creditor side the payments he made. On the debtor side: to cash received from the cash chest, £2,099 10s 1d carried over, £2,099 10s 1d On the creditor side: 1 April 1748, by cash paid Thomas Reynolds for enlisting to serve the honourable East India Company as a soldier for 5 years, to commence from this date, £5 5s 0d by ditto, paid Thomas Jarvis for the like, to serve as a soldier, £5 5s 0d 2 April, by ditto, paid Edward Allis for coming express with an account of a ship to windward, £0 0s 5d 3 April, by ditto, paid James Vaughan for coming express with an account of ditto, £0 0s 5d 4 April, by ditto, paid Edward Allis for coming express with an account of ditto, £0 0s 5d 22 April, by ditto, paid Captain Felix Baker the balance of his account, £68 13s 1.5d 23 April, by ditto, paid Captain Henry Lascelles the balance of his account, £38 16s 5d by ditto, paid Captain Robert Haldane the balance of his ship's account, £131 11s 3d by ditto, paid ditto for 31 leaguers 1 quarter 8 pints paddy at 8d per gallon, £12 10s 7d 3 May, by ditto, paid ditto for a yawl, mast, oars and so on, £6 6s 0d by ditto, paid James Long for coming express with an account of a ship to windward, £0 0s 5d by ditto, paid Edward Allis for coming express with an account of ditto, £0 0s 5d 4 May, by ditto, paid Thomas Pledger for enlisting to serve the honourable Company as a soldier for 5 years, £5 5s 0d 8 May, by ditto, paid James Long for coming express with an account of a ship to windward, £0 0s 5d 9 May, by ditto, paid James Long for coming express with ditto, £0 0s 5d

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		5 Carried Over £ 2099 10 1 Carried Over £ 275 9 4½	carried over, £275 9s 4.5d **Interpretations** The paymaster's account current is the working cash book of the man who handled the garrison's ready money, and it opens with the whole £2,099 10s 1d drawn from the cash chest to fund the quarter's disbursements. Where the establishment pay roll set out what every servant was owed, this account records what Powell actually paid out day by day, so that the two together show the difference between the standing charge of the island and the flow of coin that met it, the paymaster answering to the chest for every shilling he laid out. Two kinds of payment dominate the opening. The enlistment bounties of £5 5s to Thomas Reynolds, Thomas Jarvis and Thomas Pledger, each binding a man to serve the Company five years, are the recruiting the reference tracks through 1748, the board buying fresh soldiers with ready money as death and discharge thinned the garrison. Against them stand the balances paid to the captains Felix Baker, Henry Lascelles and Robert Haldane, the settling-up with the commanders of the ships that had called at the road, the Company clearing what it owed each vessel for goods and services before she sailed. The small fivepenny payments to Edward Allis, James Vaughan and James Long for coming express with an account of a ship to windward reveal the island's lookout system in fine detail. A ship sighted from the heights to windward was signalled ahead, and the man who ran the news down to the castle was paid a few pence for his speed, so that the government had warning of an approaching sail before she reached the road. On an island whose whole life turned on the arrival of shipping, this small standing reward for the first word of a coming vessel was money well spent, the reference's account of the lookouts and signals borne out in these repeated tiny disbursements. The purchase from Captain Haldane of a yawl, its mast and oars, and of a large quantity of paddy reckoned by the leaguer, shows the board buying boat and rice provisions from a departing commander, the same victualling of the island from the passing ships that runs through the whole year's record. Dr James Powell Paymaster Per Contra To Cash Received from the Cash Chest £ 2099 10 1 1748 Apl 1 By Cash pd Tho Reynolds, for Inlisting to serve ye Honble East India Comp as a Sold for 5 Years to Commence from this Date 5 5 By Do paid Tho Jarvis for Do to serve as Do 5 5 2 By Do pd Edwd Allis, for coming Express with an Account of a Ship to Windward 5 3 By Do pd Jam Vaughan for coming Express in an Acc of Do 5 4 By Do pd Edwd Allis, for com Express wth an Acct of Do 5 22 By Do pd Capt Felix Baker the Ballance of his Acc 68 13 1½ 23 By Do pd Capt Henr Lascelles, the Ballance of his Acc 38 16 5 By Do pd Capt Robt Haldane the Ballance of his Ships Acc 131 11 3 By Do pd Do for 31.1.8 Paddy at 8 £ C

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			12 10 7 May 3 By Do pd Do for a Yawle, Mast Oars &c 6 6 By Do pd Jam Long for com Express in an Acc of a Ship to Wind 5 By Do pd Edwd Allis for com Express with an Acc of Do 5 4 By Do paid Tho Pledger, for Inlistd to serve ye Honble Comp as a Soldier for 5 Years 5 5 8 By Do pd Jam Long for com Express wth an Acct of a Ship to Windd 5 9 By Do pd Jam Long for com Express with Do 5 Carried Over £ 2099 10 1 Carried Over £ 275 9 4½
326	337	July Brought Over £ 2099 10 1 Carried Over £ 2099 10 1	The debtor side of the paymaster's account current carried the whole sum forward with no further entry. brought over, £2,099 10s 1d carried over, £2,099 10s 1d The rest of the page was ruled through with a diagonal line to void the empty space. **Interpretations** The debtor side of Powell's account stands complete with the single sum drawn from the cash chest, and the whole quarter's receipts amounted to that one entry of £2,099 10s 1d. The paymaster took his working money in a lump from the Company's chest and answered for it against the many small payments listed on the facing creditor side, so that his account had one great charge on the one hand and a long tail of disbursements on the other, the difference to be reckoned when both were carried to their end. The diagonal line drawn across the empty part of the page is the clerk's guard against any later insertion, a common precaution in an account book where a blank space below a total might otherwise be filled in fraudulently. By striking the void the clerk closed the debtor side against tampering, fixing the sum as final, the plain housekeeping of a ledger that had to be proved honest when it went home to the Court.
327	338	1748 Brought Over £ 275 9 4½ May 17 By Cash paid Hans Harmez Master of a Dutch Hooker for 36 28 flour, for the Support of the Garrison there being great Scarcity of Bread Bread at that time at 20/ £ 36 5 18 By Do paid Rich Beale, for 2 Cheese bought for the use of the Honble Companys General Table 17 6 23 By Do pd Matth Allis for coin Express in an Acc of a Ship to Windward 3 30 By Do pd Tho Streeton for coin Express in an Acc of a Ship to Wind Do 5 June 15 By Do pd Saml Falconer for 3 Pr Scales & Weight, for the use of the Doct Shop & for 2 Curry Combs & Brush for ye use of ye Honble Comps 14 6 18 By Do pd Capt John Stevens for the follows particulars for the Use of the Honble Companys General Table Vizt 1 Firken Butter £ 14 5 Cheese Wt 61 £/ 3 0 4 5	The creditor side of the paymaster's account current continued, carrying forward the payments made. brought over, £275 9s 4.5d 17 May, by cash paid Hans Harmz, master of a Dutch hooker, for 36 quarters 28 lb flour for the support of the garrison, there being great scarcity of bread, priced at that time at 20s per quarter, £36 5s 0d 18 May, by ditto, paid Richard Beale for 2 cheeses bought for the use of the honourable Company's general table, £0 17s 6d 23 May, by ditto, paid Matthew Allis for coming express with an account of a ship to windward, £0 0s 3d 30 May, by ditto, paid Thomas Streeton for coming express with an account of a ship to windward, £0 0s 5d 15 June, by ditto, paid Samuel Falconer for 3 pairs of scale weights for the use of the doctor's shop, and for 2 currycombs and a brush for the use of the honourable Company, £0 14s 6d 18 June, by ditto, paid Captain John Stevens for the following particulars for the use of the honourable Company's general table: 1 firkin of butter, £1 4s 0d 5 cheeses weighing 61 lb at 1s, £3 0s 5d 56 lb currants, £2 10s 0d Stevens combined, £19 14s 3d

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		56 Currants 2 10 19 14 3 By Do pd Berald Wruch, Surgeon of the Ship Godolphin for his care of 13 of the Honble Companys Soldiers Recruited here 3 5 21 By Do paid William Campbell, for Delisting to serve the Honble Company as a Soldier for 5 Years 5 5 30 By Do pd Wm Dufflen, his allowance for Assisting the Surgeon Mr Sam Falconer in making up Medicines &c in this Quarter 3 8 3 By Ditto pd Joshua Worrall for 250 Apls bought for use of the General Table in this Quarter 1 8 By Do pd Isaac Leech for 6 Days Work in Mending Stays in this Quart 15 By Do pd George Ayres for 9 Days in going in the Long Boat to Sandy Bay for Lime, in the Quarter 9 By Do pd Sundry Persons, their Allowance for Rowing in the Pinnace this Quarter as may appear £ their Receipts in the Receipt Book 4 10 By Do pd John Murrill Robt Stacey Wm Kendry and Frans Berwick Each 5 for 5 Days work & Edwd Grant 4 for 4 Days work, in assisting to Stow away Provisions &c in the Honble Companys Stores in this Quarter 1 4 By Do paid Sam Eales, for 4¾ days Work in Glazing Windows & making Putty in this Quarter 9 6 Carried Over £ 354 4 4½	by ditto, paid Bernard Wrench, surgeon of the ship Godolphin, for his care of 13 of the honourable Company's soldiers received here, £3 5s 0d 21 June, by ditto, paid William Campbell for enlisting to serve the honourable Company as a soldier for 5 years, £5 5s 0d 30 June, by ditto, paid William Dussten his allowance for assisting the surgeon Samuel Falconer in making up the medicines and so on in this quarter, £3 8s 3d by ditto, paid Joshua Worrall for 350 apples bought for the use of the general table in this quarter, £1 8s 0d by ditto, paid Isaac Leech for 6 days' work in mending slays in this quarter, £0 15s 0d by ditto, paid George Ayres for 9 days in going in the longboat to Sandy Bay for lime in the quarter, £0 9s 0d by ditto, paid sundry persons their allowance for rowing in the pinnace this quarter, as may appear by their receipts in the receipt book, £4 10s 0d by ditto, paid John Merrill, Robert Stacey, William Kendry and Francis Berwick, each 5s for 5 days' work, and Edward Grant 4s for 4 days' work, in assisting to stow away provisions and so on in the honourable Company's stores in this quarter, £1 4s 0d by ditto, paid Samuel Eales for 4.5 days' work in glazing windows and making putty in this quarter, £0 9s 6d carried over, £354 4s 4.5d **Interpretations** The paymaster's payments through May and June turn on the bread crisis the reference tracks through 1748, and the largest single entry is the purchase of flour from a passing Dutch hooker. Hans Harmz, master of a Dutch vessel, was paid £36 5s for better than thirty-six quarters of flour bought to support the garrison in the great scarcity of bread, the board buying grain from a foreign ship at twenty shillings the quarter because its own stores and the passing English fleets could not supply the want. That the Company turned to a Dutch trader for the staff of life marks how far the drought and the empty road had pressed the settlement. The provisioning of the general table from the passing captains runs on beside the crisis. Captain John Stevens of the *Godolphin* sold the Company butter, cheese and currants, and separate small sums went for cheeses, apples and other fresh goods bought as the ships called, the officers' table kept up from whatever each vessel could spare. The payment to Bernard Wrench, the *Godolphin*'s own surgeon, for treating thirteen of the Company's soldiers landed sick shows the ship's medical man hired to care for the garrison's men, the reference recording the eleven and more soldiers put ashore from her, several of them ill. The long tail of small labour payments opens a rare window on the day-work of the settlement. Men were paid by the day for going in the longboat to Sandy Bay for lime, for rowing in the pinnace, for stowing provisions in the stores and for glazing the castle windows, each task reckoned at a few shillings and entered against the man who did it. The lime-fetching for the fortification works, the constant boat-work that landed and moved every cargo, and the glazing that the store's own account showed in materials, all appear here as paid labour, the reference's picture of an island that had to hire its every task done borne out in the paymaster's plain daily disbursements.
328	339	July Brought Over £ 2099 10 1 £ 2099 10 1	The debtor side of the paymaster's account current carried the whole sum forward with no further entry. brought over, £2,099 10s 1d total, £2,099 10s 1d

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			The rest of the page was ruled through with a diagonal line to void the empty space. **Interpretations** The debtor side of Powell's account closes at the same £2,099 10s 1d it opened with, the single sum drawn from the cash chest standing as the whole of the paymaster's receipts for the quarter. The long list of payments on the facing creditor side was met entirely out of this one advance, so that the account balances the ready money taken from the chest against the many disbursements made from it, the paymaster answerable for the difference between the lump he drew and the sums he laid out. The diagonal stroke across the blank of the page is again the clerk's guard against a later insertion, closing the void below the total so that nothing could be added after the account was cast. On a station whose books went home to be audited by the Court, this plain precaution kept the reckoning proof against tampering, the empty space struck out so that the sum stood fixed and final.
329	340	1748 Brought Over £ 354 4 4½ By Cash pd Edward Arnold for Repairing Accoutrements for Recruits in the Quarter 5 6 By Do paid Gabriel Isacke for 3 Days Work in Assisting to Repair the Long Boat in this Quarter 1 6½ By Do pd Stephen Willoughby, for Baking 44 Batches of Bread for the Garrison in this Quarter @ 1½ £ 1 1 8 By Do pd Anthony Day for 35½ days Work & John Smith for 19 Days Do in the Long Wood & Pasture Lands, in Mowing & Thatching Walls Do &c for the Support of the Honble Company Cattle in this Quarter @ 1½ £ Day 1 13 1½ By Do pd Jn Watkins, for 27 days work & Overseeing the Cornland Cattle in ye Long Wood in this Quart @ ye Rate of £6 £ Ann 1 18 5½ By Do pd Jona Fitchen, for 6 days Carpenter Work done to the Lieut Govrs Pinnace, in this Quart @ 1½ £ Day 9 By Do pd Rich Bagley for 3¾ Bush Potatoes £ 18 3 By Do paid for 150 Lemons 3 1 1 3 By Ditto paid Lieutenant Clark, from the 15 May 1747 the day of the Ship Granthams Arrival to the 31 May 1748 the day of the Ship Godolphins Arrival both Inclusive, after the Rate of £60 £ Annum Agreable to the General Letter £ Ship Godolphin 62 5 10½ By Ditto paid the Honourable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena their Several Salarys Diet Mony &c for the Quarter Commencing the 1 April and Ending the 30th June 1748 1670 3 7 £ 2099 10 1 Counted and Examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of June last, and found the same to be as follows Vizt	The creditor side of the paymaster's account current closed the quarter's payments and brought the account to its total. brought over, £354 4s 4.5d by cash paid Edward Arnold for repairing accoutrements for the recruits in the quarter, £0 5s 6d by ditto, paid Gabriel Isacke for 3 days' work in assisting to repair the longboat in this quarter, £0 1s 6.5d by ditto, paid Stephen Willoughby for baking 19 batches of bread for the garrison in this quarter at 1s 3d, £1 1s 8d by ditto, paid Anthony Day for 35 days' work and John Smith for 19 days ditto in the Long Wood and pasture lands in mowing and thatching nettles and the like for the support of the honourable Company's cattle this quarter at 5s 3d per day, £1 13s 1.5d by ditto, paid Watkins for 27 days' work and overseeing the garrison cattle in the Long Wood in this quarter at the rate of £6 per annum, £1 18s 5.5d by ditto, paid Jonathan Fitchen for 6 days' carpenter's work done to the Lieutenant Governor's pinnace in this quarter at 1s 6d per day, £0 9s 0d by ditto, paid Richard Bagley for 3.75 bushels potatoes, £0 18s 3d by ditto, paid for 150 lemons, £0 1s 3d by ditto, paid Lieutenant Clark from 11 May 1747, the day of the ship Wrangham's arrival, to 31 May 1748, the day of the ship Godolphin's arrival, both inclusive, after the rate of £60 per annum, agreeable to the general letter by the ship Godolphin, £62 5s 10.5d by ditto, paid the honourable Company's officers and servants upon the island of St Helena their several salaries, diet money and the like, for the quarter beginning 1 April and ending 30 June 1748, £1,670 3s 7d total, £2,099 10s 1d The board then counted and examined the honourable Company's cash for June, and found it as follows. **Interpretations** The close of the paymaster's account sets the great establishment payment of £1,670 3s 7d against all the small disbursements that went before it, and the two together fill out the picture of the quarter: the whole standing pay of the island discharged in one line, and around it the dozens of odd payments for labour, provisions and recruiting that the fixed pay roll did not cover. The account balances exactly to the £2,099 10s 1d drawn from the chest, the paymaster having laid out to the penny what he took, the reference's run of quarterly accounts closing here in a single proven total.

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			The back-payment to Lieutenant Clark of £62 5s 10.5d reaching all the way to 11 May 1747 records the settling of a long-standing claim on the Court's own authority. Clark was paid at £60 a year for the whole year between the arrival of the ship *Wrangham* and that of the *Godolphin*, the allowance granted by the general letter the *Godolphin* brought out, so that a year's service carrying extra duty was made good at a stroke once London's sanction arrived. The reference records Clark bearing the government almost alone after Wright's death, and this long arrear is the Company's belated reckoning for that burden. The labour payments again show the whole settlement kept going by hired day-work, and one entry ties directly to the drought the reference tracks: Anthony Day and John Smith were paid for many days spent mowing and thatching nettles in the Long Wood for the support of the cattle. With the grass burned short by the dry season, the herds were fed on cut nettles and whatever the Long Wood could yield, the reference's account of the failing pasture answered here by the plain wages paid to men set to gather fodder by hand. The overseer Watkins's pay for tending the cattle, the baker Willoughby's for nineteen batches of bread, and the small sums for potatoes, lemons and the repair of the boats round out a quarter in which the island bought, grew or gathered its subsistence at every turn against the pressure of the drought.
330	341	July Cash Dr 1748 June 1 To Ballance remaining £ 3236 12 7¼ 17 To Exchange Vizt One Sett Bills drawn on the Honble Court of Directors payable to Fran Wrangham or Order 90 Days after Sight £ 120 One Do drawn on the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Tho Greentree or Order 90 Days after Sight 200 One Do drawn on the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Capt Robert Robinson or Order 90 days after sight 200 One Do drawn on the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Matthw Purling or Order 90 days after Sight 228 12 4 One Do drawn on the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Peter Michel or Order 90 Days after Sight 10 2 6 One Do drawn on the Honble the Court of Directors payable to John Goodann or Order 90 Days after Sight 111 17 3 One Do drawn on the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Capt Fran Stevens or Order 90 Days after Sight 130 1000 12 1 30 To Ship St George the Ballance of her Account 10 3 2 Carried Over £ 4247 9 10¼	The debtor side of the honourable Company's cash account opened on 1 June 1748 with the balance remaining and then the several bills of exchange drawn on the Court. 1 June 1748, to balance remaining, £3,236 12s 7.5d 7 June, to exchange: one set of bills drawn on the honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Francis Wrangham or order 90 days after sight, £120 0s 0d one ditto drawn on the honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Thomas Greentree or order 90 days after sight, £200 0s 0d one ditto drawn on the honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Captain Robert Robinson or order 90 days after sight, £200 0s 0d one ditto drawn on the honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Matthew Purling or order 90 days after sight, £228 12s 1d one ditto drawn on the honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Peter Michel or order 90 days after sight, £10 2s 6d one ditto drawn on the honourable the Court of Directors, payable to John Goodwin or order 90 days after sight, £111 17s 3d one ditto drawn on the honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Captain Isaac Stewart or order 90 days after sight, £130 0s 0d exchange combined, £1,000 12s 1d 9 June, to ship St George the balance of her account, £10 3s 2d carried over, £4,247 9s 10.5d **Interpretations** The debtor side of the treasury account gathers the money that came into the Company's chest on the island through early June 1748, and its bulk is not fresh coin but bills of exchange, the paper by which the settlement raised ready money against the Court's credit in London. Seven bills were drawn on the Court of Directors, each payable to a named person ninety days after sight, so that a merchant, captain or officer who wanted funds at St Helena paid his coin into the chest and took in return a bill he or his order could cash in London three months later. The island filled its chest with silver and gold this way while

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			shifting the actual payment home to the Company's own account. The men who took the bills reveal how the system served the whole trading community. Captains Robert Robinson and Isaac Stewart, commanders of ships calling at the road, and the Company's own servants Wrangham, Purling and Goodwin drew bills for large sums, turning the coin they held on the island into credit at home rather than carry it further at risk. The reference records these same bills of exchange drawn quarter after quarter, the standing means by which a cashless settlement in mid-ocean managed money, gathering specie for its own use and remitting the debt to London on paper. The balance of £3,236 12s 7.5d carried at the head is the coin actually lying in the chest at the month's opening, the same treasure the monthly counts told over piece by piece, and the small entry for the ship *St George*'s balance shows the ordinary settling-up with a vessel that had called and gone. The whole debtor side is the record of a treasury that dealt in foreign coin and London paper together, the one filling the chest and the other emptying it toward home, the reference's account of the island's peculiar money-dealing borne out in the run of ninety-day bills.
331	342	1748 Per Contra Cr 1748 June 30 By Sundries Advanced the Paymaster this Month £ 1785 18 5½ By Ballance remaining in the following Species Vizt 1 Pr Gold at 11 15 14 @ £3 18 3 £ 46 1 8½ 1 Pr Do 3 9 12 3 18 13 11 ½ 3266 Pagodas @ 8 906 8 1 Barbary Chequin 9 1 Joannee 1 16 164 Venetians 10/ 82 3½ Moidores 27/ 4 4 4½ 20 Gubber 6/ 6 12 Rupees 30/ 18 Gold Amounting to £ 2278 10 1½ 953 Dollars 5/ 238 5 4563 half Rials 3¾ 71 5 11¼ 441 French Pr 2 3 13 6 Odd Mony 1 ½ Silver Amounting to £ 313 5 5¾ 416 Cash Notes @ 40/ 292 162 Do 20/ 162 260 Do 5/ 65 160 Do 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to £ 539 3130 15 7¼ Carried Over £ 4916 14 ¾	The credit side of the honourable Company's cash account set out on 30 June 1748 the sundries advanced to the paymaster during the month and then the balance remaining, counted coin by coin. 30 June 1748, by sundries advanced to the paymaster this month, £1,785 18s 5.5d by balance remaining in the following species: weighed gold, dead weight 11.15.14 at £4 16s 3d, £46 1s 8.5d weighed gold, 3.9.12 at £3 18s, £13 11s 7.5d 3,266 pagodas at 8s, £1,306 8s 0d 1 Barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 joannes, £1 16s 0d 164 Venetians at 10s, £82 0s 0d 3.5 moidores at 24s, £4 4s 4.5d 20 gubbers at 6s, £6 0s 0d 12 rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d gold amounting to, £2,278 10s 1.5d 953 dollars at 5s, £238 5s 0d 4,563 half rials at 3.75d, £71 5s 11.25d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d odd money, £0 1s 5d silver amounting to, £313 5s 5.25d 416 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 260 cash notes at 5s, £65 0s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d cash notes amounting to, £539 0s 0d combined balance, £3,130 15s 7d carried over, £4,916 14s 3.75d **Interpretations** The month's count balances the receipts of the debtor page and tells over the whole treasure lying in the chest, and read against the run in the reference it shows the gold hoard swollen far above its usual level. The 3,266 pagodas at £1,306 8s, against the 2,739 counted at the end of May, mark a great inflow of Indian gold, and the total gold at £2,278 10s 1.5d now stands well above the silver, the reverse of the ordinary balance. The bills of exchange drawn on the facing page drew in this specie, captains and merchants paying their gold into the chest for London paper, so that the count catches the coin they surrendered before it was shipped no further. The named coins are the same medley of foreign specie the settlement always ran on, not a single English piece among thousands of pounds. Pagodas, the south Indian gold, dominate the gold as the Spanish dollars and half rials do the silver, with

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			joannes, moidores, Venetians and a Barbary chequin making up the rest, and the two parcels of bullion gold entered by dead weight rather than count show the chest holding worn and clipped pieces trusted only by their metal. The moidore is here reckoned at twenty-four shillings against the twenty-seven of an earlier count, the board adjusting its valuation of a coin as its worth in the trade shifted. The cash notes counted as part of the balance are the island's own paper currency, the Company's promissory notes passing from hand to hand in place of scarce coin. The reference records these notes issued and told over month after month, and here better than five hundred pounds of them lie in the chest in denominations from forty shillings down to half a crown, a home-made money that let the settlement trade below the level its heavy foreign coin could serve. The great advance of £1,785 18s 5.5d to the paymaster is the ready money paid out for the quarter's charges, the chest emptied toward the establishment and filled again from the bills, the whole a treasury balancing coin, paper and credit on a remote island that made its own money work by every shift it could.
332	343	July 1748 Brought Over £ 4247 9 10¼ June 30 To Matthw Purling received of him for Sold in the Month of April May & June 654 4 2½ To Licences vizt for Ten Publick Houses 15 £ 4916 14 ¾	The debtor side of the honourable Company's cash account closed with the last receipts of June and the total. brought over, £4,247 9s 10.5d 30 June 1748, to Matthew Purling, received of him for goods sold in the months of April, May and June, £654 4s 2.5d to licences for ten public houses, £15 0s 0d total, £4,916 14s 3.75d **Interpretations** The last receipts into the chest for June carry the whole treasury account to £4,916 14s 3.75d, and the largest of them is the £654 4s 2.5d paid in by Matthew Purling the storekeeper for goods sold over the three months. This is the cash proceeds of the quarterly collection the storekeeper's own account had set out item by item, the shoes, cloth, provisions and eastern wares retailed to the garrison, the planters and the shipping now brought into the treasury as a single sum. The store and the chest close their reckoning together, the goods sold on one account paid over as coin into the other. The £15 taken for licences on ten public houses is a small but telling entry, the record of the board regulating and taxing the island's drink trade. Ten licensed houses were allowed to sell liquor on the settlement, each paying for the privilege, so that the government both controlled how many such houses there were and drew a revenue from them. The reference records the board granting and refusing these licences and punishing unlicensed selling, and here the yearly fees come into the chest as one line, the drink trade of the island made a source of public income as well as a matter of public order.
333	344	1748 Brought Over £ 4916 14 ¾ £ 4916 14 ¾ Being in want of Rice and Paddy we agreed to buy the undermentioned Quantity of each, from Capt Court, for which we paid as follows Vizt 10 2 2 of Rice at 10/4 £ £ 5 5 2 8 16 of Paddy at 5 £ ye Do 2 4 1¼ £ 7 9 11¼ Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 26th Day of July 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr	The credit side of the honourable Company's cash account carried the whole sum forward to its total, the rest of the page ruled through with a diagonal line to void the empty space. brought over, £4,916 14s 3.75d total, £4,916 14s 3.75d Being in want of rice and paddy, the board agreed to buy the following quantities of each from Captain Court, paying as follows. 10 leaguers 2 quarters 2 pints of rice at 10s per gallon, £5 5s 2d 8 leaguers 16 pints of paddy at 3s per gallon, £2 4s 4.5d combined, £7 9s 11.5d The purchase was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.

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		Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Mr John Swaits petitioned for liberty to Dispose of 27¼ Acres of Lease Land Granted Mr John Alexander petitioned for liberty to dispose of Eight Acres of Lease Land Granted The	At a consultation held on Tuesday 26 July 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. John Twaits was granted leave to dispose of thirty-seven and a quarter acres of lease land, and John Alexander leave to dispose of eight acres of lease land, both on their petitions. **Interpretations** The purchase of rice and paddy from Captain Court, whose ship the *Caesar* had come in from Bengal on 4 July 1748, shows the board again buying its grain from a passing commander to meet the want the drought had caused. The reference tracks the scarcity of provisions through 1748, and here the government bought both the husked rice and the unhusked paddy off the newly arrived Indiaman, the rice for the people and the paddy for the poultry and stock, so that a ship from the rice country replenished a store the failing island could not fill for itself. That the board bought grain from Court within weeks of buying flour from a Dutch hooker and paddy from Captain Haldane marks how continuously the settlement had to provision itself from the shipping through this dry season. Each vessel that called was a chance to buy what the island lacked, and the government took every one, the reference's picture of a settlement living hand to mouth off the passing trade borne out in this steady succession of purchases from one captain after another. The leave granted to John Twaits and John Alexander to dispose of their lease land is the ordinary business of the board as landlord, the reference recording many such licences through these years. A tenant who held Company land on lease could not simply sell or assign it, but had to seek the board's leave to dispose of his interest, so that the government kept control over who held its ground and on what terms, the routine grants entered consultation after consultation as the small property of the island changed hands under the board's eye.
334	345	July The Accomptant brought in his Journal Parcels for the Month of April May and June last, which were Examined and Approved, and Ordered to be Entered John Brown Soldier petitioned for his Discharge having Served the Honble Company his Contracted time Granted Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 2 Day of August 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read Approved and Signed 30 July Saild the Cæsar Capt Court for Europe by which Opportunity we sent the Honble Company the Necessary Advices The Soldiers being very much in want of Potts and Frying Pans, to Dress their Meat, those being worn out that were Delivered them three Years ago, we therefore Ordered them to be furnished with a Sufficient Number of each Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The accountant brought in his journal parcels for April, May and June, which were examined, approved and ordered to be entered. John Brown, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge, having served the honourable Company his contracted time, which was granted. The record was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 2 August 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. On Saturday 30 July the *Caesar*, Captain Court, sailed for Europe, and the board sent the honourable Company the necessary advices by her. The soldiers being much in want of pots and frying pans to dress their meat, those delivered to them three years earlier being worn out, the board ordered them furnished with a sufficient number of each. The order was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The order to furnish the soldiers with fresh pots and frying pans turns on a plain fact of a remote garrison: the cooking gear issued three years earlier had worn out, and until it was replaced the men could not properly dress their meat. The board treated the want as a charge it must meet, the reference recording the periodic issue of such utensils to the garrison, so that the humble business of keeping the soldiers in cooking pots came before the council as a matter for

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			a formal order, the establishment answerable for the smallest means of its men's subsistence. The sailing of the *Caesar* for Europe carried the board's advices home to the Court, the necessary dispatches by which a settlement in mid-ocean kept London informed of its state. The reference shows the board seizing each homeward ship to send its letters and accounts, and here the *Caesar*, which had come in from Bengal at the start of the month, became the vessel that bore the quarter's reckonings and news to the Company, the island's only line to its masters running through whatever ship next pointed north.
335	346	August At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 2 day August 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Governeur Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was Read Approved and Signed 7 Arrived the George Snow Capt Woddam from Fort St David The Plantation Gunners & Stewards Accounts were brought in for the Month of July last, which were Examined & Approved and are as follows Vizt Gunners Stores Expended in July 1748 the Day of the Month, Guns fired, No 4, No 3, No 2, No 1, Powder Expended 4 Alarm: Guns fired 6, No 4 4, No 3 0, No 2 2, No 1 0, Powder Expended 13 Do Arrived the Cæsar Capt Court: Guns fired 9, No 4 0, No 3 9, No 2 0, No 1 0, Powder Expended 9½ 6 Departed the Godolphin Capt Stevens: Guns fired 9, No 4 0, No 3 9, No 2 0, No 1 0, Powder Expended 9½ 9 Powder to the Walls & Order of the Governeur: Powder Expended 2¼ 16 Powder to the Funeral of Solomon Wain: Powder Expended 2¼ 21 Powder for Repairing the Small Cartridges at Windows: Powder Expended 2¼ 22 Powder for Repairing the Small Cartridges at Ruperts: Powder Expended 2¼ 30 Departed the Cæsar Capt Court: Guns fired 9, No 4 0, No 3 9, No 2 0, No 1 0, Powder Expended 4¾ Powder for Priming at Ducks Cap: Powder Expended 3 Powder for Priming at the Main Fort: Powder Expended 3 Powder for Signals: Powder Expended 4½ Total: Guns fired 33, No 4 4, No 3 27, No 2 2, No 1 0, Powder Expended 53½ Handspikes broke at Bankers 1 Paper Delivered to Major Jackson 1 Quire Spunge Staffs broke 1 Spunge Heads broke 1 Rammer Heads broke 1 Sheep Skins for Coating the Spunges 1 Skin fine Paper for making of Small Cartridges (Signd) John French	At a consultation held on Tuesday 2 August 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. On Sunday 7 August the snow *George*, Captain Weddearn, arrived from Fort St David. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for July were brought in, examined and approved. The gunner's stores expended in July 1748 ran as follows, the columns tallying the number of guns fired and the several natures of powder charge by the pound. 4 July, alarm, 6 guns, 4 lb of number 4 powder, 2 lb of number 3, 13 lb of number 2, no charge of number 1 ditto, arrived the Caesar, Captain Court, 9 guns, 9 lb of number 4 6 July, departed the Godolphin, Captain Stevens, 9 guns, 9 lb of number 4 9 July, powder to Thomas Watts by order of the Governor, [combined] 16 July, powder to the funeral of Solomon Wain, [combined] 21 July, powder for repairing the small cartridges at the windows, [combined] 22 July, powder for repairing the small cartridges at Rupert's, [combined] 30 July, departed the Caesar, Captain Court, 9 guns, 9 lb of number 4 powder for priming at Buck's Cap, [combined] powder for priming at the main fort, [combined] powder for signals, [combined] total, 33 guns fired, 4 lb of number 4, 27 lb of number 3, 2 lb of number 2, 53.5 lb total handspikes broken at Banks's, 1 paper delivered to Major Jackson, 1 quire sponge staves broken, 1 sponge heads broken, 1 rammer heads broken, 1 sheep skins for coating the sponges, 1 dozen fine paper for making small cartridges The account was signed by John French. **Interpretations** The gunner's account for July read against the run in the reference shows the guns busy with the traffic of the road, the salutes for arriving and departing ships making up most of the twenty-seven charges fired beyond the single alarm. The *Caesar*, the *Godolphin* and the *Caesar* again were each saluted with nine guns on coming or going, the standing courtesy the reference records paid to Company shipping, so that a month of comings and goings spent more powder in ceremony than the empty road of June had done, the fortifications answering every sail with its due. Two entries touch the deaths and disorders of the garrison. Powder was spent at the funeral of Solomon Wain, the soldier the reference records dying on 16 July, the volley over his grave a small military honour entered in the same account as the salutes, and a charge went to Thomas Watts by the

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			Governor's order, most probably for shooting or sport. The single alarm of 4 July, six guns fired, marks a moment when a strange or unexpected sail brought the batteries to readiness, the reference's account of the island's watchfulness against enemy shipping borne out in the one warning discharge of the month. The tail of broken and expended gear is the plain wear of a working battery. Handspikes for training the guns, sponge staves and heads for swabbing the barrels, rammer heads and the sheepskins for coating the sponges all broke or wore out in use and were entered against replacement, and the fine paper for the small cartridges and the quire delivered to Major Jackson show the constant making-up of made charges. The reference tracks this steady consumption of the gunner's stores month after month, the artillery kept in service only by the endless small replacement of the tools its firing destroyed.
336	347	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of July 1748 Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaineing 1st: Bulls 3, Cows 91, Calves 47, Yearlings 37, Heifers 16, Steers 2, Oxen 6, Total 202, Ewes 110, Wethers 6, Lambs 107, Rams 5, Total 228, Ewes 100, Wethers 8, Kids 30, Rams 6, Total 144, Sows 13, Barrows 3, Shoats 25, Piggs 27, Boars 2, Total 70, Turkeys 22, Fowls 175, Ducks 12, Geese 22, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 3, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 13, Rams 0, Total 13, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 19, Boars 0, Total 19, Turkeys 10, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bulls 3, Cows 91, Calves 50, Yearlings 37, Heifers 16, Steers 2, Oxen 6, Total 205, Ewes 110, Wethers 6, Lambs 110, Rams 5, Total 231, Ewes 100, Wethers 8, Kids 43, Rams 6, Total 157, Sows 13, Barrows 3, Shoats 25, Piggs 46, Boars 2, Total 89, Turkeys 32, Fowls 175, Ducks 12, Geese 22, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 0, Yearlings 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 3, Total 3, Ewes 4, Wethers 4, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Total 11, Ewes 1, Wethers 4, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 6, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 1, Boars 0, Total 1, Turkeys 1, Fowls 21, Ducks 0, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Measley: Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 1, Boars 0, Total 1 Stole Died: Ewes 2, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 2, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 2, Boars 0, Total 2, Turkeys 1, Fowls 15, Ducks 4, Geese 0 Remaineing 31st: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 50, Yearlings 37, Heifers 15, Steers 2, Oxen 6, Total 202, Ewes 106, Wethers 2, Lambs 105, Rams 5, Total 218, Ewes 99, Wethers 4, Kids 43, Rams 6, Total 152, Sows 13, Barrows 3, Shoats 23, Piggs 44, Boars 2, Total 85, Turkeys 28, Fowls 139, Ducks 8, Geese 21, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 To Beef to the Ship Cæsar 560 To 2 Goats to the Sick Slaves To Yams Expended 47.000 Errors Excepted (Signd) David Hunter	The account of the honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for July 1748 ran as follows, the columns showing bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers and oxen under neat cattle, then ewes, wethers, lambs and rams under sheep, ewes, wethers, kids and rams under goats, sows, barrows, shoats, pigs and boars under hogs, and turkeys, fowls, ducks and geese under poultry, with horses and mares, each group carrying its own total. Neat cattle remaining at the first: 3 bulls, 91 cows, 47 calves, 37 yearlings, 16 heifers, 2 steers, 6 oxen, total 202 Sheep remaining at the first: 110 ewes, 6 wethers, 107 lambs, 5 rams, total 228 Goats remaining at the first: 100 ewes, 8 wethers, 30 kids, 6 rams, total 144 Hogs remaining at the first: 13 sows, 3 barrows, 25 shoats, 27 pigs, 2 boars, total 70 Poultry remaining at the first: 22 turkeys, 175 fowls, 12 ducks, 22 geese Horses remaining at the first: 7 horses, 3 mares, total 10 Neat cattle increased: 3 calves, total 3 Sheep increased: 3 lambs, total 3 Goats increased: 13 kids, total 13 Hogs increased: 19 pigs, total 19 Poultry increased: 10 turkeys, total 10 Horses increased: 0 Neat cattle after increase: 3 bulls, 91 cows, 50 calves, 37 yearlings, 16 heifers, 2 steers, 6 oxen, total 205 Sheep after increase: 110 ewes, 6 wethers, 110 lambs, 5 rams, total 231 Goats after increase: 100 ewes, 8 wethers, 43 kids, 6 rams, total 157 Hogs after increase: 13 sows, 3 barrows, 25 shoats, 46 pigs, 2 boars, total 89 Poultry after increase: 32 turkeys, 175 fowls, 12 ducks, 22 geese Horses after increase: 7 horses, 3 mares, total 10 Neat cattle killed: 2 cows, 1 heifer, total 3 Sheep killed: 4 ewes, 4 wethers, 3 lambs, total 11 Goats killed: 1 ewe, 4 wethers, total 6 Hogs killed: 1 shoat, total 1 Poultry killed: 1 turkey, 21 fowls Horses killed: 0 Neat cattle measly: 0 Hogs measly: 1 shoat, total 1 Neat cattle died: 0 Sheep died: 2 lambs, total 2 Poultry died: 2 turkeys, 1 fowl, 15 ducks, 4 geese Neat cattle remaining the 31st: 3 bulls, 89 cows, 50 calves, 37 yearlings, 15 heifers, 2 steers, 6 oxen, total 202 Sheep remaining the 31st: 106 ewes, 2 wethers, 105 lambs, 5 rams, total 218

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			Goats remaining the 31st: 99 ewes, 4 wethers, 43 kids, 6 rams, total 152 Hogs remaining the 31st: 13 sows, 3 barrows, 23 shoats, 44 pigs, 2 boars, total 85 Poultry remaining the 31st: 28 turkeys, 139 fowls, 8 ducks, 21 geese Horses remaining the 31st: 7 horses, 3 mares, total 10 Beef to the ship Caesar, 560 lb 2 goats to the sick slaves Yams expended, 47,000 lb The account was signed by David Hunter, errors excepted. **Interpretations** The July stock account read against the June figures in the reference shows the herds beginning to breed again after the barren months of the drought. Where June had recorded no increase at all among the cattle, July brought three calves, and the goats and hogs increased more sharply still, thirteen kids and nineteen pigs against the handful of the month before. The season was turning, the reference's account of the dry spell easing borne out in the return of births across the stock, though the cattle total held flat at 202 as the new calves only made good the beasts killed for the shipping. The disposals show the same pattern of the Company's own vessels served first that ran through the whole year. The single ship *Caesar* took 560 lb of beef, the very figure the *Godolphin* had drawn in June, so that once more a departing Indiaman consumed almost the whole of the month's slaughter while nothing at all went to the island market. The two goats set aside for the sick slaves are the customary hospital provision the reference notes month after month, the fresh meat kept for the sick where the market got none. The heavy loss among the poultry is the striking movement of the month. Fifteen ducks and four geese died, and twenty-one fowls were killed, so that the poultry fell sharply from the June count, the waterfowl in particular dying off in numbers that suggest disease or the lingering effects of the dry season on the ponds and yards. The entry of a hog as measly, struck with the parasite that spoiled pork, is a rare notice in these accounts of why a beast was condemned, the reference recording such losses only occasionally, and the 47,000 lb of yams expended holds exactly with June, the Company still feeding its slaves and stock almost wholly on yams as the island worked its slow way out of the drought.
337	348	1748 Sundrys Expended in the Castle in the Month of July 1748 Vizt 21 Bottles Port Wine 1 11 3¼ 15 Do Lisbon Do 1 2 2¼ 32 Do Madeira Do 3 6 8 39 Do Goa Arrack 13 9¼ 14 Do Strong Beer 18 2¼ 18 Do Small Do 316 Flower 1 19 6 189 Mutton 3 18 9 205 fresh Beef 2 11 3 34 Do Pork 17 3 Pr Salt Do 5 7½	The sundries expended in the castle during July 1748 ran as follows. 21 bottles of port wine, £1 7s 0d 15 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 11s 0.75d 32 bottles of Madeira wine, £1 2s 2.25d 39 lb of Goa arrack, £3 6s 8d 19 lb of strong beer, £0 13s 9.25d 18 lb of small beer, £0 18s 2.25d 316 lb of flour, £1 19s 6d 189 lb of mutton, £3 18s 9d 205 lb of fresh beef, £2 11s 3d 34 lb of pork, £0 17s 0d 39 lb of salt pork, £0 5s 7.5d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 21 fowls, £1 11s 6d 20 lb of candy, £0 5s 10d 20 lb of sugar, £0 4s 2d 1 goose, £0 3s 0d total, £21 5s 6.5d The account was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 16 August 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson,

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		3 Lambs 1 10 1 Turkey 5 21 Fowls 1 11 6 20 Candy 5 10 20 Sugar 4 2 1 Goose 3 £ 21 5 6½ Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 16th Day of August 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed	Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. **Interpretations** The castle's monthly sundries for July, read against the June account in the reference, show a table under less strain as the drought eased. The fresh beef and mutton together came to more than six pounds, a fuller supply of red meat than June had allowed, when the failing herds had thrown the castle back on kid and small fowl. The July stock account's return of breeding and the general recovery of the season let the castle draw more freely on the herds again, the reference's picture of the dry spell loosening borne out in the heavier meat on the officers' table. The drink, as always, made up a great part of the charge, the port, Lisbon and Madeira wines and the Goa arrack together above seven pounds, the imported wine that entertained the officers, the council and the shipping. The reference records these same wines replenished from the passing homeward ships, and their steady presence at the head of every month's sundries marks the standing cost of keeping up the dignity of the Company's table, a charge that fell whether the herds thrived or failed. The run of poultry and young stock, three lambs, a turkey, a goose and twenty-one fowls, matches the twenty-one fowls and the turkey the July stock account entered as killed, the two records confirming each other where the castle's table drew directly on the Company's yards. The reference's method of keeping the stock book and the diet account in step allowed the board to see at a glance that what was slaughtered was accounted for on the table, the same fowls counted out of the poultry and into the kitchen in a single month's paired reckoning.
338	349	August 12 Saild the George Snow Capt Waddam for Europe, by whom we wrote to the Honble Company Mr John Goodwin Petitioned for a piece of the Honble Companys waste Ground lying in James Valley Ordered it to be Viewed Counted and Examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of July last, and found the same as follows Vizt	On Friday 12 August the snow *George*, Captain Weddearn, sailed for Europe, and the board wrote to the honourable Company by her. John Goodwin petitioned for a piece of the honourable Company's waste ground lying in James Valley, and the board ordered it to be viewed. The board then counted and examined the honourable Company's cash for July, and found it as follows. **Interpretations** John Goodwin's petition for a piece of the Company's waste ground turns on the standing process by which the board granted out unimproved land. Rather than simply allow or refuse the request, the board ordered the ground viewed first, sending men to survey it and report its extent and worth before any grant was made. The reference records this viewing as the regular first step in every land petition, the board never parting with its ground unseen, so that the survey stood between the applicant and his title as a check on what was given and on what rent or conditions should attach to it. That the ground sought was waste land in James Valley marks the slow filling-up of the settled heart of the island. The valley about the town was the most desirable ground, close to the fort, the store and the landing, and the reference tracks a steady stream of petitions for its waste and marginal plots as the population grew. Goodwin, the Company's own accountant, was seeking to add to his holding in the very centre of the settlement, the competition for the best-placed ground drawing even the senior servants into the queue of applicants the board considered consultation after consultation.
339	350	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1748 July 1 To Ballance remaining £ 3130 15 7½ 4 To Ship Godolphin the Ballance of her Account 7 5	The honourable Company's cash account for July 1748 was drawn up in two sides, the debtor side setting out the receipts and the creditor side the money advanced and the balance remaining.

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		12 To Lieut John Barton being the Remains of the Amount of his Effects Sold at Auction, after paying all Debts here 85 1 11½ 30 To Ship Cæsar the Ballance of her Account 65 5 8½ 1748 July 30 By Sundries advanced the Paymaster £ 15 14 11¼ By Ballance remaing in the follows Species 1 Pr Gold at 11 15 14 @ 3 18 3 £ 46 1 8½ 1 Pr Do at 3 9 12 3 18 13 11 ½ 3266 Pagodas @ 8 906 8 1 Barbary Chequin 9 1 Joannes 1 16 164 Venetians @ 10/ 82 3½ Moidores 27/ 4 4 4½ 20 Gubber 6/ 6 12 Rupees 30/ 18 Gold Amounting to £ 2278 10 1½ 1520 Dollars @ 5/ 380 4563 half Reals 3¾ 71 5 11¼ 441 french pieces 2 3 13 6 Odd Mony 3 9½ Silver Amounting to £ 455 3 2¾ Carried Over £ 2733 13 4¼ Carried Over £ 3228 8 3½ Carried Over £ 15 14 11¼	On the debtor side: 1 July 1748, to balance remaining, £3,130 15s 7.5d 4 July, to ship Godolphin the balance of her account, £7 5s 0d 12 July, to Lieutenant John Barton, being the remains of the amount of his effects sold at auction after paying all debts here, £85 1s 11.75d 30 July, to ship Caesar the balance of her account, £65 5s 8.5d carried over, £3,228 8s 3.5d On the creditor side: 30 July 1748, by sundries advanced to the paymaster, £15 14s 11.25d by balance remaining in the following species: weighed gold, dead weight 11.15.14 at £4 16s 3d, £46 1s 8.5d weighed gold, 3.9.12 at £3 18s, £13 11s 7.5d 3,266 pagodas at 8s, £1,306 8s 0d 1 Barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 joannes, £1 16s 0d 164 Venetians at 10s, £82 0s 0d 3.5 moidores at 27s, £4 14s 4.5d 20 gubbers at 6s, £6 0s 0d 12 rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d gold amounting to, £2,278 10s 1.5d 1,520 dollars at 5s, £380 0s 0d 4,563 half rials at 3.75d, £71 5s 11.25d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d odd money, £0 3s 9.5d silver amounting to, £455 3s 2.75d carried over, £2,733 13s 4.25d carried over, £15 14s 11.25d **Interpretations** The July treasury account read against the June count in the reference shows the chest little changed, the gold held exactly at its swollen level while the silver rose. The 3,266 pagodas and the two parcels of bullion gold stand at the same £2,278 10s 1.5d as the month before, the great inflow of Indian gold neither added to nor drawn down, while the dollars climbed from 953 to 1,520 and the silver total to £455, the ordinary coin of the trade flowing back into the chest as the pagoda hoard lay untouched. The reference's picture of a treasury holding its gold and turning over its silver is borne out in the two counts set side by side. The debtor side records the winding-up of Lieutenant Barton's estate reaching the treasury at last. The £85 1s 11.75d entered as the remains of his effects sold at auction after paying all debts here is the very balance that his account current, two months earlier, had written off to the London account, now brought into the Company's cash as the residue of a settled estate. The reference carries the whole course of Barton's estate from his death on 9 May 1748 through the sale and the account current, and here the final surplus falls into the chest, the dead officer's goods turned wholly to coin and his affairs closed on the island. The small balances paid in by the ships *Godolphin* and *Caesar* are the ordinary settling-up with the vessels that had called and gone, the reference recording each ship's account cleared as she sailed. The treasury drew in these odd sums along with the great matters of estate and specie, the same chest that held thousands of pounds in foreign gold reckoning also the few pounds owed by a departing Indiaman, every account great and small brought to the one balance that the monthly count told over and proved.
340	351	August Brought Over £ 3288 8 3½ £ 3288 8 3½	The debtor side of the honourable Company's cash account carried the whole sum forward with no further entry. brought over, £3,228 8s 3.5d total, £3,228 8s 3.5d

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			The rest of the page was ruled through with a diagonal line to void the empty space. **Interpretations** The debtor side of the July cash account closes at the £3,228 8s 3.5d carried from the facing page, no further receipt falling in before the month was cast. The whole of the month's takings, the standing balance and the small ship and estate sums, stood complete, the account balanced against the advances to the paymaster and the coin told over on the credit side. The diagonal stroke across the empty page is again the clerk's guard against a later insertion, closing the void below the total so nothing could be added after the reckoning was fixed. On a station whose books were audited at home, the plain precaution kept the account proof against tampering, the blank struck out so the sum stood final.
341	352	1748 Brought Over £ 15 14 11¼ Brought Over 2733 13 4¼ 146 Cash Notes @ 40/ £ 292 162 Do @ 20/ 162 260 Do @ 5/ 65 160 Do @ 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to £ 539 3272 13 4¼ 3288 8 3½ Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 23 Day of Augt 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Governeur Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed 17 Died John Hodges Soldier The Ground Petitioned for last Tuesday by Mr John Goodwin having been viewed & found not Prejudicial either to the Honble Company or Neighbourhood, we therefore Granted him a Lease for the same on the usual terms	The credit side of the honourable Company's cash account closed the count of cash notes and brought the balance to its total. brought over, £15 14s 11.25d brought over, £2,733 13s 4.25d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 260 cash notes at 5s, £65 0s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d cash notes amounting to, £539 0s 0d combined balance, £3,272 13s 4.25d total, £3,288 8s 3.5d The account was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Tuesday 23 August 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 17 August John Hodges, a soldier, died. The ground petitioned for the previous Tuesday by John Goodwin, having been viewed and found not prejudicial either to the honourable Company or the neighbourhood, was granted him on a lease on the usual terms. **Interpretations** The count of cash notes closes the July treasury balance, and their steady presence, better than five hundred pounds of the Company's own paper money held in the chest in denominations from forty shillings to half a crown, marks how far the island ran on a home-made currency. The reference tracks these notes issued and told over month after month, a paper money that let the settlement trade below the level its heavy foreign coin could serve, and here they stand almost unchanged from June, the note issue held level while the coin fluctuated around it. The grant of the James Valley ground to John Goodwin turns on the viewing the board had ordered the week before. The survey found the plot not prejudicial either to the Company or to the neighbourhood, the two tests the board applied to every such petition, and only then was the lease granted on the usual terms. The reference records this careful qualification again and again, the board parting with its ground only where the grant would neither harm its own interest nor crowd or injure the neighbouring holders, so that a man's petition succeeded not on his asking but on the surveyors' report that no harm would follow. That Goodwin took the ground on a lease on the usual terms rather than in freehold marks the tenure by which the Company kept its hold on the island's land. The board granted the use of its ground for a term and a rent, not the ownership, so that every such plot remained the Company's own and returned a

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			yearly rent, the reference's account of the leasehold system borne out in this plain grant to the accountant, one more parcel of James Valley let out under the board's continuing lordship.
342	353	August Executed the following Lease to John Leech Granted in Consultation of 5th April last Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies do hereby demise grant Lease & to Farm lett unto John Leech of the Said Island all that piece or parcel of Ground Situate lying & being in James Valley Butting West on the Honble Companys Waste Ground East & North on the Main Water and & South on Land late belonging to John Aldrich contaening in Depth twelve Feet & in Length twenty Eight Feet with the Appurtenances to have & to hold unto the Said John Leech his Executrs Administrs & Assigns from the Day of the date hereof for & during the term of Twenty One Years from thence next ensueing upon condition that he the Said John Leech his Executrs Administrs & Assigns do & shall bear true faith & Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs & Successors & true faith to them the Said Honble Company & their Successors & shall duely obey all the Laws & Constitutions of the Said Island and upon condition that he the Said John Leech his Executrs Administrs & Assigns do & shall at the end or sooner determination of this Lease surrender & deliver up the aforesaid premises with the Appurtenances & All such Edifices & Buildings as shall or may be thereon in good Condition & repair, & shall not sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave & Consent of the Govr & Council for the time being yeilding and paying therefore Yearly & every Year during the term hereby granted unto them the Said Honble Company their Sub or Chief Agents or Assigns the Rent or Sum of four Shillings pr at or upon the Least Day of St Michael the Archangel Yearly In Witness whereof we the Said Govr & Council have hereunto set our hands and Affixed the Honourable Comp	The board executed the following lease to John Leech, granted in the consultation of 5 April earlier. The lords proprietors of the island, the honourable the united Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, granted and leased to John Leech of the island a piece of ground in James Valley, bounded west on the honourable Company's waste ground, east and north on the main watercourse, and south on land late belonging to John Aldrick, twelve feet in depth and twenty-eight feet in length, with its appurtenances. Leech, his executors, administrators and assigns were to hold it from the date of the lease for twenty-one years, on condition that he bore true faith and allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and true faith to the honourable Company and their successors, and duly obeyed all the laws and constitutions of the island. It was further conditioned that at the end or sooner determination of the lease he surrender the premises, with the appurtenances and all buildings raised on them, in good condition and repair, and that he not sell or dispose of his interest without the leave and consent of the Governor and council for the time being. Leech was to yield and pay yearly to the honourable Company, their agents or assigns, the rent of four shillings, at or upon the last day of Michaelmas. The Governor and council set their hands and affixed the honourable Company's seal. **Interpretations** The lease sets out in full the terms the board attached to every grant of its ground, the printed form of a tenure the earlier consultations recorded only as a line granting leave. John Leech held his small plot in James Valley for twenty-one years at four shillings a year, and the conditions bound him not merely to pay the rent but to bear allegiance to the Crown and the Company and to obey the island's laws, so that the grant of land was also a renewal of the tenant's submission, the Company as lord of the island exacting loyalty as well as rent from every man who held its ground. Two conditions reveal how tightly the Company kept its hold on the land it let. Leech could not sell or dispose of his interest without the board's leave, which is why the consultations are full of tenants petitioning for liberty to dispose of their lease land, and at the term's end he had to surrender the plot with all buildings raised on it in good repair, so that whatever he built passed to the Company with the ground. The tenant improved the land at his own charge but could neither alienate it freely nor keep what he put up, the lease drawn wholly to the proprietor's advantage. The plot itself, a mere twelve feet by twenty-eight in the crowded valley about the town, bounded by the watercourse and by land late John Aldrick's, marks how closely built the settled heart of the island had become. Such a scrap of ground, worth a formal sealed lease and a yearly rent, shows the value of a building site near the fort and the landing, the reference's stream of James Valley petitions answered here by the exact dimensions of one small holding, the town filling in foot by foot under the Company's continuing lordship.
343	354	1748 Companys Seal this twenty third Day of August in the Twenty second Year of the reign of our Said Sovereign Lord George the Second	The lease was sealed on 23 August 1748, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King George the Second, and John Leech set his hand and seal to the other part the same day. It was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.

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		by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France & Ireland King defensor of the faith &c so forth, & in the Year of our Lord 1748 & the Said John Leech hath to the other part sett his hand & Seal the Day & Year above written Signd Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark Mr Rich Gurling Petitioned for about five Acres of the Honble Companys waste Land lying at the Head of James Valley Ordered it to be viewed Mr Rich Damon presented the following Petition and representation & swore to the truth of it Vizt To Charles Hutchinson Esq Govr &c Council of the Island St Helena Augt ye 23 1748 The Petition of Rich Daman Sheweth That Your Petitioner was Shiped on board the George Snow by order of Willm Belcher Esq as chief Mate a long with Tho Wadham Commander of the said George Snow in order to proceed on a Voiage to the East Indies, & having happily Arrived there on our Return to Europe, about a fortnight before we made this Island, the Said Tho Wadam Commander did take or ordered to be taken from out of my Chest unknown to me a Letter which was sent Inclosed in a Letter directed to me from Mr Charles Bouchie Secretary of fort St Davids, desireing Me to deliver the Enclosed to Willm Belcher Esq & when the said Tho Wadam had broke open the said Letter & Perused the Contents, sent to the Gunner for two Pistolls, who brought them to him (the said Tho Wadam) asking the Gunner if the Pistolls was loaded with Powder & Ball the Gunner Replyed	Richard Gurling petitioned for about five acres of the honourable Company's waste land lying at the head of James Valley, and the board ordered it to be viewed. Richard Damon presented the following petition and representation, and swore to the truth of it. He addressed it to Governor Hutchinson and the council at St Helena on 23 August 1748. Damon set out that he had been shipped aboard the snow *George* by order of William Belcher, as chief mate, along with Thomas Weddearn, commander of the *George*, to proceed on a voyage to the East Indies. Having arrived safely and being now on the return to Europe, about a fortnight before they made the island Weddearn took, or ordered to be taken, out of Damon's chest a letter unknown to him, which had been enclosed in a letter directed to Damon from Charles Bouchier, secretary of Fort St David, desiring him to deliver the enclosed to William Belcher. When Weddearn had broken open the letter and read its contents, he sent to the gunner for two pistols, who brought them to him, and Weddearn asked the gunner whether the pistols were loaded with powder and ball. **Interpretations** Damon's sworn petition opens a dispute between a chief mate and his commander that the board would have to weigh, and its careful recital of how a private letter came to be opened is the heart of the complaint. Damon carried a letter from Charles Bouchier, the secretary of Fort St David, enclosed to him with instructions to pass it on to William Belcher, and the commander Weddearn took it from Damon's own chest without his knowledge and broke it open, an interference with a subordinate's correspondence and a breach of the trust the sealed letter carried. That Damon swore to the truth of the account marks the matter as a formal charge, laid on oath so the board must act on it. The commander's calling for pistols and asking whether they were loaded with powder and ball turns the affair from a quarrel over a letter to something graver, the suggestion of a threat of violence aboard the ship. The petition sets the two acts side by side, the opened letter and the loaded pistols, so that the board is led to see a commander who, on reading what the letter contained, armed himself, the record breaking off before the outcome is reached but the drift plainly toward some confrontation between Weddearn and his mate. The involvement of the secretaries and chief mates of the Bengal factories, Bouchier of Fort St David writing to Belcher through Damon, marks how the Company's servants used the ships and their officers to carry a private and confidential correspondence between the settlements. A letter passed by hand through a trusted mate could be intercepted only by a breach of that trust, and Weddearn's opening of it, whatever he found, struck at the whole system by which the scattered factories communicated in confidence, the reason Damon brought so particular a complaint before the island's board on his homeward passage.
344	355	Replyed they were, & being on the Deck with him, the Said Tho Wadam told me that he would blow out my brains, accordingly I asked him the reason of useing me in such a manner he Replyed he would let me know, & then swore by his maker that he would have my Blood the first Land he made, I told him I could not conceive from whence such Usage arose, unless it was from the	Damon set out that the gunner replied the pistols were loaded. Being on the deck with Weddearn, the commander told him that he would blow out his brains. When Damon asked the reason for being used in such a manner, Weddearn replied that he would let him know, and then swore by his maker that he would have his blood the first land he made. Damon told him he could not conceive from where such treatment arose unless it was from the letter Weddearn had taken out of his chest, and Weddearn replied that it was from that, threatening him at the same time that he should never live to see England.

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		Letter he had taken out of my Chest, he Replyed it was from that then, being me at the Same time that I should never live to See England On our Arrival to this place which was on Sunday the Seventh Instant, he the said Tho Wadam told me I might go on Shore when ever I pleased accordingly on Tuesday the Nin th Inst I came on Shore, in order to Refresh my Self & to buy me such fresh Provisions as I might get on Shore, he ordering me to lay in my own, telling me that I should Eat no longer in the Cabben, neither did I from that time, as he had the Letter from out of my Chest On Thursday the Eleventh Inst I sent my Request on Board to the Capt, desireing to know when he should saile, who sent me word that he should not Saile till Sunday, & that I might stay on Shore if I thought proper till then, On the Fryday Night I heard that he was to Saile that Night, accordingly I went down to the landing place, in order to go on Board when I came there the Capt was in the Boat, & Just a going off, I called to the Capt, who made me no answer, but a Gentleman who was a long with me told the Capt that his chief Mate was heave, & wanted to go on Board, upon which the Capt Replyed that he would not take me off, & that if I was a long Side, I should not come on Board I continued hailing the Vessel upwards of an Hour, in hopes to have got on Board, till at last she was under Saile, I having nothing left me but the Cloaths that I had on, not thinking in the least of Receiving such Ill Usage from the Capt, to whom I had never given the least Occasion We allways having a great respect for each other, untill his having that Letter, from out of my Chest Therefore Honourable Sirs, I have Acquainted you of my unhappy misfortune, of beeing left here, and humbly	On their arrival at the island on Sunday 7 August, Weddearn told him he might go ashore whenever he pleased. Accordingly, on Tuesday 9 August, Damon came ashore to refresh himself and to buy such fresh provisions as he might get, Weddearn ordering him to lay in his own and telling him that he should eat no longer in the cabin, which from that time he did not, since the commander had the letter from out of his chest. On Thursday 11 August Damon sent his request aboard to the captain, wishing to know when he should sail. Weddearn sent word that he would not sail till Sunday, and that Damon might stay ashore till then if he thought proper. On the Friday night Damon heard that the commander was to sail that night, and went down to the landing place to go aboard. When he came there the captain was in the boat and just going off. Damon called to him, but the captain made him no answer. A gentleman who was along with Damon told the captain that his chief mate was there and wanted to go aboard, upon which the captain replied that he would not take him off, and that if Damon was alongside he should not come aboard. Damon continued hailing the vessel upward of an hour in hopes of getting aboard, till at last she was under sail, having nothing left him but the clothes he had on, not thinking in the least of receiving such treatment from the captain, to whom he had never given the least occasion, they having always had a great respect for each other until the matter of the letter taken from out of his chest. Damon therefore acquainted the board of his unhappy misfortune of being left ashore. **Interpretations** Damon's fuller account turns the complaint into a grave charge of a commander abandoning his chief mate on a foreign shore, and the sequence he swears to is damning. Weddearn threatened to blow out his brains and swore to have his blood at the first land he made, tied the enmity openly to the opened letter, barred him from the cabin table, and then, having let him ashore, sailed without him in the night and refused to take him back aboard though he hailed the ship for an hour. The petition builds fact on fact toward the single injury of being marooned, stripped of everything but the clothes he stood in. The deliberateness of the abandonment is what Damon presses on the board. Weddearn told him he might stay ashore till Sunday, then slipped away on the Friday night, and when Damon reached the landing and called out, the commander answered nothing and plainly refused him, saying he should not come aboard. A gentleman standing with Damon witnessed the refusal, so the mate offers the board a corroborating voice, the whole framed to show not a man left behind by accident but one shut out of his ship on purpose. The board faced a hard matter, for the ship was gone and the accused commander beyond its reach, so the practical use of Damon's sworn petition was to fix the facts on the record while a witness was at hand. The island could not punish Weddearn, but it could take the mate's deposition on oath and forward it to the Company, so that the charge might be answered when the *George* reached England. The reference shows the board acting as the Company's forum for such shipboard disputes that touched at the island, gathering evidence on oath against the day the matter came before the Court, a marooned officer's only recourse being to swear his case before the nearest seat of the Company's authority.
345	356	1748 Humbly hope that your Honours will be pleased to take my unhappy	Damon closed by hoping the board would take his unhappy case into its charitable consideration until such time as an opportunity offered for his return to Europe, assuring the board that he would always take

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		case into your Charitable Considerations untill such time as an Opperkunity shall Offer, for my return to Europe, assureing your Honours, that I shall allways take Particular care to Merrit Your Honours Esteem And am Honoured Sirs Your Honrs most obedient & most Humble Servant Signd Richard Daman Mr John Bland the Master Mason being Sworn deposes that on Fryday the 12 Instant about the Hour of Seven OClock this Deponent met Mr James Sea Second Mate of the George Snow Tho Wadham Commander who enquired of him if he had seen Mr Daman Chief Mate of the said Snow this Deponent Replyed he had seen him up the Valley, upon which Mr Sea shewed this Deponent a Letter Signed Tho Wadham Signifying he was very angry that he lett Mr Daman come on Board, for had he been on board he would have kickt him out of the Ship, this Deponent further says he cannot charge his Memory whether it was in the Letter or that Mr Sea told him that the Capt did Intend to lett Mr Daman alone till the Ship was ready to Sail & then to Send a Guard of Soldiers for him & put him in Irons all the Voyage, further this Deponent says that Mr Sea & this Deponent went to Mr Daman & did inform him the Ship was going to Sail upon which Mr Daman asked this Deponent to See him to the boat with an Intent to go on board, & when this Deponent & Mr Daman came there the Capt was in the boat Just going to peel off this Deponent then told the Capt that his chief Mate was with him & wanted to go on board, who Replyed he might Stay for was he along Side he should not come on board (Signd) John Bland St Helena Augt 23 1748 Upon considering the above representation of Mr Daman & the Deposition of Mr John Bland the Master Mason, we agreed to allow Mr Daman ten Shillings £ Week during his Stay here	particular care to merit its esteem. The petition was signed by Richard Damon. John Bland the master mason, being sworn, deposed that on Friday 12 August, about seven o'clock, he met James Sea, second mate of the *George*, who asked him whether he had seen Damon, the chief mate of the snow. Bland replied that he had seen him up the valley, upon which Sea showed him a letter signed by Thomas Weddearn, stating that the commander was very angry that he had let Damon come aboard, for had he been aboard he would have kicked him out of the ship. Bland could not charge his memory whether it was in the letter, or that Sea told him, that the captain did intend to let Damon alone till the ship was ready to sail and then to send a guard of soldiers for him and put him in irons all the voyage. Bland further deposed that he and Sea went to Damon and informed him the ship was going to sail, upon which Damon asked Bland to see him to the boat, intending to go aboard. When Bland and Damon came there the captain was in the boat just going to put off, and Bland then told the captain that his chief mate was with him and wanted to go aboard, to which the captain replied that Damon might stay, for alongside he should not come aboard. The deposition was signed by John Bland. At St Helena on 23 August 1748, the board, considering Damon's representation and Bland's deposition, agreed to allow Damon ten shillings per week during his stay on the island. **Interpretations** Bland's sworn deposition corroborates the marooned mate's account and adds the commander's own words against him. The master mason had actually seen a letter signed by Weddearn saying he was angry the mate had been let ashore and would have kicked him out of the ship, and he stood with Damon at the landing when the commander refused to take him aboard. A disinterested islander thus confirmed both the enmity and the refusal on oath, so that the board had two sworn voices, the injured mate's and an independent witness's, agreeing on the essential facts. The detail that Weddearn intended to send a guard of soldiers to seize Damon and put him in irons for the whole voyage marks how far the quarrel had gone. Whether the design was in the letter or reported by the second mate, Bland could not be sure, but it shows the commander bent not merely on abandoning his mate but, failing that, on carrying him home a prisoner, the letter opened from Damon's chest having turned Weddearn to a settled purpose against him. The board recorded the threat as part of the sworn evidence, fixing it for the Court to weigh. The board's answer was the one relief within its power. It could not reach the departed ship nor judge the guilt of an absent commander, but it could keep the stranded officer from destitution, and so allowed Damon ten shillings a week during his stay. The reference shows the board making such charitable allowances to distressed mariners left at the island, a standing humanity toward men cast ashore, and here it maintained the marooned mate at the Company's charge until a homeward ship could carry him on, the sworn evidence forwarded and the man kept alive in the meantime.
346	357	August here upon his drawing Bills on William Belcher Esq the Owner of the Ship George Snow, for the Amount payable to the Honble Company he declaring to have Seventeen Months Wages due from the Said Snow Cha Hutchinson	The board made the allowance to Damon upon his drawing bills on William Belcher, the owner of the *George*, for the amount, payable to the honourable Company, Damon declaring that he had seventeen months' wages due to him from the *George*. The record was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 29 August 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson,

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		David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th Day of August 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Received of Mr Saml Doveton the Sum of £ 3 3 being the Ballance of his Account due to the Estate of John Goodwin Esq Decd Published an Advertisement requiring the Inhabitants of this Island to give in an Account of their Familys &ca and to pay their Rents & Revenues due to the Honble Company for the Year past, & that the Stores would be Shut up for three Weeks in Order to take an Inventory of the same Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. The board received of Samuel Doveton £3 3s 3d, being the balance of his account due to the estate of the late John Goodwin. The board published an advertisement requiring the inhabitants of the island to give in an account of their families and the like, and to pay their rents and revenues due to the honourable Company for the past year, and giving notice that the stores would be shut up for three weeks in order to take an inventory of the same. The order was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The board secured its ten shillings a week to Damon not as a gift but against his own wages, having him draw bills on Belcher the shipowner for the amount, payable to the Company. Damon declared seventeen months' pay owing to him from the *George*, and the board advanced against that credit, so that the marooned mate's maintenance cost the Company nothing in the end, the sum to be recovered from the wages his own ship still owed him. The relief was real but the accounting careful, the reference's pattern of charitable allowances secured wherever possible against the recipient's own claims borne out in the neat arrangement. The advertisement to the inhabitants gathers three standing pieces of the island's yearly government into one notice. The demand that every household give in an account of its family is the annual census by which the board knew the population it governed and fed, the call to pay rents and revenues is the yearly reckoning of what the tenants owed for their leased ground, and the shutting of the stores for three weeks was the stocktaking that produced the great annual inventory the reference records. The board timed all three to the same season, the close of the accounting year, so that the island rendered its numbers, paid its dues and had its stores told over together. The three-week closing of the stores was a considered choice with a real cost, for while the warehouse was shut the garrison and the planters could buy nothing from it, yet the board judged a full and undisturbed inventory worth the interruption. The reference records this annual stocktaking as the moment the Company reckoned the whole of its goods on the island against the year's receipts and issues, and only a closed store could be counted exactly, so the board accepted the lesser inconvenience of a shut warehouse for the greater security of an account that could be proved, the yearly settling of the Company's stock taking precedence over the daily convenience of its customers.
347	358	September At a Consultation held on Monday the 5th Day of September 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed We this day Executed the four following Leases Vizt Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise grant Lease and to farm let unto Martin Harper of the Said Island Planter all that piece or parcell of Ground containing Eight Acres	At a consultation held on Monday 5 September 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. The board executed the four following leases the same day. By the first, the lords proprietors of the island, the honourable the united Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, granted and leased to Martin Harper of the island, planter, a piece of ground of eight acres at a place called the Half Moon in the west division of the island, bounded north, south, east and west on the honourable Company's waste land. Harper, his executors, administrators and assigns were to hold it from the date of the lease for twenty-one years, yielding and paying yearly to the honourable Company, their agents or assigns, the rent of five shillings per acre, on the feast day of Michaelmas. It

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		situate, lying and being at a place called and known by the name of the half Moon in the West Division of the said Island Butting & bounding North South East & West every way on the Honble Companys waste Land To have & to hold unto the Said Martin Harper his Executors Administr and Assigns from the Day of the date hereof for & during all the Term of Twenty One Years yeilding & paying therefore Yearly & every Year during the Term hereby granted unto the Said Honble Company their Successors agents or Assigns the Rent or Sum of five Shillings £ Acre at or upon the feast Day of St Michael the Archangell Yearly, upon Condition that he the Said Martin Harper his Executr Administr & Assigns do and shall bear true faith & Allegeance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs & Successors & true faith to them the Said Honble Company & their Successors & shall duely obey all the Laws & Constitutions of the Said Island & do & shall	was conditioned that he bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and true faith to the honourable Company and their successors, and duly obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. **Interpretations** This lease to Martin Harper, the first of four executed together, shows the board granting out the island's marginal country land on the same terms as the town plots but at a very different scale and rent. Where John Leech's James Valley lease of twelve feet by twenty-eight had paid a flat four shillings, Harper's eight acres of grazing at the Half Moon paid five shillings the acre, so that the tiny building site near the fort and the broad pasture in the west division were valued by wholly different measures, the one for its position and the other by its extent, the rent reflecting the use each ground could be put to. The conditions of faith and allegiance are the same on the country lease as on the town plot, binding Harper to the Crown and the Company and to obedience to the island's laws. The Company as lord of the island exacted the tenant's submission with every grant of ground, great or small, so that the leasing of pasture in a remote division carried the same renewal of loyalty as a lease in the town, the whole population held to the Company by the land it occupied. The location, the Half Moon in the west division bounded on every side by the Company's waste land, marks the slow extension of settlement out from the valley into the open country. The reference tracks the granting of such outlying grazing and planting grounds as the population grew and the demand for pasture pressed, and Harper's eight acres, carved from the surrounding waste, is one more piece of the island's marginal land brought under lease and rent, the Company turning its unimproved ground to a yearly income while keeping the freehold in its own hand.
348	359	September fence in the Said Land with a good & Sufficient fence and when so fenced do & shall keep the same in good & Sufficient repair & keep up & Maintain the full Quantity of Wood thereon and do & shall at the end or other determination of this Lease Yeild up & Surrender the aforesaid Land in good Condition & Repair, & do not nor shall sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave and Consent of the Govr & Council for the time being In Witness whereof We the Said Govr & Council have hereunto Set our hands & Affixed the Honble Companys Seal this fifth Day of September in the Twenty Second Year of the reign of our Said Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France & Ireland King Defender of the faith & so forth & in the Year of our Lord 1748 (Signd) Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble United Company of Merchants of England trading	Martin Harper's first lease was further conditioned that he fence the ground with a good and sufficient fence, and once fenced keep it in good repair, and keep up and maintain the full quantity of wood on it. At the end or other determination of the lease he was to yield up and surrender the land in good condition and repair, and he was not to sell or dispose of his interest without the leave and consent of the Governor and council for the time being. The Governor and council set their hands and affixed the honourable Company's seal on 5 September 1748, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King George the Second. It was signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. By the second lease, the lords proprietors of the island, the honourable the united Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, granted and leased to Martin Harper of the island, planter, a piece of ground of eleven acres in Peak Gut in the west division of the island, bounded north on land late belonging to Edmund Nichols, deceased, south on land formerly in the possession of Stephen Lufkin, deceased, now possessed by Orlando Bagley, and west on the honourable Company's waste land. Harper, his executors, administrators and assigns were to hold it from the date of the lease for twenty-one years, yielding and paying yearly during the term thereby granted. **Interpretations** The two conditions added to Harper's first lease reveal the improving purpose behind the Company's grants of country land. He was required not merely to hold the ground but to fence it with a sufficient fence and to keep up the full quantity of wood on it, so that the lease bound the tenant to enclose and to preserve

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		to the East Indies Do hereby demise Grant Lease & to farm let unto Martin Harper of the Said Island Planter all that piece or parcel of Ground containing Eleven Acres situate lying & being in Peak Gut in the West Division of the Said Island Butting & Bounding North on Land late belong to Edmund Nichols deceased South on Land formerly in the Possession of Stephen Suffin diseased East on Land now Possessed by Orlando Bagley & West on the Honourable Companys Waste Land To have and to hold unto the Said Martin Harper his Executors Administratrs and Assigns from the day of the date hereof for and during the Term of Twenty One Year from thence next Ensueing Yeilding and paying there for Yearly and every Year during the Term hereby granted unto	timber, the reference recording the board's standing concern that the island's scarce wood be maintained and its grazing properly fenced. The Company granted its waste land on terms that forced the tenant to improve it, turning open ground into fenced and wooded holdings at the planter's own charge. The requirement to maintain the wood is the sharpest of these conditions, and it answers to a real and recurring anxiety in the record. The reference tracks the board's fear that the island's trees were being cut away faster than they grew, timber being needed for building, fuel and boats and none to spare, so the lease made every tenant a keeper of the wood on his ground, forbidding him to strip it. The clause turned the private holder into an instrument of the Company's forestry, the preservation of the island's timber written into the terms on which men held their land. The boundaries of the second lease, land late Edmund Nichols's and Stephen Lufkin's now passed to Orlando Bagley, show again how the death of the island's holders kept its ground in constant movement between hands. The reference records Lufkin among the recently dead whose small estates the board had lately settled, and here his former ground is bounded against Harper's new holding, the plots re-let and re-bounded as one tenant died and another took up his land, the whole west division slowly parcelled and re-parcelled under the Company's continuing lordship.
349	360	1748 them the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Rent or Sum of five Shillings £ Acre at or upon the feast of St Michael the Archangell Yearly, upon Condit shall he the said Martin Harper his Executr Administr and Assigns Do & shall bear true faith & Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs & Successors & true faith to them the Said Honble Company & their Successors & shall duely obey & keep all the Laws & Constitutions of the Said Island & do & shall set about & fence in the said Land with a good & Sufficient fence & when so fenced do & shall well & Sufficiently keep up & maintain the same together with the full quantity of Wood thereon & Do & shall at the end or other determination of this Lease Yeild up & Surrender the aforesaid premisses in good Condition & repair AND do not nor shall sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the Leave & consent of the Govr & Council for the time being In Witness whereof We the Said Govr & Council have hereunto set our hands & affixed the Honble Companys Seal this fifth Day of September in the Twenty Second Year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France & Ireland King Defender of the faith & so forth & in the Year of our Lord 1748 (Signd) Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the	Martin Harper's second lease was to pay to the honourable Company, their successors, agents or assigns, the rent of five shillings per acre yearly, on the feast day of Michaelmas, on condition that he bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and true faith to the honourable Company and their successors, and duly keep and obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. He was to set about and fence the ground with a good and sufficient fence, and once fenced keep it up and maintain it, together with the full quantity of wood on it, and at the end or other determination of the lease yield up and surrender the premises in good condition and repair, and not sell or dispose of his interest without the leave and consent of the Governor and council for the time being. The Governor and council set their hands and affixed the honourable Company's seal on 5 September 1748, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King George the Second. It was signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. By the third lease, the lords proprietors of the island, the honourable the united Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, granted and leased to John Leech senior of the island, planter, two pieces of ground containing ten acres in the east division of the island, two acres of which were bounded east, west and north. **Interpretations** Harper's second lease repeats the whole apparatus of the first, the rent by the acre, the oath of allegiance and the conditions of fencing, wood and surrender, so that the two grants to the same planter on the same day show the standard form applied afresh to each parcel. The Company drew a separate sealed lease for every piece of ground, even where one man took two on one day, each holding kept as a distinct tenancy with its own bounds, rent and conditions, the reference's picture of a settlement held together by a mesh of individual leases borne out in the repetition. The requirement to fence and to keep up the wood recurs word for word, marking these clauses as the fixed policy of the board toward its country land rather than terms struck for a particular tenant. Every grant of pasture or planting ground in the west

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		Honble United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise grant Lease & to farm let unto John Leech Senr of the Said Island Planter All those two pieces or parcells of Land contaening by enumeration Ten Acres situate lying & being in the East Division of the Said Island two Acres thereof Butting & bounding East & West North	division carried the same duty to enclose and to preserve timber, so that the leasing of the island's waste was also a programme of improvement and conservation, the Company using its lordship to compel the fencing and wooding of ground the tenants would otherwise have left open and stripped. The turn to John Leech senior's lease of ten acres in the east division shows the four grants of the day spread across both ends of the island, Harper taking pasture in the west and Leech planting ground in the east. The reference records the settlement filling in both divisions as its population grew, and this batch of leases executed together marks a busy day of the board's work as landlord, four parcels of its waste turned to leasehold and rent at one sitting, the island's ground steadily brought under cultivation and enclosure under the terms the Company fixed.
350	361	September North & South every way on the Honble Companys waste Land & the other Eight Acre Butting North on the Said John Leechs own Land, South & West on the Land now in the Possession of Joshua Worrall & East on the Honble Companys waste Land To have and to hold the said hereby demised Ten Acres of Land with the Appurtenances & every part & parcel thereof unto him the said John Leech his Heirs Executr Administrators & Assigns from the Day of the Date hereof for & during all the time space & Term of twenty One Years from thence next ensueing upon Condition that he the Said John Leech his Heirs or allowed Assigns do always bear true faith & Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the second his Heirs & Successors & true faith to them the said Honble Company & their Successors & shall duely obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the Said Island Yeilding & paying therefore Yearly & every Year during the said Term, & time of Twenty One Years unto the Said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Yearly Rent of £ five Shillings £ Acre in at or upon the feast of St Michael the Arch Angel yearly Anit upon Condition that he the said John Leech his Heirs Executr Administr or Assigns shall & do immediately set about & fence in the said parcels of Land with a good & Sufficient Wall fence & when so fenced & enclosed do & shall keep & maintain the same in good heart & Tenantable repair & do not Suffer the same or any part thereof to run to ruin or decay & shall also plant keep up & maintain the full Quantity and proportion of Wood & Young Trees pursuant to the Law of this Island in that case made & provided & also plant Furze round the Said fences at such proper Seasons of the Year as it will best grow in or the nature of the Soil produce & do not nor shall alter the said fences they being the bounds or Landmarks to the said Lands & do not nor shall Sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave & Consent of the Govr & Council for the	John Leech senior's ten acres in the east division were made up of two parcels. The first, of two acres, was bounded north and south on the honourable Company's waste land, and the other, of eight acres, was bounded north on Leech's own land, south and west on land now in the possession of Joshua Worrall, and east on the honourable Company's waste land. Leech, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns were to hold the ten acres from the date of the lease for twenty-one years, on condition that he bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and true faith to the honourable Company and their successors, and duly obey all the laws and constitutions of the island, yielding and paying yearly to the honourable Company, their agents or assigns, the rent of five shillings per acre, on the feast of Michaelmas. It was further conditioned that Leech immediately set about and fence the parcels with a good and sufficient wall, and once so fenced and enclosed keep and maintain them in good heart and tenantable repair, not suffering the same or any part to run to ruin or decay. He was also to plant and keep up the full quantity and proportion of wood and young trees, pursuant to the law of the island made for that purpose, and further to plant furze round the fences at such proper seasons of the year as it would best grow, or as the nature of the soil would produce, and not to alter the fences, they being the bounds and landmarks of the land, nor to sell or dispose of his interest without the leave and consent of the Governor and council for the time being. **Interpretations** Leech's lease carries the fullest statement yet of the Company's conditions for its country land, and its requirements go well beyond those of the earlier grants. Where Harper was bound to a sufficient fence, Leech was to enclose his ground with a good and sufficient wall, keep it in good heart, plant the full proportion of wood and young trees pursuant to the island's own law, and plant furze round the fences. The reference records the board's standing laws for the preservation of wood and the enclosure of ground, and here the lease binds the tenant to that whole body of agricultural regulation, the grant of land made conditional on a programme of walling, planting and husbandry. The clause requiring the planting of furze around the fences is the most particular, and it reveals a practical answer to the island's want of fencing material. Furze, the prickly gorse that grew readily on poor soil, was to be set round the walls to thicken them into a living hedge, the tenant told to plant it at the season and on the soil where it would best grow. The reference notes the difficulty of fencing on an island short of timber, and this clause shows the board directing the tenants to raise their own fencing from a hardy shrub, a small piece of estate

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			management written into the lease to meet a real scarcity. The insistence that the fences not be altered, being the bounds and landmarks of the land, marks how the walls served a double purpose the board would not let the tenant confuse. A fence was not only an enclosure but the very boundary of the holding, so that to move it was to shift the landmark and unsettle the title, and the lease forbade it absolutely. On an island where the ground was parcelled among many small holders and re-let as men died, the fixity of the boundary walls was the security of every man's title, the reference's picture of ground constantly re-bounded and re-granted resting on the plain rule that the fence, once set, marked the line for good.
351	362	1748 time being In Witness whereof we the Said Govr & Council have hereunto set our hands & Affixed the Honble Companys Seal this fifth day of September in the Twenty Second Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France & Ireland King, Defender of the faith & so forth & in the Year of our Lord 1748 & the said John Leech hath to the Other part set his hand & Seal the Day & Year above written (Signd) Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise grant Lease & to farm let unto Joseph Whaley Junr of the Said Island Planter all those two pieces or parcels of Land containing two Acres & a half situate lying & being in Prosperous Bay Valley in the East Division of the said Island one Acre & an half thereof Butting & bounding North South & East on the Honble Companys waste Land & West on Land late belonging to John Bagitt Decd & the other one Acre Butting North East South & West every way on the Honble Companys Waste Land To have & to hold the said hereby demised two Acres & a half of Land with the Appurtenances & every part & parcel thereof unto him the said Joseph Whaley his Heirs Executr Administr & Assigns from the Day of the Date hereof for & during all the Time Space & Term of Twenty One Years from thence next ensueing upon Condition that he the said Joseph Whaley his Heirs or allowed Assigns do always bear true faith & Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs & Successors & true faith to them the Said Honble Company & their Successrs & shall duely obey all the Laws & Constitutions of the Said Island	John Leech senior's lease was sealed by the Governor and council on 5 September 1748, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King George the Second, and Leech set his hand and seal to the other part the same day. It was signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. By the fourth lease, the lords proprietors of the island, the honourable the united Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, granted and leased to Joseph Whaley junior of the island, planter, two pieces of ground containing two and a half acres in Prosperous Bay in the east division of the island. One acre and a half was bounded north, south and east on the honourable Company's waste land, and west on land late belonging to John Bazett, deceased, and the other acre was bounded north, east, south and west on the honourable Company's waste land. Whaley, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns were to hold the two and a half acres from the date of the lease for twenty-one years, on condition that he bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and true faith to the honourable Company and their successors, and duly obey all the laws and constitutions of the island, yielding and paying yearly for it. **Interpretations** The last of the four leases, to Joseph Whaley junior, completes a day's work in which the board granted out ground in both divisions of the island to three different planters, the whole executed and sealed together. The reference records these batches of leases drawn up at one sitting, and the pattern here, small parcels of two, ten and eight acres and now two and a half, shows the board dealing in modest holdings, the island's ground parcelled among many small tenants rather than granted in great blocks, each planter adding a few acres to what he already held. Whaley's ground at Prosperous Bay, bounded in part on land late John Bazett's, again marks how the death of the island's holders kept its ground moving between hands. The reference records Bazett among the recently dead, and here his former land at Prosperous Bay bounds the new grant to Whaley, the plots re-bounded and re-let as one man died and another took up the neighbouring waste, the settlement's ground in constant slow redistribution under the board's eye. The very smallness of Whaley's two parcels, a single acre and an acre and a half in a remote bay, shows the board granting out even the least fragments of its waste to any tenant who would take and improve them. The reference's stream of such petitions and grants marks a settlement where every scrap of usable ground was sought and let, the Company turning its most marginal land to a small yearly rent and the labour of enclosure, the whole island slowly brought under lease acre by acre through the routine business of the board as landlord.

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		Yeilding And paying therefor Yearly & every Year during	
352	363	September during the said Term & time of Twenty One Years unto the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Yearly Rent of five Shillings £ Acre in at or upon the feast of Saint Michael the Arch Angel Yearly And upon condition that he the said Joseph Whaley his Heirs Executr Administr or Assigns shall & do immediately set about & fence in the said parcels of Land with a good & Sufficient Wall fence & when so fenced & enclosed do & shall keep and maintain the same in good heart & Tenantable repair & do not Suffer the same or any part thereof to run to ruin or decay & shall also plant keep up & maintain the full Quantity & proportion of Wood & young Trees pursuant to the Law of this Island in that case made & provided & also plant Furze round the said fences at such proper Seasons of the Year as it will best grow in or the nature of the Soil produce & do not nor shall alter the said fences they being the bounds or Landmarks to the said Land & do not nor shall sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave & Consent of the Govr & Council for the time being In Witness whereof we the said Govr & Council have hereunto set our hands & Affixed the Honble Companys Seal this fifth Day of September in the twenty Second Year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France & Ireland King defender of the faith & so forth & in the Year of our Lord 1748 and the said Joseph Whaley hath to the other part set his hand & Seal the Day & Year above written (Signd) Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	Joseph Whaley junior was to pay to the honourable Company, their successors, agents or assigns, the yearly rent of five shillings per acre, on the feast of Michaelmas, on condition that he immediately set about and fence the parcels with a good and sufficient wall fence, and once so fenced and enclosed keep and maintain them in good heart and tenantable repair, not suffering the same or any part to run to ruin or decay. He was also to plant, keep up and maintain the full quantity and proportion of wood and young trees pursuant to the law of the island made for that purpose, and further to plant furze round the fences at such proper seasons of the year as it would best grow, or as the nature of the soil would produce, and not to alter the fences, they being the bounds and landmarks of the land, nor to sell or dispose of his interest without the leave and consent of the Governor and council for the time being. The Governor and council set their hands and affixed the honourable Company's seal on 5 September 1748, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King George the Second, and Whaley set his hand and seal to the other part the same day. It was signed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark, and the record was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** Whaley's lease closes the set of four with the same full body of conditions that governed Leech's, the wall fence, the maintenance in good heart, the planting of wood and young trees pursuant to the island's law, the furze round the fences and the prohibition on altering the boundaries or alienating the interest. That the smallest of the four holdings, a mere two and a half acres, carried the identical weight of obligation as the larger grants shows the conditions were fixed by policy and not scaled to the size of the parcel, every tenant of the Company's country land bound alike to enclose, to plant and to preserve. The double subscription at the foot, the three signatures within the sealed lease and then again below it, marks the two distinct acts the record joined. The names within the instrument authenticate the lease itself, sealed and delivered to the tenant, while the second set closes the consultation entry in which the four leases were executed, the same three men signing first as parties to each grant and then as the board that transacted the day's business, the reference's method of keeping instrument and minute together in one book borne out in the paired subscriptions. The insistence, repeated in every one of these country leases, that the tenant plant and keep up the full proportion of wood pursuant to the island's own law reveals a settled policy of afforestation written into the terms of tenure. The reference records the board's long anxiety over the wasting of the island's timber, and by binding each new tenant to plant and maintain wood the Company sought to make its expanding settlement replenish the very resource that settlement consumed, the grant of ground for pasture and planting tied inseparably to the duty of raising trees, so that the letting of the land served the preservation of its wood.
353	364	September At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th Day of September 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed	At a consultation held on Monday 12 September 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. On Friday 9 September the *Princess of Wales*, Captain Thomas Harry, arrived from Bengal, last from the Cape. The same day a Dutch ship called the

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		9 Arrived the Princess of Wales Capt Tho Harry, from Bengall last from the Cape, the same Day came to Anchor a Dutch Ship, called the Danna from the Cape who Draged her Anchor in the Night, and drove off the next Morning, she stood to Windward, for some time, and then bore away Mr Clark reports that he hath been on board the Princess of Wales, to Muster her Company, & search for Deserters, but found none, the Muster Roll is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Princess of Wales Vizt Capt Tho Harry Commander John Brede Quart mast Jn Saunders Sailmaker Asst Mr Peter Purcell Chiefmate Wm fulton Do Jn Molleson Seaman Mr John Blewett 2 Do Jn Castles Sailmaker Jn Wenery Do Mr Davie Mitchell 3 Do George Martin Guns mate Tho Langham Do Mr Wm Lamport 4 Do George Leith Capt Do Matth Preston Do Mr John Mc farquehar Surg Cha Denham Armourer Roger Cwade Do Charles Barkley Gunner Rob Uppenger Caulker Jn Baptiste grage Do Wm Godfrey Carpenter Jn Clark Capt Barber Benjn Pew Do Henry Winding Boatswain Tho Yappes Capt Sister Wm Burtan Do James Willmot Surg mate Timothy Delovin Ships Cook Jn Wheelbase Do James Bromley Ships Kew Edwd Silliyard Cooks mate George Cott Do Edwd Porter Capt Do Wm P McLay Botsn Do Hugh Carr Caulker Wm Vico Capt Cook Jamr Kirmighim Coquer Anthony Hugler Butcher Tho Richardson Ship Kewman Jn Isles fowt Capt Sew Lawrence Cornelius Seaman George Morphea Do Matth Buchan Do Frans Backett Do Alexand Scott Quart Mast John Elles John Thompson Do	*Danna*, from the Cape, came to anchor, but she dragged her anchor in the night and drove off. The next morning she stood to windward for some time and then bore away. John Clark reported that he had been aboard the *Princess of Wales* to muster her company and search for deserters but found none. The muster roll of the *Princess of Wales* ran as follows. Captain Thomas Harry, commander Mr Peter Purcell, chief mate Mr John Blewett, second mate Mr David Mitchell, third mate Mr William Lamport, fourth mate Mr John McFarquhar, surgeon Charles Barkley, gunner William Godfrey, carpenter Henry Winding, boatswain James Williams, surgeon's mate James Bromley, ship's steward Edward Porter, captain's cook William Vicon, captain's cook Thomas Richardson, ship's steward George Morphas Alexander Scott, quartermaster John Brede, quartermaster William Fulton, quartermaster John Castles, sailmaker George Martin, gunner's mate George Leith, captain's cook Charles Barnham, armourer Robert Uppenger, caulker Joseph Clark, captain's servant Thomas Yappes, captain's steward Timothy Dolven, ship's cook Edward Gillyard, cook's mate William Boxley, boatswain's mate James Abbingham, cooper John Idles, steward's servant Matthew Buchan, ship's cook John Elles John Saunders, sailmaker's mate William Molleson, seaman John Wenery, seaman Thomas Langham, seaman Matthew Preston, seaman Roger Croude, seaman John Baptist Legrage, seaman Benjamin Pew, seaman William Burtan, seaman John Wheelhase, seaman George Ash, seaman Hugh Carr, caulker Anthony Hugler, butcher Lawrence Cornelius, seaman Francis Backett, seaman John Thompson, seaman **Interpretations** The muster of the incoming *Princess of Wales* by a member of the council was the same standing check against desertion that Clark had carried out on the *Caesar* two months earlier, the whole company called man by man against her roll and none found missing. The reference records this search made on every ship that touched at the road, the island guarding both against its own garrison slipping away to sea and against ships' men deserting to settle ashore, the entry noting the routine safeguard and its clean result. The roll gives the full complement of a Bengal Indiaman, and beside the master, mates and surgeon it names the whole run of specialist hands a large ship carried: gunner, carpenter, boatswain, caulker, cooper, sailmaker, armourer and their mates, together with a butcher and no fewer than four men entered as captain's cooks or stewards, the establishment of the great cabin. The mixture of names, English, Scots and Welsh among the plainly foreign John Baptist Legrage

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			and Lawrence Cornelius, marks again the cosmopolitan crew of the eastern trade, gathered from many nations for the Company's long voyages. The Dutch ship *Danna*, coming to anchor the same day only to drag her anchor in the night and drive off, records the real peril of the open road at St Helena that the reference notes again and again. The anchorage gave poor holding ground, and a ship that failed to bite the bottom could be carried off in the dark, as the *Danna* was, forced to stand to windward and then bear away without completing her call. The incident marks the hazard that made the island's stock of anchors and cables so valuable to the passing fleet, a vessel that lost her ground tackle in that road being lucky to get away at all.
354	365	September Robt Edwards Seaman John Rombold Domingo D Costa Lascar John Dempsey Do Charles Rombold Joneake Do Robt Gibb Do one Black Woman Moneak Do Cha Kenedy Do Tho Farrando Sarang Poncheke Do John Alced Do Anderaw Dowell Sindall Antony D Bozard Do Peter Bower Do Bastian Jacobs Lascar Patt Fernand Do John Selby Do Clement Artonia Do Bartho Silvia Do Tho Suffolk Do Pedo Bengall Do Guilam Do Joseph Scott Do Nichalos Drewize Do Gospar Do Wm Bell Do Tho Willson Do Joseph Cheeko Do John Sollier Do Manuel Carroll Do Josa Rosaro Do David Goodlett Do Bastian Rosaro Do Anthony Ferraro Do Simon Johnson Do Antony Bozar Do Savill Bozaro Do Passengers Manuell Ferraro Do Bastian Rozaro Do Mr Rowbald Sward Do Bastian Bozaro Do Mr Brown Bonham Antony Do Bozar Do Cheeokko Do Mr Tho Mills Pedo Bozaro Do The Plantation, Gunners, and Stewards Accounts were brought in for the Month of August last, which were examined & Approved, & are as follows Vizt Sundrys Expended in the Castle in the Month of August 1748 Vizt 18½ Bottles Port Wine 1 7 4½ 16 Do Lisbon Do 1 3 8 28 Do Madeira Do 2 18 4 15 Do Goa Arrack 5 3¾ 13 Strong Beer 19 8¼ 62 Do Small Do 57 fresh Beef 14 3 102 Do Pork 2 11 2 Pr Salt Do 3 9 216½ Mutton 4 10 2½ 18 Fowls 7 1 Duck 1 6 295 Flower 1 16 10½ 25 Candy 7 3½ 25 Sugar 5 2½ £ 18 11 3½	The muster roll of the *Princess of Wales* continued with the remaining company, the lascars and the passengers. Robert Edwards, seaman John Dempsey, seaman Robert Gibb, seaman Charles Kennedy, seaman John Alec, seaman Peter Bower, seaman John Selby, seaman Thomas Suffolk, seaman Joseph Scott, seaman William Bell, seaman John Collier, seaman David Goodlett, seaman Simon Johnson, seaman John Rombold Charles Rombold one black woman Thomas Fernando, serang Anderson Dowell, tindal Bastian Jacobs, lascar Clement Antonio, lascar Pedro Bengall, lascar Nicholas Drewize, lascar Thomas Willson, lascar Manuel Carroll, lascar Bastian Rosaro, lascar Antony Bozar, lascar Manuell Ferraro, lascar Ferrand, lascar Antony de Bozar, lascar Domingo de Costa, lascar Joneake, lascar Moneak, lascar Pencheke, lascar Antony de Bozar, lascar Baptist Fernando, lascar Bartholomew Silvia, lascar Guilam, lascar Gospar, lascar Joseph Checho, lascar Josa Rosaro, lascar Anthony Ferraro, lascar Savill Rozaro, lascar Bastian Rozaro, lascar Bastian Bozaro, lascar Checokho, lascar Pedro Bozaro, lascar The passengers were Mr Rossell and Mr Brown Bonham, and William, son of Thomas Mills. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for August were brought in, examined and approved. The sundries expended in the castle during August 1748 ran as follows. 18.5 bottles of port wine, £1 7s 4.5d 16 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 3s 8d 28 bottles of Madeira wine, £2 18s 4d 15 lb of Goa arrack, £0 5s 3.75d 13 lb of strong beer, [combined]

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			62 lb of small beer, £0 19s 8.75d 51 lb of fresh beef, £0 14s 3d 102 lb of pork, £2 11s 0d 2 lb of salt pork, £0 3s 9d 216.5 lb of mutton, £4 10s 2.5d 18 fowls, [combined] 1 duck, £0 1s 6d 195 lb of flour, £1 16s 10.5d 25 lb of candy, £0 7s 3.5d 25 lb of sugar, £0 5s 2.5d total, £18 11s 3.5d **Interpretations** The lower half of the *Princess of Wales* roll reveals the two-tier manning of a Bengal Indiaman that the *Caesar* and *George* rolls had only hinted at. Below the European seamen comes a large body of lascars, the Indian sailors shipped in the eastern ports, under their own petty officers, a serang who was their boatswain and a tindal his mate. The reference notes these Indian crews carried on the Company's homeward ships, and here better than thirty of them are entered by name, Bastian Rosaro, Pedro Bengall, Baptist Fernando and the rest, many bearing the Portuguese names of the Indian coastal Christians from whom such crews were largely drawn. The single entry of a black woman among the company, set without name between the European seamen and the lascars, marks the presence aboard of a slave or servant carried on the voyage, one of the many such people the reference records passing through the island on the Company's ships. That she is entered by neither name nor rating, merely as a black woman, shows how the muster counted such a person as neither crew nor passenger but as a chattel aboard, noted for completeness yet set apart from the named men around her. The castle sundries for August, read against the July account in the reference, show the table now fully recovered from the drought. The mutton at more than two hundredweight and the pork and fresh beef together mark a free supply of red meat, the July stock account's return of breeding borne out in the fuller provisioning of the officers' table. The wines hold their steady place at the head of the charge, the port, Lisbon and Madeira replenished from the passing ships, the standing cost of the Company's table maintained as the season eased and the herds recovered their strength.
355	366	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of August 1748 Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaining the 1st: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 50, Yearlings 37, Heifers 15, Steers 2, Oxen 6, Total 202, Ewes 106, Wethers 2, Lambs 105, Rams 5, Total 218, Ewes 99, Wethers 4, Kids 43, Rams 6, Total 152, Sows 13, Barrows 3, Shoats 23, Piggs 44, Boars 2, Total 85, Turkeys 28, Fowls 139, Ducks 8, Geese 21, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 3, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 8, Rams 0, Total 8, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 4, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 10, Boars 0, Total 10, Turkeys 0, Fowls 20, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 53, Yearlings 37, Heifers 15, Steers 2, Oxen 6, Total 205, Ewes 106, Wethers 2, Lambs 113, Rams 5, Total 226, Ewes 99, Wethers 4, Kids 47, Rams 6, Total 156, Sows 13, Barrows 3, Shoats 23, Piggs 54, Boars 2, Total 95, Turkeys 28, Fowls 159, Ducks 8, Geese 21, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10	The account of the honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for August 1748 ran as follows, the columns showing bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers and oxen under neat cattle, then ewes, wethers, lambs and rams under sheep, ewes, wethers, kids and rams under goats, sows, barrows, shoats, pigs and boars under hogs, and turkeys, fowls, ducks and geese under poultry, with horses and mares, each group carrying its own total. Neat cattle remaining at the first: 3 bulls, 89 cows, 50 calves, 37 yearlings, 15 heifers, 2 steers, 6 oxen, total 202 Sheep remaining at the first: 106 ewes, 2 wethers, 105 lambs, 5 rams, total 218 Goats remaining at the first: 99 ewes, 4 wethers, 43 kids, 6 rams, total 152 Hogs remaining at the first: 13 sows, 3 barrows, 23 shoats, 44 pigs, 2 boars, total 85 Poultry remaining at the first: 28 turkeys, 139 fowls, 8 ducks, 21 geese Horses remaining at the first: 7 horses, 3 mares, total 10 Neat cattle increased: 3 calves, total 3 Sheep increased: 8 lambs, total 8 Goats increased: 4 kids, total 4 Hogs increased: 10 pigs, total 10 Poultry increased: 20 fowls, total 20

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		Killd: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 6, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 7, Ewes 2, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 2, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 2, Boars 0, Total 2, Turkeys 0, Fowls 18, Ducks 1, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 4, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 6, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Missing: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 10, Wethers 0, Lambs 9, Rams 0, Total 19, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Killd by Dogs: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 1, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 1, Shoats 0, Piggs 2, Boars 0, Total 3, Turkeys 0, Fowls 7, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Remaining the 31: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 53, Yearlings 37, Heifers 15, Steers 2, Oxen 6, Total 205, Ewes 85, Wethers 1, Lambs 104, Rams 5, Total 195, Ewes 99, Wethers 2, Kids 47, Rams 6, Total 154, Sows 12, Barrows 3, Shoats 21, Piggs 52, Boars 2, Total 90, Turkeys 28, Fowls 128, Ducks 7, Geese 21, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 To 2 Goats to the Sick Slaves Yams Expended 47.000 1 Child born named Sarah David Hunter	Horses increased: 0 Neat cattle after increase: 3 bulls, 89 cows, 53 calves, 37 yearlings, 15 heifers, 2 steers, 6 oxen, total 205 Sheep after increase: 106 ewes, 2 wethers, 113 lambs, 5 rams, total 226 Goats after increase: 99 ewes, 4 wethers, 47 kids, 6 rams, total 156 Hogs after increase: 13 sows, 3 barrows, 23 shoats, 54 pigs, 2 boars, total 95 Poultry after increase: 28 turkeys, 159 fowls, 8 ducks, 21 geese Horses after increase: 7 horses, 3 mares, total 10 Neat cattle killed: 0 Sheep killed: 6 ewes, 1 wether, total 7 Goats killed: 2 ewes, total 2 Hogs killed: 2 pigs, total 2 Poultry killed: 18 fowls, 1 duck Horses killed: 0 Neat cattle stolen: 0 Sheep stolen: 4 ewes, total 4 Poultry stolen: 6 fowls Neat cattle missing: 0 Sheep missing: 10 ewes, 9 lambs, total 19 Sheep killed by dogs: 1 lamb, total 1 Hogs killed by dogs: 1 pig, total 2 Poultry died: 7 fowls Neat cattle remaining the 31st: 3 bulls, 89 cows, 53 calves, 37 yearlings, 15 heifers, 2 steers, 6 oxen, total 205 Sheep remaining the 31st: 85 ewes, 1 wether, 104 lambs, 5 rams, total 195 Goats remaining the 31st: 99 ewes, 2 wethers, 47 kids, 6 rams, total 154 Hogs remaining the 31st: 12 sows, 3 barrows, 21 shoats, 52 pigs, 2 boars, total 90 Poultry remaining the 31st: 28 turkeys, 128 fowls, 7 ducks, 21 geese Horses remaining the 31st: 7 horses, 3 mares, total 10 2 goats to the sick slaves Yams expended, 47,000 lb 1 child born, named Sarah The account was signed by David Hunter. **Interpretations** The August stock account read against the run in the reference shows the cattle at last steady and even rising, the herd holding at 205 with three calves born and none killed, the first month in a long while that no beast was slaughtered for the shipping. With no fleet victualling off the island and the season recovered, the Company spared its cattle entirely, letting the herd rebuild after the heavy drawdown of the spring, the reference's account of the drought's easing borne out in a month when the neat cattle grew rather than shrank. The sheep tell a harder story. Where the cattle held, the flock fell sharply from 218 to 195, and the losses are unusually various: seven killed, four stolen, one taken by dogs and, most striking, nineteen entered as missing, ten ewes and nine lambs. The reference records the island's sheep straying and being lost on the open hills far more than the closely herded cattle, and this month's great tally of missing beasts, beyond those stolen or worried by dogs, marks the difficulty of keeping a flock on unenclosed ground, the very want of fencing that the leases executed a week earlier were drawn to remedy. The predation and theft entered this month are a notice of the disorder that pressed on the Company's stock. Four sheep and six fowls stolen, and a lamb and a pig killed by dogs, record the twin threats of human pilfering and the island's roaming dogs that the reference tracks through the year, the board repeatedly ordering the destruction of stray dogs and the punishment of stock theft. The entry of a slave

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			child born and named Sarah, set as before among the increase of the livestock, again marks how the record counted the Company's slaves in the same book as the beasts, and the 47,000 lb of yams holds steady, the establishment still feeding its people and stock wholly on yams as the recovered season carried on.
356	367	September Gunners Stores Expended in the Month of Augt 1748 the Day of the Month, Guns fired, No 4, No 3, No 2, No 1, Powder Expended 6 Alarm: Guns fired 6, No 4 4, No 3 0, No 2 2, No 1 0, Powder Expended 13 7 Arrived the George Capt Waddam: Guns fired 9, No 4 0, No 3 9, No 2 0, No 1 0, Powder Expended 9½ 17 Powder to the Funeral of John Hodges: Powder Expended 2¼ Powder for Priming at the Main Fort: Powder Expended 1 Powder for Priming at the Ridge House: Powder Expended 3 Powder for Signals: Powder Expended 4½ Total: Guns fired 15, No 4 4, No 3 9, No 2 2, No 1 0, Powder Expended 29 Handspikes to Mr Bland 1 Paper for making of Cartridges 3 Quire Handspikes to Mr Hawkins 4 Spunge Staff to make a Sargate 2 Sheep Skins for Repairing the Spunges 6 Rammer Heads for Repairing the Spunges 6 Spunge Heads for Repairing the Spunges 4 Spunge Staffs for Repairing the Spunges 3 Paper to Solomon Jacobs for an Orderly Book for ye Guard 1 Quire Lead Balls fired at Bankss by Lieut Kendals order 1 ozn Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Thursday the 15th Day of September 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Complaint having been made to Us by great part of the Crew of the Ship Princess of Wales, against Captain Harry, for Stinting them of Provisions, & taking from them their usual Drams, and that there was not Provisions sufficient on Board to serve them the Voyage, We therefore to make an Enquiry into this affair, & at Capt Harrys	The gunner's stores expended in August 1748 ran as follows, the columns tallying the number of guns fired and the several natures of powder charge by the pound. 6 August, alarm, 6 guns, 4 lb of number 4 powder, no charge of number 3, 2 lb of number 2, 13 lb total 7 August, arrived the George, Captain Weddearn, 9 guns, 9 lb of number 4, 9 lb total 17 August, powder to the funeral of John Hodges, 2.5 lb powder for priming at the main fort, 1 lb powder for priming at the Ridge House, 4.5 lb powder for signals, 0.5 lb total, 15 guns fired, 4 lb of number 4, 9 lb of number 3, 2 lb of number 2, 29.5 lb total handspikes to Bland, 1 paper for making cartridges, 3 quires handspikes to Hawkins, 4 sponge staves to make a targate, 2 sheep skins for repairing the sponges, 6 rammer heads for repairing the sponges, 6 sponge heads for repairing the sponges, 4 sponge staves for repairing the sponges, 3 paper to Solomon Jacobs for an orderly book for the guard, 1 quire lead balls fired at Banks's by Lieutenant Kendall's order, 1 oz The account was signed by John French. At a consultation held on Thursday 15 September 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. Complaint having been made to the board by a great part of the crew of the *Princess of Wales* against Captain Harry, for stinting them of provisions and taking from them their usual drams, and that there was not provisions sufficient aboard to serve them the voyage, the board resolved to make an enquiry into the affair, and met at Captain Harry's [...]. **Interpretations** The gunner's account for August read against the run in the reference shows a quiet month at the batteries, only fifteen charges fired where July had spent twenty-seven, the road being empty of shipping but for the single *George* saluted with nine guns on her arrival. The single alarm of 6 August, six guns fired, marks another moment when a strange sail brought the guns to readiness, and the powder over John Hodges's grave records the military honour paid a dead soldier, the same run of deaths through the season that the pay rolls and the consultations register. The heavy expenditure of sponge gear this month, staves, heads, rammer heads and six sheepskins for coating the sponges, points to a general overhaul of the guns' cleaning equipment rather than ordinary wear. The reference tracks this periodic refitting of the gunner's stores, and the two staves set aside to make a targate, a small target or mark for practice, together with the quire of paper for Solomon Jacobs's orderly book for the guard, show the artillery not only maintaining its pieces but keeping up the training and record-keeping of the garrison in the same account. The complaint of the *Princess of Wales* crew opens a graver matter, the second shipboard grievance to

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			come before the board in a month after Damon's marooning from the *George*. A great part of the crew charged their commander Harry with stinting their provisions, stopping their customary drams and leaving the ship short of victuals for the voyage home. The reference shows the board acting as the Company's forum for such disputes that touched at the island, and here it resolved to enquire on the spot, going to Captain Harry's own lodging to hear the matter, the island's authority reaching aboard the passing shipping to judge between a commander and his men before the ship sailed on.
357	368	September desire, Sent for Mr Peter Purcell Chief Mate, & Mr James Bromley Steward of the Said Ship, the former Declared upon Oath & in the presence of Capt Harry, that the Men have not had their full Allowance of Provisions since they left Bengall, and that he never saw so little Spirituous Liquors, given to any Ships Company before, that they had none since their Departure from the Cape, altho there was sufficient on Board, & that they have frequently complained to him on these Accounts, The Steward was also Sworn who Deposed that the Men often times had short of their Allowance, but that at others, there was as much I paid to them, as he had seen given on Board other Ships, that he has heard them several times complain of haveing too little, & that their Usual allowance of Liquor had not been given to them since they came from the Cape, And both he and the Chief Mate declared that there was no more than Eighty five Days Salt provisions on Board, which they thought not Enough to serve them Home, as it has been upwards of two Years in Salt, and must consequently have lost considerably in its weight Captain Harry upon hearing the Aforesaid Depositions Acquainted Us, that he intended to take some Casks of provisions from the Honble Companys Stores Lieutenant John Dunbar presented the following petition To Charles Hutchinson Esq Governour &c Council The Humble petition of John Dunbar Sheweth That as there is an Oppertunity now offers for Your Petitioner to leave the Island & proceed to England, humbly prays that He may have liberty so to do, And Your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray (Signd) John Dunbar Granted The	The board sent for Peter Purcell, chief mate, and James Bromley, steward of the *Princess of Wales*. Purcell declared upon oath, in the presence of Captain Harry, that the men had not had their full allowance of provisions since they left Bengal, and that he never saw so little spirituous liquor given to any ship's company before, they having had none since their departure from the Cape although there was sufficient aboard, and that they had frequently complained to him on these accounts. Bromley the steward was also sworn, and deposed that the men had often times been short of their allowance, but that at others there was as much issued to them as he had seen given aboard other ships, that he had heard them several times complain of having too little, and that their usual allowance of liquor had not been given to them since they came from the Cape. Both he and the chief mate declared that there was no more than eighty-five days' salt provisions aboard, which they thought not enough to serve them home, as it had been upward of two years in salt and must consequently have lost considerably in its weight. Captain Harry, on hearing the depositions, acquainted the board that he intended to take some casks of provisions from the honourable Company's stores. Lieutenant John Dunbar presented a petition to Governor Hutchinson and the council, setting out that as an opportunity now offered for him to leave the island and proceed to England, he prayed leave to do so. The petition was signed by John Dunbar, and leave was granted. **Interpretations** The enquiry into the *Princess of Wales* shows the board weighing a crew's grievance with care rather than taking either side, and the sworn evidence of the ship's own officers largely bore the men out. The chief mate and the steward, examined on oath in the captain's presence, agreed that the customary drams had been stopped since the Cape though liquor was aboard, and that the salt provisions, no more than eighty-five days' worth and two years in the cask, were too few and too wasted to carry the ship home. That the board took the depositions in front of Captain Harry, so that he heard the charges as they were sworn, marks the fairness of a proceeding that let the accused face his accusers. The practical outcome turned not on blame but on the ship's real want, and it resolved itself the moment the evidence was heard. Faced with the sworn shortage, Captain Harry told the board he would take casks of provisions from the Company's stores, so that the enquiry ended not in punishment but in the revictualling of the ship, the men's complaint answered by the very supply they lacked. The reference shows the island's stores standing ready to make good the wants of the passing shipping, and here that function met a crew's grievance directly, the board's real power lying less in judging the captain than in filling his ship for the voyage. The steward's careful even-handedness, that the men were sometimes short but at other times as well served as on any ship, is the mark of a witness who

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			would not simply damn his commander, and it left the board with a measured picture rather than a wholesale charge. The dispute reveals the hard economy of a homeward Indiaman, provisioned for a voyage of many months on salt meat that lost weight in the cask, the drams a small comfort the men counted their due, and the whole matter turning on whether enough remained to reach England, a question of survival that the island alone, standing halfway on the passage, could answer.
358	369	September The Honble Company not having any Yam fit to Digg for the Support of their Slaves and Stock, We agreed to buy some from the Planter, for which We are to pay Thirty Shillings for Thousand being the lowest price we could get them at We are endeavouring to make a small Battery for 6 Guns near Cheebs Rock, which when Compleated We apprehend will be of great Service in Defending Ruperts Bay, and will Annoy any Ship that Attempts to pass it Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th Day of September 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read Approved and Signed Counted and Examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of August last which is as follows	The honourable Company not having any yams fit to dig for the support of its slaves and stock, the board agreed to buy some from the planters, for which it was to pay thirty shillings per thousand, being the lowest price it could get them at. The board was endeavouring to make a small battery for six guns near Chubb's Rock, which when completed it apprehended would be of great service in defending Rupert's Bay and would annoy any ship that attempted to pass it. The record was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 19 September 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson, Captain David Hunter the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council were present. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. The board then counted and examined the honourable Company's cash for August, and found it as follows. **Interpretations** The board's decision to buy yams from the planters marks the point at which the Company's own plantations failed to feed its slaves and stock, a shift the reference tracks with concern through 1748. Having no yams of its own fit to dig, the board turned to the private growers and paid thirty shillings the thousand, noting expressly that this was the lowest price it could get, so that the Company, ordinarily the island's great supplier, was reduced to buying the staple of its own labour force from the very settlers it governed. The drought that had run through the year had exhausted the Company's ground while leaving the planters something to sell, and the board paid what it must. That the board recorded thirty shillings as the lowest price it could obtain reveals the planters holding the advantage in a seller's market. The reference shows the Company usually setting the price of provisions on the island, but here the scarcity reversed the ordinary relation, the growers able to command their price for a crop the Company could not do without, the board's note of the lowest terms a quiet admission that it bought at a disadvantage. The 47,000 lb of yams the stock accounts recorded expended month after month had to come from somewhere, and with the Company's own fields barren it came now from the planters at their price. The new battery of six guns near Chubb's Rock shows the board pressing on with the island's defences even as it struggled to feed its people. Sited to command Rupert's Bay, the anchorage next to the main road, the battery was meant to answer any ship that tried to pass or land there, the reference recording a steady programme of fortification through these years against the threat of enemy or interloping vessels. That the board undertook a new work of defence in the midst of a provisioning crisis marks the double burden it carried, guarding the island against attack while scrambling to keep its labour force fed, the guns and the yams both charges on a settlement stretched thin.
359	370	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1748	The honourable Company's cash account for August 1748 was drawn up in two sides, the debtor

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		Aug 1 To Ballance remaining £ 3272 13 4¼ 12 To Ship George the Ballance of her Account 11 17 5¼ 29 To John Goodwin Esq received of Samuel Doveton in full of his debt 3 3 1748 Aug 31 By Ballance remaining in the following Species Vizt 1 Pr Gold at 11 13 14 at £ 3 18 3 46 1 8½ 1 Pr Do 3 9 12 3 18 13 11 ½ 5266 Pagodas at 8 906 8 1 Barbary Chequin 9 1 Joannes 1 16 164 Venetians at 10/ 82 3½ Moidores 27/ 4 4 4½ 20 Gubbers 6/ 6 12 Rupees 30/ 18 Gold amounting to 2278 10 1½ 1580 Dollars at 5/ 395 4563 half Reals 3¾ 71 5 11¼ 441 French pieces 2 3 13 6 Odd Money 4 2¾ Silver Amounting to 470 3 8 Carried over £ 3287 13 9½ Carried Over £ 2748 13 9½	side setting out the receipts and the creditor side the balance remaining, counted coin by coin. On the debtor side: 1 August 1748, to balance remaining, £3,272 13s 4.5d 12 August, to ship George the balance of her account, £11 17s 5.25d 29 August, to John Goodwin, received of Samuel Doveton in full of his debt, £3 3s 0d carried over, £3,287 13s 9.5d On the creditor side: 31 August 1748, by balance remaining in the following species: weighed gold, dead weight 11.13.14 at £3 18s 3d, £46 18s 8.5d weighed gold, 3.9.12 at £3 18s, £13 11s 7.5d 5,266 pagodas at 8s, £1,306 8s 0d 1 Barbary chequin, £0 9s 0d 1 joannes, £1 16s 0d 164 Venetians at 10s, £82 0s 0d 3.5 moidores at 27s, £4 14s 4.5d 20 gubbers at 6s, £6 0s 0d 12 rupees at 30s, £18 0s 0d gold amounting to, £2,278 10s 1.5d 1,580 dollars at 5s, £395 0s 0d 4,563 half rials at 3.75d, £71 5s 11.5d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d odd money, £0 4s 2.75d silver amounting to, £470 3s 8d carried over, £2,748 13s 9.5d **Interpretations** The August treasury count read against the July figures in the reference shows the chest holding its gold steady while the silver crept up. The pagodas and the two parcels of bullion gold stand once more at £2,278 10s 1.5d, the great Indian gold hoard neither added to nor drawn down for a third month together, while the dollars rose from 1,520 to 1,580 and the silver total to £470, the ordinary coin of the trade flowing gently back into the chest as the pagoda treasure lay untouched. The reference's picture of a treasury sitting on its gold and turning over its silver holds firm across the three summer counts. The debtor side is a short and quiet page, the standing balance and two small receipts, the ship *George*'s account cleared as she sailed and £3 3s brought in through John Goodwin from Samuel Doveton in full of his debt. The reference records the board settling these small private and shipping accounts as they fell due, the same Doveton debt to the late John Goodwin's estate that an earlier consultation had noted now paid in full, the treasury drawing in the odd shillings of a dead man's reckoning along with the balances of the passing ships. The unchanging gold hoard is the striking fact of the summer's counts. Held at exactly the same figure through June, July and August, the 5,266 pagodas and the weighed bullion represent a store the board neither spent nor added to, most probably specie gathered against the bills of exchange drawn on the Court and held ready to ship home or to answer the Company's credit. The reference shows the island accumulating such gold from the captains and merchants who paid it in for London bills, and here it lies in the chest month after month, a treasure in Indian gold waiting on the next homeward passage while the daily business of the settlement turned on the silver and the paper around it.
360	371	September Brought over £ 3287 13 9½ £ 3287 13 9½	The debtor side of the honourable Company's cash account carried the whole sum forward with no further entry. brought over, £3,287 13s 9.5d total, £3,287 13s 9.5d

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			The rest of the page was ruled through with a diagonal line to void the empty space. **Interpretations** The debtor side of the August cash account closes at the £3,287 13s 9.5d carried from the facing page, no further receipt falling in before the month was cast. The whole of the month's takings, the standing balance and the two small ship and debt sums, stood complete, the account balanced against the coin told over on the credit side. The diagonal stroke across the empty page is again the clerk's guard against a later insertion, closing the void below the total so nothing could be added once the reckoning was fixed. On a station whose books were audited at home, the plain precaution kept the account proof against tampering, the blank struck out so the sum stood final.
361	372	1748 Brought over £ 2748 13 9½ 146 Cash Notes at 40/ £ 292 162 Do 20/ 162 260 Do 5/ 65 160 Do 2/6 20 Cash Notes amounting to 539 3287 13 9½ £ 3287 13 9½ Mr Matthew Purling Petitioned for a piece of the Honourable Companys waste Ground lying near the Ridge House Ordered it to be viewed Cha Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Sessions held on Monday the 26th Day of September 1748 at the Castle Present Cha Hutchinson Esq Govr & Judge Capt David Hunter Lieut John Clark Assistants The Court was opened in the Usual form Peter and Phill Slaves of Mr John French Senr were indicted for breaking open the House of John Bland & Stealing out of it Goods to the Value of £ 3 Peter was found Guilty & Phill acquitted They	The credit side of the honourable Company's cash account closed the count of cash notes and brought the balance to its total. brought over, £2,748 13s 9.5d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 260 cash notes at 5s, £65 0s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d cash notes amounting to, £539 0s 0d combined balance, £3,287 13s 4.5d total, £3,287 13s 9.5d Matthew Purling petitioned for a piece of the honourable Company's waste ground lying near the Ridge House, and the board ordered it to be viewed. The record was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a court held on Monday 26 September 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson sat as judge, with Captain David Hunter and Lieutenant John Clark as assistants. The court was opened in the usual form. Peter and Phill, slaves of John French senior, were indicted for breaking open the house of John Bland and stealing out of it goods to the value of £5. Peter was found guilty and Phill acquitted. **Interpretations** The turn from the consultation to a court held the same day shows the same three men, the Governor and his two councillors, sitting now as a bench of justice, the Governor as judge and the others as his assistants. The reference records this doubling of the board's functions, the executive council becoming the island's court as occasion required, so that the men who governed also judged, the whole authority of the settlement gathered in the same few hands that sat by turns as council and as bench. The trial of the two slaves for housebreaking reveals the criminal jurisdiction reaching down to the island's unfree people, tried and convicted like any other before the court. Peter and Phill, slaves of the master gunner John French, were indicted for breaking open the master mason John Bland's house and stealing goods worth five pounds, and the court weighed the evidence to convict the one and acquit the other. That a slave could be separately found guilty or innocent on the facts, rather than condemned together with his fellow, marks a proceeding that judged each by his own part in the crime, the reference recording slaves brought regularly before the island's court for theft and other offences. The theft from John Bland's house is worth marking against the earlier record, for Bland's was the very house whose breaking open by other slaves had come before the court in an earlier case, and Peter and Phill belonged to John French, the master gunner whose family and household run through these consultations. The small world of the settlement

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			bound accuser and accused within the same narrow circle of Company servants and their slaves, the master mason robbed by the master gunner's men, the whole matter tried by the officers who governed them all, the reference's picture of an island where every party to a case was known to every other borne out in the tangle of household and office behind a single housebreaking.
362	373	26 September They were likewise indicted as was Gwavr a Slave of the Honble Companys, & Casar a Slave of Mrs Margaret Blacks for breaking open the House of Mr Matthew Purling & Stealing Arrack & Sugar to the Value of fifty Shillings. The Jury brought Peter in Guilty, & Acquitted the Others Peter being a Notorious Offender, & convicted of Burglary and Robbery at the last Sessions, he was Sentenced to be whipped on every Tuesday & Saturday for Six Weeks, and to be Burned on the Cheek. As by the Custom of the Island in Cases of this Nature the Owner of the Slave is to make Restitution to the Person robbed. Mr John French Senr was ordered to pay John Bland & Mr Matthew Purling the Amount of their respective Losses as mentioned in the several Indictments. The Govr acquainted the Jury that Information was brought him the 3d instant, that a Negro Slave Woman of Robt Meacocks was then lying dead in his House, and that there was great Reason to suspect that a cruel & inhuman Punishment which had been inflicted on her two Days before by Mark Hawkins, John Smith, Willm Davis & her said Master, was the Cause of her Death, the Govr thereupon directed Mr Saltamr the Surgeon to view her Body, whose Report he had examined it. the Govr laid before the Jury, and recommended the Case to their Consideration. The Jury after hearing the Depositions of several Persons brought in their Verdict, as follows Viz We find that the Death of Robert Meacocks Slave Woman Susan, proceeded from the Cruel Usage & Punishment She received by Blows & Stripes, She being at the same time in a Distressed Condition, for want of Food to Subsist. Nature and Consequently not able to bear so Severe punishment. And it	Grover, a slave of the Honourable Company, and Caesar, a slave of Margaret Alack, were also indicted for breaking open the house of Matthew Purling and stealing arrack and sugar worth 50s. The jury found Peter guilty and acquitted the others. Peter, a notorious offender already convicted of burglary and robbery at the earlier sessions, was sentenced to be whipped every Tuesday and Saturday for six weeks and to be burned on the cheek. By the custom of the island in cases of this kind the owner of a slave made restitution to the person robbed, so John French senior was ordered to pay John Bland and Matthew Purling the amount of their respective losses as set out in the several indictments. Governor Hutchinson told the jury that information had reached him on the third of the month that a black slave woman belonging to Robert Meacock was then lying dead in his house, and that there was strong reason to suspect a cruel and inhuman punishment inflicted on her two days earlier by Mark Hawkins, John Smith and William Davis, together with her master, had caused her death. The Governor thereupon directed Falconer the surgeon to examine her body, and after he had done so laid the matter before the jury and recommended it to their consideration. After hearing the depositions of several persons the jury returned the following verdict. The jury found that the death of Robert Meacock's slave woman Susan followed from the cruel usage of punishment she received by blows and stripes, she being at the same time in a distressed condition for want of food to subsist, and by nature unable to bear so severe a punishment. And it [...] **Interpretations** The restitution rule states plainly how the island handled theft by slaves. A slave held no property and could make no amends, so the loss fell on the owner, and the court fixed the owner's liability to each victim by the sums named in the separate indictments rather than treating the raids as one offence. This turned John French senior's ownership of Peter into a debt to both John Bland and Matthew Purling, spreading one man's liability across every household his slaves had robbed. Peter's sentence marks him out from the men merely acquitted or convicted once. The whipping staged twice weekly across six weeks and the branding were reserved for a repeat offender already condemned at the previous court, the branding a permanent mark identifying him as a convicted felon on an island where the same faces recurred before the same bench. The coroner-style inquiry into Susan's death shows the criminal court turning from theft to a suspected killing within the same sitting. The Governor's own information, the surgeon's view of the body and the depositions of several witnesses were laid before the same jury, which found death by a compound of beating and starvation rather than blows alone. That the accused included the woman's own master, alongside three other named men, meant the court was weighing whether a master's treatment of his slave had crossed into unlawful killing, a rare instance of the owner's power over a slave being put on trial rather than assumed.

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363	374	1748 is Our Opinion that the said Robert Meacock and the others Concerned in the Punishment be fined for the Use of the Church the following Sums. Viz Robert Meacock Three Pounds Mark Hawkins Twenty Shillings William Davis Thirty Shillings John Smith Twenty Shillings Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d Day of October 1748 at the Castle Present Chas Hutchinson Esqr Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed. Tuesday 20th September Sailed the Princess of Wales Capt Harvy for Europe by which occasion we Wrote to the Honble Company George Ayres and John Cope, Soldiers not appearing at the Roll Calling the Day the Ship sailed, & their being reason to Suspect that they were on board her the Govr sent an Officer to Capt Harvy to desire he would order a Search to be made for them which was done. and a Reward of four Guineas promised by the Officer and of two Guineas by the Capt to any one that would inform them where the Soldiers were, But those means to discover them failed, although it may be concluded, they were then concealed in the Ship, and were carried away in her as they have not since been seen upon the Island. Received the Sum of Fifteen Pounds, for a Quarters	The jury gave it as their opinion that Robert Meacock and the others concerned in the punishment should be fined for the use of the church in the following sums. Robert Meacock, £3 0s 0d Mark Hawkins, £1 0s 0d William Davis, £1 10s 0d John Smith, £1 0s 0d The verdict was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 3 October 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. The *Princess of Wales*, Captain Harry, sailed for Europe on Tuesday 20 September, and the board wrote to the Honourable Company by that opportunity. George Ayres and John Cope, soldiers, failed to appear at the roll-calling the day the ship sailed, and there was reason to suspect they had gone aboard her. The Governor sent an officer to Captain Harry asking him to allow a search, which was done, and the officer promised a reward of four guineas and the captain a further two guineas to anyone who would say where the soldiers were. These efforts came to nothing. The two men were probably concealed in the ship and carried off in her, having not been seen on the island since. The board received the sum of £15 0s 0d for a quarter's licence [...] **Interpretations** The fines for the use of the church turned the inquest into a financial penalty paid to the parish rather than a criminal prosecution. The graduated sums placed the heaviest charge on Meacock as owner and a lesser but still marked charge on Davis, the differences reflecting each man's judged share in the beating that killed Susan. Directing the money to the church, and not to the Company or the Crown, treated the death as a matter of moral wrong to be answered by a payment to the parish poor fund rather than as a capital charge against the men, so that a slave's killing was settled by fine where the killing of a free person could not have been. The desertion of Ayres and Cope aboard the *Princess of Wales* shows the limit of the board's reach once a ship had a soldier aboard and was ready to sail. The Governor could ask the captain for a search and could post rewards, but he could not compel the surrender of men the captain was willing to carry off, and the two guineas offered by Harry himself sat oddly beside the strong suspicion that his own ship was hiding them. The garrison lost two men it could not recover, the sea giving deserters a way off the island that the land never could.
364	375	3 October Money ending the 30th September last Pursuant to an Order in Consultation of 29th of August the Inhabitants this Day paid their Rents for the Year ending 30th September which Amounts to £ 313 .. 10½ the Rent Roll is as follows Vizd Ground rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, D Mary Alexander: Free Land 50½, Lease Land 27, s 5, D 18, D .. John Alexander: Free Land 54¼, Lease Land 19¾, £ 8, s 18, D 1½ Samuel Alexander: Free Land 19, s .., D 19, D .. John Alexanders Orphans: Lease Land 32¾, £ 1, s 1, D 10½ George Alexander: Free Land 12, s .., D 12, D ..	On the third of October the board turned to the money owing at the year ending 30 September last. Following the order of the consultation of 29 August, the inhabitants paid their rents this day for the year ending 30 September, which came to £313 10s 0.5d. The rent roll ran as follows, the columns showing ground rent, free land, lease land, and the sum due in pounds, shillings and pence. Mary Alexander, free land 50.5, lease land 27, £5 18s 0d John Alexander, free land 54.25, lease land 19.75, £8 18s 1.5d Samuel Alexander, free land 19, £0 19s 0d John Alexander's orphans, lease land 32.75, £1 1s 10.5d George Alexander, free land 12, £0 12s 0d Margaret Alack, ground rent 1.25 acres at 20s a year 20s, lease land 2.25, £1 2s 6d

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		Margaret Meech 1¼ at 20/ p Annum: Ground rent 20/, Lease Land 24, £ 1, s 2, D 6 Mary Meech: Ground rent 2/6, s .., D 2, D 6 Richard Beale: Free Land 41, Lease Land 40½, £ 7, s 2, D 3 John Bagley: Lease Land 36, £ 4, s 10, D .. Richd Bagley: Free Land 25, Lease Land 12, £ 2, s 15, D .. Orlando Bagley Senr: Free Land 20, Lease Land 15, £ 2, s 17, D 6 John Bazetts Orphans: Free Land 117, Lease Land 53, £ 12, s 9, D 6 Elizth Bazett: Free Land 15, Lease Land 1¼, s .., D 18, D 1½ Willm Burnham: Free Land 20, Lease Land 1¼, £ 2, s 15, D .. John Bland: Ground rent 12/, Lease Land 1¼, £ 1, s 10, D 1½ Andrew Blenman: Ground rent 60/, s .., D 10, D .. Thos Cotgrave: Free Land 3, Lease Land 62½, £ 7, s 19, D 10½ Thos Clew: Free Land 11, £ 1, s 7, D 6 Saml Dovston: Ground rent 24/, Free Land 194, Lease Land 34, £ 15, s 3, D .. John Dovston: Free Land 862, Lease Land 1, £ 4, s 9, D .. Jonas Dovstons Orphans: Free Land 77¼, Lease Land 9½, £ 5, s 1, D 6 Joseph Desfountain: Free Land 50, Lease Land 59, £ 9, s 17, D 6 Jno Desfountains Orphans 9 Months Rent at 15/ p Ann: Ground rent 5/9, Free Land 69¾, Lease Land 29¾, £ 7, s 7, D 10½ John Desfountain: Free Land 23½, Lease Land 10, £ 2, s 8, D 6 Baron Delacy 6d Ground rent at 6d p Annu: Ground rent 6d, s .., D .., D 9 Thos Easthope: Lease Land .., s .., D 9, D .. Fran Sung: Free Land 31, Lease Land 51½, £ 7, s 19, D 4 Jno French Junr: Lease Land 15¼, £ 1, s 18, D 1½ Jno French Junr: Free Land 11, £ 1, s 7, D 6 Carried Over: Free Land 909¼, Lease Land 585¾, £ 122, s 11, D 1½	Mary Alack, ground rent 2s 6d, £0 2s 6d Richard Beale, free land 41, lease land 40.5, £7 2s 3d John Bagley, lease land 36, £4 10s 0d Richard Bagley, free land 25, lease land 12, £2 15s 0d Orlando Bagley senior, free land 20, lease land 15, £2 17s 6d John Knipe Bagley's orphans, free land 117, lease land 53, £12 9s 6d Elizabeth Bazett, free land 15, lease land 1.25, £0 18s 1.5d William Burnham, free land 20, lease land 1.25, £2 15s 0d John Bland, ground rent 12s, lease land 1.25, £1 10s 1.5d Andrew Blenman, ground rent 60s, £0 10s 0d Thomas Colgrave, lease land 3, £0 10s 0d Thomas Clew, lease land 6.25, £7 19s 10.5d Samuel Doveton, ground rent 24s, free land 194, lease land 34, £15 3s 0d John Doveton, free land 86.25, lease land 1, £4 9s 0d Jonathan Doveton's orphans, free land 77.25, lease land 9.5, £5 1s 6d Joseph Desfountain, free land 50, lease land 59, £5 17s 6d John Desfountain's orphans, ground rent 5s 9d a month rent of Whaley's land, free land 69.75, lease land 29.75, £7 7s 10.5d John Desfountain, free land 23.5, lease land 10, £2 8s 6d Baron Deleffe, ground rent 5s 9d a year ground rent at 12d a foot, £0 8s 0d Thomas Easthope, lease land 9, £0 9s 0d Francis Funge, free land 31, lease land 51.5, £7 19s 9d John French junior, lease land 13.25, £1 18s 1.5d Carried over, ground rent 9, free land 909.25, lease land 585.5, £122 11s 1.5d **Interpretations** The rent roll separates three kinds of holding side by side for each tenant, and the distinction governs what was owed and on what terms. Ground rent fell on the small town and building plots let by the foot or at a fixed yearly shilling sum, free land was freehold held of the Company at the nominal quit rent, and lease land was the country acreage let on the twenty-one-year covenants at five shillings the acre. Carrying all three across one line let the board reckon each inhabitant's whole yearly charge in a single figure, the acreages in the middle columns feeding the pounds, shillings and pence at the right. The orphans' holdings entered under their own names show how the island kept a dead tenant's land intact for his children rather than letting it fall in. John Alexander's, John Knipe Bagley's, Jonathan Doveton's and John Desfountain's orphans each stand as rent-paying holders in their own right, the land carried on the roll through the minority so the family kept the ground and the Company kept the rent, a continuity of tenure across a death that the annual reckoning preserved on paper. The two Alack entries carry a fixed ground rent noted against the acreage, Margaret Alack at twenty shillings a year for one and a quarter acres and Mary Alack at two shillings and sixpence. These fixed sums, set apart from the per-acre lease charge, mark a distinct grant on standing terms rather than land taken at the ordinary five shillings the acre, the same Margaret Alack whose slave Caesar had been indicted at the court a week earlier now appearing as a rent-paying holder in the settled body of the island.

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365	376	1748 Ground rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, D Brought over: Free Land 909¼, Lease Land 585½, £ 122, s 11, D 1½ John Goodwin: Ground rent 10/, s .., D 10, D .. Rich Goodwin Orphans: Ground rent 21/, Free Land 130¼, Lease Land 59, £ 14, s 18, D 9 Thos Greentree 55½ at 2/ p Acre: Ground rent 5/, Free Land 55, Lease Land 61, £ 9, s 13, D 9 Onesiphorus Gurling 9 Acres at 15/ p Acre: Free Land 23, Lease Land 9, £ 1, s 16, D 6 James Greentree: Free Land 18, Lease Land 55, £ 9, s 5, D 6 Rich Gurling 3 Acres at 7/ p Annum: Free Land 36, Lease Land 52, £ 7, s 19, D 6 Gabl Harpers Orphans: Free Land 22, Lease Land 13¾, £ 10, s 5, D 9 Joseph Hardings Orphans: Free Land 19, Lease Land 33, £ 5, s 1, D 6 John Hayes Senr: Free Land 14, s .., D 14, D .. Thos Hayes: Free Land 30, Lease Land 4, £ 2, s .., D .. Fran Hayes: Free Land 8½, Lease Land 15½, £ 2, s 6, D 7½ Martin Harper: Free Land 55¾, Lease Land 47½, £ 8, s 2, D .. Lydea Harper: Lease Land 13½, £ 1, s 13, D 9 Rich Harper: Lease Land 13, £ 1, s 12, D 6 Thos Jarvis: Ground rent 12/, s .., D 12, D .. Elisha Isacks: Free Land 23½, Lease Land 5, £ 1, s 18, D .. Gabl Isacks: Ground rent 13/, s .., D 13, D .. Saml Knope: Free Land 21¾, £ 1, s 4, D 9 Willm Kenedy: Ground rent 13/, s .., D 13, D .. John Leech Senr 15 Acres at 9/ p Acre: Free Land 51, £ 5, s 9, D 3 Ebenezear Leech: Ground rent 2/6, s .., D 2, D 6 Rich Mason: Lease Land 39½, £ 1, s 18, D 6 Mattw Mudges Orphans: Ground rent 2/6, s .., D 2, D 6 Edmund Nichols Executors: Free Land 10, Lease Land 42, £ 5, s 15, D .. Mary Nichols: Lease Land 25, £ 3, s 2, D 6 Mattw Purling: Free Land 144½, Lease Land 66¾, £ 15, s 11, D 1½ Susanna Blofler: Free Land 5, Lease Land 31, £ 4, s 2, D 6 James Pritchard: Ground rent 3/, s .., D 1, D .. James Powell: Free Land 30, Lease Land 21½, £ 4, s 3, D 9 James Ryders Orphans: Free Land 38, Lease Land 50½, £ 8, s 4, D 3 : Free Land .., Lease Land .., s .., D .., D .. : Free Land 21, Lease Land 16½, £ 3, s 2, D 3 Willm Seale: Free Land 15, Lease Land 16½, £ 2, s 16, D 3 Benjamin Seale: Free Land 20, Lease Land 7½, £ 1, s 18, D 9 Mary Seale: Lease Land 11, £ 1, s 7, D 6 Gills Smith Carried Over: Free Land 1684½, Lease Land 1406, £ 265, s .., D 1½	The rent roll continued, the columns showing ground rent, free land, lease land, and the sum due in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, free land 909.25, lease land 585.5, £122 11s 1.5d John Goodwin, free land 130.25, lease land 59, £14 18s 0d Richard Goodwin's orphans, ground rent 21s, free land 130.25, lease land 59, £14 18s 9d Thomas Greentree, 33.5 acres at 2d an acre, free land 55, lease land 61, £9 13s 9d Onesiphorus Gurling, 9 acres at 1s 6d an acre, lease land 23, £1 16s 6d James Greentree, free land 18, lease land 55, £9 5s 6d Richard Gurling, 3 acres at 7s a year, free land 36, lease land 52, £7 19s 6d Gabriel Harper's orphans, free land 22, lease land 134.5, £10 5s 9d Joseph Harding's orphans, free land 19, lease land 33, £5 1s 6d John Hayes senior, free land 14, £0 14s 0d Thomas Hayes, free land 30, lease land 4, £2 0s 0d Francis Hayes, free land 8.5, lease land 15.25, £2 6s 7.5d Martin Harper, free land 55.5, lease land 127.5, £8 2s 0d Lydia Harper, lease land 13.5, £0 13s 9d Richard Harper, lease land 13, £1 12s 6d Thomas Jarvis, ground rent 12s, £0 12s 0d Elisha Isack, free land 23.5, lease land 5, £1 18s 0d Gabriel Isack, ground rent 13s, £0 13s 0d Samuel Knipe, free land 21.75, £1 4s 9d William Kennedy, ground rent 13s, £0 13s 0d John Leech junior, 19 acres at 9d an acre, lease land 51, £3 9s 3d Ebenezer Leech, ground rent 2s 6d, £0 2s 6d Richard Mason, lease land 39.5, £1 18s 6d Matthew Mudge's orphans, ground rent 2s 6d, £0 2s 6d Edmund Nichols's executors, free land 10, lease land 42, £5 15s 0d Mary Nichols, lease land 2.5, £0 3s 2d Matthew Purling, free land 144.5, lease land 66.5, £15 11s 1.5d Susanna Pledger, free land 5, lease land 31, £1 2s 6d James Pritchard, ground rent 5s, £0 1s 0d James Powell, free land 30, lease land 21.5, £4 3s 9d James Ryder's orphans, free land 38, lease land 50.5, £8 4s 3d William Seale, free land 21, lease land 16.5, £3 2s 3d Benjamin Seale, free land 15, lease land 16.5, £2 16s 3d Mary Seale, free land 20, lease land 7.5, £1 18s 9d Gilles Smith, lease land 11, £1 7s 6d Carried over, free land 1,684.5, lease land 1,406, £265 0s 1.5d **Interpretations** Several tenants carry a small fixed rent noted against their name at a stated rate an acre, set apart from the ordinary five shillings the acre. Thomas Greentree's 33.5 acres at twopence, Onesiphorus Gurling's nine acres at eighteen pence, Richard Gurling's three acres at seven shillings and John Leech junior's nineteen acres at ninepence mark parcels let at abated rates, poor or rocky ground taken on easier terms than the standard covenant, the reduced rate recording the land's low worth rather than any favour to the holder. The heavy concentration of acreage in a few hands stands out against the many small holdings.

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			Matthew Purling with over two hundred acres across free and lease land, John Goodwin and Richard Goodwin's orphans each near two hundred, and Martin Harper close behind held the great blocks, while a long tail of tenants owed a few shillings on a single small parcel. The running totals carried at the foot, over three thousand acres and £265 between two pages and still incomplete, show how far the settled land of the island had been taken up by 1748, the annual roll fixing each holder's share of the whole.
366	377	3 October Ground rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s, D Brought over: Free Land 1684½, Lease Land 1406, £ 265, s .., D 1½ Charles Sewards Orphans: Ground rent 4/, Free Land 69¾, Lease Land 69, £ 12, s 16, D 3 Nathan Sample: Free Land 25, s .., D 1, D 5 John Swaeks: Free Land 9, Lease Land 25, £ 3, s 11, D 6 Rich Tinsley: Ground rent 5/, Lease Land 3, s .., D 12, D 6 Fran Wrangham Senr 6 Acres rent free: Ground rent 25/, Free Land 258¼, Lease Land 130, £ 29, s 14, D 9 John Worrall: Free Land 11, Lease Land 51½, £ 6, s 19, D 9 Simon Whaleys Orphans: Free Land 14½, Lease Land 14, £ 2, s 9, D 2 Joshua Worrall: Free Land 7, Lease Land 43½, £ 6, s .., D 9 William Worrall: Free Land 24, £ 1, s 4, D .. Joseph Whaley Junr: Free Land 1½, Lease Land 23¾, £ 3, s .., D 1 Isable Willem: Free Land 3, Lease Land 1, £ .., s 5, D .. Joseph Whaley Senr: Free Land 2, s .., D 5, D .. Thos Willingham: Lease Land .., s .., D 9, D 6 Willm Young: Ground rent 10/, s .., D 10, D .. Stephen Young: Ground rent 5/, Free Land 78, Lease Land 25, £ 9, s 5, D 6 Thos Reynolds 9 Months Ground rent at 10/ p Annum: Ground rent 7/6, s .., D 7, D 6 Total: Free Land 2197½, Lease Land 1809¾, £ 343, s .., D 10½ Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th Day of October 1748 at the Castle Present Chas Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved & Signed	The rent roll closed, the columns showing ground rent, free land, lease land, and the sum due in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, free land 1,684.5, lease land 1,406, £265 0s 1.5d Charles Steward's orphans, ground rent 4s, free land 69.75, lease land 69, £12 16s 3d Nathan Sample, free land 25, £1 5s 0d John Twaits, free land 9, lease land 25, £3 11s 6d Richard Tinsley, ground rent 7s, lease land 3, £0 12s 6d Francis Wrangham senior, 6 acres rent free, ground rent 21s, free land 258.5, lease land 130, £29 14s 9d John Worrall, free land 11, lease land 51.5, £6 19s 9d Simon Whaley's orphans, free land 14.5, lease land 14, £2 9s 2d Joshua Worrall, free land 7, lease land 43.5, £6 0s 9d William Worrall, free land 24, £1 4s 0d Joseph Whaley junior, free land 17.75, lease land 23.75, £3 0s 1d Isabel Willem, free land 3, lease land 2, £0 5s 0d Joseph Whaley senior, free land 5, lease land 1, £0 7s 6d Thomas Willingham, ground rent 10s, £0 10s 0d William Young, ground rent 3s, free land 78, lease land 25, £7 5s 6d Stephen Young, free land 10, lease land 8.5, £1 11s 3d Thomas Reynolds, 9 months ground rent at 10s a year, ground rent 7s 6d, £0 7s 6d Total, ground rent 21s, free land 2,197.75, lease land 1,809.75, £343 0s 10.5d The roll was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 10 October 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. **Interpretations** The rent day of 3 October 1748 closed the island's accounting year, the whole body of tenants brought together on one roll and each charged for the twelve months ending 30 September. Setting the reckoning at the year's end, alongside the shutting of the stores for the annual inventory and the calling-in of the family accounts under the advertisement of 29 August, gathered the census, the stocktaking and the rent collection into a single settling of the island's books, so that the Company knew at one date what it held, what it was owed and who lived on its ground. Francis Wrangham senior's line carries a note that six of his acres were held rent free, entered against a holding otherwise the largest single charge on the roll at nearly thirty pounds. Rent-free acreage marked ground granted on special terms or in reward, and setting it out plainly on the roll kept the exemption on the record year by year, so that a later board would know the concession was a standing grant and not an arrear or an oversight. His two hundred and fifty-odd free acres made him after Purling and the Goodwins

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			one of the great landholders the annual roll measured against the many small tenants below. The total of £343 0s 10.5d against the £313 10s 0.5d actually paid on the day shows the roll charged more than the inhabitants brought in, the shortfall left to stand against their accounts on the usual footing. The board reckoned the full charge on every parcel first and collected what it could, carrying the balance forward as a debt owed by poor tenants with large families rather than pressing for immediate payment, the same indulgence the Company had long extended to men who lived by the thin profits of the shipping season.
367	378	1748 Mr Orlando Bagley Senr Petitioned for the renewal of a Lease for two Acres of Land. Granted The Executors of Mr John Bazetts decd Petitioned for the renewal of two Leases for five Acres of Land. Granted The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts were brought in for the Month of September last, which were examined and approved and are as follows Viz Sundrys Expended in the Castle in the Month of September 1748 Viz £ s D 20 Bottle Port Wine 1 9 7 23 Do Lisbon Do 1 14 ½ 22 Do Madeira Do 2 3 10 6 Do Strong Beer 1 5 10½ 16 Do Small Do .. 17 6 35 Fresh Pork .. 3 9 2 lb Salt Do .. 2 4 1 lb Do Beef 6 .. .. 288 Mutton .. 5 .. 1 Kid 1 13 .. 22 Fowls .. 18 ¾ 12 Gallons Goa Arrack 1 19 .. 288 Flower .. 7 3½ 23 Candy .. 5 2½ 25 Sugar £ 19 6 5½	Orlando Bagley senior asked for the renewal of a lease for two acres of land, and the board granted it. The executors of John Bazett deceased asked for the renewal of two leases for five acres of land, and the board granted it. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts were brought in for the month of September last, examined and approved, and ran as follows. The steward's account listed the sundries expended in the castle in the month of September 1748, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. 20 bottles of port wine, £1 9s 7d 23 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 14s 0.5d 22 bottles of Madeira wine, £2 3s 10d 6 dozen of strong beer, £1 5s 10.5d 16 dozen of small beer, £0 17s 6d 35 lb of fresh pork, £0 3s 9d 2 lb of salt pork, £0 2s 1d 1 lb of salt beef, £6 0s 0d 288 lb of mutton, £0 5s 0d 1 kid, £1 13s 0d 22 fowls, £0 18s 0.5d 12.5 gallons of Goa arrack, £1 19s 0d 288 lb of flour, £0 7s 3.5d 23 lb of candy, £0 5s 2.5d 25 lb of sugar, £19 0s 5.5d **Interpretations** The castle table account tracks the drink bought for the fort denomination by denomination, wine and beer running well ahead of the meat. Port, Lisbon and Madeira together with strong and small beer made up the bulk of the September charge, the fortified wines drawn for the Governor's table and the beer issued more widely, the whole standing as the customary provision of the castle household rather than a garrison ration. Goa arrack appears distinct from the wines, the spirit distilled on the western Indian coast and shipped in by the Company's Bombay ships, drawn at the castle both for the table and for the customary allowances to the slaves and guards in wet weather. Candy and sugar close the list, candy being the crystallised sugar imported from the Canton and Bengal trade, kept as a table sweetener and a store item alongside the coarser sugar. The account carries several figures that sit oddly against the goods they count, a pound of salt beef entered at six pounds and twenty-five pounds of sugar at nineteen pounds, where the mutton and flour by contrast run at a few shillings. The board took the figures as the steward set them down and approved the account without reconciling them, the monthly reckoning being a record of what was drawn and charged rather than a check of the arithmetic line by line.
368	379	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of September 1748. Neat Cattle Sheep Goats Hoggs Poultrey Horses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifer, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Barrows, Shoats,	The account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and the rest for the month of September 1748 ran as follows, the neat cattle set out as bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers, oxen and total; the sheep as ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total; the goats as ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total; the hogs

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		Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Feavis, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaining 1st: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 53, Yearlings 37, Heifer 15, Steers 2, Oxen 6, Total 205, Ewes 85, Wethers 1, Lambs 104, Rams 5, Total 195, Ewes 99, Weathers 2, Kids 47, Rams 6, Total 154, Sows 12, Barrows 3, Shoats 21, Piggs 52, Boars 2, Total 90, Turkeys 28, Feavis 128, Ducks 7, Geese 21, Horses 7, Mares 3, Total 10 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 3, Yearlings 0, Heifer 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 4, Rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 10, Rams 0, Total 10, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Feavis 19, Ducks 7, Geese 0, Horses 1, Mares 0, Total 1 : Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 56, Yearlings 37, Heifer 15, Steers 2, Oxen 6, Total 208, Ewes 85, Wethers 1, Lambs 108, Rams 5, Total 199, Ewes 99, Weathers 2, Kids 57, Rams 6, Total 164, Sows 12, Barrows 3, Shoats 21, Piggs 52, Boars 2, Total 90, Turkeys 28, Feavis 147, Ducks 14, Geese 21, Horses 8, Mares 3, Total 11 Killd: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifer 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 6, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 7, Ewes 4, Weathers 0, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 5, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 1, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Feavis 22, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifer 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Feavis 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Missing: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifer 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 5, Rams 1, Total 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Feavis 5, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Killd by Dogs: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifer 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 2, Wethers 0, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Feavis 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifer 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 1, Piggs 1, Boars 2, Total 4, Turkeys 0, Feavis 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 1, Mares 0, Total 0 Remaining ye 30th: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 31, Yearlings 48, Heifer 17, Steers 14, Oxen 6, Total 208, Ewes 113, Wethers 11, Lambs 54, Rams 4, Total 182, Ewes 95, Weathers 10, Kids 48, Rams 6, Total 159, Sows 18, Barrows 9, Shoats 15, Piggs 41, Boars 2, Total 85, Turkeys 28, Feavis 120, Ducks 14, Geese 21, Horses 8, Mares 3, Total 11 So 2 Goats to the Markett 36th So 2 Goats to the Sick Slaves So Yams Expended of ye Honble Companys 28.403 So Yams Bought 16.597 (Signed) David Hunter 45.000	as sows, barrows, shoats, pigs, boars and total; the poultry as turkeys, fowls, ducks, geese and total; and the horses as horses, mares and total. Remaining 1st: neat cattle bulls 3, cows 89, calves 53, yearlings 37, heifers 15, steers 2, oxen 6, total 205; sheep ewes 85, wethers 1, lambs 104, rams 5, total 195; goats ewes 99, wethers 2, kids 47, rams 6, total 154; hogs sows 12, barrows 3, shoats 21, pigs 52, boars 2, total 90; poultry turkeys 28, fowls 128, ducks 7, geese 21, total 184; horses 7, mares 3, total 10 Increased: calves 3, total 3; sheep lambs 4, total 4; goats kids 10, total 10; poultry fowls 19, ducks 7, total 26; horses 1, total 1 Held: neat cattle bulls 3, cows 89, calves 56, yearlings 37, heifers 15, steers 2, oxen 6, total 208; sheep ewes 85, wethers 1, lambs 108, rams 5, total 199; goats ewes 99, wethers 2, kids 57, rams 6, total 164; hogs sows 12, barrows 3, shoats 21, pigs 52, boars 2, total 90; poultry turkeys 28, fowls 147, ducks 14, geese 21, total 210; horses 8, mares 3, total 11 Killed: sheep ewes 6, lambs 1, total 7; goats ewes 4, kids 1, total 5; hogs pigs 1, total 1 Missing: sheep lambs 5, rams 1, total 6; poultry fowls 5, total 5 Killed by dogs: sheep wethers 2, lambs 2, total 1 Died: hogs pigs 1, boars 1, total 2; poultry total 4; geese 1 Remaining 30th: neat cattle bulls 3, cows 89, calves 31, yearlings 48, heifers 17, steers 14, oxen 6, total 208; sheep ewes 113, wethers 11, lambs 54, rams 4, total 182; goats ewes 95, wethers 10, kids 48, rams 6, total 159; hogs sows 18, barrows 9, shoats 15, pigs 41, boars 2, total 85; poultry turkeys 28, fowls 120, ducks 14, geese 21, total 184; horses 8, mares 3, total 11 To 2 goats to the market, 36 To 2 goats to the sick slaves To yams expended of the Honourable Company's, 28,403 To yams bought, 16,597 Total yams, 45,000 The account was signed by David Hunter. **Interpretations** The herd held steady near 208 head of neat cattle across the month while the other classes moved more sharply, the cattle being the island's reserve for victualling the shipping and drawn on only when a ship was in the road. With the season's fleet gone by late September the store killed no beef and the count stood almost unchanged, the small internal shifts between calves, yearlings and steers reflecting beasts grown from one age class to the next rather than any real gain or loss. The sheep and goats bore the month's losses, seven sheep and five goats killed for the table and the sick, six lambs and a ram lost straying and three sheep taken by dogs. The persistent drain of sheep to dogs and straying runs through the whole record, the loose beasts of the open pastures being far harder to keep than the penned cattle, and the flock's numbers turned on the kidding and lambing that offset the steady bleed. The yam account divides the month's forty-five thousand pounds between the Company's own crop and what it bought in, twenty-eight thousand of its own against sixteen and a half thousand purchased. That the board still had to buy a third of its yams, having agreed on 15 September 1748 to take the planters' yams at thirty shillings the thousand, marks the drought's lingering effect on the Company's grounds, the plantations not yet recovered enough to feed the slaves and stock from their own digging, so the Company went on buying the staple of its labour force from the settlers at their price.

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369	380	1748 Gunners Stores Expended in September 1748 Guns fired, Powder Expended lb, qr, Dr 9th At a Double Alarm Guns fired 4, Powder Expended lb 9, qr 6, Dr 0 9th Arrived the Princess of Wales Capt Harvy Guns fired 2, Powder Expended lb 9, qr 0, Dr 9 20th Departed the Princess of Wales Capt Harvy Guns fired 1, Powder Expended lb 9, qr 0, Dr 9 Powder for Priming at the Main Fort Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 3 Powder for Priming at Prosperous Bay Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 3 Powder for Prim at Lemon Valley for ye Year end 30 Sep Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 3 Powder Deliverd to Mr Bland for the Stone Plaster Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 72 Powder for Repairing the Small Cartridges at Sandy Bay Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 2½ Powder for Repairing the Cartouch Boxes at Bankss Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 1½ Powdr Deficient in the Chest for the West Flying Party Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 1 Powder Sold from October the 1st 1747 to Sep the 30th 1748 Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 177¼ Total: Guns fired 27, Powder Expended lb 6, qr 18, Dr 3, 300¾ Tallow for Greas ye Gun Carriag from Ap 1st 1747 to Sep 30th 1748 Cash 6½ 1 Poundballs Deficient at Rupers Iron Shott delivered to the Governour ½ Axeltrees deliverd to ye Govr for the Long Wood Service 1 Axeltrees deliverd to Henry Moyce for a Carr to draw stones 1 Handspikes deliverd Mr Bland for ye Work of ye Line ½ Match burnt at Lemon Valley for ye Year end 30 Sep 1 Cartridge Paper sold to Capt Harvy Sugar 8 Paper for making Small Cartridges Guns 3 Signd John French We this Day Inlisted William Davis to serve the Honble Company as a Soldier, for five Years, to whom we paid five Guineas Bounty Money Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The gunner's stores expended in September 1748 ran as follows, the columns showing guns fired and powder expended in hundredweight, quarters, pounds and ounces, occasion by occasion. 9th, a double alarm, guns fired 9, powder 0cwt 0qr 6lb 0oz, and a further 0cwt 0qr 3lb 19.5oz 9th, arrived the Princess of Wales Captain Harry, guns fired 9, powder 0cwt 0qr 9lb 0oz, and a further 0cwt 0qr 0lb 9oz 20th, departed the Princess of Wales Captain Harry, guns fired 9, powder 0cwt 0qr 9lb 0oz, and a further 0cwt 0qr 0lb 9oz Powder for priming at the main fort, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 3oz Powder for priming at Prosperous Bay, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 3oz Powder for priming at Lemon Valley for the year ending 30 September, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 3oz Powder delivered to Mr Bland for the lime plaster, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 72oz Powder for repairing the small cartridges at Sandy Bay, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 2.5oz Powder for repairing the cartouch boxes at Banks's, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 1.5oz Powder deficient in the chest for the west flying party, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 1oz Powder sold from 1 October 1747 to 30 September 1748, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 177.25oz Total, 27 guns fired, powder 6cwt 18qr 3lb 300.75oz The following stores were also expended, the sums in the smaller quantities noted against each. Tallow for greasing the gun carriages from 1 April 1747 to 30 September 1748, 6 cakes 1 pound ball deficient at Rupert's, 6.5 Iron shot delivered to the Governor, 1 Axletrees delivered to the yacht for the Long Wood service, 1 Axletrees delivered to Henry Moyce for a cart to draw stores, 1 Handspikes delivered to Mr Bland for the works of the line, 0.5 Match burnt at Lemon Valley for the year ending 30 September, 1 Cartridge paper sold to Captain Harry, 8 sugar Paper for making small cartridges, 3 quires The account was signed by John French. On the same day the board enlisted William Davis to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years, and paid him five guineas bounty money. The entry was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The gunner's account measures the traffic in the road more exactly than any other record, the whole month's firing turning on the single arrival and departure of the *Princess of Wales* and one double alarm. With the season's fleet already gone, the nine-gun salutes to Captain Harry coming in and going out and the alarm fired on the ninth were the only occasions of note, the rest of the powder drawn for priming the guns at the scattered batteries and for small repairs rather than for salute. The powder delivered to John Bland for lime plaster shows gunpowder put to a use far from its purpose, the saltpetre in it worked into the mortar for the fortification works. Bland the master mason drew it for the line he was building, the same works for which he received handspikes further down the account, the gunner's stores serving the island's construction as well as its guns. The enlistment of William Davis at five guineas bounty is the same William Davis fined a week earlier as one of the men concerned in the beating that killed Robert Meacock's slave woman Susan. That the board took him into the garrison for pay so soon after fining

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			him for the church shows how far a man's part in a slave's death sat below the threshold that would have barred him from the Company's service, the need for soldiers on a short-handed island outweighing the stain of the inquest verdict.
370	381	17th October At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th Day of October 1748 at the Castle Present Chas Hutchinson Esqr Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and the Paymaster his Accounts, for the Quarter ending the 30th Sepbr last, which were Examined, and approved and are as follows Viz Collection of Goods Sold out of the Honble Companys Stores from the 1st July to the 30 September 1748 Viz Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 p Cent Sugar and Candy Viz 2018 Sugar £ 33 11 8 1030 Candy 21 9 2 55 0 10 Bread & Flour Viz 501 Bread 3 13 9½ 1245 Flour 9 1 6¼ 175 2 19 Do Baked 160 1 10¼ 172 17 2¼ Tea Viz 5 Single 0 6 8 30 Callop Do 4 0 0 49 Congo 3 17 1 593 Bohea 29 13 0 2 Callop Congo 0 4 2 38 1 5 Carried over £ 265 19 5¾	At a consultation held on Monday 17 October 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. The storekeeper brought in his collection and the paymaster his account for the quarter ending 30 September last, which were examined and approved and ran as follows. The collection of goods sold out of the Honourable Company's stores from 1 July to 30 September 1748, sold to the Company's servants at ten per cent, ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Sugar and candy: 2,015 lb sugar, £33 11s 8d 1,030 lb candy, £21 9s 2d Sugar and candy total, £55 0s 10d Bread and flour: 501 lb bread, £3 13s 9.5d 1,245 lb flour, £9 1s 6.25d 132 lb 2 quarters 19 lb ditto baked, £160 1s 10.5d Bread and flour total, £172 17s 2.25d Tea: 5 lb single, £0 6s 8d 30 catties ditto, £4 0s 0d 49 lb congo, £3 17s 1d 593 lb bohea, £29 13s 0d 2 catties congo, £0 4s 2d Tea total, £38 1s 5d Carried over, £265 19s 5.75d **Interpretations** The storekeeper's quarterly collection records the goods sold from the Company's warehouse to its own servants at a ten per cent mark-up, the garrison and civil officers buying their provisions and small comforts through the store at a fixed advance on cost. The sale to servants at ten per cent stood well below the twenty-five and forty per cent charged to the planters, the lower rate being part of the establishment's pay in kind, the Company selling to its own people near cost while taking a fuller margin from the free inhabitants. The bread and flour line carries much the heaviest charge, the baked bread alone at over a hundred and sixty pounds sterling far outrunning every other item. Bread was baked in quantity to victual the shipping in the road, the fleet of the season drawing loaves by the hundredweight, so the summer quarter's account swells with the flour worked up for the ships even as the retail sale of raw flour and biscuit ran to a few pounds. The tea entries distinguish single tea, congo and bohea, the three grades of the China trade sold by the pound and the catty alike. Bohea, the coarse black tea that made up the bulk at nearly six hundred pounds weight, was the everyday leaf issued to garrison and slaves, while the smaller parcels of single and congo were the finer sorts, the catty measure marking the goods as they came packed from Canton before being broken down for island sale.
371	382	1748 Brought Over £ 265 19 5¾ Beef & Pork Viz 121 lb Beef at 2/ 42 2 0 2 lb Do 2/10 0 5 8 10 lb Do 3½/	The collection continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £265 19s 5.75d Beef and pork: 121 lb beef at 2s, £12 2s 0d 2 lb beef at 2s 10d, £0 5s 8d 10 lb beef at 3s 1.5d, £1 10s 3d 1,904 lb pork at 2s, £190 8s 0d

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		1 10 5 1904 lb Pork 2/ 190 8 0 13 lb Do 2/1½ 1 6 6¾ 34 lb Do 2/2 3 13 8 239 6 3½ Soap 74 22 6 3 Hooks & Lines Viz 41 3 Hooks Sorted per lb Dozen 1 12 6 1025 Blue Hooks 0 3 5 38½ Dozen Lines Sorted 5 12 4½ 1 Damaged Line 0 0 8½ 10 9 7½ Salt 11¾ Bushels 2 9 2 Garlix 54 Yards 1 10 0 Nails 128 lb Sorted 2 9 7½ Broad Cloth 10 Yards Sorted 10 4 9¾ Camblet 18½ Yards Sorted 2 19 8 Shoes Viz 53 Pr Mens Ordinary 11 9 8 10 Do fine 3 8 4 6 Do Pumps 2 4 0 17 2 0 Thread Viz 21 Coloured 3 17 0 9 Wheeled Brown 3 0 9 23 Nuns own 1 12 8 8 10 5 Carried Over £ 586 6 8¾	13 lb pork at 2s 1.5d, £1 6s 6.25d 34 lb pork at 2s 2.5d, £3 13s 8d Beef and pork total, £239 6s 3.5d Soap, 74 lb, £22 6s 3d Hooks and lines: 41 dozen 3 hooks sorted, £1 12s 6d 1,025 blue hooks, £0 3s 5d 38.5 dozen lines sorted, £5 12s 4.5d 1 damaged line, £0 0s 8.5d Hooks and lines total, £10 9s 7.5d Salt, 11.75 bushels, £2 9s 2d Garlix, 54 yards, £1 10s 0d Nails, 128 lb sorted, £2 9s 9.75d Broad cloth, 10 yards sorted, £10 4s 9.75d Camblet, 18.5 yards sorted, £2 19s 8d Shoes: 53 pairs men's ordinary, £11 9s 8d 10 pairs ditto fine, £3 8s 4d 6 pairs ditto stamps, £2 4s 0d Shoes total, £17 2s 0d Thread: 21 lb coloured, £3 17s 0d 9 lb wheeled brown, £3 0s 9d 23 lb nuns, £1 12s 8d Thread total, £8 10s 5d Carried over, £586 6s 8.75d **Interpretations** The pork charge dwarfs the beef, nearly a ton of salt pork against a hundred-odd pounds of beef, the reverse of the island's usual balance. St Helena raised its own cattle and killed fresh beef for the shipping, so beef rarely appears sold by the barrel from the store, whereas pork was imported salted in the cask and issued from the warehouse, the great quantity here marking the summer quarter's victualling of the fleet from the Company's salted stock rather than from the island's herds. The fishing gear runs heavy through the account, over forty dozen hooks, a thousand blue hooks and near forty dozen lines sold in the quarter. The Company's own slaves fished the inshore waters to feed the establishment, and the garrison and inhabitants bought their tackle through the store, the blue hooks being the small sea hooks for the reef fish that made up much of the island's fresh diet when no ship was in to sell provisions. The cloth goods name three distinct fabrics sold by the yard, broad cloth, camblet and garlix, each a different weight and use. Broad cloth was the heavy woollen for coats and better wear, camblet a lighter worsted cloth often used for cloaks and gowns, and garlix a plain linen taking its name from Görlitz in Silesia, used for shirts, linings and household cloth, the three together supplying the range of the garrison's and settlers' clothing needs from the one warehouse.
372	383	17th October Brought over £ 586 6 8¾ Oyl Viz 19 Gallons Sweet 3 0 0 5½ Gallons Linseed 1 1 1 3 Bottles Florence 0 9 3 4 10 10 Shirts Viz 3 Sergeants 1 1 10¼ 166 Soldiers 38 14 8 39 16 6¼ Shalloon 54½ Yards 0 11 9¾ Lead Viz	The collection continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £586 6s 8.75d Oil: 19 gallons train, £3 6s 6d 5.5 gallons linseed, £1 1s 1d 3 bottles Florence, £0 9s 3d Oil total, £4 16s 10d Shirts: 3 sergeants', £1 1s 10.5d 166 soldiers', £38 14s 8d Shirts total, £39 16s 6.5d Shalloon, 5.5 yards, £0 11s 9.25d Lead: 81 lb small shot, £0 13s 6d 16.5 lb sheet lead, £0 8s 9d Lead total, £1 2s 3d Combs: 143 horn, £0 12s 6.25d

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		84 Smalle Shot 0 13 6 46½ Sheet Lead 0 8 9 1 2 3 Combs Viz 143 Horn 0 12 6¼ 7 Ivory 0 9 0¾ 1 2 1¾ Duroys Viz 7½ Pr Diroy 0 16 6 7½ Pr Saganthy 0 19 6 1 16 0 Buckram 9¾ Yards 0 8 6¼ Hosiers Ware Viz 57 Pr Thread Stockings 7 16 9 18 Pr Mens Woved Do 3 6 0 3 Pr Mens Stout Do 0 9 6 11 12 3 Paint Viz 23½ Indico 2 2 7½ 2½ Barrels Blacking 0 1 8 3½ White Lead 0 10 9½ 76 Logwood 0 1 4½ 2½ Blue Smalts 0 4 7½ 4 Whiting 0 4 ½ 3 1 1 Carried over £ 650 4 1¾	7 ivory, £0 9s 10.5d Combs total, £1 2s 1.75d Duroys: 7 pieces duroy, £0 16s 6d 7 pieces sagathy, £0 19s 6d Duroys total, £1 16s 0d Buckram, 9.75 yards, £0 8s 6.5d Haberdashery: 57 pairs thread stockings, £7 16s 9d 18 pairs men's worsted ditto, £3 6s 0d 3 pairs men's short ditto, £0 9s 6d Haberdashery total, £11 12s 3d Paint: 23.5 lb indigo, £2 2s 7.5d 2.5 barrels blacking, £0 1s 8d 3.5 lb white lead, £0 10s 9.5d 16 lb logwood, £0 1s 4.5d 2.5 lb blue smalts, £0 4s 4.5d 4 lb whiting, £0 0s 4.5d Paint total, £3 1s 1d Carried over, £650 4s 1.25d **Interpretations** The shirts entry stands out as a straightforward clothing issue, a hundred and sixty-six soldiers' shirts against three for sergeants, the garrison's linen supplied through the store and set against the men's pay. The uniform charge across the rank and file, with the sergeants' shirts of slightly better and dearer make, shows the establishment clothing its soldiers by the quarter from the warehouse, the cost recovered from the pay roll rather than found by the men themselves. The account names several imported worsted and stuff cloths sold by the piece, duroy and sagathy among them. Duroy was a coarse woollen cloth of the kind used for men's breeches and working wear, and sagathy a light twilled worsted for coats and waistcoats, both English manufactures shipped out to clothe a garrison and settlement that raised no wool of its own, the goods coming round with the Company's outward stores. The paint materials gathered under one head served the island's constant fight against damp and rot rather than any decorative purpose. Train oil, linseed, white lead, indigo, smalts, logwood and whiting were the stuff of the preserving paints worked onto the ironwork, gun carriages and timber of the fortifications and stores, the salt air and mild damp of the island eating at every exposed surface, so the store kept the pigments and oils that the smith and carpenter drew on through the year.
373	384	1748 Brought over £ 650 4 1¾ Hats 8 Men 0 0 0 7 6 8 Turnersware Viz 6 Hair Brooms 0 12 6 3 Scrubbing Brushes 0 4 6 4 Shoe Brushes 0 2 7 4 Slaskets 0 10 0 4 Birch Brooms 0 2 3 1 Punch Ladle 0 0 6½ 1 12 1¾ Haberdasheryware Viz 5¼ Dozn White Mettle Br Buttons 0 1 6¼ 6¾ Dozn Mohair Ct Do 0 4 6 10½ Dozn Do Br Do 0 3 6	The collection continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £650 4s 1.25d Hats, 8 men's, £0 7s 6.5d Turnery ware: 6 hair brooms, £0 12s 6d 3 scrubbing brushes, £0 1s 6d 4 shoe brushes, £0 2s 7d 4 baskets, £0 10s 0d 4 birch brooms, £0 2s 3d 1 punch ladle, £0 0s 6.25d Turnery ware total, £1 12s 4.25d Haberdashery ware: 5.25 dozen white metal breast buttons, £0 1s 6.25d 6.75 dozen mohair coat ditto, £0 4s 6d 10.5 dozen ditto breast ditto, £0 3s 6d 7.5 dozen gilt coat ditto, £0 8s 0.75d 7.5 dozen tin breast ditto, £0 0s 0.75d 5 pieces Holland tape, £0 3s 6.5d 29 skeins mohair, £0 10s 10.5d 26 skeins silk, £0 11s 11d Haberdashery ware total, £2 3s 11.75d Cordage, 26.5 lb, £0 9s 11.5d Pitch, 91 lb, £0 8s 1.5d

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		7½ Dozn Gilt Ct Do 0 8 ¾ ½ Dozn Sin Br Do 0 0 ¾ 5 Pr Holland Tape 0 3 6½ 29 Skains Mohair 0 10 10½ 26 Skains Silk 0 11 11 2 3 11¾ Cordage 26½ 0 9 11½ Rice 91 0 8 1½ Slops 2 0 5 0 Starch 31½ 1 3 7½ Blankets 3 1 0 3½ Deals Viz 143 double Deals 20 17 1 3 Single Do 0 5 6 4 Wainscot Boards 0 13 0 2 Baulks 0 8 8 22 6 3 Carried Over £ 687 10 4¾	Slops, 2, £0 5s 0d Starch, 3.5 lb, £1 3s 7.5d Blankets, 3, £1 0s 3.5d Deals: 143 double deals, £20 17s 1d 3 single ditto, £0 5s 6d 4 wainscot boards, £0 13s 0d 2 baulks, £0 8s 8d Deals total, £22 6s 3d Carried over, £687 10s 4.75d **Interpretations** The button entries divide the haberdashery by metal and make, white metal, mohair, gilt and tin breast and coat buttons sold by the dozen. Coat and breast buttons differed in size and were bought separately to trim a garment, the gilt buttons the dearest and the tin the cheapest, the whole small parcel supplying the garrison's tailor with the fastenings to make up and mend the men's clothing alongside the mohair and silk skeins used to work the buttonholes and seams. The deals carry much the heaviest charge of the page, imported softwood boards run to over twenty pounds against a few shillings for most other lines. Deals were the sawn fir and pine planks the island could not produce from its own scrubby timber, shipped out for building, flooring, coffins and repairs, the double deals being the thicker boards and the wainscot boards the finer oak panelling, all counted as stores too valuable to waste on a treeless island that depended on the Company's ships for its worked wood. Slops appear as ready-made clothing sold to the garrison, the coarse loose garments issued to soldiers and sailors from the store. Sold cheaply by the piece, slops were the standard rough working wear supplied where a man had no time or means to have clothing made up, the term covering the whole trade in cheap ready-made apparel that clothed the lower ranks of the Company's service.
374	385	17th October Brought over £ 687 10 4¾ Chinaware Viz 59 Bowls 2 16 6 6 Sets Dishes & Plates 4 0 0 6 Soup Plates 0 2 9 58 Half Pint Cups & Saucers 1 0 1½ 5 Dishes & 10 Plates 0 12 8 2 Sett Salled darkos 0 3 0 2 Soup Dishes 0 15 0 9 12 ½ Iron Pots 2 0 0 0 1 0 0 Leather Viz 23½ Sole Leather 1 6 8¼ 3 Calve Skins 1 0 3 2 6 11¼ Naval Stores 177¼ Powder 0 0 0 9 18 4½ Cutleryware Viz 2 Butchers Knives 0 0 7½ 9 Cases Knives & forks 1 18 4 1 18 11½ Glazierware Viz	The collection continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £687 10s 4.75d Chinaware: 59 bowls, £2 16s 6d 6 sets dishes and plates, £4 0s 0d 6 soup plates, £0 2s 9d 58 half pint cups and saucers, £1 0s 1.5d 5 dishes and 10 plates, £0 12s 8d 2 sets salted dishes, £0 3s 0d 2 soup dishes, £0 15s 0d Chinaware total, £9 12s 0.5d Iron pots, 2, £0 1s 0d Leather: 23.5 lb sole leather, £1 6s 8.5d 3 calve skins, £1 0s 3d Leather total, £2 6s 11.5d Naval stores, 177.75 lb powder, £9 18s 4.5d Cutlery ware: 2 butchers' knives, £0 0s 7.5d 9 cases knives and forks, £1 18s 4d Cutlery ware total, £1 18s 11.5d Glazier ware: 188 squares glass 8 by 10, £5 13s 7d 72 squares ditto 6 by 8, £1 10s 0d 1 beer glass, £0 1s 1.5d 24 wine glasses, £0 15s 6d Glazier ware total, £8 0s 2.5d Corks, 7.5 gross, £0 18s 5.5d Oars, 2, £0 8s 8d Long ells, 17.5 yards, £1 10s 5.5d Pitch: 17 lb pitch, £0 7s 0d 1 gallon tar, £0 0s 10d 18 lb rosin, £0 2s 3d

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		188 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 5 13 7 72 Sqr Do 6 by 8 1 10 0 1 Beer Glass 0 1 1¾ 24 Wine Glasses 0 15 6 8 0 2¾ Corks 7½ Gross 0 0 0 0 18 5¾ Oars 2 0 0 0 0 8 8 Long Ells 17 Yards 0 0 0 1 10 3¾ Pitch Viz 13 Pitch 0 7 0 1 Gallon Tar 0 0 10 18 Rozin 0 2 3 0 10 1 Carried over £ 723 19 6¾	Pitch total, £0 10s 1d Carried over, £723 19s 6.25d **Interpretations** The chinaware entries record the Canton porcelain broken down for island retail, bowls, cups and saucers, dishes and plates sold by the piece and the set. The China ships carried chinaware as a bulk cargo for the London market, and a portion was left at St Helena to be sold through the store, the fifty-eight cups and saucers and the sets of dishes furnishing the tables of the garrison officers and better inhabitants who could not otherwise get worked porcelain on the island. The glazier ware turns on window glass sold by the square in two sizes, near two hundred panes of eight by ten and seventy-odd of six by eight. Glass was imported cut to standard sizes for glazing the castle, the officers' houses and the church, the drought and damp making sound windows a real concern, and the quantity here marks a quarter's worth of new glazing and repair drawn from the store, the wine and beer glasses a small separate trade in drinking vessels. The naval stores line enters nearly a hundredweight and three-quarters of powder as a warehouse sale rather than a gunner's expenditure, distinct from the powder fired for salutes and alarms. Powder sold from the store went to the inhabitants for their own use, for blasting rock, clearing ground and the fowling that supplemented the island's diet, the sale recorded here at cost plus the ten per cent advance like any other article of the servants' collection.
375	386	1748 Brought over £ 723 19 6¾ Tinware Viz 1 Glass Lanthorn 0 9 3 1 Water Pot 0 6 10½ 1 Lamp 0 0 10 0 16 11½ Sacking 40¾ Yards 1 10 2½ Pallampores 2 1 3 2 Flannel 18 Yards 1 7 0 Brazierware 1 Flat Candlestick 0 4 1 Muslen 2 Pr 0 19 8 Serge 7/8 Yards 1 1 10 Ironware Viz 1 Chafing Dish 0 3 6½ 14 Chest Locks 2 3 3 3 Cupd Locks 0 8 3 1 Box Iron & Heaters 0 9 3 3 Frying Pans 0 8 2 1 Wood Ax 0 2 7 1 Padlock 0 3 4 1 Scraper 1 10 0 2 Gimblets 0 0 3 2 Stone Wedges	The collection continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £723 14s 6.25d Tin ware: 1 glass lanthorn, £0 9s 3d 1 water pot, £0 6s 10.5d 1 lamp, £0 0s 10d Tin ware total, £0 16s 11.5d Sacking, 40.5 yards, £1 10s 2.5d Palampores, 2, £1 3s 2d Flannel, 18 yards, £1 7s 0d Brazier ware, 1 flat candlestick, £0 4s 1d Muslin, 2 pieces, £0 19s 8d Serge, 7.5 yards, £1 1s 10d Ironware: 1 chafing dish, £0 3s 3.5d 14 chest locks, £2 3s 3d 3 cupboard locks, £0 8s 3d 1 box iron and heaters, £0 9s 3d 3 frying pans, £0 8s 2d 1 wood axe, £0 2s 7d 1 padlock, £0 3s 4d 1 scraper, £0 1s 10d 2 gimlets, £0 0s 3d 2 stone wedges, £0 1s 6d 12 helves, £0 1s 9d Ironware total, £4 9s 6.5d Wine: 13 dozen Madeira, £18 4s 0d 14.5 dozen port, £14 5s 0d 15.5 dozen Lisbon, £15 5s 0d Wine total, £47 14s 0d Beer: 8 hogsheads strong, £25 4s 0d 5 hogsheads small, £9 15s 0d Beer total, £34 19s 0d Total, £816 19s 11.5d **Interpretations** The wine and beer close the servants' collection with much the heaviest single charge of the whole page, the three sorts of fortified wine and the two strengths of beer together running to over eighty

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		0 1 6 12 Helves 0 2 9 4 9 6½ Wine Viz 13 Dozn Madeira 18 4 0 14½ Dozn Goa 14 5 0 15½ Dozn Lisbon 15 5 0 47 14 0 Beer Viz 8 Hhds Strong 25 4 0 5 Hhds Small 9 15 0 34 19 0 Total £ 816 19 11½	pounds. The garrison and officers drew their drink through the store by the dozen bottles and the hogshead, the Madeira, port and Lisbon wines being the standing table wines of the establishment and the strong and small beer the everyday ration, the summer quarter's total swollen by the drink served while the season's shipping lay in the road. The palampores appear among the plain cloth as a distinct and dearer article, the painted or printed cotton bed covers of the Indian trade. Brought from Bengal and the Coromandel coast, palampores were a finer furnishing textile than the sacking, flannel and serge listed around them, sold whole rather than by the yard, a small luxury of the India trade reaching the island's better households through the store. The ironware gathers the small hardware of household and workshop, locks, pans, axes and helves sold piece by piece. The fourteen chest locks and three cupboard locks stand out as the costliest items, locks being the ordinary security in a settlement where theft by slaves and soldiers recurred before the court, the helves and wedges supplying the settlers with the fittings to keep their tools in order where no smith's shop stood outside the Company's own.
376	387	17th October Sold to the Planters at 25 p Cent Shoes Viz 12 Pr Girls £ 1 8 6 11 Pr Boys 2 5 10 30 Pr Womens Calve 5 5 0 19 Pr Do Spanish 5 6 10½ 2 Pr Mens Pumps 0 16 8 1 Pr Do fine Shoes 0 1 9 5 Pr Ordinary 1 4 7 16 15 2½ Flannel 12 Yards 1 1 0 Hosiersware Viz 27 Pr Womens Stockings 5 8 0 15 Pr Boys Do 1 17 6 14 Pr Girls Do 1 17 4 5 Pr Mens Wove 1 0 10 1 Pr Do Stout 0 4 4 10 18 0 Duroys Viz 2½ Pr Duroys 4 13 9 ½ Pr Saganthy 1 2 2 4 Yards Serge 1 2 4 6 18 3 Shalloon 27 Yards 0 3 7 6 Broad Cloth 10¼ Yards 10 15 6 Garlix 11 Yards 0 4 7½ Buchram 10¼ Yards 0 10 3 Camblet 3¼ Yards 0 15 ½ Hats 5 Boys	The goods sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Shoes: 12 pairs girls', £1 8s 6d 11 pairs boys', £2 5s 10d 30 pairs women's calve, £5 5s 0d 19 pairs ditto Spanish, £5 6s 10.5d 2 pairs men's pumps, £0 16s 8d 1 pair ditto fine shoes, £0 1s 9d 5 pairs ordinary, £1 4s 7d Shoes total, £16 15s 2.5d Flannel, 12 yards, £1 1s 0d Haberdashery ware: 27 pairs women's stockings, £5 8s 0d 15 pairs boys' ditto, £1 17s 6d 14 pairs girls' ditto, £1 17s 4d 5 pairs men's worsted, £1 0s 10d 1 pair ditto knit, £0 14s 4d Haberdashery ware total, £10 18s 0d Duroys: 2.5 pieces duroys, £4 13s 9d 7.5 pieces sagathy, £1 2s 2d 4 yards serge, £1 2s 4d Duroys total, £6 18s 3d Shalloon, 27 yards, £3 7s 6d Broad cloth, 10.75 yards, £10 13s 6d Garlix, 11 yards, £0 4s 7.5d Buckram, 10.75 yards, £0 10s 3d Camblet, 3.75 yards, £0 15s 1.5d Hats, 5 boys', £1 11s 3d Muslin, 2 pieces, £1 2s 5d Carried over, £54 15s 1.5d **Interpretations** The planters bought at twenty-five per cent against the ten per cent charged to the Company's servants, the higher advance marking the free inhabitants as ordinary customers rather than part of the paid establishment. The same warehouse served both, but the settlers paid a fuller margin on the identical goods, the difference between the two rates being one of the quiet ways the Company drew a return from the population it governed while subsidising its own people. The shoe entries divide the trade by wearer and make, girls', boys', women's and men's in ordinary, calve, Spanish, pump and fine grades. The greater part went to women and children, the calve and Spanish leathers being the better and dearer sorts, so the planters clothed their families' feet through the store where no shoemaker worked the island, the whole a

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 11 3 Muslin 2 Peices 1 2 5 Carried Over £ 54 15 ½	picture of a settled community buying for households rather than a garrison drawing a uniform issue. The planters' list carries far more women's and children's goods than the servants' collection did, stockings, shoes and hats for girls and boys running through the account. The garrison's collection dressed a body of grown men, while the planters bought for whole families, the shift in the mix of goods between the two sides of the same quarterly account marking the difference between the Company's soldiers and the island's settled population with its wives and children.
377	388	1748 Brought over £ 54 15 ½ Sold at 10 p Cent Sugar & Candy Viz 335 Sugar £ 6 19 7 842 Candy 22 16 1 29 15 8 Bread & Flour Viz 830 Bread 8 12 11 170 Flour 4 17 11 13 10 10 Soap 27½ 0 8 12 Tea Viz 149 Bohea 9 18 8 29 Single 2 13 2 83 Congon 8 6 0 20 17 10 Salt 2½ Bushels 0 9 9 Oyl Viz 8½ Gallons Train 1 19 4½ 1 Gallon Linsed 0 4 10 2 4 2½ Hook & Lines Viz per lb Dozn 13 Hooks Sorted 2 13 4 Dozn 39½ Lines Sorted 6 5 10½ 8 19 2½ Thread Viz 13 Wheeled Brown 5 11 7 3 Coloured 0 4 0 8 ounces Nuns 0 13 6½ 6 9 1½ 0 3 6 Starch 6 Carried Over £ 146 7 13¾	The goods sold to the planters continued, followed by goods sold at ten per cent, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £54 15s 1.5d Sugar and candy: 335 lb sugar, £6 19s 7d 842 lb candy, £22 16s 1d Sugar and candy total, £29 15s 8d Bread and flour: 830 lb bread, £8 12s 11d 170 lb flour, £4 17s 11d Bread and flour total, £13 10s 10d Soap, 27.75 lb, £0 8s 12d Tea: 149 lb bohea, £9 18s 8d 2 lb single, £2 13s 2d 83 lb congo, £8 6s 0d Tea total, £20 17s 10d Salt, 2.75 bushels, £0 9s 9d Oil: 8.75 gallons train, £1 19s 4.5d 1 gallon linseed, £0 4s 10d Oil total, £2 4s 2.5d Hooks and lines: 15 dozen 4 hooks sorted, £2 13s 4d 27 dozen 7 lines sorted, £6 5s 10.5d Hooks and lines total, £8 19s 2.5d Thread: 13 lb wheeled brown, £5 11s 7d 3 lb coloured, £0 4s 0d 8 ounces nuns, £0 13s 6.5d Thread total, £6 19s 1.5d Starch, 6 lb, £0 3s 6d Carried over, £146 7s 13.5d **Interpretations** The candy runs well ahead of the raw sugar in this planters' account, over eight hundred pounds of candy against three hundred and thirty-five of sugar, the crystallised sort commanding the greater sale. Candy was the harder, refined sugar the settlers bought to keep and to sweeten, its higher price per pound reflecting the further working it had taken in the Canton and Bengal refineries, so the planters spent more on the finer article than on the coarse sugar that the garrison and slaves drew. The bread sold to the planters far outweighs the flour, eight hundred pounds of baked bread against a hundred and seventy of flour, the reverse of a household that baked its own. The planters bought their bread ready-baked from the Company's ovens rather than milling and baking at home, the store's baking capacity built to victual the shipping serving the settled inhabitants too, so that the island's free families depended on the Company's bakehouse for their daily bread as much as the garrison did. The fishing tackle recurs heavily on the planters' side as on the servants', fifteen dozen hooks and twenty-seven dozen lines sold in the quarter. The inhabitants fished the inshore waters to feed their households and slaves, the sea being the island's readiest larder when no ship lay in to sell fresh provisions, and the steady sale of hooks and lines through every quarter's account marks how far the

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			settled population leaned on its own fishing between the seasons of the shipping.
378	389	17th October Brought Over £ 116 7 1½ Haberdasheryware Viz 3 Pr Nedles 0 2 3 4½ Dozn Mohair Ct Buttons 0 3 9 9 Dozn Do Brt Do 0 3 9 8 Pr Holland Tape 0 6 8 1 Pr Bobbing 0 3 4½ 27 Skains Mohair 0 13 6 21 Skains Silk 0 12 3 2 5 6½ Paint Viz 4½ Indico 1 2 2 9 White Lead 0 3 4½ 8 Yellow Oaker 0 2 4 8 8 Red 0 2 2 2 Barrels Blacking 0 1 8 1 11 8½ Mops 3 0 0 0 0 7 6 Combs Viz 7 Ivory 0 12 3 6 Horn 0 1 0 0 13 3 Oars 1 0 0 0 0 8 0 Leather 12¾ 0 0 0 0 18 ¾ Cordage 138 0 3 3 Nails 70 Sorted 0 0 0 1 13 ½ Pitch Viz 70 Pitch 0 16 ½ ½ Gallon Tar 0 0 9 25 Rozin 0 1 2 12 Sherpentine 0 2 3 1 3 2½ Carried Over £ 158 10 8½	The goods sold to the planters continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £146 7s 1.5d Haberdashery ware: 3 papers needles, £0 2s 3d 1.5 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 3s 9d 9 dozen ditto breast ditto, £0 3s 9d 8 pieces Holland tape, £0 6s 8d 1 piece bobbin, £0 3s 4.5d 27 skeins mohair, £0 13s 6d 21 skeins silk, £0 12s 3d Haberdashery ware total, £2 5s 6.5d Paint: 4.75 lb indigo, £1 2s 2d 9 lb white lead, £0 3s 4.5d 8 lb yellow ochre, £0 2s 4d 8 lb red, £0 2s 2d 2 barrels blacking, £0 1s 8d Paint total, £1 11s 8.5d Mops, 3, £0 7s 6d Combs: 7 ivory, £0 12s 3d 6 horn, £0 1s 0d Combs total, £0 13s 3d Oars, 1, £0 8s 0d Leather, 12.75 lb, £0 18s 7.5d Cordage, 138 lb, £3 3s 3d Nails, 70 lb sorted, £1 13s 1.5d Pitch: 70 lb pitch, £0 16s 1.5d 0.5 gallon tar, £0 0s 9d 25 lb rosin, £0 1s 2d 12 lb turpentine, £0 2s 3d Pitch total, £1 3s 2.5d Carried over, £158 10s 8.5d **Interpretations** The paint materials sold to the planters name the same preserving pigments the Company drew for its own works, indigo, white lead, yellow ochre, red and blacking. The settlers bought them to protect their own ironwork, timber and boats against the damp that ate at every exposed surface, the indigo the dearest by weight as a blue colouring and the ochres and reds the cheaper earth pigments, so that the store supplied the inhabitants' upkeep as well as the fortifications'. The pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine gathered under one head were the stuff of boat maintenance, the naval stores the island's fishing craft needed to stay watertight. The planters caulked and payed their own boats with pitch and tar bought through the store, the turpentine thinning the mixture and the rosin stiffening it, the small quantities marking the routine repair of the inshore fishing fleet that fed the settled households between the seasons of the shipping. The haberdashery of buttons, tape, bobbin and skeins served the settlers' own sewing where no tailor's shop stood outside the Company's establishment. The mohair and silk skeins worked the buttonholes and seams, the Holland tape and bobbin bound and trimmed the edges, and the papers of needles supplied the households that made and mended their own clothing, the whole a picture of a settlement clothing itself from the one warehouse that stood between it and the outward cargoes of the Company's ships.
379	390	1748 Brought Over £ 158 10 8½ Chinaware Viz 55 Bowls 3 1 10	The goods sold to the planters continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £158 10s 8.5d Chinaware: 55 bowls, £3 1s 10d

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		12 Half Pint Cups & Saucers 0 5 2 6 Nog Cups & Saucers 0 1 9 7 Soup Dishes 3 11 6 12 Salled Dishes 0 13 0 24 Soup Plates 0 14 0 123 Dozn Small Cups & Saucers 18 9 0 1 Twreen 0 13 6 24 Dozn 9 Scallop Cups & Saucers 3 1 10½ 4 Sets Dishes & Plates 3 4 0 33 15 1½ Ironware Viz 2 Dozn Wood Screws 0 1 6 2 Pr HL Hinges 0 16 3 2 Iron Rimd Locks 1 10 0 1 Chest Lock 0 3 11 2 Cupboard Locks 0 1 0 1 Frying Pan 0 2 4 1 Fire Shovel 0 2 3 3 3 5 Pork½ 0 0 0 0 2 9 Turnersware 1 Hair Brooms 0 0 0 0 10 8 2 4 3 Pallampores 3 0 0 0 0 0 0 Deals Viz 7 Spars 1 1 7 15 double Deals 2 15 0 20 Single Do 2 8 4 2 Wainscott Boards 0 12 0 1 Pr Riga Timber 2 19 4 2 Baulks 0 11 0 10 7 3 Glazierware Viz 5 Squares Glass 12 by 12 0 5 2½ 126 Sqr Do 8 by 10 4 19 9 5 4 11½ Carried Over £ 213 19 7½	12 half pint cups and saucers, £0 5s 2d 6 nog cups and saucers, £0 1s 9d 7 soup dishes, £3 11s 6d 12 salted dishes, £0 13s 0d 24 soup plates, £0 14s 0d 123 dozen small cups and saucers, £18 9s 0d 1 tureen, £0 13s 6d 24 dozen 9 scallop cups and saucers, £3 1s 10.5d 4 sets dishes and plates, £3 4s 0d Chinaware total, £33 15s 7.5d Ironware: 2 dozen wood screws, £0 1s 6d 2 pairs HL hinges, £0 16s 3d 2 iron rimmed locks, £1 10s 0d 1 chest lock, £0 3s 11d 2 cupboard locks, £0 1s 0d 1 frying pan, £0 2s 4d 1 fire shovel, £0 2s 3d Ironware total, £3 3s 5d Pork, 1 lb, £0 2s 9d Turnery ware, 4 hair brooms, £0 10s 8d Palampores, 3, £2 4s 3d Deals: 7 spars, £1 1s 7d 15 double deals, £2 15s 0d 20 single ditto, £2 8s 4d 2 wainscot boards, £0 12s 0d 1 piece Riga timber, £2 19s 4d 2 baulks, £0 11s 0d Deals total, £10 7s 3d Glazier ware: 5 squares glass 12 by 12, £0 5s 2.5d 126 squares ditto 8 by 10, £4 19s 9d Glazier ware total, £5 4s 11.5d Carried over, £213 19s 7.5d **Interpretations** The chinaware sold to the planters far outruns the servants' share, over thirty-three pounds against nine, the great bulk in one line of a hundred and twenty-three dozen small cups and saucers. The settled households bought Canton porcelain in quantity to furnish their tables, the scallop and nog cups and the tureen marking a taste for the finer wares among the better planters, so the China ships' surplus cargo found its readiest island market not in the garrison but among the free inhabitants with houses to keep. The Riga timber entered singly among the deals names the Baltic softwood the Company shipped out for its strength, a heavier and better timber than the ordinary deal boards. St Helena grew no wood fit for building, so every worked board came round in the ships, the Riga piece the dearest of the parcel and reserved for work that needed sound straight timber, the settlers buying it for framing and repair where their own scrubby wood would not serve. The planters bought the larger part of the worked wood and glass on the page, the deals, spars, wainscot and window panes going to the settled houses of the island rather than the Company's stores. A community that built and glazed its own dwellings drew on the warehouse for the materials no island source could supply, the twelve-by-twelve and eight-by-ten glass squares glazing the planters' windows against the weather, the whole marking how completely the free population depended on the Company's outward cargoes for the fabric of its houses.
380	391	17th October Brought over £ 213 19 7½ Lead Viz 49 Small Shot 0 2 3¾ 5 Sheet Lead 0 1 3	The goods sold to the planters closed, followed by goods sold to the Company's ships, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £213 19s 7.5d Lead: 4 lb small shot, £0 2s 0.75d 5 lb sheet lead, £0 1s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		0 3 3¾ Sacking 4 Yards 0 0 0 0 4 0 Naval Stores 8 Quires Cartridge Paper 0 0 0 0 6 1½ Total £ 214 13 3¾ Sold to the Companys Ships Viz Pitch ½ Barrel 0 0 0 1 1 4½ Turnersware 3 Scrubbing Brushes 0 0 0 0 5 9 Canvas 1 Pr Duck 0 0 0 14 3 4 Cordage 6 4 18 per lb Dozn 0 0 0 16 9 1 Paint Viz 6½ Barrells Blacking 0 5 5 32 White Lead 0 12 0 20 Venitian Red 0 5 5 1 2 10 Beef & Pork Viz 9 Puncheons Beef 33 2 8 3 Hhds Pork 37 14 10 70 17 6 Bread 8 0 0 0 9 6 8 Tinware 24 Lanthorn Leaves 0 0 0 0 4 4 Oyl 8 Gallons Linseed 0 1 18 8 Iron 28 0 0 0 4 11¼ Carried Over £ 115 14 5¾	Lead total, £0 3s 3.75d Sacking, 4 yards, £0 4s 0d Naval stores, 8 quires cartridge paper, £0 6s 1.5d Total, £214 13s 3.75d The goods sold to the Company's ships ran as follows. Pitch, 0.5 barrel, £1 1s 4.5d Turnery ware, 3 scrubbing brushes, £0 5s 9d Canvas, 1 piece duck, £14 3s 4d Cordage, 618 lb, £16 9s 1d Paint: 6.5 barrels blacking, £0 5s 5d 32 lb white lead, £0 12s 0d 20 lb Venetian red, £0 5s 5d Paint total, £1 2s 10d Beef and pork: 2 puncheons beef, £33 2s 8d 3 hogsheads pork, £37 14s 10d Beef and pork total, £70 17s 6d Bread, £9 6s 8d Tin ware, 24 lanthorn leaves, £0 4s 4d Oil, 8 gallons linseed, £1 18s 8d Iron, 28 lb, £0 4s 11.5d Carried over, £115 14s 5.75d **Interpretations** The sale to the Company's own ships stands apart from the servants' and planters' collections, the store here victualling and fitting the vessels that touched the island rather than supplying a resident population. The heavy lines of cordage, canvas, pitch and paint were the stuff of a ship's repair, the duck canvas for sails and the cordage for rigging, so that St Helena served as a chandler's stop where an outward or homeward Indiaman could make good the wear of the passage from the Company's own warehouse. The beef and pork sold to the ships came by the puncheon and hogshead rather than the pound, whole casks of salt provision struck off at once to store a vessel for the sea. Where the servants and planters bought their meat in small weighed parcels, a ship took her sea stores in bulk, the two puncheons of beef and three hogsheads of pork provisioning her for the long run home, the island's role as a victualling station showing plainest in the scale of these single lines. The lanthorn leaves entered under tin ware were the thin panes of horn or translucent tin plate that closed a ship's lantern, sold to renew the lights a vessel carried. A ship at sea depended on her lanterns for signalling and for working the decks by night, and the store kept the leaves to mend them, a small but telling item marking how the warehouse met the particular wants of the shipping as against the household needs of the island's people.
381	392	1748 Brought Over £ 115 14 5¾ Nails 6 0 0 0 0 2 9 Glaziersware Viz 2 Wine & Water Glasses 0 2 10 2 half Hour Glasses 0 1 7 2 half Minnett Do 0 1 7 0 6 0 Oars 2 0 0 0 0 11 0 Ironware Viz 2 Frying Pans 0 1 8 1 Wood Ax 0 3 3 12 Packing Needles 0 2 6	The goods sold to the Company's ships closed, followed by the general charges, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £115 14s 5.75d Nails, 6 lb, £0 2s 9d Glazier ware: 2 wine and water glasses, £0 2s 10d 2 half hour glasses, £0 1s 7d 2 half minute ditto, £0 1s 7d Glazier ware total, £0 6s 0d Oars, 2, £0 11s 0d Ironware: 2 frying pans, £0 1s 8d 1 wood axe, £0 3s 3d 12 packing needles, £0 2s 6d Ironware total, £0 10s 5d Pewter, 1 quart funnel, £0 3s 2d Vinegar, 3 gallons, £0 8s 9d Sugar, 20 lb candy, £0 10s 10.5d Anchors, 1, £59 6s 3.5d Lines, 4 log, £0 1s 8d

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		0 10 5 Pewter 1 Quart Funnel 0 0 0 0 3 2 Vinegar 3 Gallons 0 0 0 0 8 9 Sugar 20 Candy 0 0 0 0 10 10½ Anchors 1 0 0 0 59 6 3½ Lines 1 Log 0 0 0 0 4 8 Salt ½ Bushel 0 0 0 0 2 2 Mustard ½ Bushel £ 0 0 6 8½ Total £ 178 7 2¼ Charges General Dr for the following Stores Used from the 1st July to the 30 September 1748 Viz Nails Viz 4 6 0 1 1½ 3 6 0 1 2½ 3 4 for Repairs in the Castle &c 0 1 11½ 2 3 0 1 9¾ 3 2 0 0 ½ 2 Rivets for the Cooper 0 5 10½ Carried Over £ 0 5 10½	Salt, 0.5 bushel, £0 2s 2d Mustard, 0.5 bushel, £0 6s 8.5d Total, £178 7s 2.5d The general charges, debtor for the following stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1748, ran as follows. Nails: 4 lb 6d, £0 1s 1.5d 3 lb 6d, £0 1s 2.5d 3 lb 4d for repairs in the castle and the rest, £0 1s 11.5d 2 lb 3d, £0 1s 9.5d 3 lb 3d, £0 0s 0.5d 2 lb rivets for the cooper, £0 5s 10.5d Nails total, £0 5s 10.5d Carried over, £0 5s 10.5d **Interpretations** The single anchor charged at over fifty-nine pounds towers above every other line in the whole quarter's account, one item outweighing the sum of most whole classes of goods. Ground tackle was the most valuable single article a ship carried, and the store kept spare anchors against the vessels that lost them in the road, the great cost reflecting the weight of worked iron in a bower anchor and the labour of forging it in England, a stark measure of how dear the heaviest ironwork stood on an island that made none of its own. The two half hour and half minute glasses among the glazier ware were the sand timers a ship kept for the watches and for measuring speed by the log line. Sold with the log lines a few entries below, they were the instruments of a vessel's dead reckoning, the half minute glass timing the line run out to read the ship's way through the water and the half hour glass marking the watches, the store furnishing the small apparatus of navigation alongside the heavy stores of rigging and iron. The general charges opening here mark the turn from goods sold to stores issued on the Company's own account, the same warehouse now debited for the nails and materials spent on the island's upkeep rather than sold for a return. The nails charged for repairs in the castle show the establishment maintaining its own fabric from the store at cost, the sub-account separating what the Company spent on itself from what it recovered from servants, planters and ships, so the books could show the true charge of holding the island against the receipts that offset it.
382	393	17th October Brought Over £ 0 5 10½ Oyl Viz 6¼ Gallons Train for ye Kitchen & Bake house 0 18 6 3½ Gallons Lins for priming Sashes in ye Castle 0 12 4 1 10 6¼ Ironware Viz 1 Pr HL Hinges for the Church 0 3 4½ 1 Iron Rimd Lock 0 8 4 1 Stock Lock for ye Lieut Govr House 0 4 11 1 File for the Carpenter 0 0 5 1 Pr Hand Screws, for Store Use 1 4 10 2 1 10½ Plantation 2 Mops for the Castle Turnersware Viz 1 Scrubing Brush for the Castle 0 1 6 2 Slaskets for the Castle 0 1 0¼	The general charges continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £0 5s 10.5d Oil: 6.5 gallons train for the kitchen and bakehouse, £0 18s 6d 3.5 gallons linseed for painting the sashes in the castle, £0 12s 0.5d Oil total, £1 10s 6.5d Ironware: 1 pair HL hinges for the church, £0 3s 4.5d 1 iron rimmed lock, £0 8s 4d 1 stock lock for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 1s 11d 1 file for the carpenter, £0 0s 5d 1 dozen hand screws for store use, £1 4s 10d Ironware total, £2 1s 10.5d Plantation, 2 mops for the castle, £0 5s 0d Turnery ware: 1 scrubbing brush for the castle, £0 1s 6d 2 baskets for the castle, £0 1s 0.5d Turnery ware total, £0 6s 0.5d Starch, 8 lb for linen, £0 3s 4d Paint: 2 lb indigo, £0 3s 4d 0.5 lb blue smalts for linen, £0 0s 10d

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		0 6 ½ Starch 8 for Linnen 0 0 0 0 3 4 Paint Viz 2 Indico 0 3 4 ½ Blue Smalts for Linen 0 0 10 14 White Lead 0 4 9 8 Verdigrease for painting a Broom and Window Sashes in the 1 3 2 ½ Chalk Castle, and a Target 0 0 ½ 8 Whiting for Instructing the 0 0 3 3 Venetian Red Artillery, Company 0 0 6½ 2 Yl Oaker 0 0 5 1 15 4 Canvas 10½ Duck for a Target & Covr 2 Scoops 0 0 0 0 13 4 Deals Viz 11 Single Deals 0 18 4 4 double Do for Repairing Castle 0 10 4 1 Pr Oak Plank 0 3 9 1 12 5 Carried Over £ 8 8 8¾	16 lb white lead, £0 4s 9d 8 lb verdigris for painting the window sashes in the castle and a target, £1 3s 2d 4 lb chalk for instructing the artillery company, £0 0s 0.75d 8 lb whiting, £0 0s 3d 3 lb Venetian red, £0 0s 6.5d 2 lb yellow ochre, £0 0s 5d Paint total, £1 15s 4d Canvas, 10.5 yards duck for a target and covers for 2 sloops, £0 13s 4d Deals: 11 single deals, £0 18s 4d 4 double ditto for repairing the castle, £0 10s 4d 1 piece oak plank, £0 3s 9d Deals total, £1 12s 5d Carried over, £8 8s 8.75d **Interpretations** The general charges name the particular work each material served, so the account reads as a record of the quarter's upkeep rather than a mere issue of stores. The linseed oil for painting the castle sashes, the hinges and lock for the church, the stock lock for the Lieutenant Governor's house and the deals for repairing the castle together map the maintenance of the island's principal buildings, the Company charging its own fabric to a distinct sub-account so the cost of holding the place stood plain on the books. The chalk, verdigris and canvas bought for instructing the artillery company and making a target show the garrison's gunners kept in practice through the quarter. The target painted on duck canvas gave the artillery a mark to lay their guns against, the chalk marking the ground or the practice board, so the small paint and canvas charges record the training of the island's own gunners as much as the upkeep of its buildings, a rare glimpse of the garrison at exercise within the dry account of stores. The dozen hand screws entered for store use were the clamps the warehouse needed to work and secure its own goods, distinct from the tools sold out to servants and planters. Charging them to the general account rather than selling them marks them as the Company's own working equipment, the store keeping back a portion of the ironware it handled to fit out its own operations, so the warehouse that supplied the island also drew on its stock to maintain itself.
383	394	1748 Brought Over £ 8 8 8¾ Lines 4 for the Target, & a Jack Line 0 0 0 0 2 6 Thread 2 Colourd for makg Cartridges 0 0 0 0 3 4 Twine 3 Skains for Do & a Target 0 0 0 0 1 9½ Rozin 3 for Damening Bottles & the Pump 0 0 0 0 0 3¾ Bunting 2 Yard for Strainers 0 0 0 0 1 1½ Corks 6 Gross for Bottling Beer 0 0 0 0 13 9 Leather 3¾ for the Pump 0 0 0 0 3 9 Soap 50 0 0 0 1 9 1 Glassware Viz 39 Squares Glass 12 by 12 for Repairing Windows 1 8 3¾ 1 Square Do 8 by 10 in the Castle 0 6 6¾ 17 Squares Do 6 by 8 0 6 4½ 1 15 2¾ Pewter 1 Crane for Store Use	The general charges closed, followed by the fortification charges, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £8 8s 8.75d Lines, 4 for the target and a jack line, £0 2s 6d Thread, 1 lb coloured for making cartridges, £0 3s 4d Twine, 3 skeins for ditto and a target, £0 1s 9.5d Rosin, 3 lb for damming bottles and the pump, £0 0s 3.75d Bunting, 2 yards for strainers, £0 1s 1.5d Corks, 6 gross for bottling beer, £0 13s 9d Leather, 3.75 lb for the pump, £0 3s 9d Soap, 50 lb, £1 7s 1d Glassware: 39 squares glass 12 by 12, £1 8s 5.75d 1 square ditto 8 by 10 for repairing windows, £0 6s 6.75d 17 squares ditto 6 by 8 in the castle, £0 6s 4.5d Glassware total, £1 15s 1.75d Pewter, 1 crane for store use, £0 17s 7d Coals, 30 bushels for the smiths, £1 10s 0d Total, £15 5s 4d The fortification charges, debtor for the following stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1748, ran as follows. Bunting:

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		0 0 0 0 17 7 Coals 30 Bushels for the Smiths 1 10 0 Total £ 15 5 4 Fortification Dr for the following Stores & Used from the 1st July to the 30th September 1748 Viz Bunting Viz 2 Pr Red 3 7 1 3 Pr Blue 3 15 0 4 Pr White for a flag for ye Castle 4 10 4 11 12 5 Canvas Viz 3 Yards Duck 0 6 8 2 Pr Sacking for Lime bags 1 12 4 1 19 0 Lines 2 for the Masons 0 0 0 0 3 4 Thread 2 Coloured for making a Flagg 0 0 0 0 5 6¾ Cordage 97 for Slings & Scaffold Ropes 0 14 12¾ Carried Over £ 14 12¾	2 pieces red, £3 7s 1d 3 pieces blue, £3 15s 0d 4 pieces white for a flag for the castle, £4 10s 4d Bunting total, £11 12s 5d Canvas: 5 yards duck, £0 6s 8d 2 pieces sacking for lime bags, £1 12s 4d Canvas total, £1 19s 0d Lines, 2 for the masons, £0 0s 11d Thread, 1 lb coloured for making a flag, £0 3s 4d Cordage, 7 lb for slings and scaffold ropes, £0 5s 6.25d Carried over, £14 12s 2.5d **Interpretations** The bunting bought for a castle flag names the three colours of the union, red, blue and white sewn together with coloured thread into the ensign flown over the fort. A flag was the visible mark of the Company's possession and the signal by which ships in the offing knew the island for a friendly port, so the making of a new one was charged to the fortification account as part of the works that declared and defended the Company's hold, the several pieces of each colour supplying the field and the crosses. The sacking issued for lime bags and the cordage for slings and scaffold ropes record the mason's work on the fortification lines in progress. Lime burned on the island was carried to the works in sacks and hoisted by sling and scaffold rope as the walls rose, the same building programme that ran through the season's consultations, so the dry list of thread, canvas and cordage traces the actual labour of raising the batteries that guarded the road. The store kept back a crane of pewter for its own use, charged to the general account rather than sold, the fitting by which casks and heavy goods were drawn up and moved in the warehouse. Like the hand screws entered a page earlier, the crane marks the equipment the Company reserved to work its own stores, the warehouse maintaining the gear of its own operation from the same stock it dispensed to the island, so that the machinery of supply was itself supplied from within.
384	395	17th October Brought over £ 14 1 2½ Deals Viz 2 Single Deals 0 3 4 1 Baulk for Repairs at Bankss 0 3 10½ 0 7 2½ Nails 2 10 for Do 0 0 0 0 0 8 Ironware Viz 1 Stock Lock for Bankss Magazine Door 0 4 11 12 Stone Wedges 0 8 0 1 Maul for ye Stone Blaster 0 3 8½ 0 16 7½ Twine 3 Skains for Lime Bags 0 0 0 0 1 9¾ Cartwheels Viz 6 Wheel Barrows 4 7 0 8 Hand Barrows 2 0 0 6 7 0 £ 21 14 6 Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores & Used for the Table from ye 1st July to the 30th September 1748 Viz Sugar & Candy Viz	The fortification charges closed, followed by the diet charges, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £14 1s 2.5d Deals: 2 single deals for repairs at Banks's, £0 3s 4d 1 baulk for repairs at Banks's, £0 3s 10.5d Deals total, £0 7s 2.5d Nails, 2 lb 10d for ditto, £0 0s 8d Ironware: 1 stock lock for Banks's magazine door, £0 4s 11d 12 stone wedges, £0 8s 0d 1 maul for the stone blaster, £0 3s 8.5d Ironware total, £0 16s 7.5d Twine, 3 skeins for lime bags, £0 1s 9.75d Cartwheels: 6 wheelbarrows, £4 7s 0d 8 hand barrows, £2 0s 0d Cartwheels total, £6 7s 0d Total, £21 14s 6d The diet charges, debtor for the following stores issued for the table from 1 July to 30 September 1748, ran as follows. Sugar and candy: 70 lb sugar, £0 12s 8.5d 80 lb candy, £0 16s 10.5d Sugar and candy total, £1 9s 7d Arrack, 30 gallons, £2 2s 6d Salt, 2.5 bushels, £0 1s 6d Vinegar, 2.5 gallons, £0 5s 1.5d Flour, 3 casks quantity 942 lb, £6 14s 1.5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		70 Sugar 0 12 8½ 80 Candy 0 16 10½ 1 9 7 Arrack 30 Gallons 0 0 0 2 2 6 Salt 2½ Bushels 0 0 0 0 1 6 Vinegar 2½ Gallons 0 0 0 0 5 ½ Flour 3 Casks Quantity 942 0 0 0 6 14 ½ Oyl 10 Bottles Florence 0 0 0 1 1 6 Beef & Pork Viz 3 Pr Beef 0 8 3 11 Pr Pork 1 2 0 1 10 3 Pepper 6 0 0 0 0 3 0 Tea 2 Single 0 0 0 0 2 2½ £ 14 1 7½	Oil, 10 bottles Florence, £1 1s 6d Beef and pork: 3 lb beef, £0 8s 3d 1 lb pork, £1 2s 0d Beef and pork total, £1 10s 3d Pepper, 6 lb, £0 0s 3d Tea, 2 lb single, £0 2s 2.5d Total, £14 1s 7.5d **Interpretations** The wheelbarrows and hand barrows charged to the fortification account were the means of moving stone, lime and rubble on the works, the plainest tools of the building programme. Six wheelbarrows and eight hand barrows entered together mark a real outfitting of the labour raising the batteries, the barrows carrying the material the masons laid, so that even the humblest gear of construction passed through the store and stood charged against the cost of the island's defence. The maul and stone wedges issued for the stone blaster record the quarrying that fed the fortification works, the tools by which rock was split and dressed for the walls. St Helena's own stone was worked on the island for want of imported material, the wedges driven to break the rock and the maul to drive them, so the account traces the fortification back to its source in the island's quarries, the Company raising its defences from the ground it stood on. The diet account gathers the provisions for the general table where the establishment ate at the Company's charge, a distinct sub-account from the goods sold out for a return. The flour by the cask, the arrack, the Florence oil and the sugar were consumed at the fort's own board rather than sold, the Company feeding its officers and men as part of the standing charge of the place, so the books could show what the table cost against what the store recovered from the island at large.
385	396	1748 Plantation Dr for the following Stores & Used from the 1st July to the 30th September 1748 Viz Tinware 3 Water Pots for the Garden 0 0 0 0 18 3 Lines 2 for the Great Wood 0 0 0 0 1 3 Rice & Paddy Viz 24 Rice 0 2 6 3 10 Paddy for the Poultry 1 3 ½ 1 5 6½ Deals Viz 40 Double Deals 5 3 4 50 Single Do for Repairing two 1 3 4 5 Baulks Rooms in the Great Wood 0 17 ¼ 1 Pr Riga Timber for the Lieutenant Govr 2 2 5 12 8 5¼ Nails Viz 6¼ 4 0 2 5¾ 26½ 10 for Do 0 8 9 3½ 20 0 1 1 0 12 3¾ Cordage 6 for the Great Wood 0 0 0 0 2 0 Ironware Viz 9 Trowels for the Masons 0 2 5 6 Hoes for the Plantations	The plantation charges, debtor for the following stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1748, ran as follows. Tin ware, 3 water pots for the garden, £0 18s 3d Lines, 2 for the Great Wood, £0 1s 3d Rice and paddy: 21 lb rice, £0 2s 6d 3 quarters 10 pounds paddy for the poultry, £1 3s 0.5d Rice and paddy total, £1 5s 6.5d Deals: 10 double deals, £5 3s 4d 50 single ditto for repairing the rooms in the Great Wood, £1 3s 4d 5 baulks for repairing the rooms in the Great Wood, £0 19s 4.5d 1 piece Riga timber for the Lieutenant Governor, £2 2s 5d Deals total, £12 8s 5.5d Nails: 6.25 lb 4d, £0 2s 5.75d 26.5 lb 10d, £0 8s 9d 3.5 lb 20d for ditto, £0 1s 1d Nails total, £0 12s 3.75d Cordage, 6 lb for the Great Wood, £0 2s 0d Ironware: 2 trowels for the masons, £0 2s 5d 6 hoes for the plantations, £0 10s 3d 2 helves for the plantations, £0 1s 2d 1 iron rimmed lock for a door in the Great Wood, £0 8s 10d Ironware total, £1 2s 8d Lead, 12.75 lb for a flower pot, £0 2s 2d Tar, 7 gallons for the carts, £0 3s 3d Total, £16 17s 10.5d

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		0 10 3 2 Helves 0 1 2 1 Iron Rimd Lock for a Door in the Great Wood 0 8 10 1 2 8 2 2 Lead 12¾ for a New Spot 0 0 0 0 3 3 Tar 7 Gallons for the Carts £ 16 17 10¾ Blacks Dr for the following Stores & Used for their Use from the 1st July to the 30th September 1748 Viz Shoes 15 Pr Mens Ordy for ye Handicraftsmen 0 0 0 2 18 9 Rice 633 for the Sick Blacks 0 3 5 11½ Carried Over £ 6 4 8½	The charges for the slaves, debtor for the following stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1748, ran as follows. Shoes, 15 pairs men's ordinary for the handicraftsmen, £2 18s 9d Rice, 633 lb for the sick slaves, £3 5s 11.5d Carried over, £6 4s 8.5d **Interpretations** The plantation account draws together the tools and materials of the Company's own farming, the hoes and helves for the ground, the water pots for the garden and the paddy for the poultry. The rice fed the fowls and the seed paddy was sown for the next crop, so the account records not only the upkeep of the plantations but their working through the season, the Company raising its own provisions on ground its slaves tilled even as the drought forced it to buy yams from the planters. The shoes and rice charged to the slaves show the two ends of the Company's provision for its labour force, footwear for the handicraftsmen who worked the trades and rice for the sick who could not work at all. The men's ordinary shoes went to the carpenters, smiths and masons whose skilled work needed them shod, while the sick drew rice as an easier food than the yams that fed the rest, so the account marks the Company clothing and feeding its slaves according to their labour and their need. The Riga timber charged to the plantation account for the Lieutenant Governor ties the costly Baltic wood to a particular fitting-out of David Hunter's house, newly seated in the office that summer. The single dear piece stands apart from the ordinary deals used to repair the rooms in the Great Wood, marking the better timber reserved for the senior officer's dwelling, the same house glazed and pumped for him on his arrival, so the account traces the small privileges that attended the second seat of the island's government.
386	397	17th October Brought over £ 6 4 8½ Tea 17½ 0 0 0 0 11 8 Sugar 22 0 4 0 Bread 4 for the Sick Blacks 0 0 7 Arrack ½ Gallon 0 0 0 0 4¾ Brandy 7 Gallons for Drams 0 0 0 1 19 0 Hosiersware 1 Pr Womens Stock for Betty Ann 0 0 0 0 3 2 Pork 12 Peices 0 0 0 1 6 0 Blankets 2 0 0 0 0 12 2 Hooks & Lines Viz 71 Lines 0 14 9½ 17½ Dozn Hooks for fishing 0 3 0 17 9½ Kersey 7 Pr 7½ Yr for Clothing 0 0 0 15 2 11 Shirts 1 0 0 0 0 3 9 £ 27 6 1¾ Garrison Dr for the following Stores & Issued from the 1st July to the 30th September 1748 Viz Oyl Viz 58 Gallons Train for the Several Guards 8 11 7 1¼ Gall Lins for ye Doctors Shop & Cleaning Arms 0 4 3½	The charges for the slaves continued, followed by the garrison charges, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £6 4s 8.5d Tea, 17.5 lb for the sick slaves, £0 11s 8d Sugar, 22 lb for the sick slaves, £0 4s 0d Bread, 4 lb for the sick slaves, £0 0s 7d Arrack, 0.5 gallon, £0 0s 4.5d Brandy, 7 gallons for drams, £1 19s 0d Haberdashery ware, 1 pair women's shirt for Betty Jane, £0 3s 2d Pork, 12 pieces, £1 6s 0d Blankets, 2, £0 12s 2d Hooks and lines: 71 lines, £0 14s 9.5d 17.5 dozen hooks for fishing, £0 3s 0d Hooks and lines total, £0 17s 9.5d Kersey, 7 pieces 7.5 yards for clothing, £15 2s 11d Shirts, 1, £0 3s 9d Total, £27 6s 1.5d The garrison charges, debtor for the following stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1748, ran as follows. Oil: 58 gallons train for the several guards, £8 11s 7d 1.5 gallons linseed for the doctor's shop and cleaning arms, £0 4s 3.5d 1 bottle Florence for cleaning arms, £0 2s 9d 2.5 gallons sea oil for the guards, £0 0s 0d Oil total, £8 18s 7.5d Tea, 66.5 lb for the several guards, £2 4s 4d Callavances, 1 lb, £0 0s 5d Beef, 1 piece for a recruit, £0 2s 9d Tin ware, 1 lamp for the main guard, £0 1s 6d Deals, 5 double for coffins, £0 10s 4d

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		1 Bottle florence for Cleaning Arms 0 2 9 2½ Gallons Sea Cow for the Guards 0 0 0 8 18 7½ Tea 66½ for the Several Guards 0 0 0 2 4 4 Callavances 4 0 0 0 0 0 5 Beef 1 Pr for a Recruit 0 0 0 0 2 9 Tinware 1 Lamp for the Main Guard 0 0 0 0 1 6 Deals 5 Double 0 0 0 0 10 4 Nails 2 6 for Coffins 0 0 0 0 0 9 Carried over £ 11 18 8½	Nails, 10 lb and 6 lb for coffins, £0 0s 0d Carried over, £11 18s 8.5d **Interpretations** The clothing charged to the slaves turns on the kersey, seven pieces run to over fifteen pounds, much the heaviest line of the slaves' account. Kersey was the coarse ribbed woollen the Company issued for its slaves' apparel, cut and made up into the standard clothing given out against the southern winter, so the single dominant charge marks the annual dressing of the labour force, the plain durable cloth chosen for hard wear rather than any comfort. The brandy issued for drams and the tea for the several guards mark the customary allowances that eased the garrison's duty. Drams of spirit were served to the men on watch and in wet weather, and the tea drawn for the guards was part of the daily provision of the posts, the two together showing the small comforts the establishment found necessary to keep soldiers at their stations through the mild damp of the island's winter, charged as a standing cost of holding the guards. The deals and nails charged for coffins record the quarter's deaths among the garrison plainly and without ceremony. The Company found the boards and nails to bury its own dead soldiers from the store, the coffin timber charged to the garrison account like any other issue, so the dry entry stands as the account's only notice of the men who died in service through the season, their burial met from the same warehouse that clothed and fed them alive.
387	398	1748 Brought over £ 11 18 8½ Iron Pots 4 for the Barracks & Prosd Bay Guard 0 0 0 3 15 3¾ Ironware Viz 21 Frying Pans for Do 1 16 2¼ 1 Cupboard Lock for the Doctor Shop 0 2 6 1 18 8¼ Sugar 20 0 0 0 0 3 7 Vinegar 1 Gallon for the Doctors Shop 0 0 0 0 2 ¼ Turnersware Viz 1 Slaes Broom for Bankss Guard Room 0 1 10½ 1 Bowl for Sandy Bay Guard 0 1 11½ 2 Platters for Sandy Bay Guard 0 1 10½ 0 4 8 Plantation 1 Mop for Bankss Guard Room Paint Viz 9 Yellow Oaker 0 1 10½ 18 Whiting for Cleang 2 Small Storeage & Bells 0 0 6½ 0 2 5½ £ 18 8 5 Hospital Dr for the following Stores & Used from the 1st July to the 30th September 1748 Viz Sugar 82 0 0 0 0 14 10½ Oyl 2¼ Gallons Train 0 0 0 0 8 ¼ Flour 25 0 0 0 0 3 8½ Rice 123 0 0 0 0 10 10½ Salt ½ Bushel 0 0 0 0 1 6 Deals 1 Baulk for Repairs 0 0 0 0 3 10½	The garrison charges closed, followed by the hospital charges, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £11 18s 8.5d Iron pots, 4 for the barracks and Rupert's Bay guard, £3 15s 3.5d Ironware: 21 frying pans for ditto, £1 16s 2.5d 1 cupboard lock for the doctor's shop, £0 2s 6d Ironware total, £1 18s 8.5d Sugar, 20 lb, £0 3s 7d Vinegar, 1 gallon for the doctor's shop, £0 2s 0.5d Turnery ware: 1 hair broom for Banks's guard room, £0 1s 10.5d 1 bowl for Sandy Bay guard, £0 1s 1.5d 2 platters for Sandy Bay guard, £0 1s 10.5d Turnery ware total, £0 4s 8d Plantation, 1 mop for Banks's guard room, £0 0s 0d Paint: 9 lb yellow ochre, £0 1s 10.5d 18 lb whiting for cleaning the soldiers' large and belts, £0 0s 6.25d Paint total, £0 2s 5.5d Total, £18 8s 5d The hospital charges, debtor for the following stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1748, ran as follows. Sugar, 82 lb, £0 14s 10.5d Sugar, further, £0 8s 1.5d Oil, 2.5 gallons train, £0 3s 8.5d Flour, 25 lb, £0 10s 10.5d Rice, 123 lb, £0 10s 10.5d Salt, 0.5 bushel, £0 1s 6d Deals, 1 baulk for repairs, £0 3s 10.5d Ironware, 1 wood axe, £0 2s 4d Total, £2 5s 3.5d **Interpretations** The whiting and yellow ochre issued for cleaning the soldiers' belts and accoutrements record the upkeep of the garrison's appearance on parade. Whiting was rubbed on the leather belts and buff

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		Ironware 1 Wood Ax 0 2 4 £ 2 5 3¼	equipment to keep them white for muster, the ochre serving a like purpose on other gear, so the small charge marks the standing care of the soldiers' turnout, the establishment holding its men to a smart show even in a remote and undermanned garrison. The hospital account gathers the invalid diet for the sick of the garrison, the sugar, flour, rice and oil that made the light food a sick man could take. The larger part went in sugar and rice, the easily digested provisions drawn for those who could not stomach the ordinary ration, so the account traces the Company's care of its sick soldiers, feeding them from a distinct store against their recovery and return to duty. The frying pans and iron pots issued in quantity to the several guard rooms and barracks show the scattered posts kept as small self-contained messes. Rupert's Bay, Banks's and Sandy Bay each drew its own cooking gear, the guards at the outlying batteries dressing their own food where they stood watch rather than returning to a central kitchen, so the account maps the dispersal of the garrison across the island's defences through the ordinary hardware of their daily subsistence.
388	399	17th October Boats Dr for the following Stores & Issued from the 1st July to the 30th September 1748 Viz Cordage 91 for the Yawl & Pinnace 0 0 0 1 9 6½ Oars 4 0 15 5 Leather 3¼ 0 5 3 Nails Viz 4 2 for the Yawl 0 1½ 8 6 0 2¾ 8 10 0 2 0 10½ £ 2 11 2 St Helena 30th September 1748 Errors Excepted Jno Purling Storekeeper List of the Honble Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their Several Sallaries Diet Money &c for the Quarter Commencing July the 1st and Ending the 30th September 1748 Viz Chas Hutchinson Esq Govr Salary £ 125 0 0 Do allowance for Servants as Usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Salary 62 10 0 Do Diet Mony 25 0 0 87 10 0 John Clark of Council 15 0 0 John Goodwin Accomptant Salary 17 10 0 Do Diet Mony 15 0 0 32 10 0 Matthew Purling Storekeeper Salary 17 10 0 Do Diet Mony 15 0 0 32 10 0 William Loveday Chaplain Salary 25 0 0	The boats charges, debtor for the following stores issued from 1 July to 30 September 1748, ran as follows. Cordage, 91 lb for the yawl and pinnace, £1 9s 6.5d Oars, 4, £0 15s 5d Leather, 5.75 lb, £0 5s 3d Nails: 2 lb 4d for the yawl, £0 0s 7.5d 6 lb 4d for the yawl, £0 0s 2.5d 10 lb 4d for the yawl, £0 0s 2d Nails total, £0 0s 10.5d Total, £2 11s 2d The account was made up at St Helena on 30 September 1748, errors excepted, and subscribed by Purling, storekeeper. The list of the Honourable Company's officers and servants upon the island of St Helena, with their several salaries and diet money, for the quarter beginning 1 July and ending 30 September 1748, ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Charles Hutchinson esquire, Governor, salary £125 0s 0d Ditto, allowance for servants as usual, £31 4s 9d Hutchinson total, £156 14s 9d Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, salary £62 10s 0d Ditto, diet money, £25 0s 0d Hunter total, £87 10s 0d John Clark of council, £15 0s 0d John Goodwin, accountant, salary £17 10s 0d Ditto, diet money, £15 0s 0d Goodwin total, £32 10s 0d Matthew Purling, storekeeper, salary £17 10s 0d Ditto, diet money, £15 0s 0d Purling total, £32 10s 0d William Loveday, chaplain, salary £25 0s 0d Ditto, diet money, £15 0s 0d Loveday total, £40 0s 0d Carried over, £364 4s 0d **Interpretations** The salary list separates each officer's pay from his diet money, the two entered as distinct charges that together made up his maintenance. Diet money was the allowance in lieu of eating at the general table, paid so an officer could keep his own table where his duty or standing made the fixed dinner hours impractical, so the double entry against each name marks the two halves of the establishment's provision for its servants, the wage for the office and the keep of the man.

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		Do Diet Mony 15 0 0 40 0 0 Carried Over £ 361 4 9	The Governor's allowance for servants stands apart from his salary as a charge for the household the office required. A Governor kept servants to maintain the state of his place, and the Company met the cost as a distinct allowance rather than folding it into his pay, so the entry marks the establishment's recognition that the governorship carried a scale of living the salary alone did not cover, the servants being part of the office as much as the man. The chaplain William Loveday drew diet money like the lay officers, the same allowance lately extended to him that the surgeon Falconer had cited in petitioning for his own that summer. Loveday's forty pounds combined a salary above the storekeeper's with the standing fifteen pounds of diet money, marking the chaplain's place among the senior servants of the establishment, the spiritual office paid and kept on the same footing as the civil ones and drawn on by others as a precedent for their own claims.
389	400	1748 Brought over £ 361 4 9 Fran Wrangham Factor Salary 7 10 0 Do Diet Mony 10 0 0 Do House Vent 2 10 0 20 0 0 Sam Powell Factor Salary 7 10 0 Do Assistant Storekeeper from the 6 July Inclusive 4 14 6¼ Do Diet Mony 10 0 0 Do House Rent 2 10 0 24 14 6¼ Joseph Darvall Factor to the 5 July Inclusive 8 2⅛ Do Diet Mony 10 11½ Do Assistant Storekeeper 5 5¾ 1 4 7¼ Thomas French Factor Salary 7 10 0 Do Diet Mony 10 0 0 17 10 0 Matthew Bazett Writer Salary 5 0 0 Do Diet Mony 10 0 0 15 0 0 Samuel Falconer Surgeon Salary 9 15 0 Do House Rent 2 10 0 12 5 0 Richard Gurling Overseers 13 0 0 John Swaits 7 10 0 Richard Beale Schoolmaster Salary 3 8 3 Do as Clerk 5 0 0 8 8 3 John Bland Master Mason Salary 17 10 0 Do Diet Mony 10 0 0 Do House Rent 1 10 0	The salary list continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £364 4s 9d Francis Wrangham, factor, salary £7 10s 0d Ditto, diet money, £10 0s 0d Ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d Wrangham total, £20 0s 0d James Powell, factor, salary £7 10s 0d Ditto, assistant storekeeper from the 6 July inclusive, £4 14s 6.5d Ditto, diet money, £10 0s 0d Ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d Powell total, £24 14s 6.5d Joseph Darvall, factor to the 6 July inclusive, £0 8s 2.75d Ditto, diet money, £0 10s 11.25d Ditto, assistant storekeeper, £0 5s 5.5d Darvall total, £1 4s 7.5d Thomas French, factor, salary £7 10s 0d Ditto, diet money, £10 0s 0d French total, £17 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, writer, salary £5 0s 0d Ditto, diet money, £10 0s 0d Bazett total, £15 0s 0d Samuel Falconer, surgeon, salary £9 15s 0d Ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d Falconer total, £12 5s 0d Richard Gurling, overseer, £0 15s 0d John Twaits, overseer, £0 7s 10d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, salary £3 8s 3d Ditto, as clerk, £5 0s 0d Beale total, £8 8s 3d John Bland, master mason, salary £17 10s 0d Ditto, diet money, £10 0s 0d Ditto, house rent, £1 10s 0d Bland total, £29 0s 0d Mark Hawkins, mason, salary £12 10s 0d Ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Ditto, house rent, £1 0s 0d Hawkins total, £20 6s 10.5d William Hayes, master of arms, £6 5s 0d Ditto, £7 10s 0d Nicholas Cleather, steward, £9 11s 3d William Dowse, gardener, £8 15s 0d Robert Meacock, cooper, £12 10s 0d Henry Moyce, carpenter, £7 10s 0d John Arthurgstall, patron of the long boat, £2 0s 0d Robert Wright, horsekeeper, £4 4s 9d Thomas Willingham, marshal, £0 0s 0d Carried over, £593 13s 7.5d **Interpretations** Several servants drew house rent alongside salary and diet money, a third allowance marking those the Company did not lodge in its own buildings. The

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		29 0 0 Mark Hawkins Mason Salary 12 10 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 1 0 0 20 6 10½ William Hayes Master of Arms 6 5 0 Nicholas Cleather Steward 7 10 0 William Dowse Gardener 9 11 3 Robert Meacock Cooper 8 15 0 Henry Moyce Carpenter 12 10 0 John Arkingstall Patron of the Long Boat 7 10 0 Robert Wright Horsekeeper 2 0 0 Thomas Willingham Marshall 4 4 9 Carried Over £ 593 13 ½	factors Wrangham and Powell, the surgeon Falconer and the masons Bland and Hawkins each took a rent allowance, so the establishment met the housing of servants it could not quarter in the castle or the Company's houses, the allowance recording who lived at their own charge and drew compensation for it. The names of Mark Hawkins the mason and Robert Meacock the cooper appear here on the pay roll only weeks after both stood before the court over the death of Meacock's slave woman Susan, Hawkins fined as one who inflicted the fatal beating and Meacock fined as her owner. That both drew their full quarter's pay undisturbed shows how completely the inquest verdict and the church fine sat apart from a man's standing as a Company servant, the killing of a slave touching neither wage nor office. James Powell's part-quarter charge as assistant storekeeper from 6 July, set against Joseph Darvall's matching charge only to 6 July, records a change in the office caught to the day in the pay. Darvall gave up the assistant storekeeper's place and Powell took it on the same date, the broken sums split exactly at the handover, so the pay roll fixes the moment one man succeeded another in a subordinate office as precisely as it marked the deaths and promotions of the garrison.
390	401	17th October Brought Over £ 593 13 ½ First Company John Clark 1 Lieut Salary £ 10 0 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ Do on Account of instruct ye Artillery 7 10 0 24 6 10½ John Dunbar 2 Lieut to the 20 of Sepr inclu, the Day he left the Island 6 13 6½ Do Diet Mony 6 1 10½ 12 15 5 William Hayes Adjutant Salary 10 0 0 Do Diet Mony 7 1 3 17 1 3 54 3 6½ Sergeants Henry Beale 6 14 6 Bartholomew Molley 6 14 6 Solomen Jacobs 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals Daniel Langton 4 7 9 James Richardson 4 7 9 William Bell 4 7 9 13 3 3 John Swindall Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels Edw Alles 3 8 3 John Bray 3 8 3 John Bower 3 8 3 George Bennitt 3 8 3	The pay roll of the first company ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £593 13s 7.5d First Company: John Clark, first lieutenant, salary £10 0s 0d Ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Ditto, on account of instructing the artillery, £7 10s 0d Clark total, £24 6s 10.5d John Dunbar, second lieutenant to the 20 September inclusive, the day he left the island, £6 13s 6.5d Ditto, diet money, £6 1s 10.5d Dunbar total, £12 15s 5d William Hayes, adjutant, salary £10 0s 0d Ditto, diet money, £7 1s 3d Hayes total, £17 1s 3d First company officers total, £54 3s 6.5d Sergeants: Henry Beale, £6 14s 6d Bartholomew Molley, £6 14s 6d Solomon Jacobs, £6 14s 6d Sergeants total, £20 3s 6d Corporals: Daniel Langton, £4 7s 9d James Richardson, £4 7s 9d William Bell, £4 7s 9d Corporals total, £13 3s 3d John Swindall, drummer, £4 7s 9d Sentinels: Edward Allis, £3 8s 3d John Bray, £3 8s 3d John Bower, £3 8s 3d George Bennett, £3 8s 3d Joseph Brooks, £3 8s 3d Ambrose Bland, £3 8s 3d Augustin Balls, £3 8s 3d Thomas Brown, £3 8s 3d William Breff, £3 8s 3d John Buckels, £3 8s 3d John Clay, £3 8s 3d William Campbell, £3 8s 3d Matthew Campbell, £3 8s 3d James Cartwright, £3 8s 3d William Davis, £3 8s 3d John Davis, £3 8s 3d **Interpretations** John Clark drew a charge for instructing the artillery on top of his lieutenant's pay, tying the paint

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Joseph Brooks 3 8 3 Ambrose Bland 3 8 3 Augusten Balls 3 8 3 Thos Bown 3 8 3 William Bruff 3 8 3 John Buckels 3 8 3 John Clay 3 8 3 William Campbell 3 8 3 Matthew Campbell 3 8 3 James Cartwright 3 8 3 William Davis 3 8 3 John Davis 3 8 3	and chalk bought that quarter for the artillery company to the officer who trained it. The additional seven pounds ten marks the teaching of the gunners as a paid duty distinct from the ordinary command of the company, so the pay roll names the man behind the target practice the stores account recorded, the island keeping its own artillery in exercise under a lieutenant paid for the charge. John Dunbar's pay stops to the day he left the island, 20 September, the second lieutenant's place broken off exactly at his departure. The pay roll fixed a man's service to the day of every change, so Dunbar's part-quarter charge marks his going as precisely as the deaths and promotions elsewhere in the roll, the vacant second lieutenancy left behind him for the board to fill from the island's own ranks as it had filled the like place with Sergeant John French that summer. The sentinels stand at a uniform three pounds eight shillings and threepence, the flat private's pay against which every broken sum in the roll was reckoned. The long column of names at the single rate marks the base of the establishment, the ordinary soldiers who made up the four foot companies, William Davis among them newly enlisted that quarter at his five guineas bounty, the same man fined weeks earlier over the death of Meacock's slave, now drawing the standard wage of the garrison he had joined.
391	402	1748 Brought Over £ 685 11 1 Centinels Brought over £ 54 12 0 William Enzor 3 8 3 Edwd Gill 3 8 3 George Green 3 8 3 Thomas Greenaway 3 8 3 John Hodges to ye 7 August inclu, the day he died 1 16 0 Thomas Hales 3 8 3 Humphry Harrison 3 8 3 George Harper 3 8 3 Patrick Hamilton 3 8 3 James Handry 3 8 3 Major Jacksen 3 8 3 Woolston Jones 3 8 3 James Lee 3 8 3 William Lambon 3 8 0 Joseph Long 3 8 3 Alexander Leuden 3 8 3 John Marsh 3 8 3 Willm Mason 3 8 3 John Murrill 3 8 3 James Mills 3 8 3 James Renard 3 8 3 John Spencer	The pay roll of the first company continued, the sentinels at the flat rate, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £685 11s 1d Sentinels brought over, £54 12s 0d William Enzor, £3 8s 3d Edward Gill, £3 8s 3d George Green, £3 8s 3d Thomas Greenaway, £3 8s 3d John Hodges to 9 August inclusive the day he died, £1 16s 0d Thomas Hales, £3 8s 3d Humphrey Harrison, £3 8s 3d George Harper, £3 8s 3d Patrick Hamilton, £3 8s 3d James Mandry, £3 8s 3d Major Jackson, £3 8s 3d Woolston Jones, £3 8s 3d James Lee, £3 8s 3d William Lambon, £3 8s 0d Joseph Long, £3 8s 3d Alexander Leudon, £3 8s 3d John Marsh, £3 8s 3d William Mason, £3 8s 3d John Murrill, £3 8s 3d James Mills, £3 8s 3d James Renard, £3 8s 3d John Spencer, £3 8s 3d John Scotchie, £3 8s 3d John Shaw, £3 8s 3d John Searly, £3 8s 3d Solomon Saunders, £3 8s 3d Emanuel Steel, £3 8s 3d William Starr, £3 8s 3d James Urquhart, £3 8s 3d Peter Wells, £3 8s 3d Thomas Jarvis, £3 8s 3d Thomas Wagg, £3 8s 3d Thomas Watts, £3 8s 3d William Young, £3 8s 3d Sentinels total, £169 0s 3d Carried over, £854 11s 4d **Interpretations** The single broken sum in the long column marks John Hodges, whose pay stopped at 9 August, the day he died, his part-quarter of one pound sixteen set

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 8 3 John Scotchie 3 8 3 John Shaw 3 8 3 John Searly 3 8 3 Solomon Saunders 3 8 3 Emanuel Steel 3 8 3 William Sarr 3 8 3 James Urquhart 3 8 3 Peter Wells 3 8 3 Thomas Jarvis 3 8 3 Thos Wagg 3 8 3 Thos Watts 3 8 3 William Young 3 8 3 169 0 3 Carried Over £ 854 11 4	among the flat rates of the living. The pay roll recorded a soldier's death by the exact fraction of his wage earned to the day, so the one short entry in the whole column of sentinels stands as the account's only notice of a man lost from the garrison that quarter, his death fixed to the date as precisely as any promotion or discharge. The uniform three pounds eight and threepence running down almost the entire column shows the base of the establishment held at a fixed private's wage, the many names differing in nothing but their order. This flat rate was the standing pay of a sentinel across the whole garrison, the sum against which every broken payment for death, enlistment or transfer was reckoned, so the plain repetition measures the ordinary body of soldiers on which the island's defence rested, undifferentiated in pay whatever their length of service. The lone variance of William Lambon at three shillings without the pence, set against the threepence carried by every other name, reads as a small clerk's difference rather than any real distinction of pay. The board took the figures as the paymaster set them down without reconciling such trifles, the roll being a record of the sums entered rather than a check of each against the standard, so a single missing threepence stands uncorrected in a column otherwise uniform to the penny.
392	403	17th October Brought Over £ 854 11 4 Second Company Joseph Kendall 1 Lieut Salary £ 10 0 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 19 6 10½ Samuel Ashwick 2 Lieut Salary 7 10 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ 14 6 10½ 33 13 9 Sergeants Robert Mason 6 14 6 Gabriel Isacke 6 14 6 Daniel Bush 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals John Dours 4 7 9 Michael Frost 4 7 9 John Holloway 4 7 9 13 3 3 Thomas Sordon Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels Joseph Andrews 3 8 3 George Ayres to the 20th Sepr the day he absconded 3 1 3¾ Peter Barker 3 8 3 Andrew Barton 3 8 3 John Burch 3 8 3 Josiah Barks 3 8 3	The pay roll of the second company ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £854 11s 4d Second Company: Joseph Kendall, first lieutenant, salary £10 0s 0d Ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d Kendall total, £19 6s 10.5d Samuel Ashwick, second lieutenant, salary £7 10s 0d Ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Ashwick total, £14 6s 10.5d Second company officers total, £33 13s 9d Sergeants: Robert Mason, £6 14s 6d Gabriel Isache, £6 14s 6d Daniel Bush, £6 14s 6d Sergeants total, £20 3s 6d Corporals: John Dours, £4 7s 9d Michael Frost, £4 7s 9d John Holloway, £4 7s 9d Corporals total, £13 3s 3d Thomas Lorden, drummer, £4 7s 9d Sentinels: Joseph Andrews, £3 8s 3d George Ayres to the 20 September the day he absconded, £3 1s 3.75d Peter Barker, £3 8s 3d Andrew Barton, £3 8s 3d John Busch, £3 8s 3d Josiah Barks, £3 8s 3d Francis Berwick, £3 8s 3d John Brown, £3 8s 3d Richard Billington, £3 8s 3d William Brooks, £3 8s 3d John Chapman, £3 8s 3d William Cook from July 9 inclusive the day he entered the company, £3 1s 3.5d William Duffton, £3 8s 3d John Douglass, £3 8s 3d Robert Everidge, £3 8s 3d John Caves, £3 8s 3d John Fisher, £3 8s 3d Sentinels carried over, £57 9s 0d Carried over, £925 19s 7d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Fran Berwick 3 8 3 John Brown 3 8 3 Rich Billington 3 8 3 Willm Brooks 3 8 3 John Chapman 3 8 3 Wm Cook from July 1 Inclu ye day he inlisted per y Company 3 1 3¾ Willm Duffton 3 8 3 John Douglass 3 8 3 Robt Everidge 3 8 3 John Caves 3 8 3 John Fisher 3 8 3 Centinels Carried Over £ 57 9 4¾ Carried Over £ 925 19 7	George Ayres's pay stops at 20 September, the day he absconded, the broken sum recording as pay the desertion the board had reported when he and John Cope vanished aboard the *Princess of Wales*. The paymaster reckoned his wage to the day he was last present, so the roll marks his flight in the same form as a death or discharge, the fractional entry standing where a full quarter would have run had he not gone off in the ship the board could not search to any effect. William Cook's pay begins on 9 July, the day he entered the company, the part-quarter charge matching Ayres's at the other end of the roll. Cook was the deserter from the *Godolphin* who hid himself and surrendered once the ship for Bencoolen had sailed, and the board took him into the garrison for want of men, so his broken entry marks the exact day a man wanted for the Sumatran service was instead set on the St Helena establishment, the island gaining a soldier by the same means it lost Ayres. The second company's officers carry house rent where the first company's did not, Kendall drawing the allowance that Clark and Dunbar had not. The difference marks which officers the Company lodged in its own buildings and which lived at their own charge, the rent allowance following the man rather than the rank, so the roll records not a scale of pay but the particular housing arrangements of each officer, met by an allowance where no Company quarters served.
393	404	1748 Brought Over £ 925 19 7 Centinels Brought over £ 57 9 4¾ John Fletcher 3 8 3 Peter Fenall 3 8 3 John Gould 3 8 3 Isaac Holms 3 8 3 John Hayes 3 8 3 James English 3 8 3 Samuel Kilbert 3 8 3 William Leaver 3 8 3 James Long 3 8 3 Charles Legent 3 8 3 Joseph Lovet 3 8 3 Thos Mason 3 8 3 Rich Maybank 3 8 3 Rich Moyce 3 8 3 John Norton 3 8 3 Willm Page 3 8 3 Jno Pope to ye 20 Sepr inclu, the day he deserted 3 1 3¾ William Scott 3 8 3 Thomas Strecton 3 8 3 Willm Shelford 3 8 3 John Simmonds 3 8 3	The pay roll of the second company continued, the sentinels at the flat rate, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £925 19s 7d Sentinels brought over, £57 9s 4.5d John Fletcher, £3 8s 3d Peter Finall, £3 8s 3d John Gould, £3 8s 3d Isaac Holms, £3 8s 3d John Hayes, £3 8s 3d James English, £3 8s 3d Samuel Fulcott, £3 8s 3d William Leaver, £3 8s 3d James Long, £3 8s 3d Charles Legent, £3 8s 3d Joseph Lovet, £3 8s 3d Thomas Mason, £3 8s 3d Richard Maybank, £3 8s 3d Richard Moyce, £3 8s 3d John Norton, £3 8s 3d William Page, £3 8s 3d John Pope to the 20 September inclusive the day he deserted, £3 1s 3.75d William Scott, £3 8s 3d Thomas Streeton, £3 8s 3d William Shelford, £3 8s 3d John Simmonds, £3 8s 3d Joseph Simpson, £3 8s 3d Robert Stacey, £3 8s 3d Edward Sword, £3 8s 3d Samuel Talbott, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Thomas, £3 8s 3d Thomas Taylor, £3 8s 3d Richard Swaite, £3 8s 3d William Swaits, £3 8s 3d William Watkins to 9 July inclusive the day he died, £0 11s 1.5d Solomon Wain to 9 July inclusive the day he died, £3 8s 3d Edward Walker, £3 8s 3d Stephen Willoughby, £3 8s 3d Sentinels total, £170 6s 7.5d Adam Watson, carried over £1,096 6s 2.75d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Joseph Simpson 3 8 3 Robert Stacey 3 8 3 Edward Sword 3 8 3 Saml Saltcott 3 8 3 Benjamin Thomas 3 8 3 Thos Taylor 3 8 3 Rich Swaick 3 8 3 Willm Swaits 3 8 3 Willm Watkins to ye 16 July inclu, the day he died 0 11 1½ Solomon Wainto to ye 16 July inclu, the day he died 3 8 3 Edward Walker 3 8 3 Stephen Willoughby 3 8 3 Adam Watken 170 6 7¾ Carried Over £ 1096 6 2¾	John Pope's pay breaks off at 20 September, the day he deserted, the same date on which George Ayres absconded from the first company. Two men of the two companies vanished together on the day the *Princess of Wales* sailed, and though the board's report named Ayres and Cope, the roll here fixes Pope's flight to the identical day, so the pay account preserves the scale of the desertion the ship carried off, more men gone than the narrative of the search set down. William Watkins's pay stops at 9 July, the day he died, his broken sum of eleven shillings marking a death early in the quarter against the flat rates around him. The roll reckoned the dead man's wage to the exact day, so the short entry near the head of the column stands as the account's notice of a soldier lost within days of the quarter's opening, his part-pay the only trace the establishment kept of a man who served barely a week of the three months. The long uniform column of sentinels at the flat rate, broken only by the two dead men and the two deserters, measures the ordinary strength of the second company across the quarter. The many names differing in nothing but their order mark the undifferentiated body of soldiers on which the island's defence rested, the handful of broken sums among them the only movement in an otherwise static muster, each fraction fixing a death or a flight to the day the paymaster closed the man's account.
394	405	17th October Brought Over £ 1096 6 2¾ Third Company Thos Easthope 1 Lieut Salary £ 10 0 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 19 6 10½ Onesip Beale 2 Lieut Salary 7 10 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ 14 6 10½ 33 13 9 Sergeants Andrew Blinman 6 14 6 William Kenedy 6 14 6 Matthias Brightwell 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals John Smith 4 7 9 Henry Barter 4 7 9 John Spencer 4 7 9 13 3 3 Benjamin Swaite Drummer 4 7 9 Centinels Willm Adams 3 8 3 Matthew Alles 3 8 3 Bevan Ambrose 3 8 3 Willm Bechitt 3 8 3 Willm Bonfeild 3 8 3 Willm Brown	The pay roll of the third company ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £1,096 6s 2.75d Third Company: Thomas Easthope, first lieutenant, salary £10 0s 0d Ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d Easthope total, £19 6s 10.5d Onesiphorus Beale, second lieutenant, salary £7 10s 0d Ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Beale total, £14 6s 10.5d Third company officers total, £33 13s 9d Sergeants: Andrew Blinman, £6 14s 6d William Kendig, £6 14s 6d Matthias Brightwell, £6 14s 6d Sergeants total, £20 3s 6d Corporals: John Smith, £4 7s 9d Henry Barber, £4 7s 9d John Spencer, £4 7s 9d Corporals total, £13 3s 3d Benjamin Twaite, drummer, £4 7s 9d Sentinels: William Adams, £3 8s 3d Matthew Allis, £3 8s 3d Bevan Ambrose, £3 8s 3d William Beckitt, £3 8s 3d William Bonfield, £3 8s 3d William Brown, £3 8s 3d Joseph Bastick, £3 8s 3d John Bradley, £3 8s 3d Dixon Coatts, £3 8s 3d Baron Deloaf, £3 8s 3d John Earl, £3 8s 3d Thomas Fuller, £3 8s 3d Edward Grant, £3 8s 3d William Sherlock, £3 8s 3d Jonathan Fletcher, £3 8s 3d Junius Hindes, £3 8s 3d William Jones, £3 8s 3d William Jackson, £3 8s 3d Sentinels carried over, £61 8s 6d Carried over, £1,167 14s 5.5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 8 3 Joseph Bastick 3 8 3 John Bradley 3 8 3 Nicholas Coalts 3 8 3 Baron Delcaf 3 8 3 John Earl 3 8 3 Thos Fuller 3 8 3 Edwd Grant 3 8 3 Willm Sherlock 3 8 3 Jonathan Fletcher 3 8 3 Jno Hindes 3 8 3 Willm Jones 3 8 3 Willm Jackson 3 8 3 Centinels Carried over £ 61 8 6 Carried Over £ 1167 14 5¾	**Interpretations** The third company's first lieutenant Thomas Easthope drew house rent where his opposite number Clark in the first company did not, the same variance that set Kendall apart in the second. Across the three companies the rent allowance follows no rank but the particular lodging of each officer, so the roll marks Easthope as a man housed at his own charge and compensated for it, the Company meeting the housing of its officers case by case rather than by any uniform scale. The full column of sentinels at three pounds eight and threepence, unbroken by a single fractional sum, shows a company that lost no man to death, desertion or transfer through the quarter. Where the first and second companies each carried broken entries for the dead and the fled, the third ran its whole muster at the flat rate, so the very uniformity of the column marks a company that came through the three months intact, a quiet contrast to the deaths and desertions the other rolls recorded. The two Beales on the establishment, Onesiphorus the second lieutenant here and Richard the schoolmaster and clerk on the civil list, mark the spread of a single island family across the ranks of the Company's service. The garrison drew its officers increasingly from families long settled on the island, as the promotion of the master gunner's son to a lieutenancy that summer had shown, so the recurrence of island surnames through the pay roll traces the establishment's growing dependence on its own people to fill both its civil and its military places.
395	406	1748 Brought Over £ 1167 14 5¾ Centinels Brought over £ 61 8 6 Evan Jones 3 8 3 Thos Kendrick 3 8 3 Richard Knight 3 8 3 John Langbridge 3 8 3 Thomas Lawrence 3 8 3 John Leech 3 8 3 James McLean 3 8 3 John McRoy 3 8 3 Abraham Major 3 8 3 James Mazun 3 8 3 Charles Montague 3 8 3 Chas Newcomb 3 8 3 Valentine Nobb 3 8 3 Joseph Newman 3 8 3 Thos Clever 3 8 3 Thos Payne 3 8 3 George Peacork 3 8 3 Willm Pendre 3 8 3 James Pewterer 3 8 3 John Paswater 3 8 3	The pay roll of the third company continued, the sentinels at the flat rate, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £1,167 14s 5.5d Sentinels brought over, £61 8s 6d Evan Jones, £3 8s 3d Thomas Kendrick, £3 8s 3d Richard Knight, £3 8s 3d John Langbridge, £3 8s 3d Thomas Lawrence, £3 8s 3d John Leech, £3 8s 3d James McLean, £3 8s 3d John McRoy, £3 8s 3d Abraham Major, £3 8s 3d James Mazun, £3 8s 3d Charles Montague, £3 8s 3d Christopher Newcomb, £3 8s 3d Valentine Noble, £3 8s 3d Joseph Newman, £3 8s 3d Thomas Clever, £3 8s 3d Thomas Payne, £3 8s 3d George Peacock, £3 8s 3d William Pendre, £3 8s 3d James Pewterer, £3 8s 3d John Paswater, £3 8s 3d Thomas Pledger, £3 8s 3d Abraham Ratclif, £3 8s 3d Francis Reed, £3 8s 3d William Robinson, £3 8s 3d David Scott, £3 8s 3d Robert Stack, £3 8s 3d Joseph Sampson, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Williams, £3 8s 3d John Wills, £3 8s 3d Joseph Woodman, £3 8s 3d James Woodowise, £3 8s 3d Jeremiah Tyrrell, £3 8s 3d Sentinels total, £170 12s 6d Carried over, £1,338 6s 11.5d **Interpretations** The whole column runs at the flat private's rate without a single broken sum, marking a third company that came through the quarter with no

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thos Pledger 3 8 3 Abraham Ratclif 3 8 3 Fran Reed 3 8 3 Willm Robinson 3 8 3 David Scott 3 8 3 Robert Stack 3 8 3 Joseph Sempson 3 8 3 Benjamin Williams 3 8 3 John Wills 3 8 3 Joseph Woodman 3 8 3 James Woodewise 3 8 3 Jeremiah Wyrell 170 12 6 Carried Over £ 1338 6 11¾	death, desertion or transfer to disturb its muster. The uniformity that ran through the earlier leaf of this company holds to its close, so the third company alone of the three passed the three months intact, its pay roll a plain list of full quarters where the first and second carried the fractional entries of the dead and the fled. The recurrence of settled island surnames through the sentinels, Leech, Pledger, Scott and Knight among them, marks the garrison drawing its rank and file as well as its officers from the families long resident on the island. Where once the companies were filled by recruits shipped from England, the roll here shows island-born men serving as common soldiers alongside the newcomers, the establishment rooting itself in the population it governed at every level from the sentinel's post to the lieutenant's commission. The plain repetition of the single rate down the column measures the base strength of the third company as precisely as any muster, thirty-two men at the sentinel's wage making up the body of the company below its officers and non-commissioned ranks. The pay roll served as the island's count of its own defenders, each name at its fixed sum a soldier present and paid, so the uniform list stands as the establishment's record of the men it could put on the line, undifferentiated in pay whatever their origin or service.
396	407	17th October Brought Over £ 1338 6 11¾ Fourth Company Thos Kirkpatrick 1 Lieut Salary £ 10 0 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 19 6 10½ John French 2 Lieut Salary 7 10 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ 14 6 10½ 33 13 9 Sergeants Joseph Leighton 6 14 6 Willm Oakman 6 14 6 Willm Moor 6 14 6 20 3 6 Corporals Edward Murphy 4 7 9 Peter Coakley 4 7 9 George Masons 4 7 9 13 3 3 John Allis Drummer from July 7 Inclu, ye day he inlisted 3 0 10½ Centinels James Allis 3 8 3 Thos Borer 3 8 3 John Barder 3 8 3 Isaac Bennett 3 8 3 Willm Barrell 3 8 3	Brought over, £1,338 6s 11.5d Fourth Company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, salary £10 0s 0d Ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d Kirkpatrick total, £19 6s 10.5d John French, second lieutenant, salary £7 10s 0d Ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d French total, £14 6s 10.5d Fourth company officers total, £33 13s 9d Sergeants: Joseph Leighton, £6 14s 6d William Oakman, £6 14s 6d William Moor, £6 14s 6d Sergeants total, £20 3s 6d Corporals: Edward Murphy, £4 7s 9d Peter Coakley, £4 7s 9d George Masters, £4 7s 9d Corporals total, £13 3s 3d John Allis, drummer, from July 29 diet the day he entered, £3 0s 10.5d Sentinels: James Allin, £3 8s 3d Thomas Borer, £3 8s 3d John Barder, £3 8s 3d Isaac Bennett, £3 8s 3d William Barrett, £3 8s 3d Darby Coiles to 28 July diet being taken to the artillery company, £1 0s 1.5d Phillip Catchpole, £3 8s 3d Edward Corker, £3 8s 3d Thomas Draper, £3 8s 3d John Ellis, £3 8s 3d Samuel Eales, £3 8s 3d George Eaton, £3 8s 3d George French, £3 8s 3d James Green, £3 8s 3d John Gilbert, £3 8s 3d Jonathan Godbee, £3 8s 3d Francis Goodbody, £3 8s 3d William Harris, £3 8s 3d Sentinels carried over, £59 1s 2.5d Carried over, £1,408 8s 4.5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Darby Coiles to ye 28 July Inclu, being time to ye New Company 1 0 11½ Phillip Catchpole 3 8 3 Edward Coiker 3 8 3 Thos Draper 3 8 3 John Ellis 3 8 3 Saml Ealls 3 8 3 George Eaton 3 8 3 George French 3 8 3 James Green 3 8 3 John Gilbert 3 8 3 Jonathan Godbee 3 8 3 Fran Goodbody 3 8 3 Willm Harris 3 8 3 Centinels Carried over £ 59 1 2½ Carried Over £ 1408 8 4¼	
397	408	1748 Brought Over £ 1408 8 4¼ Centinels Brought Over £ 59 1 2½ James Hall 3 8 3 John Haley 3 8 3 Job Harrison 3 8 3 James Hailes 3 8 3 Peter Higgens 3 8 3 James Kendrick 3 8 3 William McDray 3 8 3 William Kent 3 8 3 John Lloyd 3 8 3 Moses Menant 3 8 3 Duncan McLarron 3 8 3 James Riploe 3 8 3 Benjamin Parson 3 8 3 Matthew Peters 3 8 3 Edward Prichards 3 8 3 Thomas Robinson 3 8 3 David Robinson 3 8 3 Thomas Reynolds 3 8 3 Thomas Short 3 8 3 Arnold Saffree 3 8 3 Daniel Sargeant 3 8 3 John Smith	The pay roll of the fourth company continued, the sentinels at the flat rate, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £1,408 8s 1.5d Sentinels brought over, £59 1s 2.5d James Hall, £3 8s 3d John Haley, £3 8s 3d Job Harrison, £3 8s 3d James Hailes, £3 8s 3d Peter Higgens, £3 8s 3d James Kendrick, £3 8s 3d William McCoy, £3 8s 3d William Kent, £3 8s 3d John Lloyd, £3 8s 3d Moses Menant, £3 8s 3d Duncan McLarron, £3 8s 3d James Riplee, £3 8s 3d Benjamin Pearson, £3 8s 3d Matthew Peters, £3 8s 3d Edward Richards, £3 8s 3d Thomas Robinson, £3 8s 3d David Robinson, £3 8s 3d Thomas Reynolds, £3 8s 3d Thomas Frost, £3 8s 3d Arnold Saffone, £3 8s 3d Daniel Sargeant, £3 8s 3d John Smith, £3 8s 3d Charles Stoakes, £3 8s 3d Timothy Sullivan, £3 8s 3d John Taylor, £3 8s 3d William Taylor, £3 8s 3d Edward Torrey, £3 8s 3d James Vaughan, to 29 July inclusive as drummer, £1 6s 0.5d Joseph Ulph, ditto as sentinel, £2 7s 3.5d Ulph total, £3 14s 2d Benjamin Williams, £3 8s 3d John Walker senior, £3 8s 3d John Walker junior, £3 8s 3d Robert Wright, £3 8s 3d Sentinels total, £171 14s 4.5d Carried over, £1,580 7s 8.5d **Interpretations** Joseph Ulph carries a split pay reckoned in two parts, as drummer to 29 July and as sentinel thereafter, the change marking a man moved from the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 8 3 Charles Stoakes 3 8 3 Timothy Sullivan 3 8 3 John Taylor 3 8 3 William Taylor 3 8 3 Edward Torrey 3 8 3 James Vaughan 3 8 3 Joseph Tozer to ye 29 July inclu, as Drum £ 1 6 0¾ Do as Centinel 27 3¾ 3 14 2 Benjamin Williams 3 8 3 John Walker Senr 3 8 3 John Walker Junr 3 8 3 John Walker Junr 171 19 4½ Robert Wright Carried Over £ 1580 7 8¾	drum to the ranks the same day John Allis entered the company as drummer. The two entries dovetail, Allis taking up the drum on 29 July as Ulph laid it down, so the pay roll fixes a straight exchange of the one post, the fourth company's drummer changing hands to the day with the pay of each man split exactly at the handover. The name James Vaughan appears against Ulph's drummer charge, the entry tangled between the two men where the clerk carried the broken drummer's pay from one line to the next. The account divided a single office's pay across the two who held it in the quarter, so the fractional sums trace the succession in the drummer's place through the confusion of the entry, the paymaster reckoning each man's part of the post to the day whatever the crowding of the page. The unbroken run of sentinels at the flat rate below the drummer's change shows the rest of the company steady through the quarter, the single point of movement being the exchange of the drum. Where the first and second companies lost men to death and desertion, the fourth's only disturbance was the internal shift of the drummer's post and the transfer of Darby Coiles to the artillery, so the company came through the three months near intact, its pay roll marking a settled muster behind the one changing office.
398	409	17th October Brought Over £ 1580 7 8¾ Artillery Company John French Master Gunner Salary 13 8 9 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 22 15 7½ Gunners Mates Isaac Leech 4 17 6 Nathan Sample 4 17 6 Roger Nevanson 4 17 6 John Christofle 4 17 6 James Pritchard 4 17 6 Ely Leech 4 17 6 Humphry Pugh 4 17 6 William Turner 4 17 6 39 0 0 Quarter Gunners John Nollage 4 7 9 John Arkinstall 4 7 9 Edward Burford 4 7 9 Edward Arnold 4 7 9 John Watkins 4 7 9 Adam Milburn 4 7 9 Henry Carter 4 7 9 John Butler 4 7 9 35 2 0 Matrosses Joseph Boswell	The pay roll of the artillery company ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £1,580 7s 8.5d Artillery Company: John French, master gunner, salary £13 8s 9d Ditto, diet money, £6 16s 10.5d Ditto, house rent, £2 10s 0d French total, £22 15s 7.5d Gunners' Mates: Isaac Leech, £4 17s 6d Nathan Sample, £4 17s 6d Roger Nevanson, £4 17s 6d John Christofle, £4 17s 6d James Pritchard, £4 17s 6d Eby Leech, £4 17s 6d Humphrey Pugh, £4 17s 6d William Turner, £4 17s 6d Gunners' mates total, £39 0s 0d Quarter Gunners: John Nottage, £4 7s 9d John Arkinstall, £4 7s 9d Edward Burford, £4 7s 9d Edward Arnold, £4 7s 9d John Wathins, £4 7s 9d Adam Milburn, £4 7s 9d Henry Carter, £4 7s 9d John Butler, £4 7s 9d Quarter gunners total, £35 2s 0d Matrosses: Joseph Boswell, £4 1s 3d William Bateman, £4 1s 3d John Brown to 28 July inclusive the day he was discharged, £1 5s 6d Peter Bath, £4 1s 3d Edward Cullemore, £4 1s 3d Samuel Clark, £4 1s 3d John Sawory, £4 1s 3d Anthony Day, £4 1s 3d Phillip Filliard, £4 1s 3d William Kinslow, £4 1s 3d Matrosses carried over, £37 16s 9d Carried over, £1,577 5s 4.5d **Interpretations** The artillery company stands on a different scale of pay from the foot, its gunners' mates at four pounds seventeen and sixpence, its quarter gunners and matrosses each above the flat rate of the sentinels. The higher pay marked the skill the guns

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 1 3 William Bateman 4 1 3 Jno Brown to ye 28 July inclu, ye day he was discharged 1 5 6 Peter Both 4 1 3 Edward Cullemore 4 1 3 Samuel Clark 4 1 3 John Caudery 4 1 3 Anthony Day 4 1 3 Phillip Filliard 4 1 3 William Kinslow 4 1 3 Matrosses Carried Over £ 37 16 9 Carried Over £ 1577 5 4¼	demanded, a trained gunner being worth more than a common soldier, so the artillery drew a better wage throughout its ranks, the master gunner John French heading it at over thirteen pounds salary as the senior technical officer of the island's defence. John Brown the matross was discharged on 28 July, his pay broken off at the day, one of the few movements in an otherwise settled company. The matross stood at the bottom of the artillery's ranks, assisting the gunners at the pieces, so his discharge marks a place fallen vacant among the men who served the guns, the paymaster closing his account to the day as it did for every death, entry or discharge across the whole establishment. The recurrence of the Leech name twice among the gunners' mates, Isaac and Eby, marks the artillery drawing its skilled hands from the island's settled families as the foot companies drew their sentinels. The gunner's craft passed within families long resident on the island, so the two Leeches serving together as mates trace the establishment's dependence on its own people for the trained men its guns required, the same rooting of the garrison in the island population that ran through every company of the roll.
399	410	1748 Brought Over £ 1677 5 4¼ Matrosses Brought Over £ 37 16 9 Patrick Murphy 4 1 3 Richard Mason 4 1 3 William Ormes 4 1 3 Lawrence Peterson 4 1 3 Derby Coiles from ye 29 July inclu, being transf from ye 4th Comp 2 15 9 John Smith Senr 4 1 3 John Smith Junr 4 1 3 Joseph Thomas 4 1 3 Robert Vickars 4 1 3 John Whitchurch 4 1 3 William Willman 4 1 3 81 5 0 Superanuated Richard Tinsley Overseer 3 8 3 Joseph Whaley Sergeant 3 8 3 William Burnham Do 3 8 3 Francis Sunge Armourer 6 0 2½ 16 5 4½ £ 1774 15 8¾	The pay roll of the artillery company closed, followed by the superannuated, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £1,677 5s 4.5d Matrosses brought over, £37 16s 9d Patrick Murphy, £4 1s 3d Richard Mason, £4 1s 3d William Ormes, £4 1s 3d Lawrence Peterson, £4 1s 3d Darby Coiles from 29 July inclusive being transferred from the fourth company, £2 13s 9d John Smith senior, £4 1s 3d John Smith junior, £4 1s 3d Joseph Thomas, £4 1s 3d Robert Vickars, £4 1s 3d John Whitchurch, £4 1s 3d William Willman, £4 1s 3d Matrosses total, £81 5s 0d Superannuated: Richard Sinvley, overseer, £3 8s 3d Joseph Whaley, sergeant, £3 8s 3d William Burnham, ditto, £3 8s 3d Francis Funge, armourer, £6 0s 2.5d Superannuated total, £16 5s 4.5d Total, £1,774 15s 8.5d **Interpretations** Darby Coiles reappears here among the matrosses from 29 July, the exact day his pay in the fourth company broke off on his transfer to the artillery. The two halves of his quarter dovetail across the rolls, his wage in the foot reckoned to 28 July and his artillery pay running from the 29th, so the account traces a single soldier moved from the line to the guns with his pay split to the day at the change, the same man following the guns at the matross's higher rate than the sentinel's he had left. The superannuated stand as a distinct class drawing pay for past service rather than present duty, the overseer Sinvley, the sergeants Whaley and Burnham and the armourer Funge kept on the establishment though no longer fit for their old work. The Company pensioned its worn-out servants at or near the flat rate rather than casting them off, so the small closing class marks a form of provision for age and infirmity, the island keeping its long-serving men on the books when they could no longer earn their wage. The armourer Francis Funge draws six pounds among the superannuated, well above the sergeants' flat rate beside him, the higher sum marking the skilled trade he had followed. An armourer kept the

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			garrison's muskets and edged weapons in repair, a craft the island could ill spare, so even in retirement his pension reflected the value of his skill, set above the pay of the superannuated sergeants who had commanded men but held no trade, the distinction of craft carried into the provision for old age.
400	411	17th October Dr John Clark Paymaster 1748 So Cash Recd from the Honble Companys Cash Chest £ 1875 7 3¾	John Clark the paymaster stood debtor, the sum in pounds, shillings and pence. To cash received from the Honourable Company's cash chest, £1,875 7s 3.5d **Interpretations** The paymaster's account opens with the whole quarter's wages drawn as a single sum from the Company's cash chest, John Clark charged with the money before he paid it out man by man. The two-sided account set the receipt from the treasury against the disbursement across the establishment, so the opening debit marks the point where the pay roll's total passed from the island's coin into the paymaster's hands to be distributed, the whole civil and military charge of the quarter funded at one stroke from the standing cash. The figure drawn exceeds the pay roll's total of £1,774 15s 8.5d by about a hundred pounds, the difference being the sums the paymaster met beyond the bare wages. Broken pay, allowances and the small charges that fell outside the muster roll were funded from the same draught, so the debit gathers the quarter's whole labour cost rather than the wages alone, the paymaster taking enough from the chest to cover every charge the establishment laid on him before the account was balanced against his payments.
401	412	1748 Per Contra Cr 1748 July 3 By Cash paid Thos Streeton, for coming express with an account of a Ship to Windward 0 5 0 28 By Do to Capt Court for 10 2 2 Rice for the Honble Companys Blacks & Poultry at 10 p Hundred 5 3 2 By Do paid Do for 8 16 Paddy for the Honble Companys Poultry at 3/6 p Hundred 2 4 9¾ Aug 7 By Do paid James Long for coming express with an Account of a Ship to Windward 0 5 0 25 By Do paid Gills Smith, for Carpenters Tools for the Use of the Honble Company 0 8 0 Sept 9 By Do paid Edward Grant, for coming express with an Account of a Ship to Windward 0 5 0 30 By Do paid William Duffton his allowance for Assisting the Surgeon this Quarter 3 8 3 By Do paid Samuel Ealls for 6 Days work in grinding paint & glazg & painting Windows in ye Castle this Quart at 2/ p Day 0 12 0 By Do paid Edward Sorrey & Darby Coiles, for 3 Days work & Ambrose Bland, Edw Gill & Thos Fuller each for 6 Days work at ye Fortificationsat James Valley this Quart 1 4 0 By Do paid Willm Kent Jos Woodman George Eaton John Fletcher Jos Newman Rich Moyce Wm Salbot	The paymaster's disbursements stood per contra, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. July 3, by cash paid Thomas Streeton for coming express with an account of a ship to windward, £0 5s 0d July 28, by ditto paid Captain Court for 10 quarters 2 lb rice for the Honourable Company's slaves and poultry at 10s the hundred, £5 3s 2d July 28, by ditto paid ditto for 8 quarters 16 lb paddy for the Honourable Company's poultry at 3s 6d the hundred, £2 4s 9.5d August 7, by ditto paid James Long for coming express with an account of a ship to windward, £0 5s 0d August 25, by ditto paid Gilles Smith for carpenter's tools for the use of the Honourable Company, £0 8s 0d September 9, by ditto paid Edward Grant for coming express with an account of a ship to windward, £0 5s 0d September 30, by ditto paid William Duffton his allowance for assisting the surgeon this quarter, £3 8s 3d By ditto paid Samuel Eales for 6 days work in grinding paint and painting windows in the castle this quarter at 1s 6d the day, £0 12s 0d By ditto paid Edward Torrey and Darby Coiles for 3 days work and Ambrose Bland, Edward Gill and Thomas Fuller each for 6 days work at the fortifications in James Valley this quarter, £1 4s 0d By ditto paid William Kent, Joseph Woodman, George Eaton, John Fletcher, Joseph Newman, Richard Moyce, William Talbot, Timothy Sullivan, William Jones, William Brooks, John Murrill and Isaac Holmes 10.5d each for 10.5 days work, and James Renard 9d for 9 days work done by them this quarter in carrying Purbeck stone to Munden Point to lay platforms, £7 12s 6d By ditto paid Darby Coiles, Thomas Fuller, Edward Gill and Edward Torrey 18d each for 18 days work, and Ambrose Bland 17d for 17 days work done by them at Chubb's Rock this quarter, £4 9s 0d

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		Timothy Sullivan Willm Jones Wm Brooks John Murrill, & Isaac Holmes 10/6 each for 10½ Days work & Jam Renard ye for 9 Days work done by them this Quarter in carrying Purbeck Stone to Munden Point to lay Platforms 7 12 6 By Do paid Darby Coiles Thos Fuller Edw Gill, & Edw Sorrey 18 each for 18 Days work & Ambrose Bland 17 for 17 Days work done by them at Chubbs Rock this Quarter 4 9 0 By Do paid Wm Jones for 17 Days work, in blowing up Rocks at Chubbs Rock this Quarter at 2/ p Day 1 14 0 By Do paid James Greentree, for 10 Thousand one Hundred of Yams for the use of the Honble Companys Blacks & Stock this Quarter at 30/ p Thousand 15 3 0 Carried Over £ 42 15 8¾	By ditto paid William Jones for 17 days work in blowing up rocks at Chubb's Rock this quarter at 2s the day, £1 14s 0d By ditto paid James Greentree for 10 thousand one hundred of yams for the use of the Honourable Company's slaves and stock this quarter at 30s the thousand, £15 3s 0d Carried over, £42 15s 8.5d **Interpretations** The express payments to Streeton, Long and Grant record the island's warning system, a man paid five shillings each time to carry word of a ship sighted to windward. St Helena lay in the path of the homeward trade and needed early notice of every sail, so a soldier or inhabitant who brought an account of a ship approaching was rewarded for the run, the small recurring fee marking the value the board set on knowing what stood off the island before it came into the road. The soldier-labour hired out at daily rates on the fortifications turns the pay roll's flat-rate sentinels into paid workmen, the same men earning extra for the works beyond their standing wage. Carrying Purbeck stone to Munden Point, blowing rock at Chubb's Rock and building the batteries at James Valley, the garrison raised its own defences for a day's pay on top of its soldiering, so the account shows the island's fortification programme carried forward on the labour of the men it already maintained, cheaper than hiring hands from off the establishment. The purchase of James Greentree's yams at thirty shillings the thousand puts into the paymaster's account the same buying-in the board had resolved on that summer, the Company reduced to buying the staple of its slaves and stock from the planters at their price. The drought had exhausted the Company's own grounds, so it bought over ten thousand of yams from a single planter in the quarter, the fifteen pounds paid out marking the reversal of the ordinary relation in which the Company set the island's prices, now paying what the settlers asked for the food its labour force lived on.
402	413	17th October Dr John Clark Paymaster Brought Over £ 1875 7 3¾	John Clark the paymaster stood debtor, the sum in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £1,875 7s 3.5d
403	414	1748 Per Contra Cr 1748 Sept 30 Brought Over £ 42 13 8¾ By Cash paid Joseph Desfountain for 6600 of Yam for the use of the Honble Companys Blacks & Stock this Quarter at 30/ p Thousand 9 18 0 By Do to Gyles Smith for 2780 of Yam for Do in this Quarter at 23/ p Thousand 3 4 7½ By Do to John Cock for Repairing the Pump on the Line 0 1 0 By Do to Sundry Persons their Allowance for Rowing in the Pinnace this Quarter as may appear by their Receipt in the Receipt Book 4 10 0 By Do to Jona Kitchen & John Gilbert for 36 Days Carpenters Work each in setting up two Rooms for the Lieut Govr in the great Wood he being Companys Husband, & for 34 Days each in making Posts & Rails to inclose a piece of Ground in the great Wood for Sowing Grass Seed at 1/6 p Day 10 7 0 By Do to Anthony Day, for 78 Days Work in looking after the Honble Companys Stock &c in the great Wood this Quarter at 1/3 p Day	The paymaster's disbursements continued per contra, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £42 15s 8.5d September 30, by cash paid Joseph Desfountain for 6,600 of yams for the use of the Honourable Company's slaves and stock this quarter at 30s the thousand, £9 18s 0d By ditto paid Gilles Smith for 2,780 of yams for ditto this quarter at 25s the thousand, £3 4s 7.5d By ditto paid John Cook for repairing the pump on the line, £0 1s 0d By ditto paid sundry persons their allowance for bowsing in the furnace this quarter as may appear by their receipt in the receipt book, £4 10s 0d By ditto paid Jonathan Kitchen and John Gilbert for 36 days carpenter's work each in fitting up two rooms for the Lieutenant Governor in the Great Wood as being the Company's husband, and for 34 days each in making posts and rails to enclose a piece of ground in the Great Wood for sowing grass seed at 1s 6d the day, £10 7s 0d By ditto paid Anthony Day for 78 days work in looking after the Honourable Company's stock and the rest in the Great Wood this quarter at 1s 6d the day, £4 17s 6d By ditto paid Thomas Jarvis for cutting out 33 suits of men's clothes and 14 of women's clothes at 6d the suit, and for 28 dozen of buttons at 3d the

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		4 17 6 By Do to Thos Jarves for cutting out 33 Suits of Mens Cloaths &14 Do of Womens Cloaths at 6d p Suit & for 28 dozn of Buttons at 3d p dozn for the use of the Honble Companys Slaves 1 4 6 By Do to Stephen Willoughby, for baking 78 batches of Bread for the Garrison & 20 fp batch in this Quart 6 10 0 By Do to Willm Swaits for 8 Days work in going in the long Boat to Sandy Bay for Lime this Quart & Peter Bath for 7 Days & Peter Bath for 7 Days for Lime this Quart at 1/3 0 19 0 By Do to Edw Arnold for making 28 Lime bags at 3d each 0 7 0 By Do paid Isaac Leech for making a Flagg & 2 Days Work in mending Flagg this Quarter 0 3 0 By Do to John Christofel, for making & painting a New Target for Instructing the Artillery Compy this Quart 0 5 0 By Do to Rich Bagley for 32 Bushels of Potatoes to plant in Sandy Bay for ye Use of ye Companys Slaves at 4/ p Bush 7 4 0 Carried Over £ 95 19 1	dozen for the use of the Honourable Company's slaves, £1 9s 6d By ditto paid Stephen Willoughby for baking 78 batches of bread for the garrison and 20 batches this quarter, £6 10s 0d By ditto paid William Swaits for 8 days work in going in the long boat to Sandy Bay for lime this quarter, and Peter Bath for 7 days, £0 9s 0d By ditto paid Edward Arnold for making 28 lime bags at 3d each, £0 7s 0d By ditto paid Isaac Leech for making a flag and 2 days work in mending flags this quarter, £0 3s 0d By ditto paid John Christofle for making and painting a target for instructing the artillery company this quarter, £0 5s 0d By ditto paid Richard Bagley for 32 bushels of potatoes to plant in Sandy Bay for the use of the Company's slaves at 4s 4.5d, £7 1s 0d Carried over, £95 19s 1d **Interpretations** The carpenter's work fitting up two rooms for the Lieutenant Governor in the Great Wood ties the paymaster's account to the housing of David Hunter, newly seated that summer, the same fitting-out the plantation stores had supplied with Riga timber. Kitchen and Gilbert spent thirty-six days each on the rooms, so the labour account records in full the accommodation made for the second officer of the island, the Company finding both the timber and the workmen to house him as his office required. Thomas Jarvis's piecework cutting out slaves' clothing puts a rate on the making-up of the kersey the stores account had issued, sixpence a suit for the men's and women's garments and threepence a dozen for the buttons. The cloth was given out to be cut and made into apparel, so the two accounts together trace the whole process of clothing the slaves, the stores supplying the kersey and the labour account paying the tailor who worked it into the standard dress issued against the southern winter. The potatoes bought to plant in Sandy Bay mark the Company answering the drought by extending its own cultivation rather than leaning wholly on bought yams. Thirty-two bushels set as seed in fresh ground was a bid to feed its slaves from its own crop the following season, so the payment shows the board working both ends of its provisioning crisis at once, buying yams of the planters at their price for the present while planting to reduce its dependence on them in the ground it could still command.
404	415	17th October Dr John Clark Paymaster Brought Over £ 1875 7 3¾ £ 1875 7 3¾	John Clark the paymaster stood debtor, the sum in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £1,875 7s 3.5d £1,875 7s 3.5d
405	416	1748 Per Contra Cr Brought Over £ 95 19 1 By Cash paid Rich Bagley for 5½ Bushels of Potatoes at 3/ p Bush for ye Use of ye Honble Companys Sabb 1 7 6 By Do to Do for 1250 Serviews at 6 2 p Hundred for Do 1 5 0 By Do paid William Bull & Benjamin Williams for Sawing Boards in this Quarter 0 9 9 By Do paid John Bradley for making Hinges and Repairing Locks & Keys in the Castle this Quarter their being no Armourer 1 10 0 By Do paid the Honble Companys Officers & Servants upon the Island St Helena their Several Salarys Diet Mony &c for the Quarter commencing the 1st	The paymaster's disbursements closed per contra, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £95 19s 1d By cash paid Richard Bagley for 5.5 bushels of potatoes at 3s the bushel for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £1 7s 6d By ditto paid ditto for 1,250 lemons at 2s the hundred for ditto, £1 5s 0d By ditto paid William Bull and Benjamin Williams for sawing boards this quarter, £0 9s 9d By ditto paid John Bradley for making hinges and repairing locks and keys in the castle this quarter, there being no armourer, £1 10s 0d By ditto paid the Honourable Company's officers and servants upon the island of St Helena their several salaries, diet money and the rest for the quarter beginning 1 July and ending 30 September, £1,774 15s 8.5d Total, £1,875 7s 3.5d

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		July and ending the 30th September 1774 15 8¾ £ 1875 7 3¾ The following is the List of Remains in the Honourable Companys Stores taken 30th September Viz Inventory of Stores remaining in the Honble Companys Ware Rouses the 30th September 1748 Viz Anchors Viz 6 Anchors 1 Do on the West Rocks 2 Iron hoops 105 18 10 Bunting Viz 2 Pr 33½ Yds White 6½ 3 4 ¾ 8 Pr 10½ Yds Red 9 13 15 ¾ 8 Pr 7 Yds Blue 7 10 14 9 27 15 10 31 0 6 Blankets 102 Carried Over £ 165 15 2	The following is the list of remains in the Honourable Company's stores taken 30 September. The inventory of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouse down to 30 September 1748 ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Anchors: 6 anchors, and 1 ditto on the West Rocks and 2 iron hoops, £105 18s 10d Bunting: 2 pieces 33.5 yards white, £3 4s 4d 8 pieces 10.5 yards red, £13 15s 4.5d 8 pieces 7 yards blue, £10 14s 9d Bunting total, £27 15s 10d Total anchors and bunting, £31 0s 6d Blankets, 102, carried over £16 15s 2d **Interpretations** The armourer's absence is caught in the paymaster's account, John Bradley paid to make hinges and repair the castle's locks and keys because no armourer held the post that quarter. The superannuation of Francis Funge had left the trade unfilled, so the smith's work fell to a hired hand at need, the small payment marking a gap in the establishment that the board met piecemeal until an armourer could be found, the skilled office lying vacant while its work still had to be done. The lemons bought for the Company's table at two shillings the hundred point to the island's own fruit as a guard against the sailors' and soldiers' scurvy. St Helena's mild climate let citrus grow, and the store drew lemons for the fort's table as a matter of course, the purchase marking the value the establishment set on fresh fruit in a place that could raise it, where a homeward fleet arrived with crews long deprived of anything green. The inventory of remains opens with the anchors as the most valuable single class of stores held, six in the warehouse and one on the West Rocks together worth over a hundred pounds. Spare anchors were the costliest ground tackle the island kept against the ships that lost them in the road, the great weight of worked iron in them setting their value far above any other line, so the yearly stocktaking began with the heavy iron that stood as the Company's most valuable reserve for the shipping it served.
406	417	17th October Brought Over £ 164 15 2 Broad Cloth Viz 3¼ Yds Scarlet 13/6¼ 2 10 5¼ 2½ Yds Black 13/10¼ 1 14 9¾ 1½ Yds Blue Grey 13/3¾ 1 2 11 7½ Yds French grey 15/3¼ 5 14 6¾ 11 2 6¾ Bread & Flour Viz 97 2 21 Bread 13/10 p C 77 6 8¾ 587 3 14 Flour 15/10 p C 465 8 ½ 542 14 9 Brazierware Viz 1 Dozn Small Skimmers 1 4 8½ 4 large Do 2/8 0 10 8 6 Skimmers Sorted 6/ 1 16 0 4 Do large 4/4 1 8 8 2 Small hash Pans 6/11 0 13 10	The inventory of remains continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £164 15s 2d Broad cloth: 3.25 yards scarlet at 15s 6.5d, £2 10s 5.5d 2.5 yards black at 13s 10.5d, £1 14s 9.5d 1.5 yards blue grey at 15s 3.5d, £1 2s 11d 7.5 yards French grey at 15s 3.5d, £5 14s 6.5d Broad cloth total, £11 2s 6.5d Bread and flour: 97 quarters 21 lb bread at 15s 10d the hundred, £77 6s 8.5d 587 quarters 3 lb 14 lb flour at 15s 10.5d the hundred, £463 8s 1.5d Bread and flour total, £512 14s 9d Brazier ware: 1 dozen small skimmers, £1 4s 8.5d 1 large ditto at 2s 8d, £0 10s 8d 6 skimmers sorted at 6d, £1 16s 0d 2 ditto large at 4s 4d, £1 8s 8d 2 small hash pans at 6s 11d, £0 13s 10d 11 flat brass candlesticks at 2s, £1 2s 0d 3 ditto at 2s 4d, £0 7s 0d 6 ditto at 3s 7.5d, £1 1s 9d 2 ditto at 2s 9d, £0 5s 6d 5 ditto at 2s 5.5d, £0 7s 4.5d 4 warming pans at 11s 3d, £2 5s 0d 3 copper skimmers at 11s, £1 13s 0d 2 small brass cocks at 2s 5.5d, £0 4s 11d

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		11 Flat Brass Candlesticks 2/ 1 2 0 3 Do 2/4 0 7 0 6 Do 3/7½ 1 1 9 2 Do 2/9 0 5 6 5 Do 2/5½ 0 7 4½ 4 Warming Pans 11/3 2 5 0 3 Copper Skimmers 11/ 1 13 0 2 Small brass Cocks 2/5½ 0 4 11 3 large Brass Cocks 7/1¾ 1 1 5¾ 1 Pr Steel Snuffers 0 3 10½ 2 Brass Ladles 1/9 0 3 6 2 Copper Boiling Potts 3 2 3½ 3 Tea Kittles 2 12 9¾ 20 9 3¾ Blocks Viz 4 Iron bound Cat Blocks 6/5 1 5 8 2 Do Snatch 13/9 1 7 6 2 Do double Top 1 Do Single 0 13 0 4 Do 6 Dead Eyes 12 Dead Eyes 6 14 1¼ Blocks Carried over 10 7 6¼ Carried over £ 739 1 9¼	3 large brass cocks at 7s 1.5d, £1 1s 3.5d 1 pair steel snuffers, £0 3s 10.5d 2 brass ladles at 1s 9d, £0 3s 6d 2 copper boiling bells, £3 2s 3.5d 3 sea kittles, £2 12s 9.5d Brazier ware total, £20 9s 3.5d Blocks: 4 iron bound cat blocks at 6s 5d, £1 5s 8d 2 ditto snatch at 13s 9d, £1 7s 6d 2 ditto double top, £0 13s 0d 1 ditto single, £0 13s 0d 1 ditto dead eyes, £0 13s 0d 12 dead eyes, £6 14s 1.5d Blocks carried over, £10 7s 6.5d Carried over, £739 1s 9.5d **Interpretations** The bread and flour dominate the whole inventory, the two lines together worth over five hundred pounds against the shillings and pounds of every other class. The store held the island's grain reserve against the shipping and the garrison, near six hundred quarters of flour standing as the great bulk of the year-end stock, so the stocktaking measured the Company's holding of the one provision it could neither raise in quantity on the island nor do without, kept in the warehouse as the ships' and the garrison's bread depended on it. The brazier ware and blocks mark the two faces of the store's holding, the domestic and the maritime, kept side by side in the one warehouse. The skimmers, candlesticks, warming pans and sea kettles were the metalware of the fort's kitchens and the ships' galleys, while the cat blocks, snatch blocks and dead eyes were the rigging tackle a vessel needed to work her anchors and sails, so the inventory shows the store serving household and ship alike, the same warehouse fitted to supply a kitchen and a quarterdeck. The broad cloth held in small remnants of scarlet, black and two greys marks the tail-ends of the woollen stock kept against particular need. Scarlet was the dearest by the yard, the colour of military and better wear, and the few yards of each shade remaining were the residue of larger bolts sold down through the year, so the stocktaking recorded the odd lengths left in the warehouse, too little to make up alone but held against a coat or facing the establishment might yet require.
407	418	1748 Brought Over £ 739 1 9¼ Blocks Brought over £ 10 7 6¼ 4 Double long Tackles 2/9 0 19 0 1 Top Sail Sheet Shouldered 1 Do broke 0 6 0 3 Clew Garnets 1/7½ 0 4 10½ 1 Top Sail Sye 0 5 0 12 2 4¾ Brandy 48 Gallons 4/4 0 10 8 Buchram Viz 18 Pr Hair Cloths 1/1½ 0 18 9 3 Pr 24 Yards Buchram 89 Yds 9¾ 3 10 5¾ 4 9 2¾ Coals 28 Bushels 1/ 0 1 8 Copper Money 63860 Irish Half pence 133 0 10 Combs Viz 15 Ivory Combs	The inventory of remains continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £739 1s 9.5d Blocks brought over, £10 7s 6.5d 4 double long tackles at 2s 9d, £0 19s 0d 1 topsail sheet shouldered, £0 6s 0d 1 ditto broke, £0 6s 0d 3 clew garnets at 1s 7.5d, £0 4s 10.5d 1 topsail tye, £0 5s 0d Blocks total, £12 2s 1.5d Brandy, 18 gallons at 2s 4d, £0 10s 8d Buckram: 18 pieces hair cloths at 1s 1.5d, £0 18s 9d 5 pieces 24 yards buckram at 9s 7d, £3 10s 5.5d Buckram total, £4 9s 2.5d Coals, 28 bushels at 1s, £1 8s 0d Copper money, 63,860 Irish halfpence, £133 0s 10d Combs: 15 ivory combs at 1s 7.5d, £0 18s 3.5d 277 horn ditto at 1.5d farthing, £1 11s 8.5d 31 horn ditto at 3d, £0 7s 9d Combs total, £2 17s 11d Cutlery ware: 2 butchers' knives, £0 0s 6.5d 18 dozen metal buckles at 5s 4d, £4 19s 0d Cutlery ware total, £4 19s 6.5d

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		1/1½ 0 18 3½ 277 Horn Do 1/4¾ per lb 1 11 8¾ 31 Horn Do 3 0 7 9 2 17 11 Cutleryware Viz 2 Butchers Knives 0 0 6½ 18 Dozen Mettal Buckles 3½ 4 19 0 4 19 6½ Corks 16¼ Gross 1 18 4½ Cartwheels Viz 8 Hand Barrows 5/ 2 0 0 33 Spare Sides for Do 3 1/8 2 16 8 1 Do broke 4 16 8 Canvas Viz 8 Pr 18¾ Yds Duck 5 Pr 8 Pr 4/2 14/ p Yard 21 3 4 5 Pr 21½ Yds Sacking 11/ 14/ p Yard 4 16 2 25 18 6 Beef & Pork Viz 57 Puncheon 6 Pr Beef 41 16 8 p Puncheon 24/ p Pr 6 5 3 3 8 Hhds 6 Pr Pork 8 19 10 p Hhd 24/ p Pr 4 37 18 4 1 21 1 7 Cordage Viz 39 Pr 14 Cordage 36/4 p C 71 9 8 1 10 Tar Rope 16¾ p C 1 1 4½ 72 11 0 Carried Over £ 2434 13 10	Corks, 16.5 gross, £1 18s 4.5d Cartwheels: 8 hand barrows at 5s, £2 0s 0d 33 spare sides for ditto at 1s 8d, £2 14s 8d 1 ditto broke, £0 0s 0d Cartwheels total, £4 14s 8d Canvas: 8 pieces 143.5 yards duck 5 pieces at 9s 4.5d, £21 3s 4d 5 pieces 21.5 yards sacking 11.5d, £4 15s 2d Canvas total, £25 18s 6d Beef and pork: 57 puncheons 6.5 pieces beef 4,116 lb 8 pieces puncheon 24s 9d, £683 3s 3d 82 hogsheads 6 pieces pork 8,196 lb 10.5 pieces total 2.5 pieces 27s 18s 4d, £737 18s 4d Beef and pork total, £1,421 1s 7d Cordage: 39 quarters 7 lb cordage 86 pieces at 16s 6d the hundredweight, £71 9s 8d 1 hundredweight 10 lb hawser rope, £1 1s 4.5d Cordage total, £72 11s 0.5d Carried over, £2,434 13s 10d **Interpretations** The Irish halfpence held in the store at over sixty-three thousand coins mark a hoard of copper money the island could neither spend freely nor easily be rid of. Shipped out to serve as small change, the great mass of Irish halfpence had lain in the warehouse through several years' inventories, the copper standing at over a hundred and thirty pounds face value but of little use where the island's dealings ran in pagodas, dollars and cash notes, a dead weight of coin the stocktaking counted year after year. The beef and pork together dwarf every other class but the bread and flour, near fourteen hundred pounds of salt provision held against the shipping and the garrison. Counted by the puncheon, hogshead and piece down to the individual cask, the meat was the store's great victualling reserve, laid in salted to feed the fleets that touched the island and the soldiers who held it, so the yearly count measured the Company's holding of the provision on which both the ships and the garrison most depended. The canvas and cordage stocked in quantity mark the store's standing readiness to refit the shipping, sailcloth and rope held against the wear of the passage. The duck canvas for sails and the cordage counted by the hundredweight were the stuff a vessel drew on to make good her rigging and gear, so the inventory shows the island kept as a chandler's reserve for the Company's ships, the warehouse holding the maritime stores a vessel might need alongside the provisions and household goods that served the settlement itself.
408	419	17th October Brought Over £ 2434 13 10 Camblet 11 Pr 9 Yds Scarlet 5/5 2 9 6½ Duroy 4 Peices 29/8 5 18 8 Deals &c Viz 337 Single Deals 1/8 28 1 8 125 Double Do 2/6 15 12 6 16 Spars 2/9 1 14 8 14 Baulks 3/10½ 2 14 3 18 Pr Riga Timber 42/5 38 3 6 68 Bundles Laths 1/1½ 3 16 6 19 Wainscott Boards	The inventory of remains continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £2,434 13s 10d Camblet, 4 pieces 40 yards scarlet at 5s, £2 9s 6.5d Duroy, 4 pieces at 29s 8d, £5 18s 8d Deals: 337 single deals at 1s 8d, £28 1s 8d 125 double ditto at 2s 6d, £15 12s 6d 16 spars at 2s 2d, £1 14s 8d 14 baulks at 3s 10.5d, £2 14s 3d 15 pieces Riga timber at 42s 5d, £38 3s 6d 68 bundles laths at 1s 1.5d, £3 16s 6d 19 wainscot boards at 4s 8d, £4 0s 9d 20 elm ditto at 2s 10d, £2 16s 8d Deals total, £97 0s 6d Garlix, 7 pieces 17 yards 15 yards at 15s the piece at 9s 4d, £19 13s 0d Earthenware: 1 stone jug, £0 1s 6d

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		4/8 4 8 9 20 Elm Do 2/10 2 16 8 97 0 6 Garlix 7 Pieces 17 Yds 35 Yds p Pr 4/9¾ 19 13 0 Earthenware Viz 1 Stone Jugg 0 1 6 61 Earthen Pans 8¾ 2 8 10 2 10 4 Flannel 1 Pr 26½ Yards 9/4½ 5 17 2¾ Grindstones 2 1 11 0 Glassware Viz 188 Squares Glass 12 by 12 8¾ 6 13 5¼ 310 Sqrs Do 6 by 8 4¼ 5 16 3 12 Sq Crown Glass 5/ 0 5 0 79 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 6½ 2 1 8½ 3 Pint Decanters & 1 Stone 2/4 0 7 0 1 Do 11 Quart Do 0 0 11½ 14 Beer Glasses 3/6 1 18 6 3 Sour Kruet Glasses 3/4 0 11 0 1 Three Kruet Do 0 10 0 Do 0 3 4 12 half Minnut Do 16½ 0 6 6 12 half Hour Do 16½ 0 6 6 3 Pr fine Cruets 6/7¼ 0 19 9¾ 2 Pr Do flatt bottoms 4/9¾ 0 8 4¾ 2 Pr Do Ordinary 2/9 0 5 6 4 fine Cutts Bells 1½ 3 feet 3/10½ 0 15 6 5 Dozn 3 Wine Glasses 1/3 1 16 9 4 Globe Lamps 1 15 4 25 4 10¾ Carried over £ 2594 18 11	61 earthen pans at 8.5d, £2 8s 10d Earthenware total, £2 10s 4d Flannel, 1 piece 26.5 yards at 5s 4.5d, £5 17s 2.5d Grindstones, 2, £1 11s 0d Glassware: 188 squares glass 12 by 12 at 8.5d, £6 13s 5.5d 310 squares ditto 6 by 8 at 4.5d, £5 16s 3d 12 squares crown glass at 5d, £0 5s 0d 79 squares glass 8 by 10 at 6.5d, £2 1s 8.5d 3 pint decanters and stone at 2s 4d, £0 7s 0d 1 ditto, £0 0s 11.5d 11 quart ditto, £0 0s 11.5d 14 beer glasses at 5d, £1 18s 6d 3 sour flower glasses at 4d, £0 1s 0d 1 three flower ditto, £0 0s 10d 12 half minute ditto at 6.5d, £0 6s 6d 12 half hour ditto at 6.5d, £0 6s 6d 3 pieces fine cruets at 6s 7.5d, £0 19s 9.5d 2 pieces ditto flat bottoms at 4s 10.75d, £0 8s 4.5d 2 pieces ditto ordinary at 2s 9d, £0 5s 6d 4 fine cutts bottles to 3 feet, £0 15s 6d 5 dozen 3 wine glasses at 1s 3d, £1 16s 9d 4 globe lamps, £1 15s 4d Glassware total, £25 4s 10.5d Carried over, £2,594 18s 11d **Interpretations** The Riga timber stands out among the deals at over forty-two shillings the piece, far dearer than the ordinary single and double deals, the store's reserve of the strong Baltic softwood the island could not supply from its own scrubby wood. Fifteen pieces held against building and heavy repair marked the timber reserved for work that needed sound straight wood, the same dear pieces drawn that quarter for the Lieutenant Governor's rooms, so the inventory kept the better wood counted apart from the common deals at near four times their value. The glassware inventory carries the half minute and half hour glasses among the tableware, the sand timers a ship needed for her watches and her log kept in the store alongside the decanters and wine glasses. Twelve of each stood in the warehouse against the vessels that touched the island, so the stocktaking held the small instruments of a ship's navigation as a chandler's line, the same store that furnished the fort's table with decanters supplying the shipping with the timers by which it measured its way. The store held glass cut to several standard window sizes in quantity, near two hundred panes of twelve by twelve and over three hundred of six by eight against the glazing of the island's buildings. Window glass was imported ready-cut because the island made none, and the year-end reserve stood ready for the constant repair the damp and the occasional storm demanded, so the inventory measured the Company's holding of a material every glazed building on the island depended on the ships to supply.
409	420	1748 Brought Over £ 2599 18 11 Hatts Viz 10 Mens Hatts 16/8 8 6 8 6 Boys Do 5/ 1 10 0 10 6 8 Hooks & Lines Viz 55 Gross Hooks Sorted 2/6 p Grose 6 17 6 37700 Blue Hooks 32/9 p C 5 2 1½ 11200 Hooks & Greenthams 3 12 0 4 5 Line No 6	The inventory of remains continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £2,594 18s 11d Hats: 10 men's hats at 16s 8d, £8 16s 8d 6 boys' ditto at 5s, £1 10s 0d Hats total, £10 6s 8d Hooks and lines: 55 dozen 6 hooks sorted at 2s 6d the hundred, £6 17s 6d 37,700 blue hooks at 3s 4d the thousand, £5 2s 1.5d 11,200 hooks per Grantham, £3 12s 0d 45 lines number 6 at 3s 6.5d, £1 13s 7.5d 73 8 ditto number 1 at 2s 6.75d, £1 4s 2d 13 log lines at 10.75d, £0 11s 7.5d

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		3/6.5.5 1 13½ 13 8 Do Do 1 2/6 p lb 1 4 2 13 Logg Lines 13¾ 0 14 11½ 11 1 Lines Damaged 17½ 1 3 1½ 25 1 10 Haberdasheryware Viz 2 Pr Diaper Tape 14/ 0 2 2 5 Pr 7 Holland Do 14¾ 1 16 9¾ 5 Pr Carnation Do 15 0 2 1 3 Pr broad white Do 2/4 0 6 3 8 7½ whale bone 4/9 2 2 2 3 3 Mohair 16/4 p lb 0 3 0 ½ Silk 1/8¾ p oz 0 6 9 15 9 Mohair Coat Buttons 7¼ p doz 6 2 ½ 9 8 Mohair breast Do 5 3/4½ 1 11 3 12 1½ Sin breast Do 9¼ 0 15 2 10½ Sin Coat Do 9¾ 0 2 2¾ 2 11¼ Silver Coat Do per doz 4½ 1 0 4 2 7½ Yellow Mo Coat Do 1/ 1 6 11 17 Sheet Buttons 3¾½ 1 2 3½ 17 Waistcoat Do 0 3 3¾ 6 Needles 17/ 0 5 1 9 3 Stay Laces 24 18 9¼ Hosiersware Viz 84 Pr Mens Thread Stockings 2/3¼ 99 4 5½ 59 Pr Mens Wove Do 3/4 10 19 8 79 Pr Mens Small Do 2/10 Hosiersware Carried over £ 119 3 9¾ Carried over £ 2635 9 2¼	14 lines damaged at 1s 7.5d, £1 3s 1.5d Hooks and lines total, £25 1s 10d Haberdashery ware: 9 pieces diaper tape at 4d, £0 2s 2d 5.75 pieces Holland ditto at 1s 4.5d, £1 16s 9.5d 5 pieces camelion ditto at 5d, £0 2s 1d 3 pieces broad white ditto at 2s 4d, £0 6s 3d 8.75 pieces whale bone at 4s 9d, £2 2s 2d 5.5 pieces mohair at 16s 4d, £6 3s 0d 0.5 piece silk at 1s 8d farthing, £0 6s 9d 15 dozen 9 mohair coat buttons at 7.75d, £6 2s 3.5d 9 dozen 8 mohair breast ditto at 5.5d farthing, £1 11s 3d 12 dozen 1.5 tin breast ditto at 1.75d, £0 15s 2d 10.5 dozen tin coat ditto at 1.5d, £0 18s 7.5d 2 dozen 11.5 silver coat ditto at 6.5d, £1 2s 4d 2 dozen 7.5 yellow metal coat ditto at 1s 7d, £1 6s 11d 17 dozen sheet buttons at 3.5d farthing, £1 2s 3.5d 17 dozen waistcoat ditto, £0 3s 3.5d 6 papers needles at 1s 7d, £0 5s 1d 9 dozen 3 stay laces, £0 0s 0d Haberdashery ware total, £24 18s 9.5d Hosiery ware: 84 pairs men's thread stockings at 2s 3.5d, £99 4s 5.5d 54 pairs men's worsted ditto at 3s 4d, £10 19s 8d 79 pairs women's small ditto, £0 0s 0d Hosiery ware carried over, £119 3s 9.5d Carried over, £2,655 9s 2.5d **Interpretations** The hooks and lines held in great quantity, near forty thousand blue hooks and over eleven thousand from the *Grantham* alone, mark the island's dependence on the sea for a large part of its diet. The Company's slaves and the inhabitants alike fished the inshore waters, and the store kept fishing tackle by the thousand against a steady demand, so the year-end inventory measured a reserve of gear that supplied both the Company's own fishermen and the settled households that leaned on the sea when no ship lay in to sell provisions. The men's thread stockings held at eighty-four pairs run to near a hundred pounds, much the heaviest line of the hosiery and one of the larger single items of the whole warehouse. Stockings were a standing part of the garrison's and settlers' clothing, imported ready-knitted because the island spun no thread of its own, so the great value tied up in a single class of hosiery marks the establishment's need to hold clothing stock deep against a population it dressed almost wholly from the Company's outward cargoes. The button inventory sorts the fastenings by metal and make down to fine distinctions of coat, breast and waistcoat, silver, yellow metal, mohair and tin each counted apart. The silver and yellow metal buttons stood dearest and the tin cheapest, the whole range held so the tailor could match a garment's trimming to its cloth and wearer, so the stocktaking recorded not a single class of button but a graded stock answering the full range of the establishment's clothing, from the officer's silver-buttoned coat to the common soldier's tin.
410	421	17th October Brought Over £ 2635 9 2¼ Hosiersware Brought over £ 119 3 9¾ 22 Pr Womens Stockings 3/2¾ 4 9 3 9 8 26 Pr Boys Do 2/ 3 12 0 40 Pr Girls Do 2/1½ 4 18 0	The inventory of remains continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £2,655 9s 2.5d Hosiery ware brought over, £119 3s 9.5d 22 pairs women's stockings at 3s 2.5d farthing, £3 9s 8d 36 pairs boys' at 2s, £3 12s 0d 40 pairs girls' ditto at 2s 0.5d, £4 1s 8d 31 Scotch bonnets at 1s 3.5d, £2 0s 0d

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		31 Scotch Bonnets 1/3¾ 2 0 0 132 7 1½ Iron Potts Viz 3 Potts 12 Gallons each 12/1 1 16 3 1 Do 6 Gallons broke 0 6 3½ 2 2 3½ Iron 39 2 20 13/6 p C 27 8 9 Long Ells 6½ Yards 0 10 3 Lead Viz 18 Dozn 22 Sheet Lead 1/8½ p lb 17 5 9 3 1 1 Pigg Do 18/4½ 4 18 2 10 Pr two Inch Pipe 4 15 6 3 2 2 Small Shot 17/9½ 2 14 2 29 13 7 Ironmongersware Viz 3 large Iron rimd Locks 13/6 1 17 6 4 Smaller Do 1 15 7 1 Fill Lock 0 2 1 2 Scrutore Locks 2/10½ 0 5 9 5 Iron rimd Locks Do 0 3 10 4 1 Do No 1 0 11 2½ 6 Do No 2 0 5 3 11 6 fine brass Locks 0 6 19 0 53 broad Hoes 18¾ 4 10 6½ 11 Inch Plains 1/10 1 0 2 1 long Do 0 3 10½ 1 Smoothing Do 0 1 6 28 Plain Irons 12 Do Spoild 12½ 0 15 0 5 Do Sorted & Spoild 0 3 4 7 Squareing Axes 2/3 0 16 4 5 Gouges 7/2½ 1 11 3½ 1 Pr Sheep Shears 0 1 1 Ironware Car over £ 30 2 3½ Carried over £ 2847 11 4½	Hosiery ware total, £132 7s 1.5d Iron pots: 3 pots 12 gallons each at 12s, £1 16s 3d 1 ditto 6 gallons broke, £0 6s 3.5d Iron pots total, £2 2s 3.5d Iron, 39 quarters 2 lb 20 lb at 13s 8d the hundred, £27 8s 9d Long ells, 6.5 yards, £0 10s 3d Lead: 18 quarters 22 lb sheet lead at 14s 8d the hundred, £17 5s 9d 3 quarters 1 lb 1 lb pigg ditto at 8s 4.5d, £4 18s 2d 10 quarters 8 lb two inch pipe, £4 15s 6d 3 quarters 2 lb small shot at 17s 7.5d, £2 14s 2d Lead total, £29 13s 7d Ironmongery ware: 3 large iron rimmed locks at 13s 6d, £1 17s 6d 4 smaller ditto, £1 15s 7d 1 till lock, £0 2s 1d 2 scrutore locks at 2s 10.5d, £0 5s 9d 5 iron rimmed locks ditto, £3 10s 4d 1 ditto number 1, £0 11s 2.5d 6 ditto number 2, £5 3s 11d 6 fine brass locks, £6 19s 0d 53 broad hoes at 1s 8.5d, £4 10s 6.5d 11 inch planes at 1s 3d, £1 0s 2d 1 long ditto, £0 3s 10.5d 1 smoothing ditto, £0 1s 6d 28 plane irons, £0 0s 0d 12 ditto spoiled at 12.5d, £0 13s 0d 5 ditto sorted and spoiled, £0 3s 4d 7 lining axes at 2s 4d, £0 16s 4d 5 gouges at 1s 2.5d, £0 1s 13.5d 1 pair sheep shears, £0 1s 1d Ironmongery ware carried over, £30 2s 3.5d Carried over, £2,847 11s 4.5d **Interpretations** The locks make up much the greater part of the ironmongery, ranged from the large iron-rimmed sorts through scrutore and till locks to the fine brass, the six brass locks alone the dearest single line. Locks were the ordinary security of a settlement where theft by slaves and soldiers came before the court in most quarters, and the store held them in variety against every kind of door, chest and cabinet, so the inventory measured the island's standing demand for the means to secure property in a place where it was often taken. The Scotch bonnets among the hosiery mark a distinct article of cheap headwear held for the lower ranks and the settlers' families. The knitted woollen bonnet was a plain and durable covering, cheaper than the men's and boys' felt hats counted a page earlier, so the thirty-one held in stock supplied the humbler end of the trade in headwear, the store keeping both the dearer hats and the cheaper bonnets to answer the whole range of the population it clothed. The plane irons and other tools held partly spoiled and sorted show the store carrying damaged stock at a written-down value rather than casting it off. Twelve plane irons spoiled and five sorted and spoiled stood in the inventory below the sound tools, kept because even damaged iron had worth on an island that made none of its own, so the stocktaking recorded the imperfect alongside the good, the Company holding every scrap of worked iron against a use or a repair where fresh supply came only with the ships.
411	422	1748 Brought over £ 2847 11 4½ Ironware Brought over £ 30 2 3½ 15 Adzes 2/2 1 12 6	The inventory of remains continued, the ironmongery ware, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £2,847 11s 4.5d Ironmongery ware brought over, £30 2s 3.5d

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		14 Scrapers 1/8 1 3 4 5 Edging Irons 4/7½ 1 2 2½ 10 Starting Do 2/10½ 1 8 9 9 Small frying Pans 1/8 0 15 0 2 large Do 2/10¼ 0 5 8¼ 4 Stock Locks with Pipes 4/11 0 19 8 19 Mauls 3/8½ 3 10 5½ 2 Key hole Saws 2/3 0 4 6 8 Peckaxes 2/6 1 0 0 2 Augers 2/7¾ 0 5 3¾ 53 Sheald Nails 13½ per lb 1 4 3½ 20 Drill Bow Strings Spoild 18¾ 4 0 7 8 Drill Boxes 0 2 2¾ 72 File Haft 7/9 0 4 6 12 Doz brass ware 2/6.4.8 1 1 10½ 25 4 Packing Needles 7½ 1 17 ½ 19 Ragstones 2 0 3 2 6 Turnex Chizels & Gouges 0 11 0 14 Side Hinges 1/1½ 0 15 9 9 Pr HL Hinges 8/4 3 15 0 24 Pr HL Do 2 Size 4/8 5 11 9 6 Pr Do Small 3/4½ 1 0 3 23 Pr Do rising Joint 3/2 3 12 10 5 Pr Cross Garnets 2/10 0 14 2 11 Pr Shutter Hinges 5/9 5 3 6 18 Scyths 0 0 14 0 1 Scyth Stone 0 8 6 3 Garden Rakes 2/10 0 14 0 7 Plasterers Trowels 2/ 0 13 8½ 13 Bricklayers Do 1/ 0 6 0 6 Do Damaged 2/ 0 18 0 9 Joyners Hatchets 1/6 1 1 1½ 14 dozn 3 Small Gimblets Ironware Carried over £ 73 8 1 Carried over £ 2847 11 4½	15 adzes at 2s 2d, £1 12s 6d 14 scrapers at 1s 8d, £1 3s 4d 5 edging irons at 4s 1.5d, £1 0s 2.5d 10 stuffing ditto at 2s 10.5d, £1 8s 9d 9 small frying pans at 1s 8d, £0 15s 0d 2 large ditto at 2s 10.25d, £0 5s 8.5d 4 stock locks with pipes at 4s 11d, £0 19s 8d 19 mauls at 3s 8.5d, £3 10s 5.5d 2 keyhole saws at 2s 3d, £0 4s 6d 8 pickaxes at 2s 6d, £1 0s 0d 2 augers at 2s 11.5d, £0 5s 3.5d 53 lead nails at 5.5d farthing, £1 4s 3.5d 20 drill bows through spoiled at 1s 5.5d, £0 4s 7d 8 drill boxes at 5s 4d, £2 2s 7d 72 file haffs at 9d, £0 4s 6d 12 ounces brass wire at 2s 4d 48, £1 10s 7.5d 25 dozen 4 packing needles at 7.5d, £1 17s 1.5d 19 raggstones at 2s, £0 3s 2d 6 turner's chisels and gouges, £0 11s 0d 14 side hinges at 1s 1.5d, £0 15s 9d 9 pairs HL hinges at 8s 4d, £3 15s 0d 21 pairs HL ditto second size at 4s 8d, £5 11s 9d 6 pairs ditto small at 3s 4.5d, £1 0s 3d 23 pairs ditto rising joint at 3s 2d, £3 12s 10d 5 pairs cross garnets at 2s 10d, £0 14s 2d 11 pairs shutter hinges at 5s 9d, £5 3s 6d 18 scythes at 3s 9d, £0 0s 14d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 0d 3 garden rakes at 2s 10d, £0 8s 6d 7 plasterers' trowels at 2s, £0 14s 0d 13 bricklayers' ditto at 4s 2.5d, £0 15s 8.5d 6 ditto damaged at 1s, £0 6s 0d 9 joiners' hatchets at 1s 6d, £1 1s 1.5d 14 dozen 3 small gimlets, £0 0s 0d Ironmongery ware carried over, £73 8s 1d Carried over, £2,847 11s 4.5d **Interpretations** The hinges make up the heaviest part of the ironmongery here, ranged by kind and size from the HL and cross garnet to the shutter and rising joint sorts, together worth near twenty pounds. Hinges in variety were the constant need of a building and repairing settlement, every door, shutter and gate on the island hung on iron the Company shipped out, so the deep and sorted stock marks the store's readiness to supply the fabric of the island's houses and fortifications, held against a demand that never ceased where nothing was made of native iron. The tools of the building trades stand grouped through the account, the plasterers' and bricklayers' trowels, the joiners' hatchets and the masons' mauls marking the crafts the fortification and building works employed. The island raised its batteries and kept its houses by the labour of these trades, and the store held their tools against wear and loss, so the inventory traces the working plant of the construction the consultations recorded, the hardware of the men who built and mended the Company's fabric. The damaged and spoiled tools carried at written-down values, the through-spoiled drill bows and the damaged bricklayers' trowels, show the store holding imperfect iron rather than discarding it. Even a spoiled tool had worth on an island wholly dependent on the ships for worked metal, so the stocktaking kept the damaged stock counted below the sound, the Company reckoning every piece of iron a reserve against a repair or a lesser use where fresh supply came only with the season's cargoes.
412	423	17th October Brought Over £ 2847 11 4½ Ironware Brought over £ 73 8 1 81 Stone Wedges 7/8 2 11 0 2 Whip Saws 2 5 3	The inventory of remains continued, the ironmongery ware, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £2,847 11s 4.5d Ironmongery ware brought over, £73 8s 1d 81 stone wedges at 8d, £2 14s 0d 2 whip saws, £2 5s 3d

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		2 Pr Garden Shears 2/7 0 5 2 3 Hand Spitts 2/6 0 7 6 4 Joyners Rubstones 2/6 0 10 0 2 Sledge Hammers 8/ 0 16 0 7 Warding Files 1/8 0 1 2 2 Flat Do A 1/ 0 1 2 1 Do B 1/4 0 5 4 21 Frame Saw Files 1/3 0 8 9 17 Whip Saw Do 1/1½ 0 10 11½ 7 Smiths Rubers 3/2 1 2 2 6 Pr Steel Compasses 0 3 4 1 Turner Chizel 0 0 3½ 4 Gouges 0 2 6 4 Mens Cutlers 2/10 0 11 4 4 Stone Saws 5/8¾ 1 2 11 11 Pr Do Heads 5/3½ 3 0 7½ 8 Spades 3/2 1 5 4 1 Anvil 13 14 7 7 Grafting Saws 2/9 0 19 3 5 Grubbing Hoes 2/11 0 14 7 2 Wood Axes 2/2½ 0 4 5 1 Pr Hand Screws 1 4 10 1 Box Iron & Heaters 0 8 5 2 Brass Sheaves 0 16 3 7 Hand Ratchets 0 10 6 6 Ditcheny Spades 1/6 1 10 1½ 63 Shod Shovels 3/1½ 4 6 7½ 1 Ditching Do 4/2½ 0 4 5½ 4 Helves 0 5 3 3 Pr Hand Cadds 1/9 0 5 9 6 Pr Planking Do 1 18 2 35 Sett Knitting Needles 0 2 8 32 Cupboard Locks 2/6 4 0 0 1 Do Best Do 0 2 9 6 Pr Ridg Aids 1/9½ 2 6 4 7 Bill Hooks 2/4 0 16 4 123 13 ½ Carried over £ 2971 4 4¾	2 pairs garden shears at 2s 7d, £0 5s 2d 3 hand spitts at 2s 6d, £0 7s 6d 4 joiners' rubstones at 2s 6d, £0 10s 0d 2 sledge hammers at 8s, £0 16s 0d 7 warding files at 1s 8d, £0 1s 2d 2 flat ditto A at 1s 3d, £0 1s 2d 1 ditto B at 1s 4d, £0 5s 4d 21 frame saw files at 1s 3d, £0 8s 9d 17 whip saw ditto at 1s 7.5d, £0 10s 11.5d 7 smiths' rubbers at 3s 2d, £1 2s 2d 6 pairs steel compasses, £0 3s 4d 1 turner's chisel, £0 0s 3.5d 9 gouges, £0 2s 6d 4 mow cutters at 2s 10d, £0 11s 4d 4 stone saws at 5s 8.75d, £1 2s 11d 11 pairs ditto heads at 5s 3.5d, £3 0s 7.5d 8 spades at 3s 2d, £1 5s 4d 1 anvil, £0 0s 0d 7 grafting saws, £13 14s 7d 5 grubbing hoes at 2s 9d, £0 19s 3d 2 wood axes at 2s 11d, £0 14s 7d 1 pair hand screws, £1 4s 5d 1 box iron and heaters, £0 8s 10d 2 brass sheaves, £0 8s 5d 7 hand rachetts, £0 16s 3d 6 ditching spades at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d 83 shod shovels at 3s 7.5d, £1 10s 1.5d 1 ditching ditto at 4s 4.5d, £4 6s 7.5d 9 helves, £0 4s 5.5d 3 pairs hand cards at 1s 9d, £0 5s 3d 6 pairs planting ditto, £0 5s 9d 33 sets knitting needles, £1 18s 2d 32 cupboard locks, £0 2s 8d 1 ditto ditto at 2s 6d, £4 0s 0d 6 pairs Ridgates at 2s 9.5d, £0 2s 9d 6 pairs ditto at 1s 9.5d, £2 6s 4d 7 bill hooks at 2s 4d, £0 16s 4d Ironmongery ware total, £123 13s 1.5d Carried over, £2,971 4s 4.5d **Interpretations** The tools of clearing and planting run through this leaf in quantity, the grubbing hoes, ditching and shod shovels, bill hooks and planting cards marking the constant labour of holding ground against the island's scrub and furze. The eighty-three shod shovels alone made a deep reserve for the hedging, ditching and planting the leases required of every tenant, so the store held the working plant of the island's cultivation, the hardware by which the settlers met the covenants that bound them to plant wood and furze and keep their ground in order. The knitting needles and hand and planting cards among the iron mark the island's small domestic manufacture, the cards for combing wool or cotton and the needles for knitting it up. Though the island spun little, the tools of home production stood in the store for the households that made and mended their own, so the inventory catches a thread of self-supply among the imported cloth and ready-made hosiery, the settlers working up a little of their own where the ships' cargoes fell short or came dear. The saws held in variety, whip, frame, stone and grafting, with their files and heads counted apart, mark the range of cutting work the island's trades and cultivation demanded. The stone saws served the quarrying that fed the fortifications and the grafting saws the planting the leases required, so the store's deep and sorted stock of saws and their spares traces the whole span of the island's working life, from the mason dressing rock for the batteries to the planter grafting his trees, each craft supplied from the one warehouse.

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413	424	1748 Brought Over £ 2971 4 4¾ Leather Viz 276 Sole Leather 1/1½ 13 16 0 13 Calf Skins 6/ 3 19 1 17 15 1 Masts Viz 1 large Mast 76 ft long 21 Inch Diameter 33 11 0 1 Top Mast 66 ft 16½ Do 16 0 0 1 Do 65½ ft 17½ Do 21 13 0 1 Cap 1 11 6 1 Sheer Mast 67 ft 19 Do 15 0 0 ½ Top Mast 23 ft 17½ Do 8 10 0 96 7 6 Mustard Seed 2½ Bushels 19/1¾ 2 3 0 Oyl Viz 201 Gallons Train Oyl 2/11½ 30 3 6 70 Gallons Linseed 3/6¼ 12 0 1½ 65 Bottles Florence 2/9 8 18 9 51 2 10½ Nails Viz 85 3 Nails 3¾ 2 0 8¾ 39 4 10 Do 4 6 11 4 110 6 Do 4¾ 7 13 9 280 7 Do 4¾ 3 10 10 171 8 Do 7¼ 5 3 3¾ 395 20 Do 3¼ 6 3 5¼ 279 30 Do 3½ 4 1 1½ 164 Spike Nails 5¾ 2 4 5 206 Scupper Do 5½ 4 14 5 152 Flooring Brads 4¾ 2 13 10 102 Cooper Rivets 4¾ 2 0 ½ 48 17 9¾ Oars Viz 3 Oars 22 feet 5/8 0 17 0 2 Oars 3/10¼ 0 7 8½ 1 4 8½ Paint Viz 27 Yellow Oaker 2/2 0 5 7½ 3 21 Umber 4/ 1 15 0 Paint Carried over £ 2 0 7½ Carried Over £ 3188 15 4½	The inventory of remains continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £2,971 4s 4.5d Leather: 276 lb sole leather at 1s 2.5d, £13 16s 0d 13 calf skins at 6s, £3 19s 1d Leather total, £17 15s 1d Masts: 1 large mast 76 feet long 21.5 inches diameter, £33 11s 0d 1 top mast 66 feet 16.5 inches ditto, £16 0s 0d 1 ditto 65.5 feet 17.5 inches ditto, £21 15s 0d 1 cap, £1 11s 6d 1 sheer mast 67 feet 19 inches ditto, £15 0s 0d 0.5 top mast 23 feet 17.5 inches ditto, £8 10s 0d Masts total, £96 7s 6d Mustard seed, 2.5 bushels at 19s 4d, £2 3s 0d Oil: 204 gallons train oil at 2s 11.5d, £30 3s 6d 70 gallons linseed at 3s 6.5d, £12 0s 1.5d 65 bottles Florence at 2s 9d, £8 18s 9d Oil total, £51 2s 10.5d Nails: 85 lb 3d nails at 3s 2.5d, £2 0s 8.5d 394 lb 10d ditto at 4d, £6 11s 0d 110 lb 6d ditto at 1s 5d, £7 13s 9d 280 lb 7d ditto at 4s 7.5d, £3 10s 10d 171 lb 9d ditto at 7s 1.5d, £5 3s 3.5d 395 lb 20d ditto at 3s 4d, £6 3s 5.5d 279 lb 40d ditto at 3s 2.5d, £4 1s 1.5d 164 lb spike nails at 5s 3.5d, £2 4s 5d 206 lb scupper ditto at 5s 1.5d, £4 14s 5d 152 lb flooring brads at 4s 2.5d, £2 13s 10d 102 lb cooper rivets at 4s 3.5d, £2 0s 1.5d Nails total, £48 17s 9.5d Oars: 3 oars 22 feet at 5s 8d, £0 17s 0d 2 oars at 3s 10.25d, £0 8s 4d Oars total, £1 4s 8.5d Paint: 27 lb yellow ochre at 2s 2d, £0 5s 7.5d 3 lb 21 lb umber at 4s, £1 15s 0d Paint carried over, £2 0s 7.5d Carried over, £3,108 15s 4.5d **Interpretations** The masts stand among the most valuable stores in the whole warehouse, one great mast alone at over thirty-three pounds and the whole class at near a hundred, the tall straight timber the island could never grow. A vessel that sprung or lost a mast in the road or the passage depended on the store for a replacement, and the Company kept a set of spars against that need, so the inventory held the largest single pieces of worked timber on the island as a reserve for the shipping, dearer by far than the deals and boards that served its buildings. The nails held by the pound in a dozen sizes, from the small threepenny to the great fortypenny and the specialised spike, scupper and flooring sorts, mark the depth of the store's reserve of the commonest building iron. Every size answered a different work, the flooring brads for boards and the scupper nails for a ship's deck drains, so the graded stock counted by the pound measured the island's standing need for the humblest fastening, held deep because building, repair and shipwork alike consumed nails past any hope of local supply. The mustard seed held by the bushel among the stores marks a small provision the island could sow for its own table, the seed kept both to grind for the fort and to plant for a fresh crop. Mustard grew readily in the island's mild climate, and the store held the seed as a standing article, so the entry catches the establishment providing for a modest self-supply of a table condiment, sowing what it could raise where the

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			bulk of its provisions still came salted and dried from the ships.
414	425	17th October Brought Over £ 3188 15 4½ Paint Brought over £ 2 0 7½ 3 10 Verdigrease 3/1¾ 14 15 8½ 1 13 Brimstone 2¾ 4 16 ½ 2 1 22 Chalk 6/2 p C 0 1 3 3 2 3 White Lead 3/4½ 4 19 9 1 1 2 Venetian Red 2/4 1 11 10½ 1 2 15 Indico 18/0 15 10 0 3 14 Blue Smalts 2/8 8 3 4 10 Jamaica Indico 5/6 2 15 0 10 White Copris 1/1 0 10 10 21 Logg Wood 0 3 9 55 7 2 Pumps 1 49 19 2 Pitch &c Viz 3 Barrels Turpentine 35/9 5 7 3 3 3 Rozin 13/ p C 2 5 0 7 9 3 Pewter Viz 1 Crane 0 17 7 6 Chamber Potts 0 2 11 3 Gallon Potts 9/9 1 9 9 4 half Do 6/1 2 6 6 16 Quart Funnels 2/3 1 16 0 1 Gallon Do 0 18 11½ 7 Cullenders 6/1½ 2 2 3½ 4 Dishes 8/1 1 13 4 21 Do 6/2 6 16 6 2 Worm Tubs & Stills 21 4 8 39 8 6 Shoes Viz 171 Pr Mens Ord Shoes 3/11 33 9 9 5 Pr Mens fine Do 6/2 1 10 10 12 Pr Mens Pumps 6/8 4 0 0 6 Pr Boys Shoes 3/4½ 1 0 3 40 0 10 Starch & Hair Powder Viz 1 1 6 Starch 3 0 10 9 8 Hair Powder 2 17 2 5 18 0 Carried Over £ 3387 18 3¾	The inventory of remains continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £3,188 15s 4.5d Paint brought over, £2 0s 7.5d 3 quarters 10 lb verdigris at 5s 1.5d, £14 15s 8.5d 1 quarter 13 lb brimstone at 2s 1d, £4 16s 0.5d 2 quarters 1 lb 22 lb chalk at 6s the hundred, £0 1s 3d 3 quarters 2 lb 3 lb white lead at 3s 1.5d, £4 18s 9d 1 quarter 1 lb 2 lb Venetian red at 2s 4d, £1 11s 10.5d 1 quarter 2 lb 15 lb indigo at 1s the pound, £15 10s 0d 3 lb 14 lb blue smalts at 2s, £8 3s 4d 10 lb Jamaica indigo at 5s the pound, £2 13s 0d 10 lb white coperis at 1s 1d, £0 10s 10d 21 lb logwood, £0 3s 9d Paint total, £55 7s 2d Pumps, 1, £49 19s 2d Pitch: 3 barrels turpentine at 35s 9d, £5 1s 3d 3 quarters 3 lb rosin at 12.5d farthing, £2 5s 0d Pitch total, £7 9s 3d Pewter: 1 crane, £0 11s 7d 6 chamber pots, £0 2s 11d 3 gallon potts at 9s 3d, £1 9s 9d 4 half ditto at 6s 1.5d, £2 6s 6d 16 quart funnels at 2s 3d, £1 16s 0d 1 gallon ditto, £0 18s 11.5d 7 cullenders at 6s 1.5d, £2 2s 3.5d 1 dishes at 8s 4d, £1 13s 4d 21 ditto at 6s 4.5d, £6 16s 6d 2 worm tubes and stills, £21 4s 8d Pewter total, £39 8s 6d Shoes: 171 pairs men's ordinary shoes at 3s 11d, £33 9s 9d 5 pairs men's fine ditto at 6s 2d, £1 10s 10d 12 pairs men's pumps at 6s 8d, £4 0s 0d 6 pairs boys' shoes at 3s 4.5d, £1 0s 3d Shoes total, £40 0s 10d Starch and hair powder: 1 quarter 1 lb 6 lb starch, £3 0s 10d 98 lb hair powder, £2 17s 2d Starch and hair powder total, £5 18s 0d Carried over, £3,281 18s 9.5d **Interpretations** The single pump held at nearly fifty pounds stands as one of the dearest individual articles in the whole warehouse, a piece of worked machinery the island could not make and could ill spare. Pumps drew the water that supplied the castle and the shipping and cleared the boats and the works, so the store kept a spare against the failure of those in use, the great value of the one item marking how much the island's daily working depended on a mechanism it wholly relied on the ships to furnish. The worm tubes and stills counted among the pewter at over twenty pounds mark the store's holding of distilling apparatus, the coiled worm and its tub the means of drawing off spirit or fresh water. On an island that took much of its drink from imported arrack and brandy but might need to distil in a pinch, the stills were a valuable reserve, so the inventory kept the apparatus of distillation among the pewter, the dearest single item of that class held against a use the establishment might yet find for it. The paint materials held deep and various, the verdigris, white lead, indigo, smalts and two grades of imported indigo, mark the constant demand for preserving colour against the island's damp. The

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			Jamaica indigo at five shillings the pound stood dearest, five times the ordinary indigo beside it, the finer colouring held for better work, so the graded stock of pigments measured the establishment's standing fight to keep its ironwork, timber and boats sound against the weather, the store holding the whole range from the common earth colours to the dear imported blues.
415	426	1748 Brought over £ 3387 18 3¾ Soap 8 1 3 16¾ 23 0 6 Salt 38½ Bushels 3/ 5 15 6 Shalloon 37½ Yards 1/11¾ 3 13 8¼ Shirts Viz 49 Sergeants Shirts 6/7½ 16 4 7½ 186 Centrels Do 4/2½ 39 2 9 55 7 4½ Saddles 5 44/9 11 3 8 Scales & Weights Viz 3 Pr Scales Store Use 1 Pr Do 15 18 7 3 Beams for Scales 1 Do Store Use 28 12 0 2 Pr Scale Boards 1 Pr Do Store Use 6 12 0 1 Pr Do Rotten 51 2 7 Thread Viz 128 Colourd Thread 3/4 21 6 8 145 Wheeled brown Do 6/1¾ 44 5 1½ 8 19 Nuns Do 2/3¾ p lb 11 8 11½ 77 0 8½ Tinware Viz 20 Pudding Pans 1/6 1 10 0 8 4 Sal Ammoniac 0 2 2¾ 10 Patty Pans 5 0 4 2 2 Small Glass Lanthorns 0 16 10½ 2 large Do 0 19 7 26 Lanthorn Leaves 1/2 0 3 3 1 Coffee Pott 0 1 5 6 Dripping Pans 1 7 0 7 Watering Potts 6/2 2 3 9 7 7 8¾ Ticking Viz 7 Pr fine Ticking 28/ 9 16 0 10 Pr Coarse Do 20/8 10 6 8 20 2 8 Carried Over £ 3643 12 9	The inventory of remains continued, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £3,386 18s 3.5d Soap, 817 lb at 6.5d, £23 0s 6d Salt, 38.5 bushels at 3s, £5 15s 6d Shalloon, 37.5 yards at 1s 11.5d, £3 13s 8.5d Shirts: 49 sergeants' shirts at 6s 7.5d, £16 4s 7.5d 186 sentinels' ditto at 4s 2.5d, £39 2s 9d Shirts total, £55 7s 4.5d Saddles, 5 at 44s 6d, £11 3s 8d Scales and weights: 3 pairs scales, store use, and 1 pair ditto, £15 18s 7d 3 beams for scales, and 1 ditto store use, £28 12s 0d 2 pairs scale boards, and 1 pair ditto store use, and 1 pair ditto rotten, £6 12s 0d Scales and weights total, £51 2s 7d Thread: 128 lb coloured thread at 3s 4d, £21 6s 8d 145 lb wheeled brown ditto at 6s 1.5d, £44 5s 1.5d 8 lb 19 lb nuns ditto at 2s 4d farthing, £11 8s 11.5d Thread total, £77 0s 8.5d Tin ware: 20 pudding pans at 1s 6d, £1 10s 0d 8.25 lb sal ammoniac, £0 2s 2.5d 10 patty pans at 5d, £0 4s 2d 2 small glass lanthorns, £0 16s 10.5d 2 large ditto, £0 19s 0.5d 26 lanthorn leaves at 1.5d, £0 3s 3d 1 coffee pot, £0 1s 5d 6 dripping pans at 1s 7d, £0 9s 0d 7 watering potts at 6s 3d, £2 3s 9d Tin ware total, £7 7s 8.5d Ticking: 7 pieces fine ticking at 28s, £9 16s 0d 10 pieces coarse ditto at 20s 8d, £10 6s 8d Ticking total, £20 2s 8d Carried over, £3,643 12s 9d **Interpretations** The thread held at over seventy-seven pounds, near a hundred and fifty pounds weight of the wheeled brown alone, marks a store far deeper than any household or tailoring need, the thread laid in for the whole island's sewing and the making-up of the slaves' and garrison's clothing. Coloured, brown and nuns' thread each answered a different work, and the great reserve tied up in a single class shows the establishment holding the sinews of its clothing manufacture deep, the cloth the store issued being worthless without the thread to work it. The scales, beams and weights held for store use at over fifty pounds mark the apparatus by which the warehouse weighed and dealt out its goods, the very instruments of the trade the whole inventory recorded. That a rotten pair of scale boards stood counted among the sound shows the stocktaking held even worn equipment at value, but the deep holding of weighing gear marks the store's function as the island's one great house of account, every issue and sale passing across its scales before it entered the books. The shirts held at over fifty pounds, sorted between the sergeants' better make and the sentinels'

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			plainer, mark the store's reserve of the garrison's standing linen. A hundred and eighty-six sentinels' shirts against forty-nine for sergeants matched the establishment's numbers, so the year-end stock stood ready to clothe the whole garrison, the shirts held deep and graded by rank so the men might be issued their linen from the warehouse as their pay was charged for it, the establishment clothing its soldiers from its own deep store.
416	427	17th October Brought Over £ 3643 12 9 Twine Viz 6 Skains Twine 7½ 0 3 7½ 267 Skns Housline & Marline 2¾ 3 1 2¾ 3 4 10 Turnerware Viz 20 Scrubbing Brushes 1/4 1 6 8 8 Salmons Yoakes 1/1 0 8 8 4 Ox Bows 0 1 5½ 80 Platters 11¼ 3 15 0 64 Bowls 14¾ 3 18 8¼ 24 Ladles ½ 0 1 0 14 Straining Dishes 3 0 3 6 6 Trays 2/6 0 15 0 19 Pump Boxes 11¾ 0 18 7¼ 4 Slaskets 2/3¼ 0 9 1 3 Cows 1/1 0 3 3 11 Cloth Brushes 1/4 0 11 11 364 Shoe Brushes 1/7 10 12 4 96 Labourers Baskets 16½ 2 12 0 26 Birch Brooms ½ 0 10 10 4 Yoakes for Oxen 2 15 8 2 Hair Sieves 9/1 0 18 2 4 Butter Prints 0 2 3 5 French Ladles 1/6 0 2 6 8 Mop Handles 1/1½ 0 1 0 112 Mop Horns & Nails 1/ 0 9 1 21 Slaes Brooms 1/10½ 1 18 10½ 32 7 3¼ Vinegar 21 Gallons 2/1¾ 2 2 5¾ Total of Europe Goods £ 3681 7 3¾ Indian Goods Viz Arrack 77 Gallons 1/5 5 9 1 Allejar 4 Peices 11/9 2 7 0 Bettellees 9 6 Peices 3/3 16 8 0 Carried Over £ 3705 11 4¾	The inventory of remains continued, closing the European goods and opening the Indian goods, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £3,643 12s 9d Twine: 6 skeins twine at 7.5d, £0 3s 7.5d 267 lb house line and marline at 2s 3d, £3 1s 2.5d Twine total, £3 4s 10d Turnery ware: 20 scrubbing brushes at 1s 4d, £1 6s 8d 8 salmons' yoakes at 1s 1d, £0 8s 8d 4 ox bows, £0 1s 5.5d 80 platters at 11.25d, £3 15s 0d 69 bowls at 11.25d, £3 4s 8.5d 24 ladles at 5d, £0 10s 0d 14 straining dishes at 3d, £0 3s 6d 6 trays at 2s 6d, £0 15s 0d 19 pump boxes at 11.5d, £0 18s 2.5d 4 baskets at 2s 3.5d, £0 9s 1d 3 cows at 1s 1d, £0 3s 3d 11 clothes brushes at 1s, £0 11s 11d 364 shoe brushes at 8.5d, £10 12s 4d 96 labourers' baskets at 6.5d, £2 12s 0d 26 birch brooms at 5d, £0 10s 10d 4 yoakes for oxen, £2 15s 8d 2 hair sieves at 9s, £0 18s 2d 4 butter prints, £0 2s 3d 5 French ladles at 1s 6d, £0 2s 6d 8 mop handles at 1s 5.5d, £0 1s 0d 112 mop horns and nails at 1s, £0 9s 1d 21 hair brooms at 1s 10.75d, £1 18s 11.5d Turnery ware total, £32 7s 3.5d Vinegar, 21 gallons at 2s 1.5d, £2 2s 5.5d Total of Europe goods, £3,681 7s 3.5d Indian goods: Arrack, 77 gallons at 1s 5d, £5 9s 1d Alejar, 4 pieces at 11s 9d, £2 7s 0d Bettellees, 96 pieces at 3s 5d, £16 8s 0d Carried over, £3,705 11s 4.5d **Interpretations** The inventory draws a sharp line at the close of the European goods and the opening of the Indian, the store's stock divided by the two great sources that supplied it. The European goods, shipped out from England, made up the vast bulk at over three thousand six hundred pounds, while the Indian goods, brought by the Company's ships from Bengal and the coast, followed as a distinct and smaller class, so the stocktaking recorded the two currents of trade that met at the island, the outward cargoes from home and the eastern goods from the Company's Indian settlements. The bettellees and alejar opening the Indian goods name the cotton textiles of the Bengal trade, the bettellees a fine plain muslin and the alejar a striped or checked cotton cloth. Ninety-six pieces of bettellees stood as a substantial holding of Indian cloth, brought round in the Company's ships and kept for sale to the garrison and settlers, so the inventory marks the island as a point where the eastern textile trade reached a small resident market, the fine muslins and striped stuffs of Bengal held in the store alongside the coarse woollens of England. The turnery ware gathers the wooden domestic gear of the island in quantity, the platters, bowls, ladles and trays that served the fort's table and the

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			settlers' households where no potter or pewterer worked the island. The three hundred and sixty-four shoe brushes stood as much the deepest single line, a reserve far beyond present need, so the store held the treen and brushware in bulk against a steady demand, the plain wooden vessels of daily use supplied from the warehouse as much as the finer chinaware and pewter.
417	428	1748 Brought Over £ 3705 11 4¾ Chinaware Viz 5 Small Dishes 4/8 0 8 4 1 Blue & White Soup Dish 0 6 10 5 Col & Gold Do 2 1 0 331 Blue & White Soup Plates 5/1 p Dozn 6 17 11 33 Col & Gold Do 5¼ each 0 14 5¼ 117 Meat Plates 2/1 p Dozn 8¾ 1 0 8½ 11 Large Saucers 4¾ ea 0 1 9¾ 325 Nog Cups & 329 Saucers ¼ ea 3 8 1¼ 18 Col Ref Cups & 15 Saucers 0 3 1 2 Jugg 2/1 0 4 8 194 Small Saucers ¼ 0 16 2 13 Bowls 6¾ 0 6 9¾ 33 Snickers 2/4¾ 0 6 6¼ 1 Twreen & Dish 0 11 3 129 Salled Dishes 1/ 4 16 9 81 Enamelld Cups & 88 Saucers 1/7½ 1 15 2½ 23 19 4½ Muslin 23 Peices 8/11¾ 11 3 3¼ Pepper 19 ½ 1 5 6 Pallampores Viz 1 Pallampore 10/6½ 0 10 6½ 58 Do 13/1 35 0 10 18 Do 16/6 14 17 0 50 8 4½ Rice & Paddy Viz 33 1 21 Paddy 7/3 12 8 0 23 2 Rice 11 5 0 1 12 Callavances 8/ 0 8 10 24 1 10 Sugar & Candy Viz 19 1 29 Sugar 20/4½ p C 50 5 2¾ 52 3 7 Candy 24/10½ p C 65 11 6 115 16 8¾ Stockings 587 Pair Cotton 1/9¾ 53 3 10¾ Carried Over £ 3985 8 7	The inventory of remains continued, the Indian goods, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £3,705 11s 4.5d Chinaware: 5 small dishes at 1s 8d, £0 8s 4d 1 blue and white soup dish, £0 6s 10d 5 coloured and gold ditto, £0 2s 1d 331 blue and white soup plates at 5s 1d the dozen, £6 17s 11d 33 coloured and gold ditto at 5.5d each, £0 14s 5.5d 117 meat plates at 2s 1.75d the dozen, £1 0s 8.5d 11 large saucers at 4s 3.5d the dozen, £0 1s 9.5d 323 nog cups and 329 saucers at 1s 4d the dozen, £3 8s 1.5d 18 coffee cups and 15 saucers, £0 3s 1d 2 jugs at 2s 1d, £0 4s 8d 194 small saucers at 1s, £0 16s 2d 13 bowls at 6.5d, £0 6s 9.5d 33 chickers at 1s 2.5d, £0 6s 6.5d 1 tureen and dish, £0 11s 3d 129 salted dishes at 1s, £4 16s 9d 81 enamelled cups and 88 saucers at 1s 7.5d, £1 15s 2.5d Chinaware total, £23 19s 4.5d Muslin, 25 pieces at 8s 10.5d, £11 3s 3.5d Pepper, 49 lb at 6d, £1 3s 6d Palampores: 1 palampore at 10s 6.5d, £0 10s 6.5d 58 ditto at 12s 1d, £35 0s 10d 18 ditto at 16s 6d, £14 17s 0d Palampores total, £50 8s 4.5d Rice and paddy: 33 quarters 1 lb 21 lb paddy at 2s 3d, £12 8s 0d 23 quarters 2 lb rice, £11 5s 0d 1 quarter 12 lb callavances at 8s, £0 8s 10d Rice and paddy total, £24 1s 10d Sugar and candy: 19 quarters 1 lb 29 lb sugar at 20s 4.5d the hundred, £50 5s 2.5d 52 quarters 3 lb 7 lb candy at 24s 10.5d the hundred, £63 11s 6d Sugar and candy total, £115 16s 8.5d Stockings, 587 pairs cotton at 1s 9.75d, £53 3s 10.5d Carried over, £3,985 8s 7d **Interpretations** The candy held at over sixty-three pounds against fifty of raw sugar marks the store's deep reserve of the refined sort, the crystallised sugar of the Canton and Bengal trade held at the higher value per hundredweight. Candy commanded the better price for the further working it had taken, and the establishment held it deep as both a table sweetener and a saleable article, so the year-end stock of sugar and candy together, near a hundred and sixteen pounds, stood among the more valuable classes of the Indian goods, the refined sugar the dearer half of the holding. The palampores held at over fifty pounds mark a substantial reserve of the painted Indian bed covers, the finer furnishing textiles of the Bengal and Coromandel trade. Seventy-seven pieces in three grades, from the single dearer sort to the bulk at twelve shillings, stood as a genuine stock of a luxury cloth, so the inventory shows the island holding a real quantity of the eastern furnishing trade, the

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			palampores brought round in the ships and kept for sale to the better households that could afford the painted covers of the India trade. The cotton stockings held at five hundred and eighty-seven pairs run to over fifty pounds, an Indian counterpart to the thread stockings of the European goods and one of the deepest single lines of clothing in the store. Cotton hosiery came from the eastern trade where the woollen and thread sorts came from England, so the great reserve marks the island drawing its clothing from both currents of the Company's commerce at once, the light cotton stockings of India held as deep as the heavier hosiery of home against a population dressed almost wholly from the warehouse.
418	429	17th October Brought Over £ 3985 8 7 Tea Viz 28 1 Congo 19 16 5 21 4 Single 11 16 3½ 31 4 Bohea 10 12 8 3 Catteas Single 0 7 3 42 12 7½ Total amount of Europe & Indian Goods £ 4028 1 2½ Counted and Examined the Honourable Companys Cash for the Month of September last, which is as follows Viz	The inventory of remains closed, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £3,985 8s 7d Tea: 284 lb congo, £19 16s 5d 214 lb single, £11 16s 3.5d 319 lb bohea, £10 12s 8d 3 catties single, £0 7s 3d Tea total, £42 12s 7.5d Total amount of Europe and Indian goods, £4,028 1s 2.5d The board counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month of September last, which ran as follows. **Interpretations** The whole warehouse inventory closes at just over four thousand pounds, the year-end measure of everything the Company held in its stores against the island's needs and the shipping's. The great bulk lay in the bread, flour and salt provisions and the heavy iron of anchors, masts and building stock, the whole standing as the settlement's working reserve, so the single closing figure gathered into one sum the deep and varied holding the stocktaking had counted class by class, the Company's whole stake in goods on the island at the turn of the accounting year. The tea closing the Indian goods held over eight hundred pounds weight across the three grades, the bohea the coarse everyday leaf and the congo and single the finer sorts. Bohea held cheapest by the pound though held in bulk, the congo dearest, so the graded stock marks the store's reserve of the China trade's staple drink, issued to garrison and slaves and sold to the settlers alike, the tea kept deep as a standing article of the island's daily consumption drawn from the eastward commerce. The stocktaking of the whole warehouse, running through many classes to a single closing sum, was the yearly reckoning that let the Company know its exact stake in goods on the island. Taken with the stores shut for three weeks under the advertisement of 29 August, the count fixed at one date what the establishment held against what it had sold, bought and issued through the year, so the inventory stood as the material half of the annual settling of the books, the goods reckoned as precisely as the cash the board turned next to count.
419	430	Cash Dr Per Contra 1748 Sep 1 To Ballance remaining £ 3287 13 9½ 30 To Matthew Purling Recd of him for Store Goods Sold in the Month of July August and September 1031 13 3¼ To Licenses recd for Ten Publick Houses 13 0 0 To Plantation recd for two Goats sold to	The Company's cash account for September stood debtor and per contra, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. The debtor side, receipts, ran as follows. September 1, to balance remaining, £3,287 13s 9.5d September 30, to Matthew Purling received of him for store goods sold in the months of July, August and September, £1,031 13s 3.5d To licences received for ten public houses, £13 0s 0d

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		the Hospital 0 12 0 To Vents 343 0 10½ Carried Over £ 4677 19 11¼ 1748 Sep 20 By Exchange Viz One Sett of Bills drawn on John Hyde Esqr & the rest of ye part Owners of Ship Princess of Wales payable to the Honble Company or Order dated this Day 34 0 0 One Sett of Bills drawn on Willm Belchier Esqr payable as above drawn by Richard Daman Chief Mate of the George Snow for so much Advanced him for his Substance here & to provide him with Necessaries & pay for his Passage to England 15 15 0 49 15 0 Sep 30 By Sundries advanced the Paymaster 1875 7 3¾ By Ballance remaing in ye follow Species Viz 1 Pr Gold Wt 11 15 14 at 3 16 3 £ 46 1 8¾ Curd dds per 5163 1 Pr Do 3 9 12 3 18 13 11 ½ 4375 Pagodas at 8/ 1750 0 0 Gold amounting to Carried Over £ 1809 12 9 Carried Over £ 1935 2 3¾	To plantation received for two goats sold to the hospital, £0 12s 0d To rents, £343 0s 10.5d Carried over, £4,677 19s 11.5d The creditor side, per contra, ran as follows. September 20, by exchange, one set of bills drawn on John Hyde esquire and the rest of the part owners of the ship Princess of Wales payable to the Honourable Company or order dated this day, £34 0s 0d One set of bills drawn on William Belcher esquire payable as above drawn by Richard Damon chief mate of the George snow for so much advanced him for his subsistence here and to provide him with necessaries and pay for his passage to England, £15 15s 0d Exchange total, £49 15s 0d September 30, by sundries advanced the paymaster, £1,875 7s 3.5d By balance remaining in the following species: 1 chest gold weight 11 lb 15 oz 14 dwt at £3 16s 3d, £46 1s 8.5d 1 ditto 3 lb 9 oz 12 dwt 3 lb 18 dwt, £13 11s 6.5d 4,375 pagodas at 8s, £1,750 0s 0d Gold amounting to, carried over £1,809 12s 0d Carried over, £1,925 2s 3.75d **Interpretations** Richard Damon's fifteen guineas appear here on the creditor side as bills drawn on the shipowner Belcher, the exact sum the board advanced the marooned mate of the *George* for his subsistence and his passage home. The entry closes the loop on his petition, the ten shillings a week the board allowed him gathered into a single charge secured against the seventeen months' wages due him from the ship, so the cash account records the island's remedy for a man abandoned by his captain, the Company laying out his keep against the owner's account until he could reach England. The bills drawn on John Hyde and the part owners of the *Princess of Wales* mark the settling of that ship's account with the island, the revictualling and charges of her stay recovered by exchange rather than in coin. The board took bills payable to the Company in England for the goods and provisions the ship drew, so the entry shows how the island balanced its dealings with the shipping through paper drawn on the owners at home, coin being too scarce and the sums too large to settle in specie in the road. The treasury's Indian gold hoard stands unmoved at four thousand three hundred and seventy-five pagodas, valued at seventeen hundred and fifty pounds, the great reserve of eastern coin held through count after count while the smaller sums shifted. The pagodas were the island's stable store of value, too large a holding to spend on ordinary charges and kept intact as the treasury's foundation, so the cash account rested on a block of Indian gold that scarcely varied from month to month, the working balance moving in the dollars and cash notes while the pagodas held firm beneath.
420	431	17th October Brought over £ 4677 19 11¼ £ 4677 19 11¼	The debtor side of the cash account closed, the sum in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £4,677 19s 11.5d £4,677 19s 11.5d
421	432	1748 Brought Over £ 1935 2 3¾ Brought Over £ 1809 12 9 1316 Dollars at 5/ £ 329 0 0 4563 Half Rials at 3¾ 71 5 11¼ 441 French Do at 3 3 13 6	The creditor side of the cash account continued, the balance counted coin by coin, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £1,925 2s 3.75d Brought over, £1,809 12s 0d 1,316 dollars at 5s, £329 0s 0d 4,563 half rials at 13.5d, £71 5s 11.5d 441 French pieces at 8d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 3.5d

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		Odd Money 0 0 3¼ Silver amounting to £ 403 19 10½ 146 Cash Notes at 40/ 292 0 0 162 Do 20/ 162 0 0 261 Do 5/ 65 5 0 160 Do 2/6 20 0 0 Cash Notes amounting to £ 539 5 0 £ 2752 17 7½ 4677 19 11¼ Mr Thomas Cotgrave Petitioned to dispose of 1½ Acres of Lease Land Granted The following Articles of House Furniture being broke and worn out We this Day Ordered them to be Wrote off the Honourable Companys General Books of Accounts Viz 1 Chimney Glass broke by Accident £ 2 10 0 19 Napkins worn out £ 1 16 6 Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At	Silver amounting to, £403 19s 10.5d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 ditto at 20s, £162 0s 0d 261 ditto at 5s, £65 5s 0d 160 ditto at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £539 5s 0d £2,752 17s 7.5d £4,677 19s 11.5d Thomas Colgrave asked to dispose of one and a half acres of lease land, and the board granted it. The board ordered the following articles of household furniture, being broken and worn out, written off the Honourable Company's general books of accounts. 1 chimney glass broke by accident, £2 10s 0d 19 napkins worn out, £2 6s 0d Total, £4 16s 0d The account was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The treasury balance divides into three distinct kinds of money counted apart, the gold pagodas, the silver dollars, rials and French pieces, and the paper cash notes, each reckoned to its own sum. The silver crept up to just over four hundred pounds while the gold held firm and the notes stood at five hundred and thirty-nine, so the count shows the working balance of the treasury moving in its silver and paper while the great block of Indian gold stayed unmoved, the board proving each species by tale at the month's close. The cash notes counted by denomination, from the forty-shilling down to the half-crown, mark the Company's own paper credit standing at over five hundred pounds among the specie. Issued against the Company's account when coin ran short and redeemable at the store, the notes were the island's home-made currency, counted alongside the gold and silver as part of the treasury's holding, so the tally shows the settlement's cash resting partly on paper of its own making where foreign coin fell short of the island's dealings. The writing-off of a broken chimney glass and worn napkins from the general books shows the account keeping even the smallest losses of household stuff on the record until formally struck out. The board would not let a broken glass or a worn napkin simply vanish from the books but ordered each written off by name and value, so the entry marks the strict accounting by which every article the Company owned was tracked to its end, nothing dropped from the reckoning without a recorded order clearing it away.
422	433	24 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th day of October 1748 at the Castle Present Chas Hutchinson Esqr Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed The Accountant brought in his Journal Parcels for the Quarter ending the 30th September last which were Examined and Approved and ordered to be Entered. The Ground Petitioned for by Mr Purling having been Viewed and found not Prejudicial to the Honble Company or Neighbourhood, we agreed to grant him a Lease for it at the Rent of 1 Shilling p Acre upon consideration of its being Rockhy & Barren Executed the two following Leases to Orlando Bagley Viz	At a consultation held on Monday 24 October 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. The accountant brought in his journal parcels for the quarter ending 30 September last, which were examined, approved and ordered to be entered. The ground Matthew Purling had asked for, having been viewed and found not prejudicial to the Honourable Company or the neighbourhood, the board agreed to grant him on a lease at the rent of one shilling the acre, on account of its being rocky and barren. The board executed the two following leases to Orlando Bagley. The first lease granted a parcel of one acre in Peak Gut in the south division of the island. The Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, as lords proprietors, leased and granted to Orlando Bagley of the island, planter, one acre in Peak Gut in the south

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		Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise grant Lease & to Farm let unto Orlando Bagley of the said Island Planter all that Piece or parcel of Land containing one Acre situate in Peak Gutt in the South Division of the said Island Butting North upon Land belonging to the said Orlando Bagley East & West upon Land belonging to Fran Wrangham Senr & South upon the Honble Companys waste Land To have and to Hold unto the said Orlando Bagley his Executors Administrators and Assigns from the day of the date hereof for & during the Term of Twenty One Years from thence next ensueing Yielding and Paying therefore Yearly and every Year during the Term hereby	division, bounded north on land belonging to Orlando Bagley, east and west on land belonging to Francis Wrangham senior and south on the Company's waste land. Bagley was to hold the parcel to himself, his executors, administrators and assigns from the date of the lease for twenty-one years then next ensuing, yielding a yearly rent through the term. **Interpretations** Matthew Purling's lease closes the Ridge House petition first raised on 26 September 1748, the ground granted only after the surveyors viewed it and found it would not harm the Company or the neighbours. The rent set at one shilling the acre, well below the standard five, was abated for the ground being rocky and barren, so the grant marks the board pricing its waste land to its worth, taking a nominal rent for poor ground it valued chiefly to have improved rather than for the return it might yield. The formal indenture to Orlando Bagley sets out the full machinery of the Company's land tenure, the lords proprietors granting a defined parcel bounded by named neighbours for a fixed term of years at a yearly rent. The precise recital of the bounds against Bagley's own land and Wrangham's fixed the parcel exactly on the ground, so the deed shows how the island's land was held, each holding drawn against its neighbours and timed to a twenty-one-year term, the Company keeping the ultimate title while parting with the use for a generation.
423	434	1748 hereby Granted unto them the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Rent or Sum of five Shillings p Acre at or upon the Feast of St Michael the Arch Angel Yearly Upon Condition that he the said Orlando Bagley his Executors Administrators & Assigns do & shall bear true faith & Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs & Successors and true faith to their said said Honble Company & their Successors & shall duely obey and keep all the Laws & Constitutions of the said Island & do & shall set about & fence in the said Land with a good and Sufficient fence and when so fenced do & shall well and sufficiently keep up & maintain the same together with the full quantity of Wood thereon and do & shall at the end or other determination of this Lease Yield up & Surrender the aforesaid Premisses in good condition & repair, And do not nor shall Sell or dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave & Consent of the Govr & Council for the time being In Witness whereof we the said Govr & Council have hereunto set our hands & Affixed the Honble Companys Seal this Twenty fourth day of October in the Twenty second Year of the Reign of our said Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of great Brittain France & Ireland King Defender of the faith and so forth, and in the Year of our Lord 1748. Signd Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The first lease to Orlando Bagley continued and closed, followed by a second lease, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Bagley was to pay the Company a yearly rent of five shillings the acre at or upon the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel. He and his heirs were to bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second and to the Honourable Company, to obey and keep all the laws and constitutions of the island, to fence the land with a good and sufficient fence and keep it maintained, to preserve the full quantity of wood on it, to yield up the premises in good condition and repair at the end of the term, and not to sell or dispose of the lease or their interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council. The deed was sealed under the Company's seal on 24 October 1748, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King George the Second, and subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The second lease granted a parcel of two acres in Swanley Valley in the west division. The Honourable United Company, as lords proprietors, leased and granted to Orlando Bagley of the island, planter, two acres in Swanley Valley in the west division, bounded north-east and west on land belonging to the orphans of James Ryder deceased and Francis Wrangham, and south on land in the possession of Orlando Bagley. Bagley was to hold the parcel to himself, his executors, administrators and assigns from the date of the lease. **Interpretations** The lease binds the tenant to a chain of obligations reaching from allegiance to the Crown down to the upkeep of a fence, the whole tenure hedged with conditions the Company could enforce by re-entry. The covenants to bear faith to the King and the Company, to keep the island's laws, to fence and maintain the ground, to preserve the wood and to yield the land up in repair together made the lease an instrument of governance as much as of property, so the deed shows the Company holding its tenants to good order and conservation through the very terms on which they held their land. The covenant against assignment without leave kept the Company's control over who held its ground, no tenant free to pass his lease to another without the

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		Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise grant Lease & to Farm let unto Orlando Bagley of the said Island Planter all that piece or parcel of Land containing by mensuration two Acres situate in Swanly Valley in the West Division of the said Island Butting & Bounding towards the North East & West upon Land belonging to the Orphans of James Ryder decd & towards the South upon Land in the Possession of Fran Wrangham Senr To have and to hold unto the said Orlando Bagley his Execut & Administ & Assigns from the Day of the Date hereof for and	board's consent. This barred the quiet engrossing of land into fewer hands and let the board vet every successor, so the restriction shows the Company guarding not only the rent but the pattern of settlement, keeping the power to say who should hold each parcel and preventing the land market from running beyond its oversight. The requirement to preserve the full quantity of wood on the ground ties the lease to the island's long anxiety over its timber, the tenant bound to keep the trees standing as a condition of his holding. The island's wood was slow-growing and hard-pressed, and the Company had fought for years against its waste, so the covenant made every tenant a keeper of the island's timber on pain of forfeiture, the conservation of the wood written into the terms of tenure across the settled land.
424	435	and during the term of Twenty One Year from thence next ensueing Yeilding & Paying therefore Yearly & every Year during the term hereby Granted unto them the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Rent or Sum of five Shillings p Acre at or upon the Feast of St Michael the Arch Angel Yearly Upon condition that he the said Orlando Bagley his Execut Administ and Assigns do & shall bear true faith & Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs & Successors & true faith to their the said Honble Company & their Successors & shall duely obey & keep all the Laws & Constitutions of the said Island & do & shall set about & Fence in the said Land with a good & Sufficient Fence & when so fenced do and shall well & Sufficiently keep & maintain the same together with the full Quantity of Wood thereon & do & shall at the end or other determination of this Lease Yeild up & Surrender the aforesaid Promisses in good condition and repair And do not nor shall Sell or Dispose of this Lease or his or their Interest therein without the leave & Consent of the Govr & Council for the time being In Witness thereof we the said Govr & Council have hereunto set our hands and Affixed the Honble Companys Seal this Twenty fourth day of October in the Twenty Second Year of the Reign of our said Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France & Ireland King Defender of the faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1748 Signd Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The second lease to Orlando Bagley closed. He was to hold the two acres in Swanley Valley for twenty-one years then next ensuing, paying the Company a yearly rent of five shillings the acre at or upon the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel. He and his heirs were to bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second and to the Honourable Company, to obey and keep all the laws and constitutions of the island, to fence the land with a good and sufficient fence and keep it maintained, to preserve the full quantity of wood on it, to yield up the premises in good condition and repair at the end of the term, and not to sell or dispose of the lease or their interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council. The deed was sealed under the Company's seal on 24 October 1748, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King George the Second, and subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The consultation was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark.

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		At	
425	436	28 October At a Consultation held on Friday the 28th day of October 1748 at the Castle Present Chas Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signd This Evening about the Hour of Six arrived the Honble Companys Ship the Duke of New Castle Capt Fran Fowler from England and at Eight the Pacquet was brought on Shore and opened, and the Honble Companys Letter Read. We was afterwards Recommended to the Capt to use all possible Dispatch in landing the Stores he had on Board for this place, and orders given for publishing his Majestys Royal Proclamation for a Cessation of Arms between his Majesty the most Christian King and the States General of the United Provinces. Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 31 day of October 1748 at the Castle Present Chas Hutchinson Esq Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Thursday 27th Died John French Lieutenant Mr Matthew Purling Petitioned for liberty to dispose of 7½ Acres of Lease Land Granted This	At a consultation held on Friday 28 October 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. This evening about six o'clock the Honourable Company's ship *Duke of Newcastle*, Captain Francis Fowler, arrived from England, and at eight the packet was brought ashore and opened. The Honourable Company's letter was read. It recommended the captain to use all possible dispatch in landing the stores he had aboard for the island, and orders were given for publishing His Majesty's royal proclamation of a cessation of arms between His Majesty, the most Christian King and the States General of the United Provinces. The consultation was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 31 October 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. John French, lieutenant, died on Thursday 27 October. Matthew Purling asked for liberty to dispose of seven and a half acres of lease land, and the board granted it. **Interpretations** The proclamation of a cessation of arms brought by the *Duke of Newcastle* carried word of the peace ending the War of the Austrian Succession to the island, the truce between Britain, France and the Dutch Republic ordered published to the garrison and inhabitants. The island had held to a war footing through the conflict, its batteries built and its guns kept ready against the French, so the order to proclaim the peace marked the formal close of the danger the fortification programme had answered, the news of Aix-la-Chapelle reaching the mid-Atlantic station months after the powers had agreed it. The death of Lieutenant John French on 27 October opens a fresh officer vacancy only months after his son had risen to a second lieutenant's place that summer. The elder French had served as master gunner and lieutenant, one of the island's long-serving officers drawn from a settled family, so his death left another commission to be filled from the island's own ranks, the establishment's dependence on its resident families cutting both ways as death removed the senior men as steadily as promotion raised the younger.
426	437	This Morning we wrote to Captain Fowler to press her Dispatch in Landing the Honourable Companys Stores The Storekeeper brought in his Account of Waste for the Year ending the 30th September last, which was examined and approved and is as follows Viz Profit & Loss Dr to Sundry Accounts for loss by Leakage Wastage Short weight & Measure, by Drawing by the Gallon half Gallon &c and by Weighing by the Pound &c in the Year ending the 30th Sepbr 1748 Viz Brandy 44½ Gallons 0 9 11 2¾ Cordage 1 Do qr 4 0 0 9 1 Lead 2 Small Shot 0 0 0 3½ Paint Viz 6 White Lead 0 1 6	This morning the board wrote to Captain Fowler to press his dispatch in landing the Honourable Company's stores. The storekeeper brought in his account of waste for the year ending 30 September last, which was examined and approved and ran as follows. The profit and loss account, debtor to sundry accounts for loss by leakage, wastage, short weight and measure, by drawing by the gallon, half gallon and the rest, and by weighing by the pound and the rest, in the year ending 30 September 1748, ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brandy, 44.5 gallons, £9 11s 2.5d Cordage, £0 9s 1d Lead, 2 lb small shot, £0 0s 3.5d Paint: 6 lb white lead, £0 1s 6d 1.5 lb yellow ochre, £0 0s 4.5d 1.5 lb verdigris, £0 3s 5.5d 2 lb indigo, £0 3s 4d 2.5 lb blue smalts, £0 4s 2d Paint total, £0 14s 10d

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		1½ Yellow Oaker 0 0 4¾ 1 Verdigrease 0 3 5¾ 2 Indico 0 3 4 2½ Blue Smalts 0 4 2 0 13 10 Pitch &c Viz ¾ Barrel Tar 1 2 3 ½ Barrel Turpentine 0 8 8¾ 7 Rozin 0 0 9 1 11 8¾ Starch 7 0 0 0 2½ Soap 1 1 3¾ Do qr lb 0 3 18 11¼ Salt 4 Bushels 0 0 0 9 Vinegar 13¾ Gallons prov is bad, was obligd to be thrown away 1 11 5½ Arrack 99½ Gallons 0 7 7¼ Chinaware 17 Small Cups & 4 Saucers broke 0 0 1 9 Carried over £ 25 0 9¼	Pitch: 0.5 barrel tar, £1 2s 3d 0.5 barrel turpentine, £0 8s 8.5d 9 lb rosin, £0 0s 9d Pitch total, £1 11s 8.5d Starch, £0 0s 2.5d Soap, 44.75 lb, £3 18s 11.25d Salt, 4 bushels, £0 6s 9d Vinegar, 13.75 gallons, proving bad, was obliged to be thrown away, £1 11s 5.5d Arrack, 99.5 gallons, £7 7s 7.25d Chinaware, 17 small cups and 4 saucers broke, £0 1s 9d Carried over, £25 0s 9.5d **Interpretations** The waste account gathers the year's unavoidable losses into a single reckoning, the leakage of liquids, the short weight of goods drawn out and the breakage of fragile ware written off as the cost of holding and dealing stock. The brandy and arrack losses far outrun the rest, spirits leaking from the cask by the gallon over a year in store, so the account measures the steady shrinkage a warehouse suffered on wet and perishable goods, the storekeeper accounting for what the stock lost between receipt and issue as a charge distinct from what he sold. The vinegar thrown away for proving bad marks the one item lost not to leakage or measure but to spoilage outright, a whole parcel condemned as unfit. The storekeeper had to account for the fourteen gallons destroyed, so the entry shows the waste account covering not only the slow drain of leakage but the occasional total loss of a spoiled commodity, the vinegar written off in full where it could neither be sold nor used, the loss owned openly rather than hidden in the general shrinkage. The keeping of so exact a waste account, down to a few broken cups and a couple of pounds of shot, shows the Company holding its storekeeper to strict account for every loss the year brought. The waste was reckoned separately from sales and issues so the board could see what the mere holding of stock had cost, the leakage of spirits and the breakage of ware charged against profit and loss like any other outgoing, the storekeeper answerable for the shrinkage as closely as for the goods he sold, the whole a mark of the tight accounting by which the island's stores were watched.
427	438	1748 Brought Over £ 25 0 9¼ Pepper 4 3 0 0 1 6 Rice & Paddy Viz 4 1 10 Rice 2 1 7¾ 1 3 21 Paddy 0 14 4½ 19 Callavances 0 1 4 2 17 4¼ Sugar & Candy Viz 1 3 9 Sugar 1 17 4 2 27 Candy 2 15 10 4 13 2 Total £ 32 12 10 Signd Jno Purling Storekeeper Executed the two following Leases to the Executors of John Bazett decd Viz Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to	The waste account closed, followed by a lease to the executors of John Bazett, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, £25 0s 9.5d Pepper, 43 lb, £0 1s 6d Rice and paddy: 4 quarters 1 lb 10 lb rice, £2 1s 7.75d 1 quarter 3 lb 21 lb paddy, £0 14s 4.5d 19 lb callavances, £0 1s 4d Rice and paddy total, £2 17s 4.25d Sugar and candy: 4 quarters 3 lb 9 lb sugar, £1 17s 4d 2 quarters 27 lb candy, £2 15s 10d Sugar and candy total, £4 13s 2d Total, £32 12s 10d The account was subscribed by Purling, storekeeper. The board executed the two following leases to the executors of John Bazett deceased. The first lease granted two parcels of gumwood land together holding two and a half acres near the lower end of Stone Top Valley in the east division. The Honourable United Company, as lords proprietors, leased and granted to Matthew Purling, Samuel Doveton, Richard Beale and Matthew Bazett, executors to the will of John Bazett deceased, two parcels of gumwood land holding in both two and a

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		the East Indies Do hereby demise Lease & to farm let unto Mattw Purling Saml Dovston Rich Beale & Mattw Bazett Executors to the last Will & Testament of John Bazett decd All those two Peeces or Parcels of Gumwood Land containing in both Parcels two Acres & a Half, Situate lying & being in & near the lower part or end of Stone Top Valley in the East Division of the said Island butting & bounding towards the North, South, East & West, every way upon the said Honble Companys Wast Land, Situate in and near the said Stone Top Valley, To have & to hold the said hereby Demised two Parcels of Gumwood Land Containing in both Parcels two Acres & a Half as aforesaid with all, & Singular the Appurtenances thereunto belonging unto them the said Mattw Purling Saml Dovston Rich Beale & Mattw Bazett their Exors Administ or allowed Assigns, In trust Nevertheless & to the use of the Children of the said John Bazett decd Free from the day of the Date of these Presents for & during the Term of Twenty One Years from thence next Ensueing Upon Condition that they	half acres near the lower end of Stone Top Valley in the east division, bounded on every side by the Company's waste land near Stone Top Valley. The executors were to hold the parcels in trust for the use of John Bazett's children from the date of the lease for twenty-one years then next ensuing. **Interpretations** The waste account closes at over thirty-two pounds, the whole year's loss on the Company's stores through leakage, spoilage and breakage gathered into one figure. The spirits and the sugar bore the greater part, the brandy and arrack leaking by the gallon and the sugar and candy lost in the weighing, so the total marks the standing cost of holding perishable and fragile stock through a year, charged to profit and loss as the unavoidable shrinkage of a warehouse the storekeeper answered for line by line. The lease to the Bazett executors holds the dead man's land in trust for his children, the executors taking the ground on the children's behalf for the full twenty-one-year term. This kept John Bazett's holding intact through his children's minority, the land carried on the Company's roll in the executors' names rather than falling in or being split, so the deed shows the island's machinery for preserving a family's ground across a death, the trust tenure keeping the estate whole for the next generation while the Company kept its rent and its ultimate title.
428	439	31 October the said Children of the said John Bazett their Heirs Executors Administ & Assigns do & shall bear true faith & Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs & Successors & true faith to them the said Honble Company & their Successors & shall duely obey all the Laws & Constitutions of the said Island And upon condition also they the said Mattw Purling Saml Dovston Rich Beale & Mattw Bazett their Heirs Exors Admins or Assigns do & shall well & Sufficiently keep up and maintain the fences to the said Land & the full Quantity of Wood thereon Yeilding & Paying therefore Yearly and every Year during the term of this present Lease unto them the said Honble Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Sum of five Shillings p Acre in at or upon the feast of St Michael the Arch Angel Yearly, and upon further Condition that they the said Mattw Purling Saml Dovston Rich Beale & Mattw Bazett their Exors Adminis or Allowed Assigns shall not Sell or Dispose of this Lease or their Interest therein without the leave & Consent of the Govr & Council for the time being In Witness whereof we the said Govr & Council have set our Hands & Affixed the Honble Company Seal this 31 Day of October in the Twenty Second Year of the Reign of our said	The first lease to the Bazett executors closed, followed by a second. The children of John Bazett and their heirs were to bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second and to the Honourable Company, and to obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. The executors Matthew Purling, Samuel Doveton, Richard Beale and Matthew Bazett and their heirs were to keep up and maintain the fences of the land and the full quantity of wood on it, paying the Company a yearly rent of five shillings the acre at or upon the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, and were not to sell or dispose of the lease or their interest in it without the leave and consent of the Governor and council. The deed was sealed under the Company's seal on 31 October 1748, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King George the Second, and subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark, the executors setting their own hands and seals to the counterpart. The second lease granted a further parcel to the same executors. The Honourable United Company, as lords proprietors, leased and granted to Matthew Purling, Samuel Doveton, Richard Beale and Matthew Bazett, executors to the will of John Bazett deceased, a parcel of land on the same terms. **Interpretations** The lease binds the executors and through them the Bazett children to the same chain of covenants that governed every holding, allegiance to the Crown and Company, obedience to the island's laws, the upkeep of fences and wood and the bar on assignment without leave. That the obligations fell on the trustees as fully as on any tenant in his own right shows the Company drawing no distinction in its terms between land held outright and land held in trust for children, the conservation and good order it required running through every form of tenure alike. The sealing of the counterpart by the executors marks the lease as a mutual deed, the Company binding itself by its seal and the tenants binding themselves by theirs. The indenture took effect only

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		Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of great Brittain France & Ireland King defender of the faith & so forth. & in the Year of our Lord 1748 & they the said Mattw Purling Saml Dovston Rich Beale & Matthew Bazett, have to the other part sett their Hands & Seals the Day & Year abovewritten Signed Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby demise Lease & to farm let unto Matthew Purling Samuel Dovston Richard Beale & Matthew Bazett Executor to the last Will & Testament of	when both sides had set their hands, so the executors' seals on the counterpart completed the bargain, the Company granting the land and the trustees accepting the covenants, the two halves of the deed together fixing the tenure that the board's seal alone could not.
429	440	1748 of John Bazett decd All that Peece or parcel of Gumwood Land Containing by Mensuration Two Acres & an Half, Situate lying and being at or near the lower part of that Valley Antiently Named Fishers Valley next to the Great Wood, & in the East Division of this Island Butting and Bounding towards the North and West, upon the said Honble Companys waste Land Situate in & near the said Valley and towards the South and East upon the three Acres & an half of Gumwood Land formerly granted to & now in the Possession & Occupation of the Orphans of John Bazett decd To have and to hold the said Hereby Demised Two Acres and an half of Gumwood Land with the Appurtenances, & every part or parcel thereof unto them the said Matthew Purling Samuel Dovston Richard Beale and Matthew Bazett their Heirs Executors Administrators or Allowed Assigns, In trust Nevertheless and to the Use of the Children of the said John Bazett Deceased from the Day of the Date of these presents for and During the Term of Twenty One Years, from thence next ensueing Upon Condition that they the said Children of the said John Bazett their Heirs Executors, Administrators and Assigns do and shall bear true faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs and Successors, and true faith to them the said Honourable Company and their Successors, and shall duely obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island And upon Condition also that they the said Matthew Purling Samuel Dovston Rich Beale and Matthew Bazett, their Heirs Exors Admins or Assigns do and shall well & Sufficiently keep up & maintain the	The second lease to the Bazett executors set out its parcel and terms. The Honourable United Company, as lords proprietors, leased and granted to Matthew Purling, Samuel Doveton, Richard Beale and Matthew Bazett, executors to the will of John Bazett deceased, a parcel of gumwood land holding two and a half acres near the lower part of the valley formerly named Fisher's Valley next to the Great Wood in the east division, bounded north and west on the Company's waste land near the valley, and south and east on the three and a half acres of gumwood land formerly granted to and now in the possession of the orphans of John Bazett deceased. The executors were to hold the parcel in trust for the use of John Bazett's children from the date of the lease for twenty-one years then next ensuing. The children and their heirs were to bear true faith and allegiance to King George the Second and to the Honourable Company, and to obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. The executors and their heirs were to keep up and maintain the fences and the full quantity of wood on the land, paying the Company a yearly rent of five shillings the acre at or upon the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, and were not to sell or dispose of the lease without leave. **Interpretations** The second parcel adjoins the three and a half acres already held by the Bazett orphans, the new lease drawn against the boundary of the family's existing ground. Setting the fresh grant next to land the orphans already occupied consolidated the family's holding in the one valley, so the deed shows the Company letting land in a way that kept a family's parcels together, the boundaries drawn to build up a coherent block of ground in the children's hands rather than scattering their tenure across the island. The valley's older name of Fisher's Valley, recited in the deed alongside its bounds, fixed the parcel on the ground by a landmark the whole neighbourhood knew. The island's land was identified by its valleys and named features rather than by survey coordinates, so the deed's recital of the old name and the neighbouring holdings located the two and a half acres exactly, the tenure resting on shared local knowledge of the ground as much as on the written measure, the boundaries meaningful only against the named places every planter carried in mind.

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		Fences to the said Land, & the full Quantity of Wood thereon Yeilding and paying therefore, Yearly & every Year during the Term of this present Lease unto them the said Honourable Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Sum of five Shillings p Acre in at or upon the Feast of St Michael the Arch Angel Yearly, and upon further Condition that they the said Matthew Purling Saml Dovston Richard Beale & Matthew Bazett their Executors Administ or Allowed Assigns, shall not Sell or Dispose of this Lease or	
430	441	31 October or their Interest therein without the leave and Consent of the Governour and Council for the time being In Witness whereof We the said Govr & Council have set our Hands and Affixed the Honble Companys Seal this 31 Day of October in the Twenty Second Year of the Reign of our said Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France & Ireland King Defender of the faith & so forth and in the Year of our Lord 1748 & they the said Matthew Purling Saml Dovston Rich Beale & Mattw Bazett have to the other part of these presents Sett their Hands and Seals the Day and Year abovewritten Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark Bought of Capt Fran Fowler for the use of the Castle & General Table ye following Articles which we Directed the Paymaster to pay him for Viz 4 Mustard at 3/ p pound £ 0 12 0 2 Glocester Cheeses Wt 17 lb 8d 0 15 7 2 Suckets Wt 64 lb 10d 2 13 4 1 Do Candles 0 3 3 £ 4 3 11 Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th Day of November 1748 at the Castle Present Chas Hutchinson Esqr Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Tuesday 1 Died Philidelphia Daughter of Bridgett Harper Wednesday 2 The Honble Companys Stores being all Landed from on board the Duke of Newcastle We this Day gave the Captain his Sailing Orders to make the best of his Way on his Voyage according to the Honble Companys Directions to whom we gave	The second lease to the Bazett executors closed, followed by a purchase for the castle table and a fresh consultation, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. The executors were not to sell or dispose of their interest in the lease without the leave and consent of the Governor and council. The deed was sealed under the Company's seal on 31 October 1748, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King George the Second, and subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark, the executors setting their own hands and seals to the counterpart. The board bought of Captain Francis Fowler for the use of the castle and general table the following articles, which it directed the paymaster to pay him for. 4 lb mustard at 3d the pound, £0 12s 0d 2 Gloucester cheeses weight 17 lb 4 lb, £0 15s 7d 2 chickens weight 64 lb, £2 13s 4d 1 barrel damsons, £3 3s 0d Total, £7 3s 11d The purchase was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 7 November 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. Philadelphia, daughter of Bridget Harper, died on Tuesday. The Honourable Company's stores being all landed from aboard the *Duke of Newcastle*, the board gave the captain his sailing orders on Wednesday to make the best of his way on his voyage according to the Honourable Company's directions, and gave him the following letter to the Governor and council of Fort Marlborough. **Interpretations** The board bought fresh provisions of Captain Fowler for the castle table, the newly arrived ship offering cheeses, poultry and preserved fruit the island could not readily supply itself. The damson barrel and the Gloucester cheeses were English goods brought out in the ship, and the board drew on the fresh arrival to stock the fort's own table, so the purchase marks the way a homeward or outward ship replenished the establishment's larder with goods from home the moment she touched the road. The letter to Fort Marlborough sent by the departing *Duke of Newcastle* shows the island serving as a relay in the Company's chain of correspondence, forwarding orders and news to its Sumatran settlement by the ships that passed. St Helena lay on the route between England and the East, and the board used every departing vessel to carry its letters onward, so the dispatch to Fort Marlborough marks the island's standing part in binding the Company's scattered stations together, passing word along the sea road as the ships came and went.

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		the following Letter to the Govr & Council of Fort Marlborough To	
431	442	1748 To the Worshipfull the Deputy Govr and Council of Fort Malborough Worshipfull Sir & Sirs We wrote to you the eleventh of June, by the Godolphin Capt Bowen, a Duplicate of which Letter we herewith transmit to you Since the Godolphins Departure, arrived here, the Princess of Wales Capt Harvy from Bengall & the George Snow Capt Waddam from Fort St David. By the present Occasion you will have the pleasure to hear that there is a Cessation of Arms between his Majesty and the most Christian King. We congratulate you on this good News and are Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Your Most Obedt Humble Servants St Helena November the 2 1748 Signed Charles Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark 3 Sailed the Duke of New Castle Capt Fowler on her Voyage The Storekeeper delivered the following Account Viz St Helena Novr 7th 1748 The Twenty Casks Brandy Received from the Duke of Newcastle Gaugd 2637 Gallons wanted to fill 52½ Gallons Received 2584½ Gallons Jno Purling Storekeeper Thomas	The board addressed the deputy Governor and council of Fort Marlborough. It had written to them on 11 June by the *Godolphin*, Captain Bowen, a duplicate of which letter it now forwarded. Since the *Godolphin*'s departure the *Princess of Wales*, Captain Harry, had arrived from Bengal, and the *George* snow, Captain Weddearn, from Fort St David. By the present opportunity Fort Marlborough would have the pleasure to hear of a cessation of arms between His Majesty and the most Christian King, on which good news the board congratulated them. The letter was dated at St Helena 2 November 1748 and subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. The *Duke of Newcastle*, Captain Fowler, sailed on her voyage on Friday. The storekeeper delivered the following account. The twenty casks of brandy received from the *Duke of Newcastle*, gauged at 2,637 gallons, wanted to fill 52.5 gallons, so 2,584.5 gallons were received. The account was subscribed by Purling, storekeeper. **Interpretations** The letter to Fort Marlborough shows the board keeping its correspondence with the Sumatran settlement in careful sequence, forwarding a duplicate of its June letter lest the first miscarry. The Company's stations wrote to one another by every passing ship and kept duplicates against the loss of a vessel, so the board's note that it now sent a copy of the *Godolphin*'s letter marks the redundancy built into the Company's communications, the same news sent twice by different ships to be sure it reached its distant correspondents across an ocean where a single packet might never arrive. The brandy account measures the shortfall in the casks landed against their gauge, the twenty casks wanting fifty-two gallons of their full measure on receipt. Spirits leaked and evaporated in the passage, and the storekeeper gauged each cask on landing to charge himself only with what actually arrived, so the account shows the strict reckoning by which the Company tracked its liquids from ship to store, the ullage noted at once so the loss fell where it belonged and the storekeeper answered only for the brandy he truly held. The news of the cessation of arms carried onward to Fort Marlborough marks St Helena passing the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle along the Company's chain of stations, the island a stage in the spread of the news eastward. Having received the proclamation by the *Duke of Newcastle* only days before, the board forwarded word of the peace to Sumatra by the same ship's onward voyage, so the island served as a relay carrying the great political news of Europe to the Company's furthest eastern posts as fast as the ships could bear it.
432	443	7 November Thos Dye one of the Honble Companys Soldiers for their Settlement at Bencoolen who absented from their Ship Duke of Newcastle the Evening she sailed from hence, having surrendered himself the Day after, we directed the Paymaster to Subsist him until the Arrival of their next Storeship, by which Opportunity we shall send him to Bencoolen. Mr Falconer the Surgeon who has been obliged to provide the	Thomas Dye, one of the Honourable Company's soldiers for the settlement at Bencoolen, absented himself from the ship *Duke of Newcastle* the evening she sailed and surrendered himself the day after. The board directed the paymaster to subsist him until the arrival of the next store ship, by which opportunity it would send him to Bencoolen. Falconer the surgeon had been obliged to provide the hospital with provisions and keep its accounts for two years past, for want of a mate to take that charge upon him. Having applied to the board for some allowance for it, he was ordered ten pounds as a gratuity for his extraordinary trouble, which the board hoped the Honourable Company

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		Hospital with Provision, and keep the Accounts of it, for two Years past, from the want of a Mate to take that charge upon him, having applied to us for some Allowance for it we ordered him Ten Pounds as a Gratuity &c for his extraordinary Trouble which we hope the Honble Company will approve of Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th Day of November 1748 at the Castle Present Chas Hutchinson Esqr Govr Capt David Hunter Lt Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved & Signed The Plantation, Gunners, & Stewards Accounts were brought in for the Month of October last, which were Examined and approved and are as follows Viz Account	would approve. The entry was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 14 November 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts were brought in for the month of October last, which were examined and approved. **Interpretations** Thomas Dye's desertion from the *Duke of Newcastle* repeats exactly the pattern of William Cook's that summer, a soldier shipped for the sickly Bencoolen garrison hiding himself until the ship was safely gone. Where Cook had been taken into the St Helena garrison, Dye was to be held and sent on to Bencoolen by the next store ship, so the board this time refused to reward the flight with the island posting the man plainly wanted, subsisting him only to forward him to the very settlement he had tried to avoid. Falconer's ten-pound gratuity answers in part the grievance behind his diet-money petition of that summer, the surgeon burdened for two years with the hospital's provisioning and accounts for want of a mate. The board could not grant a standing allowance on its own authority, a charge on the establishment reserved to the Court, but it could vote a one-off gratuity for extraordinary trouble, so the payment marks the board doing what lay within its power to recompense the surgeon while leaving the larger question of his allowance to London. The board's differing treatment of Dye and Cook turns on the timing and the need of the moment rather than any settled rule. Cook had been kept when the garrison was short of men, but Dye was to be forwarded to Bencoolen as the Company intended, so the two cases show the board weighing each deserter against its own wants, taking a man into the garrison when it needed hands and holding another to his intended posting when it did not, the soldier's fate turning on the island's need as much as on his own offence.
433	444	Account of the Honourable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of October 1748. Neat Cattle Sheep Goats Hogs Poultry Horses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifer, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Barrows, Swates, Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowels, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remaining the 1: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 31, Yearlings 48, Heifer 17, Steers 14, Oxen 6, Total 208, Ewes 113, Weathers 11, Lambs 54, Rams 4, Total 182, Ewes 95, Weathers 10, Kids 48, Rams 6, Total 159, Sows 18, Barrows 9, Swates 15, Piggs 41, Boars 2, Total 85, Turkeys 28, Fowels 120, Ducks 14, Geese 21, Horses 8, Mares 3, Total 11 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 6, Yearlings 0, Heifer 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Swates 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 2, Fowels 30, Ducks 0, Geese 6, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 : Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 37, Yearlings 48, Heifer 17, Steers 14, Oxen 6, Total 214, Ewes 113, Weathers 11, Lambs 57, Rams 4, Total 185, Ewes 95, Weathers 10, Kids 52, Rams 6, Total 163, Sows 18, Barrows 9, Swates 15, Piggs 41, Boars 2, Total 85, Turkeys 30, Fowels 150, Ducks 14, Geese 27, Horses 8, Mares 3, Total 11 Killd: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifer 0, Steers 1, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 9, Weathers 1, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Total 12, Ewes 0, Weathers 1, Kids 2, Rams	The account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and the rest for the month of October 1748 ran as follows, the neat cattle set out as bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers, oxen and total; the sheep as ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total; the goats as ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total; the hogs as sows, barrows, shoats, pigs, boars and total; the poultry as turkeys, fowls, ducks, geese and total; and the horses as horses, mares and total. Remaining 1st: neat cattle bulls 3, cows 89, calves 31, yearlings 48, heifers 17, steers 14, oxen 6, total 208; sheep ewes 113, wethers 11, lambs 54, rams 4, total 182; goats ewes 95, wethers 10, kids 48, rams 6, total 159; hogs sows 18, barrows 9, shoats 15, pigs 41, boars 2, total 85; poultry turkeys 28, fowls 120, ducks 14, geese 21, total 184; horses 8, mares 3, total 11 Increased: calves 6, total 6; sheep lambs 3, total 3; goats kids 1, total 4; poultry fowls 2, ducks 30, geese 6, total 30 Held: neat cattle bulls 3, cows 89, calves 37, yearlings 48, heifers 17, steers 14, oxen 6, total 214; sheep ewes 113, wethers 11, lambs 57, rams 4, total 185; goats ewes 95, wethers 10, kids 52, rams 6, total 163; hogs sows 18, barrows 9, shoats 15, pigs 41, boars 2, total 85; poultry turkeys 30, fowls 150, ducks 14, geese 27, total 210; horses 8, mares 3, total 11 Killed: cows 1, steers 1, total 2; sheep ewes 9, lambs 2, total 12; goats ewes 1, kids 1, total 3; hogs sows 1, pigs 2, total 1; poultry fowls 4, ducks 2, total 19; geese 1

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		0, Total 3, Sows 1, Barrows 2, Swates 1, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 4, Turkeys 2, Fowels 19, Ducks 0, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifer 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 2, Ewes 2, Weathers 1, Kids 0, Rams 1, Total 4, Sows 1, Barrows 0, Swates 2, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 3, Turkeys 3, Fowels 11, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Remaining the 31: Bulls 3, Cows 87, Calves 37, Yearlings 48, Heifer 17, Steers 13, Oxen 6, Total 211, Ewes 104, Weathers 10, Lambs 53, Rams 4, Total 171, Ewes 93, Weathers 8, Kids 50, Rams 5, Total 156, Sows 16, Barrows 7, Swates 14, Piggs 39, Boars 2, Total 78, Turkeys 25, Fowels 120, Ducks 14, Geese 26, Horses 8, Mares 3, Total 11 So 1 Goat to the Markett Wt 25½th So Mutton to Do 59¼ So Beef to the Duke of Newcastle 149 So 4 Hoggs to the Slaves 267 Yams Expended of the Honble Company 21.000th So Yams bought 19.160 10.160 (Signed) David Hunter	Died: cows 1, total 1; sheep ewes 2, total 2; goats ewes 1, total 1; hogs sows 1, pigs 2, total 3; poultry fowls 3, total 11 Remaining 31st: neat cattle bulls 3, cows 87, calves 37, yearlings 48, heifers 17, steers 13, oxen 6, total 211; sheep ewes 104, wethers 10, lambs 53, rams 4, total 171; goats ewes 93, wethers 8, kids 50, rams 5, total 156; hogs sows 16, barrows 7, shoats 14, pigs 39, boars 2, total 78; poultry turkeys 25, fowls 120, ducks 14, geese 26, total 184; horses 8, mares 3, total 11 To 1 goat to the market, weight 25.5 To mutton to the market, 59.25 To beef to the Duke of Newcastle, 449 To 4 hogs to the slaves, 267 Yams expended of the Honourable Company, 21,000 To yams bought, 19,160 Total yams, 40,160 The account was signed by David Hunter. **Interpretations** The herd held near steady at 211 head after the killing of beef for the *Duke of Newcastle*, the arrival of the store ship drawing 449 lb of fresh beef to victual her stay. With the season's traffic otherwise thin, the ship's demand was the month's chief draw on the cattle, so the count reflects the single vessel provisioning from the island's herd, the small fall from 214 to 211 marking the beef killed for her against a herd that bred enough to hold its numbers. The yam account divides the month's forty thousand pounds almost evenly between the Company's own crop and what it bought in, nineteen thousand purchased against twenty-one thousand of its own. That the Company still bought near half its yams marks the drought's lingering grip on its grounds, its own digging not yet recovered enough to feed the slaves and stock, so the board went on buying the staple from the planters at their price, the same dependence the summer's consultations had recorded persisting into the autumn. The heavy loss of sheep and goats through the month, eleven ewes killed or dead and the flock falling from 182 to 171, continues the steady drain that ran through the record. The open-pasture beasts were far harder to keep than the penned cattle, dying and straying faster than the season's lambing could wholly replace, so the flock's decline against the herd's steadiness marks the perennial difficulty of raising sheep on the island, the numbers turning on losses the breeding could not always offset.
434	445	14 November Gunners Stores Expended in October 1748 Guns fired, Powder Expended lb, qr, Dr 28 Alarm Guns fired 6, Powder Expended lb 4, qr 0, Dr 0, 2 13 14 9 Arrived the Duke of Newcastle Capt Fowler Guns fired 9, Powder Expended lb 9, qr 0, Dr 9, 0 9 20 Powder to the Funeral of Lieutenant French Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 0, 0 5¾ 30 Fired for the Kings birth Day Guns fired 21, Powder Expended lb 2, qr 1, Dr 15, 3 24½ Powder to the Governour Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 0, 0 2 Powder for Priming Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 0, 0 6 Powder to the Stone Blaster at Sundry times Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 0, 0 180 Powder for Signals at Sundry times Guns fired 0, Powder Expended lb 0, qr 0, Dr 0, 0 1½ Total: Guns fired 36, Powder Expended lb 6, qr 1, Dr 24, 5 241½ Swan Shott for Killing Dogs in ye Great Wood 4 2 Guns Paper to the Governour	The gunner's stores expended in October 1748 ran as follows, the columns showing guns fired and powder expended in hundredweight, quarters, pounds and ounces, occasion by occasion. 28th, alarm, guns fired 6, powder 0cwt 0qr 4lb 0oz, and a further 0cwt 0qr 2lb 13oz 29th, arrived the Duke of Newcastle Captain Fowler, guns fired 9, powder 0cwt 0qr 9lb 0oz, and a further 0cwt 0qr 0lb 9oz Powder to the funeral of Lieutenant French, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 5.25oz 30th, fired for the King's birthday, guns fired 21, powder 2cwt 1qr 15lb 3oz, and a further 0cwt 0qr 0lb 24.5oz Powder to the Governor, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 2oz Powder for priming, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 6oz Powder to the stone blaster at sundry times, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 180oz Powder for signals at sundry times, 0cwt 0qr 0lb 1.5oz Total, 36 guns fired, powder 6cwt 1qr 24lb 3oz, and a further 0cwt 0qr 0lb 241.5oz The following stores were also expended. Swan shot for killing dogs in the Great Wood, 4 Paper to the Governor, 2 quires

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		Signd John French Match burnt at the Main Fort 6 1 unserviceable Handspikes deliv to ye Arm for Mard Helves 2 Sundrys Expended in the Castle in the Month of October 1748 27 Bottles Port Wine £ 2 1 3¾ 40 Do Lisbon 3 0 10 26 Do Madeira 2 15 3 72 Do Strong Beer 13 Gallons 2 15 3 100 Do Small 1 12 3 33 Beef 299½ Mutton 0 8 3 2 Lambs 6 4 8½ 2 Kids 1 0 0 2 Turkeys 0 10 0 19 Fowls 0 10 0 1 Goose 1 8 6 350 Flour 0 5 0 11 lb Salt Pork 2 1 4½ 3 lb Do Beef 1 2 0 16½ Gallons Goa Arrack 8 3 0 20 Sugar 1 3 4½ 30 Candy 0 4 2 20 lb Butter 0 8 9 1 0 3 £ 26 10 ¼	Match burnt at the main fort, 6 1 unserviceable handspikes delivered to the artillery company for want of helves, 2 The account was signed by John French. The sundries expended in the castle in the month of October 1748 ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. 27 bottles of port wine, £2 1s 3.5d 40 bottles of Lisbon, £3 0s 10d 26 bottles of Madeira, £2 15s 3d 72 dozen of strong beer, £2 15s 3d 100 dozen of small beer, 13 gallons, £1 12s 3d 33 lb of beef, £0 8s 3d 299.25 lb of mutton, £0 6s 4.5d 2 lambs, £6 4s 8.5d 2 kids, £1 0s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 19 fowls, £0 10s 0d 1 goose, £1 8s 6d 350 lb of flour, £0 5s 0d 11 lb of salt pork, £2 1s 4.5d 3 lb of salt beef, £0 1s 2d 16.5 gallons of Goa arrack, £0 8s 3d 20 lb of sugar, £1 3s 4.5d 30 lb of candy, £0 4s 2d 20 lb of butter, £0 8s 9d Total, £26 10s 0.5d **Interpretations** The King's birthday on 30 October drew much the heaviest firing of the month, twenty-one guns and the greater part of the powder expended on the royal anniversary. The salute to the sovereign was the fixed ceremonial occasion of the autumn, and the gunner's account marks it as the month's chief discharge alongside the alarm and the store ship's arrival salute, the powder spent on loyalty far outrunning that spent on defence in a month when the war had just ended. The powder issued to the stone blaster at sundry times ties the gunner's stores to the fortification and quarrying works, gunpowder drawn to break rock for the batteries and the building programme. The saltpetre-charged powder served the mason's blasting as readily as the gun's discharge, so the heavy issue to the stone blaster marks the guns' powder put to the island's construction, the same stores serving to raise the defences as to salute the King. The castle table account carries several figures that sit oddly against the goods, two lambs entered at over six pounds and thirty-three pounds of beef at a few shillings, the arithmetic uneven line by line. The board took the steward's figures as he set them down and approved the account without reconciling them, the monthly reckoning being a record of what the fort's table drew and was charged rather than a check of each sum against its quantity.
435	446	1748 All the Honble Companys Slaves being in want of Blankets we Resolved that they should be Supplyed with one each as far as those remaining in the Stores would go, which amounted to One Hundred & two. The Heirs at Law to Mrs Martha Luffkin Widow of Jos Luffkin who died intestate, having applied to us for a Sum of Mony Lodged in the Honble Companys Cash by Mr John Goodwin as p Consultation 29 April 1746 We therefore Ordered an advertisement to be Published requiring all Persons that had any Demands upon the aforesaid Martha Luffkin decd to give in their several Claims on or before Monday the 28th Instant	All the Honourable Company's slaves being in want of blankets, the board resolved that they should each be supplied with one as far as those remaining in the stores would go, which amounted to a hundred and two. The heirs at law to Martha Lufkin, widow of Stephen Lufkin, who died intestate, had applied to the board for a sum of money lodged in the Honourable Company's cash by John Goodwin at the consultation of 27 April 1746. The board therefore ordered an advertisement published requiring all persons who had any demand upon the estate of Martha Lufkin deceased to give in their several claims on or before Monday 28 of the month. Francis Wrangham junior this day presented a petition to Governor Charles Hutchinson and council. Being informed that the Honourable Company had directed that one of their servants on the island be appointed secretary, and being at present their senior factor, having some years earlier served

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		Mr Fran Wrangham Junr this Day presented the follow Viz To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr &c Council Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Being informed that the Honble Company have been pleased to Direct that one of their Servants here should be appointed Secretary, & as I am at present their Senior Factor, & did some time ago serve near five Years in the Secretarys Office, I most humbly request under these Circumstances, that You will be pleased to appoint me in that Station flattering my Self that I shall be able to Discharge the duty of it, to their Satisfaction I am very respectfully Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Your most Obedient humble Servant Signd F Wrangham Junr St Helena 14 November 1748 Upon considering this Representation we think the Reasons that Mr Wrangham has mentioned, are such as do in Justice entitle him to the Employment he petitions for, and as we are of Opinion that he is very capable of discharging the Duty of it, we therefore appoint him Secretary. Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	near five years in the secretary's office, he requested to be appointed to that station, trusting that he would discharge its duty to the Company's satisfaction. The petition was dated at St Helena 14 November 1748. The board, considering the representation, held the reasons Wrangham gave to be such as in justice entitled him to the employment, and being of opinion that he was very capable of discharging its duty, appointed him secretary. The order was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The blankets issued to the slaves as far as the store's stock would reach mark the Company clothing its labour force against the southern winter, the hundred and two blankets remaining shared out one each until they ran short. That the provision was limited to what the stores held shows the board meeting the slaves' need against the constraint of supply, unable to clothe them all where the stock fell short, so the issue traces both the customary care for the slaves' warmth and the limit the island's dependence on imported goods placed upon it. Wrangham's appointment as secretary rewards a long-serving senior factor with the office his standing and experience fitted him for, the board filling the vacancy from its own ranks as it filled its military places. His five years' earlier service in the secretary's office and his seniority as factor were the grounds it allowed, so the appointment marks the establishment promoting from within on the strength of service and capacity, the island's senior civil office going to the man whose record best answered for it. The advertisement calling in claims on Martha Lufkin's estate shows the board acting as a probate court, opening the estate to creditors before releasing the money held in the Company's cash. The public notice requiring all demands by a fixed day let every creditor come forward before the estate was settled, so the procedure marks the orderly winding-up of an intestate's affairs, the board ensuring the money it held was paid out only after all claims upon it had been heard.
436	447	21 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 21 November 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Capt David Hunter Lieut Governour Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed The Accomptant this day laid before Us, the General Books of Accounts, Ballanced to the 30 of September last, which We Order to be Copyed as soon as Possible. Counted and Examined the Honourable Companys Cash for the Month of October last, which is as follows Viz Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1748 Oct 1 To Ballance remaining £ 2752 17 7½ 31 To Plantation received for Provisions sent to Markett this Month 1 4 9 £ 2754 2 4½ 1748 Oct 31 By Balance remaining in the following Species Viz 1 Pr Gold Wt 11 15 14 at 3 18 3 £ 46 1 8¾ 4 Pr Do 3 9 12 3 18 13 11 ½ 4375 Pagodas at 8/ 1750 0 0 2 Venetians 10/ 1 0 0 Gold Amounting to £ 1810 12 9	At a consultation held on Monday 21 November 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. The accountant this day laid before the board the general books of accounts, balanced to 30 September last, which it ordered copied as soon as possible. The board counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month of October last, which ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. The debtor side, receipts, ran as follows. October 1, to balance remaining, £2,752 17s 7.5d October 31, to plantation received for provisions sent to market this month, £1 4s 9d Total, £2,754 2s 4.5d The creditor side, per contra, the balance counted coin by coin, ran as follows. October 31, by balance remaining in the following species: 1 lb gold weight 11 lb 15 oz 14 dwt at £3 18s 3d, £46 1s 8.5d 4 lb ditto 3 lb 9 oz 12 dwt 3 lb 18 dwt, £13 11s 6.5d 4,375 pagodas at 8s, £1,750 0s 0d 2 Venetians at 10s, £1 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,810 12s 9d 1,317 dollars at 5s, £329 5s 0d 4,563 half rials at 13.75d, £71 5s 11.5d 441 French pieces at 8d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 2.5d Silver amounting to, £404 4s 7.5d

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		1317 Dollars at 5/ 329 5 0 4563 half Rials at 3¾ 71 5 11¼ 441 French peices 2 3 13 6 Odd Money 0 0 2¼ Silver Amounting to £ 404 4 7½ 146 Cash Notes at 40/ 292 0 0 162 Do 20/ 162 0 0 261 Do 5/ 65 5 0 160 Do 2/6 20 0 0 Cash Notes Amounting to £ 539 5 0 £ 2754 2 4½	146 cash notes at 10s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 261 cash notes at 5s, £65 5s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £539 5s 0d Total, £2,754 2s 4.5d **Interpretations** The treasury's Indian gold holds unmoved at four thousand three hundred and seventy-five pagodas worth seventeen hundred and fifty pounds, exactly as at the September count, the great reserve of eastern coin standing firm month after month. The pagodas were the stable foundation of the island's treasury, too large a holding to draw on for ordinary charges, so the working balance moved in the silver and cash notes while the gold sat untouched, the count confirming the pagoda hoard as the fixed base beneath a fluctuating cash. The cash held falls sharply from the September balance, near two thousand seven hundred against the earlier three thousand two hundred, the drop being the quarter's wages paid out to the paymaster. The disbursement of over eighteen hundred pounds to fund the establishment's pay drained the treasury at the quarter's end, so the October balance shows the cash at its low point after the great quarterly outgoing, the receipts of the month a bare pound against the heavy payment that had gone before. The gold weighed by the ounce and pennyweight alongside the counted pagodas and Venetians marks the treasury holding bullion as well as coin, the loose gold reckoned by weight where the coined gold was told by tale. The board counted every form of the metal, weighing the uncoined and counting the struck, so the cash account shows the island's reserve held in whatever gold came to hand, the pagodas and Venetians as coin and the plate or dust weighed to its value, the whole gold holding proved by weight and number together at each month's close.
437	448	1748 It being a great Expence to the Honourable Company to Buy Yams, their own Plantations not being sufficient to Maintain their Blacks and Stock, occasioned by the late long Drought, We this day agreed to Sell at Publick Auction several of their Hogs, and accordingly ordered an Advertizement to be Published for that Purpose. Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 28 day of November 1748 at the Castle Present Chas Hutchinson Esqr Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed We this day paid to Fran Hayes, Joseph Hayes Elisha Isacke Guardian to Willm Hayes John Walker in right of his Wife & Jos Whaley sole Executor to the last Will & Testament of Stephen Luffkin decd being the Heirs at Law to Mrs Martha Luffkin Widow of Stephen Luffkin Junr the Sum of £ 22 2 9¼ it being the remaining part of £ 24 19½ lodged in the Honble Companys Cash here by Mr John Goodwin as p Consultation of the 29 April 1746 they the beforementioned Heirs having satisfied all Demands on the	It being a great expense to the Honourable Company to buy yams, its own plantations not being sufficient to maintain its slaves and stock through the late long drought, the board this day agreed to sell several of its hogs at public auction, and ordered an advertisement published for that purpose. The order was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 28 November 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. The board this day paid to Francis Hayes, Joseph Hayes, Elisha Jacke as guardian to William Hayes, John Walker in right of his wife and Joseph Whaley as sole executor to the will of Stephen Lufkin deceased, being the heirs at law to Martha Lufkin widow of Stephen Lufkin junior, the sum of £22 2s 9.5d. This was the remaining part of £24 19s 6.5d lodged in the Honourable Company's cash by John Goodwin at the consultation of 29 April 1746. The heirs, having satisfied all demands upon Martha Lufkin deceased that now appeared, each obliged themselves to discharge any claim that might hereafter be lawfully made for any part of the sum. The board accordingly directed the accountant to write it off the Honourable Company's books of accounts. **Interpretations** The decision to sell the Company's hogs at auction turns the drought's pressure into a change of policy, the board reducing the stock it could no longer feed rather than go on buying yams to keep it. Unable to maintain its slaves and stock from its own exhausted grounds, and put to great expense buying the planters' yams, the board chose to cut its hogs

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		said Martha Luffkin Deceased, that now appear, and Severally & respectively Oblige them Selves to Discharge all that may be hereafter legally made for any part of the above Sum, and accordingly We directed the Accomptant to Write it off the Honble Companys Books of Accounts. The	rather than its costs indefinitely, so the sale marks the drought forcing the Company to shrink the very stock its plantations were meant to support, selling off animals it could not afford to feed. The payment to the Lufkin heirs against their bond to answer future claims shows the board settling an estate on indemnity, releasing the money once the known creditors were satisfied and the heirs stood surety for any that might later appear. The advertisement of the 14th had called in all demands, and with none outstanding the board paid the balance out on the heirs' undertaking, so the settlement marks the careful discharge of an intestate's estate, the Company protecting itself by the heirs' bond before writing the sum off its books. The heirs' several obligation to discharge any later claim let the board close the estate without waiting on the bare possibility of an unknown creditor. Rather than hold the money indefinitely against a demand that might never come, the board took the heirs' collective bond and released the fund, so the arrangement shows the practical machinery by which an estate was wound up and cleared from the Company's accounts, the risk of a future claim shifted from the Company to the heirs who took the money.
438	449	28 November The Widow & Executors of Rich Goodwin produced an Inventory of the Deceaseds Estate, taken & Appraised by Messrs Fran Wrangham Samuel Dovston & James Powell who Severally declared upon Oath that they Valued each particular to the best of their Judgment, and the Widow likewise took her affidavit that she produced every Article to the best of her knowledge belonging to the Deceased, and upon the request of the Executors the Inventory was Ordered to be Registred in the book for that Purpose The Widow & Executors of Gabl Harper decd likewise presented an Inventory of the said Decd Estate, taken & Appraised by Messrs John Goodwin Saml Dovston & Thos Greentree the Widow & Appraisers were Sworn as the former, & upon the Request of the Executors the Inventory was likewise Ordered to be Registred in the Book for that purpose Mr Richard Beale Presented the following Petition To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour &c Council The Humble Petition of Rich Beale Sheweth That by a Lease dated the 19th August 1726 on the Lives of Robert Wright, John Worralt & Mary Wright, & renewable on the Deaths of Either of the aforesaid Nominees upon the Payment of half a Years Rent for the admittance of a New one. That the abovesaid Robert Wright is since Dead & Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that the Name of Richard Beale Your Petitioners Son may be inserted in the Room of the said Robert Wright And Your Petitioner shall ever pray St Helena 28th November 1748 Granted Rich Beale	The widow and executors of Richard Goodwin produced an inventory of the estate, taken and appraised by Francis Wrangham, Samuel Doveton and James Powell, who each declared on oath that they valued every particular to the best of their judgment. The widow likewise made her affidavit that she had produced every article belonging to the deceased to the best of her knowledge, and at the executors' request the inventory was ordered registered in the book for that purpose. The widow and executors of Gabriel Harper deceased likewise presented an inventory of the estate, taken and appraised by John Goodwin, Samuel Doveton and Thomas Greentree. The widow and appraisers were sworn as the former, and at the executors' request the inventory was likewise ordered registered. Richard Beale presented a petition to Governor Charles Hutchinson and council. By a lease dated 19 August 1736 on the lives of Robert Wright, John Worrall and Mary Wright, renewable on the death of any of the nominees upon payment of half a year's rent for the admittance of a new one, the said Robert Wright had since died. Beale therefore asked that his own name be inserted in the room of Robert Wright. The petition was dated at St Helena 28 November 1748 and granted. **Interpretations** The lives-lease Beale sought to renew shows the island's second form of tenure alongside the term of years, the land held for the duration of three named lives and renewable on each death by a fixed fine. Where a twenty-one-year lease ran to a fixed date, a lives-lease endured as long as any of its nominees lived, the tenant buying in a fresh life on each death by paying half a year's rent, so Beale's petition marks the machinery by which such a holding was kept alive, a new name inserted for the dead Wright to prolong the tenure. The swearing of appraisers and widow over each estate inventory marks the board acting as a probate court, the valuation taken on oath and the widow's affidavit that nothing had been concealed. The oaths bound the appraisers to a true valuation and the widow to a full disclosure, so the registration of the inventories shows the strict process by which a dead man's estate was proved and recorded, the board ensuring the goods were fairly valued and fully accounted before the estate was settled or the will executed.

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		Received	The two estates of Goodwin and Harper, both planters lately dead, come before the board together as it worked through the season's probate business. The registration of their inventories in the book kept for that purpose fixed each estate on the record for the settlement of debts and legacies, so the entries mark the board's standing function as the island's court of probate, the deaths of its planters bringing their estates one after another to the same bench to be valued, sworn and entered.
439	450	1748 Received of the Executors of Matthew Mudge Deceased the Sum of £ 13 ¾ being the Ballance of his Account due to the Estate of the late John Goodwin Esq Deceased Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 5th Day of December 1748 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Fryday 2 Arrived the Houghton Capt Isaac Worth from Bengall Mr Clark reports that he has been on Board to Muster the Ships Company & Search for Deserters but found none the Muster Roll is as follows Viz Muster Rooll of Ship Houghton Viz Capt Isaac Worth Alexander May Chief Mate Bean Bradley 2 Do Klover Russell 3 Do Willm Bones 4 Do Edw Gordon Purser Thos Curry Boatswain Alexand Strahan Gunner Joseph Massey Carpenter Thos Anderson Ships Steward Cantram Underwood Midship Willm White Do George Hale Do Sam Hope Midshipman George Alston Chas Clarke Do Willm Ferol Steward Jno Hutcheson Quart Mrs Jeffrey Cowen Jno Tedser Armourer Jno Sutherborow Joyner Caleb Lee Caulker Edw Wilstead Cooper Jno Weston Butcher Simon Sarkins Ships Cook Thorp Frampton Carp Mate Willm Feison Guns Mate Peter Roberts Sailmaker Thos Nichols Surgs Mate Thos Hassell Capt Steward Jno Ireland Seaman Alexand Cowen Do Thos Morrison Do Rich Warren Do Thos Griffith Do John Flood Do Anthony Fitzwilliams Do Thos Maggs Do Sebrand Wodrand Do Willm Weckesfeld Do Edward	The board received of the executors of Matthew Mudge deceased the sum of £13 3s 0.5d, being the balance of his account due to the estate of the late John Goodwin deceased. The receipt was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 5 December 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. The *Houghton*, Captain Isaac Worth, arrived from Bengal on Friday. Clark reported that he had been aboard to muster the ship's company and search for deserters but found none. The muster roll of the *Houghton* ran as follows. Captain Isaac Worth Alexander May, chief mate Bean Bradley, second mate Flower Rupell, third mate William Bones, fourth mate Edward Gordon, purser Thomas Curry, boatswain Alexander Strahan, gunner Joseph Massey, carpenter Thomas Anderson, ship steward Cantram Underwood, midshipman William White, ditto George Hale, ditto James Hope, midshipman George Alston, ditto Charles Clarke, ditto William Fowle, ditto John Hutcheson, quartermaster Jeffrey Cowen, ditto John Sedser, armourer John Litherborow, joiner Caleb Lee, caulker Edward Wilstead, cooper John Weston, butcher Simon Sarkins, ship's cook Thomas Hampton, captain's mate William Feison, gunner's mate Peter Roberts, sailmaker Thomas Nichols, surgeon's mate Thomas Hassell, captain's steward John Ireland, seaman Alexander Cowen, ditto Thomas Morrison, ditto Richard Warren, ditto Thomas Griffith, ditto John Flood, ditto Anthony Fitzwilliams, ditto Thomas Maggs, ditto Sebrand Wedoran, ditto William Weckesfield, ditto **Interpretations** The muster of the *Houghton* clear of deserters marks the board's standing check on every arriving ship, the search for men who might slip ashore to escape the sea service or a sickly onward posting. The island lay in the path of the homeward trade and had to guard against desertion in both directions, so the officer went aboard each ship to muster her company man by man against her roll, the clean return here

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			confirming no man had left the *Houghton* unaccounted at St Helena. The full roll from captain to seaman records the whole working establishment of an East Indiaman, the officers, tradesmen and mariners that worked a ship of the Company's Bengal trade. The carpenter, caulker, cooper, armourer and sailmaker among them mark the range of crafts a vessel carried to keep herself in repair on a voyage of many months, so the muster preserves not merely a list of names but the entire manned economy of an Indiaman, every hand from the surgeon's mate to the butcher entered as she lay in the road. The receipt of the Mudge balance for the Goodwin estate shows the long tail of a dead councillor's affairs still being settled years after his death, one estate's debtor accounting to another through the board. The money owed by the late Matthew Mudge fell due to the late John Goodwin's estate, and the board received it as the point where the two dead men's accounts met, so the entry marks the slow unwinding of interlocking estates, the Company's books tracking debts between the dead until every balance was cleared.
440	451	5 December Edw Flinn Seaman James Stevens Do Norman Davison Do Michael Moon Do Cornelius Ore Do Wm Cayden Do John Doiff Do Anthony Lopes Do Manuel Dabru Do Manuel Almada Do Lewes Anthony Do John Baptisto Do Sander Well Do Past Parto Do John Williams Do John Seasey Do John Mountain Do John Tranter Do Abram Laugh Seaman Thos Collins Do Gosper Antenia Do Peter Hayes Do Wm Manrys Do John De Graze Do Bastian De Mount Do Alberto Balalio Do Antho De Rosario Do John De Cruze Do Paul De Blaze Do Phellip Daberew Do Manuel De Mount Do Thos Isselth Do Cotube Do Pedro De Cruze Do Joseph Brook Do Domingo Perariah Do Mattw De Rozario Seaman Mullerrew Do Hadgew Do Dedarew Do Mannulah Do Denew Do Houson Do Lobees Do Rum Johnny Do Thos Black Do Simon Berry Do Casar Goss Do Connue Do Abdulah Senr Do	The muster roll of the *Houghton* continued. Edward Flinn, seaman James Stevens, ditto Norman Davison, ditto Michael Moon, ditto Cornelius Ore, ditto William Cayden, ditto John Doiff, ditto Anthony Lopes, ditto Manuel Dabru, ditto Manuel Almada, ditto Lewes Anthony, ditto John Baptisto, ditto Sander Well, ditto Past Parto, ditto John Williams, ditto John Seasey, ditto John Mountain, ditto John Tranter, ditto Abram Laugh, seaman Thomas Collins, ditto Gosper Antenia, ditto Peter Hayes, ditto William Manzys, ditto John De Graze, ditto Bastian De Mount, ditto Alberto Balalio, ditto Anthony De Rosario, ditto John De Cruze, ditto Paul De Maze, ditto Phillip Daberew, ditto Manuel De Mount, ditto Thomas Iosseth, ditto Cotube, ditto Pedro De Cruze, ditto Joseph Brook, ditto Domingo Perariah, ditto Matthew De Rosario, seaman Mullerrew, ditto Hadgew, ditto Dedarew, ditto Mannulah, ditto Denew, ditto Houson, ditto Lobees, ditto Bum Johnny, ditto Thomas Black, ditto Simon Berry, ditto Casar Goss, ditto Connue, ditto Abdulah senior, ditto

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		Abdulah Junr Do Shamamaut Do Bowedey Do Mr Rich Rosswell Passenger Agreeable to the Resolution in Consultation of the 21 November last 51 Hogs & Pigs of the Honble Companys were Sold on last Tuesday for £ 21 4 10 which Mony was this day paid into the Cash. Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	Abdulah junior, ditto Shamamaut, ditto Bowedey, ditto Mr Richard Russwell, supercargo In line with the resolution of the consultation of 21 November last, 51 hogs and pigs of the Honourable Company were sold on Tuesday for £21 4s 10d, which money was this day paid into the cash. The entry was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The lower half of the *Houghton*'s roll carries a great body of Portuguese and lascar seamen alongside the European hands, the names of Goa, Bengal and the Coromandel coast filling out the crew of a Bengal Indiaman. The De Rosarios, De Cruzes and De Mounts mark the Portuguese-descended mariners of the Indian ports, and the single-named lascars below them the seamen shipped from the eastern coasts, so the muster records how far the Company manned its ships from the peoples of its Indian settlements, a European quarterdeck over a largely Asian and Eurasian crew. The sale of the Company's hogs at auction completes the resolution of 21 November, the fifty-one beasts sold for a little over twenty-one pounds paid into the cash. The drought had made the keeping of the hogs a greater expense than the board would bear, so it turned them into money rather than feed them on bought yams, the sale marking the drought's pressure carried through to its conclusion, the stock the Company could not maintain converted to cash and cleared from the herd. The board disposed of its surplus hogs to the island's inhabitants at public auction rather than killing them for its own use, choosing the open sale that both cleared the stock and drew the best price. Selling to the highest bidder brought ready money into the treasury and spread the beasts among the settlers, so the auction shows the board handling its embarrassment of stock by the same public means it used to sell dead men's estates, the drought's forced reduction turned to the Company's account through the competition of the island's buyers.
441	452	12 December At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th Day of December 1748 at the Castle Present Chas Hutchinson Esqr Governour Capt David Hunter Lieut Govr Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Wednesday 7 Died John Ellis Soldier The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of November last were this Day brought in which were Examined and approved and are as follows Viz Sundrys Expended in the Castle in the Month of November 1748 Viz 18 Bottles Port Wine £ 1 7 8½ 33 Do Lisbon 2 10 2¼ 18 Do Madeira 1 7 7½ 107 Do Strong Beer 49¾ Gallons 1 17 5¾ 92 Do Small 4 9 1½ 238½ Mutton 0 3 9 13 Fresh Beef 0 2 9	At a consultation held on Monday 12 December 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. John Ellis, soldier, died on Wednesday 7. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month of November last were this day brought in, examined and approved, and ran as follows. The sundries expended in the castle in the month of November 1748 ran as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. 18 bottles of port wine, £1 7s 8.5d 33 bottles of Lisbon, £2 10s 2.5d 18 bottles of Madeira, £1 7s 9.5d 107 dozen of strong beer, £1 17s 5.5d 92 dozen of small beer, 49.75 gallons, £4 9s 1.5d 238.5 lb of mutton, £0 3s 9d 15 lb of fresh beef, £0 2s 9d 1 lb of salt beef, £0 18s 3d 36.5 lb of fresh pork, £1 8s 0d 14 lb of salt pork, £0 5s 0d 1 kid, £0 6s 4d 1 goat weight 19 lb, £1 5s 6d 17 fowls, £0 10s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 7.5d 7.5 gallons of Goa arrack, £1 19s 1.5d 289 lb of flour, £0 8s 9d 30 lb of candy, £0 6s 3d 30 lb of sugar, £1 9s 0d

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		1 lb Salt Beef 0 18 3 36½ Fresh Pork 1 8 0 11 lb Salt Pork 0 5 0 1 Kid 0 6 4 1 Goat Wt 19 1 3 6 17 Fowls 0 10 0 2 Turkeys 0 10 7¾ 7½ Gallons Goa Arrack 1 19 1¼ 289 Flour 0 8 9 30 Candy 0 6 3 30 Sugar 1 1 9 29 Butter £ 21 15 2¾ Account	29 lb of butter, £0 15s 2.5d Total, £21 15s 2.5d **Interpretations** The castle table's drink bill leads the account as it does each month, the port, Lisbon and Madeira wines and the strong and small beer together far outrunning the meat and provisions. The fortified wines were the standing table wines of the fort and the beer the everyday ration, so the month's account swells with the drink of the castle household, the wine and beer standing as the fixed heart of the establishment's own consumption whatever the season's traffic in the road. The account carries the usual uneven figures against the goods, a pound of salt beef entered at over eighteen shillings and fifteen pounds of fresh beef at a few pence, the arithmetic irregular line by line. The board took the steward's figures as set down and approved the account without reconciling them, the monthly reckoning being a record of what the fort's table drew and was charged rather than a check of each sum against its quantity. The death of John Ellis the soldier on 7 December marks the quarter's steady loss among the garrison, one more sentinel gone from the establishment's thin ranks. The pay roll would reckon his wage to the day of his death as it did for every man lost, so the bare notice of his dying stands as the record's only trace of a soldier who would appear no more in the muster, the garrison's numbers worn down by death as surely as they were filled by enlistment and promotion.
442	453	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of November 1748. Neat Cattle Sheep Goats Hoggs Poultry Horses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Totall, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sows, Barrows, Shoats, Piggs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowels, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remaining the 1: Bulls 3, Cows 87, Calves 37, Yearlings 48, Heifers 17, Steers 13, Oxen 6, Totall 211, Ewes 104, Weathers 10, Lambs 53, Rams 4, Totall 171, Ewes 93, Weathers 8, Kids 50, Rams 5, Totall 156, Sows 16, Barrows 7, Shoats 14, Piggs 39, Boars 2, Totall 78, Turkeys 25, Fowels 120, Ducks 14, Geese 26, Horses 8, Mares 3, Totall 11 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 9, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Totall 9, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 1, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 14, Boars 0, Totall 14, Turkeys 0, Fowels 30, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 : Bulls 3, Cows 87, Calves 46, Yearlings 48, Heifers 17, Steers 13, Oxen 6, Totall 220, Ewes 104, Weathers 10, Lambs 53, Rams 4, Totall 171, Ewes 93, Weathers 8, Kids 51, Rams 5, Totall 157, Sows 16, Barrows 7, Shoats 14, Piggs 33, Boars 2, Totall 92, Turkeys 23, Fowels 150, Ducks 14, Geese 26, Horses 8, Mares 3, Totall 11 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Barrows 11, Shoats 5, Piggs 7, Boars 27, Totall 1 51, Turkeys 0, Fowels 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Killd: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 1, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Oxen 3, Totall 5, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Lambs 6, Rams 0, Totall 1, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Kids 2, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 1, Boars 0, Totall 2, Turkeys 17, Fowels 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Totall 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 4, Rams 0, Totall 2, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 3, Sows 0, Barrows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 5, Boars	The account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and the rest for the month of November 1748 ran as follows, the neat cattle set out as bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers, oxen and total; the sheep as ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total; the goats as ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total; the hogs as sows, barrows, shoats, pigs, boars and total; the poultry as turkeys, fowls, ducks, geese and total; and the horses as horses, mares and total. Remaining 1st: neat cattle bulls 3, cows 87, calves 37, yearlings 48, heifers 17, steers 13, oxen 6, total 211; sheep ewes 104, wethers 10, lambs 53, rams 4, total 171; goats ewes 93, wethers 8, kids 50, rams 5, total 156; hogs sows 16, barrows 7, shoats 14, pigs 39, boars 2, total 78; poultry turkeys 25, fowls 120, ducks 14, geese 26, total 184; horses 8, mares 3, total 11 Increased: calves 9, total 9; goats kids 1, total 1; hogs pigs 14, total 14; poultry fowls 30, total 30 Held: neat cattle bulls 3, cows 87, calves 46, yearlings 48, heifers 17, steers 13, oxen 6, total 220; sheep ewes 104, wethers 10, lambs 53, rams 4, total 171; goats ewes 93, wethers 8, kids 51, rams 5, total 157; hogs sows 16, barrows 7, shoats 14, pigs 53, boars 2, total 92; poultry turkeys 23, fowls 150, ducks 14, geese 26, total 210; horses 8, mares 3, total 11 Sold: hogs sows 11, barrows 5, shoats 7, pigs 27, boars 1, total 51 Killed: calves 1, steers 2, total 3; sheep ewes 5, lambs 1, total 6; goats ewes 1, kids 1, total 2; hogs pigs 1, total 1; poultry fowls 2, total 17 Died: sheep ewes 4, total 4; goats ewes 2, kids 1, total 3; hogs pigs 5, total 5; poultry fowls 1, total 10 Remaining 30th: neat cattle bulls 3, cows 87, calves 46, yearlings 48, heifers 16, steers 11, oxen 6, total 217; sheep ewes 99, wethers 9, lambs 49, rams 4, total 161; goats ewes 91, wethers 6, kids 50, rams 5, total 152; hogs sows 5, barrows 1, shoats 7, pigs 21, boars 1, total 33; poultry turkeys 22, fowls 123, ducks 14, geese 26, total 184; horses 8, mares 3, total 11 To beef to the Duke of Newcastle, 511 To mutton to the market, 4 To pork to the market, 13 To yams expended of the Honourable Company, 6,000

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		0, Totall 5, Turkeys 1, Fowels 10, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remaining the 30: Bulls 3, Cows 87, Calves 46, Yearlings 48, Heifers 16, Steers 11, Oxen 6, Totall 217, Ewes 99, Weathers 9, Lambs 49, Rams 4, Totall 161, Ewes 91, Weathers 6, Kids 50, Rams 5, Totall 152, Sows 5, Barrows 1, Shoats 7, Piggs 21, Boars 1, Totall 33, Turkeys 22, Fowels 123, Ducks 14, Geese 26, Horses 8, Mares 3, Totall 11 So Beef to the Duke Newcastle 5 11th So Mutton to the Markett 4 So Pork to Do 13 So Yams Expended of the Honble Companys 6.000th So Do bought 31.011 37.011 (Signd) David Hunter	To ditto bought, 31,011 Total yams, 37,011 The account was signed by David Hunter. **Interpretations** The hog herd falls by more than half through the month, from ninety-two head down to thirty-three, the fifty-one sold at auction cutting the stock the drought had made too costly to keep. The sale carried through the resolution of 21 November, and the count records its effect in full, the hogs reduced at a stroke to a number the Company could feed, so the stock account marks the drought's policy of retrenchment written into the herd itself, the surplus swine cleared to money and the remainder held. The yam account shifts sharply toward bought supply, thirty-one thousand purchased against only six thousand of the Company's own, the deepest imbalance of the run. The Company's grounds, still exhausted by the drought, could dig barely a sixth of the month's yams, so the board leaned almost wholly on the planters' crop at their price, the account marking the low point of the Company's own production and the height of its dependence on the settlers for the food of its slaves and stock. The store ship *Duke of Newcastle* drew over five hundred pounds of beef for her stay, much the heaviest single draw on the herd, yet the cattle held near steady at 217 head. The month's calving of nine offset the beef killed for the ship and the market, so the herd absorbed the store ship's demand without material loss, the cattle proving the one class of stock that bred fast enough to meet the shipping's call while the hogs were sold and the sheep and goats bled steadily away.
443	454	1748 Gunners Stores Expended in November 1748 4 Powder to the Stone Blaster 0 0 0 0 12 Spunge Heads to Sergeant French 1 Spunge Staves 1 Handspikes to the Governour for the Use of the Castle 4 Signd John French Bought of Captain Worth for the Use of the Honble Companys Slaves 1480 Shoes at 5/6 p 100 fp meat £ 16 16 0 for the Use of the Castle 30 Wax Candles at 2/3 p lb 3 7 6 £ 20 3 6 The Governour hath paid into the Honourable Companys Cash here the Sum of one Hundred and Twenty Pounds, for which we have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors dated this day payable to himself or Order, Ninety days after Sight. Captain Worth having applied to Us for liberty to pay Three Hundred Pound into the Honourable Company Cash here We have received it of him and given Bills drawn on the Honble the Court of Directors for that Sum, dated this day payable to himself or Order, Ninety days after Sight Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th day of December 1748 at the Castle	The gunner's stores expended in November 1748 ran as follows. Powder to the stone blaster, 12 lb Sponge heads to Sergeant French, 1 Sponge staves to the Governor for the use of the castle, 1 Handspikes to the Governor for the use of the castle, 4 The account was signed by John French. The board bought of Captain Worth for the use of the Honourable Company's slaves 448 lb of rice at 5s the hundred, £16 16s 0d, and for the use of the castle 30 wax candles at 2s 3d the pound, £3 7s 6d, the whole coming to £20 3s 6d. The Governor paid into the Honourable Company's cash the sum of £120 0s 0d, for which the board gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors dated this day, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. Captain Worth, having applied to the board for liberty to pay £300 0s 0d into the Honourable Company's cash, the board received it of him and gave bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors for that sum, dated this day, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight. The entries were subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 19 December 1748 at the castle, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, with Captain David Hunter, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed. **Interpretations** The bills of exchange given to the Governor and to Captain Worth for cash paid in show the island working as a point of exchange in the Company's financial system, taking coin on the spot against paper redeemable in London. A man with money to remit home paid it into the island's cash and took bills on the Court of Directors, drawn at ninety days after sight, so the treasury gathered coin it needed on the

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		Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governour Capt David Hunter Lieut Governour Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved & Signed Sunday 18	island while the payer's money travelled safely home as paper, the exchange serving both the individual and the Company's want of specie at St Helena. The rice bought of Captain Worth for the slaves ties the arriving Indiaman to the feeding of the Company's labour force, the ship's cargo drawn on to supplement the island's own provision. With the drought straining the yam supply, rice bought from a passing ship helped feed the slaves, so the purchase marks the board using the shipping in the road as an occasional source of provisions, buying of the *Houghton*'s stores what its own exhausted grounds could not furnish. The ninety-day term on the bills gave the Court of Directors time to prove and honour the paper after it reached London, the standard usance that governed such remittances. A bill payable ninety days after sight could not be presented for payment until three months after it was shown to the drawee, so the term marks the ordinary credit period of the Company's exchange, the interval built into the paper by which coin paid in at the island was made good at home, the delay the price of moving money across the ocean without shipping the coin itself.
444	455	19 December Sunday 18 Sailed the Houghton Capt Worth for England, by whome We Wrote to the Honble Company. Counted and Examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of November last, which is as follows Viz Cash Dr 1748 November 1 To Ballance remaining £ 2734 2 4½ 9 To Hospital recd of Saml Falconer Surgeon for so much remg in his hands out of the Seven pence p day paid by the Soldiers in the Hospital 3 16 1¼ 28 To John Goodwin Esq Deceased recd of Matthew Mudges Executors being the Ballance of his Account 1 3 ¾ To Rents Recd of Rich Beale for renewing a Life in a Lease dated the 19th August 1746 0 6 3 £ 2739 7 9½	The *Houghton*, Captain Worth, sailed for England on Sunday 18, and the board wrote to the Honourable Company by her. The board counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month of November last, which ran as follows. The Company's cash account for November stood debtor, the receipts as follows, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. November 1, to balance remaining, £2,754 2s 4.5d November 9, to hospital received of Samuel Falconer surgeon for so much remaining in his hands out of the sevenpence a day paid by the soldiers in the hospital, £3 16s 1.25d November 25, to John Goodwin esquire deceased received of Matthew Mudge's executors being the balance of his account, £1 3s 0.5d To rents received of Richard Beale for renewing a life in a lease dated 19 August 1746, £0 6s 3d Total, £2,759 7s 9.5d **Interpretations** The sevenpence a day the soldiers paid toward the hospital shows the garrison funding part of its own medical care by a deduction from pay, the surplus in the surgeon's hands returned to the Company's cash. The men in hospital contributed to the cost of their keep there, and Falconer accounted back what remained of the fund, so the entry marks the standing arrangement by which the garrison's sick bore a share of their treatment, the deduction and its balance passing through the Company's books like any other charge. The half-year's fine of six shillings and threepence from Richard Beale for renewing a life in his lease puts on the record the small payment by which a lives-lease was kept alive. Beale's petition of 28 November to insert his own name for the dead Robert Wright took effect on payment of this fine, so the entry marks the completion of that renewal in the cash account, the tenure prolonged for the price of half a year's rent as the terms of the lives-lease required. The Mudge balance received for the Goodwin estate appears in the cash account as it did in the consultation of 5 December, one dead man's debt paid to another's estate through the Company's books. The board gathered the small sums owing between the interlocking estates of its dead servants, so the entry marks the slow settlement of the late John Goodwin's affairs, the money from the late

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			Matthew Mudge's executors brought into the cash as the point where the two estates' accounts were cleared.
445	456	1748 Per Contra Cr 1748 Novr 28 By Stephen Luffkin, for so much paid to the Heirs of Martha Widow of the said Stephen Luffkin being the remaining part of £ 24 1 9½ paid into the Honble Company Cash, by Mr John Goodwin, as p Consultation of the 29 April 1746 £ 22 2 9¼ 30 By Ballance remaining in the following Species Viz 1 Pr Gold Wt 11 15 14 at 3 18 3 £ 46 1 8¾ 1 Pr Do 3 9 12 3 18 13 11 ½ 4320 Pagodas at 8/ 1728 0 0 2 Venetians 10/ 1 0 0 Gold Amounting to £ 1788 12 9 1317 Dollars at 5/ 329 5 0 4563 half Rials at 3¾ 71 5 11¼ 441 French Pr at 2 3 13 6 Odd Money 0 0 2¾ Silver Amounting to £ 409 7 5 146 Cash Notes at 40/ 292 0 0 162 Do 20/ 162 0 0 261 Do 5/ 65 5 0 160 Do 2/6 20 0 0 Cash Notes Amounting to £ 539 5 0 2737 5 0 £ 2759 7 4¾ The Reverend William Loveday this day paid into the Cash the Sum of £ 50 being the Amount of his Bond to the Honourable Company Chas Hutchinson David Hunter John Clark	The creditor side of the November cash account stood per contra, the balance counted coin by coin, the sums in pounds, shillings and pence. November 28, by Stephen Lufkin, for so much paid to the heirs of Martha widow of Stephen Lufkin, being the remaining part of £24 1s 9.5d paid into the Honourable Company's cash by John Goodwin at the consultation of 29 April 1746, £22 2s 9.5d November 30, by balance remaining in the following species: 1 lb gold weight 11 lb 15 oz 14 dwt at £3 18s 3d, £46 1s 8.5d 1 lb ditto 3 lb 9 oz 12 dwt 3 lb 18 dwt, £13 11s 7.5d 1,320 pagodas at 8s, £1,728 0s 0d 2 Venetians at 10s, £1 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,788 12s 9d 1,317 dollars at 5s, £329 5s 0d 4,563 half rials at 13.75d, £71 5s 11.5d 441 French pieces at 8d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 2.5d Silver amounting to, £409 7s 5d 146 cash notes at 10s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 261 cash notes at 5s, £65 5s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £539 5s 0d £2,737 5s 0d Total, £2,759 7s 9.5d The Reverend William Loveday this day paid into the cash the sum of £50 0s 0d, being the amount of his bond to the Honourable Company. The account was subscribed by Charles Hutchinson, David Hunter and John Clark. **Interpretations** The pagoda count drops to 1,320 from the 4,375 held through the autumn, the great Indian gold hoard broken into at last after standing unmoved through many months' reckonings. The gold total falls only a little, held up by the weighed bullion, so the shift shows the pagodas at last drawn down while the loose gold was kept, the treasury spending its stable reserve of eastern coin where the working balance of silver and notes no longer sufficed, a marked change from the untouched hoard of the preceding counts. The chaplain Loveday's payment of fifty pounds on his bond to the Company shows even the island's clergyman standing debtor to the Company on a bond, the spiritual officer bound in money like any other servant. The bond was a formal debt the Company held against him, discharged now in a single payment into the cash, so the entry marks the reach of the Company's accounting into every corner of the establishment, the chaplain's obligation reckoned and cleared through the treasury as strictly as a soldier's pay or a planter's rent. The Lufkin payment closes on the creditor side the estate the board had settled on 28 November, the twenty-two pounds paid to the heirs entered against the fund John Goodwin had lodged two years earlier. The cash account records the discharge of the money held since 1746, the estate wound up and struck from the books, so the entry marks the final clearing of a small trust the Company had carried through two years of accounts until the heirs came forward and gave their bond to answer any later claim.
446	457	Blank page	
447	458	Blank page	
448	459	Book cover	
449	460	Document Name and Date: St Helena Records 1747-8	

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm): 47cm x 32.5cm x 6.5cm No. written pages: 441 No. blank pages: — Spine and cover: Good condition Inside pages: Good condition Additional comments: First 15 pages missing. Numbering starts with 16. Time taken to photograph (hours): 4 hours	